

**THE ROLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION COOPERATION IN
INDIA-BANGLADESH BILATERAL RELATIONS, 1991-2015**

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis entitled “**The Role of Higher Education Cooperation in India-Bangladesh Bilateral Relations, 1991-2015**” submitted by me for the award of **Doctor of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.



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Dedicated to,
Baba (Bhabesh Barua),
Ma (Mary Margaret) & Didi (Dora)

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*New Delhi
15th July 2019*

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ABBREVIATIONS

AYUSH	–	Ayurveda, Yoga, Naturopathy, Unani, Siddha and Homeopathy
AISHE	–	All India Survey of Higher Education
AIU	–	Association of India Universities
AL	–	Awami League
CEP	–	Cultural Exchange programme
COPEA	–	Committee on Promotion of Indian Education Abroad
CENTO	–	Central Trade Organization
BIMSTEC	–	The Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation
BRICS	–	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Asia
BTB	–	Bangladesh Television
BNP	–	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
BMET	–	Bureau of Manpower, Employment and Training
DTH	–	Direct to Home
EIC	–	East India Company
GDP	–	Gross Domestic Product
GATT	–	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
IBSA	–	India, Brazil and South Africa
IIE	–	Institute of International Education
IT	–	Information Technology
ICCR	–	Indian Council for Cultural Relations
IGCC	–	India Gandhi Cultural Centre
ITU	–	International telecommunication Union
IBSA	–	India, Brazil, South Africa
LDC	–	Least Developing Country
MOU	–	Memorandum of Understanding
MEA	–	Ministry of External Affairs
MOIA	–	Ministry of Overseas India Affairs
MHRD	–	Ministry of Human Resource Department
NATO	–	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
ODI	–	One Day Innings

IOR-ARC	–	Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Co-operation
IOR- A	–	Indian Ocean Rim Association
PIHEAD	–	Promotion of Higher Education Abroad
SAARC	–	The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SEATO	–	The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization
US	–	United States
UK	–	United Kingdom
UNCTAD	–	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNESCO	–	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UIS	–	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Information System
UNEP	–	The United Nations Environment Programme
WTO	–	World Trade Organization
WHO	–	World Health Organization

Chapter 1

Introduction

Map 1.1

MAP OF INDIA INDICATING NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES



Source <http://www.orangesmile.com/travelguide/india/country-maps.htm>

1.1 Background

The rupture of British India in 1947 split the massive landmass into two new constituents; from the western region, its state of Punjab got divided, to give rise to Pakistan (a homeland exclusively for Muslims) and from the Bengal region separated the majority Muslim Bengali inhabited eastern territory to become East Pakistan (erstwhile East Bengal). After continuing to be a constituent of main Pakistan for twenty-four long years, owing to a number of socio-economic and political inequitable treatments by the ruling elites impelled the eastern wing to remain relatively under-developed and under-represented. After two and a half decades of dominion, coupled with various other issues, the Bengalis of the eastern region decisively pronounced the desideratum to sever from West Pakistan, and broke into a war for freedom in nineteen seventy-one.

India undertook a pivotal responsibility in the War of Liberation and helped East Pakistan arise as victorious against Pakistan to create an independent nation in a true sense; i.e., Bangladesh. The big neighbour overtly assisted the nationalist leaders of Bangladesh by interceding with its own military during the war; and purveyed with huge amount of relief aid during the post-war period. India's support during the conflict, and contributions post-war commenced convivial relations between the two countries. It was like forming new relationships of a 'friendly associate' from being peers tied by old consanguinities.

India and Bangladesh maintain a profound and expansive connection incorporating vast range of mutual interests. Much of the scholarships on the nature of relationship between India-Bangladesh are identified as intricate, sensitive yet multi-dimensional. The correlativeness of people of the two countries are closely associated by enduring civilisational, socio-cultural, lingual homogeneity, ethno-racial kinships, and religious similitude which has emerged from quotidian historical bequest and geographical propinquity. India is the closest neighbour of Bangladesh and of paramount

importance. Due to the contiguity and closeness, India has been a dominant factor in the conduct of both foreign policy and domestic politics of Bangladesh; since its emergence as a sovereign country in nineteen seventy-one (Vinayraj, 2009).

India is the largest country in South Asia and largest democratic nation in the world. With the emergence of economic reforms at the beginning of the nineties, India's economy gained rapid momentum on the economic barometer with a gross domestic product at a growth rate of little more than seven per cent. The World Bank (2019) states India is now the third largest economy in the scale of purchasing parity; a growing economic weight acknowledged across the world. In a short span of seventy two years after the Independence the economic, political, diplomatic, educational and military growth has drawn the attention of the international community. Being the third Asian regional power after Japan and China, one of the four major economies in the world and earning the position of fourth high military power many experts are of opinion that India is an emerging global power (Curtis, 2019).

Bangladesh is a landmass with a total area of 147, 570 square kms. Inhabitant wise according to the World Population Review of 2019 it is one of the most highly concentrated countries in the world with 163.05 million people. The country is surrounded on the east, west and north with the enormous India and the Bay of Bengal on its south making India the closest neighbour to the country. Bangladesh and India share the longest land boundary which is a 4,025 kms stretch. Almost landlocked from three sides by India, for the pursuit of border peace, development and preservation of sovereignty, Bangladesh perceives the importance of India in their regional policies. Therefore, the nature of relations with India is of utmost significance to Bangladesh (Kabir, et al, 2018). According to the Dhaka Tribune (2018), Bangladesh transitioned to a "lower-middle income nation" from a "low income nation" by fulfilling all eligibilities set by the United Nations to be recognised as a developing nation. In the BBIN Times Timothy Taylor opines, "Bangladesh is now emerging from a low-income to lower-middle income country ... sound macroeconomic policies have contributed to robust growth, stable inflation, moderate public debt, and greater resilience to external shocks" (Taylor, 2018).

The world is recognising the 'rising power' status of India who is adapting to a more inclusive foreign policy, to tackle the global challenges of the twenty-first century and

to increase their status. India is broadening their engagement universally with special attention to South Asia, because it wants to take the centre-stage as a powerful yet non-hegemonic nation that comes with tremendous opportunity to cooperate in this dynamic region (Curtis, 2007). In order to do so, it is essential to build a convivial environment with the closest neighbours especially with Bangladesh; a regional game-changer. For India, Bangladesh plays an essential role to facilitate and enhance its inter-country connections. To keep the door of opportunities open, India's increasing interest in enhancing bilateral relations with Bangladesh is apparent. It draws attention because the two neighbours have a history of uneven relations that has damaged their prospects before.

Map 1.2

MAP OF BANGLADESH INDICATING INDIA ON THREE SIDES



Source https://www.researchgate.net/figure/1-Political-Map-of-Bangladesh-with-Approximate-Location-of-the-Jamuna-Bridge_fig1_228729739

1.2 Bilateral Relations

The friendly relations however, became evanescent and their substantive relationship experienced many changes. As a consequence of ideological conflicts brought by regime changes, Dhaka's discernment of New Delhi, resultantly their attitude towards India, fluctuated over time; sometimes recognised as a favourable factor and many times, deduced them as a 'threat or intimidating' factor to their existence. A relationship that was expected to develop by close cooperation, in reality was instead conflicting and strenuous, subsequently affecting their bilateral ties. From the mid-seventies to the turn of century (1975-1990), ideological shift in Bangladesh's domestic political practice deeply contorted the two nations. This dissimilitude in perceptual attitude has yielded changing paradigms in Indo-Bangladesh relations in the last forty-seven years.

Following a succession of positive and negative experiences, the relationship of the two countries is at a steadier juncture, especially since the second term of Prime Minister of Sheikh Hasina in Bangladesh and the leadership of Premier Narendra Modi¹ in India. The Awami Leagues (AL) that have so far served four terms and serving the fifth term in current administration², always considered India as an ally and exercised favourable foreign policy towards them; the non-AL³ political parties habitually displayed dislike towards New Delhi. A harmonious bond is essential now more than ever, because India may be surrounding Bangladesh, but, the latter's geopolitical placement is of equivalent importance to the former, to safeguard and strengthen their respective national interests. The aims of their governments are to have concordant plan to improve human, economic and technological advancement through friendly ties and enhance the status of their respective countries. Their alliance is of significant value in the context of South Asia's emergence as a growing region at this time, when India is an aspiring super-power and Bangladesh is attempting to intensify its regional prestige by entering the 'middle-income group' of

¹The representative of Bharatiya Janata Party and the Prime Minister Narendra Modi has been in power since 2015 and serving his second term since 2019

²Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina run Awami League party is the current government in Bangladesh. They have so far served four terms from 1971-1975 (under Sheikh Mujibur Rahman), 1996-2001, 2009-14, 2015-18 and serving the current term from 2019 onwards (by herself).

³ The Non-Awami League major political parties of Bangladesh were first the military government that reigned for fifteen years and the nationalist party Bangladesh Nationalist Party

countries. And, though Bangladesh is indisputably a “small-state” vis-à-vis India, it may be acknowledged as “small-power”, as argued by Peter R. Baehr (Baehr, 1975).

1.3 Culture and Education in Bilateral Relations

“Culture” is one of the most central resources of a state’s soft power. The cultural assets India possesses are abundant and multifarious. As far as soft resources are concerned, India is at an incredibly gainful position and has historically benefitted from much of its soft resources. T.V. Paul and Baldev Nayar maintain that norms and cultures of India is a fresh contrast to those presented by Western or developed countries (Purushothaman, 2010).

Cultural uniqueness can be ‘currencies of attraction and authority’; tradition, custom etc. are evidently cultural sources, illustrated in the literature, arts and other civilisational assets of a country. The language, literature, art, dance, cuisine are civilisational inheritances that lets India use as its soft power resources. It can globally influence other societies if they accepted and considered worthy of emulation.

Education is recognized as the strength of a society. To live and work prosperously in the twenty-first century education needs to be higher, broader and deeper. A society with well-educated people is the driving force behind economic, societal and community development, which is sustainable and enduring. Higher educated people contribute as skillful workforce a country needs; qualified optimally to meet the requirements of a global knowledge-base society.

Education is a public good; a basic right. The United Nation’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights in its twenty-sixth article (2015:54) incorporated vehemently: *“Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free... technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit”*. Ever since the founding of this idea, for developing countries like Bangladesh, education sector turned into a thematic preference for the government policy makers, working diligently to implement right to education.

International student mobility is one the basic features of internationalization of higher education. It may be trailed back since the conception of higher education in

the history of mankind that humans have crossed borders and gone to foreign lands to attain degrees, in pursuit of knowledge (Lucas, 2009). An international aspect in higher education goes back to the ‘Middle Ages’; a time when scholastic pilgrimages was obligatory due to insufficient institutions in Europe. In the Indian subcontinent student mobility and visiting scholars from foreign countries were a common practice during the Ancient period. The kind of educational exchanges, cooperation and various inter-institutional collaborations are a twentieth century phenomenon (Wit, 2010). What is contemporary is the unprecedented upsurge of students moving across countries. According to Kuroda (2018) *international* students have increased two-folds within a span of two decades from two million in the year 2000 to more than four million in 2015; estimated by Gürüz (2011) it is to be increase by another two fold by 2025 touching eight million internationally mobile students.

Expeditionously globalizing societies of the world has enabled cultural and educational exchange among various nations all over the world. Central to an ever growing global landscape of foreign mobile students is propitious in Asia with its South Asian region. The emphasis is on the southern region because it is largest in size with growing number of foreign students and also gaining popularity as host region for incoming foreign students. The trend is only proliferating in the current times.

1.4 State’s Policy Approaches

India’s approach towards its neighbouring states in post Cold War that is, at the onset of twentieth century began to experience a paradigm shift in terms of foreign policy bearings especially as the war related tensions minimized. It was at the same time in 1991, following the economic amelioration, India embraced globalization; started to become more competitive yet convivial and less defensive in the region (Mohan, 2003). Lull (1995) argues, with the termination of Cold War as the two Super-powers⁴ retreated from entailing in matters related to sub-continent, created space for India to become the enterprising multi-lateral leader from being what a defensive unilateral hegemon was earlier⁵

⁴ The United States of America and the USSR were the two super powers.

⁵ Hegemony is “asymmetrical interdependence” of political-economic-cultural relations between and among nation-states. It is dominance and subordination in the field relations structured by power

Since 1947, argues Malik and Rather (2015:181), the underlying aim of India's grand strategy⁶ was to retain its hegemony in the region, accomplished strategically by using hard power during the sixties and seventies. The approach remained nugatory to change the outlook of its neighbouring states towards them. New Delhi apprehended a *sine qua non* to emerge as an amiable nation to establish friendly relations with its adjacent states, abating its negative hegemonic attitude and conventions. India's proclivity to refine relations with smaller adjoining nations pushed the prodigious country to adopt softer diplomatic modus operandi. Besides, China's expeditiously burgeoning diplomacy through attraction disconcerted India to unhesitatingly incline towards using soft power in foreign policy. Thus it has become essential to understand that Cultural and educational cooperation is the proponents of hard power or soft Power. Thus, a conceptual framework of state, power in its approaches has been discussed in details.

1.5 Power: Conceptual Framework

Power, as perceived and experienced has been existing in various ways traversing across mankind's existence for many hundred years. The subject of and arguments related to power has always intrigued social scientists for several decades, if not centuries if one was to refer to the past work of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle or even Machiavelli or Descartes. J. B. Mattern states, "Where there is politics there is power" (Mattern, 2008). Power was and remains central and critical to the study of political science including international relations (Barnett and Duvall, 2005). Therefore, it is no sudden revelation, that power as a concept is elemental to the study of politics.

The particular ways in which power is envisioned at any given time acts as noteworthy constitutive factors helping to define international relations as a discipline. Mattern (2008) calls it "essentially contested concept" that has considerably expanded with due course of time. He further argues the progress in theoretical discourses relating to power to have been demanding recognition of innovative "empirical focuses, research methods, and normative logics", in the

⁶ Grand strategy is the modern equivalent of what was, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, called *ragione di stato* or *raison d'état*. It is the rational determination of a nation's vital interests, the things that are essential to its security, its fundamental purpose in its relations with other nations, and its priorities with respect to goals.

dictionary of international relations (Mattern 2008:1). Being subjected to continual contestations over its conceptualization, the notion has broadened with time.

Power, just like weather, is a concept everyone depends on and talks about, as Nye notes, but power is difficult to measure, or to even define (Calder, 2009:7). Perhaps this is why Joseph Nye compared power to “weather”. Weather creates phenomenon; it is possible to experience its existence, not observed similarly power does the same. Powers touches upon every human, non-biased based on gender, caste, religion, color and so on and disreputable for its extreme practices whether it is placid or brutal, good or bad. Power with all its diverse actions which are tangible-intangible, fungible-non fungible, measurable-immeasurable, observable-non-observable, never gone astray its significance in the dominion of human existence.

Over the centuries, the word ‘power’ has been perceived typically in its original sense. Security studies have forever emphasised on power, also, disciplinarily in international politics, power holds utmost importance as well as habitually associated to the realist school of thought. Most descriptions of politics involve power. Nearly all international reciprocities are political in nature or have implications for politics. Thus, it is not unexpected that power has been important in ponderings of international interrelations whether it was during Thucydides or to the present day.

It is a known fact that military and economic strength oftentimes gets others to alter their attitude; be it Thucydides or other realists’ interpretations; power has been always interpreted in terms of military and economic might. Ivanchenko and Khromakov (2017: 2) opine that the ‘History of the Peloponnesian war’ by Thucydides was one of the cardinal endeavours to conceptualize the word power, whereby its role in the underpinnings of inter-governmental relations was acknowledged. For states power became a medium of security and opportunity to reign. The validation of prominent possession of power was its strength in war. In the practice of politics in the world, power has been often evaluated according to military capacity; the country with stronger army marked the plausibility to triumph (Bashar, 2009).

In a more generic sense, power is the capability to persuade others to attain what one covets, that is, how one influences the actions of others to obtain the result one wants. Nye (2004) noted:

“Power is the ability to influence the behavior of others to get the outcomes one wants. But there are several ways to affect the behavior of others. You can coerce them with threats; you can induce them with payments; or you can attract and co-opt them to want what you want”.

This can be done in various ways. According to Nye (2004) there are three ways-coercion (sticks); inducement (carrots) and attraction (soft power). To attain the preferred end-result, one can “coerce with threats, induce with payments, or attract and co-opt to get people to want what one wants” (Purushothaman, 2010). Power as a concept encompasses everything, from one’s capabilities to continue living to a governments’ skill to uphold economic development. These abilities to achieve one’s desired outcomes are frequently connected with the ownership of certain resources. Diplomats, politicians generally delineate power as the bearer of resources such as natural resources, population, economic strength, political stability and military force (Nye, 1990).

According to Gupta (2013:37), the theory of power, in international politics continues to be a significant reality. Academicians argue meticulously to find a more unanimously admissible explanation of ‘power’, which is still unachieved. Nonetheless, as observed, power has been present in sundry forms throughout the course times (Ahmed and Fatmi, 1971). As the seeking continued, the term underwent stages of unerring explanations to become more refined in the process. The development of rules and regulations were beginning to be influenced by new technologies, new views and the tradition of just war (Ivanchenko et al, 2017).

‘Hard power’ and ‘soft power’ may be considered as two divergent pillars of power postulation. They are, “ideas, interactions and institutions” explain Wagner (2005:2) diverse in its forms for foreign policy practice in the fields of politics, economy and security. Where hard power is engaging in economic sanctions, military interposition or coercive diplomacy to inflict national interest that generally follows confrontational policies towards neighbouring nations; soft power on the other side is contract to this

practice. As per the context of this research, a more profound comprehension of soft power is germane at this point to supplement the forthcoming discourse on India's bilateral engagements with Bangladesh through higher educational cooperation; a sub-set of public diplomacy, wielded through soft power policies by many nations globally.

1.5.1 Soft Power?

Nearly three decades ago, as the Cold War was marking a conclusion in Europe, Joseph Samuel Nye Jr. formulated the term 'soft power'. Nye, a Harvard University Professor, an American political scientist, Pentagon Official and a policy maker (Calder, 2009:30) had put forth an idea in the realm of foreign policy by contriving the term "soft power" in his book titled "*Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Soft Power*" in nineteen ninety (Nye, 2004). The concept caught attention of many intellectuals as it seemed to directly strike the exaggerated, cynical yet tenaciously present realist theory in public affairs; and continued to kindle to the post Cold War aeons. Later in 2004, the concepts development was furthered in the book by Joseph Nye in '*Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*' in 2004.

The conceptualization of *soft power* is entrenched in the thought that an 'alternative power structure' is existent in international relations in alliance with economic and military capacities. Nye's (2004: x) denotation of soft power is "*the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments*". It emerges from, '*the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals and policies*' (ibid.). The power of attraction ingeminated by Nye has been appraised as the language of cultural transcend, or viewed as a substitute to war or as peripheral to politics (Kalin, 2011).

Philip Blond et al (2017) consider soft power as a stock of certitude and benevolence towards a particular country and its people, conventionally emerging from the reinstated quality of attraction towards a country's features such as culture and values, which may be administered to apply pressure to influence other countries, thereby achieve conducive end-results that would may not be the case otherwise. It is attainable by convincing the other party (country/leader) through persuading arguments and prudent policies (Wu, 2018)

When a country's policies are viewed as legitimate by other country(s), the soft power of that particular country is enhanced; that is, it becomes the reflection of that country's beliefs and characters as perceived abroad (Nye, 2004; Kalin, 2011). Here, the rudimentary feature of soft power is the plausibility to persuade; the features furthermore provide legitimacy to use power. Political legitimacy, argues Kalin, (ibid.), has become an integral part of the twenty first century international relations. In the contemporary globalized system it is impracticable to execute a policy not based on legitimate reasoning.

In cases where there is lack of legitimacy, crises are inevitable and the cost is quite often expensive. Soft power can create vibrant image of a country and give it a higher status in global networks. Described Shashi Tharoor, the soft power of a nation appears from the world's opinion about a country (Tharoor, 2012). The associations and attitudes conjured up in the global imagination by the mere mention of a country's name is often a more accurate gauge of its soft power than a dispassionate analysis of its foreign policies. In his words, "hard power is exercised; soft power is evoked" (Bashar, 2009).

The concept is fairly recent in the discourse of international relations. It can illustrate a country's image in a dynamic way and place it in a respectable status in global networks (Thomas, 2019). Philip Blond, Director of ResPublica emphasises soft power as "means bringing together diplomacy, cultural relations and national interest in a way which turns away from relying solely on military intervention and humanitarian aid and instead provides a more holistic way to promote our values and help others".

It is different from *hard power* whereby states depend on (and traditionally depended on) their economic and military power to attain the outcomes they desire best for their states (Blond *et al*, 2017). That is, it is possible to meet the goals without exerting tangible forms of intimidation over others. Unlike hard power, soft power functions on attraction beyond economic and military indicators. Rather, one can also exercise substitute methods to accomplish the same; a concept of power assuming more lenient perspective that came to be known as soft power; many a times called "the second face of power" (Nye, 2004:5).

Although hard power has been the wanted form of foreign policy instrument, ever since the term soft power was introduced by Nye in 1990 to the policy community, the notion of hard power as postulated to be the sole efficacious method for achieving the expected objectives in world politics began to corrode (Mattern, 2008). Mattern further argues, the original interpretation of power understood in terms of military and conquest for survival commonly used in the earlier times to an extent lost its foothold. Nye suggested quite uncomplicatedly that afar hard power there are mechanisms embedded in a country's cultural and ideological charms to work for others. Hence, the essence of the concept is the usage of non-coercive methods in conducting foreign policy instead of coercive methods.

Nye's fundamental arguments are prudential and quite subtle. The arguments do not repudiate coercion and different types of inducements to be nugatory to manipulate international affairs. What the arguments actually emphasise on is using legitimacy tools will make it smoother to get intended without using unnecessary commotion. Calder (2009:30) firmly believes, an era of historic global transitions, these Nye's arguments will have implications on the foreign policies worldwide. Although traditional great game political-military will subsist yet soft power will have prodigious importance in managing economic and various transnational issues. Complex multilateral cooperation oriented toward accomplishing global aspirations, mostly across traditional, cultural and political boundaries, will be gradually more dominant in world affairs; and soft power will be a primary vehicle for deriving such cooperation (op.cit).

There are a number of components that facilitate soft power: culture, education, science and technology, media (all forms), films, literature, poetry, arts, architecture, non-governmental organizations, travel/tourism, migration, the ability for innovation, opportunity for economic partnerships that reflect trans-national, people-to-people interaction (Wu, 2018).

Strength of *soft power* materializes when these assorted components coalescences manifesting an impression about a country's possessions (Kalin, 2009). Factors like educational/cultural richness, technological advancements, economic growth and military strength are becoming more significant international power. The foundation of soft power is embedded on shared values, hence the 'value-based' explication of

power denotes the extent of a state's attractiveness deemed worthy of being considered quintessential for other states.

To what extent a country's strategies are considered permissible by others also explains the soft diplomacy of a country. Therefore, whether hard power employs "carrots and sticks" method i.e., persuasion and threat; soft power influence others that they should follow because of the allure of an others way of life. Proponents of the significance of soft power maintain, in the post-Cold War world order one can no longer gain geopolitical leverages by using military supremacy. Those countries who wish to gain any such leverage should fully use the easily available informations across the globe, present the attractiveness of their social and political frameworks, and use this as a platform to shape preferences expected by others (Blond, Noyes and Sim, 2017). Soft power is the capacity of a country to achieve desired goals by influencing and persuading others to embrace its goals (Khara, 2018).

Globalization and innovative mediums of information is not only changing structures of the societies but bringing the world closer. New actors, as Kalin (2011:6) addresses such as public opinion, human rights, international courts etc got included post Cold War age; influencing the global system to be multi-dimensional, effective and enterprising. In 2017 a review study was carried out for the British Council by the Institute for Cultural Relations at the University of Edinburgh. According to the findings of the research, fostering political and cultural examples of a country on the universal platform leads to noticeable strategic and economic advantages. In the opinion of the report of the British Council (2017), the variety of soft power, comprised of various institutions of culture, internet bandwidth, international-aid, democracy, and all-embracing cultural hierarchy guided a country's attractiveness.

When Nye came up with his thought of soft power it was meant for the United States (US). In "*The Paradox of American Power*", Nye extended his analysis past America and evinced that it is also possible for other countries to practice soft power. In this age of information and technology, he believed three sorts of countries could possibly achieve power dominion by using soft resources. These three kinds are - "those whose dominant cultures and ideals are closer to prevailing global norms (which now emphasize liberalism, pluralism, autonomy); those with the most access to multiple channels of communication and thus more influence over how issues are framed; and

those whose credibility is enhanced by their domestic and international performance" (Bashar, 2009).

A state must present its powers in an acknowledgeable manner in front of others, to face less confrontation to its aspirations that is its ideologies and culture must be appealing enough to make others follow them willingly. At this time of the century when countries around the world are competing to gain dominion in politics related to international matters, soft power transpired as a vital mechanism for many countries to aggrandize their intangible status. They do it while continuing to reinforce their authority munificently. According to Gupta (2013), although the objectives, essence and expected outcome of soft diplomacy differ, alongside developed nations like China and the USA, India is considered among important in this criteria.

1.6 India's Soft Power Policies

India is prolifically bestowed with an immense range of soft power reservoir unique to itself. The country's soft diplomacy is founded on encouraging a plural world order and multi-culturalism to enable a more heterogeneous expression of global culture. As the robustness lies in its potentiality to project a democratic reflection, India is gradually developing, its own individualistic perspective of public diplomacy that maximises on the various institutions of democracy and economic developments.

Particularly with its neighbours, India accentuates on their common colonial sagas to solicit relationships strengthening through 'development partnerships' (Hazarika and Mishra, 2016). Other South Asian and South East Asian countries have shared heritage and civilizational similarities with India making them 'civilizational neighbours' (Purushothaman, 2010). Purushothaman believes Indian culture is appreciated in its immediate neighbouring countries of the region. The countries in both immediate and extended proximities have been influenced by their culture for centuries.

Over the last couple of decades a number of eminent scholars have been assessing India's advent as a significant actor globally through indicators such as demographic evolution, economic growth and military expansion. According to Blarel (2012) these accounts have simultaneously increased India's achievements by applying the charisma of culture and values; some old and some of which are new. In the opinion

of Shashi Tharoor, India is not perceived as a super power only because of its politics and trade but also because of its rich reserve of culture containing food, music, movies, and technologies that is worth sharing to the rest of the world (ibid.).

They have come to the forefront as one of the best emergent economies in the last couple of decades and also a significant participant in contemporary soft power. It is one of the fastest rising powers in the recent times. India has arrived at this juncture of playing with its image in an exceptional manner mostly in contrast to the developed states where soft power has followed their hard power persuasions globally. Their visibility and stakes have increased in the global economy, hence this rising power must entail various ways to consolidate its common ecosystem and enrich its reflection in the world (Hazarika and Mishra, 2016). As an emerging power, India's achievements in the areas of public diplomacy exercised to sustain their national interests, regional potency and global responsibilities are commendable.

India is the largest most prestigious and economically strongest country in the region of South Asian (Snedden, 2016). Its exceptional posture in the region owing to its geographical placement, huge population, industrial and technological infrastructure, strong economy, military strength, nuclear possession, a dynamic political system and also its potential to tackle incipient emergencies in the process of nation building (Harshe and Seethi, 2005). From a regional point of view, its preponderance has always been determined by its size followed by other elements of power (ibid.). Being the most heterogeneous entity in the erstwhile pre-partition Indian sub-continent, post independence India remains a single territorial entity and undeterred in terms of its heterogeneity. Furthermore, their economy is strongly growing hence willingly or not, India dominates the region and its component nations (op.cit).

The soft power potential of India is prodigious which consist of Indian culture such as their yoga and ayurveda, cuisine, popular movie industry, music & art, fashion and textiles industry, to name a few. Its civilizational and historical link and a widespread diaspora across several countries over the globe add to its reserve. Besides culture, their soft diplomacy is reflected through factors like pluralistic polity, vibrant democracy and multilateral diplomacy; IT industry, education and knowledge, Gandhi's traditions are among others.

In addition, India is one of the founding members of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). It has been committing to important roles in international, multi-lateral organisations such as the SAARC, BIMSTEC, BRICS, IBSA Dialogue Forum, G-20, G8+5, Asian Development Bank, International Monetary Fund, WTO, WHO to name a few. Its continued involvement weighs favorably towards its image reflecting a vibrant and multi-layered quality of the country helping India to further bolster their positioning in global affairs (Hazarika and Mishra, 2016:140). Indian is an ancient land. Therefore, it has at all times had copious appealing resources of public diplomacy for centuries even before the time it came to be known as the Indian subcontinent. The nation-states in the twenty-first century, particularly in an international milieu are striving to restore their bygone reputation lost in the previous two centuries.

At this point of time, India's soft power is anteceding over its hard power initiatives globally in most part of the world seeking more expedient initiatives. Nation states in the previous centuries depended heavily on using hard power to prove their status as a hegemon, and so did India. Its foreign policy conduct post-partition in 1947 was quite different from now. It was more inclined towards hard power rather than soft power, opines Abraham (2007) that almost like an essential objective, global recognition of India's importance, has been a continuous thread of India's foreign policy since its beginning as a free country.

The initial five decades of Indian foreign policy conduct was on the defensive type. As maintained by the realist thinkers of international relations, nations possess inherent desire to obtain power-prestige and expand resources to safeguard their existence (Wagner, 2005). In nineteen seventy-one at the time of the war of Liberation of Bangladesh, erstwhile East Pakistan, India's martial interposition to defeat Pakistan was a typical example of flexing hard power muscles. Followed then in 1974 its first nuclear test to determine its strength and an ambition to secure an enduring membership in the Security Council exemplifies aspirations for great power possessions (ibid.). After the involvement in Bangladesh war, during the eighties its

involvement with the civil war of Sri Lanka⁷ that shaped into a war reflected India's claim for regional hegemony in a quite obvious manner. However this approach did not come as a success and to India's favor.

According to Shashi Tharoor, "it is increasingly axiomatic today that the old calculations of 'hard power' are no longer sufficient to guide a country's conduct in world affairs. A country's role on the world stage is seen more as a reflection of its society" (Tharoor, 2007:22). Concurrently, states are constantly competing with each others, to preserve their maximising their resources.

The framework for foreign policy underlined by India since the nineties manifested a change from using hard power mechanisms to presenting a soft power approach. This strategic shift in approach may be considered as India's effort to alter their reflection from being a regional intimidator to a benevolent hegemon (Wagner, 2005). Over the last twenty years, India's policy of liberalization and nuclearisation has significantly improved their economic influence as well as defence supremacy. Ian Hall contends in the *Journal of Asian Survey*, "India's newfound interest in public diplomacy has been driven by its perception of its own weak image in certain critical regions, and by the belief in integrating new technologies in the country's external communication" (Hall, 2012:1098)

The Government of India has unambiguously incorporated a 'cultural' essence into its foreign policy (Blarel, 2012). It has exclusive establishments for public diplomacy to work on cultural and educational fields (Hall, 2014). The Indian government, comments Jiang Wang (2014) founded the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) in 1990; an organisation involved in various activities related to cultural exchanges.

1.6.1 India's other Resources of Soft Diplomacy

Sports Diplomacy is one of India's biggest and most popular endeavors that hardly go unnoticed. Sports, particularly cricket are said to link people of South Asia to each other. Cricket diplomacy is strongly felt in India-Pakistan relations since the mid-

⁷ Civil war broke out between the government of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (a separatist group)

eighties whereby Test matches organized by either of the countries were seen as a way to negotiate or curtail political anxiety.

However, Hall (2014:1110) observes that cricket between India and Pakistan sometimes aggravates the tension instead of reducing it especially at a people to people level. Cricket has also cultivated strong relations between India and few of its extended Asian neighbourhood. The Commonwealth Games in New Delhi held in 2010 demonstrated India as a significant selling point with many Commonwealth countries (Malone, 2011). Also, the formation of the internationally known Indian Premier League in 2008 indicates the country's monetary affluence and rise as a regional power. *'Indian Tourism'* is popular because of India's diversities that are creating curiosity world-wide. Every year thousands of tourists flock from various parts of the world to visit India. In 2002, India carved out a distinctive identity for India as a destination for tourism by the name *'Incredible India'* campaign.

To more effectively engage millions of globally placed Indian diaspora, the government founded the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs in 2004. Two years later a public diplomacy wing was opened within the Ministry of External Affairs, which was then combined with the department of publicity that came out with glossy magazine, *'Indian Perspective'*, available in seventeen countries across one hundred and sixty-two countries. The wing promoted new ideas like *'Brand India'* and *'India Future Change'* ventures. These initiatives facilitated promotion of exports, showcase the effervescent cultural and traditions of India (Hazarika and Mishra, 2016).

The *'Indian Diaspora'* is the highest as compared to the other countries around the globe. It is a massive soft power advantage for India's diplomacy. It has a very long cherished history in the world. Since Indus Valley civilisation, migrations of Indian people are common phenomenon. They stayed for a long time and became native of those lands. Over the period, they acclimatised with local culture, at the same time; they preserved their own culture from food to beliefs.

Large numbers of people of Indian origin are spread out as far as Sri Lanka, Mauritius, Malaysia, Guyana, South Africa, Fiji, Surinam, and Trinidad (Purushothaman, 2010; Blarel, 2012). According to the Times of India (2018) a study conducted by the UN Population Division reported around fifteen million Indian

migrants living abroad while in total there are around thirty million (Challagalla, 2018) approximately. South-east Asia alone accounted for an estimated approximately six million people in the late nineties (Sridharan, 1996). Towards the twentieth century the professional elites from this community of expatriates reestablished in the United States, Australia, Canada and other Western countries.

The community exceedingly contributed to the countries they became habitants of; earned respect and command influence the respective countries and have been playing crucial roles in the political spheres as well observes Blarel (2012). In fact, the Indian-American emigrant settlers are considered to be the most literate ones in the United States. Perhaps the most significant benefits represented by Diasporas are the economic resources in the form of remittances back to India. According to the report of Government of India (2009:5-6), between the years 2007-08, remittances improved nearly by forty-five per cent, and they improved more during the 2008-09 global economic crisis. India received approximately sixty-two billion dollars in 2016 making them world's largest recipients of remittance. The economic resources have helped in much if the country's economy (Malone, 2011).

'Yoga' is also a well-accepted export of culture, practiced world-wide as a type of physical training. It is already popularly accepted, speedily making its place in conventional lifestyles, specifically in the West and developed nations (Paul, 2016). *'Cuisine'* has a lot to do with identity. The food preparations, uses of spices, vegetarian preparations are some of the attractive features. "India's food culture" has made noteworthy impression in foreign countries evidential in the mushrooming restaurants found in the United Kingdom (ibid.). The traditional form of medication known as *'Ayurveda'* is yet another area that is gaining gradual popularity.

'Indian Movies Industry' or most popularly known 'Bollywood' has carved its own achievements of recognition. The industry produces the maximum number of movies compared to others; the movies are screened in major countries like Canada, China, UK, US, Middle-East etc and watched by people from almost every countries; the actors represents India in prestigious events like Met Gala, Cannes Film Festival; movies are nominated for Oscars; actors working in the Hollywood; are some of the countless representation of the industry in the global arena. From the perspective of global reach, the Bollywood is considered as second to Hollywood; and most

probably the farthest reaching medium of recognizing India (Paul, 2014). It has been possible for Indian soap opera and Hindi movies to reach out to the world due to satellite television and internet which has increased global audience making them familiar with Indian society and culture (Blarel, 2012).

1.7 Bangladesh's Soft Power Policies

During its initial years post liberation period, as a war devastated states, Bangladesh maintained cordial relations with other countries. Gradually, concerns rising out of geo-political pressures made them turn attention on maintaining good relations with the neighbouring states.

Post nineties democratization and economic development of Bangladesh has been inspirational. The Economist (2012) reported that a country once remarked as a 'basket case' by Henry Kissinger,' from an absolutely non-existing industrial base to the becoming a country known for its essential consumer goods production, for not only various developed nations but also for its own people, Bangladesh became an impressive case of 'basket of food'. In terms of economic and societal development Bangladesh is marching forward however to what extent this small country should stride for military deterrence in order to preserve its sovereignty require serious deliberations.

What the country needs is to constructively exploit its soft power possibilities, engage itself in associations of extra-regional organizations to enhance their global stakes to decrease vulnerability and foster development (Hossain, 2014). There is an increasing consciousness among big and small states alike to pursue soft power. One might argue on the need for small nations like Bangladesh to pursue soft diplomacy. Chong and Maass (2010:281) explain that, small states are by no means powerless rather must be acknowledged as small-power (Baehr, 1975). It is so because, small countries have been traditionally considered to be deficient in possessing conventional dimensions of power that they are estimated insignificant in international relations and so the atypical terminology - Great Power, Middle Power and small states (op.cit).

Chong and Maass (2010) further maintained that this viewpoint of the Realist international school has become obsolete in the twenty-first century. As soft power is arguably an important topic for the developed as well the developing nations (such as

India); in recent years the phrase soft power has gained currency in Bangladesh's public discourse as well and now, it is germane to look at the soft power of Bangladesh.

In the past, Bangladesh concerned exclusively on political, economic and military issues to subsist and keep up with world affairs. International politics has gone through major shifts in the past several decades. Interaction with other countries is not confined in high political areas. Bangladesh has a great opportunity to extend its influence in a regional and international level through its soft power reserve such as cricket, garments and textile industry, education, diaspora, role in UN Peacekeeping mission, women empowerment and its art and literature. According the World Bank, (2019) and a report by the Daily Star (2019), after shifting from inter-state conflicts and internal disturbances which developed into a high politics, at this juncture after being promoted as lower middle income country, Bangladesh is looking forward to broaden its low politics in order to achieve its aspirations.

The Bangladeshi cricket team more popularly known as the 'Tigers' matured as a strong team capable of vanquishing teams from stronger cricket playing nations. Cricket began to develop as early as 1971 yet the Associate Membership by the International Cricket Council was granted after six years. From winning the first One Day Innings (ODI) to qualifying the World Cup in as recently as 2019, their reputation proliferated after defeating South Africa, India and Pakistan in the ODI series garnering mass accolades from all over the world. '*Sports diplomacy*' means, using the universal ardor of sports to build diplomatic, socio-political relations.

Trunkos and Heere (2017:5) elaborates that, international sporting events pursue to conciliate people and their governments closer by encouraging inter-cultural cooperation and goodwill. Consequentially, says Chehabi (2001) international sporting events can ameliorate alliances bilaterally and multilaterally. Sports like cricket, football etc use people and event to inform, engage and craft flattering persona among foreign public to mould their perceptions in a manner propitious to the sending governments foreign policy objectives. Research reveals after football, cricket is the second most popular game in the world and in South Asian region, extremely popular in India, Bangladesh and Pakistan. Hence, cricket can be one of the major sources of soft powers of Bangladesh.

In addition to others, a noteworthy supply of soft power of Bangladesh is its role in *UN Peace-keeping mission*. Their role in maintaining international peace and security is well accredited exemplified in headlines such as ‘Bangladeshi troops in global peacekeeping’. It is one of the highest providers of personnel for the operation since the late eighties (Islam, 2015). As of December 2017, there were more than seven thousand Bangladeshi troops and police personnel in ten missions around the world. Participation by the Armed Forces in these missions helps to fulfill the state’s obligations that are both constitutional and international, helps them obtain operational proficiency and experiential knowledge of the most contemporary military equipments, in addition to financial benefits (Zaman and Biswas, 2014:7). Association with the Mission signifies prestige, promotion and positive image of Bangladesh to the international domain. So much so, considered as a matter of pride for the nation, the Prime Minister and other officials invariably mention the role of the forces and their achievements at the UN Peacekeeping Mission.

The Bangladeshi *diaspora* stretched in a range of countries around the world is a good source of soft power. Bangladesh needs to enhance its bilateral ties with other countries for its growth and development. A sizeable number of Bangladeshi people live in the United States. The highest number of emigrants is found in India, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia; the highest amounts of remittance flowing to Bangladesh are from India, the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia. Although the precise number of Bangladeshi people residing in the Gulf Cooperation Council countries is not known the official data according to the Bureau of Manpower, Employment and Training (BMET) there were a cumulative number of little more seven million documented migrants in between 1976-2015 (Percot, 2017). The United States is According to the RAD Diaspora Profile article (2014:1) there were roughly 277 million immigrants living in the US.

International migration is emphatically considered positive by the government of Bangladesh as it generates enough remittances to help with the economy of the country. According to a latest report by the Dhaka Tribune (2018), Bangladesh is now the ninth highest remittance (\$15.9billion) receiving country in the world and third in South Asia. The people, irrespective of the country of residence encapsulate their Bengali ethno-linguistic characteristics. The diaspora as an instrument of state power

can be used as an agent of change Pande and Pandey (2018) to help to in the growth ambit of Bangladesh.

One of the most attractive qualities of Bangladesh is its ‘woman empowerment’. It is an accomplishment for the country and a role model for many others. Bangladesh is often quoted as a country successful not only in the case of women empowerment but also its socio-economic improvements, reduction of maternal mortality rate, primary education etc. The model of empowering women and the endeavors to practice, promote and maintain it helped the country achieve steady improvements in gender parity, securing first position in gender equality among South Asian states for the second successive year in the *Gender Gap Index*, 2017 (Chaity, 2018).

Notwithstanding the fact that it is a Muslim majority nation, the country has had female political leaders at the highest echelon as the Prime Minister since 1991. At present Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina who was recently re-elected in December 2018 for the third consecutive time; a leader who has always endorsed gender equality and empowerment of females. It was reported in the Daily Star (2019), she has been conferred with several⁸ awards for remarkable contribution as a leader to which the newest addition was the ‘*Lifetime Contribution for Women Empowerment Award*’ in 2019 and the ‘*Agent of Change Award*’ by Global Partnership Forum in 2016 for women empowerment.

The Dhaka Tribune (2018) reported, in order to reach the goals commenced by Bangladesh government for developing women participation, they approved budget for financial year 2018-19 which is the highest allocation in the history of Bangladesh so far. Women contribution as an imperative to empower them is one of the main transforming factors for Bangladesh from low-income status to middle-income.

⁸ Sheikh Hasina received several prestigious awards such as: 1998-UNESCO’s Houphouet-Boigny Award Peace Prize; 1999- Pearl S Buck Award; 2009-Indira Gandhi Peace Award; 2014-Visionary Award; 2015- Champion of the Earth and; ICT Sustainable Development Award; 2016-Planet 50-50 Award by the United Nations

Micro-credit⁹, an approach contrived by Muhammed Yunus, the Bangladeshi economist, micro-financing pioneer and the founder of the Grameen Bank achieved extensive international interest in the nineties. Muhammed Yunus is a Nobel Peace Prize laureate who expanded his ideas globally (The Guardian, 2017). Many developing countries around the world adopted then same scheme. The idea became popular enough to be integrated into mainstream development programs all over the world. The concepts' popularity worldwide made Bangladesh acknowledged to the international community.

1.8 Education Cooperation in Foreign Policy Conduct

Higher education from foreign countries or international education is considered as important soft power tools by states and various international stakeholders. As a global phenomenon, higher education induce interest, attracts people in the myriad culture and languages of other countries. It is able to create a constructive image and accrue influence in host countries. Its appealing attributes thus places it in soft power dimensions within a wider framework of diplomacy. Increasing participation of students via exchange programs, scholarship programs or even self-financed enrolments are all valued in the development of international policies and strategies. Cross-border mobility of students brings not only thousands of students, researchers, scholars, professionals but at the same time generates an opportune environment for people-to-people interaction. It is an opportunity for countries to bequeath their ideas of socio-cultural, political and educational images to each other through exchange of students and institutions; helping the stakeholders increase the global visibility, influence and endure positively in people's reminiscence.

The phrase 'public diplomacy', for the first time was used by Edward Gullion¹⁰ in 1965. As stated by Gullion, in public diplomacy, the attitude of public has its effect on foreign policy formulation and execution (Lima, 2007). It encloses various aspects of international relations beyond conventional understanding of diplomacy. It could be communication between private groups, diplomats, correspondents, inter-cultural

⁹ Microcredit is a program designed to provide very small loans to the poor to create small business enterprises without requiring any financial collateral. The shift towards microcredit was a result of globalization, trade liberalization, and the negative effects of Structural Adjustment Programs.

¹⁰ Dean of Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tuft University; the United States

dissemination and so on¹¹. The idea proposes this type of diplomatic practice usually involves attitudinal elements, with emotional dimension of international relations. Considering the given ideological circumstance, traditional form of power becomes inapposite whereas the political relationship is ideally expected to progress past government to government interactions only.

Fundamental to public diplomacy is the notion that power, as originally conceived as the capability of a country to control other countries to achieve an outcome as per their desire (Nye, 2004:2); which now is no more limited to the same ideology as it has transcended to accepting ideas of attractiveness and legitimacy. Mark Leonard's elucidation is a more comprehensive one. He says public diplomacy has three-pronged objectives: first, dissemination of information; second, positive-image building of one's country and third, establishes a favorable environment to effectuate governmental policies by building enduring relationship with other nations (Leonard *et al.*, 2002:8).

Referring to J.M. Mitchell and P.H. Coombs, Lima Jr. (2007) postulates that educational exchanges of any form at an international level could perhaps be the most productive tool in the vast gamut politics what Mitchell has referred as 'third dimension in international relations'¹², originally introduced by Willy Brandt¹³ as "the third pillar of foreign policy" while addressing to cultural relations and international educational; whereas Coombs called it 'fourth dimension of foreign policy'¹⁴. Coombs visioned education and culture as fundamental to bring an end to Cold War between the States and Soviet (Akli, 2012) in real sense that is to say; educational and cultural exchanges at a substantial scale could bear influences in its actuality on visitors from Soviet Union. In the present day context the similar essence of spreading one's values, aim and interest to the people coming from guest countries is being followed by many countries.

Whether third pillar or fourth dimension, however it may have been addressed by great scholars, education is used in diplomatic practice by countries to realize national

¹¹ As outline in The Edward R. Murrow Centre of Public Diplomacy

¹² It is called the 'Third Pillar' because it comes after politics and trade.

¹³ He was the Foreign Minister of Germany in 1966

¹⁴ It is the fourth dimension because it accompanies politics, trade and defence.

interests. Seems like, Joseph Nye resuscitated the close association between education and foreign policy anew, implying higher education as a soft power tool (Nye, 2004), relevant also for India-Bangladesh relationship in this era of globalization. Therefore in present times, education and academic exchange, cross-border mobility of students as mechanisms to construct international relationship illustrated by the term of “soft power”; is the quintessential medium to conduct foreign policies (Peterson, 2014).

This research explores in to the role of higher education in foreign relations vis-à-vis India-Bangladesh. Education primarily considered as “*low politics*” mechanism in domestic requirement of a country; is now slowly being adopted as a potent foreign policy tool. Students around the world are taking higher education seriously, going out of their countries to attain tertiary degrees. Growing number of students arrive in foreign countries to study at various levels pertaining to different reasons such as quality of education in their countries, lack of opportunities, political or economic issues. Akhtaruzzaman and Haque (2011:1) argue, tertiary education must be more productive. This must be achieved by turning it into market model, a social good obtainable publicly, isolating it from traditional notions.

1.9 Review of Literature

For any empirical research, the review of the literature is indispensable. By reviewing literature, we prepare a blueprint of the direction of the study. The relationship between Bangladesh and India has been the cornerstone of numerous entrancing scholarships in foreign policy and international relations. The amount of literature of Indo-Bangladesh relations is quite extensive, much of which pertain to traditional issues. There is an inadequacy of objective information regarding the educational practices, soft diplomacy especially education diplomacy taking place between the two countries since hundreds of centuries.

Albeit the primary purpose is to explore the role of education in India-Bangladesh relations in the form of cooperation since 1990s, but it is very important to go back a little in to the history to understand that their relations are not a post cold war emergence, rather the two countries have common past that recurrently frames their present. The literatures discussed below have been useful in understanding the issues connected to the present research. The review of literature has been divided in to the

following sub themes: Theoretical Expansion, Evolution of India-Bangladesh Relationship, Foreign Policy Making, Role of Education Cooperation as Bilateral and Public Diplomacy, Existing Educational Cooperation between India and Bangladesh and Higher Education in India and Bangladesh.

