INDIAN DIASPORA IN GERMANY

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List of Abbreviations

AHK: Indian-German Chamber of Commerce

AISA: Association of Indian Students in Aachen

BMZ: Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development

CIM: Centre for International Migration and Development

DAAD: Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst

DIG: German-Indian Society

FCNR: Foreign Currency Non-Resident

FDI: Foreign Direct Investment

GIZ: German Development Agency

GOPIO: Global Organization of People of Indian Origin

ICMPD: International Centre for Migration Policy Development

IPF: Indian Professional Forum

ISA: Indian Student Association

ISG: Indian Students Germany

MEA: Ministry of External Affairs

NRI: Non-Resident Indian

ODA: Official Development Assistance

OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PIO: People of Indian Origin

UAE: United Arab Emirates

UNDESA: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The study begins by providing a general picture of Indian migration around the world and across Europe. With most Indian migrants concentrated in North America, the Middle East and the UK, Germany is home to the 17th largest Indian population in the world and the third in Europe. In 2016, its annual admissions of Indian citizens surpassed those of Italy. If this trend continues, following the UK's departure from the EU, Germany is likely to become home to the largest number of Indians in the EU. The Indian population in Germany is characterised by a relatively large presence of highly skilled men and women. The Indian government should, therefore, take these trends into account when designing diaspora policy, since the policies that may be appropriate for other countries with larger Indian populations with different skill sets may not be adequate for Germany.

Part two summarises the history of Indian migration to Germany from its inception in the early 20th century to the present day. Indian migration to Germany developed in the context of the favourable attitudes expressed by the German government and society. Indians have contributed to Germany's social and economic development. Simultaneously, given their high level of education, high income, stable migration status and the existence of diaspora organisations, Indians should be able to attain their full potential within the host community whilst also contributing to India's development. This potential should not be neglected. The growing number of Indian students is a particularly valuable asset for India; and Indian graduates of Germany universities could transfer knowledge and skills from Germany to India, and vice versa.

Part three analyses the key characteristics of the Indian diaspora in Germany. Even though the number of Indians doubled between 2009 and 2016, they constitute about 1% of all foreigners in Germany. They were mostly concentrated in North Rhine Westphalia, Bavaria and Baden Wurtemberg, thanks to the advantageous educational and employment opportu-

nities in these regions. They were generally more educated than most migrants, presumably due to the preponderance of young, single males migrating to study or work in highly skilled jobs (often as intra-company transferees). Most were born in India and showed higher naturalisation rates than all other foreigners residing in Germany during the same period. Their origins have been difficult to establish, but the diaspora today has become even more diverse, probably because of the affordability of study courses in Germany. Indian citizens constitute a small proportion of asylum seekers and irregular entrants. Most Indians in Germany today migrated legally to the country for work, and have been able to maintain legal status throughout their stay.

Part four analyses the key features of Indian diaspora organisations in Germany and the challenges they face. The Indian diaspora in Germany has developed three broad organisational structures: (1) German-Indian associations (DIGs); (2) student associations (ISAs); and (3) all "other" organisations. The key challenge confronting each type of organisation, as well as its members, is the uncertainty surrounding its ability to effectively manage its organisational growth.

Part five demonstrates that the Indian diaspora in Germany has contributed to India's development by transferring monies and ideas home. Both transfers could be further improved. The Indian diaspora in Germany should be made aware of how to transfer remittances in the least expensive way and assisted in transferring knowledge. Communities in India should be given advice about how to use received monies and ideas most productively. The German Development Agency (GIZ) and the Centre for International Migration and Development (CIM) have implemented a few development focused projects in India. Nevertheless, both the German and Indian governments could do more to spur further development actions and make them more effective.

Part six concludes that the growth of the Indian diaspora in Germany presents an opportunity for German and Indian societies alike. However, to harness its benefits, both governments should better understand the Indian diaspora's needs. The major challenge common to most Indian associations in Germany is the lack of effective management of organisational growth. While each type of organisation needs assistance in managing growth, ISAs appear most fit for immediate assistance, because they are most aware of the specific and practical issues they face. Furthermore, they are most open to accepting help from other organisations (including the EU, India, Germany, ICMPD, ILO and GIZ) to overcome their challenges. Given the large proportion of Indian students who stay in Germany to work after graduation, an effective university admissions system is key to the effective management of the Indian diaspora in Germany. Each stage of the admission process for Indian students could be strengthened for the benefit of India, Germany and the Indian students themselves. Most importantly, Indian students should be assisted in securing employment in Germany and contributing to Indo-German co-development through financial and knowledge transfers.

INTRODUCTION

India has the largest diaspora in the world, with the majority living in the Gulf. However, despite a much smaller presence in Europe, Indians have a long history of migration to the region, including Germany. The Indian diaspora in Germany has been growing, most recently due to the increasing inflow of students. The strengthening of Indo-German economic, political and cultural relations makes it important to better understand the make up of the Indian diaspora in Germany and the migration management policies that could be put in place so that Indo-German human mobility could benefit both societies.

This report is divided into five parts, followed by policy and project recommendations. The first part contextualises the Indian diaspora in Germany (Non-Resident Indians and Overseas Citizens of India) against the background of Indian diasporas around the world and across Europe. The second, explains how the Indian diaspora has evolved in Germany from its very beginnings in the early 20th century until the present day. Section three, zooms in on the most recent trends in Indian migration to Germany and its key characteristics. The fourth part explains the similarities and differences between Indian diaspora organisations. The fifth chapter discusses links between diaspora organisations and India's development. Finally, the report concludes with a summary of key issues as well as policy and project recommendations.

The report is based on a desk review of the literature in English, official German and international statistics and semi-structured interviews. A series of twenty-six interviews was carried out to consult leaders of Indian diaspora organisations, Indian diplomats, researchers and German development organisations conducting work in India. The interviews took place during the months of March and June 2018. Additionally, a short survey of 17 Indian migrants was conducted with the help of GIZ.

The research and drafting of this report was supported by the India-EU Cooperation and Dialogue on Migration and Mobility project, which is implemented jointly by the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) and the International Labour Organization (ILO) in collaboration with a local partner, the India Centre for Migration (ICM).

1

INDIANS AROUND THE WORLD AND ACROSS EUROPE

1. INDIANS AROUND THE WORLD AND ACROSS EUROPE

By 2015, nearly three quarters (72%) of an estimated 15.5 million Indians living abroad resided in Asia, with almost a quarter of them in the UAE (22%). With 1.2 million, Europe accounted for less than 8%, and Germany 0.4% of the world's total Indian diaspora. At that time, Germany had the 17th largest Indian population in the world and the 3rd largest in Europe.

On an international level, most migrating Indians have traditionally been male labourers who have sought employment in other Asian countries. However, those migrating to Germany have included a much higher proportion of highly skilled workers. They represent an underexplored image of the Indian diaspora, in contrast to the image normally conveyed by the media, which focuses primarily on blue collar workers in the Gulf region.

By 2017, the entire Indian diaspora was estimated at around 16.6 million and was thus the largest in the world (UNPD: 2018). If gathered together in a state of their own, the total number of Indian migrants worldwide would constitute the 71st most populous country with a population roughly equal to that of Ecuador or Senegal.

With only 4.3 million Indians living in the so called developed countries, most Indians lived in the developing states in 2015. At this time, nearly three quarters (72%) of Indian migrants resided in Asia, followed by North America (16%) and Europe (8%). Over half (53%) were concentrated in Western Asia (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Indian stocks around the world, by region, mid-year, 2015
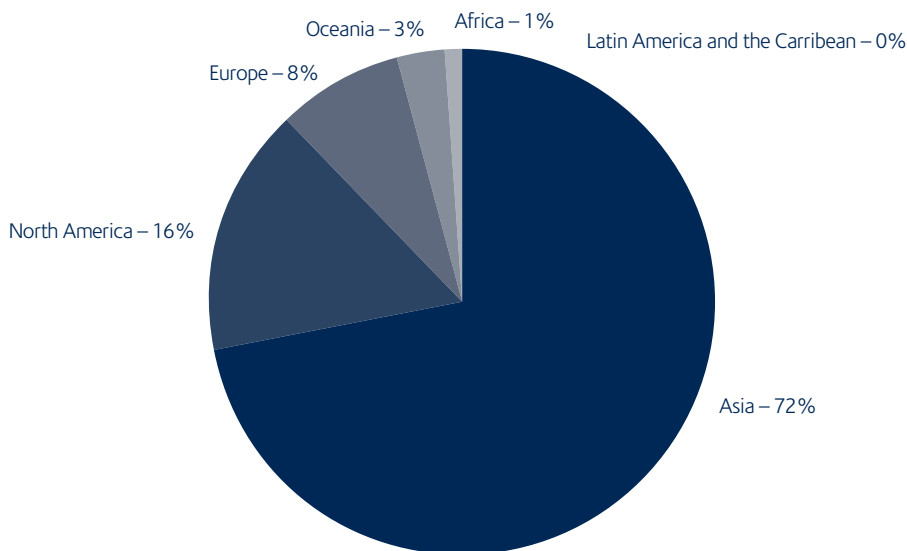
Source: Author, based on UNPD 2015.

In the past two decades, Indian migration has shifted from the US towards the Middle East and has become dominated by manual labourers and domestic workers (Abrams, 2016). In 2015, around a quarter of all Indian citizens abroad resided in the UAE (22%). Holding 0.4% of the world's Indian stocks, Germany had the 17th largest Indian diaspora in the world and the third in Europe, after the UK (5%) and Italy (1%) (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Indian stocks around the world, by country, mid-year, 2015
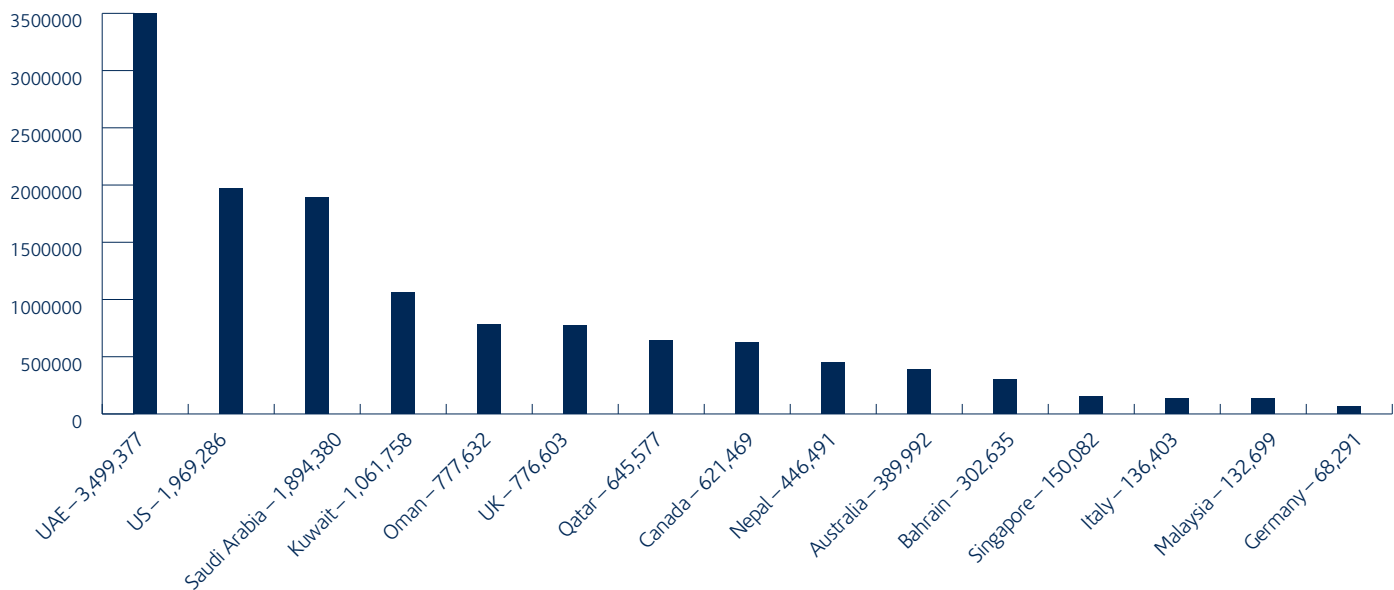
Source: Author, based on UNPD 2015.

As of 2015, the majority of Indian migrants – 10 million out of 15.5 million – were men (Figure 3). Even though in Europe as a region, 47% of the Indian population consisted of women, the proportion in Germany was much smaller[1]. The number of women rose by 15% from 4.8 million in 2010 to 5.5 million in 2015. Indian men were twice as likely to migrate to developing regions as women, presumably due to the demand in construction and other physically demanding jobs. The US hosted most Indian women (933,216), while the UAE hosted most Indian men (2.7 million).

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1. The proportion of women was high in the Americas due to the high proportion in the USA and low in Asia due to the low proportion in the Gulf.

Figure 3: Proportion of women (in percentages) among Indian migrants around the world, 2015
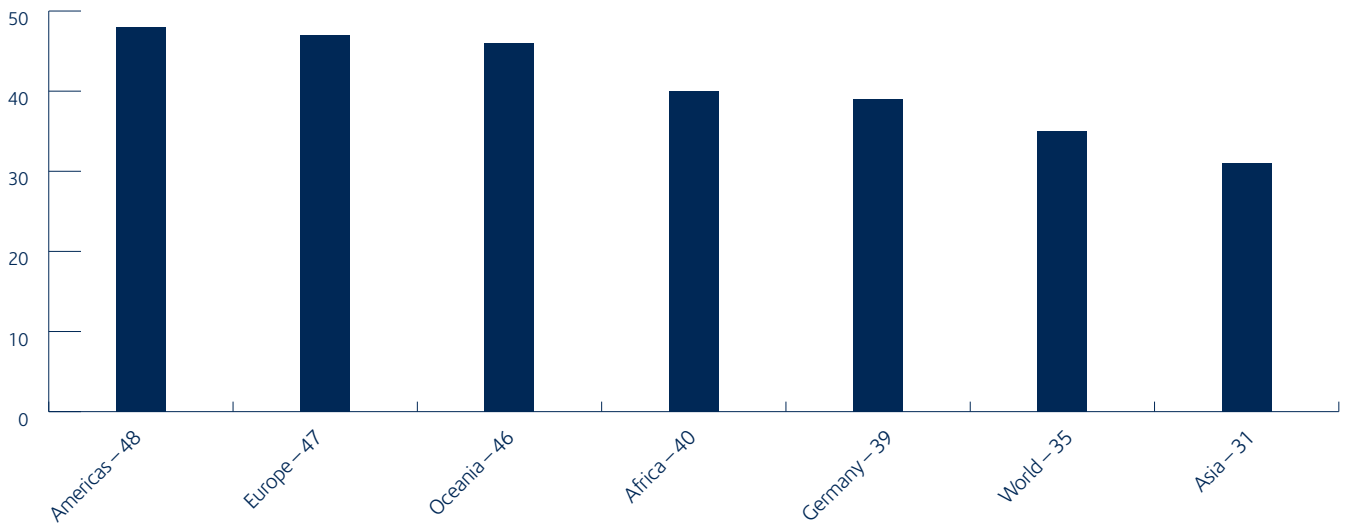
Source: Author, based on UNPD 2015.

With 1.2 million Indians living in Europe, Europe would have had the fifth largest Indian diaspora in the world, if it was considered as a country rather than a region.

In Europe, the UK and Italy had the largest Indian stocks as of 2016, according to the latest data released in 2018. However, the UK has since become a more difficult destination to access for Indian workers and students due to changes in migration policies and an increase in university tuition fees (Faist et al., 2017). If the UK becomes a less popular destination for Indians, Germany – under the current economic and political context – is likely to emerge as the top European destination for Indian migrants. In 2018, there were still more Indians residing in Italy than Germany, but this was due to the very large number of Indians admitted to Italy prior to the 2007/08 economic crisis. The onset of the crisis resulted in a drastic decline of new work permits issued to migrants in Italy. The crisis did not have such a large impact on Germany. Hence, while Indian migration to Italy has drastically decreased, migration to Germany continues to grow.

There are two broad statistical indicators of migration for any country: inflows and stocks. Inflows data capture the number of new permits issued in a year. Stocks data estimate the number of permits held at the end of the year. A given country may have large inflows of migrants, but small migrant stocks, or vice versa. Large stocks indicate that a country received large inflows in the past. In 2018, Germany had smaller stocks but larger inflows of Indian migrants than Italy. If Indians continue to arrive in Germany in greater numbers than Italy, over the next few years the stocks of Indians in Germany could surpass those in Italy.

Inflows

In 2016, Germany surpassed Italy in the number of first permits issued to Indian citizens, thereby becoming the second most important destination for Indian migrants after the UK. In the same year, Germany issued 7% of all permits, i.e. nearly one ninth of the number of permits issued by the UK (61%).

Between 2008 and 2016, the 28 EU Member States issued on average 172,190 first permits a year to Indian citizens. Most (108,078, or 63%) were issued in the UK. Italy (19,503, or 11%) and Germany (8,892, or 5%) issued the second and third largest numbers of new permits to Indians. As of 2016, the UK continued to issue most new permits to Indians (122,075, or 61%). The proportions issued by Italy decreased (9512, or 5%), while those in Germany increased (14,004, or 7%) (Figure 3).

Figure 4: First permits issued to Indian citizens in the EU, 2008-16

Legend:
- United Kingdom
- Italy
- Germany
- Sweden
- Netherlands
- France
- Spain
- Ireland
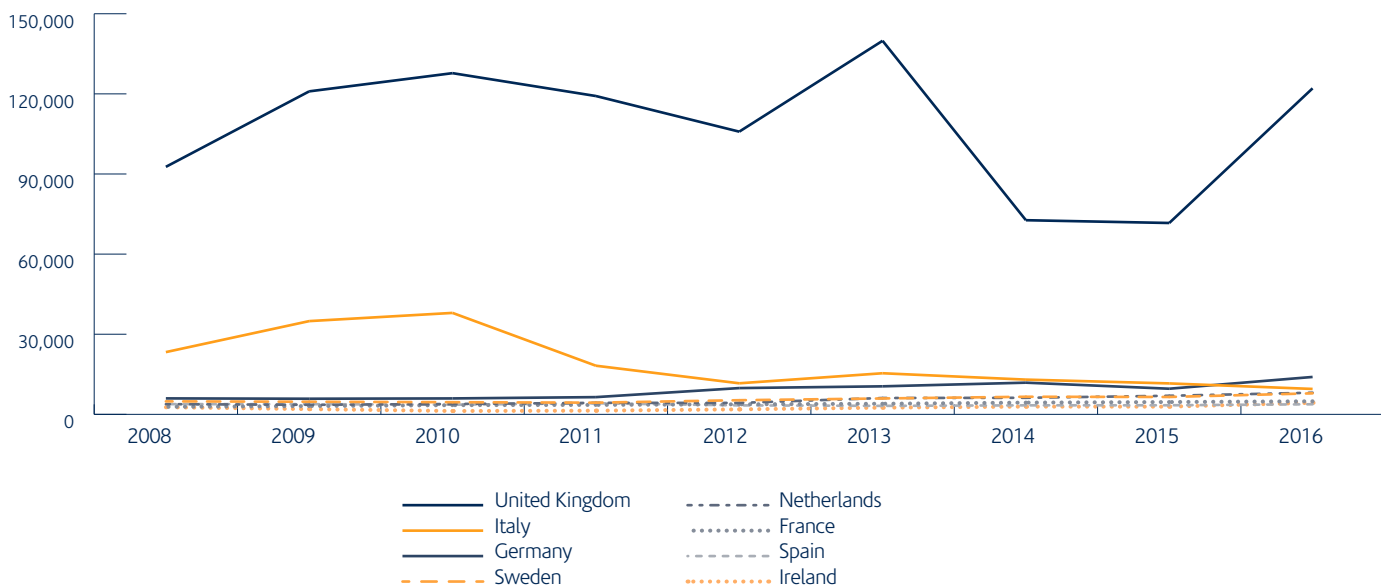
Source: Author based on Eurostat 2018e.

Stocks

By the end of 2016, Germany accounted for 11% of all Indian residents in the EU, after the UK (34%) and Italy (26%). Together with Spain (6%), the UK, Italy, and Germany accounted for over three quarters of Indians in the EU 27.

The number of Indians holding residence permits in the EU 28 doubled from around 300,000 during the period 2008-2011 to around 600,000 during the period 2012-2016. However, no significant growth has occurred since 2012 (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Residence permits (for any reason) held by the citizens of India in EU 28 at the end of the year, 2008-2016[2]

Data labels (x-axis):
- 2008 – 249,126
- 2009 – 301,295
- 2010 – 302,550
- 2011 – 312,830
- 2012 – 603,016
- 2013 – 584,187
- 2014 – 590,822
- 2015 – 605,445
- 2016 – 609,337
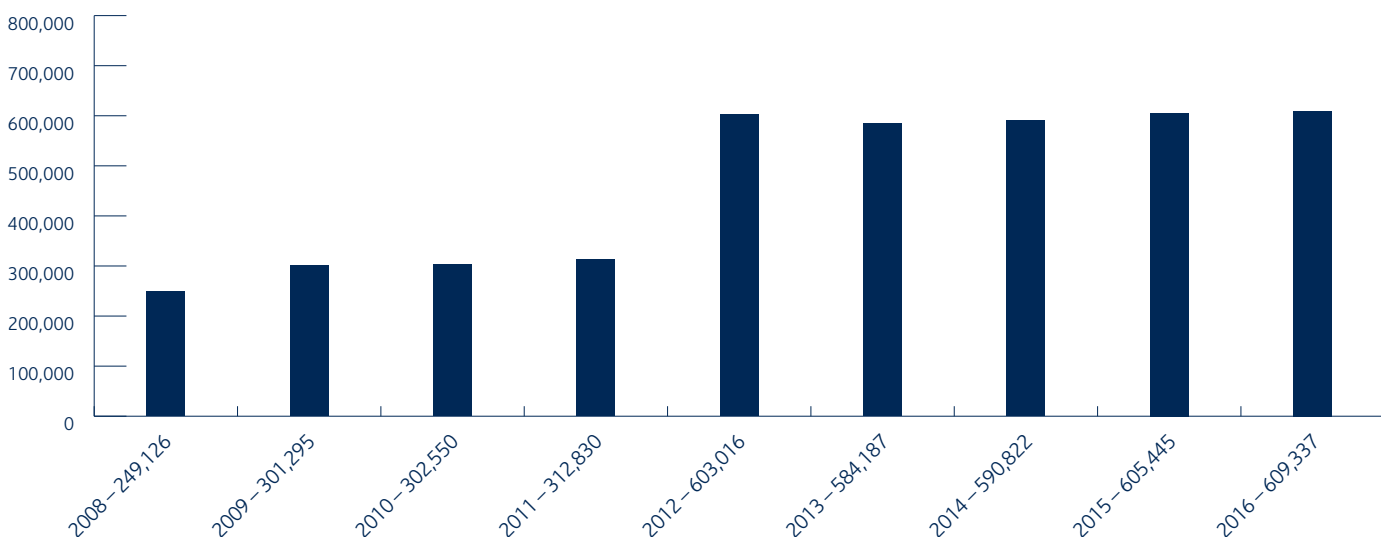
Source: Author, based on Eurostat 2018e.

