THE “NEW” INDIAN DIASPORA IN ROMANIA. HOME AND BELONGING

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Abstract
This research questions the definition of “home” and “belonging” for the members of the “new” Indian diaspora in Romania, based on a qualitative research study. The issues of “home” and “country” are central in the diaspora research, being connected to the feeling of ‘inclusion’ or ‘exclusion’ (Cohen, 1997). As Arjun Appadurai argues, the “delocalization” and multiplication of spaces where the individual places himself / herself is a feature of modernity (1994), transnational communities existing simultaneously in two cultural spaces (Portes, 1996: 74-76). Given that individuals are creating interpersonal relationships inside their social networks, in connection to their activities (see Marinescu, V. 2009), the research focused on questioning what are the professional, social and personal trajectories of Indians living in Romania? What are their strategies of inclusion, inside and outside the Indian community? The “communication” dimension is included in this research as well, considering that the relation between communication, localisation and identity is at the intersection of “imagined communities” (Anderson, 1983) and “imagined worlds” through the ethnoscapes (Appadurai, 1996). What are the communication and meeting spaces, from cricket clubs, restaurants, family bonding, to celebration of different religious festivals (like Ganesh Chaturti on Herăstrău Lake in Bucharest) to online groups dedicated to the Indian diaspora in Romania?

Keywords: belonging, Indian diaspora, hybrid identity, communication, social integration.

1. Introduction

The Indian diaspora has become more visible in Romania after 2007 and although India and Indian people are perceived as geographically and culturally distant and exotic, Romanians are more aware of the presence of these new “strangers” (Hobsbawm, 1992: 173). While there are various researches regarding the emigration flux out of Romania (as Romania continues to be a country of emigration, see Sandu, 2010; Michalon, Nedelcu, 2010: 5-28) little has been said about the immigrant people coming to Romania, especially about people coming from South Asia.

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This research follows the professional, social and personal trajectories of Indians living in Romania, based on in-depth interviews and participative observation. I started from Mishra’s observation regarding the lives of non-resident Indians (NRI) as “the self-evidently legitimate archive with which to explore histories of diasporic subjectivities” (Mishra, 2007: 1). The main research question regards the strategies of inclusion, inside and outside the Indian community, given that individuals are creating interpersonal relationships inside their social networks, “in connection to the activities of those persons in the social institutions of their societies” (Barnes, 1954: 39-58 qtd. by Marinescu, 2009: 133-145).

Diasporic theory makes evident that we live in a world “where multi-ethnic and multi-communal states are the norm” (Hobsbawm, 1992: 179). Globalization affects the democratic legitimacy of the Nation-State (Morin, 1994: 300), as it affects the cultural strata of solidarity among citizens within the Nation-State – the “imagined communities” (Anderson, 1983: 43-46) (as Benedict Anderson defines the Nation-State). If we consider the migrant fluxes due to globalization, inclusion signifies that “the political community keeps open to the integration of citizens of all origin” (Habermas, 2006: 67). Edgar Morin pleaded for a “politics of civilization” or a “politics of humanity”, a politics based on: solidarity - against atomization, resourcing - against anonymity, conviviality - against life degrading; morality - against irresponsibility and egocentrism (Morin, Naïr, 1997: 139), which means respecting the cultural diversity. Diasporas are seen as “highly democratic communities for whom domination and territoriality are not the preconditions of ‘nationhood’”, said to “occupy a border zone where the most vibrant kinds of interaction take place, and where ethnicity and nation are kept separate” (Mishra, 2007: 1), seen as an exemplary condition of late modernity (post-modernity), as “fluid ideal social formations happy to live wherever there is an international airport” (Mishra, 2007:1).

Brah’s perspective about “homing desire” is also taken into consideration in this research, being crucial to diasporic imaginary and identity (1996: 180). The researcher situates the “diasporic space” at “the meeting of the diaspora, borders and displacement as a point of confluence of economic, political, cultural and psychological” (Brah, 1996: 180) factors. Clifford argues that diasporic identities aren’t only the product of spatial displacement, but also of affective implication in the cultural and political action by which different elements of cultures and contexts are linked (1997). As these communities have their roots in a place clearly marked as space and culture, India in our case, we questioned where home is for the Indian people living in Romania: do they talk about desh (“home country”) as opposed to videsh (“another country”)? Does it stand rather in the domain of the hybrid, in the domain of cross-cultural and contaminated social and cultural regimes? (Mishra, 2007: 5).

