TRANSNATIONAL RE-CREATION:
A STUDY ON THE ENCULTURATION OF THE SECOND GENERATION SRI LANKAN TAMILS IN GERMANY

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

LTTE	- Liberation Tigers of Tamil *Eelam*
IPKF	- Indian Peace Keeping Force
SLMC	- Sri Lankan Muslim Congress
TNA	- Tamil National Alliance
NRW	- Nordrhein Westfalen State
BW	- Baden Württemberg
UNHCR	- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNP	- United National Party
GDP	- Gross Domestic Product
US	- United States
EU	- European Union
SLFP	- Sri Lanka Freedom Party
TULF	- Tamil United Liberation Front
TBV	- Tamilische Bildungs Verein eV
TEDC	- Tamil Education Development council
TYO	- Tamil Youth Organisation
TRO	- Tamil Rehabilitation Organization
TWA	- Tamil Women Association
TFC	- Tamil Football Club

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CHAPTER 1:

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

"People become aware of their culture when they stand at its boundaries: when they encounter other cultures, or when they become aware of other ways of doing things, or merely of contradictions to their own culture"[1] Anthony P. Cohen.

1.1 Introduction

Who are the second generation[2] members of Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany? How do they construct and maintain their Tamil cultural identity in the context of Germany? This thesis attempts to elaborately answer these two related questions. The first question will seek to trace the historical roots, the causes of migration, the patterns of acculturation, and the historical contingencies of the first-generation Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany, in order to throw light on the worldview of the second-generation Tamils. Whereas the second question focuses on two concerns: The first deals with how the aforementioned second generation perceives and negotiates the first generation's expectations of preserving the tradition of Tamil. The second one, on the other hand, attempts to grapple with the aspirations and struggles of the second generation of Tamils, who are growing up in a liberal Western cultural atmosphere in Germany, either since birth or from early childhood. Thus, in the process, the second generation has to glide through two worlds: 'European' and 'Asian,' 'Germany' and 'Sri Lanka,' 'Homeland and Host land,' 'Expectation of the Parents,' and the 'Impact of the German Society' and 'Tradition and Modern.' In short, the thesis, interacting between these pairs of major variables cited above, attempts to capture the transnational recreation of Tamil culture by the second-generation Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany, as they themselves narrate the patterns of affect.

1.2 The Universe of the Research

This research focuses around Sri Lankan Tamils' second generation in Germany. Many European nations governed this small island from the 16th century to 20th century. These European countries' modernization policies and administrative structures recreated and shaped the present country of Sri Lanka to a great extent.

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[1] Anthony P. Cohen cited in Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Small Places, Large Issues: An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology*, second edition (London: Pluto Press, 2001) p.261

[2] In this thesis we use the phrase second generation extensively. To avoid monotony, phrases like `younger generation', 'Tamil youth' 'young Tamil people', 'new generation' and so on are used.

Portuguese sailors entered into Sri Lanka in 1505 and gradually established their authority over the native Sri Lankans. They left the island in the mid-1600s when the Dutch sailors conquered the Portuguese and took control of it until the British arrived at the start of the 19th century. The British, on their part, annexed Sri Lanka as their colony in 1833; their rule of Sri Lanka can be marked as a highly significant era in the nation's history. Though the policies of ethnic categorization, administrative ordinances, and economic developments introduced by the British contributed much to the development of constructive growth of Sri Lanka in many ways, it also opened the doors for the subsequent social upheaval and ethnic clash between the major communities within Sri Lanka after its independence.

In 1948, Sri Lanka became independent nation from the British colonial rule. After a short period of lasting peace among the different ethnicities, such as the Tamils, the Sinhalese, and the Muslims, the Tamils and the Singhalese, the two major ethnic communities, developed conflict. The elements of this conflict varied from mutual suspicion to major problems, leading to a prolonged and crucial civil war among the Tamil separatist forces and the Sri Lankan army that raged on for about two decades, resulting the death of few thousands of human beings and enormous devastation of property in this small nation. The civil war, among other factors, was the primary cause of the migration of Sri Lankan people from Sri Lanka to European as well as non-European countries. The people who were most affected by such ethnic conflicts were the Sri Lankan Tamils, who migrated to Canada, Germany, France, India, and Italy, to mention a few countries, seeking asylum and bravely hoping for new lives for themselves and for their future generations. By the way, one of the oldest communities to have relocated from Asia to Germany is the Sri Lankan Tamil community; there are currently about 60,000 Sri Lankan Tamil people residing in Germany. This study focuses on the Sri Lankan Tamils, particularly their second generation, as the core subject.

1.3 Background of the Research

In this section, I briefly present the research background. I state how my ordinary experiences have driven my academic pursuits.

1.3.1 Personal Experience

I am a Catholic priest from Tamil Nadu in India, which lies in the southernmost part of India, close to northern part of the Sri Lanka. Having arrived in Germany for my studies in the year 2012, I was a bit lost in the few initial months of my stay. I found it difficult to acclimatize to Germany in terms of the food and the local culture, which were totally unfamiliar to me.

I even pondered over the possibility of returning back to India. But when I started to notice the presence of wide Sri Lankan Tamil communities in Germany, I realized that I could interact to them and talk to them in my mother tongue, Tamil. After I visited a few families, to my delight I realized that they cook their food according to the Tamil customs and taste. The experience of speaking my own language and eating my home food, as it were, brought me great satisfaction, relief, and assurance. After a few months, I made up my mind to stay back in Germany. Since then, I have been living in Germany, feeling at home within German society and culture.

It became a routine for me to visit the Tamil families, whenever time permitted. I enjoyed their hospitality and, of course, the spicy food, whose taste would remind me of my home in India. I must admit that at times I visited them just for the sake of having some familiar taste of home food. In the beginning my formal discussions and informal conversations with them also brought back memories of my early childhood days, of listening to the Tamil radio channel from Jaffna city (the 'mecca' of Tamil traditional of heritage especially the language and culture in Sri Lanka).

I gradually created a relationship with Sri Lankan Tamil families through regular visits and entered into many severe discussions about their past lives in Sri Lanka. In addition, I began to understand and appreciate their family traditions and cultural practices, particularly their love for the Tamil language, in the context of living in a new nation, i.e., Germany. I began to identify the cultural universals and appreciate cultural similarities, finding family resemblance, of sorts! Though this community has been living in Germany for more than two decades (some of them for an even longer period), they haven't given up their ethnic social customs and cultural practices that they had brought from their native land. Some of the members of the Tamil families started to open up and share the problems they faced inside and outside their families, such as the generation gap between parents and children, the difficulty of getting a proper marriage partner for their children watching the joy and pain of their own children, who actually born in Host country, Germany and now grow up in 'two different worlds' (Tamil and German).

I was really inspired by the young Sri Lankan boys and girls during my interactions with them regarding the understanding of their worldviews, their perspectives on the traditions followed by their families, the patterns of affect that are somehow alien to them, and the society to which they belong. The second generations of Sri Lankan Tamils do not have the first-hand experience of the native homeland, its social and religious traditions/values, which have shaped the first-generation diaspora lives. They also spoke about tensions between various demands at

home and school, identifying the difficulties in switching between 'Tamil' and 'German' ways of life. Thereby, I began to comprehend the importance of the cultural springboards that the first-generation Sri Lankan Tamils provided to the second generation in terms of social and cultural organizations. The first generation envisages a shock observer to the second one.

Indeed, I began to realize that I was not talking a few ordinary migrants but a larger community which strives to preserve its ethnic identity and cultural heritage in a foreign land, a theme that has intrigued many anthropologists and scholars around the world for decades. It is my personal experience with Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany, which serves as the *raison d'être* of this studies, although it comprises a short period of time.

1.4 The Reason behind the Topic

1.4.1 Lack of Sufficient research on the second-generation of migrants in General

A number of European and non-European authors have attempted to comprehend the phenomenon of migration around the world, coming up with startling results and theories on the first generations of migrants.[3] Simultaneously, they highlighted the necessity and the significance of studying second-generation socio-cultural worlds. For example, Monika Hess and Benedikt Korf in their study of the Sri Lankan Tamils in Switzerland captured the "newly emerging second-generation activism" (2014:419). Their study shows that how the second generation, rooted and encultured in the host country, taking advantage of technology and ethos of their present society, suddenly come into the social scene as activist and construct a new identity.[4] Thus it is important and emerging necessity to include various generations to facilitate a comprehensive understanding of diasporas. Further, Hess and Korf suggest that given the huge diversity within diasporic communities, one finds several examples of alternative and multiple

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[3] Baumann, Martin (2000): Migration-Religion-Integration: Buddhistische Vietnamesen und hinduistische Tamilen in Deutschland. Marburg: Diagonal Verlag.

Knut, Jacobsen (2008c): Processions, public space and sacred space in the South Asian diasporas in Norway. In: Knut A. Jacobsen (Ed.) *South Asian Religions on Display: Religious Processions in South Asia and in the Diaspora*. London: Routledge, 191-204. Hess, Monika and Benedikt, Korf (2014): Tamil Diaspora and the Political Spaces of Second-generation activism in Switzerland. Global Networks. 14(4): 419-437. Fuglerud, Oivind (1999): Life on the Outside: The Tamil Diaspora and Long Distance Nationalism. London: Pluto Press.

[4] "In April 2009, in the final battle that would crush them as a military force, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) found themselves cornered on a small piece of land in northern Sri Lanka. When commuters to Swiss cities such as Zurich, Lucerne and Berne picked up their free tabloid, they would notice that its name had changed from *20 Minutes* (*20 Minutes*) to *30 Minutes*. After a cursory glance they would see that the whole issue was dedicated to the suffering of the Tamil population trapped between Sri Lankan military forces and the LTTE. This was a plea for the international community and the Swiss government to intervene to prevent the annihilation of tens of thousands of Tamil civilians. Like any newspaper, this one contained reports, interviews and commentaries. ….This issue of *30 Minutes* was not the work of Tamil media, which published *20 Minutes*, but of a group of second-generation Tamils living in Switzerland." (Hess and Korf:419-20)

identities and struggles in locations that have not been extensively researched. In this frame of perspective, the positions of and the engagement by second- or third-generation youths belonging to migrant communities are worth exploring. (Hess and Korf, 2014). The suggestion given my Monika and Hess, serves as a rationale for a scientific research on the second generation of Tamils in Germany.

1.4.2 Scarcity of Research on the Second generation of Tamils in Germany

Studies on Sri Lankan Tamils in diaspora, with respect to ethnic, social, cultural, political, and religious identity are based on generalized principles and theories that specifically address the first-generation Tamils (Knut Jacobsen 2004, 2008a, 2008b; Martin Baumann 2000a, 2003.) Jacobsen in his study of Sri Lankan Tamils, points out that the first-generation Tamils give considerable importance to the authenticity of traditional rituals and other social, cultural, ethnic, and traditional practices. They try to enact those rituals as authentically as possible, as performed in their native land, Sri Lanka. In fact, they consider authenticity as the measure of successful ritualization (Jacobsen Knut, Modern Indian Culture and Society, 2009). However, the second-generation Tamil migrants' lack of contact with their homeland and their rootedness in the host-land can lead them to form different and diverse opinions on their cultural, social, religious, political, and ethnic practices in diaspora. Therein emerge the differences in ethnic cultural assumptions and opinions between and among the first- and second-generation Tamils from Sri Lanka. In general, authors have mainly focused their attention on the first generation of these migrants in Europe and elsewhere, though they have expressed their desire to seriously attempt researches on the socio-cultural lives of the second generation (Baumann 2000a, 2003, 2006, 2006; Brigitte Luchesi 2008b; Christopher McDowell 1996).

Thus, these researches attempt to delineate the first-generation Sri Lankan Tamils' experiences and ideologies and formulate conventional theories by greatly ignoring the second-generation's important role. As suggested by Hess and Korf in the above section, a study regarding the positions of and the engagement by second- or third-generation within the Tamil community and in Germany is considered not only important but is envisioned to being innovation and significant in cultural studies.

1.4.3 Regional concerns for anthropological studies

In addition, the problems of the younger people of Sri Lankan Tamils face in Germany are similar to many other Sri Lankan Tamils who have migrated to many other European counties. Already, a few remarkable studies on the Tamils living in other European countries have been

undertaken by several anthropologists, such as Martin Baumann (2000a, 2003, 2006), Annette Wilke (2013), Jacobsen (2003, 2004, 2008b Luchesi (2008), and Mcdowell (1996). These anthropologists focus on the religious and socio-cultural worlds of Tamils of Sri Lanka, living in diaspora, in Germany, Norway, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. However, most of these studies portray some aspect of the first-generation Sri Lankan Tamils in diaspora. A study on the second generation of Tamils in Germany is integral and relevant to the discipline of anthropology; it will facilitate a better understanding of the worldviews of the same group elsewhere in Europe and also in the other developed countries.

1.4.4 Researcher's identification among the Sri Lankan Tamils

The extra reason behind this study is my empathy for the Tamils in general and their massive youth population in specific. Beyond a mere demonstration of benign wishes and paternalistic activities, which the research continues to carry out like a Catholic priest, the issues stated above necessitate theoretical illumination and, thus, call for extensive scientific research.

In the light of the studies mentioned above, we raise a few pertinent questions: what happens to the second-generation children, who are born and brought up in Germany and reached their adolescence there? Are they properly recognized by their families and within the larger society? What are the challenges that they undergo in their daily lives at home, within the Tamil community, and in their interactions with the people of their host country? There exists no specific research on second generation of the Tamil diaspora community in Germany. This serves as the primary reason behind conducting a scientific study on the socio-cultural lives of second-generation Sri Lankan Tamils living in Germany.

1.5 Clarification of Terms

Here the researcher wishes to clarify the meaning of certain key terms used in this thesis.

Diaspora

Over the years, many deliberations and debates have evolved around describing the meaning and the classification of the term "diaspora". However, the major displacement, which took place in history of Jewish, has usually been regarded to exemplify the traditional long-standing significance of "diaspora". (Bauman 2000b) indicates the three different referential elements which establish the historical Jewish lived experiences in their diasporic communities: the process of becoming scattered, the Jewish ethnic community living in distant lands, and the place or the geographic area in which the displaced people live.

The term "diaspora" etymologically originates from the Greek term "*diaspeir*," meaning the "scattering of seeds." The very term refers to the historical lived experiences of Jews that inform their shared religious and cultural heritage in general. Whereas, the Hebrew verb "*galah*" and the noun "*galut*" define the deportation of exiles, especially pertaining to Jewish people (Tölölyan, 1996)**;** Cohen 1997; Baumann 2000b).

According to Marienstras, "*galut*" refers to an involuntary displacement of people due to the conquest of territory that they consider their own, their native land. He further indicates the following: "It is this close relationship between exile and consciousness of the exile that is the singular features of history; it which, over the centuries of migration and vicissitudes, kept Jewish national consciousness alive" (Marienstras 1989: 120)**.** Likewise, for Anthias, being a diaspora is an experience that solely derives from the consciousness of hailing from one place and of inhabiting another (Anthias 1998)**.**

In a similar line of argument, Brubaker relates the concepts of diaspora with an ever-broadening set of cases,[5] fundamentally with any and every nameable population category that is, to some degree, dispersed in geopolitical spaces (Brubaker 2005: 2–3). Brubaker prefers to address diaspora as "category of practice. As a category of practice, 'diaspora' is used to make claims, to articulate projects, to formulate expectations, to mobilize energies, to appeal to loyalties. It is often a category with a strong normative change. It does not so much describe the world as seek to remake it." [6] Thus, basically the diaspora are identifiable due to their dispersion to nations other than their own.

Diaspora and Transnationalism

Moving from the idea of diaspora as dispersed, displaced, isolated and victimized, Fouron and Schiller propose a re-conceptualization of diaspora as transnational and social fields, in which migrant populations are a part of, rather than surviving amidst, a host society. Diaspora also entails a simultaneous investment based on social, economic, and political factors in more than one space (Fouron and Schiller 1996: 127–160; Mavroudi 2008: 57–73)

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[5] In addition to the concrete noun, 'diaspora', designating a collectivity, there are abstract nouns designating a condition (diasporicity or diasporism), a process (diasporization, de-diasporization and re-diasporization), even a field of inquiry (diasporology or diasporistics). There is the adjective 'diasporist', designating a stance or position in a field of debate or struggle. And there are the adjectives 'diasporic' and 'diasporan', which designate an attribute or modality _ as in diasporic citizenship, diasporic consciousness, diasporic identity, diasporic imagination, diasporic nationalism, diasporic networks, diasporic culture, diasporic religion, or even the diasporic self (to enumerate only some of the most common conceptual pairings found in recent academic articles)." R. Brubaker

[6] R. Brubaker, 12

James Clifford on the other hand, sharpening the concept of diaspora points out that the term ' diaspora ' is a signifier, not simply of transnationality and movement. It involves "dwelling, maintaining communities, having homes away from home (and in this it is different from exile, with its individualistic focus). Diaspora discourse articulates, or bends together, roots and routes to construct what…., forms of community consciousness and solidarity that maintain identifications outside the national time/space in order to live inside, with a difference". (Clifford 1994:308). Thus, 'diaspora' is informed by power equation marked by political struggles to define the local, as distinctive community, in historical contexts of displacement. "The simultaneous strategies, community maintenance and interaction combine the discourses," (Clifford 1994:308). Such a dynamic struggle necessarily involves some sort of agency.

The aspect of agency in diaspora is highlighted by Gardner. According to Gardner, diaspora is a process, not a fixed state of being or given reality (Gardner 2002: 201–202). Diaspora is dynamic and constantly evolves in the new circumstances negotiating its complexities. However, diaspora progresses not spontaneously but requires agency. In the same way, Martin Sökefeld, states that a diaspora, as an imagined transitional community, needs to be actively constructed Martin Sökefeld (2006).

Diaspora and Homeland Imagination

In this regard, both Espiritu and Trans advocate that diaspora studies should go beyond merely describing transitional activities to consider the migrants' imagined return to their homelands through selective reminiscence, cultural regeneration, and sentimental longings. Undoubtedly, diaspora experiences can have both literal and symbolic dimensions and might differ over the generations (Le Espiritu and Thom Tran, (Vietnam, my country):Vietnamese Americans and transnationalism 2006)

Steven Vertovec contrasts diaspora with traditional notion of Jewish history of displacement which generally stands for negative concepts associated with victimization, alienation, and loss. These traits are eventually showed by displaced communities such as the Armenians and the Africans. Going beyond the Jewish model, he further defines diasporas by compiling the important aspects of the theories of Armstrong, Sheffer, Safran, Clifford, and Cohen. He considers diasporas comprising of social relationships that have deep roots in culture and relate to a specific history and geography. He considers the following features of diasporas from social perspectives:

a. Diasporas are generated as outcomes of forced or voluntary migration from one's home country to at least more than two other countries.

b. Communities in diaspora always maintain a consciously shared identity. These shared identities are often sustained via the reference to an ethnic myth of collective origin, historical lived experiences grounded within a native culture, and some sort of bond with a given geographical place.

c. Diasporas institutionalize through the setups of exchange and communication, which transcend territorial states and try to construct new communal organizations in the places of resettlement or in the host country.

d. Diasporic communities preserve a variety of explicit and implicit bonds and links with their homelands.

e. Diasporas promote solidarity and unity with co–ethnic members of other diasporas.

f. The incapability and/or reluctance of the host society to accept the people belonging to diasporas leads to the latter group fostering a feeling of alienation, exclusion, inferiority, and other kinds of differences. (Vertovec, Steven: Three meanings of 'diaspora', exemplified among South Asian religions; 1999)

Thus, diaspora today and particularly in this thesis does not connote just displaced, alienated, misplaced, void of identity and lost people but active agents who dynamically shape their lives in given political situation and changing social conditions of the host countries and at the same time constantly constructing and reshaping their self-identity and vision in line with the memory of their homeland and the incoming information about their homeland.

Transnationalism: What is it?

Three major general perceptions of 'transnationalism' effectively arise, in this context. Cultural anthropologists Basch and Schiller (1994) used this term for the first time. They were the first to propose that migrant populations in diaspora slowly evolve and retain political and social connections and cross-border correspondence, and that the nature of migration today is essentially distinct what it entailed in the late 19th century. In this sense, transnationalism as a phenomenon, has acquired new dimensions, unlike that of in the 19th century.

In the same line, Kivisto criticized the argument that today's migration features are actually very comparable to those of the past, in terms of their natures (Kivisto 2001). According to Kivisto, unlike the social condition of the earlier migrants the second generation's spatiality is much wider and complex. The present second generation find themselves in a several new and complex social conditions and they construct new spaces of social interaction.

Alejandro Portes (1999) on the other hand, attempted to refine the word 'transnationalism', applying it to second-generation studies. He describes three separate transnational aspects: socio-cultural, political and economic realm (Portes, 1999). In his definition, he indicates that other than socio-cultural and political and economic aspects, and the new element that gives meaning to transnationalism is the technological advancements introduced about through globalization forces around the globe. This new innovative component has enabled migrant groups to act on their willingness to engage in issues and problems surrounding their host countries at a different level.

Thus our understanding of 'transnationalism' is not just neatly related to spatial distance between the 'home' and 'host countries but a complex reality that is marked with the changes in socio-economic and political conditions with the technological innovation and globalizing factors in the 20th and 21st centuries.

Sri Lankan Tamil ethnic community as diaspora

Diaspora, as a process, constructs a community's social, ethnic, cultural, religious, and political traditions through its localization and reproduction within the host land, qualifying it as belonging to a special ethnic category. The Tamil population from Sri Lanka has deliberately migrated to Germany and settled though they were politically victimized by the ruling regime dominated by mainstream Sinhalese. In this connection, we wish to clarify the different types of generation we seek to address in this thesis.

First Generation of Sri Lankan Tamils - These are Sri Lankan Tamil immigrant who arrived in Germany during the first migration wave in the 1980s and 1990s because of the Ethnic and political struggle in form of internal armed forces between the Sri Lankan army and the LTTE (Daniel 1996, 1997).

Second Generation of Sri Lankan Tamils - These are the children of the first-generation Tamil migrants who were born and brought up in Germany. In some cases, they were born in a foreign

country they moved to Germany and started living here from an early age (e.g. primary school) and completed their schooling in Germany.

Third Generation of Sri Lankan Tamils - These are the children belonging to the second generation who have actually been brought up in Germany after being born in the host country (in Germany, even though the members of this generation are comparatively quite small in number, they definitely exist).

1.6 The Statement of the Problem (Research Questions)

To grasp the feeling, thinking and acting of the second generations of Sri Lankan Tamils who are born and brought up in Germany and the process of their negotiations between their home culture and the host culture which generates day to day concrete challenges, necessarily involves a study on the first generations of Tamil's modes of thinking and living, in the context of Germany

Thus, in the light of the insights on migrant populations contributed by previous researches, and in course of the interaction concerning this research, I raise a few questions: How do the Sri Lankan Tamils, in general, understand themselves in a foreign land? What are their aspirations for their future generations? Even if they are aware of the predicament of their second generation, who from their birth find themselves in the sociocultural atmosphere of the host country, why do they insist on perpetuating their native cultural traditions? What are the institutions they have erected to maintain their identity and how do they execute their vision? How do the second-generation Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany view themselves, the attitude of their parents regarding their native land, and their ethnic traditions? What are the difficulties they face in their respective host countries?

But then, we could not simply say that second generation is inactive or passive; indeed, it is actively involved in constructing a novel 'world' from various possible 'worlds.' Given their recent migration to Europe, many diaspora studies on Sri Lankan Tamils take the experiences of the second generation for granted. Hence, my study critically considers the generally accepted theories and principles that are based only on the day-to-day lived experiences of the first-generation Sri Lankan Tamils. I delve into the experiences of both the first and second generations in formulating generalized theories and concepts based on Sri Lankan Tamils' diaspora experiences.

1.7 Aim of the Thesis

The prime purpose of this research is to discover how the members of the second generation of Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany negotiate between their traditional Tamil culture and the German culture, the present one. Such a process is understood here in various dimensions: enculturation in the family atmosphere, continuation of cultural institutions such as traditional marriage customs and celebrations, festivals, and the erection and animation of educational organizations specifically to promote Tamil language and culture. It is also recognized as a cultural reproduction mechanism through numerous cross-cultural experiences of the Sri Lankan Tamils second generation in Germany.

Thus, this research tries to show the Tamil diaspora's second generation in view of their difficulties with the new cross-cultural circumstances in their everyday life, and also in the light of their struggle with their parents and elders (in the familial atmosphere) in attempting to share with them due to the new cultural worldviews they acquire from a Westernized society. In other terms, this study tries to understand how socio-cultural identity plays a crucial role beyond the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora's religious and political context in Germany. Thus, the aim of this thesis includes an extended analysis of the socio-cultural context of the first- and second-generation[7] Sri Lankan Tamils, thereby capturing holistic perspectives regarding the socio-cultural experiences of both these groups, especially in the second-generation context.

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[7] The term 'second generation' refers to the descendants of migrants who have grown up in the host country. In this article, the term includes the foreign-born children of migrants, but is confined to those who have completed most of their schooling in Switzerland. This is in line with the common understanding of the term in Switzerland (Eyer and Schweizer 2010: 116) and with the usage to include children of migrants who are born in the country of origin in qualitative research (King and Christou 2010: 107). The term 'second generation' refers to the descendants of migrants who have grown up in the host country. In this article, the term includes the foreign-born children of migrants, but is confined to those who have completed most of their schooling in Switzerland. This is in line with the common understanding of the term in Switzerland (Eyer and Schweizer 2010: 116) and with the usage to include children of migrants who are born in the country of origin in qualitative research (King and Christou 2010: 107). The term 'second generation' refers to the descendants of migrants who have grown up in the host country. In this article, the term includes the foreign-born children of migrants, but is confined to those who have completed most of their schooling in Switzerland. This is in line with the common understanding of the term in Switzerland (Eyer and Schweizer 2010: 116) and with the usage to include children of migrants who are born in the country of origin in qualitative research (King and Christou 2010: 107). The term 'second generation' refers to the descendants of migrants who have grown up in the host country. In this article, the term includes the foreign-born children of migrants, but is confined to those who have completed most of their schooling in Switzerland. This is in line with the common understanding of the term in Switzerland (Eyer and Schweizer 2010: 116) and with the usage to include children of migrants who are born in the country of origin in qualitative research (King and Christou 2010: 107).

The word 'second generation' refers to the offspring of migrants who grew up in a hosting country. The term also involves the foreign-born kids of migrants in this study, but is limited to individuals who finished education in Germany.

1.8 Objectives of the Thesis

1. To understand the socio-political and economic conditions in Sri Lanka, which is the Sri Lankan Tamils ' native country and whose residence in Germany.

2. To capture the causes and civil war processes between the Sri Lankan Military force and the Tamil separatists.

3. To describe the traditional practices of the marriage system of Sri Lankan Tamils both in their native land and in Germany.

4. To explicate the system of Tamil educational organizations that attempt to maintain the cultural identity of Tamil migrants in overall and particularly enculturate of their second generation in Germany.

5. To understand the customs and rituals of the Sri Lankan Tamils practiced in Germany, in relation to their Religions.

6. To present the findings and to draw their implications for the Tamils from Sri Lanka and on the discipline of anthropology.

1.9 Assumptions in the Thesis

The researcher wishes to state two assumptions in this thesis:

*   The second generation of Sri Lankan Tamils was part of the transnational structures and its representatives would not follow their traditional culture and customs with as much passion as their predecessors.

*   The grip of their home culture is so strong, that the first-generation Sri Lankan Tamils would re-migrate to their homeland if such possibilities arise.

*   Though the first generation tries to maintain the Tamil culture and identity in their respective host countries, in the course of time, the second generation would not be able to continue transferring the traditions of their parents to the future generations.

1.10 Theoretical Framework

In this following section, we present a theoretical framework which sheds light on the data. "Theory effectively combines diverse and isolated pieces of empirical data to create an intelligible conceptual model which is capable of being more generally applied" (Walliman 2001: 82). For the framework of this thesis, we wish to employ the understanding of South Asian[8] migrants have moved to Europe and North America. The reason behind choosing studies conducted on South Asians as a framework for the present thesis is that it encompasses three important categories: *diaspora, transnationalism*, and *ethnicity*. The Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany manifest all these three qualities, and thus a study on Southeast Asian migrants is hoped to shed light on the present study.

Jacobsen and Kumar broadly categorize South Asian diasporas into three groups based on the periods of their migration:

The first category includes people who are descendants of the indentured labor movements. The second constitutes those who migrated after 1945, mainly in 1965, either due to the new employment factor or for the educational opportunities, and settled in the western countries or the Middle East. The third group consists of people who belong to minority communities and have been victims of either discrimination and persecution or civil wars (Jacobson and Kumar 2004, xi).

From this perspective, nearly all Tamils who migrated to Germany from Sri Lanka belong in the third category, although a few family members shifted to the west soon after Sri Lanka became independent. After the 1980s, a few thousand Tamils from Sri Lanka moved to Germany or other parts of the globe (mostly Europe) as a result of Victimization, discrimination, and persecution by the Sinhalese majority government in Sri Lanka (Reeves 2013).

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[8] South Asia is among the most diverse regions in the world in terms of ethnicity, language and also religion. South Asians identify with different nations of origin, speak different languages, and belong to different religions. South Asia is divided into six modern nation states: India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bhutan, and while India is the most pluralistic and diverse of the nations in the region, all of them are further divided by ethnic, linguistic and religious identities. More than fifteen hundred mother tongues are spoken in South Asia and more than fifteen languages are official. South Asia is the home of several of the great religions of the world." Jacobson and Kumar, ix

1.11 Specific Features of the South Asian Diaspora

Research on South Asian diasporic communities capture three specific features that migrants from this region possess:

1. First, South Asian migrants develop strong bonds and ties with the countries and cultures of their origin.

2. Second, there is a common thread that links all of them together, wherever they go.

3. Third, there is an unquenched thirst among them to preserve their cultures, religious beliefs, and the practices of their forbears. Therefore, in the process of their search, some of them have reinvented or transformed traditions to adapt themselves to their respective host cultures (Jacobsen and Kumar 2004: vii-xiii).

This general classification by Jacobsen and Kumar was fine-tuned by Steven Vertovec. Vertovec, analyzing the theories of Appadurai, Schiller, and Hannerz**,** adds that diasporas necessitate the construction and reproduction of transnational cultural and social phenomena. He explains the implication of diaspora in threefold: "'diaspora' *as social form*, 'diaspora' *as type of consciousness*, and 'diaspora' *as mode of cultural production"* (Vertovec 1999:2)[9]. We wish to elaborate these three elements attributed to Southeast Asian diasporas through studies carried out by various authors.

i) Diaspora as Social Form

In 'diaspora as a social form', states Vertovec, "the emphasis remains upon an identified group characterized by their relationship-despite-dispersal" (Vertovec, 1999:3). The aspect that unifies creates and maintains relationships among the dispersed South Asian diasporic members, as constructing 'a social Community may be attributed to ethnicity. Ethnicity, in simple terms, is a positive feeling of belonging to a particular group.

Authors who have conducted studies on South Asian communities' tenacity of ethnic identity in diaspora observe that they consider their cultural identities as marked by their ethnic worldviews, giving high importance to the preservation and transmission of such ethnic identities to the coming generations.

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[9] Italic original

1.12 Ethnicity and Identity

Drawing inspiration from Ulf Hannerz' study of urban anthropology to study social relations, Vertovec believes that it is important to conduct social network analyses. Ethnicity constitutes the most extensive and widely applicable framework we have for the study of social relations. "As a method of abstraction and analysis, the social network approach sees each person as a 'node' linked with others to form a network" (Vertovec, 2003:646). The advantage of the social network perspective lies in its ability to allow us to abstract aspects of interpersonal relations which cut across institutions and the boundaries of aggregated concepts such as neighborhood, workplace, kinship, or class (Rogers and Vertovec, 1995). This perspective fosters empirical research "as a way of revealing de facto active networks rather than a priori assumptions of community solidarity" (Bridge, 1995:281).

Vertovec further extends this notion of homeland to illuminate the aspect of 'diaspora as social form' and defines the Southeast Asian migrants in terms of their relationships with the creation of space; as displaced people, they try to re-establish their homeland in which their social bond is reiterated. Such a vision is usually ethnic and nationalistic in its manifestations (Vertovec, 2008: 117–132).

Identity construction is an important issue even among the second generation of Southeast Asian diasporas. As Jacobsen and Kumar point out:

> "The acquisition of this new identity is then made sense of against the background of where they originally came from, that is, their original cultural, social and historical background. How groups and individuals in the diaspora context make sense of these identities is something that needs further more focused research by comparing examples from a variety of locations of the diaspora. Since each diaspora community's history is different and unique, it would be important to do comparisons to arrive at some meaningful generalities that would give us a broad understanding of processes involved in identity constructions (Jacobsen and Kumar 498-99)".

Thus, the homeland, with all its ramifications, plays a vital role in diasporic identity construction. Knut Jacobson and Sadja Khokher demonstrate this by analyzing the perspectives of young South Asian Muslim women who are second-generation migrants, and state that they undertake an acutely self-conscious exploration and assessment of their cultures; however, this is irrelevant with regard to the first-generation Sri Lankan Tamils in diaspora (Knut and Khokher, 1993: 596). Mavroudi, in his study of Palestinians living in Athens, describes that the connection of second-generation migrants to their homeland and the concomitant diaspora politics is physically grounded in their respective host countries (Mavroudi, 2008: 71).

Kibria's field research on Asian-Americans (Chinese, Koreans, and Vietnamese) in the US indicated that the young generations of qualified professionals have learned to preserve various types of cultural and ethnic identities, while also being socially incorporated into a predominantly white community of peers and friends (Song, Jesook ; 2003: 25) This may even reflect the situation in Germany, where Sri Lankan Tamils' second generation and most of their younger representatives recognize their transnational cultural identity.

Highlighting diasporas' attempts to create social bonds, Amitav Ghosh observes that many South Asian diasporas "are relatively less concerned with roots and return, and relatively more with recreating culture in diverse locations" (cited in Fuglerud:1999: 196). On the other hand, Øivind Fuglerud, in his study of Sri Lankan migrants in Norway, points out that the diasporas would like to believe their identities are inherited from their countries of origin; they will choose to do their maximum to maintain and export these ethnic and cultural traditions from one generation to another (Fuglerud, 1999: 95–137). He gives an example of Indian Tamils in the United States who create a 'Tamilic world' while living in a Western country:

> "Tamils have . . . organized language and regional associations based on their native language. They have arranged for south Indian dance performances and instruction, imported Tamil movies, and established Hindu temples. In this way, while arranging their work lives, many of which are in the high technology industries of Silicon Valley, they have in their home lives been trying to create a Tamil world as much as possible like the one they left in India" (cited in Fuglerud:196).

Thus, for the Southeast Asian diasporas, transnational recreation of their social or "homes away from home". Clifford 1994:308) to establish and maintain social bonds in their Diasporas is not only more important than returning to their homeland, but a necessity in everyday life.

ii) Diaspora as a Type of Consciousness

The second point, 'Diaspora as a type of consciousness', presents a complex reality. The diasporic consciousness includes heightened awareness of one's cultural heritage, memory of stories, painful migration, the status of minority, religious pluralism, similarity and difference in the host country, and multiple realties engaged and negotiated in public places (Vertovec 8-18). Vertovec quotes Arjun Appadurai and Carol Breckenridge:

> "More and more diasporic groups have memories whose archaeology is fractured. These collective recollections, often built on the harsh play of memory and desire over time, have many trajectories and fissures which sometimes correspond to generational politics. Even for apparently well-settled diasporic groups, the macro-politics of reproduction translates into the micro-politics of memory, among friends, relatives and generations" (Cited in Vertovec,1999:9)

Thus, the consciousness of living in a diaspora is not a sudden occurrence but one that emerges gradual. It never acquires a definite form but is being made and remade constantly by multiple voices from various terrains, including the ethos and policies of the host country.

Scholars such as Bhatia and Ram (Bhatia, Sunil and Ram, Anjali; Theorizing identity in transnational and diaspora cultures: A critical approach to acculturation 2009) conducted studies to identify the South Asian communities living in the US, both agreeing that migrant identities should be specifically understood as flowing and politized, created from distinct political roles, and based on negotiation, dislocation, and struggle. The basic construction of one's identity is affected by adverse experiences in the respective host nation, but also by beneficial interactions in both the host nation and the nation of origin. At the same time, however, these various experiences can differ significantly and can alter over time.

iii) 'Diaspora' as a Mode of Cultural Production

One general observation of all the South Asian diasporas is that they "they want to preserve their culture and maintain it and pass it on to the next generation" (Jacobson and Kumar, Introduction, xiv). This is primarily envisaged to maintain the identity of every generation. In this process, traditions acquire multiple additions and omissions.

Jacobsen and Kumar Observe:

"One of the important issues with migration and hence with the diaspora is that these diaspora communities often reinvent traditions to express their lives in the new lands, be that in the cultural aspects or in other social aspects. These new ways of doing things and making adjustments has to do with the fact that they define everything around the dominant local social group within which they function. Therefore, by default and by necessity they are forced to define themselves vis à vis the dominant group" (Jacobsen and Kumar, 498).

Thus, the role of the host country vastly facilitates the identity construction of the diaspora.

1.13 Cultural Reproduction in Diaspora

The context of cultural (re)production and identity maintenance involves ethnic categories such as family, kinship, caste, and ritual practice, as well as language groups, nationalism, etc.,

that gradually emerge, not in a single and neatly defined voice, but in heterogeneity and diversity.[10]

Vertovec quotes Appadurai:

"[D]iaspora does not refer us to those scattered tribes whose identity can only be secured in relation to some sacred homeland to which they must at all costs return, even if it means pushing other peoples into the sea. This is the old, the imperializing, the hegemonizing form of 'ethnicity.' The diaspora experience as I intend it here is defined not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of identity which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity. Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference" (Cited in Vertovec, 1999: 20).

1.14 Religion and Cultural Reproduction

Religion runs through all three main characteristics of diaspora: diaspora and social, diaspora as consciousness, and diaspora as a site of cultural production and functions; it is the thread that binds them. Religion plays a major role in South Asian communities because it is seen as a storehouse for cultural resources which can always be retrieved as and when required. Besides, religion serves to identify the identity: "It is the most strikingly obvious phenomenon that provides a sense of who they are and where they came from. Religious beliefs and practices become a marker of identity and ethnicity in the new cultural context" (Jacobsen and Kumar, xiv). Another way of preserving cultural identity through religious practice is establishing religious organizations and erecting and consecrating sacred places of worship.

The most common feature that has been noted in countries where South Asians have migrated is their eagerness to build religious centers to provide for their various practical needs, such as performing rituals for large gatherings or personal rituals from naming a child to burying or cremating the dead. To begin with, these religious centers might have been conceived for their practical needs, but once built, they quickly became centers where ethnic identities are shaped and maintained. As such, these centers of religion are at once markers of identity and sources

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[10] In addressing questions as to how we can methodologically best grasp, in a comparative manner, myriad changes among transnational communities such as those which are represented among South Asian religious groups abroad, we need systematically to take some account of (a) facets of historically conditioned structure (not least patterns of migration and policies of 'host' states) plus (b) composite parts of *habitus* (achievable only through ethnographic study) multiplied, as it were, by (c) the conscious intervention of social actors coupled with (d) the outcomes of mediation, negotiation, and contestation within and between self-defined social groups. All of these complex matters are addressed when we considered the complimentary three meanings of 'diaspora'." Vertovec, 1999: 28.

of conflict and tension, while also enriching the cultural landscape of the new world (Jacobsen and Kumar 2004**:** xiv).

Thus, religious festivals not only represent the continuation of cultural traditions, but also function as sites of forging new identities and social bonds with diaspora consciences.

It must be mentioned here that the South Asian diaspora is often in dilemma to pick and choose relevant cultural idioms.

> 'It is the difficulty about what to let go and what to keep! And what to assimilate and what to avoid. It is about their loyalty to their cultural past. It is about what to pass on to their next generation. It is a fear about whether or not the next generation will have something to hang on to in the face of the overwhelming attractions of the new culture. It is about stereotyping themselves and the fear of being stereotyped. It is about prejudicing others and being prejudiced and in the process perpetuating the stereotypes. These are some of the issues that any diaspora community is bound to face" (Jacobsen and Kumar, xv).

Religions among South Asian Diasporas

Religions are always part of cultural traditions and social realities. A diaspora may have members of different religions, but the ethnic identity surpasses the religious identity.

Tamils from Sri Lanka may be Hindus, Christians, or Muslims; Gujaratis may be Hindus, Muslims, or Christians, and so on. Regional cultural traditions often contain religious elements that are not exclusive but shared by many, without regard to religious identity. For example, the *Mahabharata* is not only Hindu, but part of the South Asian cultural tradition enjoyed also by many South Asian Christians and Muslims in the diaspora.

A few people may attend the religious festivals of other South Asian religions than their own, since the festivals are not only religious but also cultural events (Jacobsen and Kumar, 499)**.**

1.15 The Second Generation and Religion

However, it must be noted that it is unclear whether the second generation will acquire and personalize a religious ethos as the first generation has. Vertovec observes that the second generation "adapt their own interpretations of belief, consciously decide the nature of their religious values, and specify for themselves modes of participation in 'religious community' activities" (Vertovec, 2008: 21). The abovementioned studies essentially indicate that the first-generation migrants try to transfer their cultural identity as an ethnic identity to the coming generations. However, they are not always sure whether the young second generation will accept all that is given to them.

For our framework, we present some of the common qualities attributed to a general social category of diaspora, as summarized by Vertovec:

Specific kinds of *social relationships* cemented by special ties to history and geography. These see diasporas broadly as:

a. Created as a result of voluntary or forced migration from one home location to at least two other countries;

b. Consciously maintaining collective identity, which is often importantly sustained by reference to an 'ethnic myth' of common origin, historical experience, and some kind of tie to a geographic place;

c. Institutionalizing networks of exchange and communication which transcend territorial states and creating new communal organizations in places of settlement;

d. Maintaining a variety of explicit and implicit ties with their homelands;

e. Developing solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement;

f. Inability or unwillingness to be fully accepted by 'host society'-thereby fostering feelings of alienation, or exclusion, or superiority, or other kind of 'difference'. (Vertovec 3-4)

The abovementioned unique characteristics of Southeast Asian diasporas are worth considering when studying the Tamil ethnics from the Sri Lankan diaspora community as one of the South Asian diaspora groups. That is to say, the present study analyses the Sri Lankan Tamils' affiliation with their country of origin, and the networks of their cultural, social, ethnic, and religious organizations in their current status as a diasporic community through theoretical understandings and opinions on the diaspora, with a special reference to Southeast Asia.

1.16   The Structure of the Thesis

The first chapter presents a general introduction to the thesis. In this chapter I present the background for the research, the reason for this topics and the general understanding of diaspora in general as explicated by scholars. Also included will be the aim, assumptions and the objectives of the research. The research also indicates the scope of the thesis and the limitation involved in it.

In the second chapter, I briefly present the background for the thesis by tracing the socio-cultural, economic, and political history of Sri Lanka from pre-colonial times to the present, as recorded by both Sri Lankan and non-Sri Lankan scholars. This is necessary to comprehend the

lived experiences and situations of not only the first generation but also the second generation of Sri Lankan[11] Tamils in Germany, whom the thesis focuses.

The third chapter attempts to elucidate the historical background that serves as the reason behind the migration of Sri Lankan Tamils to Western countries, especially to Europe, in two sections. The first section discusses the causative factors of the internal conflict between the Singhalese and Tamils, the majority and minority communities respectively in Sri Lanka. It will also deal with the subsequent armed struggle between the Tamil secessionists and the Sri Lankan military that caused internal displacement and migration and suffering of Tamils. This civil war was also major intermediate variables between the land of origin and the host country of the migrant Tamils from Sri Lanka. The second section, on the other hand, provides the details of settlement of the Sri Lankan migrants in Europe, North American countries, and other nations. It also concentrates attention on the migration of Tamils to Germany, which is the context of the present research.

The fourth chapter presents literature reviews by various authors regarding the second generations of migrants around the world. In addition, the views on the nature of second-generation migrants in general, and their physical, psychological, and cultural transformation in the vacillation between the world of their parents and the society they actually live in, are also presented. Thereby, I attempt to highlight how various authors understand the second-generation migrants and how they identify these migrants' agency in making sense of their world. In brief, this chapter shows the conceptualization of the second generation, treating them as a unique group under this research.

The fifth second chapter attempts to delineate the research process in detail. It presents the choice of research methodology, the tools that are deployed to collect data from the field, and the actual process of data collection. It also emphasizes the area of the studies and the respondents ' nature. In brief, it is an effort to recognize the facts as it is, i.e., the manner of thinking, feeling and living of the younger people of Tamils society in Germany, as narrated by them. Finally, this chapter presents the reflexivity, that is, my conversation with my own self, the feeling of being constantly challenged regarding and transformed in the light of the incoming data from the field. I mark a struggle between the two poles of being in the research field: "Empathetic insider and Critical outsider."

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[11] The actual definition of the second generation as per Levitt's perceptions is also highlighted in Chapter 4. This part also describes Levitt's own observations with some known illustrations for the better understanding of this generation.

In the sixth chapter we present the data regarding the enculturation programs of the second-generation Tamils through educational and various voluntary organizations in Germany. It highlights not only the structure of these educational and voluntary organizations but also their networking in Europe, the vision of the organizers, along with the method they use to propagate Tamil culture in and through their schools, textbooks, and religious and cultural festivals. The data is organized according to various themes that I identified from the field.

The seventh chapter continues the presentation of the data collected from the field work with respect to marriage practices, rituals, and the concomitant traditions of Sri Lankan Tamils living in Germany. The persistence of traditional marriage customs such as alliance seeking, the role of caste and dowry, and the actual celebrations and rituals associated with marriage are organized thematically from the data in order to capture the worldviews of the second-generation migrants regarding their traditional Tamil culture.

In the eighth chapter, we conclude the thesis by presenting the findings of this research and its significance. Informed by the possible themes from the findings, I strive to identify the trajectories that have implications on the discipline of anthropology and in the practical lives of the aforementioned diasporic community. I also indicate certain possibilities for further in-depth research on the same topic, so as to overcome the limitations of the present thesis.

1.17 Scope and Limitations of the Thesis

This research focuses mainly on the Sri Lankan Tamil migrants in Germany, although a few relevant references about the Tamil migrants living in many other European and non-European counties are incorporated wherever necessary. The availability of literature on Tamil culture in the native language is limited due to geographical distance; I could not physically visit Sri Lanka for my research and get acquainted with the culture of Sri Lankan Tamils. In addition, due to the destruction of ancient state libraries and monuments during the internal battle in Sri Lanka, an enormous quantity of valuable literature on Sri Lankan Tamil culture was lost.

As a researcher, I humbly state that though I am a Tamil and speak the Tamil language, I was not able to relate to the migrants in terms of their traumatic memories of their lives in Sri Lanka, of the war, the suffering, and the painful migration. At times, I found it difficult to enter deep into the 'world' Tamils from Sri Lanka who live in Germany.[12]

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[12] This aspect will be elaborately dealt with in the chapter dealing with the implementation of the research

CHAPTER 2:

SRI LANKA'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND CULTURAL HISTORY: AN OVERVIEW

"Historical understanding is not simply the past but the historicity of a given concrete practice of institution". John Mandalois[13]

"Ethnicity is essentially a political phenomenon, as traditional customs are used only as idioms, and as mechanisms for political alignments. People do not kill one another because their customs are different". Abner Cohen[14]

2.1 Introduction

In order to understand the experiences of the second-generation[15] Sri Lankan Tamils living in Germany, which is the primary concern of this thesis, thorough study is needed on the distant history of Sri Lanka. We will not be wrong to claim that the turbulent past history of Sri Lanka continues to haunt the first generation of Tamil migrants,[16] as well as the diaspora's younger generation to a certain degree. In the following pages, we shall briefly present the socio-cultural, economic, and political history Sri Lanka as recorded by both Sri Lankan and non-Sri Lankan scholars.

2.2 Pre-Colonial Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka, previously known as Ceylon, is an island covering about 65,000 square kilometers, situated in the Indian subcontinent on the South-East coast of the Indian Ocean. The island has been inhabited for several millennia by various ethnic groups of the Indian subcontinent. A regular interaction took place between the people of Sri Lanka and the traders and the settlers of nearby regions, especially India.

It has been claimed by historian that Sri Lanka was not one nation but encompassed many separate kingdoms, varying in size and population. In all aspects, two major kingdoms, the Sinhalese and the Tamils, dominate Sri Lankan history. These two main communities had their

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[13] John Mandalios, "Historical Sociology" in Brayan S. Turner (ed.), The Blackwell Companion to Social Theory, 2nd edition (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2000), 391

[14] Abner Cohen, "Ethnicity and Politics" in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds). Ethnicity (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) p. 84.

[15] The actual definition of the second generation by Levitt's ideas is highlighted in Chapter 4. The section also outlines Levitt's own thoughts with some well-known illustrations.

[16] The Tamil people from Sri Lanka, who moved to various countries across the world during the civil war.

own separate religious and cultural traditions and political administrations. Their interaction was within the sphere of two Kingdoms. This delicate political setup was, however, altered with the arrival of the European colonial powers.