2. Eurostat did not provide data for Denmark for the period cited.

Figure 6: Residence permits (for any reason) held by Indian citizens at the end of 2016[3]

Ireland – 13,319 – 2%
Greece – 14,636 – 2%
Sweden – 16,271 – 3%
France – 21,156 – 3%
Netherlands – 23,100 – 4%
Spain – 37,614 – 6%
Other – 54,078 – 9%
Germany – 66,730 – 11%
Italy – 158,159 – 26%
United Kingdom – 204,274 – 34%
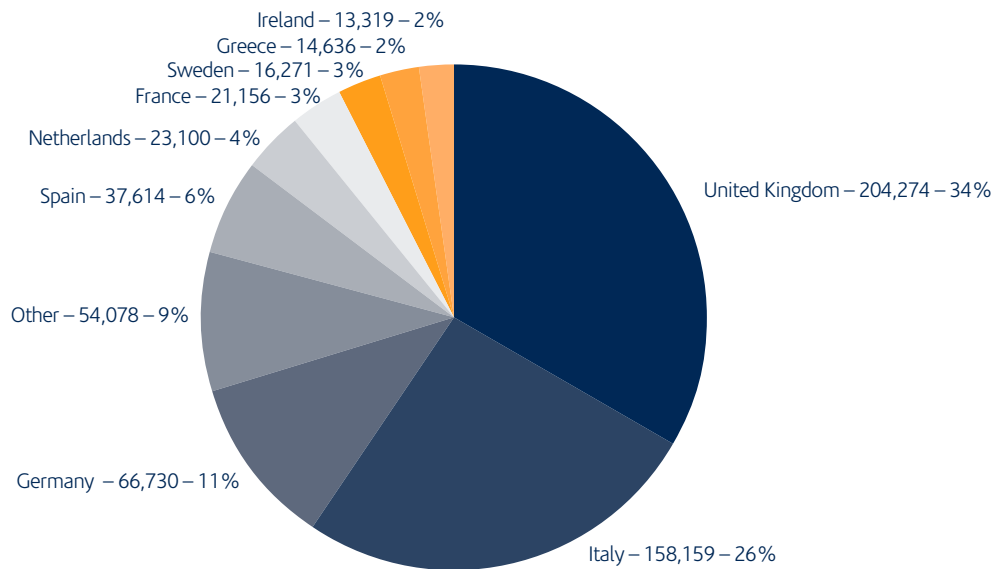
Source: Author, based on Eurostat 2018e.

By the end of 2016, the UK (34%), Italy (26%), Germany (11%) and Spain (6%) hosted over three quarters of Indian nationals in 27 EU states.

According to Indian migration data available from the Ministry of External Affairs, in 2020, Germany possessed approximately 142,585 Non-Resident Indians (NRI) and 425,000 Overseas Citizens of India (OCI)[4].

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3. Eurostat did not provide data for Denmark.

4. http://mea.gov.in/images/attach/NRIs-and-PIOs_1.pdf

2

EVOLUTION
OF THE INDIAN DIASPORA
IN GERMANY

2. EVOLUTION OF THE INDIAN DIASPORA IN GERMANY

2.1. Historical evolution of Indian migration to Germany up until 2000

Indian migration to Germany dates back to the early 20th century when Germany attracted Indian Independence Fighters and students. Encouraged by the German government and society's favourable reception, Indian students continued to go to Germany after the war. By the 1950s, student inflows were complemented by inflows of Indian workers, notably Catholic nurses from Kerala. Both students and workers successfully integrated into German society and created the first set of Indian associations. In East Germany, Indian migration was observed on a smaller scale and mostly composed of temporary workers.

Some Indian students formed an Indian Regiment within the German Army (Butsch, 2017). After the WWII hiatus, the migration of Indian students to Germany resumed in the 1950s (Gottschlich, 2012). Indians considered Germany to be a good destination for studying, given the high level of education and favourable attitudes of the German people. Indian students formed the nucleus of the Indo-German society (Goasalia, 2002). Once formed, their associations contributed to the integration of non-student Indians.

After WWII Indian associations started to flourish in Germany. In 1953, former German officers of the Indian Legion established the Indo-German Society (DIG) and in 1956 German and Indian businessmen established the Indian-German Chamber of Commerce (AHK) (Gautam, 2013). Since migration from India continued to grow and feature increasingly diverse migrant profiles, other associations sprang up, often formed by Indians from a particular part of India. For instance, a group of Malayali nurses established the *Malayali Association for the Welfare of the Indian Malayali Community*. Today the DIG and AHK have branches across Germany, while other organisations have sister associations throughout the country. Many Malayali associations are concentrated in North-Rhine Westphalia, especially the Dusseldorf-Koln area (Gautam, 2013).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s Germany experienced a shortage of nurses. Since German hospitals at the time were run by the Catholic Church, the network of organisations began to recruit Christian women, mainly from Kerala (Gootschlich, 2012; Goel, 2002; Goel, Punnamparambil & Punnamparambil-Wolf, 2012).

According to Gottschlich (2012), even when the Catholic Church was not recruiting, it attracted migrants with a Catholic background, especially women, who felt more encouraged to migrate with the support of the church in Germany. The Catholic Church helped many Indian newcomers integrate into Germany (Goel, 2008).

In total, nearly 6,000 women were recruited from Kerala to Germany in the 1960s and 1970s. Nurse migration led to further family migration. Since nurses came from a different background compared to the majority of Indians who were already in Germany, they often married Indians from a similar social milieu as their own, who resided in India (Goel, 2013 in Butsch, 2017). Nurses' husbands were not allowed to work during the first four years of their stay (Butsch, 2017). This undermined their integration (Gottschlich, 2012). Some nurses married Germans, thereby contributing to the growth of the Indo-German population (Gosalia, 2002).

While a number of students and nurses left Germany, those who stayed became part of the German middle class. Most of the time, their children were able to secure good jobs as nurses, doctors, engineers, academics or business people (Singhvie at al., 2001).

Unlike West Germany, East Germany attracted fewer Indians. Most were foreign workers and students admitted on temporary visas (Butsch, 2017). Whether due to the short-term nature of stays, or for other reasons, the Indian diaspora in East Germany did not establish associations until much later.

Indian inflows slowed down with the onset of the economic crisis of 1973. Despite the post-1973 curbs on migration to Germany, it picked up again in 1978 with inflows of Indian asylum seekers and again in the early 1990s.

The migration of Indian workers to Germany slowed down in the second half of the 1970s due to the 1973 oil crisis (Figure 8). In the wake of the economic downfall, only non-economic migration was allowed. This included migration for family reunification, humanitarian protection and studies. Since the German government did not want to encourage family reunification, spouses of many Keralite nurses were not permitted to work for long periods (Goel, 2002).

Figure 7: Migration from India to Germany, 1960-2000
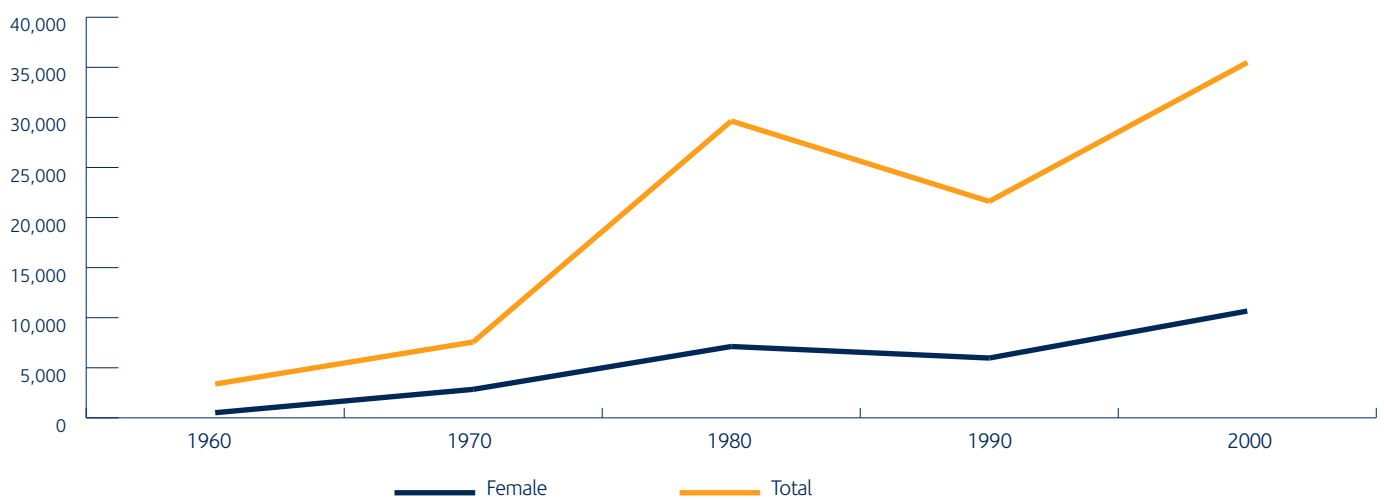
Source: Author, based on World Bank 2011.

On annual average 10,620 new Indians migrated to Germany between 1981 and 2000 (Butsch, 2017). They differed from previous waves in the sense that they were neither Hindu nor Christian, had rural backgrounds, a relatively low socio-economic status and did not identify themselves with the Indian state. The Sikhs who arrived in the aftermath of the Punjab conflict could not establish links with the earlier, more educated Indians (Butsch, 2016). Germany continued to receive asylum seekers of Indian origin through out the 1990s, most notably Hindus from Afghanistan. In 1994 Indian Origin Afghans created an Afghan Hindu Association in Hamburg (Afghan Hindu Verein, Hamburg). In 1994 the association estimated that there were 1,500 Indian Origin Afghans families in Germany, 250 in Hamburg alone (Guatam, 2013). Apart from Hamburg, Indian Origin Afghans established communities in other parts of Germany, notably Cologne, Frankfurt and Essen.

2.2. Recent Indian migration to Germany: 2000-present

In order to attract more highly skilled workers, researchers, entrepreneurs and students, Germany began to liberalise its migration policies after 2000. According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), German migration regulations were among the most liberal among the OECD countries at the time. They contributed to the inflows and settlement of highly skilled Indians, including women.

Migration from India to Germany was aided by growing recruitment in Germany (Faist et al., 2017), initially by the Catholic Church, then by transnational companies, and most recently by universities.

The number of Indian migrants in Germany more than doubled, from around 32,000 in 1990 to 68,500 in 2017 (UNDESA, 2018). Before 2000, Germany did not recognise itself as an immigration country, but the policies which came into effect in 2000 eroded that notion. The liberalisation of Germany's migration policy was to a large degree fuelled by the rising demand for workers in the IT sector. Between 2000 and 2004 around 18,000 IT experts arrived in Germany, including 3,926 from India (Kolb, 2005).

In an effort to oppose a plan to issue 2,000 work permits to computer workers from India, the CDU Party in North Rhine-Westphalia launched a campaign that assumed the slogan "Kinder statt Inder!" ("Children not Indians!") (Gottschlich, 2012). The implication was that Germany should train its own IT experts rather than recruit them from countries outside the EU such as India. However, this episode did not tarnish the positive perception that Indians had earned in Germany. German society was largely aware of the shortage of IT professionals among its own population. Hence, it generally understood that Indians were supporting the country's economic development.[5]

The German Immigration Act of 2005 favoured more open, yet more selective, immigration and integration laws for highly skilled migrants, professionals and students. Of all the immigration permits issued for IT professionals between 2000 and 2005, Indians represented the largest share, even though their numbers were lower than initially expected (Gottschlich, 2012).[6] IT shortages continued to afflict Germany in 2017 and are likely to persist as Germany continues to compete for global talent (Federal Ministry of the Interior, 2011).

Many Indian IT professionals were recruited as intra-company transferees. Intra-company transferees are asked to take temporary assignments in Germany and are expected to return to the mother company, therefore these workers are least likely to settle. However, after 2000 German legislation began to ease immigration restrictions for highly skilled entrepreneurs, researchers and students. These admissions did not require migrants to return home, and even facilitated their stay.

For instance, international graduates of German universities were entitled to a generous 18 month long residence permit to help them secure a job after graduation.

While those who decided to stay in Germany were subject to a series of requirements including a clean criminal record, language mastery and sufficient income, the 2008 Residence Act lowered the minimum income requirement for highly skilled applicants for immediate residence permits.[7]

Further liberalisation of German migration policies that favoured the Indian population came in 2012 when Germany implemented the EU Blue Card Directive. The objective was to create a long-term residence permit for highly skilled workers in the context of skill shortages. In order to obtain a Blue Card in Germany, foreign professionals needed an annual minimum gross salary of 47,600 euros, familiarity with the German language and (preferably) graduation from a German university (Faist et al., 2017). However, those who took up bottleneck jobs (e.g. engineers, scientists, mathematicians, doctors, and IT experts) qualified for the Blue Card as long as they earned 38,688 euros annually (Faist et al., 2017). Indians have consistently constituted around 20% of all Blue Cards issued by Germany (Figure 9). As a result of these reforms, Germany created – according to the OECD - the least restrictive admissions system for highly skilled workers (OECD, 2013).

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5. Germany continues to excel in mechanical engineering. However, increasingly more products that were once developed by mechanical engineers – including German cars – now require IT engineering as well.

6. The most in-demand professions included high-tech professionals, engineers, scientists and university lecturers (Tejada, 2014). However, Germany also experienced a shortage of healthcare workers, thereby attracting many Malayali nurses (Singh & Rajan, 2015).

7. The income requirement was lowered from 86,500 to 63,000 euros per year (Schneider, 2007).

Figure 8: EU Blue Cards issued by Germany to Indians and all international migrants, 2012-16
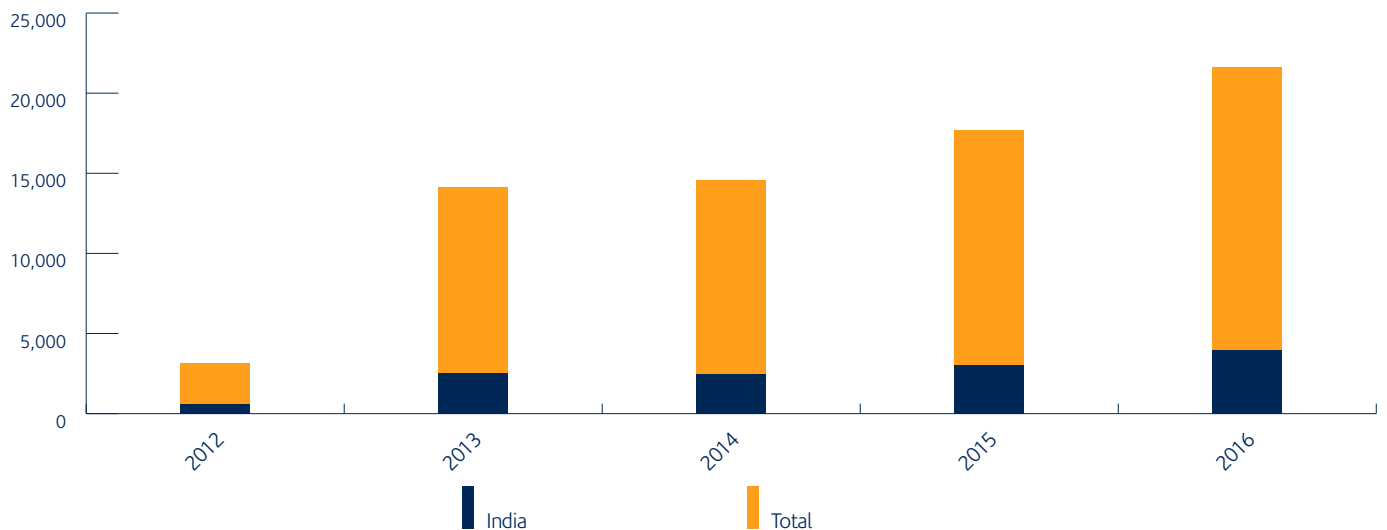
Source: Author, based on Eurostat 2018b.

By 2015, 4% of Indian students moving abroad went to Germany, thereby making Germany the 6th most popular destination for Indian students. Indians became Germany's second largest international student population. Many were attracted by the good cost-quality ratio of German education. After graduating from German universities, Indian students were generally able to secure jobs and stay in Germany, after adjusting their status from student to postgraduate worker.

As Germany's education system underwent "internationalisation" in the 2000s, it attracted a number of international students, notably from India (Figure 10)[8]. Student migration from India increased so fast that by 2015, Germany became the 6th most important destination for Indian students after the US, Australia, the UK, New Zealand and the UAE. Indian students in Germany accounted for 4% of all Indians studying abroad (Butsch, 2017).[9] In October 2015, the Vice-President of the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD), an ethnic Indian himself, accompanied Chancellor Merkel on her trip to India, thereby indicating further interest in facilitated Indian student migration.[10]

Initially Indian students who were used to migrating to study in the UK and the US were unfamiliar with German universities. However, with good quality programmes on offer at a fraction of the cost of tuition fees in the UK or US (coupled with lower living costs), they quickly appealed to those Indians who would otherwise have been unable to study abroad. Furthermore, the robust German economy combined with liberal migration regulations made it more likely for Indian graduates to be able to stay in Germany after completing their studies, as opposed to the US or the UK.[11]

According to Faist et al. (2017), between 2009 and 2014 neither students nor intra-company transferees had a clear idea of how long they would stay in Germany, but were interested in acquiring German work experience.[12] Only 18% of Indian students who arrived in Germany in 2014 left the country within two years, compared to 58% of Indian professionals. Indian professionals had higher return rates than students, presumably due to the fact that some professionals were admitted as intra-company transferees and were expected to leave. According to Eurostat, between 2008 and 2016 Indians constituted on average 9% of all graduates who successfully changed their status.

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8. Among others, a BA degree was established and more courses became available in English in order to attract fee-paying foreign students.

9. German and UNESCO data differ

10. Specialising in mechanical and computer engineering, Germany offered a particularly good match for Indians who studied these subjects in India. Jobs in the two domains were placed on the list of occupations deemed difficult to be filled by national workers, which in turn facilitated foreign student admissions, because of a higher probability of securing a job after graduation (Faist et al. 201).

11. For more detailed information of the literature and surveys on the intentions of stay in Germany between 2009 and 2014, see Faist et al. (2017).

12. While 69% of the professionals who entered Germany in 2010 left between 2010 and 2012, the share of Indian professionals who entered in 2014 and left before the beginning of 2017 dropped to around 58% (Faist et al., 2017).

Figure 9: Change of status from education to work, 2008-16
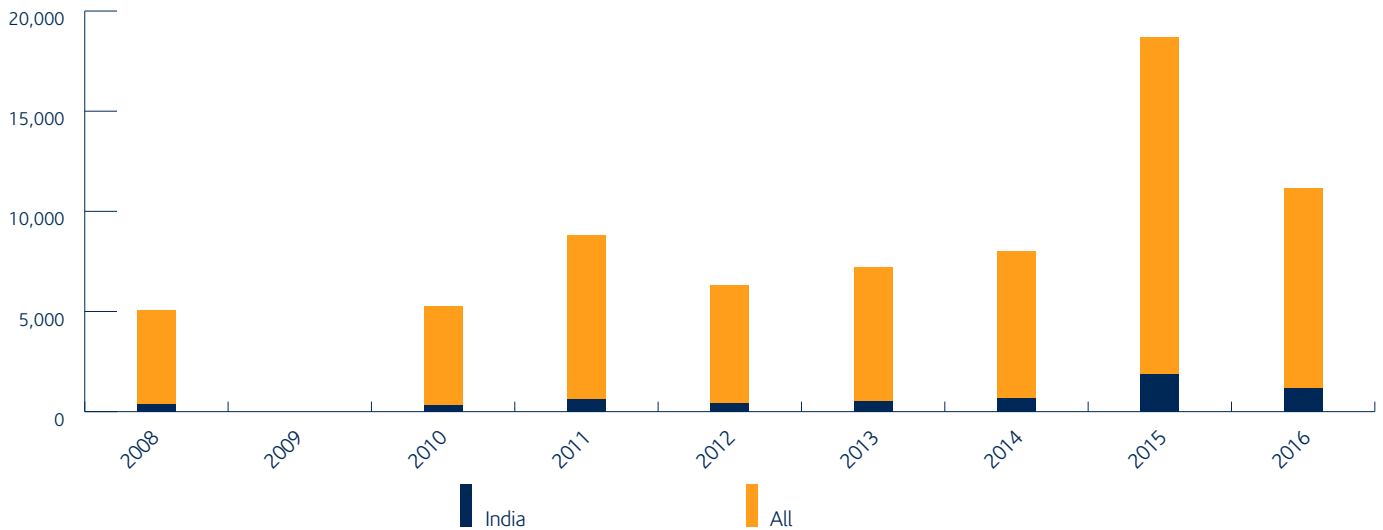
Source: Author, based on Eurostat 2018c .

Indian migrants in Germany today are generally considered more educated and skilled than other migrants from Asia, apart from China. Their labour market and social integration allows them to secure well-paid jobs and integrate smoothly into the German middle class, thereby contributing to Germany's economic development. However, despite their high level of education, high income, stable migration status and the existence of diaspora organisations, the Indians interviewed in this study expressed the view that the current Indian population in Germany still needs to maximise their full potential for fostering development in their country of destination as well as in their country of origin. This potential should not be neglected. The growing number of Indian students is a particularly valuable asset for India. Indian graduates of Germany universities could encourage the transfer of knowledge and skills from Germany to India and vice versa.

According to Gottschlich (2013), Indians represented higher proportions of highly skilled workers compared to other South Asians. Furthermore, their educational achievements increased from generation to generation (Gries, 2000). Over the past two decades, good education has helped Indians secure stable skilled jobs and become part of the German middle class, even though the Indians interviewed for this research believe that they could have been even more successful if they had moved to Germany with prior knowledge of the German language. Their economic and social success has made them potentially important contributors' to India's economic development. Indeed, the average income of Indian migrants was among the highest of all migrant groups, giving much room to contribute to the development of their home country in financial terms or in other forms.

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3
KEY CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INDIAN DIASPORA IN GERMANY

3. KEY CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INDIAN DIASPORA IN GERMANY

The Indian diaspora in Germany consists of Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) and People of Indian Origin (PIOs). By 2015, NRIs were estimated at around 86,000. The number of PIOs is more difficult to estimate.

The question of the number of Indians in Germany depends on how they are defined. Thus various sources may offer different estimates. The Federal Statistical Office of Germany classifies persons born abroad or descending from at least one parent born abroad as people with a migration background (*Migrationshintergrund*). According to the 2015 microcensus, 102,000 persons had an Indian migration background. The figure includes Indian nationals and their children living in Germany who acquired German citizenship (DeStatis, 2017a: 66). The government of India has long classified the Indian diaspora as Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) and People of Indian Origin (PIOs) or Overseas Citizens of India (since 2015). NRIs are persons holding Indian citizenship, but living outside of India. PIOs do not hold Indian citizenship but have ancestors who did (Butsch, 2016).[13]

NRIs:

Throughout the 1990s, there were an estimated 35,000 NRIs in Germany. Their number grew in the early 2000s. The growth in Indian stocks was in part due to more Indians moving to Germany than leaving the country. Between 1991 and 2011 there were only two years (1994, 1998) when the number of Indians leaving Germany was slightly higher than that of Indians coming in (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, 2011: 249-51 in Gottlich, 2013). By the end of 2015, the German Statistical Office estimated the number of NRIs in Germany at 86,324, i.e. more than double of the estimate in 2000 – 35,183 (DeStatis 2015, 2016). The MEA estimated that 142,585 Non-Resident Indians were living in Germany in 2020.

OCI/PIOs:

According to the Indian Ministry of External Affairs (MEA), there were 67,029 PIOs in Germany in 2016. Assessing the number of PIOs is difficult due to the lack of statistical data on Indians with German citizenship. Since PIO cards were abrogated in 2018, naturalisation figures are more useful than PIO estimates (see below). Conversely, in 2020, the MEA estimated that 42,500 Indians were living in Germany.

Indians constituted 1% of all foreign residents and 6% of all Asians in Germany between 2009 and 2016.

The annual average proportion of the German population made up of Indians has remained relatively stable since 2009. Between 2009 and 2016, Indian residents constituted 1% of all foreigners and 6% of all Asians living in Germany.