The “delocalization” or multiplication of spaces where the individual places
himself/herself is a feature of modernity (Appadurai, 1995: 204-225), the transnational communities exist simultaneously in two cultural spaces, as Portes puts it: “an existence where a big number of persons are living a double life: they speak two languages, have houses in two countries, live their lives having regular cross-border relations” (Portes, 1996: 74-77). In this sense, “diasporas” refer to “people who do not feel comfortable with their non-hyphenated identities as indicated on their passport. Diasporas are people who want to explore the meaning of the hyphen, but perhaps not press the hyphen too far for fear that this would lead to massive communal schizophrenia. They are precariously lodged within an episteme of real or imagined displacements, self-imposed sense of exile” (Mishra, 2007: 1).

The ‘new’ diaspora “surfaces precisely at the moment of (post)modern ascendancy; it comes with globalization and hypermobility, it comes with modern means of communication” (Mishra, 2007: 1). The relation between communication, localisation and identity are at the intersection of the “imagined communities” (Anderson, 1983) and the “imagined worlds” through ethnoscapes (Appadurai, 1996) - a territory where social agents can build an alternative to the real world. Georgiou and Silverstone underline the importance of communication in modeling symbolic communities, they define diaspora either as “a bridge towards home” or as a “link between communities of diaspora at local, national and transnational level” (Georgiou, Silverstone, 2005: 433-441).

2. Indian Immigration in Romania – Statistical Data

As Anna Krasteva emphasizes, before 1989, immigration in Romania was mainly political (as is the case of Russians, after the second war, Greek left militants refugees) or students from African, Arab from Middle Orient and Asian countries. Immigration was “a state affair”, “ politicized” and “nationalized”, “extracted from the private sphere to become State problem” (2008: 113-126), as the communist control of the population movements was total, concerned not only with the immigrants, but mainly with the people who wanted to leave the country. After 1989, a depoliticisation and massification of migrant influxes took place in Romania as in other countries of East Europe, mobility becoming a new liberty (Krasteva, 2008: 113-126).

In order to have a view over the Indian diaspora in Romania, I requested and received statistical data (not classified data) from the General Inspectorate for Immigrations (IGI), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, according to 544/2001 Law concerning the free access to information of public interest2.

2 More information about immigrants’ integration in Romania can be found in the Barometer of Immigrants Integration for 2014, Center of Documentation and Research in

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During an informal interview with the representative of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, The General Inspectorate for Immigrations (IGI), Mr Emil Niculescu (Service of risk analysis and of information strategy valorizing) described the Indian community as being a non-problematic one:

*From the point of view of the authority responsible for immigration, the members of the Indian community are well-behaved, they did not create special problems. Indians who have work permits are above the medium, educated, they are employed in management positions. As a general image, they do not create problems from the point of view of public order.* (Emil Niculescu, MAI, IGI)

According to the General Inspectorate for Immigration, the number of Indians living in Romania who received residence permits in 2014 is of 773 persons, which is less than in 2010 by 30. The biggest number comes for family reasons (370 in 2014), then for remunerated activities reasons (177), followed by education reasons (105) and others (121 persons), as in Table 1.

### Table 1: Country of origin: India – Reasons for demanding residence permits in Romania

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family reasons</td>
<td>803</td>
<td>851</td>
<td>781</td>
<td>781</td>
<td>773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education reasons</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remunerated activities reasons</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other reasons</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The General Inspectorate for Immigrations, nr. 3072059, non-classified data according to the Law 544/2001 concerning the free access to information of public interest.

There is a big gap between the number of men and women coming to Romania (gender differences, see Table 2).

### Table 2: Gender of Indian residents in Romania

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of origin: India</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SEX</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>803</td>
<td>851</td>
<td>781</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>596</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most common age range of Indians living in Romania is from 20 to 39 years, as in Table 3.

**Table 3: Age of Indian residents in Romania**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of origin: India</th>
<th>Age / Time</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Less than 4 years</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From 5 to 9 years</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From 10 to 14 years</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From 15 to 19 years</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From 20 to 24 years</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From 25 to 29 years</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From 30 to 34 years</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From 35 to 39 years</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From 40 to 44 years</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From 45 to 49 years</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From 50 to 54 years</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Over 55 years</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regarding the regional distributions, most of the Indians live in big cities, according to the discussion to Mr. Emil Niculescu and to the following statistical data (Table 4).

