Being Dark and Foreign-

A Study of Race in New Delhi's African student population

Sophia Olivia Rosochacki

RSCSOP001

A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of a Masters in Sociology (Global Studies Program)

Faculty of the Humanities

University of Cape Town

2014

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature:

Date:

Abstract:

This thesis presents a qualitative study of the experience of social discrimination faced by a group of African students living and studying in New Delhi, India. The question of whether the cause of discrimination is that the students are 'foreigners', or that they are 'dark', or that they are 'dark foreigners', frames the research process. What is of issue here, is whether the theoretical framework of the research opens, in the first place, a productive means of enquiry into these social issues, and in the second place, whether it leads to an effective way of articulating policies that serve to alleviate the problem of discrimination faced by African students in Delhi. I will show that by framing the problem within discourses on xenophobia, this phenomenon is placed on the agenda of established global migration policy research. While the broader context of global migration forms an integral part of understanding this phenomenon, the complex construction of racial, cultural and existential difference which emerges from the data, requires a reading which exceeds the analytic framework offered by contemporary understandings of xenophobia. Discourses of race, in turn, place the experience of the African participants in India in relation to national problems of caste discrimination, colonial categorisation and contemporary reservation politics. Such a line of enquiry enables an engagement with a layered history and culture of struggle politics in India which reveals the structural similarity of experiences of discrimination across various cultural and historical domains (Randeria, 2006; Viswewaran, 2010). The discourse of race allows connections to be made between vernacular understandings of difference rooted in Hindu mythology, which themselves are inflected by global discourses of race (Amin, 2010). The Indian cultural phenomenon of a preference for light skin indicated by a rapidly growing cosmetics industry, is shown to carry purchase within global consumer capitalist culture and contemporary discourses of development (Couze, 2010). By treating race as a living practice, this thesis is able to engage with anti-colonial thinkers like Franz Fanon and Anibal Quijano. Fanon's thinking on the topic of discrimination remains grounded in experience, and as such, provides a critical tool to re-engage the histories that the project of imperialism undermined, as well as the agency of those who experience discrimination. I argue that ultimately, the anti-colonial arguments offered by Fanon and Quijano enable a way of thinking beyond a colonised position. Finally, I argue that race, as a category of self-identification, should not be discarded in the name of assimilation or non-racialism. In this way, the dissertation asserts Winant's claim that "race and racism also work *from below*, as matters of resistance (racism continues as something to be resisted), and as frameworks for alternative identities and collectivities" (Winant, 2014: 3). This thesis will demonstrate that the concept of race, though ambiguous, remains indispensible in an analysis of overlapping forms of discrimination in a post-colonial and emerging trans-national context.

Table of Contents:

Chapter 1
Introduction

…………………………………………………….…………………………………………………..

Research Question

While India has the largest diasporic population in the world, the country in turn hosts a relatively small, though rapidly growing migrant population (0.03 %). Although figures on foreign migrants are notoriously difficult to attain, it is estimated that African foreigners in India claim a tiny percentage of the total migrant population. A troubling feature in the experience of African foreigners living in India is the degree to which Africans are regarded as strange or other within Indian society. Within the last three years, there has been a marked increase in reports of racially charged, violent incidents directed against African foreigners across the Indian subcontinent. The experience of living in an international hostel in a Delhi educational institution for six months from January to June 2012, and subsequently living in the city as a resident for another year, raised an awareness in me to the particular, racialised experience of Africans living in India. For many months, I shared close proximity to other African students living in Delhi, and to some of the difficulties that they encounter both within and outside of the campus environment. This presented the imperative to understand the ways in which racial predjudice was enacted, explained and justified, both by the recipients as well as the enactors of prejudiced treatment. To this end, two series of in-depth interviews were conducted with a group of African students as well as with a group of Indian residents whose lives intersected with those of the students.

The initial question to organise the research is whether the cause of discrimination is that the students are 'foreigners', or that they are 'dark', or that they are 'dark foreigners'? What arises from this line of enquiry is whether the African students experience should be understood through the lens of xenophobia or through the lens of race? What is of issue here, is whether the theoretical framework of the research opens, in the first place, a productive means of enquiry into these social issues, and in the second place, whether it leads to an effective way of articulating policies that serve to alleviate the problem of discrimination faced by African students in Delhi. I will show that by framing the problem within discourses on xenophobia, this phenomenon is placed on the agenda of established global migration policy research. While the broader context of global migration forms an integral part of understanding this phenomenon, the complex construction of racial, cultural and existential difference which emerge from the data, require a reading which exceeds the analytic framework offered by contemporary understandings of xenophobia. Discourses of race, in turn, place the experience of the African participants in India in relation to national problems of caste discrimination, colonial categorisation and contemporary reservation politics. Such a line of enquiry enables an engagement with a layered history and culture of struggle politics in India which reveals the structural similarity of experiences of discrimination across various cultural and historical domains (Randeria, 2006; Viswewaran, 2010). The discourse of race allows connections to be made between

vernacular understandings of difference rooted in Hindu mythology, which themselves are inflected by global discourses of race (Amin, 2010). The Indian cultural phenomenon of a preference for light skin indicated by a rapidly growing cosmetics industry, is shown to carry purchase within global consumer capitalist culture and contemporary discourses of development (Couze, 2010). Race, viewed as a living practice, has enabled this thesis to engage with anti-colonial thinkers like Franz Fanon and Anibal Quijano. Fanon's thinking on the topic of discrimination remains grounded in lived experience, and as such, provides a critical tool to re-engage the histories that the project of imperialism undermined, as well as the agency of those who experience discrimination. I argue that ultimately, the anti-colonial arguments offered by Fanon and Quijano enable a way of thinking beyond a colonised position.

While race emerges as an indispensible category of analysis to understand the situation at hand, neither the politics of multi-culturalism nor the politics of inter-ethnic recognition can be enlisted in the conclusions that I draw. The idea of solidarity in the fact of struggle itself is explored as a strategy of resistance. Slavov Zizek best articulates this position: "(t)he formula of revolutionary solidarity is not 'let us tolerate our differences', it is not a pact of civilisations, but a pact of struggles which cut across civilisations, a pact between what, in each civilisation, undermines its identity from within, fights against its oppressive kernel. What unites us is the same struggle" (Žižek, 2008: 133). An inclusive conception of race aligns its meaning with a range of discriminatory forms, and thus potentially provides the possibility of increased solidarity amongst people who share experiences of oppression. The data presented in this thesis however, suggests that resistance to intersecting forms of discrimination is not necessarily articulated in such forms of solidarity. Instead, racial identity itself emerged as a form of agency and resistance in an ongoing struggle against contexts of multi-layered oppression.

I argue that race, as a category of self-identification, should not be discarded in the name of assimilation or non-racialism. In this way, the dissertation asserts Winant's claim that "race and racism also work *from below*, as matters of resistance (racism continues as something to be resisted), and as frameworks for alternative identities and collectivities" (Winant, 2014: 3). If understanding race as working *from below* presents opportunities for resistant identities and collectivities, then I would argue that this assertion supports thinking beyond a colonized position. This is because thinking beyond a colonized position entails a grappling with the lived experience of race and racism, and by articulating this reality it allows a thinking of human relations that is not confined to the post-colonial trope of the self and the other. This thesis will demonstrate that the concept of race, though ambiguous, remains indispensible in an analysis of overlapping forms of discrimination in a post-colonial and emerging trans-national context. The primary analytic contribution of this project is in presenting a relational study of intersecting discourses and social practices of discrimination through a discussion on race, caste and xenophobia and their respective articulations through culture. What is at issue is not simply pointing out an emergent context of racial discrimination, but understanding its rootedness in and relationality to contingent discourses of power and control.

Motivation

The central argument of this dissertation is that it is not being foreign, but rather being *dark and foreign*, or more specifically being recognised as African, that undermines the social position of African students in Delhi. In this case, it is race that offers a more salient lens through which to understand the embodied nature of discrimination, and the way in which it is justified. The urgency of the investigation stems partly from the global ubiquity of racism. The experiences highlighted in this particular configuration translate many times over, both in cities in India, as well as beyond its national borders- from Cairo to Singapore, Johannesburg to London. There seems to be wide consensus that despite the lack of objective credibility of the concept of race, the persistence of race, "as idea, as practice, as identity, and as social structure" remains, and moreover, "(r)acism perseveres in these same ways" (Winant 2006: 987 quoted in Amin, 2010: 2). The thesis extends Amin's argument that "the intensity of race in a given present in terms of the play between vernacular legacies of race-coded reception of visible difference and the conjunctural mobilizations of race by biopolitical regimes – state-regulated systems of governing populations– to maintain collective order" (Amin, 2010: 3). Rather than understand the discourses used to justify racism in terms of bio-politics alone, it seeks to define an idea of the 'international imaginary', to understand how global discourses of development inform the constructions of Africa which emerge in this study. It is argued that the diasporic position is interpolated by both local and trans-local or global discourses, which yield insights into the constitution of subjectivities.

The study also responds to an imperative to reveal this particular Indian/ African configuration of racism, as a blindspot, which remains as yet untheorised, and as such easily dismissed. The African students who I have interviewed, occupy a privileged social position, as they do not necessarily engage in economic activity in their host country. While they are shielded from many of the abuses endured by those who seek integration through work, their inclusion and participation in Indian society is limited by local prejudice. If the technical and institutional knowledge gleaned from their stay in India stands in contradiction to their lived experience, then a potentially powerful project of inter-cultural bridging through education is failing. While their small numbers generally warrant less concern from policy makers, I argue that such a failure is significant in the face of the history of nascent solidarity which it undermines. Renewed neoliberal Indo-African relations rest upon a complex history of contestation and partnership (McCann, 2013: 260), and should be viewed without idealism. However, there have been moments in the history of Afro-Asian solidarity, particularly around the Non Aligned Movements and the politics of Third Worldism, in which a re-orientation of geopolitical possibility was sensed. I follow McCann's assertion that the legacy of these ties remains present in contemporary 'South-South co-operation' discourses (McCann, 2013: 271). This is a legacy which should be affirmed by an exchange of cultures and knowledges that foster solidarity, rather than knowledge which affirms separation and segregation, and cultural closure over open-ness and diversity.

Finally, the motivation for this project has a conceptual dimension. It has been well noted that despite the changing tide of global migration and development, and the importance of South-South relations, global

debates on migration continue to be dominated by a Western agenda, and the voices of the emerging countries remain marginalised (Crush & Ramachandran, 2010: 209). How do we account for this failure in political and theoretical discourse to recognise the urgency of these global shifts, and to be attentive to their implications? This project argues that the silence in mainstream global migration discourses on experiences emerging from the swiftly transforming 'peripheral' countries must be read in both political and epistemological terms. The experiences from emerging countries are ignored as a political strategy, and in addition, they are accorded an unequal epistemic value within dominant discourses (Mignolo, 2007; Radhakrishnan, 1995). Even within critical post-colonial discourses which seek to destabilise, deconstruct and rewrite unfolding histories of oppression, the 'voice of the subaltern' too often remains just that. What is needed to contest this is a departure from a tradition of theoretical interpretation in which "the "Third World" must always respond from a colonised position" (Chan, 2010: 43). What is at stake in the explication of racialised dynamics from a 'Southern' perspective is a claim to the definition of conceptual categories, which describe and shape our social and material worlds. The aim of this particular analysis is to contribute to a more nuanced and robust understanding of the intersectionality of categories of discrimination. This might be useful for social research by adding analytic depth to the terms at hand and, in turn, to the ways in which policy on discrimination involving foreigners in developing countries is conceptualised.

Overview of Research

The second chapter provides an overview of the methodology used for this study. It provides reasons for choosing the particular locations and groups of people for the research, the process of connection with relevant people and the ethical dimension of the research. It examines the identity politics at play in the interaction between researcher and subject, united to a small degree in the 'diasporic position'. In this chapter, secondary data sources are discussed, which indicate India as a country dealing with relatively low levels of migration, but displaying high levels of hostility to foreigners. The perspectives of the participants enter into dialogue with theories on development, history, race and xenophobia and thus the discussion of data is interwoven with theory. Consequently, theory and data analysis are not divided in different chapters.

The third chapter provides a theoretical context: an argument is made for utilising strategies of 'Southern sociology', which aim to produce a kind of relational knowledge about social phenomena which emphasizes the "interactional constitution of social units, processes, and practices across space" (Go, 2013: 28). A reconceptualised 'southern sociology' serves to bring into view the blindspots covered over by the more abstract universalism of a western-centric orientation. The argument for a relational theoretical approach also responds to the failure of post-colonial studies to enable a space of articulation beyond the colonised position.

The fourth chapter contextualises the position of the African students in Delhi in relation to global migration, and introduces the attendant problem of the increase of xenophobia in Southern countries. I explore the students' perspectives about Africa's place in the world, their implicit assumptions about the meaning of

diaspora and the socio-cultural implications of underdevelopment, which place African students in a position of perceived inferiority to their Indian colleagues. The discussion is extended to provide an historical contextualisation of the Indian Ocean world, and its pertinence to contemporary understandings of race and xenophobia. The dominance of the Atlantic Ocean dynamic in terms of migrational history is highlighted, which in turn reveals the West-centric nature of currently used conceptions of modernity and development.

In chapter five, I discuss the racialised dimension of the African students' experiences in relation to current debates about the intersection of race, xenophobia and xeno-racism. State and media discourses on race in India are introduced, in order to introduce the national context that might provide insight into the turbulent situation of the African students living in Delhi. Contemporary stereotypes of drug peddling and illicit activity are associated with the 'dark foreigner', are endorsed by both national and international media discourses, and are shown to link to historically entrenched stereotypes about the 'dark continent'.

Chapter six lays out current debates about race and culture, and shows how understandings of race articulated by Indian respondents resonate with global discourses of culturalism. The nature/culture debate that formed the core of the historical development of the race concept is unravelled, and the idea that ultimately culture determines the significance of biological difference is asserted. The history of colonialism is explored as a site of reproduction of racialised power relations, particularly as it affected relationships between India and Africa and their respective diasporic populations. The colonial history of the Indian Ocean is shown to play a part in producing contemporary global systems of racialised power, which in turn are rooted in global capitalism. The discursive practices that follow from these historical processes intersect with local perspectives on race, caste and colour consciousness.

In the conclusion, I argue that these findings contribute to discussions on global racism in various ways, and suggest that race remains an analytically important tool in dissecting current formations of discriminatory behaviour across historical and cultural domains. Race is at once formed by forces of global movement, which increase segregation and aggregate difference, but at the same time create positions which may undermine and over come categories of difference.

Chapter 2
Methodology

………………………………………………………………………………………………………..

In terms of methodological approach, the project seeks to follow what Sitas (2006) and Alatas (2006) call 'indigenized sociology', which aims to "craft new theory and research that is based upon non-Western thinkers and postcolonial experiences" (Go, 2013: 28). The experiences that are taken as the object of research in this study are viewed in relation to dominant ways of knowing, in order that these ways of knowing are illuminated, and their blind spots may be revealed. It is hoped that the experiences and the lens through which they are viewed may reveal something new, or may "illuminate a situation in its concreteness" (Connell, 2007: 207), rather than produce universalizing abstractions (Burawoy 2008; Connell 2007; Mignolo 2000, 2009, Go, 2013). Western conceptual frameworks are seen as at once indispensible and yet inadequate in this study (Chakrabarty, 2008). The dominant theme of discrimination and racialisation emerged from initial conversations with research participants, and slowly came to shape the project's focus. I have spent many months in the research sites, both as a student and later as a resident of the city, and in this time many conversations that have not been recorded, have informed the direction of the research. The research project ultimately offers a qualitative study and follows Denzin's framework for qualitative research methodology (Denzin, 2010) that rests on the interaction between theory, methodology, research activity and the sociological imagination, and works from the premise that methods are a "means of acting on the environment and making that environment meaningful" (Denzin, 1970: 6).

Preparatory Research and the Questionnaire Survey

The research brief of the 'Third African Diaspora', which formed the broader research project under which my thesis fell, was to understand African migration related social dynamics, and by implication, to grasp the significance of the African diasporic position. During my semester at an educational institution in Delhi, which I spent in a women only hostel on the campus, I began to give some thought to the theme of Africa's diaspora, in an attempt to formulate a research focus for my thesis. Living in an international student hostel afforded me close proximity to and friendship with students from a number of African countries. Conversations around the theme of Africa, its place in the world, the meaning of African-ness and its relation to race, emerged spontaneously between the students in the hostel. As part of the African diaspora, the experiences and perceptions of my fellow students carried a broader significance. The following questions from the research brief for the 'Third African Diaspora' provided an entry point to my research: "have the experiences of trans-local migration created dispositions that are more Afropolitan and more "open" to difference and diversity or more closed and distantiated? In all this how has the imaginary of migration and home been reworked? And most importantly in which ways do such dispositions, be they "open" or "closed", correlate with the hard variables of class, ethnicity, religion, gender and refugeedom, or the soft variables of daily experience, exposure to others and media and personal traumas?" (TAD Proposal, 2010).

During the initial period of field research, a survey was sent out to 50 students, 18 participants responded in full. About half of them were sent by email, and the rest were distributed in person, either by me or by key informants. Few participants responded on the spot, most returned the survey a few days later. According to the literature, questionnaires are recommended when researchers need to elicit or guage people's attitudes and opinions about social and political issues. They are good for finding out about complex behaviours and social interactions, and for gathering information from people's lives that is not available from published sources (McLafferty, 2008). As foreign students, the research participants fall into the category of temporary migrants, some of whom will remain in India for continued study and work purposes, some of whom plan to return to their home country and others who plan to migrate elsewhere (Baubock, 2011). In the initial stages of research, I was concerned with the following questions: does the political-legal status of the students have any bearing on their social experience? What position do they occupy in the public imagination, how is this linked to assumptions and fears about the less secure status of other kinds of migrants, and how are they made to feel this? I tried to construct a questionnaire which would solicit answers for both the shaping of diasporic identity and the experience of discrimination which seemed to mark African diasporic populations in the rest of the world. In retrospect, the survey design was not very streamlined and included many unnecessary questions. The small sample size that was acquired did not suggest that any conclusive findings could be drawn from the data. However, the primary aim of the questionnaire was thus to provide an indicative role, and to mark out potential points of further enquiry rather than provide any conclusive data on the subject of African students in Delhi.

The questionnaire had the following benefits: the few open-ended questions allowed unexpected themes to emerge which created new leads in the research. Respondents confirmed the ubiquity of the experience of racism as a problem amongst the student community of Delhi. The respondents also interpreted the notion diaspora ambiguously, which complicated what I imagined was a straightforward term. It became clear that in depth interviews should explore the associations and understandings of diasporic experience, and the unspoken assumptions about world membership and status hierarchy which underly the term. The most important contribution of the survey data was to provide evidence of the commonality of the experience of being made to feel other within Indian society. While not all experiences that related to being identified as African, and more-over being identified as black, could be described as having discriminatory effects, the interpellation of black-ness and African-ness within Indian society was often perceived by the students as hostile. The following options arose: first, to understand the othering experienced by the students primarily as a consequence of their status as foreigners, and utilise theories of migration and xenophobia, or second, to foreground the racialised experience in order to engage in historical conceptions of race, imperialism and Africa's imagined place in the world. As I have suggested above, it is precisely the intersectionality of these forms of discrimination that provided the most productive line of enquiry. The questionnaire helped to clarify the scope of the project, partly by indicating that the terms used in the questionnaire: race, xenophobia, foreigner, diaspora, did not illicit straight forward answers. It occurred to me that a research

project on the 'Third African Diaspora', might benefit from an in depth, qualitative study of the personal interpretations of the very terms in which the broader study is framed. Consequently, I aimed to conduct a series of in depth interviews with African students. It was only after the interview process was over, that the idea of interviewing Indian residents was presented.

Secondary Data

As explained in the introduction, India's migrant population, which was measured in 2007 as 0.03% of the population, is relatively low. The vast majority of India's migrant population is composed of citizens from the neighbouring countries of Bangladesh, Nepal and Pakistan. Of the remaining percentage, "only 227, 000 individuals were born outside of the region: 28% of them in Africa, 25% in the Middle East, and only 20% in Northern America, Europe, and Oceania combined" (Naujoks, 2009). However, anecdotal evidence from the cities of Mumbai, Delhi and Bangalore indicates that the African population in India far exceeds this figure. For example, Delhi's population of Nigerian citizens alone is estimated to exceed 10, 000[1]. The African migrant population is thus relatively small, and migration policy in India has largely focused on migrants from the neighbouring countries (Crush & Ramachandran, 2010). Statistical data on Africans living as migrants in India is hard to come by, as there have been few published studies specifically on the topic. Information was gathered from studies that present an overview of data on global migration. This influenced the decision to focus on a small group of participants, and aim for more in depth understandings of the experience of discrimination, rather than to be able to draw conclusions about the experience of African students in India in general.

There is a high frequency of media reports on Africans, and often on African students, living in India. These emerged from local media sources[2], international news coverage[3] and African focused media platforms[4]. A number of media sources such as daily and weekly newspapers; online blogs and news websites were consulted to provide a background understanding of the specific case of African students in Delhi. There is no definitive evidence that enables the findings of the research to speak for experiences beyond those of the Delhi African student community. However, the similarities of the experiences reported in the secondary media sources consulted from the cities of Mumbai, Bangalore, Ahmedabad and Pune, suggest that the experience of the Delhi students might hold true for those in other cities too.