1.10 Theoretical Explanations

Joseph S Nye Jr., in his article ‘Soft Power’ (1990), centralises the discussions on shifting temperament of power in the world politics. He ascertains the declining methods of traditional use of power like military power and its manoeuvrings. In his explications, power is dispersed and variegated with many other participants. He originated the idea of soft power and its resources to understand the changing situation. It would act as a positive tool to shape further preferences, influence different actors without using force, sanction, coercion etc.

In his book named, “*Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics*”, Nye (2004) points out the diverse resources soft power such as culture, beau ideal, education, foreign policy conduct etc. He summarises a choice of stratagems to exercise of soft power and its value in the policy outcome. However, the author does not endorse it bluntly. He explains that any country capable of applying their resources – cultural, economic or political, with dexterity on others can exercise soft power. He further scrutinises the limitations of unilateralism; relying only on military power to face threats by nearly discarding biases of any sort. His most famous definition, “the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion”, is possible to refine through building associations with allies, cultural and educational exchange, economic support etc with other countries.

This approach will present a sense of the behaviour of the United States in a positive manner. Remaining powerfull yet isolated approach does not help build good image, destroys the attempts to safeguard voluntary cooperation of foreign governments. This volume has not emphasised on theoretical conceptualization of what comprises soft power and how hard power resources produce attraction. Further, in his book titled, ‘*The Future of Power*’ Joseph Nye (2011) asserts that countries can obtain soft power from all available the possessions that is to say, culture, ideas, economic military,

policy and values, existing a specific condition, used carefully can alter these resources in to ones choice of results

Alexander L. Vuving (2009), in the article '*How Soft Power Works*', Asia-Pacific Centre for Security Studies, discerns the misconstrued notions of resources as the foremost reason for major fallacies in understanding the concept of soft power. He suggests three solutions to this problem – beauty, benignity and brilliance and maintains that these are the qualities that are the real source of soft power.

In the piece of writing, titled '*Why Soft Power Isn't So Soft Representational Force and Attraction in World Politics*' (2007), Janice Bially Mattern, refuses the soft power analysis presented by Nye's on three argument - absence of conceptual clarity, lack of subjective interest and the absence of strong theoretical base for his resource based approach.

Steven Lukes argues in his article, '*Power and the Battle for Hearts and Minds: On the Bluntness of Soft Power*' (2007), saying the theory originated by Joseph Nye has taken in to consideration the subjective appeals as presented. Lukes distinctly conveys the lack of differentiation by Nye between ways soft power can attract, co-opt or persuade the actors involved and the multiple ways soft power can encourage the consents. He concludes by pointing out at Nye's theorisation of soft power as a blunt instrument in international relations.

'Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches' (2007) by Robert Jackson and Georg Sorenson explains succinctly and comprehensively about of the major theories and approaches of international relations. It is unique and highly valuable in its own way offering concise explanation to diverse theories of International Theory by providing an introduction to the analytical tools of the discipline. The authors focussed on those theories that are more 'established' or belong to the 'core theoretical' traditions. These are: Realism, liberalism, Neo-liberalism, Neo-Realism, and Social Constructivism International Society and then gradually move on to explaining the theories of International Political Economy, Foreign Policy.

Politics is a struggle for power over men and the ultimate goal of a political action is to gain. The Liberals on the other hand believe cooperation to be an essence of

international relations and conflict and unnecessary coercion may be avoided. It can bring about progress and opportunities to great number of people around the world. Likewise, the other important theories have been presented in this book by focussing on both their strengths and weaknesses. The explanation is lucid to the extent that helps one to clearly understand how major theoretical debates link up with each other.

'Theories of International Relations' by Scott Burchill et al (1996), one of the widely read theory books in the international relations and political science circle of academia. It is a well-tailored and meticulously organised work to mirror the changing dynamics of theories of international relations. The aim of the authors seems to cover all required approaches in IR along with those which are changing in the modern times. The authors explain conventional theories such as Realism, Neo Realism, Liberalism, Neo Liberalism, Rationalism, Marxism and Liberal Internationalism and included the new areas like Post-Modernism, Feminism, Critical Theory and Green Politics.

Scott Burchill where he lays foundation on IR as a discipline, constitutive theory, theories and discipline, differences in the theories of IR, object of analysis and scope of the enquiry, the purpose of social and analytical enquiry and evaluation of theories. The theories are not necessarily monolithic and homogenous in nature therefore they would differ in ideology, giving rise to debates. Robert Donnelly evaluates classical realism drawing references from Carr and Morgenthau. Neo-realism which was a challenge to the classical realism emerged in the 1970s. Burchill further discusses liberalism, notes down the contemporary neo-liberal phenomena, its conceptions and perspectives.

Andrew Linklater sheds lights on the English School and Marxism. Critical theory was associated with the Frankfurt school in the beginning which also helped it draw ideas from the orthodox Marxian viewpoint, but in reality it is associated to postmodernism. Post-modernism paradigm in social science was highly influenced by the writings of Foucault, Lyotard and Derrida. It influenced the field of IR to a great extent in the eighties. Richard Devetak analyses this aspect. Burchill sums it together quite unambiguously that, expansion of human knowledge is continuous and as it expands scholars find anomalies within the established theories which eventually opens another door for more interpretation and elucidations further refining them.

1.10.1 India – Bangladesh Relations

Sanjay Bhardwaj, (2003) in the article named “*Bangladesh Foreign Policy vis-à-vis India*”, expounds a country’s foreign policy to be mainly a “projection of its political, economic and social compulsions in world politics”. In addition to various other determinants, Bangladesh’s foreign policy was always governed by its fundamental element, the India factor, where for them, India is placed in nucleus. Their foreign policy choices are on the basis of historical legacy, geo-strategic surroundings and many pending bilateral concerns which are crucial to their survival. Mujibur Rahman’s policies of anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, non-alignment, and most importantly, alliance with India internationally; secularism, nationalism and democracy domestically transformed drastically under the martial governments. Also, encouragement of Islamisation by the military leaders promoted anti-Indian feelings affecting the relations between the two countries further.

‘Indo-Bangladesh Relations: Trends and Issues’ by Rajesh Bhardwaj and Sanjay Bhardwaj discusses the changing paradigm of India-Bangladesh relations. They highlighted the multiple disputable bilateral matters between the two states. Bangladesh’s foreign policy has always been determined two primary aspects – India’s growth as a regional power and economic compulsions. As a matter of fact, for Bangladesh, India always holds the centre-stage by virtue of its geographical positioning, size, military power etc. Besides these factors the bilateral pending issues always acted as an irritant for Bangladesh which reflected in their behaviour towards Bangladesh. The authors are of opinion that both the states should step of the nuisances of internal politics and aligned together for cooperations in the fields of education, culture science, energy and trade. They should resolve the issues of maritime and border demarcation, trade, transit etc and focus on enhancing mutually beneficial economy. In this way both the countries will gain from each other.

Milind Thaker’s chapter ‘*Into-Bangladesh Relations: The Puzzle of Weak Ties*’ (2010) starts by analysing Bangladesh’s history of a tumultuous, irregular behaviour with India in the past decades. The narratives of India-Bangladesh mutual behaviour inquires the neo-realist understanding that privileges the most influential countries in the region, in this context, India in South Asian region; proclaiming the prerogative of smaller countries to be able to establish friendship with powerful ones for certain

leverages. It becomes a tricky situation when these smaller states are closely bonded by the attributes of history, geography, ethnicity, kinship etc with the other actor.

Thaker further elaborates India Bangladesh ties from the light of historical development of bilateral relations shared by them, commencing from the time India participated actively in Bangladesh's Liberation War passing through the Mujib era (1971 to 1975) to the military period – a disturbing period for both from 1975 to 1990 to the democratic period (1990s onwards) till the current times which was the age of transformation. To comprehend the complexities deeper, the author studies the two countries from three levels - systemic level, state level and individual level; concluding the relationship of the two states at all the three level of investigation. India-Bangladesh relations, does not have an obvious complications, it seems like the relations is hindered due to structural unevenness and suspicions that developed over time. And these are added by political instabilities in both the sides that further complicated the scenarios.

In his write-up *'India as a Threat: Bangladeshi Perceptions'*, 2009 Vinayraj says, in political and strategic terms, India dominates the South Asian region. It's regional security initiative, overpowering existence, and big brotherly stance is considered as a risk to the safekeeping of its neighbours. Bangladesh also takes India as threat under the same circumstances, which are discussed in the article. Bangladesh's feeling of intimidation from India are many starting from economic, political, strategic and environmental. These feelings often give rise to insecurities leading to strenuous bilateral relations. The paper examines the shifting behaviours of threat perception from Bangladesh's point of view. Besides studying the aspects of changing dynamics of their relations, the article attempts to find out the causes behind the alterations.

In the book titled, *'India's Foreign Policy in a Changing World'* 1986; V.P. Dutt remarked that the formation of Bangladesh is a momentous occasion in the sub-continent. Instead of being hostile, India and Bangladesh can nurture a peaceful and secure ambience in the region with their friendship. They can promote welfare of their people by being allies. Peace and security would facilitate the two countries to utilize their resources on combating poverty, health issues and ignorance which are the actual enemies. They have however tried to resolve many issues and undertaken joint

economic cooperations. More recently, therefore they took initiatives to strengthen bilateral relations.

1.10.2 Foreign Policy Making of India and Bangladesh

The national interests identified by every country depend on the availability and nature of determinants that helps the countries formulate their foreign policy. Each country in the world want to protect and promote their national interest is why it looks for any improvements and modification in the conduct of other nations. These attempts of adjustments are what build the core of foreign policy. V.N. Khanna in his book *'Foreign Policy of India'*, 2010, describes the fundamental dreams of the founding fathers of India in the realm of international relations. Those values have been analysed and examined as to what extent they have been implemented in reality.

Foreign policy and diplomacy are the tools which lead to the process of international relations operation to which national interest holds equal importance. It engages the architects of policies, significance and intentions, theory and means of foreign policy. James Rossenau comprise it of various determinants which are: geography, size, history, economy, culture, prominent power arrangements, propinquity, technology, structure of society, public attitude and governmental composition; while Brecher narrows down to geographical positioning, external surroundings, idiosyncrasies, financial and capacity of armed forces and perspective of public as the factors. Also factors like political organization, political tradition, structure of government and leadership are very important factors.

India has evolved over centuries as a civilization therefore the ways of its diplomacy has not been linear. It has passed through many phases in the course of history. Every phase has been built on past experiences which required adaptations and modifications to adjust in the ever changing world dynamics. The goal of post independence India's foreign policy was rather idealistic. It was determined right after the independence has been always simple and straight forward. Sharma et al (2011:12) have divided it in to six eras: the pre-independence era before 1947, the Nehruvian peace and development phase, the pro-Soviet shift and Indian emergence, relationship building with the neighbours and the West, New avenues of cooperation post Cold war and the current phase of rise to prominence on the world stage. Nehru's

panchsheel principle asserted on non-aggression and endorsement of intercontinental harmony and safety.

The philosophies and aims of India's internal as well international diplomacy is enshrined in the Constitution itself based on non-alignment, peaceful co-existence, anti-imperialism, non discrimination, peaceful settlement of international disputes etc. India chose non-alignment because it needed the help of the international community to rebuild the nation and it would not have been beneficial for India to distance from either of the two cold war factions (ibid.). In fact, the Gujral doctrine of 1996 determined to expand unilateral dispensation to neighbouring states in the sub-continent. It vouched for a people-to-people contact especially between India and Pakistan but in reality it was with almost all the neighbouring countries like Bangladesh, Nepal, and Bhutan and so on to nurture friendly relations.

The politics of Bangladesh is habitually that of maintaining equilibrium between 'Bengaliness' and 'Muslimness' opines William Schendel in '*A History of Bangladesh*', (2009). Two major political parties have controlled their governance system of which the BNP encourages the former theoretical while AL, the latter. It is taken for granted that with Awami League the relationship is always amicable with India. The period during the care taker government however experienced the variation in their relations.

Rajiv Sikri, in '*Challenges and Strategy: Rethinking India's Foreign Policy*', (2009), expressed that Bangladesh is not simply a neighbour to India. Bangladesh will always be considered special by India for many reasons. Geographical stance dominates their destinies, and it will continue to remain inseparably entwined. Like a human body, Jammu and Kashmir denotes its head, and Bangladesh is that landmass which joins the North East region to the entire Indian landmass, therefore plays a crucial part in India's domestic as well foreign policies. India's geo-strategic placement and a relatively enormous size give rise to this feeling to Bangladesh of being "India-locked". Probably the same is felt by India's Northeastern side. These factors make Bangladesh very important to India who is unignorable.

All the significant features of India's relations maintained with countries internationally important as well its neighbours like Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal and

Pakistan are elaborated by K.R. Gupta in '*India's International Relations*', (2009). It sheds light on its noteworthy roles in entire region of South Asia trying to establish democracies in the region. India's behaviour towards Bangladesh shows a stability of approach and policy in the advancement of close considerations and dynamic collaborations in reciprocally advantageous developmental endeavours. Gupta says that the two nations are tied by shared history and economic interdependence.

Till the nineties they have experience a roller-coaster journey dominated by domestic compulsions and international obligations. Bangladesh, the eastern door to India is of immense geo-strategic and geo-economic importance. There is sufficient prospects for intensifying cooperation in the field of economy, trade, industries, science and technology, and various others developmental spheres; efforts must be given to develop these prospects in tangible practice. There is however some irritants that continuously strain their relationship. Both countries should also implement a public diplomatic policies promote people-to-people interaction at a greater level among individuals and institutions and promote a more prosperous neighbourhood.

1.10.3 Cooperation – A Public Diplomacy Tool

'Globalization and Higher Education Reform' by Joseph Zajda and Val Rust exemplify how universities reconstruct their capabilities to be at par with the knowledge based society by adding performance goals, managerial compulsions, worth of efficiency etc. What are the effects of internationalisation on higher education in the universities of today? Globally esteemed contributing academics seek to address the multifarious challenges of the new truth in higher education. At the backdrop of a global setting the author clarifies the ideological interrelationships, and reforms in the sector. Several of the chief higher education modifications and policy concern in an international set-up, mostly in the light of current shifts in standards-driven policy research are discussed here. A broad image of varied discussions of globalisation and policy-driven transformations in tertiary education are highlighted here. Some of the most important discourses in the field of higher education reforms drawn from the research conducted by scholars are referred in this volume.

The author writes on new studies that focus on parity, globalisation, and state-intervention in the learning sector, by assessing the neo-liberal ideological essentiality

of education at higher level and amelioration of policies. The way those urgencies change in state-policy relationship shape existing developments in the given subject matter. The author critically evaluates the prevailing dialogues and deliberations. By means of diverse relative edification paradigms from critical theory to historical-comparative research, Zajda and Rust puts the focal point on, principles, higher education development and globalisation inspect both the motive and result.

1.10.4 Higher Education in Bangladesh

The book '*Education and National Development*' authored by Halimur R. Khan, Manzoor Ahmed and edited by Syed Saad Andaleeb, (2011), based on panel discussion on ideas and innovations for the development of Bangladesh on education gives an extensive outline of the structure of education of Bangladesh right from the primary to the tertiary level along with discussions regarding important issues with special focus on education of women.

The book is a compilation of various articles from conference papers held in 2008-09, held by Bangladesh Development Initiative. It incorporates the main problems in the sector of education in the country. A wide ranging discussion on the importance of education for the development of human beings, preparation of an enterprise of knowledge, advantage of educating women, lack of rich curriculum in secondary level, innovative methods of pedagogy, preferences on Madrassahs etc. and innovative ideas for the growth of the country.

For Rabi-ul Islam tertiary education is a priority in learning. Its aim is to produce fresh knowledge, investigate on various developmental and social matters, and take economic progress seriously. A nation with skilled labour maximizes the economy of the country. Higher education should be such that is compatible to a welfare state, standard and promotes sustainable development. In his article '*Higher Education in Bangladesh: Diversity, Quality and Accessibility*' (2016) author Rabi-ul Islam has taken Rajshahi University as a case to study the higher education's quality in public universities in Bangladesh. The author has conducted both quantitative as well qualitative research to bring out the best data to find out the outlook of students on current education system in these centres, the issues and challenges faced by the same.

In the end it analyses the three key issues like diversity, quality and accessibility of higher education system of Bangladesh thus presenting an overall scenario of the system at present. Shakhawat Hossain Sarkar et al, also addresses the problems and challenges of higher studies of public university of Bangladesh. This study goes on to find the minute details of the university for example - coaching assistance, library, laboratory and research facilities as independent variables of the institute. It highlights the Government of Bangladesh's commitment to providing education for all at all levels as their prime objective. Education beyond primary schools is of utmost importance. An individual grows up to becoming innovators and critical thinkers serving as a nation intellectual capacity.

A country will fail to achieve its developmental commitments without sound understanding and decision making capacity. Of course, tough decisions and developmental torch bearer cannot be those who are have just managed to completed primary school or secondary school. Sarkar et al (2013) cites in their article '*Challenges of Higher Education in Bangladesh: A Study on Public Universities*' suggests intellectual capital is essential to build esteemed people for the nation so higher education is even more vital. They are of opinion that the level of intellectual wealth has its base on the quality of teaching and modernization of course curriculum, library facilities, research facilities, laboratory facilities, etc. If it is unsuccessful to assure the standard equivalent to those in the developed nations, tertiary learning will not achieve its purpose to prepare knowledgeable, competent, trained, stimulated and committed candidates. They emphasise on the worsening quality of higher education in Bangladesh over the last two decades.

To build a theoretical understanding of education the article '*Using Foucault in Education Research*' by A. Allen, 2012 is helpful. It gives a conceptual analysis of the principles of education. Michel Foucault is cited in educational research quite often by researchers and academicians. The author however highlights Foucault's arguments on power and its relations to knowledge by showing how power continues to influence humans through production of knowledge. Foucault argued that mass education increased simultaneously with the growth of democratic institutions. Allen meticulously delivers an understanding of relations between power and knowledge

and dispersion of power and what ways Foucault is a frequent reference to educationists.

1.10.5 Higher Education Cooperation between India and Bangladesh

The education system of India during the ancient was unique it is own way known as the Gurukul system says Nair (2016) in the article '*the Relevance of Gurukul System of Education in our Modern Education System to Transform the Engineering Education: an Experimental Study*'. In this system of education a knowledge seeking pupil takes admission in the gurukuls (schools) and lived with the family of the Guru (teacher) throughout the learning period. Nair writes on the value based education imparted in these institutions to train the students to become worthy of the society.

Acharya Poromesh (1978) in '*Indigenous Vernacular Education in Pre-British Era*', studies the characteristics and scope of vernacular system of learning in their indigenous forms which was predominantly vernacular based. This form of education prevailed in Bengala and the rest of the India before the British invaded India. The form of indigenous education like the gurukuls, pathshalas, madrassahs and makhtabs began to disintegrate with the British rule all over India particularly when they turned their interest in the education system. Acharya Poromesh (1995) in '*Bengali Bhadrakok' and Educational Development in 19th Century Bengal*' argued how the development of a new form of education is viewed as an engineering of the British rulers, whose hidden aim was to actually to start a process of socialisation. He highlights how the native elites not only actively participated in the change but also propagated the spread of colonial policies all over India.

Preeti (2016), '*Colonial Codification of Education in India until 1920*' elaborates on the characteristics of the British systems and the education provided by them. Their idea was to introduce a complete education system but in the process they destroyed the essence of native modes of teaching which was marked by diversity. The British government aimed to bring modernity to the society which later gave rise to the 'haves' and 'have nots' in the society. The reality of the 'haves' and 'have nots' is clearly identified by Shamim Firdous (2012) in the elaborate article '*Development of Modern and Western Education among Muslims in Bengal from 1835 to 1947: A Comparative Study*'. In this study the authors explains extensively the barriers that

were created by the modern education among the Hindus and the Muslims. The Muslims of East Bengal remained deprived either due to lack of opportunities or religious faithfulness but either ways the progress of English education was a success among the Hindus than the Muslims.

Post Colonial period after India gained independence the entire education structure disintegrated in the subcontinent. The new formed states India, Pakistan and East Pakistan all followed the education system introduced by the colonial rulers. During the modern times higher education is not only growing domestically but there is a rising trend of internationally mobile students in search of quality education. Neeru Snehi (2013) in her article '*Student Mobility at Tertiary Level in India: Status, Prospects and Challenges*' says that it is a common sight around the world to see the presence of international students in different institutions and universities. These movements of students are usually at the tertiary level encouraged by the governments. The authors thoroughly highlights on the motivating forces behind the growth such as market forces, revolution of technology, globalisation, economic liberalisation etc that gave rise to higher educational needs and dynamics of students mobility. The article discusses the trend of international student movement from India to foreign countries and vice versa through her empirical findings and reveals the various factors prompting to this trend such as reasons for leaving home country, the trends of incoming students, and India's prospects as a potentially attractive hub foreign students.

1.11 Rationale and Scope of the Study

This thesis is a study to analyse the relationship pattern of two 'state actors' in a definite geo-political milieu. The state actors are India and Bangladesh and the milieu is in the backdrop of South Asia. Bangladesh shares a level of uniformity with the Indian states that has time and again determined its behaviour with the regional power as well as extra-regional states. It is a developing and a transitioning country that shares similar attributes with many other countries and desires to become better socially and economically. In order to accomplish what this small country desires to achieve, it is pertinent to create a literate society with more educated people. The education sector of Bangladesh has experienced multiple episodes of "making,

breaking and re-making” to the point that they are now at a progressive stage of re-consolidating this sector.

Researchers of political science have a general inclination on studying matters related to high political issues such as state, security, borders etc, which are undoubtedly very critical issues and must be continuously analysed. But issues related to “low politics” such as education, culture, sports, health/medical care seems to be neglected. Not many studies have been conducted to analyse these areas. The neo-liberal shifts have changed the idea of power. Contemporary power is chaotically distributed and the only way to deal with these challenges is through the implementation of cooperation.

The modern world is focusing on soft power paradigm to practice foreign policy. Therefore, this seems to be the right time to study higher education and its contribution to the foreign policy of India and Bangladesh. Higher education plays a vital role in produce a knowledge based society. Nations upgrades the education system by setting developmental goals and implementing policies, a growing number of people choose foreign countries to obtain their educational degrees. My interest, therefore, transpires to explore the various reasons that prompt a citizen of a particular country to go to another country; especially for educational purpose, in the context of this study vis-à-vis Bangladesh and India.

The time frame chosen for the research is from the beginning of globalisation period, 1990 through 2015. However, in order to fully comprehend the new diplomatic practices of the present times, this period of twenty five may be sufficient to only understand the trend of that given period; but, as we know, the history of the subcontinent is a composite one that makes every action occurring in this region interconnected. Therefore, a scholar must go back in the time to cautiously consolidate the events of the past to extensively comprehend the responses of the present. Hence this study begins by learning the historical socio-political settings of India and Bangladesh to merge it with the behavioural tendencies of the present.

The purpose of this study is to learn the various higher educational cooperation and collaborations between India and Bangladesh. Find out the reasons for choosing Indian higher education. This research will look in to the factors what in India attracts Bangladeshi students and vice versa and the implications it has on the lives. The study

also tries to find out if the educational cooperation strengthens the relationship between the two countries. The study will also help us analyse whether studying in India is worthwhile for Bangladeshi's in terms of time, expense, quality, jobs etc. And also, enable us to comprehend if education (higher) as a mechanism of low politics plays a role to improve the relations between the India and Bangladesh.

This research encompasses historical bases of the socio-political environment of the subcontinent ranging from the education structure of the Indian subcontinent, the changing structures to the contemporary period. Studies on higher education is usually confined within its importance in society, quality assessment etc. However there is inadequate scholarship on the role of education as a diplomatic tool as a low political mechanism in international relations, particularly between India-Bangladesh which holds great implications in their foreign policy conduct. Not many researches have been undertaken to find out the role of higher education (Indian) in Bangladesh and its socio-political implications on their relationship. Because there are various scholarship programs offered by the Indian government to Bangladeshi nationals. It will help us analyse if the government initiatives are fulfilling the purpose i.e. primarily to build a friendly bilateral relationship.

This study questions the value of higher education cooperation in foreign policy of Bangladesh and India. A thematic conceptualisation is established by studying the concept of soft power, public diplomacy, foreign policy to develop a link between international students and foreign policy and the implications of those linkages on international relations of India and Bangladesh.

1.12 Research Objectives

1. What is the role of higher education in bilateral relations
2. What is the scope of higher education cooperation between India and Bangladesh?
3. How the Indo-Bangladesh foreign policies impacts on the education cooperation between the two countries?
4. What are the steps taken by the Government of India and the Government of People's Republic of Bangladesh to promote education opportunities between the two countries?

5. What is the impact of Educational Cooperation on the Indo-Bangladesh Relations?

1.13 Research Questions

1. What is the role of higher education in bilateral relations
2. What is the scope of higher education cooperation between India and Bangladesh?
3. How the Indo-Bangladesh foreign policies impacts on the education cooperation between the two countries?
4. What are the steps taken by the Government of India and the Government of People's Republic of Bangladesh to promote education opportunities between the two countries?
5. What is the impact of Educational Cooperation on the Indo-Bangladesh ls?

1.14 Hypotheses

1. The pre-partition integrated system has been brought as an uniform education policy that was dislocated in the post partition period.
2. Major political parties in Bangladesh have used '*low political*' issues for '*high political*' discourses.
3. Education Cooperation has strengthened the bilateral ties between India and Bangladesh.

1.15 Research Methodology

A systematic understanding of the link between educational diplomacy as a public diplomacy of foreign policy of a country is possible only if it is observed and analysed in an appropriate manner. This study is primarily an attempt to study of Indian educational experience on the belief and attitude of Bangladeshi scholars. It can be conducted on the basis of two-tiered research methodologies that are, both primary and secondary mode of research to collect data. The data will be based on development plans, data and statistics from government documents, Bangladesh and India's Annual Reports and Acts, and different non-governmental organizations documents and reports. The available secondary sources of various types e.g. Books, scholarly articles, journals, newspapers and websites will be used to make the study a

useful one. The other method will be by undertaking Qualitative research methodology which is described below.

The study seeks to explore phenomena; hence the instruments of research methodology must be such that are flexible, iterative in style to elicit and categorize responses to questions. Therefore the methodology that will be used is Qualitative method whereby semi-structured methods such as in-depth interviews will be used. The analytical objective is to describe variation, explain relationships, and illustrate individual experiences. The format of the questions will be open-ended. With open-ended questions, participants are free to answer in their own words, and these responses tend to be more complex than a simple yes/no. The format of data will be textual e.g. obtained from video-tape, audio-tape, and field notes. Data will be collected by conducting quota-sampling. The field study will be conducted in Bangladesh.

1.16 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis has been divided in to six chapters that aim to explore the research objectives and establish an understanding of the theme of the study. Therefore, the chapters are organised carefully in sequence to ultimately lead us to the primary findings of the research. There are ‘Six Chapters’ in this thesis that is briefly introduced below:

The first chapter is an ‘**INTRODUCTION**’ of this thesis. It introduces us with a succinct background of the Indian sub-continent comprising of present day Bangladesh. It further touches upon South Asia as a region, its growing need and importance of higher education in the society and in international relations. Chapter one introduces us to the research objectives, questions, rationale, hypothesis and the research methodology to be used to complete the findings.

The Second chapter ‘**INDIA-BANGALDESH RELATIONS-AN OVERVIEW**’ is a discussion of the relationship between India and Bangladesh. Indo-Bangladesh relations are a complex one. It is complex due to their shared memories of the past that have always reflected their present behaviour. For an all-inclusive understanding this chapter goes back to the ancient roots and ends at their current bilateral relations.

In the Third Chapter, **FOREIGN POLICY MAKING OF INDIA AND BANGLADESH** the foreign policy making of the two countries will be discussed. The foreign policy of any country is determined by domestic and international components. These determinants are discussed in the chapter to let us lucidly grasp the underpinnings of decision making of the two countries at international and regional levels.

In the Fourth Chapter '**EDUCATION COOPERATION BETWEEN INDIA AND BANGLADESH**' the educational cooperations will be explained comprehensively. It will throw light on how much India prioritises Bangladesh on matters related to education and culture. This chapter will discuss in details the various agreements and mutual cooperation India and Bangladesh decided to provide each other in the field of higher studies. This chapter will also study the funding and governing bodies, policy makers of education collaborations between India and Bangladesh

Chapter five '**IMPLICATIONS OF EDUCATIONAL COOPERATION ON INDIA-BANGLADESH RELATIONS**' as the name suggests is to analyse the implications of the various cooperation, agreements and collaboration that are concluded by India and Bangladesh at a diplomatic level. It presents the findings of the research generated by field study that help us to come closer to the basic understandings, which the study initially introduced to do so.

This is the last chapter '**CONCLUSION**' of the thesis; it merges all the chapters and findings established till the fifth chapter to bring out an analysis of the hypotheses.

Chapter 2

India-Bangladesh Relationship-Overview

2.1 Background

History manifests that the establishment of formal alliance between India and Bangladesh connoted to realise the interest of both the countries. Regardless of the rise and falls in their relationship, the India- Bangladesh relations in its entirety have been emerging as a robust one, more sensibly for overarching and promising developments. As a neighbouring country, Bangladesh is crucial for India both geo-strategically and economically. Bangladesh maybe a small country compared to India but strong alliance with her facilitates India to promote stability in the neighbourhood. Needless to say, good relations with India work in the favor of Bangladesh as well.

India and Bangladesh ceremoniously legitimised their diplomatic relations on March 19, 1972 by signing the “India-Bangladesh Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Peace” also known as the “Indira-Mujib Treaty”, for twenty-five years as a pathway to build intimate bilateral ties between them. The two countries have engaged in numerous bilateral commitments in the last forty-eight years and are known to have a rather irregular relations comprised of both of cooperation and conflict. What is significant is the impressive improvement of relationship between the two countries accomplished in the recent few years.

The foreign policy of a country, propounds Bhardwaj (2003:263) is “primarily a projection of its socio-economic and political compulsions in international politics”. To fulfill national interests, countries implement various approaches that are generally sovereign of the political party in authority. Bangladesh and India’s foreign policy milieu is little aberrant because it is governed by domestic politics to a great extent which is often observed in their bilateral behaviours. Thus it may be postulated that the shifting nature of foreign policy conduct (of any country) is eminently determined by ruling political parties. It betides in the case of Bangladesh because the ideologies and principles of the two major political parties namely Awami League and Bangladesh Nationalist Party were essentially disparate (at least in the beginning)

which they exercise respectively (Kumar, 2014). Besides all other factors, Dhaka's foreign policy was habitually directed by a fundamental element with India at the centre-stage (op.cit).

Since the last decade, the Indo-Bangladesh relations are moving ahead speedily (Sharma, 2016). The relations were not as smooth as it was anticipated at the time of Bangladesh's genesis as a new country in the early seventies. On the contrary, it was very uneven due to Bangladesh's pandemoniacal domestic polity. Therefore, it may be regarded as a 'remarkable improvement' because of the rough relationship they shared in the past. In recent times, Bangladesh is considered as one of the major foreign policy accomplishments of Prime Minister Narendra Modi in the South Asian region (Bhattacharya, 2017).

India played an eminent role in helping Bangladesh win the War of Liberation in 1971 from the subjugation of the then West Pakistan and achieved the status of a independent sovereign country. As Bangladesh's closest neighbour, opines Chakma (2012) right from the time Bangladesh emerged as a sovereign being, India had a dominant effect in their domestic as well as foreign policies. In the entire foreign policy spectrum of Bangladesh, the 'India-factor' is of utmost importance not solely because it is the strongest country in the region also because these two countries have a strong historical background. Besides this, Bangladesh and India shares mutual interests covering a wide range concerns (Vinayraj, 2009) governing their relationship to a large extent.

2.2 India's Role in the Formation of Bangladesh

It is a fact that Bengal was separated/alienated on the basis of communal grounds yet West Bengal (in India) and East Pakistan (erstwhile East Bengal) continued to harbor an emotional bonding for each other. The separation of the east of Bengal actually did not denote emancipation from oppressors or contentment of the creation of an absolute Muslim land, because real freedom was yet to be attained by the Bengalis. The Bengali community was always a mismatch to its non-Bengali counter-parts in multiple aspects hence 'predisposed to fragmentation'. For almost quarter-century Bangladesh suffered its unification with Pakistan. According to historian Badruddin Umar (Raghavan, 2009:6), "Pakistan was an unsteady state from the beginning". The

geographical frontier was absolutely irrational as East Pakistan was actually separated by thousand miles of Indian Territory from West Pakistan.

Salman Rushdie, in his novel 'Shame' draws a caustic reflection of the united Pakistan as "*that fantastic bird of a place, two Wings without a body, sundered by the land- mass of its greatest foe, joined by nothing but God*" (Rushdie, 1983). Besides, the two states were extremely different from socio-cultural, ethnicity and linguistic practice. In addition to the differences, the West Pakistanis ruling elites exploited the East Pakistanis economically and dominated politically, comments Haider (2009:538) it caused imbalance in power-structure, saturated Bengali nationalistic sentiments and ultimately led to yet another breakdown of Pakistan.

From the very beginning, all these factors determined the trajectory of political advances which understandably and inexorably brought the disintegration of Pakistan. Post partition of Bengal and the exit of the British, East Bengalis found themselves under a new political regime dominated by the western counterpart - West Pakistan; the Muslim homeland. The geographical disconnect was unavoidable nonetheless there was a seeming difference growing simultaneously, widening the disparities between them. First was the issue of language. Anisuzzaman (2002) opines, during the seminal stage of Pakistan, the ruling elites decided to make Urdu officially the only language of the entire country, replacing with Bengali language, to manifest West Pakistan's cultural hegemon. In East Pakistani province, characterized by linguistic homogeneity, Bengali was the language spoken by majority people.

Imposing Urdu- a language spoken by a meager, little more than three percent of the entire population as the official language was a perilous move made by the government of Pakistan. In the beginning, it generated disapproval and later opposed by the students of East Pakistan who on the contrary demanded Bengali to be recognised as the official language of East Pakistan (Haider, 2009; Raghavan, 2013). Mohammed Ali Jinnah unsympathetically refused the demands in 1948 and soon after the language movement marked by bloodbath began in 1952 igniting an inception of Bangladesh's feelings for nationalism (Ahmed, 2002). The repercussion of ubiquitous bedlam in the province due to student-activism was the demand for Bengali (in 1956) as national language besides Urdu. Embree (1997:11) argues a sense of grievance due to discriminatory management of distribution of government wherewithal,

opportunities in military and positions in civil bureaucracy were already rising in the province to which the language issue added fuel. It became more than sub-nationalism because the leaders began to demand autonomy for East Pakistan and a social change for its people.

The second ground for discontentment was due to economic equality. Separation from India had already disrupted trade and transportation relations between East Pakistan with Bengal (in India) and Assam. The established industrialized areas of undivided Bengal remained in India's territory. Deficiency of industry and scope for trade made East Pakistan economically weaker. Economic policies adopted by Pakistani governed further compounded the problem.

West Pakistan was using all the money earned from foreign exchange of jute export grown in East Pakistan and foreign aids for their vested interested that is industrialization and developmental projects. The disproportionate economy remained severe despite increasing public funds in the fifties. Raghavan (2013) reveals, when the annual growth rate for East Pakistan was one per percent for the years 1954– 55 to 1959– 60 which increased to five per cent for the years 1959-60 to 1964-65; for the same year span West Pakistan's growth increased from three per cent to seven per cent. So the condition of the Bengalis representing Pakistan's maximum populace was being deprived of democratic right on the one, and being economically exploited by the ruling elites of West Pakistan on the other. Long term economic disparities, exploitation, discriminations in due course of time evolved in to a nationalist movement (Ahmed, 2002:49).

In 1969, an orchestrated brutal mass uprising by the Bengalis crushed the martial autocrat Ayub Khan. During the general voting in nineteen seventy, the Sheikh Mujibur Rahman directed political party Awami League came to the forefront as the single mainstream party that vanquished Zulfikar A. Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party finally showing exit to the West Pakistani ruling elites (Chowdhury, 1974). Despite Awami Leagues landslide victory, the civil–military elites of West Pakistan repudiated peaceful transfer of power to the justly elected leader who then had democratic right to represent the Bengalis.

President General Yahya Khan instead retorted by pursuing a systematic operation with merciless genocide (ibid.). Haider (2009:538) reacts that perhaps military action was a wrong move made by Khan as it backfired on them ruining any expectations to preserving the dream of a united Pakistan. With The intervention of India (army) the West Pakistani army was finally defeated and Bangladesh emerged on 16th December 1971 (Embree, 1997). The outcome of the civil war in ‘seventy-one’, gave Bangladesh in real sense both cultural and political sovereignty, an assured independence, which was not what it got in ‘forty-seven’.

India’s role in helping Bangladesh with the war is very crucial. It must be highlighted that India supported Bangladesh by not only providing them political, material, military and diplomatic strength to overcome this crucial period in their history (Andrio, 2016; Rashid, 2015), but also a great extent of moral and people-to-people support. Indian governments’ contribution is a fundamental part in Bangladesh’s history of formation.

India also sought assistance from international powers for a fair resolution of the catastrophic war (Rashid, 2015) ongoing in the region. While America refused to sympathize with the Bengalis, Smt. Gandhi signed a twenty years Indo-Soviet Peace, Friendship and Cooperation Treaty on 9th August 1971 (Blood, 1976). Mrs. Gandhi finalised the treaty that specified mutual cooperation and began to engage the army for the war of Bangladesh following the military onslaught in East Pakistan. As the atrocious carnage by the Pakistani army persisted, war leaders, resistance groups, millions of innocent civilians crossed the border to enter Indian Territory for refuge during the long nine months (Haider, 2009).

India amiably facilitated the refugees by giving them shelter; at the outset of the war helped the *Mukti Bahini* (Freedom Fighters) and ultimately interceded with their own military against that of Pakistan (Andrio, 2016). The *Mukti Bahini* were trained and prepared for the war and provided arms and ammunitions by India (ibid.). One of the remarkable moments was the Freedom Fighters and Indian Army fought in alliance (Rashid, 2015). The then Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi solicited support from the international communities.

According to Blood (1976:6) the primary reason for Indian high leaders to embrace friendship preeminently with the Soviet in anticipation to receive their reinforcement to conclude expeditious resolution of war upheaval going on in East Pakistan. As the crisis escalated the Soviet pronouncement shifted from an essentially neutral stance to endorsement of Indian position. If at all there was an attempt of incursion by the United States or China on India, Leonid Brezhnev, the Soviet leader assured to take profound counter retaliation towards the same; for instance when American ships arrived to help West Pakistan, Moscow ordered their ships to obstruct the Americans from moving near Indian military objects (Andrio, 2016; Simha, 2011).

The idiosyncratic role played by Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at a political and diplomatic level and also the contribution of Indian people are indelible facts inextricable from Bangladesh's history¹⁵. Following Pakistani military's capitulation, the people of the recently found country expressed gratitude with regard and endearment. Henceforth, the India-Bangladesh relationship commenced on a friendly note; with expectations to make it as efficacious as possible. India was synchronously prudent to circumvent any erroneous move towards Bangladesh that could possibly endanger its newly established bond. India was aware of the world gazing at its moves towards Bangladesh due to their previous activities with Bhutan, Nepal and the history of Sikkims' integrations about which the Western countries were well informed.

Unfortunately, the history of India-Bangladesh relations since the seventies decades presents a very dismal picture (Hossain, 1981). A number of problems clouded their relationship leading to more tension between them. As the decade of seventies moved forward, more issues arose to only subvert their friendly relations (ibid.). India-Bangladesh relations started showing signs of tensions as early as 1972, not at first at the superstructure level but at the grass roots.

¹⁵ India not only spent seven thousand crores of rupees for the liberation war of Bangladesh; but also sacrificed the lives of thirty-six hundred thirty officers and soldiers of her Army. About ninety-eight fifty six officers and soldiers were wounded and more than two hundred thirteen officers and soldiers are missing till today. The people of India spontaneously took initiatives to give shelter and food to the refugees of East Pakistan.

According to scholars, a strenuous environment built up because India failed to comprehend the sensitive psychology of a nation who freshly emerged from an extensive brutal experience of colonial and neo-colonial mistreatments. The presence of the Indian Army, the attitude of the Indian bureaucrats reminded the Bangladeshi's of the rude behaviour of the West Pakistani bureaucrats. A large number of Bengali (from West Bengal) scholars especially those who had migrated in 1947 from East Bengal continuously visited the new Bangladesh, the exuberant self extolling of those Bengalis who had moved to India during the war of liberation, heavy scale smuggling from both countries, the sub-servient approach of Awami League leaders and the so-called removal of arms and ammunition across border by Indian Army those left by Pakistan, all aroused Bangladesh's suspicion. The challenge for Bangladesh was to not to fall hostage to India's interests, rather to design a national interest of their own.

2.3 India Bangladesh Relations - An overview through successive regimes

2.3.1 The Formative Years - Sheikh Mujibur Rahman Period (1972-75)

'Bangabandhu'¹⁶ assumed the position of Bangladesh's first Prime Minister on January 12, 1972 after his party Awami League triumphed with massive majority. Mujib-ur-Rahman overtly and quite lucidly promulgated "friendship with India is a cornerstone of Bangladesh foreign policy" and also propagated a foreign policy statement "friends with all and malice with none" (Singh, 2003). It was the formative years during Sheikh Mujib's term from 1972-75 when Bangladesh's bilateral ties with India assumed utmost significance requisite for their diplomatic, political and economic importance. He signed the 'The Indo-Bangladesh Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Peace' with India which committed an expansive financial and humanitarian reinforcement and provide professional training to the security force and government personnel of Bangladesh.

India and Bangladesh continually tried to improve their ties and signed various agreements of which few are mentioned below:

¹⁶ Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was fondly addressed as *Bangabandhu*, a term in Bengali which means 'friend of Bengal'.

1. India-Bangladesh Friendship Treaty of Peace and Cooperation for twenty five year in March 1972;
2. Due To this treaty, they concluded the first One-year Trade Agreement on March 28, 1972 (Rahman, 2008).
3. Statute of the Indo-Bangladesh Joint River Commission; Protocol on Inland Water Transport for five years both in April 1972 (Chawla, 2017).
4. A five-year Protocol on Inland Water Transport in November 1972
5. Agreement on Economic Cooperation and Land Demarcation in May 1974 and
6. An interim Agreement on the Sharing of Ganges Waters in April 1975

The Article 9 of the friendship treaty provides provision for joint negotiation between the two parties to eliminate a national threat in case of invasions of any manner. Hossain (1981) points out that the proviso did not restrict probable situation to an “external attack”. Hence it is contended that this external offensive could have adverse affects on Bangladesh if any belligerent source attacked India, employing alternate mediums besides political (ibid.). In the given circumstances, the pact could be beseeched to allow Indian army enter Bangladesh (Hossain, 1981:1116) Mujib presumed the undertaking of the treaty would denote the ability of Bangladesh to administer its own matters. In the first instance the treaty, although eagerly accepted by both the countries later turned in to issue of acrimony and dissension as Bangladesh began to identify it as a disproportionate accord foisted by India to wield its dominion.

Besides deprecating the friendship pact, discontent grew regarding the trade pact¹⁷ finalised post war by the two countries. Permitting free trade zone along both the

¹⁷ The central feature of this pact was the creation of ten miles of free trade zones on both sides of the border, designed ostensibly to promote closer trade relations between Bangladesh and India. The Bangladeshis were not only unhappy with the adverse affects brought by the pact but also increasingly feared more chances of Indian domination.

borders gave way to serious problems, such as rampant, large-scale smuggling¹⁸ activated on borders of both sides; increasingly high inflation of cost of living by fifty per cent; over-evaluation of currency; severe deficiency in the availability of consumer goods, fleeting corrosion of internal purchasing power, and illegitimate movement of capital etc. which unfavorably perturbed the economy of Bangladesh (Jahan, 1973:209). The escalating living-cost created wide-spread discontent among the people, hold India culpable for such a deal and generated pressure on AL government. Mujib tried to rectify the issue by containing smuggling and signing a trade agreement but unfortunately none were successful (op.cit).

Another persistent irritant between their relationship was the sharing of Ganges water during lean season and the building of the Farakka Barrage dam in West Bengal; only eleven miles away from Bangladesh. India and Bangladesh share fifty four common rivers, mostly perennial in nature. Although the rivers are perennial in nature, the heavy rainfall in the region makes most of these water bodies predominantly rain-fed. As a result, the water content of the river shared by India and Bangladesh are highly seasonal. It means rivers flow fluctuates significantly between the dry and monsoon season (Waslekar, 2013). The fluctuations often cause environmental damages to Bangladesh followed by economic damages. In total Bangladesh possesses 230 rivers of which fifty seven are trans-boundary. Out of the fifty-seven rivers, fifty-four are shared with India. Three great river systems streams from India into Bangladesh, namely the Ganges River, the Brahmaputra River conjoining with the Jamuna to become the Brahmaputra-Jamuna river system, and the Meghna River.

Negotiations international rivers generally take many years before reaching a consensus. Water resources in the basins of Ganges and Brahmaputra represent most complex of all international water conciliations (Crow and Singh, 2000). It was identified that the creation of the dam would disturb the flow of water for Bangladesh which is a low riparian state. Bangladesh, especially owing to its lower riparian positioning expects a relatively more accommodative approach from India on water sharing matters. Competitive interest for access to Ganga water began and went on

¹⁸ Taking advantage of the free trade zones, smugglers on both sides of the borders became active. Jute, foodstuffs, relief goods, and other essentials from the hinterland in Bangladesh were collected inside the free trade zone and then smuggled into India. Similarly, consumer goods, medicine, tobacco, etc., found their way into Bangladesh from India in Rounaq Jahan, 1973

throughout the 1950s and the 1960s giving ample opportunities of hostile feelings between India and Pakistan. In the first half of the sixties, India declared publicly about the construction of the Farakka Barrage. Despite several rounds of ministerial level meetings, India continued with the construction and completed the constructing of the barrage in 1970.

This unresolved problem of water sharing that was initially between Pakistan and India automatically became Bangladesh's problem after liberation and a primary issue of contention between them (Swain, 1996). India emphasised their need to establish the dam to improve communication facilities; make Calcutta port functional for navigation by flushing Hooghly river with the water from Ganges; smoothen drainage system and built various road and rail projects over the barrage (Khalid, 2010).

Discussions with India did continue leading to finalising an agreement in 1972 to institute the Joint Rivers Commission (JRC)¹⁹ "to develop the waters of the rivers common to the two countries on a cooperative basis". Nevertheless, the question of sharing Ganges water was left out of the purview of the JRC as the problem had acquired political dimensions. India and Bangladesh began their negotiations on Ganges in 1973, met again in 1974 to make a joint declaration on augmentation of the Ganges River. The declaration, however did not settle the deadlock over the concern of water sharing during the lean season²⁰.

The most pertinent matters that impinged the relations between India and Bangladesh were three unresolved bilateral issues, the Ganges River water sharing, problems related to Farakka Barrage, maritime and land boundary demarcation issues. Mujibur

¹⁹ The JRC was authorized to perform all-inclusive surveys related to shared rivers, prepare projects on irrigation, joint flood control, hydropower projects and implement them.

²⁰ Ninety percent of the total length of Ganga lies in India; the share Bangladesh has is very less compared to that. A highly fluctuating pattern in the flow of the Ganges River becomes a challenge to plan surface water resource. The drainage area of the Ganges River in India is 332, 585 square miles; in Bangladesh, it is 26,015 square miles about half of the total area of the country. The maximum peak discharge recorded at Hardinge Bridge in Bangladesh is about 2.5 cusecs, whereas the minimum was recorded as 23,200 cusecs recorded in 1976. Water requirement of Bangladesh from the Ganges River in the dry season have been estimated to be forty two million acre feet (MAF) whereas for India it is four times more. The total annual flow of Ganga is about 372 MAF, but of this, less than fifteen percent is available in dry season. Water flow obtainable for irrigation from November to May is only about twenty-five percent whereas India, Bangladesh along with Nepal requires 222 MAF in totality.