**Table 4: Distribution by counties (judeţe) of Indian residents in Romania**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Judeţe</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bucureşti</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timiş</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilfov</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galati</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluj</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altele</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The General Inspectorate for Immigrations, nr 3072059, not classified data according to the Law 544/2001 concerning the free access to information of public interest.
3. Objective, research questions, methodology

This article’s objective is to give a first description of the “new” Indian diaspora which has lately appeared in Romania. The questions that led this research concerned the ways of integration of the Indian residents in the Romanian society. How did they arrive in Romania and how difficult was it for them to obtain residence documents? How do they interact with each other, within the Indian community? Are there any contact places created for getting to know each other? Do they get in contact with friends or neighbors? Is there a community life: school, meetings, celebrations together, a temple? Can we speak of a strong connection among the members of the Indian community? Do they organize events reproducing the Indian celebrations back home in India? Do they rather adopt the Romanian lifestyle? And, consequently, do they prefer an exogenous integration, within Romanian groups? Also, the research questions the definition of «home» and «belonging» for the members of this “new” diaspora, their identity construction within the new social and cultural space which is Romania. I was also interested in how Indians perceive Romania: is it a positive view? What are the negative aspects of living in Romania? For this research, based on our observations, we formulated three hypotheses:

H1: The first hypothesis was that non-resident Indians living in Romania will define themselves as people with multiple hybrid identity, as citizens of the world, in accordance with the “new” types of diaspora they belong to, and not as “unique identity”, linked to Home (India) – they speak two or more languages, they have regular cross-border relations.

H2: The second hypothesis was that Indians living in Romania have a rather good degree of integration into the Romanian society, defining it sometimes as “home”. Integration indices: family, bonding, entrepreneurship, community life (school, meetings, celebrations together).

H3: The last hypothesis was that Indians can cope easier with the distance from home due to the new technologies (phone, Skype, Facebook, e-mail etc.).

The methods used in this qualitative research are participative observation and open (in-depth) interviews. The questions in the interviews focused on four topics of interest, in connection to the research hypothesis (see Table 5). Although we did not always ask the questions in the same order, as I considered that the questions were only directional and during the interviews I kept the discussion open to whatever other information the interviewed wished to share.

Table 5: Questionnaire

| Time, history of arriving | Q1: How long have you been living in Romania? |

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>in Romania, settling period</th>
<th>Q2: Tell me how did you arrive in Romania?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Socialization, integration – entrepreneurship (restaurants, business?), marriage | Q3: How is Romania to you?  
Q4: What don’t you like about Romania?  
Q5: Do you meet other Indians / Do you have friends in the Indian community?  
Q6: Do you have friends among Romanians?  
Q7: What are the events you participate in? |
| Hyphen | Q8: Do you miss India? What do you miss mostly about India?  
Q9: Do you think of Romania as a home? Do you wish to stay here?  
Q10: Do you wish to go back to India? |
| Communication | Q11: How do you keep contact to your Indian family?  
Q 12: How often do you go back to India? |

### 4. Results

If I were to think of my own encounters and intermingling with the Indian community, I could identify two moments: meeting the first Indian in Romania and consequently becoming aware of the presence of an Indian community and getting to organize an event to promote the Indian culture in Romania. The first Indian I met in Romania was a colleague in a master program at the Faculty of International Economic Relations at the Bucharest University of Economic Studies in 2007. I was not amazed to see him among students (the class was international), but I was surprised to find out that he had been living in Romania for about four years. Not only him, but also his father and, even more interestingly, that there is an Indian community in Romania. The second source of encounters started with taking Indian dance lessons, which lead me to know the artists connected to the Indian culture and eventually starting working with the Indian Embassy and organizing a Festival of Indian Culture in Romania, called ‘Namaste India’, in 2010. This is how, since 2007, I have been getting closer to the ‘new’ Indian diaspora in Romania, from students, businessmen, company employees, artists, to the Indian Embassy members.

I could call this ‘participative observation’, although I just took pleasure in meeting Indians living in my country. These meetings helped understand their way of integration and socialization, their meetings, the way they organize their houses and keep close to their own culture and family home.