2.3   Sri Lanka under Colonial Patronage

Subsequently, many European states have governed Sri Lanka for many centuries. In determining the current culture of Sri Lanka, the different strategies of these colonial invaders and their rules have played a key role. The Portuguese were the first European colonizers who entered Sri Lanka as traders. Since 1505, they gradually established their power and started exerting influence over the native Sri Lankans. The Dutch[17] entered this island in the mid-1600's and occupied it by defeating the Portuguese colony. However, this did not last long owing to the British invasion of the island in the 19th century-Sri Lanka was annexed by the British Empire in the year 1833. The era of British rule was an incredibly important age in Sri Lankan history and laid the foundations for the subsequent turbulent socio-political situation that the country faced after independence. The British developed a permanent division between different ethnic groups in Sri Lanka (Ghosh, 2003).

2.4   Sri Lanka under the British Rule

More than a century and a half of British control in Sri Lanka had a big influence on Sri Lanka's social structure, economic and political and even on the cultural aspect. In 1830, the British united the island under a single colonial administration and earnestly initiated the further growth of another plantation, an economy centered on Sri Lankan export crops such as coffee and tea.

Subsequently, the much-required labor force for the operation of the tea and rubber plantations was met by indentured labor, largely supplied by the South Indian state of Tamil Nadu. This supply added to the already-varied ethnic population in Sri Lanka, that was also made up of Sinhalese people who spoke a language known as Sinhala[18] and predominantly followed Buddhism. The Tamil language was spoken by the second-biggest ethnic group, the Tamils, who had mainly occupied the island's northeastern parts. Many Tamils were named after Hindus, but many of them also practiced their own folk religions. Muslims comprised the third category, residing predominantly in Sri Lanka's eastern coastal districts and speaking Tamil. In

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[17]   It was the sailors from Holland who established their colony in Sri Lanka.

[18]   The majority Shingles community lives mostly in Southern part of the Island nation and they form the present Government.

addition to these groups, there were also Europeans with blended ancestry, mostly from the United Kingdom, known as Burghers in Sri Lankan. The British classification of several ethnic groups as a nationwide group left the provinces with no individual ethno-cultural names, effectively depriving them the expression of their ethnic identity (Winslow.D and Woost M.D, 2004).

The Christians in Sri Lanka, however, relished more privileges during the British rule, especially the Sinhala elite and the Tamils in Colombo (Sri Lanka's present capital city located in the north of the island) (Wilson; Boulder, 1994). Indeed, the Sinhalese and Tamil political elites continued to enjoy the colonial-rule privileges well into the post-independence era (Ghosh, 2003).

2.5 Colonial Political Administration in Sri Lanka

Over several decades during their governance of Sri Lanka, the British launched many different bureaucratic arrangements. In 1872, the first official census was taken in Ceylon (Sri Lanka). The first survey included the categories of race and nationality, identifying Sri Lanka's 78 nationalities and 24 races. Those classifications, however, were somewhat confusing and inaccurate (Rajasingham-Senanayake, Darini, 2004). The British established a total of 13 regions to allow smooth governance in Sri Lanka, but over time these region were re-demarcated and various administrative aspects were altered The island of Sri Lanka was (and remains) separated into nine provinces and 25 districts for executive purposes:

(i)   The Northern Province (Jaffna, known as the 'Tamil homeland' or 'Eelam')[19]

(ii)   The Eastern Province (Batticaloa, Trincomalee; predominantly Tamil population)

(iii)   The Western Province (Colombo, the capital)

(iv)   The Southern Province (Galle)

(v)   The North-Western Province (Kurenegala)

(vi)   The North-Central Province (Anuradhapura)

(vii)   The Uva Province (Badulla)

(viii)   The Sabaragamuwa Province (Ratnapura)

(ix)   The Central Province (Kandy)

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[19]   „Eelamis" a Tamil term which refers to Sri Lankan Tamils' political ambition to attain a separate Tamil country with respect to mainland Sri Lanka. In another sense, it is an identity for the Sri Lankan Tamils; they call themselves as Eelam Tamils, in general.

In each of these provinces, all directly elected provincial council administrators belonged to their own ethnic group. However, for each region, the British gave little regard to a 'particular political identity' and did not allow central authority operations to materialize (Rogers, 2005; De Silva,1981; Ghosh,2003). The British authorities' classification of different ethnic groups within one domestic category also left the provinces without individual ethno-cultural validity, and thus the expression of ethnic identity was refused to them (Winslow.D and Woost M.D, 2004).

2.6 The Social Classification of the Sri Lankan Population

In Sri Lanka, the British considered the entire population comprising of three separate subdivisions the Sinhalese, the Tamils and the Muslims. Religion was the primary distinction between the communities, and the complexities of traditional society and ethnic identity were given little consideration (De Silva, 1981). The British government also failed to identify the distinctions within each particular ethnic group: Sri Lanka's inherent Tamils and Tamil workers who were brought from Tamil Nadu from India for the Tea plantations. In the same manner, the British accorded less importance to the division within the Sinhalese population: the Kandyan Sinhalese and the low-country Sinhalese, who differed from each other in many ways. In Sri Lanka, this political arrangement of considering various ethnic groups as one took a different direction after Sri Lanka's independence from British rule.

2.7 Post-Colonial Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka arose as an autonomous nation free from British colonial rule in the year 1948. Since the moment of its independence, the country's rulers have been struggling with the two primary problems with regard to achieving sustainable economic growth and safeguarding political harmony among ethnic groups, mainly among the major Sinhalese and Tamil groups. The progress on each front has been mutually blended. Sri Lanka had outperformed its regional neighbors like India, Bangladesh, and some other south Asian countries in terms of economic growth and human resource development, in a remarkably short time. However, it was unable to maintain the pace of its development for a long time, as most South-East Asian nations did, although they were also referred to have been in a comparable scenario in the 1950s and 1960s (Dhananjayan Sriskandarajah, 2005).

2.8 The New Political Scenario

Sri Lanka had succeeded in maintaining its own system of democracy. However, its political parties and institutions have failed to prevent inter-ethnic tension between the Tamils and the Sinhalese (primarily in the country's southern portion) in the decades following its independence. By the 1970s, the Tamils living in the northeastern part of Sri Lanka began agitating for self-determination due to the biased political system of ruling governments, which were dominated by the Singhalese population. Several separatist Tamil organizations began their armed struggle for a distinct Tamil country by the early 1980s. Gradually, the Liberation of Tamil Tigers of Eelam (LTTE)[20] emerged as a formidable force and claimed itself the sole reportative of Tamil aspirations in the Northern Sri Lankan movements that started. The Singhalese-majority government continued to see Sri Lankan and Indian Tamils as one ethnic group, deeming it was socially and politically dangerous (De Silva, 1981).

2.9 Civil War and the Dire Consequences

A tragic dramatic period of mutiny by Tamils starting in 1983, the political conflict through armed forces in Sri Lanka resulted cast more than a few thousand from Tamil ethnic group dead and numerous absconding. It was marked by devastating violence and persecution, from which the nation is yet to stabilize. Meanwhile, a ceasefire agreement was signed between the LTTE and then ruling government in Sri Lanka, in 2002 to end the war, but a permanent peaceful resolution was not achieved. Finally, in 2009 the Government's armed forces struck the final blow to the LTTE, destroying its organizations and thus the civil war ended.

2.10 Ethnic and Cultural Composition of People Living in Sri Lanka

Sri Lankan folk are generally extremely heterogeneous and differentiated across ethnic, social, religious, cultural, caste, and regional lines. Despite this multitude, however, Sri Lankan people are most often differentiated along ethnic lines, both through governmental categorization and national self-identification. In terms of numbers, in the Sri Lankan official census in 1981, Sinhalese people were found to comprise about 74% of the total population, while the Tamils in the northeastern part of Sri Lanka made up 13%, the Muslims and the Tamils constituting 7% and 6%, respectively, in the up-country (Reference ID: LKA-DCS-DISAB-1981-v1.0, Statistics-Ministry of Finance and Planning and Department of Census of Sri Lanka 1981). A significant difference has been identified between Sri Lankan's indigenous Tamils and the migrant Tamils.

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[20] Here the term "LTTE" is the abbreviation for the separatist and militant organisation called Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. The members of the organisation are known "Tamil Tigers" in Sri Lanka.

This difference has been illustrated in state documents as well as other literature. In terms of political, we could point out that this planned separation of the collective Tamil identity tended to cause most (even though by no means all) of the political and ethnic conflicts in Sri Lanka. However, the majority of the Sinhalese population still views the Tamil speaking community as one ethnic category in day-to-day interactions.

Below, Table 1 provides some of the group comparisons and displays the multiplicity of the Sri Lankan ethnic groups.

Table 1: Sri Lanka's Population by Ethnic Groups [21]

Rank	Ethnic Group	Share of Population of Sri Lanka
1	Sinhalese	74.9%
2	Sri Lankan Tamils	11.2%
3	Sri Lankan Moors	9.3%
4	Indian Tamils	4.1%
5	Sri Lankan Malays	0.2%
6	Burghers & Europeans	0.2%
	Other Groups	0.1%

Some basic ethno-cultural categorizations that are still evident in Sri Lankan culture today were imposed by the British, and little consideration is given to the powerful distinctions that recur between and within ethnic groups in Sri Lanka even at present.

2.11 Development of the Political Party System in Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka as nation had a proud record of being democratic. After the British departed, it was Sri Lanka which emerged as the first independent nation in Asia to have an arrangement of collective suffrage. It had created a government marked by participatory democracy. However, in spite of seven common elections beginning from its independence in 1948 to the early 1970s, there were recurrent alterations of governments on these occasions.

This instability mainly owes to the governance of two central parties in Sri Lanka, which are predominantly Sinhalese-based-SLFP and UNP. In addition to these two political parties, there are many other opposition parties that have regularly won parliamentary seats. This

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[21] Reference ID, LKA-DCS-CPH-2001-v1.0, www.statistis.gov.lk, Department of Statistics and Census. Accessed on 11.05.2019 at 9pm.

involved many other political parties of the Tamils, uniting in northern Sri Lankan behind the heading of the Tamil National Alliance (TNA). The TNA still manages to get a minimum amount of seats in parliamentary elections. There are also a few Muslim political groups, such as the Sri Lankan Muslim Congress (SLMC), which was as one of the coalition parties, and there are quite a few nationalist minority parties in Sri Lanka.

2.12 Caste System and its Role in Sri Lanka

Caste system is peculiar to the Indian subcontinent, and it is highly complex in its structure and manifestation. For a long time, many scholars and researchers have attempted to analyze it in detail. Initially, scholars who done their study on caste system, focusing primarily on the South Indian context, assumed that the differences in the social organization of villages, in consideration of authority relations, were based on religious divisions and subdivisions Seenarine, M; 2006. In the context Tamils in Sri Lanka, it can be understood from the caste system assessment in India that religion had less to do with their caste divisions (Fuglerud,1999) , Bandyopadhyah, S. 2004 argues that somehow the caste structure simplistic idea has continued to influence how we view and study caste today. Many authors have tried to categorize and label caste, but the system is extremely fluid, as argued by Srinivas, an eminent Indian socialist (1962) and De Silva, an influential figure in Sri Lankan society's financial, political, and socio-cultural growth (De Silva, 1998).

Srinivas' seminal survey of the Indian society's caste system, considering the 1950s–1960s year range, illustrates that a thorough knowledge and understanding of the caste system extant in India is really difficult to gather. Srinivas also suggested an important concept regarding the extensive knowledge of caste hierarchies and codifications. He introduces a seminal concept that he calls 'Sanskritization'.[22] Sanskritization is a multifaceted cultural process whereby "[a] low caste was able, in a generation or two, to rise to a higher position in the hierarchy by adopting vegetarianism and teetotalism, and by Sanskritisizing its ritual and pantheon. In short, it took over, as far as possible, the customs, rites, and beliefs, of the Brahmins..." (Srinivas,M.N.1962).

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[22] Sanskritization is a method in which a small caste, tribe or other groups in India alter their rituals, ideology and customs, manner of life in the indication of some dominant caste system (often called twice-born caste). M.N. Srinivas, an eminent Indian sociologist and social anthropologist, first launched the notion." A Note on Sanskritization and Westternization" M.N.Srinivas Aug 1956,p 481-496.

2.13 Caste Division within the Tamil Society

Among the caste communities within the Tamil society, the *Vellala*[23] assumed the dominance through various processes. Nevertheless, it is not necessary to suppose that the supremacy of the *Vellala* caste in Sri Lanka was simply carried out via Sanskritization; on the contrary, it is quite evident that the group emerged and thrived mainly during the British colonial rule. It is suggested that both Sanskritization and westernization progressed in clash in Sri Lanka, even though one might discover the two aforementioned procedures working together to protect the *Vellala* caste' enhanced status and development, as compared to other caste communities in Sri Lanka. As the caste system that drives social expansions is culturally built as a tool for preserving social progression in the Sri Lankan society, it is a culturally integrated mode that consolidates the country's social structure and political stability. Even today, the scheme persists in a subtle form. (Rajasingham - Senanayake, D.2003) and other authors assert that the caste system was concealed and repressed in the post-colonial period in Sri Lanka but continued to operate on basic social levels, continuing to influence social relations and marriage practices in Sri Lanka and across.

The Caste groups within Sri Lankan Tamils

Table 2: The Different Caste Groups in Sri Lanka

Name of Caste	Traditional Occupation	Total Population (%)
Ampattar	Barber	0.9 %
Brahman	Temple Priest	0.7 %
Karaiyar	Deep-sea fisher	10.0 %
Koviar	Domestic servant	7.0 %
Nalavar	Laborer	9.0 %
Paraiyar	Drummer	2.7 %
Pallar	Laborer	9.0 %
Taccar	Carpenter	2.0 %
Tattar	Goldsmith	0.6 %
Vanna	Washer	1.5 %
Vellala	Farmer	50.0 %[24]

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[23] It is a name of a particular caste in Sri Lanka and is the dominant caste group among the Sri Lankan Tamils.

[24] Jeyawardena 2000: 165

2.13.1 Ethnic identity above caste identity

As the longing among the Sri Lankan Tamils to own their own independent ' homeland ' increased, the perseverance of caste affiliation and the related identities became hidden and repressed. Even the LTTE claimed to be against caste differences and its organization (Sumathy, S 2004; Swamy, M 2004). It was believed that the 'Tamil homeland or Tamil Eelam,' for which the Tamil organizations negotiated and fought, would be a caste-free land occupied by Tamils in the future.

There is no adequate consensus between the Jaffna Tamils[25] on the exact amount of castes. Arasaratnam,A (1981) indicates that it must be more than 48 (quoted in Jeyaratnam Wilson, 1994);. While David Kenneth and Michael Banks suggest that there are 24 Most writers, however, who have performed caste-related fieldwork, recognize that in Jaffna villages there are 10–11 visible caste groups. The Vellala[26] (farmer) caste was dominant and largely led the Jaffna Tamil community. This group comprised the main landowners who controlled most of the Tamil region's (the Northern Province) agriculture and trade. Depending on the type of farming practiced, the Vellala caste was stratified into distinct subgroups (Arasaratnam,A 1981). The other castes were regarded as socially inferior, apart from the religious Brahman, and were treated as people of a lower status, largely in the villages (G G Raheja, 1988). Hellmann-Rajanayagam,D (2004) stresses that 'the Vellala caste sees itself not only as the dominant caste above the other caste organizations, but also as the pre-ordered group which must guarantee that the Tamil identity is maintained and passed on to future Tamil generations.' One apparent reason for this observation is that 50% of Sri Lankan Tamils are from in the Vellala caste group (see Table 2).

2.14 Economic Development in Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka, like any other South Asian country, was basically an agrarian society during the pre-colonial era. Thereafter, in the post-colonial period Sri Lanka experienced significant economic growth. Most of the island's southern portion experiences monsoon twice in one year and the surroundings are more appropriate for the cultivation of many commodities such as rice, sugarcane, pepper, cotton, and plantation. Its economy generates valuable export earnings. Tourism as an industry has thrived because of the scenic beauty of the countryside and the

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[25] Jaffna is the capital of the northern province in Sri Lanka which is the cultural centre of Sri Lankan Tamils, while the people who live around Jaffna are called as Jaffna Tamils.

[26] It is the name of a particular caste in Sri Lanka and is the dominant caste group among Sri Lankan Tamils.

pristine beaches; tourists from Western countries come in droves! The Sri Lankans lived a comparatively high standard of living. Sri Lanka has evolved comparatively well compared to other South Asian nations, particularly in meeting the essential requirements of most of its people in all industries, despite the corruption and the poor financial policies. However, the initial economic growth which Sri Lanka had experienced gradually declined. For instance, Sri Lanka's average GDP growth was 3.4 percent per year between 1975 and 2001, while the pacific region of Asia and East Asia's GDP increased to 5.9 percent per year at the same moment. Sri Lanka's political crisis has undoubtedly weakened its economy.

2.15 Civil War and the Decline of Economy

Two decades of civil war left the Sri Lankan nation crippled in every possible aspect. At the local scale, the people of Sri Lanka were left stuck in different aspects of their daily life: travel, small-scale trade, security and security problems, harassment by both the Sri Lankan army and the LTTE, mistrust between the Tamils and the Sinhalese, collapse of social relations, etc. On the macro level, the nation's total production was substantially lost, shocked, devastated, and restricted. The security of the integrity of Sri Lanka as nation and the security of the top government dignitaries and officials was in peril. The Sri Lankan economy was affected in the worst possible way.

Because of the armed conflict in the early 1990s, Sri Lanka's military outflow continued to operate at around 5 percent of its GDP, at the moment the lowest in South Asia. At the micro level, indigenous economies were highly restricted, primarily in the northeastern regions. Ordinary citizens found it increasingly hard to obtain fundamental amenities such as medicine, food products, vegetables, basic education, work creation, social gathering, transportation etc.. Added to this, the enforcement of curfew, roadblocks, frequent safety checks mostly in war-affected northeastern areas, pushed the nation back a few decades in terms of economy. Together with overseas investment and tourism, the general budgets for more than 25 years of bloody civil war reached billions of dollars and severely handicapped the financial growth of Sri Lanka; it was put at the low end of the list of middle-income nations in South Asia[27] during the peak of civil war in the country.

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[27] "The Economic Development of Sri Lanka: A Tale of Missed Opportunities," report by Donald Snodgrass (1998). https://sites.hks.harvard.edu/cid/hiid/637.pdf accessed on 16th April, 2019 at 4.00 PM.

2.16 Religions in Sri Lanka

In Sri Lanka, religion has been a major cultural element. It has a profound tradition and has played a vital role among the different ethnic groups lives and their disputes. The Sinhalese make up 75% of Sri Lanka's overall population, with about 70% following the Theravada tradition of Buddhism. The rest of the Sinhalese are mostly Christian (Matthews, in Hasbullah, 2004).

2.16.1 Buddhism

Through Indian Buddhist missionaries, Buddhism found its way into Sri Lanka. In the 3rd century BC itself, Mahendra, son of Indian King Ashoka, who adopted Buddhism, sent Buddhist missionaries to Sri Lanka—he was the first king to convert the Sri Lankan king to Buddhism (Turner, 2000; Aves, 2003) The royal families have since promoted the spread of Buddhism, helping Buddhist missionaries and constructing temples in all over Sri Lanka. Sanghamittra, King Ashoka's daughter, brought a Bodhi tree shoot to Sri Lanka around 240 BC (De Silva 1998), as a sacred entity (under which the Lord Buddha had acquired enlightenment) from Bodh Gaya, a sacred place in northern India.

In Sri Lanka, Buddhism rapidly substituted Hinduism as the national religion in the course of time. Later, however, the resurgence of Hinduism and European colonialism led to the decrease of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. Buddhism had already seen its heydays before the British came in the 1790s (Sivathamby,2005). In the early 19th century, when it was associated with Sinhalese independence, a resurgence of Buddhism took place (Matthews, in Hasbullah et al., 2004). Buddhist religious leaders became mainly engaged in the secular Sri Lankan political affairs. Furthermore, the participation of Buddhist monks, otherwise known for the love of peace, melodies, and gentleness, engaged violent militant operations, put into question the overall knowledge of Buddhism as a faith that exalts peace. "[T]he faith, so often militant and even bellicose in the name of a culture, appears wildly at odds with the humane, logical teaching of Gotama Sakyamuni, or with the gentle popular version of Buddhism expressed in textbooks on world religions" (Matthews, in Hasbullah et al., 2004: 58).

2.16.2 Hinduism

Hinduism[28] was also introduced in northern Sri Lanka during the successive South Indian invasions. It is currently the dominant religion in the northern province of Sri Lanka, among the Tamil ethnic group (Hellmann -Rajanayagam, D in Hasbullah et al., 2004). The activities of the Palk Strait, such as South India and Odissan kings, helped and supported the emergence of Hinduism in Sri Lanka (Richardson, 2005: 27). The Hindu Tamil ethnic group makes up 15% of Sri Lanka's total population, although the Christian conversions have led to a profound decline in Hinduism in the island country (Aves, 2003).

The colonial invasions of the Europeans (Portuguese, Dutch, British) led to the introduction and spreading of Christianity in Sri Lanka. In the end, this opened the way for the renewed revival of both Hinduism and Buddhism. Sri Lanka's Tamil Hindu population is presently a minority, a predicament that can be attributed to the ethnic conflict and the outpouring of large numbers of Hindu Tamil migrants to different countries around the globe (Fuglerud, 1999). The classic form of Hinduism practiced by most Sri Lankan Hindu Tamils is that of Saiva Siddhanta, based on the belief in the Hindu God Siva (Aves, 2003). The Sri Lankan Tamils residing in the Jaffna region see Saiva Siddhanta as the purest form of the original Hindu religious beliefs (Daniel, 1996). Hinduism also continues to flourish and spread among Sri Lanka's Tamil diaspora, with many associated temples and religious institutions being built by the Tamil Hindu community (Van Hear, 1998; 2006).

2.16.3 Christianity

Thomas, one of Jesus' apostles, first reached in Sri Lanka at end of the 1st century, according to one of the Christian traditions. It was reported that a tiny Christian settlement had been formed in the coastal regions of Sri Lanka. After the arrival of the Portuguese missionaries in the16th century that the Christians started influencing other societies in Sri Lanka. The population of Christians, especially those who were followers of the Roman Catholic Church, subsequently grew dramatically (De Silva, 1998; Jayawardena, K.2000; Hellmann-Rajanayagam, 2004). During the 17th century, the Portuguese's expulsion from the island by the colonizers from the Netherlands opened the gates to the introduction and spreading of the Dutch Reformed Church in Sri Lanka. When the British began to rule later in the 19th century, the advent of the

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[28] "Hinduism is the South Asian people's religion, especially those living in India, Nepal, and Sri Lanka. It is also followed outside the Indian subcontinent, among important communities, and has more than 900 million followers globally. Hinduism has no single founder, no single scripture, and no widely accepted set of doctrines". https://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/hinduism/ accessed on 16.6.2019 at 6pm.

British created many Protestant denomination churches. The Anglican and Protestant missionaries of British colonialists also brought with them the Church of England's religious values, along with the worldviews of the Methodists and Baptists. The Roman Catholic Church eventually dominated Sri Lanka's Christian society, especially for the last two (19th and 20th) centuries (Jayawardena, K. 2000).

The introduction of English and its use in the administrative framework had an enormous impact on the ethnic community of the majority of Sinhalese people. Most of the Christians were well-versed in English and occupied positions in government administration. The Tamil minority also showed its fervor to learn the English language and, thus, also found jobs in the government offices. The Sinhalese, many of whom did not have the necessary knowledge of the English language, lagged behind with regard to obtaining employment both in government and private sectors. Still, the Christian communities generally enjoyed a privileged position during the British rule, especially the Sinhala elite and the Tamils in northern island and in Colombo (Wilson, 1994).

In the post-colonial Sri Lanka, the expansion of Christianity declined but at the same time charismatic Christian organizations and other Christian denominations emerged. Today, (90%) in Sri Lanka Christians, adhere to Roman Catholic faith, and they use English, Tamil, and Sinhala during their worship (Aves, 2003).

Since 1947, a movement to unite all the Protestant churches gathered substantial support. However, the majority of Sinhalese people who thought this initiative would prove to be a danger to Buddhism firmly opposed and discouraged the same (Aves, 2003). Overall, their opposition to the United Sri Lankan Church was ascribed to Sri Lanka's unstable political condition. Most of Sri Lankas' Protestant Christians are Tamils, and thus a united Protestant Christian identity would threaten the Sinhalese's political ambitions directly.

2.16.4 Muslims living in Sri Lanka

The Muslims are known as Moors in Sri Lanka and they are the offspring of the 9th century Arab traders arrived the island and settled here. These Arab traders, controlled and dominated much of the trade operations across the sea route. These Muslim traders/colonists also promoted the propagated values of Islam in the island (De Silva, 1998). Apart from this, during the British rule a good number of Muslims also migrated from India for the various reasons (Richardson,J.2005) During the 16th century, when the Portuguese traders arrived in Sri Lanka,

many Muslims were forced to move from the west coast to the central highlands and the east coast. There are also migrated Muslims from the South Pacific area also speak their own languages and reside mostly in the southern part of the island. Today, Muslims constitute about 8% in Sri Lankans' total folk.

Table 2: Religious Groups in Sri Lanka[29]

Group (percentage of total population)		Religion (percentage of group)		Language (percentage of group literate in the given language)		Region (percentage of group residents in the given region)	
Sinhalese	74.0	Buddhist	91.9	Sinhala	89.0	North-east	2.5
		Christian	7.9	English	10.4	Rest of the country	97.5
		Other	0.2	Tamil	1.7	North-east	1.9
	12.6	Hindu	80.6	Sinhala	12.0	North-east	71.9
North-eastern		Hindu	80.6	Sinhala	12.0	Colombo	9.0
						Other	19.1
		Christian	16.5	English	16.7	North-east	35.0
		Other	2.8	Tamil	86.6		
Tamil Muslim	7.1	Islam	98.7	Sinhala	25.9	Rest of the country	65.0
		Other	1.3	English	12.9	North-east	9.1
				Tamil	72.3		
		Hindu	89.3	Sinhala	6.9	Estate areas**	58.3
		Christian	8.1	English	5.5	Other	32.6
		Other	2.6	Tamil	67.0		

2.17 Conclusion

Sri Lankan Tamil identity itself is highly complex and multifaceted, as it consists of separate ethnic Tamil communities identified by their location, origin and the religion they follow. The Jaffna Tamils, who occupy the southern province, find themselves ethnically closest to the indigenous Tamils, and they speak what they deem as the purest form of Tamil in Sri Lanka. The Tamils in the eastern province, known as Batticaloa Tamils,[30] also see themselves as

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[29] Figures based on information from the 1981 Sri Lankan Population and Housing Census (with the exception of religion figures from the 1946 Census), the latest census available across the island. In 1981, the north-eastern part of Sri Lanka contained 14.1% of the total population of the country. Due to the multi-lingual and analphabetic participants, the language numbers may not add up to 100%. www.statistis.gov.lk, Department of Statistics and Census. Accessed on 10.05.2019 at 9am.

[30] Batticaloa is a North-eastern town in Sri Lanka, 301 km from the capital of the country, Colombo. It is the district's administrative capital. It shares boundaries with Trincomalee, Ampara, and Polonnaruwa on the east coast. The town and the larger district has suffered from civil war and natural disasters like tsunami, cyclone, flood etc. Source from Wikipedia accessed on 10.05.2019 at 4 pm.

separate from the Jaffna Tamils, talking in a different accent from the Jaffna Tamil people and often occupying a different caste position compared with the northern Vellala Tamils. The Colombo Tamils comprise the third category and consider themselves more liberal and cosmopolitan than their Jaffna counterparts, having experienced contemporary life in the capital city of Sri Lanka. The fourth group of Tamils, the Moors, talk in the Tamil because of their Islamic faith and see themselves as totally different.

Specifically, I also looked at the caste system prevalent within the Tamil ethnic community and the Vellala caste group, the so-called property lords within Tamils, in this section (most Tamil migrants who have arrived in Germany belong to this specific caste group). However, we are able to see the influence of the caste in the marriage proposals and introductions, rather than within the daily framework of everyday social life across Sri Lanka.

However, I conclude this chapter by affirming that religion and ethnicity steered to a great extent the overall development of Sri Lanka, in its various aspects. Christianity, with its vast network of educational infrastructure, has exerted an overall influence on the Sri Lankan people from the time of Portuguese colonization to the present sociocultural scenario in Sri Lanka. Ethnic hostility between the Majority Singhalese and the minority Tamils, in turn, has created havoc in the socio-political and cultural lives of the Sri Lankan people, engendering irreparable damage to the tiny nation.

CHAPTER 3:

THE ETHNIC CONFLICT AND THE MIGRATION OF TAMILS FROM SRI LANKA TO GERMANY

"Humanity does not gradually progress from combat to combat until it arrives at universal reciprocity, where the rule of law finally replaces warfare; humanity installs each of its violence in a system of rules and thus proceeds from domination to domination."– Michel Foucault[31]

3.1 Introduction

This chapter attempts to elucidate the historical background that sheds light on the reasons behind the migration of Sri Lankan Tamils to Western countries, especially to Europe, and the various process of their migration. As observed earlier, the colonial policy, the subsequent the government's discriminatory ordinances, and the continued civil war in Sri Lanka triggered the mass migration of Tamils. On the other side, host countries' policies, especially the European Union (EU), also facilitated the migration process and helped settle the war-affected individuals. In light of the current studies, special attention has been provided to the migration of Sri Lankan Tamils to Germany.

3.2 The Rise of Tamil Nationalism in Sri Lanka

One of the really notable features of Sri Lanka's political activities since its independence in 1948 was the rise of Tamil nationalism through different movements. Conflict developed between the Sinhalese, the majority ethnic community, and the Tamils, the second major population in Sri Lanka, in the post-colonial era of the island. These 'communal tensions' were fueled by the Sinhalese's perception that the British administration had favored Tamils and that they were, well trained and qualified, well off, English knowledge, and strongly over-represented in job positions particularly within academic organizations. The academic advantages that the Tamils experienced during the colonial era and even in post-colonial Sri Lanka placed them in a favorable situation (Ghosh, 2003).

3.2.1 Discriminatory policies of the Sri Lankan government

During and after the post-colonial period, a series of discriminatory policies and actions were implemented by successive Sri Lankan governments to 'modify' the Tamil groups' advantages in the education and job sectors. For Jaffna Tamils, the conservation of education and culture are two highly significant values. These values are perpetuated even by the global Tamil

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[31] Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche Genealogy History" From "Truth and Power" in Lawrence E. Cahoone, From Modernism to Postmodernism: An Anthology (Massachusetts, USA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1996),368 (360-378)

diaspora and experienced by the second-generation Tamil migrants (Sivathamby,K. 2005). When the Sri Lankan government implemented discriminatory education policies, the Tamils felt their consequences acutely. Regarding this issue, Christopher, a Sri Lankan Tamil who has been living in Germany for more than two decades, stated the following: 'Students from Tamil community had to score above 75 percent of marks in their high school exam, whereas a mere 40 percentage of marks was sufficient to Sinhalese to get admitted in higher educational institutions. It was totally unjust to our Tamil students. The discriminatory policy also took away the educational and job opportunities many Tamils could have availed.' Besides, the many constitutional changes enacted by the government elevated Sinhala language and Buddhism to a higher position in Sri Lanka, consequently creating more areas of discrimination.

Also, the general availability of academic resources has continued to be a main factor in the conflicts between the two ethnic groups and, consequently, the concerns about their 'representation in the legislature.' Each of the factors resulted in their departure from common interests and the development of nationalist fervor in both societies (Ghosh, 2003; (Winslow.D and Woost M.D, 2004).

3.2.2   Emergence of Tamil political consciousness

Tamil's political leaders and various Tamil liberation movements began to raise issues about their isolation from political and economic power, language discrimination, schooling, national ethnic identity, and policies and practices on employment. In their view, these changes placed not only the present generation but also the future generations of Tamils into dilemma, unemployment, disorientation, and subsequently in total peril. In fact, from 1956 onwards, events such as anti-Tamil violence and atrocities across the nation, ignoring the promises from Sinhalese governments, the state-sponsored Sinhalese settlements in Tamil-occupied regions within the northern states served to exacerbate the Tamils' fears of Sinhalese domination and fueled Tamil nationalism across the nation in various ways. The creation of a Tamil nationalist identity differed from the Sinhalese nationalist identity development. Compared to Buddhism, Hinduism played a restricted part in what Ghosh (2003) described as 'Tamil chauvinism.' This feeling arose from the rigidness of the remnants of the powerful Tamil caste system in Sri Lanka. Constituting nearly 50% of Tamils are from the Vellalas caste group who are the Tamils' largest caste organizations. (Pfaffenberger. B,1994).

3.3 Shift from Equality to Secession

In the early 1970s, the nature and intensity of Tamil protests against Sinhalese supremacy altered. The Tamils' assertion of its political ambitions moved from equality to independence under the heading of a single federal or independent state. Many such aspirations were increasingly sought in the same era by going beyond peaceful electoral means, with the Tamils resorting to militancy, primarily in the different Tamil liberation movements. Several Tamil separatist groups, armed with advanced weapons, began to launch bold attacks on the Sri Lankan army in different areas of the country in the 1970s. Such attacks resulted in the death of a number of Sri Lankan army men. It was often thought by the Sri Lankan government that Jaffna city is the hub of militant ideologies. Sinhalese bandits targeted Tamil inhabitants and companies in Colombo, capitalizing on the subsequent hysteria in the Sinhalese-dominated South. It is estimated that the subsequent massacre left several thousands dead on both sides.

3.3.1 The civil war and the advent of Tamil nationalism

The 1983 massive protests marked the beginning of a crisis in the Sri Lankan polity and society. Periodic battles between government supported armed forces and the several militant movements of Tamil liberation groups were frequent and intense. The Tamils demanded a separate country for themselves, called 'Tamil Eelam' comprised of the northern and northeastern regions, an aspiration that was unacceptable to subsequent Colombo[32] governments and an overwhelming mainstream of Sinhalese politicians. The task of accepting Tamil ambitions and coping with Tamil activists remained an unresolved problem for over two decades and even now it remains so, even after the government forces wiped out the Tamil militancy in Sri Lanka 2009. Simultaneously, the contrasting nature of regional identities on the basis of caste also emerged to be an integrating influence on the different dominant castes (Wilson, 1994). The Jaffna area is predominantly occupied by the *Vellalar* (land owners) caste and the social structure of the east coast region revolves around the *Mukkuvar* or *Karayar*,[33] the fishermen caste. However, the founding of militant groups like the LTTE and the enactment of anti-Tamil policies of the Sinhalese-dominated government have largely promoted Tamil nationalism and helped narrow down the gap between the two diverse Sri Lankan Tamil groups

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[32] "Colombo", Sri Lanka's capital, has got a lengthy history as a port on ancient east-west trade paths, ruled by the Portuguese, Dutch and British successively.

[33] Mukkuva (Tamil: முக்குவர் and கரையார்) is a caste group of individuals found in Sri Lanka's coastal areas and in some parts of India. Traditionally, this caste community engages in fishing, conch shelling, and pearl diving, but at times its members also practice farming. This group also includes the main landlords in Sri Lanka's eastern province, who also historically served as long-time mercenaries among the medieval Tamil caste groups in the history of Sri Lanka. Source Encyclopaedia Britannica accessed on 15.05.2019 at 2pm.

(Pfaffenberger,1994:6). Nationalistic identity has been considered a necessity, more important than caste identity.

3.3.2 The Development of the Civil war

Not many would have thought the civil war in the tiny island state would prolong and remain unresolved for decades. During the mid-1980s, several militant organizations were involved in frequent fights-throughout the Northeast region, specifically in the Tamil-speaking regions-with the national army and simultaneously among themselves. There was a period of silence in the war, with the entry of an Indian Peacekeeping Force (IPKF) and a subsequent attempt by the Tamil and Sinhalese in 1987 to negotiate a peace agreement. Shortly after, however, the presence of the IPKF was ultimately resented both the Tamil militant organizations and the representatives of the Sinhalese state in Sri Lanka. Finally, when the Indian Peace Keeping force pulled out of Sri Lanka in 1990, hostilities were ultimately exacerbated by a reinforced LTTE that had arose as the dominant Tamil organization. In the early 1990s, major militant fights took place until the 1994 elections. During the time of Chandrika Kumaratunga as president, the alliance led by the SLFP issued a manifesto that emphasized peace. Nevertheless, negotiations between the delegates of Sri Lankan government and the LTTE failed in early 1995 and, on a broader scale, hostilities resumed in the form the war. The LTTE lost control of Jaffna city and its neighboring regions in late 1995, which it had controlled in the early 1990s. Moreover, the early 1990s saw most fights taking place in Sri Lanka's northeastern rural hinterland known as the Tamil Vanni region, while there were periodic attacks on Jaffna military facilities and bombings in Colombo as well as elsewhere in Sri Lanka.

3.3.3 Peace Negotiations

Peace talks were initiated between the UNP-led coalition and the Tamil Tigers[34] in set up a platform for peace talks with the LTTE late in 2001, following its election into power. Leaders from both parties restarted peace negotiations, which the Norwegian government envoys effectively facilitated. In February 2002, the LTTE and government sign up an unspecified ceasefire. This arrangement allowed the LTTE to Keep control of major parts of the Vanni district, which had formerly also been over their authority, and create boundary points to allow individuals to move and carry products between the separate regions regulated both LTTE and government, which was extremely difficult by the time of war. Also set up for this cause was a

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[34]   The LTTE was often referred as Tamil Tigers both in media and in academic circle.

neutral observer mission staffed by Scandinavian observers, primarily an initiative by Norway. The two sides, immediately started peace talks in 2002, following a joint appeal to donors for resources to reconstruct the Sri Lankan northeast, which provided excellent hope for lasting peace from both sides. Several rounds of discussions went on in locations such as Norway and significant progress was made with several suggestions, especially as regards economic growth and the political privileges of Sri Lanka in the Northern Province. However, due to the sluggish pace of advancement in delivering a 'peace dividend' to the northeastern Sri Lankans, the LTTE ultimately withdrew from peace talks in April 2003. The ceasefire agreement was placed under further pressure in the late 2003 and in 2004. This also resulted in the Norwegian peace-talk mediators being withdrawn. The newly elected coalition government discovered it hard to create a consensus with respect to resuming its negotiations with the LTTE after the elections in April 2004, although the Norwegian delegates wished to move forward. However, no continuous settlement was started from both the sides due to the countless unresolved problems, despite the continuing ceasefire.

3.3.4 The end of the Civil War

In the middle of the 2009, the new government under the leadership of Mahinda Rajapaksche ventured to completely wipe out the LTTE and its administration in the northern region. After a brutal final war, the LTTE was overrun. More than 1,20,000 Tamils lost their lives. Thousands of rural people were taken into army custody and many others` whereabouts are not known till date.

The Indian media's reports about the civil war were generalized. The attention was on the LTTE's failure and not on the precise details of Sri Lankan Tamils' alleged killings. The people of Tamil Nadu found out about the atrocities against the innocent Tamils only after the civil war ended in 2009. From then on, Tamil Nadu's political and social activists have been actively pursuing justice in Sri Lanka for the Sri Lankan Tamil ethnic groups (Subramaniam, 2014).

3.3.5 The cost of the Civil War

The civil war was the primary cause behind the migration of Tamils from the southern province of Sri Lanka. Taking into account that almost all the attacks done in the northeastern region containing mainly a Tamil community; it is not shocking that almost all the refugees and migrants had earlier lived in this area. It is also not shocking, following the region's ethnic setup, that the displaced were predominantly Tamils.

While it is difficult to accurately predict the precise effect of the civil war on the Sri Lankan northeast, it is evident that the conflict made a huge impact. At least around 1,60,000 Tamils are reported to have died as an immediate result of the attack, with most of those lives lost occurring in the northeast (bear in mind that most of the Tamils would have operated as armed forces in those regions).Extensive fighting, including conventional fighting involving huge Sri Lankan army battalions and the use of explosive ammunition, demolished much of the region's infrastructure, including schools, academic institutions, hospitals, rural and urban administrative structures, and important financial infrastructure such as irrigation schemes, critical commodities markets etc. Investment on both the government and private sectors in the war-affected regions was negligible. Sri Lanka's education system was weakened and its ecosystems were severely affected. Many families, sometimes whole villages, were suddenly wrecked and destroyed out, largely on account of war. Hence, the devastation caused by the war meant that those who escaped the war also commonly escaped the serious turbulences marking their Tamil livelihoods.

3.4 The Process of Migration

Even before the start of the civil war between the Tamil separatists and the government, the migration of Tamils from Sri Lanka to the west had started. Before the war, the first stage of 'Ceylonese' migration took place. The migrants were a group of Sinhalese, Tamils, and Burghers who belonged to the upper or upper-middle class and gradually started leaving the country after independence 1948 (Jayawardena, 2000). These people were well educated and were fluent in English language, after studying in the most elite and prestigious colleges in Ceylon, and thus they were readily accommodated and incorporated into Western societies. Some of them went to Europe to study medicine, law, and engineering, particularly in Great Britain, and occupied privileged socio-economic roles in society (Sriskandarajah, 2002). This group basically shared a common Ceylonian heritage and described the significance of a 'Ceylonese'[35] nationality that included all the of Sri Lanka's people (Daniel, 1996). However, our concern here is to give more importance to the migratory process that involves ethnic dispute among the Tamils and Sri Lanka's Singhalese-dominated government.

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[35]   It relates to Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), its people, or their language. It indicates a native or inhabitant of Ceylon, presently Sri Lanka.

3.4.1 The beginning of displacement and migration

There is strong evidence indicating Tamils' self-reinforcement and compelled relocation from Sri Lanka's northwestern region. Those who stayed were left with depleted financial, educational, and social possibilities, as many left their existing homes. Nearly a few thousand Tamil people were shifted to the large camps and treated in their own territory as refugees once the civil war came to an end in year 2009. Moreover, often there was insufficient corpus to maintain the local economies, pushing even more Tamils to go away from the country. The lower possibilities of stable income and the smaller incentives for productive investment, together with the fiscal failure in the North-Eastern part of the Tamil households, left many only with two alternatives: fight or flight; something has always been lost in either situation. Thus, the numbers of those escaping from the shelling and searching activities by the Sri Lankan state's armed forces were approximately equivalent to those escaping Tamil-populated areas due to food shortages and other vital products (Hasbullah,S.H 2004). In addition, original northeast overseas migrant streams comprising Australia, Canada, Europe, and developed possibilities for added migration through formal and illegal networks. With regards to the Tamil families, the predominance of a joint family system facilitated the pooling of financial resources to help the migration of youth boys to earn money to support the families back in Sri Lanka.

3.4.2 The Various phases of Migration

The displacement of people living in Sri Lanka's northeast region has often been associated with significant disasters. The UNHCR[36] (2000), states for instance, almost 130,000 people went to India shortly after the 1983 anti-Tamil riots. In other hand, pre-emptive flights triggered the displacement, particularly because of the alert from either side of a forthcoming fight the Northern Province. For example, it is estimated that a few thousand people left the Jaffna and it surroundings before being captured by Sri Lankan army in the year 1995, which was indicated as highest time of displacement of Sri Lankan Tamils to various countries (Gomes, Alberto G. 2002).

Similarly, it was also estimated that 170,000 individuals escaped in year 2000, before the main battle in the northeastern Tamil-dominated region. In the 1970s, the Tamils started fleeing to South India. After the 1983 pogroms, the flooding of refugees reached its peak. In South India alone, there were around 165,000 Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in the mid-1990s. Apart from India,

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[36] UNHCR refers to United Nations High Commission for Refugees Report. It is a separate body or department of the refugees and migration UNO.

Malaysia, Singapore, and the Middle East also saw a huge influx of refugees (Baumann 2000:93, Radtke, K. 2009).

According to the UNHRC report (2001), throughout the Sri Lankan Tamils diaspora communities live more than 800,000 people. Furthermore, considering several hundred thousand Tamils who were internally displaced as a consequence of the civil war, as many as one out of every two Tamils was displaced (Baumann 2000, McDowell 1996). This is about the common observations regarding the formation and development of Sri Lankan Tamil migration and diasporas. But still the exact details regarding the size of the Tamil diaspora worldwide not found. In this regard, various authors assume a group size of 800,000 to three million people (Radtke,K.2009).

3.4.3 Location of migrated Tamils

In addition, the displaced Sri Lankan Tamil migrants can be found on almost every continent. The UNHR committee estimated that around 817,000 Tamils were displaced and had been scattered globally in the year 2001. Canada was the main host country with 400,000 Tamils, the rest of Europe with 200,000, the U.S. with 40,000, Australia with 30,000, and the remaining 80,000 hosted by numerous other countries. Sri Lankan migrants were one of the top ten asylum seekers worldwide in the year 2000 (Fuglerud 1999). These estimates of numbers, however, are almost 18 years old and are now estimated to be the following: more than 60,000 Tamil people live in Germany, widely distributed in Germany's as 'Pocket Communities.'[37]

3.4.4 New perspectives of migrant Tamils

Among the migrated Tamils around the world, new perspectives about their own lives are emerging. In the view of their past ethnic struggle, violence, and humiliation, they now begin to ponder that migration, in fact, has enriched them by strengthening the establishment of the Tamil diaspora, especially in Europe, in three ways. First, the Tamils living overseas justified the ethnic conflict as the sole reason for not back home and, thus, remaining overseas permanently. This assisted in the asylum sought by thousands of Tamil academics and guest workers in Europe.

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[37] Archaeologist Ross Chapin initially invented the word "pocket neighbourhood or community." A pocket neighbourhood or community is a planned community consisting of a group of smaller houses in a region, often around a courtyard or a common garden, intended to foster a close feeling of community and neighbourhood by encouraging enhanced interaction. Source from Wikipedia accessed on 22.05-2019 at 5pm.

Second, the conflicting political scenario allowed them to reinforce skilled and middle-class Tamils' emigration streams. Hence, mostly middle-class individuals moved to the West for education and better job prospects. Third, the 1983 ethnic riots directly facilitated the beginning of Tamils' extensive conflict-related migration, compelling them to seek asylum and subsequent family reunification abroad (Sriskandarajah 2002: 283–300). The significant growth took place in Tamil diasporas after 1980, because of the armed attacks among these two ethnic groups. The abovementioned fact is confirmed by the related UNHCR study (2001), which states that from the year 1980 to 1999 approximately 256,307 individuals of Tamil descent applied for asylum mostly in Europe, being identified as prime asylum seekers during this era[38]. It also describes the continuous rise in asylum seekers that was very limited (3.8%) three years before 1983, whereas the periods from 1984 to 1985 (16.6%) and from 1989 to 1992 (31.1%) the percentage of application stated the biggest amount.[39]

3.5 Europe and the Migration of Sri Lankan Tamils

There is quite many of Tamil asylum seekers from Sri Lanka, started living in many European countries, including Germany. The process of European integration and the European policies on asylum seekers and refugees also facilitated the migration of Tamils to the European continent.

The 'Treaty on the European Union'('Maastricht Treaty'[40]), signed in 1992, laid down clear guidelines not only for a single currency market but also for external and security measures, placing the issue of migration much closer to the areas of Justice and Home Affairs (EUR-Lex et al. 2010). Although the Treaty of Maastricht was a landmark in the liberalization of policy for the asylum seekers among the EU countries, it did not instantly have a direct impact at the political level. The Schengen Agreement[41] entered into force on 26 March 1995 in seven nations, including Germany. It permitted easy mobility inside the Schengen area without one having to

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[38] UNHCR 2001: Tables V.4 and V.13.

[39] UNHCR 2001: Table V.21.

[40] The Treaty of Maastricht, formally known as the Treaty on European Union, marked the start of 'a fresh phase in the process of establishing ever closer union between the peoples of the continent of Europe.' It helped to have a the way for the one currency known as the Euro and considerably extended collaboration between European nations in new fields: a common European citizenship was created on the grounds of this Treaty, enabling their people to live and move freely between the Member States as part of a common foreign and European Common Security Policy. The Treaty was signed in the town of Maastricht, near Belgium and Germany's frontiers. It was a watershed event and the accomplishment of many years of dialog between European governments striving for integration. source From Wikipedia, accessed on 20.05.2019 at 3.30 pm.

[41] The Schengen Agreement is a treaty that has led Schengen Area of Europe, which has mainly suppressed inner border controls. It was signed by five of the then European Economic Community's ten member states near the city of Schengen, Luxembourg, on 14 June 1985. source From Wikipedia, accessed on 20.05.2019 at 3.45 pm.

undergo passport checks (Göktürk, Deniz 2007). European Commission Communication Department 1995–2013). The last significant stage in this decade was the signing of the Amsterdam Treaty (1997), an attempt to reinforce the 'Maastricht Treaty' and establish an 'area for liberty, safety and justice' within the EU. The European liberalization of immigration and asylum also entailed stricter immigration controls associated with entry in the Schengen area, and enhanced the cooperation between the EU[42] nations regarding asylum and immigration policies and judicial matters, although the Member States retained their obligation to ensure law and order and safeguard domestic safety (Reisslandt 2006; Achermann, Alberto & Gattiker, Mario (1995).

3.6 Sri Lankan Migration in Germany

One of the European countries which welcomed the Sri Lankan Tamil refugees is Germany. The immigration of the Tamils into Germany can be divided into four major phases (Baumann, Martin and Salentin, Kurt 2006).