In the last year for which data is available – 2016 – Indian citizens (5%) were the fifth most populous Asian migrant group in Germany, after the citizens of Syria (31%), Afghanistan (12%), Iraq (11%) and China (6%). They were slightly more numerous than citizens of Iran, who also constituted 5% of migrant stocks (Figure 11).

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13. A PIO's ancestry is counted up to the fourth generation, but it excludes persons who have or have previously been granted citizenship in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Pakistan or Sri Lanka.

Figure 10: Legal residents from India among other legal residents from Asia in Germany, 2016

Iran – 97,710 – 5%
India – 97,865 – 5%
China – 129,150 – 6%
Iraq – 227,195 – 11%
Afghanistan – 253,485 – 12%
Syria – 6378,45 – 31%
Other – 634,080 – 30%
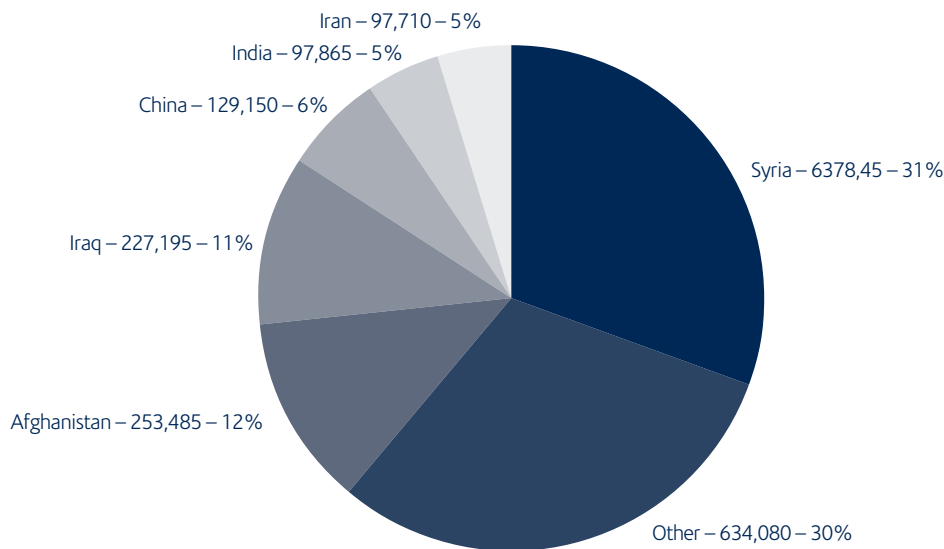
Source: Author, based on Destatis 2017a, table 3

Stocks of Indian residents in Germany more than doubled between 2009-2016, from around 46,000 to approximately 98,000 (Figure 12).

Figure 11: Indian residents in Germany, recorded on December 31 each year between 2009-2016

Men   Women   Total
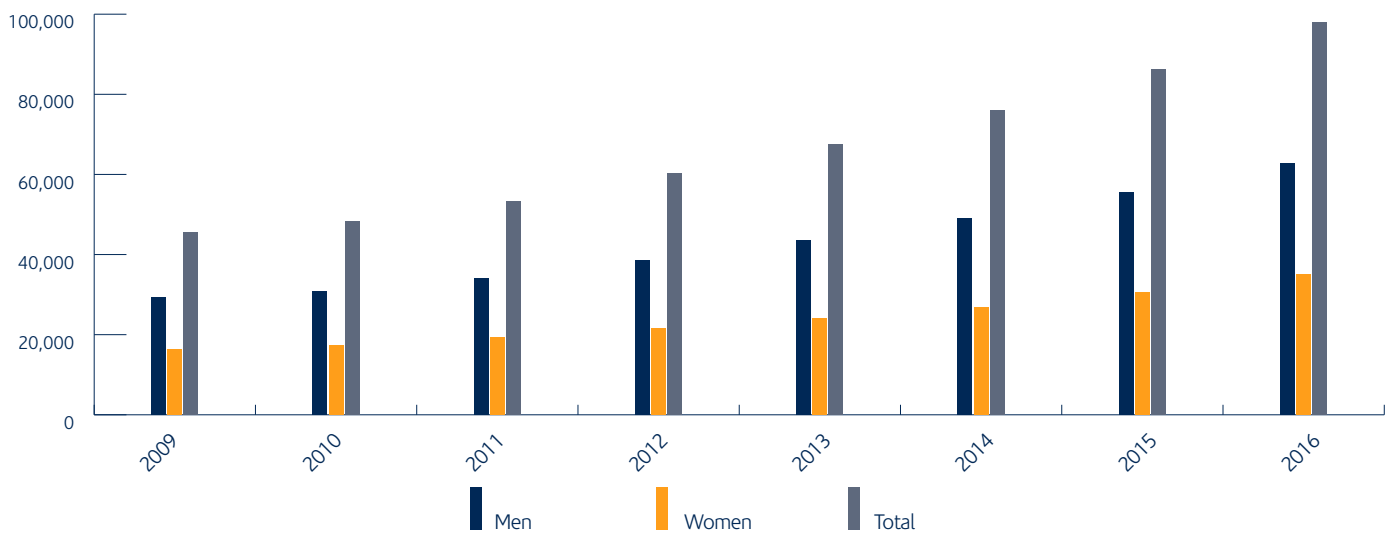
Source: Author, based on Destatis 2017a, table 3.

Gender

Women constituted over one third of residents from India as opposed to nearly half from Asia and all other source countries. Men also predominated among Indian students.

There were fewer women among migrants from India than among those from Asia and all other countries of origin. The average percentage of women among migrants from India between 2009 and 2016 was 35.7% (versus 48.6% and 47.9% from Asia and all other countries respectively) (Figure 13). Gottschlich (2012) suggested that (apart from typically female jobs, e.g. nurses) Indian labour migration to Germany has been composed predominantly of men, even among students. More women have entered Germany through family reunification than independently (Gottschlich, 2012).

Figure 12: Percentage of women among Indian, Asian and all other migrants residing in Germany at the end of the year, 2009-2016
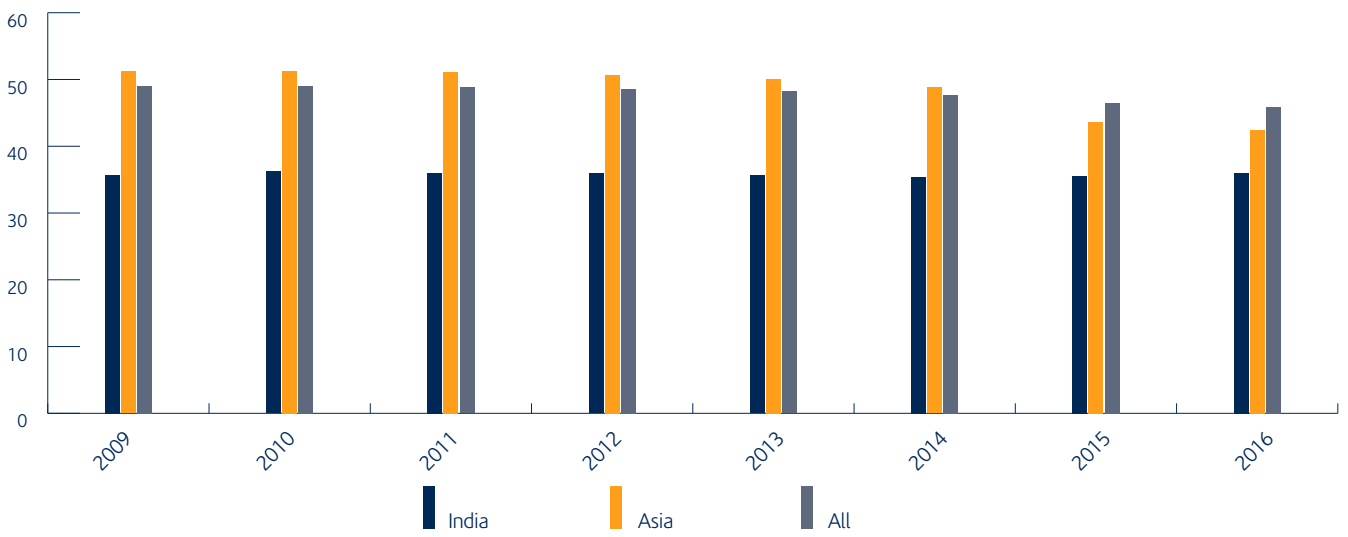
Source: Author, based on Destatis 2017a, table 3.

Age

Indians were slightly older than all other migrants from Asia, but much younger than migrants from all countries combined.

In 2016 the average age of Indian residents was 31 years old (31.3 among men and 30.5 among women) (Destatis, 2017a, table 3) (Figure 14).

Figure 13: Average age of Indian, Asian and all other foreign residents in Germany in 2016
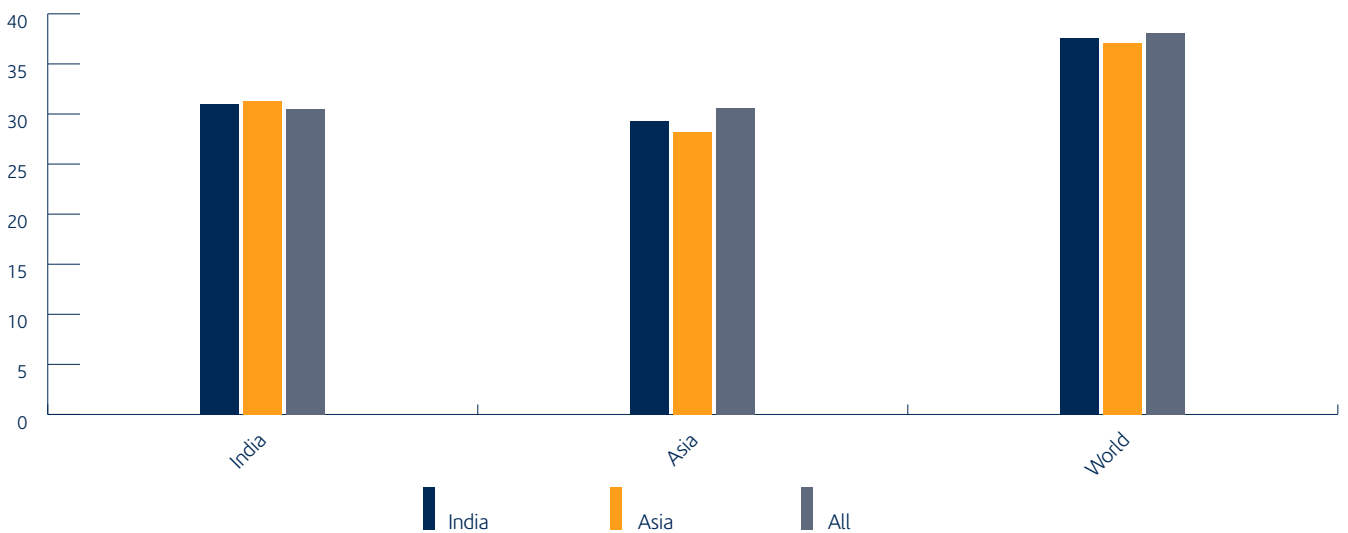
Source: Author, based on Destatis 2017a, table 4.

Geographical distribution

In 2016, 21% of all Indians resided in North Rhine-Westphalia.

By the end of the year, 89% of Indian citizens lived in what used to be West Germany, mostly (21%) in the North Rhine-West phalia (especially Cologne), followed by Baden Würt-temberg (mainly Stuttgart) and Bavaria (notably Munich) (18% each).

(Figure 15). These regions have historically attracted Indian students and workers thanks to educational and employment opportunities matching Indian migrants' interests.

Figure 14: Distribution of Indian migrants in Germany, 2016
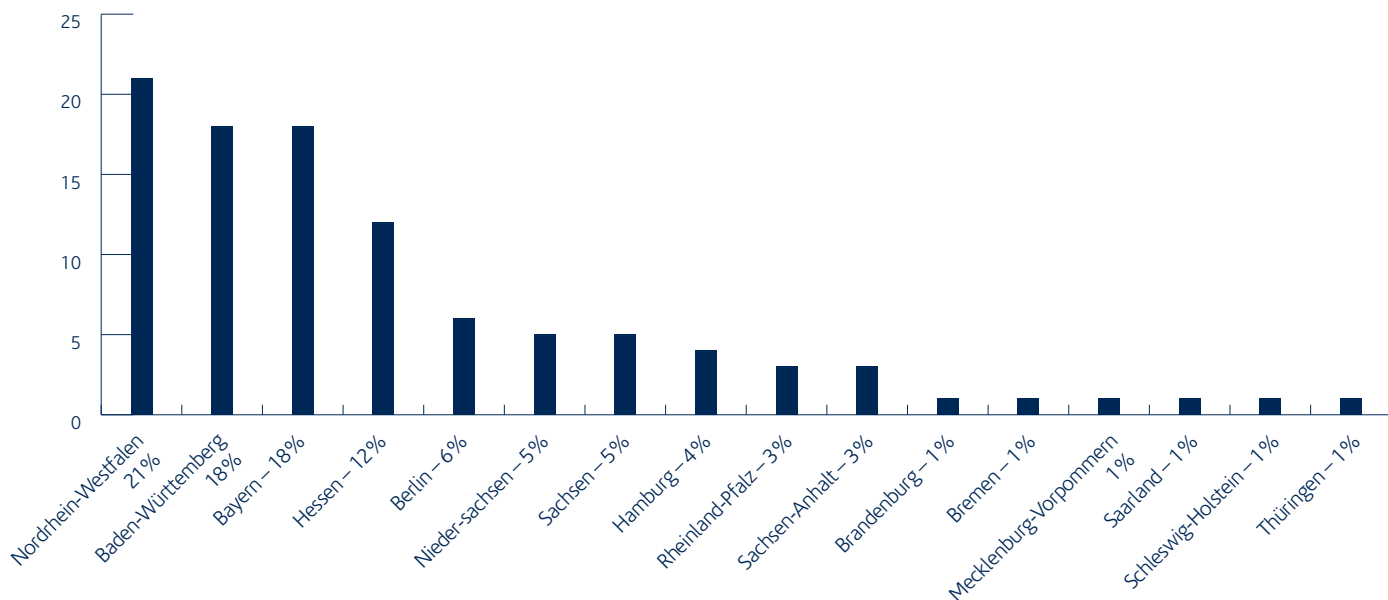
Source: Author, based on Destatis 2017a, table 10.

For the same period Indian women showed a similar distribution pattern to all Indians: most were concentrated in North Rhine Westphalia (20%), followed by Bavaria (19%) and Baden-Württemberg (17%) (Figure 16).

Figure 15: Distribution of Indian women in Germany, 2016
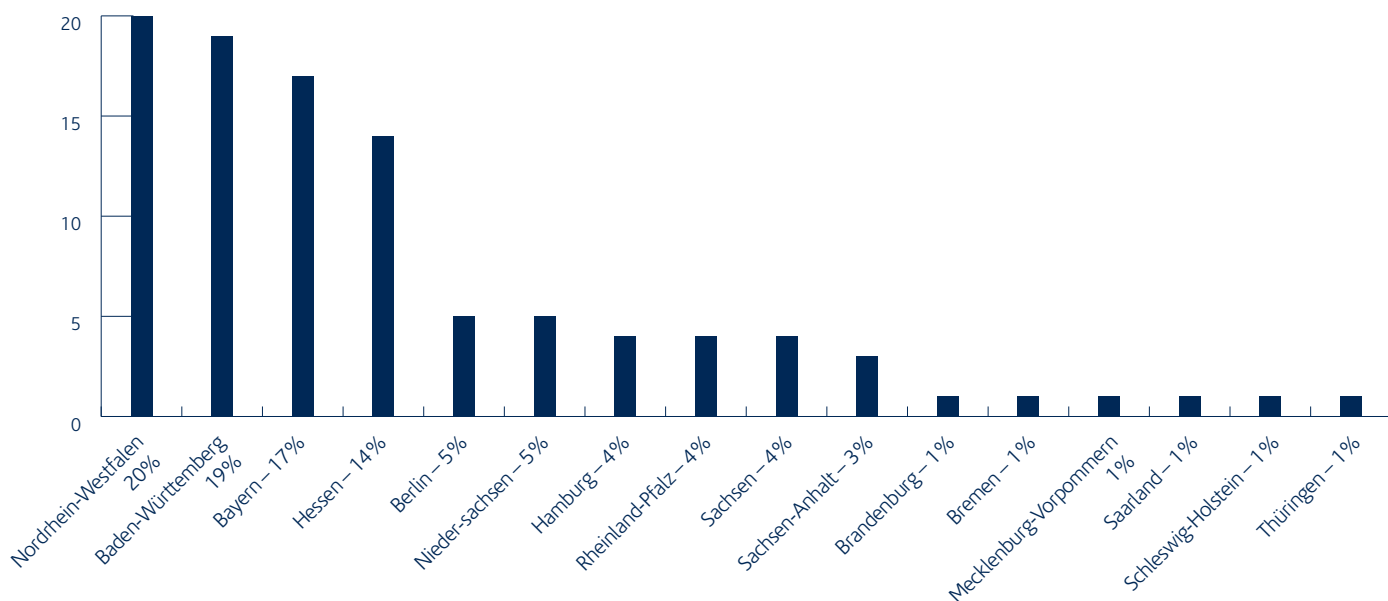
Source: Author, based on Destatis 2017a, table 10.

Civil status: half single, 41% married.

In 2016, nearly half of Indian citizens in Germany were single, while 41% were married (Figure 17).

Figure 16: Civil status of Indian citizens, 2016

Unknown – 8,005 – 8%
Former partnership – 5 – 0%
Divorced – 1,795 – 2%
Widowed – 340 – 0%
Single – 47,345 – 49%
Married – 40,310 – 41%
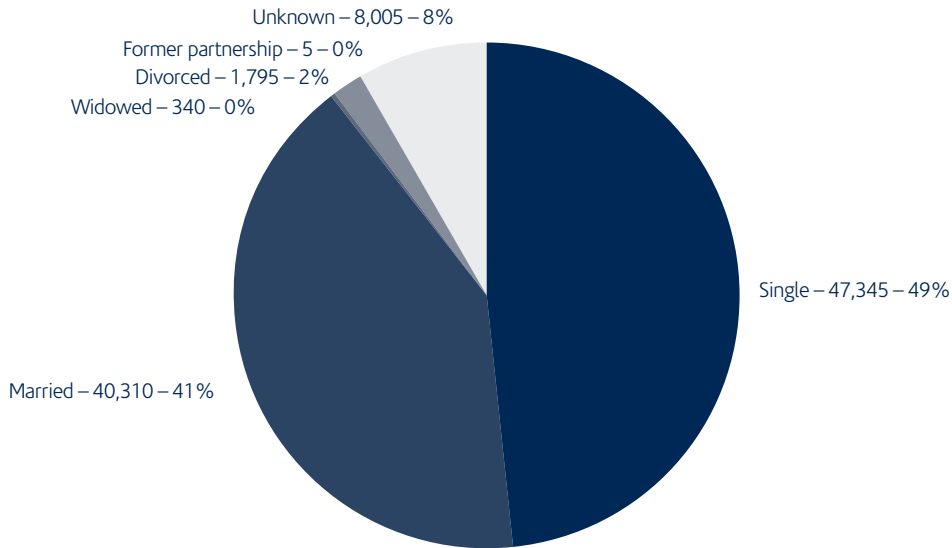
Source: Author, based on Destatis 2017a, table 10.

Qualifications – more qualified than all people with a migrant background, especially Indian women.

Among adults living in Germany in 2016 (25-35 years), those without a migration background were three times as likely to have a professional qualification than migrants. Americans (16.1%) were the least likely not to have a professional qualification, while Africans were most likely (46.5%). The percentage of Indians without a professional qualification was relatively low: 19.4% (Figure 18).

Figure 17: Percentage of adults aged 25-35 years without a professional qualification, 2016

Without migration background 9.2
With migration background 31.5
America – 16.1
Europe – 30.8
Asia (including India) 35
Africa – 46.5
India – 19.4
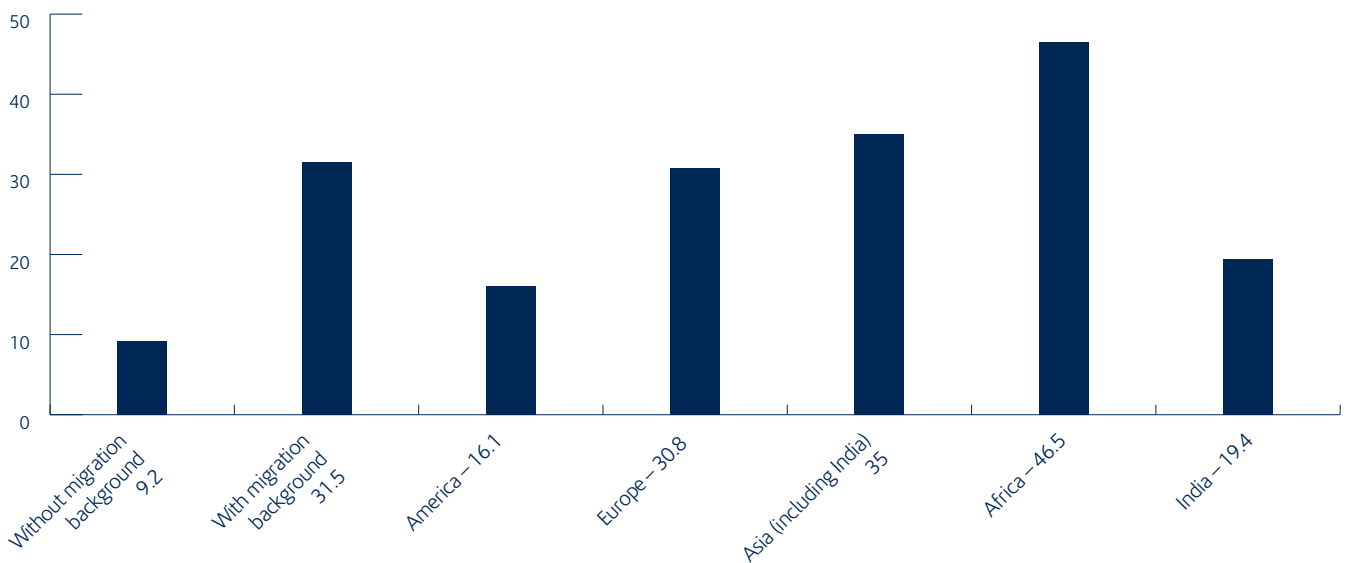
Source: Author, based on Destatis, 2017b, table 3.3.

In the same year, Indian persons with a migration background, aged between 25 and 35 years, constituted the second largest number of migrants with a high school or vocational qualification after China (Figure 19).

Figure 18: Percentage of adults aged 25-35 years with a high school or vocational qualification, 2016
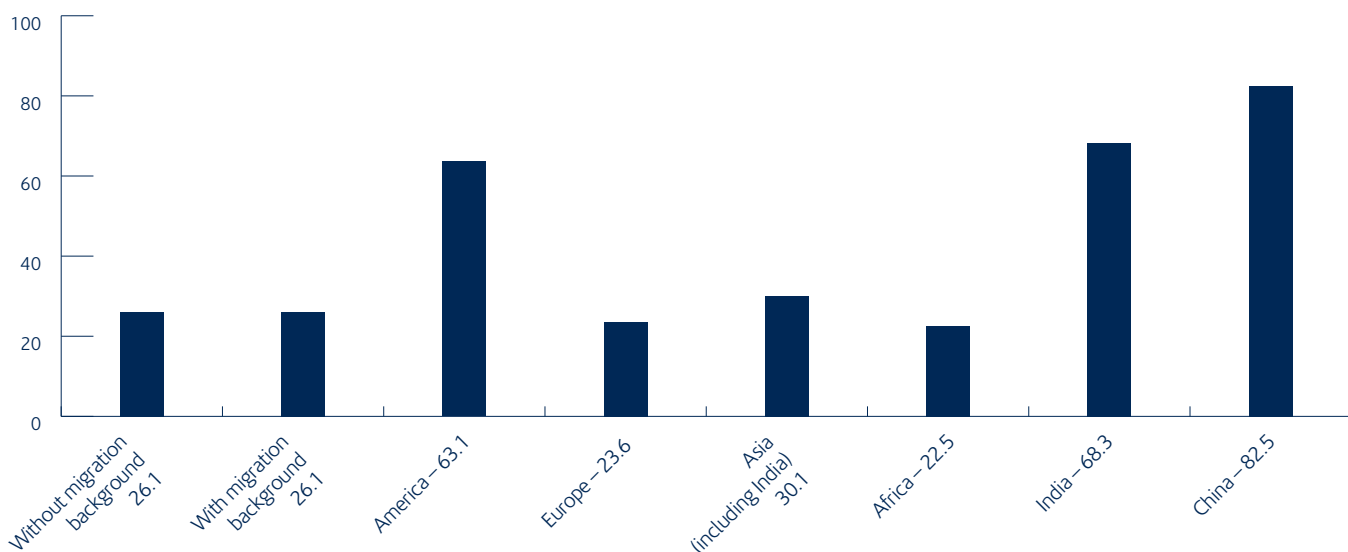
Source: Author, based on Destatis, 2017b, table 3.4.