#### 4.1 Participative observation – seeing the Indian community from inside

Many Indians I have met are married to Romanians. Indian men met their wives after they had arrived in Romania and eventually decided to make a home here. They declare these are love marriages, although at first sight one might think of getting a visa reason. Some Indian women I met are married in Romania to men.
belonging to the same religion, this facilitating the acceptance by the families back in the home country and by the families in the host country, Romania. Indian families or Romanian-Indian mixed families meet for domestic events, like marriages, baptisms, children’s birthdays.

One way of meeting not only other Indians, but also people from other Asian countries, like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Romanians is the Cricket game. Cricket clubs have been settled, there is a Romanian cricket team, and there are many Indians who play in it.

One event that the Indians living in Romania attend regularly is Ganesh Chaturti, which takes place in September in Herăstrău Park. A trip boat is rented by the Indian organizers, and an invitation is sent to the Indian people and to the Romanians known as being close to the Indian community to attend the puja and the ceremony. When I first attended the ceremony, in 2010, only around 30 people were present, all Indians. This year more than a hundred persons were involved in the ceremony. Not only Indian people, but also their Romanian friends, were attending the ceremony. Food is distributed after the religious ceremonial. The members of the Indian Embassy participate in the ceremony every year. Although not very obvious, the Indian Embassy members play an important role in creating a community in Romania. India’s Independence Day is also an occasion to meet at the Ambassador’s residence. They invite Indians living in Romania to their residences for parties, food sharing, Indian religious or festive ceremonies (like Holi, Diwali).

The Festival of the Indian culture started in 2010, with the support of the Indian community and it became a place of meeting for the Indians living in Romania, creating awareness among Romanians about the presence of the Indian community in Romania. It is not without importance that the initiator of this festival was the Cultural Attaché at the time, Mr. Manohar Lal. Although not organized by the Indian community, taking place in open space, at the Village Museum “Dimitrie Gusti”, for three to five days, the festival became a welcoming event favoring meeting and exchange within the members of the community and to other Asian communities, as well as to Romanian people. Maybe it is not without importance that this festival is among the most successful events at the Village Museum, between 5000 to 8000 visitors coming for each edition.

The Internet is a good place to keep connected and know more about the Indians living in Romania. In 2010, when I started observing this diasporic community, they had a yahoo group, created by the Indian Embassy and used to send information about gathering, events, welcoming or trying to integrate newcomers. Since 2012, a few Facebook groups have been created: Indians in Romania and Indians in Bucharest.

4.2. Interviews - Is Romania a home?

I have realized in depth interviews, using the life-narration technique, with 14 non-resident Indians living in Romania. The socio-professional information I envisaged regarded age, nationality, religion, level of studies, marital status.
I have done interviews with Indian couples living in Romania, a 14 year old girl studying in Bucharest, mixed couples and with the wife of a member of the Indian Embassy, little before they left Romania (they had spent here around 3 years). Except for one person, all interviewed people agreed to having their names used in the article. I finally decided to code their interventions, from S1 to S16, as in Table 6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>City of origin</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Studies</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Time in Romania</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Srinagar, Kashmir</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>Management BA</td>
<td>Not married, in a relationship (with a Romanian woman)</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>Own business (textile industry)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Kolkata, West Bengal</td>
<td>Hindu by birth</td>
<td>Diploma in electronic engineering</td>
<td>Married (Romanian woman)</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>Own business (health center)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Bangalore, South India</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>Diploma in IT</td>
<td>Married (to an Indian man)</td>
<td>6 months</td>
<td>HP employee (management)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S4</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Bangalore, South India</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>Diploma in Physics, Chemistry &amp; Mathematics BA</td>
<td>Married (to an Indian man)</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>HP IT Department employee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Bangalore</td>
<td>Jain</td>
<td>Architect BA</td>
<td>Married (to an Indian man)</td>
<td>4 months</td>
<td>Housewife for now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S6</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Bangalore</td>
<td></td>
<td>IT Diploma</td>
<td>Married (to an Indian woman)</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>Bank employee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S7</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Kolkata</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>Management BA</td>
<td>Married (to an Indian woman) – one girl</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Management position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S8</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Kolkata</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>History BA</td>
<td>Married (to an Indian man) – one girl</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Kolkata</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Studying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S10</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Kolkata</td>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>BA</td>
<td>Married to an Indian man – 2 children</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Wife of diplomat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S11</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>Biology BA</td>
<td>Married to an Indian woman</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Sale employee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S12</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Chisinau</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>Foreign Languages and Literatures, Hindi Sections</td>
<td>Married to an Indian man, 2 girls</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Housewife – taking care of the family online business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S13</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Bucharest</td>
<td>Orthodox</td>
<td>University BA</td>
<td>Married to an Indian man</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>marketing lead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S14</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Chennai</td>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>MBA</td>
<td>Married to a Romanian woman, 2 children (one boy, one girl, twins)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Lead solution architect - Outsourcing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S15</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>New Delhi</td>
<td>Born Hindu, belong to Vishwamirnal Dharma</td>
<td>BA</td>
<td>Married to a Romanian man</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S16</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>New Delhi</td>
<td>Born Hindu, belong to Vishwamirnal Dharma</td>
<td>BA</td>
<td>Married to a Romanian man</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some of the persons I have interviewed came here for work reasons, then they met a Romanian woman and got married. Two of the Indian women living in Romania married Romanian citizens in India, afterwards they moved to Romania. As they belong to the same religion (Vishwamirnal Dharma), the family accepted the marriage. Other Indians moved to Romania, together with their nuclear family (wife, children) or they live in joint family, as more members of the family moved to this country.