The first batch of refugees, varying in age between18–35, arrived in the 1970s and continued till 1983. The second phase covers the years from 1983 to 1986. A huge percentage of Tamils have applied for asylum in Germany during this era. Nearly 75% of those who are currently living in Germany came here this time, soon after the devastations (in 1983). The majority of the refugees were young men, forming almost 90 % in Germany. During the third time between 1986 and 1988, the amount of Tamil refugees to Germany decreased as a result of the arrangement with the GDR,[43] which was agreed on 1 October 1986. According to this arrangement, entry from East to West Berlin was only possible with valid permission. The Sri Lankan citizens had to face a Transit Visa requirement since 7th December 1986, if they wanted to land up in Germany. At this stage, most of the Tamil refugees were women and children. In the fourth phase, starting from 1988, an increase in asylum applications was again noted. This was also significantly related to the politico-military conflicts in Sri Lanka. In addition, in the period from 1993 to 1995, the Tamils who previously lived in Switzerland or other European countries filed asylum applications to Germany. Here too, the majority of the refugees were women and children (Baumann, Martin and Salentin, Kurt 2006).

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[42] The European Union (EU) is an economic and political union comprising 28 Countries mainly situated in Europe.

[43] East Germany, officially known as the German Democratic Republic (GDR; German: Deutsche Demokratische Republik, DDR), was a separate country from 1949 and 1990. It was part of Germany before the World War II. It supposedly comprised of socialists, employees, and peasants of a distinct state or nation and the territory was administrated and governed by the Soviet powers after the second world war ended. The territory, after Potsdam's treaty, was bounded by the Oder-Neisse line in the north. source From Wikipedia, accessed on 20.05.2019 at 3.50 pm

Between 1983 and 1985, as many as 17,340 Sri Lankan Tamils applied for asylum in Germany. In 1997, the total Sri Lankan Tamil migrants' population in Germany reached around 64,912. The legal situation of the Sri Lankan migrants in Germany had improved especially after the 1980s, and still more people continued to apply for German citizenship; for example, in the year between 1998 and 2001, a total of 12,800 Sri Lankan Tamils received German citizenship. By 2002, a quarter (27.2%) of the Sri Lankan Tamils had legally attained German citizenship (Baumann, 2003: 44–52). The present field study indicates that at present a large-scale migration is not taking place from Sri Lanka and the entry of Tamil refugees to Germany has almost stopped due to Germany's strict entry regulations (Salentin,Kurt 2006).

The issue of the recognition and reception of Tamil asylum seekers was handled differently from one federal state to another, in Germany. Many Tamils' applications for asylum were rejected, especially between 1984 and 1988-1991. However, as these refugees had a possibility of being deported back home, they were tolerated in Germany by the code of non-refoulement; their stay was extended. They received authorization to stay after two years, a residence permit after eight years, and a permanent residence permit (Bauman and Salentin,Kurt 2002: The Tamils have now adopted and integrated as German citizenship and quite well into German society (Salentin,Kurt 2002: 104ff. 111).

3.6.1 Citizenship and integration of migrated Tamils

According to the 2000 documents, there were 4,597 individuals from Sri Lanka who requested for German nationality, indicating an increase (over 40%) of asylum seekers in Germany within a year. In the years 2001 and 2002, the number of asylum applicants from Sri Lanka remained high, falling back to the 1999-level only in 2003 (Thränhardt, D. 2008).

It is rather important to say that in 2002, the total migration stock of Sri Lankans in Germany consisted of 43,634 individuals, ranked 15th overall as a foreign entry in Germany (Bundesbeauftragte für Migration Flüchtlinge und Integration 2003).

Throughout my interviews, most of the participants reported that under the new red-green coalition[44] government, they had applied and received their citizenship. This applies to the people of Sri Lankan first generation. Some of their experiences were linked, as given below.

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[44] In October 1998, the new "red-green" (Social Democrat / Green) federal government of Germany submitted the fresh coalition agreement, which in fact determines its political program for its government's next four years. The new program includes numerous legal and political measures for more effective labour market policies, fairer conditions

Tamilarasan (41) 'a Tamil from Sri Lanka said the following: 'I applied in 2004 for my citizenship. I could have obtained it before, but then the strategies were obstinate. I traveled a lot in Europe and visited to nearly every place, crossing the boundaries illegally because with our license we had travel constraints. Then, after the new regulations were introduced, I applied in 2004. I am now a German citizen'.

Shanthini (39), a female Sri Lankan Tamil said the following: 'I have been an official German since October 2005. If you want to get citizenship, you have to argue for it. It wasn't that comfortable for me. So, I wasn't applying. Now my German friends assisted me and independently of my parents I acquired citizenship. I'm a Tamil, but now it (German citizenship) makes everything simpler. For instance, I do not pay fees for my studies. Even though these two above-mentioned respondents, Tamilarasan and Shanthini, did not directly refer to the change in the law, they obviously knew about the difference in the procedures as they referred to' previous difficulties.' Regardless of their background, mostly between 2000 and 2005 did Sri Lankans resume applying for citizenship, although they joined Germany mainly in the early or mid-80s.

In my interviews, I found that females were more willing to apply for German citizenship than males. Lastly, despite living in Germany, Sri Lankans had to apply for German citizenship before the year 2000. Those born after the enactment of the 'New Citizenship Act' were automatically granted German citizenship at birth.

3.6.2 Diversity vs. Assimilation

Germany, in particular, has remained a generous nation that recognizes the diversity in its population based on the abovementioned historical events. In 2011, there were 26,218 Sri Lankans living in Germany, excluding those who had acquired German nationality (Statistisches Bundesamt 2011). During my interview, however, many participants indicated that while government law acknowledged them as equal citizens, the majority German population still expected foreign-born individuals to integrate into the German culture, communicate through the German language, and also transition into German cultural lifestyles. Whether or not such integration attempts exist, individuals of color have confessed that they experience discrimination in many fields of life in Germany.

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and well-being on the labor market, in particular in the field of industrial relations, and enhanced employee rights. His significant initiative is to establish a fresh "jobs alliance" as a continuous tripartite in the organization at the domestic level. However, as employers ' associations and trade unions have distinct opinions about these new policies, it is still unsure to enforce such a domestic employment agreement. Source from Wikipedia, Accessed on 20.05.2019 at 3.55 pm.

3.6.3 Promotion of diversity in German States

In fact, the German city of Berlin, among other locations, has launched several counseling facilities to help the victims of racism (Antidiscriminierungsstelle des Bundesland 2013). In addition, the town also enacted the Berliner Participations-und Integrationsgesetz (Berlin Participation and Integration Law) in 2010 to guarantee adequate inclusion in public sector and political positions for individuals with migrant backgrounds (Kölling, M. 2013) Furthermore, Ausländerbeiräte[45] (local councils of inclusion) was established. Many of Germany's foreign-born and non-German citizens, including Sri Lankans, engage and contribute to these councils in order to promote the creation of local multicultural policies and channel their collective political commitment to maintenance of domestic integrity.

3.6.4 Social and religious discourses of Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany

In the following pages, I shall present the settlement pattern (and the process) and some of the important aspects regarding the social, occupational, and religious practices of the migrated Tamils in Germany.

Even though Sri Lankan Tamils came to Germany in large numbers and stayed in some of the refugee camps, in line with the migration policy of the German government on refugees, the Sri Lankan Tamils, as migrants, were distributed well throughout Germany so as to prevent the settlement of ethnic colonies. However, about 45% of the total Sri Lankan asylum seekers made arrangements to settle in the North-Rhein-Westfalen (NRW). The presence of a large settlement of Sri Lankan Tamils in NRW state was mainly due to two different reasons: first, the less rigid local jurisdiction and the migration-friendly policy of NRW in comparison with the other states in Germany, and secondly, the presence of large- and small-scale industries in NRW state, which provided the refugees employment opportunities. In Baden-Wurttemberg and Hessen too, one could find a small number of settlements comprising Sri Lankan Tamils due to the industrial employment opportunities. In other German states like Bremen, Berlin, and Hamburg, Sri Lankan Tamils have been found to be present, although not in significant numbers (Baumann 2003: 49–51). The large-scale settlement of Sri Lankan Tamils in NRW and Baden-Württemberg also describes how Tamil supermarkets, cultural, political, and religious organizations, sports clubs, complementary schools for Tamil language, and music, dance, and

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[45] Ausländerbeiräte is established in the form of Foreign Consultative Councils in Germany. They are politically legitimate and acknowledged commissions involved in municipal decision-making processes regarding refugee policy, in particular. These commissions constitute elected foreigners and inform German citizens, officials, and administrations about their issues, thus contributing to Germany's integration strategies. Source Wikipedia, accessed on 08.05.2019 at 9pm.

art training facilities have been established and distributed. The NRW state remains the central place around which concomitant Tamil infrastructure has developed well. For example, by 2011, there were 113 registered Sri Lankan Tamil associations in various German states; out of these, 54 of them remain in the NRW state. Out of the 134 Tamil schools, 67 exist in NRW state. In addition, there also exist a number of non-registered organizations. Similarly, a considerable presence of the temples and establishments of the majority Tamil Catholic Centers are found in NRW, in comparison to the other German states (Wilke 2013: 133–134). Even though they had sufficient educational backgrounds and worked in different private/government sectors in their homeland, due to their insufficient knowledge of German language and other requisites, they were not able to avail the job opportunities in accordance with their educational qualifications. Therefore, most of these first-generation migrants took up low-income jobs—some became taxi drivers, workers in restaurants, salesmen in supermarkets, cleaners, and housekeepers.

3.6.5 Religious affiliation of Tamils

A study done in the years 2001 and 2006 in Germany reports that, among the migrated Tamils, 63.3% percent identified themselves as Hindus (known as Saiva Tamils), 4.6% as Catholics, and 3.9% as Protestants. 8.1% identified themselves as both Hindus and Catholics. Another 13% did not consider themselves as attached to any religion (Baumann and Salentin 2006: 307). During my field work, I also observed the Hindus pilgrims in the Christian rituals and festivals. Some of the Hindus also showed special devotion to Mother Mary, St. Anthony, and to some other saints of the Catholic Church. In the same way, I found that some of the Catholics participated in the *Hamm* Hindu religious ceremonies and had installed pictures of Hindu gods and goddesses in their homes. Therefore, I came to the understanding that Tamils participate in various religious festivals and engage in rituals irrespective of their religious differences. Hence, I found the reasons behind a good number of Tamils identifying themselves as both Hindus and Catholics.

3.6.6 Places of worship

As I have mentioned earlier, almost 63.3% of the Tamils from Germany follow Hinduism. In the initial stages of their settlement, the Tamil Hindus in Germany had no religious establishments. However, over the years, they constructed their own temples and established/followed their own religious rituals. Now we have within Germany around 60 Hindu temples (Wilke 2013: 134).On the other hand, the Tamil Catholics have the Tamil Catholic Centre, which takes care of the pastoral and religious needs of around 46 Catholic communities

in various Catholic pastoral centers spread all over Germany. Unlike the Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus, the Tamil Catholics do not have their own Church or other private establishments. All the ritual celebrations and religious needs of the Tamil Catholics are organized and taken care of by the German Tamil Catholic Centre, which operates all throughout Germany. They hold their Sunday masses, rituals, and other religious services in the German Catholic Parish Churches. Christopher, a Tamil Catholic Christian coordinator in Stuttgart, stated the following: 'We never found reason to build separate Churches for Tamil Christians in Germany, as the German Catholic priests are very generous in providing their parish Churches for our Tamil religious services. Most of the times, they are kind enough to have our religious and family celebrations in the local parish community halls. The German Catholic Bishops Conference is very supportive and helpful in looking after our pastoral needs".

3.7 Conclusion

Among the many factors, it is the civil war in Sri Lanka that stands out as the primary cause of migrations of Tamils from Sri Lanka. The strained relations between Singhalese and Tamils, the two main ethnic groups of Sri Lanka caused some to migrate in the early 1950s, while the actual beginning of the civil war in 1983 led to a massive increase in the displacement of Sri Lankan Tamils. From that time onwards started a slow war-induced displacement, to the neighboring country of India, and further migration to European nations such as Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy, the Netherlands, and Great Britain. The scale of Sri Lanka's displacement-about 800,000 internally displaced and another 800,000 emigrating over 25 years-was not as big as some of the other displaced ethnic groups around the globe. However, the related significance of the forced migration of Sri Lanka Tamils is enormous: about one out of every two Sri Lankan Tamils has been displaced, and about one out of every four now lives outside Sri Lanka owing to the predicament of this ethnic group. Their forced displacement has also gained prominence around the globe, as the Sri Lankan people have been constantly ranked among the biggest asylum-seeking groups in the world history.

Specifically, the suspension of the government's direct talks with Tamil Eelam's Liberation Tigers (LTTE), the political instability in Colombo, the conflicts within the LTTE, and the delayed advancement of development work in the northeastern region of Sri Lanka (Tamil-populated) served as barriers to the IDPs'[46] return and refugee repatriation. Many of the

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[46] An internally displaced individual (IDP) is someone who has to escape his/her home but stays within the boundaries of his/her country. They are often referred to as refugees, despite not fulfilling the legal definitions of a refugee. Through

causes behind the forced migration of Sri Lankan Tamils are yet to be settled, particularly in northern Sri Lanka. L. Sabaratnam claims that the ongoing conflict between Sinhalese and Tamils is not only a mere matter of blood and bones, as it were, but also a matter of beliefs (Sabaratnam 2001).

After the war, however, Sri Lanka's problem is basically democratic in nature, rather of merely being an ethnic or a religious issue. Therefore, solutions must be sought at the level of political models that safeguard minority communities' interests in Sri Lanka (Thurairajah, K 2012: 129–152).

Overall, this chapter helps one to obtain a clear idea about the cause and nature of the migration of Tamil people from Sri Lanka in Europe, particularly in Germany. It also explains the various implications and dynamics of their settlements, along with the construction of their socio-cultural discourses in Germany. This chapter also provides an in-depth understanding of the reasons behind the Sri Lankan Tamils' formation of Tamil Hindu religious rituals and the Catholic Centre and its activities in Germany, from the initial stages of their arrival in Germany till the present day. Without a doubt, by organizing religious rituals, festivals, and programs, the religious centers have not only helped to recreate and localize Tamil religious traditions but has also enabled the promotion and the preservation of the ethnic, cultural and political values and identities across generations in Germany.

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the Geneva-based Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, the United Nations and UNHCR support the surveillance and evaluation of global IDPs. Source from Wikipedia accessed on 05.05.2019 at 6pm.

<h1 style="text-align:center">CHAPTER 4:</h1>

<h1 style="text-align:center">SECOND GENERATION OF MIGRANTS IN LITERATURE</h1>

"There are no impermeable 'cultural boundaries' in a pluralistic society, no 'neatly bounded and mutually exclusive bodies of thought and customs, perfectly shared by all who subscribe to them, and in which their lives and works are fully encapsulated" Tim Ingold.[47]

4.1 Introduction

The second generations of migrant populations are among the many groups who do not confine themselves within a single cultural boundary, as they finds themselves amidst the socio-cultural conditions of their native land, promoted by the first generation and garnered by the host country in which they are born and raised. It has now been regarded as an exciting subject of enquiry for many anthropologists and sociologists. A number of scholars have studied the phenomena of migration by people, particularly from the third-world countries around the world. In line with this trend, by and large, we have a considerable corpus of literature dealing with the first-generation Tamil immigrants all over the world. However, these research works have not strived to highlight the differences among these people, and their feelings and understandings of being settled in diaspora.

Moreover, the phenomenon of the gradual emergence of second-generation migrants in host countries has drawn the attention of anthropologists as well as scholars of other disciplines as a relevant and cultivable topic of interest. In this chapter, we shall present various definitions of and concepts regarding the second generation of migrants, as presented by various scholars, which will constitute this research's literature review.[48]

4.2 Who are Second-Generation Migrants?

Second-generation migrants are the children of first generation of migrants, either born in a host country[49] or migrated as children; they are raised in the socio-cultural milieu of the respective host country. Generally, either both or one of their parents would have been born outside the host country. The parents of the second-generation who were born in their native

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[47] Tim Ingold (ed.), *Companion Encyclopaedia of Anthropology* (London: Routledge, 1994), 330.

[48] At the outset, the researcher wishes to state that while literature on the migrant communities is abundant, research on the second generation, particularly of the second-generation of Tamils in Germany, is scarce. Ideas and concepts concern with the migrants of first generation are dealt in this chapter in so far they have a direct or indirect relation with the second generation, throwing light on the element of enquiry. Hence, I pay more attention to the data from the field work. In certain instances, I have added the data collected from the field only to grasp and explain the concepts proposed by the scholars.

[49] The country which accommodates the refugees and fulfils the essential needs for their survival.

countries and settled in the respective host countries later in their lives are generally categorized as first-generation migrants. Some scholars opine that having parents who grew up in the host country from birth includes a person as member of the second generation of migrants (Jantzen,L 2008). Some Other scholars believe that children, who actually relocated to a host country during childhood, could be also identified as second generation. The children of migrants in a host country are not immigrants in the strict sense,[50] since many of them become citizens of their host countries since birth.

Anthropologists like Ballard (1979, 1994, and 2003) and Anwar (1998) contribute to the notion that the second generations are the young ones of the diaspora immigrants, children who have actually been born and raised in a host country. Song also points out that usually, this denotes the following: these are the children thriving within a contemporary immigrant ethnic community, who were born in a host country's society or who received some or a significant part of their schooling and socialization in their host country (Song 2003: 104).

4.3 Second Generation in America (US)

The United States is also a country which accommodates a huge population of migrated people of various countries, coming from different part of the world. Levitt observes that different studies on second-generation usually indicates the offspring of the migrated ethnic community who grew up in US from birth (traditionally, the children of a migrant group) and also the people who migrated to the United States as children, usually accompanied by parents, but who grew up and attended second-generation schools here (Levitt, P. 2003: 12).

Meanwhile, Jensen (quoted in Rumbaut et al., 2001) highlights that among the generations, the first identifies those who are born in a foreign land (not in US), the second, those grew up in the United States from birth, and the third generation is the Native-born offspring with indigenous-born parents. Therefore, there are no single trans-national descriptions of either first, second or third generations. However, in diaspora studies, a group who has vastly different mobilities and generally report different migration-experiences related to their first-generation counterparts, is identified as the second generation (Rumbaut, R.G.

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[50] Second-generation implies, according to immigration activists, an individual who was born naturally to one or more relatives born elsewhere in the relocated nation and are not citizens residing overseas. Others argue that second generation is the children born in a nation. Born and brought up in Germany in our second generation of Sri Lankan Tamils.

2005). This young generation offers a great opportunity for scholars for further studies (Boyd, M. 2008).[51]

4.4 Levels of Identification and Self-Identification of Second Generation

De la Rosa, M. (2002) emphasizes a different frame to conceptualize the construction of identity of the second generation. He point out the first level as "low-level", which means the young generation does not see itself much affiliated neither to their "homeland" nor to the leading culture in the nation they live; The next two levels comprises of people having attachment to their host and home countries with ambivalence. The fourth level is of people who fully identify themselves with the country in which they live. (De la Rosa, M .442–443).

4.5 Characterizing the Second Generation

4.5.1 Second generation as 'Cultural Bridges'

The representatives of the younger generation are regarded as the glue between their home and their host country'. Kobayashi observes that the second-generation are more often regarded as "cultural bridges between the host societies and their parents because they form a prime locus in understanding the complexities of multicultural society. Indeed, the younger generation is expected to adapt and integrate themselves to the traditions of the family and the culture of the host country". (Kobayashi 2008:4). Thus, the second generation carry on themselves delightful burden to understand the complex reality of the society they live and adjust to the home culture. They consciously and unconsciously negotiate both home and host culture, as and when required, and prepare themselves to regulate their thinking and acting. In this respect, the role of the policies of the host countries also play a vital role.

The younger generation generally succeeds in negotiating between their traditional cultural enclaves and the existing socio-cultural environment, due to the policies of the respective host country (Jedwab,J.2008; Boyd, M.2008). Most of the scholars accept that second-generation members of diaspora communities have a sense of increased autonomy with respect to self-identification and social identity. Their familiarity with the modern systems, along with their upbringing, enables them to create new avenues for survival in the society they live.

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[51]   These second-generation definitions provided above are used in the thesis while referring to the generational distinction and the second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil group.

4.5.2 Gliders between 'two worlds'

Relocating from the concept of ' absolute marginalization and alienation ' dichotomy on the one side and total ' inclusion and integration ' on the other, Hall, J and Kostić, R (2008) draw parallels focusing on integration models (Zubida, H et al. 2014). These authors acknowledge the creativity with which the second generations combine the cultural *components* of both their host and native countries. Thus, the children of migrants are very creative and they are able to forge a hybrid, ever-changing modernizing identities from multiple social and cultural conditions. Thus, they are not passive consumers but are active agents who glide through multiple resources and circumstances.

4.5.3 Role reversal of Second Generation

Alejandro Portes and Rubén G. Rumbaut mention that one of the moving aspects of the second generation is that children take the role of the parents as they get encultured in the host country. They observe: **"**This role reversal occurs when children's acculturation has moved so far ahead of their parents' that key family decisions become dependent on the children's knowledge. Because they speak the language and know the culture better, second-generation youths are often able to define the situation for themselves, prematurely freeing themselves from parental control". (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001: 51, 53). Thus, the second generation, with its familiarity with host and home culture, is also educator of first generation regarding the changes taking place in the host country.

4.5.3.1 Negotiators of 'Conflicting Worlds'

Some writers have indicated that the second generation is situated 'within' and 'between' two competing cultures (Watson 1977; Ballard 1979; 1994 and Anwar 1998) and that the connection between the elder and younger generations is usually distinguished by disputes, disagreements, and tensions (Brah 1996). Recent second-generation analyses and studies explain the different approaches to understanding how these people experience and build their social worlds (Anwar 1998; Ballard 2003; Song 2003).

It is very obvious that the second-generation members' relationships with their families and larger society are becoming increasingly complex and cannot be explained merely by their attitudes of dispute (Fuglerud 1999, and 2001). Indeed, it is difficult to realize faults with generational distinctions, primarily regarding the West–East duality.

Studies in this regard, referring to the attitudes of first-generation South Asians in Germany, indicate that Asian parents are increasingly conscious of their children's demands and stresses in their everyday life experiences (Song 2003). However, this may not always be the most appropriate way in which parents react and respond to these difficulties. Born in Germany, the younger generations of South Asians understand the social constraints and community pressures faced by their parents and are very sympathetic, in most cases. Therefore, in any second-generation assessment or research study, one must be conscious that there are many complicated intrinsic factors and outside agents that interfere with the supposed 'personal and private' nature of parent-child familial relationships (Ballard et al. 1979).

Some current authors suggest that second-generation migrants have integrated and socialized well and appreciate their comparative achievements, both social and economic, while others think that the parents' status as a disadvantaged ethnic immigrant group is naturally transmitted to the kids (Levitt 2004).

4.5.3.2 Bicultural individuals

Lalonde et al. (2004) indicate that from a psychological approach, we can regard the men and women who are second-generation migrants as 'bicultural individuals'[52] who could have access to two distinct sets of social and cultural codes and thus face a conflict of importance and (more essentially) an identity dilemma. Different cultural ethnicities share some comparable characteristics, which guarantee that people do not experience tensions continuously. Clement and Noels (1992), however, refer to the actions of bicultural people as 'located identity,' whereby distinctions and disputes are more possible to happen when the standards are in opposition and the dual identities of the people concerned are not realized at once. Actually, when we analyze the social worlds in which the second-generation migrants dwell and negotiate at present, one must understand how individuals view their own behaviors and actions. In other words, both the gender of the second generation are not mute entities,

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[52] Bicultural identity is comprises the mixture of two cultures, a concept that Lalonde et al. (2004) first introduced. It shall be also be explained as biculturalism, which is the presence of two distinct cultures in the same nation or region. As a general term, culture includes a specific social, ethnic, or age-group behaviours and beliefs. We have diverse cultural impacts within culture, which are the shared behaviours and customs we learn from our surrounding organizations. An instance of a cultural impact would be how the biological and social norms that one is subjected to heavily influence his/her character. Another cultural impact: dressing without reservations or acting in some societies would be more acceptable. As far as bicultural identity is concerned, a person may experience conflicts that assimilate into both cultures, or find an equilibrium between them. One may experience difficulties in assimilating into the collective culture as a whole. Similarly, owing to the impact of both cultures, a person may experience trouble balancing his/her identity within himself/herself. Being a person with plural identity can be mentally and emotionally challenging. Although individuals can handle their multiple selves concurrently, the distinct levels of biculturalism can be described. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Biculturalism, accessed on 17 June 2019, 21.30 pm.

being entirely structured by a given situation, but also follow the practices of their family traditions and community values as well as the incoming information in the way of the ever-changing modernity (Giddens 1990). This process of self-reflection, or what Giddens calls 'reflexive modernization,' allows social practitioners to monitor their own thoughts and behavioral patterns.

Thus, 'in the light of incoming data about these very procedures, social procedures are constantly examined and reformed, thus constitutively changing their personality'. (Giddens, 1990:38).

4.5.4 Cultural navigators

A study on the second generation of Punjabis[53] from India living in the United Kingdom, although conducted over 30 years ago (Ballard et al. 1977), remains relevant and applicable to the predicament of second-generation migrants even today. Ballard's (1977, 1979) concept of developing second-generation conduct in identity-balancing moves from a straightforward concept of place: that is, 'between' cultural nature to one that places greater significance on the participation of people and on their own private autonomy. He also indicates that the children of migrants take part in a type of 'code switching,' a 'cultural navigation' through the blurred cultural lines of the host society. Their young age, by nature, qualifies them to become cultural navigators. Codes such as the cultural markers of a specific language and the religion of an ethnic community are influenced by certain social norms and laws and can be, therefore, 'switched' and transformed in a given situation (Ballard et al. 1994).

4.5.5 Role performers in cultural fields

Hall illustrates the 'cultural fields' in which each person is located. In his research of the second generation of Sikhs coming from India to Britain. He relates to the second generation, that 'performs' roles suitable to the 'cultural field' they move into (Hall 2002).

Departing from Hall's work and Bhabha (1990, 1994, 1996) proposes the term 'third space,' whereby current cultural hybrids take shape and emerge at the junction of disparate cultures (Song 2003: 117). Therefore, in a more favorable and empowering approach, the 'third space' (Bhabha 1990: 2004) could be grasped. Such inhabitants, however, are understood as constituting the 'third space' and are free from daily cultural fights, competing

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[53] The Punjabis are Indians with specific cultural and religious traditions, who mainly live in the North Indian state known as Punjab, even though they are found all over India.

with each of their respective social environments. The second generation passes slowly in a cultural 'third space,' redefining the norms governing their socio-cultural behaviors. Identity and cultural impacts can never be 'lost' or 'merely passed by' within this restricted space. The 'third space' enables the creation and subscription of a room of fresh cultural forms and identities in the world of second-generation migrants (Hall 2002).

4.5.6 Constructors of autonomous worlds

Cultural influences take shape at the stage of the family, and 'heritage culture' (Rumbaut 1994), as identified by Lalonde et al. (2004), is shaped by the family unit as well. A study by Jetten et al. (2004) points out the second generation's intimate relationship with the following hypotheses: individuals who associate more closely with their in-groups are more likely to act in agreement with their in-group instructions. It was therefore expected that second-generation South Asian immigrants who were more closely connected with their indigenous culture would become more likely to embrace the values of this culture in general of mate preferences and prefer more traditional features than those with a weaker cultural identity.(quoted in Lalonde et al. 2004: 512).

Similarly, the issues of socio-cultural reproduction among the second-generation migrants give rise to a number of queries related to the maintenance, modification, or discarding of extant cultural practices. There are several factors, such as everyday cultural and traditional practices, the nurturing of religion, and the participation in the formal traditional rituals and celebrations in the places of social gatherings, which shape and mold the identities of the second-generation migrants (Jackson and Nesbitt 1993: 52–66).

The members of first generation, embodying their host country's culture have tried to enculturate there in their age old traditions, although this has been met with opposition in many instances. Members of a diasporic community frequently attempt to recreate their ethnic identities and cultural heritage when they reach a certain age in the host nation This is often the case for the second-generation Sri Lankan Tamils, who enjoy the opportunity to be away from their parents, explore their identities through music, social events, and fashion in a unique and special way Consequently, they take on a more individual and independent function, actively shaping and informing their own distinctive socio-cultural identities as second-generation migrants. In several instances, adolescents between the ages of 20 and 30 learned to

deal with their own personal identities: 'The method of demanding their ethnicity has often evolved over the years, involving immense pain and internal conflict' (Levitt 2002).

4.5.7 Supplementary agents to the host culture

More recently, the authors have moved away from emphasizing the distinction to conducting a thorough research of how ethnic minorities structure and reconcile conflicting identity characteristics in their respective host nations, through private life experiences. Identity and ethnicity do not exist as static and fixed phenomena; usually, they shift and get altered into new conditions, surroundings, and life situations. This has explicit and significant consequences with regard to the faith in 'Germanness,'[54] which often acts a very significant part in many ethnic-identity discussions in Germany. As Modood points out, 'If minority ethnic identities are not merely offspring of origin societies, but owe something to the stream of integrated life, then they also contribute to that flow' (1997: 290). In some instances, second-generation ethnic identities play a crucial part in the ordering of communities and societies, whereas in other instances, ethnic identity ties are generally much looser (Song 2003). Thus, second-generation migrants, with their ethnic affiliations, can promote cohesion in their own community. Thus, certain deviations (anomies) of their community members can also be curtailed.

4.6 Transnationalism and the second generation

A good number of scholars reinforce that there is a rapidly developing context of 'new second generation.'[55] Portes (2001), Rumbaut (2001) and Levitt (2002) endorse the idea of reformulating the second generation within the transnational paradigm by including individuals of the same peer group and their encounters origin country as well as host country.

A few other authors advocate transnationalism as an alternative to the scope of the diaspora, while others indicate that it is a component of their experience of the environment in their host countries (Castles 2000). This concept arose as further measures and labor rates rose dramatically from the developing countries to the developed nations, intensified by the influx and development of political and social refugees and asylum seekers. The outbreak of

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[54] It refers to the quality or fact of being German, or of having German characteristics. Sometimes, it is also made explicit in terms of the individual ways of speaking, dressing, food habits etc.

[55] In this modern age of migration, more and more children are growing up in immigrant or transnational families in the diaspora context. Actually, the term 'new second generation' refers to the foreign-born and native-born children of immigrants, who have come of age at the turn of the 21st century. Here, the term is used by Portes and Rumbaut in the context of the world's largest host country of international migrants, the United States. Portes (1998, 2001) p.169-18.

globalization, privatization, the reconceptualization of citizenship, and the rise of cross-national societies have necessitated 'novel' conceptual instruments to cope with new and 'unique' social phenomena Kivisto (2001). However, in the definition of transnationalism[56] (in the field of continuing conceptual scholarly discussions) individuals do not participate in the conflicting spatial and temporal factors that affect the overall phenomenon. Thus, diaspora-affected migrant groups are termed 'transnational communities' (Vertovec 2001: 574–575).

4.7 The Effect of Transnational Context on the Second Generation

4.7.1 The weakening of homeland linkage

Migration researchers have generally agreed that the people migrating from the native homelands always retain some kind of communication with families, friends, or other organizations back home etc. However, their findings concentrate on and mainly illustrate how efficient the adaptation and assimilation to the host nation culture has been. In the recent past, experts have recognized the significance of national connections between the home and the settlement areas of migrants, along with theories that concentrate primarily on this field of migration with regard to diaspora. These connections have naturally changed today and are affected by many globalizing powers (Van Hear 1998; Portes 1999; Vertovec 2001).

4.7.2 Nation-states with soft borders

There are political, cultural, and economic influences on each and every aspect of diaspora life. In the recent past, monetary transfers between home and host nations have increased considerably. Home-country contacts influence how diaspora migrants' identities are impacted and constructed by the given host culture. This has the specific implications with regard to the work of Vertovec and on how the second-generation diasporic communities negotiate 'who' they really are and 'where' they belong. The spread across and between the boundaries of social, cultural, and economic commodities (as static and rigid pronouncements), challenging the so-called traditional concepts of the nation-state. Boundaries are instantly crossed using modern technological advances, and the state no longer remains a

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[56] In the contemporary global age, transnationalism relates to moving thoughts, individuals, and capital across domestic boundaries. The word arose and became common in the 1990s (although it had been used before), especially in scholarly circles, as a means of describing and theorizing the intercontinental displacements, financial connections, cultural types, identities, and groups that characterize the contemporary era. As a notion, its emergence goes hand-in-hand with globalization ideologies and the techniques, procedures, and networks that make up a increasingly interdependent and linked world. Transnationalism points to a distinct kind of analytical lens that highlights the links and flows in the globe between distinct nation-states, territories, and geopolitical areas. It extends and departs from the older concepts of identity based on domestic boundaries, and enables for a focus on subjectivity—the ways in which identities are always in flux and continually inflected by distinct political, cultural, economic, and social variables. (Source of the Race and Racism Encyclopaedia accessed on 31.05.2019 at 9pm).

'container' which regulates and determines the citizenship and identity of migrants in diaspora (Vertovec 2001).

4.7.3 Transnationalism as an alternative to assimilation

Many anthropological authors view transnationalism as an alternative solution to assimilation. Portes describes the phenomenon, particularly as part of the assimilation process of second-generation migrants (Portes 1999). This leaves the ideology of Portes ambiguous, since it is uncertain whether it proposes an alternative to assimilation or a variance in its current analytical structure. Compared to many migration theories, there is a lack of a clear theoretical structure for transnationalism (Portes 1999). Occasional visits and holiday trips to a nation of origin and minimal communication do not represent concrete transnational connections, according to Portes et al. (1999); the features and behavior associated with transnationalism need to be more thoroughly articulated. Therefore, writers warn that when one applies this word to certain migratory events in particular, he/she must be conscious of these constraints.

Overall, within the literature on migration, the notion of transnationalism is not a totally new and radical idea. Indeed, it was constructed on prior frameworks, and there are ongoing discussions as to how it obviously fits with the concept of diaspora. It is not a substitute or subsidiary within the field of the traditional and definitive notions. In many instances, it is also a misunderstood and, therefore, overused term that is applied to a wide sense and unmanageable variety of patterns and behavioral activities. How influential have technological developments been in bridging the chasm between the host nation and native land of the migrants? Is transnationalism a major challenge or a protective measure with regard to global capitalism?[57] As Portes et al. (1999) stress, the pattern of transnational activity and behavior may simply fade away into becoming the 'normative' adaptation behaviors of migrant groups. However, in terms of social ties to migrants, some authors have explored the transnational phenomena of migrants.

4.7.4 Social ties and transnational spaces

In the recent years, Faist,T (2000) delineated one of the most particular and systematic articulations of transnationalism, focusing on the transnational social fields of migrants spoke

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[57] Global capitalism is capitalism transcending multi-national boundaries. Global capitalism is capitalism's fourth epoch. It varies in one main manner from the other epochs: the system, once arranged and controlled to safeguard them within countries, now transcends domestic boundaries. This rooted in the ideology as classical capitalism, it is only now that the owners of the means of manufacturing extend their reach to everywhere around the globe, monetizing inexpensive labor and resources and producing the greatest possible profit. Globally integrated, this fourth epoch is supported by global policies that promote the free movement of products and trade. This greatly improves the flexibility that businesses need to choose where and how they function. Bisfluent Source accessed on 31.05.2019 at 12pm.

about the involvement of transnational social spaces and multiple actors within them; migrant communities in diaspora are situated in a distinctive and particular transnational space whereby, they cling to an imagined country. These transnational communities' margins are still blurred Faist (2000).

Faist,T (2000) attempts to answer two complex migration questions: Why do so few individuals migrate, and why do so few individuals migrate from so many locations? The transnational paradigm of 'social space' emerges from both the traditional migration push/pull variables and the model of the center-periphery (Kivisto 2001). Transnational social structures are only one possible result of the settlement method and migration, but here the simultaneous possibilities of both assimilation and ethnic pluralism exist. The main connection is considered to be between globalization and transnationalism, and the concomitant phenomena are recognized as distinct yet interrelated. In fact, globalizing forces not only impact but also manipulate transnational connections, while transnational procedures perpetuate globalization factors. A key dimension of Faist's (2000) work is its focus on 'social spaces' and the connections that maintain those transnational spaces. Kinship groups are formed based on reciprocity links, transnational network circuits, and the collective identities of transnational migrant communities. Transnational identities are fluid and easy to change, and yet they stay rooted in a familiar and comfortable social place or location (Yeoh et al. 2003). The concept of transnationalism, as provided by Faist (2001), is especially applicable to our own research study with respect to the identical creation of the second-generation migrants in the host nation and how this impacts their cross-cultural existence.

4.7.5   Transnationalism and polarization

Actually, there exists a shift in understanding 'German' and 'Asian' in relation to the second-generation migrants. However, as Ballard et al. (1994, 2003) highlight, the true tensions and complexities emerge from the perceptions of one arena to another, that is, balancing society and family norms with colleagues and within the wider social environment in the host nation. This switching is not always an exciting job, as it creates unpleasant problems for the second-generation migrants within ethnic communities. More importantly, these social arenas are far more complicated and challenging than desired and progressively blur the lines between each

other. The shifting socio-cultural worlds of the second-generation migrants are not always separate and diverse in themselves (Ballard, 1994).[58]

4.7.6 Transnationalism and generational succession

Faist indicates that in order to be fully legitimate in its nature, for a considerable period of time, a transnational migrant community must support itself, with continuous social cultural, political, and financial acquaintances amid the host and home nation. Hence, this entails 'generational succession' and the continuation of transnational connections by a specific migrant community's second and subsequent generations. He notes that several years will pass before his hypothesis can be rigorously tested.

4.8. Second Generation and Transnationalism

4.8.1 Complex conditions and possible identities

The above title consists of the fundamental elements with regard to perceiving and understanding identity building, if one is to realize the constructions of belongingness. In a host nation itself, the fundamental identity-building among a diaspora community is a condition and a process that is continually recreated and influenced by internal-external dialectic, leading to the fusion of inner self-definition and other social identities within a society (Edensor 2002).The vital identity structure is located within the dynamics of these individuals and is also influenced and shaped by the co-ethnic collaboration in the community. In particular, identities are reflectively created (Lindgren et al. 2001) and affected by discursive methods and the modalities of energy imbued by institutional and historical locations (Hall 1996). They are all products of various critical circumstances in people's lives (Lindgren et al. 2001) and their differentiation and exclusion experiences (Hall 1996).

4.8.2 'False consciousness' in national identification

Because of the acuities of the white German majority (Brah 1996; Modood 1997), most of the second-generation individuals in Germany, who are born and brought up in the host country, may feel reluctant to use the term 'German.' Even now, their very appearance and skin

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[58] Ballard's study on the children of the Punjab migrants is quite applicable to the context of our study. This is illustrated in chapter six in an elaborate manner, focusing upon the customs and rituals of marriage and relationships among the second-generation Tamils in Germany. Though many of the interlocutors raised objection to the custom of 'arranged' marriages, most of them admitted that they (the second generation of Tamils) are very likely to follow and abide by their families' traditional and cultural expectations, and go through the traditional marriage process to find suitable marriage partners. Of course, the conflict can be successfully overcome by effective code switching by the younger people, as the elders turn a 'blind eye' to some of their behaviours of the younger people. Thus, an attempt to maintain harmony (to some extent) within the family unit is envisaged. (Ballard, 1994) p.1-35.

color distinguishes most of the second generation from their white German colleagues, and this remains a significant factor with respect to building the second generation's identity as 'different.' In particular, ethnic minorities appear to struggle from an issue of 'false consciousness,' in which people act and behave in a way that is considered 'white,' implying that they are misleading their own private identities and their positions within the broader German culture (Song 2003).

4.9 Tyranny of Native Culture: "Escape without leaving"

The expectations of the Tamil groups in Germany, particularly consisting of parents and family members, are viewed as psychological stress. Many young Tamils of the second generation are eager to leave their parental homes for academic reasons, as it would enable them to have greater freedom and mobility. The Sri Lankan Tamils' second generation, including both men and women, are generally more comfortable and freer in living their lives away from the 'eyes' of the Tamil community (Hennink 1999). Thus, the chosen host nations are location where the second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil migrants experience more individual freedom and psychologically feel at home within the host-home culture of the host countries.

4.9.1 Second generation and the Tamil gender specifications

The young Tamil people's behavior pattern in Germany is greatly shaped by their parents' expectations and those of the Tamil ethnic group. It looks likely that the obligation or the prerequisite to behave sensibly, respectfully, and appropriately is placed more on women[59] community members than on men; 'family honor'[60] is a quality collectively possessed and is either strengthened or ruined in social transactions, most notably by the supposed actions of unmarried women within the Tamil community (Hall 2002: 167).[61]

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[59] In my thesis, I concentrate on second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil men's and women's daily life experiences in Germany. Therefore, I consider the scope for future gender-specific research work, since many of the respondents, especially a large number of female respondents in my field study, felt comparable hindrances and pressures due to being young Tamil women in Germany. I therefore consider it necessary to include both men's and women's experiences at this juncture (Lalonde et al. 2004.p124-154).

[60] It is a term commonly used by the Tamil families, which indicates some kind of heritage and traditional fame of the particular family within a particular village or community in Tamil society.

[61] Even within the Tamil community in Sri Lanka, which is far more liberal than some other ethnic groups in Germany, the pressure to preserve and uphold the honor, traditions, and respect of the family remains the responsibility of the younger Tamil women.

4.10   Second Generation of Tamil Women

4.10.1   Capability and constraints

Authors have paid attention to the identity, role, and capability of second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil migrant women in Germany.

Feliciano (2005) shows that immigrant children in the host nation, especially women, have established themselves and made excellent progress in higher education, compared to their mothers and grandmothers, in their nation of origin. In reality, women who have trained as professionals, physicians, surgeons, engineers, and technicians have very little chance of actually constructing their careers, because the pressure to search for a suitable partner and subsequently live conjugal lives starts as soon as they finish their higher studies. Once they proceed with marriage and have kids, their role is transformed to that of the traditional homemaker and the education they acquire is often set aside for parental, family responsibilities and the Tamil community obligations to take precedence (Ballard et al. 1994).[62]

4.11 Conclusion

As presented all throughout this chapter, the researcher has primarily focused on the children of second-generation immigrants who were born, educated, and have been living in Germany. My focus has been drawn to the differing socio-cultural, political, and economic factors in Germany today, that impacts and informs the second-generation Tamils in diaspora. The current literature and its reviews on the host nations (such as Germany), along with the global second-generation context, are collected; the theoretical gaps are mostly highlighted by these studies. This chapter develops the theoretical foundations of the research and analyzes the various second-generation understandings, definitions, and worldviews in the global context.

As mentioned before, our debate starts with the definition of the term 'second generation,' delving into the many methods through which I explain the distinct categories and apply the term in both the German and the international context. The question of which people comprise the second generation and how they fit into this ethnic migrant group has also been

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[62] Observing the Sri Lankan Tamils' lifestyles in Germany, the prestige and significance given to education within the Tamil community, ensured that both women and men would be encouraged and provided appropriate opportunities to learn and study at universities or other higher-education institutions. Higher education is a matter of prestige and pride within the Tamil community in Germany; however, in what is expected of men and women in this community, there are a few fundamental gender lines. Young girls were not so encouraged to pursue higher studies. Furthermore, higher education reflects and impacts on the marriage opportunities and dowry schemes of the Sri Lankan Tamil community, which I will elaborately discuss in the fifth chapter. As an example, a well-educated Sri Lankan Tamil doctor has much more demand in the marriage market and can consider her human capital as a household dowry. (Ballard et al. 1994; Feliciano 2005).

further developed. In the global context, however, there is generally a common understanding that the second generation comprises the children of migrants born in the migrant settlement or the host country, or those brought to another location early in childhood and growing up there. Thus, the chapter goes on to pay attention to the current literature on second-generation migrants and grapple with why these people, from different ethnic groups in host nations, have been primarily concentrated and theorized. It also takes into account the significance of previous and present empirical research and provides second-generation updates and experiences in Germany. Notably, the generational gap reflects traditional thoughts in conflict and cultural disagreements between the second-generation migrants and their parents. Moreover, this part shows the complexities of the second-generation nationality and the ethnicity of Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany, especially the concept of Germanness and the fundamental German identity.

CHAPTER 5:

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF RESEARCH: DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

If we recognize that knowledge is socially constituted, historically situated, and informed by conflicting values, we are compelled to acknowledge that search cannot be the search and discovery of a single universal 'truth'. Instead, analysis has to be conceived as a process that mediates between at least two different, yet mutually conditional, subjective views - those of the researcher and those of the people who are being studied. Amita Baviskar [63]

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I strive to present in detail the procedure followed in implementing the research, i.e., the choice of field, the process of entering into the same, and the method of collecting, analyzing, and interpreting qualitative data. I am firmly convinced that research should be based on the theoretical foundation[64] and that the concrete lives of people transcend any academic assertions and theoretical boundaries.[65] Thus, I have focused my attention more on the actual life experiences, i.e., the manner of thinking, feeling, and living of the of second-generation Sri Lankan Tamils living in Germany, as narrated by themselves. Besides, I tried my best to make an attempt to include the first-hand understandings of scholars in the field and gather the mind set from the first-generation Sri Lankan Tamils about their lives as migrants in Germany and the target group of second-generation of Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany. In doing so, our aim is to identify the themes and concepts gleaned from the data, which would serve as the analytical tool in interpreting the data and give proper direction to the subsequent chapters in this thesis.

5.2 The World of the Researcher (Positionality)

To have an objective view of the research topic, I wish to state my 'positionality' in this research.[66] I am a Catholic priest, belonging to the diocese of Sivagangai, which is situated in the

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[63]   Amita Baviskar, *In the Belly of the River*: Tribal Conflicts over Development in the Narmada Valley (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995), 2.

[64]   "What qualitative methodologists study, how they study it, and how they interpret it: all of these depend upon their theoretical perspective" Steven J. Taylor, and Robert Bogdan, *Introduction to Qualitative Research Method: The Search for Meanings*, 2nd edition (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1984), 8

[65]   "Theory may celebrate itself, yet neglect to touch base with human worlds; it may display an ethical earnestness, and validate a moral stand, yet obscure the actualities and ambivalences, the urgencies and possibilities, of human life. At worst, the narcissism of theory erases 'others,' the concrete women and men who live cultural lives" Steven M. Parish, *Hierarchy and its Discontents: Culture and the Politics of Consciousness in Caste Society* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997), xi

[66]   "What we can observe relies on our place with regard to observation objects. It is affected by what we observe that we decide to think. The way we choose to behave has to do with our convictions. Positionally based observations, views and behavior are essential to our understanding and practical reason. In epistemology, decision Theory and ethics, the

southernmost part of Tamil Nadu, in India. This part of India is much closer to Sri Lanka than Chennai, the state capital of Tamil Nadu, and New Delhi, the capital of India. My mother tongue is Tamil, the same language spoken by the Tamils in Sri Lanka. As a boy, like many generations of Tamil-speaking people in southern Tamil Nadu, I grew up listening to the Tamil language (via songs, drama, debates, discussions etc.) with all its richness, and listening to radio channels in Jaffna city, situated in northeastern part of Sri Lanka, the cultural center of the Sri Lankan Tamils.

Before coming to Germany, like many other priests in Tamil Nadu, I did have my own preconceived notions about Sri Lanka and the Sri Lankan Tamils: the island nation is beautiful country, most of the Tamils in Sri Lanka would be supporters of LTTE, one day they would form a Tamil country, and so on. I was in India during the civil war in 2009 and witnessed the consequent defeat of the LTTE by the Sri Lankan armed forces. I had adequate knowledge that the Indian government, particularly the Tamil Nadu state government, was concerned and took active interest in the issues of the Sri Lankan Tamils even before the LTTE was formed. Indeed. I also knew the reality that thousands of Sri Lankan Tamils shifted to India as asylum seekers and in the same way many had been migrating to European countries. Beyond these few bits of information, I knew nothing about the long history of Sri Lanka, its ethnic composition, or the emotional and physical struggles between the ethnic groups living in Sri Lanka. Above all, I did not have any knowledge of the 'life' of Sri Lankan Tamils who lived outside Sri Lanka.

After completing my Masters in sociology and my M.Phil., in Madurai Kamaraj University in Madurai, India, I came to Germany for my doctoral studies. Not long after my arrival, I noticed the presence of a big number of Tamils from Sri Lanka in Germany and elsewhere in Europe. An initial casual interaction with them during shared meals, breezy walk-and-talk with them (as a Catholic pastor) and their fellows piqued my curiosity to know more about their lives. As they narrated about themselves, their history, their future vision, and their hopes and their aspirations for offspring born here, it occurred to me that scientific research on the Tamils from Germany would not only enhance my knowledge about the Sri Lankan Tamils, but it also would be deemed a small contribution to the bulk of extant knowledge in the discipline of anthropology in relation to the migrants and the scores of problems surrounding them worldwide.

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nature of objectivity, must take sufficient account of the parametric reliance of observation and inference on the observer's roles". Amartya Sen, *Rationality and Freedom*, 463.