The Federal Statistical Office of Germany (Destatis) did not begin to collect data on high school/vocational qualifications of Indian women until 2014. In 2016, the surveyed Indian women showed a higher frequency of high school/vocational qualification holders than Indian men (Figure 20).

Figure 19: Percentage of Indian men and women with vocational or high school qualifications, 2010-2016
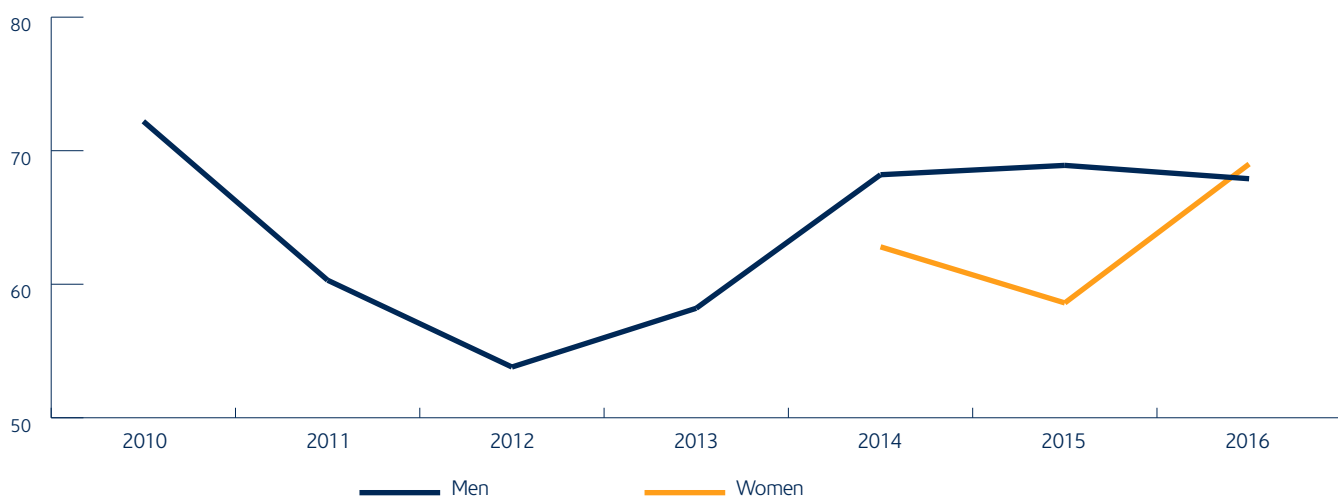
Source: Author, based on Destatis, 2017b, table 3.4.

Labour market integration – lower poverty rate than Asians. Higher proportion of households in which nobody is employed.

Between 2010 and 2016, Indians were at a lower risk of poverty than Asian migrants, but generally higher than all other people with a migrant background.[14] Since 2012 Indian women have experienced lower poverty rates than Indian men, but in 2016 their poverty rates approached those of men (Figure 21).

Figure 20: Percentage of people at risk of poverty, 2010-2016
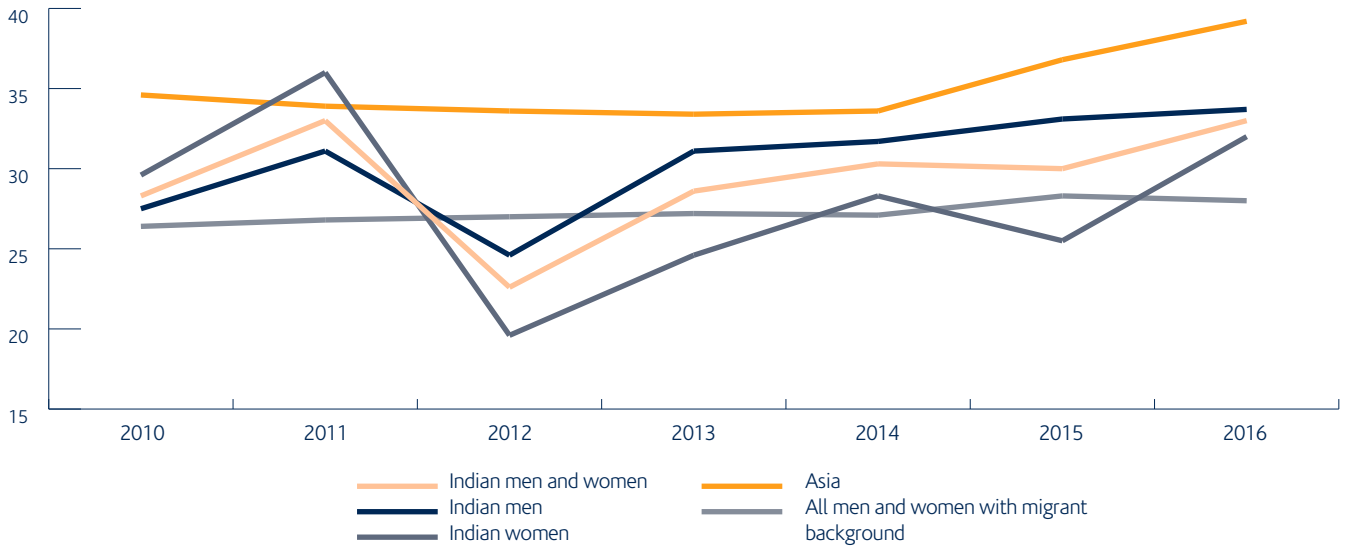
Source: Author, based on Destatis, 2017b, table 5.1.

The proportion of working poor among Indians fluctuated between 2010 and 2016. It was generally higher than the figure for all other people with migrant backgrounds and generally higher than the statistic for other Asians (Figure 22).

Figure 21: Percentage of Indians among the "working poor", 2010-2016
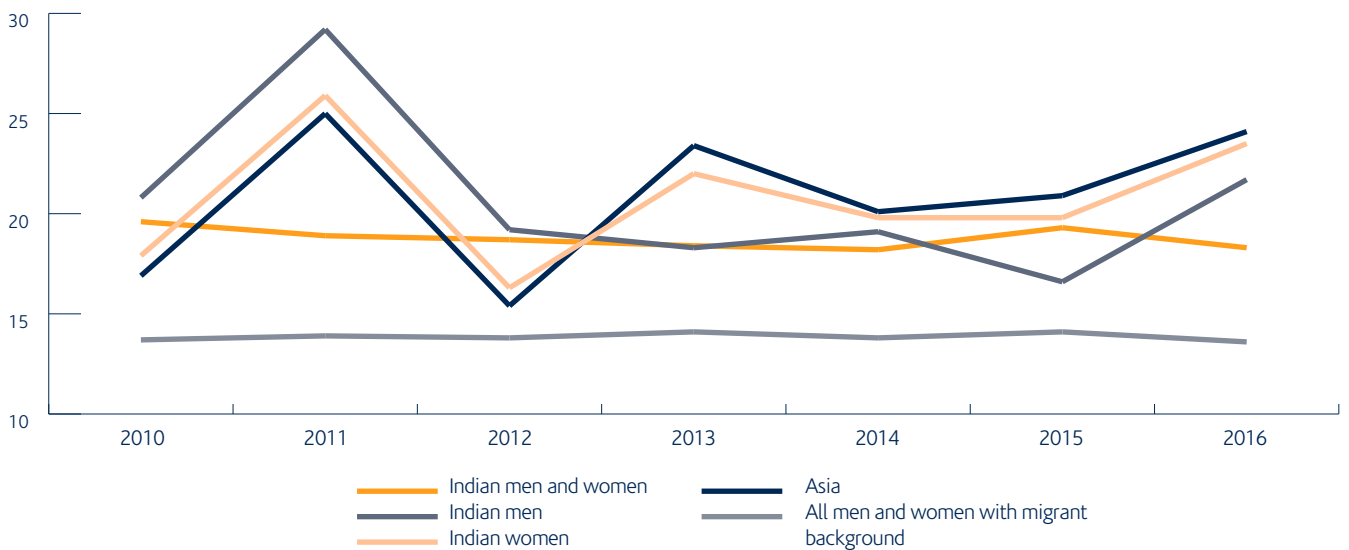
Source: Author, based on Destatis, 2017b, table 5.2.

14. In general, Indians hold well-paid jobs, but their poverty rate is generally higher than those of people with a migrant background coming from China, Europe or North America. For instance, in 2016, the poverty rate for Indians was almost four times higher (33%) than UK citizens, but much lower than Iraqis (69.1%).

The data on Indians living in a household where nobody is in work has been available since 2013. Since 2014, the proportion of persons living in a household where nobody works has been higher for Indians than for all other people with a migrant background, but always lower than the proportion of all Asians (Figure 23).[15] This could be explained by the high number of non-working students among Indians in Germany.

Students have the right to work part-time, but many Indian students do not work due to time constraints.[16] The Indian students interviewed acknowledged that their job search after graduating was hampered by the fact that they did not have the time to spare for employed work during their studies and therefore lacked work experience.

Figure 22: Percentage of Indian households with nobody in work, 2010-2016
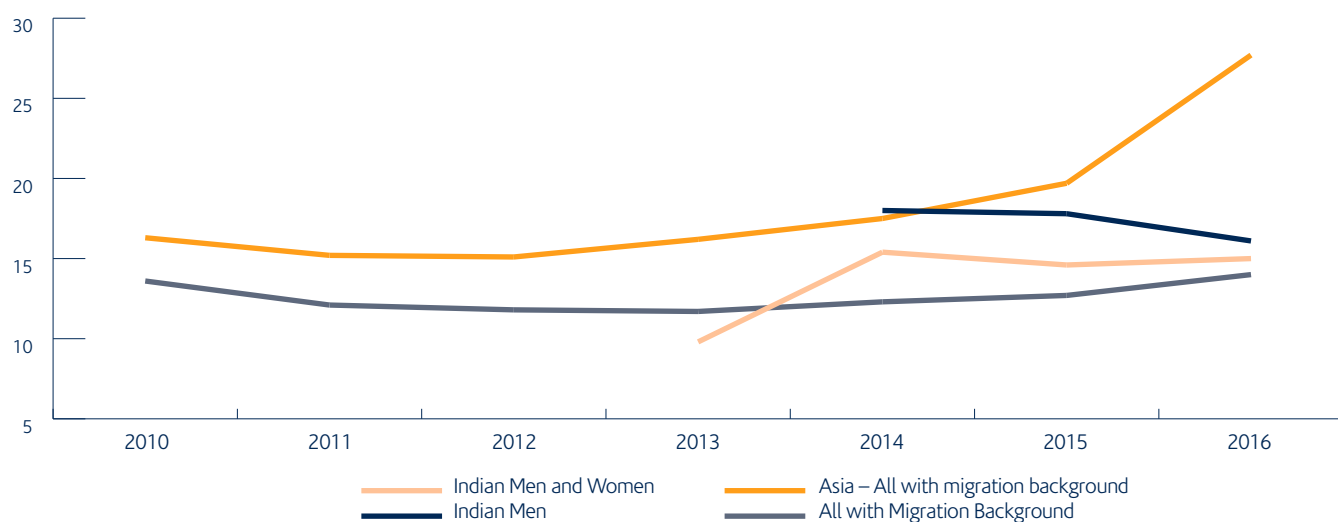
Source: Author, based on Destatis, 2017b, table 6

Housing – slightly larger living area than all other Asians.

Even though the average size of accommodation occupied by Indian residents was below that of all people with a migrant background, it increased between 2010 and 2014. As a result, by 2014 Indians occupied a slightly larger average living area than all other Asians (Figure 24).

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15. Indian men showed a higher rate of unemployment than all Indians. The data for women is unavailable.

16. It is unclear whether Destatis has included research activities in the definition of work. If research has not been included, the proportion of working Indians might be even lower.

Figure 23: Accommodation inhabited by Indians, 2010, 2014 (square metres)
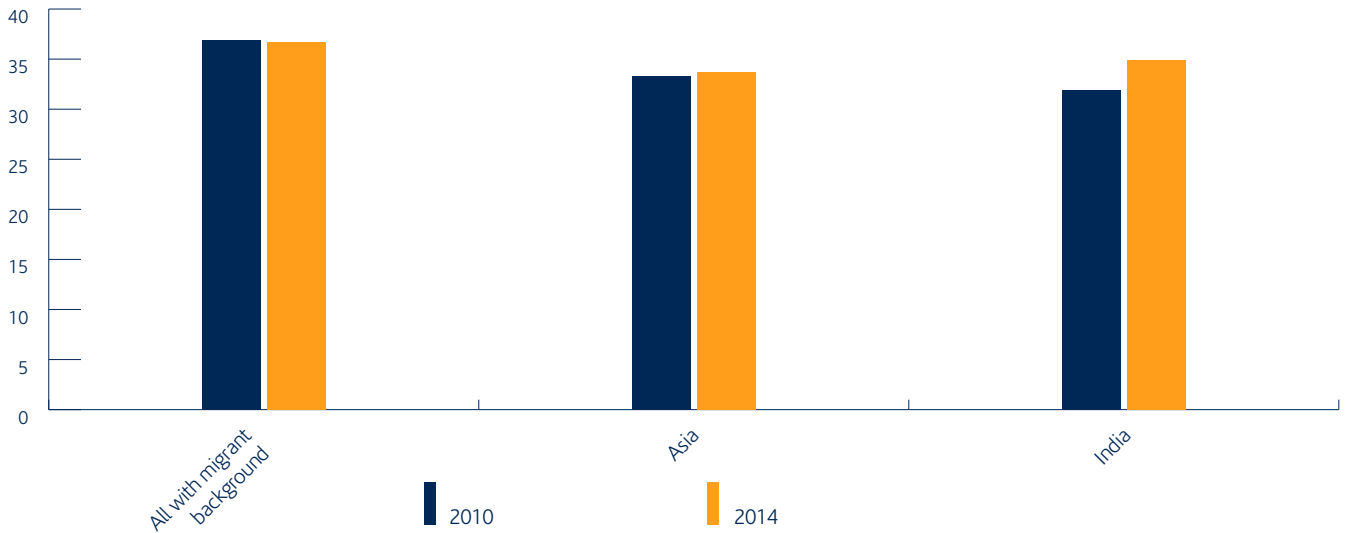
Source: Author, based on Destatis 2017b.

German birth

According to statistics recorded in 2016, fewer Indians than other Asians and foreigners were born in Germany.

At the end of 2016, the proportion of Indians born in Germany (4.2%) was lower than that of other Asians (5.6%) and all for-eigners (12.9%) (Figure 24). This could have been due to many factors, including: the largely single status of Indian migrants in Germany, the relatively short history of Indian migration to the country, and the young average age of this group.

Figure 24: Percentage of Indians and other diasporas born in Germany, as recorded on 31 December 2016

Source: Author, based on Destatis 2017a, table 12.

German naturalisation

Higher naturalisation rates apply to Indians than all other foreigners and (since 2013) all other Asians. Even though, in absolute numbers, the naturalisation of Indians has been growing in Germany recently, between 2006 and 2015 Indians constituted around only 1% of all naturalised foreigners in the country. Due to the preponderance of men, more Indian men have naturalised to date than women.

Naturalisation rates among Indians were low until 1989, *inter alia* due to the problems PIOs faced in India if they acquired German citizenship (Goel, 2006b case study in Butsch, 2017: 6).[17] However, the number of naturalisations rose steadily in the years that followed.

Since 2005, naturalisation rates among Indians have been higher than among all other foreigners and all other Asians since 2012. Since 2005, Indian women with at least eight years' residence have consistently shown higher naturalisation rates than Indian men (Figure 26).

Figure 25: Naturalisation rates for Indians among all foreigners (with eight years' residence or more), 2005-2016
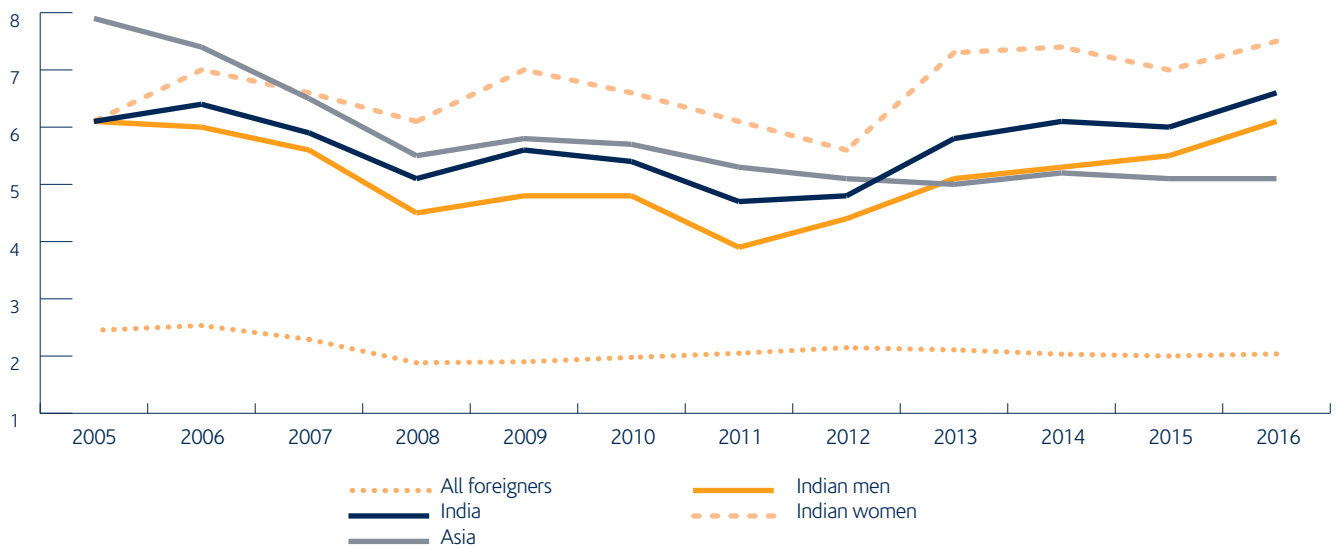
Source: Author, based on Destatis 2017b, table 2.

The absolute numbers of Indians applying for naturalisation in Germany have been rising. However, so have the total numbers of naturalised migrants in Germany. Hence, since 2006 Indians have constituted only 1% of all naturalised persons in Germany (Figure 27).

Figure 26: Indians who acquired German citizenship, 2006-2015
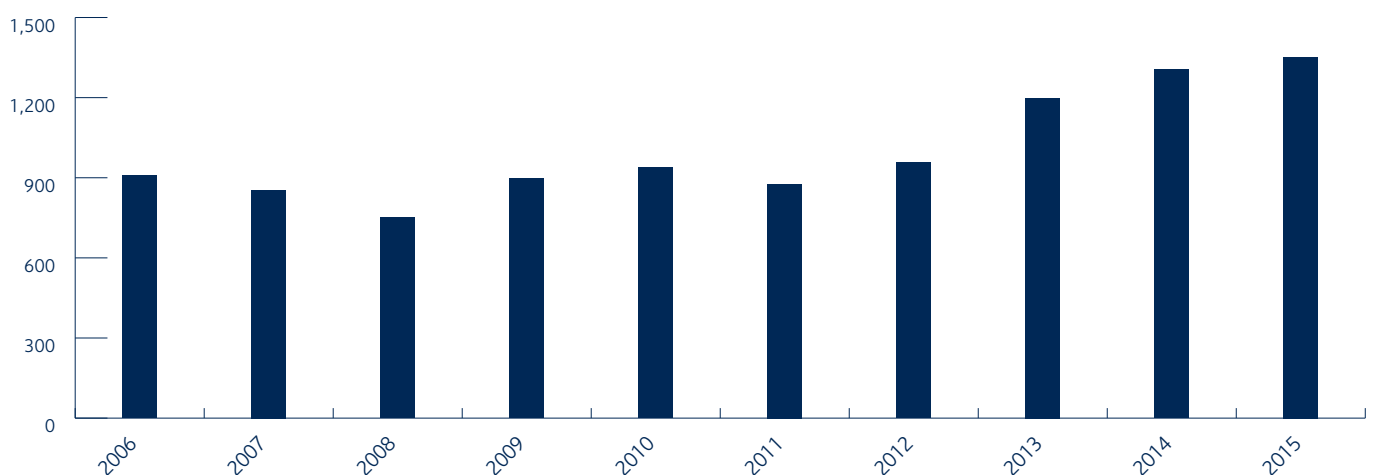
Source: Author, based on Eurostat 2018f

17. For more information regarding the challenges faced by PIOs challenges after naturalisation see Goel, U (2006b) "Ausgrenzung und Zugehörigkeit. Zur Rolle von Staats-bürgerschaft und Einbürgerung." In masala.de – Menschen aus Südasien in Deutschland, edited by C. Brosius and U.Goel. Heidelberg. Daraupadi.

Due to their preponderance, more Indian men than Indian women naturalised in Germany. However, both showed an upward naturalisation trend throughout the period (Figure 28).

Figure 27: Indians who acquired German citizenship, 2002-2016
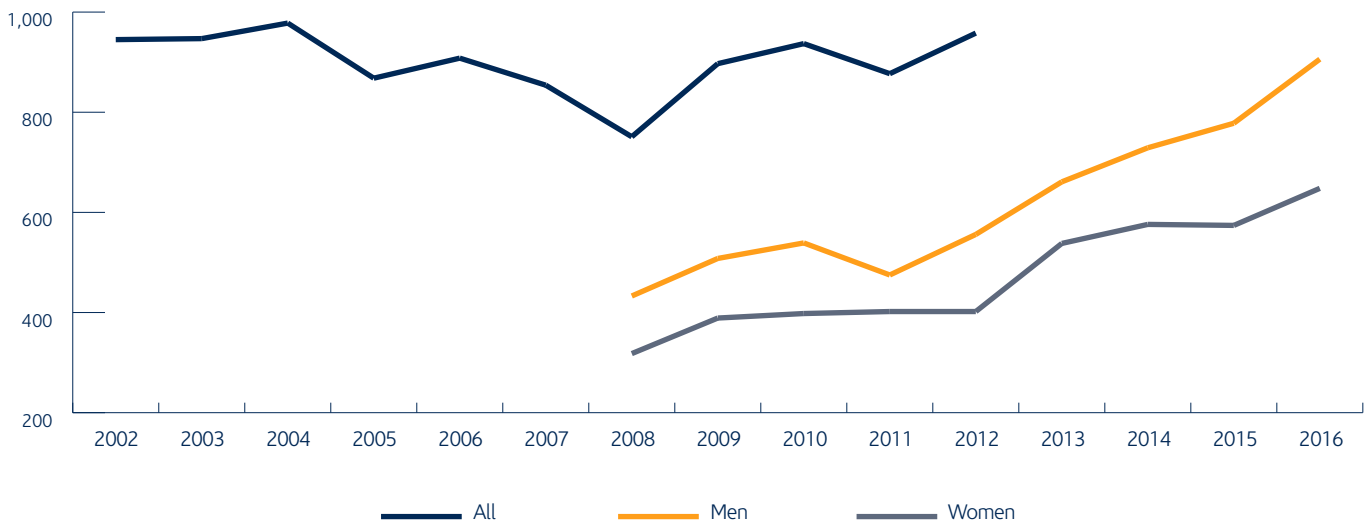
Source: Author, based on Eurostat 2018f.