Rahman very well understood the need for Bangladesh to be acknowledged by United States, China, Pakistan and the Islamic nations. His meetings with the Organisations of Islamic Countries (OIC) to seek membership and visiting Lahore to attend the summit in 1974 were not accepted positively by India as they considered this as a move made by Bangladesh to drift away from its secularist ideology to being a pro-Islamic country. Due to these underlying reasons, the administrative level dialogues in between early 1974 to mid 1975 continued to be uncertain ending at deadlocks. It is also important to remember that both Sheikh Mujibur and Mrs. Gandhi were entangled in domestic predicaments at the same time.

India extended essential aid to restore the war torn country including economic aid, funds, food grain, construction material, technical support etc. India was the chief donors till 1972. Nonetheless, a fear psychosis against a probable Indian domination cultivated among the Bangladeshis. The climate of friendship and reciprocity drastically changed with the Sheikh Mujib's assassination following military coup on August 15, 1975 changing the foreign policy dynamics and relationship with India in the following decades. Bangabandhu's killing earned PM Gandhi's annoyance, and India's behaviours hardened towards Dacca's new military leader. The new government continued attempt to persuade India became failed efforts. Bangladesh's foreign policy saw significant ideological shifts at this stage as the government tried to internationalise the unresolved issues seeking permanent solutions (Hossain, 1981:1121).

2.3.2 The Military-Regime in Bangladesh (1975-1990)

Bangladesh-India relations cannot be studied secluding the formers relations with other countries post Mujib era. Sheikh Mujib's execution was followed by sixteen years of military regime, from August 1975 to December 1990. General Zia-ur-Rahman, the Chief of Army Staff and the Chief Martial Law Administrator became the first authoritarian ruler - the President of Bangladesh (from 1975-81). President Zia considered himself an "international person" and Bangladesh to be "independent with the rest of the world" (Franda, 1981:367). The fact that he was more inclined towards developing closer ties with the international community is evident in his meetings with and visits to the Islamic Conference in Morocco; United Nations session in New York; meeting with President Carter in Washington; engaged in trade

negotiations in Djakarta, Beijing and Singapore; bargained for finance and oil with the Gulf nations and contracted for a nuclear power plant with Giscard D'Estaing in Paris (ibid.). Zia's principle of foreign policy was to gather aids and assistance in enormous amounts particularly from the United Nations, Western aid donors, OPEC as well as the Socialist bloc and establish trade relations to improve the economy of the country.

Ziaur Rahman discussed bilateral issues with Indira Gandhi, yet his idea of Bangladeshi nationalism showed an overriding fear of a potential predomination from India. This widespread fear was one of the reasons why the military government was over enthusiastic to shake hands with the Western world. The political environment hence had changed in a manner giving rise to misanthropic perception towards India shattering earlier discerned scope for profound friendship and mutually benefitting cooperations. India too had difficulties in trusting Zia because despite of prior information of the coup yet did not inform Mujib. The relations improved with the Janata party in power which once again became shaky with the return of Indira Gandhi in 1980. During the period of military rule, the two countries were deeply clouded by distrust due to which unsurprisingly there was either diminutive or negligible amount of progress in the wide range of ongoing bilateral issues.

President Zia, according to scholars like Marcus Franda, carefully mentioned India and its leaders or never outrightly criticised Mujibur Rahman but he did show disinterest against Mujib's philosophies and dissented his "Moscow-type of socialism", "Foreignism and BAKSALISM" which evidently hinted at his association with Delhi and Moscow (1981:369). He amended the constitution in 1977 which significantly changed the four fundamental principles of Bangladesh's Constitution that is, Nationalism, Socialism and Democracy and Secularism established by former PM Mujibur Rahman (Nair, 2008:78). Zia removed secularism from the constitution and replaced it with a commitment towards Islam and accentuated on 'political identity' from 'ethnic identity' by preferring the term Bangladeshi over Bengalee (Habib, 2011). The constitution was modified consequently during Zia's reign by replacing the doctrines of secularism by the sentence "Absolute trust and faith in the Almighty Allah shall be the basis of all actions" (Dixit, 1999). It additionally emphasised that "the state shall make an effort to consolidate, preserve and strengthen

fraternal relations among Muslim countries based on Islamic solidarity” (Franda, 1981). Observations may imply that this shift from ethno-linguistic to territorial congruence was to please the Muslim countries and to segregate the citizens of Bangladesh from Bengalees of India.

Nair (2008:84) argues, Gen. Zia intended to dissociate Bangladesh from Indo-Soviet caucus, reduce dependency from India; hence began to conduct foreign policy to cumulate maximal support for the country from others but India. The manner of his consolidation and legitimisation of power was a sign of disintegrating relationship with his Indian counterparts. His foreign policy approach was pro-Western, pro-Pakistan, pro-China, pro-Islamic nations-ironical the same forces that opposed liberation of Bangladesh (Mantoo, 2015). These trends of Islamisation of Bangladesh, shifting ideologies and growing closeness with Muslim nations, Pakistan and India’s rival countries naturally began to strain the relations between India and Bangladesh. The structure of cooperation, tactically established between both the countries during Mujibur Rahman’s government, was changed radically leaving a negative effect on the existing bilateral issues between the two nations.

2.3.2.1 Issues during the Ziaur Rahman Period

Four primary issues that debilitated their relations were: Ganges water sharing dispute; dispute of exchange of enclaves; disagreements over the Moore Island matter and issues rising out of illegal migration.

The Joint River Communiqué was formed in 1972 by Mujib right after independence aiming to harness mutual benefits from the waters of the commonly shared rivers. He felt this would help in the development of both the countries (Mustafa, 1996). Mujib shared affable relations with India during his time hence a temporary agreement was finalised, but his death changed the political circumstances in 1975; Zia’s government faced difficulties to arrive at an agreement with India on the water issue. Parallely as the prior agreements of 1974 ended in May 1975, until 1977 there was no renewal of agreement on this matter.

With rising anti-India feelings, Zia failed to mitigate Farakka Barrage issue along with various other issues. Failing to solve the problem, he internationalised the matter by raising it to the United Nations General Assembly²¹ in November 1976 (Kodikara, 1981), the Organisation of Islamic Countries (OIC), the Non-alignment movement (NAM) summit at Colombo and Foreign Ministers Conference in Istanbul in May 1976 (Jain, 2010). India resented the move as it was a bilateral matter and expressed that trying to involve the international community would only complicate, delay and worsen the situation.

According to the *India and Foreign Review* (1976), the response of India to this was unequivocally conveyed by India's Foreign Secretary Jagat S. Mehta to the special political committee of the UN in November, 1976 that, "It was not India's aim to use any more water from the Ganga than was necessary to save the port of Calcutta" (Mantoo, 2015:338). That is to say, India morally and legally deserved to extract waters as per her requirement. Bangladesh's approach just worsened their relations with India and the issue remained a failure.

India-Bangladesh relations began to experience a change in diplomatic environment in 1977, with the Junta Government in power. The policies of the Junta Government constructed on the idea of "beneficial bilateralism" had three main features viz. Personal Rapport, Political Neutrality and Non-Interference in domestic matters and Economic-Accommodation (Mantoo, 2015). These dimensions generated conducive responses from Dhaka. The new government of India and Zia shared similar views in terms of foreign policy conduct. During Sheikh Mujib and Smt. Gandhi's reigns, Bangladesh and India had no relations with the United States and China; the Zia and Desai both drove their countries near the US.

The change of ruling leaders in both made avenues to strengthen the political and economic associations among themselves. On June 10, 1977 Prime Minister Morarji Desai and President Ziaur Rehman met for the first time in London during the Commonwealth Nations meeting where they concurred to settle their incongruities (Muni, 1978).

²¹ The UN General Assembly suggested both the countries to enter into sensible dialogues to settle the dispute peacefully.

They reached to an agreement in 1977 on water sharing of Ganges River during the lean season. According to Muni the agreement was a headway initiative “towards building a strong bilateral relationship based on mutual trust and confidence” (1978:96). Moving on from water issues, the leaders showed enthusiasm to solve the dispute of New Moore islands²²; accelerate the execution of land boundary agreement; improve communication between the Border Security Forces and Bangladesh Rifles; formulate ways to control erosion along Kushiara river and share the water of Teesta river and; widen the scope for cooperation through united endeavours in the field of solar energy, bio-gas etc. The Desai government also extended 200,000 tonnes of food grains to Bangladesh.

Despite several initiatives the relations were still strained. The influx of twenty-thousand Indian Muslims from West Bengal due to communal riots and, occasional exchange of fires by border forces in 1979 was followed by the building of pillars by India on the Moore Island along with their flag in 1980 that led to anti-India crusade from Bangladesh (Bhasin, 2003).

Army Chief General Hussain Mohammed Ershad took over after Zia’s assassination on May 30, 1982 and remained in power till 1990. His foreign policy had little changes than his forerunner. Like Zia, Ershad also stressed on ideological conversions at both internal and external levels of policy making. By now Smt. Gandhi developed an idea how to behave with the military government of her neighbouring country. She welcomed the new President with aspiring to maintain amicable relations and solve the problems with her neighbouring state (Ghosh, 1989).

2.3.2.2 India’s Bilateral Initiatives during Ershad Regime

To heighten their bonds, the Indian Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao made diplomatic visit in 1982. He assured to provide Bangladesh with 1, 00,000 tonnes of wheat to combat scarcity. To ascertain the vast scope for mutual economic cooperation, the two leaders corresponded to prepare a Joint Economic Commission. The JEC was resuscitated and a fresh one prepared in 1982, extended the trade pact till 1989 but eventually it remained an unsuccessful venture.

²² New Moore is a 5.2 km island on which India ascertained her claim after providing Bangladesh with relevant information.

The Farakka Agreement of 1977 was extended further for two more lean seasons and instructed the JRC to conceive a permanent solution to the problem to enable both the countries to conclude to a mutually satisfactory final agreement. They signed the Memorandum of Understanding on Ganges Water sharing on October 7, 1982 in New Delhi. They concurred to finish the execution of the 1974 Land Boundary Agreement; settle the maritime boundary dispute and Moore Island-South Talpatty dispute and find out ways to control illegal migrations along the borders. India gave consent to resettle the Tin Bigha Corridor to Bangladesh forever (Jayapalan, 2001).

Post assassination of Smt. Gandhi, her son Rajiv Gandhi took over as the Prime Minister. The essence of his foreign policy objectives were based on ways to ameliorate ties with neighbouring states, international community, the Super Powers, the UNO and validated his credence on the NAM.

PM Gandhi and Ershad met multiple times to endorse better bilateral relations that led to the signing of the MOU on Ganges Water once again in 1985. Besides the other issues that remained subject to discussions, the Farakka issue continued to be a major irritant between them. The relations became irascible after India opted for border fencing to retrain the unlawful refugee ingress from Bangladesh which had deteriorated the economic order of India's Northeastern region. Besides, the other issues were only discussed and the implementations delayed which kept bothering their relationship.

2.3.3 India-Bangladesh Relation during Democratic Era – 1990 onwards

The bilateral relationship between India and Bangladesh ever since the fall of Ershad regime from 1990 onwards that also saw the return of democracy took a new turn. Bangladeshi politics has been since then primarily run by two political leaders in turns; the Awami League under the leadership of Mujibur Rahman's only living successor Sheikh Hasina, and; Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) run by Begum Khaleda Zia, wife of late Ziaur Rahman.

2.3.3.1 Begum Khaleda Zia Regimes (1991-96 and 2001-06)

Begum Khaleda Zia was installed in power after the general elections of 1991. Her position as the Prime Minister marked the return of democratic rule in Bangladesh

after one and a half decades of military rule initiated by her late husband General Ziaur Rahman. Her party, Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) in alliance with Jamaat-e-Islami and Islamic Oikya Jote (IOJ) triumphed overwhelmingly and secured major seats to form the ruling government giving rise to unease amongst minorities, moderate Muslims and India. In reality BNP was the descendent of the previous military predecessor only in the outfit of democracy. The foreign policy of her government with regard to the external relations mimicked the basic tenets formulated by Gen. Zia and later by H.M. Ershad. Hence, there were prominent reflections of Islamic components. These Islamic mechanisms according to Prof. Sanjay K. Bhardwaj, of the ruling alliance “represent the forces of 1947 and played an anti-liberation role in 1971” (Bhardwaj, 2003:263).

The policies of the BNP like her predecessors were based on pro West, Pro-Islam along with maintaining close ties with China and Pakistan harbouring anti-Indian policies, just opposite to Sheikh Mujib’s government, a moderate democratic and secular nationalist one based on anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, and non-alignment. His policies were to maintain amicable ties with India that was usurped by what Bhardwaj (2003) addresses as “undemocratic forces” in 1975.

Begum Zia’s tenure manifests betterment of relations between Bangladesh and India despite her interests in diplomacy with International organisations, for example – attainment of membership in the Commonwealth; meeting with UN Secretary General in March 1993 to seek help to resolve the problems arising internally due to Rohingyas and; participation of her health minister at the World Population Conference at Cairo. With India, many of the previous issues continued yet her government managed to solve some of the irritants. She also grabbed the opportunities brought by globalisation, liberalisation and privatisation, focused on increasing trade and investment to develop the country economically and broadly added economic elements in her foreign policy conduct (Narain, 1994)).

The major issues of contention on trade and transit, Moore Island, problems due to Chakmas cross border mobility, issue of insurgency, Ganges water sharing issue and diversion of water of Ganges by India in absence of any agreements continued to be a centre-piece of their problems; lack of comprehensive solution on Tin Bigha corridor

remained unresolved. Although democratic government was installed in Bangladesh, it could not induce India to resolve the key bilateral disputes.

In India during the same time Congress took over power under the Prime Ministership of Narsimha Rao. BNP concurrently maintained its endeavours to materialise conciliation with the Indian counterpart in every possible ways such as the instruments of Joint River Commission and Joint Economic Commission. The bilateral negotiation on the water issues was held in the years 1992 and 1993 without any outcomes. In fact, once again just like her predecessors she internationalised the matter by presenting it in front of the UN General Assembly sessions held during its fiftieth anniversary. Besides the water issue she agreed to resolve the Chakma refugee issue by repatriating fifty thousand of them by forming a secretary level Joint Action Committee to control illicit permeation of refugees (Chakravarty, 1994:83).

Although most of the bilateral dissension remained inconclusive, few positive developments during Begum Zia's tenure did take place such as- Tin Bigha corridor lease for nine hundred ninety-nine years in June, 1992 according to the 1974 Indo-Bangladesh Land Boundary Agreement²³ (Chakravarty, 1994:83), allowing to have admittance to the Bangladesh enclaves of Dahagram and Angorpota from the mainland of Bangladesh; in May 1993, two agreements were finalized according to which, one would start Chakma refugees repatriation from eastern states of India and the other one was concluded on Indian investment in railway sector in Bangladesh (Rashid, 2015). The two states further decided to support each other with intelligence to initiate anti-insurgency operations and execute the agreement of 1991 successfully regarding handing over illegitimate emigrants between their countries (Choudhury, 1992).

Regardless of BNP's popular win as the elected party, the relationship with India did not improve in its entirety. New Delhi perceived Zia's government that practiced right wing policies and despite their secular policies, not much was done for the properties of the minority Hindus. Additionally, BNP as a political party did not take birth from the grass root level but the outcome of military brains. From the beginning it was a

²³ This would give ingress to the enclaves Dahagram and Angorpota in Bangladesh from mainland Bangladesh.

party of the elites, retired military and civil officers, Hence India did not feel relaxed in dealing with them.

2.3.3.2 Bilateral Relations during Sheikh Hasina and Narendra Modi regime

The perceptual disparities have exhibited changes in the behavioral pattern in Bangladesh-India relations in the last forty-eight years. Perhaps Indo-Bangladesh relations best exemplify the importance of social and economic issues in their relations among nations and the serious effect that disputes in the fields can have on other aspects of any dyed. Domestic politics have an impact on bilateral relations of any given country. The domestic politics of Bangladesh have also largely influenced the diplomatic ties of the two countries to a great extent. Thus, foreign policy changes are highly dependent on political parties in power (Kumar, 2014:652).

Sheikh Hasina formed a government in alliance with 'Jatiyo Party' - the third largest party of Bangladesh run by ex-President Ershad and restored AL to power after two decades in 1996. During the previous tenure from 1996-2001, the AL government faced encumbrances by a minimal majority in the parliament. Undoing the previous government's policies towards India, the Hasina led government embraced a friendly attitude towards the big neighbour. Rashid (2015) believes this period of time for Bangladesh was the most cordial since the mid-seventies after almost twenty years full of qualms and perturbations.

Theoretically says Chakma (2012), the new government had alternate options to move ahead with its future foreign policies. For instance, they had an option to resume the "counterbalancing" methods against India, practiced by the predecessors by aligning with Pakistan, Islamic countries and China. But, as soon as her government returned once again in 2009, PM Hasina completely remodelled the foreign policy modus operandi to be more India centric bringing Dhaka adjacent to New Delhi. Alongside minimal irritants, the relation broadly remained cordial during the third term from 2014-2018 when Sri Narendra Modi was elected the Prime Minister of India (under the BJP Government) in 2015-2018. AL's come back was a positive sign for India-Bangladesh because the government of India began to divulge willingness to buttress their association (Thaker, 2010). Concurrently, an added goodwill came with Narendra Modi in power since 2015.

Sheikh Hasina concluded two milestone accords: first, the conclusion of Ganga Water Treaty for thirty years in December 1996 and; the second was the Peace Agreement on the Chittagong Hill Tracts with Chakma Tribal Representative in December 1997 (Rashid, 2015). These were crucial areas of discontent long kept unsettled by Indian successive governments with former governments of Bangladesh. Sadly, the improving relation again began to retrograde after BNP assumed power again in 2001. According to the Daily Star (2011), as the two countries developed differences on 'security perception' on account of distrust India felt towards Bangladesh their policies became rigid.

Following the Pakistani insurgency, an exodus occurred in Bangladesh which continued post seventy-one. The immense number of Bangladeshis entering India as refugees posed an inconvenience for the latter that has been used by staunch Hindu nationalists as rhetoric framework time and again against the former. They asserted that Muslim immigration has linkage with growing terrorism in India. Bangladesh antithetically maintains a similar accusation towards India (Thaker, 2010). The complications persisted over border enclaves when in 2001 the BSF and BDR confronted each other killing number of soldiers.

The Awami League was reinstalled in 2009-13 with the Indian National Congress government in India at the time and from 2014-18 with PM Narendra Modi representing the Bharatiya Janata Party in India during that tenure. Both the times, respond from New Delhi was positive which is visible in the series of constructive initiatives undertaken by to build a cooperative relationship with their neighbour. In those ten years, the close neighbours created an agreeable environment for both by developing robust bi-lateral architecture (op.cit.).

The two countries engaged extensively to intensify reciprocally valuable bilateral cooperation by signing "Framework Agreement on Cooperation and Development" on September 6, 2011 in an extensive array of areas such as investment and economic cooperation promotion of trade, improvement in connectivity; transmission and distribution of electricity; improvement in water resources, people to people exchanges; support cultural, scientific, and educational collaborations and enhancing

cooperation in security; environmental protection and responding to challenges of climate change through adaptation, management of natural disasters²⁴.

According to the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India²⁵ (2011), some of the positive outcomes in between this period are:

1. Signing of Framework Agreement on Cooperation for Development.
2. The Protocol to the Agreement Concerning the Demarcation of Land Boundary between India and Bangladesh and similar issues.
3. Addendum to the MOU between India and Bangladesh to facilitate Overland Transit Traffic between Bangladesh and Nepal.
4. Memorandum of Understanding on Conservation of the Sunderbans;
5. Protocol on Conservation of the Royal Bengal Tiger of the Sunderbans
6. Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation in Fisheries
7. Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation between Doordarshan and Bangladesh Television.
8. Memorandum of Understanding for Cooperation in Renewable Energy
9. Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation between Jawaharlal Nehru University and Dhaka University.
10. Agreement of Cooperation between National Institute of Fashion Design (NIFT), India and BGMEA Institute of Fashion Technology (BIFT), Bangladesh

In terms of developmental initiatives, supplier credit loan worth one billion dollars was given by India to Bangladesh in the form of grants; allowed duty-free, quota-free access to all products barring twenty-five tariff lines to Bangladesh, made border

²⁴ As mentioned in the Fact sheet on Agreements signed between India and Bangladesh; Prime Minister's Office

²⁵ As available in Press Information Bureau, Government of India, Prime Minister's Office

haats operational in Meghalaya and open four border haats down the Tripura-Bangladesh borders, to export five hundred megawatt of electricity to Bangladesh, launch the Maitreyi Express India – Bangladesh railway link are some of the many other initiatives undertaken to improve the relations. Even then, migration from Bangladesh into the North-eastern regions of India, delay in settling the Teesta river water issue, demarcation of maritime boundaries remained as irritants in their relations (Bhattacharya, 2014). Till the end of Hasina's second tenure till 2014 during the Manmohan Singh, the evolution of new relationship was marked although major issues still remained unresolved. However, the following term of AL and the coming of BJP brought in some very positive aspects between India and Bangladesh.

During the BJP regime since 2015-18, India-Bangladesh bilateral relations reached remarkable heights. The Bangladesh policy designed by Modi requires an understanding from a wider framework. PM Modi emphasised on 'neighbourhood first' as a vital approach of his foreign policy to foster stronger relations with Bangladesh alongside other South Asian nations. The new slogan paved the way for new opportunities to foster India's ties with the surrounding states, to which Bangladesh draws quite an attention. The invitation of all SAARC nations for his first oath ceremony distinctly marks the importance of the new government's new slogan.

The Economic Times reports upon assuming the seat in 2015, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited Bangladesh and finalise a few long-pending matters that have bothered the two countries for decades (Chaudhury, 2018). His foreign policy formulation gave special attention to Bangladesh which reflects in the visit of the PM and his Minister of External Affairs to Dhaka in June 2015 when twenty-two agreements were concluded and some renewed. Some of the noteworthy decisions include resolving maritime boundary, land boundary agreement inclusive of the enclave issues, finalizing agreements in areas of power, connectivity, technology – information technology, cyber security, nuclear energy; growth in bilateral trade seven billion dollars to nine billion dollars, and duty-free entrée of products from Bangladeshi to Indian market and increasing investment in Bangladesh.

Bangladesh has been guaranteed duty-free ingress of their goods in the Indian market. Export of ready-made garment to India increased by hundred fifteen per cent that is from hundred thirty million to two-hundred eighty million in 2017 and an increased

investment from India from three billion to ten million has been made. The Economic Times (Chaudhury, 2018) further states, the leaders of the two countries engaged in a number of development cooperation of infrastructure projects in different regions to boost development in those areas such as - construction of Bhairab bridge and Titus bridge, construction of Akhaura-Agartala rail line , construction of thirteen hundred twenty MW Rampal coal-fired power plant and inaugurated the rehabilitation of Kulaura-Shahbazpur section of railway line are some developments in bilateral engagement of the two neighbours.

Attentions given to ameliorate the soft power policies are also manifold - by training four thousand officials from Bangladesh in India from 2015 onwards, by training fifteen hundred judicial officers from Bangladesh in India, easy issuance of Indian visa to Bangladeshi nationals which increased from five lakh in 2015 to an astounding ten lakh in 2017. Office of Indian Assistant High Commission opened in Sylhet to simplify the visa process for people of that district which will also encourage people-to-people communication, promote tourism, trade, and commerce.

Welfare plans and various schemes to memorialize the 1971 spirit of Liberation War and commemorating the indispensable contribution of Mukhti Jodhha were initiated; it includes health-care facilities, scholarship for their children, five-year multiple entry visa and many other facilities. Besides a number of welfare plans for Mukhti Jodhha, the Modi government extended additional facilities to senior citizens and women applicants of Bangladesh. In 2017, Khulna-Kolkata Bandhan Express, Dhaka-Khulna-Kolkata bus services were commenced; end-to-end customs and immigration services for Dhaka-Kolkata Maitri Express were facilitated.

During the visit of Sheikh Hasina, a Joint Statement was taken by the leaders of the two states affirming “relations between India and Bangladesh are based on fraternal ties and reflective of an all-encompassing partnership based on sovereignty, equality, trust and understanding that goes far beyond a strategic partnership” (Shringla, 2018:525). Given the number of bilateral initiatives materialized between India and Bangladesh at present times, Prime Minister Narendra Modi expressed the relationship between the closest neighbours as ‘Sonali Adhyay’ i.e. ‘Golden Era’ of India-Bangladesh relationship (ibid.).

2.4 Bilateral Agreements between India and Bangladesh of 2015 & 2019

Developmental cooperation has surfaced as a fundamental pillar of the bilateral relationship between India and Bangladesh. With a rather moderate beginning right after Bangladesh's formation, India's cooperation with Bangladesh has substantially developed in dimension and coverage. Bangladesh is vital for India, and the relationship is profoundly valued by the same. Since the last decade, they have made exceptional improvements in furthering bilateral ties and towards constructing a multifaceted relationship, which in present times encrusts cooperation in extensive areas.

Table 2.1
Bilateral MOUs, Agreements etc., signed by India with Bangladesh,
(2015-18)

No	Title	Area	Year
1	Protocol for Exchange of Instruments of Ratification regarding the India - Bangladesh Land Boundary Agreement, 1974 and Protocol of 2011 to the Land Boundary Agreement	Demarcation of the Land Boundary	2015
2	Protocol on inland water transit between India and Bangladesh	Inland Water Transit	2015
3	Memorandum of Understanding between the Coast Guards of the Republic of India and Bangladesh Coast Guard of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for the Establishment of Collaborative Relationship to Combat transnational illegal activities at sea and development of regional cooperation between the India Coast Guard and Bangladesh Coast Guard.	Establishment of Collaborative Relationship to Combat transnational illegal activities at sea and development of regional cooperation	2015
4	Trade Agreement between India and Bangladesh	Trade Facilitation	2015
5	Agreement between Bureau of Indian Standards and Bangladesh Standards and Testing Institution on Cooperation in the field of Standardization and Conformity Assessment.	Cooperation in the field of Standardization and Conformity Assessment.	2015

6	Protocol on Operation of Passenger Bus Service between Guwahati in India and Dhaka in Bangladesh in Terms of Agreement between Government of the Republic of India and Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.	Operation of Passenger Bus Service	2015
7	The Cultural Exchange Programme (CEP) between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for the year 2015-2017	Cultural Exchange Programme	2015
8	Memorandum of Understanding between Government of the Republic of India (GoI) and Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh (GoB) for Extending a New Line of Credit (LoC) of US Dollar 2.0 Billion by GOI to GOB	Provision of Line of Credit	2015
9	Memorandum of Understanding between Ministry of Shipping, Road Transport and Highways Government of the Republic of India and Ministry of Shipping Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh relating to the use of Chittagong and Mongla Ports for Movement of Goods to and from India	Use of Chittagong and Mongla Ports for Movement of Goods to and from India	2015
10	Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of People's Republic of Bangladesh in the field of Blue Economy and Maritime Co-operation in the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean Region	Maritime Co-operation in the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean Region	2015
11	Memorandum of Understanding between Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh on Bilateral Cooperation for Prevention of Human Trafficking Especially Trafficking in Women and Children; Rescue, Recovery, Repatriation and Reintegration of Victims of Trafficking.	Cooperation for Prevention of Human Trafficking	2015
12	Memorandum of Understanding between Government of the Republic of India and Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh to Prevent and Counter Smuggling and Circulation of Fake Currency Notes	Prevent and Counter Smuggling and Circulation of Fake Currency Notes	2015

13	Memorandum of Understanding on between the Republic of India and the People's Republic of Bangladesh for cooperation on Establishing Indian Economic Zone in Bangladesh.	Cooperation on Establishing Indian Economic Zone in Bangladesh.	2015
14	Memorandum of Understanding between Ministry of External Affairs of the Republic of India and Department of Environment and Forests of the People's Republic of Bangladesh relating to Grant Assistance from Government of India under the India endowment for Climate Change in South Asia (IECC-SA) for installation 70,000 in improved cook stoves (ICS) in selected areas of Bangladesh	Grant Assistance for Climate Change in South Asia	2015
15	Memorandum of Understanding between Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, India, and University of Dhaka, Bangladesh for Joint research on Oceanography of the Bay of Bengal	Joint research on Oceanography of the Bay of Bengal	2015
16	Statement of Intent between the People's Republic of Bangladesh and the Republic of India on Education Cooperation	Education	2015
17	Handing over of a Letter of Consent to the Chairman, Life Insurance Corporation (LIC) of India by Chairman, Insurance Development and Regulatory Authority (IDRA) of Bangladesh to Commence operations in Bangladesh by LIC	Commence operations in Bangladesh by LIC	2015
18	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for the Regulation of Motor Vehicle Passenger Traffic between the Two Countries.	Regulation of Motor Vehicle Passenger Traffic	2015
19	Agreement on Coastal Shipping between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh	Coastal Shipping	2015
20	Agreement between India and Bangladesh for the regulation of motor vehicle passenger traffic between the two countries from Agartala to Kolkata via Dhaka and vice versa	Regulation of Motor Vehicle Passenger traffic	2015

Source: Ministry of External Affairs, India

Table 2.2

List of MOUs signed during India-Bangladesh Fifth JCC

February 8, 2019

No	Agreements/MoU	Area	Year
1	MoU between the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) of India and The Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) of Bangladesh	Security	2019
2	MoU between National Centre for Good Governance (NCGG), Mussoorie and Ministry of Public Administration (MOPA), Bangladesh on Training and Capacity building Programme for Bangladesh Civil Servants	Education	2019
3	MoU on Co-operation in the field of Medicinal Plants between National Medicinal Plant Board (NMPB), Ministry of AYUSH and Directorate General of health Services, Ministry of Health & Family Welfare, Bangladesh	Education	2019
4	MOU by and between Bangladesh Economic Zones Authority and Nidar Industrial Park Pune (Private) Limited, Hiranandani Group	Economic	2019

Source: Ministry of External Affairs, India

2.5 Combining Low Political Issues to High Political Issues in India-Bangladesh Bilateral Relations

The discourses on world politics are generally expressed with reference to foreign policies, diplomacy, trade and economic growth, security issues, societal issues so on so forth. Cooperative initiatives in the global political structure can be considered as a game theory where there are prospects of benefits for all players i.e., more colloquially a ‘positive-sum process’ (Pinker, 2011). For any global actor, big or small it is essential to work together in the current milieu of multilateralism to acquire the outcomes as outlined by the respective states. The relations between Bangladesh and India have reinforced massively in recent years. It may be said that it is the

natural denouement of India's remarkable economic expansion and its growing significance on the world-stage as an emerging political entity.

The complementarity of its interests with other states in political sphere is evident in the participation in soft power, multilateralism, universal sustainable development etc. As an unceasing phenomenon of growth and advancement, India and Bangladesh relations have been developing rather speedily during the twenty-first century due to the interdependence and international interactivities that is the demand of the time. Since the democratisation of Bangladesh and India's shift from hard power to soft power since the nineties it has become even more inexorable while conducting foreign policy. The paradigm shift from hard power to exercising softer policies have brought forth lower political issues as major players that are now resulting in to high political outcomes.

Within the sub-strata of political science as a whole the idea of 'high politics' is inclusive of all matters that are vital to the state viz. security. It has been an ever present concept throughout civilisation; however, Thomas Hobbes articulated that survival of humans bases on various features like societal order, law, trade etc. which are essentially given by the state and these feature are the 'high politics'. Nation states have always tried to safeguard and enhance these features for better living.

The concept of 'low politics' on the other hand encloses those fields that are not essential for the state's survival such as economics, education, culture, health etc. These are within the domain of a welfare state. it suggests Joseph Nye's neo-liberal constructivist approach that moves away from the realist notion of international relations that governs on interdependence on the basis of national security that is high politics and emphasises that in present days, international relations is governed by interdependence based on internal issues that low political issues that we fundamentally know as 'soft power'. These can be anything from social security, economic and societal development, internal law and order, welfare etc. The intellectual scholarship opposing the realist, liberalist approaches argues that low politics is equally important for state mechanism and must not be ignored.

It is pivotal to observe that the revolution in the field of information technology and the changes brought in by it have increased the prominence of transnational concerns

and entitled non-state actors to play substantial roles in global political scenarios. The definitive purpose of progress is perceived as, to encourage well-being of humans. A major aspect of well-being is economic as well as social development that includes social services such as education, health, eradicating poverty, gender equality etc. (Siddiqui, 2004). India and Bangladesh, in the purview of these changing needs of the society has experienced an impressive development, since the commencement of the social economic reforms, and present enormous innovative prospects.

India is a major player and Bangladesh is an emerging participant in world politics and has close interactions at various levels on a number of shared interests. Since the birth in the 1970s, it has been elaborated above how with the successive leaders through momentous regime changes Bangladesh have been developing relationship with the rest of the world through various initiative in the field of aid, assistance, trade etc. that has many time caused bitterness in its relationship with India. But since the Sheikh Hasina period the relationship has taken positive turns which now evidently reflect in the wide-ranging policy implications of the two countries.

Initially, Bangladesh's commitment with India was established on numerous agreements, collaborations and negotiations denoting high political issues. For instance, for the longest time the disputes regarding the demarcations of land boundary, enclaves, illegal migration and illegal activities along the national borders were profoundly bothering the two countries. Also, the movement of Bangladeshi people along the Indian border led to opening fires by the BSF. India considered all these factors pertinent to safeguard its national security. Also, India had serious inhibitions towards trusting the military Presidents Zia and Ershad and their democratic successor Khaleda Zia as by principle they promoted anti-Indian stances. With Sheikh Hasina, daughter of Bangladesh's first PM Mujibur Rahman, India feels closer and friendlier. Hence many of the long outstanding issues were solved during her tenure by the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

A closer analysis unfold that the number of cooperations and agreements in the field of education and culture have increased substantially that suggest that India is slowly trusting Bangladesh and widening its avenues towards enhancing lower political issues. The trend of India-Bangladesh bilateral relations since the beginning of the seventies visibly advocates that the diplomatic maneuverings have oscillated from

high politics to low politics to again high political issues in recent times. It is now mundane to state that soft actors like education, culture; health etc. has mounted from low politics to the level of modifying high politics in international relations. It is clear that the policies of a state determined by systemic as well as societal agencies (Barnett, 1990). If one is disturbed the effects are felt on the other. It must be acknowledged that states are positioned in both domestic and international arrangements in international relations hence they are deeply inter-related. Resolving the Ganges water issue, enclaves, border related irritants and other issues have given new dimensions to India-Bangladesh relations. On the other hand, Bangladesh's decision to allow India to use its territory for transit to the North-east region is a positive gesture. To further strengthen the existing goodwill, the Indian government is now emphasising on enhancing its soft diplomacy by enhancing opportunities in the field of education, cultural exchange, research and training etc.

2.6 Conclusion

India and Bangladesh are connected by historical ties. It is a known fact that since mid-seventies to the year 2008 that is barring the period of AL government so far (years) their relations were primarily defined by mistrust and suspicion due to ideological differences brought by regime shift in Bangladesh. There is no doubt in India's contribution in helping Bangladesh emerge as an independent state but mention must be made of the AL government for the first time officially acknowledge this vital contribution. Bangladesh's domestic politics crippled by non-democratic activities irregularities and confrontational politics largely regulated its international politics (Thaker, 2010).

To comprehend international politics, realism has been considered as a predominant paradigm, since the conclusion of the Second World War. States, interface with each other by employing interest as a core value, therefore 'national interest' regulates the basic characteristic of maybe to maintain political and diplomatic relations, conserve security concerns, compulsive associations or due to economic interdependence. Nature of relationship is determined by two of these four aspects - security concerns and compulsive associations.

Security concerns were important for India because India's participation in the war of liberation was not exclusively out of sympathy but also to safeguard its northeastern region from a nation emanating out of an ideology divergent India's. Since the war, a natural relationship unfolded between Bangladesh as the beneficiary and India as a facilitator. From the view of the compulsive relationship, Bangladesh is bordered by Indian Territory on its three sides making it inescapable for the former from nurturing a feasible relation with the same. Compulsive relationship comes to the fore when stronger countries dominate smaller countries; emerging out of political disadvantage or geographical vulnerabilities, not necessarily indicating 'core-periphery' dynamics yet relations are governed depending on the interests of the powerful nations. Such linkages are unavoidable. This is an era of interdependence and reciprocity, shared predilections, objectives, common confrontations and possibilities. To fortify mutual interests Bangladesh-India must no way evade but elevate each other in the day to come based on conviction n mutual understanding. A relationship firmly based on certitude, irrespective of the regime that assumes power in either country.

Chapter 3

Foreign Policy Making of India and Bangladesh

3.1 Foreign Policy - A Conceptual Understanding

The phrase 'foreign policy' encircles all types of actions conducted or policies pursued by a country from the context of global matters considering other countries and international establishments. It is described as the totality of the policies of a nation and its response towards the environment beyond its geographical demarcation or border (Breuning, 2007). Foreign policy is analogous to national policy because national policies exemplify national interests that need to be promoted along with other states. Distinguished from domestic policies, the management of external relations and actions of nation-states by which national governments executes international relations with each other involving goals, strategies, methods, measures, directives, guidelines, understanding, and agreements and so on (Jackson and Sorenson, 2007).

Foreign policy is "the sum of official external relations conducted by an independent actor (usually a state) in international relations" (Hill, 2003). It comprises trade, military enterprise, and humanitarian activities. It is pertinent to learn the impelling factors behind decision making by the head of government. These influencing factors are not constant as they modify along with changing governments (Hussain, 2011). Foreign policy involves the interconnections of nations that are individual states' relations with another state.

It is certainly plausible that one country may be superior in many ways due to various factors compared to another that is not so developed. In the view of Leopold von Ranke, the doyen of modern historiography; "the degrees of independence determine the state's position in the world" (Simms and Mulligan, 2010:1). To fulfill the inadequacies or to improve the pre-possessed assets, exchange of resource and interdependence in whatsoever form between two or more countries have become very important in modern times.

As a study, foreign policy has conventionally emphasized on the pursuit to enhance the power and security of a country. Globalization began to take shape of an important phenomenon post Cold War accentuating the interconnectedness of the economies of the world. Globalization is explained to be “an intensification of relations between increasing numbers of polities, both in the sense that relations become denser and in the sense that the speed of interaction increases” (Neumann, 2015:45). The emergences of this phenomenon and international society have stronger foreign policy implications for each nation-state. It positively benefitted many countries with potential economies with lesser scope for integrating with the world economy. Today, world politics is steered by globalization, which has untethered political, economic, and social forces that are beyond the controlling capacity of one country, including superpowers like the United States.

Many countries have traditionally been active through international trade; for them, foreign policy agendas have forever held higher priorities. With time economic associations between countries have grown due to increased momentum. In current times the foreign policy agenda is not limited to only security and economic dealings; issues related to environment, human rights, population escalations, migration, food, and energy security, foreign assistance, development, and the relations between richer (stronger) and poorer (weaker) countries (Breuning, 2007:5) are of equal importance. In the twenty-first century, the decisions and resolutions taken by a particular nation have influences on other states besides its own self. Daalder and Lindsay (2003) have rightly commented, “The age of geopolitics is over, the age of global politics has begun”. The spirit of world politics, for more than three centuries, was governed by the interplay among states, especially the great powers (ibid).

Throughout different historical periods and world politics that existed so far, there have been numerous theories formulated on foreign policy-making. The variety signifies the quest for establishing various frameworks and to assert that enriching work has been conducted on foreign policy-making. In his definition, George Modelski stresses on the features of a policy aiming at the transformations of existing state behaviour, as the principal motive of foreign policy. Actually, it embraces both transformations as well as the continuation of that behaviour at different given times.

Its concern deals with the change and the status quo as long as they serve the national interests.

The foreign policies of nations irrespective of their sizes (big or small), influence (powerful or weak), or location are driven by factors like historical outcomes from the paths of world history. Rulers/leaders of countries that chose prudent policies induced prosperity and non-chaotic future for their nation whereas those who choose incautious means bring about destruction and tension. The driving force behind the study of foreign policy is the pursuit to comprehend the decision made by leaders, the reason behind the choices they make, and how those decisions affect domestic and international behaviour creating constraints or opportunities.

Breuning (2007:6) argues leaders are not solo entities; they function together in teams. Their decisions may regulate depending on the condition of the domestic constituencies; the level of supremacy their state can reflect the international community. It is rather strenuous to disentangle the relative impact of such diverse dynamics of foreign policy. The finest rationalization of the choices of foreign policy adopted by countries is commonly found in the complex interplay of compound factors.

Foreign policy is commonly perceived as the course of actions undertaken by a country in maintaining its relations with other nations to promote its own national interest and attain the national objectives. These are principles, which control actions or objectives. Also, it symbolizes the rudiments of continuity and change, which appear with the changing requirements and interests, and also, the transformations in the internal and external dynamics of a country. This is an inherent tendency found in every social system due to the diversities of their internal structures and external confrontations. The foreign policy have its roots somewhere in a country's traditions and ways of thinking innately present in its nature, hence the changes in the policy formulations, are made to suit the ever-changing domestic and international dynamics of the nation. Determining the foreign policy of a country assumes equal importance to both the external and internal factors. Thus while the national interest of a state turns out to be the foundation of formulating its policies the foreign policy at the same time contains the interests of other countries (Kaur, 2000). Scholars, policy-makers,

analysts, and citizens, have a greater interest to learn about foreign policy choices; factors that induce governments to finalise a decision.

3.2 Determinants of Foreign-Policy Making

Foreign Policy, a blueprint or an organized direction of activities generated by the political decision-makers of an individual country with regards to other countries or international bodies, seek to achieve fixed targets established on national interests. These specific targets or goals maintained by state(s) could be a probable outcome of an action by a particular country or a response to those actions exercised by other states. In order to develop a course of action in the international environment, a fixed interpretation of national interest or highly fluctuating situational factors plays a dynamic role, which is further followed by endeavours to accomplish diplomatic enactments of the policy regulations.

Domestic policies are incorporated in administrative regulations and state legislation, which is mandatory for citizens to abide by. On the other hand, foreign policies are generally accomplished by means of persuasion and dialogue or even coercion; foreign states or international organizations care only about their own welfare or rules dictate having no compulsions to collaborate. The nature and definitions of foreign policy have been discussed before. Moving on, it is pertinent to distinguish between domestic and foreign policy. The interdependence between internal and external affairs is mounting day by day, so it is between domestic and foreign policy.

In any modern state, the foreign policy devolves from either restricted or emphatic allusions to strategic, economic, ideological viewpoints, intentions to safeguard and improve the national interest. The theoretical foundation and political characterization the national interest is different for every country so is the connotation and importance given to the aspects that influence the determination of the interests.

Brecher (1967:60) proposes to view foreign policy as a 'system of action'. It is like a social system and like all social systems it consists of an environment, a group of actors, and structures. Those surrounded by these react to challenges, actuates decisions, and processes which either continue or modify as per the need of the time of the system as a whole.

In the words of Bandyopadhyaya (2003:29), “foreign policy is never uniquely determined by any one factor or set of factors, but is the result of the interplay of a large number of factors that affect the formulation of policy in different ways in different circumstances.” Contriving foreign policy is, therefore, a multifaceted endeavour involving different factors, experts, decision-makers, interest groups, the outlook of the public and their emotion. The determinants of foreign policy are generally believed to be: actions of an individual nation, domestic factors and national interest and lastly external influence. The attitude of a state is influenced by types of environments (Mushtaq and Choudhury, 2013).

It may be broadly divided into two primary categories:

- (1) Internal or Domestic Environment
- (2) External or International determinants.

These two determinants are directly/indirectly interconnected to which foreign policy acts as a hinge (Hill, 2013). The relationship between the two as primary determinants has been a subject of discussion in the field of international relations. Some scholars believe, domestic polity and foreign politics are two completely independent domains, whereas others conclude the two respective domains to have an effect on each other. Therefore, they make some never-ending discourse and dissension about their individual actions; therefore it is almost certainly evenhanded to suppose the extent of power between domestic and international determinants is reliant on different foreign policy circumstances. Hussain (2011) argues it is schematized by the head of government awe aspiring to attain multifarious domestic and international agendas. Typically it comprises of extensive sequences of mechanisms where domestic politics plays a significant role.

Some of these aspects are well constructed to an extent and are to be accepted the way foreign policymakers have established those, hence can be considered as essential, unchangeable determinants of policy makings. This does not make the relatively capricious institutional determinants as well the individual tasks of the decision-makers unimportant than the basic determinants in the course of decision making.

Determinants are those characteristics that govern the making of the foreign policy of a nation. Some of these determinants are constant in nature whereas some others are irregular, changing their dynamics constantly depending on the given circumstances. The external or international determinants of foreign policy are factors like power structure, International Organizations, Treaties and Alliances, Economic Assistance or foreign aid.

Power structure comprises of national interest and national strength that play predominant roles in building rapport with other nation-states. It generally seeks a quest for power. International relations in the field of power play where powerful nations play dominant roles compared to the weaker or less powerful nations. International Organisations' role as an efficient foreign policy conducting apparatus is of utmost importance. Envisioning the execution of world affairs devoid of international organizations is nearly impossible. Some of the organizations such as the United Nations (its affiliates), financial organizations like the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, etc grant not only humanitarian, functional, economic, political and military support but also plays the role of decision-makers; grants legitimacy to nations giving them membership which gives recognition to those states and acceptance to international community.

Treaties and alliances according to Rothstein is an 'instrument of statecraft' that may be based on interests or coercion. States gets into alliances to feel protected within an alliance than remaining aloof outside it. Many alignments are merely due to the fulfillment of self-interest whereas some are synchronized to a great extent as they commit to their relationship sincerely. India categorically offered moral support and military might to Bangladesh in 1971 during the war against West Pakistan. Financial assistance or foreign aid is one of the most important determinants of foreign policy. A good number of countries around the world are involved in the practice of foreign (financial) aid, either as donors, or recipient or, by and large both. Financial assistance used to be exclusive foreign policy instrument affluent influential states; now it is also undertaken by the middle-income state.

The intention of the donor and the governance aptitude of the recipient decide the category of aid to be ascertained. The intentions of donors are generally to achieve strategic and commercial gains. Keeping the interests in mind states can choose

between bilateral or multilateral methods of disbursing aid. Foreign aid can be withdrawn to generate economic difficulties or to destabilize an ideologically aggressive or antagonistic regime. Or, antithetically, it can be used to fortify and strengthen a friendly regime.

The internal determinants may be historical and cultural, size, geography, and population of a nation, natural resources, economic power, military strength, national capacity, internal political scenario, leadership quality, social structure, public attitude, media responsibilities, etc.

The influence of historical and cultural traditions is very prominent in contriving of the foreign policy of a nation-state. The fragmented historical incidence serves as learning lessons and helps to mould a state. The matters of the past are always taken into consideration intentionally or unintentionally by the leaders while working on matters of the present. The challenge is to provide a solution to various issues referring to past experiences. The usage of the word culture is somewhat anecdotal, says Michael Vlahos (1991), viewed from the viewpoint of the national ethos. Ideologies and conduct are moulded by culture; not by mere feelings of nationalism. Practicing the shared norms of the society facilitate the formation and execution of the strategies undertaken apropos of the international world. India's trepidations towards Pakistan and China are the result of their past experience. Although India has fettled its relations with China to some level keeping aside feeling of mistrust to create scope for mutual trade; Pakistan is not even barely considered by India.

The geography comprises of location, size, climate, etc. Usually, countries those are land-locked; located in the tropical zone, bordering superpower nations are not as much of self-contained compared to those which are located in the temperate zones, have accessibility to warm water ports, also distanced from superpowers. To cite an example, the geographical positioning of India as the biggest littoral state of the Indian Ocean region has begun to show its influence in Indian Foreign Policy. The size of a country's territory, its geography and population are important foreign policy determinants (ibid.). Generally smaller countries with less population do not anticipate carrying weighted matters in international affairs. Large(r) countries on the contrary bear such responsibilities.

The population is another factor of foreign diplomacy. The potency of a country is many times determined by the quantity and quality of its human resource. Qualitatively, the populace should be healthy, educated, possess technical knowledge. Availability of natural resources overwhelmingly influences the foreign policy of a country. In the present century, natural resources and raw materials have become crucial issues in determining the foreign policy of nations.

A country's economic growth reflects on its foreign policy. Normally, nations that possess superior industries are engaged intensely with other nations as they need to import raw materials, commodities of different kinds from them. Economically successful countries are likely to gain higher gross national product thus they can share larger funds for various purposes. The economically and industrially developed nations have been playing vital roles in international relations than the developing countries.