5.3 Experiential Knowledge and its Limitation

As mentioned above, before the commencement of research, I acquired certain degree of participatory knowledge by interacting with Sri Lankan Tamils. My identity and status as a Catholic priest facilitated a smooth entry into casual and deeper conversations with them. I also experienced their hospitality, the manner in which they related to their children, treated their elders, their manner of worship, their celebration of festivals and religious functions, their formation of peer groups, marriage customs etc. Once in a while, when they opened up about their past, that was smeared not only with painful memories of marginalization, war, migration, and violence in their home country but also the generosity and compassion of their host countries (many European countries, particularly Germany, their present 'home'). Listening to them was quite enriching and comforting; I felt sympathetic, feeling a sense of sympathy with their world. Thus, I admit that the inevitable "starting point for my interpretation of another's selfhood is my own self".[67]

5.4 Necessity of Theoretical Knowledge

However, I realized soon that and Sri Lankan Tamils (the researched)[68] and I share different worldviews in spite of their resemblance in certain aspects. Though my physical appearance resembles that of Sri Lankan Tamils and I share the same mother-tongue as them, in fact I am not a Sri Lankan Tamil. Through spoken and unspoken codes of communication and various modes of expression, I was constantly reminded that I am an 'outsider,' not wholeheartedly a part of the displaced and broken Sri Lankan people. Any comprehensive identification by me, the researcher, with the researched, became impossible. This double truth, i.e., a feeling of spontaneous understanding, but at same moment, of exasperation at being unable to comprehend the realm of the diaspora Tamils,[69] directed me to gather further theoretical knowledge and attempt to clarify concepts. Thus, I had to negotiate between my inner 'voice'[70] and the field. Thus, initial experiential knowledge, however informative and valuable at

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[67]   Anthony Cohen, *Self-Consciousness: An Alternative Anthropology of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1994),

[68]   Though we use the technical term "researched" to denote the people of study, we do not intend to categorize them as objects of study. In fact, we would like to address the Sri Lankan Tamils are co-authors of the thesis.

[69]   "It is plainly unacceptable to assume that anthropologist and anthropologized are alike; indeed, it could be perverse, for it might risk rendering anthropology redundant. But, equally, the assumption that they are not alike is unacceptable for it seems to lead inexorably to the construction of their difference. It is also perverse, for it denied the pertinence of the most potent investigative and interpretive weapons in the anthropologist's armoury: his or her own experience and consciousness" Anthony Cohen, *Self-Consciousness*.

[70]   "Voice is a struggle to figure out how to present the self of the author while writing the account of the respondents and representing their selves simultaneously. Voice has various dimensions: the author's voice is there first. Second, the voices of one's participants are presented in the text. When the self is the topic of investigation, a third dimension

the start of the studies, proved to be rather inadequate with respect to grasping the complex concerns raised by the anthropological research and the related theories.[71] Hence, I had to turn to the academically recognized literature on the history of Sri Lanka and to the vast corpus of theoretical knowledge within the discipline of anthropology.

5.5 Literature Review and Theoretical Knowledge

I began to collect and review books, articles, and other materials that were available on the research topic. In the very beginning itself, I took enough time to go through the appropriate historical and anthropological literature about Sri Lanka and the Tamils of Sri Lanka. They offered not only a deeper knowledge about Sri Lanka and its people, but also a great insight into the lives of Tamil migrants who are living in Germany at present.

Further, to equip myself with theoretical knowledge, I spent the first two years of my research period attending collegiums and various academic seminars on the discipline of anthropology and, thus, sharpening my focus towards the field of my enquiry. Further, discussions with my scholarly guide, Professor Gabriella Alex, facilitated me to sharpen my thinking and focus my attention on the vital issues of my research. In this process, in a general way, I chose to directed my attention to the following research topic: 'Transnational Re-Creation: A Study on the Enculturation of the Second-generation Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany'.

5.6 Familiarity of the Familiar World: A Faulty Pre-Supposition

Equipped with both experiential and theoretical knowledge, I entered the field with the following presupposition: 'After all, the field of my research is not entirely new to me. I have interacted with the diaspora Tamils in Germany frequently and sufficiently and I have also equipped myself with adequate theoretical knowledge about the lives of the Sri Lankan Diaspora.' I was wrong! Entering as a 'researcher', with a specific set of questions, I found my presupposition and assumption to be greatly insufficient. In the field, the starkly real lives of people appeared to me as a maze, with many interconnected issues, both hidden and manifest, and did not lead to a single and monolithic set of knowledge. My predicament challenged my

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appears." Rosanna Hertz, "Introduction: Reflexivity and Voice" in Id., (ed.), Reflexivity and Voice (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1997), xi -xii

[71] James Clifford states: "Experiential power is based on a' feel' for the foreign context, a sort of acquired expertise, and a feeling of a people's style or location.'... Of course, it's difficult to tell a lot about experience. It is something that one does or does not have like' intuition,' and its invocation often smacks of mystification. However, one should withstand the temptation to translate into interpretation all meaningful experiences..." James Clifford, The Predicament of Culture, 35

confidence in relation to my familiarity with the field, and I had to seek out the truth with a sense of humility from my research people. As Robert Smith observes, the "fundamental character of ethnographic studies, (t)he subject of ethnographies are always more interesting than their authors, which should never be forgotten. I cannot see that we have any other option than to listen carefully to what people say, watch what they do, and keep our voices down'[72] (Smith 1990).

Thus, it dawned upon me that the real-life experiences narrated by these people would transcend classroom theories. Therefore, I became prepared to conduct a systematic enquiry using the appropriate research tools.

5.7 Choice of Research Methodology: The Reasons

Generally, any Social research offers two research directions: qualitative or quantitative research. A quantitative method is more suitable to involve research that tests hypotheses and has some interdependencies. This methodology is valid for discipline-related research of its own way. Besides, the debate among scholars, regarding whether or not qualitative or quantitative methodologies are conducive to social research, is far from over.[73] Due to the nature of the subject under enquiry, I opted for qualitative research methodologies to capture the existing life-worlds and the socio-cultural aspects as lived and narrated by the Tamils, with all its complexities. Besides, since the literature on the second generation of Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany is rare, a qualitative research method would be the best tool to capture their life-worlds. Thus, the present research is descriptive in nature and follows 'critical ethnography,'[74] which implies both subjective and objective emancipation.

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[72] Robert Smith, Hearing voices, joining the chorus: appropriating someone else's Field notes, 1990:369).

[73] Abbas Tashakkori and Charles Teddlie, Mixed Methodology: Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1998), 3-39. The fundamental difference between qualitative and quantitative methods lie in the way the basic tenets such as Ontology, Epistemology, Axiology, Generalization, Casual Linkages are perceived and applied by researchers. Cfr. Ibid., 7-11.

[74] "Critical ethnography is a form of reflection in which culture, understanding and action are examined. It extends our decision horizons and extends our ability to see, hear, and feel experientially. It relies on and sharpens ethical obligations by forcing us in the framework of political agendas to create and act on value obligations. Critical ethnographers define, evaluate, and are open to scrutiny otherwise hidden agendas, centers of authority, and assumptions that inhibit, suppress, and restrict. Critical scholarship involves the questioning of common-sense assumptions" Jim Thomas, Doing Critical Ethnography: Qualitative Research Method (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1993).

5.7.1   Clarifying qualitative research method

Qualitative research,[75] in the opinions of Steven J. Taylor and Robert Bogdan, includes many methodologies but "privileges no single methodology [or research tool] over any other."[76] They speak of the phrase 'qualitative methodology' in its broadest sense. Hoping for greater insight, I opted for an optimal research strategy, that is, the application of not a single qualitative instrument but the combination of several qualitative tools, such as participation observation, in-depth interviews, literature reviews, documental studies, statistics generated by other studies, and so on, to find answers to my questions in the field, especially since this research was exploratory. Furthermore, the combination of methods should compensate for the weaknesses of one single method and complement and inform each other, thus contributing to a holistic research approach (Flick 2011) Thus; I functioned as a *bricoleur*,[77] "hoping always to get a better fix on the subject matter at hand."[78]

5.8   Geographical Area of Field Study

Martin Baumann's study very clearly points out that in Germany, more than 70% of the Sri Lankan Tamils live in the states of Nordreihn-Westfalen[79] and Baden Württemberg[80]. The presence of a large number of Sri Lankan Tamil settlements in these two states are due to two main reasons: first, due to the migration-friendly regulations set by these state governments, and secondly, the high employment and job opportunities, because these two states have been highly industrialized (Baumann 2000: 101–102). It is also noted by Mr. Murali, a Sri Lankan Tamil who came to Germany in the year 1984,that a big refugee camp existed in the German cities of Karlsruhe, Baden Württemberg. He further added the following: 'Once we were relived from the

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[75]   Q "Qualitative methodology" refers to studies producing descriptive information in the broadest sense: the words written or spoken by people themselves and observable behaviour. It's a way for the empirical environment to approach." S.J. Taylor and R. Bogdan, Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods, 5 (emphasis is original).

[76]   Norman K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (eds.), Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1998), 3. "There are many tools such as case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts – that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individual's lives are some of the prominent practices in data gathering in qualitative research".

[77]   According to Lévi-Strauss, a bricoleur is a "[j]ack of all trades or a kind of professional do-it-yourself person". Cited in Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.), Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials, 3. In a qualitative research, a bricoleur uses all possible methods, strategies and materials at hand. Also, cfr. Thomas A. Schwandt, Qualitative Inquiry: A Dictionary of Terms (Thousand oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1997), 10-11.

[78]   N.K. Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln (eds.), Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials, 5.

[79]   Germany is a federal republic of 16 federal states. The most populous state in Germany is North Rhine-Westphalia, commonly shortened North Rhine-Westphalia, and the fourth largest by area. Düsseldorf is its capital. (https://www.britannica.com/place/North-Rhine-Westphalia - accessed on 12.05, 2017, 9.00am.

[80]   Germany is a federal republic of 16 federal states. Baden Württemberg, frequently shortened BW, is Germany's most populous country and one of Germany's biggest industrial state. Stuttgart is its capital. (https://www.britannica.com/ place/ Baden Württemberg- accessed on 12.05, 2017, 10.00am.

camps in Karlsruhe, in this area we found small jobs and settled here with the help of other Tamil people.' Therefore, I decided to concentrate on the State Baden Württemberg, where there is a large Tamil population consisting of both Hindus and Catholics.

As the spiritual caretaker of the Catholic community in the diocese of Rottenburg-Stuttgart, it was easy for me to contact the German Tamil Catholic Centers for research purposes. There are 14 Catholic Tamil centers in this state. Out of these, I selected eight Christian community worship centers situated in the BW State, including the cities of Stuttgart, Ludwigsburg, Aalen, Bruchsal, Karlsruhe, Ettlingen, Heilbronn, Pforzheim, and Ulm. In Pforzheim, there is a Hindu Temple, where a huge number of Hindus from different parts of German cities and towns come on Saturdays and Sundays to worship. Pforzheim, the place where I lived in Germany, also played a vital role in my area of study. Besides, I also selected one center each from the cities of München and Duesseldorf.

5.9 Pilot Study

As a Catholic priest, I was in some way involved in the day-to-day lives of the Sri Lankan Tamil Catholics, and they also showed interest in my efforts at engaging in a discussion. The discussions often took a more serious bent, as most of them shared their issues with respect to being a Tamil ethnic community in Germany. I started visiting their families regularly, initiating some invigorating group discussions. Though it provided a great opportunity for me to meet the Christian Sri Lankan families, I had hardly any interaction with the Hindu Sri Lankan families. Thus, in order to relate with Hindu Sri Lankan diaspora community, I started going to a Hindu temple in Pforzheim to meet this community and observe their manners of worship. At times, I stumbled upon a few Hindu Tamils in the 'Tamil Supermarket.' They gradually got to know that I was a Catholic pastor living nearby. From then on, my regular visits to the Hindu temple provided me the opportunity to get to know and familiarize myself with the Hindu Sri Lankan Tamil devotees. Sometimes, they invited me for their family functions, which opened up opportunities to discuss, observe, and delve deeper into my research.

5.10 The Ever-Available "Universal Respondent": The Internet Source

At the beginning of my fieldwork, as part of the pilot study, intensive research was done on the internet. Not only did I look for the contact details of Sri Lankan Tamils, but I also targeted information about the Tamil Schools run by the Tamils living in Germany. This internet search helped me to acquire basic insights into the organizational network of Tamils in Germany

and in other European countries. Through the homepage and the website regarding the organization of the Tamil schools in Germany (TBV),[81] I found valuable information and details regarding the heads of Tamil organizations in Germany. After I contacted them, though they promised to get back to me, due to certain circumstances this valuable opportunity was lost. As a result, I had to look for alternative avenues to gather further information for my research. Through social media platforms such as Facebook and WhatsApp, the phone numbers and names of many Sri Lankan Tamils were quickly found.

5.11 Establishing Rapport

Identifying possible respondents and establishing rapport with them is an art and a challenging task. Although this exciting task of selecting proper respondents was facilitated by my experiential knowledge to a certain extent, now as a researcher with a specific set of questions in mind, I was a bit lost: How to start? Who would be the right person to start with? What should be the right place and atmosphere to begin with? Right at the time I got ready for the fieldwork after deciding upon the objectives and goals of my project, the diocese of Rottenburg-Stuttgart[82] officially appointed me as the religious care taker of Sri Lankan Tamil Catholic Community in Stuttgart.[83] This opened further avenues to interact with the Tamil Catholics and identify more respondents.

5.12 Identifying Possible Respondents

As a Catholic pastor, I was easily able to establish rapport with Christopher, a Sri Lankan Tamil Catholic community leader, and other area coordinators of Christian communities. After I explained the nature of my research, they readily introduced me to other Tamil communities in Stuttgart, inviting me to participate and observe their religious rituals, services, celebrations, and other social and cultural activities. The abovementioned introduction helped me get acquainted with the fieldwork atmosphere and identify more respondents. The accompaniment of the area coordinators during my frequent visits to the Catholic communities of the Tamil diaspora in Germany gave me great confidence in my fieldwork. Gradually, as the fieldwork progressed, the trust and confidence between me and the participants as well as the coordinators grew resilient. Through my established informants, Christopher, and the different area coordinators, I was able

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[81] Vgl. http://tbvgermany.com/tbv/index.php/de/ accessed on 03.07.2016, 3.00 pm.

[82] It is a name of the Roman Catholic Diocese in South Germany.

[83] "Mother Language Pastoral Center" (Tamil Seelsogeeinheit) Diocese of Rottenburg-Stuttgart.

to get in touch with the representatives of Hindu associations among the Tamil diaspora, which I considered a valuable breakthrough in my search for respondents.

Thus, my position was greatly advantageous for me, with a positive starting point, and I subsequently benefitted from the same throughout my fieldwork. It helped me create a friendly, healthy atmosphere and strengthened my thirst of meeting different target people in the field settings, from the very early stages of fieldwork. As a result, within a short duration of time, I could establish closer contacts and deeper relationships with the participants, especially with second-generation target group, which I would have taken a longer time to build otherwise. My Sunday Church services and Youth Movements in the Tamil Catholic community in Stuttgart and Karlsruhe also pushed me further and deeper into the fieldwork settings through data collection.

Hence, after taking sufficient time to familiarize myself with the field, I officially began the fieldwork and the data collection. Both Christians and Hindus were the key informants for my initial work in the field. Thereafter, I personally contacted the participants and made the appointments mostly through telephone calls and sometimes through emails, via WhatsApp groups, or through Facebook contacts. In addition, the participants were helpful, introducing me further into their circles of families, friends, and neighbors. Therefore, the positive start at the initial stage of my fieldwork and my gradual acquaintance with the participants provided me with a cordial research environment throughout the fieldwork.

5.13 Participant Observation

Due to the lack of literature in the Tamil language, I considered participant observation to be very valuable in data gathering. 'Ethnographic participant observation was understood here as a research strategy [...] used to analyze concrete contexts [...] and human development in cultural environments' (Flick, 2011: 59).[84] Furthermore, this approach also allowed me to have a tentative overview of the relevant structures, processes, and circumstances, and to establish contacts through informal conversations. The lack of literature also indicated that among the first generation of Tamil migrants, not many were academically oriented enough to produce literature on their plight in their home land, their migration to Germany, and their concomitant initial

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[84]   Uwe Flick, Triangulation, Eine Einfürung 2011: 59. Michael Angrosino states that observation research as a method enables the researcher to get easy access to the everyday situations, through the actualities and interrelations of people in the field settings. He further attempts to distinguish between participant and non-participant observation in the field. According to him, observer as participant refers to the researcher who is known and recognized among participants in the field. On the other hand, participant, as an observer, refers to the researcher, who is more fully integrated with the life of the group and more involved with the people (Angrosino 2007:38-55).

dilemma. Their concern, at the least, was initially to get settled while doing any job available in Germany.

5.14 The Immersion in the Field

The researcher participated in the day-to-day lives of the second-generation Tamil students in Germany, closely looking at the following: social gatherings, religious festivals, marriage celebration, youth gathering, Tamil family get-togethers, community meals, cultural functions in Tamil schools organized by Sri Lankan Tamils themselves etc. My participant observation intermittently covered the period between August 2014 to October 2015. The field under survey predominantly comprised the Stuttgart, Pforzheim, and Karlsruhe areas in Germany.

5.15 Participation Observation in Schools

One of the creative ways in which the first generation envisaged to enculturate the second generation was by organizing a schooling system known as *Tamilalayam*,[85] where a large number of children and their family members would regularly come to learn the Tamil language and culture. The decision to participate in the observation included non-verbalized organizational structures, where the exchange processes among the participants observed and the nature of the educational learning space would be reconstructed. The interaction among the students was one of the crucial ways to gather valuable insights into the knowledge and thinking patterns of second-generation Sri Lankan Tamils regarding their traditional homeland, language, parental relationships, peer group ambience, culture, and their lives in Germany, their present home. At the beginning of my fieldwork, a Tamil school teacher, Meena, introduced me to other teachers, students, and parents. According to the school Head, the introduction was meant to avoid any misunderstanding in observation within the Tamil schools. Due to the fact that Tamil schools are operational on weekends in Germany, I had to spent my weekends in those schools. Moreover, observations were made not only in the schools but also at the festivities organized by them, like Tamil cultural day, or the celebration of *Pongal*, [86] some of which also took place outside the Tamil school framework.

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[85] Tamilalayam- literally means "The Temple of Tamil", a sacred place. A number of Tamil schools are established in Germany, where they teach Tamil language and culture. It is like any other school but functions only on weekend for the Tamil ethnic community, particularly for the second generation of Tamils in Germany.www.tbvgermnay.com.

[86] "*Pongal*" is harvest festival celebrated by Tamils all over the world. This festival comprises thanksgiving and joy and lasts for three whole days. The first day is celebrated thanking God for the for the harvest. People cook rice with milk and sugar and other ingredients as offerings to God. This delicious food is called *Pongal*. On the second day, they honour animal husbandry, which is vital for traditional farming communities. (the bulls are used for ploughing, the

Taking classes for three different groups of students, I took part in the group activities of the Tamils, such as sports festivals, anniversary celebrations, local and nationwide Tamil language competitions, and any Hindu and Christian festivals held at the schools. I also recorded the people who voiced different experiences in the auditorium while talking to parents about the organizational structure of Tamil schools.

5.16 Participation in Religious and Cultural Festivals

I extended my zone of participation to Hindu and Christian festivals, families, and schools. I was always invited to join them for meals. This friendly atmosphere quickly led to informal conversations, which of course shifted the proximity-distance relationship between me, the researcher, and the participants.

I also faced difficulties in conducting the participant observation of schools. Sometimes, Tamil language classes were held in one classroom for two sets of students. In such a situation, it was difficult to focus my attention on both the groups; I would be slightly distracted, swinging around from one group to another.

5.17 Interview Method: Its Scope and Necessity

Interviews are one of the effective means of accessing the views and interpretations of social actors and their accounts present in the social arena (Bernard 2011). It relates to face-to-face meetings between researchers and informants that is aimed at gathering the views of informants on their lives, experiences, or circumstances as expressed in their own words It must be noted that in this research, not only were purely structural conditions addressed, but the socialization and meaning levels of the second-generation Tamils in educational organizations were also considered. Therefore, an interview technique was used for the participant observation, with the choice of 'narrative generating guide-interviews,' a qualitative social research method, intended to elucidate the motivations and influencing factors from the biographies of the participants. (Taylor and Bogdan 1984: 71–75).

Usually, a general outlook of the main topics described above were communicated to the interviewers at the beginning of the interviews. However, the particular interview situation and the conversational context influenced the treatment of these points as well as the intensity of the

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cows and goats supply milk). In certain areas, the farmers do not eat beef since they treat bulls and cows as part of their household. The animals are cleaned with water and decorated with colourful flowers and paints, meant to visit friends and relatives to exchange greetings and happiness. People in general purchase new clothes This festival is celebrated by Hindus and Christians alike, and is usually celebrated in mid-January every year.

topics. Even before the actual research process, there was a presumption that the second-generation Sri Lankan Tamils were part of the transnational structures. Therefore, I decided to use the narrative-generating interview as a survey tool. Through this method, I hoped to find an answer which would explain the meanings and the motivations behind the actions of the participants.

5.18 Selection of Respondents

Initially, the selection of the respondents was facilitated by my experiential knowledge. However, I opted for 'purposive or Judgment Sampling'[87] to get an informed response. As Russell Bernard observes, 'Also critical case sampling is the selection of important informants in ethnographic studies. It would be pointless to randomly pick from a population a handful of individuals and attempt to transform them into trusted primary informants.'[88] (Bernard 2011). So, I turned my attention to more informed interview partners from both the first- and second-generation Tamils with different profiles. Gradually, more respondents were added following the method of 'snowballing,'[89] as the first the informants themselves helped to identify other informants, who were known for their first-hand experiences, critical thinking, and public standing.

In addition, the possible respondents were identified through the internet, family contacts, through visits to the Tamil language competitions on TV, and other small gatherings. During my visits to various Tamil schools and families, especially in the state of Baden Württemberg and Stuttgart and other nearby cities Karlsruhe, Pforzheim, and Mühlacker, I personally met Tamil teachers, students, and parents. All of them provided me with different contacts and gave me a lot of helpful information, with which I could generate further contacts and gather diverse knowledge.

In the Tamil schools, school authorities and teachers were seen as valuable informants who provided information about the second generation of Tamils who attended classes most frequently. Therefore, a total of 60 interviews were conducted in 11 group discussions and a few informal discussions, which were recorded in the minutes of the meeting in the best of the

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[87] H. Russell Bernard, *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative approaches*, 4th edition (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2006), 189.

[88] H. Russell Bernard, *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative approaches*, 4th edition (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2011), 210-250.

[89] Steven J. Taylor and Robert Bogdan, *Introduction to Qualitative Research*, 83.

recorder's conscience. During the field visits, I also stayed with some of the Sri Lankan Tamil families.

5.18.1 Criteria for selecting respondents

The primary criterion for the selection of informants was that one should be a Sri Lankan Tamil migrant either of the first or the second generation. However, the researcher also gathered information from non-Tamil sources as and when required. Besides, it was envisaged that the diversity among participants would elicit a broader possible picture of the subject under investigation. Therefore, I chose informants from different age groups, sexes, denominations, education levels, places of birth, lengths of stay in Germany and so on.

5.19 Framing the Questionnaire

Through the information and insights from participation observation and literature review, I framed questions for the interviews. The research on the second-generation Tamils in Germany showed that some transnational phenomena can be found in Tamil exile populations. However, at the initial stage, there was no possibility of having direct contact with the second-generation adolescents belonging to the Tamil community. This situation required an exploratory research method, and thus, necessitated the collection of data direct from the field, using questionnaires.

5.20 The Interview Procedure

I undertook both structured and non-structured interviews to collect data depending on the proficiency of a respondent in grasping the subject matter of the thesis. This decision was made because this form of interview can, among other things, strongly unfold the subjective world of the Sri Lankan Tamil participants.

5.21 Place of Interviews

The places of interviews were chosen by the people concerned. In most cases, the interviews were conducted at schools and houses. In one case, it took place in a train from Stuttgart to Düsseldorf, and in a few instances, it was conducted in a church community hall. While interviewing family members, I was welcomed as a guest by the families.

5.22 Interview in the School

In each case of my visits to the Tamil schools, I interviewed the headmaster and a teacher who would be well informed regarding Tamil culture and the cultural lives of the students who are born and grow up in Germany; these interviews were expert interviews. In addition, they were conducted with parents and children. Group discussions were held with two mothers' groups and four groups of students. In addition to the form of the interviews, one-to-one talks with teachers, mothers, and students were initiated. All contacts were initiated through the field stays at the family residences, schools, and through the visits to the statewide Tamil language competition on TV. These platforms allowed me to hear the various opinions of Sri Lankan Tamil people from different cities in Germany. For each interview, notes on the environment, the predicament, and one's personal feelings were recorded, all of which were also included in the evaluation process.

5.23 Unstructured Interview

The interviews mostly were non-standardized or unstructured. Instead of presenting a specific set of questions in most cases, relevant themes were introduced to the informants so as to facilitate unhindered responses from them.[90] "This allowed the researcher to have 'a good amount of freedom in the course of the interview to try different fields and develop and test particular hypotheses.'"[91] In most cases, the duration of the interviews was one hour, while in some instances it stretched over two–three hours.

There were two interviews which lasted for eight hours, spread over three whole days. The interviews were digitally recorded. The respondents were given freedom to decide for themselves the themes that they wanted to describe. It was stressed that they had no obligation to answer all the questions. However, keeping in mind that a narrative interview without a guide could lead to long narrative passages deviating from the main focus, I interrupted the narrations of the respondents once in a while, and this served as a common thread whereby I could keep coming back to my questions.

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[90] The general themes that were engaged in the in-depth interviews were: sense of well-being; shared historical memories, which included heroes, events, and their commemoration; experience of war, negotiation, religion, and its relevance for the present day life in Germany; perception of their land and community, their synchronic and diachronic relationship as individuals and community; their attitude to their diaspora Tamils in countries other than Germany; perception of their future of Tamils from Sri Lanka mainly, in relations to the political and economic situation; the emergence of new generation of Tamils and problems they face today and in general the changing scenario both in Germany and in the globalising situation.

[91] Norman K. Denzin, The Research Act, 116.

5.24 Structured Interviews

In my interview with the respondents who were only fluent in German, I mostly used structured interviews, i.e., a set of precisely formulated questions that each respondent was allowed to answer one by one. The questions were strictly related to the main research question and the answers were generally precise and brief. This method set the topics and limited the research horizon. As a result, there was a risk that some processes and events could have been ignored.

5.25 In-depth Interviews

In addition to my perception of the field via participation observation, I also paid due importance to the views of the participants through in-depth interviews. I conducted as many as 39 in-depth interviews as an essential part of the qualitative research method. Indeed, this method comprises 'repeated face-to-face encounters between researchers and informants aimed at understanding the views of informants about their life, experiences, feelings or circumstances as expressed in their own words'[92].

5.26 Group Interviews

I conducted 14 focus group discussions. Out of these, six discussions were conducted among the first-generation Tamils and the remaining eight were done among the second-generation participants. Most of the focus groups consisted of 10–12 participants.

However, group discussions were generally more difficult, as people often talked or even wanted to say something all at once. Thus, I could not write down every word they uttered. However, I recorded (with a tape-recorder) the whole sessions so that I could register them in order later on. Moreover, the group discussion opened the possibility of capturing spontaneous expressions, both verbal and non-verbal ones. Regarding certain themes, the participants concurred with one another, while contradicting with each other in certain other themes. At times they heaved a sigh of relief; at times they remained silent. I had to identify myself emotionally and spiritually to decipher the codes of emotional expressions (both verbal and non-verbal). In their interviews, the dimension of the participants and the information about the experiences collected should be thoroughly considered, which cannot be reconstructed by non-verbal survey methods such as observation.

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[92] S.J. Taylor and R. Bogdan, Introduction to Qualitative Research, 77.

Three group discussions were held with two groups of mothers: one with four and another with six women. In addition, a discussion was held with a group of three girls. Unfortunately, this was not possible with the men folk. Generally, I left the course of discussion to the participants; I did not interrupt or intervene during the discussions. Being the moderator, I played the role of animating, clarifying certain topics or questions, orienting and bringing them back to the discussions if they went out of topic, so to speak. The formulation of the important questions helped the participants to engage in focused and goal--oriented discussions (Bryman 2004: 500–520).

5.27 Unorthodox or Spontaneous Group Interviews

Certain unexpected situations allowed me to hold spontaneous and small-scale interviews. For example, after the Sunday masses, I took interviews as part of group gatherings and discussions; the groups (mixed in terms of their age) happily came forward for the same. Since the church services were held on Sundays, they were willing to spend more time and wanted me to lead with my questions. Therefore, I had the chance to speak simultaneously with a few mothers.

5.28 Document Analysis

Documents that were directly related to the second-generation Sri Lankan Tamils were analyzed. They included Tamil textbooks used in schools and Tamil websites. The home page analysis[93] was also conducted to gather information about the Tamil cultural organizations and their structures and functions. The aim and objectives of the Tamil educational institutions were noted down. The home page of *Tamilalaiyam* was used to prepare the themes for fieldwork but was not included in the analysis. Other documents, such as the Tamil school anthem and the subject materials as per the policies in Germany, were also analyzed. Notably, the document analysis was not processed so intensively; it only served as an additional source related to the interviews and protocols.

5.29 Organizing Data

The collected data from all interviews were organized for analysis and interpretation. The common medium of communication during interviews were Tamil, for both first- and second-generation participants. Most of the respondents were proficient in the Tamil language. However, a few participants of the second generation were more confident in expressing

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[93] The official website for the Tamil school in Stuttgart- www.thamilalayamStuttgart.com.

themselves in German instead of Tamil. In general, it was easier to conduct interviews with second-generation adolescent students in the Tamil schools rather than with parents.

The recorded data (in MP3[94] format) was transcribed into English with the help of an English language professor who was also fluent in Tamil. Even longer pauses, laughter, other emotional codes and expressions, and silence were verbalized and noted in the transcript. In doing so, I followed the transcription rules of Bohnsack. In which the transition from the immanent to the documentary meaning is, as explained above, the transition from asking what to asking how. In accordance to this, what has been said, depicted, or discussed, what has become the topic of discourse is to be separated from how – that means: in which framework the topic is dealt with. (Bohnsack 1999) This heap of data amounted to ramblings at first sight; it was read and reread a number of times to obtain meaning. Then, the data was controlled to gathered a simplified and meaningful data for the thesis. Utmost care was taken not to lose the original spirit of the data.

Among the German interlocutors, I used both German and English as the medium of communication. On the whole, the use of Tamil language was a very effective instrument in gathering data in its original and complete sense. I would say that the use of Tamil as the medium of language played a profound role and enhanced my field study as a whole. My fluency in the German language was very useful in my communication with the second-generation Sri Lankan Tamils and the native Germans. My experience during fieldwork led me to find that the German-speaking participants were patient, very informative, and in some cases they were also appreciative of my German articulation.

5.30 Help from the Field

I had two Tamil migrant transcribers who were very familiar with the linguistic and cultural horizon of the target group under study. They rendered assistance to reproduce colloquial utterances or phrasings that are peculiar to Sri Lankan Tamils. After this first step of transcribing the interviews, the transcripts were translated into English. Transcription is, in fact, a kind of translation; "transcription is a translation and an interpretation of the data" (Fuchs 2007: 84). Added to this is a second translation and interpretation by the act of translating the transcribed material. Thus, it constitutes a double translation and interpretation performance as

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[94] MP3, a coding format for digital audio recording is MP3 (officially MPEG-1 Audio Layer III or MPEG-2 Audio Layer III). MP3 is also a compact file format frequently referred to as files that contain elementary stream of MPEG-1 audio and video encoded information that works without other MP3 standard complexities. Source from Wikipedia, accessed on 23.06.2019 at 11am.

well as an initial evaluation of the collected data, which I was very aware of throughout the evaluation process.

There was also a question regarding the procedure of translation, as both literal and analogous translations seemed possible. Finally, a mixed form was chosen, which was, however, inclined more in the direction of literal translation. In some places, the literal translation looked very essential and the complex and possibly hidden messages were often not dropped. In other places, with regard to the description of data, facts, and organizational structures mostly collected from group discussion, a meaningful translation sufficed. However, both strongly followed and corrected the transcript and, thus, the original document. Also, the insistence on a literal translation prevented arbitrariness on the part of a translator by enabling a meaningful translation.

5.31 Analysis of the Data

After these two steps, I undertook a systematic analysis of the translated data, keeping in mind the basic tenants of qualitative research: truth about people is not just available outside but needs to carefully constructed by comparing various sets of data, with all their ramifications. Thus, I reconfirmed the data following the principles of 'triangulation.'[95]

However, I encountered a few difficulties:

- As common to many languages, usages are multi-faceted. Sometimes, many words in Tamil have several connotations depending on the context of their usage.

- In addition, there were Tamil words and terminologies, expressed by interviewees and interlocutors, which are rarely used in everyday language and are unintelligible to many Tamils themselves. This problem made the process of understanding the text difficult. However, two Sri Lankan participants offered proximate explanations, as they shared the same background as their fellow migrants. Even here, the difficulty of choosing the most meaningful translation among the several others fell upon me, the researcher.

- Finally, it should be noted that a pure one-to-one translation from Tamil to English is not feasible, since the syntactic, morphological, and lexical structure of Tamil differs considerably

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[95] "While participant observation allows situations and selves to be carefully recorded, it does not provide direct information on the broader fields of impact acting on those observed. Since each technique shows distinct elements of empirical truth, it is necessary to use various observation techniques. This is known as triangulation." N.K. Denzin, The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods, 2nd edition (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1978), 28.

from English. In this work, the quotations, which are quoted not only verbatim but also analogously, are always reproduced with the respective interviewer/interlocutor/protocol number.

5.32 Biographical Data of the Interview Partners

As a standard practice in fieldwork, I followed the traditional convention of maintaining the profiles of participants anonymous in writing-up of the thesis (Grinyer 2002). However, these profiles are presented as part of this thesis, although they are not listed. As the data from the interviews are increasingly used in the present study, an overview of the relevant interviewees is briefly presented here. The findings of the analyzed data and the methodological directions are presented below. Also, the transnational setting of the Tamil educational organizations in Germany and in other countries presented. First and foremost, it is a question of the geographical framework, the organizational structures, and, occasionally, the attention paid to transnational processes.

5.33 Reflexivity

In the following section, I present my inner conversations, as it were, during fieldwork.

5.33.1 Crises of identity

5.33.1.1 Catholic Pastor

While having group discussions with the interlocutors about socio-cultural and religious practices, there was always the danger of me getting carried away by the conversation, forgetting my identity as a researcher; tending to preach and advise like a Catholic pastor. These were instances in which I had to consciously remind myself about my role as a researcher and, thereby, stick to my role as an anthropologist in the field. Often, my conscious attempt to remind myself of my role as an anthropologist also prevented me from being carried away with my identities, as a Catholic pastoral caretaker and an ethnic Tamil from Tamil Nadu, India.

5.33.1.2 Tamil Identity

Sometimes, I found it difficult to balance my multiple identities - a Catholic Pastor, an ethnic Tamil, and an anthropologist - during my fieldwork. Since I have a Tamil cultural background myself, I have always comprised a 'part of the field' or an 'insider' position from the outset. This had advantages and disadvantages. With that being said, however, I am a researcher. These moments and experiences led me to have an identity crisis. Though I was an

'empathetic insider' to the participants, in order to be faithful to the practice of field work, I had to take on the role of a 'critical outsider.' These field experiences and moments made me think that I had gone back to my origins. During these times, taking a little break from an ongoing conversation greatly helped both myself, as a researcher, and a particular interlocutor (Eastmond 2007).

5.34 A Few Advantages in Field Work

- Easier access to the field: And while there were some limitations, since the first direct conversation I was able to get into the sector very rapidly. My ' insider ' attitude enabled me to endear with my target group very rapidly.

- No language barriers whatsoever: While contacting people, for example via Facebook, WhatsApp, or Instagram,[96] the German language was in the foreground, whereas in the actual field, I predominantly used my mother tongue, Tamil. Apart from students and young second-generation teachers with whom I spoke in German, I mainly used the Tamil language. Although I am fluent in English, communication in Tamil became much easier, both with parents and their second-generation children. My proficiency in Tamil was praised and appreciated by the participants, and I quickly gained access and respect, which imbibed more transparency to my person and my research.

- Thus, trust and confidence were also easier to gain. I noticed that when I first arrived at the Tamil schools in Karlsruhe and was redirected to a young teacher, during the conversation, she frankly and honestly told me very personal things, which resulted as a consequence of the division of one school into two schools. As a consequence of this condition, along with a private family event, she disclosed on shattered friendships and psychological stress to the students.

5.35 Part of the Collective

Being part of the collective is more than part of the field. Divya, a 56-years-old Tamil school teacher emphasized that through my dissertation I would do something for 'our' collective or for 'our group (Tamil)/ethnicity, language' I found this a natural attribute of the group discussions with mothers who, through their 'our,' included me in their collective.

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[96] These are all the social media of the present time. Social media are interactive computer-mediated or presently android mobile systems that enable data, thoughts, career concerns and other types of speech through virtual communities and networks to be created and shared.

Generally, all parents and their children seemed very pleased and welcoming; they greeted me very warmly both at the beginning and throughout the fieldwork, even though I was new to their community.

5.36 'Our' Father

Many respondents asked me which part of India I came from. I said that I was born in Tamil Nadu, India, and I was a pastor here in Stuttgart for the Tamil Catholic Community. He immediately said, 'Our Father.' He became much more open and friendly towards me. Indeed, the Tamil people accepted me as one of them.

Speaking of my experience throughout my fieldwork, I introduced myself in most of my fieldwork areas as a Catholic priest who had come in the interest of research. Hence, they used to call me the 'Father.'[97] Often, they used to mention the following in common with other participants: 'Our father will not write bad things about us.' I was actually seen as part of the society in this interlocutor's statement and placed in the position of the Tamilan,[98] which would in effect indicate moral requirements or responsibilities. In all my interviews, this brought me into moral disputes regarding a researcher's neutrality. In case-studies, discussions and citations are given with anonymous names.

5.37 Challenges in the Field

I realized that such moral expectations of my actions had brought me into a certain predicament. Furthermore, second-generation children made it clear that I had the perspective of the researcher needing special treatment and protection. Even a view of the researcher that characterizes me as inexperienced and dependent on instructions becomes visible.

Although there were the above benefits, it must be mentioned that there were also disadvantages. Again, and again, I realized that my own Indian Tamil background contributed significantly to the fact that the members of the field saw me as part of their collective. As a result, they lost their distance, did not consider the necessity of explaining certain facts, but raised more expectations for me, even if they were not always explicitly stated. With these expectations, the roles that I held went hand in hand. In the following sections, we will briefly discuss my various roles, both positive and negative.

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[97] The term used in the south Asian countries to mention the catholic Priests as a role of clergy in the Catholic Church.

[98] The Term used in particular by individuals belonging to the Tamil ethnic community.

5.37.1 Researcher as a Student

During an observation session in a Tamil school, I was once included in the Tamil language class, not as a researcher but on an equal level with the students. The teacher asked me and the students the same question. Furthermore, I had to speak about one particular topic that was given to me. Since the subject of the lesson was the Art of Tamil speaking in a public forum, the students had to speak for a few minutes of any topic on that day. I felt a bit queasy, as if I had been transported to one of my Tamil literature classes from my school days.

5.37.2 A Guest Tamil Teacher

In many observational situations in Tamil schools in different parts of Germany, I was sometimes introduced as a guest Tamil teacher to reassure the children. However, not only was I addressed as a teacher in class, but in the teachers' meetings I was asked to work as a permanent teacher, due to a lack of enough teachers at the time.

5.37.3 Supervisor and Controller of the Tamil Educational Association

While engaging in participant observation during a religion-based test, I was just sitting in the back of a classroom like the other students. I was first introduced as a 'teacher' and then described in more detail. The teacher took advantage of the situation to calm the children and then introduced me as a supervisor of the education association. Thus, at that moment, I played the role of a controller of the children, who would report conspicuous behaviors, among other things, to the main office.

5.37.4 Mediator

I had a very different role with respect to parents and students. The students, especially those with whom I had direct contact during fieldwork, saw me as an intermediary between them and their parents. During conversations, often the students asked me if I could communicate various things to parents, whether I could pass on their wishes and concerns, e.g. freedom, self-decision, choice of partner, friendship with the opposite sex etc.

5.37.5 Gender and Second-generation Sri Lankan Tamils

In addition to the aforementioned roles, there was also an assignment regarding age or generation membership. After getting referred to a second-generation member, I realized that I could develop a better rapport and, consequently, a better understanding as we were in the same generation. On the other hand, I also noticed that gender also played a role with respect to a

particular generation. One parent whom I interviewed asked me if it was okay for me to visit his house for an interview as a 'young man.' Here, I realized that the gender strongly determined who spoke to me and with whom I came in contact more closely. This may also explain why, for example, mothers were more reserved towards me than the fathers of the students.

5.37.6 A Catholic Pastor and an Anthropologist

In this aspect, I would like to share with (and on) the Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany my experiences as a Catholic pastor taking care of the Pastoral needs of the Tamils in Germany and at the same time carrying out an anthropological field research work as an anthropological researcher among the Tamils.

5.37.7 'He is not only a Researcher, but also a Catholic Pastor'

As a Catholic pastor carrying out research work among (and on) the Sri Lankan Tamils in German, I have had varied experiences. Often my introduction was as follows: 'He is not only a researcher, but also a Catholic Pastor for us'.

A positive starting point was greatly beneficial for me, and I experienced this throughout my fieldwork; it helped create a friendly, healthy atmosphere and increased my thirst of meeting different target people within the field settings from the earliest stages of my fieldwork. As a result, within a short duration, I was able to establish closer contacts and deeper relationships with the participants, especially with second-generation target group, which would otherwise have taken a long time to build. My Sunday masses and Youth Movements in the Tamil Catholic community in Stuttgart and Karlsruhe also provided a great opportunity for me to go deeper into the fieldwork settings using data collection.

With respect to my case studies, the interlocutors looked at me only as a Catholic pastor. Hence, they were extremely polite, respectful and reserved, sometimes expecting spiritual consolation from me for the hardships in their daily lives. I found that such an atmosphere would not help my fieldwork, as it would prevent open discussions that could holistically enhance my research. Therefore, I took time to explain and clarify my role as an anthropologist and the objectives of my study. At times, I had to remind the interlocutors that my field study was an academic research work and not a spiritual or pastoral exercise. These explanations and clarifications did help them understand the situation and made them feel more comfortable with regard to my study. I always gave a brief, precise, clear introduction about myself and my work before the start of the fieldwork. Further, I explained my objective and my role as an

anthropologist to the interlocutors. I encouraged them to express their genuine customs and opinions regarding religion, culture, and ethnicity. I kept reminding them about the most important criteria of the fieldwork was to hear to their lifestyle and gather information about their experiences. I also made it explicitly clear to them that I would not impose on them my ideas or opinions. Therefore, I requested them to freely share ideas and engage in open discussions. I also assured them that the topics of the discussions would remain within our circles; they would not be handed over for any other purpose and would not be communicated to anyone else without their permission. I told them very clearly that the results of our discussions would be used only for my academic paper. The interlocutors were happy with such information, which made them become open and frank throughout my fieldwork.

5.38 Empathetic Insider and Critical Outsider

5.38.1 Considering me as one among them

My unique position as an insider also had some disadvantages. When Professor Pratab Kumar was doing his research on Hinduism in Canada, the participants of his research considered him an insider. They expected him to know all about the materiality of Hindu worship. According to him, 'The Hinduism of his identity was an issue in the field. Many of his questions about everyday *puja* items and their uses were met with a presumption that he should know the answer, given that he too was a Hindu' (Kumar 2006: 269–280). Similarly, when I asked them about their views on certain cultural and religious practices and questions regarding the ethnicity of Sri Lankan Tamils, they expected that I should have already known them as Tamilians. Therefore, I had to use extra time to explain to them that I had come to study about them and listen to their voice and opinions regarding their socio-cultural practices, ethnicity, and Tamil traditions. My repeated explanations and clarifications helped them overcome the problem of looking at me from an insider's point of view (Bryman 2004). In many cases, their initial curiosity and questions aided the openness of the discussions and created a conducive atmosphere within which I could start my fieldwork. These open discussions and questions, in most cases, turned into mutual respect and concern for one another and (from my point of view) for the further steps regarding the research.

5.39 Post-Research Experience

In general, I, as a Catholic pastor undertaking an anthropological research work on the Tamil community in Germany, had collected data in a congenial atmosphere. I was generally comfortable with my role as an anthropologist, despite being a Catholic pastor. My pastoral

identity did not prevent me from capturing the interlocutors' real-life narratives and different experiences. In fact, honestly speaking, it enriched my field experiences as an anthropologist as well as a Catholic Pastor. I felt it very difficult to balance these two functions in the initial stage of my field work. As the time passed in the field, I thought of myself more as an anthropologist in the field, an identity with which I became very comfortable in the course of time. Even the interlocutors gradually accepted my role as an anthropologist. Although I had both the abovementioned identities, I had consciously tried to keep my pastoral identity in check and tried to focus and concentrate as an anthropologist in order to listen to the interlocutors' experiences and perspectives. Therefore, in the eyes of the interlocutors, I had multiple identities—an Indian Tamil, a Catholic pastor, and an anthropologist who was conducting anthropological research on their day-to-day lives. On the other hand, I consciously positioned and presented myself as an anthropologist. Addressing myself as an anthropological research student, above other identities, was not as easier as I hoped at the start of the study. I attempted to hold my personal emotions, thoughts and differences of perspective in control throughout my fieldwork to hear to the voices of my respondents (Smith 1990: 369). Although I had collected my research materials as an anthropologist with a pastoral identity, when I started writing down my thesis, I carefully and consciously wrote down my field notes as an anthropological researcher.

5.40 Ethics in Research

5.40.1 An anthropologist and a Catholic pastor in the field

Being a pastoral caretaker and simultaneously taking on the role of an anthropological researcher among the interlocutors, I often faced the challenge of not crossing the boundary (between the two identities) while conducting research and was gave conscious effort to refrain from acting as a religious leader or a moral guide. This could be deemed a deviation from my actual purpose of anthropological research in the field. There were times when, looking at my pastoral background, the interlocutors had great expectations and hopes that I would conjure fantastic solutions to their family problems, especially the difficulties they faced in dealing with their children. I always tried to explain or clarify my questions from the perspectives of an anthropological researcher among the participants. I carefully handled these situations where they had been looking for solutions to their day-to-day hardships. Through these open and genuine discussions, I always consciously acted and presented myself to the interlocutors more as an anthropologist than as a pastor. In the course of my fieldwork, such sincere discussions and

my explanations as an anthropological observer were readily accepted and appreciated by the interlocutors.

All through my fieldwork, I took a sincere and genuine interest in the interlocutors' socio-cultural and religious experiences. I had never enforced my opinions or views based on the common and traditional Tamil culture. It was also a very difficult time for me personally as a pastor; I did not know whether to interpret the interlocutors' religious and social encounters based on the social teachings of the church or as an anthropologist, who would listen to the interlocutors' perspectives on their own experiences. Undoubtedly, it was an unusual task for me. Experiencing such a situation, I decided consciously to play the role of an anthropologist, so as to capture the interlocutors' views and experiences. This was a completely different learning experience for me in my ten years of serving as a Catholic pastor. It was also an eye-opener for me to see that in several instances, contrary to the belief, religious practices informed the social, political, and cultural experiences of the interlocutors. Hence, although I had a pastoral identity, I played the role of an anthropologist in the field setting, hearing the experiences of the interlocutors in the same light.

5.40.2 Reciprocity

During my fieldwork, the interlocutors were friendly, hospitable, welcoming, and helpful. During my visits to the Tamil schools in Germany, the teachers and the school officials placed great trust in me and increased my confidence as a researcher and a pastor. They shared their own life struggles and pains as well. In turn, they gave me insights on how to challenge my own suppositions and relate with them differently. Through this research work, my own contact with Sri Lankan Tamil people widened (among both Christians and non-Christians). It has also made me well-known in the surrounding community and among the Sri Lankan Tamils living in Germany. My whole encounter with the interlocutors, their friendliness, hospitality, openness, and generosity, will always remain fresh in my memory.

In our fast-changing world, it would not be too extravagant to say that 'knowledge is money.' One has to pay money to gain knowledge in various fields: the purchase of books, CDS, Internet Apps etc. The Sri Lankan Tamils and their German friends provided me knowledge about their lives, struggles, hopes, and dreams freely and generously, which is not accessible to many others. One means I can repay them is by making their lives and expertise known to the humanity through this scientific work being published.

5.41 Concluding Remarks

When I decided to start my fieldwork among the Sri Lankan Tamils, I thought that it would be very easy for those people to fulfill my needs as a research student, because I had a veritable association with and influence on them as a Catholic pastor. When I approached my target group for my field work, my role was completely different, that of an anthropological researcher. Thus, it was not easy for them to accept me as something other than a Catholic pastor; it took a long time for the people to accept me as fieldwork researcher and appreciate my concomitant role in the field. Being a research student, I honed myself thoroughly by reading various literature on the methods of fieldwork, the historical and political backgrounds of Sri Lanka, and the lives of Sri Lankan Tamils in diaspora.

It was a wonderful experience for me to spend so much time with my target group. When I thought that my field study had reached the point of theoretical saturation, I decided to leave the field and the target people of my research work (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Though I did not actual leave the Sri Lankan Tamil people, as an anthropological research student I had to distance myself from the field. Appropriation without distancing is unproductive. A certain degree of separation from the field allows the researcher to look back at the field not only with a sense of gratitude and satisfaction but also enables them to cast a critical gaze on the data collected.

As is true of every anthropologist and field-worker, researching as an anthropologist was an unforgettable experience for me. Though my relations with the Sri Lankan Tamil migrants in Germany had begun well before my research and will continue, as a fellow Tamil and a Catholic pastor, it was an entirely different experience to enter into their worlds as an anthropologist. I had to pla**y** different roles with them just as a *bricoleur*, which also made me uncomfortable on certain occasions.

