

India in New Zealand: Local Identities, Global Relations. Edited by Sekhar Bandyopadhyay. Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2010. 264pp. NZ price: \$49.95. ISBN: 978-1-877372-85-8.

INDIA IN NEW ZEALAND is valuable for the insight it gives into a little-known area of New Zealand history and contemporary culture: the increasing importance of Indian immigration to the shaping of New Zealand. Rather than a single 'Indian' community, the 'southernmost Indian Diaspora' represents a complex set of global relationships. Indian immigration to New Zealand connects Aotearoa with nineteenth-century Pacific plantation labour networks, with the networks of Indian settlers in British imperial East Africa and Malaysia, and with the globalised education and employment market driving youth migration in the late twentieth century. By grouping the chapters into three connected thematic sections ('Migrations and Settlement', 'Local Identities' and 'Global Relations'), *India in New Zealand* gives a broadly chronological framework to the changing sense of what it is to be Indian in New Zealand.

Unlike many edited collections, *India in New Zealand* provides a good, research-based, foundational overview of the changing character of Indian migration to this country. Though strongly interdisciplinary, the structure and quality of the chapters give this book a remarkable coherence. Each chapter is both informative and raises theoretical questions about the way experiences of migration and integration can be conceptualised. In his valuable introduction Sekhar Bandyopadhyay rightly cautions that the term 'community' can become reductive. He argues that a richer and more accurate understanding of the reality of the Indian contribution and participation in New Zealand can be gained only by recognising the difference between external and internal ideas and experiences of being Indian in New Zealand. As is emphasised throughout the book, rather than one 'Indian community', New Zealand is enriched by a complex range of people from different regions within India and the South Asia region. However, events such as Diwali, publicly celebrated in Auckland and Wellington, tend to present a homogenised view of 'Indian' culture more palatable to the still cautious 'Kiwi'. Bandyopadhyay emphasises that despite increasing acceptance of Indian migrants there is a lingering prejudice against Indians evident both in the employment statistics and the tension between integration and spatial marginalisation of migrant populations and their descendents into sanitised 'ethno-spaces' (pp.8, 12). While Indians from both the Indian sub-continent and Fiji form a significant proportion of New Zealand's educated and professional classes, they are still under-represented in employment. Many New Zealanders are unaware of the long history of Indian migration to New Zealand forged through patterns of individual and chain migration and the often grim histories of both empire and indentured labour.

The first section of the book, 'Migrations and Settlement', examines these histories and both the popular and official New Zealand response to Indian immigration. In the first chapter, Tony Ballantyne emphasises trade and empire in building connections between South Asia and New Zealand. New Zealand's addiction to Indian and Ceylonese tea is representative of the broader imperial networks linking the two regions and provides part of the context for labour migration into New Zealand. However, legislation, prejudice in employment and simple racism all served to restrict work opportunities for early Indian migrants from Gujarat and Punjab. The impact on policy and personal relations brought about by local anxiety that Indians would pose a threat to New Zealand labour by working longer hours and tolerating poorer living conditions is a persistent theme. Prejudice and economic anxiety manifest in extreme form in the White New Zealand League's calls to preserve the racial purity of both European and Māori and protect New Zealand from the sexual depredations of the foreigners. As Jacqueline Leckie argues, migration was always a gendered experience. These early migrants began to participate in gendered notions of New Zealand labour, the Punjabi bush cutter embracing notions

of rural masculinity and aspects of being a 'Kiwi man' despite the background of sexual anxiety. Women were often 'twice migrants': Indian-born migrants to South Africa or Fiji migrating again to meet a New Zealand-born Indian husband. For some, 'Kiwi' neighbours, women also at home while their husbands worked, became part of a new family, adding a further dimension to an international network of connections. Avind Zodgekar's chapter underpins the earlier chapters by demonstrating the impact of political events and policy on the changing Indian demographic within New Zealand. As the farming and labouring migrants are increasingly replaced by a well-educated and professional Indian migrant population, racism remains an issue. As Indians seek 'white collar' employment, Zodgekar notes the persistent need to remove institutional racism against New Zealand-born and migrant Indian alike.

The second section of the collection comprises five chapters on 'local identities', the complex experience of 'being Indian in New Zealand'. Some repetition of the history of Indian migration to New Zealand provides linkages with the first section. Rather than detracting from the work, the repetition is specific to each chapter and helps to integrate what may have been a loose collection of papers into a good overview of the topic. Martin Fuchs, Antje Linkenbach and Aditya Malik's is the most self-reflective chapter. It offers a thorough and insightful critique of the concepts of identity and diaspora and the pitfalls of assuming identity categories when discussing the sense of self among migrant communities. Most valuable is the reminder that there is typically a disjunction between people's self-identification and that of outsiders: the Indian living in Christchurch, New Zealand, may identify far more as South African, Fijian or even as Pākehā than as Indian. The authors suggest that Indians in Christchurch are not bound by any one notion of culture but rather are 'accomplished artists of *bricolage*', understood by Levi-Strauss as 'skillfully handling and putting together diverse fragments of culture' (p.101). Further chapters in this section address specific aspects of this *bricolage* capacity. Amanda Gilbertson explores the specificity of Gujarati regional experience, Gwyn Williams the tension between individual and family identity felt by young Indians growing up in New Zealand, and Ruth DeSouza adaptation by Indian women to being young mothers in New Zealand. Henry Johnson's chapter on the promotion of Diwali as an exotic 'Indian' event in Wellington and Auckland nicely book-ends the section. Johnson emphasises council and government investment in multi-cultural New Zealand and the role of such public events in emphasising the separateness of Indians as a migrant minority.

The third section, 'Global Relations', focuses on the connectedness of India and New Zealand, and specifically, the somewhat checkered history of diplomatic and economic relations between the two countries. Bandhyopadhyay traces the importance of the Lange and Clark Labour governments in building India relations and the emphasis placed by New Zealand on India's nuclear position in determining diplomatic relations. Both Bandhyopadhyay and Tim Beal emphasise that lingering misperceptions of India as poor and backward are hampering New Zealand's capacity to do business with the country. Rebecca Kunin's chapter on the troubled history of Indian film production in New Zealand provides a snapshot of the complexities and disjunctions which can make doing business between the two countries so difficult. What comes through each chapter in this book is the conviction that stronger relationships with India will greatly enrich New Zealand personally, intellectually, culturally and materially, if only average New Zealanders, business interests, educators and policy makers can connect.

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