---

[1] http://www.sunday-guardian.com/young-restless/on-delhis-vilified-nigerian-migrants

[2] See for example: http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/tp-newdelhi/africans-feel-they-are-painted-with-the-same-brush/article2505465.ece; http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/lets-stop-pretending-theres-no-racism-in-india/article3466554.ece; http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/chandigarh/19-African-students-of-Lovely-Professional-University-arrested-for-theft-rioting/articleshow/20611326.cms

[3] http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1997936,00.html; http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-india-21826366

[4] http://www.blackagendareport.com/content/anti-african-racism-india; http://www.deccanherald.com/content/318250/african-students-often-victims-racism.html; http://congolesecommunityofindia.com/2013/04/22/african-students-assaulted-is-india-racist/

Initial Field Research and Ethical considerations

Fontana and Frey explain that key issues when entering the field are access, understanding the language, locating an informant, gaining trust, developing rapport (Fontana & Frey, 2006: 670). As a resident of a women's hostel on an Indian campus, I had daily contact with fellow African students, so locating an informant to snowball the process of making connections, was straightforward. The literature on fieldwork methodology emphasizes the considerable impact of gender and race in fieldwork. This idea has been taken forward from a constructivist and post-structuralist perspective, which sees interactions as negotiations of power within which social positioning is partly inscribed on the body (Bernard, 2006: 352; Fontana & Frey, 2006: 670). These observations were made tangible during my research process. Some of the challenges encountered 'in the field', confirmed the notion, which this dissertation explores in depth, that race is understood and practiced or lived in contradictory ways. Despite the ease of acquaintance, my identity as a fellow 'African' student was not acceptable to many people that I interviewed. Students could accept me as a white South African, or a European but very rarely as having any claim to a sense of 'African-ness'. Within the research context, my European heritage, legible in my physical form, indicated a legacy of not having legitimate claim to belonging in either Africa or India. This aligned me with the side of power in an implicitly racialised global or transnational age, and did not allow my position of translocality to be read in the same way as that of the students that I interviewed. However, the lack of 'belonging' in any national context, did create a kind of dislodged position which enabled me to engage with people who 'belonged' to Indian society as much as I could to those who felt they did not.

Another concern arose regarding the way in which the concept of race was enlisted in the study, and to what extent the reading of race was influenced by a potentially exaggerated awareness of racial difference produced by my South African background. Racism forms a primary category of discrimination in South Africa, a country where the roots of continued geographic and social apartheid lie in its colonial legacy and the imperial violence committed by European settlers. Though reproduced many times over between the gradations of darkness and lightness categorized by the colonial order, the origins of racism remained (in my mind) vested in the initial encounter between black and white, African and European, and the categories of difference established by colonial and apartheid ideologies. To encounter forms of discrimination and othering between Indians and Africans, that appeared to be based on racial difference, disturbed a naive assumption that there should be some sense of solidarity between citizens of post-colonial societies. Perhaps all that this misperception required was a widening of nationalized historical boundaries, to understand relations between India and Africa as shaped and conditioned by a violent imperial history. Viswewaran argues that in contemporary India, "(g)lobalisation produces new forms of cultural hybridity, but older forms of syncretism or composite culture still remain on the subcontinent, not as forms of cultural survival, but as actively affirmed and recreated living traditions" (Viswewaran, 2010: 188). The complexity of the contemporary Indian context suggested that an intersectional analytic approach would be necessary to try to understand the confluence of both historical currents and contemporary social practices. This confluence

could illuminate the kind of discrimination at work in the experience of the African interviewees in a way that did not rely primarily on the history of colonialism. Moreover, various aspects of Indian culture, which immediately appeared so different from the South African world, needed to be read in relation to global dynamics, which themselves are inflected with old and new imperialisms.

Interviews

As a science which principally studies social interaction, interviewing is an important part of sociology. Interviews viewed as interactions, indicate that the interview can be understood as both the tool and the object of research (Fontana & Frey, 2006: 361). Unstructured and semi-structured interviewing are strategies that work together with participant observation (2006: 366), and potentially provide deeper, more direct access to the experiences and knowledge of research participants. Initial interviews with African students were conducted with written guiding questions. However, the informal nature of the interviews, and the friendly rapport that had been built up between the participants and I, allowed participants freedom to introduce topics and emphasise or expand on issues, memories and experiences which they felt were important to communicate. The literature on interviewing as a sociological research method warns of the following factors which need to be considered: degrees of ego threat, generalization, subjective experience, conscious vs. unconscious experience and trauma (Madison- Soyini, 2005). Many of these were pertinent in the discussion of experiences of discrimination. A few of the students recounted personal life stories that were marked by trauma, this had to be dealt with sensitively. In addition, the fact that most participants were young men describing potentially vulnerable positions to me as a young woman, could have affected the level of bravado that was demonstrated.

All interviewees were informed that they would be interviewed and quoted in this thesis under condition of anonymity- for this reason the names of interviewees have been changed. I have included the country of origin in the case of the African students, as the range of countries of origin is pertinent to the research aim to explore the existence of a collective African identity. The gender is indicated, as well as the interviewees' occupation, however, the institute with which interviewees were associated was not disclosed. All interviews were conducted at two educational institutions in Delhi. The interviews with African students took place over a period of six weeks, and the interviews with Indian residents took place over a period of four weeks. Both sets were conducted on the campus or hostel grounds, and all interviews were conducted on my own, with the exception of three interviews, which were conducted with a senior student on one of the campuses, who conducted the interview in Hindi, using a question sheet that we had developed together.

Interviews with African students:

The survey discussed above was followed by 12 in depth interviews with students from 7 different African countries. The group of people interviewed were selected based on three criteria- that they were students, that they originated from an African country, that they had been in India for more than 1 year, and planned to stay for at least 1 year more. With the exception of one participant who was working and studying, all of the

participants were in Delhi for educational purposes. The interviews focussed on questions of national, ethnic, religious, diasporic and gendered identity, as well as integration and assimilation in local social networks. Students came from the following countries: Nigeria (2), Eritrea (1), Ethiopia (3), Democratic Republic of Congo (2), South Sudan (1), North Sudan (1) and Kenya (2). While the initial research agenda was framed in terms of understanding the formation of national, and potentially trans-national or Pan-African identity within the African student community in Delhi and India, within both the survey and interviews, the participants almost without exception foregrounded the experience of racialisation and racial discrimination. However, their experience of racialisation is almost always tied to their identification as an African, and more specifically as an African in diaspora. Although this formulation may seem somewhat tautological, the multi-layered interpellation at play within the social world of the African student community in Delhi is precisely the focus of this analysis. As I have argued elsewhere, the way in which these students were interpellated by various discourses, indicated that their localised experience held relevance for broader global shifts, and shed light on a more nuanced understanding of social cohesion and reproduction through othering.

Interviews with Indian Residents:

The second part of research focussed on the perspectives of Indians living and working in Delhi, and tried to capture a range of views on issues of race, colour discrimination (and by association caste) and African identity. The interview participants were chosen through their direct or indirect relations to the African student group, as it was important that the interviewees had some amount of contact with Africans, and at the same time represented a range of socio-economic positions. There were 6 interviews conducted in total. However, these were preceded by many informal conversations, some of which were accompanied by note taking, and many of which provided further leads to better formulate questions about race. The number of interviewees is much less, as the aim was to capture a range of opinion in a small area, on a very specific topic. Whereas the interviews with the African students sometimes took up to 2-3 hours, and diverged into various aspects of being in diaspora, the interviews with Indian residents aimed specifically to capture a few opinions on the prevalence, origins and reasons for racism in the country. As such, the opinions don't represent more than the small sample taken, rather they are included in order to follow leads already presented in my daily life in Delhi, and through the observations of the African students.

The first few interview contacts were made on the campuses and hostel grounds where most of the interviews in the first round were conducted. A lecturer, a book-keeper, administrative staff and senior students of the educational institutions were interviewed. In this phase of the research I have attempted to guage not only racial attitudes, but also deeper understandings about race, its origins and its role in shaping an Indian and a global society. In-depth interviews rather than questionnaire surveys were chosen as a research method. I was hoping that some of the questions might deliver new insight on the vernacular and colloquial understandings of racial difference as explored by Silva (2011) in Brazil and South Africa. The semi-structured interview questions were phrased bearing in mind the risk of posing leading questions. As the questions were formulated after the process of interviewing the African students, and ascertaining that

racial discrimination was a problem in Delhi, I was aware of the risk of seeking validation of attitudes and responses which I had already assumed to be present. Rather than use the interviews to confirm the prevalence of racialised attitudes and prejudice towards Africans, I sought out the personal interpretation of fewer number of interviewees of how racism operates and what it really is. I hoped to gather interpretations which might correlate with the African students' understandings of the causes of racism and the image if Africa in the Indian imagination, or which might refute or complicate these readings. In short, rather than attempt to build up a comprehensive picture of either the African students' experience, or the Indian residents' perspectives, I sought to bring the *insights* gleaned from both sets of conversations to bear on one another. The data that was collected was not used to ascertain the fact of the wide spread experience of discrimination of Africans in India, this was inferred through wide spread media reportage, and literature on the subject. The data was used to gain an in-depth understanding of this phenomenon, and to contribute to established explanations of racism by incorporating the perceptions of the participants. This was done through the medium of theory, which served to frame the data in ways that allowed comparison between the perceptions.

Analysis of data and limits of method chosen:

In the analysis of interview transcripts, personal memory, field notes and reflections were drawn from to 'read into' the transcripts, and supplement them by recalling the various non-verbal elements described in the literature. These are defined as proxemic- the use of inter-personal space to communicate attitudes, chronemics- the use of spaces of speech and silences, kinesic- body movements or postures, paralinguistic – variations in pitch, vloume, quality of voice (Fontana & Frey, 2006: 271). In both sets of interviews, the sensitivity of the subject matter rendered these elements important to grasp the mood of the interviewee and the emotional weight attached to the subject. This became an integral part of the analysis of the interview data. One of the foremost concerns in analysing the data, was the danger of conflating the African students' reading of the Indians' perception of them, with the Indian perception of the African students themselves. The thesis presents an overarching argument for the use of its frames of analysis- and justifies its focus on discourses of development and their intersection with vernacular and global discourses of race. The data is used in order to flesh out the discussion, and justify the primacy of these frames of analysis over others. A short coming of the method chosen is certainly that although the data presents a wide range of opinion, and provides much fodder for analysis, it cannot extend its empirical claims beyond a small group, although there are strong suggestions that these experiences represent a much wider group. A more extensive research project would be able to establish the relevance of these claims for a wider group.

Chapter 3

Development Discourses and the Legacy of Imperialism- Theoretical Considerations

………………………………………………………………………..…………………………………………..

The 'Third African Diaspora', is the central concept of the broader research project within which this study is undertaken. The research project hypothesizes that current migration out of and within Africa can be broadly grouped as a 'third moment' in the history of African diasporic movement. The first and second are respectively the global movement of Africans during the era of Atlantic slave-trade and the era following decolonisation. This third movement has been precipitated by "the 1970s economic crisis on the continent, political conflict, climatic changes and, most importantly, Structural Adjustment Programmes to offset debt relief, [these] have created new imperatives for migration and globalizations 'from below'" (TAD proposal, 2010). I follow the assertion that as a consequence of this movement, **"**(l)ivelihoods strategies and livelihood networks on the African continent have become trans-local and dynamic and so has the way people imagine their sense of belonging and their discontent" (TAD Proposal, 2010). This chapter contextualises the position of the African students in Delhi in relation to the concept of the 'Third African Diaspora', to recent trends in global migration which draw on notions of South-South co-operation and to dominant discourses of globalisation and development which provide the macro conceptual frame of the project.

The logic that guides dominant discourses of globalization and development has been woven from the same imperial language as discourses of modernity. In spite of more recent variations of 'alternative' or 'entangled' modernities, which seek to destabilise the traditional Euro-centred narrative, modernity as a concept continues to instate the West as the locus of meaning and movement. Following proponents of Southern sociology, I want to take to task the dominant ways of knowing, inscribed in the conceptual framework of modernity, which in turn permeate contemporary development narratives. Hofmeyr argues that "trans-nationalism within the south itself" and "nonwestern sources of globalisation, or processes of trans-nationalism that happen without reference to Europe" (Hofmeyr, 2007: 4) need to be fore-grounded in order to extend the relevance of globalization discourses. By doing so, Southern focused sociology could ensure that sociology, which "mostly originated in the West," can actually meet the "needs and problems of Third World societies" (Alatas, 2006: 22). However, it is questionable whether the conceptual categories of development, globalization and even race and discrimination can be used without reference to their construction within or in resistance to the logic of imperialism. More importantly, can reference to their theoretical construction be made in a way that still renders them useful beyond a post-colonial paradigm? I argue that engaging in a post-colonial deconstruction of the Western epistemological framework is an inappropriate strategy, as this can merely invert the hierarchy while leaving in tact the problematic claims themselves (Bhambra, 2007), and thus reinscribe West-centrism at its very point of possible erasure (Go, 2013: 38). Go argues that a *relational* theory of sociology might enable new post-colonial accounts of

modernity, which might move beyond the study of 'non-Western societies', "postcolonial social formations, or imperialism and colonialism" but rather insist upon "an overarching theoretical approach and ontology that emphasizes the interactional constitution of social units, processes, and practices across space" (Go, 2013: 28). Such a relational approach might enable a contemporary social study such as this one to recognize the complex and *interdependent* nature of the constitution and development of the 'modern world', and thus better understand and describe the Afro-Indian dynamic in question.

Southern forms of trans-nationalism and their implications for Globalisation discourses

Within the last decade, there has been a marked increase of South-South migration. Recent estimates indicate that there is as much migration between developing countries as there is from developing to developed countries (UN, DESA, 2011). In 2005, 45% of the total global migrant stock was residing in developing countries (Crush & Ramachandran, 2010: 209). This is closely linked to the expansion of developing markets in South Asia, South America, South Africa and the Middle East. The majority of these migrations are intraregional, within the countries of the former Soviet Union, South Asia, and West Africa (World Bank, 2011). Migration statistics indicate a "marked shift from North–South to South–South migration, with several developing countries including India, Côte d'Ivoire, the Islamic Republic of Iran and Pakistan now appearing in the list of top destination countries worldwide" (Crush & Ramachandran, 2010: 209). These countries attract migrants from the Middle East and North Africa and South and Southeast Asia (2011, World Bank). The implications of this shift are yet to be felt in globalization discourses. Scholars have noted that despite the quantitative significance of South-South migration, and its implications for conceptions of trans-nationalism and globalisation, debate on global migration has "tended to focus on migration from developing to developed countries" (Crush and Ramachandran, 2009: 210). This betrays what some scholars interpret as the Northern bias of international politics and the deep-rooted inequality of the global development agenda (Crush and Ramachandran, 2009: 210). Within the existing literature on international migration, the bias towards research on South- North migration is evident (see for example Cohen, 1994; Lucassen, 2005; Berezin, 2006; Alexseev, 2006; Delanty and Millward, 2007).

This bias manifests in the centers of knowledge production, which ensure that the majority of social research and analytic knowledge, which is supposedly in the service of global problems, produces knowledge that reflects the West-centric global political economy. Beyond the theme of migration, discourses of globalisation and trans-nationalism themselves have demonstrated a bias towards the Northern experience. Hofmeyr writes that "(a)lmost without exception, this scholarship has focused on north-south modes of trans-nationalism. Indeed the terminology itself, like the word globalisation, through its apparent neutrality appears to imply transnational processes emanating from the west and then radiating outward" (Hofmeyr, 2007: 3). The very language and conceptual history from which much academic enquiry draws, is itself formulated within a West-centric canon, which limits it from engaging with ways of knowing and being that are formulated and practiced outside of, or in an uncomfortable relation to this epistemic canon. Hofmeyr argues that this bias creates an imperative to engage with Southern forms of trans-nationalism, which is

magnified by the fact of growing trade within the South[5]. The continued focus on South-North migration in the literature betrays the implicit assumption that what is most important in development is "how the South can become more like the North and whether South–North migration hinders or helps that process" (Crush and Ramachandran, 2009: 210). The global migration agenda "calls on developing countries to recognize the benefits that accrue to them from the migration of their citizens to the North" (Crush and Ramachandran, 2009: 210). In this way, the specificity of the Northern model is presented as a universal one, to which all countries are assumed to aspire. Global msigration is an ancient human phenomenon, tied to trade-routes, which established the earliest civilisations in the world. However, contemporary politics frames migration within processes and narratives of development and globalisation which themselves are established on the back of *particular* histories, which are privileged over others (Bhambra, 2007; Connel, 2007).

Post-Colonialism, Anti-colonialism and the West-centred notion of History

Undergirding global politics is the implicit assumption that the West leads development, progress, modernity as well as the very movement of history itself. This assumption remains intact despite the work of post-modern theorists like Derrida, Bauman, Lyotard, and post-colonialists like Said, Bhabha. Recent debate has pointed out the divergent intentions and influences of post-colonial and particularly Subaltern theory. The assumptions underlying the core arguments presented by Subaltern Studies, have been taken to task for reviving precisely the Orientalist ideology that the theoretical movement sought to dispute. While the post-colonial theoretical project has articulated important critiques of West-centrism inscribed in global discourses, the assumption that the West is fundamentally different, and that the East or non-West ultimately requires separate terms of definition, restrict its critique from enabling new forms of self-articulation.

I argue that, albeit in slightly different ways, a few scholars of modernity (Mamdani, 1996; Randeria, 2006; Bhambra, 2007; Chakravarty, 2008) have identified an important contradiction in the logic of modernity that lies at the heart of an understanding of history and development. This understanding remains salient in contemporary discourse. Guiding the narrative of modernity, is the fact that the Western experience is granted both "an analytic value and an universal status" while the non-Western experience is regarded as "residual" (Mamdani, 1996, in Randeria, 2006: 10). Put differently by Bhambra, "the Western experience has been taken both as the basis for the construction of the concept of modernity and, at the same time, that concept is argued to have validity that transcends the Western experience" (Bhambra, 2007: 4). Both Bhambra and Randeria locate the seeds of this contradiction in Enlightenment thought, which laid the conceptual foundations of modernity. In order to legitimise this contradiction, Western epistemology has developed a stadial (or stage-based) conception of time. According to its logic, the primacy of Western experience is reinforced, and the problem of explaining difference is resolved. The West's claims to universalism are backed up by its own historical development, and a sequential logic is established between the past and the present. Under this lens, the experience of the West is understood as a logical consequence of history itself. Chakrabarty argues that the notion of historicism makes "modernity or capitalism look not

---

[5] "South-south trade is expanding faster than any other trade flow in the world – at about 11 percent per year" (Hofmeyr, 2007: 4).

simply global but rather as something that became global *over time*, by originating in one place (Europe) and spreading outside it" (2008:7). The historicist perception of the movement of time and history, "was one important form that the ideology of progress or "development" took from the nineteenth century on" (Chakrabarty, 2008: 9). For Bhambra the stadial theory of history, gives menaing to the idea of certain societies being 'ahead' or 'behind'. The idea underwrites Marx's assertion that the "country that is more developed industrially only shows, to the less developed, the image of its own future" (Marx in Chakrabarty, 2008: 7). This logic became central to the discipline of sociology, and as a consequence, the movement of modernity became the necessary way in which to understand societies and their relations to one-another. The language of social analysis itself became tied to a particular theory of history, which assured the primacy of the West an enduring vitality in contemporary discourses of globalisation and development.

Chakrabarty argues that historical time became "a measure of cultural distance (at least in institutional development) that was assumed to exist between the West and the non- West" (Chakrabarty, 2008: 7). Being able to think of coeval societies as occupying different positions within an imagined historical continuum, enabled an explanation of difference in people. Within a universal framework, *difference* needed to be accounted for and judged in a way that was not arbitrary. Bhambra argues that for Enlightenment thinkers, human nature was thought of as uniformly the same, which made it possible to compare human behaviour accross time and space, and in this way explain difference. The concept of human nature was seen both as "existing independent of, and prior to social relations" and at the same time, was "believed to be subject to improvement and development through changes in the structures of social relations" (Bhambra, 2007: 36). Within this schema, it is possible for Western structures of social relations to claim universal status while denying their own particularity, and ensuring that the 'rest' work to catch up or strive towards the 'universal ideals' themselves. In the meanwhile, regardless of the potentially universal value of non-Western structures of social relations, their development and movement in time is measured against the Western example and always found lacking. In this way, the 'non-West' has been placed in what Chakrabarty calls the "waiting room of history" (2008: 8). Regardless of the pace of social transformation, developing countries remain stripped of their own claims to history, and are "condemned to live in the "not yet" shadow land of other societies' already realised history" (Ferguson, 2006: 178). What is potentially problematic in terms of the conception of history outlined above is that by casting 'other histories' as such, even in a critical way, it becomes difficult to move beyond this conception and engage with the histories and contemporary contexts themselves. It is worth asking whether it is possible to make use of this critique of West-centrism inscribed in the notion of development without falling prey to the grand generalizations that ossify the categories of West and non-West, or worse, West and the 'Other'. I argue that this is possible, if a post-colonial approach to the critique of West-centrism is replaced by an anti-colonial one, in which case the critique outlined above becomes at once a necessary and inadequate theoretical framework.

For Fanon, the Western colonisation of the notion of history itself has a racial character. In the introduction to Fanon's Black Skin White Masks, Ziauddin Sardar explains that for Fanon, "western history not only

writes cannibalism in the very chromosomes of the non-West, it also writes off the history of the non-West. History, both History of the West and History as perceived by the West, is transformed into a mighty river into which all Other histories flow and merge as mere minor and irrelevant tributaries" (Sardar, 2008: xvi). Fanon's conception of racial denigration is constructed squarely within a West/ non-West framework. However, the perceptions of African students about Africa's place in the world, which largely responded to their interpellation as racialised African subjects in India, resonated strongly with Fanon's conception of the racialised other as constructed by the West. This is partly because both the students own vocabulary and the social context to which the students responded were influenced by West-centred development and globalization discourses. More importantly, I would like to suggest that Fanon's analysis of the mechanics of race are transplanted into an entirely different context from its original formulation, because Fanon talks about the structure of oppression: "all sources of exploitation resemble one another"; they are "all applied against the same 'object': man" (Fanon. 2008: xix). In this way he articulates a relational understanding of exploitation and oppression, and confirms an analytic perspective that transcends the post-colonial's politics of knowledge and experience. It can be argued that Fanon writes from an anti-colonial perspective, rather than a post-colonial one. Sardar contextualizes Fanon along with "other anti-colonial writers, such as C.L.R. James, Aimé Césaire, Amilcar Cabral, Ngugi wa Thiong and Albert Memmi, "were geographically and historically removed from the institutional development of postcolonial studies. Unlike the literature of decolonization, which was bound up with Third World national liberation movements of the sixties and seventies, postcolonial studies is primarily a First World academic discourse" (Sharpe in Sardar, 2008: xviii).