I have completed a rewarding journey over past three years, as a Tamil from India, as a pastor of the Catholic Church, and as an anthropological research student of the University of Tübingen in Germany. These diverse identities not only enhanced my self-understanding but also the field study that helped me to apprehend the life of both the generations Tamils in Germany, in particular contextualizing their socio-cultural practices from a holistic point of view. All through my research project, I tried to maintain my anthropological ' self ' above all the other identifications in order to study the discourses and experiences of the interlocutors,

especially those of the Sri Lankan Tamils of second generation, in a transnational context and in the scope of their re-creation of Tamil socio-cultural discourses in the diaspora (in Germany).

The theoretical underpinnings I gained before the fieldwork through literature review helped me grasp and comprehend the respondents in my research. Thus, I was more a listener than a speaker. I also reflect my fieldwork based on Robert Smith, who defines the subject as a fundamental character of ethnographic studies. He states the following: "(T) he subject matter of ethnography is always more interesting than its writers, it should never be forgotten. I can see that we have no choice but to listen closely to what individuals are saying, to watch what they are doing, and to maintain our voices down"(Smith 1990, p.356). Hence, all throughout my fieldwork, I tried my level best to avoid bringing any personal emotions, opinions, or views. This made me more open to listening, recording, and capturing the voices, emotions, and points of view of the interlocutors, who became great informers in my research work.

Pioneering the research on second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil migrants in Germany, I conducted a fieldwork among the selected respondents mainly in the state of Baden-Württemberg. The future scope of further relevant research work and analysis is vast, and the potential for gender-specific work is also valid.

CHAPTER 6:

THE EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS OF SRI LANKAN TAMILS IN GERMANY

[T]he cultural field is transformed by successive restructurings rather than by radical revolutions, with certain themes being brought to the fore while others are set to one side without being completely eliminated, so that continuity of communication between intellectual generations remains possible. In all cases, however, the patterns informing the thought of a given period can be fully understood only by reference to the *school system,* which is alone capable of establishing them and developing them, through practice, as the habits of thought common to a whole generation." Pierre Bourdieu [99]

6.1 Introduction

One of the remarkable ways in which Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany strive to preserve their cultural tradition is by building a network of educational institutions and formal cultural organizations. Sri Lankan Tamils were known for their keen interest in providing quality education to their children, even back in Sri Lanka, before their migration.[100] Referring to her own community, Mrs. Parimala, a first-generation Sri Lankan Tamil immigrant and a mother, points out the following: 'Education has a great value for us as Tamils here in Germany and that education emerges as a specific characteristic of Tamil society all over the world.' In doing so, it becomes apparent that networking educational institutions is not tied to geographical location, since the cultural discourse of a society can exist and act independent of place through the process of transnationalism. Mrs. Tamilarasi, a teacher of Tamil school in Karlsruhe, observes that 'Tamil society is predominantly a kind of educational society, which is characterized by an emphasis on education and learning.' As a result, in traditional conception as well as in a dynamically evolving transnational network, education is perceived as a definitive feature of the Tamil identity. In this context, the reason behind promoting a conscious movement towards education within Tamil diasporic communities becomes amply evident. There is an active and specific placement, as the topic of education has been discussed in context of the Tamil society. It also becomes implicitly clear that the Tamil language, cultural heritage, and richness in terms of education and knowledge should be passed on to the coming generations. In this chapter, we present the networking that drives the structure and the functions of Tamil educational

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[99]   Pierre Bourdieu, cited in Chris Jenks (ed.), *Cultural Reproduction* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993, pp.10-11 (emphasis added).

[100]   Among the respondents, a good number of men and women stated that they had obtained educational qualifications much before their migration to Germany. It is quite interesting to also note that women were well-educated in the home country itself and had to come to Germany because their marriages was arranged with those men who had already migrated to Germany.

associations in Germany; it helps Sri Lankan Tamils not just preserve their cultural traditions but pass it on to the second-generation Tamils as well.

6.2 Education as Imperative

The education of children becomes imperative to facilitate the construction of new transnational communities. This is emphasized by the Saminathan,[101] the headmaster of a Tamil school in Stuttgart. He also says that Tamil children all over the world need to be shaped like *Tamil Arivulla Pilaikalaha[102]* (Tamil children of good education and knowledge), so that their native language and identity are preserved. Again, this is not tied to a specific location but refers to a more diverse notion of the Tamil home land. Here, a cross-border dimension becomes evident. However, parents, teachers, and school authorities identify with different meanings of education, such as the continuation and transfer of inter-generational indigenous knowledge systems, the instilling of pride of being a Tamil, and the need for a professional career and relevant opportunities.

6.3 The Aim of Tamil Educational and Socio-cultural Organizations

The primary objective of educational organizations is encapsulated by Saminathan, the headmaster of a Tamil school:

> All the educational organization unite us. The kids should know their 'roots' and 'identity' and learn to speak and read the rich Tamil language. But If we only aim to focus on reading, writing and speaking, our education will not deliver the desired performance what we want to achieve. A proper lesson plan to teach Tamil language is necessary to develop a good quality Tamil society in the future. A proper Tamil cultural heritage and language of education will enable the Tamil society to have a better status in Germany.

The goals of educational and socio-cultural organizations are, thus, naturally associated with the process of building local communities within which the younger generation find themselves situated. Moreover, in order to create a sense of togetherness through confidence and mutual identity, the second generation is also intended to be integrated into the wider Tamil cultural population existing around the world.

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[101] Saminathan works for long time in the Tamil education association for more than eight years, he is the headmaster of a Tamil School. He already has 17 years of experience in Tamil education in and around Stuttgart.

[102] The term denotes the younger generation of the Tamil ethnic group, known for their intellectual and knowledgeable curriculum through which they can prove themselves in all the educational fields.

6.4 Institutionalization of Tamil Educational Association

In Germany, Tamil schools are referred to as 'Tamil Alayam' (Temple of Tamils). The Sri Lankan Tamils across Germany ensure that students of the Tamil diaspora of the second generation are affiliated with the Tamil Educational Association. e.V'[103].

The Sri Lankan Tamils established the Tamil Education Association e.V in 1990. The founding father was Mr. Narasiman, a migrant Tamil from Sri Lanka. The Tamil Education Association center is located in Essen, Germany. It has various branches based on one's interest in a particular subject: education, examination, culture, sports, talent competition, intercultural cooperation, development aid in the home country (Sri Lanka) and so on. Altogether, 87 administrative staff are currently working as **voluntary promoters** of Tamil language and culture throughout Germany.

6.4.1   *Tamilalayam*[104] (Tamil school)

6.4.1.1 The Centers and Students

At present, in Germany alone, there are 136 organized Tamil schools, which have been classified into 12 regional networks. These are visited by more than 8700 Tamil students, mostly on weekends. More than 950 trained teachers have volunteered to help the students who take up the courses offered in these centers. These Tamil schools offer classes from the 1st to the 12th grade. Moreover, they offer what can be considered as kindergarten or pre-school classes for children between 3–5 years of age. The school structure also includes a Tamil kindergarten that is open to all children; 'This is also a part of the Tamil educational system,' says Meena, a school teacher.

6.4.1.2 Admission of Children

With regard to the age of the students, children aged three-and-a-half year are either admitted to Tamil schools or in Tamil kindergarten. There is no fixed rule regarding enrollment, since the younger siblings of a student are also sent along, usually just after their enrollment. In the beginning, a grading test is conducted. In this case, a teacher who is responsible for examining the students regarding their admission also determines the learning abilities of the

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[103] www.tbvgermany.com

[104] It is the term used for the Tamil schools and for the Tamil ethnic community in Germany. It is also means the Tamil diaspora all over the world to refer to the school of Tamils. This term also denotes educational schools as a place of worship. The Tamils consider that the knowledge of education they get comes from Goddess Saraswathi, and so the place of the education is known as Alayam (Temple).

children in terms of linguistic knowledge. According to their evaluations, the children are divided into the different classes. This means that not everyone has to start their education in a Tamil school from first grade; mixed age courses can be also found. With regard to the structural organization of a Tamil school, most of the rooms are allotted for educational instruction by public aid organizations such as Caritas, AWO, and Diakonische Hilfswerke,[105] or German public schools (See www.tbvgermany.com or www.arivakam.org[106]).

During my fieldwork, I observed that the children in the 1st and 2nd grades were merged if the number of students in a class was found to be too low. The lessons take place in a single classroom, but the children are grouped according to their respective class affiliations.

6.4.1.3 The Teachers of Tamil Schools

Apart from the normally appointed Tamil teachers, students who complete their 12th grade and finish their graduation courses can also work as teachers in the Tamil schools. In other words, these schools receive a lot of support from the younger generation of Sri Lankan Tamils who have completed their apprenticeship, either as junior staff or as junior administrative staff. This serves as an efficient system that ensures language preservation and the transmission of cultural memory and heritage to the coming generations of Tamils all over Germany

6.4.1.4 Basic Structure of a School Day

Proceeding from these primary observations, In the Tamil schools, I just want to define the daily structure of a typical school day. The structure of a school day is well designed and comes with a precise time stable. In my observation of the Tamil schools, I found that they have a recurrent and consistent daily routine. Below is a timetable of a typical school day:

1. Classification by grade level
2. Minute of silence
3. School anthem
4. Announcements
5. Speeches of students on different topics (occasional)
6. Classes
7. Short break

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[105] These organizations are situated in Germany and are known for their charitable actions in this country. They are based on the Christian churches in Germany.

[106] These are the official websites of Tamil diaspora community-registered educational organizations in Germany.

8. Lessons

9. Culture classes

As a rule, the lessons begin at 9 o'clock in the morning, mainly on Saturdays, and in some schools the classes are held on Sundays, sometimes beginning in the afternoon.

6.4.1.5 Tamil Schools Open to All

Although almost all the students of Tamil schools hail from a migrant background. Tamil schools are open to all, included children of mixed lineage. For example, there were a few children with a mixed racial background, with one of their parents being non-Tamil in terms of ancestry. There are also children who have parents coming from separate religions. The children of Hindu-Christian parents are also admitted in the school. There is no restriction in terms of language or race here, but most people who make use of the educational facilities are those with Tamil cultural roots. Officially, a Tamil school admits anyone who wants to learn the Tamil language. The openness of these schools also reflects the status of residence of the students. According to the information provided by an older Tamil school student, Ravindren, 'a student can go to school even if he has resident in Germany only for a few months.' Ravindren's parents died in Sri Lanka during the civil war, and now he lives with his relatives in Germany. Thus, it is evident that school registration is not specifically tied to legal residence permits.

6.4.1.6 Holiday and Fees in Tamil Schools

Most schools follow official holidays. 'The holidays in Tamil schools are based on the list of legal school holidays declared by the respective Federal States in Germany for the mainstream schools,' says a Tamil schoolteacher, Seetha.

There is no prescribed structure of the school fees. They are charged by the individual schools as per their respective needs and norms. Collecting fees serves the purpose of financing the Tamil School Association. Other sources of income include individual donations and funds generated through the organization of various cultural events. According to an interview partner, Mr. Dasan, 'the monthly school fee normally amounts to € 2 to € 10.' The amount depends on the rules of a particular regional school in the state and the number of children from a particular family attending school.

6.4.1.7 Central Annual Audits

The *Tamilalayam* schools in Germany also participate in the central annual audits organized by the TEDC[107] (Tamil Education Development Council). For this event, all students wear a uniform designed especially for them by the Tamil Education Association. For the special occasions like the Tamil cultural festivals and some school or religious celebrations, the boys wear white shirts and ties with the logo and black trousers while girls white blouses. Here, the color of the uniforms for both boys and girls is the same. The teachers also have a uniform and a dress code for these occasions. However, on normal school days, there is no fixed dress code. Both Western dresses and traditional Sri Lankan attires are worn by the students, teachers, and parents, according to their wishes.

On normal school days, many children are dressed up in Western clothes. Reshmi, a student, told me during her interview that 'I am fascinated by the school and do not want to attract attention of other students by wearing fashionable dress. When I come to Tamil school, I really wear *ollunga* [decent Tamil dress].' For Tamil cultural events, be it in schools or elsewhere, she would prefer to dress only in traditional clothes. Apart from everyday life in schools, there are other rules for exam days and the days of traditional Hindu festivities, which are symbolized by uniforms and traditional dresses.

6.4.1.8 Certification and Quality Assurance

On the whole, the students' performance in a school year is examined through a centrally organized annual examination. Certification (in the form of issuance of certificates) is also one of the Tamil school program conducted in the schools during the end or beginning of the academic year.

The certificates and grades are provided by the TEDC in France and forwarded to the Tamil schools via the Tamil Educational Association throughout Germany. Precisely, the certificates are issued not by the schools but by the Central Education Association.

Furthermore, the certificates are not separate sheets but provided as a booklet. This booklet has to be maintained because the students can study from the 1st to the 12th grade in these schools. Authentication or remarks are written both in Tamil and German. 'The organization intends that the students should be able to view Tamil as an "additional language"

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[107] TEDC: Tamil Education Development Council, which controls the Tamil schools by their activities and exams panel and awarding all over Germany.

in German elementary schools,' says Mrs. Thavamani, a Tamil teacher in Karlsruhe. Accordingly, the certificates are designed both in German and Tamil. Since the results are given in a booklet form after the yearly examinations, there is an assurance of assessing and appreciating the educational level each and individual student. 'Teachers can see how a student and progress has progresses from the first to the twelfth grade,' added Mrs. Thavamani.

6.4.1.9 The Main Task of the Schools

The central task of the schools and the intention of the founders are to enculturate the second-generation Tamils children and adolescents growing up in Germany, bringing them closer to their cultural roots and bringing their parents closer to them. The programs offered by these schools include Tamil language classes, history and religious instruction, dance classes, and traditional instrumental music lessons. (as mentioned earlier). The edicts of two religions, Hinduism and Catholicism, are also taught in these Tamil schools. The religious lessons last for about 45 minutes and are not compulsory for everyone. Only those who are interested can opt for these religious lessons.

6.4.1.10 Imparting Knowledge Regarding Tamil Language and History

In a regular class, the history of the Tamils is also taught, through the reading of texts in the context of linguistic teaching. Reena, a student, described that 'The Tamil language is taught to facilitate them to Know and understand the basics in Tamil, read books, and answer textual questions with the text book.' They also complete the tasks given in the workbooks, writing off texts and filling in gaps. 'Broadly speaking, it's about the learning process and developing skills in reading and writing the Tamil text' says Reena. She also adds that there is another subject called 'Sutham,' which can be compared to social studies associated with hygiene. The state-wide Tamil School Association in Germany also supports the construction of orphanages and primary schools in Sri Lanka, which is one of the primary tasks of the TBV[108] (Tamilische Bildungsvereinigung e.V) .

6.5 Hosting Traditional Religious Celebrations

Generally, traditional Tamil festivals and Hindu and Christian religious festivals are celebrated at Tamil schools, as mentioned before. This can be recognized on the feast days, although the morning routine (silence minute, school anthem, announcements) takes place as

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[108] www.tbvgermany.com. In this official website, one can find a listing of the cities where "Tamilalayam" schools (Tamil schools) exist in Germany.

usual. In many schools, Tamil festivities such as Pongal (the Tamil harvest festival), and Diwali, the Hindu festival of lights, are also open to the public audience. In the view of accommodating non-Tamil guests, a bigger hall or an extended room is also rented for cultural programs.

6.5.1 The celebration of Christian festivals

The Christmas celebrations that are particularly significant to the Tamils are organized together with other associations or in larger cities like Stuttgart, München, Düsseldorf, or Köln. They celebrate the same with Tamil Catholic Spiritual Welfare Organizations (Tamil Aanmiga Pannijagam)[109] in Germany. For this purpose, premises are rented and the occasion is celebrated in a grand manner, where even non-Tamil audiences are invited.

6.5.2 The celebration of Hindu festivals in the Tamil schools

'Two important Hindu festivals, *Saraswati Puja*[110] and the *Education Thuvakkirathu* (the start of a child's educational life), are usually held only at schools and not open for the public,' observed Reena. The *Education Thuvakkum Vihza*[111] is an educational initiation ritual among Hindus, which also coincides with the feast of the *Saraswati Puja*. This is also celebrated in the Hindu temples in Germany, where the Hindu priests perform the ceremony. In the schools, the teachers generally perform the rites. Indeed, *Saraswati Puja* is an important Hindu religious festival celebrated in springtime.

'These festivals are celebrated in honor of the Hindu goddess of wisdom and education,' stated Reena. During my field work in October 2016, I attended the feast held during this festival. It was interesting to note that lectures on the importance of student education were presented at the beginning, before the actual festival began.

6.5.3 The ritual of celebration

The main auditorium was transformed into a hall of worship on the day of the festival. The teachers all wore saris, a traditional Tamil dress. The mothers would tend to wear more

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[109] For the Tamil Catholic population, various catholic pastoral centres were formed. All the mass centres come by the control of Priest incharge of the Tamil Catholic Centre. Many mass centres are located in cities. Every mass centre is assigned to an already-existing German parish Church, in which all the Tamil Catholic ritual celebrations are performed. The Director or Pastoral Care Taker of the Catholic Centre not only has the responsibility of taking care of the spiritual needs of the Tamils but also celebrates mass periodically and even considers the pastoral needs at different mass centres in Germany.

[110] Saraswathi Puja is a Hindu festival in held honor of the goddess Saraswathi (Goddess of education).

[111] The day when Tamil children start their school lives, usually on the day of the Saraswathi puja feast.

Punjabi dresses like the Shudidar[112] and sometimes even normal saris. With regard to the children, I found a gender distinction in their dress codes. The girls all wore traditional Tamil clothing, while the boys almost exclusively wore Western clothes. The married men wore *Vetti* (a traditional dress worn by Tamil men. It is a lengthy white cloth tied at the waist, that falls to the feet) for the celebrations.

The parents were responsible for providing traditional meals and sweets such as collokathe, Pongal, Vadai,[113] and chickpeas. 'They also brought along Hindu deities (Saraswathi, Lakshmi, Shakthi) and puja articles such as oil lamps, viputhi, manjal, and kungumam,'[114] says Reena. Furthermore, they built up the altar for the feast with these aforementioned items. The (sweet) dishes were placed as offerings on the altar in front of the idols or the statues of the gods. On the altar, sweet food and dishes were placed as offerings. There were also other articles, such as incense, Vipudi, Santhanam, oil lamps, flowers, and a Veena or violin,[115] which were placed near the altar during the puja.[116]

After decorating and readying it, the students were asked by a teacher to place one of their textbooks in front of the altar. The students sat in the seats in front of the altar. The attendees around the altar were all supposed to remove their shoes. There were also ritual gestures, plays, and songs, all of which were parts of the ceremony. After all the demonstrations, the students and teachers shared the vegetarian meal and the dishes that were prepared and brought by the parents. Nevertheless, participation in the religious festivities was not compulsory. There was no general obligation to attend festivals, and I noticed it, to be common to all religious traditions.

6.6 Tamil Youth Organization (TYO)

The following information about the 'Tamil Youth Organization (TYO)'[117] has been collected partly through the official website of the association. Some members of the Tamil Youth Organization were also interviewed and information about the organization was collected.

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[112] Tight trousers worn by people from South Asia, typically with a kameez or kurta which is generally called Pubjabi dress in India. Pujnabis are people who belong to the Indian state of Pubjab which is situated in northern part of India.

[113] These comprise the special and typical cuisine of Sri Lankan Tamils.

[114] Oil lamps, viputhi, manjal, and kungumam are articles used during the festivals and prayers related to Tamil Hindu religious worship.

[115] Veena or Violin is a music instrument made out of stings and wood, normally used by the Tamils to play devotional songs.

[116] Puja is a prayer ritual performed by Hindus to host, honour, and worship deities. It can be also understood as the spiritual celebration of an event. (James Lochtefeld (2002): *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Hinduism* 2: 529–530).

[117] http://www.tyo-ev.com

According to the homepage, TYO is an organization predominantly constituted by the second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil youth, which has its origin in Hamm, Germany. It was founded in the year 2004, and at present it has 21 branches altogether in Germany. They coordinate with each other in different activities of the second-generation Sri Lankan Tamils.

6.6.1 Tamil Youth Organization and its network in Europe

TYO is not only present and active and in Germany but also in other countries through its networking with different branches. On their homepage, one can find different internet links of the Tamil Youth organizations in New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland, UK, the Netherlands, and Canada. All of them present themselves differently on their internet websites, and yet they have a common logo and the same goals in general. The process of acquiring membership in TYO is very simple. The TYO homepage allows one to directly register online to become a member.

6.6.2 Purpose of Tamil Youth Organization (TYO)

The main purposes of TYO are primarily to practice, preserve, and transfer Tamil cultural heritage to the next generations and to provide a basis for the integration of and peaceful coexistence between Tamil youth with people of other nationalities in Germany. It also aims to promote tolerance, solidarity, and a kind of mutual relationship among the Tamil youth population in Germany and in Sri Lanka, with a deep respect for human rights and values.

6.6.3 The task of the members of TYO

Being a member of TYO means that every member who engages himself or herself with other Tamil youths to serve the goal of the organization takes up one of the following tasks: supporting and helping the young people within the Tamil school system, writing articles on socio-cultural issues, designing event advertisement cards in websites, planning and conducting information evenings, organizing and conducting language and dance competitions and cultural festivals, training intellectuals and writers to report for newspapers and contacting political authorities are some of the main activities of TYO.

There are different projects which have been initiated by TYO, which aims at promoting young talent in education, culture, arts and sports, and cultural events, along with basic education about the abuses this community has faced in Sri Lanka during the civil war. It also gives importance to internal TYO events such as conducting seminars, panel discussions, and organizing different training programs for the Tamil youth in Germany. However, TYO offers

opportunities to participate not only within Tamil ethnic community but also in German society, for example, they also take part in the World Youth Day in every year from different countries. There are descriptions of some completed projects with pictures, which one can find in the official homepage of TYO. These projects are intended to help young people apprehend their Tamil ethnic history and identity in general.

6.7 National Level Networking of Tamil Socio-Cultural Organization

All these organizations created by the Sri Lankan Tamil ethnic community from different diaspora locations are always interlinked, e.g. Tamil educational organizations (*Tamil Bildungsvereinigung* TBV). Bilateral cooperation takes place between the educational associations and the respective schools. Here, a focused effort is made at the national level with central organizations like the TBV.

A broader cooperative structure can be created in the Tamil schools through the help of TBV. Since the school administration is subdivided in terms of region, they also cooperate within the respective locations. 'When Tamil language competition is conduced, several schools work together, both regional and sometimes national level in Germany. The examiners are teachers from the other schools. Local resources such as primarily school teachers from the same region, and they play an important role here. Here the resource "teacher" is shared within the schools. It is a give-and-take principle,' stated Arun, a Tamil school student. Other examples include events organized by individual schools, during which participating schools are given time and space to make their own contributions, especially in the cultural programs.

Through this organization, overall, resources are made available to others, be it in a personal or a public capacity. Sparing time for the projects of other schools at various events is very important, so that 'our relationship/bond should always be maintained,' as Arun stated. What has been emerging from these activities is an ardent desire to establish and continue a social bond with each other, which ultimately becomes social capital.. This is a universal norm that requires exchange processes and actions, entailing the preservation and continuation of relationships; it comprises not only a persistence of cooperation but also a totalitarian idea of stability. In the courses of these interactions, the effectiveness of these networks of cooperation becomes clear - it emerges as a kind of federal relationship. Both TBV and TYO strongly focus their efforts on maintaining social and cultural bonds.

6.7.1 Macro-micro network

Interaction between the local and central organizations is considered to strongly support the enculturation of Tamil youth. Angelin further stated the following:

> It is good to run the school under a Central education association. If one were to lead an organization on his or her own, the radius of impact would only take place within a region. Since, these schools are under the supervision of one central educational association, a macro-territory or a vast space can possibly be connected with micro ethnic Tamil ethnic group, particularly the second generation of Tamils. Throughout Germany, there is a sympathetic identification which develops between the schools of *Tamilalayam* and the individual units of the Tamil family due to the interconnectedness of organization and dissemination of cultural values.

Such a modality networking was essential to him. Therefore, in his opinion, it was important to run the schools under a larger central organization.

6.7.1.1 Religious cooperation and the Transcendence of Education

Among the Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany, religion also plays a role in their networking. Arun mentioned the temples in Germany without naming them and stated that they have a specific cooperation among themselves. 'There are no direct relationships, although it's evident the temples also have bringing all the Tamils together as its primary task in Germany,' he exclaimed. The temples in these regions also hosted all religious festivals, including *Saraswati Puja*.

On the other hand, a Tamil school headmaster opined that 'religious festivals in temples take precedence over celebrations in Tamil schools.' The headmaster even saw this as a tendency not to interfere too much in the territory of spiritual 'experts.' However, distinct power structures are indirectly visible in the temple celebrations in Germany. The involvement of different people situated in different levels of hierarchy opens up a symbolic power structure. The Tamil ethnic groups have a distinct consciousness such that religious feasts are celebrated in the Hindu temples in Germany but the practice of rituals at the Tamil schools also symbolizes them in a simple way.

The celebration of religious festivals at schools is not primarily associated with education maybe to a limited degree, but just to introduce Tamil religious festivals. 'If the festivals are celebrated in a grand manner by the school forum many of the parents would not go to the temple anymore and it would create rupture within the Tamil community,' states Milton.

The Tamil schools also function and cooperate with the Catholic Welfare Organizations in Germany. During the Christmas season, celebrations are organized in different parts of the

Germany. The Catholic Welfare Organization is well knit and forms a seamless system. It is mainly responsible for the organization of Christian festivals, in which they are experienced. The territorial differences in customs and the traditional approaches to the festival are closely observed. In this context, the administration of the Tamil schools are centered on the headmasters, within which this religious collective develops its space; the collective is strengthened through their involvement and cooperation.

6.7.1.2 Tamil Schools (TBV)

These aspects may be practiced both in the religious field and also in the socio-cultural field. There are over 30 such organizations in Germany. Some of these associations are members of the 'Confederation of World Tamil Cultural Movement.' They all have a meeting place and enable the maintenance and transmission of Tamil culture and language through dance, language, and music lessons (Baumann 2000: 116; Salentin 2002: 230).

Unfortunately, the literature does not contain any associated data. This is a global organization that brings together and partially organizes all Tamil 'cultural organizations in the various countries where there are a huge number of Tamils ethnic community settled,' as stated by Aranya.

6.7.1.3 Tamil Rehabilitation Organization (TRO)

There also exists the Tamil Rehabilitation Organization (TRO),[118] which operates nationwide, and its main focus is on educating people regarding Sri Lanka's political atmosphere. They also provide aid, supplying essential services required by those in need, in Sri Lanka. A central organization that can represent the interests of the local Tamils does not exist. However, such associations have been established at the urban and regional levels. For example, there are several associations in Berlin alone, such as the 'Tamil Cultural Center,' the 'Eelam Tamil Welfare Association Berlin' and the 'Eelam Parent Union'.

6.7.1.4 Migrant Tamil Sangams' Cooperation

In addition to religious associations, there are also those associations which look after the needs of people who are migrating or have already migrated.

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[118] www.tro.germany.org

The 'Migrant Tamil Sangams' (clubs) are important structural elements with respect to the Tamil diaspora in Germany. This club was founded some 30 years ago, at the beginning of the civil war,' says Christopher from Stuttgart, who himself migrated to Germany from Sri Lanka 30 years ago.

He also mentions that Tamil school, in cooperation with and mutually supported by associations like Tamil Mandram (it is one of the ancient community organization of Tamils), publishes various books, including the 'Tamil Maatham' (Tamil Monthly), which is published once per month. They books they publish contain information, photos of school events, such as sports, festivals, and cultural events. Furthermore, they encourage the Tamil schoolchildren to write poems, stories, and articles on different topics, which are published in the abovementioned magazine. These practices help the children in learning the Tamil language.

The *Tamil Mandram* also uses the schools as a sales platform for their publications. Since some of the articles and other contributions of the children are found in the publications, parents buy these books and magazines regularly. Another activity of this organization is to organize and conduct sports and other competitions during festivals, but they are still different from the schools. Many students enrolled in the Tamil school are also members of the abovementioned Tamil association.

On the whole, there is a task-sharing between the schools and organizations mentioned above. In the association events, which take place in the evenings, children can give speeches, perform plays, recite poems and stories, and sing. According to Seema, a Tamil schoolteacher, 'the school is there for learning Tamil and the Tamil Mandram that brings forth different methods and provides opportunities to develop different talents of the children.' Thus, knowledge acquired in these schools are put into practice in the programs organized by the Tamil Mandram.

6.7.1.5 Tamil Football Clubs

In addition to the Tamil Mandram, there are also Tamil football clubs in various major cities in Germany. It is also the task of the teachers in Tamil schools to ask if anyone wants to participate in Tamil football clubs or any other associations and promote them. Thus, it becomes clear that the schools also provide members for such associations.

6.7.1.6 Tamil Women Association (TWA)

There also exists an organization for Tamil women, known as Tamil Women Association, which promotes activities pertaining to women. The members come together on International Women's day and some other special occasions. Their programs are also announced in Tamil schools—the school principals and the students are asked to inform the parents. Cooperation with these associations depends on the aptitude of the members, the facilities available, and so on. Normally, in the cities these associations are organized quite well.

6.8 Education on Political Issues

In addition to imparting knowledge on the Tamil language and culture, furnishing the Tamils with the right sense of 'freedom' is an important goal of the Tamil educational organizations in Germany. 'As long as civil unrest and atrocities against particular ethnic groups prevail in Sri Lanka, which would be impossible to ensure an educational orientation on human freedom in Sri Lanka as it could be done in developed nations like Germany,' laments Tamil Selvan, a teaching staff in a Tamil school in Stuttgart.

He goes on to state the following: "(H)uman freedom is not limited to armed struggle as it is done in many part of the world, but it has to be transferred to the level of education." Selvan reiterated. He adds that he wouldn't want to address political problems or ' ethnic disputes, ' but stresses that the reality regarding human rights violations, individual freedom and the right for self-affirmation must be discussed within the common forums meant for Tamil diaspora communities. He also criticizes the government of Sri Lanka for deliberately presenting a fake interpretation of the history and about the Tamil people in the textbooks of schools in Sri Lanka.

This indicates 'a wrong practice of "not respecting" one's own country and people,' Selvan states. In general, he formulates that the government and its educational administrative body attempted to impose on the opinions among the students in Tamils in Sri Lanka. This is very marked in Sri Lanka, emerging as a cause for Tamils to voice against the Sri Lankan government. Thus, conflicts arise with the 'imposition of opinions' and the lack of respect for truth. Clearly, the political position of the Tamils and the situation in Sri Lanka are the driving forces behind an ethno-national pan education, which steers political orientation among the Sri Lankan Tamil ethnic community staying abroad.

During my interview, I personally asked Selvan whether it is right to mix politics and education; he answered as follows:

What means a government? (He looked at me emotionally) It is a political leadership. A leadership based on politics is a government. The government runs schools and they control over them. So, as far as we're concerned, the Tamil language remains as "one", just because our "Vanni,"[119] where the last battle between the Tamil tigers and the armed forces of Sri Lanka fought existed in a quasi-governmental organization. So, what did the Sri Lankan government do for the Tamils? Nothing. If we had our own country now for us, we would not have had to cry today".

Indeed, Selvan became emotional remembering the condition of Tamils in Sri Lanka.

Selvan claimed that schools around the world are run by the national governments. This means that it is a political act, and thus politics and education inevitably become intertwined. In this regard, he refers to the general practice in nation-states, wherein the mainstream schools are subject to the regulations mandated the state.

The 'Vanni' organization, acting as a quasi-governmental organization, has founded several schools. 'Political education is, thus, always a part of schools, since they are controlled by governments,' stated Selvan. Through this statement, Selvan tries to rationalize the blending of politics and education in the Tamil schools among the Tamil ethnic community spread all over the world. In this regard, the polemics between 'politics' and 'homeland' are to be considered in greater detail. As the starting point, one must delve into whether and how politics manifests itself through education and what influence it has on the education system in general.

6.9 Memories of Motherland

6.9.1 Home of our parents and relatives

As I mentioned in the earlier chapters, the Tamils' political movements in Sri Lanka engaged in recreation and developing Tamil ethnic diaspora educational and cultural organizations. Still, how was the function of politics seen by the instant respondents?.

In this vein, I wanted to hear how the participants see their home country or their parents' country of origin. Tamil Selvan believed that 'Motherland (Thai Naadu) is our essential form line.' The 'Motherland' is a kind of national vessel that altogether frames, organizes, and unites

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[119] "The Vanni Nadu (Tamil: வன்னி நாடு, lit. 'Vaṉṉi nāṭu') were feudal land divisions ruled by chiefs south of the Jaffna peninsula in northern Sri Lanka. These chieftaincies arose in the 12th century, with the rise of the medieval Tamil kingdom's golden age and the collapse of the Rajarata kingdom. The chieftaincies developed in sparsely settled areas and were ruled by Vanniars. An extension of the Jaffna kingdom's territory, the chiefs of the Vanni Nadu were, throughout most of their existence, tribute-paying subordinates to Jaffna. At 1621, the Jaffna Kingdom was conquered by the Portuguese and the Vanni chiefs became tributaries of the Portuguese Ceylon. The Portuguese colony in Sri Lanka was later taken over by the Dutch. During the Dutch rule, it witnessed Vannian resistance against the colonial rule; one of these was the rebellion of Pandara Vanniyan. Allied with the Kingdom of Kandy, Pandara Vanniyan fought using guerrilla tactics against the Dutch and British. At 1803, he was defeated by Lt. von Driberg, and Vanni fell into hands of the British. Vanni had been reincorporated with the Jaffna Peninsula to form the Malabar Coylot Vanni country, which later became the Northern Province of Sri Lanka" (source from Wikipedia, the free encyclopaedia accessed on 12.06.2019 at 4 pm.

all disparities. Furthermore, it establishes familial relationships among the Tamils, wherever they live. Here, it is also possible to recognize a hierarchy of meaning in which the homeland stands above the diaspora and leads to an (imagined) Tamil nation-state. It is imagined, because 'Tamileelam'[120] is seen by Selvan not as a material 'place' or 'land.' However, he puts this into perspective by explaining that it comprises the northeastern areas of present-day Sri Lanka. Thus, he again takes up the politically correct dimension of his earlier argument. It represents the whole nation, which had previously existed on a geographic micro level.

The emergence of a national consciousness occurred more often in my interview sequences with the participants. The psychological orientation towards a conceived 'motherland' led them not only to aspire for a separate country but also for a feeling of interconnectedness. Here, three different levels of referral were made to the parents' home country or their country of origin; the interview participants in schools, such as students, teachers, and parents, discussed the importance of ethno-cultural relations on emotional, territorial, and political levels. Here, the emotional level is characterized by their reliance on family and kinship networks among the Tamil ethnic community. A student, Revathi, who made a visit to Sri Lanka during the summer of 2015, said that she liked the island very much. This is significantly linked with the relational networks on the other side. She further asserted the following: 'My relatives and acquaintances are settled there. My aunt, my sister and my grandmother live there.' Thus, the notion of homeland derives from the importance of cross-cultural, interpersonal relationships. Therefore, the homeland as a physical territory does not play a central role here. The personal familial structures, such as the 'relatives living in the home country,' strongly inspired Revathi's positive inclination towards Sri Lanka, despite the cultural divide; 'That's why I liked it,' Revathi stated again. In her case, even her puberty function was celebrated while she was on vacation in Sri Lanka. When asked if she still maintains contact with her relatives in Sri Lanka, the student affirmed that her family keeps in touch with their relatives in Sri Lanka via phone, Skype, and nowadays very frequently through WhatsApp, which enables them to hold conversations and exchange pictures. However, it also becomes clear that communication is strongly encouraged and demanded by parents. 'If it must be and I'll talk to my grandmother'-this statement implies

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[120] "Tamil Eelam (Tamil: தமிழீழம் tamiḻ īḻam, generally rendered outside Tamil-speaking areas as தமிழ் ஈழம்) is a proposed independent state that Tamils in Sri Lanka and the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora aspire to create in the northern and eastern parts of Sri Lanka. Tamil Eelam, although encompassing the traditional homelands of Sri Lankan Tamils, has got no official status or recognition by the world's states. Sections of the Eelam community were under de facto control of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) for the most part of the 2000s.[5][6][7] The name is derived from the ancient Tamil name for Sri Lanka, Eelam". (source from Wikipedia, the free encyclopaedia accessed on 12.06.2019 7 pm).

that such communication does not always have to be voluntary in nature. The parents make sure that their children in Germany have regular contact with their relatives in Sri Lanka.

6.9.2 Ambivalent attitude towards the motherland

Sri Lanka is a beautiful country, one of the prime destinations for tourists coming from Germany.

Traditionally, Germany has most popular and noteworthy tourism markets in Sri Lanka. The number of German visitors has increased markedly in recent years: 46,000 in 2010, 56,000 in 2011, 72,000 in 2012, 85,000 in 2013, 103,000 in 2014, 116,000 in 2015, 133,000 in 2016, 130,000 in 2017, and 157,000 in 2018. [121]

The beautiful landscape of Sri Lanka and its climate has played a substantial role in the Sri Lankan Tamils' attachment to their homeland. In describing the island, Revathi had a peculiarly ambivalent attitude. If she previously described the country's beauty ('very beautiful country'), she talked about it negatively elsewhere: 'too much sand,' 'too much filth,' 'too many spiders,' and, small beetles,' Most importantly, she mentioned the horrifying destruction cause by the ethnic conflicts. She also described the climate in the country as marked by 'heat' and hot summer. Here she compared this with the weather in Germany, connecting it to the snow during the winter. The territorial distinction is fixed here on the basis of climatic conditions. She recalled some places, such as Jaffna, Madakillappu, and Nurwelia, which she had visited normally as holiday destinations. She also reported that she had visited tea plantations and had also taken part in guided tours, like other tourists. I really liked the way she narrated her travel experiences. Therefore, family relationships as well as the distinctive land and the climate of the island all play a significant part in enhancing the bond within the Sri Lankan Tamil migrant community.

It was also evident; however, that many students were not interested to go back to Sri Lanka. Three of the participants told that they were fond of visiting once at least. Overall, in my interview with the teachers and students between 2015–2016, they mentioned the unsuitable living conditions existing in Sri Lanka, asserting that they have no desire to migrate back to Sri Lanka anymore.

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[121] https://www.google.de/url:srilanka-tourismusentwicklung-in-srilanka-bis-2018. Accessed on 02.07.2019at 4pm.

There are many reasons behind the establishment of Tamil schools in Germany. There are always moments of policy-oriented education that can be located. The former civil war and the ongoing political situation of Tamils in Sri Lanka are implicit factors that have influenced their school organization in Germany.

6.10 Tamil Language and its Implications for Tamils in Germany

In the context of Tamil ethnic migration, the appropriation of the German and Tamil languages plays different roles. The appropriation of German in the state-run schools is not put into focus by the participants of the educational organizations. For example, the promotion of German by the Tamils was, in the opinion of Ram, not absolutely necessary. This opinion is also shared by other school leaders and many Tamil parents. Ram stated the following: 'We do not need to teach German them separately because there is no requirement for it. Every child in Germany has to attend a regular school by law, and German language is taught regularly.' Ram added that children who are born in Germany 'automatically' learn the German language. Thus, the acquisition of German while growing up in Germany and the compulsory school attendance serve almost as complementary aspects. 'All participants, including students, see and emphasize the importance of the German language for the development of their professional and academic future,' says Renuka, who also mentions that the division of labor in the mainstream schools and the community-owned schools is palpable in this context. As per the organizer's view of the school institutions, there is a serious need at the moment to concentrate more on Tamil teaching in Germany. This I especially the opinion since most of the Tamil schools function only during the weekends, and there is only a limited time frame in which they can convey their subject content to the children.

6.11 Tamil Language as the Guardian of Tamil Culture

The people involved in the educational organizations see a need to promote and concentrate on the dissemination of the Tamil language in the immigrant nations with the highest density of Tamils, in order to avoid increasing generational gap and curtail, to a certain degree, the total influence of Western culture. This teaching of the Tamil language is given a special place in the schools and regular classrooms because of its immense importance to the Tamil cultural worldview. Their native tongue also brings the Tamils together and binds them. According to Ram, 'Tamil acts as an integrating factor among the participants and the younger and older generation. It is part of cultural capital and has enormous significance.' The Tamil

language is characterized by Selvan as a 'meaningful Tamil language.' In my discussion and interviews with partners, they reiterated this issue several times. However, for Selvan, 'language' implies not only the spoken and written language or communication, but also 'Panpaadu'[122] (the right way of living as traditionally handed down by past Tamil generations).

A Tamil school headmaster, Ramanan, emphasizes the activities in Tamil organizations and events that he associates with his great attachment to Tamil culture. Therefore, he also likes to go to Tamil events regularly. In addition he stated that working in the Tamil organization school is understood as work associated with language and for the perpetuation of cultural codes. It is explicit among the participants characterize several layers of meaning and different references to the language of Tamil and the promotion of it in general.

6.12 Promoting a Generational Context and the Formation of One Nation

6.12.1 Perception of Tamil language use by students

By referring to the language of origin, a generational context is produced here at a micro level. In the Tamil schools, while engaging in informal class discussions and during breaks, the students communicate with each other in German. This can be observed even among the little children, from the age of three-and-a-half years. The German language is used for communication, although it is not officially allowed in the Tamil classrooms. One observes, however, that the students talk to their 'Tamil' friends in German; 'Even in the Tamil school, one speaks German,' observed a student. Another student noted that it is 'weird' to communicate with Tamil friends at the school in Tamil. The Tamil language here, particularly from the students' perspective, is seen as a fresh language that is used almost solely within the family or community settings in Germany. This is similar to learning French or any foreign language in a mainstream school; again, because it is a foreign language, one needs exchange projects or vacations in French-speaking countries.

6.12.2 Perception of Tamil language use by parents

The emotional state of the parents is ambivalent. On the one hand, parents are proud that their children are proficient in the Tamil language. Mary, a mother, emphasizes that her children are proficient in Tamil and do not use a single German word when they talk to her. But from the other side, she confessed to feeling some extent of powerlessness about custom of the German

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[122] 'Panpadu' is a term used by the Tamils to imply the Tamil traditional socio-cultural acts. Specifically, it indicates the Tamil culture.

by her Children at household. A Tamil mother addresses the reality that that her children use only German while they speak to one another. Another mother indicates that for Tamils living foreign, this is usual. Tamilselvan also added that the Tamil language is not yet fully applied abroad, especially among the second generation of Tamils, and he thinks that such a process will take some time.

The children are, thus, prompted in an ironic way to learn their mother tongue, as a cultural outsider. Of course, Tamil occupies a central position as a language seeping through generations and the informing the geographically dispersed relationship among the Tamil ethnic community. Thus, it enables the exchange of communication within the family or the familial network (even across borders). In general, the language is the link that keeps any ethnic community together or lets it emerge, especially through the moment of contact. This could also indicate that the Tamil parents in Germany have not acquired sufficient knowledge of the German language, and thus they find it difficult to express themselves and enter into conversations in German.

6.12.3 Emotional attachment to mother tongue

In addition to this functional significance of the Tamil language, there is also a stronger subjective factor. A few second-generation Tamil students have raised Tamil to an emotional level and describe it as 'Thaimoli'[123] (mother tongue). Though they are aware that German is important for their future lives here in Germany, they say 'Tamil is even more important to us [...] because, it's our' 'Thaimozhi.' Headmaster Ramanan also emphasizes that one's 'mother tongue' has to be mastered and the students should be fluent. Although he relates this statement directly to his daughter Radha, it also becomes apparent that knowing the native language also marks a commitment to the collective and ethnic community.

6.12.4 Tamil schools are our homes

During my visits to the Tamil schools, one female student mentioned that she was learning Tamil and read a lot, for example, on the internet about Sri Lanka. This implies that the knowledge of Tamil is important for obtaining information and news about Sri Lanka. Precisely, by qualifying Tamil as a native language, a connection becomes apparent, which unites the student body that has been growing up in Germany in a different culture or diaspora with respect to the mother country, Sri Lanka, which has come to represent family and homeland. On the one

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[123] 'Thaimoli' always indicates 'Tamil,' the mother tongue of the Sri Lankan Tamil ethnic group in Germany.

side, of course, the Tamil language establishes a direct contact and communication across generations. It connects the origin country of the parents of second-generation Sri Lankan Tamils. The language also builds up a community of people who can interact with each other, who would otherwise have remained strangers. By characterizing language as a mother tongue, the Tamil schools serve as the home of the Tamil language in Germany, as it were.

6.12.5 Language and nation building

In addition to imparting Tamil identity, some of my interviewees continue to regard the teaching of Tamil language as a means of promoting a process of nation-building and the formation of one nation. Regarding the individual nation-states, Nesamani, a teacher, strongly emphasizes that there is only one official national language in the territorial borders. A national context reflects a language that binds us all who live in that state and that usually does not dominate multilingual practice. As an example, he cites France and Germany as well as the French and German languages. He sees the application of language not as a political category but as a kind of 'love-based relationship.' It characterizes the nation-state's recognition of the language through their love for the language of the inhabitants of a particular country. Thus, it is essentials for a separate Tamil country (Tamil Eelam). Ramanan, for example, is convinced that the teaching of particular language would trigger the possibility of forming a Tamil Eelam in the long run.

Nesamani is also aware that the host countries would not allow them to teach about a country called Tamil Eelam.[124] 'This is the reason promoters language have to face many challenges from the governments, even in Sri Lanka. The government sees as provoking a desire for self-determination. But there arises the "necessity of a country," for example, like Tamil Nadu in India, which is inhabited mainly by the "Tamil People" and in Sri Lanka by the Sinhalese. Therefore, Tamil language teaching is important to us, because "through language one can convey the disappointment and painful feeling of having no land of our own.' This awareness can 'thrive' in the second generation of Tamil students, whereby the goal (as I have guessed the longing for a separate country, Tamil Eelam) remains unspoken throughout my interviews with the parents or the Tamil teachers.

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[124] 'Tamil Eelam' is a Tamil term which refers to the Sri Lankan Tamils' political ambition to attain a Tamil country separate from mainland Sri Lanka. In another sense, it is source of identity for the Sri Lankan Tamils.

6.13 Tamil Schools: Guardian of Culture, History, and Religion

Furthermore, the importance of teaching Tamil not only being used as a means of communication but also to fulfill identifiable functions is made clear by Ramanan's statement. For example, it is not only to enable one to read, write, and speak Tamil, 'but they will be proud to call themselves Tamils.' Pride is placed above the communicative aspect of Tamil language, and it is seen as conferring a personal identity to an individual as a Tamil. The importance of reaching this identification level through mediation and by perceiving it as part of the practical way of life is also evident in relation to the Tamil religion and culture. Accordingly, Ramanan states that 'I will follow the Tamil culture and its religious rituals.' This expression of culture and religious traditions is also a feature of the Tamil existence.

In this regard, Tamil language, Tamil culture, Tamil history, and the Tamil religion are other pillars of the Tamil educational system in Germany. A Tamil teacher, Thavamani, emphasizes the realistic cultural threat posed by the Western culture today: He adds the following: 'Customs present here jeopardize our Tamil culture. Pre-marital relationship, whatever, degree it might be, is not appropriate to Tamil culture, though in the Western countries people find it acceptable. You can see our students spend their time in German school but they should hold on to Tamil culture'. These words by Thavamani makes the threat clear, and he perceives that the younger generation has to be encultured into Tamil ethnicity thoroughly, so that they may not be completely swayed by the liberal culture that exists in Europe.

6.13.1 Promotion of two cultures for integration and survival

Ramanan, a TEDC[125] staff member, also observed that it was a cultural shock for many when, after the first civil war, Sri Lankan Tamils migrated to Western countries first. 'The situation here was totally different and contrary to our cultural environment. It was as we were blindfolded,' says Ramanan. In his statement, the experience of disorientation in the Western countries and the dissonance of their cultural values with Tamil society become very acute. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, the schools garner both Western and Tamil cultures. In everyday school life, there is an integration of both cultures- the culture of the country of origin and that of the host country. This is explicitly displayed by the singing of the German national anthem during school events such as sports, festivals, along with the participation of some

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[125] TEDC: Tamil Educational Developmental Council, www.Tamiledc.com

students in integration festivals, through which another interaction possibilities are established between these two cultures.

The two main aspects, cultural threat and culture shock, point to the experience of another culture as massively different and problematic. It requires cultural mediation and the appropriation of one's own culture. This could be applied as a strategy to overcome the differences and move towards 'foreignness' and, simultaneously, to protect oneself from it. Thus, the respondents emphasize upon the regular practice of cultural activities, such as traditional Tamil dance, traditional music, learning traditional instruments, and partaking in cultural and religious festivals apart from learning the Tamil Language.

6.13.2 Transmission of historical and religious content

In addition to conveying cultural content, the transmission of historical and religious content is also considered important. The importance attached to Tamil education abroad by teachers is indicated in the following quote by Thavamani: 'The Tamils have their interest and care for our ethnicity and our language.' The Tamil population abroad is portrayed by him as 'the keeper of the Tamil Ethnic community in general.' In this context, it is pointed out that these are not lucrative goals-'without interest in money,' but rather altruistic acts of preserving and portraying the socio-cultural achievements of an ethnic group. The care of the Tamil community is used as a means of legitimizing cultural school activities.