In addition to each aforementioned aspect, the military supremacy of a state regulates the efficiency in the international domain. States owning adequate military muscle have stronger bargaining authority in the international arena. Possession of military power is not a constant factor, unlike geographical and natural resources. It is ever changeable for better or worse. The states display their military superiority in many ways; nuclear experiments, army recruitment, periodical exhibitions of military forces, upgraded devices, newer techniques to mention a few.

Unexpected change, instability, disorder are situational factors that may arise within both external, internal milieu of a nation determining the characteristics and path of its policies with international communities. The political system of a country influences foreign policy. Generally, under authoritarian government immediate decision are available promptly because the authority to make decision rests with the leader alone whereas in case of democratic political systems more time is needed as the people can express their opinion freely which evidently leave its impact on the leaders of the country. Leadership qualities undoubtedly have an impact on the country's policy conducts but their roles are normally limited by governmental and social composition.

Since the foreign policies of a nation are conceived by political leader, diplomats, decision makers and statesmen, quite obviously those policy arrangements reflect an

overtone of their ideologies, orientations, values; perceptions, biases (positive/negative/differences) mastery on world-view etc. while framing their Foreign Policy. The differences between the two Bangladeshi Prime Ministers have been due to the ideological contrasts influencing their personalities and attitudes.

It is an accepted fact that transnational relations are practiced in the modern-day world. Trans-national Relations, as stated by Thomas Risse-Kaplan are, “regular interactions across national boundaries involving at least one non-state actor or an intergovernmental organization” (Kan, 2010). A state’s image of being sovereign and independent rests on its self-representation of foreign relation strategies. These relations are of utmost importance, alterable according to the requirements of national interest of the country.

3.3 India’s Foreign Policy Making

The foreign policy of India is fundamentally purposive of promoting its national interests. In fact, not India alone, national interest determines the foreign policymaking of any country across the world. A country’s interest to achieve its objectives are governed by multifarious aspects composed of both internal (domestic) as well as external (international) factors (Dubey, 2013:1). These are strategies chosen by the states to safeguard the self-interests of a nation. The premise of Indian foreign policy was formed during India’s freedom movement for independence. The objectives of the foreign policy predominantly were to strengthen their newly emerged country’s socio-political, economic, military, scientific and technological development within a sub-structure of harmony and democracy.

Dubey (2013:3) argues the building block of Indian foreign policy to have been influenced by the rich cultural-philosophical inheritances along with doctrines of the flag bearers of the independence movement especially M.K Gandhi, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose who primarily propagated India’s philosophical base. Nehru, free India’s first Prime Minister, was the most distinguished foreign policy thinker who independently elucidated the core tenets of India’s foreign policy during the first decade after 1947. The Nehruvian design remained deep-rooted in India’s foreign policy conduct for a very long time (ibid.)

According to J. Bandhyopadhyaya (1970), foreign policy conduct is based on a singular component or a number of factors; it is the consequence of the interactions of multiple determinants which govern the formulation of relations in different ways. The focus of every international action performed by a country is expected to project their best representation to realize maximum advantage from the international community. Thus, communications among the countries - bilateral, trilateral or multilateral must be methodical and based on clearly interpreted principles to gain desired goals. The geostrategic environment of India is a complex nature. Kapur (1999) reviews this complexity as a result of two factors, the first being a growing geo-strategic surrounding and the second is the growing number of players in the region. As these developments take place in a given geographical sphere, the geography of a state becomes very crucial while examining the regional compulsions of a country's foreign policy formulation.

Policies made to maintain relations between inter-countries are blueprints used by governments to accomplish the principal goals in the international realm. The literature discusses the effect of domestic politicians on making of the policies who are characteristically actors recognised as bureaucracy, opinion of the public, interest groups and military-industrial complex. It is conditioned by internal and external environments. Domestic factors are – geography/geopolitical compulsions, historical-ideological influences, economic factors, political parties. The international factors are the systemic pressures of the relationship with the international communities. These are discussed below:

3.3.1 Domestic Components of India's Foreign Policy

The foreign policy making of India is primarily founded on the principles of friendship, peaceful co-existence and co-operation, promoting international peace and security with all nations of the world regardless of their political systems. Factors like culture, identity, ethnicity, etc have always had an exceptional function in the progression of India's foreign affairs. The two foremost political parties, the Bharatiya Janata Party and Indian National Congress, depends on a definite ideology of identity of the state and India's post-independence history, merging in civilizational exceptionalism, post-colonial legacy, and democracy (Schmidt, 2017). India's existing and precedent foreign policies discourses, planning, and goals depend on the

legacies derived from the efforts given in during post-Independence period to re-create the country in a new way from what was left by the British colonisers. There are minute differences between domestic, regional and international domain which have its own dynamics of reciprocity, especially to comprehend the interplay of issues related to the state, geography, political institutions, international community, etc.

Strategic discourses and policymaking about external relations and security issues have been harboured originating from sources on geography, location, size, historiography, population, the political culture, democratic attitude and secularism in constitutionalism, ethno-religious individuality and nationalism. Regarding India's rank in the global polity, the grounds on which India's foreign affairs making has been originally orchestrated now exhibits paradigmatic shifts from a policy of non-alignment to more assertive stance. Indeed comments Schmidt, "foreign policy in India has tended to pale relative to domestic political and security concerns" (ibid.).

All nations, large or small, democratic or otherwise, require concrete political support from the domestic front to pursue interests successfully abroad. The domestic support received for the conduct of foreign relations lean on formal and informal interconnectedness that execute various functions. C. Raja Mohan in his article '*The Re-making of Indian Foreign Policy*' (Mohan, 2009:151) quotes K. Subrahmanyam:

"Indian foreign policy was always a leadership function and more often than not did not command a consensus. Non-alignment as a strategy development of close relations with the USSR, nuclear tests, strategic weapons programme, economic liberalization and globalization and the strategy of the balance of power were all initiatives of leaders—Nehru, Indira, Rajiv, Narasimha Rao, Vajpayee and now Singh. Such initiatives, when they prove successful, become established national policies".

In his seminal work *The Domestic Roots of India's Foreign Policy, 1947-1972*, A. Appodarai (Appodarai,1983) emphasised on two specific components of India's pluralism: one, the presence of widespread religious divisions; two, the federal nature of its states. Appodarai elaborates on how the special interest and attitude of a few states have restricted the capacity of the Indian government to make agreements with their neighbouring countries such as Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Foreign policy as a

mean of national interest is related to various phases of socio-economic growth that country procures over a particular period; therefore it must be addressed in specific manners on different occasions. It means national interest too; vary in every country (Varma, 1987).

3.3.2 Geopolitical compulsions

Geography is the first factor considered by the diplomats while examining the strength or the weakness of a country, whose significance sequentially echoes in the formulation of foreign policy. Geography involves positioning, dimension, topography, boundary of the state, inhabitants, climate, hydrography etc. These are features that are imperative to India's existence and stance in the region (Mohan, 2006), for varying degrees of national politics and foreign relations. Dominant nations attained much of their might due to geographic placement afforded them strategic power; admission to intercontinental transport routes or sea lanes and control over vital natural resources.

In India's case, while studying geographical impact it divulges the fact that geography is a fundamental determinant of their policy making; helping to shape her approach towards other nations. The Indian landmass is naturally protected by dangerous natural barriers that separate them from other Asian countries from all directions. It thus constitutes a unique geological region in terms of culture, politics and economy (Alam, 2013). Although Alam (ibid.) calls it Indian subcontinent, the boundaries of the region in reality no longer limited to what has traditionally been the so called Indian sub-continent (Kapur, 1999). India is placed centrally in the region; hence it shares its land frontiers with most of its neighbouring countries (Bhardwaj, 2006). With Bangladesh due to the historical linkages, as elaborated in the later chapters India has similarities in linguistic, ethnic, racial and socio-cultural affinities.

“India can take advantage of its location to become major player in Asia” (Pillalamari, 2014). The history of international relations manifests location as crucial features of the foreign affairs of a country. For India it is no different. Indian is strategically placed and not overlooked by other nations. Most of the foreign trade is carried on through the Indian Ocean therefore any foreign superiority on Indian Ocean is

disadvantageous for its national interest. India is in favor of the demands of 'Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace' because it is critical for its territorial safekeeping.

At the land borderlines, India has common lands with Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Pakistan, China and Myanmar (Burma) and Afghanistan. The presence of communist People's Republic of China in the north, Socialist USSR (until 1991) in the vicinity, pushed India to sustain amicable relations with the neighbours, stay away from major confrontations and any potential conflicts great powers in the West. In the South Asian region too, India's strategic placement gives it a central spot in Asian politics an addition to its geopolitical significance. Akhilesh Pillalamari in an article in *The Diplomat* (2014) opines India needs to leverage its geographical location if she wants to become the major geopolitical player in Asia.

Size or the *vastness* is strength for any country. It is an aspect of power in itself. The dimension of a country should be spacious enough to accommodate its populace. If the quality of the soil is fertile, it becomes a storehouse of natural resources. Richness in natural resources makes India a prospective major power besides China. India is an enormous country with influential geo-political significance. Its vast landmass also works in favor of their security.

3.3.3 Historical Factors

The history of India plays an important role in its foreign policymaking. India is an ancient civilization so naturally, her history is tortuously overlong. The complex historical experiences reflect in their policymaking with other communities. Having suffered exploitative experiences due to British imperialist rulers for two hundred years India principally counters any form of colonialism, imperialism racism. The experiences of the national freedom movement, its ideals, and excruciating moments of partition have all had impacted the formation of the new state (Ravinder, 2014). An example may be cited from the facts that the current unfriendly relations between India with Pakistan are consequences of the history of partition and Pakistan's defeat to India in 1971 war during the formation of Bangladesh and; so is the Kashmir issue.

3.3.4 Ideological Influences

According to Levi (1970:4), ideology is formulated out of ‘a set of normative values’ and ‘relatively enduring beliefs’. Levi explains values raises questions such as what ought to be whereas belief is related to what reality is, that is, facets of physical existence in general or in its ephemeral form; principles and foundational understandings being.

Indian foreign policy follows anti-imperialism, non-interference in the matters of other states, national self-determination, and cooperation in a peaceful manner, and international peace. Much of the principles are Gandhism such as non-violence, peace, fraternal feelings, and internationalism. The anti-colonial movement certainly has influenced India’s policy makings but it is also imbued by a set of political values instilled over many years; that is to say, viewing power from an idealist perspective (Ravinder, 2014:150). As a national ethos, India neither imbibed the western liberal democracy nor a Communist model of society. In fact, although Nehru was strongly moved by western liberal democracy, Soviet socialism, and also the British labour. Rather than mindlessly following these ideologies, he synthesized their virtues. One must however understand, the ethos of Indias national principles that influences its foreign policy conduct are not only influences of Gandhi or Nehru but also Indian philosophy of universal fraternity and humanism.

3.3.5 Non-Alignment Movement

Dubey (2013:3) explains, Jawaharlal Nehru’s foreign policy strategies were based on two pillars: non-alignment and self-reliance; not as an apathetic notion, remain neutral or to circumvent out of rival power blocs dominant during Cold war period subsequent to World War II, but rather in a positive manner to exercise autonomous judgment on issues of foreign policy. He believed, India was economically and militarily weak hence India must evade an entrapment like situation between the US and USSR Cold War concurrently working on internally making itself self-reliant (ibid.). In a way, it seemed as though Nehru was trying to make the foreign policy of India imbibe characteristics of utmost morality. His foreign policy legacy continued in various ways but the realities of power politics entered in Indian diplomacy scenario. For instance- Nehru’s daughter Smt. Indira Gandhi who became the Prime Minister of

India after his demise intervened in East Pakistan's war against West Pakistan to create Bangladesh, developed closer bonds to the Soviet and conducted the first nuclear bomb test in 1974.

Mattoo and Jacob (2010) argue it was not until 1998 that the realpolitik of Indian politics got a definition. It was the year of a turning point for India when New Delhi infringing the traditional surmises, international perspectives and analytical prognosis, conducted a series of nuclear tests. This marked the inception of a new era of realism in Indian foreign policy conduct. The basic foreign policy goals remain unaltered despite the arrival of a new phase. India was fundamentally seeking to achieve stability and security in South along with a pursuit to influence external environment beyond the neighbours in immediate regional proximity through its rising 'hard' and 'soft' power that formed the bedrock of Indian foreign policy. These truisms represent the thread of India's foreign policy's relentless progression.

The NAM has been most remarkably endeavored in the fields of disarmament, promoting peace, focusing on development, decolonization, the establishment of a non-partisan society and emphasise multilateralism under United Nations. For India, asserts. Menon (2016:4), the United Nations has forever been at the pivotal position in her global goals, favouring its involvement in its foreign policies. Thus, NAM has been wielded by India to maintain relations with the external world to solicit uninterrupted flow of resources from them preserving a conducive environment that would eventually help India strengthen their financial systems, give better entrée to export market in developed nations as well as reconstruct their international trade (Dubey, 2013).

3.3.6 Political Parties – Federalism and Coalition

It is accepted extensively that the formal provisions of a states constitution and the arrangements contiguous to it equip the central or federal government with the singular power to administer the foreign relations of that state. In recent times, however, the center's exclusive grip is gradually being enfeebled by the actions of the members belonging to the federal unions; who are non-sovereign entities holding a fair level of autonomy (Sridharan, 2003).

The Constitution of India had almost unilaterally bestowed powers to the Union government to conduct foreign policy; it was further strengthened during the initial decade's post-independence by the ubiquitous superiority of the Congress party. Observations reveal, though differences between the Centre and the States were not absolutely absent, still, the formers' decisions were ultimate. Several structural factors are gradually surfacing in the foreign policymaking of India that intensely influenced the landscape of their foreign policy. Regardless of strong ministerial imprints left behind by the Prime Ministers and great leaders of India on its foreign policy, beginning with Jawaharlal Nehru, domestic forces are carving new ways to control in this sphere. State politics habitually disagree with decisions taken by policymakers on any matter related to India's core strategic and security interests.

The 1990s were of great importance for center-state relations in foreign policy (Mattoo and Jacob 2010). Two developments since the nineties changed the scenario bringing about the qualitative shift – first, the formation of successive coalition governments by states at the union level in the 9th general elections; it meant decentralization. Second, the unprecedented phase of liberalization led to the opening up of the Indian economy and magnification of the 'economic sovereignty' of the States (ibid.).

It impacted the character of federalism in India and set the stage for recurrent self-assured interventions by State governments in foreign policy matters (Pratim, 2016). Precisely, economic liberalization and coalition politics in the country provided space for the states to confidently participate in the nation's foreign economic policymaking (Mattoo and Jacob, 2010:32). The fact is, engagement of regional governments in foreign policymaking is a world-wide phenomenon. It has been defined as 'constituent diplomacy' by American scholar John Kincaid. This phenomenon is characterised as a cocktail of factors driven by factors like decentralisation of political power, economic liberalisation, and the dissemination of technology (Maini, 2012). Political and economic structural changes have enabled the states to become ever more involved in the world economy. To analyse role of domestic forces in foreign policy, the boundary of federalism, the making of and the execution of foreign policy in India a scholar must explore both United Progressive Alliance UPA governments and the National Democratic Alliance NDA governments because federalism is

constitutionally sanctioned distribution of powers between two sets of governments (Pratim, 2016).

The UPA governments during the second term encountered several instances where coalition politics foiled international negotiations. The Mamata Banerjee-led Trinamool Congress (TMC) in West Bengal supported numbers of bilateral agreements on trade, border settlements, transit rights, river-water sharing, for India via Bangladesh. However, for a long time, Banerjee opposed the river-water-sharing agreement due to lobbying by local interest group. She literally pulled out her support right when then-Prime Minister Manmohan Singh was scheduled to make a historic trip to Bangladesh to sign the long-pending agreements. Eventually, the UPA governments' motive was unsuccessful which damaged their foreign relations with the closest neighbour. In 2012, a similar behaviour was projected by the state government of Tamil Nadu which tarnished India's relations with Sri Lanka. This predicament says Schaffer (2013) in governance was addressed as UPA's 'policy paralyses.

The head of the NDA government and present Prime Minister Narendra Modi emphasised on 'cooperative federalism' and 'competitive federalism'. Both cooperative federalism and competitive federalism are hallmarks of the Modi government's economic and foreign policy. India has been emphasizing on ameliorating relationship with neighboring states over the past decade and a half. To do so border-states are being encouraged to reach out to their adjacent border sharing neighbors.

Two clear instances of this policy were: Tripura and Punjab's endeavours to connect to Bangladesh and Pakistan. In fact, Tripura at the time was run by the Communist Party Marxist, yet their initiatives were fully supported by the central government. Nonetheless, all these efforts were eclipsed by the other state governments' (such as West Bengal and Tamil Nadu) obstructionist roles which adversely affected India's links with Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. It is obvious that, if states become the central drivers of economic development, they will come forward as important stakeholders in India's foreign policy determination.

The India-Bangladesh boundary disputes are old issues. For instance, Indo-Bangladesh Land Border Agreement has been a burning topic since the seventies which the previous governments failed to resolve which the successive National Democratic Alliance-II government under the leadership of Narendra Modi resolved it in 2015 (opposed earlier by the TMC) through notable instances of cooperation between Union and State government. Yet, the Teesta issue still remained unresolved (IPCS, 2014).

3.3.7 Economic Factor

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(Pratim, 2016). India makes its foreign and security policy choices assume significance, not just for Indians but for other stakeholders as well.

3.3.8 Systemic Compulsions in Indian Foreign Policy Making

Ganguly (2010:1) divides India's foreign policy trajectory into three phases: the genesis, second phase, and third phase or the turning point of India's growth. According to Ganguly (ibid.), conceptual factors like personal, national and systemic contribute to the formation of India's foreign policies. Robert Jervis (Paul, 1998:2) has further recognised three characteristics of a systemic approach in terms of India:

First, an outcome(s) may not necessarily be the result of an actor's characteristic since the system can bring into being certain consequences not essentially deliberated by actors. Secondly, units are linked to each other; that is, changes in some parts of the system will bring changes in others. Thirdly, in the international system, links between any two actors are conditioned in parts by the relationship between each of them as well as other actors. In this chapter 'systemic' is referred to as a term to comprehend a larger international system especially the power relationships among major power actors and between them and all other actors. The systemic approach explains the behaviour of states in terms of its position and how this position is affected by interactions between actors.

3.3.9 International Milieu in India's Foreign Policy

During the last seven decades, certain international circumstances have played varying roles in India's foreign policy conduct. The cold war had already begun between the Soviet Union and the United States at the time of India's arrival in the international milieu splitting the world almost into two groups. A number of military pacts such as SEATO, CENTO, NATO and Warsaw Pact were concluded in rapid progression and the most two powerful countries would frequently intimidate each other (Mishra, 1987). As a new country, India was a weaker power with limited options under the leadership of Nehru. The options were to get involved in Cold War by joining either of the powers or to remain independent by avoiding a bipolar confrontation concurrently as a precaution to protect its national interest, security, concentrate on state-building and economic development.

While analyzing India's ideological influences on such choices one might wish to ponder upon how much it has returned back in times of need. The Sino-India war of 1962 is one such incident when India due its impartial approach towards the two super-powers failed to garner their supports. In the mid-sixties nonetheless, as the waves of cold war reduced, the changing environments gave India favorable moments. The India-Soviet economic relations started to grow after the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965 and the Tashkent Agreement. During the War of Liberation in Bangladesh against Pakistan, their bond became closer by signing the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace and Friendship, 1971. Once again in the seventies, the global strategic environment began to reorient for India with the détente of USA and Soviet on side and USA and China on another side. At this point, establishment of cultural, economic and political relationships with the United Nations and other Third World nations became essential for India.

India's external policies have been influenced by nuclear politics in many ways. Post Independence, the ruling elites of India believed it is fundamental to establish India's strength in South Asia to administer foreign policies. India, in 1948 hosted the first Asian Relations Conference endorsing NAM which upon gaining gradual acceptance was adopted by at least a hundred countries by the hosting of the seventh summit in New Delhi. The Indo-Pakistan war of 1971 and genesis of Bangladesh further secured India's predominance in the region. However, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the scenario of the world arena was changed, the course of Indian foreign policy too. The end of Cold War freed India to pursue engagement with all the great powers - but especially with the United States.

3.3.10 Post Cold War Foreign Policy Directions

The end of the Cold War and disintegration of the Soviet Union not only had implications internationally but also hold fervent security implications for New Delhi. The collective intention was to secure their nation by being more trailblazing in their foreign policies. The foreign policy of India in the nineties may be furcated in to three phases: First, phase of preliminary phase of genesis forthwith post Independence until 1962; second, was phase of partial changes from 1962-91 and; third was the period of pronounced changes, turning phase of India from 1991 to current times (Ganguly, 2010; Dixit, 1998).

During the first phase, India was busy adjusting with the years that followed the end of the cold war. India after being ruled for forty years by one-party rule saw some changes in its domestic front. The time frame around 1990-91 is usually observed as a 'significant turning point in Indian politics, economic orientation and foreign policy. Although Nehruvian discourse experienced inconvenient instances, particularly the India-China War in 1962, these disturbances were controlled to maintain power till the end of the Cold War (Thorsten Wojczewski, Year). Non-alignment and economic autarky continued to be prime bases of their foreign policy. From 1989 begun formation of minority and coalition government starting with V.P. Singh's government followed by Chandra Shekhar's mini-minority government from (1990-91).

It was not entirely unexpected to later see Indian policy experiencing noticeable policy shifts in the coming times. Fundamentally the essence of India's foreign policy has not completely changed, yet the country's outlook towards the West is more pragmatically open in comparison to how it was in Cold war era. The challenges faced by the policymakers and diplomats now were now to:

- 1) To build an economic base for India strong enough to support their military ambitions and,
- 2) To maintain a higher and respectable diplomatic profile.

The policy shift became more visible through the Joint Declaration of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), 1990 held in the Maldives. The declaration highlighted Iraq's crisis asking Kuwait to leave the same and conform to UN Security Council resolutions. The manner in which India responded to the crisis of the Middle East was considered a casual approach and also failed to support them in a constructive manner.

It has been earlier mentioned that the redirection of the foreign policy of India in the nineties went through a period of partial change. It was following the general elections held in 1991 that a minority government was formed under P.V. Narasimha Rao of the Indian National Congress party (June 1991-May 1996). Some noteworthy developments of this under his governance were: establishment of India-Israel diplomatic relations; end of India-China tension and move towards cooperation led to

agreeing to uphold peaceful behaviour regarding line of control of their shared borderlands; a restored relations with the USA; and initiation of 'Look East Policy' along with positive growth in economy.

Even BJP-led coalition government of Atal Behari Vajpayee for two weeks that was handed over to Deve Gowda followed by I.K. Gujral who became the president of the coalition from April 1997 to March 1998, continued some areas of cooperation initiated by Rao and discarded few. Under the renowned Gujral Doctrine, the major contribution of his administration was gesticulation of unilateral benevolence towards the smaller regional neighbours of India.

The phase of change pronounced change was seen during the twentieth century during the government of A.B. Vajpayee from March 1998 to May 2004. With passing time foreign policy of India looks more structured aimed to attain the following goals: 1) establish closer relations with other countries and multilateral associations that will help India increase its economy, 2) to rise as an important Asian power, not be limited to a South Asian power. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh equally had his own tenets of redefining self-perception of India. In this setting, Stephen Cohen's India: Emerging Power notably argues how domestic politics, material capacities, relationship with Pakistan, alliance with the United States, connection with China, other Asian nations are all factors that determine the power prospects of India.

3.4 Foreign Policy Approach of Narendra Modi

In May 2014 astounding general elections seated the Narendra Modi led BJP government in power indicating a prodigiously seismic change in the history of Indian election scenario. Modi's victory conjectured forthcoming shifts in both domestic and international politics of India. The vision of his government was to intrinsically reconstruct the foreign policy goals, process, and content by a paradigm shift in a way that would place India at global strategic engagement.

Ogden (2018:7) uses the constructivist oriented approach to place the major narratives of NDA run foreign policies by identifying three key aims of this government to be: gaining great power recognition, realizing a multi-polar world and enacting the Act

East Policy. One of the foremost strategic intentions of this government has been to include India within the heights of the ranks of global hierarchy. Nationalist sentiment in an amalgamation of 'self-perception of national and cultural greatness' says Ogden, (2018) strengthened this assertive tone. Therefore, endorse growth and employment as a decisive factor for thriving foreign policy has been constantly emphasised on. This emphasis led to pioneering initiatives like "Brand India"; "Make in India"; "Digital India"; "Skill India"; and "Startup India" – with the intention to increase foreign direct investment, improve workforce skill, create jobs, and augment the standards of production.

Pant and Joshi (2017: 142) comments the Modi government to have been capable to pursue a significant path for India. These decisions have enabled positive momentum in bilateral relations contradictory to that of UPA administration. Besides, his government pursued a conclusive approach towards United States tossing the ideational burdens unlike done by his Congress oppositions. Panos Mardoukoutas in an article "China's Engagement with Smaller South Asian Countries" for Forbes (2019) observed; in South Asia, the country that is holding peace together is India not China. The 'US-India Joint Strategic Vision for the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean Region' was signed during his visit to promote prosperity, peace, security, and stability. New Framework for Defence Cooperation was renewed for ten years in June 2015 upon the visit of Ashton Carter, United States Secretary of Defense; followed by 'Master Information Exchange Agreement', concluded between Indian Ministry of Defence and the Pentagon, to let India use their long-desired air-craft carrier technology (Ogden, 2018: 10).

India's desire to expand the range of international diplomacy by broadening multi-directional diplomatic strategy is visible via its energy and trade partnerships with Asia, Africa and South America (Sridharan, 2017). The associations encompass ties with Saudi Arabia, investment commitments of thirty-five billion dollars and twenty-two billion dollars from Japan and China respectively (ibid.). Reinforcing its strategic ambition to become a great power within the realm of multi-polar world order, ordaining the P.V. Narasimha Rao introduced 'Look East' policy to 'Act East' policy to establish a more vigorous diplomatic, economic and military relations with South Asia remains another goal of this government.

What is the element of BJP's underlying ambition of global politics is the multi-polar approach? It suggests that power or poles are compound, multiple in existence in the international system within which they compete together instead of being controlled by a hegemonised unipolar power. Ogden explains, according to this explanation, the multiple poles in the twenty-first century are China, Russia, a prospective European Union, and India besides the United States (op.cit.).

Besides the three key pillars of policy aims, PM Modi emphasised on 'neighbourhood first' as a vital approach of his foreign policy to foster stronger relations with Bangladesh alongside other South Asian nations. Many long pending issues were mitigated and as many as fifteen agreements of cooperations signed with Bangladesh but of all cases, the Teesta water-sharing issue with Bangladesh blocked by West Bengal CM Mamata Banerjee, Trinamool Congress in 2011, during the reign of UPA II is still the most controversial issue affecting the otherwise improving foreign policy initiatives with Bangladesh.

3.5 Foreign-Policy Making of Bangladesh

In a broader sense, foreign policy objectives appear to be similar to an extent in all countries in the world. Every country wants to promote the national interest, safeguard its national sovereignty, territorial integrity, maintain international co-operation for peace, etc. These are universally-shared objectives which are diverse too as the nations vary in geographic location, natural resources, size, population, socio-economic and political systems.

In 1971, Bangladesh emerged victorious as a sovereign nation from being the East wing of united Pakistan. The provisional government formed at the time of Liberation War sketched an outline of the foreign relations as Bangladesh would like to maintain even before the country came into being an independent nation-state. As per the outline, Bangladesh declared the principles of non-alignment, peaceful coexistence and opposition to colonialism, racialism, and imperialism as the essence of its foreign policy. Since its emergence as an independent entity it has pursued relations with other countries; although the scenario of foreign policies underwent noteworthy changes during the last forty years. As a new country foreign policy of Bangladesh was also sub-structured on the universally shared objectives such as self-preservation,

safeguarding and augmenting national power follow an ideology of non-alignment, economic advancement and portray itself as a favorable nation in the international community.

A triumphant secession and securing a spot in the comity of nations within a short period makes foreign policy pursuits of Bangladesh's quite palpable. Bangladesh like any other developing nations faces various socio-economic problems with an added stress caused by frequent natural calamities. Due to the severity of its problems the pessimists called it an 'international basket case', and optimists terms it 'a test case of development, and the strategic analysts describe it as 'tyranny of geography' (Kaur, 2000).

From the beginning, the foreign policy of Bangladesh has persistently aspired to eradicate all these drawbacks by making attempts to play a tangible role in achieving its objectives. The Constitution of Bangladesh provides the conceptual and legal basis of Bangladesh's foreign policy. Article 25 and 25a of Part II in the Constitution of Bangladesh most clearly mentions the core principles of its foreign policy, such as respect for national sovereignty and equality; non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries; peaceful settlement of international disputes; respect for international law and the principles articulated in the United Nation's Charter .

To have emerged rather belatedly in the international frame, the new country remained occupied in clarifying its role and deciding its objective from various perspectives. In addition, repeated regime changes bearing contrasting ideologies kept altering the policies through constitutional amendments according to the whims of the leaders of that given time. For example Sheikh Mujib's ideology differed from that of Zia's government's foreign policy.

A few noteworthy changes in the constitution were introduced by the government of President Ziaur Rahman 1975-1981 and President H. M. Ershad period 1982-1991. These changes reflected significant shifts in the domestic and foreign policies of Bangladesh. First, Zia promulgated the Fifth Constitutional Amendment which was the harbinger of consolidation of totalitarian rule in Bangladesh introducing a new clause 25 (ii) announcing: 'the state shall endeavour to consolidate, preserve and

strengthen fraternal relations with Muslim countries based on Muslim solidarity' and removed secularism from the text (Choudhury and Kabra, 2017).

Second, H. M. Ershad declared Islam the state religion of Bangladesh under Article VIII of the constitution. Third, new article 145 A was inserted by Ershad into the constitution which proclaimed: "all treaties with foreign policies shall be submitted to the President who shall cause them to be laid before Parliament unless the President considers it to be against the national interest to do so. It made the president sole authority to make any decisions regarding foreign policy matters. After the restoration of the Parliamentary system of government in 1991, the omnipotence of a President's was reduced (Tuscan and Khosla, 2015) to being a titular head of state.

Foreign policy is typically based on the national requirement of the country. Bangladesh's major ideological differences, perpetual political volatility, enormous economic vulnerability created a substantial impression on its foreign policy pursuits. Bangladesh's foreign policy is associated with the actualities of its economic and developmental situations. Immediately post-war the newly born war-torn country was in dire need of support to feed its people and rebuild lost strength. To do so, a great extent of foreign assistance was required. Under such conditions, it has been essential for successive regimes to seek friendly relations with the nations of the world, draw attention to receive economic aid from every potential source. As an effort to encourage regional development plans, Dhaka has been instrumental in arranging regional economic cooperation in South Asia.

They cultivated good relations with the Soviet Union as well as the United States besides the respective allies, however staying non-aligned with any of the superpowers. They also remained active with international organizations like the United Nations, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, etc., who are committed to resolving the economic challenges of the poorer nations around the globe. The foreign policy of Bangladesh aspires harmony not superficially but for the strategic contemplations of security and national development. Whatever the aspirations may have been, the oscillating political regimes have entailed different roles that have changed the course of their policy principles.

Bangladesh, according to its population is the eighth largest state in the world. In economic and military strength it ranks is relatively weak and the most disadvantaged in the area of international politics. Almost sixty percent of its annual budget and nearly eighty percent of the development budget is financed by external assistance. Essentially envisioned as an instrument for garnering material support in the international arena, foreign policy for Bangladesh is basically an instrument for realising its socio-economic and political interests (Jagir Kaur, 2000) An attempt has been made, to build a theoretical framework on the basis of the variables that affect the structuring of foreign policy of any country in general, and of Bangladesh in particular.

The categorization of foreign policy variables following (Rossenau, year), namely are domestic, regional and international systemic variables. These have been discussed under separate headings. We study three systemic variables: domestic politics variables, regional variables, and international systemic variables. The chapter proposes a systemic approach which leads to the understanding that change in Bangladeshi foreign policy is a result of three broad factors: domestic, regional and international.

3. 6 Pressures of Foreign Policy Making of Bangladesh

Foreign policy formulation is usually analysed under two broad perspectives. First, the domestic pressure on the policy formation second is the compulsions of the external systemic pressure within which Bangladesh pursues its objectives (Rashid, 2012). In addition to this, a third and an important pressure may be supplemented that is the regional pressure which equally impacts the foreign policy-making of Bangladesh. Domestic or national, regional and international behavioral architecture is conditioned by different sets of assumptions, environment, geography, geopolitics, geo-economics, values, threats and capabilities of actors concerned to meet the impending or perceived challenges. All the aforementioned factors play a significant role in the formulation of the foreign policy of Bangladesh. All three environments play identical roles in shaping the behaviour of the state.

3.6.1 Domestic Components of Bangladesh Foreign Policy Making

Domestic characteristic is decided to a great extent by the political society of a state where the governmental representatives establish the course of actions and response of the state to the external world. In addition, the role of governmental institutions, ideologies, non-governmental elites, national heritage the civil societies have equal contributions in the making of policies. The foreign policy in developing countries in particular, is extremely influenced by national factors (Mushtaq and Choudhury, 2018:13). Hoslti (1995) believes the government to be the one who cautiously identifies their rationale, lays the objectives for their states each time a policy is being prepared and systematizes ways of achieving them. Besides the political society, civil society also largely determines the external relationship that Bangladesh undertakes. They are discussed in the next section.

The frame of this analysis gathers understandings about the political society of Bangladesh, about their national interest behind their foreign policy as perceived in political construction. Each of these variables has a different impact. Unlike many other nations Bangladesh's national interest has not been created around the idea of security but towards autonomy, stability and development. The influence of national factors cannot be overlooked because a state's foreign policy is fundamentally an extension of its domestic politics.

The domestic factors such as political society and civil society play predominant roles in the policy-making procedure. The foreign policy becomes less assertive in states having heightened political issues, unsuccessful leadership, and an unbalanced political system. Effective leadership, a more steady political system, developed economy, and practice of democratic culture make a state's position more effectual at the international level. The varying patterns of domestic politics do modify a country's policy approaches at both the regional and international environment.

3.6.1.1 Idiosyncratic characteristics of Leadership

While exploring the factors behind foreign policy making of Bangladesh it is germane to consider the offices which participate in the decision making. The foreign policy of a state cannot be made without government, non-government officials, political parties, media and contributing in the course of decision-making. The political elites

determine the state's reaction in correspondence to the objectives on the pretext of any security threats or regional/global limitations.

It has been perceived in Bangladesh that the head of the executive dominates core defense and foreign affairs related matters; a practice entrenched in the political culture of the country. Being the executive head of the government and the ultimate national leader, the Prime Minister determines the direction of foreign policy (Rashid, 2005). A leader can neither be inactive in addressing the demand for action nor be too involved in a particular activity. The first important aspect which affects the foreign policy is the leader's state of mind and abilities; about the events taking shape in a given period.

Given that individuals undergo different experiences and each person is unique in many ways, decision-makers inexorably develop viewpoints that are to some degree idiosyncratic and atypical to them (Masud, 2016). The history, traditions, and values determine the behavior of states and leaders. Indeed, the leader is prone to the domestic atmosphere inclusive of salient determinants namely political institutions, bureaucracy, personality, political temperament, and beliefs. S/He is completely responsible of all the aspects of foreign policy (Mushtaq and Choudhury, 2018). Therefore, in the making and shaping of foreign policies of a state, the idiosyncratic factors have a primary role to play.

The foreign behavioral pattern is adopted after a complete analysis of domestic politics where some elements that in addition to available resources seem to have a fairly universal effect on the formulation of new policies, i.e. traditions, precedents, national style and history, an image of external environment and leadership, etc. Rashid (2012:31) opines that the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, under the parliamentary system of government, is not 'first among the equals', but practically the most authoritative person in the government. The Prime Minister selects the advisors, discusses foreign policy issues with those chosen team whom Rashid terms as the 'kitchen cabinet'; their role may not be always publicly visible, but they unquestionably play a crucial role in the foreign policy decision-making process.

The political parties are penchant on circumventing democratic practice in conducting political ways; in fact, in nearly most cases the of party head's verdict remains

undisputed. When the party head becomes the Prime Minister, his/her decisions are rarely challenged by the cabinet members. Thus, it reflects the individual choice of PM in decision making commands. For instance, in Bangladesh politics the Awami League chief, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, was the leading personality; he possessed absolute power over his party and the government. In the latter half of that same decade, a similar part was played by the head of the military regime and founder of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party, General Ziaur Rahman (Jahan, 1980). Upon their assassination (Tuscan and Khosla, 2015) in two separate military coups, their positions were inherited by their close relatives who took charge in the party – Madam Sheikh Hasina in the case of the Awami League; Khaleda Zia in the case of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party. Since the eighties, these two personalities have indomitably ruled the politics of Bangladesh.

Interestingly, Ziaur Rahman’s ideology has been maintained by Khaleda Zia, for example, his favoritism towards China and Islamic countries policy; on the contrary, Sheikh Mujib’s ideology is felt in his daughters approach such as Pro-India and Russian attitude. Attitudinal change in foreign policy-making with the change of person in government only projects the significance of idiosyncratic values holds by the PM in formulating the foreign policy of Bangladesh. Therefore, it is obvious that Sheikh Hasina’s personality is decisively imperative in government decision-making and, accordingly, it would be logical to conclude that she played a decisive role in bringing about a change in the country's India policy public opinion.

It is a fact that the state cannot conduct any task exclusive of government officials, predominantly in democratic setups as they are the central pillars of the government and chief policy-making bodies where the practice is conditioned to their dealings. As Bangladesh espoused Westminster form of a parliamentary system of government (Moniruzzaman, 2009), the executives are the ultimate decision-makers related to any matter in the interest of the state. As expounded by William Wallace “States do not make foreign policy, government do” (1971:25). However, in an authoritative set up of government that is martial law, the public has little or no chance of contribution.

3.6.1.2 Political Ideological Factors

Political ideologies of political parties as determinants have an impact on foreign policymaking. A certain level of ideological inclinations is exhibited in each political party in Bangladesh which they are determined to implement once they assume power. The predilections are reflected in the policy formulations. It appeared to have ceased to have the bipartisan support of major political parties in Bangladesh politics. Ideological values of the ruling government always reflected in carving out their policy orientations.

For any government preserving national interest is the primary concern. The question that arises then is whose national interest is it and what are those interests? The question is thought-provoking because as a matter of fact, a lack of continuity in the direction of the foreign policy of Bangladesh has been repeatedly discerned. This discontinuity is possible because the ideas of national interest are not a consensus among the different regimes. When ideological divisions over an issue are very large, this ideological structuring makes substitution across the policy instruments very difficult. Some of the ideological differences are highlighted below.

For instance, secularism that was adopted as one of the state principles in the Constitution of 1972 was deleted (Choudhuri and Kabra, 2015) by the Proclamation Order Number 1 of 1977 and replaced by the word “the principles of absolute trust and faith in the Almighty Allah” in Article 8 during the regime of President Ziaur Rahman (Rashid, 2005:27). Again, in another instance, in 2001 the incumbent government considered the adoption of ‘Look East Policy’ as an ideal approach to fulfill the country’s national interest. The idea for the next regime was to incline more towards the west rather than east to build closer ties with India. The regimes’ individualistic interests although worked in both cases.

The following sub-section discusses how to party ideologies of Bangladesh Nationalist Party and Awami League contribute to the formulation of foreign policy. It is possible to substantiate international systemic pressures of Bangladesh by China, the United States of America and the Islamic World (Middle-East).

3.6.1.3 Institutional Factors

Political institutions have a direct impact on policy-making processes. The functionality of the political institutions like the parliament and the executives, in permutation with the nature of domestic politics, matters the most while pursuing relations with the external community. No two political systems are completely identical; each has its own strictures of ideologies and ways to respond to demands. Making policy is a difficult undertaking in a parliamentary set up of government, easier in a presidential system and easiest in dictator form of government. It is because, in democracy, the leader looks towards the people; in a dictatorship, people look towards the leader (Mushtaq & Choudhury, 2018).

A government is an enormous corporation of loosely associated organizations. Each of them comes with its own stipulated time. Besides the head of the government, other institutions such as the parliament, ministry of foreign affairs, intelligence agencies, bureaucracy, etc have their own important roles in varying degrees in decision making of foreign policy. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is primarily responsible for the formulation of foreign policy. The foreign minister is supposed to play a leading role in this regard. After the restoration of parliamentary democracy in the nineties, the foreign ministry was expected to take over to provide foreign policy directions. Whether during the regime of Mujibur Rahman, Ziaur Rahman, H.M. Ershad, Khaleda Zia or at present Sheikh Hasina, the foreign offices conducted their duties simultaneously with the PMO of the time. This is what is expected in general. However, in Bangladeshi politics, the veracity of the fact is that prime minister can 'hire and fire' cabinet ministers, therefore, ministers often tender those advices acceptable to the PM. So, only after the prime minister confirms the direction of foreign policy the office of foreign ministry co-ordinates with other concerned ministries.

In the political society of Bangladesh, the national parliament is one of the most important institutions that determine the domestic pressure that associates with the formulation of foreign policy. Theoretically, the parliament is the principal law-making institution comprising elected representatives. They are expected to deliberate on matters connected to public interests. Ideally, a treaty of any nature with foreign countries or international organizations must be discussed in the parliament in front of

the people's representatives to thoroughly scrutinizing the issues, and let the parliament help the government to evaluate its decisions in some aspects of foreign policy to make adjustments wherever necessary.

But in reality, in Bangladesh, the Parliament seldom have an active role in contemplating issues linked to foreign affairs. The political culture of Bangladesh is such that, the party members rarely disagree with the head of the party fearing they may violate Article 70 of the Constitution, which equates party discipline with strict adherence to a top-down decision process. As consequence decisions taken by the higher authority are unquestionably passed in the parliament if the ruling party has a brute majority in the parliament which has been the case in Bangladesh in recent regimes.

Bureaucracy is another vital institution in the formulations of foreign policy. Its mechanism is from 'behind the scene', assigned to perform foreign policy responsibilities as per given directions. It is irrefutably the civil servants who are major stakeholders in this mechanism. The officers of the foreign office and those who are placed abroad execute the decisions taken by the government. As discussed before, foreign policy directions of Bangladesh are not stagnant; hence bureaucrats are expected to carry out orders according to the government's will. The outcome being regime preferences as important priorities and bureaucrats are required to abide by the orders of decision-makers.

3.6.2 Regional Components

3.6.2.1 Geo-Strategic Placement of Bangladesh

The geography of any state is the permanent variable and has a significant effect on its foreign policy. A country's geo-strategic structure is one of the most conversed determinants of foreign policy. Although geopolitical determinism of foreign policy has become less important, following technological development, still various aspects rising from the pressure of geopolitical dynamics in the foreign policy of states continues to be a considerable factor. There are four major geographical determinants: physical location, topography, size, and climate which influence every aspect of a country. For Bangladesh's domestic and foreign policies geographical factors are undoubtedly important in a number of ways.

These have been discussed further under separate heads:

Geographical location is the most permanent factors because a state can neither ignore nor amend its peripheral and extra-peripheral positioning, therefore, its neighborhood. A state no alternative but to give a fervent consideration while discerning between the friends and foes in its closest and extended peripheries. These geographical factors have been playing a predominant role in the foreign policy of states. States either take advantages out of their geographical position or face disadvantageous and many times it poses defense and security threats as well.

Bangladesh with regards to location, share more than ninety per cent of its international border with India alone. Bangladesh is surrounded by Indian provinces of West Bengal in the West, Meghalaya, and Assam in the North and Tripura and Mizoram are situated in the East. It also shares a border in the South-East with Myanmar which is very limited hence insignificant. In terms of size, the total length of Bangladesh is 144,000 square kilometers out of which the land area is 133,910 square kilometers. This is very small compared to India, which has a total land area of 29, 73190 square kilometers (Jha, 2011).

Even though Bangladesh is essential for India's for the security policies particularly in the Northeastern region, these geographical constraints prompt a sense of fear psychosis among the Bangladeshi elites about India. Their apprehension is that India can easily modify the political circumstances in Bangladesh, using its states bordering Bangladesh. India's capacity to enter in Bangladesh was sufficiently exhibited by India's participation during Liberation War of 1971. Although ironical, the trepidation of Indian supremacy is possible because of the strength India displayed in the birth of Bangladesh.

Hence, Bangladeshis are not only anxious about Indian intentions but also condemns every misdemeanor as they recognize them. This fear psychosis shows in Bangladesh's foreign policy conduct with India. Till recently, Bangladesh's rising of issues like waters dispute, maritime boundary discord, etc., in various international forums clearly demonstrated its determination to register its note of dissent with India. Besides, unnatural boundaries between the two countries created by the partition of India in 1947 have contributed to several disputes between them (Jha, 2011).

3.6.3 International Systemic Pressures

For Bangladesh, like any other small or developing states it's a sine qua non to be prudent while conducting foreign policy to safeguard as well as uphold its national interests. After emerging victorious from bloody struggle as an independent entity, the journey of Bangladesh's internal governance and foreign policies commenced with a lot of consolation and support from the international community. Many countries came forward, munificent with aid in the form of finance, food, healthcare etc.

3.6.3.1 Relations with China

China withstood the inception of Bangladesh as an independent nation in 1971 during its Liberation War due to its friendship with Pakistan and antagonism with India (Rashid, 2015). The resistance continued for quite some time even after the formation of Bangladesh evident from the persistent vetoes China wielded as a permanent member at the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) every time the former solicited membership at the United Nations. The scenario began to change after April 1974 with the India-Bangladesh-Pakistan Trilateral Treaty (Hewitt, 2003) when China ultimately kept aside its resistance to Bangladesh's UN membership.

China eventually recognised Bangladesh as an independent state four years after its independence, in August 1975 after the assassination of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and opened their diplomatic mission on 4th October of the same year (Rashid, 2015). Ever since the establishment of the formal diplomatic relationship in October 1975, Bangladesh and China continued to be closer friends and development partners. With passing time, particularly since the nineties, China evinced as a committed ally to Bangladesh, as a reliable, cooperative partner in economic development and development of national security. The initiation of relationship indicated positive scope for bilateral partnership. Their relationship is often addressed as 'trusted all' or 'all weather friendship' (Bhattacharya, 2014).

The Chinese ascendancy in the South Asian region is already at a remarkable position; the Bangladesh-China friendship, moreover in the last few decades has become more robust and comprehensive (Datta, 2008) than the earlier times. The alliance has come a long way since the two countries established bilateral diplomatic relations. During this period, radical changes have eventuated in the internal/domestic

politics as well as international politics of both countries, yet their cooperation intensified steadfastly. Bilateral cooperation has successfully materialized in various sectors from politics, trade and economy, military, to information technology, education and culture.

Bangladesh, from the very inception of its alliance with China needed the same as a counter-balance to India whereas China expected the former not to become India's 'satellite'. Hence, the way their bilateral relation ascended was dramatic as China entered Bangladesh like a major developmental partner. In due course the bond intensified and the past behaviours were bygones.

Bangladesh's bilateral relationship with China has been steered following its foreign policy principles based on protection of own sovereignty, preservation of own territorial rights, economic and cultural growth, development of both regional and international relations and safeguard international cooperation to develop social, political, economic and cultural prosperity (Rashid, 2010). In order to do so, preserving the bilateral diplomacy became one of the primary concerns of the successive leaders of Bangladesh. The leaders of every particular term, overlooking their political stances regularly visited top Chinese leaders to nurture their relations to their best (ibid.).

For instance, after the assassination of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Ziaur Rahman became the President of Bangladesh in 1975. He being dismissive of India and Russia and pro China, United States and Islamic States; aligned with China for strategic predilections. The first ever President (or any Premier) of Bangladesh to make high-level visits to China was Ziaur Rahman in 1977 followed by Li Xiannian, the then Vice President of China, the first ever Chinese leadership to make an official visit to Bangladesh in 1978. During these visits the two countries signed agreements of cooperation in economy, science, technology, bilateral loans and aviation transportation.