The place of Africa in Global Development narratives

For Ferguson, the narrative of historical development, and its seemingly logical tie to modernity, continues to structure contemporary notions of development. He illustrates his point using a diagram that presents the movement of time as analytically composed of two dimensions: time and status. Along these axes, tradition moves towards modernity. He explains, "(i)f "backward nations" were not modern, in this picture, it was because they were not *yet* modern. Modernity figured as a universal *telos*, even for the most traditional of societies" (Ferguson, 2006: 178). The effect of this narrative was to "transform a *spatialised* global hierarchy into a *temporalised* (putative) historical sequence" (Ferguson, 2006: 178). This constitutes an ideologically powerful move, as very real material inequalities which are mapped out on a global scale, are read as transcend-able, *temporary* barriers to a certain future of modernity and implicitly, of equality. This explanation buys time for the developed nations to avoid accountability to the un-developed nations, as time itself is projected to bring them up to speed, rather than a reformulation of fundamental power relations. The development narrative also persuades the poorer nations that time will ensure a steady rise in status, and that time converges with the realisation of modern conditions.

Focussing on the case of Africa, Ferguson argues that "the development narrative is increasingly visible as a failure not only in the domain of academic theory but also in practical eceonomic terms" (Ferguson, 2006: 183). The promise of socio-economic convergence for the poorest nations implied by early formulations of

the development narrative has dropped from the scene. In fact, for most African countries, the possibility of parity is more faint now than it was in the post World War II era of independence and decolonisation (Ferguson, 2006: 183). While its is no longer plausible to entertain the idea of economic convergence in Africa, the rising living standards and booming economies of other parts of the former Third World, particularly in parts of South and East Asia, suggest that dreams of rising to First World status are sustained (whether they are *sustainable*, opens up another field of questions). There is a disparity between the developing nations, which is marked by places where developmentalist narratives of economic convergence do or do not have plausibility. In the face of this distinction, the connection between the *cultural* dimension of modernity and tradition takes on a different inflection.

Within the social sciences, critiques of modernity have ensured a new emphasis on the cultural meaning of modernity, in order to address the notion of cultural distance used to justify the oppression of 'backward' and traditional societies. The emphasis on the cultural meaning of modernity, challenges the narrow focus of the social sciences on socio-ceonomic indicators. It is useful to debunk the myth of cultural superiority, which is done in part by unsettling the idea that societies change from being *traditional* to *modern*. The unsettling of this linear narrative has also dislodged the fixed notion of tradition as something 'stuck' in time, and revised the notion as something which in fact moves along as a necessary correlate of modernity. Julian Go would refer to the constructed relation between tradition and modernity as symptomatic of the bifurcated logic of modernity (Go, 2012). With regard to the globalised expansion of modernity, the story of many regions outside of the West have challenged the assumption underlying modernity narratives that "things like industrial economy and modern transportations and communications necessarily brought with them political democracy; a transition from extended to nuclear families and from communal to individual identities; the rise of bounded, monadic individuals; the secularisation of world view; the rise of scientific rationalism and critical reflexivity etc" (Ferguson, 2006: 183). Many examples in the Middle East, South East and East Asia refute this correlation.

Culture and modernity in Asia and Africa

The African context, presents something of a puzzle. In his study of Africa in relation to development narratives, Ferguson argues that the real ways in which modernity has manifested and has been reproduced outside of the West, has been in combination with traditional elements. Contemporary anthropologists in Africa have recognised that industrialisation can develop alongside traditional elements- such as religion, superstition and family structure, without contradiction (Commarofs, 1993; Geschiere, 1997). Such findings challenge the stadial notion that tradition precedes modernity, or that it must be sacrificed in the name of modernity. However, despite the findings of this kind of anthropological research, in the case of Africa, tradition has been read as anachronistic to the idea of modernity. Ferguson points out that both "(a)cademic and non academic understandings of African societies and cultures have long misunderstood Africa's difference from the West as anachronistic relic; as somehow not really of the present; as a symptom of backwardness and incomplete development- in short, as 'tradition'" (2006: 184). In the face of this deeply

entrenched misreading of Africa, it becomes important to emphasize the the modernity of African society and culture as a way of insisting upon its "status as coeval with the West and part and parcel of the modern" (Ferguson, 2006: 183). While these strategies make headway in deconstructing the configuration of time, status, modernity and tradition at the core of modernity and development narratives, a focus on the cultural dimension of development narratives risks underplaying the material dimension of modernity. This is important because it is the material dimension of development, the *spatialised* global hierarchy that Ferguson talks about, that to a large extent affects the way in which the tradition/modernity relationship is read outside of the West.

In Asia, the idea of 'alternative' modernities has held more currency than in Africa. In much of East, South and South East Asia, the development trajectory has been formulated as "a parallel track that is economically analagous to but culturally distinctive from the West" (Ferguson, 2006: 184). I would like to suggest that the socio-economic power of regions like India and the wealthier parts of South East Asia, allows culture and tradition to be read as remaining in sync with the concept of modernity. The idea of creating First World standards while retaining 'Asian' values (Ferguson, 2006: 184) affirms the notion of 'the same but different'. Striving for economic convergence, can excuse or legitimise cultural difference. While anthropologists might insist on calling certain African practices and social structures *modern* as a way of challenging a history of interpretation which has cast Africa as primitive, on account of its culture and tradition, what does this really change for Africa's position in the world? The complex role of tradition as both Africa's strength in a global context, and at the same time the weakness which holds it back from membership in a globalised world, emerged some of the interviews with African students. One of the questions in the interview asked the participant whether he or she identified themselves as an African. The majority of respondents explained that their identity was context dependent, and that 'being African' had a lot to do with *being* in India. David, a student from Ethiopia, offered a detailed explanation of not only what it meant to be African, but what Africa stood for in a global world:

> *"Africa is categorised as a brand of underdevelopment, economically. But ethnically, culturally speaking, these people have their rich cultural accumulation which they can provide for the rest of the world as their own beauty. But in material terms, being an African is lagging behind the rest, but culturally we are like the rest. They can provide for the rest as a cultural contribution" (David, Ethiopia).*

A comparison is made between Africa and 'the rest' in material and cultural terms, and while Africa can contribute to an imagined world society in cultural terms, this does not stop it from 'lagging behind the rest' in material terms. Is it possible to create a clear distinction between the two? Mignolo argues that "(a)lthough the very idea of development and underdevelopment carries the weight of economy, it also incorporates the rest of human experience. 'Underdeveloped' in a highly industrialized world, also implies being 'behind' in spirit and knowledge" (Mignolo, 2007: 472). Do materially superior nations assume a higher status in terms

of 'spirit and knowledge'? Does the offering of cultural instead of economic prowess really carry any currency in the global order? While Geschiere's work on the 'modernity of witchcraft' and Gilroy's study of slavery as an integral part of the grand narrative of modernity are ideologically sound endeavours, Ferguson asks whether such studies really capture the position of Africa in the schema of the developing world (2006: 185). One might wonder to whom such strategies are most valuable, if the extension of the notion of cultural modernity remains at such disjuncture with material or economic modernity. Acknowledging the modernity of a culture, does not necessarily rematerialise histories which have been erased, ignored or remain unwritten. These claims do not necessarily address the notion that for some, their current world position is such that it suggests that history itself stopped at a certain point. David explained that for him, the history of ancient African civilisations was somewhat short-lived, and consequently Africa remains 'behind' the world:

> *"Therefore Africans in terms of historical aspect, even if they have their own ancient civilisation, just like Egyptian, Axiomite, Moyo Matsapa of Zimbabwe, Magusa of Mali, Tsongai in Ghana, who didn't continue beyond the medieval age, in the early modern period, even in the modern time: Africa is a continent that lagged behind the world" (David, Ethiopia).*

David's perception that ancient histories of African civilisations "didn't continue beyond the medieval age", suggests that Africa's history itself stopped before modernity began. His reading resonates with Sitas' analysis of contemporary African diasporic discourses, which hinges on the idea that "(t)he continent's modernity carries a trauma with it since the sixteenth century, and since then, there has been the degradation and violence of the "fall" from that humane and most social past" (Sitas, 2011: 277). Anibal Quijano's conception of the coloniality of power, introduces the racial dimension of the West-centric notion of history. Quijano argues that colonialism, as he studied it in Latin America, exhibited certain patterns of power that were legible in all colonial projects, and central to this pattern was the introduction of racial difference as a form of organising labour, and thus structuring social order and justifying oppression (Quijano, 2000: 216-219). The process of racialisation entailed an erasure of the history and specificity of different groups of people. The colonists of Latin and North America, Africa and Asia, "found a great number of different peoples, each with its own history, language, achievements, memory and identity", who, three hundred years later had one identity, which was racial" (Quijano, 2000: 219). He explains that people brought from Africa as slaves were subjected to the same classificatory process which striped them of their historic identity, for example: "Ashantis, Yorubas, Zulus, Congos, Bacongos (…) three hundred years later, they were all just 'Negroes' or 'Blacks'" (Quijano, 2000: 219). For Quijano the process of racialisation ran in correlation with the development of capitalism, and in this way proliferated as a global language of classification. The axis of race and capitalism worked its way into West-centred conceptions of history, which serve to justify and naturalise the original process of racialisation and colonisation.

David suggests that Africa's history is not incorporated into the idea or the history of modernity. For Bhambra, the imperial project of the West is grounded in Enlightenment thought, which means that

addressing the problem of the erasure of certain people's history is fundamentally a conceptual one. Although the conceptual frame is a powerful determinant, the archiving of 'lost' history is also a material process. Bhambra argues that the dominant conceptual power of modernity has been maintained, partly by blurring the distinction between social structure and discourse (Bhambra, 2007: 3). The notion of telos as the movement of history remains fundamental to the notion of modernity- it entails that modernity is understood as a consequence of history. As a result, it becomes difficult to distinguish between the structure of modernity itself, and the ways in which history has enabled us to talk about and describe it, or to create it discursively, by recognising certain social structures as modern. This means that it is no longer possible to "distinguish between an historical understanding of modernity and a conceptual, or normative, one" (Bhambra, 2007: 3). David's perception that Africa's civilisational history, and whatever changes in social structures ensued as a result, have been excluded from recognition in what he calls 'the modern time', is salient to Bhambra's argument. On might wonder whether it is possible to address the omissions of particular regions and people's histories in the contemporary world order given the centrality of the story of modernity in our understanding of history.

The limits of post-colonial critique

For post-colonial scholars like Edward Said and Homi Bhabha, the excavation of ignored histories has been an important tool of resistance to dominant colonial discourses. However, the idea that simply drawing these histories into view can disrupt deeply entrenched hierarchies of power has been contested by more contemporary scholars. The problem is that what is understood as 'into view' is itself historically constituted. Expressed differently, the "historicity of the human condition, whereby we are born into pre-existing conversations regarding our pasts and our presents, necessarily shapes the positions from where we think and argue" (Bhambra, 2007: 10). Consequently, the truth or legitimacy of historical representations is dependent on its relation to established ways of knowing. Bhambra argues that "(h)istory is thus not simply a record of 'what happened', but rather, a record of what it was that we believed happened- conditioned by the standards of the communities in which such claims are made- and, as such, entails necessary inaccuracies and silences" (2007:10). The conflation of modernity and our understanding of the movement of history has had particular consequences for the way in which experience is understood. Bhambra explains that "while history may have 'happened' and therefore 'be real', it does not follow that our interpretations of what happened have the same status" (2007: 10). The great African civilisations that David lists have been largely written out of the history of the modern world, and consequently, to David, they 'stopped' before modernity began, or perhaps, their story was no longer told in order for modernity to begin. As global trade began to bring civilisations in contact with one another, Mignolo argues that a certain pattern developed. He points out that "from 1500 on, Ottomans, Incas, Russians, Chinese, etc., moved toward and inverted 'recognition': they had to 'recognize' that Western languages and categories of thoughts, and therefore, political philosophy and political economy, were marching and expanding without 'recognizing' them as equal players in the game" (Mignolo, 2007: 451). The suppression and denial of non-Western knowledge is at the heart of the modern project. Julian Go detects this logic in the formulation of concepts like 'world society', which rest on the suppression or denial

of both non-Western knowledge's, and the relationality of knowledges which come to constitute the formation of global concepts (2013: 38).

This point enables us to return to the central contradiction of modernity: the Western experience is given privileged epistemic and historical value as it may inform the concept of modernity, while modernity is "argued to have validity that transcends the Western experience" (Bhambra, 2007: 4). If knowledge is based on experience, then clearly some experiences are granted more epistemological value than others. The experiences of both Western and non-Western societies are robbed of their "historical specificity" (Randeria, 2006: 10). The Western experience is reified and may thus inconspicuously provide the blueprint for universal laws and norms, while the non-Western experience is fossilised as the other of the West. How can we come to know of the experiences deemed irrelevant in this conceptual schema, if our way of knowing is dependent on the logic of this schema? Bhambra offers a perspective which clarifies this question. She argues that the way in which we understand the past shapes the conceptual frameworks we use to understand the present. What is needed to challenge the way that we know the past, is to recognize the "constituted 'other' as always and already present in history, and participating in its production, but written out of it" (Bhambra, 2007: 11). Whether we can retrospectively reinstate the presence of experiences that have been left out remains questionable.

The inclusion of 'peripheral' experiences into the dominant conceptions of modernity, which much post-colonial knowledge production seeks to do, can happen without disrupting the implicit hierarchy of whose experience 'counts'. In fact, as Bhambra argues, the post-colonial strategy "frequently simply inverts the dualism inherent to the dominant conceptions and, in that way, preserves the very intellectual structure that is being challenged" (2007:2). The previously colonised might be championed and the coloniser vilified, but the epistemic status of their experience remains in tact. Within the post-colonial framework, the colonised retains the status of the other or the subaltern. While the position of oppression is highlighted in an attempt to destabilise the logic that ensures oppression, it is not clear that post-colonial theory has been able to do this. This is because the categories of difference, which Julian Go would argue are constructed by the bifurcated logic of modernity, are not fundamentally destabilised (Go, 2013: 28). The inclusion of experiences from post-colonial societies, does not necessarily budge the Western bias in contemporary theory. Put differently, "(c)ritiques of colonialism have not really led to a reflection on the evolution of knowledge that brings us into the post-colonial (or neocolonial) present" (Viswewaran, 2010: 166).

Go seeks to define a way of knowing that relies on foregrounding the interdependence and relationality of processes and practices, which the bifurcated logic of traditional social science worked to deny. He argues that practices of "Orientalism, Eurocentrism, and suppression of imperial history" are problematic "not just in themselves but also because they lead us to analytically bifurcate connections and thus overlook the real social relations by which sociologists' main object—"modern society" and its boundaries—has been constituted" (Go, 2013: 38). Without establishing the historic specificity of social experience, and the

complex interdependence of epistemic traditions, non-Western experiences may be 'included' in the critical canon, in ways that do not contest the inferior epistemological status that they are accorded, and consequently enable the insulting label of non-Western to carry meaning. I would like to suggest that Quijano's critique, which is grounded in historical analysis and centres on the more tangible notion of race, as difference marked on the body, offers a more promising line of post-colonial social enquiry than the highly theoretical offers made by more traditional post-colonial critique. In the case of the African students in India, Quijano's focus on race provides an inroad to understanding the position of the students from a both an historical and philosophical perspective.

Chapter 4
Diaspora, Development and the 'Dark Continent'

....

The previous chapter contextualised the position of the African students in Delhi in relation to recent trends in global migration and to dominant discourses of globalisation and development, which are imbued with the history of imperialism. These discourses carry a heavy weight that is borne by the African students. Wadhwa argues that "the mobility of African students is intertwined with postcolonial associations, language, economics, imported educational systems and geopolitical global factors" (Wadhwa, 2012; 64:437–439). This chapter aims to explore students' perspectives about Africa's place in the world, their implicit assumptions about the meaning of diaspora and the socio-cultural implications of underdevelopment, which place African students in a position of perceived inferiority to their Indian colleagues. Moreover, this chapter begins to question how global discourses are taken up in the context of post-colonial India, and how discourses of resistance and critique reveal both limitations and new possibilities of interpretation.

The students' understanding of what it means to be African is articulated in relation to their context in Delhi, which is shaped by their reception by the local population. They also respond to a global positionality as a citizen in diaspora- a designation with which they do not necessarily identify. Implicit in both of the contexts- the immediate environment in Delhi, and the significance of this position as a citizen in diaspora, is the broader context of development discourses. These in turn are informed by the logic of modernity. The following questions emerge: are students and skilled migrants part of a diaspora in India, does the notion of diaspora, like that of travel and ex-patriot, carry implied meanings and assumptions of unequal and particularly North/ South relations? What can the stigmatization of the term diaspora tell us about how to understand this phenomenon, and how do common understandings of development and progress feed into this world hierarchy? Richard, a student from South Sudan, describes the way in which the Indian reading of Africa reproduces the notion of Africa, and of Africans, as representatives of the 'dark continent':

> *"The Indians they differentiate between the region, they have classified Africa as a continent of poor people, criminals, all type of diseases and the all type of evil and the bad things happen only in Africa whenever they see you especially if you are black because Africa is known as the black continent, then the perception is that you are criminal, you are poor person, those categories are put on your back" (Richard, South Sudan).*

The students' hesitance to speak from such a position resonates with Radhakrishnan's reading of the diasporic position. For Radhakrishnan, the diasporic position entails a compromise between experiential legitimacy and epistemic legitimacy. He argues that while "no one would deny the specificity of [diasporic] experience per se; (…) what is more difficult to achieve is an epistemic status on behalf of these minority

experiences and their sites of origin" (1995: 817). This means that while "the insights and the values that are organic to the Western world experience [have] no difficulty in de-regionalizing and de-indigenizing themselves", both the imperial and post-colonial lens ensure that "the truths that emerge from "third world" and "backward" areas remain captive as special-interest agendas with very little capacity for universal travel." (Radhakrishnan, 1995: 817). What is clear is that the students perceive their position as limited, both by local perception, and by the work (and in some cases the absence) of history itself. Africa's fate as the 'dark continent' is reinforced at multiple levels, which impact their agency in global discourses and processes of which they are a part. Perhaps most importantly, their agency is affected by the prejudice held against them in their immediate environment.

Connotations of Diaspora

One of the questions in the interviews focussed on the student's interpretation of the term 'diaspora', and asked in what ways they identified with the term. This question was used to establish a clearer understanding of the student's analysis of their global position. Some of their responses spoke powerfully of the implicit value scheme embedded in the developmentalist narrative. When asked about the notion of African diaspora, one student explained that he did not consider himself as living in diaspora, as this would imply a process of cultural exchange, which he felt was not possible between India and Africa. If he had completed his study programme in another country however, he feels he would be able to call himself part of a diaspora:

> *"I don't believe that being in India is being out of my country, there is not enough difference in living, there is something common in my way of life. I do not regard myself as living abroad, because I did not add something new…. For example if I am in Europe, America, Japan, China I might be fascinated with high technology and thus assume to feel myself as a foreigner or diaspora. I assume to be a diaspora I need to learn a lot about the country which I am not seeing in mine, and share my values with them, here I can share my values with Indians" (David, Ethiopia).*

The student argues that there is 'not enough difference in living', which suggests that he compares the experiences afforded by different countries according to material living standards, but also connects to his subsequent observations about shared life-*styles*. He mentions a potential fascination with 'high technology' which the countries that he mentions could offer. His global framework exceeds a simple West/ Rest structure, and hints more at the notion of development as an index of comparison. The traditionally Western world is placed at par with Japan and China in relation to the marker of technology. India and Africa are excluded from this configuration, in part because of perceived shared values. Another student presented a completely contrary appraisal of his position in diaspora, but it was informed by a similar logic:

> *"I consider myself part of diaspora, I get impression from Indian society they categorise me as different, something so called foreigner, when I live here, I learn something about Indian culture, maybe language, dressing, talking. I am somehow influences by these things. Maybe when I go back*

I will be a little different in Ethiopian soceity, within my particular ethnic group. Because of that I can say I am diaspora" (Sampson, Ethiopia).

For this student, the lack of sameness defined the diasporic experience. It is both his perceived difference which affords him the diasporic position, and the possibility that he in turn will become different through the experience, and return to familiar frameworks to be interpreted as other once again. His conception of diaspora gives substance to Radhakrishnan's reading of diasporic identity as holding a unique potential of disrupting established categories of difference. Being at once the same and other, "(d)iasporas have a real potential to honor 'the other within each self' and make way for a universalism based on principles of multi-historical and multilateral participation" (Radhakrishnan, 1995: 815). However, as has been well established, the figure of the foreigner, and in this case, the dark foreigner, has more often attracted violent expressions of hostility rather than hospitality, as a response to difference. The vulnerability ensured by appearing different in real contexts is somewhat softened by more theoretical notions of challenging categories of difference. The embodied nature of difference calls for more specified tools of analysis, which lead into a discussion of race in the following chapter. If difference of experience is interpreted in cultural terms in Sleshi's quote, another student emphasised material differences as the appropriate measure. In this instance, it is the hierarchy between developed, undeveloped and developing countries, which ensures that the status of the country affords different possibilities of experience which inform the meaning of diaspora:

"Diaspora, before I came to India I thought diaspora was people living abroad earning a lot of money, in US, Europe. I am not part of this group (...) there is no difference between India and Ethiopia" (Manuel, Ethiopia).