6.14 Exclusionary Discourses

6.14.1 Feeling as foreigner in the host country

In my personal interviews with various members of second-generation immigrant groups with different age grading in Germany, I found that most of the informants were born in Germany and very few of their parents shifted to Germany from other European countries. For those born abroad, however, their parents migrated to Germany and settled when they were very young. The majority of the interviewed members of the second generation stated that they completed their schooling in Germany. Therefore, all were found to be largely socialized in and integrated with the German context. Sruthi, a 21-year-old second-generation migrant Tamil girl living in Germany, asserted the following: 'I am not a migrant, may be my parents are. I am born and brought up in Germany and I am a citizen of the German country.' This indicates that the self-perception of the second generation is somewhat different from that of academic understanding.

The emphasis on the ethnicity of Tamils in Germany is an outcome of, on the one side, of course, the political situation in the origin country, and on the other hand, their socio-political position in their settled country. Repeatedly, a sense of 'strangeness' is perceived in the settled country. This aspect merged from my interviews of and conversations with the research participants. For example, the attribution of Tamils as 'foreigners' occurs in many of the interviews. 'When someone points out his finger at you and says "you are a foreigner," it clearly shows that I am an outsider. This impersonation occurs within a foreign environment. Having a German citizenship does not matter. Even if say "I have German nationality," it does not matter much in day to day life. WE STAY HERE as foreigners [stressed]. Just because the government has given me documents, nobody is going to believe I am German,' averred Thavamani.

Vijayan, a headmaster in a Tamil school emphasized that 'not even my neighbor knows about me correctly.' The repeated mentioning of the home country and the host country by the respondents indicates that they experience a distanced approach with respect to the majority communities in German society. This implicit demarcation is also recognizable in statements made by the Tamil school students. According to the statements of three schoolgirls who were interviewed, they felt more at home in a Tamil school than in a German school.

In this regard, it is too general to see a discrepancy in the German schools. However, I acknowledge that a distinction was perceived by the girl students, as the learners talked about 'other kalatscharam[126]' with reference to the German schools, explicitly saying the following: 'In German schools it is somehow distinct.' Here, one acknowledges that this perception is not negatively presented but is determined only by a sense of difference. Some other teachers in the Tamil schools also use this difference to create a distinction between Germans and Tamils.

Yet, most Sri Lankan Tamil second-generation interviewees in felt emotionally attached to Germany and were able to identify themselves with a sense of German identity. The terms German and Tamils appear inextricably related to concepts of ancestry and non-whiteness and avoid their identifications with these fixed categories. Specifically, some German as well as Tamils interviewees regarded themselves as proud about their identity, although an adherence to this affiliation in both private and public areas in a host nation always exists. In reality, in the current identity discussion, the country, the concepts of location, the ethnicity and the nationality

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[126] 'Kalatchram' the Tamil term indicates the Culture and it used by the Sri Lankan Tamil in Germany.

are usually played out, leading to a complicated terrain where members of the second generation of an ethnic community can negotiate identities.

6.14.2 Cultural difference and nationalism

A few respondents compare the culture of their home country with that of their host country, which is considered as an assertion of nationalism. Rokini, a sixth-standard class teacher, said that 'People say the Germans are known for their hospitality, but do they ask you "when did you eat? Would you like something to eat? No. But Tamils are not like that. We care about our neighborhood and people we meet. The guest is honored first. We are known for our hospitality (Virunthompal)[127]. But with the Germans, this was not the situation.

Here, an attempt is made making a connection between the two different cultural practices of two racial communities and to consider them as opposed in the particular cultural context. Partially, a strong nationalism takes place, but here it is largely linked to the opinion of a teacher, in response to a particular question that she was asked.

In accordance with such educational spaces, where multiple cultures, attributions, and affiliations evolve and come together, naturally ethnicity plays a central role. However, this is especially the case with the first generation and the objectives of the educational organizers in general. In order to analyze the ethnicity more precisely and concretely, I have been forced to discuss how the participants or educational organizers defined 'ethnicity'.

6.14.3 Tamils as a specific ethnic group

According to the representations of the protagonists, ethnic groups possess specific characteristics that give them a particular identity. Ramanan points out the following: 'Every ethnic group has its own individual socio-cultural identifying features.' This criterion of identification can include various aspects. For examples, he indicates a list of five ethnic identities; one or so of these features may evaluate anyone as belonging to a specific ethnic group.

(a)   Some ethnicities are based on religion, such as those of Hebrews and Muslims. This feature is location-independent and could have a global dimension, such as the Islamic society in Sri Lanka, Arabia, or elsewhere in the world. The language

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[127] 'Virunthompal' indicates the hospitality for which the Tamil people are renowned.

of this religion is always Arabic. Indeed, Islam is a race based on religion. The same applies to the Jewish believers all over the world.

(b) Ethnic identity based on one's country of residence. Ramanan cites the Chinese as an example: 'They are based on country affiliation.' Their country of origin is their distinguishing feature wherever they may subsequently go. The above applies to the Japanese people.

(c) Color of the skin as ethnic category should not be ignored, as it has a definitive ethnic feature. As an example, Ramanan cites 'black people,' who, according to him, have been defined and discriminated based on the color of their skin.

(d) Language is another aspect that informs ethnic identity: 'Some ethnic groups are based on language'.

(e) Finally, Ramanan introduces 'culture' as a feature of ethnic identity. As an instance of this, he cites the Tamils living in Africa, who no longer speak Tamil but adhere to Tamil cultural traditions and rituals even now. He says that their cultic or ritual language is Tamil, and thus they guard and have lived with it for centuries, together.

6.14.4 Tamil language as ethnic identity

When we look at the concrete identities of the Tamils, it becomes clear that several aspects of Ramanan's ideas are relevant. Regarding Tamil history, he points out that the Tamils do not have a religion-based ethnicity. 'Our individual identifying feature is not religion,' he stated. This is because the Tamil ethnic group comprises Christians, Hindus, Buddhists, and Muslims. There is a plurality in the people's religious affiliation in the 'Tamil countries.' Also, the Tamils do not constitute an ethnic group that can orient itself towards a particular homeland, since Sri Lanka has two ethnic groups - Sinhalese and Tamils. Therefore, 'we cannot make ourselves generally recognizable by the country.' 'We have no homeland.' The only redeeming factor is the linguistic definition of the Tamil identity: 'We have only one single feature, that is, our language. We are Tamil.'. This ethnic group is location-independent and can be located in Sri Lanka, Tamil Nadu, Malaysia, Singapore, or in the diasporic communities in the Western countries. The uniting element of the '100 million Tamils in the world' is the Tamil language, and not religion or any other ethnic features. 'Language alone connects us.' 'Language is the most important connecting feature for us.' 'Only the Tamil language keeps us together.' In these

statements by Ramanan, one recognizes that language acts as a uniting factor for successive generations. Therefore, there is an obligation to transmit the Tamil language, so that the 'Tamil ethnic group in the world is characterized and made visible'.

6.14.5 Physical feature as Tamil identity

Physical features also define the groups to certain extent. According to Thavamani, a teacher 'other than the language as a marker, there is also a physical dimension, which determines the primary identity. This is inescapable and visible to all.' This is how Ragavan (who is he)...defines the Tamil community, as 'people of our skin color.' Here, a connection is established between the Tamil ethnic community and the skin color of its members.

'Another aspect of migrant Tamils is their affiliation with other Tamil communities and the shared dispositions in a migrated country,' says Ramanan. The headmaster Vijayan feels that the Tamils are always associated with their own culture. He has a detached attitude towards German society and distinguishes himself from 'them.' He sets Tamil behaviors and Tamil culture as more or less compulsory and must be followed by Tamils in their daily lives. Also, he strongly emphasizes on the obligation to lead a life which embodies Tamil culture and practices.

Thus, the first-generation Tamils in Germany have a different perception of their life and their interactions with the people of their host country. Meanwhile, the students of the second generation have diverse opinions in terms of their self- perception and the general life of the Tamils living in Germany.

6.14.6 The perception of students

Even in the discussions with students who do not make a distinction between the Tamils and German, the abovementioned aspect becomes clear. To my explicit question directed at the Tamil students, asking whether they would dissociate themselves from the German culture, the answer was 'Nie' (never). However, a precise affiliation is not always defined. For example, two students said that they felt comfortable in German school more than Tamil schools. In another case, one student said she felt stranded 'in between.' Here you can see a diverse array of Tamil student affiliations, which are more dynamic than first-generation affiliations (in which clear demarcations were constructed).

6.15 Attachment to Tamil language due to Family Affiliation

The atmosphere in a family plays a significant role in evoking affection and emotional attachment to the Tamil language. Vijayan stated the following: 'My father was a headmaster in Tamil school in Sri Lanka, and I also realized from an early period the value of the Tamil language itself.' The strong bond with Tamil language is also based on matrilineal family structure and I grew up with the family members of my mother and that's why I'm extremely fond of Tamil,' said Sunitha. This affection was promoted by her uncle later, who is also a poet. The Tamils' 'affection for the country' and, thus, the implicit support towards their struggle for autonomy seems to have emerged because two of her cousins died as martyrs and two of her brothers had fought as freedom fighters for the free Tamil Eelam, Throughout the Sri Lanka's civil war. For a few respondents, their love for the Tamil language is also expressed by writing poems. They express feelings such as a desire for autonomy through poems and send such texts to Tamil schools.

6.15.1 Tamil language as a door to Tamil culture

I also asked about the importance of children attending Tamil school, and Sunitha answered the following: 'It is mainly to learn Tamil language learning.' However, in her opinion it goes beyond simply learning the language. Tamil should not be superficially learned as a language but something that unites the Tamil people. It should evoke their interest in this language and culture. She also mentioned that she used to take her children regularly for the 'public demonstrations' staged by the Tamils in Germany: 'That helps my children to understand the problems that exist in Sri Lanka.' Her family situation led her children to have affection for all Tamils. She emphasized her affection for her homeland, her family, and the wish that the Tamil language should not become extinct. This tripartite constellation, so to speak, caused her to pay attention to the Tamil linguistic bond.

6.15.2 Tamil language evokes love for country of origin

In addition to the family background, one's country of origin also plays a role in inspiring a sense of belongingness in relation to the Tamil language. Thavamani defines himself as a 'Teacher in Tamileelam.' This self-definition demonstrates his feeling of belonging to an imagined Tamil country. Throughout the interview, he speaks almost exclusively about the Tamileelam or Eelam. This image is mentioned by him as a free nation that actually does not exist in reality.

6.15.3 Tamils schools as promoters of collective feeling: 'we' and 'our people'

Another connotation of the Tamil identity entails being part of a collective identity. Sunitha, in her personal interview, often used the term 'We' and 'Our land.' Further, the use of 'ours' implies that there is an implicit demarcation of the 'other.' She speaks of 'our children' and 'our children born here.' Through this usage, she embeds herself in a larger collective Tamil ethnic community. In addition, Tamil schools are also seen as a place where individuals meet and speak to each other to get a feeling of Tamil culture. Vijayan, the headmaster, characterizes the Tamil school as a site of social interaction among the Tamils It's a platform for the Tamils to meet each other. Thus, the Tamils schools provide a structural opportunity to promote and maintain social interaction among the Tamils.

Sunitha speaks of 'my society,' when she refers to fellow Tamils. This implies that there are others, but she strongly feels she belongs to her society, that is, 'Tamil society.' Furthermore, a strong motivating factor behind parents sending their children to Tamil schools is that the children also get opportunity to meet other children and interact, developing a sense of 'belonging to an ethnic community.' Other mothers of school children whom I met during my visits in Tamil schools always spoke of a 'we.' This is still the sort of situation with the Tamil school students. It indicates a collective view and a declaration about a shared identity that appears to concentrate on ' being Tamil ' or living as component Tamil population in settled country.

6.16   Meaning of Being a Tamil

6.16.1 Being a Tamil is a political duty

Being a Tamil has means fulfilling many sacred duties. "Being a Tamil, however, may not be the only thing that has its place to the Tamil society, but at the similarly it is also a social obligation and a political duty," argues Sunitha. My discussions with the participants show that the emotional feeling of 'being Tamil' is the same everywhere. For example, in Germany, Sunitha sees the practice of sending children to a Tamil school as a form of supporting the autonomy project in their country of origin. This is seen as a minimum achievement to purge away the guilt of leaving behind their homeland and their fellow Tamils in Sri Lanka; though they may not be involve themselves in the process of liberation directly, they want to preserve the mother tongue Tamil. Thus, the educational goal of Sunitha is directed towards 'being Tamil'.

This ideal is also expressed through the participation of Tamil families in public demonstrations in Germany or in other European countries, aimed at clarifying the human rights abuses committed against Tamils in Sri Lanka.

6.16.2 Being a Tamil since childhood is enabling

Undoubtedly, being a Tamil since childhood was also given importance by the respondents.

Sunitha stated that 'growing up as Tamil from childhood is very important as it is the foundation for the future of Tamil ethnic community in Germany.' The importance of promoting a common childhood is strongly emphasized in Tamil schools and informs the success of the Tamil foundational education; learning Tamil language and other skills are secondary. This is explicitly visible in Sunitha' statement: 'Even if the children do not learn many things, it is a great success just to join the Tamil schools to grow up together.' The children would have to come together with other Tamil children and experience a Tamil childhood and atmosphere together. This seems to be the foundation for the desire indicated in the statement 'we must live as Tamils'.

6.16.3 Being a Tamil is more important than knowing about Tamil

The education and upbringing with regard to 'being Tamil' is also visible in the following quote from Ramanan:

'There are many differences in it, whether you communicate in the Tamil language or live as a Tamilian it does not matter. But a realization of ethnicity must be awakened in them. They should develop a deeper love for being a Tamilian, with Tamil consciousness and pride; marry a Tamil girl or boy and raise children with Tamil orientations. If possible, teach them Tamil, so that they can guide an entire Tamil generation. OK? So even if you have lost contact with the language, it is still important that they grow up in the Tamil culture in Germany.'

6.16.4 Being a Tamil entails living a dignified life

Ramanan points out that an emotional bond between a student and Tamil discourse (culture, language etc.) must be established for the Tamil ethnic community to prosper. This goes beyond the ability to merely speak the language and refers to the lifestyle of a person. It is about communicating an ethnic awareness, which is seen as a first step towards community building. It applies to any ethnic community in diaspora. This orientation is also emphasized by

Thavamani, the teacher, who further classifies his life as Tamil-style. Although he does not have any direct expectations from the students, he desires that they should be 'good and decent people, worthy of our Tamil ethnic group'.

Thavamani opens up another category with regard to 'being a dignified Tamil.' Furthermore, working as a teacher in Germany, he is strongly linked to his homeland. He says he does his job 'for my Poomi[128] (earth, my land), for my Makkal[129] (my people).' His locality also expresses his attachment to the place, which stands in relation to the host territory (Germany) and the people who live there.

6.16.5 *Tamilalayam* imparts Tamil Identity

According to Vijayan, the headmaster of a Tamil school, the most important function of *Tamilalayam* as an organization is 'to give identity to our Tamils.' Thus, the organization issues a 'certification' with respect to 'being Tamil.' The Tamil schools act as a centers that construct identities of the Tamils and renders them visible. The school enables the Tamils to become visible and be recognizable as Tamils within the society.

6.16.6 Tamil Consciousness is Unity

Ramanan indicates that 'Being a Tamil means the children should be awakened': he calls for the development a consciousness of belonging to the Tamil ethnic group. The awakening of this Tamil consciousness is seen as consequently a creating bond among the Tamils. This is not just a goal set by the organizers of the Tamil schools. Many parents are also conscious about the necessity for their children to be positively identified with other Tamils. For example, Priya, a mother, stated the following: 'My children should develop interest and affection for the Tamil language and for the homeland Sri Lanka. The children themselves should identify positively with it. This positive identification and life in the community should take place by attending demonstrations, getting to know the country's problems and learning the Tamil language'.

Here, you can see that the school is seen by the mother as an instrument to accomplish her child's educational goals and the vision of reaching out to the fellow Tamils as well as their homeland. This vision is shared by both the parents and the heads of the educational organizations. Above all, the objectives of learning and school interactions can be summarized

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[128] 'Poomi' is the term often used by the Sri Lankan Tamils, which refers to Earth but also implies the homeland or the country of origin in general.

[129] 'Makkal' simply denotes people in general, but it especially invokes the Sri Lankan Tamils as an ethnic group.

in a manner that they focus primarily on identification by means of the Tamil worldview and culture and, thereby, on the long-term integration into the Tamil ethnic society. Apart from this ethnicity, there is also an interpersonal affiliation or identification. This form of affiliation represents the institutional and familial dimensions of the participants within the Tamil school system.

6.17 Comparison Between the First and Second Generation

At the level of intergenerational relationships, another categorization occurs between both the generations of Tamils in Germany. Ramanan marks very clear cultural gaps among generations. When he says, 'our generation,' he means his age group of people which is known as his generation (first), and the 'new coming generation' as the generation of Second. The first generation experienced 'the change process in the middle.' On the other hand, the second generation grew up with the knowledge and the socio-cultural well-being of the host country and society, through regulated school education and social interaction.

The concept of 'standing in the middle' with respect to the first generation is discussed by Priya. There is a discrepancy in understanding Sri Lanka and Germany in terms of self-description. Priya narrates her difficulties in the host country, Germany. 'Life here is hard for me,' she says. However, she does not name any specific problem. She says "we were not born and brought here and don't have a good knowledge of German language".' This shows that the lack of sufficient is seen as deficient and implies more than one national point of reference-the home country, Sri Lanka, and the host country, Germany. This apparently creates problems for Sunitha. Regarding her sons, she said that 'the children do not have a discrepancy because from their perspective, they have no two references. They are born and brought up here and they have only one point of reference, Germany. They will have good life here; they're not having difficulties".

Due to her place of birth and adequate knowledge of the local language, Priya excludes the possibility of her children migrating back to their homeland. This is necessarily the case of several of the Tamils of the second generation; they completely discard the idea of migrating back to Sri Lanka, defining the country as a vacation destination. However, the second-generation students also seem to have two references: the German schools and the Tamil schools.

6.17.1 Perceptions differ according to generation

From both in my observation sequences and in the explicit statements and assessments of Vijayan, it becomes clear that there is a qualitative difference in the perceptions of generations regarding many issues related to their lives as Tamils. In this regard, Vijayan groups the faculty of the school into the categories of young and old. Their linguistic knowledge and skills are fairly low in the specific instance of the younger generation than those of older Sri Lankan teachers. When it comes to teaching skills, the younger generation, especially those born in Germany, tend to be better. Its distinguishing criterion is the method through which knowledge is communicated.

6.17.2 Teaching skills for all generation

In a generational comparison, Vijayan estimates that younger teachers are more competent and efficient. He even considers them as having 'gift for teaching.' Furthermore, the generational relationship is also constructed using the location of Tamil language acquisition. There is always a distinction between a current local language acquisition, which refers to Tamil learning in Tamil schools in Germany, and a past local language acquisition, which refers to Sri Lanka. In this case, a more or less generational comparison and a subdivision are made again.

6.18 Conclusion

Overall, the goals of Tamil schools—making children learn the Tamil language and facilitating school interaction—can be described as focal point of identification with Tamil culture, and thus makes the children remain within Tamil society. The organizers of the school institutions and many parents together support this as an educational goal. It can be observed that the first generation established access to Sri Lanka as their origin, and the second generation has built up a relationship with this country of origin, by attending Tamil schools and enculturating themselves with respect to Tamil culture.

The three pillars of education—culture, history, and religion—fulfill different tasks in the context of Tamil schools in Germany.

Cultural mediation can be considered as a response to the cultural threat posed by Western culture, as seen by many first-generation participants. It speaks of a 'cultural language,' which represents the central cultural element of the Tamil ethnic community schools, which is

also seen as distinct from the state schools focusing on 'communication language.' This is also a basis of the legitimation regarding the existence of Tamil diaspora schools.

Ethnically-specific cultural education in the context of multicultural societies in the Western states is not readily possible. These community schools also exist to prevent Tamil culture from disintegrating, as illustrated by affectionate interactions, respect for elders and officials, highlighted by the participants during the interviews.

In addition, the Tamil schools provide a platform for practicing and facilitating cultural observance as a community. As a collective category, it has a supporting role in terms of complying with and preventing the overexpression of Western cultural behaviors. Simultaneously, there was also a complex area with regard to the target group's cultural mediation and the notion of "Nagarigham"[130] which makes it possible and permissible to adapt to a host culture.

Culture interacts with history. History is a characteristic and shapes the identity of an ethnic group. Through the different historical exploits, a sense of pride in belonging to an ethnic group is conveyed to the students. Furthermore, the transnational space makes it possible to exert influence on interpretive sovereignty regarding the context of history, which is reflected in the shift and the reinterpretation of history in the existing Tamil textbooks.

The third pillar, religion, makes it clear that Tamil culture and Hindu traditions are closely interwoven. Indeed, this points to a ritualized and transcendent education with and without explicit reference to religion. Religious actions, through different festivities, are performed and demonstrated in Tamil schools, due to its strong practical relevance to the Tamil culture. Prayers and rituals during the festivals serve to consolidate and maintain traditions. This illustrates the attempt to build communal harmony and a strong community foundation. There is certainly a correlation between religion and education-*Saraswati*, the Goddess, is herself an embodiment of education. Further, education is worshipped within the Tamil religious discourse. The festival of *Education Thuvakirathu* reveals that education -oriented religious actions are also performed by teachers.

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[130] 'Nagarigham' is a term often used by the Sri Lankan Tamils, which not only simply means culture but also implies the culturally educated.

This illustrates that the function of teachers is somewhat related or equal to the function of religious specialists. There is also an attempt to equate language, culture, and history to the different forms of worship within Tamil culture. Tamil schools are considered as 'temples of worship,' so to speak. Due to their noble endeavor of inculcating and perpetuating Tamil culture, Tamil consciousness, and building up of a Tamil community, Tamil schools are seen as the 'holy of holies' of the Tamil ethnic community in Germany.

CHAPTER 7:

THE TRADITIONAL MARRIAGE RITUALS AND PRACTICES AND THE PERCEPTION OF SECOND-GENERATION SRI LANKAN TAMILS IN GERMANY

The meaning of ritual is deep indeed.
He who tries to enter it with the kind of
perception that distinguishes hard and white,
same and different,
will drown there.

The meaning of ritual is great indeed.
He who tries to enter it with the uncouth
and inane theories of the system-makers
will perish there.

The meaning of ritual is lofty indeed.
He who tries to enter with the violent and
arrogant ways of those who despise
common customs and consider
themselves to be above other men will
meet his downfall there". Xunzi [131]

7.1 Introduction

Practices of marriage rituals and related customs have got a major part in the life of Sri Lankan diaspora Tamils, in particular for the Tamil young generation in Germany. Marriage celebrations and the search for a suitable partner are the main elements that transcend many other themes and perspectives explored in my research. The persistence of marriage customs and the manner in which Sri Lankan Tamils celebrate marriage were the starting points in my research and made me go deeper into the fieldwork. In the early days of research, when I visited Sri Lankan families, I found that almost 85% of Sri Lankan families have problems related to the marriage of their children. The discussion about marriage begins as soon as their children attain the age of marriage.

Additionally, throughout my fieldwork, I found that the respondents had clear similarities in their experiences and opinions related to the marriage concerns that exist among Sri Lankan Tamils. In this chapter, I shall present data related to marriage concerns, customs, and rituals among Sri Lankan Tamils, particularly those of the second generation in Germany. I strive to explore how they view the tradition of marriage and marriage celebration. The final part of this

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[131] Xunzi, Burton Watson, trans., *Hsün Tzu: Basic Writings* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 94-95.

chapter also reflects upon the common expectations that the second-generation Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany have regarding marriage. These may be highly hypothetical at this moment, as most of the participants in my interview were unmarried and thus do not have the experience of dealing with children. Yet, I find that it is very important to compare their views and ideas with the prevalent customs among Sri Lankan Tamilians.

7.2 Traditional Marriage Customs of Sri Lankan Tamils

Before we do so, it is important to look more closely at the general cultural values of Sri Lankan Tamils regarding marriage and how their reactions to non-customary relationships affect the choices and decisions they make regarding marriage in general (Hennink, M, Diamond, I and Cooper, P. (1999)

7.2.1 Religious beliefs and marriage customs

There is a strong connection between religious belief and its impact on the diaspora Tamil marriage procedure. The Christian Tamils in Germany preserve an identity that is heavily rooted in Hinduism, in particular the Hindu culture, in a manner that is flexible yet respectful to the Christian faith (Jebanesan, 2003). Christian Tamils have reinterpreted Hindu traditions in Germany as being a 'cultural act'[132] and the religious division between Sri Lankan Tamil Hindus and Christians has rendered it unclear whether traditional marriage practices are religious, cultural, or both. Many recognize that the custom of introductions and negotiated marriage is another cultural way of ensuring more people of Tamil ethnic backgrounds and, in particular, 'caste'[133] identity preservation.

7.2.2 Caste equations and marriage

Specific caste consideration also figures much more in the Sri Lankan Tamil group's lives, although they are conscious of caste distinctions. This awareness can and does affect young Tamils in the diaspora's marriage process (Fuglerud, 1999). In the same way, dowry is also an important feature of Tamils weddings, though it is less common among the Tamils in

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[132] Hindu cultural acts are more rooted in religious traditions, and both are sometimes interrelated.

[133] "The term 'caste' was initially connected with India and some of the traditional Classes inherited and rigidly stratified in South Asian nations, but now as a noun could be used to indicate any one of the social groups characterized by shared features such as rank, financial wealth, or occupation. The root of caste is the Latin word castus, meaning 'chaste' or 'pure, separate.' By the 19th century, however, this noun was metaphorically used to define any sort of group that resembled this, as in the instance, 'Some tried to abolish the privileges enjoyed by an elite caste of company and monetary rulers.' Through the Portuguese casta, which implies race or lineage, the term originated in English and was first used in the 1700s in reference to the social stratification structure of Hinduism". Source from Wikipedia accessed on 22.05.2019 at 10.30 am.

Europe, who came from Sri Lanka. However, in the marriage process, it continues to play a significant economic role (Jayawardena, 2000).

7.2.3 Ethnicity and marriage

Ethnicity figures strongly in the information collected by the Tamil diaspora group on marriage, which also contributes to further discussion and debate on this point. However, the concern for the Tamil community in Germany is far less about the ethnic divide between the Tamil and the Sinhalese and more about the possibility of a second-generation Tamil having a relationship with someone living in Germany who is not Sri Lankan. Some parents are reconciled with the reality that they can at least 'marry out' their children. However, for those who wish to follow a blended ethnic partnership in marriage, there is still some sort of societal pressure and unwanted tensions.

7.2.4 Gender relation and marriage

With reference to the marriage gender equation, the expectations from a boy and girl are construed differently by Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany and also in Sri Lanka (Morrison et al, 2004). Certain socio-cultural pressures are put on women and not on men. For example, a girl who is to be married has to maintain a good conduct and have a good reputation, she should avoid talking loudly and too much in public places and in common gatherings, when men are present she should walk gently and speak politely and not in an self-asserting manner, etc. These are considered qualities appropriate for a girl to be married and the expectations of these qualities are still apparent. In the name of traditional Tamil culture there is a definite pressure exerted upon girls once they attain the age of marriage, sometimes even as early as when they reach puberty. The pressure is not as strong on younger, school-going girls.

7.2.5 Educational status of women and marriage

It should also be noted that emphasis that Sri Lankan Tamils place on education, particularly on women, is associated with the status and suitability of females in the "Marriage market" (Brah,1996). In these situations, the significance of migration and transnational marriage is restricted, but it is essential to note that some modern Tamils have crossed international boundaries in Germany to seek an appropriate partner within a specific caste group. In this case, the more educationally qualified they are, the more difficult they find getting an equally qualified life partner in the case of arranged or parental-introduction marriage. Sometimes, men are also more likely to want highly qualified or educated women for the better

nourishment of their children in the future. In general, among Sri Lankan Tamils, education plays a role in the Sri Lankan Tamil marriage market.

7.2.6 Marriage and divorce

The inevitable need to consider divorce emerges only with further debate about marriage (Shaw, 2000; Singh et al, 2006). The Sri Lankan Tamil ethnic group strongly criticizes the act of divorce, and it is viewed as an unnecessary and divisive aspect of Western culture. Divorcees, especially females, face numerous social issues within their communities: Embarrassment, rejection, and, at worst, even community ostracization. Divorced men get married again more easily than the women among the Tamil community. Divorced women are not accepted easily, even by their own parents. Divorce is still not popular in the Tamil community in Germany; concerns about violating the social taboo are still highly present, and there is growing pressure on people to ensure that their marriages stay intact.

7.3 Understanding 'Love and Romance': West and the East

Studying the nature of marriage in the cultural context of South Asia also reveals that the ideas of 'love' and 'romance' differ from Western culture. In the Western world, couples are expected to randomly meet, fall in love with one another, and then decide to live together and settle down in some form. In this context, the concept of 'romance' and 'romantic love' is also very essential. However, the freedom to meet randomly is bound (Lalonde et al, 2004; Gardner, 1994, Singh, 2006; Sri Ram, 2004). After or even before marriage, moving to a neo-local residence is typically practiced by most German couples. The term 'neolocal residence' refers to married couples creating an autonomous household where emphasis is placed on the autonomous nuclear family.

However, among Sri Lankan Tamils, marriage is still inherently linked to family, status, and duty. The couples remain attached to their extended families after marriage rather than moving to a neo local residence.

In South Asian society in particular, the notion of family life is fundamentally linked to marriage. Maintaining caste hierarchy and community status is the linking component of two families. Hence 'love' and 'romance' are considered secondary to the wants and wishes of the whole family (Trawick, 1990). Even after being a diaspora community and having been exposed to Western culture for a long time, these understandings of the traditional marriage system continue to persist among Tamils in Germany.

Second-generation Tamils, however, often live away from home. They usually move out for university or to begin their careers, and they thus possess more freedom. Keeping a relationship secret is easier for them. Hennink (1999) points out that this is generally true of South Asian females. The participants, both men and women, remarked that just like their German counterparts, moving away from home provided them higher freedom and independence in everyday lives. Specifically, women, with their personal space, felt far more privileged in terms of mobility than they would have in an orthodox Tamil society. They escaped such burden without severing the connections between family and society. They also mentioned the challenges of balancing their two lives in Germany: An unrestricted and free personal life away from home and the more official and limited lifestyle with parents, respecting the social and cultural traditions and customs of Sri Lankan Tamils.

7.4 The Second Generation and Their Perception of Marriage Customs

For the second generation of Tamils in Germany, the slow progression of mixed ethnic relationships seems inevitable. However, many first-generation Tamils are anxious about the ongoing loss of identity and thus promote future generations to actively seek an identity-preserving Sri Lankan Tamil partner. In Germany, the second generation of Tamils, more exposed to the Western conception of love from a young age, attempts to balance their own desires with the honor of their parents and the Tamil community. Quite a few interviewees expressed that they prefer to meet and 'fall in love' with their future life partners. But their love for their parents and their respect meant they were ready to take part in some kind of initiation. During my field work, I witnessed second-generation Sri Lankan boys going back to Sri Lanka to find their life partners.

7.5 Parents and Family Honor vs Individual Desires

The attitude of 'family honor above personal happiness' was given prominence by some respondents. This is due to the close-knit family structure and a dependence on parents for a longer duration. Kingly, a university student of Tamil origin stated:

> My parents, especially my dad, have certain expectations from me. They have a deep love and respect for their tradition and culture. The way they follow is also the way and I have to follow it in future. They have placed a profound trust in me. Actually they have sacrificed so much for me and for my future. They did not have even the basic enjoyment (having annual holidays, dinner out, etc.) in their family life as other German couples do. Shouldn't I bring them the joy of letting my partner choose them? That's what I'll inform my parents, "the final decision in choosing my life-partner is yours".

He clearly places family honor and happiness above his personal freedom of choosing a life partner. The young boy thinks of the sacrifices his parents made for him, which has an enduring effect and meaningfulness for his future.

7.6 Arranged Marriage Moves Smoothly

Reena, a nineteen-year-old girl from Ettlingen, Karlsruhe, perceives marriage in relation to enduring Tamil tradition. She states:

> In particular, I would like to approach marriage in a romantic manner, of course. But I'm not against the arranged marriage custom as well. May be as I get older I start seeing the arranged marriage in Tamil culture is just an expansion of speed dating and such things. Our Tamil people have a stronger concept of genealogy than the non-Asians... In our concern, actually all the marriages are considered as arranged marriages. Arranged marriages like religion move smoothly and are enduring. The marriage customs may or may not change in the future. What it is here today is not what it was in India or Sri Lanka 50 years ago, nor is it what occurs here in Germany.

This statement may be of the experiential knowledge she has, as she lives with her parents and other Tamil families. Family tussles and misunderstandings between married couples exist, but marriage, however, moves on.

7.7 Longevity and Marriage

Continuing the highlight of cultural traditions' significance, 22-year-old Jone noted, 'For the elderly generation, officially arranged marriages imply love evolved over time. It was more essential in itself to find a life partner and to be ready to work for the stability and longevity of marriage than romantic concepts of love today'.

Another respondent, Ram, a 20-year-old part-time Stuttgart student stated: 'If you start to realize this, it's not simple to meet someone who thinks in this way of marriage at this point. Even if you want to, who is prepared to stick to it? So I can see why it's a love in itself, remaining with it for so long.'

7.8 Second Generation and Pre-marital Relationships

In general, Sri Lankan Tamils give utmost importance to the purity and innocence of individuals before and after marriage. A high degree of personal moral values is expected of the younger generation. The lifestyle of keeping a girlfriend before marriage is totally unacceptable and is considered immoral to many Sri Lankan Tamils. Due to family structure, community interaction, and social ties, any rumor about a boy or girl having a premarital relationship could adversely impact family honor. Consequently, future opportunities for marriage in the family are

at risk. Premarital relationships are abhorred. However, during my field work, I found out that many interviewees of the second generation, both male and female, have experienced at least once or are continuing some sort of pre-marital relationship.

More than half of the participants replied they currently have a partner or at some point of their life had one. This would normally be private or lead to arranged marriage with their parents' approval. 'Dating' is still uncommon in the casual sense, as we understand it in Germany, among the Tamil ethnic community, although it is much more prevalent among the wealthy middle-class households. However, both the first and second generation of Tamils are exploring a new pattern in premarital relationships, having a relationship with the supervision of the parents.

Freedom of Life Style and Gender equation

The Sri Lankan Tamils' field of pre-marital relationships and, sometimes, a second-generation sexual experience proved to be an area where the men and women of the community got a notable distinction. From the field work, I learned that a very few boys and girls of younger generation, are attracted in pre-marital relationships, ranging from short, temporary dating periods to longer, more intense relationships and staying together. Most of these would take place in universities and workplaces, away from the community and familial atmospheres, while many Tamil women discouraged any type of premarital relationships between partners. Sometimes, this has created serious issues within these families. Sheela, a 22-year-old girl, shared how she was completely neglected and disgraced by her family members once she told them about her relationship with a boy during her study in a university. However, the boys, in relation to pre-marital sex, are treated harshly.

The Tamil cultural residue, that views men as superior to women and that a man is entitled to liberal attitudes regarding his sexual life before or after marriage, is expressed in Tamil '*Ampalai*'[134] (He is Man). It is immensely hard to adjudicate and point out the accountability of this specific theme among Sri Lankan Tamils belonging to the younger generation. The Sri Lankan Tamil women may have been more hesitant in ensuring their privacy, and they would sometimes be unwilling to discuss the above issues in a common public place, while the males would act with more bravado and autonomy. However, it is very apparent that there are quite a number of variations in how men and women are handled and accepted in

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[134] The term denotes the 'Man' and implies the manliness, courage, and braveness of men among the Tamil community.

the Tamil ethnic community in Germany, with regard to pre-marital relationships. The Sri Lankan Tamil ethnic community is a unique and specific migrant group in relation to representation of gender and academic performance across Germany; both men and women of this community are actively motivated to study and work towards achieving higher degrees at universities and other educational institutions.

Also relevant to the second generation of Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany is the fundamentally stereotypical perspective of South Asians in general, particularly their interest in studying law, medicine, computer-based subjects, and accountancy; in this context, there are no gender differences particularly with regard to the expectations of parents from their children. Both men and women of the new generation in Germany are motivated and encouraged by their relatives to take up extremely skilled roles and statuses in the German community. This was intimated by the number of respondents in this study, who are studying in demanding and well-paid professional jobs in sectors such as medicine, law, and the so-called white-collar jobs.

7.9 Supervised Premarital Relationship

Some of the parents are accepting love marriages and show a positive attitude towards premarital relationships as practiced in Western culture. Mr. Udhya Kumar stated, 'I have no problem with premarital relationship. If my son loves a girl, any girl, that is his wish. I will certainly accept his love and do the needful, because we live in Western country and it is normal here. If young boys or girls want to meet their partners, we parents should talk to them and guide them whether they are aware of the dynamics of such relationship and can handle such relationship.'

This statement also indicates that many parents are aware of the situation in which their children are growing up and their need to be understood and assisted without sacrificing family honor and tradition. Thus, parents and children are gradually beginning to attach importance to assisted relationships instead of shunning love marriages or premarital relationships.

7.10 Premarital Relationships and Concealment

However, in Germany, secret premarital relationships appear to be much more prevalent among the Tamil community, but they continue to be difficult for the first generation to accept, particularly for some of their families. For the second generation, the importance of family acceptance and obligation persists, which makes it harder to balance the comparative ease with which people in Germany 'date' with the expectations and desires of their parents. Secrecy,

therefore, plays a significant role among many young Tamils living in Germany, in which they perform multiple roles based on their life context. In Germany, the entire migratory experiences of the first generation of Sri Lankan Tamils developed a powerful instructional ethic in the Tamil diaspora. From there, such premarital connections are seen as a distracting and divisive force in their Tamil cultural value system. As Ram points out, 'Sri Lankan Tamil parents are either unaware or unsure of the interactions of their children or choose to turn a blind eye, even if they know about it, shifting some of the blame that the wider community may attribute to them if the connection emerges between the Tamil diaspora in Germany'.

Kingsly points out that either parents have no knowledge of it or they are in full denial of any situation. The youth disguise any kind of girlfriend-boyfriend relationship that their parents would deny. Disapproval can be a very hurting thing among the Tamil diaspora and sometimes leads to divisions among the families.

Many of my second-generation interviewees and case studies reports were transparent to private freedom. But when it came to questions about their pre-marital relationships, i.e. living together, they also agreed that this was not suitable until proper marriage has taken place. Although the first generation disapproves of these kinds of relationships, the second generation of Tamils in Germany also partially follow the beliefs of respect and etiquette that their parents possess about relationships and traditional marriage practices in particular.

7.11 Necessity of Stability and Purity in Marriage

Some female respondents view marriage in term of purity and its value in the tradition. 'There are also many young people like me in the second generation who don't want to live in or have premarital relationships with someone before they get married. You get married, I'm not interested in the whole concept of "testing the field" at all, and that's bullshit. You get into the marriage if you want to marry somebody. I understand obviously that these are the kinds of traditions that come from Tamil culture, and once you get married it is forever. It is not until you get legally divorced,' says a 24-year-old Tamil girl, Reena, from Stuttgart.

7.12 Three Views on Premarital Relationship

From the data, we see three views on marriage emerging:

1. There are young individuals who are unwilling to publicly break the norms of society and maintain the traditions of Tamil marriage.
2. There are a few who are ready to push the boundaries of what is considered acceptable.
3. There are others who like to have premarital relationships but prefer to keep their activities secret.

There is also the generalization of the third point by one respondent. 'I could dare to say that that nearly everyone's relationship is secret. It is primarily to safeguard the name and fame of the family as well. No one wants to think badly of his or her parents. The Tamil community in Germany or anywhere in Europe is quite scary of being tarnished of family and cultural reputation,' says 25-year-old Ajay from Karlsruhe Technical University.

7.13 Pressure to Uphold Family and Cultural Tradition

From my interviews on pre-marital relationships and marriage, I realized the pressure was heavy to maintain the Tamil ethnic community's values and integrity of the family; however, it is evident that females face far higher stress and more constraints than males. Disapproved of customs or traditional conducts may lead in the negative labeling of a young Tamil girl or woman ('loose girl' or 'unworthy'), affecting her likelihood of a 'decent' marriage later in her life.

Anu, a 24-year-old girl from Bad Cannstatt, Stuttgart, whose parents are searching a husband for her, stated, 'Whether it's our own parents or any other Tamil parents, once they get to heard about their daughters' premarital relationships, if there's a talk in the community that this or that girl is going out with this or that boy, and if individuals say they've seen a boy and a girl going after so and so, our parents will obviously think 'there's a character flaw in our daughter.' This sort of rationalization takes place in a typical Tamil family setup. Regarding pre-marital sex and living together, a few girls and boys were a little hesitant to open up in the beginning. It took a little more time for them to speak frankly as I am also a Catholic pastor. But it wasn't a problem for them in due course.

7.14 Family Consent and Relationships

It is believed that the relationship between them are far more severe when one brings along their partner to introduce to their family and friends. The introduction of partners to family and community members is a clear measure that the relationship is moving towards marriage. Therefore, a girl or boy is always under tremendous pressure to find someone fit for marriage or to maintain confidential relationships.

Although most second-generation Tamils have, at some stage, been in a relationship, they are hesitant to make an absolute commitment to it for fear of the parental and community response. They find it difficult to bring an 'outsider' to Tamil society due to the subsequent trouble he or she would face in understanding and adhering to the Tamil community's cultural and social norms.

7.15 Assimilated Ethos on Marriage

This issue is reiterated by several of my participants. "My partner, with whom I broke up about six months ago, walked away after three and a half years, and I really believed I was going to actually marry her and have her as my life partner. But it's not so, because I believe it has something to do with my cultural origins. I didn't think about it deliberately, but it functions naturally," states Vinoth, a 22-year-old Stuttgart university student. Spontaneously encultured and assimilated cultural values prevent traditional values from being broken. Another Stuttgart student, Muhil, mentioned that dating someone from a mixed Sri Lankan Tamil and white German origin enables her to have the best of both worlds. 'But I understand the complexities and requests of the Tamil community in Germany as well'.

7.16 Selection of Marriage Partner and Role of the Parents

The incredible similarities between the marriage processes of Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany and other Tamil Diasporas outside Germany are significant aspect of my study. Many explained that as well as their parents, other members of the family and community can be involved in the search for a suitable partner. An Interviewee told her grandmother and aunt have been heavily involved in the introduction process:

I stayed with my grandmother and my aunty decided to do it. She came from Canada and she's like my mother. She knows what I need, what is my taste and everything. So the proposal

was made and earlier I said no and after I said yes after we got to know each other (Manisha, Female, 26)

In Germany the strong sense of obligation to family values and parental expectations exists, however there is more resistance to arranged marriage. Again, in many cases, it is not necessarily the parents that are directly involved with the matchmaking process. Other family members take responsibility, for example older aunts and grandmothers. Traditionally it is a female, matriarchal activity, and men are rarely involved. However, in Germany mothers are tending to be more lenient and fathers more restrictive.

Most marriage ceremonies are formal in South Asian societies because it's a lengthy process. The two sets of parents will meet in the beginning and then the partners will come together to get to know one another. If everything goes well, the ceremony of engagement, the distribution of invitations, and then the marriage will take place (Ballard et al., 1977; Shaw, 1988, 1994, 2000; Stopes-Roe et al., 1990). There is a separate change from what Singh et al (2006) identifies as 'difficult' marriages to 'soft' marriages, in which people are more autonomous and free from restrictions in their choice of marriage partner.

It is clear that 'negotiated' marriages are much more prevalent in the Tamil ethnic group in Germany than 'love' marriages. Only a small proportion of those interviewed among the Tamils of the second generation said they were actually happy to let their parents choose a partner for their lives. Most would prefer not to involve their parents in their own choice of marriage partner, but in this respect they understood the pressures and unwanted tensions faced by their parents within the Tamil ethnic community and the desire to preserve the ethnic identity of Sri Lankan Tamils.

However, in my field study, a few interviewees emphasized that the Sri Lankan Tamil community in diaspora and also in Sri Lanka, is not often involved in 'forced' marriage. We hear, however, about the types of pressure being imposed on marriage formalities by both the family and the Tamil community.

7.17 Arranged Marriage with Approval: Cultural Innovation

Strictly speaking, in arranged marriages, the parents choose his or her life partners irrespective of his or her consent. There is a modification taking place within the system of arranged married. "Yes, marriage is quite arranged but with slight change. The "would-be

partners" are introduced to each other and given a certain amount of time to get to know each other to develop mutual understanding. This is usually the transition that takes place in the marriages arranged. But here, once proposed, there is a certain amount of social pressure on the "introduced partners" to get married ultimately, particularly from parents and families. The system hasn't totally transformed the structure. It's not just the introduction and the eventuality (the breaking-up option). There is still a certain amount of obligation and control on the partners," says Reena, a 26-year-old medical officer in Aalen.

7.18 Cross-Cousin Marriage and Obligation

The second generations of Tamils are aware of how the procedures of 'formally arranged' marriage worked earlier and why they are reluctant to take part in it now. Anika, a 21-year-old student from Heilbronn says, 'My Papa sometimes jokes and informs me that it's traditional for our family to get married to his sister's son. I tell him that he is not fit for me! I have done biology. I do know that if I marry my cross cousin, the chances of giving birth to deformed kids are high.'

Generally speaking, Sri Lankan Tamils are becoming conscious that the traditional concept of 'arranged marriage'[135] is being quickly substituted by 'parental introductions'[136] and 'negotiated'[137] ways of finding spouses (Stopes-Roe et al, 1990; Shaw, 1988, 2000). Everyone understands what is expected of them and many are determined to seek an appropriate life partner within Tamils. Some are happy to allow minimal intervention by their parents with 'blind dates' and organized introductions (Modood, 1997). Additionally, it is recognizable that there are several 'love marriages' taking place within the Tamil community in both Germany as well as the other diasporas of Sri Lanka, although it is hard to describe the word itself with its full ramifications. Rahu, an Ettlingen University student, points out, 'I would love to have love marriage for me. I'm going to be totally upset if my parents arrange any other sort of marriage for me'.

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[135] "Arranged marriages" are known as the marriages when parents have found the life partner for their children. This marriage understanding actually takes place between the parents of the couple.

[136] It is a type of arranged marriage where the life partners might not have known each other before but the parents might have found a suitable partner for their children decided on the marriage.

[137] It is also type of marriage that takes place through the negotiations of the marriage brokers with the parents in general. It is common in Tamil families.

7.19 Different Perception on Traditional Marriage

In Germany, it is amazing to note that in their understandings of marriage, the Tamils who hail from Colombo and those from Jaffna differ noticeably. The Tamils who have lived in Colombo, the capital of Sri Lanka situated in the southernmost part of the country, show a greater degree of flexibility regarding marriage traditions. On the other hand, the Tamils from Jaffna, which is situated in the northeastern part of Sri Lanka, are more reserved when it comes to marriage traditions though have settled in Germany for long time. Authors also note that the Jaffna Tamils are traditionally far more deeply conservative in culture and concerned with and rooted in caste, while the Colombo Tamils are more flexible (Jayawardena, 2000; Fuglerud, 1999). Therefore, in Colombo Tamils, 'love' marriages are more frequent than in Germany's Jaffna Tamil group.

7.20 The Involvement of Parents in Marital Choices

Considering the involvement of parents in the marriage process, it will be worth mentioning that too many second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil interviewees are happy about the assistance of their parents, although most like to take the final decision to choose a partner.(Stopes Roe and Cochrane 1990; Modood, 1997; Anwar, 1998). Therefore, both in Germany and other diasporas, the traditional picture of the antagonistic construction between the South Asian parent and child is challenged.

Children's intention to please their parents and make them comfortable is a value that, particularly in the diaspora scenario, cuts across all cultures and societies of South Asia. The young Tamils in Germany, however, are conscious of the significance of preserving their cultural identity and respect within the Tamil community. Thus, many second-generation Tamils voluntarily involve their parents and seek parental consent while making their marriage choice. 'We're actually waiting for our parents' approval. If they give it, it's okay, but if not, we'll have to give up our decision most of the time. So we need to get their consent because we believe very much in their blessings, without which we can't live our life peacefully,' asserts a Vinoth University student. In addition to parental consent, in happy married life, the component of 'grace and blessing' is regarded as very precious. Anika, a teenager from Karlsruhe, says, 'In fact, those of us who live in Germany as German citizens would like to select our own partners, but in our case as Tamils need to select partners that our parents would approve, and this method is not as convenient as one dreams'.

7.21 Involvement of Other Family Members on Choosing Partners

During my case study, many respondents among the second-generation Tamils explained that there are also people other than their parents involved in choosing their life-partners. These include aunts, uncles, grandmothers and so on within the family and marriage brokers, professional matchmakers, who generally have the names, castes, photos and other necessary details of many of the possible for marriage, both boys and girls, especially girls. It is traditionally a female, matriarchal activity, and it is rare for males to be engaged with it.

The grandma and the aunts are involved in the introductory process in many households. 'I was living with my grandma and aunt to commence my marriage process of seeking a partner for my life. My aunt[138] is like my mother and she came from Canada. She knows what is my need, my taste and everything about me. So the proposal was made by her. Though in the beginning I said "no" to the proposal, after becoming familiar with the boy I said "yes,"' says Anushia, a 26-year-old working girl from Ettlingen, Karlsruhe.