Areas of origin

There are no precise statistics on the origin of Indians in Germany, just anecdotal evidence suggesting that many may have originally come from Kerala (Gottschlich, 2012: 2). However, student admissions over the past two decades have no doubt diversified the origins of Indian migrants, and the relatively low cost of studies in Germany has probably attracted young people from less affluent parts of India. Due to the expansion of mechanical and computer engineering programmes in Germany, many Indian students may come from those parts of India with good undergraduate training/work in the field, such as Bangalore.

Asylum seekers

Indian citizens have constituted a negligible proportion of all non-EU 28 asylum applicants to Germany, including minor asylum seekers. In 2016, Indian citizens constituted around 0.6% of all asylum seekers and 0.4% of all minor asylum seekers.

Figure 28: Indians among all non-EU 28 asylum applicants in Germany, 2008-2017
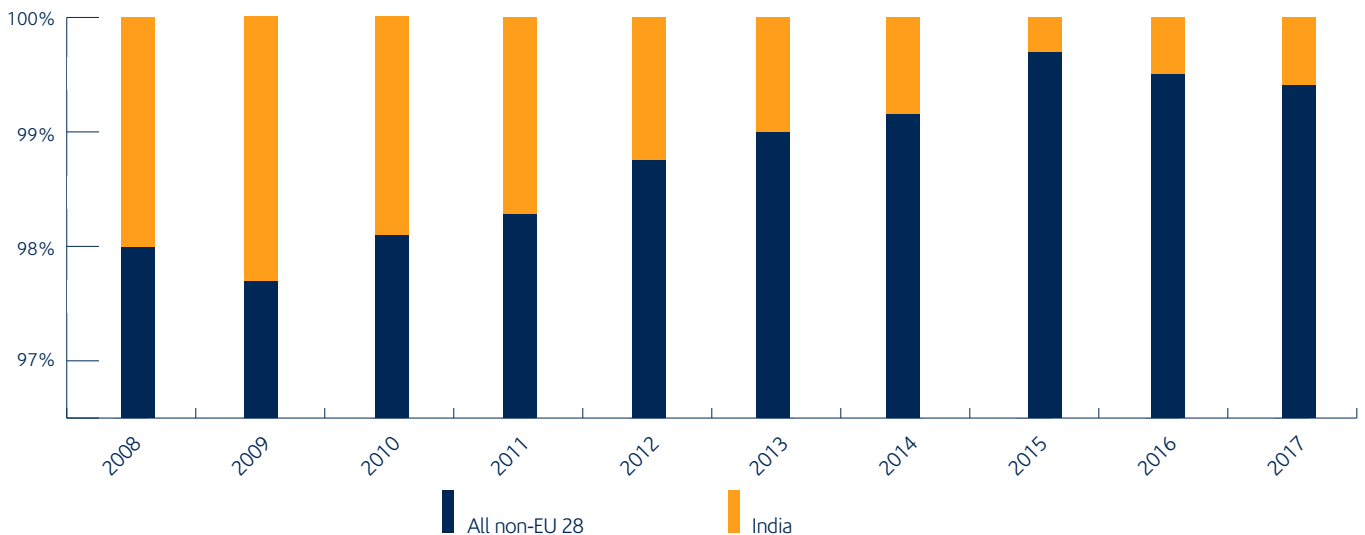
Source: Author, based on Eurostat, 2018g

Figure 29: Indians among all non-EU 28 minor asylum applicants to Germany, 2008-2017
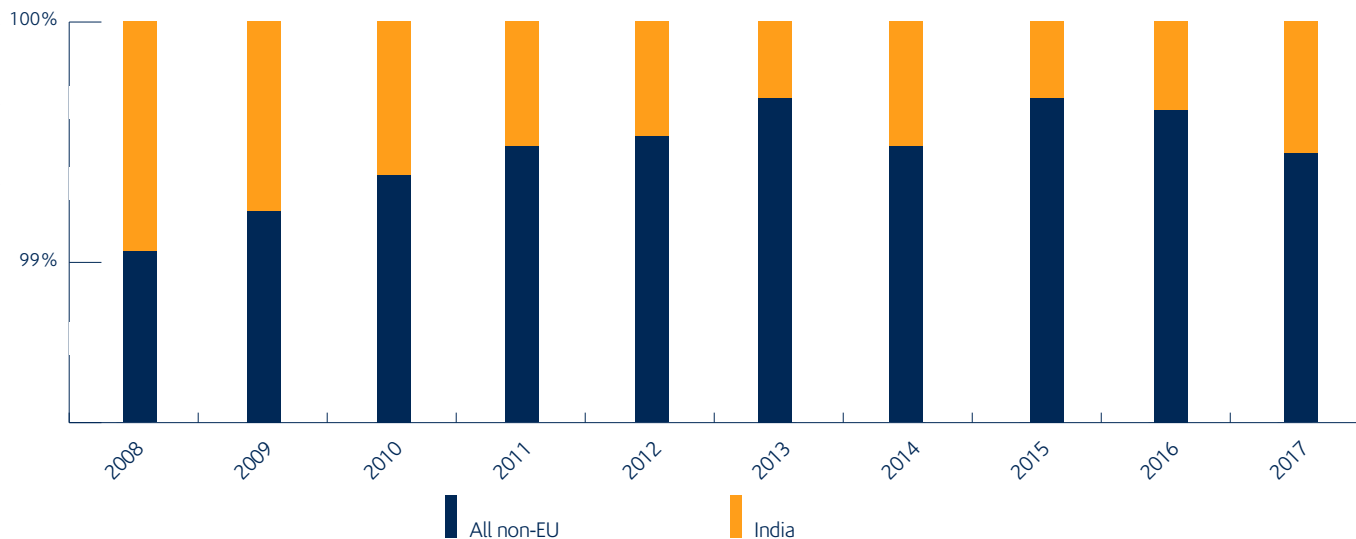
Source: Author, based on Eurostat, 2018g.

Irregular migrants

Between 2008 and 2017, each year on average 103 Indians were denied entry to Germany, 1,874 were found to be illegally present in Germany and 924 were ordered to leave. They constituted 2.6%, 2.3%, 3% and 1% of all third country nationals denied entry, illegally present, ordered to leave and returned. In 2016, there was a sharp increase in the number of those ordered to leave. This shift concerned both Indians and other third country nationals.

Figure 30: Irregular migration from India to Germany
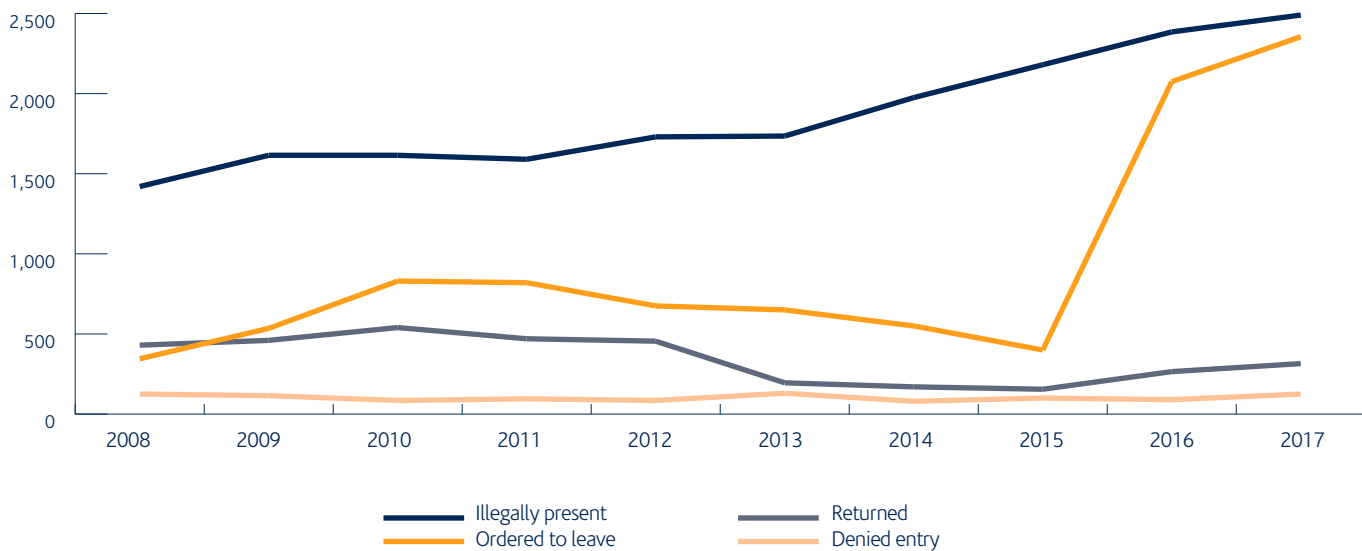
Source: Author, based on Eurostat data.

4
INDIAN DIASPORA ORGANISATIONS

4. INDIAN DIASPORA ORGANISATIONS

4.1. General characteristics

Germany is divided into four consular regions corresponding to Berlin, Frankfurt, Hamburg, and Munich. Since not all Indian associations are formally registered and active, it is difficult to estimate their precise number. According to Saravanan et al. (2018: 9), most known Indian diaspora associations are located around Frankfurt (36), followed by Berlin (23), Hamburg (21) and Munich (19). Diaspora matters are handled by consuls in charge of political, cultural and press matters.

TThe consuls in charge regularly meet with diaspora representatives. However, this involvement may not be visible to those who do not participate in these meetings. Furthermore, based on the author's dialogue with Indian diaspora representatives,

organisations carrying out regular dialogue with the consulates requested further clarity on the direction of the Indian diaspora policy, the scope of support and the criteria for the same. Selected interviewed diaspora leaders expressed strong willingness to work with the Indian embassy/consul generals to reinforce the government of India's efforts in developing channels of communication that are sustainable and fair.

Some of them also suggested that Indian diaspora policy in Germany should be more structured and rendered more consistent in order to ensure fairness and continuity, regardless of who is in charge.

Table 1: Basic characteristics of Indian diaspora organisations in Germany

	Student associations (ISAs)	German-Indian Society affiliates (DIGs)	Other diaspora organisations
Ease of contact and collaboration	Easy to communicate with. If need be, collaboration with multiple student organisations could be fostered via Indian Students Germany (ISG) or the Embassy. ISG advises and coordinates ISAs.	Tend to be more responsive when contacted via personal referrals since they monitor their DIG mails infrequently. In theory, collaboration could be fostered via DIG Stuttgart, but since each DIG remains largely autonomous, any cooperation would need to be planned with individual DIGs.	Ease of communication and collaboration varies from organisation to organisation. Those in Hesse have been grouped under the umbrella "*Friends of India*". A meeting with multiple organisations could be organised at the occasion of their periodic meeting with the Consulate General in Frankfurt.
Leadership	Very enthusiastic and active. Often ISA leadership is shared by various board members as opposed to one specific individual.	In theory, all are registered organisations and have a clear leadership structure. In practice, most DIGs have less active leaders than ISAs and other diaspora organisations.	Depends on the organisation, often held for a long time by an individual who knows the organisation very well.
Awareness of organisational challenges	Clear.	Unclear.	Depends on the organisation, but being more personalised (some are referred to as "family organisations"), they tend to maintain the status quo.
Key challenge (acknowledged)	Securing a job after graduation.	Securing inflow of new active members.	Availability of resources.
Key challenge (not always acknowledged)	Organisational growth.	Organisational growth. Availability of resources (other than university provided rooms).	Organisational growth. Collaboration with other Indian diaspora organisations.
Programmatic interests	Social, cultural and practical, addressing specific challenges faced by Indian students.	DIGs and other organisations tend to focus on cultural programmes and have also started focusing their attention on the practical needs of the Indian community.	

Source: Author

GOPIO (http://www.gopio.net/)

The Global Organization of People of Indian Origin (GOPIO) is an international network of people of Indian origin (PIOs). When it was founded in 1989 it aimed to prevent the violation of the rights of PIOs. In recent years, GOPIO has prioritised pooling financial and professional resources to benefit PIOs, the countries in which they reside and India. However, as of mid-2018, GOPIO's German website (http://gopio.de/) is not developed and, to the outside viewer at least, it appears as though the organisation is inactive.

DIG (http://www.dig-ev.de/)

Founded in 1953, the German-Indian Society (DIG) is Germany's oldest Indian association group. At the time of drafting this report it consisted of 34 affiliate societies spread throughout the coun try, including a coordination office in Stuttgart. The association holds an annual general meeting and DIG affiliates vote on the Board of Directors every three years.

DIG's goal is to foster closer relations between the Indian diaspora and German society. It does so through the implementation of events (lectures, dance and music performances, film screenings, conferences, workshops, and exhibitions) and publications, mostly promoting Indian culture in Germany. It sets up school partnerships and student exchange programmes and provides the German public with information about modern India (including religious, cultural, political and economic aspects). According to DIG's headquarters in Stuttgart, the association group is committed to social development projects, including the education and training of children and adolescents, the promotion of gender equality, and the support and development of healthcare and rehabilitation centres in the partner country. However, the individual affiliates decide on the specific activities of the branch.[18]

DIG has 33 branches, all of which are independent. Their membership varies from a few to over 100 persons. DIG's coordination office estimates the total membership to be 3,500 persons. Each branch charges a different membership fee. Non-members are welcome to attend DIG events on a pay-as-you-go basis. However, with its registered non-profit status, DIG does not aim to make any profit from events. In 2002, DIG launched the India Foundation, to support DIG goals and promote German-Indian relations in the fields of politics, business, science and culture. The foundation was established in the context of diminishing public funding, with the hope that it would generate additional income to support its members' initiatives. DIG awards two annual prizes: the "Rabindranath Tagore Culture Prize" (5000 euros) for creative contributions to communication about Indian cultures and life in Germany (since 1986); and the "Gisela Bonn Prize" for special contributions to the promotion of German-Indian relations (since 1996). The latter takes the form of a two-week long scholarship tour of India.

DIG's coordination office maintains a website and publishes a newsletter every three months. Many, but not all DIG affiliates maintain active websites too. The organisation's website also claims to promote humanitarian and economic cooperation, and reports that it maintains relations with Indo-German societies in India.

Indian student associations (http://www.indianstudentsgermany.org/WP/)

The rising inflows of Indian students to Germany since the early 2000s resulted in the development of Indian student associations (ISAs). A key characteristic, and a challenge for ISAs, is the transient character of their membership pool.

In 2016, the Cultural Wing of the Indian Embassy in Berlin created Indian Students Germany (ISG), a network of Indian student associations. As of 2018, ISG consisted of sixteen (http://www.indianstudentsgermany.org/WP/partners/) Indian student organisations in Gottingen, Magdeburg, Rheine Waal, Hannover, Kiel, Magdeburg, Ingolstadt, Heidelberg, Aachen, Dresden, Darmstadt, Cottbus, and Frankfurt. Aachen ISA is the largest ISA in Germany. This is due to the concentration of three universities offering the type of programmes that are in high demand among Indian students.

ISG's initial aim was to become a one-stop-shop for Indian students in Germany. It helps students overcome issues related to visas, housing, social integration, securing internships and jobs, and healthcare. ISG endeavours to provide assistance through quarterly webinars or workshops as well as biannual meetings with the leaders of different student organisations.

To encourage student participation, ISG created the annual Sarojini Naidu-Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Award (1,000 euros). The award is given to individuals or associations who significantly contribute to the integration of Indians into German society.

At the outset the Indian Embassy encouraged students and scholars to register through the Embassy website and reports that over 2000 students have registered to date. Since its beginnings, ISG has been communicating through email, its website, Facebook (https://www.facebook.com/ProjectISG) and Twitter (www.twitter.com/ProjectISG). However, the interviewed stu-

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18. The DIG HQ website contains information on projects promoting development in India (http://www.dig-ev.de/wp-content/uploads/Die-Projektarbeit-der-Zweiggesellschaften-2014.pdf). However, this information has not been updated since 2014.

dents described a variety of experiences regarding ease of communication with the Indian Embassy and consulates.

ISG Facebook posts include the advertisement of events (for example, Diwali and Independence Day), ISG scholarship details (free health insurance valued at 550 euros), job postings, a photography competition, and information about the best ISA award (1,000 euros). However, the ISG website features only a map of Indian student associations in Germany. A map including all Indian associations in Europe would be useful. For instance, Indian students in Aachen live closer to students in Maastricht, in the Netherlands, than in Berlin and would perhaps benefit from networking with those closer to them, regardless of the host country.

The ISG website provides information about studying[19], living[20], interning[21] and working[22] in Germany. While the information would benefit from better consolidation and organisation, it is a good general resource for any prospective and current students. This information could be improved if individual ISAs added information specific to their university and area and published it both on their websites as well as the ISG website.

Not all ISAs have registered as a formal organisation, or *Verrein*. In order to become a registered organisation, groups must meet minimum requirements relating to their structure, objectives and governing principles. According to the ISAs interviewed for this research, registration is both challenging and beneficial. The challenges mostly relate to formal requirements, especially the development of governing principles. AISA (Aachen) was able to overcome this challenge quickly by seeking technical assistance from DIG Aachen. HISA (Heidelberg) preferred to develop its own governing principles and gain more experience before doing so, after its creation. Student organisations have fewer incentives to register, presumably due to relative financial stability as well as a preference for informal functioning. With basic funding provided by the relevant university, some of these organisations do not feel pressured to become *Verreins* in order to be able to fundraise. Furthermore, adopting the status of a *Verrein* would subject them to a number of regulations that they would prefer not to deal with, for example the development of an organisational constitution, the establishment of clear leadership structure, financial reporting, etc. This said, it may be beneficial to further

research the reasons why Indian organisations register (or not), to help identify the type of assistance they may need in securing and maintaining a registered organisation status.

The five interviewed ISAs have carried out cultural programmes similar to the events organised by DIGs and other organisations. They have also implemented a few specific student-related programmes and, depending on the personal interests of their leadership, considered other projects[23]. For instance, ISA Heidelberg and Darmstadt leaders have been interested in running projects that could have a positive developmental effect on India. These projects have required collaboration with more specialised agencies in order to secure funds, expertise and staff support, in Germany and in India. Depending on the project, potential partners have included other ISAs, DAAD, GIZ, the Indian Embassy, and the Indo-German Chamber of Commerce. In addition, Heidelberg ISA has expressed the intention to conduct research and make educational materials available to a large project on waste management that is currently being executed in India.

According to ISA leaders, the key success of ISAs has been the combination of financial stability and robust membership. ISAs appear to have succeeded in building a solid membership base because they offer the first and most reliable support structure for Indian students.[24] They appear to remain financially stable, despite the fact that they do not request membership fees. ISAs' financial support varies according to the different organisational approaches and the nature of the activities they implement. The most common sources of funding come from the Indian government, host universities, local businesses, local governments and municipalities, and private donations. The type of assistance they receive may be monetary or in kind, and may involve goods or services.

The interviewed Indian students reported having chosen Germany because of what seemed to be the very good price-quality ratio of studying in Germany as opposed to other countries. Traditionally, Indians have pursued studies in anglophone countries with a significant Indian diaspora, especially the US. However, this path has been exclusive to students from upper-class families. The opening up of English language programmes in continental Europe has "democratised" Indian students' access to foreign education by making it more accessible to those from more modest backgrounds.[25]

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19. http://www.indianstudentsgermany.org/WP/study-in-de/

20. http://www.indianstudentsgermany.org/WP/category/student-accommodation/

21. http://www.indianstudentsgermany.org/WP/category/internships/

22. http://www.indianstudentsgermany.org/WP/2017/01/21/heidelberg-laureate-forum-2017/

23. The interviewed ISAs reported having worked on projects related to students' orientation, German language learning, student housing, counselling and start-up creation.

24. ISAs are in a good position to attract new "members", because they are geographically and intellectually closest to Indian students. When looking for information about the Indian community in a university they will be attending, prospective Indian students learn faster about their nearest ISA than DIG or any other organisation. Most ISAs are on Facebook and are prompt in responding. ISAs offer a better "personality match" than DIGs or other organisations, because they are composed of students within the same age range who are most informed about the practicalities of student life.

25. In order to study in the US Indian students have to secure at least 20,000 euros a year, in Germany around 8,000 and in Poland around 3,000.

Apart from Germany, Indian students have the opportunity to study in other continental European countries. In 2017, over one third (35%) of Indians who obtained first permits went to study in the UK, followed by Germany (12%), Cyprus (10%), Poland and France (8%). Education in Germany is more expensive than in Poland or Cyprus, but Germany has a reputation of offering good training and employment in engineering and, since 2000, in the field of IT too. Germany (along with other EU countries) has also attracted Indians as a destination in which to conduct academic research.

Figure 31: First permits issued to Indian students for the purpose of studying in Europe, 2016[26]
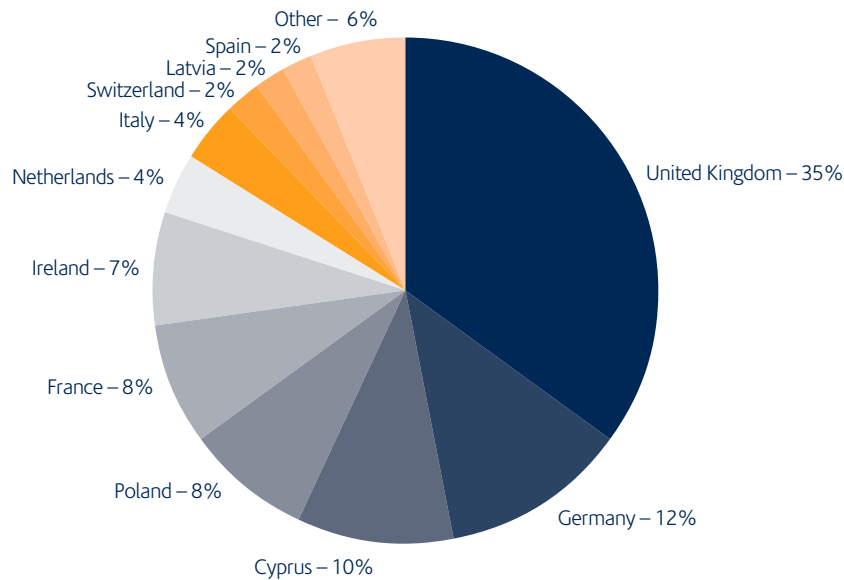
Source: Author, based on Eurostat 2018h.

Unlike Poland or Cyprus, Germany has become familiar to Indian students today because many of the earlier Indian migrants to Germany went there in order to study. Thus, a few of the Indian students interviewed knew of someone who had already studied and by now settled in Germany. Others found out about Germany as a result of outreach by institutions such as DAAD and on the internet. While all ISAs have created Facebook pages, not all have websites. Facebook is well suited to market events but less practical than regular websites for providing more comprehensive information about an organisation (leadership, constitution, and contacts) and the relative university.

Unlike their predecessors, current students in Germany benefit from relatively detailed information about the programmes they intend to study and postgraduate employment perspectives. Those who migrated for study purposes up until the early 2000s (particularly during the period 1950s-1970s) had to adapt to the existing programmes designed for German students. No courses were offered in English, and course content and didactic methods were designed with local rather than international students in mind. In contrast, those who migrated to study from the early 2000s benefitted from the fact that German universities had begun to take international students' needs into consideration. Contemporary university programmes have often been created with international students in mind and taught in English. Indeed, many universities have expanded their services to accommodate international students, creating scholarships that enable foreign students to study at a discounted cost or even free of charge. Furthermore, policies were introduced in Germany to facilitate visa procedures and post-graduation adjustment (from student to employed status and then to permanent residence). According to former German students, many of whom have become DIG members, students are in a much more advantageous position studying in Germany today than they were during the period from the 1950s to the 1970s.