Manuel's dismay that Africa and India are in fact 'the same' was a sentiment widely shared by many of the students. The 'upward' movement implied in his understanding of diaspora have not yet seen fruition in his journey. The common theme expressed in all twelve interviews, of the disappointment in Delhi's level of development, and often disgust at the culture and levels of hygiene. However, there seemed to be a correlation between students whose experience of racism and discrimination caused anger and outrage, and negative perceptions of Indian culture as a whole. Tim, whose descriptions of feeling othered are discussed in the following chapter, expressed his disdain of the perceived uncleanliness of Indian culture:

"(W)hen you come close to them then you draw back, in particular, girls should be very clean. They inherited these problems, they eat with their hands, they say its our culture, and I also say yes African too, but why cant their culture move with the dynamism of society? You cannot keep doing something the same way and expect different results from it" (Tim, Nigeria).

The static nature of Indian culture is implicitly compared to Tim's perception of his own culture, which he does not necessarily consider very different ('I also say yes, African too'). In this particular case however,

the student presented himself in verbal and non verbal ways as an exemplary character, whose personal mission it was to dispel the poor perception of Nigerians across the world. Understood within this context, his judgment of Indian culture can be read in part as a strategy of self determination and differentiation from a society that makes no attempt to hide its disdain for him. When I met him, he introduced the objects in his spotless room- a bible, a white hankerchief, a red telephone, a framed picture, as a testament to the kind of image that he sought to reproduce of the African abroad. It seemed that sense of Third World or Afro-Indian solidarity was missing from this student's comments. In the following quote, a moment of convergence or similarity between the students' original and diasporic home is articulated, but at the same time, this convergence is not celebrated, and is seen as a burden:

> *"because the Western is so vibrant, dynamic, I would have to learn something, African and Asian too similar. Especially Ethiopian we have resemblance to Orientalist culture of Asia, even if we follow different religions, the parameters of spiritual aspect is similar, our way of life, our philosophy is the same. Western is a secular society, this Asian and African is more spiritual, we retain our typical culture and so are blocked from globalisation. Which means it is a changeless, resistance society, if I join Western society, I may learn a lot. I may have a real international experience. But here we are the same" (Sampson, Ethiopia).*

In this statement, the figure of comparison is clearly 'the Western', which is here defined by secularism. He defines in more certain terms what it is that prevents India and Africa from sharing the same status as the West. It is culture and spirituality which block the countries from equal status and participation in a globalised order. His perception echoes a story told by Amitav Ghosh called "Traveling in the West", that follows a young Indian boy through his journeys in Egypt. The young boy (Ghosh) meets an Imam, and the encounter is characterised by the layers of hostility between. Hawley describes the encounter as one between delegates from two superseded civilisations who had built up walls of intolerance against eachother (Hawley Ed, 2008: 3). Conversation between the two men was impossible. Ghosh explains that the ways of knowing how to speak to one-another in a way that "thousands of travelers who had crossed the Indian Ocean in the Middle Ages might have done: of things that were right, or good, or willed by God" had been dissolved. To conduct such a conversation, "would have been merely absurd for either of us (…) for they belonged to a dismantled rung on the ascending ladder of Development" (Ghosh, 1992: 236 in Hawley, 2008). The story offers an alternative view of the story of globalisation, which defies the optimistic upward movement of all nations who subscribe to the notion of development. It talks about what might have been lost in the process, suggesting that ancient civilisational ties might now only be recognisable as ominous shadows of what they were before. While the student talks about the shared values and spiritual wealth of the two cultures there is also a sense that together they are excluded from participation from a more attractive and dynamic global system. Exchange between two 'changeless, resistant' societies could not offer what the 'vibrant, dynamic' experience of the West could. While this position might offer possibilities of solidarity between India and Africa, Ghosh's tale certainly highlights the dissapation at this junction in history.

The notion of being 'left behind' together, expressed by Sampson, is complicated by the reality of official socio-economic and trade relations between India and Africa today. The ambiguities expressed in the previous discussion on the meaning of diaspora, speak to the complexity of global status, which is has both a cultural and material dimension. While the students were dismayed at the lack of development and modernity preceived in Delhi, they also strongly rejected the host of associations of primitivism with which they were viewed by their Indian hosts. Here I return to Ferguson's argument that in the case of Africa, it is an imperative to retain the material meaning of modernity. Through this lens, Africa's equality with India is cast in a different light. Hawley refers to Partha Chatterjee, who argues that whereas "most countries in Asia have become deeply entangled with the global economy in the last ten or fifteen years [including India] … nearly half of the countries of Africa seem to have lost their connections with global trade" (Chatterjee, 2004: 85-86 in Hawley, 2008: 3). As Africa's possibilities of socio-economic convergence with the First World and global participation faded in the post independence era (Ferguson, 2006), so did its ties with India (McCann, 2013).

Being African, Being Black

The claim from African countries to a stake in the modernity story, to emulate developed or Western countries, should not be misundertood as a painful reaction of a colonial past, or as an act of mimicry, as post colonial theory would have it. Rather, it is a realistic assessment of material and spatial inequality, of borders which do not show any signs of melting in Bauman's 'liquid modernity' of the global age (Bauman, 2000). By delinking the notion of telos from the modernity narrative, "the question of rank is de-developmentalised, and the stark status differentiations of the global system sit raw and naked, no longer softened by the promise of the 'not yet'" (Ferguson, 2006: 186). The consequence of de-temporalising development narratives is that Africa is no longer seen as 'behind' the rest, but rather 'beneath' it. If the notion of stages is removed and differences are hierarchical, time moves non-progressively (Ferguson, 2006: 190). How then, Ferguson asks, without the possibility of emancipation through the movement of history, can one escape the "low global status of being 'a poor African'"? The answer for the moment lies in breaking out of the African context, through the formation of translocal livelihoods, treacherous as they might be, or Ferguson describes in more apocalyptic terms, "violently crashing tha gates of the 'first class'" (2006: 192). I would argue that the vision of hopelessness is taken too far here, and amounts to a defense of violent material reclamation which is potentially problematic. In addition, it does not give space to voices of defiance, which speak out from a diasporic position against the interpellation of globalisation and development discourses. Lionel explains that:

> "Being African means someone from a poor country, when there is a war, people die everyday in Africa because of war, disease, Africa is like hell actually. If you ask people and they are honest this is what they will tell you. They get this form TV, media. I don't say that its not true, there is a big part of truth in that. For someone like me, Africa is like that but there are other things that people don't know, like, we live in Africa, people don't only die there" (Lionel, DRC)

Lionel's statement indicates that the revolutionary thinkers of black consciousness: Franz Fanon, Steve Biko, Aime Cesaire, who fought to point out and thus transform the colonial legacy of internalised inferiority of the colonised, retain an important and yet contested place in the articulation of African-ness in contemporary development discourses. Fanon's thinking about the interpellation of race remains pertinent in its original formulation, and helps to make sense of the shock experienced by many of the students at the crude stereotypes with which they are identified in their host country, particularly as many students coming from African countries (aside from countries like South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe) would not have necessarily experienced racial prejudice before. Despite their relevance, in a post-colonial and non-Western context, prominent theories of blackness take on a slightly different inflection from their original articulations in contexts of racial oppression in the USA (W.E. B. Du Bois), in colonial Algeria (Fanon) and in apartheid South Africa (Biko). One student explained his shock at the racial prejudice expressed by a classmate:

> *"Some of them have the wrong impression. Come I say, a friend comes from Thailand, she says your room is so wonderful it is like a hotel, I thought that black means dirty. That is very wrong" (Tim, Nigeria).*

The student's friend seems to offer an inherited racialised prejudice without fear of judgment, which is somewhat surprising given the global illegitimacy of racism. Her association of blackness with filth recalls Fanon's outrage at the degrading conception of blackness which acts as a foundation of the colonial project, in which the "first chapter of history that the others have compiled for me, the foundation of cannibalism has been made eminently plain in order that I may not lose sight of it" (Fanon, 2008, xv). What becomes clear immediately is that although Fanon remains central in understanding the mechanisms of racism, his thinking centers around the distinction between the West and the non-West. The proliferation of racism itself is read as a consequence of the project of imperialism. In an introduction to Fanon's Black Skin, White Masks, Sardar traces the trajectory of racism to its centre: "(i)f western civilization and culture are *responsible for colonial racism*, and *Europe itself has a racist structure*, then we should not be too surprised to find this racism reflected in the discourses of knowledge that emanate from this civilization and that they work to ensure that structural dominance is maintained" (Sardar, 2008: xv). Rather than read Tim's Thai friend as articulating a 'Western' position, I suggest that her racial prejudice emerges from her own socio-cultural context, and though notions of hierarchy that are implicit in discourses of globalization may influence this, the two cannot be conflated. Fanon's reading of the mechanics of racism remain pertinent beyond the West/ non-West framework, not least because it presents a way of responding to racial prejudice that constructs the racialised subject as other. The problem of post-modernity, as discussed in the previous chapter, revolves around this dilemma of how to carve out a space, given the critique of the West, which affords post-colonial societies organic forms of self-representation. What is needed is a departure from a tradition of interpretation in which "the "Third World" must always respond from a colonized position" (Chan, 2010: 43). The following quote from Samuel, attests to the notion that the host of associations carried on the back of African

identity, cast him in a position from which he does not necessarily want to speak. David expressed a need to reject and recast the mould placed on African identity in a diasporic context, as African identity itself has come to signify failure:

> *"I don't consider myself as an African but if I am asked, yes I can. But for myself, I believe that humanity itself is just enough. Regardless of colour, where I come from, I believe in universality. The term Africans refers to specific historical trends, for instance development of slave-trade, also colonisation, because when the Europeans acquired their technology and power of domination, they came aggressively in this continent and played their own action for their own economic benefit. Slavery practice, following century colonisation and after this again the continent is being affected by neo-colonialism" (David, Ethiopia).*

The student's dilemma recalls Fanon's analysis of the internalisation of inferiority that characterises the colonised pysche, and the neurotic condition that accompanies consciousness of this internalisation. The student rejects African identity because of the historical weight which drags it down. At the same time, his consciousness of this complex history of degradation means that he must also accept the identity. In the first instance, the position of the student does not allow him an opportunity to articulate himself outside of the history of oppression that he talks about. In this way he remains trapped in a Third World position from which he does not want to speak. Fanon explains that moving beyond this compromised position first entails a rejection of everything: "No to degradation of man. No to exploitation of man. No to the butchery of what is most human in man: freedom (…) **no** to those who attempt to build a definition of him" (Fanon, 2008: xiv). Beyond this defiance, how should he proceed? The dilemma is most pronounced here: "(s)hould the black man define himself in reaction to the white man thus confirming the white man as a measure of all things? Or should one 'strive unremittingly for a concrete and ever new understanding of man'? Where is the true mode of resistance actually located? How should the black man speak for himself?" (Sardar in Fanon, 2008: xiv). By adopting the language of humanism, this student follows Fanon's call for universality, as he seeks to "rise above the absurd drama that others have staged around me, to reject the two terms that are equally unacceptable, and, through one human being, to reach out for the universal" (Fanon, 2008: xiv). A Nigerian student expresses a battle against the stereotype of Africa, a designation which he seeks to redefine and re-articulate in the language of humanism:

> *"African is not a geographical or continental regional stuff. Take us as human beings, someone look at me and they think I don't know anything, no lets go to intellectual combat, lets see, get me on a competition. I come to the class and they all say 'can I assist you' you know, you think we don't know anything" (Tim, Nigeria).*

A prominent question in diaspora studies is how the diasporic experience shapes cultural, racial, ethnic or religious identities, and whether new formulations of African identity emerge under such conditions. A

central finding from Sitas' recent study on contemporary African diasporic discourses, was a "feeling of nationhood' or ethnicity, the commonality of national sentiments among people was experienced (to echo Benedict Anderson 1991, 23ff) as a "deep horizontal, comradeship," in Africa and a comradeship in victimhood, of world racism, slavery, and colonialism" (Sitas, 2011: 272). What emerged from the interviews with African students, was a strong consciousness of being African, and in some cases being black, had been heightened or brought about by the experience of living in India. In addition, a student explained that the shared experience of discrimination had created created stronger bonds between the African students, many of whom would associate primarily with one another, sometimes as a result of social ostracisation. This shared experience of discrimination however did not necessarily strengthen bonds between the students and other discriminated members of Indian society. However, references to the discrimination of North Eastern Indians emerged frequently, as well as references to the caste system as creating the basis for the discrimination faced by the African students. Investigating the bonds of friendship and solidarity, or the lack thereof, between these groups, would be an important avenue of further study on this topic.

Tim reflected: "*Mostly I am friends with Africans. This happened naturally, you have to build your own world and have territories. I rather identify with Africans*" *(Tim, Nigeria)*. Another student explained how a consciousness of being African, and being black, had emerged after a painful process of humiliation and teasing which characterised his first few weeks in Delhi. Rather than feel uncomfortable in his skin, the student responded by adorning more signs of 'African-ness': "*Now I wear my Kanga, my African costume with pride, I never felt black or African before but now I do and I am proud*" *(Patrick, Kenya)*. Lionel goes on to explain what it means to him to be African, and how this is linked to being black:

> "*It is not that it must be black, but when I see African I see black people. Now there are Africans, they invaded Africa in 9th century, by nationality they are Africans, when I see black people I see those who were there from the beginning, our origins are in Africa, others came into Africa. There are Africans who are outside of Africa in the same way as you. They are not in the same category.*" *(Lionel, Congo).*

Lionel's understanding of being African is intrinsically linked to being black, but perhaps more importantly it is linked to a notion of origin and belonging. His sense of who is African is also a historical claim which defies the multiple invasions by the Arabs, the Europeans of African soil. By carving out a separate category for the black people of Africa, Lionel echoes Fanon's project in Black Skin, White Masks, in which he sought to define a sense of being that was beyond retaliatory identity politics, but rather as Sardar argues, a definition of dignity. This sense of "(d)ignity is not located in seeking equality with the white man and his civilization: it is not about assuming the attitudes of the master *who has allowed his slaves to eat at his table*. It is about being oneself with all the multiplicities, systems and contradictions of one's own ways of being, doing and knowing" (Sardar, 2008, xiv). Lionel's sense of identity is first the fact of original inhabitation in Africa, that this has a racial identity is secondary. Being black does not connect him to Africans outside of

Africa- such as African Americans, just as being African does not connect him to those who cannot claim to have been there from the beginning:

"It is true that I am proud to be black, people say black but I don't really think it is black. It is like this, African, I am talking about black people. I think that they are very close to our, the nature, Africans. Not Arab or white, black people. I have come to the conclusion that we are deeply different" (Lionel, DRC).

Lionel's conception of blackness is different from the definition of Black Consciousness articulated by Steve Biko in 1971, in that it is based on a notion of origin rather than exploitation. For Biko, the Black Consciousness Movement has "defined blacks as those who are by law or tradition politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in the South African society and identifying themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realization of their aspirations" (Biko, 1971). The notion that the "experience and category of race is not created by blood, but through the experience of discrimination" (Viswewaran, 2010: 71), preceded Biko's understanding of race, and was articulated in the writing of W.E.B Du Bois. In a response to the question of what Africa meant to Du Bois, he argued that his physical features which connected him to Africa were incidental, and what was more important was the historical connection to a common history of exploitation (Du Bois, 1935 in Viswewaran). As an American, this history, the real essence of which is "its social heritage of slavery; the discrimination and insult", connects Du Bois not only to Africa, but binds Africa together with "yellow Asia and into the South Seas. It is this unity that draws me to Africa" (Du Bois, 1935 in Viswewaran, 2010: 71). Du Bois' notion of a multi-racial solidarity that is formed through the common experience of discrimination is pertinent in this context. Does the contemporary context contradict this conception of Afro-Asian solidarity? Lionel's notion of blackness as rooted in historical origin, which has been defined through his experience in India, certainly poses a challenge to this more inclusive conception of racial identity. His experience of racialised interpellation by the Indian society seems to have fostered an understanding of blackness that does not correlate with Du Bois' understanding of African identity as a form of solidarity with oppressed people everywhere. Although he carves out an African identity that is characterized by pride in being African and being black, it is an identity based on territorial belonging and in this way is exclusive. Tim appears to suggest a more inclusive conception of what it means to be African, but retains an aggressive and territorial element to his description:

"An African to me may not be a traditionalist but one who has basics of our values, who understands our short-comings and our heritage, African is not my colour, language, but anyone who decides. Those who despise Africa become my enemy" (Tim, Nigeria).

Biko explains two primary consequences that follow from enlisting blackness as a marker of self-identification. First, he explains, "(b)eing black is not a matter of pigmentation - being black is a reflection of a mental attitude" (Biko, 1971). Second, he argues that "(m)erely by describing yourself as black you have

started on a road towards emancipation, you have committed yourself to fight against all forces that seek to use your blackness as a stamp that marks you out as a subservient being" (Biko, 1971). By articulating their racial identity in terms of positive attributes- connection to the land, cultural values, both Lionel and Tim project a sense of pride and dignity in their self-perception that defies subservience. However, while this definition emerges partly as a response to the experience of discrimination, their conceptions do not necessarily form bridges of solidarity with others who have been oppressed, as oppression does not feature as a marker of identity. More than anything, both of their definitions aim to contradict the idea that there is any lack in being African, but rather a position enabled by certain attributes. That this definition becomes more exclusive suggests that within the context that they find themselves, there is little incentive to form bridges of solidarity, but rather to protect and promote the persecuted notion of African-ness itself. In a recent study of the construction of trauma that marks post-colonial Africa, Sitas finds a construction that "asserts an "unassimilable otherness" from the rest of the world" (Sitas, 2011: 270). The core of Sitas' argument is that "there is a social being, which is African that is deeply marked by the trauma of racism and slavery; it shapes both its possible solidarities and patterns of life", and consequently there exists a "different African ontology that is uniquely different from the rest—our understanding of being, beings, and social beings is distinct and that defines both an African cosmology, community, and, simultaneously, an alterity" (Sitas, 2011: 281). This formulation of contemporary African-ness resonates most strongly with the self-articulations offered by some of the African students in this study.

While Ferguson's analysis of Africa is apt, and draws attention to the material dimension of neo-liberal oppression, it does so at the expense of the recognition of forms of African *life-* an important dimension of which is now translocal, and is finding articulation in new ways. With regard to translocality, Ferguson's analysis is useful as it highlights the problems of the temporal logic of the ideology of development and globalisation, and reinforces the hard facts of spatialised segregation and hierarchy. The notion of the 'dark side of globalisation', has been used to describe the ways in which well established mechanisms of power and control undergird the decadent promises of freedom of movement and choice espoused by globalisation discourses. Ferguson adds poignance to this notion, arguing that "in a world of non-serialised political economic statuses, the key questions are no longer temporal ones of societal becoming (development, modernisation), but spatialised ones of guarding the edges of a status group" (Ferguson, 2006: 192). The dark side of globalisation thus reveals the "prominence of walls, borders, and processes of social exclusion in an era that likes to imagine itself as characterised by an ever-expanding connection and communication" (Ferguson, 2006: 192). Within the literature on migration in a globalised world order, migration has been interpreted as a problem of state policy, national security, national cohesion and racial and cultural consciousness (Silverstein, 2005, Sivanandan, 2001). The perceived 'migrant threat' has elicited the closing of political and epistemological ranks in the 'First Worlds'. Conservative, right-wing politics have flourished and theoretical claims emerging from the centres of advanced knowledge production have echoed this defensive and exclusionary stance towards the perceived threat of migrant influx (Beck, Bons & Lau, 2003; Bauman, 2000; Balibar, 1991). Global migration remains a sensitized topic in mainstream global discourse,

as it unearths deep-set beliefs about national belonging and racial and cultural superiority, notions which most often remain snugly couched in liberal and developmentalist rhetoric. The last decade has seen thousands of Africans lose their lives trying to cross the fortressed walls of the 'First World', and many who do cross over have endured increasing economic hardships and social isolation in the face of the Euro-zone crisis. The diminished potential of realizing the 'European or American dream', in combination with the strengthening economies of the emerging powers, have encouraged a directional shift for African migrants seeking improved life opportunities. Interpreting migration as a problem of security is not just a Northern phenomenon, and Southern countries demonstrate attitudes which are just as if not more exclusive and restrictive. The tyranny of the global structure is that it is re-affirmed and the language of development finds new strongholds in the very spaces which might have created resistance.

The Legacy of the Indian Ocean World

The experience of alienation felt by many of the African students in Delhi, suggests that possibilities of solidarity between India and Africa in this instance are worn thin. The bitterness that characterises the contemporary moment emerges on the back of a long history of mutual interdependence and cultural exchange in the Indian Ocean World. While we should not romanticise this history, either as in itself a challenge to Western claims to histories of modernity, or as a reason in itself for contemporary forms of solidarity, surely such a heritage could have some bearing on the current situation. The scale of the Indian Ocean migration network is considerable. It may be conservatively estimated that between the first and the 20th century upward of 4 million Africans migrated out of the continent into the Indian Ocean world (http://exhibitions.nypl.org/africansindianocean/essay-intro.php). In a discussion of the history of Indian Ocean trade relation, Hawley sketches out an image of a cultural, economic and geographic connection which spanned over centuries. The collection of studies on the Indian Ocean history that Hawley edits, describes the encounters between India and Africa over the centuries as "a history of displacement, of re-rootedness in a new place, of cultural exchange and cross-fertilisation", which is still ongoing (Hawley, ed, 2008: 4). This history of interchange "supplied a key venue for articulating different universalisms from the one to which Europe claimed monopoly" (Hawley, 2008: 5). Hofmeyr presents an argument for the importance of studies focussing on the Indian Ocean World, as a site of contestation of the dominant versions of history which have been fleshed out earlier in this chapter. Hawley argues that the notion of 'alternative modernities' is a patronizing one, as the history of the Indian Ocean has long existed outside of the Western nexus (Hawley, 2008: 7). He echoes Mignolo's argument that the world has long had to endure the arrogance of the West- arguing that ignorance of the ways of others is a privilege of the powerful (Hawley, 2008: 7). If the Indian Ocean world was such a site of contestation, a place in which formulations of epistemic frameworks and ways of knowing were developed outside of the West, what is the legacy of this history?