One Indian I interviewed met his wife in India and moved to Romania following her:
S2: I was in love with a Romanian lady, who is my present wife, whom I met in India and we were working there together, in Mumbai, Taj Hotels. We decided to do something on our own, in health industry. One option was Romania. But the prime motive was when I met my Master and I asked him what should I do in my future, should I be in Hong Kong or should I be elsewhere... he gave an indication that lots of work needs to be done in the field of yoga in Eastern Europe. So I took that as a sign from him, an indication or a permission that I might teach yoga in this part of the world. So I considered that and I moved in 2007.3

I asked the interviewed Indians living in Romania about the procedure of getting a visa for Romania:

S1: It was not difficult, since I have company here from the beginning.

S2: It was easy only because of the fact that after my tourist visa expired – this is how we planned it from the beginning: that we would get married at some point, in Romania. The consultant said this is the best decision, when you get married you get automatically resident permit, otherwise the process is a very hard one. I am a permanent resident. I might, in the coming year, think of getting Romanian citizenship. Even if I have to renounce Indian citizenship, I may have the privilege of something called PIO, Person of Indian origin, so it’s as good as having a passport, Indian passport, so...

S3, S4: We have resident permit and work permit – Blue Card – even my son has it, he has a family blue card. It’s not difficult to get it, but time consuming...

How do the Indians I interviewed perceive their stay in Romania: do they adapt well, feel integrated, feel it as a new home? As Cohen explains, the problem of “home”, “country” and “belonging” remains central to the diaspora theories: how people perceive their identification with the “home” (where is home?) is closely

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3 I have kept the formulation as in the interviewees’ genuine answers.
connected to the feeling of “inclusion” and “exclusion” [23].

S2: Romania is very similar to India, family beliefs are there, family ties are close and intense, people are orthodox somewhat like in India. People have a good heart, so once you prove yourself to be honest and you’re not the one who plans to trick and cheat them, they trust you very much…they trust you with their lives, so that’s very rare and a good quality about the Romanian community.

Staying seven years in Romania offered me many things and obviously I will consider Romania as my home, I don’t even know if we can consider something as a second home or first home, home is home always.

There was a cultural difference, there is still cultural difference, black will be black, white will be white, but Romania has embraced whatever I had to offer and I have embraced Romania, so it is a good bonding.

After seven years in Romania, I feel sarmales is my national dish, and I am very ok with the Romanian way of living. And one thing I think this is very common among Indians: we are adaptive people, we live in a culture which changed and there is a diversity in India. So we can adapt and accommodate much more easily than many other communities.

S1: I think this country has something…like…some kind of very positive energy…Indians…they are stopping here…it’s not about economy…it’s about your own self, your own satisfaction, because when you meet the people…when you go to other places, it’s about if you want to stay there or not, it’s not about business.