Bangladesh's the then President Lt. Col. Hossain Mohammad Ershad was very warmly received during his visit to Beijing in July 1987. During the nineties, the democratic rule returned; Bangladeshi politics were domineered by the Bangladesh Nationalist Party led by Begum Khaleda Zia (the widow of late President Ziaur

Rahman), and the Awami League led by Sheikh Hasina, (late Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's daughter), with both of whom Beijing kept close association.

Begum Khaleda Zia, during her Prime Ministership from 1990-96 and 2001-06 paid several goodwill visits to China, adopted the '*Look East Policy*' to aggrandize economic and strategic accomplishments; signed numerous agreements. In 2002 appraises. Kapila (2003) during Begum Zia's visit to Beijing, the Defence Cooperation agreement was concluded. Scholars believe the Bangladeshi counterparts asserts the defence concord to be just an expression of formality to simply honor the existing relations, but in actuality most of Bangladesh's weaponry, including tanks, naval frigates and combat aircraft, were of Chinese manufactured (Chowdhury, 2009). In April 2005, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao came to Bangladesh with an entourage of one hundred and two members; signed nine agreements and the leaders of the two countries announced year 2005 as Bangladesh-China Friendship Year.

The China-Bangladesh bilateral economic ties were also growing strong. The record of bilateral trade was recorded to increase by twenty-eight per cent reaching more than three billion US Dollars; more than the preceding years. The export from Bangladesh to China was nonetheless only ninety-eight million US Dollars. To equalize this misproportion China granted tariff-free access to eighty-four Bangladeshi commodities within the framework of the Asia-Pacific Trade Agreement and increased aid (Chowdhury, 2009:13).

A landmark Chinese establishment is the Bangabandhu International Conference Centre formerly known as Bangladesh China Friendship Conference Center designed by that already exists in Dhaka *Beijing Institute of Architectural Designs and Research*. Yet another agreement to construct one more Bangladesh-China Friendship Exhibition Centre was concluded to be completed by 2021 (Hossain, 2017). China has so far already constructed six 'Friendship Bridges' in Bangladesh. The eighth Bangladesh-China Friendship Bridge at the cost of Take 620 crores will be built soon²⁶ over Kochi River in Pirojpur.

²⁶ For details refer to, Daily Sun, 2019

The mutual cooperation between China and Bangladesh continued through the different regimes in Bangladesh and their successive leaders. It has been discussed before how over the years the alliance has strengthened. However, last decade has seen tremendous progression in Bangladesh China bilateral friendship. Sheikh Hasina has by far had three terms Prime Ministership from 1996-2001, 2008-13, 2014-18 and at present chosen for the fourth term in 2019. Under the constant rule of Sheikh Hasina since 2009, the relationship has matured into a comprehensive strategic partnership.

China, at this moment, in terms of trade, stands as the largest trading partner for Bangladesh with more than ten billion dollars of bilateral trade volume. According to the reports provided by the Export Promotion Bureau of Bangladesh, the amount of country's total export to China was \$808.14 million in the FY 2015-16, compared to the amount of \$319.66 million in 2010-11. At the same time, China's export to Bangladesh in FY 2015-16 was worth about \$9.8 billion, compared to the amount of \$5.9 billion in 2010-11. Economists have predicted that, if the current rate continues like this, the bilateral trade volume would reach up to \$18 billion in 2021, when Bangladesh will be celebrating its 50th anniversary with China.

Throughout the last decade, Bangladesh has developed an outstanding political relationship with China. For example, when Chinese President Xi Jinping's paid an official visit to Dhaka in October 2016, Bangladesh received him with the highest official greetings ever. It was the first visit by any Chinese head of the state to Bangladesh in 30 years, which is considered as the biggest diplomatic milestone to their bilateral relationship.

During this visit, both countries signed twenty seven deals and memorandum of understanding (MoUs) worth an amount of \$13.6 billion in trade and investment sectors. Bangladesh has been an official partner of China-led Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) since 2016. The country is one of the founding members of the Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank (AIIB) as well. Apart from these developments, China has also emerged as a strategic security partner for Bangladesh in South Asia over the last decade. In the period of 2011-2015, for example, Bangladesh became the second highest importer of military equipments from China. In terms of education and

cultural exchanges, both China and Bangladesh have further developed their cooperation during this period (Sarkar, 2019).

3.6.3.2 Relations with the United States

The bilateral relations between Bangladesh and the United States is characterised by manifestation of the two nations disposition to acculturate to global transforming circumstances. The increasing geo-political and geo-strategic seriousness of South Asian region in the policies of United States is conspicuous through Washington's changing responses towards relations with Dhaka (Haque and Islam, 2014). The United States of America was one of the two super power of a largely bipolar world dominant during the seventies until the nineties - the other being USSR (now Russia).

Both the US and USSR played noteworthy roles in the war of Bangladesh opposed to West Pakistan; although the USA played a more complex and a rather antipathetic part. Such was the scenario because the US President Richard M Nixon continuously reinforced West Pakistan against Bangladesh during the latter's Liberation movement in 1971 (Zahed, 2013:123). Nixon supported Pakistan morally, economically, politically as well as to use military action against Bangladesh. The support during the creation of Bangladesh and USA's resistance for dismantling of Pakistan led to the strained coexistence between Bangladesh and US in the early years of their diplomatic relations. Hence, Bangladesh's inceptive association with the United States was unsettled and rocky in nature.

Despite all support, the consequence was diplomatic triumph of Indo-Soviet alliance beating US-China. The outcome was shift in 'balance of power' in South Asia and a modest attitude of US towards Bangladesh. Also, as the Soviet influence diminishing, the US munificence became more explicit (Oberst R.C *et al*, 2014).

The end of Cold war resulted in fall of USSR and rise of US as the only superpower making the establishing it as the world hegemon in both economic and military domain. The following timeline witnessed United States' increasing adherence in South Asia. Haque and Islam (2014) argue that the rapidly escalating importance of Indian Ocean and the presence of China and Japan – two economic Asian super powers in the proximate vicinity generated USA's interest to build its own influence in the region. Besides, the location of Bangladesh with India at one side and Myanmar

at the other, the prospects of connecting South and South-east Asia and access to Indian Ocean through Bay of Bengal made the country immensely significant to US policy objectives and can be identified as one of the main reasons that made the superpower taking interest in this region (Haque and Islam, 2014:2).

The USA primarily involved with Bangladesh on humanitarian grounds, showing widespread engagement in the reconstruction of the war-torn country setting a stage for compensation making headway for cooperation. What began as a humanitarian cooperation gradually turned into a politico-strategic relationship in the subsequent years. Bangladesh thus established itself as an exception from the earlier declared 'basket case' and proved to hold substantial strategic significance among US policy makers (Haque and Islam, 2014). Between 1973 and 1995 Washington contributed more than one billion dollar as food aid and an additional three billion dollars as grants and loan aid (Oberst R.C *et al*, 2014). In the year 2010 was an estimated one hundred and sixty-eight million dollars (Vaughn, 2010). By the twenty-first century the aids amount receded but other relationships developed.

The two countries have long-standing supportive relations and identify Bangladesh as a moderate Muslim state, a developing democracy who holds strong anti-terrorism posture. According to Vaughn Major U.S. interests in Bangladesh include political stability and democratization; continuation of economic reform and market-opening policies; social and economic development; environmental issues; counterterrorism; and improvement of the human rights situation (Vaughn, 2007:5).

During the floods in 1998, the US provided thirty-one million dollars for flood relief, along with cash relief and food aid. The US is one of the largest donor countries through its USAID. The American Chamber of Commerce in Bangladesh and Bangladesh Chamber of Commerce in America are involved in protecting business interest of the two countries. As per the Bank Survey reports of 2012, FDI from US was seventh in position²⁷. Bangladesh and the US concluded cooperation and signed agreements in various other fields of gas and petroleum sector, telecommunication, the Trade and Investment Cooperation Framework Agreement etc (Rashid, 2015).

²⁷ Rashid, Harun (2015), "International Relations and Bangladesh", the University Press Limited, Dhaka.

Bangladesh US trade has been expanding in recent years. The United States is one of the biggest foreign investors as well as one importer in Bangladesh. In the FY2009-10 United States imported garments worth almost \$4 billion and exported products worth \$469 million, giving Bangladesh a hefty trade surplus (Oberst R.C *et al*, 2014:322-323). Bilateral trade grew from one billion dollars in 1992 to four billion dollars in 2009. American trade and investment interests in Bangladesh include developing natural gas reserves thought to be found in Bay of Bengal off Bangladesh's coast (Vaughn, 2010: 1).

3.6.3.3 Relations with the Islamic World

To begin with, the pursuit was a sheer quest for identification by the Muslim countries that refused to recognize Bangladesh because of Pakistan's effort to persuade these countries to believe that the birth of Bangladesh the result of Indian conspiracy. From the very beginning of Bangladesh's liberation war, the key strategic allies were India, the Soviet Union, and other Eastern European countries. Although Bangladesh managed to get a considerable amount of support from other countries, the United States was 'tilted' towards Pakistan. External actors, particularly India played a decisive role in the speedy conclusion of the liberation war (Jahan, 2002:7-8).

In dealing with external actors, Sheikh Mujib had to follow a similar policy of balancing the various groups. During the liberation war, India and Eastern bloc countries supported Bangladesh. In the months immediately following independence Treaty was signed with India in March 1972. But Bangladesh also followed friendly relations with Western bloc countries who quickly became the major source of humanitarian and economic assistance. To gain recognition from the Arab bloc countries, Bangladesh played up its Muslim image and supported the Arab side during the 1973 Arab-Israel conflict. Bangladesh also joined the non-aligned bloc. But the attempt to pursue a middle ground was not easy or without pitfalls (Jahan, 2002:10-11)

Relations with Islamic states in the foreign policy of Bangladesh are a unique aspect for several reasons. The Bangladeshi race is neither geographically nor culturally affiliated to the Arabs, the Persians or the Turks as the North Indians or Pakistanis (Ali, 1971). The geopolitical existence of Bangladesh does not demand its proximity

to the Muslim world. Yet, in the realm of foreign policy, Bangladesh is notably recognized for its closeness with the Muslim nations.

The region around the Indian Ocean constitutes of the largest and the most condensed Muslim populace in the world; from the Arab states in the West through Iran and South Asia, to the Islamic states in the Southeast Asian region - Indonesia and Malaysia (Wright, 1988: 222). In the case of South Asia according to Leo E Rose:

“South Asia is a strategic transitional zone between West Asia and Southeast Asia...Events in South Asia has a considerable impact on neighbouring areas”.

The Muslim population in the subcontinent alone surpasses the rest of the modern Muslim nations; therefore any event in South Asia revolving around Muslims is followed with cognizance by the Indian Ocean surrounding Islamic nations.

Bangladesh's alliance with the Muslim States of the Indian Ocean region must be observed from a historical standpoint. According to Denis Wright (1988), two interconnected forces maneuvering the bilateral relations between them and Bangladesh are - the religion Islam and political nationalism. When Bangladesh was trying to secure recognition from these Muslim nations their response was in accordance with national interest rather than Islamic fraternity based on religious affiliations. The result was an obvious negative reaction towards Bangladesh by most of these states during the first year of Mujibur Rahman's administration. The negative assertion was a typical expression given by most of them.

Secession from Pakistan and the creation of Bangladesh led to dissension between the latter and the Muslim nations in the Arab and the Middle East region. What exemplifies this expression of negative assertion is evident in the diplomatic underpinnings of Iran and other Arab states of Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Jordan, and the Persian Gulf Sheikdoms whereas other Arab states like Egypt, Iraq, Syria, and Algeria as well as the Southeast Asian Muslim nations like Indonesia and Malaysia remained relatively taciturn. There are various arguments given behind such behaviour of the majority of the Islamic states who either chose to support Pakistan or remain uninvolved and the rationale involved international alignment or national interest (Wright, 1988).

Quest for diplomatic acknowledgment and need for foreign aid necessitated Bangladesh to go for a shift in foreign policy prioritizing preserving friendly ties with the Muslim World (Grover, 2000). Promotion of cooperation with them is considered to be a prospective source of massive power to Bangladesh. This may provide possibilities of mutually beneficial economic cooperation through a well-planned mix of the surplus funds of oil-rich Muslim countries with the abundant labour force available in Bangladesh. In fact, this is the outcome of a shift in foreign policy taken intentionally by the Bangladeshi policymakers. Oberst R.C et al (2014:324) opines Bangladesh attempted to nurture its bond with the Islamic nations to fortify its individuality as one of the largest Muslim nation as well as to pursue economic ambition trade and commerce and export of human resource that was and still is imperative to its economy.

A glance at the history of Bangladesh suggests that religious pluralism has always been under challenge even during 'secular' dispensations. This was strongly visible even during 1971-1975 when Awami League (AL), perceived to be a secular party, was in power. Mujibur Rahman from the very beginning emphasised on the nation's Bengali identity. But soon he discerned that in the process he was severing from the Islamic forces (Mitra and Nandi, 2016). An example may be cited from 1972 when Bangladesh's application for the membership to the World Health Organization (WHO) was put to vote. Every Muslim country excluding Iraq and Egypt voted against the admission of Bangladesh into the World Health Organization (Rashid, 2015).

Islam has become an important systemic factor in the political system of the country which forced the Mujib regime to do a 'necessary' course correction i.e. shifting from a robust secular stance to making latitude for the rightist Islamic forces to have their say in the politics of the country (Mitra and Nandi, 2016). It made Bangladesh realise that diplomatic support from the Muslim majority countries is essential to secure a place in international institutions.

In order to ameliorate the deteriorating impression, he was compelled to replace the endorsement of secularism from his nation-building processes and accommodate the intensely growing Islamic metaphors quickly within a couple of years. For instance, The Arab-Israel War in 1973 was the stepping stone towards establishing new

relationships. Also, the Islamic Academy currently known as Bangladesh Islamic Foundation, dissembled by him in 1972 was not only restored but he also improvised the establishment. Domestically, the government retained the study of Islamiat and Arabic in school syllabus introduced during the Pakistani days alongside Islamic Academy. These actions were intended to make it clear to Muslim countries that Bangladesh's principles of secularism and socialism would not stand in her way of patronizing the religion in practice. He also appeared at the deliberations of the Organization of Islamic Countries to restate Bangladesh's Islamic credentials (Mitra and Nandi, 2016:362)

Malaysia was the first Muslim country and the forty-third country in the world to acknowledge Bangladesh, and Iraq was the first Muslim Arab country and the seventy-sixth country in the world to have accorded Bangladesh a formal recognition (Grover, 2000). Saudi Arabia was one of the last countries to do the same.

Bangladesh foreign policy tilt towards the Muslim nations evolved in various stages. After the assassination of Sheikh Mujib and subsequent regime changes, Bangladesh foreign policy was closely aligned with the Muslim countries through various steps taken at home and abroad. Bangladesh's relations with these Islamic countries acquired a new dimension especially in between 1975 to 1996 and ever since they have maintained the relationship. Bangladesh polity began to be heavily influenced by Islamic rightist forces since the beginning of the Ziaur Rahman regime and this trend continues even today is a known and much-recorded fact (Mitra and Nandi, 2016:360). The extent of this decision was so large that a separate article of the constitution was added in order to accommodate the transformation. The prospect of getting Arab financial support as an external source for materializing ambitious economic programs appeared to be high on the successive governments' agenda.

The foreign policy decision to shift towards Muslim countries served in a twofold manner. The decision benefitted economically and politically. "Islamization" of the constitution was adopted to appease the local pro-Islamic sentiments and to project Bangladesh's deep commitment to Islamic ideals and precepts to the Islamic world. The Zia and Ershad regimes used Islam for political ends as it lacked proper constitutional validity and popular support was a necessity at that time which was gained by Islamist gesture. If one looks at the decision-making process from the

perspective of domestic inputs, there was no real parliament working at that time and constitutional amendment came through martial law proclamation. Decisions were taken in a dictatorial manner during the military rules of Zia and Ershad.

In 2015, the Sheikh Hasina led government reached a decision to cohere to Saudi Arabia-led thirty-four state 'Islamic military coalition' to fight against terrorism. The framework of the alliance lacks any sort of defined objectives, a practical arrangement, military coordination, etc hence Bangladesh's decision to join the coalition surprised many. Grover (2000) argues economic interests in the Middle East to be the most logical reason behind the coherence.

From the perspective of foreign policy, an important resolution as this should have consented through national parliament which was not done. This kind of cases bespeaks of authoritative idiosyncratic attributed to political command in the formulation of foreign policies. For a country like Bangladesh, which is the second-largest Muslim country of the world, a considerable fraction of populace of (about eighty-seven per cent) is Muslim; there are limited alternatives but to take Islam into consideration while devising policies, whether internal or external.

Chapter 4

Education Cooperation between India and Bangladesh

4.1 Background

The notion and practice of cooperation between India and Bangladesh, to conduct public diplomacy especially, ‘education cooperation’ is a composite one. It is composite or rather complex because, the India-Bangladesh cooperations are not to be measured from post-colonially projected nationalistic feelings, and the crushed dreams of the ‘two-nation theory’. To effectuate every step, education has played a vital role between India and Bangladesh. It is thoroughly intriguing to study the diplomatic practices of two nations that at a certain time in history has been one united landmass undivided by any forces. Education has played an important role for both the states since the pre-ancient period, holding them in unison for centuries. Education also was one of the reasons behind the disintegration of the old civilization leading to the formation of independent self-sovereign states and it is again education that was being used in post nineteen forty-seven and nineteen seventy-one to re-integrate the severed ties.

Education’s evolution is a continuum, which congregates foregone history into a sentient present to uninterruptedly move onto the future. It is imperative to discern the educational developments from a historical milieu in order to decipher the present and envisage the future. In the Indian subcontinent, educational practices were commenced by imparting traditional components of the Indian society such as, religion, rituals, logic, etc. through ancient Hindu and Buddhist learning institutes that thrived prior to Medieval period. It was during the middle ages when Islamic forms of teachings were established simultaneously by the new rulers; which were later replaced by western education brought by the English rulers. According to Bilgrami (2017: 209), a concatenation of unremitting episodes during the beginning twentieth century laid the underpinnings of education in independent India and set the premise for the formation of East Pakistan.

The subcontinent has invariably been a venerable landmass well-known for its knowledge reservoir since ancient age. The ruling dynasties throughout their respective phase and reigns emphasised on spreading and strengthening knowledge to the region. As an outcome, India was given high esteem by other foreign countries of those times that were inquisitive to obtain a scholarship from this part of the world. Scholars and academics came from foreign countries to learn from India and take the knowledge back with them to spread it in other parts of the world. India was widely acknowledged by other nations and already a popular destination for education (ibid.).

Student mobility refers to the “outward flow” of native pupils to a country outside their home and “inward flow” of foreign student in a host country with the sole purpose to be in an educational institute, is often a focus of internationalization efforts and is intricately associated with cooperations among countries that are further determined by bilateral relations between those countries. Students’ relocation from one place (country) to another is one of the most noticeable trends of the time. It is however not a new phenomenon in any manner. As a matter of fact, leaving one’s home or home country for education, to attain knowledge and expertise has forever been a part of the human race. The modern education system we know of today is a continuation of what has succeeded from the Pre-Colonial period, Colonial period, post Independence period to the current times.

According to Rasheeduddin Khan, two rudimentary conventions that have intensely transformed the great civilisation of India are - the Indo-Aryan cultural amalgam and the Indo-Muslim coalescence. The synthesis of races gave rise to composite civilisation emanated from reconciliation, cooperation, and coexistence (Burman, 1996). Thus, from time immemorial, interpretation and recognition of various cultural elements have crucially constructed the identity perception in the South Asian region, where compound cultures continue to meet.

4.2 Traditional Educational Practices: Pre Colonial Period

During the pre-colonial period comprised of the Ancient, Buddhist and Medieval period, Bengal nay India practiced their own indigenous forms of the education system. It is a fact that the British Raj brought about significant changes in the education system in the Indian subcontinent, but it is by no means to propound that

the pre-colonial India was bereft of an educational system before that. The Indian education system was not centralised in its functioning but it was an inveterate system; deeply rooted prior to the deracination by the colonial captures. Indigenous methods of teaching were practiced during the ancient and the medieval period constituted of wide systems of “pathshalas and makhtabs” for primary levels; “tols, aghrahams and madrasas” for higher learning (Gupta, 2012).

4.2.1 The Ancient Period

Student mobility in pursuit of knowledge during the ancient period is observed in the indigenous practices of that time. It was in the form of *Gurukula Vidyabhyasam*, an archetypal practice of the Vedic age. A Gurukul is a centre for learning. Students left their homes to live in Kula (family) of the Guru (teacher) to learn a variety of subjects such as the *Vedas*, *Vyākaran*, *Śikshā*, and *Jyotisha*, *Dharmaśāstra*, *Arthaśāstra*, *Śastravidyā*, *Kalā*, etc (Sharma and Nemade, 2018; Kurian, 2003). The fundamental idea was that children should leave their homes to reside together with other children to gain knowledge imparted by an eminent savant (Nair, 2016).

These institutions were autonomous without any official association or connection amongst themselves. There was no centralized state dominance over the indigenous learning centres or any form of annual schedule, curriculum, and recruitment of teachers or admission of students (ibid.). This arrangement of learning was in contrast to that of the system established in India by the British rulers (Preeti, 2016) in the nineteenth century. For centuries, before the emergence of modern education, this type of learning, which entailed the residence of pupils at the teacher’s house, was significantly practiced by the natives. It was an ongoing mode of education, till the Muslim rulers entered the subcontinent and introduced a new type of educational practice keeping the Gurukul system undestroyed; that is, some of its central routines and norms remained unaltered during their reign until the disintegration of the Mughals themselves.

4.2.2 The Buddhist Period

The education system was considerably divergent during the later phase of the Vedic age. It was the Buddhist period that saw the establishment of universities in India. Institutes such as Taxila (Takshashila), Nalanda, Vikramsila were not at all similar to

that of Gurukul methods and followed ‘class-teacher’ practices to impart education and literacy.

Image 4.1

The Ruins of Nalanda University



Source: <http://www.hitxp.com/articles/history/ancient-universities-india-takshashila-nalanda/>

Established in the fifth-century anno domini, i.e. from years 427-1197, the Nalanda was a center for higher learning. Although located in Magadha, Bihar it was not isolated from the religious life of Bengal. Although they were committed to impart Buddhism studies, the university also taught politics, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, etc. Thomas Watters in his book *On Yuan Chwang’s Travels in India, 629-645 A.D.* (Watters, 1905) mentions that the high-level competition to gain admission, for natives and outsiders alike, made the university sublime in its quality. The Buddhist scholars and kings of Bengal in the sixth and seventh centuries largely contributed to the development of the institutions (Majumdar, 1943:415).

Now, one might ponder over the relevance of the Nalanda while studying to analyse student mobility, education cooperation, and public diplomacy in the contemporary

period. It is in fact of paramount significance as we recognise the inception of education diplomacy that had begun in India thousands of years back. The reputation of the university proliferated, drawing the attention of scholars from many parts of the world, for instance – China, Korea, Japan, Indonesia, Turkey, and Persia; who were inquisitive to receive the benefits and knowledge from this centre (op.cit.). A number of pilgrims came to India at this point to know more about the education system, culture, and society of India. Out of all the scholars, the most important is Hiuen Tsang from China who remains to be the most prominent and well-known pilgrim-scholar whose work is considered important as he resided in the university for about ten years (A.D. 675-85) to instruct like a tutor as well as learn as a pupil (Niyogi, 1960).

Other famous Chinese scholars were Fa-Hien, Yuan Chwang, and I-tsing who were attached to the famous learning centre. Few others (Watters, 1905) like Thon-mi, Hiuen Chiu, Taou-hi, Hwui-nieh, Aryavarman, Taou-Sing, Tang and Hwui Lu, travelled from far-off lands of Bokhara, Tibet, China, Korea, etc. at Nalanda and gave themselves ample time to live, study and make transcripts of manuscripts. Additionally, the Vikramsila University was also equally well-known; primarily it taught religious studies but also taught grammar, mathematics, science, and astronomy.

Image 4.2

The Ruins of Vikramashila University



Source: <http://www.kahalgaon.com/VIKRAMSHILA-KAHALGAON.html>

Bengal, a province of undivided India comprised of the eastern region today known as Bangladesh was equivalent in terms of education and knowledge reservoir and to no extent inadequate compared to other parts of the country. Boudha and Vaidic systems of education were prevalent in eastern Bengal. Hiuen Tsang's archival records uncover that the Bengal had several viharas spread out in the cities. Mahasthangahr (Est. third century anno domini) in Bogra; Paharpur in Rajshahi, Sompura Mahavira (Est. eighth century anno domini) in Naogaon and Vasu Vihar and Mainamati were not only monasteries but also great intellectual learning centres located in northern regions of Bangladesh that bear testimony of splendid civilizations that once flourished in Bangladesh.

A large number of scholars from China, Korea, and Turkey, etc. imply that the practice of moving from one country to another in search of knowledge and learning is not a new phenomenon. International students are considered to be international ambassadors. Students live in the host country for educational degrees at the same time they learn the culture, history and living ways of that country. Similarly, the scholars who came to ancient India also returned to their countries with the teachings from the universities and perception of India society and culture to their countries.

4.2.3 The Medieval Period

The Medieval period of Indian history is marked by the entrance of Muslim rulers which also began a new chapter in the sphere of art, aesthetics, literature, education, and culture. It has been discussed elaborately in the chapter second of the thesis about the advent of the Mohammedans and the beginning of their dominion in this region; where we learn that education and literature were not at all disregarded during this period. In fact, the Muslim rulers emphasised on spreading Islamic disciplines and teaching methods. Concomitantly, the old Pathshala system also continued for the Hindu students (Bilgrami, 2017). The Muslims, along with their political prowess brought their cultural and educational proficiencies. N.N. Law noted, “The invasion of India by the Muslims was not only confined to the political and social spheres but also started a momentous change in the field of education and knowledge” (Law 1916:1). As the rulers of India were now Muslims (monarchs) including the whole of Bengal, evidently the education system was in Islamic ways

Map 4.1

INDIAN SUBCONTINENT DURING MEDIEVAL PERIOD



Source: <https://www.themaparchive.com/the-mughal-empire-1700.html>

The preceding centuries before the starting of 'Maktabs and Madrasas', indigenous teaching method was flourishingly practiced in Bengal nay Indian subcontinent. The Madrassahs and Maktabs continued to be community-supported learning centres till the time they started obtaining the patronage of the kings, which happened after Khilji's military quest outreached Bengal in the twelfth century. The education system of India prevailed in its indigenous forms until the medieval period but primarily following the Islamic ways because the medieval period of India was governed by Muslim monarchs (Sharma and Nemada, 2018). According to Langohr (2005), the sons of elite Muslims, Hindu and Sikh families attended Persian schools that gave them job prospects (Table 4.2). The medium for instruction were both Persian and Arabic which the students in Maktabs were taught as administrative languages besides Qur'an verses, Islamic religion, and mathematics. Madrasas were for higher education, generally situated in bigger cities (Bilgrami 2017:710).

The attributes of indigenous education encapsulated above may eventuate as a contradiction to the postulated secular, reformist and cogent colonial societal offerings and the Western educational ways instituted in India during the end of medieval and beginning of the colonial period. Nonetheless, we may posit here two pertinent observations; firstly, we may not consider the education system of the pre-colonial times as entirely congruous. The existing knowledge was an assortment of Hindu Brahminical Vedic philosophies, Buddhist principles, and Islamic influences.

The transmission of these disparate forms of knowledge exhibited different social phenomenon like exclusion, marginalization, and dominance to an extent, but this indigenous arrangement of learning was rather heterogeneous. The comprehensive discourse on education which transpired from the nineteenth century (discussed below) taking into consideration the contest of identities enclosed within the homogenized paraphernalia of modern education. This was more homogenised unlike the assorted indigenous dispositions of education, where knowledge dissemination connected to particular religious cultures that were imparted in different learning centres. In the new western format, method of learning was guided by hegemonic models of religious impartiality by focusing on its secular all-inclusive domain, all-inclusive of religious identities, culture, and communities.

The earlier version of teachings in pre-British South Asia including Bengal and other parts of the country imbued by religion, memorisation of rituals and scriptures were all going to be discouraged in the new format of education by introducing Western literature, theories, geography, history and, science, etc. While standardization made the broad dissemination of non-religious materials possible it would not have been desirable to without prior conceptual shift from a world in which religious beliefs made historical events, natural phenomenon and social relations (Langohr, 2005). The standard of Indian education was exceptional. It was just like a depository of percipience and sagacity that prepared scholars with great acumen. For this reason, notwithstanding the adversities, scholars still visited India to be a part of the learning arrangements.

4.3 Changing Education Structure – Colonial Period

Western education was inaugurated in India succeeding the appearance of British Raj who came as traders and turned into colonisers after the downfall of the Mughals. In the Indian subcontinent, its pre-colonised education system was based conventionally on indigenous methods. India was a prosperous territory; had a well-spread out education system in its indigenous forms, until the British arrived. Whether it was the Hindu or Islamic way, the ancient and medieval education was rudimentary in its range and reach but not forsaken. It was au fond traditional and outmoded compared to the expeditiously growing Western traditions.

The knowledge dissemination previously was based on subjects like religion, literature, philosophy, and law; excluded technology, both natural and physical science, geography and any form of factual and logical scholarship regarding the society (Kamerkar, 2000). Persian was learned by Muslims and Hindus alike because it was the official administrative and court language mandatory for all, regardless of faith, spoken in high social-circles and also required to obtain employment under the medieval rulers. It was the Western form of education that brought about major changes in the Indian society by introducing its people different types of ideas and philosophies.

Map 4.2

INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT DURING BRITISH COLONIAL PERIOD



Source: Wikipedia

Still, the period of Raj was headway of Indian education system. Bilgrami (2017) believes the modernisation of education embarked with their efforts. One of the characteristics worth remarking is the initiation of education for women in the missionary schools and colleges (op.cit)

Initially, the colonial rulers chose to keep out of the religious, cultural, and traditional methods of educational institutions long-established before and during the Mughal regime with the help of state patronage. Kamerkar (2000:374) opines since education

was not contemplated as the state's duty, the EIC did not set up any Education Department in India until eighteen fifty-four. A model racial hierarchy was practiced by the political leaders of Europe who used it conveniently to justify the "colonization of non-Westerners" (Bhatia, 2002:381). They suggested, "National variations among human beings were the result of the racial constitution" and that the non-European colonized other were at a "lower level of the great chain of being", opines Cole (1996:11).

However their needs changed over a period time, therefore, towards early nineteenth century they became quite interested to introduce a Western type of education in India (Viswanathan, 2015). Their strategy was, to prepare a handful of Indians; Macaulay proposed, "we [the British] must at present do our best to form ...a class of persons, Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect" (1972:249). This they wanted to do to prepare a handful of people for administrative jobs, as mediators who can be used as interpreters to minimize the cultural-linguistics barriers that would enable people to people communication and also, to spread and establish Christianity as a religion (Sharma and Nemada, 2018).

The British administrative rulers exhorted English education and strongly discouraged vernacular mediums of learning of both Hindu and Muslims students. In eighteen thirty-five, Lord William Bentinck declared the substitution of English with Persian as an administrative language and educational medium. It was their stepping stone towards initiating conversion by using education as a medium. The response to this strategy had two extremely contrasting response from the Muslim and the Hindu communities. The Hindu College was established as early as 1817 of which the primary objectives was to provide tuition to the sons of selected, respectable, elite Hindu families that are sons who belong to bhadrolok class; in English and Indian language, literature and science of Europe and Asia (Dasgupta, 2004)

The incapacitating Mughals gave way to East India Company (EIC) to thrive and rise. The new colonial financial sources argues Acharya (1995), gave property rights to zamindars, produced a class of moneylenders, merchants, brokers, shopkeepers, etc. which encouraged the expansion of middle-class in Calcutta addressed as 'bhadraloks' domineered originally by Hindus later Muslims presence began to enhance towards the conclusion of the nineteenth century .

Whereas on one hand the Hindus almost assuredly accepted it, the Muslims repudiated the same from the beginning. One of the rationales behind the benightedness of the Muslims, according to Mallick (1977) was their paucity of foresight. The Hindus effortlessly switched from Persian to English; it was like quitting one language for a new language. Unlike the Hindus, the Muslims especially the elites and aristocrats considered the acceptance of English as forsaking their own.

A significant count of students from Bengal learning English was in foundational levels but it was exceedingly unpopular at the higher level. In contrast to what was expressed, reports divulge that numbers of pupils from Chittagong, Faridpur and Tippera district (then in East Bengal), enrolled in schools were children of zamindars, and Muslims families. It is so because the Muslim belonging to higher class preferred education that would include Muslim Law, Literature besides English. Even then, in general, there were more Hindus in the government-affiliated schools and colleges compared to the Muslims, especially the ones from Eastern Bengal. The following table shows the number of Hindu and Muslims enrolled at educational institutes in West and East Bengal respectively.

The tables are given below and statistics provided by General Committee of Public Instruction for the years, 1845-46 AD, 1850-51 AD, 1855-56 AD shows the position and condition of education especially modern and western education in Government Colleges and schools in Bengal. The following table provides information about the numerical strength of Muslims in different kinds of institutions in Bengal in 1845.

Table 4.1**Students Enrolled in Government Affiliated Schools and Colleges in 1846****(Count in numbers)**

Bengali Institutions	Hindu Students	Muslim Students	Others	Total
Medical College	45	2	20	67
Secondary School	10	90	0	100
Hindu College	510	0	0	510
School Societies School	483	0	0	483
Pathsala	154	0	0	154
Sanskrit College	195	0	0	195
Madrassah	0	185	0	185
Hoogly College and Madrassah	552	182	13	747
Hoogly Branch School	254	37	4	295
Hoogly Infant School	43	3	2	48
Russopaglah School	0	34	0	34
Seetapur	79	0	0	79
Dacca College	263	18	21	302
Chittagong School	75	5	12	92
Comilla	96	14	3	113
Sylhet School	42	2	4	48
Baulesh School	120	2	2	124
Midnapur School	142	9	1	152
Jessore	96	7	0	103
Krishnanagar College	283	3	3	289
Burdwan School	93	3	0	95
Bankura School	45	0	0	45
Barasat School	92	1	0	93
Howrah School	212	3	0	215
Total	3846	606	85	4537

Source: Shamim Firdous (2012)

Tables 4.1 and 4.2 shows that there were exceptionally less representation of Muslim communities in Western education systems compared to Hindus. The few prominent realities of the time were, first of all they were not encouraged to take admission, the disinclination towards missionary or government run institutions came almost naturally; secondly, the fee payment system was strenuous for an already poverty stricken eastern Bengal alongside entrance examination making it impossible for many students; thirdly, unavailability of Urdu and Persian studies left them unenthusiastic; fourthly, to most of the Muslims families of rural Bengal, the much heard modern-English education remained unreachable, so they never had access to the new form of schools or colleges.

Most importantly, asserts Firdous (2012), one of the dominant reasons behind the underdevelopment of an entire community residing in the Bengal region was most certainly dearth of responsibility taken by the Bengal Government. Naturally, participation of students from Muslim dominated Bengal was too less to enable the region to develop at par with the other parts of the country.

Table 4.2

**Students Enrolled in Government Affiliated Schools and Colleges in 1850-51
(count in numbers)**

Bengali Institutions	Hindu Students	Muslim Students	Others	Total
Branch School	455	0	0	455
Sanskrit College	299	0	0	299
Hindu College	471	0	0	471
Pathsala	216	0	0	216
Hoogly Madrassah	18	145	0	163
Madrassah	0	433	0	433
Hoogly College	389	6	2	397
Hoogly Branch School	160	2	2	164
Hoogly Maktab	9	47	0	56
Russopaglah School	10	37	0	47

Seetapur Madrassah	0	40	0	40
Dacca College	323	29	31	383
Chittagong School	97	8	20	125
Comilla School	81	6	4	91
Sylhet School	80	11	1	92
Baulesh School	83	0	2	85
Midnapur School	117	7	0	125
Jessore School	96	7	0	96
Krishnanagar College	205	7	1	213
Burdwan School	71	3	0	74
Bankura School	74	0	0	74
Barasat School	174	0	0	174
Howrah School	123	6	0	129
Uttarpara School	175	0	0	175
Barrackpore School	88	2	0	90
Total	3814	796	64	4674

Source: Shamim Firdous (2012)

The participation of Muslims was as low as five per cent compared to Hindus who made ninety-three per cent of students in the colleges located in Bengal Presidency in eighteen seventy-five.. To encourage modern education among the community, the Mohammedan legislators of Bengal urged for reservations in colleges. The total numbers of English literates were forty-seven nine hundred twelve in West Bengal in 1891, eight times more their Muslim dominated Eastern counterparts (ibid.).

The two tables (1&2) above also reveals to us that there were either few or no Muslims found enrolled in Sanskrit College, Hindu College, Branch School, etc., and very less found in government-run school and colleges in Bengal; except for Dacca Medical School that had a better representation in both years 1921-22 with thirty two

and thirty one students respectively. This could have been due to a large number of Muslims in Dacca and also the location of the institute in closer proximity.

These are some of the major reasons for the Hindus and Muslims especially the Muslims in Eastern Bengal gradually drifted away from the mainstream idea of India. The differences clearly reflected in the years to come during the partition and eventually during 1947 when East Bengal chose to be a part of the newly formed Pakistan.

Education has always been a fundamental thread behind the major historical occurring that has taken place in the Indian subcontinent. A great number of scholars have shown interest regarding effect and impact of English education on the Muslims in Bengal during the pre-colonial, colonial as well as post-colonial period. By Muslim Bengal, we undoubtedly understand East Bengal which post-1947 became East Pakistan and now Bangladesh. Throughout the narratives of historical trajectories, education and literature played the most interesting roles in the eastern zone. A range of religious, social and cultural rationales function behind lack of development among Muslims especially the ones in Bengal when it comes to English education where contrarily the Hindus and Urdu speaking Muslims were no so backward.

The Western education promoted and imparted by the British rulers had far-fetching implications in the Bengal. It may be seen from two perspectives – socio-educational implications and political sentiments. Socio-educationally, it is probably the Bengal Renaissance that helps us comprehend in the best manner how an exchange of knowledge, cross-cultural amalgam and education actually combines into society. In the nineteenth century, the advent of English education and westernization of learning institutions may not have been observed as what we would typically term in this age as effects of globalization, diplomacy or soft power.

Nonetheless, a retrospective introspection lets us ponder over the fact that the introduction of western ways and its blend in the then societies is exactly what soft diplomacy gives back to countries involved. Dasgupta (2010) terms as Indo-Western Mind – an awakening that was manifold, some were a social reformer, some religious reformer, many brought new modes of education, and scientific ethos for the country; and some stirred the feeling of national consciousness among the country people. In

its entirety, it combined together with the outlook of two extreme cultures, Western and Indian.

The revolutionary changes began in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, when India had Raja Rammohun Roy, a veritable Renaissance personality who among a wide range of social reforms embraced many Western beliefs; Henry Louis Vivian Derozio of Portuguese descent, initiated a new Indian literary tradition; Toru Dutt one of the very few female poets and novelist who wrote in English and French; Madhusudan Datta refused convention, converted to Christian, abandoned Bengalihood and wrote new types of verses in Bengali on European lines; his well-wisher Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar a scholar, education reformist, a humanist was inspired by European wisdom shepherded in secularism and humanism through his college; Bankimchandra Chattopadhyay, the first man of letters of Bengal, a civil servant who served the British Raj. Swami Vivekananda preached Vedantism, a new form of philosophy in India and foreign lands that also motivated an Irish to assume Hinduism and become a nun (Majumdar, 2011:132).

In the annals of Indian reminiscences of British history, Warren Hastings is a best-known name who acquired a place in the intellectual and cultural history of India, who believed, in order to rule a country (India in this context) one must thoroughly master its language and culture; hence he learned Persian, Hindustan and little Bengali. Under his patronage, Charles Wilkinson (1749-1836) designed typefaces for Devnagari and Persian scripts, as a linguist he learned Sanskrit and translated the Bhagavad Gita into English which was published in 1785 in Britain; whereas Englishman William Carey pioneered in Bengali prose writing (ibid.).

Right before the pre-independence years, the education system encountered sundry impediments. The British government withdrew from educational affairs, apprehensive that Indians would eventually resist the colonisers clamouring independence after receiving higher education. Mandal (2018) apprises, Indians began repelling demands due to the manifold difficulties the society faced and launched the National Education Movement. What came out strongly out of the movement are strong nationalist feelings. National consciousness was at apogee; people were not at all willing to condone to imperialist prototypes in the educational area.

The first stage of education movement was from 1906-1910; finite within Bengal frontiers. The second stage from 1911 -1922 was more expansive than the previous as it was not confined to only the Bengal borders; the third stage from 1930-1938 was marked by a consciousness for the need for vocational and technical education, which coincided with Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930 (ibid, 2017:712).

Developments in societies are achievable with education. It is nearly a coincidence how many of the important kingpins of the movement of freedom struggle were either educated in England or in missionary schools and colleges in India. Esteemed leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Bannerjee, M.K. Gandhi, and Jawaharlal Nehru studied either in institutions in London or missionary schools and colleges in India and were amazed by new philosophies of democracy, rights, freedom, etc. Education, knowledge gain and exposure to the West gave them the determination and a sense of purpose to distinguish between oppressors and oppressed. It made them realise that the British government was draining Indian off its wealth.

This awareness would have been rather strenuous without education or exposure some of them gained by living in the West. When they returned they did so with new ideas to develop their country. The intellectuals founded associations in different states to educate more people about the negative activities of the Westerners. In case of Pakistan Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan was also educated in the missionary schools; he was equally insightful about the British and used his knowledge to transpire his theory of 'two-nation' which ultimately gave birth to two new nation-states.

For centuries bilingualism remained as an accepted standard among the educated Indians in the usage of Persian and Sanskrit besides their original mother-tongue, hence, did not feel an unease to accept a new foreign language and their culture. For example: Rabindranath Tagore was predominantly a Bengali poet but translated numerous of his works into English; Mohandas Gandhi promoted Indianness to the general mass but wrote and expressed himself in excellent ornate English; so did Jawaharlal Nehru, who although work hard to gain proficiency in Hindi communication with his people, was essentially able to communicate, formulate and express his thoughts in English (Gopal, 1988).

Such is the power of cultural and educational and knowledge exchanges. In the case of South Asia, English language and Western education introduced by the Britishers, willingly-unwillingly brought monumental changes in the history of the Indian subcontinent, because it was the same Western education that instigated numerous ideas like democracy and nationalism in the mind of the Indians. The ascent of the national intelligentsia in association with cultural and geographical parameters of the English language is considered by academicians as the major inducer of national movement against the same race who introduced the language to them.

The cognoscenti were influenced by the heroic activities of the European leaders which they tried to integrate in India's cause. The English people also introduced Indians to technology, press/media, postal system and transport. These innovative activities helped the Indians in the later centuries to develop themselves. This form of education gave rise to a new social class i.e. the middle-class who played a determining role in the national movement. Consequently, it may be argued that the Western educations made Indians cognizant concerning the positive and negative effects of the colonisers; the same realization gave rise to nationalist sentiment

Until 1947, East Bengal was a part of the education system of India. Post-independence, East Bengal became the eastern wing of Pakistan and came to be known as East Pakistan. The newly named region became separated from the age-old civilization it was a part of for centuries. That is, since ancient through medieval to the British period, East Bengal practiced the indigenous methods of teaching which later was influenced by the Western form of education. The repercussion of Indian freedom from British was segregation of Pakistan in the West and East Bengal in the eastern regions from India. Thus there was a big break in the erstwhile similar education system shared by all the three newly formed states.

Education has always played the most important roles in the subcontinent. As eastern Bengal now became eastern Pakistan and West Pakistan did not have good relations with India, its eastern wing also was unable to maintain friendly ties with its neighbours. East Pakistan was not at all happy with the way its Western counterparts were handling them. For more than two decades West Pakistan treated the east as their subordinates rather than partners due to which the latter was in a severe crisis in

terms of national economy and education. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was very much influenced by Indian leaders.

4.4 Advancement of Higher Education System – Post-Colonial Modern Period

Since the turn of the century, the numbers of international students have increased exponentially. The growth has been significant in developing countries including in the South Asian region. During the last ten years, the foreign students' populace in higher education institutions has escalated in India, Bangladesh. An expeditious interconnected world has encouraged better universal reciprocity of culture and education. In fact, the worldwide progression of a knowledge-based economy and information-society in a high-velocity pace has led to the demand for growth in higher education. Keeping in view the momentum of a rapidly transforming society, higher education experiences the pressure of their operational growth.

While universities preserve historical customs, they are subject to dynamic socio-economic necessities. In order to fulfill their expectations and requirements the numbers of pupils registered in tertiary mediums of institutions overseas are increasing. More individuals are leaving countries seeking higher edification from another country they believe to be providing feasibilities, chances, opportunities and better quality. Education may be quite accepted as a dynamic strength for achieving community development; hitherto, it is largely connected to domestic policy and not fully embraces as a foreign policy tool. Many times foreign policy is defined by conflict, education sheds light on to clarify that it is an important area where the welfare of nations are entangled.

In the recent past, higher education has experienced a remarkable expansion; but more than ever it is today that higher education has turned into an indispensable integrant of any plan of action aiming at sustainable development. The changes are reflected in the growing private and cross-border, cross-regional, inter-regional pursuance in education taking place through the mobility of students, academicians, teachers or institutions. Cross-border mobility of knowledge seekers and providers is supported since it supplies excellent resources in the future such as highly skilled workers with specific expertise in a given area (Varghese, 2011).

Emerging global economies profoundly reliant on the mobility of researchers across borders, quality higher education, research and innovation, competent human capital are tools to add value to the economy and also increase competitiveness. Also, the eminence of tertiary teaching-learning systems and research ascertain the aptitude of a country (any given) to confront challenges efficiently and cooperatively design its future.

The significance of higher educational degrees, in the last few decades, primarily from a country outside one's home country has increased immensely. Already higher education and bilateral cooperation among/between nations are becoming a part of international relations (Tillman, 2005). In addition, South Asian countries are now rising as new economic powers; particularly India as a promising economic power whereas Bangladesh aspiring to become a middle-income nation, thus the education market growing too. Peremptory intricacies of social, political and economic forces and globalization are mounting demands on the workforces. Students, concurrently have prodigious varieties of opportunities available to increase and deepen their knowledge on world views.

While exploring the various connotations of education cooperation and the implications it has had so far in the Indian subcontinent and its neighbours, one name worth mentioning is Sheikh Mujibur Rahman – the pioneer and founder of Bangladesh. Bangladesh was unconnected from India in 1947 to become East Pakistan and paid a high price at the cost of their dignity and respect. As an eastern wing to West Pakistan, they were treated as the second citizen, exploited economically and divested off education and employment.

So, how is Mujibur Rahman important in this context? Formation of East Pakistan and later Bangladesh gives us unceasing reflections on history and a sense of post-colonial consciousness. Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was more fondly familiar by the name Bangabandhu who was a political activist and the pioneer of the liberation struggle of Bangladesh. He was educated in his high school from Islamia College, Calcutta; and later he developed a very close association with India from the beginning.

The friendship reflected not only in the post-relationship re-building years with India but in multiple occasions, for instance, India allowed Mujib to live in India during the

liberation war, brought Indian army to face Pakistani army and the first to recognise Bangladesh as a sovereign state. Mujibur Rahman was so influenced by Indian leaders that it reflected in the Constitution of Bangladesh. India and Bangladesh signed the Treaty of Friendship in 1972 that emphasised on education integration and cooperation to help revive what Bangladesh singularly lost due to the atrocities by West Pakistan and what India and Bangladesh both lost from their ancient and medieval ties severed due to British politics and were once again brought together post 1971.

4.5 Factors that Shaped and Expanded Higher Education in Modern Period

In the past several decades an ‘academic revolution’ in higher education occurred due to a series of transformations that diversely shaped the society. They have influenced most aspect of post-secondary education and brought about an academic revolution. The changes during the late 20th century and near the beginning of the 21st century are fundamental and capacious than the earlier decades because they are global in nature and affects larger populace and many more (Altbach, Reisberg and Rumbley, 2009) institutions. The UNESCO World Conference on Higher Education held in 2009 recognized globalization, rise of a knowledge economy, the impact of information and communication technology (ICT), massification of higher education and education as ‘private goods’ versus ‘public good’ discourse as the primary driving forces of the academic revolution of the twenty-first century. All major changes in the higher education sector originate taking into account some of these most significant motivating forces that shaped the higher education scenario in these several decades.