The question: to what extent is Indian Ocean culture constructed from memory, remains pertinent to any study in this area. The privilege of Western histories, and of the Atlantic dimension of migration and slave

trades as the primary informants of contemporary notions of globalization and transnationalism, has also been at the expense of a record of Indian Ocean history. Consequently, the insights yielded by scholarship on this area have been conditioned by the limited information that has been available. The Indian Ocean nexus has also been highlighted by diaspora scholars like Alpers (2001) and Zeleza (2005), who argue that attempts to understand the African diaspora have been conceptually limited. In the same way that seemingly mobile and flexible terms like globalisation and transnationalism have been shown to rest on geographically and historically specific assumptions, these scholars argue that there is an analytic tendency to privilege Atlantic dimension of African diaspora. Zeleza proposes four dominant dimensions that should shape the direction of enquiry, and extend the meaning of transnationalism and diaspora beyond their narrow Western focus. These dimensions of study should be: Intra-African, Indian Ocean, Mediterranean and Atlantic (Zeleza, 2005: 35).

The majority of academic studies on Africans in the Indian subcontinent focus on African origin populations residing mostly in South India, Nepal, Sri Lanka and the Southern regions of Kerala and Goa. Studies of the Indian Ocean history have primarily been historical, cultural and literary in form, and have focused on oral, musical and literary traditions connected to Indian Ocean history (Hofmeyr, 2008). Hawley and Hofmeyr are driven by the imperative to uncover the cultural connections, and to trace contemporary flows of communication primarily in cultural terms. This line of enquiry is animated by the idea that it is the world of the imagination that expands national boundaries, which places the diasporic citizen in a special position to speak (Hawley, 2008: 7). This scholarly framework is attractive, particularly because, the "history of relations between communities surrounding the Indian Ocean remains something of a 'hidden transcript'" (Hawley, 2008: 4). Important themes that have emerged from this area of scholarship, have been "trade, capital and labour; religion (often linked to trade); pilgrimage; travel; war, colonial rule and anti-colonial movements; and port towns" (Hofmeyr, 2008: 8). What remains less explored, is an investigation of how these histories, and perhaps more pertinent to this study, their contemporary manifestations, may inform debates about global processes. Given the prominent role of history in the ideological web of modernity, could the Indian Ocean history challenge the dominance of the Atlantic focus of stories of globalisation?

I would like to test out, whether the lens of enquiry might be shifted to the Indian Ocean World, in a way that yields a more complex understanding of the workings of modernity, globalization and development, from an *analytic* rather than cultural perspective. The long history of interchange between India and Africa, which dates back to the the first century is poised to inform contemporary discussions of globalisation, and yet these discussions remain staunchly West-centric (Alpers, 2001). I would like to suggest that entry into these discussions requires an engagement with contemporary social relations, such as the relation between the African students in the socio-cultural surrounding of Delhi. Hawley asks a question which is pertinent to this study, and which serves to initiate entry into debates on globalisation: "in what ways is conversation between and among Indians and Africans still ongoing?", and consequently, "(d)oes the concept of India speak to Africans and does the concept of Africa speak to Indians?" (Hawley, 2008: 5). A response to these questions is imperative to reinvigorate the legacy of the Indian Ocean World.

The position of the African students might be able to complicate the concepts used to describe a global world of hybridity and transnationalism. The imperative to shift the scholarly focus to these neglected (and yet vibrant) routes of human history and trade, is linked to a broader project of anti-imperialism, and anti West-centrism, this research project aligns itself with such aims. It has provided an explication of the problematic claims that modernity makes on the very notion of history, and its consequences for the categories that we use to understand the contemporary world: globalisation, development, diaspora. The perspectives of the participants of this study, and the social dynamics described in their daily life in India, are framed by the problematic terms- development, globalisation and diaspora. However, their perspectives also challenge the adequacy of these terms. The very notion of mobility implied by the term trans-nationalism is complicated by the Indian Ocean context. The study of racism as a defining experience of African students living in Delhi has indicated that there are a lack of ready theoretical strategies to negotiate this particular set of power relations, which take place within and through an Indian Ocean centred dynamic. This dynamic is one which has not often featured in the annals of social theory and history, and has not contributed to the founding conceptualisation of notions of race, diaspora or even globalisation and trans-nationalism. However, the position provides important insights, Ghosh argues that "the endless troping of mobility, hybridity, travel, nomadism, and flexibility in post-colonial theory, despite all claims of resistance to oppressive political and economic regimes, finally serves to flatten structural antagonisms and make light of abiding cultural differences" (B. Ghosh, 2004: 20 in Hawley, 2008: 6).

Chapter 5

Being Foreign in India- the intersection of race and xenophobia

…………………………………………………………….………………………………………………..

This chapter provides some insights into the context of the African students who were interviewed, in terms of migration and international student mobility. The racialised nature of the experience of discrimination by the African students is elucidated by some discussion on the data collected from interviews. This is followed by a discussion of the intersecting nature of the various categories of discrimination working in this context, in which data from both sets of interviews are laid out alongside their theoretical implications. I argue that a variety of forms of discrimination are at play in the experience of African students in Delhi. It is not being either *dark* or *foreign,* but rather dark *and* foreign that makes the position of African students in Delhi more vulnerable. Darkness and foreign-ness also hold particular meanings in contemporary India and these are inflected by the caste system, by India's particular political and colonial history, and by a myriad of regional, ethnic and cultural particularities. I restrict this discussion to the factors that both African and Indian respondents elaborated upon- caste, culture, colonialism and global capitalism in contemporary India. Race becomes an inroad to these topics, and is employed as an organizing conceptual framework.

The choice of race as a privileged analytic tool is motivated partially by the conceptual and explanatory inadequacy of the notion of xenophobia. The majority of analyses of global migration in the South turn on the notion of xenophobia to explain violence and hostility towards foreigners (see Zeleza, 2005; Nyamjoh, 2006; Landau, 2009, 2010). I will argue that while most contemporary studies are able to describe the relations between state and media discourses and incidents of xenophobic violence, and therefore explain *how* they happen, most fail to adequately address *why* they happen. The roots of xenophobia remain under-explored, as well as the contradictions and anomalies in incidents of violence and hostility directed towards perceived foreigners. Race as a concept is better equipped in this instance, to explain the recurrence of violence against *particular kinds* of foreigners. This is partly because, as Rattansi argues, "the reiterations of race need to be understood in the way the category of 'race' has always been able to intertwine and interweave with, and fold itself around ideas of class, sexuality and, above all, that of 'nation'" (Rattansi, 2011: 121). As an analytic tool then, the concept of race holds purchase beyond a nationalist framework, and can be understood through both conceptual and historical analysis, in local and global terms.

The precarious position of African students in Delhi

In keeping with the continued upsurge of international migration, the UNESCO Institute for Statistics has indicated that "the global number of foreign students pursuing tertiary education abroad increased from 1.6 million in 1999 to 2.8 million in 2008" (UN, DESA, 2011: 5). The directional flows of international students, from South to North, have also shown signs of change: "the overall context of global mobility—in terms of both who is going where, and the mix of host and sending countries has also changed significantly"

(Wadhwa, 2012: 1–2). Importantly for the Indian context, reports confirm that "the traditional [Northern] destinations are facing competition with the new emerging destinations in the international education market" (Wadhwa, 2012). In India, students accounted for the highest percentage of foreigners in 2006, at 8.2% followed by employees at 5.2% (Naujoks, 2009). Complete and up to date figures on African students are difficult to ascertain, but the ICCR (Indian Council for Cultural Relations) estimates that there are over 1, 500 African students in the country on government-funded programs alone. The presence of international students, particularly from Africa, is growing in India. While these figures themselves are not easy to attain, the figures indicating the amount of African migrants in general are even more elusive.

In the absence of data about the scale of African populations living in India, it is difficult to draw any conclusions about the experiences of the foreign communities and their effect on the areas in which they live. What has emerged over the last three years however is strong evidence through media reporting of incidents of varying levels of discrimination displayed against the African populations all over India. Incidents have been reported partly by local media, some of which is highly dismissive of Africans in India, while some articles by local journalists are reflective and anguished about the mistreatment that is rife[6]. There are many reports available by African citizens themselves- sometimes on forums or blogs that seek to bring awareness about the condition of Africans living in diaspora[7]. The mistreatment reported ranges from seemingly innocuous stares and jeering in public spaces, to unfair treatment in commercial spaces, blatant discrimination in the finding of accommodation, to incidents of African citizens being harassed, physically abused beaten up by mobs. Many such outbursts of violence have ended in fatalities. A central factor exacerbating poor relations between Indians and Africans is a wide spread belief that many Africans, particularly Nigerians, are involved in the narcotics trade, and by association linked to other nefarious 'underground' activities. This belief is aided by the highly derogatory way in which incidents involving Africans are reported and is often cited as a reason for not providing accommodation for Africans in India, for avoiding social interaction and treating Africans with high levels of suspicion[8]. The data collected from the interviews indicated that many students had been discriminated against on account of negative stereotypes of Africans.

---

[6] http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/tp-newdelhi/africans-feel-they-are-painted-with-the-same-brush/article2505465.ece

http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1997936,00.html

http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/lets-stop-pretending-theres-no-racism-in-india/article3466554.ece

[7] http://www.blackagendareport.com/content/anti-african-racism-india

http://www.deccanherald.com/content/318250/african-students-often-victims-racism.html

http://congolesecommunityofindia.com/2013/04/22/african-students-assaulted-is-india-racist/

[8] http://ibnlive.in.com/news/reality-check-delhi-wont-let-home-to-africa/58791-3.html

The official status of foreign students in India should in theory protect them from any form of social discrimination. Foreign students in India fall under the category of temporary migrants. Baubock explains that the term migrant is used to describe people residing outside of their own country who "unlike tourists, […] take up residence, education or employment. These purposes of their stay make their autonomy and well-being in significant ways dependent on the opportunities and rights they are offered in the host society" (Baubock, 2011: 666). Their temporary status can be explained in two ways: first "in the sense that the duration of their stay is limited by legal or moral norms" (Baubock, 2011: 670). The second "interpretation of what 'temporary' means refers […] to the future and to migrants' intentions to leave the country after a certain time or to the expectations of resident populations that they will do so" (Baubock, 2011: 670). Although they may be classified as temporary migrants, the subjects of this study were different in many ways to economic migrants. As students, only a few of whom sought alternative sources of income, the participants in this study inhabited a privileged social position. As Baubock points out, "international students […] may be charged higher tuition fees and be prohibited from seeking employment in the regular labour market, but inside the university their position is in most schemes equal to that of native students" (Baubock, 2011: 674). This official condition shelters the students from the precarious conditions experienced by economic migrants world over, who are more susceptible to abuse from employers and state authorities in addition to the societal discrimination they may encounter. Perceptions of economic competition and scarce resources, which are often understood as driving forces of xenophobic sentiment and action, were not a factor in this study. However, the participants' ability to become socially integrated, culturally engaged, find accomodation, travel safely in the city and in some cases even pursue their studies in peace within the Indian context was greatly inhibited by the level of othering which they encountered. The central question emerges: is the figure of the African foreigner demonised in the Indian public imagination on account of his/ her status as a foreigner, his/ her visible racial and cultural difference, or a combination of both? Consequently, do the students experience prejudice from their hosts because their presence is linked to assumptions and fears about other kinds of migrants and 'unwanted' foreigners? Or is their presence disturbing because they are racially different? The perception of the majority of students suggested that the discrimination that they experience was racialised.

Facing Prejudice- initial encounters with stereotypes of the 'Dark Continent'

Of the students interviewed, all twelve related incidents of discrimination during their stay in Delhi, and ten out of twelve felt that the discrimination was racial. Incidents were broadly categorised according to where they took place- within the campus/ hostel environment or outside of it in the public sphere. The majority were experienced in the latter. Common experiences were jeering, sniggering and staring in public spaces. Some students interpreted this as innocuous, while others expressed shock at the openly racialised nature of the attention they received. Some students experienced antagonising behaviour from groups of young Indian men in public areas like the metro, refusal of service at markets and restaurants, refusal of entry at bars or clubs, and most commonly cited was the impossibility of finding accomodation outside of the campus. A few students reported incidents of verbal abuse, and some even of threats and violent physical encounters with

groups of men which resulted in serious injury. Within the campus environment, students expressed mixed feelings regarding their inclusion by Indian colleagues and faculty. Nine out of twelve reported that it was difficult to make friends with Indian classmates, although through time it was possible to form bonds of trust and friendship. However, Oliver explained that there were particular senstivities around forming friendships with women on the campus: *"There are stares of course, especially if you are with a woman, they may feel you are corrupting them" (Oliver, Eritrea).* His observation correlated with eight other students who felt that different cultural norms guided the Indian and African understanding of male-female friendships. It was explained that disagreements on this issue were prone to lead to violence. In terms of campus life and interactions with lecturers, many students reported very positive experiences, while others were shocked by the stereotypes of Africa as a primitive jungle, which emerged from fellow students and professors alike:

> *"Some people think Africa is just jungle- world map according to Indians- when it comes to Africa is says 'poorer than us', I find this true to how people think here. Sometimes you get irritated when you find a professor who doesn't know." (Oliver, Eritrea).*

Oliver's reading of the stereotyped perception of Africa as 'poorer than us' chimes into the notion of a global hierarchy affirmed by development discourses, and also suggests a nationalist framework which provides a context for Indian identity in relation to the rest of the world. National identity construction has long provided a lense through which to understand discrimination against perceived foreigners (Landau, 2009; Nyamjoh, 2006, Rattansi, 2011). According to this logic, a dominant national perspective will construct certain people's lives and existences as inferior, problematic, harmful to the dominant group and ultimately expendable, these groups of people are 'othered' in order to create solidarity within the 'in' group. From the exclusionary discourses of the National Socialists in Germany, to the more recent rise of xenophobic, often implicitly state sanctioned violence in Southern Africa (Crush, 2010), and the flourishing of the racist right in the European Union (Silverstein, 2006); nation building discourses, both within state, media and popular culture contexts, have been shown to legitimate xenophobic sentiment and action. It has been argued that in some cases racialised attitudes and 'othering' of minorities has become an important strategy of assimiliation for immigrant communities seeking acceptance in mainstream national culture (Phillip, Sellers & Mahalingam, 2010). Xenophobic attitudes, both by the state and citizens, emerging as a response to shifting demographics produced by translocal movements, have been well documented in the European and Anglo-American worlds, including Australia, for many decades (Silverstein, 2005; Baubock, 2011; Togral, 2011). The nature, causes and consequences of xenophobia have been extensively studied and theorized in the North, particularly in Europe (see Cohen, 1994; Lucassen, 2005; Berezin, 2006; Alexseev, 2006; EUMC, 2006; Delanty and Millward, 2007). However, less attention has been paid to date to the growth of this phenomenon in the South (Crush and Ramachandran, 2009), although one of the marked effects of the Southern shift in global migration has been an increased level of hostility from receiving countries towards perceived outsiders. It is only more recently that the phenomenon of migration-related xenophobia and racism in developing countries, particularly in Africa, the Middle East and South East Asia has begun to

receive attention (Crush, 1998; Nyamjoh, 2006; Blunt, 2007; Landau, 2009, 2010). However, there still remains a paucity of enquiry into migration influenced xeno-racial dynamics between developed countries, and on South Asia in particular (Crush & Ramachandran, 2010). A major finding of recent research on South-South migratory dynamics, is that emerging cultures of trans-locality are failing to strengthen bonds of solidarity between the developing nations (Sivanandan, 2001; Zeleza, 2005; Landau, 2009, 2010; Crush, 2010). Within developing countries, the "response of ordinary citizens and many governments to the presence of foreign migrants is often extremely negative" (Ramachandran & Crush, 2010). The growing presence of xenophobia and associated forms of racism characterising both state and civilian attitudes, has been singled out as a major obstacle to the realisation of what Crush and Ramachandran call the 'human development potential' in both sending and receiving developing nations (2010: 210). Recent research indicates that "few destination states in the South believe that in-migration from other developing countries is at all beneficial" (Jureidini, 2003; Crush and Pendleton, 2004; de Haas, 2007; Crush and Ramachandran, 2009), despite evidence to the contrary[9].

Xenophobia, Racism and Xeno-racism

Antagonism towards perceived foreigners has been captured by the concept of xenophobia. Xenophobia has been defined at the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance as, "attitudes, prejudices and behaviour that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity" (WCAR, 2001, in Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013: 193). The perception that someone is an outsider is most often informed by biological and cultural markers that identify certain people as 'other'. The markers of identification thus tie the concept of xenophobia to racism, which could be defined as discrimination and villification of an 'other' based on perceived racial difference- which is identified through physiological markers. Whether the recognition of racial difference should be read as a culturally and ideologically invested process, or as a biological process, opens up a debate that requires some historical and analytic contextualisation. In fact, I follow Viswewaran's assertion that "it is important not only to see race as socially constructed, but to describe how it is constructed, that is, to understand the historical conditions under which racial categories are produced and made meaningful" (Viswewaran, 2010:67). I will contextualise the investigation of race by

---

[9] International migration can hold important human and social benefits for both countries of origin and destination (UN, DESA, 2011). It has been found that "(d)iasporas accumulate human and financial capital during the process of migration that can contribute to the development of their local home communities as well as to national economic and social development". Returning migrants can aid development in home countries, by promoting or even replacing foreign investment. They often set up businesses, which increase employment and thus boost the economy of both host and sending countries (UN, DESA, 2011: 5). In addition, the formation of transnational communities can "establish and reinforce multi-sectoral links between countries of origin and destination", including important knowledge transfer processes. Finally, in their home countries, ex-diasporas may establish businesses, which may create employment, generate wealth and further disperse knowledge and technological know-how (UN, DESA, 2011). Positive links between migration and development call for deeper critical analysis, which take to task the underlying imperatives and drivers of development, as well as the logic of the concept of development itself.

exploring contemporary understandings of xenophobia and their overlap with race.

Some authors have described the growing global phenomenon of xenophobia as the predominant form of contemporary racism, and have offered the hybrid notion of xeno-racism to explain the confluence. Sivanandan defines xeno-racism as "a racism, that is, that cannot be colour-coded, directed as it is at poor whites as well, and is therefore passed off as xenophobia, a `natural' fear of strangers. But in the way it denigrates and reifies people before segregating and/or expelling them, it is a xenophobia that bears all the marks of the old racism. It is racism in substance, but `xeno' in form" (Sivanandan in Fekete, 2001: 23-24). Xeno-racism thus presents xenophobia as the new racism, or as stated at the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, "xenophobia …constitutes one of the main sources of contemporary racism" (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013: 200).. This notion is described in a recent study of xenophobia in South Africa, in terms of new and old forms of racism. While the latter "is based on discriminatory treatment at the hands of a race (a biological group) different to one's own" (Ibrahim, 2005 in Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013: 200), xenophobia can be linked to *new racism,* which is based on the discriminatory treatment of the „other‟, on the basis of the other's national origin or ethnicity. New racism is a "shift in racism, from notions of biological superiority, to exclusion based on cultural and national difference‟ (Ibrahim, 2005 in Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013: 200). The primary shift signalled here is shift from a belief in biological superiority to a practice of 'excluding difference'. The case of the African students in Delhi, suggests that cultural and national difference is not uniformly excluded, but rather selectively identified- according to biological markers. I would like to suggest that the belief in biological superiority, a notion which has been officially discredited in the contemporary age, has never really shifted. While difference can now be articulated in terms of culture and nation, the experience of African students in Delhi, suggests that racial signifiers remain pertinent, and work to intersect with historically established mechanisms of power and subordination. One student related his experience of being mocked in public spaces in Delhi:

> "They look, laugh, they insult us sometimes saying Kalu[10]- you know that is like in English saying Nigger, Negre, Negro. It means something like a monkey. I also see that they are also closed in their country, they don't have many [foreign] people, if you go in Europe you see black, Chinese, for them I think its new to see black people in their country. Some like us, some don't, they see us like alien, strange" (Prince, DRC).

It is clear that the student is mocked because he is black, however he rationalises the insults that he faces as a result of the ignorance and lack of exposure that his host society might have towards foreigners. Sivanandan's conception of xeno-racism, which affects people cast as foreigners and outsiders across an increasingly hostile and unequal global sphere regardless of race, seems inadequate to understand the dynamic in Delhi. Another student's experience affirms the argument that being black is the key form of

---

[10] The word that Prince refers to is Kalu, which translates as black in Hindi.

identification and cause for discrimination:

> *In Goa when I try to buy some clothes, I try to bargain, it is common in Indian society, but the salesman was angry and said 'you negro get out of the shop' and I was shocked, I was offended, but I did not respond to him but I measured him by his word and realised it is not worth further interaction, especially in Goa I faced such treatment, they ask me rickshaw they say 'no, you negro get out of here'" (David, Ethiopia)*

I turn now to another way of thinking about the overlap between race and xenophobia- as a form of intersectionality. Foreigners are recognised as such through biological and cultural markers- signs which are inscribed on their bodies like skin colour, hair texture, facial features, dress sense, accent. Consequently, Adjai and Lazaridis argue, biological and cultural markers point out whom to target- and in this way racial identification enables xenophobia, rather than xenophobia replacing traditional conceptions of racism. The significance of particular biological and cultural markers, and the history of "*how* they have come to signify this must also be explained in order to comment on reasons for xenophobia and its asymmetrical application to certain (black) foreigners" (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013: 200). In other words, the racial dimension of xenophobia remains a pertinent key to understanding how and why it occurs. Referring to the South African context, Nyamnjoh argues that immigrants are targeted because of "their blackness, by a society where skin colour served as an excuse for whole categories of discriminatory practises" (Nyamjoh, 2006 in Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013: 200).