I have seen Indians in other parts of Europe or world, they are doing economically very good, I can understand why they are there. Like, lots of Indian people are working in Dubai, lot of Indian people are working in Italy, because they get paid for that. But over here you don’t have that financial, you understand? Money is not that much that Indians come over here, work and they go back…no, it’s not that sort…lots of people are staying because it is some sort of very positive energy, you understand? Maybe our soul sometimes, we are looking for some sort of positive energy to be charged…

Lot of people I see, they are here for 3, for 5 years…they are not making lots of money, but they still stay over here…sometime…it’s the time for ourselves.

I have many friends working in Dubai or America and making lots of money and they are asking ‘what are you staying there?’ (he is laughing). But I am thinking, ok, for me it is not about money. This place is a wonderful place. I am sure once they come over here they will definitely understand, maybe they’re gonna stay here (he laughs). Yeah, it’s all about happiness…

Individuals are creating interpersonal relationships inside their social networks. The answers to the questions Do you have many Indian friends in Romania? Do you have Romanian friends? were different from one person to another. Some of them prefer living within the Romanian community; some others keep close connections to a few Indian families or friends.
S2: Unfortunately I am not exposed to Indian community, though there is quite a huge Indian community present in Romania, especially in Bucharest and in Timisoara. But I am not very a social person, I have my classes, I spend time with a very selected group of friends and I don’t know many Indian. I can count four-five Indian families I am interacting with, but they are like a part of my family.”

S4: “Three of us came, my friends Suresh and Ramesh from Chennai and I came from Bangalore, so we were initially doing things on our own. A lot of things were new to me, because I was very pampered kid, I never entered the kitchen in my home, food was coming to me wherever I was sitting. So when I came to Bucharest I had to do things on my own, from cooking, cleaning, washing, you name, I had to do it on my own. So that was a huge change. But I enjoyed it and now my wife takes care of all. (laughing)

The Indians make calls home every day or they speak over Skype, Facebook etc. This allows them to keep close connection to their families. They go back to India once or twice a year, only one person went to India after two years.

The interviewed persons express their feeling of “missing” India in terms of everyday life and habits (food, meeting people), as well as the communal festivities, rather than translated in separation and nostalgia.

S2: India offers versatility, more choices of the way of living, food ways, what you want to do in the evening. And there is a contrast in India, the life is more on the edge, people are maybe a little more adventurous than most of the Romanian community. But if you ask me if I miss India…no! I don’t miss India. Because somewhere within me I have a small India that wakes up with me, goes to sleep with me…

Future is unpredictable, it is very hard to say how the universe will unfold, but if you ask me, I am working here, I have still a huge volume of work to be done, so I don’t intend to move out of Romania till the work is done. In terms of putting yoga in its right platform.

But the life in Romania seems captivating as well, and not at all banal:

S4: So it’s like a rollercoaster ride from when I came, the initial snowy days, till Jan…and in the meantime I was trying to get her back here…She was working in the HP office in Bangalore…we were working to have her documents done here and eventually that happened.

Yes, there are certain moments when you miss your parents, you miss your home, but you get over it. So the initial period was a time of feeling a bit lonely, because I was never used to do things alone.
Three of us came, my friends Suresh and Ramesh from Chennai and I came from Bangalore, so we were initially doing things on our own. A lot of things were new to me, because I was very pampered kid, I never entered the kitchen in my home, food was coming to me wherever I was sitting. So when I came to Bucharest I had to do things on my own, from cooking, cleaning, washing, you name, I had to do it on my own. So that was a huge change. But I enjoyed it and now my wife takes care of all.” (both of them are laughing).

5. Conclusion

The Indians I have met in Romania seem to enjoy living here. They find ways to integrate within their community and to communicate with the Romanian people. They are well integrated professionally, in most of the cases they have managerial jobs, their own businesses or they do vocational activities (like cooking), they have coherent and consistent family lives. Some of them have Blue Cards, which means they have preferential conditions of moving in and outside Romania. Although a Hindu temple has not yet been built, as most of the Hindu Indians wish, they try to reproduce the religious celebrations at home or within the community, sometimes sharing them with their Romanian friends. They perceive Romania as a space of freedom, against certain difficulties. Having access to new communication technologies undoubtedly makes the living in a distant country easier to cope with and helps keeping a continuity of relating to the family in the country of origin, India.

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