Other respondents also reiterated the role of the older family members in the process of enculturating values to the second-generation family members. Gauthem, a 26-year-old second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil from Pforzheim, highlights, 'My paternal grandmother has a larger part to play in my life and in searching for a suitable marriage partner. She lives in Canada with my aunt and she is extremely gossipy. She controls my dad very much. Whenever she hears stuff from people about me, she would complain to my dad. My dad would then get distressed about it and would be hard on me when he returns home. It shows the network among the Tamils across the sphere even in sharing news about private life of people'.

7.22 Traditional Father and Generous Mothers

In Germany, however, mothers tend to be more gentle and fathers more restrictive. 'My father is more conservative than my mother. I am getting older the pressure to choose a life-partner is increasing more and more. So, I meet the proposed boys purely because of the pressure of my father which makes me think my dad looks like an evil person. He really gets upset with my mother because he believes that my mother should convince me to accept the way he proposes,' said Anika, 24, from Esslingen, with a sense of disappointment.

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[138] In Tamil culture the terms 'aunt' and 'uncle' do not necessarily refer to the siblings of the parents. In the Tamil circle, the concept of kinship is much broader than in German usage; even relatives over several corners can be called 'uncle' and 'aunt'.

7.23 Religious Festivals as the Site of Marriage Arrangements

7.23.1 Fixing and the role of the religious festival in Hamm and Kevlar

Religious festivals and centers of religious celebrations occupy an important place in the procedure of marriage fixing among Tamils in Sri Lanka. Here in Germany, too, such traditional practices are being continued among the Tamils.

7.23.2 The *Kamadchi-Ampal* Temple in Hamm and Tamil cultural integration[139]

The Sri *Shankarar Kamadchi Ampal* Hindu Temple is Central Europe's biggest South Indian temple. Since completion and inauguration on 7 July 2002, the Sri-Kamadchi-Ampal Temple in the town of Hamm. It is the biggest Dravida temple in Europe and the second biggest Hindu temple in Europe after the North Indian *Nagara-style Neasden Temple* in London. The goddess *Kamadchi* statue surrounds the temple and blesses the city and its people by the annual temple festival, in which a procession of car with statue attracts more than 25,000 faithful and visitors from all over the world especially across Europe. The focus is on effective practice on integration and cultural exchange for all the Tamil people here in Europe. The cultural center will lead to knowing their own cultural heritage and various traditions, especially for young adults of the modern generation.

7.23.3 Site of Social Interaction

In Germany, the Hamm Kamadchi-Ampal temple acts as a place for Tamils to 'meet old friends, meet new people and get married' (Wilke, 2013, 163). Sivathamby calls the religious festivals a 'social event' and says that they create a 'sense of participation' (1990, 173; quoted in Wilke, 2013, 156). Not only are the priests actively involved in temple feasts, but the faithful, through their active participation in the festivals, make such an event possible and create it as a social event in Hamm. Thus, it may be incorrect to interpret the religious celebration as a pure desire for social contact, especially since then not so many vowing practices would be initiated in Hamm (Luchesi, 2003, 115; Wilke, 2013 ;136, 156, 163).

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[139] The "*Sri Kamadchi Ampal* Temple located in the city of Hamm (Westf.) was the biggest Dravida Hindu Temple in all Europe The it has been blessed on July 7, 2002. This temple is dedicated to goddess Kamakshi outside the South Asia. The Sri Lankan Tamil Hindu community in North Rhine-Westphalia has around 3000 people. In total, about 45,000 Tamil Hindus live in Germany and they regularly visit this on different occasions." Source from Wikipedia, accessed on 20.06.2019, at 3 pm.

7.23.4 Meeting place of Tamil devotees

Numerically, the largest influx of people in the temples in Hamm was recorded during the fortnightly temple festival or on the main festival day. For example, it is estimated that the number of participants on 26 May 2016 exceeded 13,000[140]. On the main day, in a public procession, the replica of the goddess *Kamatchi* is placed on a *Ther*[141] (chariot) and the ***Ther Pavani*[142]** goes across the streets of Hamm. The devotees follow in and around the chariot by huge procession. Along with the procession, there is a *Samapanthi*[143] (community joint meal), vowing performances, and also big market[144]. Women and men mostly come in traditional Tamil garments like *sarees* and *vesti*[145]. The majority of the participants are Tamils from different parts of Germany, but many believers also come from other federal states and neighboring countries such as Switzerland, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands (see Baumann 2000, 149; Baumann, 2003c, 56; Luchesi, 2003, 100, 114f; Wilke, 2003, 161).

7.23.5 The Christian site of Social Interaction

Tamil Christians, too, have carved out a place of religiosity for themselves in Germany similar to that of their Hindu brothers. They too live out their Christian religiosity as they did back in Sri Lanka. The highlight of this event is the pilgrimage to Kevelaer[146] in August. It is like a family reunion for Sri Lankan Tamils all over Europe. In addition to the Tamil Catholics, Hindus also worship there. Sometimes, Tamil people from Canada, Australia, and Singapore also come and join in this pilgrimage. It is also important that scattered relatives and friends from all over the world meet in Kevelaer again. Most have been living abroad for more than two decades after fleeing the bloody civil war in Sri Lanka.

In Germany alone, around 60,000 Tamils live, many long naturalized. For thirty years, the pilgrimage to Kevelaer has been as important to them as places of pilgrimage like the *Madhu*

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[140] www.google.de, Hamm, Kamatchi Temple.

[141] Ther´ the term in Tamil refers to chariot.

[142] The Tamil term 'Ther Pavani' is translated as the traditional 'chariot procession,' which will be dragged by the Tamil Hindu devotees in the streets with flower decorations.

[143] Samapanthi, the term in Tamil refers to a joint meal, it is actually a free meal served for the huge number of devotees on that particular day of the temple feast.

[144] The market sells everything from Tamil films, saris, Tamil foods, to Tamil television shows. It is like big shopping area where the people can buy things.

[145] 'Sari' refers to a traditional cloth worn by Tamil women. It consists of several yards of light material that is draped around the body. 'Vesti' and 'Thundu' are the traditional Tamil clothing for men.

[146] It is a small town in Germany near Achen. This place is known as a pilgrimage place of Mother Mary for the Christians in Europe, where people frequently go for their prayer service. It is also a famous pilgrimage place for the Sri Lankan Tamil Christians, where they gather for their ritual service once a year—around 25,000 people.

Madha[147] in Sri Lanka. Here, a few thousand people gather in the month of August from Germany and neighboring countries, and they make their pilgrimage to the portrait of the 'comforter of the afflicted.' On this day, there is a pilgrim's mass and a Eucharistic Feier. This event also brings together over 10,000 Tamil participants. However, the participants are not only Tamil Catholics, but also Hindus. Baumann estimates that Hindu pilgrims would form about 20–30% of the total crowd (2000, 115).

The two central annual events in Germany, the temple festival (*Ther Fest*—feast of Chariot) in Hamm and the pilgrimage to Kevelaer, play an important part in religious life alone along with the social function of Sri Lankan Tamils. These two religious events become well-known occasions in the procedural constitution of marriage among the Tamil diaspora. Most of the time, in these places, marriage negotiations and settlements are performed. Nowadays, these have also become places to find marriage partners. These places of worship, religiosity, and celebration function in some sort of 'public spheres' where people come together, interact, and add dimension to the place as sites of social functions without any hesitation.

7.24 The Younger Generation and Religious Sites

7.24.1 Mixed voices on religiosity

When asked if the Hamm temple has any meaning for her, Anu, a university student, replied, 'The "*Ther festival*," that is, the day of main festival and the day of the procession, it means "nothing at all," because it misses the real function somewhere.' She also says that many people only go shopping or to get saris. For the Tamil youth, the Ther-Fest is a kind of 'Tamil Love Parade.' The motto of those was 'to be seen and see'[148].

Regarding these religious celebrations, another Tamil girl, Jeyasri, from Stuttgart, states, 'I was not interested to attend such celebrations because they are not about prayer itself.' She also added that, 'I will not take part when "Ther" (chariot of God) is on the way, because first of all the streets are full and secondly I want to be undisturbed while praying.' From her statement,

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[147] The name given to Mother Mary by the Sri Lankans in Sri Lanka.

[148] The researcher is a Tamil from South India and has the lived experience of religious festivals and pilgrim centers. He is aware that in the South Asian context, religious festivals are not pure spiritual experiences, but include social dimensions too such as the meeting of people, buying and selling of things, entertainment for children, food courts for the pilgrims, display of new dress and ornaments, and socializing facilities for the grown-ups. Anu, the girl who responded, has grown up in Germany and thus a certain degree of rationalization of spirituality has gone into her understanding of religiosity. Hardly any girl of her age back in Sri Lanka would view these festivals as missing the mark.

we can understand that she prefers private devotion and that the temple should, in her opinion, be used as a place of prayer and rest.

It can be seen that Jeyasri speaks against the alienation of the temple festival and against the misapplication of the religious day. However, this is denied her in Hamm at the '*Ther Fest.*' Nevertheless, she is not opposed to a visit to the temple. 'I would like to go to Hamm Temple, but not at peak festivals times.' Though she has not gone to the temple herself, she has knowledge of the procedures going on during the festival. It can be assumed that information about the festivals are conveyed through other students and friends, an indication of having a social network among the younger generation of Tamils.

7.25 Marriage Traditions among the Hindus and Christians

The Hindus and Christians form two separate religious groups among Tamils. The way each group performs marriage processes is distinctive and special. In terms of marriage norms and traditions, both the Hindus and Sri Lankan Tamil Christians originating in Germany are culturally conservative. Yet, the Sri Lankan Hindu Tamil community appears to be more traditional than the Christian Tamils in some instances. Many Hindu Tamils still participate in extremely traditional practices such as matching horoscopes, seeking assistance from marriage brokers, and the like. Thus, Hinduism is rooted in many of the traditions and cultural events that define the Sri Lankan Tamil identity (Jebanesan, 2003; Hellmann-Rajanayagam, 2004).

The rituals connected with marriage norms and marriage ceremonies are therefore inextricably linked and rooted in the religious Hindu faith, leaving Christian Tamils with a cultural dilemma. Christian Tamils are intent on keeping a separate identity from their Hindu counterparts, while at the same time feeling forced to uphold their initial 'Tamility' (which is inherently linked to Hinduism). Christian Tamils thus adopt many of the traditions identified as Hindu, especially in Germany, but reinterpreting and rediscovering them into cultural symbols of identity rather than religion. "The Christian Tamils are sometimes forced to follow Hindu traditions, but it is always possible to say no. Some are following them and some are not. Many Christians, however, feel that cultural elements and Tamil marriage traditions are part of Tamil society and do not see it as Hindu," said Milton, a 23-year-old university student and part-time worker.

7.26 Horoscope and Marriage Arrangement

In Germany and other parts of Europe, many Hindu Tamils continue to follow the traditional system of 'scrutinizing horoscopes.'[149] If the analysis of the charts the horoscopes of a boy and girl proposed to marry is incompatible, even after their proposal the couple will be advised not to marry' (Anu). Although many Tamils of the second generation do not agree with horoscope matching, they go through it to appease their parents and family. They even discovered the horoscope scheme to be helpful at times, as it provides an 'escape plan' for unwanted proposals. "We also verified our horoscopes. I don't believe in horoscopes actually, I don't. But our parents still want to have it and I don't want to make them unhappy by answering no. So after our meeting each other, we understood that we are in love, our horoscope matches as we love began," Stated Milton, a Tamil Christian youth coordinator from Stuttgart.

Among the Tamils in Sri Lanka, families still depend on marriage brokers to seek appropriate partners using horoscope matching and photos. In some cases, the broker brings the photo and horoscope to the family and the parents check the horoscopes first. Only if it fits, they proceed for further enquiry. If the horoscopes match, then the specific boy or girl's picture will be asked for. Here in Germany, a few families still practice this traditional custom. However, it seems to be fairly uncommon. Marriage partners are sought and matches are found more frequently through social networks, marriage websites[150], family, friends, and through religious organizations.

7.27 Mixed Marriages: Religious Dimension

During my field work, I enquired about the possibility of mixed religious marriages. Most of the participants agreed that they would prefer to marry partners belonging their own religion. Even many second-generation Tamils prefer to have partners from their own religion. 'I'd rather have a nice Christian spouse with whom I can have a better understanding, who knows me well. We might have some differences between us but it is easier to talk to each other. The religious side is very important for me,' said Joycy, a 24-year-old girl whose parents are in search of her partner. Perhaps the respondent is pointing to the similar formation in terms of religious values, the possibility of following religious rituals, and feeling comfortable in attending exclusive religious gatherings.

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[149] A forecast of the future of a person, typically including personality and circumstances, depending on the comparative positions of the stars and planets at their moment of birth.

[150] These are some well-known websites for those seeking a marriage partner: www.tamildarling.com/ www.srilankamatrimony.lk, https://www.srilankanmatrimony.com/ https://www.thali.lk/ www.ilayathapra.com.

7.28 Gender Relationship and Preservation of Tradition

Some of the parents of second-generation Tamils are in mixed-religion marriages in Germany. Anu, a 23-year-old girl, describes how her parents, who come from Christian and Hindu traditions, faced opposition and how they negotiated the hurdles from their own family members and Tamil community members when they wanted to marry. 'My mother was a Hindu and she got herself baptized (a ritual of Christian initiation) and converted to Christianity solely to preserve the reputation and social status of her husband (my father) who was a Christian'.

Tamil society is patriarchal and the wife is usually expected to enter the family (patrilocal) of the husband and convert to the husband's religion. "If a male person changes his religion, his fellow men would taunt him in their peer group gathering, stating "are you a real man?" My mom stood up against her parents, saying, "I won't let my husband change his religion and taunted by his friends. I would like to be converted to the Christianity". So a few days before the marriage my mom converted to Christianity and they got married in the Christian church," stated Jeni, a 26-year-old working woman in Aalan. The above mentioned statement gives an indication of how Tamil women look at the cultural tradition of marriage, the necessity of maintaining the honor of her husband in the community and self-assurance with pride, 'Wherever I may be, I am Tamil woman'.

7.29 Christians' Attitude to Mixed Marriage

In Germany, Sri Lankan Tamil Christians are more flexible about mixed ethnicity marriages than Hindus, although they are still very traditional. In general, among the Christian Tamils in Germany, the ethnicity will not be major problem in marriages if the partners are of that same religion.

I discussed mixed ethnic marriage with Jeni, a 17-year-old high school girl, in detail. She shared her own experience of following her sister's marriage with a Christian German and the reaction of the family members and the community. 'My own sister married a German; they had an affair and married. Their marriage continued without any difficulty to be fulfilled. If a Christian girl wishes to get married to a German boy who is also a Christian, it would obviously not be viewed very strange by the parents. They think that she is to remain Christian after all'.

7.30   Religious Traditions vs Religiosity in Mixed Marriage

During my conversations with them, both were questioned on how this would impact their traditional marriage ceremony, as Christian and Hindu traditions are really different. Sophie's boyfriend is Hindu, while she's a Christian, and they've discussed how to negotiate this for better acceptance in married life. In this situation, couples choosing two forms of marriage is growing in popularity, or sometimes they try to integrate the two into one ritual.

'In fact, I want to get married as we do in Church and have the same traditions as my parents. But I've learned my partner already. He's Hindu, so I don't realize how his parents and family will be hurt because he told me they're quite religious. I don't understand how we're going to be integrated into their family yet,' articulates Johncy, who just finished her college from Ludwigsburg.

I also met a Hindu girl, Revathi, from Esslingen during my case study. She would like to get married to a Christian German boy. Although she does not consider herself a very religious woman, she identifies with Hinduism[151], as it is her family tradition. Therefore, to please her parents, she would like to have a Hindu marriage ceremony. Her boyfriend, a white German, is pleased to follow this traditional Hindu marriage ceremony too.

Renuga, 21-year-old university student said: 'I'm always going to say I'm a Hindu born girl. However, like my parents, I'm not a Hindu practitioner. But I do know that my parents and relatives would probably like to have my marriage conducted according to Hindu religious wedding ceremony'.. Another informant stated: 'I do not know what Hinduism is. However, I try my level best to keep all the rituals that Hindu religion puts on me' (Saivam[152]). This indicates that the religious 'world view' of the first and second generations is not the same.

Another boy, Rahu, from Pforzheim Tamil School, added, "I do agree that within Hindu religion itself many ongoing problem of accessibility are there. I'm talking about the language. It's such a big barrier, knowledge of Hinduism isn't that deep and meaningful even for the first generation Tamils'.

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[151] "Hinduism is the third largest world religion with around a billion followers. There are big amount of Hindu faithful all of which, however, invoke the Vedas tradition. Vishnuism, Shaivism, and Shaktism are the main tenets. The term 'Hinduism' refers to a variety of different beliefs and teachings and various concepts of God. It is not a single, homogeneous religion, but a group of related but different religious traditions. They each practice their own customs, have completely different philosophies, and can even represent different views of the divine. That's why science usually speaks in plural terms of the 'Hindu religions." Source from Wikipedia, accessed on 21.05.2019 at 4 pm.

[152] 'Saivam' the term normally spoken by the Tamils from Sri Lanka and it indicates denotes the Hindu Tamils in Germany.

This appears to be true for a lot of second-generation Tamil boys and girls in Germany who do not consider themselves religious but still associate with their parents' faith on religion and traditional cultural rituals that go with it. Ethnic traditions (such as religious ceremonies) have a greater impact than religion over the second generation of Tamils.

By and large, quite a large number of Tamil youngsters in Germany are very particular about following the religious beliefs and traditional practices of their parents, and they would eventually like to pass on a few important cultural and religious features to the subsequent generations as they themselves became part of it through one way or another. The limited knowledge about Hindu religious rituals and the lack of religiosity among the second-generation Tamils is visible. However, they are still passionate and interested to pass on at least the minimum that they know to the future generations.

7.31 Hybridity in Marriage Ceremony

One of the major research questions that is relevant to the Sri Lankan Tamil Christian identity in Germany is the apparent assimilation of Hindu cultural practices within the Sri Lankan Christian community. What has actually emerged is a hybrid of traditional religious beliefs and practices in the Tamil diaspora of Sri Lanka.

7.32 The Ritual of Tying *Thiru Mangalyam* [153]

During the Tamil wedding ceremony, the most significant ritual is the tying of the '*Thiru Mangalyam*,' popularly called 'thali' round the neck of bridge by the bridegroom. It is known as '*Thali Kattal*'. It is similar to the exchanging of wedding rings during the wedding ceremony among Western Christians

. The 'thali', which is made of gold is tied to a chain and the groom ties around his bride`s neck with three knots. The Tamils also give great importance to the particular time the 'thali kattal'. Only after this ceremony are the bride and bridegroom pronounced husband and wife. There is no reversing the decision after this.

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[153] The typical Tamil term `Thiru Mangalyam´ means a sacred chain which will be tied on the neck of the bride during the marriage ceremony.

7.33 The *Thali*: A Cultural Marker in Tamil Culture

The **Thali**[154]*, in Tamil culture, occupies a sacred and special place. The pendant is of a Hindu god and statue for the Hindu marriage ceremony or a sign of the heart with a cross and dove for Christians. 'It's about distinguishing between a Hindu and a Christian bride,' said Malar, a 25 year old from Ettlingen.

The marriage ritual connected with the 'thali' binding is rooted in Hindu culture and the pendant will usually have a picture of one of the Hindu gods or goddesses carved on it. Likewise, the 'thali chain' (*thali kairu*[155]) is maintained by Christian Tamils as an essential and significant aspect of the Tamil marriage ceremony. However, the picture of a Hindu god or goddess is substituted with a Christian picture or symbol, such as a dove or cross or hand folded together, symbolizing God's hands of prayer.

Other wedding symbols like the exchange of a garland, *pottu vaithal*[156] are also adopted by Tamil Christians all over the world. The researcher is also encultured in such a Tamil Christian tradition, and he is aware that the above-mentioned rituals are not religious in nature but are traditional cultural acts of the Tamil. 'Pottu', 'thali', and our hair hanging flowers aren't religious stuff. They are component of our cultural act in Tamil ancient tradition. It's not symbols of religion. So these types of things are not religious but our Tamil cultural identities,' according to Anu, a 17-year-old schoolgirl from Mühlacker.

Christian Tamil women would traditionally wear white saris for their wedding ceremonies and would have selected white as a Christian symbol, while Hindu females wear red, *Mukurtha Pattu's*[157] auspicious color. However, many Sri Lankan Tamil Christians are now returning to traditional Hindu colors as a subtle yet defiant manner of asserting their 'Tamilness,' by losing their identity through discrimination.

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[154] The Tamil term 'Thali' indicates a golden chain with small, duller cross or heart, which the bridegroom ties around the bride's neck during the ritual celebration of marriage festivals. It is sign that the girl is married.

[155] 'Thali kairu' also means the thali, but it is made of a thread not a chain.

[156] 'Pottu' or Pottu vaithal is a traditional decoration of a colored dot worn on the center of the forehead. It is a purely cultural act of the Tamil people, which is why women usually wear Pottu.

[157] `Mukurtha pattu' saris are not just normal saris but a quintessential part of every South Indian household's trunks and cupboards. Pure mulberry silk threads with pure gold coated silver are hallmarks of a true Pattu. For the marriage ceremony, the whole family goes together and buys Mukurtha Pattu saris, which will be worn by the bride for the marriage functions.

'Nowadays it has become common among Tamil Christian bride to wear a colored sari during her wedding ceremony. Earlier, it used to be that the bride only wore white. But now as time passes Tamil people like the different color for marriage saris. Also they wear flowers in their hair and light the oil lamp, which is known as part of Hindu culture,' said Johncy from Stuttgart.

In general terms, both Christian and Hindus consider whether Sri Lankan Tamil marriages are religious or cultural when it comes to integrating marriage ceremonies. In Germany, it was observable that marriage practices rooted in religion and caste are affected mainly by cultural elements of Tamils.

7.34 Dowry System and Tamil Marriage

The system of dowry[158] is one of the integral elements of marriage, not only among Tamils but also non-Tamils in India and elsewhere in South Asia. This practice has intrigued many Western and non-Western anthropologists. Dowry actually means 'daughters' pre-mortem inheritance of the Tamil families' (Fuglerud, 1999, 100). Attitudes towards dowry and the actual practice of monetary exchange among Tamil families do differ. Almost all the participants of the case studies mentioned the dowry system practiced among Tamils. It's a matter that has produced intense results resistance and repugnance among the participants, particularly among the females engaged in this research.

In the recent past, the dowry system and is function have radically changed in Europe (Jayawardena, 2000). Today when we talk about dowry system among the Tamil diaspora in Germany, it is the traditional exchange of gold jewelry and expensive saris. The system of exchanging land and ancestral properties and giving huge amounts of money in terms of hard currency is now being replaced by providing secure house deposits and more investments.

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[158] The 'dowry system' generally relates to the durable goods, money, and actual or mobile assets that the family of the bride provides to the bridegroom, his parents, or his relatives during the marriage as the fundamental condition of the marriage that they will talk before setting the date of the marriage and reaching an agreement. It is considered to be their tradition, and they sometimes consider how much they give as a matter of prestige. The dowry is mainly a money payment or some kind of present provided to the family of the bridegroom together with the bride and contains money, jewellery, electrical equipment, furniture, bedding, crockery, utensils, and other household products that assist the newlyweds set up their home. In Arabic practices, dowry was referred to as 'dahez.' Dowry is known as 'aaunnpot' in the far-eastern areas of India. Many times, the dowry system can put a heavy financial burden on the family of the bride. The dowry system could lead to crime against the right of women in some family instances ranging from emotional abuse and injury to death. Specific Indian laws, including the act against the Dowry System which is known as the " Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961", under the two Sections 304B and 498A of the Indian Penal Code have long prohibited the dowry payment in India, but it is still widely practiced throughout India". Sources from Wikipedia accessed on 22.06.2019 at 4 pm.

7.35 Marriage and Dowry: Different Dimensions

7.35.1 Love marriage and dowry

I interviewed of second generation, a few male participants during my fieldwork who were perfectly honest about the expectation of dowry from their prospective wives. Rahu, a student from Stuttgart, said: The rise in Tamil diaspora love marriages has led to a decline in dowry traditions, as the exchange of money or commodities are rare in love marriages'. He also expressed in the arranged marriages the transition from forced to voluntary dowry in Europe. 'The practice has become more symbolic than fixed nowadays, a way to show traditional rituals in order to maintain their identity. Also with females joining job and earning money long before marriage, their savings and earning ability nowadays considered as share of the dowry package mechanism as well. In mixed ethnicity or love marriages in Germany, where in most instances a dowry would not be an issue or anticipated. The dowry does not become an issue if the specific marriage is merged ethnic or love marriage'.

7.35.2 Self-respecting males and dowry

Another dimension regarding the system of dowry has emerged among Tamil men in Germany. Educated and earning men get a feeling of being purchased by their wives when they receive money as dowry. 'I'm prepared to take care of my family on my own, and if she's also an educated person, she can find a job for her. We will both work together and give to our family. There is no need for something like dowry to be taken or given,' stated Clinton, an IT professional from Stuttgart, firmly.

7.35.3 Christians and dowry

It seems that within Germany's Christian Tamil community, dowry is becoming increasingly rare due to love marriages between them. This may be attributed to the influence of German Christians and other Christian values of equality and justice. 'We preach Christian values of justice and love and so we cannot support the dowry system. The other Christian Germans look at it as sin and so Tamil Christians in Germany also try to avoid it,' says Clinton.

7.36   Marriage Brokers[159] and Tamil Marriage

We had mentioned the role of marriage brokers in matching marriage partners among the Sri Lankan Tamils; the role is crucial among the Tamils.

It is the responsibility of marriage brokers within the Hindu Tamil community in Germany to match (Porutham) a boy and a girl with similar unique customs and regulate dowry traditions according to family status (Falzon, November 2003). Brokers are usually religious men who are paid by both sides for their services and do it as their profession. In the Tamil ethnic community, they are more commonly consulted to find and match suitable partners. They have a list of marriageable boys and girls and their photos.

During my case studies, most of my respondents noted that the number of marriage brokers in Germany is dwindling, especially in larger cities such as Stuttgart, Koln, München, Düsseldorf, Karlsruhe, and Essen. However, their services are still obviously accessible and these people are needed for the Tamil ethnic community. 'If my parents want to find a girl for me, they search for a marriage broker first. When they find, the marriage broker naturally he negotiates with my parents for a certain percentage of dowry. Then he starts searching of my partner and comes back to us with a possible list of girls and the volume of dowry they can give' said Rahu. The marriage broker not only finds a suitable matching girl for a boy but also finds a girl who can bring a higher volume of dowry. It is also economically beneficial for the marriage broker, as he gets a better reward for finding such a partner.

7.37   Modern Method of Finding Marriage Partners

However, this trend in Sri Lanka and other Tamil diasporas is gradually changing. Moreover, the role marriage brokers play is now being filled by matrimonial agencies such as matrimonial websites, magazines, social organizations, the Christian Welfare Association in the respective communities, etc. Internet - based websites are accessible, such as 'Tamil Matrimonial,' with individual search engines to browse the prospects of appropriate partners. These internet matrimonial dating sites provide a forum for people to find appropriate partners of their own caste, religion, and family status more autonomously. A tremendous growth in matrimonial advertisements placed in magazines, newspapers, and mobile phone apps have also occurred in the past.

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[159] It means the person who arranges the marriage. Normally, he approaches both the marriage parties and mediates their coming to an agreement. It depends upon the dowry he earns from both the families.

Some examples for matrimonial advertisements from the Sri Lankan Tamil official magazine 'Thoduvanam' (March, 2017) can be found here:

- Sri Lankan Tamil Christian parents from Germany seek groom fair in color, with good job for a pretty daughter, 24, working in Deutsche Post C/o Tamil Anmiga Paniyagam[160].

- German Tamil Hindu parents seek professionally qualified life partner for their son, 27, 5'8", handsome, good looking, degree holder, working in Bosch international company. Please apply with photo and also with horoscope details, C/o Thoduvanam, Tamil magazine, Germany.

- Jaffna Christian parent settled in Germany seeks suitable life partner for her daughter, 27, 5'3", working. Roman Catholic boy in the caste of vellala c/o Tamil Malai, Germany division.

Even with this kind of advanced modern systems, the traditional Tamil ethnic, cultural, and religious elements are included.

7.38 The Qualities of a Tamil Bride and the Variability of Dowry

According to the information from my case studies the economic quantity of gold, dowry, and assets paid also vary depending on the caste, educational level, age, jobs and appearance of the female involved in that specific marriage alliance. If a woman is educated, earning, and more attractive or fair, the amount of dowry expected is less and sometimes it is even written off clearly before the marriage. But if a girl is uneducated or not so pretty, the amount of dowry expected is more. It also dependents purely on to what extent the proposed would fulfil the above-mentioned categories.

If a boy is a professional like a doctor or engineer, then the volume of dowry goes up. The parents of the girls need to pay more cash, provide a house and jewels, etc. 'Doctor is preferred over an Engineer. Then down the line come the government officers, private employees, graduates, technicians and like that. There is a gradation of dowry according to the category of job and earning capacity of the boy' said a Tamil student, Clinton.

The dowry, usually property (Thangarajah, 2004) is legally recorded in the daughter's name in Sri Lanka and other Tamil diaspora nations to guarantee the children's and their own

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[160] Tamil Catholic Centre. (Tamilen Seelsorgeamt, Essen). It functions throughout Germany for the pastoral need of the Sri Lankan Catholic people. Pastor Niruban Tarsicius is now the one in charge of Tamil Seelsorgeamt, Laurentiusberg 14, 5276 Essen.www.tamilcatholicdaily.com.

economic safety if the marriage fails. There is also a separate distinction between dowry practices in Colombo or Jaffna (Yalpanam)[161] and Sri Lanka's other distant regions. Dowry still continues among the conservative northern Tamils as an essential component of the marriage process stronghold of Jaffna and its soundings. Tamil Eelam's Liberation Tigers (LTTE) has outlawed the dowry system, along with caste differences, among Tamils (Sumathy in Hasbullah, 2004). However, it still exists in Sri Lanka's villages (Yalpanam). 'I have heard from my parents that still it is practices among our Tamils. I have been told different stories relating to dowry in Jaffna area from where my Mum comes from. Some parents demand a house or huge land as dowry,' said a Tamil youth who is active in TYO, Vinoth from Stuttgart.

7.39 Second Generation of Female and the Understanding of Dowry

Anita and Anu are Tamil schoolteachers. They both highlight the true frustration felt by many of the Tamil community's female members. 'Many women face the dowry issue. Money is saved for the dowry and not spent on appropriate higher education, which would help the family's well-being,' she said. Anu added that "families with female kids focus more on saving money for the dowry. This really upsets me. Even in Western countries such as Germany, it is still very powerful among the Tamils. If they spent that money for high educational and qualifications of female students that would be of great support for the family".

7.40 Education of Women and Dowry Equation

It's relevant that because the woman's educational level functions instead of dowry in some Sri Lankan families. By marrying a professionally educated woman, that woman's husband profits from the economic gains of having a better-qualified wife and, therefore, a better-paid wife. This event benefits the kids, if their mother is well-educated (Malhotra et al, 1996).

7.40.1 Dowry in a modern form

Most of the participants were aware about the practice of dowry among Sri Lankan Tamils. In addition, the dowry structure in its purest form has been transformed from an expected or demanded monetary exchange into a more modern, acceptable form of gift giving in Germany and other Tamil diaspora.

Anicia, a 21-year-old girl from Stuttgart, sums up second-generation Sri Lankan Tamil people's general feelings towards the dowry system in Germany. She states:

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[161] Yalpanam is Tamil version of Jaffna, which is one of the biggest cities of Tamil Populated northern part of Sri Lanka. The Sri Lankan Tamils prefer to use Yalpanam more frequently than the term Jaffna.

I am, in any circumstance, someone totally opposed to the dowry system. Parents may say they want to endorse their daughter by offering their daughters with something as a dowry which will help her in the future. That's fine as long as they give it to their daughter willingly as a gift. I hate the demands made by groom's family. They demand saying say 'we need a house, we need this and that.' In my opinion, it should be stopped downright in Western countries like Germany where we live.

7.40.2 Dowry and the general positive attitude

In fact, almost all of the second-generation Tamil youth interviewed in Germany were extremely skeptical of the dowry system. Some of them, however, had mentioned that a few girls of the second generation were able to point out the positive elements of the dowry system; it is more of a gift to the family's female children that ensures financial security if a marriage relationship breaks down.

It seems that there are no variations in the dowry system between the Christian and Hindu Tamil ethnic groups in Germany. As Jenita, a Catholic Church altar girl from Stuttgart, observed, "Frankly speaking, the Christians also practice dowry system and it looks like a part of Tamil tradition. Like arranged marriage, dowry system also prevails irrelative of religion among the Tamil ethnic community. So, it is a kind of Tamil traditional practice that is based on culture and not the religion. The dowry system has nothing to do with religion because were doing and more demanding when it comes to dowry".

As per my knowledge, the Christian Tamils in Germany are also bound in the economic class and dowry system of this regard.

7.41 Sri Lankan Tamil Marriages and the Role of Caste

Caste is a complex social reality in South Asia in general. Among the Tamil diaspora communities, identifying caste and understanding its function prove to be more difficult. It was easier to identify one's caste in their home countries. Caste identity was known to everyone through face-to-face interactions or formal and informal data from the neighborhood. The imparting of the knowledge of one's caste identity is part of social life.

Today, in Sri Lanka, the practices and the boundaries of caste are less visible in public places and social interaction than in India. However, when it comes to marriages, caste remains a visible and influential deciding factor. It is all the more visible in thickly Tamil-populated areas like Jaffna and other towns in the southernmost part of Sri Lanka.

Even in Colombo, a cosmopolitan city and the capital of Sri Lanka, caste and religious affiliations remain determining factors in terms of the choice of marriage partners. As Seenarine (2006) observes, Caste has yet to have a profound part in the search for marriage partners across South Asia and around the diaspora. The role of caste in the Sri Lankan Tamil ethnic community in Germany, however, is much less restrictive.

7.42 Weakened Caste System in Germany

7.42.1 Dispersed situation and caste identity

Even among the migrated Tamils in Germany, caste is still maintained. A good portion of the older generation, who lived within the caste system back home in Sri Lanka, has also migrated to the diaspora countries along with their children and grandchildren. They continue to uphold the system in a less intense manner. However, the system has weakened. It has broken down in day-to-day interaction. 'My mother used to narrate to me about the problem she faced during her marriage, just because of caste. Here in Germany, the problem is not that acute as it used to be. The mentality of the Tamil people in Germany is slowly changing. Though it is present here, it is not visible,' stated Vincent, an 18-year-old boy from Karlsruhe.

The Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora marriage brokers still take caste classification into consideration. The caste in any Tamil marriage website is fundamental and a substantial characteristic of any marriage proposition or marriage advertisement. This is also evident in Tamil magazines like the '*Tamil Oli*' and '*Thoduvanam*,' published and circulated in Germany. 'Our son is 29 years old, with good educational qualification and draws a high salary. We look for a good Tamil girl from our own caste,' stated Anna from Stuttgart.

Even for the 'love pairs,' who meet accidently and fall in love, caste often remains a decisive factor. 'In some cases the parents reject their marriage proposals unless they belong to the same caste. It is different in arranged marriage where the caste identity is spoken and discussed as the first step. Because of this, now, in some cases of love marriages so to say, even before selecting their love partner they are keen to know about the caste they belong to. Some of them, continue their relationship only after knowing the partner's caste,' stated Anita.

7.43 Religious Factors and Caste

Among the Hindus, caste is also inextricably rooted in traditional religious beliefs. This is true of the Tamil Hindu community in Germany too. Tamil Hindus all over world are very

concerned about caste. It is very visible in marriage advertisements, where caste plays an important role. Caste is first and other things follow. 'Even though the male partner is a drunkard or a womanizer, his bad qualities are not highlighted as long as he belong to the same caste of the girl' stated Rahu.

Anusha, a second-generation Tamil from Stuttgart provided a case of a caste barrier between a boy and a girl that turned into a serious conflict during marriage.

> One friend of my father had a daughter who went to study at the University of Heidelberg. There she met her current husband, and accidentally they came in love one with the other. Both of them were Sri Lankan Tamils. Her parents were happy with them and gave their approval for their marriage. But soon they found that the boy belongs to Brahmin caste[162] and it is considered as high caste among the Tamils. The boy's parents totally opposed the marriage and could not think of accepting the girl in their family as their 'daughter in law.' They actually disowned their son and he wasn't allowed to enter their house. It is only because the girl belonged to another caste which the Brahmins consider lower caste they opposed the boy and the girl decided to go ahead and get married. The parents of the boy refused to attend the wedding, which took place in same town of his parents.

Most of the Tamils in Germany are come from the 'vellala'[163] caste group, and the young Tamils from this caste usually only find their partners within this group.

Another respondent, Anita, stated: 'My cousin (the son of Dad's brother) married a Christian girl and the family had "battle" for long time. It was not because of the religion but due to caste she belonged to. But my mother told me that the boy and the girl are from the same village in Sri Lanka but different caste and the caste is more important for them.'

During the entire field work, the researcher also realized that the staunch caste equation explains the fact that marrying 'out of caste' seems to be rare among the Sri Lankan Tamil ethnic group. Mixed religion and mixed ethnicity marriages are highly unusual within the community norms and value system.

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[162] "As per the ancient Vedas Text, Brahman, also identified or frequently expressed as Brahman, from the Sanskrit root of the Brāhma River('Possessor of Brahma'), is regarded to be the highest category in the Hindu Indian society of the four varnas, or social classes. The constructed position of the Brahmans goes back to the late Vedic period. Indian societies was divided into Brahmans, or Vedic clergy, fighters (of class Kshatriya), merchants (of class Vaishya), and employees (of class Sudra). From then on, their relative position has not changed fundamentally, but the Brahmans still enjoy greater recognition and many benefits in Indian society, although ordinary individuals are no longer formally admitting their claim to concrete status. The foundation of the centuries-old veneration of Brahmans is the conviction or a kind of recognition in culture that they are inherently of higher ritual purity than other people of the caste and that they can undertake certain essential spiritual duties on their own. The learning and recitation of the Vedas, holy writings in the temple, was traditionally intended for the religious elite, and for centuries in the Indian caste community all Indian scholarship was in their hands". Source from Wikipedia of Encyclopaedia, accessed on 22.06.2019 at 5pm.

[163] It is a caste group in Sri Lanka. Mostly, the Vellala caste group people are farmers and have fertile land. They are the so-called highest ranking caste group among the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

Anwar (1998) claims that caste plays a more important and conspicuous role in the selection of marriage partners than religion among the two ethnic groups of the Sikhs and Hindus in the UK. However, my research shows that traditional religious beliefs and ethnicities are more crucial than caste for the majority of Hindu Tamils in Germany. In the way they built their marriage regulations and norms of an accepted marriage partner, the Hindu Tamils in Germany were similar to the Christian Tamils. But there are still some cases of marriage where caste was a fundamental, integral part of the choice of partner.

"What's the difference between marrying someone from another caste and from your own? If we say to our parents, they will be shocked. When you're young, you don't really realize who is and isn't affluent or of a higher caste, but as you grow older, you're ready to accept what your parents suggest as the truth" said Anita. In Germany, however, it is more difficult and complex to identify differences between caste and class, but traditional caste understandings as created in Sri Lanka are shifting in settlement countries such as Germany and other Tamil diasporas.

7.44 Tamil Christians and Caste

The Christian Tamils in Germany criticize the caste system due to their adoption of Westernized Christian culture. But some Christian Tamil respondents also said that some caste restrictions are still being imposed in Germany by the Tamil Christian families.

As per my observation during my field work among Sri Lankan Tamil Christians in Germany, Justin stated, 'Tamil Christians are less concerned about the caste now. They are more broad minded and they are opting to the Western Christian culture due to their long Christian life experience with German Christian community in Germany. So, even in marriage, the issue of caste is paid less importance by the Christian Tamils than Hindu Tamils in Germany.'

7.45 Marriage Between Mixed Ethnic Partners

Mixed ethnicity is more widely understood in Sri Lanka in the contexts of Tamil and Sinhalese mixed marriages (Sivathamby, 2005). The preservation of basic Tamil cultural identity in both Sri Lanka and Germany has ensured that the elderly generation and few Tamil youth also regard ethnic mixed marriages as an adverse component. Tamil cultural values and social norms are diluted in their eyes.

Like the role of caste, ethnicity also plays a role in marriage among Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany. A Tamil boy or girl marrying non-Tamil boy or girl still creates problem for Tamil parents both in Germany and in other diaspora countries.

The researcher also posed questions to all interviewees on the issue of mixed ethnic marriage (parents among whom one is of Tamil origin). For second generation Tamils in the diaspora, searching for and dating someone who is of mixed race is not unusual. Some seem more anxious to find a partner that actually embodies a cultural hybrid in the context of the diaspora. Marriage between mixed ethnic partners, however, is not so welcomed.

> I've been dating with a guy who's half Tamil and half German born and brought up in Germany like me on a couple of recent dates and that's one of the reasons I'm getting along with him. We have much in us in common with mixed-race people. What I could find appealing in him is the mixed race thing (German and Tamil). He was brought up in Western culture and is not very connected to his parents. He understands less about the culture and traditions of Tamil and is also less near to the Tamil community than I belong to'

said Stuttgart University student Geetha, who is 21 years old.

7.46 Sanctions in Breaking Boundaries

Generally speaking, the so-called basic traditional elements of caste, religion, and ethnicity are important considerations for the Tamils across the world. If someone dares to break or go against both cultural and caste boundaries, then the couple is made aware of it and they are marginalized from the Tamil community. This is still the situations and reality among the Tamils in Germany. When someone is married within the caste and community, tracing the family background of the partners and ensuring social compatibility between the proposed couple is much easier for the parents and their relatives. If an individual decides to marry outside the boundaries of caste, religion, and ethnicity, then the parents find it very hard to compromise and the consequences can be more difficult to reconcile with even if the parents and the close family circle approve of that marriage.

When I asked Rajes, a 22-year-old Tamil boy from Stuttgart, about the community's reaction regarding mixed marriages, he explained: "It is too bad! And I can't accept just opposing and protesting a particular marriage proposal. Because it is expected that we are supposed to get parents' and relatives approval, since it is going to be family event. Therefore the relatives also have, apart from our wish, a significant part. If it is a mixed marriage, they might keep themselves us out of the family circle and we might be set aside as a stranger".

Some parents approve of mixed ethnic marriages due to their general values of openness. But when it comes to their own family, they show reluctance. 'My parents are more liberal and they are ready to understand and accept the diaspora situations here. They have also supported many cases but, when it comes to them definitely they would be worried about what their parents and family circle would think. They might find difficult to accept such a decision,' said Rahu.

In Germany, there is evidence that Tamil parents eventually tend to accept cases of mixed marriage. However, it is the members of their extended family who often discourage and cause problems by not approving of it. However, the second generation of Tamils approve and accept mixed relationships and marriages much more in the current modern context.

7.47 Gossip as Social Control

Anita also agrees with Rahu's view and further explains the dimension of gossip among the neighboring Tamil friends and relatives of the family. She said:

> Tamil families enjoy a wide network of relationship among the Tamils in Germany and in Europe. Any transgression of caste, religion and ethnicity in marriage, arouses gossip in our Tamil community. It further reaches to the wider circle of Sri Lankan community in Germany and other diaspora. I am very sure that my parents do not mind if I marry outside our community. However, my extended family members even they do not oppose, would well be whispering among themselves and to others. Many of the members of Tamil community may not see me and my family every day. But I know well that the message will reach almost to all my parent's family circle and will be discussed at any case regarding my choice of marriage partner.

Based on my field work through the participants whom I met and interviewed, the Tamil ethnic community's negative reaction to mixed ethnicity partnerships and marriages remains deeply entrenched in the elderly generation's ethnic cultural practices, ideas, and traditions in general. Moreover, it is the second generation in Germany that takes strategies and initiatives to update the mentality of the elderly Tamils about mixed ethnicity partnerships. As Rahu says, 'They would initially be shocked, but in the long run, when they see one case after another, they will slowly approve it and accept it as common in the diaspora'.

7.48 Reinstating Tamil Identity in and Through Marriage Customs

When we see the long legacy and traditions of Sri Lankan Tamils, their identity as Tamils was seriously threatened and their future became unstable in Sri Lanka due a quarter century of the Tamils and Sinhalese ongoing conflict. This propelled the migration of Tamils to different continents across the world. Therefore, there is a strong desire to preserve Tamil culture and their cultural legacy.

7.49 Marriage is Preservation of Tamil Culture, not Racism

Holding on to traditional marriage customs is seen as preservation of Tamil culture. 'I'm not marrying someone other than our culture in Tamil. That's not to say I'm a racist. I was raised in the culture of Tamil and I am more shaped and motivated by it. I want to marry someone who respects our Tamil culture and I don't want to deny my Tamil culture' says Reshmi, a nurse from Stuttgart. Melani, a 24-year-old from Bruchsal, echoed the same stance, 'I need to marry someone born in Tamil culture, not someone who disrespects my origins'.

In my case studies, I observed that quite a few of the interviewees accepted and affirmed that people active in the Tamil community were engaged, i.e., spoke Tamil, went through Tamil school, attended Tamil dance courses and music competitions, would be much more interested and likely to try and marry another Sri Lankan Tamil in Germany. Anita, who now has a white German boyfriend, would like to marry in accordance with Tamil customs and continue certain components of Tamil culture for her future children.

She said: 'My boyfriend is white German, as you know. When I have children, I decided to have Tamil names, in the traditional Tamil way, to be a thirteen letter long name. They should have some "Tamilness" for them, and that's my strong desire'.

In Germany, most of my respondents were also concerned about Tamil culture and were strongly convinced that the Tamil identity will be preserved and followed as they are diminished in Sri Lanka itself because of discrimination, conflict, and migration to different countries as landless people.

7.50 Continuation of Patriarchies system

As we indicated in earlier, gender divisions clearly exist in Germany as well. In many contexts of Tamil ethnic culture, females are more controlled by males. There are many high expectations on them, but there are few on males in Tamil society.

Consequently, some kind of cultural pressure is put on them to conform with certain social customs and codes of behavior, and this is mainly the case for South Asian women, whether they reside in their home nation or in the settlement nation. (Puwar et al, 2003; Lalonde et al, 2004; Brah, 1992; Hussain, 2005).

7.51 Tamil Wives Preferred Due to Tradition of Obedience

In particular, the cultural and social expectations of any Tamil woman and patriarchal patterns, both in Sri Lanka and in other diasporas, vary somewhat within Sri Lankan Tamils. During my field work, some of the young Sri Lankan Tamil men told me that they would prefer a Tamil girl as a wife because they believed that Tamil women were more obedient, more respectful, and that they would always adjust with them. In reality, Tamil females are renowned for their simplicity, responsibility for domestic affairs of the household and atmosphere, their dealings with other their family in laws, their docile relationship with the family circle, and associations with the extended family in a submissive, feminine manner. Rahu claims, 'These are the reasons why Tamil women are most probable to be wanted as wives in their family lives, they will be completely obedient, receptive and stuffy'.

7.52 Second Generation and Desire for Equality

However, not all respondents had this approach in my other interviews. Some of the Young Tamil participants were eager and persuaded to keep an equal and balanced relationship with their future life partners. There is a great expectation in both Germany and other Tamil diasporas that females should effectively finish schooling and continue their higher education for a great job. However, marrying a girl who is better qualified or in a higher professional position is still unlikely for a under qualified boy from the Tamil community.

The focus on Tamil female education actually serves a significant function in both family and society. The more competent the females, the more appealing and beautiful they look. She may be attracting potential partners and families. In most cases, the bridegroom's family expects a highly educated and working woman. This is because the level of education or job is directly linked to that girl's earning capacity.

There is, however, another aspect added to women's education. If the female is extremely trained and well employed with a nice pay scale, then there is a chance that she will earn more and disrespect the traditional patriarchal family set-up in the Tamil ethnic community. It is always an unsaid desire among the Tamil people that they don't want the girl to be more educationally qualified than the boy. It is also a hidden social conviction that the girl should not earn more than the boy. This mentality prevails more in Sri Lanka. 'I do not understand this mentality,' said Madhu from Pforzheim.

There is also a gender-driven perception of chastity and virginity, which the Tamil community insists on more in terms of women's sexual and pre-marital conduct than men's.

Tamil females who interact or mix more with males before marriage will face a very large issue from future marriage partners. It is commonly found that before marriage, parents will not encourage their children to marry a girl who seemed to have had boyfriends or pre-marital sex.

Many times, dating finishes in a breakup because of female partner who remains not a virgin, 'I have also heard from my friends that the relationship gets strained and eventually end up when they come to know that the girl had a previous relationship. This is basically because of Tamil culture which is patriarchal. Man can be a womanizer but it counts nothing. But for a girl, it affects her future, to get married and settled down as family. This is completely unjust,' said Maha from Pforzheim, who also works in a Tamil school.

Therefore, there are some culturally accepted gender divisions among the Sri Lankan Tamil ethnic group, and Tamil diasporas still uphold these traditions. In Germany, however, these types of traditions are decreasing, and the Tamil community's second-generation females demand a higher level of gender equality in all areas of community and social life. But the Tamil diaspora community still perpetuates many of the cultural and traditional beliefs and concepts developed in the Sri Lankan villages.

A personal case study with Maha from Stuttgart highlights:

"Among the Tamil ethnic communities, the generational differences that second-generation females are struggling with and fighting against both in Germany and other Tamil diasporas are cultural roots. Not only does the second generation of females have to balance the conflicting norms of traditional Tamil cultural life with the German social values structures they face in their day-to-day lives, but there is higher pressure on Tamil females to conform to them than Tamil males. Building a transitional hybrid identity thus becomes by nature much more indefinite and complicated".