I would like to suggest that Nyamnjoh's argument holds ground in the Indian context too, which was shaped not by the purely racialised legislation that characterised the apartheid era, but through parallel processes of colonial rule which re-affirmed racial hierarchy and difference, partly through the re-entrenching of caste identities. The intersection of caste and race is a topic that will be treated in more detail- for now it will suffice to emphasise the inadequacy of the notion of xenophobia as a form of discrimination that cuts across racial difference, but rather as one that invigorates latent forms of differentiation and discrimination. In a comparative study of xenophobia in India and South Africa, Crush & Ramachandran draw strong parallels between the vulnerable position of foreign migrants and the volatile nature of public sentiment. They argue that both countries display evidence that xenophobic conditions create ripeness for racism to flourish: "(x)enophobia creates a situation in which increased social insecurity is experienced not only by migrant populations but by other minority and marginalized groups as well. In this respect, xenophobia adversely impacts and enhances other forms of discrimination" (Crush & Ramachandran, 2010: 223).The authors go on to provide the following example: "(i)n India, provinces like Assam and Maharashtra that have displayed some of the strongest antipathy towards migrant Bangladeshis have also witnessed brutal attacks in recent times on Indian migrants from other provinces" (Crush & Ramachandran, 2010: 223).

While the incidents of xenophobia mentioned above have not yet been connected in the existing literature (or

in state and media discourses) to the increasing amount of violent attacks on African nationals in India, I would like to suggest that they should be read as parallel forms of discrimination that remain distinct but overlapping. The intersectional character of race is seen by Winant as a central part of its composition. He argues that "(r)ace serves as a multi-use political technology for organizing and explaining any form of social conflict, both in social science and in everyday life/commonsense. John Solomos and Les Back point out that racism is 'a scavenger ideology, which gains its power from its ability to pick out and utilize ideas and values from other sets of ideas and beliefs in specific socio-historical contexts' (Solomos and Back, 1996: 18–19; see also Fredrickson, 2003: 8). This interpellative adaptability – to scavenge for *ressentiment*, xenophobia, religious dogma, or a host of other proclivities or projections – is a highly developed, indeed central, component of racism" (Winant, 2014:4). Conservative nationalist, Hindu oriented discourses, which dominate Indian politics and governance, are themselves interpolated by race, and as such help to create the conditions in which racial hatred might flourish. Racism in India has not yet been articulated strongly on a public or intellectual level as a social problem, and has historically been overshadowed by the problem of caste (Viswewaran, 2010), and more recently by the problem of xenophobia (Crush & Ramachandran, 2010). However, recent violent and racially charged incidents in India have shifted some international attention to a confluence of racist and xenophobic attitudes amongst the Indian population.

State and Media discourses and Everyday Racism

The murder of a Nigerian man in the Western state of Goa in October 2013, which is believed to be related to a turf war over drug peddling, triggered a number of protests by Nigerians living in India resulting arrests and threats of deportation of illegal Nigerian residents from the Indian government. The incident brought simmering tensions between African populations and Indians to a boiling point[11]. While reports of violence and discrimination have been emerging in online and print media for almost a decade, the Goan incident for the first time elicited angry statements from government officials from both India and Nigeria, amounting to a diplomatic war between the two countries.[12] The tendency to ignore complaints by Africans living in diasporic communities in India has been adhered to by both sides, as diplomatic niceties gloss over this uncomfortable issue. The responses by officials and locals in both India and Nigeria to the Goan incident, as well as the deluge of international media interest in the matter, surfaced a number of issues relating to the situation of African diasporic communities in India[13].

---

[11] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-india-24903230

http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2013/11/africans-decry-discrimination-india-201311139485418912.html

[12] http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/indianews/article-2488873/Murder-paradise-Goa-Police-arrest-local-death-Nigerian-countrys-High-Commission-demands-answers.html

http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/indianews/article-2491105/Nigerian-diplomat-sent-offensive-texts-senior-police-Goa-murder-claims-states-chief-minister.html

[13] http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/nigerian-murder-goa-obado-uzoma-simeon-drugs-bagha-anjuna-beach/1/325596.html

http://www.ibtimes.com/murder-nigerian-goa-uncovers-ugly-racialist-attitudes-indians-against-black-africans-1458578

First, there have been renewed attempts to ascertain the number of Africans living in India, many of whom are reputed to be living without documentation and therefore living abroad illegally. Most published figures are approximations, which have not been verified by official sources. The BBC has estimated that there are around 40,000 Nigerians living in India (http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-india-24903230), many of whom are believed to be living in Goa. Cries of xenophobia were rife when a senior government official described Nigerians living in Goa as a 'cancer', and various village councils elected to place a ban on renting rooms to Africans, a response which suggested that widespread antagonism towards African citizens was latent amongst Indian residents (Ghosh, 2013, http://www.ibtimes.com/murder-nigerian-goa-uncovers-ugly-racialist-attitudes-indians-against-black-africans-1458578). Images of banners hoisted in a number of Goan villages read 'Say no to drugs, say no to Nigerians' (Ghosh, 2013, http://www.ibtimes.com/murder-nigerian-goa-uncovers-ugly-racialist-attitudes-indians-against-black-africans-1458578). The incident helped to illuminate links between state and media discourses and the general anti-African sentiments amongst the local Goan population. However, media coverage varyingly emphasised racism or xenophobia as the prevailing attitude, while some national news sources presented a decidedly anti-African bias in the reporting, and made no mention of xenophobia or racism, but rather emphasized the illegal status of many Nigerian foreigners and described the incident only in terms of its drug-related connotations[14]. The International Business Times ran a headline: 'Murder Of Nigerian In Goa Uncovers Ugly Racialist Attitudes Of Indians Against Black Africans', the BBC ran: 'Nigerians angry over Goa murder', Al-Jazeera's headline read: 'India's Nigerians face backlash in Goa state', running a byline: 'Is the murder of a Nigerian man in India's Goa state linked to racism or gang violence?' A few of the headlines from the Hindu read as 'Thirty-nine arrested Nigerians without valid documents' November 9, 2013), 'Fact and fiction on Goa's 'Nigerian criminal' panic' (November 6, 2013). While the media coverage of the incident deserves a fully-fledged discourse analysis of its own, this short review of the range of coverage seeks only to indicate the emergence of a debate about the treatment of Africans in India, and the existence of a myriad of perspectives on the issue.

A recent incident substantiates the urgency of the precarious situation of African diasporic communities in India, and indicates the extent to which racism is implicitly condoned by both political discourse and public sentiment, but explicitly denied[15]. On January 17th 2014, a minister in the Aam Aadmi Party, and Delhi Law Minister Somnath Bharti, led a mob into Khirki Extension, Delhi, on the hunt for "some Nigerians or Ugandans", who were rumoured to be selling drugs and sexual services. After ordering a police raid of the area that was not executed because of lack of evidence, the minister led a group himself to target four

---

[14] There was no evidence that the deceased was indeed involved in a drug trade, and that the suggestion that he was linked to drug trading was nothing more than a rumour.

[15] See for example: http://www.thisisafrica.me/opinion/detail/20161/the-horrific-everyday-racist-treatment-of-africans-abroad

http://kafila.org/2014/01/20/the-savage-greed-of-the-civilized-aap-moral-posturing-and-ordinary-racism/

African women who were assaulted, publicly humiliated, held against their will and forced to take medical tests which were intended to prove their intoxication of illegal substances. The medical tests confirmed that none of the women were intoxicated (www.thehindu.com). While civil society groups and student groups protested about the minister's actions, his position in the political party would only be compromised if a judicial probe were to find him guilty (www.thisisafrica.me). The incident was widely covered by Indian media, and became a charged political issue when both the Congress Party and the Bharatiya Janata Party sought Bharti's resignation on the grounds of alleged racial targeting[16].

The state stepped in to placate the situation, as the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) reassured African diplomats in an official meeting, that "the incident was an aberration". The Hindu reported that senior MEA official Dinkar Khullar told a group of 20 strong highly concerned African Ambassadors last Saturday that "India's ties with Africa were rooted in the history of common opposition to apartheid and colonialism". This stance was echoed by MEA spokesperson Syed Akbaruddin, who explained that "racism is anathema for us. What was done at that meeting was to immediately assuage any concerns that the incident had any racist overtones. This was a condemnable incident. We hope this would be an aberration and won't affect our relationship with Africa, one which is held up as a beacon of South-South friendship" (www.thehindu.com). Akbaruddin draws from a history of solidarity that, as I have suggested in the previous chapter, has been damaged considerably in the era of globalization and development. The Bharti incident is casually dismissed by Akbaruddin as an 'aberration', despite its unfolding (partly as a result of possibly opportunistic political interests) national import, and undeniably racialised character. Given the problematic history of Afro-Indian friendship in a post-colonial era, Akbaruddin's reference to Africa and India's shared solidarity against Western forms of discrimination and imperialism, and its articulation in the language of South-South co-operation, almost suggests an admission by denial. The compromised history of Afro-Indian solidarity is important to understand contemporary racial tensions, and will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. For now, two pertinent issues arise from the examples discussed above that relate more directly to the experience of the African students: first that the increasing prevalence of these reports has begun to shift the issue closer to comparison, or even convergence with problems of xenophobia, moral censorship associated with new forms of nationalism and internal issues of racism involving North Eastern Indian's experiences of discrimination. Second, statements made by politically powerful people have implicated political discourses and state power in the creation of hostile conditions faced by many African diasporic citizens in India. Both of these factors serve to indicate the gravity of the long-ignored predicament faced by many African diaspora in India.

---

[16] http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/african-nationals-stage-protest-against-aap/article5594398.ece

http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/hounding-of-africans-an-aberration-india-tells-diplomats/article5610979.ece?ref=relatedNews

http://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Delhi/fir-against-unknown-persons-for-raid-on-african-women/article5593899.ece?ref=relatedNews

The negative perception of Nigerians propagated in public and political discourse, was felt strongly by the Delhi students whom I interviewed. Subsequent to the violent incident in Goa, many African students and diasporic communities expressed fear at a potential backlash from Indian residents, a concern that was reported widely in local newspapers (see for example 'Goa incident may increase prejudice against us, say Nigerian nationals', November 6, 2013, The Hindu). In the interviews that I conducted, eight out of twelve students mentioned the stereotype of Nigerian nationals in particular:

> *"Nigerians are always targeted, even yesterday I was told at the FRO, they were calling Nigerians and called them to the bus and deported them. Most of the time Nigerians are considered to be doing illegal things, I have read many reports in the newspapers, caught in the airport, selling drugs"* (Oliver, Eritrea).

The image of the Nigerian is associated in the public imagination with drug peddling, prostitution and other un-named nefarious dealings- the vague-ness of which suggests that the figure of the Nigerian has become a repository for immorality. This stereotype is so widely endorsed by media and public opinion that students whom I interviewed felt that the stereotype had some legitimacy, even if it impacted them unfairly:

> *"If you are from Nigeria they think you are selling drugs, of course that is true. That is their social income, they are doing it. Indian media even TV, it is there"* (Sampson, Ethiopia).

Many students related stories of themselves or of friends being turned away by landlords, or told frankly that rooms are not let to black people, or that as a result of the bad reputation of Nigerians the risk of letting a room could not be taken. While some students seemed to rationalise the fear about Nigerians as warranted, the racial nature of the discrimination is read as unmistakable: *"(I)f you are black, you cannot find a house in Delhi. If you are black they think all blacks are from Nigeria, they think you are selling drugs and its bad"* (Sampson, Ethiopia). So prevalent is the phenomenon, that IBN Live TV station conducted a brief filmed experiment with a student from Nigeria, in which a presenter joined the student in a search for a house in three housing areas (http://ibnlive.in.com/news/reality-check-delhi-wont-let-home-to-africa/58791-3.html). While varying levels of politeness were displayed by the landlords, all three rejected the request on account of racial prejudice. One landlord was quoted saying 'we can't, on account of the Nigerian, you know'. Media representations of such a widespread phenomena echo the disparate coverage of the Goan incident, varyingly citing racism as the core of the issue or completely denying the existence of racism and framing the housing issue as one of security. One of the Indian interviewees, who firmly denied the presence of racism in India, explained the struggle that black students face in finding housing in the following way:

> *Black people facing discrimination might find this because of their skin colour but mostly culture, it is a circular motion- the one is recognized and informs you about the other. People being denied*

housing might have to do with a perceived security risk. People in India are scared of outsiders and are even scared of people from different regions. In Delhi unknown people can be terrorists. (Rajesh, Student).

The student's understanding of the 'circular motion' of discrimination correlates with the understanding of racism as a medium through which xenophobic sentiment is given expression (Nyamjoh, 2006), and refutes Sivanandan's notion of a race-less xenophobia or racism against foreigners. The students, in the context of house-seeking, are recognised as black, and are thus categorised as both racially and culturally other, and are excluded socially. The Indian student's perception that black people are discriminated against because they are perceived as outsiders and thus potential terrorists has two particular implications for the role of race in the situation. First, the importance of race in this circular motion appears to dissolve as a result of its overlap with other forms of discrimination, and second, it is presented as a neutral signifier of otherness. Both of these readings of race are problematic, and underplay the social significance of race itself in contemporary India. The privileged treatment of white foreigners (who are recognised as foreign by biological markers) seeking accommodation, and the discrimination faced by North Eastern Indians, who are not foreigners in terms of nationality but are perceived as biologically different, both clearly refute the analysis that race is a neutral signifier of difference.

Chapter 6

New Articulations and Old Practices: Race, Culture and Caste

....

In order to distil the social and historical significance of racial difference in contemporary India, it is necessary to untangle conflated arguments of race, culture and caste. It has been established that the majority of African students felt that their experience of discrimination was racial, and that state and media discourses do not acknowledge race as a central issue. I have begun to introduce the perspectives of the Indian residents who were interviewed, amongst whom all but one viewed race as a central problem in the treatment meted out to African nationals in India. The notion that racism is practiced in India was vehemently opposed by almost all of the Indian respondents, despite the overwhelming evidence that racial prejudice is rife in public, media and political discourses. A few of the respondents strongly denied that there was any existence of race or colour consciousness in India, arguing that culture, and as a part of culture- caste- remained important categories of identification. Both African and Indian interview respondents talked about caste as an integral factor in understanding, justifying or denying the existence of racism in the university contexts that were explored. There have been strong arguments made in favour of understanding caste as a form of racism (Viswewaran, 2010; Pinto, 2001), some of which draw on histories of solidarity between India and the USA and between Asia and Africa (Randeria, 2006; Viswewaran, 2010). Conversely, scholars have made a case for caste and race as fundamentally different systems of discrimination and exploitation. Both argumentative tracks are pertinent in making sense of the contradictions evident in some of the explanations of racism articulated by Indian and African respondents.

The broader context of 'global racism' provides a framework through which to understand how vernacular understandings of racial difference rooted in Hindu mythology, are inflected by global discourses of race (Amin, 2010). What appear as distinctive Indian cultural obsessions with light skin are shown to carry purchase within global consumer capitalist culture and contemporary discourses of development (Couze, 2011). The global dimension of racism highlights the relationality of the Atlantic and Indian Ocean histories of trade, colonialism and migration, and the ways in which these histories have contributed to contemporary hierarchies of power and global divisions of labour (Quijano, 2002; Dussel, 2002).

Race, Culture and Culturalist Discourses

Rattansi argues that "classical racial ideology" developed since the 18th century "reduced culture to nature" (Rattansi, 2001: 114). This meant that culture was understood as a manifestation of human nature- the 'primitive non-Europeans' were just so because their nature ensured it, while the 'industriousness' of Europeans was also seen to reflect their 'nature'. The "raciocultural paradigm" of the 19th century, understood race as including numerous aspects of what we would understand as culture- such as appearance, manners and speech that were believed to be hereditary, and passed down through blood-ties (Viswewaran,

2010: 56). The idea that human nature, or biology, determined culture was refuted in the early 20th century, as cultural anthropologists advanced a movement that countered the cultural hierarchies established by racial theories. They argued that "all cultures were equal. Centrally embedded in this view was the idea that 'human nature' as such did not exist because it was infinitely culturally malleable. Human manners were cultural not natural in origin" (Rattansi, 2011: 114). Viswewaran argues that there was an unintended effect of this shift in thinking, which sought to discredit the idea that human nature (biology) determines culture, and thus determines hierarchy. She argues that by "expunging race from social science by assigning it to biology", the cultural anthropologists "helped legitimate the scientific study of race, thereby fuelling the machine of scientific racism" (Viswewaran, 2010: 53). This is because the biological conception of race, as difference between humans which is entirely unrelated to culture, enables racism to be viewed as an aberration. This view was expressed in the 1967 UNESCO "Statement on Race and Racial Prejudice", which described racism as an "antisocial belief and acts which are based on the fallacy that discriminatory inter-group relations are justifiable on biological grounds" (UNESCO statements on race and racial prejudice, 63-67, 76-77 in Viswewaran, 2010: 65). This conception, formulated by Levi-Strauss, was significant, in that it denounced the legitimacy of biological and scientific explanations of racism and racial inferiority, which had been used to legitimate Fascist ideologies of racial purity. However, the argument that racism is the false assertion that some races are superior to others, and is not necessarily related to the biological fact of race itself, obscures the extent to which race as a biological category, is also given social meaning. That is to say, "(w)hat we assign to the realm of biology has everything to do with the modernity of social classification. Races certainly exist; they have no biological meaning outside the social significance we attach to biological explanation itself" (Viswewaran, 2010: 67). Indeed, "the significance attached to even the apparently biological character of race is cultural or ideological in nature" (Viswewaran, 2010: 61). From this perspective, the ongoing debate about whether race and racism is biological *or* cultural, or rooted in nature or nurture, becomes difficult to solve on a metaphysical level- precisely because the terms of the debate are themselves ideologically loaded. As a consequence of this complicated history of definitions, "(t)o provide a credible theoretical account of race and racism is always a challenge. To do so in the 21st century, a period that is putatively 'post-civil rights', post-apartheid, and 'colorblind', is to run political and intellectual risks (Winant, 2014: 3). Current theories on the nature of racism that ground the epistemology of race within Western philosophy (Amin, 2001; Rattansi, 2011; Couze, 2011), need to be are limited by this problem, and suggest that more relevant analyses of race need to adhere to a different theoretical approach.

In an attempt to account for the recurrence of racism in an ideologically 'non-racial' world, Ash Amin offers a theory that links racism to neoliberal politics of global capitalism, and at the same time attempts to solve the theoretical puzzle of nature/ culture. He argues that it "is the interplay between vernacular habits with long historical roots of reading racial and social worth from surface bodily differences and racial bio-politics that makes the critical difference to the real experience of race" (Amin, 2010: 3-4). Amin's argument that racism functions through both the apparatus of social organization and the affirmation of vernacular habits seems to capture the ways in which race operates in different cultural contexts as well as on a global scale.

However, his analysis of *why* racism remains the pertinent form of discrimination incurs some problems. His primary reliance on a notion of 'human sorting instincts' (Amin, 2010: 6-7), which he links to Nietzsche's conception of a 'will to power', come close to suggesting that racism emerges from a natural biological instinct to created social hierarchy. Moving from the thought of Descartes to Kant, Darwin to Derrida, Amin establishes the origins of racism in the problematic notion of man as the subject of knowledge who is constructed in opposition to an 'other'. This epistemology is guided by the system of difference encoded in the very heart of the Western logos. What is problematic in understanding the meaning and locus of racism from this perspective is that "the pre-established grids of intelligibility for demarcating and judging which differences will be perceived as significant: sorting instincts are mediated by such grids or conceptual frameworks that, besides, are historically specific as well as referring to particular epistemologies" (Couze, 2001: 107). An effect of Western epistemology, and thus of drawing on Western epistemology in a non-historical and non-relational way, is to make colonialism, slavery and exploitation irrelevant in the explanation of difference (Couze, 2011: 107). Indeed, "to see stereotyping (which cannot be automatically equated with the general activity of 'sorting' and categorization, although it is frequently assimilated to it) as a trans-historical tendency tells us very little indeed about the historical construction and variability of images of the Other, their ambiguities, ambivalences and contradictions" (Rattansi, 2011: 117). Rattansi argues that Amin's notion of sorting instincts may "lead to the banalities that have always plagued trans-historical psychological and existential generalizations, and also to something Amin wants to avoid: throwing 'a veil of doom around anti-racist politics' (Amin, 2010: 6)" (Rattansi, 2011: 118). Any psycho-analytic or trans-historic theory of race faces the potential dilemma of ignoring its own epistemological particularity, and thus undermining the analytic value it seeks to produce. A relevant analysis of racism needs to be relational and historically situated.