Contemporary students in Germany seem to consider their host country a very adequate choice for their studies. Nevertheless, they would welcome a few improvements.

A number of these suggestions would surely be helpful in informing the programmatic agendas of ISAs and could be used to guide further collaboration with other ISAs and partners:

› *Shortening of visa application process, especially in the Bombay Consulate.*

Many of the Indian students interviewed during this study suggested that the student visa application process suffers from a lack of visa appointment slots and long waits for an appointment. This means that students end up receiving their visas

26. As of September 2018 no Eurostat data was available on first permits issued to Indians in the Czech Republic, Portugal, Sweden, and Iceland.

very shortly before their due departure date.[27]

> › *Protection against those intermediaries who try to profit from prospective or current students' lack of information.*

Migrants are vulnerable to scams, particularly in the very beginning, during the first stage of their migration, that is to say when they are still in the dark about where to migrate and how. A number of organisations offer prospective migrants intermediation services in securing a university admission or visa, but the quality of these services is difficult to assess. Therefore, Indian and German authorities should attempt to ensure that such entities offer more transparency. The regulation of these service providers could start with information gathering, whereby the Indian Embassy or ISAs consult the students. ISAs should discuss with newly recruited students the challenges they face from the moment they decide to study abroad to the moment they settle in Germany.

The interviewed Indian students mentioned housing and migration-related scams. The housing scam generally includes false promises of accommodation reservation (for a fee) and an attempt to extort banking information.[28] The migration scam involves a fake call from what appears to be (but is not) the Indian Embassy telephone number. The caller claims[29] that the victim has breached some migration regulations and will be deported unless (s)he pays the requested fees. The Indian Embassy has been made aware of such scams and has issued warnings, but as inflows of Indian students to Germany continue to increase, the entities determined to exploit them persist.

> › *Further guidance on how to meet "blocked funds" requirement and secure low-interest loans.*[30]

Some of the interviewed students felt that the consulates should provide tips on how to meet the blocked funds requirement at the lowest cost possible and how to secure low-interest loans.

> › *Further support in identifying affordable housing.*

Many types of accommodation are available in Germany and the Indian students who participated in this study did not report any forms of housing market discrimination. However, they drew attention to a shortage of affordable accommodation that does not exceed 300 euros a month. In light of this, the Germany authorities require Indian students to provide a financial guarantee of 700 euros when applying for their stu-

dent visas. However, access to this money is restricted and students often prefer to save this money rather than make use of it to compensate for their limited means. Access to information on living costs and affordable housing would be of tremendous value to future generations of students entering the country.

> › *Extended free German language classes, including lessons for students' and researchers' family members.*

Single students who move to Germany to study IT engineering and look for a job with an international IT company can succeed with minimal knowledge of German. Extended German language resources, however, would be important for those who migrate with family members, study subjects requiring greater human interaction, apply for jobs with less international exposure, and are seriously considering qualifying for permanent residency. Students agree that whether or not they (or their dependents) integrate into the German labour market and German society depends on their German language proficiency.

> › *Further help identifying and securing internships, part-time employment while studying and full-time employment upon graduation, also in India (for those who decide to return).*

Despite the fact that many ISAs allow their alumni to stay involved, ISAs believe that they could still do more to facilitate students' professional networking. Professional networking is of key interest to Indian students, especially those looking for a part-time job at the beginning of their stay. As more students are choosing to study in Germany, including those from less affluent Indian families, helping them to find part-time and full-time employment opportunities will become a priority for student associations. Putting current students in touch with alumni should not be difficult, especially since many alumni tend to find jobs within the same region. However, it might be more difficult to support networking among those who move to Germany with a clear goal of obtaining training in order to return to look for a job in India. Indian students returning to India after completing their studies abroad are able to transfer hard skills, but they tend to have fewer contacts among Indian employers than students who have studied in India.

Many Indian students in Germany succeed in finding part-time work, particularly if they are studying IT or in an area with a significant presence of businesses interested in their skills,

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27. Some of the Indian students interviewed reported missing their expected course start dates. This could have been due to a number of factors, some of which may have been independent of the consulate. However, factors included the late issuance and reception of the university admission letter (some admission letters are sent by regular mail), students' negligence to schedule their visa appointment immediately upon reception of the admission letter, lack of immediate visa appointment slots, and the long period reserved for visa processing.

28. http://www.indianstudentsgermany.org/WP/2017/03/08/important-alert-fraud-calls/

29. https://www.facebook.com/IndiaInGermany/posts/804943452912597

30. Banks in India charge between 12-18% on personal loans according to the author's research and review of the transfer market.

as is the case in larger cities, especially Frankfurt. IT students can often work from home, which saves them time and allows them to work for remote employers. Students admit that sometimes the major obstacle to finding a part-time job or internship is a lack of time, rather than the lack of such opportunities or institutional hurdles. One way of overcoming this difficulty would be to integrate part-time work or internship opportunities into the students' programmes more often. This would be beneficial for the students, their academic advisors and employers. If part-time jobs or internships are not integrated into students' programmes, students may be forced to neglect their studies or eke out a living on a tight budget. For instance, one interviewed student said that in order to gain work experience in Germany, he was obliged to suspend his studies for a year. He managed to do this only because his programme required 300 euros to maintain student status, and he was able to afford this. Yet the possibility of earning programme credits would have enabled the individual to continue studying without interruption.

When interviewed, ISA leaders stated their intention to secure a job in Germany upon graduation. Students are proud of the Indian educational system and growing job market, but many acknowledge that they choose to go to Germany because of the difficulty of securing a place on the few "elite" programmes in India, and job opportunities are less available. Many of the most desirable universities and jobs in India are located away from migrants' home towns. Hence, whether students migrate to Germany or across India does not make a great difference. In fact, moving to Germany could offer complementary benefits, e.g. ample social protection.[31] Indian students reported that even smaller university towns such as Aachen, Heidelberg and Darmstadt have good employment opportunities. They predict that the IT sector in Germany will continue to grow and that competition in Germany is not as strong as in India, making it easier to secure a very good job in Munich or Frankfurt than in Bangalore or New Delhi.

German legislation offers a generous 18-month period to find a job, whereas the US and most countries in Europe offer up to 12 months. Most of the students interviewed have studied subjects in domains which continue to experience demand for labour. They believe that, as long as they make the required effort, in the present economic and political context they will sooner or later secure a job in Germany. The major drawback of continuing to work in Germany is the difficulty of bringing parents in through the family reunification scheme. The interviewed students said that if they obtained a job in Germany they would stay for as long as they believe it would be necessary to secure a good job in India and for as long as their parents did not need their support.

Indian students were unaware of the experiences of other Indian returnees from Germany, and were thus unable to specifically say what India or Germany should do to facilitate a successful return. Typically, returnees find it difficult to obtain recognition for their 'foreign' skills and adjust to their home country's working and living conditions. Those returning with children face additional challenges associated with the integration of their children into their homeland's schools and society.

Return migration research suggests that return intention evolves over time, generally favouring settlement abroad over successful and sustainable reintegration in the country of origin. Germany offers a priori very good settlement conditions for Indian graduates of German universities, especially those from the fields of IT and mechanical engineering (BCISA, 2018). The Indian government would benefit from research on its ability to reintegrate highly skilled workers returning from Germany.[32] Transnational companies may facilitate return, since even if they are not able to offer returnees as high an income in India as they would receive in Germany, they are nevertheless able to provide them with roughly the same working conditions. Apart from the language barrier, young Indians report that they feel welcomed in the German labour market (HISA, 2018).[33] Hence, they are interested in staying in Germany, at least for as long as they may gain the professional experience they desire.

Among foreign nationals in Germany who have secured permanent residence, Indians rank highest. Indian students and non-students alike would like to hold dual citizenship, not necessarily to gain access to increased benefits in either country, but simply to reflect their equal appreciation of both countries.

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31. Indians considered German taxation much higher than in India, but also much fairer in terms of what they received in exchange for tax contributions.

32. Migrant return or settlement abroad should not be taken for granted since often even migrants themselves do not know whether, and when, they will return home. A number of factors determine return migration, including private decisions which are difficult to predict. Successful return migration requires collaboration between the host and home countries on a number of broader issues such as social security and tax agreements or recognition of skills. When migrants do not or cannot return physically, the host and home countries may facilitate virtual returns, e.g. investments, the transfer of remittances, and the transfer of ideas.

33. One of the key integration hurdles experienced by Indians in Germany is the acquisition of the language at least equal to B level corresponding to the Common European Framework of Reference for Langauges (CEFR). Indian employees report that unless they work for a multinational company they feel German is essential: while one-on-one communication can be carried out in English, group work involving Germans is conducted in German.

Other Indian organisations

Apart from DIGs and ISAs, other – much more loosely related – Indian associations exist in Germany. Some are bound by religion (Kerala Christians or Punjabi Sikhs), others by ethnic groups, language, sports or even gender identities. As a result, they have different objectives and various degrees of inclusiveness. Some have robust membership, while others are led by a single leader (Saravanan et al., 2018). Some, such as *Bharat Verrein*, are decades old and quite stable, while others are still evolving. In order to facilitate contact between the leadership of these very diverse and geographically spread out organisations, Indian consulates have attempted to group them together under a common umbrella (Indian Consulate Frankfurt, 2018). In 2014, 32 such organisations within the consular jurisdiction of Frankfurt were organised under the *Friends of India* umbrella. Since 2017 *Friends of India* has been selecting its leadership for one-year terms.

In 2017 *Friends of India* met with Frankfurt City officials with the goal of reinforcing collaboration. According to the group's former leader Mr Himansu Patel, the meeting paved the way for an 'Indian Fest' and other initiatives. Grouping the organisations under one structure with common leadership facilitated dialogue with the Indian Consulate, making it possible for the representatives of the two to meet on a quarterly basis. Forming an umbrella association has also allowed the organisations to obtain a venue where the group's events are now held. According to the Indian Consulate in Frankfurt, the *Friends of India* arrange around 100 events each year. The consolidation of the diverse organisations has benefited organisations without undermining their sovereignty, and other consulates have attempted to do the same in their respective jurisdictions..

One important achievement that the *Friends of India* has yet to realise is the launch of an organisational website. While the Frankfurt Consulate posts information on Facebook about the platform's major events, such as meetings with municipal authorities, it has not yet ensured that details about its leadership, vision, goals or contacts are published on a website.

4.2. Common challenges

Despite the plethora of German organisations promoting development abroad, including India, Indian organisations could still have contributed more to India's development, according to the interviews conducted as part of this research. All three types of Indian diaspora organisations have experienced fluctuations in membership for different reasons, and this issue should be addressed through different actions.

Each type of organisation seems to suffer from membership challenges. From the very beginning, DIG has relied on both Indian and German members, and the participation of native Germans has partially compensated for the decline in Indian members. However, DIG has an ageing membership base. Meanwhile, although ISAs do not have an ageing membership, ISA members have predominantly been students admitted on one-year permits for academic programmes lasting between two and four years. According to Sarvanan et al. (2018) many of the "other" organisations (non-DIG and non-ISA) may have become inactive in the meantime or reduced to a one-person organisation. Given their transient membership base, ISAs do not charge membership fees, or if they do these are kept to a minimum. ISAs have not felt financially obliged to charge membership fees, because they benefit from the support of the relevant university and other forms of assistance. In fact, free membership has helped them to co-opt more adherents and benefit from enough volunteers each time their help was needed.

Student organisations have attempted to make it easy for people, including alumni, to become involved through what could be called "virtual membership". As Heidelberg ISA explained, "all persons are welcome to contribute and can continue to do so for life".

Ethnic membership: DIGs and ISAs are pan-Indian while other organisations may formally or informally attract members who identify themselves with a particular Indian state, or ethnic or language group.

Each type of organisation has a slightly different ethnic membership base. ISAs operate in universities, usually in close cooperation with a university's international office. Hence, they attract both German and international members. It would be impractical and badly viewed if the same university had ethnically specific ISAs. Therefore, ISAs tend to be pan-Indian. Relying on German citizens, DIGs are also pan-Indian. Other organisations may be formally or informally ethnically or regionally specific. Sometimes an organisational focus is implied by a name. At other times, it may be practised but not obvious from the name. Organisations which rely on ethnic or language membership limit not only their membership base, but also opportunities for collaboration with others and funding potential.

Communication: DIGs tend to communicate in German and ISAs in English, while other organisations use any convenient language, often regional.

DIGs tend to communicate in German, ISAs in English and other organisations in any language they find convenient, and this is often regional, such as Tamil, Gujarati, etc. The languages used depend on the organisation's membership base. DIGs may find it more convenient to communicate in German because their members have lived in the country the longest and many are native Germans. Children of DIG members tend to be German-born. In contrast, ISAs find it most convenient to communicate in English, because they moved to Germany to enrol

in courses run predominantly in English. Unlike DIG members, ISA members do not tend to have children or German spouses. Operating in universities, ISAs attract not only German but also other international students. Other organisations may be more likely to communicate in regional Indian languages, when they formally or informally concentrate on people from a more specific Indian state, or ethnic or language group.

Collaboration: potential of collaboration has not been fully achieved.

A number of places in Germany host multiple Indian organisations. In some cases these organisations serve the same members who share the same profile and could therefore cooperate closely or even merge. Yet, in reality, a number of Indian organisations maintain autonomy and remain separate from each other, thereby potentially competing for the limited time of the same members, partners and sponsors. Even so, Indian organisations do not prohibit their members from becoming simultaneous members of other organisations. If an event is of interest, the Indian diaspora is usually willing to attend, regardless of whether it is staged by the organisation to which they belong or a different one. However, organisations are not always keen to collaborate on the planning of events, even large-scale, pan-Indian ones such as Diwali or Independence Day celebrations.

It is of course more costly for two organisations to stage separate Diwali festivals in the same town on the same day in different locations, rather than collaborating on one event. One of the groups interviewed suggested that different organisations find it difficult to agree on the same working methods and project goals. For example, ISAs may be more willing to promote modern Indian culture, whereas DIGs are perhaps more focused on the home country's traditions. Certain organisations have not been unknown to collaborate with each other, on occasion. For instance, DIG Aachen assisted Aachen ISA with its application for registration as a formal organisation (AISA, DIG Aachen, 2018).

Collaboration within the same type of organisation across the country is more common than between various types of organisations in the same geographical region. It is probably strongest among ISAs. There were only 16 ISAs as of 2018. Grouped under an ISG umbrella, ISAs hold meetings on a quarterly basis to discuss common problems. Having been created over the past few years, they appear to group students with similar views, challenges and goals. Many ISA members know each other from India. Unlike ISAs, DIGs and other organisations have evolved over longer periods of time, driven by the desire to represent Indian culture(s) rather than solve practical challenges, which is a priority for ISAs. Hence, they lack opportunities to interact with each other the ways students do. The DIG coordinating bureau emphasises the relative independence of its affiliates. Unlike ISAs and DIGs, other organisations may not even be grouped under one umbrella, or this umbrella may be limited to a geographical region, as is the case with the *Friends of India* in the greater Frankfurt area.

Finance: organisations consider themselves to be solvent, in view of the type of activities they currently run.

None of the sampled DIGs, ISAs and diaspora organisations reported financial difficulties as a top concern. Each interviewed organisation receives more or less regular funding from the Indian Government, whether this is provided by the Indian Embassy or another entity. Each group raises additional funds ifrom membership fees, event entry fees, donations, advertising and other forms of partnerships with local businesses.

Some organisations expressed the belief that German municipal authorities are willing to contribute financially or in kind to the events they organise, even if the support application procedure could be less bureaucratic. Organisations in general have found it easy to pay the costs associated with running most events after having collected entry fees. Students have access to university meeting spaces and enjoy the benefits of collaborating with international students' offices. In some cases, for instance DIG Darmstadt, municipal authorities have granted an organisation an office at no cost (DIG Darmstadt, 2018).

Local businesses, both German and Indian, have understood the benefits of collaborating with the Indian community. Indian grocers and German banks and health insurance agencies have been happy to co-sponsor ISA events in exchange for publicity at student orientation sessions.

Large-scale events, such as the Diwali or Holi festivals, attract many Indian and German spectators, making them attractive publicity spots. The operating costs of ISA events are also kept to a reasonable level thanks to the relative eagerness of the Indian student community to volunteer running them. DIGs and other Indian associations find it a little more difficult to secure a strong volunteer base due to work obligations and other constraints.

During interviews, some student and non-student organisations said that they will not always choose free facilities if they feel that more expensive ones will be better located or more adequately sized. However, while they are comfortable with the resources available for their standard initiatives, it is not clear if the same budgets would allow them to engage in the development of more unique programmes.

5

IMPACTS ON INDIA'S DEVELOPMENT

5. IMPACTS ON INDIA'S DEVELOPMENT

5.1 Remittances

Well-managed migration policies benefit Indian migrants, as well as the two partner countries, Germany and India. Migration can help migrants acquire skills and savings, which in turn benefits their broader communities back home. Indian migrants in Germany tend to gain both hard and soft skills. Under certain circumstances, these skills can foster innovation in India. Among the most enthusiastic about the application of their skills back home are Indian researchers (Tejada, 2016). Migration can also help Germany and India alleviate economic and demographic imbalances, receive remittances, acquire know-how, make investments, improve business relations, and generate tax revenue.

The Indian government's diaspora policy has evolved over time. In 2001, a high-level committee on diaspora strategy was formed based on the new understanding that Indians abroad were potential contributors to Indian economic development. The committee hoped that the diaspora could both support India from abroad, as well as return to India to eventually support the country from within (Butsch, 2016).

As shown by foreign direct investment (FDI) flows, Germany has been a key European investor in India. However, it is important to note that Indian companies have also invested in Germany. These mutual investments have contributed to the number of intra-company staff transfers and created opportunities for Indian students seeking employment in Germany during and after their studies.

With the support of the Indian Embassy, the Indian diaspora in Germany created the Indo-German Chamber of Commerce in 1956 (http://indien.ahk.de/) and the German-Indian Round Table in 2001 (https://www.girt.de/girt/), both with offices across Germany and India. Additionally, the Indo-German Young Leaders Forum (https://igylf.org/) was set up in 2017 to provide a platform for lasting bilateral collaboration in business, politics, science, media and culture. These initiatives were meant to foster direct investment and business entrepreneurship in India and Germany.

Remittances are widely considered to be critical and larger than Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and Official Development Assistance (ODA).[34] Those sent from Germany are relatively expensive compared to those sent from other countries where the Indian diaspora resides. India and Germany should take steps to lower remittance transfer costs. One such step would be to make the Indian diaspora in Germany more aware of the remittance costs database, allowing any individual to choose the cheapest remittance transfer agency.

Remittances are important to macroeconomic stability, since they tend to be larger, more predictable and more sustainable than overseas development assistance and foreign direct investment (Agunias and Newland, 2012; Kelegama, 2011 Gottlich, 2013). Remittances have helped India limit its current account deficit (Palit, 2009). Yet, most importantly, they have directly supported millions of individuals (Agunias and Newland, 2012).[35] (Notwith- standing, it should be noted at this point that little is known about the exact use of monetary transfers from Germany to India).

India has consistently received the highest remittances in the world. In 2017, India received 11% of all remittances sent worldwide. Remittances sent from Germany (0.5%) were dwarfed by those sent from the UAE (20%) (Figure 33). The difference can be explained by the relatively small number of Indians residing in Germany compared to the UAE, along with their socio-economic profile. Most Indians living in Germany come from more affluent parts of Indian society than those who reside in countries which send most remittances to India. In spite of the proportionally smaller quantities (as compared to some of the larger communities in the Middle East, North America, and Asia), students in Germany and their families depend on their success and ability to transfer money home. Facilitating affordable transfers and productive investment from Germany would be a welcome change for the diaspora in the country.

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34. https://blogs.worldbank.org/opendata/money-sent-home-workers-now-largest-source-external-financing-low-and-middle-income https://remittanceprices.worldbank.org/en

35. Reliable statistics on the regional distribution of remittances from Germany to India are unavailable. It can only be assumed that most benefit the migrants' areas of origin. Official data showing the state of origin of Indian migrants in Germany does not exist either. According to an interview with Andheri Hilfe, a development-focused NGO based in Bonn, most of Andheri Hilfe's projects have brought advantages to Kerala, because of the presence of German Christian missionaries in this state. Many of these missionaries sent Indian nurses to Germany in the post-war period.

Figure 32: Remittance inflows, 2017 (until October)

India – 11%
China – 11%
Philippines – 5%
Mexico – 5%
France – 4%
Nigeria – 4%
Egypt, Arab Rep. – 3%
Germany – 3%
Other – 54%
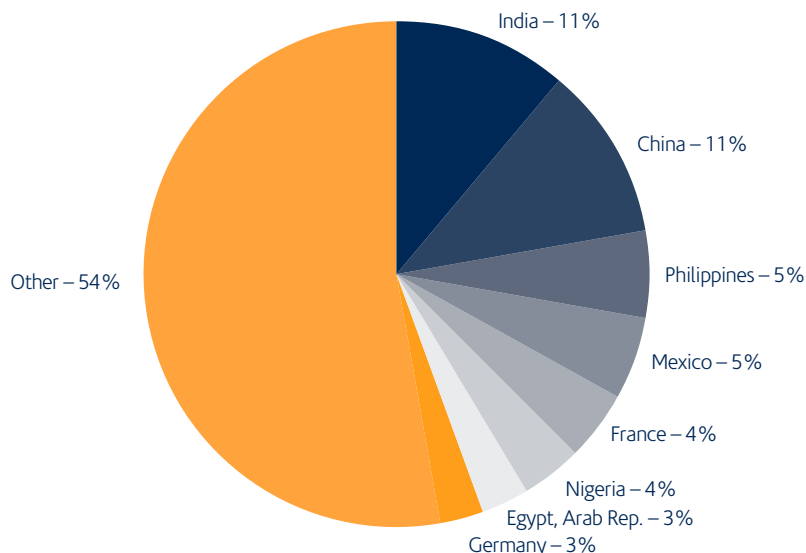
Source: Author, based on World Bank 2018a.

Figure 33: Remittance transfer costs to India, as a percentage of the amount sent (Q1, 2018)

Germany – 7.9
UK – 3.44
UAE – 3.25
Singapore – 2.74
US – 2.52
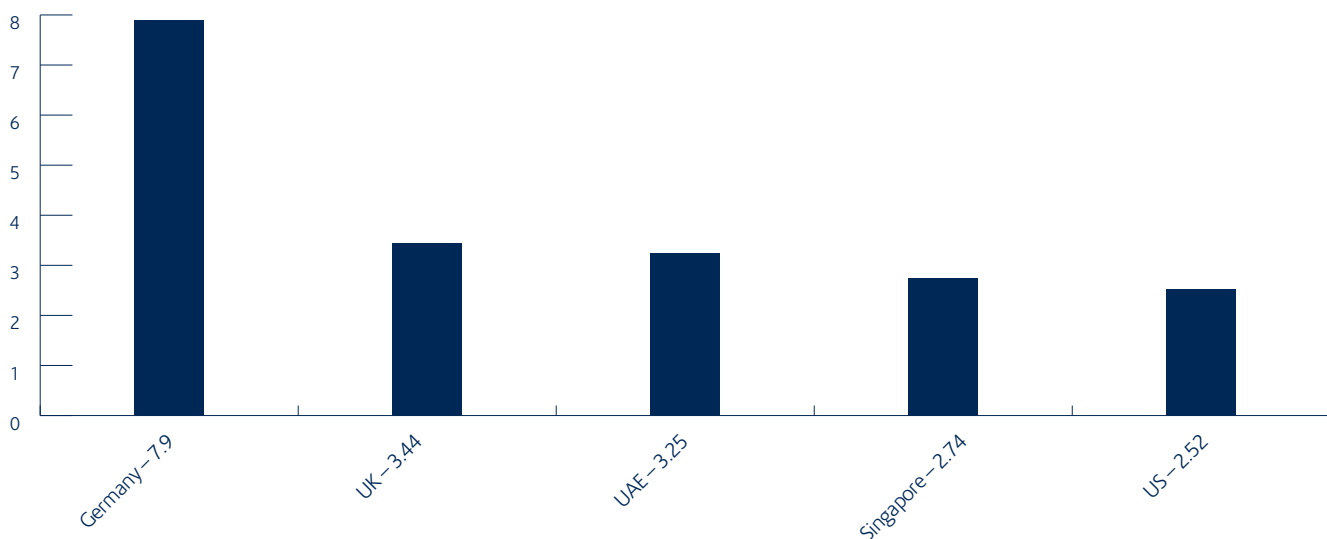
Source: World Bank 2018b.