7.53 Aspiration of Women Empowerment Among the Second Generation

Many second-generation females are becoming increasingly confident and empowered, financially and socially, as the days go by. The view of how Tamil society views them is also undergoing a transformation.

"Many women here want to be educated in the system, have some non-Sri Lankan Tamils friends, stay independent and survive in this diaspora country. Good education, a promising career and an affluent life are their objectives and ambitions. They want to get married and have children only in the later stage after having a well-settled life. They want to achieve something in their life before marriage. But unfortunately,

many of the parents are not able to understand the aspirations of the girls and changing situation here in diaspora. It is all because of the generational gap between the first and second generation"

said Pooja, who has just finished her master's degree from Stuttgart.

Quite a few young Sri Lankan Tamil females want to get married and have kids at some stage in their life. But they want space and freedom in their lives to decide the ordinary phases of life (education, career, wealthy life). Throughout my experience in the field, I could say that many young Tamil females are currently seeking greater freedom in their education, professional, and marriage choices, 'When I hear about women from other families, I'm really proud of my family members. My parents are open-minded and capable of accepting my opinions and respecting my privacy. They really adopted the mindset of Europe. They would always prefer us to settle down in nice professions and obtain a satisfying social status before marriage. I haven't thought at this age of twenty-one about getting married,' said Melani.

It should not be presumed, however, as Maha points out, that this is a prevalent mindset or desire among all Tamil families in Germany and other diasporas. The Tamils still hold the same old traditional gender differences and marriage traditions beliefs.

7.54 Boys Also Face Pressure from Family

When we see the reality in the field, however, in some families, it wasn't just the women who face family pressure about marriage and on behalf of the custom and traditions, but also men. In my interview, a number of male respondents expressed their own worries about the family members' expectations about their marriage choices. 'My parents used to tell me that I always have quality education right now, so I have to get married. They also showed me pictures of a few women, though at the time I'm very job-oriented,' said Rajesh, a 26-year-old man from Stuttgart. Thus, there are a few expectations and demands felt by the second generation of Sri Lankan Tamils that transcend both sexes. While the families are trying to keep their mother country's traditional Tamil cultural system and norms, the younger generation is being gradually encultured in the local customs.

7.55 Migration, Transnationalism, and Marriage in Sri Lankan Tamils

This thesis ' main focus is also the preservation of culture in Germany by the Tamil youth in Germany. This is deeply rooted and interrelated with the effect of migration, their parents' personal cultural experiences, and overall community choices. Therefore, in the context of

migration, it is relevant to look at Sri Lankan Tamil marriages and how marriage is organized across borders, particularly in the diaspora. (Falzon, 2003; Clarke, 1990).

7.56 Inter-Ethnic Marriage in the Diaspora

Among the Tamils in Sri Lanka, there is a strong sense of aspiration to marry Tamil in North America or in Europe so that the particular individual can migrate from Sri Lanka to a Western country. Earlier, most of the migration to developed nations was to pursue higher education and a better job. (Rajanayagam-Hellmann in Morrisson, 2004).

However, now there is a change taking place. In Germany, quite a large number of Tamil men among the second generation prefer to marry a traditional Tamil wife. Therefore, they are ready to go back to Sri Lanka to find their life partner. 'Now it has become common among young Sri Lankan Tamils to go back to their country of origin to find their life partner! It shows that in one way they are very much interested to have a girl from their own country or they want to have Tamil girls from Sri Lanka, whom they think and expects to be passive and subservient life partner. Besides, it seems to me that only men are going back to their origin country to get their future wives, not the girls,' stated Melani.

There are several Tamil females who just left Sri Lanka to marry their partners and settle in Europe, Canada, and Australia's recent Tamil communities (Fuglerud, 1999). A large number of respondents from the second generation stated that their fathers came to Germany for their livelihood of the family and they with their mothers came later. Before leaving the homeland, some Sri Lankan Tamils got their wives from Sri Lanka. Others returned to see their families (Cowley-Sathiakumar, 2008) It is true that they had officially arranged their marriages and that their life partners came from Sri Lanka to Germany for survival and greater opportunities for their family settlement. "My dad actually left Sri Lanka at the age of twenty-five. He went to Germany in a challenging condition because of the ethnic struggle in form of war in Sri Lanka and the frustration. He settled down here after a painful process. My mom came here later because she married my dad," Rahul said. We could see that there are many instances illustrating cross-border Tamil ethnic marriages for the migration of parents from Sri Lanka to Germany or other Tamil diasporas.

7.57 Generational Gap between Tamil Youth and Cultural Life

In order to apprehend the encounters of the young Tamils in Germany, I questioned a few of them about the variations between their own cultural experiences and those of their diaspora

parents. The responses of the participants stated the transition in perception within one generation of social norms and cultural values.

In my interviews with the second generation of Sri Lankan Tamils in Pforzheim and Karlsruhe, many of the participants explained that their parents are still following many of their villages' traditional and cultural practices and value system. They are deeply rooted in their traditional culture. As a result, many of the respondents expressed that, in fact, they find it very difficult to affirm their own identity within the German environment because they feel indebted to fulfill their parents' expectations within their families. "They live here in Germany as if it were Sri Lanka and still follow the protocols of Sri Lanka and observe their cultural and traditional codes of Sri Lanka. I'm not for that. I am born and educated here in Germany, and my way of thinking is completely different, more Westernized," Melani said.

7.58 A Tamil Cultural Event - *Samethiya Vidhu*

The traditional biological transition of a girl to womanhood is a very auspicious moment in the life of a girl, according to traditional Tamil culture. Some parents are even worried if the attaining age is delayed in the life their daughters. The female biological maturity or attaining of age is celebrated as a big cultural ceremony, which is commonly known as 'puberty rites'.

This ceremony is known among the Tamils as *Samethiya Vidhu*[164]. The most common among Sri Lankan Tamils was just the celebration of puberty rites. During my fieldwork, I discussed this religious/cultural ritual extensively with the female Tamil participants.

This ceremony takes place at the first start of menstruation, also known as *Theetu*[165]. Incidentally, this excretion of blood from the body of the girl is also considered pollution, *Theetu,* which means that the girl is kept at home, away from people and especially women, for a certain number of days. A large number of other Tamil families celebrate it publicly in a rented

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[164] "It is the term used for the girl's puberty ceremony by the Sri Lankan Tamil. It is also consider as the ceremony attending the age, which is celebrated with family and friends in a significant manner. Typically, the function takes place between 6 months and a 1 year after the girl's first period. It was a ceremony to inform the community, indirectly, that the girl in the house is now prepared to get married, so an aspiring husband can come and approach the family for marriage. Only close relatives are invited to the function, typically kept after the first period stopped. She would be bathed in yellow water, beautifully dressed in saris, seated on a chair, and in the meantime, the girl would often have distinct traditional rituals performed on her by older married individuals. The role is celebrated to ensure that she will have a good married life later on, but also to demonstrate to her and the community that she has become a woman now, leaving behind her childhood and preparing to be a good wife". Source from www.Tamilculture.com, accessed on 25.05.2019 at 4pm.

[165] The 'Theetu' commonly used by the Tamils, means 'unwanted,' something ugly or unseeable.

hall and invite relatives and friends. They make it known to the public that their girl is now a woman.

Though this ceremony actually has root in Hinduism, it is also practiced and celebrated by Christian Tamils in Germany. However, this ceremony is a personal matter. Hindu Tamils practice and celebrate this ceremony in a very grand manner as explained below by some of my interviewees

7.59 Prestige and Family Honor as Part of Celebration

The *Samethiya Vidhu* ceremony is seen not just as a normal family celebration of womanhood for the Tamils who have migrated to Germany and other diasporas, on the other hand as a chance to demonstrate their growth their growth and prosperity to the remaining Tamil community in Germany. Melani, observed, "It is really a bizarre. The Sri Lankan Tamil people, especially who have migrated here in Germany, celebrate it in a big hall in an extravagant manner. It is something unimaginable." Another Tamil girl, Latha, from Aalan, explained: "Actually, it is a symbol of prosperity now as well for the Sri Lankan Tamil Community in Germany." Monika, a Roman Catholic girl, explained her firsthand experience in detail. 'Ja, it is quite true that I myself once went to a Samethiya Vidhu ceremony. Actually, they invited both Germans and Sri Lankan Tamils and hired a huge hall in the city. They also ordered food, having both in Sri Lankan and German menu for about five hundred persons for that celebration and almost all of our relatives were present for that function'.

7.60 Rituals of *Samethiya Vidhu*

I myself participated once in *Samethiya Vidhu ceremony*. The girl (one who attained age) felt it uncomfortable and very scared as the man she fancied was also present. She was wearing traditional Tamil clothing. Her sari was very wonderful and almost as heavy as a wedding sari. She had make-up professionally applied. Her hair was braided with flowers. She had a hand filled with gold bangles and a complete neck of jewelry. 'There were plenty of platters on the stage and a range of fruits like bananas, grapes and orange were served on them. Plates filled of coconuts and flowers also found. As ceremonial things, they did all this stuff. These plates of distinct items were performed by "Seer[166]" known as offerings and put around the girl, so in that sense it was a very popular traditional ceremony. I had never seen such a ceremonial act before

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[166] This term is commonly used by the Tamils across the South Asia, which means gifts placed around the girl, especially saris and dresses, costumes, jewels, fruits, food items and other things.

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even in India because Christians rarely have this complete tradition of Samethiya Vidhu in India.'

7.61 Christians Celebrate Moderately

Although this culturally based ritual is practiced by the Tamil Christian in Germany, the ceremony takes place in a low profile. It is usually celebrated with the immediate circle of the family. However, some parents do not practice this ritual for their daughters. Melani, a Christian girl narrated thus:

> "My own parents did not celebrate in an elaborate way and did nothing of this kind to me when I reached the age and we had no such ceremonies at all. They explained to me why attaining age was celebrated and I understood. My parents informed people of our own family circle. As soon as they heard, they began to arrive at our house and wished me with blessings. My hands were smeared with sandal paste made of spices from Sri Lanka and after the ceremony I had to really scrub it out. I was gifted with some new traditional clothes which I had to wear. We all assembled the Pictures of God, Mother Mary and some Saints in front of 'Sami Padam'[167] and I had to pray. Members of my family also prayed with me. That's it! I saw that as a religious cultural practice.. We have nothing like that in our Catholic Church. But the celebration is elaborate for the people of Hindu Tamil".

7.62   Assessment by the Researcher

The *Samethiya Vidhu* ceremony effectively showed or made known to the village people that a young girl had reached sexual maturity, according to history. It was also an indirect message to others, 'we have a bride ready to get married in our family.' Both the Christians and Hindus embraced the cultural-based traditional religious ceremonies to promote their wealth and good conditions of living in their migrated country to other Tamil diaspora. The effective continuation of these *Samethiya Vidhu* rituals in Germany and other diasporas has a significant effect and attraction for the second-generation Tamils; yet it is unclear whether they will also choose to follow and continue such a traditional act in the future with their own daughters.

7.63   The Sri Lankan Tamil Marriage Traditional Practice and its Future in Germany

7.63.1 Mixed voices

Finally, I asked the participants about the future of traditional marriage methods in the Sri Lankan Tamil ethnic community, particularly among Tamil youth in Germany. "I can't live with someone I've never seen and terrible for me to accept him as my husband, so I'm strongly motivated to get married to somebody knows me well before and understands me," stated 21-year-old Nirmja from Stuttgart. This attitude was echoed by a few other participants as well.

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[167] It indicates the picture of the god or goddesses which is framed nicely. It often hangs on the wall or in a separate room known as puja room (worship room).

At the same time, Beni a 22-year-old boy said, 'I respect my parents and they decide of life partner because till now they have decided for me everything good for me and I allow them to decide for my future also and I believe that it will be good and apt for me,' which was also supported by few other boys and girls among the participants during my field work in Stuttgart. Indeed, the views and thoughts they shared varied. Therefore, it is possible to say that there are two separate categories among the second generation of Sri Lankan Tamils with regard to the future of marriage. The first group of respondents stated without any hesitation that in order to continue and maintain their Tamil identity in the diaspora as in Germany, they would prefer to meet their life partner, love, and marry a fellow Sri Lankan Tamil.

A few of them assume that love marriages in Germany would become increasingly popular among Sri Lankan Tamils, so it won't be feasible in the future to maintain such a traditional practice. Some of them also mentioned that they actively seek not to marry a Sri Lankan Tamil or find a life partner from South Asia. They see the 'dilution' of 'Tamilness' as inevitable in the longer term and think that it would eventually benefit the current Tamil community in Germany where individuals of distinct ethnic communities remain together. It's like providing and taking cultural components from different ethnicities here. This will certainly enhance Tamil women's status in the diaspora.

They believe that the traditional system of arranged marriage will be maintained for a long time with all its related customs as there will be a good amount of boys and girls who would like to cling on to the traditional cultural lifestyles that they have experienced from their traditional parents or grandparents. 'Young Tamil guys might just go for the arranged marriages if they were searching for a traditional wife as a life partner. They even go to Sri Lanka to find the right girl from there,' Aravind from Pforzheim said.

In my interview with a priest who is from Chennai, who came to **Festival of Light** (*Oli Vila)*[168] in Stuttgart sated, that a number of Sri Lankan children from all over Europe had been looking for a life partner in Sri Lanka and was arranged by their parents. Their wedding was arranged in Chennai if their parents were unable to go to Sri Lanka for any reason. Therefore, future Tamil generations may decide to stabilize and also act accordingly to maintain the ethnicity of Sri Lankan Tamils through the process of marriage procedures and procreation,

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[168] 'Oli Vila,' is the fest celebrated during Christmas time by the Christian Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany and other Tamil diaspora, which is more of cultural event with Christmas-based messages. It is organized by the Tamil Seelsorgeeinheit (Tamil Anmiga Panijagam in Germany).

or they may also rebel as part of the global culture, based in part on the marital preferences of their own parents.

7.64 Conclusion

Though the Sri Lankan Tamils are in Germany for many years, some of them even for decades, they show strong affiliation to their traditional culture particularly in religious beliefs and marriages of their children. By and large, the marriage customs, beliefs and rituals, practiced by the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora in Germany are just a continuation of what is being practiced in their homeland, Sri Lanka. The role of religious beliefs, ethnicity, caste, dowry in marriage, though has acquired some nuances, has remained the same to a great extent. In general the Sri Lankan Tamils believe that their traditional marriage customs are part of Tamil culture rather than religiously determined. However, the Hindu Tamils are more fervent in practicing such rituals than Christians.

The second generation of Tamils demonstrate mixed voices regarding the traditional marriage systems (choosing the partner, arranged marriage, premarital relationship between would be married, dowry, mixed marriage etc.) being practiced in Germany etc.

It is evident that the sorts of marriages negotiated by the Tamil ethnic group in Germany are often more frequent than love marriages. All along in my fieldwork a very few second-generation Tamils in Germany expressed genuinely pleased to let their parents choose a partner for their life. Thus, many would rather not involve their parents in their own choice of marriage partner, but they recognized the pressures and unwanted tensions experienced by their parents within the Tamil ethnic community and the desire to preserve Sri Lankan Tamil's ethnic identity

Overall, the notion of 'divorce' remains extremely controversial among the Sri Lankan Tamils, particularly for females in the Tamil community, although it happens occasionally. A prevalent thought among Tamils of the second generation, and even some of the first generation, clearly indicate that it would become more accepted as more couples divorce over time. At the end of this study, therefore, with regard to the future of traditional Tamil marriage customs and with the third generation, it is assumed that they will have slightly more possibilities and options than their second-generation parents, but they also believe in the significance of preserving and maintaining the Tamil identity. Such preservation and continuity of their Tamil identity, however, can only be accomplished through marriage within the Tamil community. Negotiated forms of arranged and pre-determined marriage and introduction will

therefore continue together with 'love' marriages amongst the ethnic Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora in Germany.

The Sri Lankan Tamil ethnic community is, in various ways, still driven by the 21st century patriarchal patterns. This acutely impacts and influences the experiences and lifestyles of Tamil women. The men of second generation, though support the higher education of Tamil girls, seem to prefer to marry girls either from Sri Lanka or girls who are less qualified. The vestiges of patriarchal domination and traditionally ideal Tamil girl, are well instilled in the mind of Sri Lankan second generation, though they show certain flexibility. The second generation is well aware of family honor and the role of relatives living both in Germany and outside.

CHAPTER 8

GENERAL CONCLUSION

"Anthropologists have not always been as aware as they might be of this fact: that although culture exists in the trading post, the hill fort, or the sheep run, anthropology exists in the book, the article, the lecture, the museum display, or, sometimes nowadays, the film."[169]

8.1 Introduction

It is the task of every researcher, as stated in Clifford Geertz's quotation above, to concretize the worldview (words and actions) of the people with whom he endeavors to search the truth; in this way, anthropology also exists in written material. "As we conclude this research, we shall briefly present our major findings in the first part of this chapter, while also describing the manner in which the second generation of Tamils in Germany construct or recreate their lives in the context of Transnationalism; this will be done by drawing inspiration from the views of various authors presented in the theoretical framework in the first chapter." Their insights regarding the dominant common characteristics of the Southeast Asian diaspora are divided into three parts: i) Diaspora as a Social Form; ii) Diaspora as a Type of Consciousness; and iii) Diaspora as a Mode of Cultural Production. Our analysis of the data and the findings are presented in line with these three characteristics.

It must be noted that the division of the three characteristics of diaspora is more heuristic than natural in nature, for in real life situations such as thinking, speaking, and acting are closely interwoven and simultaneous. For our convenience, we shall briefly present the main themes discussed by the authors presented in the framework. As observed by a number of scholars[170], such as Jacobsen, Kumar, Vertovec, Appadurai, Schiller, and Hannerz, diasporas necessitate the construction and reproduction of transnational cultural and social phenomena.[171] We wish to present the summary of the theoretical framework by highlighting the main concepts introduced by the prominent authors.

8.2 Important Concepts in Diaspora Studies

8.2.1 Main Points of "Diaspora as Social Form" in Transnational Recreation

- "Homes away from Home to establish and maintain social bonds in their diasporas"
- "Relationship-despite-dispersal".

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[169] Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation Of Cultures: Selected Essays (New York, NY: Basic Books, Inc., 1973, p.16

[170] See Theoretical framework in section 1.10 in Chapter one

[171] See under the sub-title "Specific Features of South Asian Diaspora" in section 1.10 in Theoretical framework in chapter 1

- "Each person as a 'node' linked with others to form a network".

- Social interactions hat may be attributed to ethnic identity; the preservation and transmission such ethnic identities to the coming generations.

- "The creation of space as displaced people to re-establish their homeland in which their social bond is reiterated."

- An unquenced thirst to preserve their cultures, religious beliefs, and the practices of their forefathers, and, in the process of their search, reinventing or transforming traditions to adapt themselves to their respective host cultures.

- Conscious maintenance of a collective identity, often sustained by reference to an "ethnic myth" of common origin, historical experience, as well as some kind of a tie to a geographic place.

- Institutionalization of networks of exchange and communication which transcend territorial states, creating new communal organizations in places of settlement.

- Sustaining a variety of explicit and implicit ties with their homelands.

- Creating and maintaining a solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement.

8.2.2 Main Points of Diaspora as a "Mode of Cultural Production" in Transnational Recreation

- The necessity of diasporas to preserve cultures, religious beliefs, and the practices of their forefathers, and in the process reinventing or transforming traditions to adapt themselves to their respective host cultures.

- A compelling need to define themselves and construct an identity vis-à-vis the dominant group.

- Involving ethnic categories such as family, kinship, caste, and ritual practice, as well as language groups, nationalism, etc.; this process manifests not in a single and neatly defined voice but in heterogeneity and diversity.[172]

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[172] In addressing questions as to how we can methodologically best grasp, in a comparative manner, myriad changes among transnational communities such as those which are represented among South Asian religious groups abroad, we need systematically to take some account of (a) facets of historically conditioned structure (not least patterns of migration and policies of 'host' states) plus (b) composite parts of habitus (achievable only through ethnographic study) multiplied, as it were, by (c) the conscious intervention of social actors coupled with (d) the outcomes of mediation, negotiation, and contestation within and between self-defined social groups. All of these complex matters are addressed when we considered the complimentary three meanings of 'diaspora'." Vertovec, 1999: 28

- Religious beliefs and practices become a marker of identity and ethnicity in the new cultural context.

- Establishing religious organizations and erecting and consecrating sacred places of worship to preserve cultural identity.

- Centers of religion are at once markers of identity and sources of conflict and tension, while also enriching the cultural landscape of the new world.

- Religious festivals represent not only the continuation of cultural traditions but the creation of new identities and forming of social bonds with creates a peculiar consciousness of Diaspora.

- Maintaining a loyalty to their cultural past and a determination to ensure the next generation holds on to traditions in the face of the overwhelming attractions of the new culture.

- Ethnic over religious identity.

- The second generations' own choice to adapt their own interpretations of belief, consciously decide the nature of their religious values, and specify for themselves their own modes of participation in 'religious community' activities, and the uncertainty of second generation regarding the option of the second generations relation to Religious belief and Pius activities.

8.2.3 Main Points in Diaspora as a "Type of Consciousness in Transnational Recreation"

- Heightened awareness of one's cultural heritage, homeland, etc.
- Memory of stories of suffering, migration, and humiliation, etc.
- Having the status of a minority.
- Awareness of religious pluralism and similarities and differences in the host country.
- Negotiations are multiple realties in public places.
- Feelings of alienation, exclusion, superiority, or other kinds of 'difference'.
- Multiple voices from various terrains which include the ethos and the policies of the host country.

8.3 Premilinary Observations

8.3.1 Transnationalism: A Choice for the First Generation

Before we elaborate on the themes, we wish to state the fundamental condition of the first and second generation of Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany. For the first generation, the

transnational condition was a choice they made when they decided to migrate to Germany and Europe, as many left their homeland without actually 'leaving' it. This choice was made as a result of victimization, discrimination, and persecution by the Sinhalese majority government in their home country (Reeves 2013).

However, their self-perception in this country, even after decades, remains rooted it their homeland, reinforced by memories of the past and the incoming information from their affiliations. This way, the first generation finds itself in a transnational condition (moving back and forth between their homeland and hostland), as they are not fully at home in the hostland. However, the lives of the second generation present a different story.

8.3.2 Transnationalism: A Given Condition for the Second Generation

For the second generation of Tamils, the transnational condition is an inherited situation. They find themselves in Germany as citizens, which provides them the rights and duties guaranteed by their host country. It is a constitutional, not a cultural, guarantee. They are part of the German school system, learn German from childhood, and feel at home in expressing themselves in it[173], most of the time. From free entry to European and non-European nations to the travel modes and facilities available when in possession of the 'strong German passport', transnationalism acquires a qualitatively different connotation for second-generation Tamils than their parents or the first-generation Tamils who migrated to Germany. As Clifford Geertz observes, transnational recreation of their social "homes away from home" is necessary for the Southeast Asian diasporas (1994:308); however, for the second generation of Sri Lankan Tamils, Germany is not a home away from home but a real home, as they were either born in the country or brought there at a young age. Furthermore, they do not have first-hand experiences of the homeland of their parents, although some of the respondents have visited there, or would like to. However, no one is aspiring to go back and settle down. In this condition, many choices are available for the second generation, and they have to construct their world out of them. These two aspects of first- and second-generation Tamils are the underlying factors in the following presentation of the themes.

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[173] During my entire field work it was obvious that the younger generation express themselves (discussion, jokes, narration etc.) in German language with all expression among themselves. This is seen even within a family, when they are with themselves, in the absence of their elders, relatives and other Tamil neighbours.

8.4 Prominent Themes from the Research

Some of the prominent themes from the analysis of the data regarding the manner in which the second generation of Sri Lankan Tamils construct their transnationalism in Germany are:

1. Institutionalization and spontaneous mechanism as a means to create social bonds and cultural identity.
2. Creation of a virtual nation (*Tamil Eelam*).
3. Continuation and reinvention of cultural traditions (marriage practices and religious expressions).
4. Individualization of the second generation.

In the following section, we will elaborate on these themes by engaging ourselves with the opinions of scholars. In addition, we will also discuss the manner in which the second generation of Sri Lankan Tamils construct their Transnationality, and how, in certain aspects, their lives and aspirations transcend the conceptual framework of various authors presented in the framework.

Although the dimensions of social and cultural life the Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora in Germany are akin to those of the general South Asian diaspora to a great extent, the manner in which the second generation of Tamils construct their transnationality presents many nuances; these are vital not only for gaining a deeper understanding of the worldview of this generation, but also for providing useful trajectories for further academic research.

8.4.1 Institutionalization of Social and Cultural Life in Transnational Enculturation through Tamil Schools

Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany have attempted to institutionalize a number of social and cultural aspects of life to forge a bond and social unity among them. Like other diasporas in Europe and North America, the Sri Lankan Tamil follow the educational program of their host country and send the Sri Lankan Tamil follow the educational program of the host country, and their children receive a formal schooling in Germany them to the formal schooling in Germany. As observed earlier, it is common to see second generation Sri Lankan Tamils speaking German and using the language even when conversing among their peers.

However, as we presented in detail in the data, the second generation also receive another type of schooling in Germany.

As we pointed out in Chapter 6, one of the remarkable ways in which Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany strive to preserve their socio-cultural traditions is by building a network of educational institutions and a variety of formal and informal cultural organizations. The Tamil schools are referred to as 'Tamil Alayam' ('Temple of Tamil Language').[174] Tamils across Germany ensure that second-generation students of their diaspora are affiliated with the Tamil Educational Association. The purpose of their education in Tamil schools is not job-seeking but primarily enculturating the second and third generations in their native[175] culture with all its ramifications.

It is worth providing the vision of these educational organizations, as narrated by Mr. Saminathan, the headmaster of one Tamil school:

> All the educational *organizations unite us*. The kids should know their *'roots' and 'identity'* and learn to speak and read the rich Tamil language. But if we only aim to focus on reading, writing and speaking, our education will not deliver the desired performance what we want to achieve. A proper lesson plan to teach Tamil language is necessary to develop a good quality Tamil society in the future. A proper Tamil cultural heritage and language of education will enable the Tamil society to have a better status in Germany.

We shall now break down the statement to achieve a better grasp of how this educational system is intimately connected to the construction of a social unity by the Tamil diaspora in Germany:

i)   All the educational *organizations unite us*.

ii) The kids should know their *'roots' and 'identity'*.

iii) Tamil language is necessary to develop a good quality *Tamil society* in the future.

iv) A proper Tamil *cultural heritage and language of education* will enable the *Tamil society to have a better status in Germany.*[176]

His statement clearly indicates how this educational system is oriented to ensure the enculturation of the younger generation and prepare them to face new situations in their host country with dignity and respect. In short, the Tamil education system facilitates social bonds and cultural formation, thus helping the students acquire and maintain a Tamil consciousness and identity.

8.4.2 Other Tamil Social and Cultural Organizations

There are also national-level networks of Tamil socio-cultural organizations, such as *Tamil Youth Organization* (TYO); these organizations coordinate with each other in providing different activities for second-generation Tamils, both in Germany and through a network in

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[174] See section 6.4 in chapter 6

[175] www.tbvgermany.com

[176] Emphasis added

Europe, to enculturate their members in Tamil culture and establish an awareness of traditional cultural human values. These organizations include *Tamil Rehabilitation Organization* (TRO); *Tamil Cultural Center*; *Eelam Tamil Welfare Association Berlin*; *Eelam Parent Union*; *Migrant Tamil Sangams Cooperation*; Tamil football clubs; *Tamil Women Association* (TWA) to promote activities pertaining to women; and other macro-micro networks to create interactions between the local and central organizations. Their main objectives are to bring together the younger generations of Sri Lankan Tamils and create and maintain an ethnic bond and identity. Although these organizations may appear voluntary in principle, their organizational methods generate a compelling moral force, and it is almost considered a sacred duty of every Sri Lankan Tamil to participate in them. As we have observed, their aim is to create a Tamil nationalism with Tamil *Panpadu* (Tamil Culture).

8.4.3 Spontaneous and Unorganized Mechanisms of Social Bonds

In addition to organized methods of enculturation, the second generation also experiences spontaneous ways of being introduced to Tamil social unity and culture. Social bonding and enculturation also take place in spontaneous manner in informal gathering at home, marriage parties, community prayers, and worship in churches and temples, during which the reinforcement of Tamil identity and social bonding occurs spontaneously. By way of informal instructions, the second generation of boys and girls are reminded of Tamil culture, mannerisms of public behavior, dress codes, and the dignity of relationships between men and women before marriage.

This social and cultural bonding happens also through the use of modern technologies, such as phones, Skype, and nowadays very frequently through WhatsApp, which enables Tamils to hold conversations and exchange pictures. In this process, the notion of the homeland derives from the importance of cross-cultural, interpersonal relationships.[177] Additionally, involving relatives who live in Europe and North America in choosing suitable partners is another mechanism of social bonding and forming a cultural unity.

A second-generation Tamil woman, Manisha, 26, shares how her aunty from Canada was heavily involved in her marriage procedure: "I stayed with my grandmother, and my aunty decided to do the marriage preparation. She came from Canada and she's like my mother. She

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[177] See section 6.9 in Chapter 6.

knows what I need, what is my taste and everything. So, the proposal was made, and earlier I said no, and after I said yes, after we got to know each other."[178]

Thus, for involvement in marriage arrangements and even disciplinary matters, geographical distance is not a barrier. Tamils living in Canada are actively involved in counselling their granddaughters and grandsons in choosing a suitable marriage partner; uncles and aunts living outside Germany are involved in encouraging their nephews and nieces in choosing their careers; in addition, the Tamil school organization brings together all second-generation Tamils living in Europe and North America in the form of conducting a common exam. In this manner, diaspora as both a social and cultural consciousness is intrinsically woven both through organized and unorganized mechanisms created and sustained by Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany.

8.5 Creation of a Virtual Nation (*Tamil Eelam*) in Transnationality

Sri Lankan Tamils' quest for a Tamil nation in their own homeland virtually ended when the LTTE was overpowered by the Sri Lankan armed forces in 2009. However, the Tamils in diaspora are relentlessly pursuing to create a nation for themselves, which they call *Tamil Eelam*. In the transnational diasporic situation, they are attempting to create a virtual nation where all Sri Lankan Tamils can reside, thus creating a bond, culture, and consciousness in a virtual nation, a nation without land. In this section, we will discuss how the second generation is encultured to be a part of this virtual nation.

8.5.1 Consciousness as Being Part of a Nation

The second generation is not fully aware of the recent historical past of their parents and their struggles before migration. According to our fieldwork, many parents show a reluctance to discuss their past traumatic experiences with the second generation. However, a few responders commented that they had explored the history of the conflict themselves. The fieldwork analysis focused on the idea of 'home', and the participants were asked to ponder what the term means to them; their parents' stories of atrocities, marginalization, and migration led them to feel for their motherland.

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[178] See section 7.16 in chapter 7, Selection of Marriage Partner and Role of the Parents

8.5.2 Language as the Thread of Life to Oneself and the Community

It could be said that Tamils preserve their language, and their language preserves them Through the connection of their mother (family) and motherland, the second generation, who learns Tamil (mother tongue), establishes a close connection between families, generations, the countries of arrival, and the country of origin.[179] Fuglerud (1999: 161) refers to a text by Panchanathan from the 1960s that allows the Tamil language itself to speak to her children: "Do not forget that you are all my children who emerged from my womb. I am your mother. They learned to call me Tamilthaai. You are all called Tamils [Tamilar]. You and I are inextricably bound together for ever and ever through language." As a result, Tamil is a shared language that connects all Tamils all over the world, regardless of caste or region of origin.

8.5.3 Being a Tamil is Part of the Given Situation

The Tamil community is also a part of the given condition for most of its early life. Therefore, even though societal group experiences make an impact on identity formation processes, individual experiences play a vital role in shaping one's own personal identity. Although many parents do not want share the trauma of their past experiences, the second generation can sense the silence whenever first generation Tamils come together to recollect. It would be very naive to say that the second generation does not share the consciousness of their parents. Directly and indirectly, through media, international networks, and national and international protests, they have become aware of the tragedies of their home country.

8.5.4 Second Generation Activism: Irruption of a Hidden Consciousness of Nationalism

Reproduction of an emotional affiliation to one's past history of one's forefathers and homeland demands strong bonds with the countries and cultures of their origin. The first generation of immigrants naturally develop an emotional affiliation to their Home country. However, it must be noted that the second generation of Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany and elsewhere also express their physical and emotional affiliation with their home country. A number of respondents expressed that they have visited the country of their parents or

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[179] In this regard, an aspect of the Tamil language heritage makes it clear that why it is so, more than 2000-year old history of Tamils plays a role only in the Tamil teaching classroom. Tamil language has got a wealth of ancient literary heritage. For example, Vellupillai (2011) emphasizes that a Tamil identity without the "narrative poem like the Cilappatikaaram, didactic work like the Tirukkural and grammatical work like the Tolkaappiyam" (ibid:50) which speaks about 3000 years Tamil literature, is hard to imagine. That Tamil identity and language are interwoven, Vellupillai indicates by reference to a document from the ancient Sangam literature.

grandparents, and others reported hoping to do the same. The second generation does not share the experiences of the first generation which opened the possibilities for migration.

Nevertheless, a greater percentage of second-generation Tamils have not physically visited their homeland. Their emotional attachment to their ancestral land emerges after hearing their parents' repeated stories of struggle, humiliation, and ethnic feud. Such a feeling, however faint, forced them to demonstrate their affinity to their ethnic cousins in Sri Lanka and launch what Monika Hess and Benedikt Korf call "second-generation activism":

> "In April 2009, in the final battle that would crush them as a military force, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) found themselves cornered on a small piece of land in northern Sri Lanka. When commuters to Swiss cities such as Zurich, Lucerne and Berne picked up their free tabloid, they would notice that its name had changed from 20 Minutes (20 Minutes) to 30 Minutes. After a cursory glance they would see that the whole issue was dedicated to the suffering of the Tamil population trapped between Sri Lankan military forces and the LTTE. This was a plea for the international community and the Swiss government to intervene to prevent the annihilation of tens of thousands of Tamil civilians. Like any newspaper, this one contained reports, interviews and commentaries. ….This issue of 30 Minutes was not the work of Tamil media, which published 20 Minutes, but of a group of second-generation Tamils living in Switzerland" (Hess and Korf 2014: 419-20)[180].

This astute observation indicates the depth of second-generation Swiss Tamils' readiness to take part in activism in solidarity with the people of their homeland and eagerness to internationalize the plight of their cousins in Sri Lanka. Although such voluntary action has not been reported in Germany, Although such voluntary action has not been reported in Germany, German second generation Tamils are also emotionally moved by such incidents in Sri Lanka."

8.5.5 Feelings of Exclusion and Identity Construction

Sri Lankan Tamils' ideas of citizenship and integrity are extremely different in nature depending on age, class, employment, education, and gender, etc. Therefore, in this particular community, there is no clear homogenous idea of what citizenship means. For the second generation, it is a constitutional guarantee that they are part of the German nation. However, in their daily life, experiences of being perceived as "other" or "non-German" forms a part of their transnational experience. It must be noted that not all respondents expressed this view, nor do they deny the positive support they have received and continue to receive from their host country. The feeling of being discriminated needs to be understood as a consciousness of color and race, a process of enculturation, associations, and food habits, etc.; it is a consciousness of "WE" and "THEY".

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[180] Emphasis added

This experience and the recurring consciousness represents not only an essential factor in the identity construction of the second generation, but also a desire to be part of a nation without a nation, *Tamil Eelam*, in which they see no differences of color or race.

8.6 Marriage and Religion in Transnationalism

8.6.1 Marriage Practices: Continuity of Reinvention of Cultural Traditions

Marriage in the Sri Lankan community is a complex reality. From the time a girl reaches puberty to the time she is married, and even until childbirth, she has to go through a number of elaborate rituals at home.[181] The traditional custom of arranged marriage, with or without the assistance of a marriage broker, is still the dominant custom among Sri Lankan Tamils. A number of young men and women who were interviewed explained that traditional arranged marriage gives them an identity, assurance, and helps them to maintain family honour. However, many others consider this manner of marriage unacceptable in Germany, as they are enjoying a greater degree of individual freedom and self-respect. Additionally, the role of caste within this arrangement also complicates the issue for couples who wish for a marriage based on love.

The same traditional attitude is shown towards premarital sex or relationships, as well as divorce. For a traditional Tamil family, divorce or premarital sex are unthinkable; a girl who enters into a serious premarital relationship is frowned at, and such a situation evokes gossip among the neighborhood.

However, the opinions of second-generation men and women among the Sri Lankan Tamil community regarding these topics are not unified. While some respondents report a feeling of suffocation, others believe that the traditional attitude regarding marriage must gradually change. Similarly, the first generation's expectations regarding religious practices also present a dilemma for the second generation.

8.6.2 Religious Festivals for the Second Generation in Transnational Recreation

Predominantly, Sri Lankan Tamils follow either Christianity or Hinduism and consider religion and religious practices essential. Weekly worship, annual pilgrimage, or partaking in festivals are fervently and routinely practices in Germany. For the first generation, the practice of religion is a continuation religious traditions of their homeland.

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[181] See chapter 7.

The validity of religiosity and its social functions are rarely disputed by the first generation. The sight of a large gathering of fellow Tamil for religious festivals in *Hamm and Kevlar* in Germany is a delight to the eyes and hearts of every first-generation Tamil, as it reinforces their identity, tradition, and a feeling of togetherness among their ethnic group. There are always economic activities taking place during such gatherings, for example buying and selling of religious articles and ornaments, clothes, etc. Marriage alliances are also settled, as the would-be couple have an opportunity to see one another, mostly under the guidance of parents or elders, especially in cases of arranged marriages. In Germany, the celebration of these grand festivals represents the continuation of the practices of their home country.

Enculturation of the second generation of Tamils to traditions begins from the very early childhood, thus they follow these religious practices to a great extent. However, a process of rationalization is seen taking place among the second generation of Tamils, as living in Germany without the natural symbols which enabled their parents to grasp the fuller meaning of these festivals in their homeland can cause confusion among them. While the social function of these religious festivals is not disputed, religious values, such as piety, do not make much of an impression. The second generation sees these festivals more as rituals than celebrations. As Vertovec astutely observes, the second generation "adapt their own interpretations of belief, consciously decide the nature of their religious values, and specify for themselves modes of participation in 'religious community' activities" (Vertovec, 2008: 21).

This represents the situation in which second-generation Tamils find themselves; brought up in two worlds, German and Tamil, they have to draw a line of thinking for themselves sooner or later, either spontaneously or by force. This takes us to the next theme, individualization, which indicates that the second generation of Tamils will have to write their own biography.

8.7 Individualization: The Risk of Facing Life in a Globalized World

By virtue of being children of modern Germany, the second generation is part of the global world which is qualitatively different from that of the first generation of Tamil. Although globalization has been conceptualized and defined in many ways, in the context of this study, Anthony Gidden's definition is apt; he describes globalization as "the intensification of worldwide social relates which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are

shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (Giddens, 1990: 64) [182]. This is already apparent in the networking of Tamil cultural elements across the Atlantic. With these factors in mind, we must investigate how the second generation is creating a transnational condition for their present and future.

This is what Ulrich Beck, a German scholar, calls "individualization and a risk", which means that in this global modern world with multiple options, one has to decide one's own future. In the absence of their parents and elders, the second generation has its options wide open and thus has to manage themselves individually and collectively, sooner or later. "Individualization is a compulsion, albeit a paradoxical one, to create, to stage manage, not only one's own biography but the bonds and networks surrounding it and to do this amid changing preferences and at successive stages of life, while constantly adapting to the conditions of the labour market, the education system, the welfare state, and so on" (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002:4-5) [183]. Bereft of the first generation, the second generation must negotiate its own world. "Opportunities, dangers, biographical uncertainties that were earlier predefined within the family association, the village community, or by recourse to the rules of social estates or classes, must now be perceived, interpreted, decided and processed by individuals themselves."[184] Thus, the second generation is already in the process of constructing their world. Such a process necessarily involves a negative attitude towards the traditional categories; this is not a cozy cultural reinvention but a necessity for survival. As Beck succinctly summarizes:

> "The tendency is towards the emergence of individualized forms and conditions of existence, which compel people –for the sake of their own material survival – to make themselves the center of their own planning and conduct of life. Increasingly, everyone has to choose between different options, including as to which groups or subculture one wants to be identified with. In fact, one has to choose and change one's social identity as well as take the risk of doing so. In this individualization means the variation and differentiation of lifestyles and forms of life, *opposing the thinking behind the traditional categories of large-group societies* – which is to say, classes, estates, and social stratification."[185]

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[182] Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 64

[183] Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim, *Individualization: Institutionalized Individualism and Its Social and Political Consequences* (London: Thousand Oaks; New Delhi Sage Publications, 2002), pp.4-5

[184] Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim, *Individualization: Institutionalized Individualism and Its Social and Political Consequences* (London: Thousand Oaks; New Delhi Sage Publications, 2002), 4 cited by Darja Zorc-Maver, *"Individualization: Institutionalized Individualism and Its Social and Political consequences* by Ulrich Beck; Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim" in Acta Sociological, Vol. 45, No. 2 (2002), 173 (172-175)

[185] Ulrich Beck, *Risk Society*: *Towards a New Modernity*, trans. Mark Ritter ((London: Sage Publications, 1992), p. 88

8.7.1 The Second Generation: Authors of Their Own Biography

Individualization: Future of the Second Generation

The statement of one of the respondents, Sanjay, astutely points to the future of the second generation of Sri Lankan Tamils: "A general understanding of life and daily life experiences are different. I am a Tamil, a student, a male, a German citizen, a second generation of Tamil from Stuttgart. From these various roles, I acquire different experiences, and from these experiences, I have to identify my own identity. I have to know who I am. It is my responsibility." In truth, such sentiments are influenced by many different factors, and the basic process of identity construction is not monolithic but fluid, shaped by the specific life experiences of ethnic group community members in the host country. These experiences are diverse in nature. In other words, as Knut Jacobson and Khokher (1993: 596) observe, the second generation undertakes an acutely self-conscious exploration and assessment of their cultures, which is, however, irrelevant with regard to the first-generation Sri Lankan Tamils in diaspora.

8.7.2 Institutionalization of Social and Cultural Capital

The second generation is introduced to the process of institutionalizing social capital, such as the network of relationships, through various groups and organizations of second generation of Tamils in Germany; for example, Cultural capital (language, art, music, magazines, cultural and social celebrations, etc.

Intensification of Social and Cultural Capital

These various social and cultural organizations are part of the attempt by Sri Lankans to create a social capital accepted by the second generation as an outlet for their expressions of being; cultural capital is ambivalence. The second generation chooses elements such as cultural dances, festivals, written books, exercise books, a consciousness of human rights" and conscientation on human rights, Which can serve as cultural capital. Even in a liberal country, Sri Lankan men prefer ethnic women as their wives due to the traditional idea of wives' submission to their husbands.

8.7.3 *Tamil Eelam* (A Nation of Tamils) in Language and Affiliation

Nations are essentially territorial. According to Christel Adick (2005), nation-state education systems create and reproduce citizens who serve to continue and sustain a national project, in this case, the Tamil 'trans-nation'. Furthermore, the regular Tamil education has been an important element of forming a Tamil national consciousness for centuries. Tamil language

and its own desired state, 'Tamil Eelam takes place and on the basis of this they always produce their 'cultural-nation'. This nation, united by language, has no boundaries, currency, or even a Flag. Yet through its network of affiliation and cultural reproduction through the Tamil language, the second generation creates an Eelam that exists wherever Tamils live and whenever their language is spoken.

8.7.4 Organized and Unorganized Remembrance

The continuation of Tamil culture at home, through celebrations, food habits, marriage customs, rites of intensification and so on, is practiced by both the first and second generations. Thus, the imparting of Tamil culture is not limited to the organizer of Tamil Schools, cultural programme, etc. and Leaders of the Tamil community. As Chris Jenks observes: "The sphere of intellectual activity within a society, therefore, does not belong to cultural elite who practice a specialised cognitive style and a shared epistemology, but rather it manifests itself as an integral segment of political action that is rooted in the daily lives and culture of the people as a whole" (Jenks, 1993:8)[186]. Consequently, it is not unfounded to claim that language, culture, religion, country of origin, and overall ethnicity play a prominent role in the Tamil diaspora.

8.7.5 Immortalizing Tamil Community and Culture

Hannah Arendt, describing the significance of the Greek polis, reminds us of how the people of ancient Greek immortalize themselves through their 'sharing of words and deeds', thus remedying the frailty of individual human existence: "Being secured by the physical and symbolic walls which protect its present and future identity, the *polis* acts as some sort of 'organized remembrance' where the stories it has woven become humanity's immortal witness of its fleeting being" (Arendt, 1958: 199)[187].

Hence, the dynamics of the nature of diaspora ethnic life brings forth a specific facet of one's nature of identity. Thus, while the first generation has made its choice, the second generation is still in the process of grasping the condition of living in a diaspora.

8.7.6 Themes leading to the Further Research

No research is a finished project as it leads to further research. So also is my research on the transnational recreation of the second generation of Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany. I am a Tamil from India and I do speak the language of the Sri Lankan Tamils. Through my interviews

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186 Chris Jenks, *Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 8
187 Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 199

and participatory observations, I share the worldview of the Sri Lankan Tamils to certain extent. However, I lack the traumatic experience such as humiliation, migration, suffering of migrant Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany. In spite of my affinity, I am an outsider. I still have difficulties in understanding their codes of Communications and modes expressions. A native or migrant Sri Lankan Tamil in Germany will be in a better position to study his or her own people though he or she may have to overcome the familiarity of the taken for granted world, for example the caste system within the Tamil Community.

Secondly, the system of Tamil schools in Germany is novel method of creating and maintaining social unity and cultural identity. So also is the tradition of marriage customs with all their rituals, customs and complexity. A further research of above mentioned system is highly suggested.

Thirdly, most of the respondents of second generation of Sri Lankan Tamils in this research are dependent on their parents. A study exclusively on the married second generation of Tamils, living independently of their parents will give a better idea of how the second generation is constructing their lives in Diaspora.

Fourthly, a comparative study of the second generation of Tamils in Germany\Europe and the Tamils living in North American or India will throw much light on the self-perception of Tamils living in different continents.

Fifthly, a comparative study of different diaspora communities from south East Asia or Africa, Latin America, who have settled in Germany, will be highly recommended.

Finally, most of the studies on Diasporas have treated the migrant communities as homogenous groups with only religion as the main differentiating factor. A study on the internal division, rupture, competition and conflict and reconciliatory methods will show the dynamics of Sri Lankan Tamils in Germany.

8.7.7 Conclusion

We will conclude this long research with the inspiring words of one of the most revered philosophers of our time, Hans-Georg Gadamer, which, in the opinion of the researcher, sets the tone for the future hopes of the second generation of Tamils in Germany: "Modern historical research itself is not only research, but the handing down of tradition.

We do not see it only in terms of progress and verified results; in it we have, as it were, a new experience of history whenever the past resounds in a new voice" (Gadamer, 2004:285)[188]. We wholeheartedly wish the Sri Lankan Tamils—particularly the second generation, who are the co-authors of this research work—to endlessly hope for new life experiences in the future and strive to articulate these experiences in concrete search and research whenever their past resounds within them.

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[188] H.G Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, Trans. J.Weinsheimer & D.O Marshall, 2nd rev. ed. New York: Crossroads, 2004 edition pp.p.285

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GLOSSARY

Alathi — It a ritual ceremony usually performed for the deities in Hindu worship rituals or even sometimes to welcome a special guests.

Bharata Natyam — one of the of the famous classical dance in India.

Eelam — an imagined, longing independent Tamil State Tamils

Kuthu Villaku — a Traditional Indian oil lamp

Malai,Chanthanam — Garland made of flower and sandal paste respectively used as in order to respect and honour

Matha — Name given by the Tamils to Mother Mary.

Olivilla — Festival of Light usually celebrated by Tamil Christians in Germany during Christmas season

Pongal Harvest festival celebrated by Tamils all over the world in the Month of January

Puja It a form of a prayer ritual performed mostly by Hindus.

Saivism It is the branch of Hinduism and also the name given to Hindu Tamils in Germany who worships Siva as the Supreme God.

Samathya Sadangu Puperty or Age attainment Ceremony mainly for the Tamil female

Thali The golden chain, which bridegroom ties around bride's neck during the ritual celebration of marriage.

Ther Pavani a form of worship usually Chariot procession

Sari/Saree Traditional dress for women worn mainly on the Indian continent, which is wrapped around the body.

Vesti   Traditional dress for Sri Lankan Tamil men consisting of a long piece, normally worn with a cotton shirt.

Vellala/Vellalar   The largest and most dominant Sri Lankan Tamil caste group, a group who were originally farmers and landowners.

Tamilalayam   Name for the Tamil schools in Germany and other diasporas

Sami Padam   Pictures of the God and Goddesses Placed on the wall in the Houses.

Theetu   it means unwanted or something ugly or unseeable

Mukutha Pattu   Saree made out of Silk wear on the day of Marriage

Thiru mangalam   Sacred chain which will be tied on the neck of the bride on the day of marriage by the bridegroom

Pottu vaithal   Traditional decoration of coloured dot worn on the forehead of the female

Tamil School

Tamil School Celebrations

Age attending Ceremony

Tamil Marriages Celebrations