The growing phenomenon of 'Islamophobia' in the wake of the 'War on Terror' has necessitated a spate of enquiry into the nature of racism in a global order (Lopez, 2010; Taras, 2012; Hussain & Bagguley, 2012, Ekman, 2011). The flourishing of racism in the 21st century is evident from the racialisation of migration in Europe (Silverstein, 2005), to upsurges of racial violence in South and North Sudan. While there have been attempts to define a new 'critical global race theory' (Weiner, 2012), definitions and moreover explanations of the origins, manifestations and causes of racism remain highly disparate. However, what has been established is that the contemporary globalised age is championed as a 'post-racial' one, at least in political and scientific discourse, the biological notion of racial superiority has been completely discredited. In its place, culture has emerged as the primary concept by which to understand difference. In contemporary terms, there are a few variations of 'culturalist discourses' which have emerged from this shift. According to Aijaz Ahmad, culturalism is "an ideology which treats culture not only as an integral element in social practices but as the determining element" (Ahmad, 2002, 95). Etienne Balibar goes further and calls this new culturalism a form of 'neoracism', the logic of which is not focussed on "heredity but the insurmountability of cultural differences, a racism which, at first sight, does not postulate the superiority of certain groups or peoples in relation to others, but only the harmfulness of abolishing frontiers, the incompatibility of life-

styles and traditions" (Balibar, 1991: 21). The concept of culture becomes a legitimate way of defining and implicitly waging a war against perceived difference, and thus performs the same tasks as racism, and indeed works through the same strategies of recognition and othering. Viswerwaran calls this a 'differentialist racism' which "insists that cultures can neither be composite, shared, nor held in common; it rather articulates *uncommon cultures* as a form of alterity and incomprehensibility, positing that adverse outcomes arise from such cultural difference" (Viswewaran, 2010: 8). Central to all of these conceptions of culturalist discourses, is the idea that in a contemporary globalised order, racial prejudice is no longer viewed as a legitimate rationalisation of social behaviour or social organisation. In the absence of race as a politically and socially legitimate marker of identification, culture becomes a way of talking about race, while obscuring it from debate. What emerges in some of the explanations of racism from both Indian and African respondents is a discourse of 'culturalism'. One of the Indian respondents demonstrated the way in which cultural meaning is given to biological markers, precisely in a moment in which he sought to separate race or colour from culture. When asked whether racism exists in India, the respondent explained:

> *No- we look at upbringing, at culture (Sanskriti), not colour. There is no racism in India- rather how is the girl or boy educated, how do they speak, what are their features like. If they have a sharp nose and face or wide, how much culture they have (Mr S, Student Bookshop Manager).*

Evident in Mr S's statement is that biological markers are read as a measure of culture- which itself is deemed to be an appropriate form of discrimination. In the very moment that he denies the existence of racism, the respondent affirms the mechanism through which it operates, and thus perpetuates a disguised form of racism. Another student sought to explain the distinction in more detail:

> *Race is about cultural differences (…). North Eastern Indians and Southern Indians are racially different, there is the history of Aryan and Dravidian movement in India, and there is a racial connotation to this story. There are seven different races in India these have geographical connotations- they are shaped by historical movement and environment. (V, Gupta, Student).*

A number of discourses intersect here. In this case, the respondent did not deny the existence of racism in India, but rather suggested that it is layered with a number of social and historical meanings. First, race is explained as a matter of culture. He confirms that there is racial difference within India and this in turn is given meaning through history, geography and the environment. In this way, the meaning of racial difference is articulated in cultural knowledge. The story of racial difference in India- referred to in this quote as the Aryan and Dravidian movement- is also inscribed in Hindu mythology. However, the extent to which the categories of difference are understood as culturally significant in India varies across ideological and geographic terrain and as such is difficult to ascertain. In exploring the African students' experiences of prejudice, Chapter Three showed that the history of racism itself has been formulated within a West-centred framework. From early black pride thinkers like W.E.B Du Bois, to the anti-colonialism of Franz Fanon, the

thought of Steve Biko to the more contemporary analyses of racism by thinkers like Paul Gilroy and Ash Amin, racism has been understood primarily in terms of white and black. The practice of slavery is supplanted by the logic colonialism (Fanon), which translates into contemporary forms of neo-colonialism (Gilroy), or under the non-racist guise of neo-liberalism, into culturalist articulations of neo-racism (Balibar). The problem outlined in Chapter Three, is one of translation- can the mechanics of racism which have been articulated within a history of struggle in or against the western world, enable us to understand experiences of discrimination outside of this foundational relation? Drawing on the analyses of Fanon, I argued that these theories of race do translate beyond their original context. However, the lived perception that racism is a western problem, or singularly related to the dynamic between black and white, cannot be as easily turned about in real life as it can in the realm of theory. Sitas talks about a strongly shared belief that he encountered in a study involving African Diasporic intellectuals in South Africa that "the West and whites in general are in the main 'unreconstructed racists'. Despite attempts to dismantle the last vestiges of institutional racism, racism and xenophobia are on the increase in all major cities in Europe" (Sitas, 2011: 283). While in the South African context, the legacy of apartheid is drawn out as the propagator of racialised and corrupted mentalities, understanding racism within India presents itself as a more difficult task. I would like to suggest that an initial problem is the limited extent to which racism is accepted as an analytic tool to understand the Indian context itself in Indian academic, political and popular discourse. While there is abundant literature documenting racism and racial prejudice faced by Indians in India (in both a pre and post-colonial era) and within the Indian diaspora, accounts of racism propagated by Indians, within India, is scarce. The idea that race is a Western construct, produced in "the Atlantic world to maintain political authority" and consequently, "does not have the same significance in the Indian Ocean world, where distinctions based on factors such as religion, ethnicity and caste were more influential" (Ali, 2011, The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture), seems to hold some ground given the paucity of enquiry into race in the Indian Ocean world.

There are two consequences of this perception that I would like to highlight. First, the perception that race is a Western form of social control obscures the racially complex dynamics instated by the various projects of imperialism, and the ways in which their legacies have survived in contemporary trans-national relations. The perception that racism is something that Indians might experience at the hands of Westerners is well established in the wealth of literature on this topic, and is rarely perceived as something that could be practiced within Indian society. Second, the notion that racism is a Western concept limits its legitimacy in India as a way of understanding discrimination, and allows the obviously racial nature of the discrimination faced by African students to be passed off as an aversion to cultural difference, or as the following respondent suggests, class:

> Race is a framework of the West. When it comes to foreigners in India there is a sense of looking at them as different but we are not brought about to look at race, rather at class, though there is some overlap. (Dr P, Lecturer)

This argument allows the problematic culturalist discourses enlisted in the practice of discrimination in a non-racial world to hold purchase in the Indian context. I will now explore the effects of colonialism on current race relations, and then address the legitimacy of the concept of race in India. This contextualization will enable a better understanding of the culture-based explanations of racism offered by Indian respondents, who categorise the discrimination of Africans in India in terms of the cultural effects of class and caste.

Race, Colonialism and Afro-Indian solidarity

McCann argues that initial Indo-African relations were formed through Indian Ocean trade and vastly predate the colonial project. However, in the "later nineteenth century, the peripateticism and cultural fluidity that underpinned this world were rudely interrupted as restrictions on mobility emerged from the definitive, if incomplete, territorialization of the Indian Ocean littorals during the consolidation of European Empire" (McCann, 2013: 260). Subsequently, Indo-African ties were formed and re-forged both because of and in spite of imperial infrastructures, ensuring that colonialism became the central axis of these intra-continental ties. The imperial infrastructure played an important role in consolidating racial hierarchy through its systems of governance, particularly in East African countries "where the local South Asian communities occupied controversial positions within colonial and post-colonial economies given their location as controllers of much distributive trade" (McCann, 2013: 262). To put it very simply, conflict around racial allegiances arose primarily because India's vast diasporic populations in India were for the most part vestiges of the imperial infrastructure (McCann, 2013: 268). While Nehru encouraged his diasporic citizens to remain committed and engaged in the nationalist struggles of their African homes, many diasporic communities lived on tense terms in their host countries- and remained socially and ideologically segregated. In some cases, African nationalist movements ostracized Indian communities, who then preferred to retain allegiance to the British suppression of African independence (McCann, 2013: 268).

India's involvement in South Africa is often a reference point for India's ideological alignment with anti-racism. This story, which started with Gandhi's engagement in South Africa, moved towards Nehru's role in drawing international attention through the UN to the apartheid struggle. The 'success story', though inflected by more complex contemporary relations, is seen as something of an exception in the post-independence era. However, from the perspective of racial hierarchy, India maintained complicated relations with Africa after its own independence, and on this level South Africa was not exempted. The South African independence struggle at moments reflected the antagonistic relations between Indians and Africans that characterized other parts of Africa, but eventually emerged as a story of great Afro-Indian solidarity. A Kenyan student points out that this history has informed his understanding of his experiences in India, and having grown up in a country with a large Indian diasporic population, he felt that he had prepared himself to encounter racial prejudice in India:

> *"It was an historical thing, the railways, the British got the Indians to come and build the railways*

because of the expertise … They realise 'we are Indian they are African', even the Kenyans feel that the Indians think they are better than us. It must be the same in South Africa" (Patrick, Kenya)

There is evidence to suggest that historically the cultural meaning of racial difference between Indians and Africans has been inflected by the colonial practice of racialisation in ways that have not only produced racial solidarity between Indians and Africans (Burton, 2011; Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2012). The psychology of the internalisation of racism was explored by Fanon, who argued that the practice of racial discrimination perpetuates itself, as the victims of discrimination are unable to transcend the colonisation of their minds. It becomes impossible to see others outside of a racialised hierarchy of being, and consequently, it becomes possible to reproduce the structures of oppression, as they come to define one's knowledge of oneself. It is to transcend this entrapment that Fanon seeks to to "rise above the absurd drama that others have staged around me, to reject the two terms that are equally unacceptable, and, through one human being, to reach out for the universal" (Fanon, 2008: xiv). It is under these psychological circumstances that people who have been racially subjugated are likely to practice subjugation on others when given the opportunity. Weissglass argues that "patterns of internalizing and transferring racism (insults, criticism, slurs, and violence) are rooted in genocide, slavery, subjugation, conquest, and exploitation" (Weissglass, 2001 in Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013: 200). The reproduction of racialised thinking was not as simplistic as the psychological reading of internalisation might imply. The psychological dimension should be read in conjunction with the strategies used in the colonial project to buy complicity and subjugation in the colonies. The notion that caste is a "product of colonial divide-and-rule strategy", emerged as a contentious but popular thesis in post-independence India (Viswewaran, 2010: 134). While its problematic implications shall be discussed as we look at caste in more detail later on, the thesis suggests that through institutionalising racialised identities, colonialism racialised and re-entrenched traditional forms of social organisation and segregation. One of the Indian respondents re-iterated this view: *Consciousness of colour became more acute through colonization-the notion that whiteness acquires power and status gained currency (Dr P, Lecturer).*

In a pre-independence era, Afro-Indian ties coalesced (in sometimes contradictory ways) around the anti-colonial struggle[17]. In the post-independence era, the final wave of Afro-Indian solidarity was marked by the Bandung conference of 1955 and the Non Aligned Movement, while both collaborations were ultimately marked by failure, the discourses of solidarity are still drawn on in the emerging discourses of South-South co-operation alluded to by the Ministry of External Affairs representative Mr Akbaruddin quoted in the previous chapter. This solidarity coalesced around the notion of the 'third world' (a term not frequently used until the modernization debates of the 1960s, but whose ideological foundations were very much implied in the 1950s Afro-Asian agenda)", which "was in many senses not a 'place' but a 'project'—the dream of a new order through the assemblage of common grievance and aspiration" (McCann, 2013: 270). This

---

[17] For example, the plight of Indians in Africa became a source of mobilization for Indian activists and intellectuals "who were critically interrogating notions of imperial citizenship before the pace of events raised questions of sovereign independence for the nations of India and Pakistan into the late 1930s–'40s" (McCann, 2013: 263). This agitation fed back into Indo-African political associations, and played an important part in invigorating the joint work of activists in the South African struggle, thus cementing ties that still carry some purchase today.

promising articulation of the third world was relatively short lived, and McCann attributes the subsequent collapse of Afro-Indian relations to the "conservative elites who betrayed their working populations into the 1970s, cheating them of the potential rewards of deep-seated Afro-Asian brotherhood in favour of paramount national unity, protection of elite interests in international liaisons and the maintenance of existing social hierarchy" (McCann, 2013: 271). The political project of 'third world' solidarity thus gave way in the face of a number of global shifts through the Cold War era: India's concern with consolidating relations with the West and focusing on internal development, the Sino-Indian war, the African crisis of states under the pressure of the 1973 oil shock and rising international debt (McCann, 2013: 276). In addition, the reorientation of the international geo-political landscape Cold War split the visions of African countries themselves in many different ideological and technological directions.

What emerges as pertinent in light of the recent diplomatic tensions over the African diaspora in India is the history of tension within transnational Afro-Indian ties, which have often manifested in issues concerning the integration or exclusion of the diasporic populations from both continents. The loaded and sometime violent history outlined here is overlooked in favour of renewed diplomatic ties. The response from the Ministry of External Affairs to the Bharti incident described above can be read as evidence of the projection of a "discursive foundation of unbroken histories of partnership" enlisted to legitimate India's contemporary re-engagement with Africa (McCann, 2013: 280). McCann's project of re-evaluating this tenuous friendship is critical in light of the recent developments in India's African population. This history leads us to the contemporary moment, in which neo-liberal economic ties are clothed in diplomatic language, which seeks to deny the existence of violence and discrimination against Africans in contemporary India. These relations have been paved by the history of imperialism and its' mobilization of traditional forms of hierarchy, and are now affirmed by global patterns of consumerism which reproduce racialised forms of power.

Coloniality, capitalism and colour consciousness

The perception that the racial legacy of colonialism is one that ideologically united all who were subjugated by colonial rule has been refuted by the dissolution of Afro-Indian ties in a post-colonial era. As Sitas explains, "(t)he color line is defined by historical wounds on whose base colonialism erected a racial superstructure" (Sitas, 2011: 282). The mechanism of colonial racialisation has been shown to perpetuate itself indiscriminately through global capitalism, and in this way re-enforce notions of racial difference that over-ride potential movements of solidarity. In this way, racism pervades seemingly non-racially conscious societies. Mignolo argues that the reproduction of racial classification as an important category of social organisation was tied from its instantiation to both colonialism and capitalism. According to Mignolo, the exploitation of the Americas was one of the fuelling sources of modernity. Mignolo argues that "(i)n the New World, then, racism was an epistemic operation that institutionalized the inferiority of the Indians and, subsequently, justified genocidal violence, as Dussel pointed out, and exploitation of labor, as Quijano underlined" (Mignolo, 2007: 480). The concept of the 'coloniality of power', emerged from the thought of Anibal Quijano, lay the foundation for Mignolo's argument about the 'colonial matrix of power'. Quijano's

thesis, which emerged through a study of the history of capitalist relations in Latin America, can be broken down into two steps. First, he argues that through the colonization of Latin America by Europeans, a new pattern of power was established that cannot be seen as "an extension of its historical antecedents", but as the entirely new axis of capitalism around which all social relations were articulated (Quijano: 2002: 216). At the same time, the "idea of 'race', as biologically structural and hierarchical differences between the dominant and the dominated" which came to be considered 'natural' (Quijano: 2002: 216). According to Quijano, race became an a way of ensuring hierarchy in a world society through a system of classification- this was primarily expressed in the "'racial' distribution of work, in the imposition of new 'racial' geocultural identities, in the concentration of the control of productive resources and capital, as social relations" and finally "as a privilege of 'Whiteness'" (2002: 216). Mignolo's argument is that "although the structure of capitalism is different today (…) the colonial matrix of power organizing the exploitation of labor and underlying capitalism was based initially on the appropriation of lands with serfdom and slavery as the primary form of labor and racism as the fundamental argument justifying exploitation" (Mignolo, 2007: 486). The logic of modernity, progress and capitalism is founded on its necessary correlate of exploitation and racism. Put in this way, "racism and the coloniality of being are one and the same cognitive operation entrenched at the philosophical level in the colonial matrix of power" (Mignolo, 2007: 481). For Winant, the racialisation of social organization should also be viewed from the perspective of the oppressed, as a potential tool of mobilization: "between free and slave, between native and settler, between oppressor and oppressed, a 'colorline' arose, not all at once, but over the early years of empire and Atlantic slavery. Social, not biological, construction" (Winant, 2014: 5). In this way, "race developed as a highly practical political technology of oppression and resistance" (Winant, 2014: 5).

Mignolo asks "what people in the Islamic world or in China or India thought about racial classification in the West as it was being elaborated since the sixteenth century. Most likely, they were not aware that they were being classified and what consequential role they would have in the order of thing that was being articulated in Western structures, principles and institutions of knowledge. By the end of the twentieth century, however, the entire globe is responding in one way or another to Western racial classification" (Mignolo, 2007: 481). According to the logic of coloniality and the colonial strategies of enlisting complicity from colonised populations, the proliferation of racial classification as a principle organiser of social structures, was partly due to its confluence with existing cultural conceptions of difference that indicated hierarchy.

> *Colonialism brought racial consciousness to India- before there was no segregation according to colour. For example, a Brahmin is superior- he comes from the Aryan caste, but not all of them are light skinned or white. (V. Gupta, Student).*

The student introduces a complex element to this study of race in India- the notion of colour consciousness as a part of caste identity. In a pre-colonial era, he argues, racial difference was not culturally significant as much as caste was. A Brahmin- the most superior caste- could be dark or light and his colour would not

affect his status. The correlation between colour and caste, even in contemporary India, is difficult to establish- both because of a lack of literature on the topic, and the elusiveness of the notion of colour consciousness as opposed to racial consciousness. One of the Indian respondents offered an explanation of colour consciousness (or the apparent lack there-of) that outlines this ambiguity:

> *In India there is no colour discrimination- for example if you are Brahmin and you are dark you are still Brahmin. There is some feeling about white/ dark for example in marriages people prefer the lighter skins in brides. There is something like fair is also good looking. This discrimination is not racial. (Rajesh, Student).*

The student's simultaneous denial and admission of the cultural importance of colour recalls the perception quoted earlier that culture rather than race determines what kind of features are desirable and valuable. While many references were made in the interviews with Indians to the history of invasions of India by the Aryans, a story which carries a racial connotation, it was not established either in conversation or in the literature how this history is linked to caste identity. A study on the propagation of colour consciousness through children's books about Hindu mythology, clearly understood the implicit promotion of colour consciousness as a regressive social signifier. The authors argued that the correlation between caste and colour "disavows the historical complexity of caste, labor, and occupational status on the ground and it promotes prejudice against lower caste and lower class Indians. Such symbolic representations of colorism (…) in postcolonial India legitimize the regulatory power of class and caste structures even as the Indian state has enacted policies to reduce caste inequality" (Cardoza and Parameswaran, 2009: 30). The authors argue that skin color hierarchy in India is perpetuated by the intersecting "global discourses of colorism that have marked the resilient boundaries of gender, ethnicity, class, and race in such locations as the Caribbean Islands and Puerto Rico" (Cardoza and Parameswaran, 2009: 30). These global discourses are in turn couched in a post-liberalized national context; that is within "contexts of skin-lightening cosmetics' rising sales; the recent proliferation of global media images of Whiteness; and the rise in militant Hindu nationalism" (Cardoza and Parameswaran, 2009: 30). One of the respondents articulated the idea that colonialism imbued the category of racial difference with cultural meaning, which continues to gain purchase within a system of global capitalism:

> *Whiteness carries value because it is associated with power, whatever is associated with power will have this affect- the US, Britain- they are the centres of power. MNCs advocate products- these are movements led by whites. (Dr P, Lecturer)*

Given the self-proclaimed centrality of the West in driving the project of global capitalism, the disguised logic of racism comes to undergird the working of capitalism itself. Consequently, "the rhetoric of progress, of salvation, of technology, of democracy goes hand in hand with the logic and practice of oppression, racial discrimination, political concentration of power in the hand of a Creole/Mestizo/an elite" (Mignolo, 2007:

496). The possibility of an increased racial consciousness and India's global position as an emerging economic power, which is increasingly defined in terms of a moralistic Hindu nationalism, is a topic that requires further investigation. A student offered an interpretation that serves as an affirmation of the theories of racial proliferation offered above, and also to extend the analysis into new avenues:

Political economy is part of this- whitening products- brides are expected to be lighter- the lighter the better. Big business is a part of this- human beings have limited information and so colour differentiation becomes a way of understanding this complex world, the colour issue is a colonial hangover- the inbuilt notion that the lighter people are the rulers. (V. Gupta, Student).

The suggestion that issues of colour consciousness, increased Hindu nationalism and the driving force of global consumer capitalism are connected, emerges from conversations with Indian and African students on the topic of racism in India, and is offered here as no more than a lead for further research. However, I will draw two conclusions drawn from this part of the study and the conversations with Indian respondents. First that race is an important contemporary marker of segregation despite or perhaps as a result of the widespread denial of racism. Winant's observation is apt here, **"(r)**ace remains the 'dark matter', the often invisible substance that in many ways structures the universe of modernity. In contrast to earlier epochs when claims about its permanence and immutability were taken for granted, the very existence of race is often denied today" (Winant, 2014: 10). Second, I want to suggest that global capitalism is a force that re-invigorates conservative forms of nationalism which structurally rely on processes of exclusion and segregation. At the same time, effects flowing from globalization and global capitalism like trans-national mobility, create new spaces of resistance, and re-affirm the importance of racial identity as a site of agency and potential solidarity. The denial of racism emanating from positions of power and official discourses are not fully able to undermine the existence of racialised identities. As Winant argues "(t)he same people who in past decades (…) who crossed oceans and deserts to reach Los Angeles or Lisbon or Paris, the same people who resist apartheid rule in Israel/Palestine … these same people are still stateless, *sans papiers*, 'driving while black'. Their bodies are still racialized, their labor is still required, their identities still confound the state, their rights are still restricted. They still exert an immense gravitational pull" (Winant, 2014: 10).