Higher education, since the early twenty-first century, has turned into a competitive enterprise. It is almost a global scenario whereby students compete not only to avail the limited seats offered by the colleges and universities but also to get access in high ranked academies. Varsities too, contend for prestige and maintaining position, and for financial support from governments or private sources. To this tendency Altbach et al (2009:iv) argue that a sense of competitiveness has been ever-present in academia as it helps to produce merit but they are also conscious that it can decrease certain aspects of the academic community, traditional values, and mission. Another feature of higher education is how rapidly this sector is expanding worldwide.

In this globalised world, those countries which effectively comprehends the knowledge available at their disposal to maneuver as entailed to construct an advantageous environment in various areas as stipulated, and how to supplement that advantageous environment maximizing on technological innovations has become pivotal to economic success. The World Bank (2009) observes, in the modern world one must amass knowledge to use it to its maximum potential in order to survive

If developing countries aspire to become technologically as advanced as other countries and expand their economy, educational procurement is vital. That is to say, higher education becomes rudimentary for developing nations to advance towards knowledge economy. Demographic inflation, economic drivers, changes in the flow of inbound and outbound coupled with a fast increase in the capacity of post-secondary education and global competition is expected to further re-shape this structure.

International student mobility constitutes the main form of cross-border higher education. Cross-border mobility exemplifies globalization in tertiary level of education (Varghese, 2011). Globalization, the advancement of technology and science, change in the requirement of skills in the labour market and the increasing rise of the knowledge economy are the most crucial factors bringing about changes in the entire higher education structure globally. These factors made knowledge-based sectors the predominant rationale for growth and development. Naturally, demand for skills-based knowledge and higher education is quite evident. The advent of knowledge economy ensued requirement of skills that entailed the need for professional degrees in countries around the world, stimulated migration of skilled individuals to developed nations, from advancing and lesser advanced nations. The urge to move is influenced by, says (Melley, 2018) “the extent to which higher education sectors is expanded as per the demand stemming from population increase”

Knowledge-economy needs people with conceptual understanding to explore a study; proficiency to widen manufacturing and; with scientific expertise to generate and sustain production. To gain expertise on these, one is required to possess education possible only to gain from universities and other higher educational institutes (Varghese, 2011). As a result, it experienced a shift of workers from manufacturing to service sector field, turning the service sector superior in terms of both employment

and income. World Bank (1999) found out, the measure of labor-force involved in employment-sector increased almost three-fold during the nineties. States by the International Labour Law (ILO, 2004), in at least seventy per cent of all jobs, post-secondary educational qualification are required in the knowledge economy.

Since the mid-nineties developing countries too displayed fast growth in the learning sector. The accelerated growth in the education sector could also be due to a similar pressure from for skill demanded by the knowledge economy, higher education systems' need to expand. Many developing countries who promoted universal formal education (at primary school level) felt the demand to expand higher education. N.V. Varghese propounds that it can be claimed credibly that, the globalization experiencing emerging nations, has experienced a faster spreading out of their higher education sector.

It is because of cross-border education that expenditure of skill-development transferred from the public to an individual sphere. This transfer was an essential climate for the enlargement of market-operations in the field. In this mode of cross-border education for skill development private sector and transnational institutions play a significant function which depends on self rather than government provided funding. Education across the border occurs through the following three modes: mobility of students, mobility of institutions and mobility of programmes. The modes are very briefly discussed below:

Student mobility is not at all a contemporary phenomenon of the millennium either for developed nations or the developing ones. Students have, traditionally, for the longest time in the history of civilization sought higher education opportunities in the absence of educational facilities or in search of better education from countries away from their own. The global count of students seeking cross-border education in 2007 was almost around three million around the world according to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2009) report, that is, nearly threefold than thirty years ago-opening up a market of approximately in between forty to fifty million US dollars. The most customary tendency in cross-border student mobility is a movement towards developed from developing nations.

The numbers of abroad going students from developing countries have increased by two times more than before. Varghese (2011) informs, for countries like Bangladesh, the escalation was as high as three times more whereas India experienced a soaring 3.5 times of the increase. Unlike earlier times, expenditures are shifting to private sources from public sources; therefore students are heedful regarding cost factors when choosing a country for international education. The fees structure varies country-wise: some countries impose no payment for learners; many of them set a stipulated amount of fees for both internal-external students, and there are few who charge low amount for natives and higher for foreign nationals. An example may be cited here of the Jawaharlal Nehru University where fees for Indian nationals is Rupees 175 whereas a foreigner has to pay between \$100-600 per semester.

The second characteristic is “institutional mobility”. This happens by opening branches of foreign campuses, undertaking franchise, twinning arrangements, etc. Branch campuses are more popular, quantitatively larger in number hence easily noticeable while the other two are not as visible. Institutional mobility has an influence on a larger number of countries than before, including those not within the OECD area.

There are several foreign institutions that are accredited, funded or branch campuses located in receiving countries, such as several functional universities with the United States and the UK affiliations are functional in India; “S.P. Jain Management and Research”, India extended branch campuses in Dubai in 2004 and Singapore in 2006; the German “University of Cairo” opened in 2002 is operated by the “Universities of Stuttgart and Ulm”.

In Bangladesh, there are two such varsities that are international, autonomous in its function without any interference of the government or affiliated under the Private University Act. These institutes are controlled by private administrative bodies. “International Culture University”, built by organisations of civil society, endorsed by “United Nations Academic Impact and United Nations Global Compact”; is an internationally accredited-affiliated, functional collaborator of multiple international agencies, working for internationalization of education and standardised quality. “Islamic University of Technology” (in Dhaka) is a subsidiary organ of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation, established, run and financially backed up by

them; the “Asian University for Women” is located in Chittagong division and funded by the Asian University for Women Support Foundation (AUWSF), a United States-based non-profit corporation.

It is easier for foreign providers to associate themselves easily with private higher education institutions as they allow the involvement of the former more easily. As a matter of fact transnational providers, in many countries, function through private institutions. The domestic private institutions’ partnership with foreign universities and institutions accredits them with reliability on quality and academic status.

According to Middlehurst and Woodfield (2003:24), there are few private universities based in Asia that attracts students from foreign countries (neighboring countries in particular) to study there. Examples may be cited of: the North-South University one of the major private universities attract foreign students and visiting faculties from a range of South Asian countries like India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan including those from the United States. Foreign students currently constitute six per cent of the total enrolment in higher education institutions (ibid.); there are a number of foreign students, including Bangladeshi nationals in Jawaharlal Nehru University, University of Delhi in New Delhi to name a few.

Programme mobility has been possible because of technological innovations. It minimises relocation, low cost and curtails brain-drain therefore many are adopting this type of knowledge extension using technology (open-source learning management system, e-learning using various software etc). A notable attribute of the higher education world-wide is the escalating internationally mobile student. In the mid-seventies, the number of students was eight-hundred thousand increased that grew more than three million in 2009. Nonetheless, the ratio of an average of universally outbound, according to British Council-Going Global (2012:32), remained exceptionally steady from the first half of the nineties onwards.

There is a strong correlations between wealth and tertiary enrolment. Many of the emerging Asian countries like India and China financially performed well in the 2000s following closely by Bangladesh, Sri Lank Pakistan, and Vietnam, Malaysia hence it was predicted that these countries will become financially stronger in the decade to follow. The decade is ongoing although we have seen fiscal improvements

in these countries pushing some of them towards becoming a middle-income status country. Also India, China, United States, and India are likely to account for over half of the world's population within age group twenty-two years old, to be followed by Bangladesh, Vietnam, Pakistan, Philippines, Mexico, Egypt, Nigeria, Brazil who will account for an additional quarter of the world's eighteen to twenty-two populations in 2020 .

Adding the existing higher education enrolment ratio to the amplifying upcoming number of the given young population will strongly increase demands in the tertiary sector, domestic and international respectively. Melley (2018) believes, as long as supply is surpassed by demand, the extent of mobility will continue. There is a possibility of outward mobility undergoing adversities as political and financial attentions are increasingly put on higher education. Under such circumstances, institutions in host countries will have to depend on partnership-collaborations, distance education models and transnational education.

4.5.1 Globalisation and Higher Education

Globalization may be described as a reality constructed by a growingly integrated world economy, emergence of international knowledge arrangement information and technological advancements, indispensable rise of the English language, various other influences that cannot be dominated by academia. Storm (2001) defines globalization as a trend to minimize impediments to the international movements of capital, technology, goods, and services. He opines it is considered to be a vehicle to ensure development but also obtains equity and efficiency for the countries working within the global economy. Globalization has brought together global communication by spreading the English language, prompted cultural developments, and homogenized the society's multifold aspects such as arts, media and popular culture (Intriligator, 2003).

The term 'globalization' may have been coined in the 1980s but as a conception, it is not at all a new phenomenon. Its elucidation differs from people to people probably that is why one may not get similar reactions or viewpoints regarding this vast idea. To some scholars, policymakers and activists, says Intriligator (2003) it is a "force for advancing world economy" whereas to many it is a "danger to the world economic

system”. The Milken Institutes Globalization of the World Economy delineates the advantages associated with globalisation while outlining the risks it brings which investors and governments must be careful if (Kueppar, 2018)

Globalization, as an indispensable truth of the twenty-first century, has exceedingly influenced higher-education sector both domestically and internationally. Higher education has become deeply homologous to globalization; a cross-border correspondence of demand and supply (Qiang, 2003). Scholars, students leaving their homes to attain knowledge and educational degrees are a rather old phenomenon; so are the transmission of epistemic foundational knowledge via textbooks and syllabus from one culture to another. Although the genesis is old, it is believed; to an extent, it is globalisation that triggered internationalization of higher education. P. Altbach et al. (2009: iv) point out, in numerous cases globalization has overwhelmingly ‘influenced higher education’, for example – setting up of objective by universities, redesigning curriculum, study abroad opportunities, exchange programs initiatives, offshore entrepreneurship, etc. Typically, globalization refers to “the broad economic, technological and scientific trends that directly

According to Scholte (2005:3) globalisation refers to a trend and practice, that is to say, the development of transplanetary associations between people. It decreases the obstacle to trans-world contacts. People grow to be more bonded-psychologically, physically, culturally and legally to connect with each other in one world. Robert Keohane (2001) suggests that globalization generates prospective gain from cooperation. It depends on effective governance which is supposed to take place through a transnational network and interstate cooperation. In general, it is actually the exchange of people, knowledge, ideas, capital, goods and services technology, across national borders.

However, one must keep in mind it influences different nations in a different manner due to the specific history, culture, tradition, and priorities of individual nations. Globalization is more than mere political agreements, business dealings and all; it is, in fact, a shared consciousness being developed over a period of time that permit cultural and societal assimilation, transnational movement of peoples, exchange of commodities, and development of technology thus bringing nations together by lessening geographical and political boundaries. Besides all of those mentioned

above, globalization has fuelled the sharing of knowledge, educational practices, and skills (Singh, 2011).

The higher education sector has been intensified than before due to globalization. The competition amongst colleges, universities and professional institutes besides being local has become international. The international pursuits of universities maintain Ayoubi and Habeibeh (2006) during the nineties saw remarkable expansion in various aspects in the form of increased cross-border mobility in students, intensive exchange of academic as well as administrative staff, constant alterations in educational programs.

Education and globalization are reticular as Manning (1999) opines, globalization influenced teaching and research and the latter accelerated the former in the process. The advent of globalization increased knowledge economy, brought changes in technology changed the requirements of skill in the labour market all of which together began to change the higher education landscape, worldwide. Knowledge-based sectors since the emergence of these phenomena became the main driving force of growth and development, demanding more and more skilled workforce and educational qualifications. The World Bank (2009) advocates expansion of the higher education sector as mandatory for developing nations in order to standardize to become coequal technologically along with other countries which will help them augment their economy. That is to say, higher education, for developing nations is (and should be) rudimentary to develop a knowledge economy.

The problem here is tautness in demand and supply. The requirement of skill-demand many times outruns the available capacity of the higher education institutions to supply adequately. This also happens to those countries with larger educational institutions. In such circumstances, these countries can either: expand their educational capacities or import skills from other countries. Expanding owns the capacity to domestically produce these skills feels prudent but may prove to be time consuming and expensive. Even migration to an extent proves insufficient to meet worldwide demands.

The movement of international, domestic students and the choices made by individual students throughout the world are the manifestations of national and institutional

strategies. A myriad of policies has been developed by universities and academic bodies to take advantage of the new international milieu. For example: to attract students from other countries, in some non-English speaking countries their universities develop various types of degree programs. Also, in other instances universities set up academic partnerships in another country to extend different study programs, proffer degrees, collaborate with research projects, etc. other types of internationalization strategies are – various off-shore programs, branch campus, franchise, etc (Albatch, 2009).

4.5.2 Internationalisation of Higher Education

Internationalization, explain (op.cit:23) is denoted as the different types of ‘policies and programs’ implemented by higher educational institutions, academic systems, specific departments and governments of respective countries in response to globalization; for example – engaging in inter-institutional partnerships, engaging in collaborations and cooperation agreements, sending scholars abroad etc. It may be considered as an approach of a country to the globalization that has occurred globally contemporaneously upholding respect for the distinctiveness of the country. In a way, then globalization and internationalisation of higher education work parallelly. The thought that first comes to our minds upon hearing the term is worldwide mobility of students.

There may be varying denotations to *internationalisation* encapsulating its conceptual complexities and richness but what is coherent is that essentially it is an interaction between/among nations and cultural identities. Qiang (2003) elaborates factors such as historical idiosyncrasies, native culture and traditions, national-natural resources and national interests determines a nations response towards another. Internationalization of higher education as Jane Knight (1993) observes it is a homogenous process synthesizing international and intercultural aspects into the learning methods like teaching research, functions undertaken by institutions and so on. In other words, it is a significant aspect of globalization as it melds various international components into institutions of higher education which further melds diverse inter-cultural aspects to the functions and activities of the universities (Manning, 1999:230-231).

4.5.3 Massification of Higher Education

In recent years most countries around the world including the South Asian region witnessed higher education expanding rapidly. It led to the massification and privatization of educational institutions. Scott (1995) uses the term massification to explore the higher education system and the exponential growth in the number of students, enrolments that began towards the close of the twentieth century. India began to experience this fast growth much prior to other South Asian states to which Bangladesh also became part of that momentum. The education sector did expand with the number of institutions that are mostly private in nature. As vast numbers of students enroll in these institutions, it challenges the student-teacher ratio as with more number of students and institutes, the number of teachers and the quality diminishes.

Massification, the process of getting a mass higher education, argues Tight (2017) has turned into a phenomenon common across all countries worldwide, developed and developing alike; therefore it has become a matter of deliberation for researchers and policymakers. Evolution of mass higher education one of the sundry late twentieth-century modernization eventuation hence it cannot be considered as a unique phenomenon. Scott (1995: ix) explains advancement in science and technology and shifts in intellectual culture are all behind the massification of higher education.

Originally the idea was developed to peruse the growth-explosion of the higher education sector of American (a generation ago). The notion of elite-mass paradigm shift is now viewed as archetypal to how higher education systems ideally develop. The evolution has taken place in the higher education system of America and the Western countries, so it did in all regions of Asia. The higher education sector in Western countries shifted from being an exclusive product for the elites to becoming massified. Similarly, the Asia Pacific region too, over the past decade experienced anomalous expansion in the tertiary sector, especially beginning from the eighties

The manner in which the higher education system in Western countries shifted from being an exclusive product for the elites to a state of massification, the Asia Pacific region experienced a striking augmentation in this sector for the last ten years, markedly the eighties onward (Mok and Jiang, 2016).

Marginson (2016:28) argues that sociologist Martin Trow emphasized on the development of tertiary level. According to Trow, higher education evinced broad pattern in its developmental phases in each 'advanced society', evident in three levels: the elite higher education; the mass higher education and; last, the universal higher education. Higher education transformed inherently between the transitions of each of these stages. Due to the transformations, ingress to institutes of higher education was repositioned an 'absolutely privilege' in the elite phase to being 'a right' in the mass phase to becoming an 'obligation' in the universal phase.

At this point, it became mandatory to receive higher qualifications. In the process of transition, the primary focus of higher education moved from forming the minds of the ruling class during the elite phase to preparing a larger population with professional skills in the mass phase to shaping the entire populace in 'adaptability' during the universal phase to the various social and technological changes.

4.5.4 Rise of Middle-Class and Need for Higher Education

The consolidation of democracy from the early nineties brought many changes for Bangladesh. While there is a world middle class growth taken place, Bangladesh is not lagging behind. Logically, the middle class may be explained based on the standard of living in developing countries. Income levels are also taken into consideration to identify the middle class at an agreed rank of economic development. These income levels nonetheless are country-specific.

According to The Economist (2009:18) surfacing of an enormous middle-class in these nations is connoted as "a silent revolution in human affairs". They are sedulously transforming societies quietly and steadily while enjoying the benefits of industries and enterprises. The macroeconomic growth propped up their success, boosted by worldwide economic assimilations.

An enormous middle-class society has flourished in Bangladesh in the last couple of decade as the service sector economy burgeoned to touch an average of over six percent. With a keen knowledge of the nation's growing consumer class's interests, S. Khan in The Financial Express (2017) wrote, Bangladesh is budding as one of the world's next potential great developmental prospects for many companies.

Every year, at least two million highly optimistic Bangladeshi people join the category of middle-class and affluent consumers. The sum was mere nine percent in the nineties to now be increased to a twenty percent in 2010 and remains to be the same at present according to The Daily Star (2015) and The Financial Express (2017). It has been possible as, over the last decade, the Gross Domestic Product grew steadily at an average pace of six to seven percent every year. The Boston Consulting Group Report (2015) estimated that by the year 2025, the headcount of these emerging middle-class and affluent consumers (MAC) is estimated to triple from twelve million at present to about thirty-four million.

The Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies estimates the same as one-fourth or twenty-five of the total population. The number of MAC may be smaller in comparison to other big emerging Asian markets, but even so, Bangladesh is a fast-growing economy recognized world-wide as their position are improving speedily. A decade of unwavering economic development, steady upward mobility, and a promising working-age population/demographic dividend have been the driving force so far. It is true that half of the population continues to remain at the bottom of the rank but the government is set to improve that.

The thriving middle class is directed by a collection of human capital i.e., more people now enjoy education at a post-secondary level. Opportunity to avail post-secondary education, higher education (particularly through English medium), digital divide, and access to highly paid private-sector jobs, white-collar occupation, increasing incomes, international migration, and ownership of land/flat discern the middle class from the poor. Few other socio-economic factors broadly responsible for the advent of the Bangladeshi middle class are urbanization, high demand for consumer products/goods/services, government policies.

It is good an integrant for all-encompassing development. Countries having elevated middle-class concentration can eliminate poverty quicker; those with poorer density will be the motivation of the country's economic improvements. Even globally the numbers are predicted by the Brookings Institute to increase to around five billion by the next decade, a maximum of it to take place in Asia. Bangladesh is a proud participant in that growth momentum.

The growth in economy, status and living standards as strong indicators demanded better higher education. Thus, it comes as no shock that tertiary education is also increasing simultaneously. The indicators are the same that acted as driving forces to continuously increase outbound student mobility over the past decade. Out of hundred sixty million people, half of the population, that is, forty-eight percent of the sum are below twenty-four years age group and merely over a third are under fifteen years old. These young hordes are thriving college-goers. More than three million people are enrolled in tertiary education institutions. The University Grants Commission of Bangladesh calculated this number to touch around five million by the next eight years.

In comparison to Asian regions leading nations like India, China Bangladesh's participation in higher education may have been lesser. Multifarious factors such as incompetence in the domestic system, lack of availability of space, education quality, employment outcomes of graduates are responsible for them to lag behind. Despite the limitations,, Bangladesh persistently exhibits its potentials as one of the promising emerging markets for cross-border knowledge seekers from South Asia.

The United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization documented the number of Bangladeshis enrolled in tertiary institutions out of the country was roughly sixty thousand in 2017. In fact, over the last two years, the number of students enrolled abroad has increased by about a third. The only reason behind this growth is the huge college-aged populace, inadequate domestic competence at home country and the booming middle class as discussed above. So, basically increasing middle class, young adult population are creating demand for higher education in an emerging country like Bangladesh. The reports of the ICEF Monitor (2017, 2018) reveals, traditionally they chose developed nations like the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada and Australia. Increasingly these days they are choosing other destinations in Asia, the Islamic countries and Europe.

The proliferation of higher education sector since the second half of twentieth century to contemporary times is an inexorable reality. Many of the essential evolutions taken place in the past few decades was possible because of the responses made to fulfill mass demands. But why did higher education escalate so speedily in the last couple of decades? The reasons are numerous inclusive of various changes taken place in the

political, economic and social scenarios across the globe. Accessibility to opportunities demanded by the public is haply the most influential force.

In many countries, higher education is being regarded as a necessity for economic success and social mobility. Much of the extensive social changes have also taken place. Women are important inheritors of massification. They began to claim their rights to receive higher education first in the developed nations which later spread out elsewhere. Women representation in the student population used to be dramatically non-significant in most countries. The eighties saw substantial improvements as women began to reach parity with men; in some nations they outnumbered men. According to Albach's (2009) findings in Asia, China and India are said to currently have the largest and third-largest education systems, of the world respectively, which have been growing rapidly and will continue to grow so.

4.6 Trending Cross-Border Mobility

The academic domain has experienced a revolution in the past few decades marked by diversified options and unprecedented transformation in scope. The dynamic process is ongoing hence onerous to comprehend it fully while being a part of it. The changes taking place in the twentieth and twenty-first century are global in nature making the education sector commodious as the number of people and institutions they accommodate.

According to estimations by Kemal Gürüz only one hundred ten thousand foreign students were enrolled around the world in the 1950s, which in 2010 amplified to an astounding 2.75 million that is to become eight million by the year 2020 (Gürüz,2011:2; Altbach, 2009). Besides student mobility internationalization of education, various collaborative agreements and cooperation agreements for research between universities (foreign/inter-region) are increasingly undertaken by governments due to the fresh opportunities that have come into being.

It led to a worldwide demand for higher education. Varghese (2009:5) says, there was a need to expand the higher education sector to fulfill the growing employment opportunities by increasing skills desirable to use in the global labor market. At present, there are more than seventeen thousand higher education institutions in a hundred eighty-four countries around the world and major improvements have been

brought about to gain accessibility. The higher education sector is an escalating in almost every region in the world. In this regard, Varghese (2009:8) draws reference from the UNESCO Institute for Statistics - 2007 found that states; between 1991-2005, the total enrolled students worldwide in higher education centres escalated from sixty-eight to hundred thirty-seven million students.

No one country is completely identical in terms of physiography, ideology, aspirations or level of development which includes their education sector as well. For instance, there are countries that are developed nations with massified higher education systems; there are those who are developing nations and emerging economies having relatively smaller yet growing higher education system; some countries take amenities of a higher educational institute based in another country and there are also countries who rely on cross border facilities of higher education due to lack of the same in their home country (Varghese, 2011).

Although countries may vary in their characteristics; it is a common scenario in many countries across the globe where students have to compete to get admission in universities. There is competition to get enrolled in the best institutions posing a challenge too. The challenges for universities are the constant competition to maintain ranking, status and smooth flow of funding governmental source or private. Competition is good in academe; it works as driving energy to uphold the quality to produce excellent outcomes. Antithetically though, too much competition can bring adverse effects by declining the traditional values, mission and the sense of academic community.

One aspect worth mentioning is the increasing inequalities amongst national higher education bodies as well as the same inside countries. According to Albatch et al (2009), there is a sense of centre and periphery in the academic world too. Universities that are considered strongest are regarded as the centre. They are ranked higher for their excellence in competence and expertise in research. The centre-periphery dynamics have experienced their own tensions. The affluence of nations and their universities majorly determines the quality and centrality of an academic system.

Spreading of excessive numbers of colleges, universities, providers etc. deteriorate the standard of learning. Governments have accredited them by setting up agencies to authorise their functioning, yet challenges persist in many countries. The main obstacle is to schematise to correct way to expand this huge sector simultaneously designing assessment structure to assure justice to standard. The state has great responsibilities to regulate and conclude these policies. The state is always accountable to such managements even though it reduces its financial liabilities from the sector.

Developing nations aspire to receive world-class education as good as the traditional universities based in the centre. Universities that use English as the primary medium of teaching and research, have varieties of subjects and disciplines, backed up by significant amount as research funds by governments or private sources therefore are favoured by international ranking. The rankings may have some problems but they are still there. This is disadvantageous for developing nations causing additional damages on most educational sectors facing the quandary of increasing enrollment and the requirement to sustain top-quality research universities.

Leaving homes on a quest to achieve better education and more knowledge by students and scholars is not a new phenomenon; neither is the transfer of educational institutions, nor the transmission of epistemic knowledge (curricula and textbooks) from one culture to another one (Gürüz, 2011). The mobility of students and scholars has become an important feature in higher education. They search admittance to fields of studies that may perhaps be deficient in the home education systems; to high-quality degree programs, particularly at the postgraduate level.

As more people are coming out of acute poverty and moving in to better income groups their affordability is increasing. More families are focusing on better education with a hope to enter into better jobs. The number of students in search of university degrees, as per some evaluations made by experts, will double approximately to as much as two-fifty million over the next two decades, mostly occurring in the developing nations (Singh: 7). Nations that are at a developing stage are overburdened by the soaring higher-educational needs of mushrooming youth populace; when they are actually inadequate in supplying even secondary education.

The arrival of the knowledge economy is a reality of this century. Growth in various sectors like the service sector, biotechnology, information and community technology are the manifestations of this economy. The centrality of these sectors enhance higher education's prominence. Growth in various sectors comprising of workforce citizens requires education, advance enough to fulfill those requirements, possible to gain through post-secondary systems only. Research must grow in capacity and importance. The knowledge economy also improves mobility of professionally trained individuals. Indeed mobility in the academic field is the trademark of this era. It is an age where the global market for academics exists in reality.

Already the advent of globalization has made many enthusiastic developing nations lay aspiring goals, for instance: India aims to increase its vocational education in future, in a way that no less than twenty-five percent of the secondary education enrollments should be in this category; Bangladesh aims the same with a target of twenty percent (Tilak, 2002). Globalization has also moved out beyond their political borders and social barriers for good quality higher education. Learners anywhere in the world are prompted to choose the best of what is available because they feel the need to develop themselves to be able to participate in domestic or foreign economic and political challenges as good candidates. That is why, good quality education is pertinent to create a universally ambitious workforce.

A number of important transformation occurred in past decades was due to the response given to mass demand for education. The shift to post-industrial economies, service sectors, knowledge economy has been the driving force. Even as some countries in the developing nation category continue to edify less than ten per cent of the age-cohort, most of the countries have actually significantly amplified the rate of participation. China has the largest and India the third largest education sector in the world as of 2015 are the two Asian giants who rapidly, continuously (Albatch et al, 2009).

Asia is experiencing rapid urbanisation and economic growth enabling higher purchasing-parity in more households. The world is more interconnected and independent than before, therefore scholars also desire cross-cultural exposure related to learning, research etc. to help them strengthen their international careers. The growth trend suggests people are giving more time and spending money on education

in comparison to the past. It is noted by Singh (2011). An ever-transforming social and political state of affairs focuses on traditional universities and institutes for the paradigmatic reconstruction of higher education. Therefore, the purpose of education is no longer to just impart knowledge, but to also furnish students with problem-solving skills, become competent and produce ideas, at par with global standards

4.7 India as a Major Centre for Foreign Student Mobility

Many developing nations are putting effort to improve the range of their education systems. They are doing it to contain much of their own students who might possibly choose a foreign destination and also to invite a larger quantity of foreign students. By doing this they are going through a transformation towards becoming an emerging destination for prospective students from other countries. Amongst the South Asian nation, India is emerging out as an important host country.

Mobility of students to and from India goes back long in history. The famous Indian universities of ancient times such as Nalanda University, Takshashila (now in Pakistan), and Vikramshila, etc. have welcomed scholars from far off lands. Some of these institutions sustained through the medieval period while many of the Islamic learning centers which also attracted foreigners could not preserve their systems as the Europeans invaded and set up Western style universities surfaced as the mode of learning centres.

In the post Indian independence period, the trend reversed when Indian education system began to improve once again. It began to attract international scholars mainly from other countries although in a rather unassuming number. Now the Indian education system has gone through enormous changes; grown to have secured the ranking of third largest in the world after China and the United States of America. As a matter of fact, India also hosts a considerable amount of international students. The efforts to increase the foreign student participation were not only insignificant but also reports prepared on National Education Policy or Education Commissions made no remarks on internationalization of this sector. Regardless of the existence of many foreign students in major universities, India failed to document any systematic policy regarding them. As a result, the higher education sector largely remained inward looking in nature.

Indian higher education institutes hosted students from around ninety countries in the year 1988-1989. Over the years, since then, the numbers of countries from which students arrived increased. The growth was steady in the early nineties to mid-nineties when the number touched thirteen thousand in 1993-1994. After that, it started to decline once again towards the later half to only remain stagnant till the year 2000.

The declining trend may have caused due to two reasons; first, internationalization of education was occurring with rapidity at this point of time in several developed nations such as America, the UK, and Australia. These countries began promoting their higher education programmes by schematizing to develop their varsities at both domestically and also promote what they have at the international level to attract people in bulk to decrease their financial burdens. India at this time was unmoving related to their educational matters hence initiatives were missing.

Universities began to observe an increase in their incoming foreign students once again since the twenty-first century. The trend experienced remarkable volte-face when the numbers began to escalate since the years 2001-2002. In the year 2007-2008, the number was highest at approximately twenty-one thousand pupils. The reasons for such a remarkable change believed by experts to be owing to policies executed in the 10th Five Year Plan, creation of committees and programme initiative by the University Grants Commission to promote higher education abroad to target more number of students from various countries. These initiatives gave off positive results and as a result, the capacity of foreign nationals improved considerably.

India is slowly but surely budding as a favored country for international students, essentially arriving from the neighborhoods. The expansion of foreigners count has been striking. Latest data for 2011-2012 illustrates that in only one year, they received more than five thousand six hundred students; an increase of about twenty-four percent compared to previous years.

The expansion was slow but it is still growing in terms of a number of students as well as sending countries. On the report gathered by the All India Survey of Higher Education in 2012-13 , the overall count of foreign national students registered in Indian institutions was 34, 774 arriving from hundred sixty countries from all over the world. In 2012-13 the top-ten sending countries were in the following order: “Nepal,

Bhutan, Afghanistan, Iran, Malaysia, Iraq Sudan, Rwanda, Sri Lanka, and the United States". Bangladesh was not among the top-ten sending countries . Highest contribution of international students were from India's neighbouring countries of which Nepal comprised 23.6 percent of the total, followed by Afghanistan comprised of 9 percent, Bhutan was 4.8 percent, Bangladesh at 3.2 percent , and Sri Lanka at 2.7 percent of the foreign students. In 2015-16 the number was 45,425 and in 2016-17, the total number of foreign national students enrolled in Indian institutions was 47,575 .

Of all the students who arrives India to attain higher degrees, seventy-six percent gets enrolled for undergraduate programmes, eighteen percent for postgraduate and the remaining enrolled for Doctoral/Ph.D. Programmes. Interestingly, not many from the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation zone consider India for Ph.D. Programme. Despite that, India is increasingly becoming the center for higher education even in the region. This enormous country is converting to an educational-hub in the Southern region because they have comparatively bigger higher education system and the ability to accommodate those arriving from neighbourhood.

Some new progress has been made the Indian government to promote easier ways for international students to reach out to Indian universities. According to a report by the Times of India (2018) the portal 'Study in India' was launched by the Human Resource Development Ministry, an initiative supported by the Ministry of External Affairs. The initiative has identified a total of hundred sixty higher education institutes to offer education to foreign students interested to study in India of which fifty five percent of the total seats will provide fee waiver to the aspirants. The Ministry considers this as a "major step forward" to let out the Indian education market for international students.

Higher education as a means of persuading prospective relations by means of cooperation is being employed as a tool to conduct foreign policy and a proactive medium, in an endeavor to institute long lasting concern by utilizing soft power methodologies. In fact, India established some collaborative public diplomacy enterprise with its neighbour Bangladesh. The India-Bangladesh relationship is rests on various types of cooperations together with wide-ranging strategic partnership.

Education plays an essential task aiming to contribute to knowledge and mutual consideration between Bangladesh and India in area of education, research, training, culture etc. The world political milieu is shifting incessantly, so as of major significant ambitions, governments are modifying their public diplomacy strategies to retain close communication with communities around the world. Bangladeshi market has a young, motivated populace increasingly becoming prosperous. They are way more mobile in nature. These changes have increased the number of Bangladeshi citizens in search of to quality education from foreign countries.

Besides the extensive people- to- people interface, India and Bangladesh experiences numerous governmental meetings, high-level correspondence and visits on a frequent basis. In last four decades the two close neighbours due their ups and downs have had various phases of cooperations and conflicts. Besides all conventional high political matters, one area of cooperation between the two is in the field of education. In the second half of the seventies domestic political nuisance caused higher educational institutions to experience session jams, high-cost, lower standards pushing away more and more students towards Indian education.

Bangladesh over the last couple of decades, have witnessed an outburst of young higher education aspirants among. An improving GDP and increasing middle class prompted requirements to establish a knowledge driven skilled society. Globalization and advancements in ICT gave momentum internationalization of higher education. The mobility necessitated a legalized recognition from India for those coming from Bangladesh in the form of student visa, research permit, residential permit/certificates etc.

Bangladeshi students and scholars began to consider India to fulfill their educational needs. Multifarious collaborations and cooperative initiatives made it easy for them to come to India. Besides those who come to India through the collaborative programmes, many students/scholars come to India as 'self-finance' candidates. As an initiative of step forward in 2015, India signed several cooperations with Bangladesh to enhance the educational field to new dimensions.

According to HarshVardhan Shringla the Indian High Commissioner in Dhaka, Bangladesh is moving speedily towards attaining its aim to develop into a modern

economy and India is unswerving to being a close associate in this endeavour of progress. For India, according to The Diplomat (2015) education is one of the high priorities in this regard.

4.8 Education Diplomacy and Bilateral Cooperation between India and Bangladesh

Bilateral Cooperation in the area of education, research, science-technology-innovation, and development whether modern or traditional has transcended from being mere collaboration to transforming into ‘multi-dimensional relationship’, as stated by the British Council report (2012), in the form of ‘strategic partnership. This has become plausible, besides financial diversification and consolidation of various programs, due to the incremental significance of major players.

Vandewalle (2015) propounds, globalisation and technological changes, have reoriented international relations in the last decade. Traditional methods of practicing diplomacy (using hard-power) are no more the standard manner in which any country would project its image to the world. Technological conveniences in transport, telecommunication, etc enabled speedy transference and transmission of people and information worldwide respectively. Gradually, traditional diplomacy has been sidelined to incorporate and expand with other forms of (soft) diplomacy that are indispensably non-state actors, networks, working on the premise of people-to-people contact. An essential facet of the twenty-first century is soft diplomacy shift towards neighboring nations (ibid.). Foreign policy is now more collaborative and conducted through cooperations and mutual agreements rather than power coercions.

India is a soft power abundant country. It has been discussed in the previous chapter that India much of India’s soft power is inherent in its prosperous cultural reservoir. Nye (2004: 11) believes, culture is one the three primary resources of soft power, besides political values and foreign policy; therefore one must extensively wield it through soft diplomacy to maximise the image of one’s country. Furthermore, soft power diverges from quantifiable policies, for example, trade and development cooperation; aspirations achievable by indirect means. All it entails are right tools that will provide essential mediums of portraying a positive image of a certain country

As India shifted towards practicing soft power since the emergence of globalization at the onset of the twentieth century, cultural relations have immense potentialities for magnifying India's global domination and attractiveness.

It is imperative to identify educational cooperation as a sub-section of a nation's international relationship. This sub set of cooperation becomes purposeful when it involves bona fide complementarities of interests shown by various technological and scientific tools by states (as main actors) involved. In the India-Bangladesh case contemplations on educational cooperation allows one to examine their foreign policies practiced to meet their priorities at the domestic end.

To make it easier to comprehend let us emphasize the difference between the two concepts cooperation and collaboration. These two words are many times used interchangeably which commonly means 'working together'. The characteristic displayed by these expressions is, however, are distinct when referred to an international working level. Collaboration is not as expected a reasonable type of relationship; mostly it is asymmetrical. In programs or policies where this type of relationship is adopted, there is always the main actor, accountable for the outcomes achieved while others involved are just supporting actors. The relationship does not necessarily hold upon mutual trust as generally the 'stronger' participant is given utmost importance.

Cooperation is more likely to give equal opportunities to each partner to bring out the best he can offer, letting each one deal fairly to fulfill the requirements of the other associate with the assurance of preserving its liberty. Decisions, in this type of relationship, is made together throughout the phases of planning, implementing, evaluating or even shifting directions of the strategies of the research undertaken.

International cooperation is an emergent phenomenon. It leaves wide open scopes of opportunities for developing countries. Undertaken researches have gained advantages from this since it engages a substantial amount of programs. As the outcome of partnerships results in accomplishment; they stimulate to go for more complex associations, needs more synchronization, mutual sharing of knowledge and task.

Educational cooperation enables expansion of academic mobility. It entitles developing countries like Bangladesh in the formation of human resources to strengthen their workforce. Qualified human resources can manage public and private sectors more efficiently, implement projects meant for infrastructural development better and show healthy competitiveness. Education also plays a significant role in the distribution of liberal practices, i.e., the promotion of soft power. It is especially important when attending to students belonging to an authoritarian state

Countries are engaged in public diplomacy activities by using various modalities such as educational exchange programs, educational cooperation understandings, well-planned media promotions, information propagation strategies, and cultural centre in a foreign country, etc.

These activities are intended to exhibit a positive impression of a country; to ease out any misapprehensions to tacitly influence foreign citizens to gather support for one's foreign policy. Nancy Snow, in her chapter 'Rethinking Public Diplomacy', (Snow and Taylor, 2008:3) remarks, 'public diplomacy is inevitably linked to power'. Most of the countries of the world are responsive to the changing realities of today. In conducting diplomatic agendas they are shifting their attention to public diplomacy. More and more nations realise that to conduct foreign policy successfully, diplomacy must be carried out by using varied modalities.

Out of all the tools of public diplomacy, educational cooperation is possibly one of the most complimented widely adopted mechanisms. Exchange of people used in foreign policy for mutual understanding started to obtain considerable importance from different nations in the first half of the twentieth century. Additionally, the founding of the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation in 1921 its conversion into the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization popularly known as UNESCO suggests the eminent status of the international educational programmes as important political apparatus. Connecting education with international relations is not a ground-breaking perspective. Being a sub-group of public diplomacy, it is directly connected with cultural diplomacy; therefore the discourse around it is shared.

Nonetheless, by upholding an obvious difference between hard power and soft power, scholars of political science unreservedly play down the relationships between the theories of these two approaches. In spite of that this study aims to create a bond to fill the gap by throwing light on the way education is engaged in diplomatic practices which in turn plays an important role in transforming international relations (Proitsi, 2015).

Being a part of these kinds of programs helps absolutely first-hand opportunities to mix with people belonging to assorted religious and cultural backgrounds. It helps diminish pre conceived chauvinistic mentalities among groups facilitating a fair ground for mutual understanding. Moreover, international students due to their intercultural experiences and knowledge most appropriate to perform as ambassadors between the home and host country, increase the outcome of their exchange experiences.

This may help to reduce the obstacles among culturally dissimilar people, eliminate narrow-mindedness by building up a sense of forbearance in the process. Many are of opinion; these programs also provide methods to export the political and economic philosophy through guest students, which often lead onto turn into leaders in their respective countries, by employing the paradigms they mastered in their host countries. Today, many countries are using student exchange programs as a tool to attempt to increase their influence and forward their international policy agendas. Governments are playing an active role in sending and receiving students among their institutes of higher education.

Education diplomacy is an emerging sub-category of public diplomacy in need for a deconstruction followed by re-definition of its worth in contemporary foreign policy making. Traditional diplomacy connected education simply with regulated bilateral exchanges whereas educational diplomacy functions under a much wider capacity. Massification and internationalization of education diplomacy in the higher education sector drastically increased people's engagement (ibid.). The main purpose of a state continues to be the preservation of self-interest of their possession, historically speaking focus of diplomacy has shifted from political to mostly economic and cultural. Diplomacy constantly undergoes alterations as per the demand of the time. New diplomatic characteristics at present include both complex and liberal attributes.

A pluri-directional and versatile entity aided in developing a diplomatic sub-categorisation emerging from an interdisciplinary perspective. Thus public diplomacy was decoded to 'cultural diplomacy', 'educational diplomacy' to name a few. People generated soft power in combination with government support reigns now. Education diplomacy plays a definitive role in making foreign policy.

The approach on international education is an anomaly here with a sizeable amount of resources for research and statistics matters related to attracting foreign student. To suggest more accurately, international higher education work as an extension of foreign policy and public diplomacy of a state. Developed countries like Canada, China, Germany, US, UK, etc acknowledged the power of education in enhancing their national interest. They understand its importance to achieve their overall soft power goals. The Canadian Governor General Johnson introduced the term for international education as 'diplomacy of knowledge'. He believes the foreign policy is an unhidden treasure waiting for the rest of the countries to recognise its value and adopt it in their long-term strategy (ibid.). Educational diplomacy helps to establish inter-country relationships that are mutually instrumental and complementary. It plays important roles in the strategic partnerships of acting countries like expanding partnership opportunities, international-exchange and fostering equity in education.

4.8.1 Education Cooperation Initiatives between India-Bangladesh

The Bangladesh-India Educational Initiative was taken into consideration by the Prime Ministers of India and Bangladesh in 2015²⁸ to strengthen education and research with a belief that this initiative will mark an improving relationship to prosper both. India and Bangladesh have various cooperation schemes that have been initiated so far. Some of the existing cooperations in the field of education are:

- The Statement of Intent on Bangladesh-India Education Cooperation,
- MoU between Jawaharlal Nehru University and University of Dhaka,
- Bangladesh and Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, India and University of Dhaka

²⁸As reported in the Ministry of External Education, Bilateral Documents

- Bangladesh for Joint Research on Oceanography of the Bay of Bengal,
- MoU between University of Rajshahi, Bangladesh and University of Jamia Milia Islamia, India,
- MoU between National Institute of Fashion Technology (NIFT) and Bangladesh Garments Manufacturers and Exporters Association (BGMEA) Institute of Fashion Technology.

The High Commission of India in Dhaka proffers scholarships to Bangladeshi students every year via various schemes under the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) to pursue their chosen academic courses in various India Universities. Some of these universities are funded by the Ministry of External Affairs, India. Through this body, the Government of India (GoI) extends different types of scholarships to Bangladeshi students who plan to study in India. News of scholarship offers are conveyed to the individual governments via India 'diplomatic missions' placed abroad. In a similar way, nominations are sent back by the same authorities to the India missions who deal with this business. The arriving of international students in campuses in India is viewed as ways to strengthen cultural bondings. The purpose of an organization is palpable in Maulana Azad's inaugural meeting speech of the Indian Institute of Culture Relations on April 9, 1950 where Azad (1956: 133) enunciated: the establishment of the council will empower India to expand its cultural relations with the member nations constantly through cooperation to help India further its objects.

4.8.2 The Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR)

An extremely dynamic approach to promote education and technical training is ongoing since 1990. Several thousand Bangladeshi students and officials pursued their studies and training courses in India, under ICCR and ITC scholarships. Over the years, increasing number of students from Bangladesh chose India to pursue their higher education.

The ICCR was established to primarily strengthen India's cultural relations with other countries. As per the MOU, promoting cultural exchange, composition and execution of policies and schemes is the purpose of existence of this organization. India has

always emphasised on fostering the same with other countries including its immediate neighbours and diaspora spread round the world. In order to execute their motive, ICCR embraced diverse activities related to cultural and educational exchanges (Wang, 2014). Out of the fort-nine already existing and fifteen upcoming centres which are spread around different countries, one is located in Dhaka, Bangladesh.

The varieties of activities they undertake differ from country to country. ICCR also manages academic exchanges, exchange of students, scholars, and academicians through the award of scholarships in a selective way. As its precise priority is on neighbouring countries and the Indian diaspora, it offers financial support in the form of scholarships to its South Asian neighbours: Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Afghanistan. Besides ICCR the Indira Gandhi Cultural Centre plays a very significant role in promoting cultural connections. The Indira Gandhi National University has established twelve Overseas Study Centres in ten countries.

There were 3339 scholarship slots available for the Academic Year 2015-2016. The number of ICCR scholars is increasing each year, for instance it grew to 6252 in 2014-15 to 6518 in 2015-16. The Council grants fellowships to international students annually following the regulations of the Cultural Exchange Programme accorded between the 'Government of Indi and the Government of Bangladesh for educational purpose, research activities and training in different fields. Candidate's selection is merit-based who generally apply for UG, PG and PHD degrees. Along with positive progresses in other fields of India-Bangladesh relations, the introduction of newer scholarship slots suggest an improving relations between the two countries.

Scholarships are offered by Indian government to foreigners who apply at educational institute from India from a choice of different disciplines and programmes. Scholarships are obtainable not only for degree courses and research work but also informal subjects like dance, classical music and craft. The General Scholarship Scheme is awarded to each year from certain Asian, African and Latin American countries. It is at the level of undergraduate, postgraduate degrees and not for medical research, MBBS, BDS and PHD. This scholarship is, however not offered to Bangladesh.

4.8.3 Cultural and Educational Exchange Programmes

The students and scholars of Bangladesh apply every year for scholarships under various schemes suiting their eligibility and preferences. Educational cooperation between India and Bangladesh so far offers ten types scholarship schemes. Some of the scholarship schemes are discussed below:

4.8.3.1 Commonwealth Scholarship Scheme

This proffers grants once a year applicants from Commonwealth countries, therefore Bangladesh is a beneficiary. It is primarily for post- graduate studies, few awards for undergraduate studies may be given in exceptional cases in disciplines that have inadequate facilities in the candidates' country.

4.8.3.2 Bangladesh Scholarship Scheme

This scheme offers hundred scholarships annually to applicants at an undergraduate degrees (comprising engineering), postgraduate degrees and for pursuing doctorate degree (PhD).

4.8.3.3 ICCR Scholarship Scheme

This scheme offers hundred scholarships annually under the ICCR scheme to undergraduate and postgraduate candidates in Performing Arts, Visual Arts, and Music, Dance, Indian Classical Painting and Sculpture and conduct research work. This scholarship is obtainable to candidates from any country.

4.8.3.4 India Scholarship (Bangladesh) Scheme

This plan gives hundred scholarships annually to Bangladeshi citizens, mostly to UG, PG and Doctoral level (barring engineering),

4.8.3.5 SAARC Scholarship Scheme

This scheme offers fourteen scholarships annually, two seats to each member country like Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. These scholarships are offered to pursue Undergraduate, Postgraduate and Ph.D. Courses. The financial terms and conditions are finalised by the SAARC secretariat.

4.8.3.6 AYUSH Scholarship Scheme for BIMSTEC Countries

It annually offers thirty scholarships to member countries: Bangladesh, Bhutan, Myanmar, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Thailand. These scholarships are offered to pursue Undergraduate, Postgraduate and Ph.D. Courses in Indian Traditional Medicine System such as ayurveda, homeopathy yoga, Siddha, and Unani.

4.8.3.7 Technical Cooperation Scheme of the Colombo Plan

India is extending technical cooperation and assistance to the Colombo Plan since 1950 under the Technical Cooperation Scheme of the Colombo Plan. It is controlled by Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance and Ministry of External Affairs for students from Asian countries.

4.8.3.8 Government of India Scholarship for the Heirs of Muktiyoddha of Bangladesh

According to the Independent (2019) under this scholarship there is an old scheme that is the '*Muktiyoddha Scholarship Scheme*', introduced by the government of India in 2006 for the successors of freedom fighters and; a new scheme, '*Notun India Bangladesh Maitree Muktiyoddha Sontan Scholarship Scheme*' which will award ten thousand applicants over the next five years. The two schemes are concurrently being implemented and so far, 12,957 students have been granted scholarships of overall approximately a little more than twenty three crore taka.