One of the key factors facilitating remittance transfer is the cost of sending remittances home. The cost of remittance transfers from Germany is more than three times higher than other major source countries (Figure 34). In the first quarter of 2018, costs amounted to 7.9% of the total amount sent, while those from the US represented only 2.5%. This meant that an Indian family would receive $92.1 and $97.5 from every $100 sent from Germany and the US respectively. There was also a big difference between remittance transfer costs sent from various financial institutions within the same country. Indian migrants in Germany who sent money by Transfer-wise would only pay 0.77%, while those who sent money by Deutsche Bank would pay significantly more, up to 28.25% (World Bank, 2018b).[36] Given such disparity, it should be possible to help individual Indian migrants in Germany pay smaller remittance transfer fees. This could be achieved by making the Indian community in Germany aware of the large fluctuations between financial institutions and over time, and specifically by making them familiar with the user-friendly World Bank database that tracks these costs on a quarterly basis.[37]

36. These costs were calculated based on $200 sent.

37. https://remittanceprices.worldbank.org/en

5.2. Transfer of knowledge

Apart from increasing the Indian diaspora's awareness about the most cost-effective ways of sending remittances, the Indian and German governments should continue to engage in other projects which foster better migration management. A number of German and Indian organisations design, fund and implement development projects in India. CIM and GIZ are among the key German public institutions.

Once remittances reach India, they should be used productively in order to have a developmental effect on the receiving country. This implies the need for Indo-German collaboration on the creation of favourable conditions for sustainable investments, as well as capacity building in areas where investments could have a multiplier effect and long-term output.

Since the 1970s, the Indian diaspora has had the option to invest in banking deposits, known in India as Foreign Currency Non-Resident (FCNR) bank accounts. According to the Reserve Bank of India, German NRIs ranked second after British NRIs in FCNR investments (Tumbe, 2012, in Gottshlich, 2013). Indeed, FCNR accounts have been crucial to India's foreign currency reserves (Palit, 2009 in Gottshlich, 2013). However, there are many other, potentially more sustainable ways of making productive use of remittances.

A A number of public and private organisations in Germany and India are dedicated to development work in India.[38] In March 2017, the first conference of Indian diaspora associations in Germany was held at the Indian Embassy in Berlin. In fact, the conference launched the Indian Professional Forum (IPF). The objective of the forum was to create a network of Indian professionals to mobilise German companies to invest in India and improve the image of India in Germany. The IPF also aims to leverage the presence of highly talented Indian professionals in the promotion of programmes in Germany, such as "Make in India", "Digital India", "Smart City Mission", and "Startup India".[39]

The Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) is the main governmental body responsible for development matters related to migration in Germany. Meanwhile, the Corporation for International Cooperation (GIZ) (with headquarters in Bonn) is one of the world's largest development agencies. GIZ has been active in India as well as in development initiatives linked to migration. GIZ and the German Federal Employment Agency created the Centre for

International Migration and Development (CIM).[40]

GIZ works with banks and insurance companies in countries of origin to develop customised products for migrants, and subsequently communicates the various opportunities open to migrant groups. GIZ and the European Microfinance Platform published a manual on easy and safe access to financial services for migrants and the recipients of remittances (GIZ, 2012a) as a means to improve financial literacy (Tejeda, 2014).

GIZ is also the main implementing agency in diaspora engagement. Several studies are conducted before projects are initiated, in order to gain insights into the existing capacities of migrant associations. Capacity building activities are set up once the results of these studies are completed. Support is also provided in the relevant countries of origin (Baraulina et al., 2012). The objective is to raise migration organisations to the level of strategic partners in development cooperation (Riester, 2011 in Tejeda, 2014).

Among other achievements, the CIM[41] has:

› created geldtransFAIR.de (https://www.geldtransfair.de/en), a remittance cost-tracking website similar to the World Bank's Remittances Prices Worldwide (http://remittanceprices.worldbank.org/en) database and certified by the World Bank;

› advised individuals and policymakers on migration policy issues;

› supported diasporas in Germany who wish to contribute to the development of their countries of origin, for instance through the Business Ideas for Development contest and through the call for Indian diaspora organisations to support development in India by encouraging "returning experts";

› placed European (and European-settled) experts in developing countries, including India.

The significant presence of Indians working in the knowledge sector in Germany makes it important to understand to what extent (apart from pecuniary transfers) India and Germany can facilitate noetic transfers.

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38. For instance, DIZ (http://www.diz-ev.de/), Andheri Hilfe (https://www.andheri-hilfe.de/informieren/presse-service-downloads/english/), and Indienhilfe (http://www.indienhilfe-herrsching.de/node/15) in Frankfurt, Bonn and Munich respectively. Also, German political parties support initiatives promoting development, e.g. the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (CDU) and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (SPD). Their main goal is poverty alleviation, which they realise through financial support and expertise transfer. The organisations differ in the degree to which they collaborate with the Indian diaspora in Germany.

39. For more information on these programmes, see:
https://www.uitvconnect.com/newspaper/indian-diaspora-launches-indian-professional-forum-ipf-germany

40. For more information about CIM, see: https://www.cimonline.de/en/html/about-cim.html

41. https://www.cimonline.de/en/html/about-cim.html

Apart from remittances, the Indian diaspora may also transfer skills and knowledge. The successful transfer of knowledge is possible when the diaspora in the host community (Germany) engages in knowledge-intensive work and when the home community (India) offers an enabling environment that is ready to put such knowledge to productive use.

In 2015, a survey of 527 Indian returnees from Germany, Switzerland, France, and the Netherlands found that scientists and researchers considered themselves most likely to contribute to India compared to other categories of returnees. Those interviewed believed that India's environment was more receptive to hard (e.g. specialised expertise) than soft (e.g. managerial) skills (Tejada, 2015: 22). Returnees enumerated a number of obstacles to knowledge transfer, including differences in work culture, resistance to change, lengthy bureaucratic procedures and a lack of adequate infrastructure. However, they maintained an optimistic attitude, stating that they would give themselves 2-3 years to see whether their European experiences could be fully applied in India (Tejada, 2015: 23-24).

If India is to make the most of actions spurring development on the part of its highly skilled diaspora, it should better understand the obstacles that hinder the transfer of knowledge and skills and how those obstacles should be overcome. According to a few of the Indian students and professionals interviewed over the course of this study, there are relatively developed parts of India which could use their knowledge and skills productively. However, many parts of India (some corresponding to migrants' areas of origin) lack a knowledge transfer-friendly environment. There is a need to further develop knowledge–transfer friendly environments.

6 KEY ISSUES AND POLICY/PROJECT RECOMMENDATIONS

6. KEY ISSUES AND POLICY/PROJECT RECOMMENDATIONS

This research has focused on the major trends in contemporary Indian migration to Germany. Indian migration in Germany has been predominantly legal and skilled or highly skilled. Since its very inception it has been characterised by large proportions of students. Even though the numbers of highly skilled (notably IT) workers recruited in India have increased in recent years, Indian migration to Germany continues to predominantly feature student admissions. Student admissions are an important subset of legal migration, because on completion of their studies, graduates normally apply for work. Given the importance of student migration, this research recommends that policy actions should be aimed at better management of this legal migration stream. Better management of student migration will bring economic and social benefits to both Germany and India.

6.1. General issues and recommendations

Each of the categories of Indian diaspora organisations in Germany faces unique organisational growth challenges. The degree of cooperation between them could be strengthened for their own benefit and for the benefit of German society. There is a need to understand what causes organisational fragmentation and what weakens adaptive abilities, as well as how those challenges could be overcome.

There are four types of Indian associations:

1. GOPIO – Global Organization of People of Indian Origin (appears inactive);

2. German-Indian Society affiliates (DIGs) (ageing, predominantly German, and with a focus on cultural matters);

3. Indian student associations (ISAs) (young and predominantly Indian but open to the participation of non-Indians);

4. "Independent organisations" – various other Indian diaspora groups, often built on their members' ethnic or language identities.

The four types of organisation (and to a large degree the organisations within these groups) are independent of each other.

The plethora of organisations allows the Indian diaspora to participate in the organisation(s) which best suit(s) their needs. While anybody can become a member of more than one organisation, in practice most people decide on only one. Membership of multiple organisations is probably limited by membership fees and the fact that organisations have distinct identities which are expressed in the language their members use and the goals that are set. Indian student organisations are least likely to charge fees, or the fees they charge are the lowest. They are also most open to informal membership, where every student member is valued, regardless of his/her time or monetary commitments, ethnic identity, language or views on India.

Cooperation between each category of organisation, as well as among members of the same category, could be strengthened for the benefit of Indian diaspora organisations. Indeed, better inter- and intra-organisational cooperation would boost the overall Indian diaspora image, increase the effective use of limited funds, strengthen the membership base and improve adaptation strategies. Collaborating organisations could increase their chances of funding by co-writing grants and decreasing operating costs..

Possible actions: (1) Knowing how to strengthen cooperation between organisations requires further consultation with the organisations themselves. Contact should be established with DIG HQ in order to understand how DIG leadership perceives the possible barriers to organisational growth. Together with DIG, a survey of DIG network members could be conducted to find out how individual DIG offices envision their organisational growth and what could be done to assist this. The survey could be distributed electronically via DIG HQ. Depending on the survey findings, further actions could be taken; (2) Help should be given to "independent organisations" to intensify collaboration under common umbrellas in the same vein as *"Friends of India"*. The Indian Consulate in Frankfurt could provide initial guidelines on how the *"Friends of India"* was formed and to what extent it could be emulated elsewhere. The advantages of participation should be made strong enough to elicit voluntary adherence. Ideally, the new *"Friends of India"* should benefit from facilitated access to funding, advice, meeting space(s), and other incentives. It could be based on the combination of feedback from the organisations and consulates of the relevant region. Topics for discussion could include the need for and feasibility of developing a new *"Friends of India"* with the assistance of the Indian Consulate in Baden Wurtemberg and Bavaria (preceded by consultations with the Embassy); (3) Each organisation should benefit from the sup-

port of Indian diplomatic missions. Hence, Indian diplomatic missions should play a key role in fostering intra- and inter-organisational cooperation. Among other factors, Indian diplomatic missions could strengthen cooperation between different Indian organisations by:

› educating organisations on the benefits of collaboration;

› brainstorming with organisations how to strengthen collaboration, possibly at a workshop aimed to foster inter/intra-organisational collaboration;

› conditioning funding on organisational willingness to collaborate (e.g. projects run by more than one organisation could receive more funding than those which are run solo).

Furthermore, it would be beneficial to find out whether the fragmentation of Indian associations is an issue in other EU countries. If not, what accounts for this and how – if at all – can better collaboration be attained in Germany? Given ICMPD's experience and ongoing capacity building initiatives with other fragmented diaspora groups (e.g. the Africa-Europe Diaspora Development Platform – ADEPT) it would be in a position to launch a pilot initiative to strengthen Indian diaspora associations within the EU. Concretely, this could be based upon the tools developed and lessons learnt from ADEPT (i.e. platform building, operational excellence training, webinars on crowdfunding, advocacy training, and drafting proposals for donor funding) and the initiative could be adapted to the Indian diaspora organisations' needs in Europe.

Each of the Indian diaspora organisations in Germany faces organisational growth challenges. If undiagnosed and ignored, those challenges may lead to the decline of some organisations.

It is unclear to what extent organisational leadership across the various categories is fully aware of the challenges their organisations are facing and the ways in which these could be overcome.

› DIG risks becoming less prominent (instead of inactive) due to the difficulty some of its affiliates face attracting and retaining young and long-term members;

› ISAs rely on a growing, but transient population least interested and able to form formal organisational structures (*Verreins*);[42]

› While some independent associations are becoming more powerful, others are declining in strength due to the exclusive character of membership, a small membership base, reluctance to collaborate with others, limited programme agendas or limited funds.[43] Sluggish leadership change may hamper the adaptation of the organisation to new imperatives.

Some organisations are said to face challenges regarding democratic governance. For instance, some long-established organisation leaders find it difficult to formally or informally pass power on to new successors (Saravanan et al., 2018).

Possible actions: Organisations differ in their awareness of organisational growth challenges and willingness/ability to address these issues. They should be provided with an opportunity to understand their specific growth challenges and the ways in which these problems could be overcome. Questions on growth challenges could be included in any survey of Indian diaspora organisations, consultations between those organisations and Indian diplomatic missions or a workshop on organisational adaptation. While organisations are responsible for their own growth, Indian and German authorities could provide them with assistance to succeed.

On the basis of this study, the Indian diaspora in Germany is founded upon three or more generations. Hence, it encompasses Indians born in India as well as Indians born in Germany. Both are vital to the growth of diaspora organisations. Yet, Indians born in Germany are less likely to be involved in Indian diaspora organisations, unless they recognise their unique interests and needs. The involvement of German-born Indians would be particularly useful to support the organisational growth of DIGs, since by definition they are meant to represent both German and Indian societies.

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42. Organisations in Germany may be informal or formal (Verrein). The formalisation of an organisation requires that it meets a government- established set of requirements. Among others, these requirements are aimed at ensuring that organisations have clear purposes and sustainable structures. Formalised associations are more credible when they petition for funding, book venues, etc.

43. Some organisations operate thanks to close personal or family links and others may be composed of only one person.

Indeed, the integration of Indians into Germany has been very successful. Indians born in Germany tend to hold German citizenship, speak German better than Hindi and regard their identity as being equally German and Indian.

More exposed to German than Indian culture, the second and third generations understand India in different terms than their parents and grandparents. They are often involved in Indian associations, but what they appear to expect from this involvement is different from their parents and grandparents who once lived in India, and who continue to maintain contact with their India-based relatives. Unlike their parents and grandparents, Indians born in Germany tend to be more interested in modern rather than traditional Indian culture (e.g. Bollywood versus classical dance and music). The second and third generations are also more likely to understand India in pan-Indian terms, i.e. India as a coherent collection of all ethnic, religious, or linguistic groups. Hence, they are more likely to identify themselves with pan-Indian German-Indian associations (DIGs) than ethnically-specific independent organisations, or student-specific ISAs. As previously mentioned, German-born Indians could help to strengthen the membership of DIGs. By definition, DIGs are open to the participation of German citizens. However, in order to benefit from their support, DIGs may need to adapt to the different identities and expectations of the second- and third-generation, German-born Indians.

Possible actions: Raise awareness among the young and German-born participants of DIGs about the benefits of attracting and retaining members and graduating to leadership positions, even when this would entail the need to modify organisational goals or methods of achieving them. Since some DIGs may be doing this already, the action could be realised through the sharing of best practices, for example at the headquarters of DIG and on the occasion of DIG periodic meetings.[44]

Weak web presence may be indicative of organisational governance challenges.

Many organisations lack proper websites. Facebook pages appear adequate for marketing and communication purposes, but they are not well suited to the presentation of information about leadership structures, organisational objectives and constitutions. It is unclear whether missing or undeveloped websites are indicative of organisational challenges (such as poor transparency or internal organisation) or a simple lack of human or other resources to construct a website.

Possible action: The principal organisational donors/advising bodies (e.g. the Indian Embassy for students, or the MEA for DIGs) should encourage organisations to develop websites meeting minimum organisational transparency standards. This could include an award for the most adequate organisational website or grants specifically for this purpose.

Diaspora associations' programmes could be diversified and steered towards activities that aim to develop a positive impact on India.

The programmatic efforts of Indian associations focus on promoting various aspects of Indian culture in Germany. These programmes may have an indirect positive effect on India (including travel to India and the purchase of Indian goods) and can further utilise organisational potential to deliver programmes with a directly positive developmental effect on India.

Possible action: The principal organisational donors/advising bodies should encourage programmes with a more direct developmental impact on India, e.g. by enhanced funding for specific development-promoting programmes.

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44. Most members of DIG affiliates appear to be ethnic Germans, often unrelated to Indian nationals. The involvement of ethnic Germans has helped to keep Indian-German associations alive. However, the future of these associations is uncertain due to the ageing of its members and the weak ability of organisations to attract new, young members.

6. 2. Student mobility: related issues and recommendations

Streamline the entire student admissions process.

Admissions of students from India have been on the rise in Germany and in other parts of Europe. These admissions will continue to rise. On the one hand, European universities derive financial and other benefits from international (including Indian) students' admissions. On the other hand, Indian students are interested in pursuing their studies in Europe, which will not only give them a good education but also access to the European labour market upon graduation. The expected rise of Indian student admissions to Germany and other parts of Europe would benefit from a review of the student admissions process in order to identify the most pressing issues.

› **Finding an adequate university programme in Germany and learning basic German prior to departure.** The vast majority of students choose to study in Germany shortly before applying to study there, and without much prior research about Germany and its programmes. All of the students interviewed emphasised that they wished they had known that they would be going to study in Germany at least one year prior to departure in order to better research the prospective universities and their programmes and notably learn the language. Students from more rural areas report having learned German from Indian teachers with allegedly low qualifications, either because quality German language classes were not available to them in their place of residence, or because they cost too much. Students added that if they had known some German prior to departure, they would have been able to find better housing options.
Possible actions: (1) When promoting higher education in Germany among Indian students, the DAAD India and German universities should try to target those who have more than a year ahead before departure. Early planning would help Indian students and German universities strike a better match;
(2) the Goethe Institute, German Embassy and MEA could facilitate opportunities to learn German in the areas which show a rising trend in sending students to Germany, yet which lack reasonably priced quality German language learning courses.[45] The expansion of quality online German language courses could also be considered.

› **Educational consultancies.** The rising number of candidates who apply to study in Germany, including from rural areas, has favoured an increase in the number of fee-charging service providers known as educational consultancies. These consultancies offer prospective students a wide gamut of services, ranging from help with identifying the right university programme to tips on writing motivational essays. While some of these services are beneficial, the interviewed members of the Indian community consider them to have been largely superfluous, excessively priced and damaging to students in the long run (particularly when they make prospective students seem to be of a higher calibre than they really are). Students, particularly from rural areas, have limited knowledge about living and studying in Germany. Hence, they are more vulnerable to the risk of running up debts, given the high prices these consultancies charge.
Possible action: (1) There is a need to identify which of the services provided by educational consultancies are already provided for free by alternative sources, such as the DAAD or German universities;
(2) ways of providing the missing essential services need to be found, so that they can be offered to prospective students for free or for less than educational consultancies charge;
(3) educational consultancies should be regulated to ensure that they provide legitimate, transparent and fairly priced services;
(4) grants could be considered to support the efforts of ISAs to develop pre-departure orientation resource websites (or a contest could be launched).

› **Scholarships.** Scholarships based on academic potential have a positive effect on the individual student and the programme (s)he is going to join, but not on the broader communities in India and Germany.
Possible actions: Diversify the range of scholarships to attract:
  • Indian students interested in studies that would have a direct developmental effect on their communities of origin in India, preferably rural areas.

  • Female Indian students (even though student admissions have higher rates for women than men, men continue to dominate the flows).

  • Indian students with potential to foster the organisational growth of the ISA in their host institution.

  • Indian students who would like to serve India upon their graduation. A number of governments have concluded agreements awarding scholarships to international students who are willing to return home immediately upon graduation. These initiatives have sometimes been financially supported by employers in countries of origin who are prepared to cover a student's tuition fees abroad (MA, PhD or postdoctoral research) in exchange for the individual's commitment to work for the sponsor company for a certain period of time immediately upon his/her return.

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45. Indian students who lived in the areas served by the Goethe Institute considered the costs of learning German in India cheaper than in Germany, but still too expensive.

› **Admissions.** In some cases, prospective students receive their university admission letters so late that they miss their housing application deadline and do not obtain a visa in time to start studying at the beginning of the appropriate semester. A few universities reportedly continue to send admission letters using regular mail (rather than electronic notifications).
Possible action: The schools that send admission letters late could be identified and approached to find out if the admission notification process could be communicated electronically and earlier.

› **Visas.** Visa application processing time varies across Germany, but has been described as inconveniently long in Bombay and to a lesser extent Chennai and Bengaluru due to a mismatch between the number of applicants and the consulate's resources.[46] According to Sazaneva (one of the interviewees), the rising number and diversity of applicants is likely to slow down visa issuance even more. Students who receive visas too late end up having to delay their admission by a semester. As the number of Indian students in Germany grows, so will the problem, unless universities speed up their admission decisions and German consulates in India speed up visa processing.
Possible action: The reasons for long visa processing times must be identified through communication with the most affected German consulates (including whether the students themselves apply too late and whether required documents could be obtained faster or provided with the visa application).[47] If the issue stems from a lack of information, students could help themselves by publishing tips on how to apply for a visa and how to find the least expensive loans for the purpose of meeting the "blocked account" requirement. However, they need to be encouraged to do so, e.g. by ISG. Meeting the "blocked account" requirement should be easy enough and eliminates the risk of paying unnecessary fees or contracting additional services with banks. The German Consulate may consider providing more information/rephrasing the existing information on the visa application process.

› **Orientation.** Prospective students who take their time to conduct online research about studying and living in Germany can find sufficient information, including details about the specific programme they are applying for. ISAs are active on Facebook, therefore prospective students may use these platforms to ask any questions they may have. Additionally, many ISAs arrange organised webinars.
Possible action: Are the available resources sufficient, or would the creation of a "one stop shop" webpage – where all resources are uploaded, organised and regularly updated – be more useful? If the creation of a central resource is deemed worthwhile, a competition could be set up in order to achieve this.

› **Accommodation.** Newly arrived international students tend to live in university-owned accommodation because student halls of residence are much more affordable (approximately 250-300 euros per month) than off-campus housing. Excluding East Germany (e.g. Dresden), Indian students have had to cope with the paucity of affordable accommodation. Students increase their chances of securing accommodation if they apply for it in time. However, many receive their admission letters once the accommodation application deadline has passed.
Possible action: (1) Since the availability of accommodation varies across Germany, places with the most acute accommodation shortages should be identified, along with the reasons behind the issue. If accommodation is hard to secure because students find out about admission decisions after the accommodation application deadline, this type of shortage could be addressed in collaboration with the university (faster admission notifications) or housing office (later application deadlines).
(2) Accommodation shortages should be discussed with local authorities. "Elderly care" or "babysitting" programmes could be considered, whereby German families offer Indian students free accommodation in exchange for their care service.[48]

› **Academic performance.** The interviewed Indian students and faculty noted that as the number of incoming students has risen, the quality of students' work has fallen. Increasingly, newly admitted Indian students struggle to maintain good academic standing, take more time to complete the programmes and secure jobs less easily. The problem is due to a combination of factors, including: admission procedures which may be too liberal, the students' inadequate assessment of their own capabilities (for example regarding the language barrier, inadequate time management, and insufficient collaboration with the available support services) and the interference of educational consultancies. Educational consultancies sometimes help students secure admission to programmes that may not correspond to their real interests and skills.
Possible action: (1) The interviewees suggested that prospective students should be given a clearer idea of the potential challenges awaiting them in Germany (and this could come from the universities admitting them);

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46. Some students reported that the visa procedure was unclear and time-consuming. Allegedly students have little time to take care of all their pre-departure preparations between receiving acceptance letters and leaving for Germany. The procedure is made all the more complex by the requirement of "blocked funds" and the relatively high interest rates on personal loans (10%-16% or even 18%) taken out for this purpose.