Race and Caste

Caste and race are both forms of discrimination based on hereditary traits, and have both been legally and ideologically illegitimised as practices of social organisation. As such, the legal and political project of excising caste and race from contemporary society, has established comparable political process of reservation and affirmative action in India, South Africa and the USA. In order to achieve this, "one of the paradoxical lessons of modern governance" must be learned, "that the state must measure what it wishes to eradicate" (Deshpande, 2003 in Viswewaran, 2010: 135). This paradox has prompted an abundance of comparative studies on the matter, which have established a structural similarity between caste and race. However, whether caste can be understood as a form of racial discrimination remains a highly disputed

matter. This is partly because of the political consequences that follow from the equation of caste and race. I will briefly outline the central tenets of the dispute- presenting the strongest reasons for assimilation of the concepts, and those that insist that they are fundamentally different. This dispute is relevant to this study in as far as it reiterates one of the central problems in understanding the recurrence of race. Namely the problem of whether it is culture or nature that primarily determines differences between people that creates conflict and grounds for exclusion. I look both at comments made by Indian respondents on race and its difference from caste, as well as from African respondents who felt that caste played a significant and ambiguous role in their experience of discrimination. The perceptions are placed in context of the broader debates about the relation between caste and race. The racialised or colour conscious dimension of caste was outlined above as an area of ambiguity and transformation, which seems to have acquired an enhanced meaning through the historical processes of colonialism and later through the development of a global culture of capitalist consumption. While these links were difficult to establish through studies on the issue of caste and colour, the correlation was clear to many of the respondents:

> *"This caste system also, those who are light, those who are darker, because of this conception, they don't want to make friends, they keep distance" (Sampson, Ethiopia).*

> *"People from upper caste, they look like whiter like European people, others castes darker, not only the skin colour, sometimes it is also religion. The caste system is complex, but they know that 'I am from upper caste I should not be close to those people" (Lionel, DRC).*

For many of the students, their mistreatment was on account of their darkness, which had a cultural meaning that was related to caste. For Oliver, an Eritrean student, the caste system's division of labour was also projected onto the African students by the local population, and served to place the students in a particular category: *"They have this perception of Africans as servants" (Oliver, Eritrea).* None of the Indian respondents affirmed the idea expressed by some of the African students that caste was used as a lens through which to view foreigners, particularly dark ones. Instead, as was shown above, culture was presented as the primary form of identifying difference in foreigners. In contrast, the following Indian respondent talks about culture as a way of identifying others, and caste as part of an Indian culture that enables an internal system of differentiation:

> *Race is about culture more than anything, reports of discrimination are actually based on cultural differences (…) Caste and race, are both by birth, but they are different. Caste is part of a fourfold system of Hindu belief- within the system there is differentiation, for example we all celebrate the same festivals, all will participate, but there is a difference in division of labour. There is no cultural difference though. Race refers to skin colour but also cultural difference (Rajesh, Student).*

The tension between caste as an internal cultural issue, that is specifically Indian, and an understanding of

caste as a form of discrimination that can be equated with other forms of discrimination and thus be viewed as an international issue, has been at the heart of the race/ caste debate. The history of caste politics is much too complex to enter into in this chapter. The outline provided below is thus rudimentary and seeks only to highlight the central moments in the relation between race and caste which might inform the participants' perceptions explored in this study. I start the story then with Viswewaran's study of the lines of solidarity between anti-caste activists and thinkers Ambedkar and Lala Lajpat Rai and black intellectuals and activists Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. Du Bois. Du Bois' understanding of race is not so much defined by biological markers inherited from his African fore-fathers, but rather by the experience of discrimination and insult and the "social heritage of slavery" (Du Bois in Viswewaran, 2010: 150). In this understanding, which moves away from a reliance on the biological notion of race, race can be compared to caste in that neither are "essence or identity, but a product of social forms of discrimination" (Viswewaran, 2010: 150). A parallel description of caste expressed by a Dalit activist as "not something one is; it is something that is done to you" (Viswewaran, 2010: 150). Intellectual exchanges by the thinkers mentioned above worked in a pre-independence era to establish a comparative discourse of race and caste as parallel forms of discrimination. While there was no final conclusion in the comparison of untouchability and slavery, Viswewaran argues that "these metaphorical transferences between casteism and racism provide a generative structure through which contemporary Dalit politics can be engaged" (Viswewaran, 2010: 159).

A strong argument for caste as a form of racism was presented by V.T. Rajasekhar in 1978. He argued that the problem of untouchability was an international problem rather than an internal one, and criticised the Indian government for being hypocritical by championing South Africa's struggle against apartheid in the international sphere, while at the same time maintaining that "since untouchability had been abolished by the Indian constitution, its continued practice was an internal, not an international issue" (Viswewaran, 2010: 161). According to Rajasekhar, India's Dalits are "the world's single largest Black population outside Africa; (2) that they constitute the world's most oppressed and persecuted people; (3) that Dalits- the Black Untouchables of India- and Africans have a common origin; (4) that the Indian brand of sanctified racism is more serious than that of South African apartheid; (5) that India is the original home of racism, and (6) that Aryan Brahminism is the father of racism" (Rajasekhar, 1995 in Viswewaran, 2010: 162). His position primarily sought to internationalise the struggle of the oppressed classes of people, through the ongoing though outlawed practice of untouchability. The ban on untouchability enshrined in the Indian constitution emerged in post-independence India under the following conditions. Caste was established in political and public discourse as a colonial legacy that "should (in accordance with the constitutional mandate abolishing it) disappear from modern life" (Viswewaran, 2010: 134). This approach was criticised as a way of attempting to solve the problem of caste by ignoring the ways in which it was reproduced in society and assigning its solution to the realm of legislation. Within this context, race was rejected as a way of understanding caste, as it was believed that it would shift the emphasis "from removing the scourge of caste from Indian society to making one's caste identity a fixed political resource" (Viswewaran, 2010: 135).

As shown in the discussion on race earlier in this chapter, the 1951 UNESCO conference on race helped to establish and at the same time internationalise a biological definition of race. By rejecting the interpretation of (biological) racial difference as an indication of superiority or inferiority, the UNESCO statement re-affirmed the notion that racial difference existed independently of the cultural meaning assigned to it. This interpretation of race was opposed by scientists like Montagu, who argued that "race could not be separated from the racist theories that generated it as a category and for this reason held that because race had no biological meaning, race did not exist" (Viswewaran, 2010: 149). While such a stance is obviously problematic, it emphasises the social construction of race through racism, by showing that cultural meaning is assigned to otherwise incidental physical differences. The irrelevance of racial or biological difference does not mean that race does not exist however. In fact, I argue that overturning the cultural meanings of race can only done by appropriating race and re-interpreting the cultural meanings assigned to them.

The sociologist Andre Beteille made a strong case in defence of the Indian state's rejection of a clause in the 2001 World Conference against Racism (WCAR) Programme of Action, which sought to extend the UN sanctioned meaning of race, to include discrimination based on work and descent (Visvanathan, 2001). He argued that the extension of race to understand caste discrimination gives a new lease on life to old and discredited conceptions of race, and by acknowledging caste as a form of racism the UN would be turning its back on established scientific opinion. Viswewaran argues that by re-establishing race as a biological category, a grave injustice is inadvertently done against the struggle to overcome racism. As covered earlier, this conception was established "in an attempt to separate race from racist cultural-evolutionary theories" (Viswewaran, 2010: 149). While Beteille suggested in later writings that race is a cultural rather than biological fact, his well-received argument for the separation of the concepts relied on a biological conception of race. Dalit activists have also drawn on the biological conception of caste difference as a resource for mobilization. Viswewaran explains that "(e)arly Hindutva theorists also developed racial theories based on their reading of 19th century social evolution theory and the question of 'Aryan migration' (or 'invasion') had been resuscitated through the new genetics of caste" (Viswewaran, 2010: 150). The notion that biology is the one factor that race and caste might have in common was articulated by one of the Indian respondents: *Race is about cultural differences. Between race and caste, they both have biological traits that connect them. (V, Gupta, Student).* I would like to suggest that the focus on the biological conception obscures the extent to which culture defines the meaning of biology, and how the ideological dimension of biology is obscured by the notion of culture and cultural difference.

Conclusion

....

It has been shown in a number of ways that the experiences of discrimination faced by the small group of African students with whom I engaged have been shaped by the combination of being *dark* and *foreign*. The complexity of the contemporary Indian context calls for an intersectional analytic approach in order to understand the confluence of both historical currents and contemporary social practices that might produce prejudiced belief about Africans. The concept of race, though ambiguous, remains indispensible in this analysis of overlapping forms of discrimination in a post-colonial and emerging trans-national context.

In conclusion, I argue that from the spurious ideology of colour consciousness that has been connected to some interpretations of Hinduism, in which "light skin and feminine beauty play into the patriarchal ideology of upper caste Hinduism, which constructs women as symbols of the purity of caste and as reproductive vehicles to enforce the caste system's biological boundaries" (Cardoza and Parameswaran, 2009: 30), to the insistence that Dalits should be understood as biologically 'black', both tracks of argument obscure the real issue. Ultimately, it is through culture that biological or inherited difference is given meaning, and that separating the concept of race theoretically is not a useful way to address racism. As Viswewaran argues, "(t)he inability to apprehend the proper object of analysis- not caste or the caste system per se, but the experience of casteism or caste oppression- results in the failure of Indian nationalist sociology to apprehend the transnational and historic alliances between different peoples with similar experiences of oppression" (Viswewaran, 2010: 132). The idea is not to insist on the equation of race with caste, or the extension of the meaning of blackness to include all oppressed peoples. But rather, as Lionel insisted in his explication of African-ness, what is important in the face of new articulations of prejudice is to privilege the space in which people might articulate their own sense of identity. This might be racialised in a way that speaks back to many centuries of oppression.

Such articulation is also made possible by taking up a relational perspective, as in the case of caste and race- in which, Viswewaran argues, rather than ask whether caste is race, we should ask "when the experience of casteism is seen to be the most compelling illustration of the experience of racism" (2010: 163). This relational perspective does not insist on a false sense of solidarity, in places where solidarity has been worn thin. Instead, the point of commonality is found in what Mignolo calls "(t)he 'space of experience' and the 'horizon of expectations'", what people can expect from the world that they shape. This in turn is made from "what each diverse local history has in common with others" which is "the fact that they all have to deal with the unavoidable presence of the modern/ colonial world and its power differentials, which start with racial classification and end up ranking the planet (…) the racialization of politics, economy, cultures and knowledge" (Mignolo, 2007: 497). In this way, racial identity and the raced body still carry an enormous gravitational pull (Winant, 2014), and can be seen as a repository of agency and resistance.

Bibliography

....

Adjai, C & Lazaridis, G 2013. Migration, Xenophobia and New Racism in Post-Apartheid South Africa, *International Journal of Social Science Studies* Vol.1, No. 1; April 2013

Ahmad, A 2002. *Globalisation and Culture. On Communalism and Globalisation: Offensives of the Far Right*, New Delhi: Three Essays.

Akinkugbe, O.B 2013. South–South cooperation: Africa on the centre stage, *Review of African Political Economy*, 40:136, 339-340

Alatas, S. F. 2006. *Alternative discourses in Asian social science: Responses to eurocentrism*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Alexseev, M 2006. *Immigration Phobia and the Security Dilemma: Russia, Europe and the United States*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Ali, O.H 2011. The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, retrieved from http://exhibitions.nypl.org/africansindianocean/index2.php

Alpers, E. A 2001. Defining the African Diaspora, University of California, Los Angeles, *paper presented to the Center for Comparative Social Analysis Workshop*, October 25, 2001

Amin, *A* 2010. The Remainders of Race, *Theory, Culture & Society* 2010, London: Sage, Vol. 27(1): 1–23

Bauböck, R. 2011. Temporary migrants, partial citizenship and hypermigration, *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 14:5, 665-693

Bauman, Z 2000. *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Beck, Bonss & Lau 2003. The Theory of Reflexive Modernisation. Problematic, Hypothesis and Research Programme, *Theory, Culture & Society*, Vol 20/2, p. 1-33

Balibar, E. 1991. *'Is There a Neo-Racism?' Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, in E. Balibar and I. Wallerstein (eds.), 17-28. London: Verso

Berezin, M. 2006. 'Xenophobia and the new nationalisms', in G. Delanty and K. Kumar (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Nations and Nationalism*, Sage, London, pp. 273–284.

Bhambra, G.K. 2007. *Rethinking Modernity: Post-colonialism and the Sociological Imagination*. London: Palgrave- Macmillan

Biko, S 1971. The Definition Of Black Consciousness- *paper produced for a SASO Leadership Training Course in December 1971 by Bantu Stephen Biko*. Retrieved from: http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/definition-black-consciousness-bantu-stephen-biko

Blunt, A 2007. Cultural geographies of migration: mobility, transnationality and diaspora, *Progress in Human Geography* (2007) pp. 1–11

van Binsbergen, W 2012. *'Rethinking Africa's transcontinental continuities in pre- and protohistory'*, *paper presented at* African Studies Centre, Leiden University, Leiden, the Netherlands, 12-13 April 2012

Burawoy, M 2000. Grounding Globalization, in: Burawoy, M et al. (eds.): Global Ethnography. Berkeley: University of California Press 2000: 337-350.

Burton, A 2011. The pain of Racism in the Making of a Coolie Doctor, *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 13:2, 212-235

Castles, S 2010. Understanding Global Migration: A Social Transformation Perspective, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36:10, 1565-1586

Chakrabarty, D. 2008. *Provincialising Europe. Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton.

Chan, N. 2010. Slumdog Millionaire and the Troubled Place of Cinema and Nation. *Post Identity, Spectator* 30:2 (Fall 2010): 37-45.

Cohen, R 1994. *Frontiers of Identity: The British and the Others*, London: Longman.

Comaroff, J & J 1993. *Modernity and Its Malcontents*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Connel, R 2007. *Southern Theory. The Global Dynamics of Knowledge in Social Science*, Cambridge.

Couze Venn 2011. Introduction: Reflections on 'The Remainders of Race': Culture, Nature or a Political Economy of Race? *Theory Culture Society* 2011 28: 103

Crush. J & Ramachandran, S 2010. Xenophobia, International Migration and Development, *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities: A Multi-Disciplinary Journal for People-Centered Development*, 11:2, 209-228

Dussel, E. D 2002. World System and 'Trans'-Modernity in *Nepantla; Views from the South*, Baltimore, 2002. Vol. 3/2, S. 221-244

Delanty, G. and Millward, P 2007. 'Post-liberal anxieties and discourse of people-hood in Europe: nationalism, xenophobia and racism', in R. Mole (Ed.), *Discursive Constructions of Identity in European Politics,* Palgrave Macmillan, Houndsmill, pp. 137–148.

De Haas, H 2010. Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective, *IMR*, Volume 44 Number 1 (Spring 2010): 227–264

Denzin, N 1970. *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods*, Transaction Publishers: New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Denzin, N 2010. *The qualitative manifesto: A Call to Arms*, Left Coast Press: Walnut Creek CA.

Dhupelia-Mesthrie, U 2012. Cultural Crossings from Africa to India: Select Travel Narratives of Indian South Africans from Durban and Cape Town, 1940s to 1990s, *South African Historical Journal*, 64:2, 295-312

Fanon, F 2008, originally 1952. *Black Skin, White Masks*, United Kingdom: Pluto Press.

Fekete, L 2001. The emergence of xeno-racism, *Race & Class*, Vol. 43(2): 23±40

Ferguson, J 2006. *Global shadows: Africa in the neo-liberal world order*. Durham & London: Duke University Press.

Fontana & Frey 2006. Interviewing- The Art of Science in *Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Methods*, Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2006. Chapter 22, pp 361-392.

Go, J 2013. For a postcolonial sociology, *Theory & Society* (2013) 42:25–55

Geschiere, P 1998. *The Modernity of Witchcraft: Politics and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa*. Virginia: University of Virginia Press

Hofmeyr, I 2007, The Black Atlantic Meets the Indian Ocean: Forging New Paradigms of Transnationalism for the Global South – Literary and Cultural Perspectives, *Social Dynamics: A journal of African studies*, 33:2, 3-32

Hofmeyr, I 2006. The Idea of 'Africa' in Indian Nationalism: Reporting the Diaspora in The Modern Review. *Paper presented at 'South Africa- India: Re-imagining the Disciplines : University of the Witwatersrand*, Johannesburg, May 19-21.

Hussain, Y & Bagguley, P 2012. Securitized citizens: Islamophobia, racism and the 7/7 London bombings, *The Sociological Review*, Volume 60, Issue 4, pages 715–734, November 2012

Hawley, J.C (ed) 2008. *India in Africa, Africa in India*. Indiana: Indiana University Press

Jukarainen, P 1999. These things of otherness and difference, *The European Legacy: Toward New Paradigms*, 4:3, 88-93

Kritz, M.M 2013. International Student Mobility and Tertiary Education Capacity in Africa, *International Migration* 2013, ISSN 0020-7985, pp 1- 21

Landau, L. B 2010. Loving the Alien? Citizenship, Law, and the Future in South Africa's Demonic Society, *African Affairs*, 109/435, 213–230

López, F. P 2009. Towards a definition of Islamophobia: approximations of the early twentieth century, 10.1080/01419870.2010.528440, 556-573

Mamdani, M 1996. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton University Press

Madison, D. Soyini. 2005. *Critical Ethnography: Method, Ethics and Performance*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage. Chapter 2: Methods 'Do I really need a method?' pp. 17-41.

Mbembe, A 2001. *On the Postcolony*. California: University of California Press

McCann, G 2013. From Diaspora to Third Worldism and the United Nations: India and the Politics of Decolonizing Africa, *Past and Present* (2013), Supplement 8, 258- 280

McLafferty, Sara L 2008. Conducting Questionnaire Surveys. In: Clifford, Nicholas / Valentine, Gill (eds.) *Key Methods in Geography*. Reprinted ed. Los Angeles: Sage. 2008, pp. 87-100.

Mignolo, W.D 2007. Delinking: The rhetoric of modernity, the logic of coloniality and the grammar of de-coloniality, *Cultural Studies* Vol. 21, Nos. 2 -3 March/May 2007, pp. 449 -514

Nyamnjoh, F. B 2006. *Insiders and Outsiders: Citizenship and Xenophobia in Contemporary Southern Africa*. London, England: Zed Books.

Naujoks 2009. *Emigration, Immigration, and Diaspora Relations in India*, retrieved from (http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=745#14).

Ozden, C; Parsons, C; Schiff, Christopher R. and Walmsley, T.L 2011. Where On Earth Is Everybody? The Evolution Of Global Bilateral Migration 1960–2000, *The World Bank Economic Review*. Vol. 25, No. 1, pp. 12–56

Parameswaran, R.E & Cardoza, K 2009. Immortal Comics Epidermal Politics, *Journal of Children and Media*, 3:1, 19-34

Philip, C.L, Mahalingam, R & Sellers, R.M 2010. Understanding East Indians' Attitudes Toward African Americans: Do Mainstream Prejudicial Attitudes Transfer to Immigrants?, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36:4, 651-671

Pinto, A 2001. UN Conference against Racism: Is Caste Race? *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 36, No. 30 (Jul. 28 - Aug. 3, 2001), pp. 2817-2820

Quijano, Anibal 2002. "Coloniality of Power and Eurocentrism in Latin America", in: Nepantla; *Views from the South*, Baltimore, 2002, (Vol3/2), S. 221-244. Foucault's Panoptic Discourse and the Cartographic Impulse, Diacritics, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Autumn, 1999), pp. 63-80

Randeria, S 2006. Entangled Histories: Civil Society, Caste Solidarities and Legal Pluralism in Post-colonial India, in Keane, J. (ed): *Civil Society- Berlin Perspectives*, New York, p. 213-242

Rattansi, A 2011. Race's Recurrence : Reflections on Amin's 'The Remainders of Race', *Theory Culture Society* 2011 28: 112

Radhakrishnan, R 1995. Toward an Eccentric CosmopoIitanism, *Positions* 3:3 Winter *1995*

Sadar, Z 2008. Forward to the 2008 Edition, p. vi-xxxi in Fanon, F 2008, originally 1952. *Black Skin, White Masks*, United Kingdom: Pluto Press.

Silva, G. M 2012. Folk conceptualizations of racism and antiracism in Brazil and South Africa, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35:3, 506-522

Silverstein, P.A 2005. Immigrant Racialization and the New Savage Slot: Race, Migration, and Immigration in the New Europe, *Annual Review Anthropology*, 34:363–84

Sitas, A 2006. The African Renaissance Challenge and Sociological Reclamations in the South, Current Sociology, May 2006. Vol 54(3): 357–380. London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi: Sage

Sitas, A 2011 Chapter 11: Unassimilable Otherness- The Reworking of Traumas by Refugees in Contemporary South Africa in Jeffrey Alexander, Ron Eyerman and Elisabeth Breese (eds.) *Narrating Trauma*, New York: Paradigm Books, p. 267- 291

Sivanandan, A 2001. Poverty is the new Black- An introduction by A. Sivanandan, *Race & Class*, Vol. 43(2): 1-5

Taras, R. 2010. Special Issue: Racialization and Religion: Race, culture and difference in the study of Antisemitism and Islamophobia, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Volume 36, Issue 3, 2013

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Trends in International Migration Stocks: Migrants by Age and Sex (New York, 2011)

United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report 2009 – Overcoming barriers: Human mobility and development (New York, 2009)

http://www.uis.unesco.org/Education/Pages/international-student-flow-viz.aspx

Visvanathan, S 2001. The Race for Caste: Prolegomena to the Durban Conference, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 36. No. 27 (Jul. 7-13, 2001), pp. 2512-251

Visweswaran, K. 2010. *Un/common Cultures: Racism and the Rearticulation of Cultural Difference*. Durham & London: Duke University Press

Wadhwa. R 2011. Review of Rajika Bhandari and Peggy Blumenthal: International students and global mobility in higher education: National trends and new directions, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, 260 pp ISBN: 978-0-230-61878-7, *Higher Education* (2012) 64:437–439

Weiner, M.F 2012. Towards a Critical Global Race Theory, *Sociology Compass*, Volume 6, Issue 4, pages 332–350, April 2012

Winant, H. 2014. The Dark Matter: Race and Racism in the 21st Century, *Critical Sociology*, p 1-12

Zeleza, P 2005. Rewriting The African Diaspora: Beyond The Black Atlantic, *African Affairs*, 104/414, 35–68