4.8.3.9 Crafts Instructors Scheme

Ten scholarships are given under this scheme each year to citizen belonging to Commonwealth countries for training as craft instructors. Bangladesh is a member country of Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) Scholarship under which they are entitled to five hundred scholarships.

Some other scholarships are: Aid to Bangladesh program and IOR-A (formerly IOR-ARC) scholarship/ fellowship for pursuing various courses and training in India to Bangladeshis fall under the category of architecture of the bilateral "Cultural Exchange Programme (CEP)" 2009-2012 (Hazarika and Mishra, 2016). Most recently India has announced five hundred ITEC scholarships and two hundred seats in ICCR.

A huge number of students come to study in India every year upon receiving these scholarships schemes by the Indian Government as a part of bilateral agreement made with Bangladesh. Such agreements are becoming more common day by day. Most of the students who avail these schemes are at Bachelors and Masters level. Besides these many scholars choose to come to India to pursue higher education on self-finance. They do not receive any financial assistance from either home country or host country.

4.9 Bangladesh from a Student Sending to a Destination Country

The history of Bangladesh is a history of migration and movement (Etzold and Mallick, 2015). People of this Bengal delta region have been mobile for centuries. Labor migration, the most common form of people movement in Bangladesh goes back to the colonial times. In recent times, students' mobility from Bangladesh to other nations is on the rise. The rising number of students prefers foreign countries in order to fulfill their pursuit for world-standardised higher educational degrees, to be equivalent to their global peers. According to the UNESCO-UIS report, around 60,390 students from Bangladesh were enrolled in foreign countries for higher education (Alamgir, 2018). Previously, substantial quantity of students registered in Indian systems but increase of privatisation lessened the activity.

During the past decades, scope in higher education in Bangladesh has been increased with additional public and private varsities yet many students favor obtaining education from a foreign country which is the doorway to new countries and cultures. Alamgir (2018) opines, students from Bangladesh going to foreign countries conventionally belonged to wealthy families and those with an educational background from English medium; due to economic growth, the successive time saw the rise of middle/higher middle class initiating 'going abroad' for international standard degrees. The ICEF Monitor (2018) elaborates, both economy and middle-class, that is constantly expanding is indeed a powerful indicator for persuasion of international education. These changing trends made analysts categorize Bangladesh to be a 'the surging consumer market nobody saw coming'. The British Council report of 2018 divulge one of the reasons of students moving out of their countries are insufficient capacity and high-quality education at domestic level.

Bangladesh has the potential and emerging as a promising market as a student sending country. It is the eighth most populous country in the world with half of its hundred sixty million people under the age group of 24 years; a little more than third of the population under fifteen years. This clearly shows a rapidly pervasive landscape of an evolving outbound movement in Bangladesh; the number of students in its totality is increasing so is the wide gamut of destinations for education attracting these applicants. Thus, international higher educational mobility is a continuous process in Bangladesh. Domestically the total count of enrolment in this area elevated almost by a third from 2012-2016 estimating a total of more than two million students. As the numbers keep increasing it will naturally create demands domestically, adding fuel to outbound mobility too.

For Bangladeshi students according to the UNESCO data, the most popular countries chosen traditionally are Australia, Canada, Germany, India, United States, United Kingdom, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia; along with Asian countries like Japan, China and Malaysia. Of all the top destinations, as the ICEF Monitor (2018) refers to the report of UNESCO to unfold that out of the sixty-thousand Bangladeshi students enrolled in 2017 in various higher educational institutes internationally, more than half of those students were enrolled in Malaysia that is around 34, 155 students; there were 5,441 students enrolled in “United States, 4,652 in Australia, 3,599 in the United Kingdom, 2028 in Canada, 2008 in Germany, 1099 in India, 870 in Saudi Arabia, 810 in Japan and 637 in the United Arab Emirates” (Alamgir, 2018). According to Melley (2018), Bangladesh by 2027, will be amongst the top ten expanding market for outbound mobility in terms of absolute numbers by twenty-seven thousand.

Bangladesh has always been a major student sending country. The past few years it has shown rising trends of gradually becoming a preferred destination country for higher education. There is a rising competitiveness among many countries to host international students hence in order to survive in an expanding market; many prospective host countries offer high-quality education at reasonable expenses, Bangladesh being one of them.

The University Grants Commission (UGC) initiated manifold schemes to charm foreign students to choose public and private universities in Bangladesh. It published a book named ‘Universities of Bangladesh and distributed them to the High

Commissions and Embassies of different countries to popularize their education system. There are around three thousand international students enrolled in different public and private universities across the country, mostly from SAARC nations, from African and few from other Asian countries. To attract more students, the UGC has been schematizing alternate ways like increasing SAARC scholarships concomitantly upholding the international standards.

According to the UGC Bangladesh, many students come frequently from India, Nepal, Bhutan, Pakistan, Indonesia, Myanmar, Palestine, Philippines, and the United Arab Emirates to get admission in public and private institutes. According to the reports of the UGC Annual Reports 2015, in total five hundred ninety-three international students were enrolled in eighteen public institutions in 2015, four hundred thirty-two students in 2014 and three hundred twenty-six in 2013. In the private universities the numbers were higher. In 2015 there were fifteen hundred forty-eight foreign students, in 2013 it was sixteen hundred twelve and almost same in 2011 . Students studying in the private universities are of opinion that the quality of education is comparatively better in Bangladesh than many other countries because of qualified faculties. Besides quality education are factors such friendliness, hospitality, respect, tolerance for other race/community, religious harmony etc makes international students comfortable in Bangladesh.

4.10 Conclusion

Education has been practiced in the Indian subcontinent since the pre-ancient period following its own teaching methods. During pre-ancient period teachings were in the form epic narrations like Mahabharata and the Ramayana; the ancient period practiced the Gurukul system, the Buddhist period involved in the establishment of world-renowned universities like the Takshashila, Nalanda, etc where hundreds of foreign students from various countries came to live for years to study the teachings imparted in those institutes. The historical chronicles reveal that these educational institutes welcomed foreign students and much about India's cultural practices came to be known from the documentation of the foreign pilgrims and scholars.

Bangladesh was located on the eastern part of the Indian landmass inhabited by Bengali race. Being a part of the Indian landmass, education system was similar in the

eastern zone too. The Muslim rulers came to India and spread Islam including eastern Bengal. But their settlement did not hamper educational practices in any manner. The Muslim rulers brought with them their own rich practice what we know as the maktabas and madrasas; a traditional method of teaching following Islamic ways. The Muslims marked the medieval period but the similarities between the ancient and medieval periods were education was primarily based on religious teachings.

In the pre-colonial period comprised of Ancient, Buddhist and Medieval period, Indians practiced their own indigenous form of education system. Even the British imperialists brought about major changes in the education system in the Indian subcontinent, but it is by no means to propound that the pre-colonial India was bereft of an educational system before that. In fact, education has been used as a low politics tool to effectuate high politics issues. The enrolment of foreign students who came from China, Japan, Indonesia and various other countries corroborates the fact that education cooperation was practiced long before we started discussing about it in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Education as 'low politics' instrument to achieve national interest deserves more importance than it is usually given. It has been often used consciously or unconsciously since the ancient period by each successive rulers of India to obtain 'high politics' outcome. The British rulers skillfully introduced Western learning system, accepted positively by the Hindus, but the same was repudiated by the Muslims. As a result, the Muslim learning centres began to decay and the community was pushed backwards in the society whereas the Hindus became more educated and socially powerful. The differences coupled with various other issues like economic backwardness, discriminations, etc. which finally led to the partitioned of the great Indian subcontinent and formation of Pakistan and Bangladesh.

It is an observation that, the phenomenon of globalisation in the nineties began to emphasise on concepts like soft power, public diplomacy which primarily function by using the 'low political' tools like educational cooperation, cultural exchange, health, sports, media diplomacy etc. to make positive impacts (by one country on another) to build friendly bilateral relations which ultimately helps one to gain favorable foreign policy to fulfill their national interests. In this context, by engaging in educational cooperations to promote each other's good image, secure national interest and fulfill

domestic requirements both India and Bangladesh have started to focus on their soft diplomacies; to rebuild the disintegrated system of education as an integrated one realise their individual 'high political' objectives.

International education is the impalpable soft power value that emerges through collaborations, exchanges, and interactions. If strengthened effectively, it turns in to a major medium to contribute to the international policy interests of a nation, enabling others to construct and control relationships, identify with cultures, outlook and behaviour; For instance, the pilgrims and scholars from far off land came to India and lived for years, learnt about the societies, appreciated the culture and in exchange they understood India's rich cultural heritage; left behind their cultural practices and preserved their experiences in their writings. Over the years, diplomatic practices have metamorphosed, assimilating to the interconnected, globalised world; gained recognition as a mechanism through which state and non-state actors can value others.

Chapter 5

Implications of Education Cooperation on India and Bangladesh Relations

*IMPLICATIONS OF EDUCATION COOPERATION ON INDIA AND
BANGLADESH RELATIONS*

5.1 Background

India's relationship with Bangladesh is civilisational, rooted in economic, social and human developments. There are diverse factors that link them together. Bangladesh's behaviour towards India has been mostly perspective oriented; hence their approach towards the same has fluctuated time and again under changing governments. That is to say, New Delhi has been at times apprehended as a friend and many a times perceived as an intimidating factor. Such oscillations of feelings have produced changing patterns that affected their bilateral-relations in the last forty-eight years.

The Sheikh Hasina run Awami League government has always accepted India with cordiality because she believes in pursuing friendly relations with her most powerful neighbour. On the contrary, the previous marshal run governments and nationalist parties habitually promoted India as an adversary; a source of irritant.

Since the nineties not only the foreign policy conduct of India changed, so did that of Bangladesh's in its domestic front. India shifted its regional and international outlook towards promoting soft diplomacy to broaden their horizon as a strong nation and improve their impression among the neighbouring countries (Curtis, 2018). Bangladesh's foreign policy principles changed due to its re-democratisation and significantly shifted since the second term of PM Sheikh Hasina from 2009; with a stringent attitude towards New Delhi, actuated by her government by adopting India-oriented policies. The aim was to establish an enduring, peremptory bilateral relationship. New Delhi reciprocated in a similar manner towards these initiatives. The relationship, since then resultantly experienced positive outcomes in the past decades, a trend that was nearly invisible since the mid-seventies.

It comes naturally to AL government to feel friendly towards India given their ideological equivalence with that of Indias'. This feeling has always emphatically

prompted them to pursue a pro-India strategy. The basal tenets of the Awami League leader's pro-India policy applications nonetheless are far more deeper. Her approach was taken as an opportunity by India and put in to force by undertaking various initiatives.

The India-positive foreign policy conduct of Bangladesh stem from not isolated aspect but it is the outcome of multiple interactive factors (Chakma, 2012), such as "personal, domestic and regional/international factors". On the basis of causalities, it is imprudent to draw attention on only one aspect and ignore the rest; rather it must be utilised to broadly comprehend the Hasina government's India-tilted policy and reciprocal response from the Indian government.

Practicing good relations have great implications in the maintenance of their national interest. The two countries share land border, common river water, maritime boundaries, land route for trade and commerce, economic, political issues, economic goals and various other goals. Geo-strategic location of both the states is intrinsically consequential for their individual survival. If they do not establish viable bilateral relations with each other, there is an equal possibility for both of their national interests to suffer.

India practiced a defensive kind of foreign policy during the first five decades of independence; inclined more towards hard power. Global recognition of India's magnitude is a constant desire of India's foreign policy since independence. A desire to pursue supremacy and expansion to protect own self has been witnessed in numerous events. India's military intervention to defeat Pakistan during the Liberation War of Bangladesh is a typical example of flexing hard power muscles which initially was appreciated by Bangladesh but later the same attitude was considered as a hegemonistic approach.

As it is, India-Bangladesh relations were always guided by 'feelings' since the British rule which continued even after nineteen seventy one. Their impression of being a hegemon is still unabating in the minds of many. Since the beginning of the nineties it was India's priority to transform the image from a regional dominant factor to an approachable neighbour. At this point, the best diplomatic tool India could employ is 'soft diplomacy' or more commonly 'public diplomacy' in the field of education,

culture, diaspora, media etc. Thus India's policy orientation with its neighbours since the nineties marks a shift from *hard power* strategy such as defence and diplomatic interposition to a *soft power* approach that uses inter-governmental cooperation, favorable arrangements and economic partnerships.

5.2 India's Soft Diplomacy Approach towards Bangladesh

The term 'public diplomacy' is frequently wielded as a euphemism for propaganda. It is about establishing relationship: an alliance, comprehending different cultures and their people, their divergent needs; communicating one's viewpoints, redressing misperceptions and finding out scopes to be able to find ways to work on common interests. For India, the best way to change its image was by exercising people level diplomacy with Bangladesh (along with other countries worldwide) to improve the misperceptions pervasive among people and engage in policies that are mutually beneficial for upholding national interests as well as bilateral relations. According Mark Leonard, the disparity between public diplomacy and traditional diplomacy is that, the former encompass a larger number of people from participating states. It involves a more broad-ranging concern, not confined to governments only (Leonard, 2002).

Leonard (ibid.) further points out; it has the capability of having an impact on people and their countries in many different ways. It is an opportunity of one to expand their familiarity towards another country, by changing their perceptions, rationalise their image, and letting them self ponder. It helps people to respect one's country by creating favorable outlooks, getting others to perceive matters of global significance from an analogous perspective; involving other's with one's country by reinforcing relations with scientific cooperation, educational exchange and reforms, tourism, brand imaging etc. Public diplomacy can also influence people to do favorable things such as encouraging investments, indulge in partnerships and collaborations. Building relationships is a time consuming investment that can take many years before it fosters a successful return. It has multifarious aspects that require wide-ranging adroitness and cultural virtuosity. It depends on earning high level of credence, strategic planning, budgeting, communication skills and resources. Soft diplomacy as a tool to effectuate foreign policies is conducted these days by countries around the world. This is the reason why their foreign policy conducts matter and has direct or

indirect implications on each other. The traditional knowledge dissemination methods India possessed during the ancient and medieval period was highly praised by other countries of the world. In a similar way, a substantial number of people come to India to obtain knowledge from higher educational institutes. This encourages them to emphasise more on their soft policy strategies.

Ian Hall in the *Journal of Asian Survey* remarks, “India’s established concentration in public diplomacy has been driven by the observation of its execrable representation in certain aspects in world politics and by the plausibility to accept innovative technologies in the external communication of the state” (Hall, 2012:1098). The Indian government included a ‘cultural’ ethos into its policy practices (Blarel, 2012). It has exclusive agencies for public diplomacy in areas of cultural and academic exchange (Hall, 2014). Higher education from foreign countries or international education is an as important soft power tools employed by states and various international stakeholders. As a global phenomenon, higher education induce interest, attracts people in the myriad culture and languages of other places.

It has been discussed in the previous chapters how, on many occasions throughout the history of India, education as a low political issue has been used by rulers to gain high politic issues. In the order of a complete circle, education cooperation, as an effective tool of soft power diplomacy, is being used worldwide to secure conducive relations. It has the power to construct a positive reflection and increase influence in host countries. Its pleasing characteristics place it in the dimensions of soft power within a comprehensive structure of diplomacy. Increasing participation of students via exchange programs, scholarship programs or even self-financed enrolments are all esteemed in the development of international strategies. Mobility of students across international borders brings thousands of students, researchers, scholars, professionals in a concurrently favorable environment for people-to-people interaction. It is a chance for other nations to exchange and share their socio-cultural, political and educational qualities to each other through exchange of students and institutions; helping the stakeholders increase global visibility, influence and endure positively in people’s reminiscence.

Indian education system is a knowledge reservoir. It possessed a globally commended traditional system of teaching and learning since the ancient period. Universities like

Nalanda, Takshashila contemporaneously attracted pilgrims, pupils from around the world. The Western ways of the colonisers distorted the subcontinent's underpinnings of local educational structures and within the transforming substructure; India's position was completely reversed from a contributor (supplier) to a beneficiary (receiver). This tendency stayed throughout the post Independence phase.

5.3 Changes and Continuity of the Education in the Sub-continent

Historical corroborations adduce, student mobility, academic exchange, knowledge transferring activities is a very old practice in the context of India and its neighbours like Bangladesh which was once an integrated part of the larger syncretic system. Kaur (2016:34) says, India's decrepit and most renowned educational institutes attracted approximately ten thousand and five hundred pupils from various countries of the world who registered in over sixty disciplines including religion, philosophy, logic, law, literature, grammar, medicine, astrology, arts etc. (Rajkhowa, 1935; Tilak, 2010). Correspondingly, the famous Nalanda University is appraised as a watershed evolution in India's global knowledge promulgations. No wonder, scholars flocked from China, Korea, Tibet, Japan, Indonesia, Persia and other countries (ibid.), meanwhile many of those established learning institutes continued teaching in their own methods during the medieval period continually attracted students from different countries (Op.cit).

Bangladesh possesses identical attributes of the Indian education system. Bangladesh is a newly formed country but in no way a new civilization. Bangladesh's association with India has been addressed as a composite one woven intricately. It is so because, Bangladesh emerged as a separate nation in nineteen seventy-one but in actuality it was the eastern extension of Indian subcontinent's unexpurgated Bengal province. Naturally, the education system of India one knows was also shared by Bangladesh. Bangladesh practiced the ancient methods of education which was rich in culture and heritage.

The then East Bengal was a holder of rich educational system whose achievements are mentioned in the historical narratives of famous Chinese scholars like Fa Hien and Hiuen Tsang who lived in the subcontinent during the seventh century. The advent of Britishers disrupted the educational heritage of the undivided region at the same time

established the root of suspicion and doubt amongst the Muslims and Hindus. Bangladesh was formed in 1971; twenty four years after forming India in 1947. Ever since, the two countries have been trying re-connect to the past glories in present times through various collaborative initiatives. It is rather astounding to evaluate the two countries that was a part of the same organic system, separated by political conspiracy, now re-integrating holding on to the same threads that once consolidated them.

However, it is a disconsolate historical certitude how India's traditional heritage was not made to last by the imperial rulers. During the eighteenth century, the establishment of British hegemony over the subcontinent first through trade, later through politics of religion, socio-economic and educational opportunities, by introducing a system of learning like the Western methods, the long-established traditional composition of education underwent a distressing setback; the repercussions of which were far-reaching. Kaur (2011:35) points out; India has managed to turn history to its favor by becoming destination country for foreign students from various countries of the world and by strengthening their soft power policies aims to increase the number in the near future.

5.4 Foreign Students in India

There is a widespread ambiguity amongst experts and academics regarding the exact count of foreign students residing in India to study due to noticeable dissimilarities in the numbers mentioned in the reports generated by various organisations. Dissimilarities in reports present varied exegesis of the phrase 'international students'. As a result there is complete lack of unanimity among agencies, international or domestic alike that are responsible for accumulating data on foreign students cross-border movements.

Let us consider the UNESCO – Institute of Statistics that explains the phrase international students or internationally mobile students as people who 'crossed a national or territorial border' in order to fulfill educational purpose and are 'enrolled outside their country' from where they originally belong. It covers only those students who have taken admission in programs/courses valid for the duration of one year. The Institute of International Education (IIE) considers only those students who are

associated with an educational institute on provisional, short-term visas that permit academic course study to be availed as foreign students.

In the Indian frame of reference, according to the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India, a foreign student is ‘citizens of a country other than India’. That is, any person who enters India with study permit is considered an international student regardless of the course or term of stay. Kaur (2016) notifies, the Association of Indian Universities (AIU) abide by UNESCO’s explanation whereas the University Grants Commission follows the explanation recognised by the IIE. In point of fact, the AIU does not count the pupils arriving India under ‘Study India’ scheme or those who are enrolled on Open Universities of India. The University Grants Commission unlike AIU incorporates almost all categories of pupils. According to the explanation adopted by the MHRD, it makes every Bangladeshi student, scholars and researchers ‘international students’ as per the accepted category, as they all arrive India to pursue higher studies with either student or research visa.

5.5 Education Cooperations: Mechanism to Conduct Soft Diplomacy

The Government of India and Bangladesh has been active on the international education front in recent years. The overall relations between them touched pragmatic and favorable heights in the last decade. The initiatives by the Government of India to mitigate the earlier issues filled with premonitions and constant suspicion was visible through the various agreements signed by them. On the education ground, high level officials have been meeting to strengthen international education cooperation and exchange. In 2015, an MOU on cultural and a Statement of Intent on education were finalised besides eighteen other bilateral initiatives; in 2019, an MOU to observe cooperation in education and another one to facilitated training and capacity building were signed. Activities of organizations like Indian Council for Cultural Relations, Indian Council for Social Science Research, Memorandum of Understandings between universities of both countries, annual events like SAARC Study Tour, international conferences, relaxation in visa procedures, and many such agreements on matters like research, transfer of technology and professional trainings have increased over the past years.

These active initiatives are apprehended as soft power or public diplomacy and tertiary education has forever been an essential element of the process of diplomacy. The aforementioned organizations in India along with others initiatives are creditable models of improving bilateral relations, furthered through higher education cooperations. These activities are constructive ways to exercise public diplomacy. They are part of efforts by the Indian government by using student enrolment to obtain policy objectives. As a sending country, it works in favor of Bangladesh because one of their main objectives is to transform into a knowledge driven society. Upgradation of their educational domain, skilled labors and collaboration with foreign communities with academic expertise will undoubtedly facilitate Bangladesh's growth.

5.6 Implications of India-Bangladesh Education Cooperations

Indian higher education sector has been continuously increasing since the last couple of decades. It is believed; accommodating an additional two hundred thousand foreign students to an approximately forty-five thousand does not pose any far-reaching threats in the scopes of Indian students but will positively influence cultural exchanges with its neighbouring states. Student flow between India and Bangladesh has been increasing with each passing year. The flow has not been smooth and steady in the last forty-eight years since Bangladesh's autonomy. The number of students till the end of eighties was higher which declined since the introduction of private higher universities and colleges, significantly reducing the flow in India. More Bangladeshi students and researchers chose developed nations like the United States, United Kingdom, Australia and others for their tertiary degrees.

This chapter primarily highlights the main theme of the research and corroborates the title out of its abstraction to learn whether the soft diplomatic measures undertaken by the decision makers of India and Bangladesh are in verity bringing the two old friends together. This has been done by conducting interviews with high-level officers, students and academic experts. It is correct that more bilateral agreements are being finalised and many of the unnecessarily prolonged and unresolved issues were rectified between them, marking the dormant yet existent fraternal feelings they share.

Reconciliation is an astute way to persist congenially in this era of inter-connected steered by a sense of competitiveness. It is even more so now because, there is a rising concern of depleting natural resources all over the world to which South Asia is not unfamiliar. Maintaining a harmonious attitude will certainly help the two states to co-exist. Having said that, in the actuality of this situation where the countries are today, one must not be oblivious that India-Bangladesh relations and its interpretations are to a large extent, perceptual. Perception or perspectives as non-tangible attributes is one of the driving forces, (in addition to multiple other factors) to determine how far soft policies are successful.

Jishnu Prasanna Mukherjee²⁹, First Secretary (Education) of High Commission of India to Bangladesh remarked that during the seventies the ICCR offered only twenty scholarships. Since then the Indian government has given more than three thousand so far, two hundred twenty seats every year under various schemes. Sixty-one seats were offered to Bangladeshi students in 2018 under the '*Study in India Scheme*' with support from the Indian High Commission in Dhaka. The fair was conducted by AFAIRS Exhibitions and Media Pvt. Ltd based in India in collaboration with domestic consultancies.

Education fairs, '*Indian Education Fair*' was conducted three times in different cities (Chittagong, Khulna and Dhaka) to promote Indian private universities such as Lovely Professional University (LPU), Sharda University, Amity University, SRM University, to name a few from thirty other private institutes. For instance, private universities like LPU offers fifty per cent scholarship and at present accommodating more than eight hundred students of Bangladeshi origin³⁰. In 2015, further remarked the Attaché education, nearly ten Memorandum of Understanding on education was signed between the two countries; for example according to the report of Dhaka Tribune (2015), collaboration between the Dhaka University, Bangladesh and South Asian University, India. In addition write the Dhaka Tribune (2018) to increasing number of scholarships and promoting their private education sector, increased the number of visa duration from one year to three years in 2018.

²⁹ The information has been collected as a field study by interviewing Mr. Jishnu Prasanna Mukherjee – First Secretary Education, Indian High Commission, Dhaka, Bangladesh

³⁰ This information has been collected as a field study by interviewing Mr. P. Krishna Das – Attaché Education of the High Commission of India, Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Educational cooperation is a constructive dimension of bilateral relations between states. It contributes to the state's socio-economic growth, nurtures positive values like reverence and forbearance towards cultural mélange. Education as one of the essence of foreign policy is administered keeping in focus political, economic and cultural aspects. It has been argued before that education and qualification of a nation's workforce are unswervingly correlated hence educational cooperations add to the economic growth. The capability of an economy to entice heavy investments, capital and updated technologies in an ever globalizing society depends on qualification of human resource. In such a scenario, educational cooperations and collaborations play a competitive role.

Exercising bilateral cooperations by using education is a political mechanism to surmise potential relationships among states. India-Bangladesh partnership initiatives in this area contribute to the amelioration of their associations. Both these states are tied by historical linkages; however it has been more than seventy years since Bangladesh and India were separated from once being a cohesive entity and much has become different. Being familiar with ones historical relatedness and other culture, interchange of experiences composes homogenized environment of tolerance, mutual knowledge and understanding.

Higher education is considered as an important tool of public diplomacy and its responsibility is more now than ever to bring countries closer through people-to-people relations. Nations seek to wield soft power by using public diplomacy (like educational/cultural diplomacy). Exercising soft power for one's own growth is common in the foreign policy conduct of recent times, unlike hard power, where nations exercise coercive force to attain desired foreign policy outcomes. Most countries are inclined using the 'power of attraction' instead of threat of military power and economic manipulation whereby they rely on the strength of friendly gestures, consensus and mutually helping cooperations.

Indian foreign policy was inclined towards showing its hard power before the 1990s manifested in a number of incidents be it the Indo-China war of 1962, Indo-Pakistan war of 1965 or India's participation in Bangladesh-Pakistan war of 1971. Gradually with the onset of economic liberalization and globalization its foreign policy approach saw a paradigm shift. Rather than employing force, keeping soft power at the

cynosure of international relations India forged on their strength of culture, education, innovation and friendship with other nations.

The nature of relationship shared by Bangladesh and India are moulded by commonalities of historical, geographic and socio-cultural likeness which goes back in the centuries. Pondering about each other's welfare hence occurs naturally. Prosperity of the region and its people is interconnected; development of one is directly proportional to the other. A decision taken by one of them on the basis their national interest, but at a regional level invariably affects the domestic politics and national interest of the other. Therefore, it has a two-way implication.

Education has always, be in the past or in the present times, as an instrument of soft power played a crucial part in strengthening bilateral relations through people. It primarily seeks to endorse mutual understanding between different nations and their citizens. This is an age when global engagement is accelerating; diplomacy in the field of education has reached to a level of country to country, between institutions, institution to government, people-to-people, people-to-institution and government-to-government alliances and multifarious actors to ensure far-reaching outcomes in matters of bilateral relations.

5.7 Increasing Cross-Border Student Mobility

Cross-border mobility taking place at the level of tertiary level education like colleges and universities are regarded by leaders of countries as one of the most important mechanism in diplomacy. Its role leads to furthering relationships and negotiate directly with not just the universities and colleges outside India but also brings the governments closer; with Bangladesh in the context of this study. The signing of treaties, agreements, memorandums of understanding etc represent significant groundwork laid by institutional representatives. At the time of concluding agreements to materialize academic cooperation, it involves the head of the departments of the particular institutes in concurrence with respective ministries, the formalities and setting harbor facets of international agreement. Countries and their institutions and people (students, researchers, faculty etc.) engaging in educational diplomacy have an obligation to consider other benefits to themselves as well as their

partner countries. This will be best spirit of the international relations and internationalization of higher education.

It is relatively inferred that most of the times education diplomacies that are carried out have sundry rationales behind pursuance of collaborations of any kinds. Governments, policy makers and institutions in nations with assets of higher education superior to others are establishing enterprises to accommodate more students from nations around the world. Mention should justly be made about the fact that becoming a destination for higher education for foreign students is not absolutely dependent on possessing enhanced or better systems in the world. Cross-border mobility is not confined to such features. For instance, the size and quality of higher education system is smaller than India yet it does not stop the former from receiving students from its regional neighbours like India, Nepal and Pakistan.

Jacques Delors' *Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for 21st Century* (1996) highlights on tremendous strength tertiary education can exert in societies by using globalization as a mechanism to lessen gaps in knowledge, enhance communication between people and different cultures. One of the biggest challenges faced by South Asian region is 'capacity building'. India's strategic positioning in the regions as well as historical convention of rich knowledge resource plays an important role in capacity building in its neighboring nations. This is where India realises its assets; letting its colleges, universities, professional institutes to coordinate to demonstrate their strengths in this sector.

In May 2006, the Division of Public Diplomacy was established in the External Affairs Ministry to inform and imbue domestic and global outlook on Indian policy related issues; to construct positive image essential to commensurate India's growing position within international community (Bhasin, 2008). He (ibid.) argues India's public diplomacy section is influenced by similar approach followed by U.S State Department. According to the model, the department's endeavour will be to influence universities, media, think-tanks and academia/experts to create an understanding of the Indian government's policies regarding complex matters. Besides the MEA, organizations like ICCR, IGCC as outstanding tools of India's cultural diplomacy, have engaged themselves to foster an image of their country globally.

5.8 India's Primary Objective to Expand Education Diplomacy with Bangladesh

India's primary objective to emphasise on education diplomacy vis-à-vis Bangladesh is to improve their bilateral ties in current times more than what it was in the past. The aim is to ease their access to Indian universities and boarding institutions, provide right direction and information to students, mutual understanding between people and nations represent a mix of government and people generated soft power.

Implications of conducting public diplomacy especially education diplomacy between India and Bangladesh is very interesting. Due to its manifold aspects it is multidimensional. Bangladesh deviated from India's protective pinion to establish beneficial foreign policy with other countries like China, United States, and Islamic nations which obdurate against its formation. This aberration aggrieved India at that point of time. As a result, regardless of foreign policy was being gingerly conducted, it was characterised by suspicion. Bangladesh's growing proximity with India's corrivals exasperated India and it reflected on their bilateral relations. This feeling continued steadily till the military rule existed till 1989.

In the meantime, student mobility across border continued, but with fluctuating numbers. The ICCR continued to award scholarships to the knowledge seekers. It has been mentioned previously how advent of privatized universities and colleges increased student participation domestically; simultaneously due to globalization students flocked to developed countries reducing student mobility between India and Bangladesh. The trend of going to developed countries persists even now, in larger numbers. China's increasing interest to strengthen relations with Bangladesh was as contemporaneous. China began to look outside its own territories, the basic objective being alteration of its impression around the world; from a global threat to an opportune centre; benefactor.

The Centre for Policy Dialogue postulates, what this image change may be discerned as besides its evolution as a global power. The Chinese version of an image makeover, consistent with its rise as a global power, is rooted in an official discourse aimed at making Sino-globalization a palatable experience for a world not used to Chinese communication culture. China's desire is to present itself as a harmoniously

progressionist country. By following this soft path of diplomacy, it will rectify its image; specifically in the Western countries.

The China factor vehemently bothers India. Bangladesh is growing and ambitious country. They sternly believe in maintaining good rapport with regional powers as well other international community. Bangladesh growing economy demand more partnerships with those who are willing to invest in them. As economy rises, so rises the appetite for better education and technology to equip its human power. China's economic backing and students mobility in foreign countries poses a threat to India's regional stance.

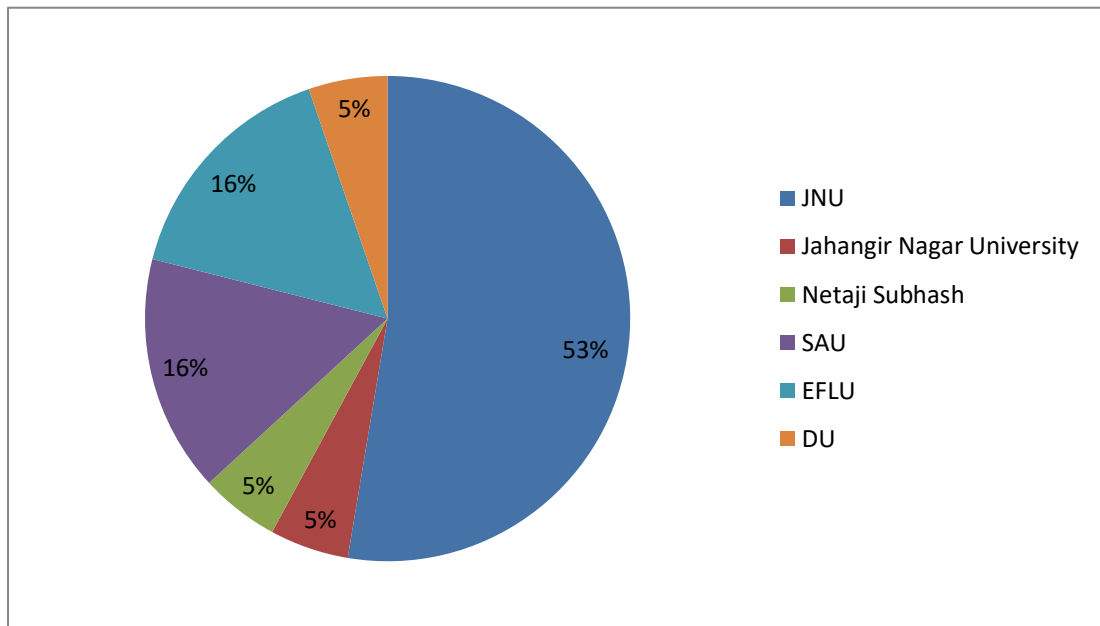
5.9 Perspective of Bangladeshi Nationals about India

India Bangladesh relations, a rather complicated one goes far beyond just foreign policy conducts. It is one relationship that is perspective based, varying from person to person. It is an all inclusive attitude widely prevalent among the people of Bangladesh. A number of factors govern such feelings. For instance, the outlook of a survivor of the War of Liberation may not be at consensus with an individual who is an active supporter of the nationalist party of Bangladesh due to ideological differences. Similarly, it is practicable to bear an absolutely calculative outlook by young students to whom the definition of attractiveness may be about living in a developed nation.

Perceptions therefore are multi-pronged and must be analysed by conducting a wider range of study. In the context of this study, the study was narrowed to perceive the opinion of Bangladeshi students and scholars about their understanding about India. In order to analyse the Bangladeshi viewpoint of those enrolled in Indian higher educational institutions interviews were conducted by filling questionnaires. Of the total respondents who participated seventy-one percent were male and twenty-eight percent female within the age group of twenty-four to forty years. Some of the respondents were currently enrolled as students whereas many of them completed their degrees. The study was to find out the outcome of education pursued from India hence most of the institutes are based in different cities in India. Most of the students belonged to Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi.

Figure 5.1

Bangladeshi Students in Indian Institutes (Selected)



Source: Authors Compilations Based on Personal Interview, (2018)³¹

5.9.1 Academic Opinions of Bangladeshi (Students) about India

The perspectives of Bangladeshi students studying in various universities in India have both positive and negative notions.

Some of the positive perspectives are discussed below:

Around seventy-one percent of respondents are of believe that India is a good choice for higher education for students and scholars especially from the South Asian region. Seventy-six percent students were satisfied with their institutes; Only fourteen per cent students felt, overall quality of India education system is excellent but thirty-eight and thirty-three percent felt the standard is very good and good respectively; and fifty per cent students rated the quality of faculty to be of high standards. The quality of faculty comprised of their knowledge, professionalism and academic attitude. Whether they prefer to comeback or not sixty-six per cent of the respondents believed they would recommend others to go to Indian institutes.

³¹ Compiled by the Author by conducting interviews during field study

According to some students the Indian education system is excellent, with very good faculty and a favorable environment for students to express their ideas and opinion unlike their home countries. The diversities amongst students provide better learning scope apposite to produce value based knowledge.

Not every student who comes to India is satisfied with the overall higher educational system in India which includes teaching method, living standards, financial support etc. Some of the negative views are discussed below:

Nine percent respondents enrolled in the tertiary institutes and completed their courses felt it was an incorrect choice they made by choosing India for their desired degrees. The same students were unwilling to choose the same institute given a second choice neither would they ever recommend the same institutes to other students. Despite of the feasibilities and good quality of education given by Indian education system, which is not only affordable but standardised in many ways in comparison to Bangladesh, most of the respondents did not manifest any desire to return to India for further higher education or research related activities.

Many students are of opinion that although Indian education system is better than Bangladeshi higher education system in many aspects, it is particularly adequate for under-graduation and post-graduation and the overall quality of doctorate research is not as good as other Asian countries such as Hong Kong or Singapore. Indian institutes also fail to dispense research grants and scholarship to foreign students unlike what they offer their own citizens like NET, JRF, and SRF etc. In addition to overall quality of research some institutes are seriously insufficient in maintaining living standards (hostel facilities, food quality etc) compared to the institutes in other countries.

Regardless of the both positive and negative feelings the students harbored, certain factors were in concord. It is interesting to find out that although most of the students were satisfied being in an Indian university, for fifty-seven per cent students, India was not the first choice as a destination. Most of them preferred the United States, Canada and Europe because according to them the developed countries offer career opportunities, have better demand in Bangladeshi job markets, provide better resources, research facilities with funding (financial support system), scope for

citizenship and provides intellectual engagement with scholars from all around the world.

Many of the respondents have enrolled exclusively in higher education hence they had a comparative view on learning experiences between Indian and Bangladeshi institutes. Most of the respondents reciprocated in a positive manner and twenty-three percent felt the learning experiences did not differ from that of their home countries.

India is the closest neighbour to Bangladesh. To an extent the physical geography and socio-cultural attributes are quite similar between the two states. The geographic proximity is feasible hence attracts many students to India. Also, compared to Western countries and other developed nations, Indian education system is cheaper, affordable yet standardised and of better quality than Bangladesh or any other countries in South Asia. For some students, socio-cultural liberty attracts many students from Bangladesh. All these factors are the primary reason for a Bangladeshi person to choose higher education in India.

5.9.2 General Perception of Bangladeshis Students about India

India is not only the closest neighbour of Bangladesh due to geographical closeness; they share many similarities in terms of physical attributes, socio-cultural practices, religious belief, political practices. They are tied together by the same thread due to the shared past. It is germane to find out the common perspective of students who come to India to pursue their higher education from Bangladesh and those students who are prospective candidates likely to pursue higher education. Most of the respondents believed Indian society as liberal, vibrant and social in nature; a country that is diverse, multi-lingual, and multi-cultural and allows more personal freedom and human rights compared to Bangladesh. The idea they had about India in their minds and their experiences were not similar in all cases. Some students are of opinion that Indians are yet to become as liberal as they consider themselves to be, as they are still driven communal politics. Religion is being used by the governments as well as people to dominate over minority communities.

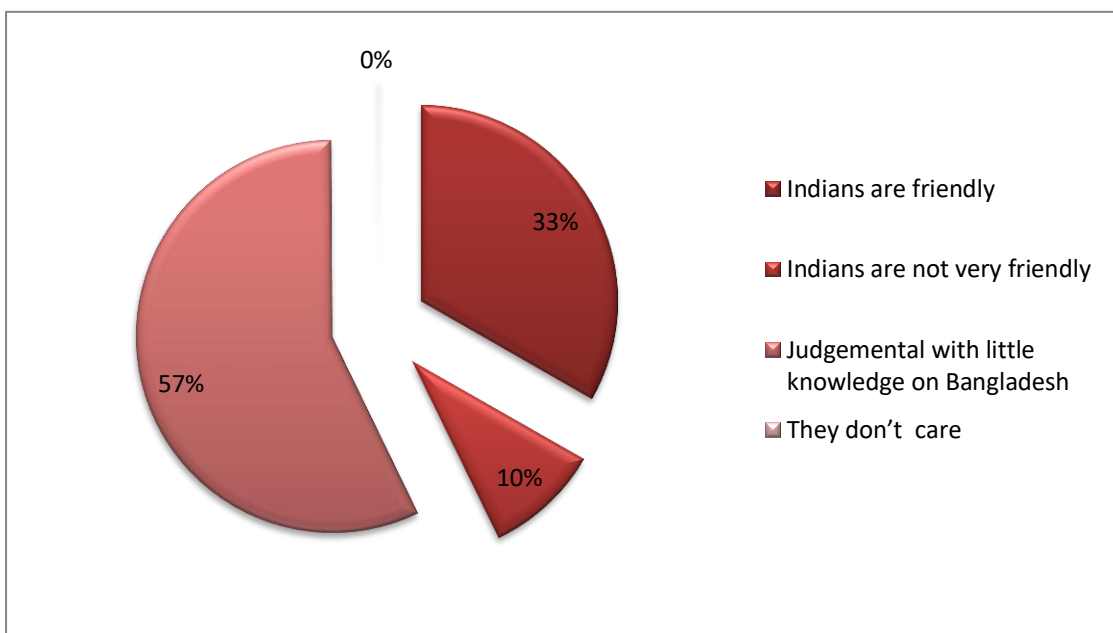
Sixty-six per cent students did not experience any socio-cultural discrimination while living in India; nineteen per cent divulged their fraught some of which were due to Hindu-Muslim communal issues and racism. Perception also varies when people have

never lived in a given country, yet they nurture an idea about that country in their minds. India is diverse country as the physical geography demonstrates, so do the different types of people from assorted ethnicity, race and religions, varying weather, linguistic disparity, food habits, cultural practices so forth. A general opinion prevails that India is accepting, hospitable and culturally becoming more advanced than Bangladesh as they are more. The perceptions vary because to some as these features project a friendly image of India but to many despite of all heterogeneity, India's growing Hindu fanaticism, politics of religion makes the people of Bangladesh apprehensive and trepidatious.

India is a Hindu predominant nation, hence the Hindu community feels closer to their bigger counterpart, and otherwise the feeling of closeness is not deep as it was ideally supposed to be. Many among the population who had ancestry in India and vice-versa recollects the latter with fond memories, but the same feeling does not prevail across the country. The people in general and religious bigots in particular view India as an anarchist in matters of Bangladesh.

Figure 5.2

**Perceptions of Indians towards Bangladeshi Students
(according to Bangladeshi students)**



Source: Authors Compilations Based on Personal Interview, (2018)

The response of fifty-seven per cent Bangladeshi students studying in Indian in higher educational institutes is, most of the Indians lack thorough knowledge about Bangladesh hence they censorious of their socio-politics; ten per cent felt Indians are not friendly and thirty-three per cent felt the Indians were friendly towards them.

5.9.3 Political Opinions of Bangladeshi Students on India

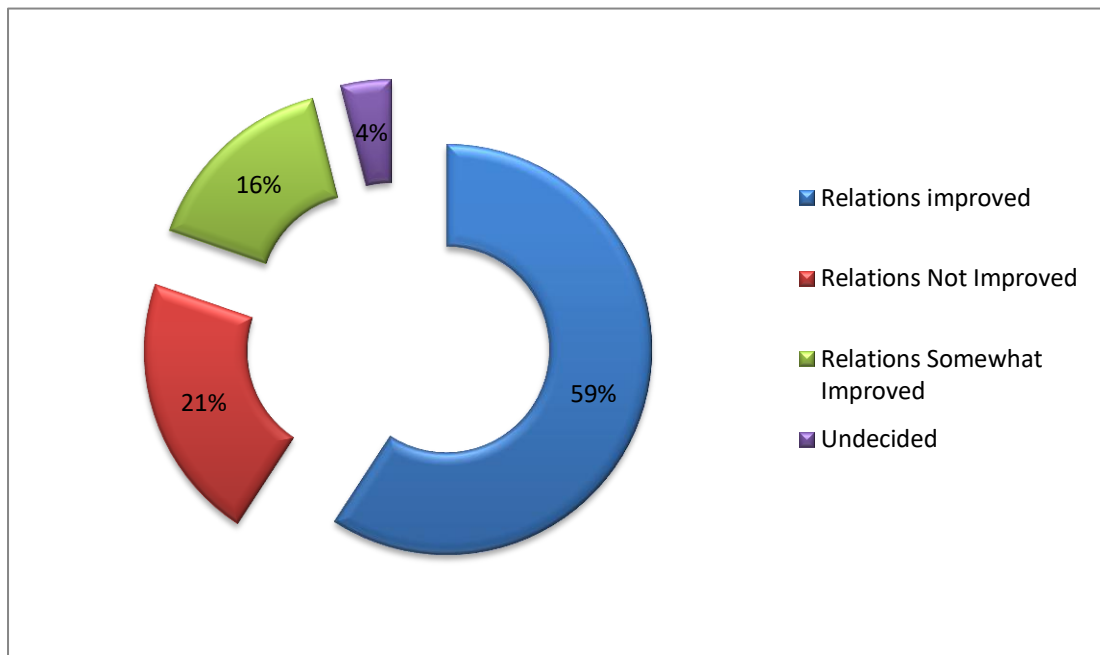
The India-Bangladesh relation is expansive holding several areas of mutual interest. The nature of their association is considered sensitive, complex yet multi-dimensional. It is a known fact how significantly India played a role in liberating Bangladesh to a country. These contributions initiated the two states to become friends. The growing positivity unfortunately underwent many ups and downs (Gulati, 1988:67). The foundation of the perturbing behaviours between India and Bangladesh is based on complexified situation emerged out of the formation of Bangladesh and the socio-political build-outs during the successive time frame thereafter.

India did assist Bangladesh with their own army against Pakistani military, yet as Dutt (1999:141) points out, a series of complications such as deep economic crisis, political instability (due to frequent coups and counter-coups), regime shift and shift in political ideology; civilian agitations, etc made it difficult for Bangladesh to uphold the same essence of friendship with the neighbouring states. Various issues related to Ganges water sharing issue, contention over boundaries of land maritime, sweeping migration, illegal border infiltrations, Farakka Barrage construction by India, issue of Tin Bigha Corridor etc. further deteriorated their relations, created bilateral tensions leading to an anxious atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion (Vinayraj, 2009).

The bilateral relations between the two states have improved to a great extent in the last couple of decades yet it is not easy to wipe out one's long term built notions. Even the youth of Bangladesh do not completely trust India's foreign policy orientations or even domestic politics which adversely affects the psyche of young minds. India has been emphasising on its image to make it more approachable and friendly, yet to make positive impact in the minds of Bangladeshi's is a time consuming effort.

Figure 5.3

Political Perception of Bangladeshi Students about India



Source: Authors Own Compilation (2018)

The political perception among the youth is a side of reflection of India's status among the Bangladeshis. The feelings are assorted due to the historical occurrences imprinted in the minds of the people. Fifty-nine per cent respondents accepted the foreign policy initiatives of the Narendra Modi government vis-à-vis Bangladesh; according to them they approve the positive changes occurring between the two neighbours; twenty-one per cent did not approve the changes and believed the relations are same as before and not changed very impressively; whereas to sixteen per cent students believed, it had somewhat improved with more scope for positive changes. Less than five per cent respondents were either completely unaware of India-Bangladesh political behaviour or not interested in foreign policy matters of their country. Despite a protracted opinion on the Indian governments' foreign policies a majority of students agree to the fact the relations between the two countries have improved in recent years, less than ten per cent found no improvements in the relations.

Bangladeshi students associated with (in the past) and still enrolled in Indian institutes for higher educational degrees spent a substantial number of years in India while

pursuing their education. In their opinion, the two close neighbours have amicable relation which could have been stronger and firmer if built on trust and mutually benefitting initiatives. It still has scope for more improvements keeping geo-political influences in mind.

India and Bangladesh are unbalanced in terms of economy, territory, population or even security strength. As stated by Buzan, Weaver and Wilde (1998), “this constitutional tension provided fertile ground for securitisation of national identities on both sides, and governments found it convenient to cultivate threat perceptions of the other for their own domestic political purposes”; creating a “sense of interdependence in bilateral” relations (Murthy, 2000:1412).