47. If visa processing is protracted because of student negligence in filling out paperwork, unclear instructions, or excessively burdensome requirements, these issues could be addressed.

48. These programmes may already be available in some larger cities.

(2) The ways in which underperforming students could be linked to more support (either via ISAs or other university resources) should be identified.

› **Integration into German society.** Often Indian and German students do not share classes and accommodation. Indian students consider this to be an obstacle to learning German and integrating into German society.
Possible action: This challenge could be overcome if university housing offices mixed German and international (Indian) students rather than putting all international/Indian students together in ethnic clusters.

› **The organisational growth of ISAs.** Many Indian student associations are not registered organisations in line with German law. There are pros and cons to becoming a registered organisation. According to Bala Ramani (one of the interviewees), Indian student groups would be better off as university associations rather than official organisations, because of the considerable bureaucratic and financial burden that registering and maintaining registration implies. As an officially registered organisation, an ISA would need to maintain a seven-person board and comply with other organisational procedures. As mentioned earlier, among the   types of Indian diaspora organisations, ISAs have the most transient membership. Most students prefer to take part only in selected organisational activities, in line with their time constraints and interests. While a few alumni stay involved with their ISAs after graduating, most do not, especially if the university they studied at is located far from the place they end up working in. ISAs wish they could do more to retain alumni. Transient ISA membership has implications for organisational growth and survival.
Possible action: A few ISAs (e.g. Gottingen and Berlin) have not secured the desired level of support from the universities that host them. If we were to run a survey of ISAs, we could include questions related to organisational challenges and discuss them with the ISG and the Indian Embassy. However, in order for the ISG to support ISAs, the ISG itself would need further support (see "proposed actions" below).

› **Securing employment.** There is a mismatch between the ease of matriculation in German universities and the difficulty of securing a job following graduation. This mismatch is likely to grow as German universities accept more and more international students and the German labour market becomes saturated with international alumni who wish to stay for work. Most Indian graduates of German universities indicate an interest in staying in Germany, at least to gain initial work experience. Securing a job is a major concern, especially for those who have not been able to secure an internship over the course of their studies and those who

apply for jobs requiring good knowledge of German. Most Indian students graduate without work experience and with only a basic level of German. Student organisations, including ISG, have tried to connect students with alumni, while university departments and career offices have provided additional support, including subsidised travel to job fairs. But all interviewed Indians agree that more needs to be done to help alumni secure immediate employment following graduation. According to the interviewees, students should think of their job search as soon as they arrive, since it is impossible to learn the language or secure an internship at the last moment.
Possible actions: Possible actions could be discussed with
(1) ISG and the Indian Embassy;
(2) the representatives of businesses that currently employ Indian graduates of German universities could be consulted (via Embassy contacts) to find out what they are looking for from successful job and internship candidates. A series of video interviews could be created on the occasion of these consultations. One of the interviewed young Indians developed a series of professional video tutorials helping Indian students learn about studying in Germany. ICMPD could approach the video producer about the possibility of creating similar videos with employers at the next set of consultations with the researcher in South West Germany[49].

› **Helping to develop the ISG network to ensure its growth and sustainability.** ISG is an umbrella organisation for various ISAs across Germany. ISG has built a bridge between ISAs; between ISAs and their host communities; and between ISAs and the Indian Embassy. ISG is successful, given the general preference among Indian organisations for self-rule. However, ISG was created recently and has ample space for growth. It is dependent on the charisma, ideas and availability of its single leader and has limited resources. Possible action: A better understanding is needed of ISG goals and methods of achieving them in order to assist its future growth and ensure sustainability. This can be done through dialogue with the ISG coordinator, ISAs and the ISG representative at the Indian Embassy. Ideally, ISG should:

- Be based on a clear organisational structure/vision and methodology to achieve its vision, developed and shaped by the representatives of student organisations.

- Have a trained co-leader, someone who would be able to continue to advise the network, in case its current leader cannot keep up with ISG duties.

- Have an independent budget allowing it to pursue quality programming aimed at facilitating the growth of individual ISAs.

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49. Employers of Indian workers could be best identified via the Indian Embassy or the Munich Consulate. Alternatively, we could launch the action in Hamburg/Hanover, where we would most likely benefit from the support of Mr Bala Ramani (ISG Coordinator) and Mr Madan Lal Raigar (Hamburg Consul General).

- Represent all (or the majority of) Indian students in Germany (the number of institutions hosting Indian students is continuously growing).

› **Promoting the development of ISAs and ISG-like structures in other countries hosting rising numbers of Indian students, possibly through a workshop in collaboration with the Indian Embassy in Germany.** While ISG itself is still in the very incipient phase of its development, it is worth replicating in other EU countries with a large and growing Indian student population, such as Poland, France, Cyprus, Ireland or the Netherlands. In 2017, the top five countries that issued most first permits for education purposes to Indians (apart from the UK and Germany) were Cyprus, Poland, France, Ireland and the Netherlands. Should the Indian Ministry of External Affairs be interested in the development of the ISG network in other EU countries, a workshop could be arranged for Indian Embassies in target countries to discuss how to strengthen ISAs and create ISGs in those countries.

› **Assessing the existence and effectiveness of programmes intended to foster the positive impact of Indian students on India's development.**
The availability of affordable studies in Germany has created an opportunity for Indian students from less affluent areas to study abroad. However, it is not enough that a student from a less affluent area takes a loan and leaves for Germany to study and work there without broader developmental impact on his/her community of origin. How could German NGOs and organisations such as GIZ/CIM make the most of Indian students' potential for the benefit of their projects? Indian students – especially from poorer areas such as Bihar, Orissa or Assam – would probably benefit from the scholarships and practical experience that development-promoting organisations could provide. In turn, the latter could benefit from Indian students to fine-tune their project planning and implementation in rural parts of India.

Possible action: At a very modest cost of around 8,000 euros a year (the minimum required to study in Germany) the Indian MEA and/or other partners could create scholarship(s) aimed at the transfer of knowledge between Germany and the least developed parts of India.9 A scholarship should support the education of a student from a less affluent background who could devote their studies in Germany to a development project to be implemented in their community of origin. The scholarship could benefit not only the student and their community of origin, but also the host university department in Germany, since it would offer the research institute receiving the student facilitated direct access to an Indian community. It would also contribute to the diversification of Embassy-sponsored programmes, the vast majority of which are focused on promoting Indian culture.

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ANNEX 1
Overview of key issues and recommendations

Issue	Recommendations
Students	
High concentration of Indian students in certain academic programmes and universities. Indian students are the second most numerous group of international students in Germany after Chinese (DAAD, 2019). In 2018 the number of new residence permits issued to Indians for study in Germany nearly matched those issued for work (Eurostat, 2019). DAAD predicts that the number of Indian students in Germany will continue to rise (Apoorv, 2019). However, Indian students and some scholars believe that this growth has reached its limits. Focused on the study of a relatively narrow range of subjects (predominantly engineering), Indian students have come to predominate on certain programmes. The larger the proportion of Indian students in certain classes, the less likely the students are to integrate into German society and learn the German language – the two key conditions for a successful transition to a post-study work and life in Germany.	(1) German and Indian Educational authorities (including DAAD and representatives of key programmes attracting Indians to Germany) should discuss incentives that would help to redistribute Indian students. The concentration of Indians is in part due to limited information on alternative places and programmes for pursuing studies in Germany. Rural and Eastern parts of Germany offer good quality education and inexpensive living. These areas, however, may be harder to promote due to fewer internship/employment opportunities, fewer people knowing English and past racial incidents. The best programmes in new places should be promoted, including through influential Indian youtubers advising prospective students on where to study in Germany.
Insufficient language proficiency (among some). Admission to German programmes requires basic German proficiency. Furthermore, German universities offer German courses at no cost and community centres do the same at a nominal cost (Doerfler, 2019). However, many Indian students do not have *the time* to continue studying German upon arrival in Germany.[50] If insufficient German language proficiency influences the decision to leave Germany upon graduation, this is a loss for Indian students as well as German taxpayers.	It may be advisable to: (1) heighten the level of German proficiency for the programmes likely to require advanced knowledge of German to find a job; (2) expand high quality German language training opportunities in India, especially emerging areas of Indian student migration to Germany (in cooperation with the Goethe Institute and others); (3) expand pre-matriculation German language study programmes in Germany; (4) integrate continuous language instruction into the curricula. Given the importance of German language proficiency for internship and work, certain academic programmes should provide students with the time necessary to gain German language skills.

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50. According to Fuhse (2019) and most of the Indian students interviewed, language becomes a challenge dealing with bureaucratic requirements outside of university and applying for jobs. However, unlike in the past, many students today do not arrive in Germany with a clear goal of settling there. They are hoping to find a job either in Germany or elsewhere and this makes them less determined to invest their limited time in learning German.

Issue	Recommendations
Unethical practices by educational consultancies. The Indian Embassy in Germany, DAAD (Apoorv, 2019), students and scholars have reported the growth of illegitimate educational consultancies in India or of legitimate educational consultancies engaging in illegitimate actions. Some consultancies charge high fees and fail to provide the service they promise. Some Indian students believe that educational consultancies may have inflated the number of Indian students in Germany and negatively impacted on their performance. At least one ISA leader reported that the mismatch between student and programme has been causing Indian students to struggle academically, thereby harming the reputation of Indian students in his university.	(1) The semi-informal or informal nature of the practices of certain educational consultancies means that more research is needed to determine how to regulate them adequately. (2) The issue should be discussed with the Indian Ministry of Education/Ministry of Foreign Affairs. DAAD has put together website resources[51] to provide prospective student candidates with information about studying in Germany. But educational consultancies may be more effective in luring students to rely on them especially if they promise to deliver some specific service (e.g. drafting of application, visa, housing support, etc.). It would be hard to prohibit agencies from providing certain services such as drafting CVs, application letters, etc. However, agencies should be asked to demonstrate transparency of charges. Although legal agencies can engage in unethical practices, it is hard to eliminate them, but they could be rated so that their users are better informed and can compare the performance ratings of consultancies. (3) "Emerging destination" German universities should be encouraged to provide clear and easy to navigate information about all aspects of admission.
Populations of Indian students are also increasing in other EU countries, where they may need to be supported. There has been a growing number of Indian student admissions across the EU. By 2018, Poland (5,100) and France (3,700) were the third and fourth fastest growing Indian student destinations in the EU after the UK (15,600) and Germany (7,400), measured by the number of new study permits issued. Students in these destinations may benefit from the initial experience of ISAs in Germany.	(1) If the Indian Government is interested in harnessing the skills of the Indian diaspora in the EU, especially students, it should take an interest in emerging student destinations – Poland and France. A network of Indian associations similar to ISG should be promoted in the two countries. Even though ISG is in its nascent phase, it should be sourced for ideas (best practices and challenges) to support emulation of similar networks in other EU countries with a rising student population.
Some Indian students cannot easily find a job in Germany upon graduation. Possible factors include: (a) basic knowledge of the German language (especially for those who follow programmes taught in English), (b) basic integration into German society, including knowledge of the German labour market (job application methods, importance of internships, work culture, opportunities with SMEs and in "less popular" parts of Germany); (c) insufficient networks on the German job market.[52]	(1) ISAs have taken basic steps to facilitate the transition of students from education to the labour market, mostly by instructing them how to write German-style CVs and cover letters. Some have tried to organise meetings with alumni and selected employers. These efforts, especially the creation of alumni databases and recruitment/career events, should be strengthened. Such efforts would be beneficial to students, student organisations and employers. With tighter collaboration between ISAs and employers, the latter could provide additional financial support for ISAs, in addition to providing jobs for students. The Indian Embassy could: (a) create an annual prize to be awarded to an ISA that has made a significant contribution in developing effective support in job seeking; (b) share contacts with employers it has contacts with; (c) organise a webinar on job searching. (2) A few Indian youtubers and bloggers, such as *Bharat in Germany*, have created good quality resources aimed at informing Indians in their search for a university or job in Germany. These efforts should be recognised and supported to differentiate them from consultancies claiming to provide similar services for fees.

51. https://www.daad.in/en/study-research-in-germany/studying-in-germany/authentic-information-for-germany-aspirants/

52. Doerfler (2019) pointed out that Indian students tend to think that job searching in Germany will run along similar lines as the process in India, where recruiters visit them at the university campus. The idea of entering a job market through internships or applications based on German-style CVs and cover letters is new to them. Many respondents have indicated that they target famous employers and large cities, whereas the most practical way to secure a job in Germany would be to look for openings with SMEs and not necessarily in large cities (Doerfler, 2019).

Issue	Recommendations
The paucity of return-migration schemes. While study programmes in Germany are cheaper than in the UK or outside of Europe, many Indians (particularly those from more rural parts of India) still find them relatively expensive, especially since finding a job in Europe is not guaranteed upon graduation.	(1) The cost of education in Germany is low while the cost of finding a Germany-educated worker in India is high. To make the most of this opportunity the Government of India should encourage employers in India to create "return migration scholarships". would pay for Indian students' education in Germany in exchange for their commitment to return to India to work for a sponsoring company for a specified period of time. Similar scholarships have been successfully tried in other parts of the world. They would help India educate and place bright students from poor areas in jobs. They would also decrease the potential for irregular migration to Germany (through overstay upon graduation if a student cannot find a job). Last but not least, they would provide employers with well-educated workers they would not be able to find in India, especially in the rural areas, which the scheme could target.
Some Indian migrants return to India and find it difficult to reintegrate into the Indian job market. Not all Indian graduates can or want to stay in Germany after graduating. Some leave for another country where they have managed to find a job. Others return to India, often because they have to and without a job lined up. Prof. Gupta pointed out that Indian returnees including students may find it just as difficult to transition to an Indian labour market as the German workforce. This can be due to de jure as well as de facto barriers. Indian and German education systems are different and not all employers see Indian graduates from Germany as attractive. Moreover, the returnees themselves are often unmotivated to seek or accept jobs in India due to their heightened expectations of salary and working conditions.	(1) It is important that India and Germany ensures as wide as possible recognition of qualifications acquired abroad (in Germany), but also that German companies who invest in India find it easy to find and hire Indians trained in Germany. (2) According to Prof. Gupta, many Indians would benefit if the Government of India supported them in start-up creation (given that many returners would rather be self-employed and able to implement innovative ideas learned in Germany).
ISAs are evolving and they may or may not establish a strong network. ISAs are among the youngest Indian associations and therefore many of them are still experimenting with their organisational design. Some have acquired *Verrein* status with all its benefits, while others are considering the pros and cons of evolving more formal structures. Collaboration between ISAs is weak, partly due to the transient nature of their members/adherents, lack of time and resources. The success of ISAs hinges heavily on the personal traits of their leaders and adherents.	(1) ISAs would benefit from a strengthened network (formed by stronger individual organisations), whether under the current ISG structure or another *of their choice*. Representing the interests of all Indian students and scholars, ISAs should enjoy limited Indian government (logistical and financial) support. The specific form of a future ISA network should be discussed with ISAs' representatives. Potential areas of intervention may include: • Formalisation of ISG's network through a *Verrein* status, either for individual organisations or for the network (the latter option being more feasible due to the transient nature of the leadership of individual student organisations); • Singing of a MOU between ISG and the Indian Embassy on the scope of cooperation, including logistical and financial support; • Establishment of a growth plan to strengthen the network of ISAs over the coming years; • Consolidation of network should not lead to an imposition of agendas incompatible with the individual organisations' goals. It should only aim at helping them identify problems, tackle those problems more effectively and grow as an organization (to avoid organisational rise and fall).

Issue	Recommendations
University-based Indian organisations are being absorbed by more broadly focused organisations of international students or scholars. Some Indian centres even risk the threat of dissolution. Indian centres, such as the India Study Centre in Bremen, find it difficult to obtain funds that would allow them to remain an independent organisation. Part of the difficulty stems from limited ideas about where funding for large projects, such as the upkeep of a centre may come from.	(1) If the Indian government wished to engage in the comprehensive promotion of India abroad, it should establish an entity similar to China's Confucius Institutes. Confucius Institutes make it possible for Chinese organisations around the world to prosper and resist absorption by Asian or international centres. (2) Indian academic programmes and institutes could be supported through EU funds from programmes such as Horizon 2020. India-focused academics would find it useful if the EU-India Cooperation Dialogue produced a resource of funding opportunities to support India-EU projects. Ideally, this resource would cover India, the EU and individual EU (e.g. German) funding sources; it should comply with web accessibility standards and be regularly updated.
Family migration. Indians are strongly attached to their families. Some wish their parents or grandparents could stay with them in Germany throughout the entire duration of their studies. This is an issue especially for young Indians with children, who would like to have their parents' support with childcare. A generally held view among the Indians interviewed is that the procedures for *Ehegattennachzug* could be made easier, and that the conditions under which spouses immigrate could be improved, allowing them to start work as soon as they arrive (Fuhse, 2019).	(1) Family members may visit and stay for a limited duration after which they cannot re-enter Germany for six months. According to EU statistics, most first residence permits issued to Indian nationals in Germany over the past decade have been issued for family reasons. Hence, German family migration policies have been generous. Concerns regarding extended stays of parents or grandparents have been raised by many students, but students themselves acknowledge that it may be difficult to change the current regulations in this respect.

All	
Predominantly culture-focused events. While cultural events promote India and Indian organisations, they also limit organisational abilities to come up with complementary organisational goals, especially those that would have a developmental impact on the Indian diaspora in Germany or on India itself. Cultural events were more sought after in the years when Indians and Germans could not easily follow Indian culture on the internet or through travel. The second generation of Indians varies in its interest in cultural events. Some prefer "Bollywood culture" while others would rather engage in yoga or activities that have more to do with German culture.	(1) Indian associations should continue to cultivate rich Indian traditions. However, MEA could create incentives for Indian diaspora organisations to diversify their activities, especially those with a capacity for organisational growth and those well placed to contribute to India's development. Composed of well-educated and relatively wealthy members, the Indian diaspora in Germany has tremendous potential to benefit India with the transfer of knowledge (e.g. research and innovation) and finances (e.g. investment). A closer link between cultural and professional Indian associations in Germany should be promoted and more professional organisations should be set up.
The landscape of Indian organisations is fragmented: there are multiple small organisations that do not cooperate with each other strongly enough. According to numerous diaspora members and scholars, the fragmentation of the Indian diaspora is due to a number of factors, including: (a) the inability or unwillingness of their leaders to entrust leadership to others (particularly small, "family organisations"); (b) unique organisational features (e.g. language, cultural traditions, etc.). Fragmentation may have a negative impact on the diaspora's image and finances. For instance, German donors find it difficult to provide multiple donations to multiple "Indian organisations" and German individuals would typically prefer to attend one well-coordinated Diwali rather than a few smaller ones.	(1) The fragmentation of Indian organisations, particularly those in the "other" (non-DIG/non-ISA) category, may also be caused by an inability to identify common goals or common challenges. Common challenges can unify organisations (while culture, language and politics often divide them). It would be beneficial to help organisations find a common denominator in terms of a challenge that they would be strongly motivated to overcome. Some progress has been made in the Frankfurt consular region through the establishment of the "Friends of India". The structure is only three years old and still evolving. It is important that the "Friends of India" structures differ from those of member organisations rather than replicate them on the supra- organisational level. The key contribution of a "Friends of India" umbrella may be ensuring the sustainable growth of the organisations therein.

Issue	Recommendations
Declining or unstable organisational membership. Each organisation has a slightly different membership challenge. The DIG's original membership has "aged" and the association finds it difficult to co-opt the second generation. ISAs have a transient membership base due to the fact that most students come for 1-2 year long MA programmes. Other organisations limit their membership base by focusing on a narrow group (e.g. Gujaratis, yoga practitioners, etc.). According to organisational leaders, Indians like to participate in specific events, but do not have the time or intention to commit themselves as members.	(1) It is natural that organisations rise and fall and that they decide themselves whether they want to do something about it or not. However, the Indian government may want to provide some assistance to ISAs because of their unique characteristics (pan-Indian, representing the most rapidly growing form of Indian migration to Germany) and their potential for positive developmental effects on India. A workshop or a workshop panel devoted to organisational growth and strength would allow ISAs to brainstorm together how to engage in sustainable growth.
It is difficult to maintain the interest of second-generation Indians in diaspora organisations. DIG is the oldest Indo-German organisation network in Germany. According to DIG's Chairman (Kinderlen, 2019), the organisation needs to "reinvent itself" to adapt to the new circumstances. DIG has found it difficult to co-opt second-generation members despite the organisation's openness to Germans and communication in the German language. Soon younger Indian organisations will begin to notice DIG's challenge to "reinvent itself" and may follow suit in endeavouring to co-opt the second generation.	(1) According to Professor Urmila Goel (2019), Indian organisations may need to acknowledge the fact that the second generation has its own values (perhaps totally German) and should not be expected to ascribe to the same values held by the first generation. According to Ambassador Kinderlen (2019), it may be possible to retain the second generation if organisations interested in them compromise by reinventing themselves in line with the particular needs of the second generation.
Some organisations find it difficult to communicate with diplomatic missions. This includes answering written enquiries and physical meetings.	(1) Indian diplomatic missions should come up with a list of most frequently asked questions and provide regularly updated answers on their website. It should commit itself to regularly monitoring the channels it uses to communicate with and respond to organisations/public. (2) Indian diplomatic staff should try to reach out to Indians located throughout their entire consular region.

ANNEX 2
Short survey of Indians in Germany

In April 2018 GIZ facilitated the distribution of an impromptu survey among 17 Indians with whom GIZ was in contact. Given the short preparation time to construct and implement this pilot survey and the small sample size, its findings are not conclusive..

Main findings of the survey:

› The survey participants came from various parts of India. Four out of 17 came from Karnataka, possibly because of the concentration of IT training/work institutions located there and opportunities for them in Germany.

› Nearly three quarters of survey participants were men, reflecting the general preponderance of Indian men among Indian migrants in Germany.

› All but three survey participants moved to Germany to study.

› Most reported having a Master's degree.

› In line with the main purpose of stay in Germany (studies), most survey participants were in their late 20s.

› Since most were students, only two came with family members (either a spouse or child).

› One third (35%) reported having stayed in Germany for more than 37 months.

› Over half found the visa application process easy. However, in this and other questions some referred to the visa application process as something they wished to under stand better.

› 41% reported having borrowed money from sources other than family, friends or a bank, possibly from a commercial money lender.

› 76% indicated that they had sent money or gifts to India. The proportion would probably have been smaller if "gifts" had been excluded.

› 70% "loved" their stay in Germany. Not one participant considered it a regretful decision.

The key reasons why survey participants chose to study in Germany included:

› Furthering professional qualifications.

› Cultural exposure for either work or personal reasons.

› Very good education/price-quality ratio.

› Good living conditions in Germany.

The key challenges that Indians faced in Germany included:

› Learning the German language.

› Availability of affordable accommodation.

› Availability of food choices for vegetarians.

› Cultural adjustments.

› Effective compliance with German administrative procedures.

› Lifestyle-related factors (loneliness, weather, financial difficulty and time management).

The key reason for returning home was to offer family support. A few pointed out that they do not intend to return to India.

As indicated previously, the survey was implemented on a small sample in an impromptu manner. Due to methodological issues it should not be treated as a solid indicator but rather a pilot for any further survey research among Indians in Germany or Indian returnees from Germany in India. The project would benefit from the development and implementation of further surveys going forward.