5.10 Bangladeshi’s as International Students – Exploring the Trends

Bangladesh is experiencing a tremendous growth in its higher education sector. An expanding economy, growing youth populations, demand for market oriented jobs, middle-class, scope for better education, science and technology enabled better communication and globalisation has prompted the transitioning country to join the world-wide community of higher education.

The trend of Bangladesh nationals who are prospective students or already enrolled as students worldwide are determined by certain factors. These factors are elaborated below to analyse, to what extent student mobility is increasing or decreasing in the context of India-Bangladesh that would further let us comprehend if the soft power policies practiced by the Indian leaders are at all creating any impact on Bangladesh. Due to more affordability than the decades before, more students are going to foreign countries to seek tertiary education. Some of the findings of the growing trends are discussed below:

5.10.1 A Growing Youth Population in Bangladesh

Bangladesh has undergone revolutionary expansion in terms of student participation and number of institutes alike. Out of Bangladesh’s hundred sixty million population, forty-eight per cent fall under the age group of twenty four. An astonishingly high number of youth who are potential human resource strength for Bangladesh is not exclusive of other part of worlds developing nation many of which are equally

experiencing an age of demographic dividend. Growing number of young population together with completion of primary and secondary degrees along with economic development, globalization and more Purchasing Power Parity are demanding higher education and demand more in the days to come. Abdul Mannan in the Daily Star (2017) remarks, Bangladesh's prosperity lies in its young population presuming the prolific numbers are converted into human resource with quality and accessible education.

5.10.2 Status of Higher Educational Institutes in Bangladesh

In 1971, Bangladesh began its higher educational functioning with merely six national universities; in 2017 Bangladesh had thirty-eight public and ninety-three private universities throughout the country. In four and half decades this a good number of educational institutions established. Until 2017 a little more than three million students were marked to be enrolled in higher educational institutes compared to only thirty-one thousand in early seventies. The Chairman of University Grants Commission, Abdul Mannan asserted in a report in The Daily Star (2017), that over the next decade that it 2016-2026, total tertiary enrolment may tentatively reach more than four million according to the evaluations made by Commission. As a result many students choose to go to a foreign country as they are left with little choice to pursue education from home country.

Growing youth population is an ongoing phenomenon in developing nations, particularly South Asia. Insufficient dispensation of universities to provide education to this growing number of young people to satisfy their demands has become a quotidian issue. The study finds that a new batch of students graduate every year from college; most of them ready to join universities with subjects of their choice. They believe higher education degrees will enhance the likelihood of finding a career. However, despite of a good number of public universities, private universities, professional and polytechnic institutes in the country, huge number of students choose to go to a foreign country.

5.10.3 Number of Bangladeshi people studying abroad

The study found that at least six thousand three hundred ninety people from Bangladesh were enrolled as students in different countries in 2017 (Alamgir, 2018).

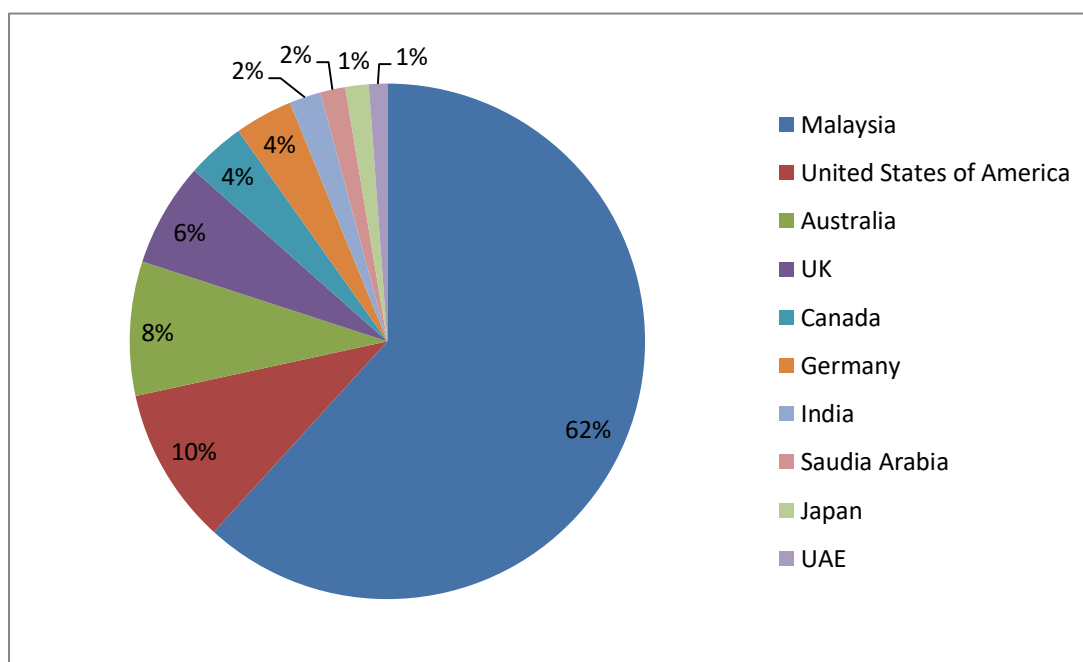
From 2006, foreign-university bound students have more than doubled in 2016 to a thirty-three thousand hundred thirty nine. As per an article by Dhaka Tribune (2018), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization reportedly showed at least ninety people leave Bangladesh on a daily basis as students of which maximum aim to stay back to live a better life.

5.10.4 Preferred Destinations of Bangladeshi Students

It has been learned that more students from Bangladesh are going to foreign countries to pursue tertiary education. During the eighties more students enrolled in the institutes of their neighboring states, the trend dropped drastically since private colleges, varsities etc. were mushrooming in the country. A positive intimation that has been perceived since few years is the numbers of Bangladeshis are again going up. The New Age reports, in 2017 as many as sixty-thousand three-hundred ninety students were enrolled in various countries world-wide in higher educational institutes (Alamgir, 2018); the UNESCO-UIS updated in 2019 that the number reduced to fifty-five thousand seven hundred eighty-seven students were mobile from Bangladesh across the world. Traditionally the students favoured the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, Germany and India as their destinations, however lately a new trend has been observed. According to the new trends, among the top ten destinations are Malaysia, the United States of America, Australia, United Kingdom, Canada, Germany, India, Saudi Arabia, Japan and the United Arab Emirates (The New Age, 2018).

Figure 5.4

Most Preferred Destinations of Bangladeshi Students for Higher Studies (2018)

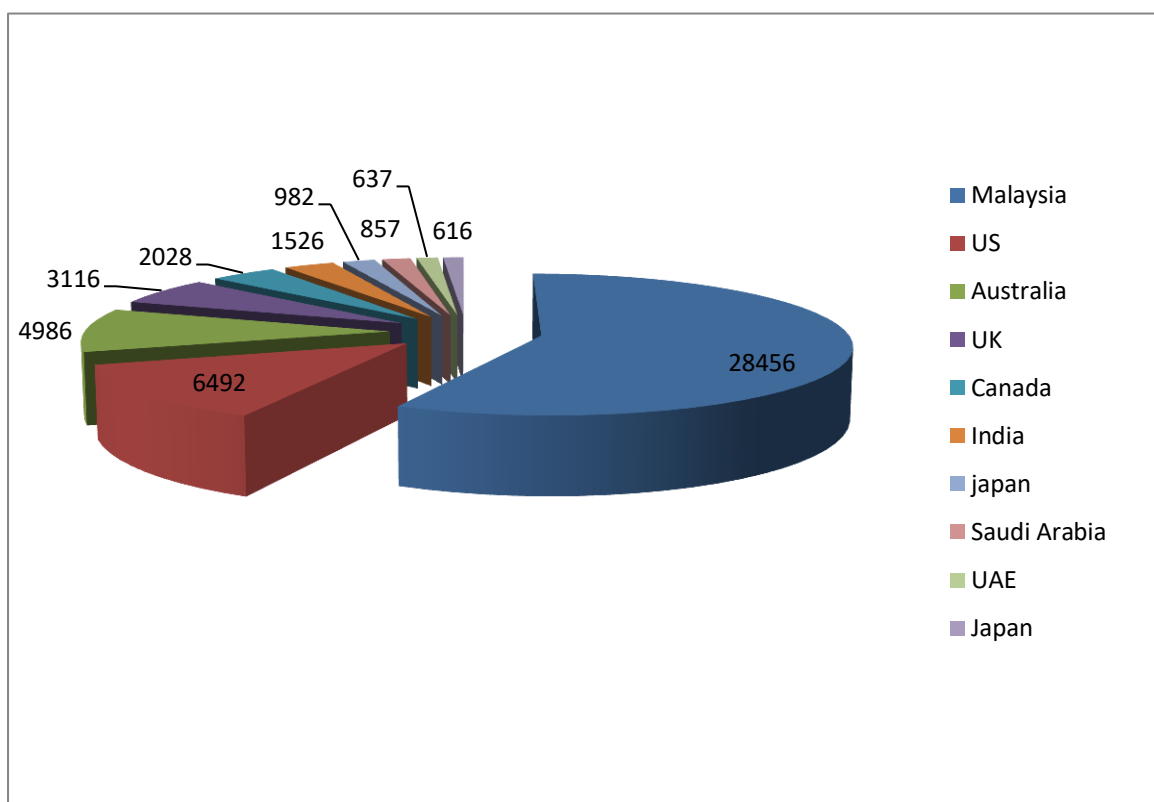


Source: The New Age (2018)

At present although India is within the top ten preferred destinations of Bangladeshi students, other countries are much ahead in comparison. As recent as in 2017, thirty-four thousand hundred forty-four students got enrolled in Malaysian universities, fifty-four hundred forty one students in America, forty-six hundred fifty two students in Australia, thirty-five hundred ninety nine in UK, two thousand twenty eight in Canada, two-thousand eight in Germany, thousand ninety-nine in India, eight hundred seventy in Saudi Arabia, eight hundred ten students in Japan and six hundred thirty seven students from Bangladesh in UAE. This show, India has just two per cent of the Bangladeshi students enrolled in higher educational institutes compared to Malaysia which has sixty-two per cent students from Bangladesh.

Figure 5.5

Top Preferred Countries with Residing Bangladeshi Students (2019)



Source: UNESCO-UIS (2019)

5.11 India – A Growing Destination for Higher Education

Cross-border student mobility or arriving of international students; and academic exchange or knowledge transfer at a global level is by no means a new phenomenon for India. This is a land is a cradle civilisation and its knowledge reservoir and teaching methods obtained global attention since ancient period. Amongst the South Asian nation, India is emerging out as a favoured destination, capable of hosting many international students.

Indian education system has been a provider of knowledge till the medieval period until the advent of the British who disrupted the system and turned it into a receiver. Post-independence period, the trend reversed when Indian education system began to

improve³². In recent times, though not very impressive, India has once again turned in to a provider and features in the list of destination countries for foreign nationals (Kaur, 2016:35). It began to attract international scholars from other countries although in a rather unassuming number.

Indian education system has gone through enormous changes; grown to have secured the ranking of third largest in the world after China and the United States of America. As a matter of fact India also hosts a considerable amount of international students. The efforts to increase the foreign student participation were not only insignificant but also reports prepared on National Education Policy or Education Commissions made no remarks on internationalization of this sector. Regardless of the existence of many foreign students in major universities, India failed to document any systematic policy regarding them. As a result, higher education sector largely remained inward looking in nature. The trends are discussed in the section below:

5.12 International Students Mobility in India

According to the report of AIU, the higher education sector of India is the third largest world-wide after China with more than eight hundred universities and forty-thousand colleges with at least thirty-three million pupils enrolled. Indian education system has gone through enormous change (Qamar and Bhalla, 2017:1). The number of international students may not be very high compared to the many other countries, yet it is a positive indication that the number has increased to a great extent from sixty in 1986 to the twenty-first century. Indian higher education institutes hosted students from around ninety countries in the year 1988-1989. Over the years, since then, the numbers of countries from which students arrived increased. In between 2010-11 foreign students came from at least hundred fifty-three countries; in between 2012-13 it was hundred sixty and 2013-14 the number of sending countries were hundred twenty-five.

³² Since Independence many well-known Central universities in metropolitan cities like Bengaluru, Chennai, Delhi, Kolkata and a few State universities like Pune, Mysore did continue to attract students from far off countries

Table 5.1

Growth in Number of Student Sending Foreign Countries to India

(From 1986-2017)

Year	Number of Sending Countries
1986	60
1988-89	90
2010-11	153
2012-13	125
2013-14	160
2014	149
2014-2015	208
2017	162

Source: AISHE Reports and AIU Report 2017

According to Qamar and Bhalla (2017:10) the international students studying in India during the academic year 2014 to 2015 arrived from as many as two hundred eight countries the highest of all compared to the previous years, maximum from the Asian region. However, the numbers lessened in 2016 revealed by AISHE, 2017 research suggesting that since the late eighties, the number of student sending countries increased progressively. The numbers do not continuously increase as it fluctuates each year.

Table 5.2
Increasing Number of Foreign Students in India (1993-2017)

Year	Number of Students(in thousands)
1993-94	13,000
1996-97	5,323
2000	7,791
2007-08	21,206
2011-12	26,806
2012	30,000
2013	34,774
2014	35,936
2015	31, 126
2016	30,423
2016-17	47,575

Source: All India Survey of Higher Education (2017)

According to the UGC and AIU the total number of foreign students arriving India recorded a stable growth till the mid- nineties. In 1993-94 the numbers touched thirteen thousand then witnessed a sharp decline by fifty percent around 1996-97; it remained stagnant till the end of the twentieth century. Indian universities began to observe an increase in the incoming foreign students since the onset of twenty-first century.

The trend experienced remarkable volte-face when the numbers began to escalate since the years 2001-2002. Data for 2011-2012 illustrates that within a span of a year,

India received more than five thousand six hundred students; an increase of about twenty four percent from the preceding year. The numbers touched twenty-one thousand two hundred six in 2007-08 and kept increasing steadily in the succeeding years; thirty thousand in 2012; thirty-four thousand seven hundred in 2012-13. India experienced a steady growth that reached thirty-five thousand nine hundred thirty-six in 2013-14; thirty-one thousand hundred twenty-six in 2014-15; thirty thousand four hundred twenty-three in 2016 (Kaur, 2016; Tokas, 2017, Qamar and Bhalla, 2017). Although the numbers increased the growth has been however fluctuating.

According to the All India Survey of Higher Education in 2012-13, the sum of registered foreign national students in this country was 34, 774 arriving from hundred sixty countries from all over the world. In 2015-16 the number was 45,425 and in 2016-17, the total number of foreign national students enrolled in Indian institutions was 47,575 (AISHE, 2017:18).

The declining trend may have caused due to two reasons:

First, internationalization of education sector was occurring with rapidity at this point of time in several developed nations such as the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and Australia. These countries began promoting their higher education programmes by taking schematizing to develop their study market both internally and externally to draw more students. Moreover, countries like Canada, Germany and France appeared as preferred countries for foreign nationals giving rise to market-oriented study-programmes encouraging mobility into these countries (Sanyal and Martin, 2006). India at this time was unmoving related to their educational matters hence initiatives were missing (Tokas, 2017:103-104).

Secondly, the Indian government showed lack of interest in promoting its higher education sector. The foreign students were mostly from neighbouring states. Ever since the government began to focus on its higher education sectors, remarkable changes were noticed (ibid.)

India is gradually increasing the momentum of diplomacy chiefly from the South Asian region. The expansion of foreign students count in India has been striking. A plausible rationale for such a remarkable change believed by experts to be owing to policies executed in the Tenth Five Year Plan, creation of committees and programme

initiative by the University Grants Commission to promote higher education abroad to target more number of students from various countries, such as, Promotion of Higher Education Abroad (PIHEAD); Committee on Promotion of Indian Education Abroad (COPIEA) in 2002; These initiatives gave off positive results that significantly increased the head-count.

5.13 International Students-Sending Top Ten Countries (to India)

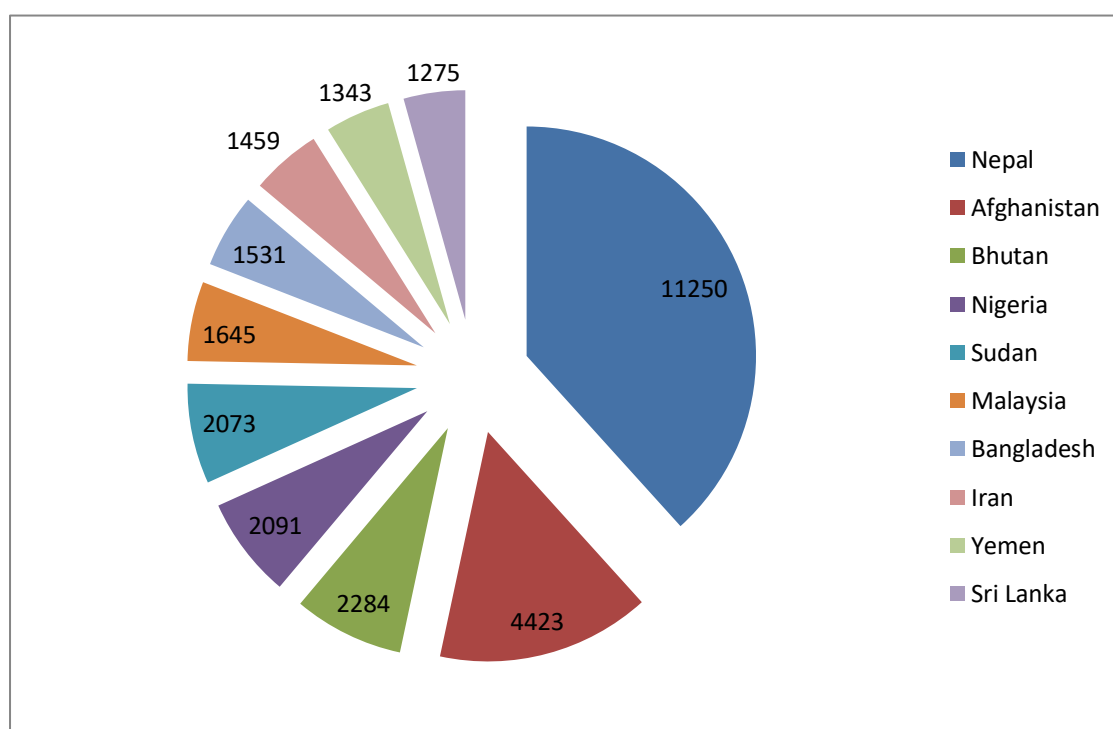
By taking strategic steps, India is slowly expanding students and number and countries from which these students come. In 2012-13 the top-ten sending countries were Nepal, Bhutan, Afghanistan, Iran, Malaysia, Iraq Sudan, Rwanda, Sri Lanka and the United States. Bangladesh was not among the top-ten sending countries. Bangladesh was not amongst the top-sending countries in those years. Highest contribution of international students were from India's neighbouring countries of which Nepal comprised 23.6 percent of the total, followed by Afghanistan comprised of nine percent, Bhutan was 4.8 percent, Bangladesh at 3.2 percent , and Sri Lanka at 2.7 percent of the foreign students.

As a matter of fact, within the region of SAARC, the numbers in Nepal, Bhutan and Afghanistan increased from forty-one per cent, nine per cent and one per cent in 2004 to fifty per cent, seventeen percent and seventeen per cent in 2012; but in case of Bangladesh and Sri Lanka the shares reduced from twenty-eight per cent and eighteen per cent in 2004 to six and seven per cents respectively (Tokas, 2017).

In 2012 and the years prior, students coming from Bangladesh were not sufficient enough to be at par with those arriving from Nepal, Bhutan, Afghanistan among the South Asian countries. The number of international students was more than those coming from African and West Asian countries (See Figure 1). In 2016, the numbers escalated; within four years span, letting Bangladesh enter the list of top ten students sending countries to India. The increase in numbers is a clear indication that more students are coming to India at higher educational levels from Bangladesh.

Figure 5.6

Top Foreign Countries with Inward Student Mobility in India



Source: AISHE (2017)

5.13.1 Courses and Programs selected by International Students

According to the *All India Survey of Higher Education* (2017:19), of all the students who arrives India to attain higher degrees, seventy-seven percent gets enrolled in undergraduate programmes, fifteen percent for post graduate and the remaining enrolled in Doctoral/PhD Programmes. Interestingly, not many from SAARC region consider India for PhD Programmes. Despite that, India is increasingly becoming the center for higher education even in the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) region. India is becoming an attractive point for SAARC population as own relatively larger higher-education system and can capacitate students from the neighbours. The incoming from Bangladesh is still lower; out of seventy one percent of the entire India-bound pupils only an approximately two to four percent came from Bangladesh.

Asia is the largest source of international students in India with almost sixty per cent of the overall international. Within Asia, the largest numbers of international students that is, fifty-five per cent come from South Asia. South Asian countries constitute fifty-six per cent of the international students with Nepal and Afghanistan being the biggest beneficiaries (See Figure 1). Within the Asian region, the largest proportion of women students fifty-three per cent came from Southern Asia.. The number of Bangladeshi students is significantly so less that generally the percentages and numbers are not mentioned in surveys and analysis (Qamar and Bhalla, 2017).

5.14 Relationship Building through Education Cooperation

Another aspect of implications of education diplomacy in the relationship of India and Bangladesh could be relationship-building. Establishment of enduring relationship is a 'long-term' process especially when people (of a given society) are occluded by perceptions or opinion from the past (activities). In the case of Bangladesh, although it was a significant part of India, events from the past has developed in to them an idea about India's foreign policy behavior; a shadow of which is felt among many. Education cooperation, as a "multi-actor, multi-level of mutual benefits in the milieu of global aspiration, as the preferred method of communication between stakeholders engaged in public [education] and politics for the purpose of representation, cooperation, resolving disputes, improving [education] systems, and securing the right to [education] for vulnerable populations"(Leonard, 2002).

Relationship-building traditionally demands communication at a personal level. A powerful tool to build enduring relationships are government induced cooperations and collaborations. Cooperation involve students exchange, faculty exchange and trainings, provision for scholarships, conferences and seminars, prospects of enrolment for self-financing scholars, networking and giving people media access. These initiatives differs from conventional diplomatic practice allowing an individual (students) to reside in India for a substantial period of time; in the process they not only develop lasting relations but learn about Indian society, culture etc. that further liberate their idea of India. Leonard (2002) believes necessity to develop relationships along with the impression and observations people take with them are reassuring and constructive. Relationship building thus have distinct implications because contains

unfeigned reciprocity whereby people of a foreign country are given unadorned image of the country.

A little further exploration on education cooperation between Bangladesh and India showed that students who came to India to pursue their higher studies at various points in time, in various programs leave India with an impression more efficacious than before from the time they came to India compared to those prospective students who had never visited India and had very little or no idea about Indian way of life yet had very strong prejudices about its political, religious or socio-cultural practices. Joseph Nye (2004) convincingly points out that the students do not return to their countries converted, they return as more knowledgeable about their host country's robustness and frailties. Their minds are complexified; say, they will return homes and be deprecatory of India's policy on water issues with Bangladesh or be condemnatory of India's religious approach in conducting domestic policies. Whatever it may be, the Bangladeshi's will have better comprehension about India's policy conducts not based on mere imaginations.

Societies are becoming more pluralistic than before, markedly in economic evolutionary nations whether it is India or Bangladesh; with target populations in millions. The young populations are open to opportunities hence traditional methods of reaching out to people-to-people have little scope to reach maximum population. This is where India's soft power is required to explore its maximum potential to influence the opinion of people.

Trust is an essential requirement in foreign policy, an element that has been insufficient between India and Bangladesh for as long as two decades since Bangladeshi's ideological shifts and anti-India attitude during the mid seventies to nineties. Lack of trust reflected in the bilateral relations of the two states. It is hard to restore lost reliance because some impediments are structural, having presuppositions that interests between two (or more) countries are separated by conflictual gap also led by geo-political history. The best way to assuage this strenuous feeling necessitate diplomatic conduct, a friendlier approach that would eventually bring about positive outcomes in the bilateral issues involving other, long-pending matters.

It is not an easy task to effectively communicate to a foreign population, without showing enough reasons to trust them. It can be, nevertheless, be improved by strategising to work closely with neighbouring governments; commit to provide security, focus on opportunities and awareness about the inadequacies and requirements. The traditional approach to public diplomacy activity overseas, be it cultural festivals, seminars, economic promotion or policy advocacy, is that it should all be assured by the governments or the ambassadors.

5.15 Conclusion

Interdependence, competition and desire to secure power have turned foreign policy in to a composite practice. India and Bangladesh require mutual support to sustain peacefully in the region in days to come. At this juncture India's changing perspective towards Bangladesh and settlement of long pending issues throw positive light on their relations. The perception about India's hegemony may remove and take positive image of India. Emphasis on education cooperation, cultural cooperation will only deepen these feelings which will have positive impact on India-Bangladesh bilateral relations.

The fact of the matter is that India hosts noticeable amount of foreign students from neighbouring countries in South Asia. India's trend of inwards movement of foreign students has its own pace and dimensions of flow. That is why the figures of number of sending countries, number of students etc are never confined to an expected parameter. No matter what the characteristics are, India has indeed become a significant country for international students globally in general and Asia in particular. One would realise the changing numbers upon close scrutiny. The share of South Asia, in overall count of foreign students expanded from forty-four per cent to sixty-six percent from 2004-05 to 2012-13 (Tokas, 2017).

A number of reasons may be responsible behind the dissimilitude in numbers. Few may be discussed below:

First, it is India's geo-political aim to stabilise its politico-economic and security matters within the realm of South Asia as well as Indian Ocean region is making India more prudent. This is having an impact on the course of international pupils coming inside India. To effectuate these objective, India has been involving itself resolutely

with its neighbouring states by facilitating them through financial affairs in the form of both Aid and credit, improving financial relations, developing social sector, aiding in disaster management, providing military and civil personnel training etc.

Secondly, the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs by using its ‘public diplomacy’ wing, which is Indian Council for Cultural Relations (see chapter 1), has been playing an impressive role in the neighbourhood in the last couple of decades. The organisation primarily emphasises on India’s neighbouring states Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Afghanistan. The core purpose of the organisation is to “establish, revive and strengthen cultural relations and mutual understanding” between India with her neighbours and other countries to “promote awareness and appreciation” of the country’s amalgamated cultural traditions in foreign countries (Annual Report, ICCR, 2013-14).

Thirdly, India’s economy was getting stronger in 2008 while the rest of the world fought the world economic crisis in 2008; this probably increased India’s credence on itself and in the region.

Lastly, the SAARC region comprises approximately twenty-five per cent of the total population of the world. It accommodates more than one billion people. It is a region that is experiencing the demographic dividend; the most youthful region that demands accessibility to education. The rising demand has simultaneously increased the educational demands in India as well.

Higher education as a means of persuading prospective relations by means of cooperation is being employed as a tool to conduct foreign policy and a proactive medium, in an endeavor to institute long lasting concern by utilizing soft power methodologies. In fact, India established some collaborative public diplomacy enterprise with its neighbour Bangladesh. The India-Bangladesh relationship rests on various types of cooperations together with wide-ranging strategic partnership.

Besides the extensive people- to- people interface, India and Bangladesh experiences numerous levels of interface, exchange of interactions between high-level officials etc. on a frequent basis. In last four decades the two close neighbours due their ups and downs have had various phases of cooperations and conflicts. Besides all conventional high political matters, one area of cooperation between the two states is

in education. In the second half of the seventies domestic political nuisance caused session jams in higher educational institutions, higher opportunity costs and lower quality university education hence more students were leaving for Indian education system.

Bangladesh over the last couple of decades, have witnessed an outburst of young higher education aspirants. An improving GDP and increasing middle class prompted requirements to establish knowledge driven skilled society in addition to the effect of globalization, revolution in information and communication technology that gave impetus to internationalization of higher education. The mobility necessitated a legalized recognition from India for those coming from Bangladesh in the form of student visa, research permit, residential permit/certificates etc. Bangladeshi students and scholars began to consider India to fulfill their educational needs. Multifarious collaborations and cooperative initiatives made it easy for them to come to India. Besides those who come to India through the collaborative programmes, many students/scholars come to India as 'self-finance' candidates. As an initiative of step forward in 2015, India signed several cooperations with Bangladesh to enhance the educational field to new dimensions. These initiatives are indicative of positive directions for India and Bangladesh.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

India-Bangladesh bilateral relations predate the formation of Bangladesh and may be observed as an interestingly complex culmination of invariable elements that have governed their behaviours ever since the formal diplomatic links was commenced in 1972. It is often remarked that India and Bangladesh share a common history, legacy, cultural affinities, and ethnic similarities, as Bangladesh once belonged to this gargantuan undivided landmass known as ‘Indian sub-continent’. Bangladesh gained the status of an independent country merely forty-seven years ago but historically it was a part of undivided India, making it existentially as old as India; hence the similarities.

India, one of the most ancient civilisations of the world, even after the partition, remains the largest country in South Asia and the seventh-largest in the world. Bangladesh, relatively new compared to India is constantly striving to bring development in the country. The history of ‘belongingness’ to an integrated, undivided subcontinent makes these states a part of the greater organic system; divided by political maneuverings, united by socio-ecological factors.

Although Bangladesh emerged as a new country since 1971, if one has to explore any aspect, for instance, formation of Bangladesh; its journey of embracing Islam; historical conventions of practice of education and educational institutions, India’s hostile relations with Pakistan, changing relationship paradigm of both these countries and various other aspects, it is imperative to study since the pre-partition, pre-colonial trajectories, which has been done in this thesis.

The central aim of the study presented in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 was to develop an understanding of the background of the relationship of the two countries and their foreign policy temperaments. Bangladesh was the eastern extension of the then unified Bengal, known as ‘East Bengal’ and post-Independence separated from India to merge with West Pakistan and came was recognised as ‘East Pakistan’. Bangladesh’s sentiment of being a part of India and later Pakistan have to a great

extent governed its foreign policies since its formation of an independent nation in 1971. Bangladesh's relations with India cannot be comprehended from one particular aspect. In order to comprehend in its entirety this study attempted to sequentially discuss some of the aspects such as the bilateral issues, bilateral relations in the recent times, their foreign policy makes and the systemic pressures governing the policy orientations.

The studies presented in this thesis primarily focus on the implications of higher education cooperation in the bilateral relations between India and Bangladesh. Education in general and higher education in particular is an indispensable determining ingredient of the association between the countries. Since the ancient period to the colonial period, education has played significant roles both socially and politically. Socially, first, educational practices and institutes give us a reflection of the status of Indian people and society; second, it set the premise of what was going to happen to determine the future of Indian subcontinent as devised by the colonial rulers. Politically, the British rulers used education as the ultimate tool to disintegrate the subcontinent.

Since the post-independence (post-colonial) era education has undergone many changes to becoming a public diplomacy tool in recent times. Various factors need to be considered when enhancing links between education, education cooperation as a mechanism of public diplomacy and how it has become important in strengthening the bilateral relations between two or more countries, vis-à-vis India and Bangladesh. In this study, these aspects have been analysed, unfolding from the pre-colonial, colonial, post-Independence and current period; evolution of formation of Bangladesh, role of India, Indian government's policy shifts towards soft diplomacy and an increasing emphasis given on education diplomacy by India (with Bangladesh) which may have implications on their relations.

For a long time, East Pakistan was unable to integrate with Pakistan due to dearth of developmental initiatives, degenerating socio-economic status of the people, and chaotic law and order. Such oppressive policies for twenty-four years, eventually gave rise to mass-movement under the guidance of Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman; with the support of India, the East Pakistan accomplished its Liberation war in December,

1971, imprinting the genesis of a new chapter for Bangladesh, India and the South Asian region.

Nevertheless, probing deeper into past, one would observe that in the beginning, East Bengal was considered as an important region for the British; but it was the infamous 'divide and rule' policy of the colonisers which first bifurcated Bengal into two and then used religion to amplify the mistrust between the communities of India. Religion was supplemented with education to create deeper feelings of discrimination among the Muslims, leading successively to the emanation East Pakistan.

The nature and execution of Bangladesh's foreign policy is primarily steered by its political leadership and ideological preconditions. It began with the Awami League's under Sheikh Mujib-ur Rahman's leadership. As a post-war euphoric aftereffect, there was prevailing harmonious approach generated out of a feeling of appreciation towards Indian government and people for their immense support; evolving into a genial environment. It was the formative years during the term of Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman from 1972-75 when Bangladesh's bilateral ties with India assumed utmost significant requisite for their diplomatic, political and economic interests.

The friendly bonding was cut short after the military takeover post- assassination of Mujib. For fifteen years since 1975 to 1990 under the governments of Ziaur Rahman and Hossain Md. Ershad, Bangladesh's foreign policies altered majorly, so did its relations with India. These military leaders discarded Mujib's India and Soviet centric stances, contrastingly went for pro-Pakistan, Pro-US, friendship with China and the Islamic countries. Bangladesh's attitude changed its relations with India and created more distance and mistrust.

Since the nineties, regardless of regime change from military to democratic form of government, not much improved with India forthwith. Under the leadership of Begum Khaleda Zia (PM and Chairperson of Bangladesh Nationalist Party, BNP), the foreign policy remained similar to that created by Zia and Ershad. The central elements of Begum Zia's policies were built on Islam as the premise to conserve their political ambitions both domestically and internationally. She pursued a foreign policy promoting Islamic socialism, trade, need for technology, foreign aid, assistance and investments. During both her terms from 1991-96 and 2001-06, she focused mostly on

her allies and not on establishing good-will with India which adversely affected relations with the latter. As a result, India's response was derisory, showed paltry interest in solving long-pending bilateral issues, trade and became harsh towards India.

India-Bangladesh relations changed its course once again in a positive direction with the return of Sheikh Hasina as the Prime Minister in 1996 and later in 2009 onwards to the current times. Like her father, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, PM Hasina began to focus on improving lost ties and since 2009 she remodelled the foreign policy orientations as more India-centric. Few long pending issues, such as Ganga Water Treaty and Agreement on Chittagong Hill Tracts were resolved during her first term in 1996.

India, on the other hand, at the onset of nineties was shifting towards soft power policies with its neighbours as well as international community, to bring a change in its image from a hard-power using regional hegemon to a friendly, approachable neighbour. Bangladesh's re-democratisation and India's soft diplomacy is almost a coincidence that eventually worked in the favor of both. It is said that India-Bangladesh relations under the Narendra Modi (BJP) led government since 2015 onwards has been remarkable. Most of the remaining bilateral unresolved issues were concluded and fifteen memorandums of understanding were signed to strengthen various areas.

Being a war-devastated country, since the very beginning the then PM of Bangladesh Mujibur Rahman had immense pressure to rebuild the country. Bangladesh was heavily reliant on foreign assistance to reconstruct almost every field from educational institutions, healthcare, employment, trade etc. The military governments of Bangladesh established bilateral relations with the United States, China and the Islamic states. The primary objective was to take as much aid and assistance for Bangladesh, For instance, the United States involved with Bangladesh on humanitarian grounds, contributed financial assistance in the form of loans and grants aid to help Bangladesh improve its industries, health-care, education, infrastructure, etc. and recover from environmental calamities. In between 1973 to 1995 they were given more than one billion dollars as food-aid, three billion dollars as grants/loan aid; which was a hundred and sixty-eight million dollars in 2010. China has been a long

term ally of Bangladesh, who has so far given billions of dollars, for multifarious purposes including construction of buildings meant to be used as exhibition centres, conference centres etc. Beijing is also the largest trading partner and military supplier to Bangladesh in present times.

The primary objective of the major political parties to establish close ties with Islamic States (as done with other countries) was to gain maximum aid and assistance. The aim was an absolute pursuit for identity validation by the Muslim countries; to gain the trust of the Arab bloc countries, and play its Muslim image to confirm their loyalty as a community that would benefit them to the maximum. The OIC countries have introduced Islamic finance, invested in Islamic education centres, healthcare facilities, and banks etc. in recent times.

India has been facilitating Bangladesh since its formation. New Delhi extended essential aid to restore the war torn country including economic aid, funds, food grain, construction material, technical support etc. India was the chief donors until 1972. To recent times India has given Bangladesh billion dollars worth of financial aid to improve their infrastructure.

The aids and assistance in any form taken by Bangladesh cannot be confined to a particular regime or leaders. Whether the ideology is anti-India or India-centric the major political parties developed and maintained their ties with their choice of allies to ultimately receive support for their countries. Typically education, health, environmental issues, food security and financial aid are considered 'low political' issues. This suggests, the political parties initially required financial aid to re-establish their low political issues. With time once those components were restored, their concentration shifted towards strengthening their 'high political' issues such as economy, trade, military and, border security. The assertion that economy related matters have now become high politics cannot be rejected. The objectives are no more confined to the ideologies of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Ziaur Rahman, H.M. Ershad, the nationalist BNP or the Awami League.

On the basis of the review made from the two chapters, the first hypothesis is proven that 'major political parties in Bangladesh have used 'low political' issues for 'high political discourses' stands validated.

The overarching objective of Chapter 4 and 5 is to review the role of higher education as a tool of public diplomacy in the relationship building between India and Bangladesh. It has been discussed previously that India and Bangladesh are linked by civilisational legacies. India shifted its foreign policy orientation from hard power to soft power since the nineties by seeking attention on its enormous soft power reserve.

Education has always been a common factor of assimilation for the two countries in the past; so it is in the present times. 'Education diplomacy' or 'education cooperation' is a common tool of soft power employed by many countries to develop better bilateral relations with other nations. The usage of education as a mechanism for diplomatic conduct reflects in the foreign policy of India towards Bangladesh. It is a comparatively a recent phenomenon for India and Bangladesh in the context of post-colonial foreign policy activities. Historical facts however, present to us a different view which proffers that "student mobility, academic exchange; knowledge transferring" is an old phenomenon in the Indian subcontinent that goes back to the ancient age. Therefore, the then 'East Bengal' is most likely to have an educational system analogous to the rest of the landmass; because Bangladesh is just a new name to an old civilisation; once an integrated part of the larger syncretic system and any historical partition does not separate a country from its primeval possessions.

The Gurukul system of the learning process is typical of the Ancient period. Students left their homes and resided with teachers for a stipulated period of time, to learn and gain knowledge. After the ancient period, the Buddhist period introduced the university system of education and taught different kinds of subjects. The fact that India's universities were well-renowned worldwide that is manifested through a large number of foreign students who flocked from various countries. The Medieval Period that also marks the Muslim era brought their traditional education systems; 'madrassahs' and 'maktabs'. It must be noted that the introduction of the Islamic education system did not aim to disrupt the previous education systems. It is rather thought-provoking to comprehend that, prior to the advent of British and their interference with the Indian subcontinent, until the medieval period, the education system was heterogeneous in nature due to the existence of different types of educational practices, but integrated in terms of existence. For instance, the madrassahs and maktabs, besides teaching religious studies also taught other subjects

and allowed the children of the Hindu communities to participate in those learning centres; similarly, the Buddhist rulers established universities which were open to people from all religions.

It is a disheartening conviction that the age old traditional richness was destroyed by the English rulers. They introduced Western education, dismantled long-established traditional composition of education but most importantly used education and religion as the stratagem to create discrimination, suspicion and hatred amongst the Hindu and Muslim communities. Not only the education system underwent tremendous downfall, but the ramifications were also overwhelming. The Hindu-Muslim divide led to the biggest partition in the history of the subcontinent leading to the formation of independent India (with majority Hindus) and Pakistan (with majority Muslims) as two separate countries; the Muslim majority eastern extension of united Bengal i.e. East Bengal became East Pakistan - the eastern province of West Pakistan. After two and a half decades, East Pakistan finally gained freedom and became the country currently known as, 'Bangladesh'.

The partition naturally affected the education system. Before the partition, till the pre-colonial period, the education system was coherent through-out the region. This suggests the process of disintegration had initiated during the colonial period which evidently was entirely disrupted after 1947. Post-partition, post-independence period education systems were individually owned by the respective countries.

This argument brings us to the hypothesis, 'the pre-partition integrated system has brought a uniform education policy that was dislocated in the partition and post-partition period'. It took almost four decades, starting from the time of partition in 1947 to the formation of Bangladesh (1971) to the democratisation of Bangladesh in the 1990s to re-integrate what was dislocated decades back.

It is a known fact that India is emphasising on its soft power policies through its educational and cultural diplomacy. India is doing so with various countries around the world including Bangladesh. Post liberation many Bangladeshi's came to India for higher education. The numbers may have fluctuated at times due to the strenuous relationship during the mid seventies but never ceased. Over the years, the intensity of disputable relations lessened giving way to new opportunities for cooperation. The

nineties brought globalisation, economic liberalisation world-wide and democratisation to Bangladesh creating new hope for its good future relations with its old neighbour. In addition to other forms of soft diplomacy, India's education diplomacy is developing as one of the significant ones. India is visible in the world forum as a 'student-sending' as well 'student-receiving or destination' country.

India and Bangladesh are earnestly indulging more in educational cooperation in the form of – increasing numbers of scholarships by government, scholarships by private universities, student exchange opportunities, easy visas for self-financing students, study tours, university level collaborations with each other, research collaborations and a number of memorandum of understanding to formalise these activities. These initiatives convey India's attempt to increase its closeness with Bangladesh. The number of Bangladeshi students may not be at the top five student sending countries yet a close examination does show a trend of increasing numbers. It suggests, gradually more students are accepting India to be a trustworthy region for higher education. It may be hence suggested that slowly yet steadily, the consolidated system of education that India once had during the pre-partition period that was dismantled after independence is again connecting through uniform educational policies, due to the rising interconnectedness of the world, which are steps to establish better bilateral relations between countries.

This is closely linked to the third hypothesis, "education cooperation has strengthened the bilateral ties between India and Bangladesh". In order to test validate this conjecture, it was necessary to investigate the trend of international (Bangladeshi) students arriving in India and, probe in to their perceptions about India education system and socio-political practices to understand to what extend India's efforts are thriving. It is also essential to study the various cooperations undertaken by the Indian government for Bangladesh in the field of higher education. In Chapter 4 of the thesis the education cooperations between India-Bangladesh and, in Chapter 5 of the thesis, a study is elaborated to analyse the students perception that help us to substantiate the hypothesis.

There are several factors that influence the bilateral relations of India and Bangladesh. In 2015, in India PM Narendra Modi's government resolved some long term outstanding issues as a step forward to his 'neighbourhood first' policy. Also, at this

juncture, Bangladesh is geo-strategically a determining factor for New Delhi. Therefore settling unresolved issues is in the best interest for both India and Bangladesh. In addition, the new government signed at least fifteen MOUs with its neighbour marking more space for positive relations.

A positive aspect of the twenty-first century is the practice of soft diplomacy in foreign policy execution with neighbouring states. Since globalisation, foreign policies are more collaborative in nature and executed through various cooperations and mutual agreements rather than using threats or intimidation. Educational and cultural diplomacies are commonly emphasised by various countries, to which India is no exception. The intention behind practicing these tools of soft diplomacy is to not merely project a friendly image of one's country to others or to mitigate any perceived image-notions to eventually conduct a favorable foreign policy but to also obtain successful outcomes in the national interest. For that, the best way is to develop a friendly relations and fulfill one's domestic requirements.

An observation of the study is, the Indian government has extended several ways to improve the educational cooperation with Bangladesh by collaborating with various institutes through MOUs, agreements, increased the number of scholarships provided by the ICCR via Indian High Commission, Dhaka, relaxed visa application process, increased the validity of academic visa from one year to years; encourages consultancies to promote private universities to potential students. Yet, there is a major perceptual disadvantage that comes from potential students. These young people do not feel as much attracted to India as they do for developed countries and other Asian and Arab countries. Although bilateral issues are resolved, higher education wise they feel there is not much difference between India and Bangladesh. Some of the factors that stop Bangladeshi students are: the insufficient amount of scholarship, politics of religion in India, no opportunities of work and study, India's benign yet hegemonistic attitude etc. Contrastingly, the students who studied in India and completed their programs/degrees return with a positive outlook about India's socio-cultural provisions and educational quality. The number of these people is nominal compared to the potential students. Hence, at a more people-to-people level there is a bigger gap.

Nonetheless, one cannot overlook the fact that at a diplomatic level, the governments of the two countries have been dynamically concluding bilateral agreements in educational and cultural fields in recent years. The relationship in general touched positive heights in the last decade. Organisations like Indian Council for Cultural Relations, Indira Gandhi Cultural Centre, annual events like SAARC Study Tour, international conferences, research, professional training etc. have increased. The number of students going to India from Bangladesh has increased, and Bangladesh is now among the top ten student sending countries to India. These activities indicate that both countries are trying to bring themselves closer to each other through increased people-to-people contact.

The study brings forth several findings which have political, social, educational and global implications. Politically, India and Bangladesh have become friendlier and more favorable to each other than before. The bilateral relations between the countries through education cooperation are indeed and the outcome of multiple interconnected aspects that derive from not single but from different sources. These are variables located in personal, domestic, regional and international levels.

The findings of the study indicate that increased economy advanced technology, interconnectedness by globalisation and rising need for a market economy based knowledge have created a demand towards obtaining higher educational degrees enhancing the overall effectiveness of educations system. The impact is felt both nationally and internationally by India and Bangladesh. Both the countries realise the potential of the implications of deriving national benefits from engaging in soft diplomacies that eventually reflect on bilateral policies.

The study brings forth a very important fact that despite being the closest neighbour with affordable and good quality education, Bangladeshi students and scholars exhibit a natural tendency of attraction towards developed countries mainly driven by various reasons. To many similarities in geographical features, culture, landscape, people; lack of job opportunities for students, meager scholarships, lack of professionalism, perception of religious intolerance and lack of better lifestyles are some of the motivating factors. Therefore many students prefer countries outside the South Asian region for garnering more benefits. Perception is changeable, hence, it has been observed that many students who associate themselves with the Indian education

system and live in the country for a substantial period of time return with a positive attitude.

The study further revealed that student movement is a global phenomenon so it is in Bangladesh and India. Its popularity has drawn the attention of governments who firmly believe, enhancing bilateral cooperation is a fair way to increase the positive image and maintain a favorable relationship with each other. Higher education is a non-tangible product, and so is educational cooperation in foreign policies. It is a time-consuming investment that takes time to show its relevance and results. Hence India and Bangladesh must continue to emphasise on student diplomacy and simultaneously undertake mutually beneficial initiatives.

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Annexures

ANNEXURE I

LIST OF MOUs SIGNED DURING INDIA-BANGLADESH FIFTH JCC

INDIA-BANGLADESH FIFTH JCC

Dated: 8th February, 2019

S. No	Agreements/MoU	Signed/Exchanged on the Indian Side	Signed/Exchanged on the Bangladesh Side
1	MoU between the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) of India and The Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) of Bangladesh	Mr. Amit Kumar, Joint Director (Policy), CB	Mr. Sarwar Mahmud, Director General (Prevention) and Additional Secretary, Anti- Corruption Commission (ACC)
2	MoU between National Centre for Good Governance (NCGG), Mussoorie and Ministry of Public Administration (MOPA), Bangladesh on Training and Capacity building Programme for Bangladesh Civil Servants	Smt. Poonam Singh, In-Charge Administration, Head Office, NCGG, New Delhi	H.E. Mr. Syed Muazzem Ali, High Commissioner, Bangladesh High Commission, New Delhi
3	MoU on Co-operation in the field of Medicinal Plants between National Medicinal Plant Board (NMPB), Ministry of AYUSH and Directorate General of health Services, Ministry of Health & Family Welfare, Bangladesh	Smt. Padampriya Balakrishnan, Director Technical- cum-Deputy Chief Executive Officer, NMPB, Ministry of AYUSH	H.E. Mr. Syed Muazzem Ali, High Commissioner, Bangladesh High Commission, New Delhi
4	MoU by and between Bangladesh Economic Zones Authority and Nidar Industrial Park Pune (Private) Limited, Hiranandani Group	Mr. N Shridhar, CEO (Infrastructure- Industrial & Logistics), Nidar- Hiranandani Group	Mr. Saleh Ahmed, General Manager (Deputy Secretary) Bangladesh Economic Zones Authority (BEZA)

Source: Ministry of External Affairs, Website

ANNEXURE II

Bilateral MoUs, Agreements etc., signed by India with Bangladesh, 2015-18

Dated: 6th June 2015

	Title	Area
1	Protocol for Exchange of Instruments of Ratification regarding the India - Bangladesh Land Boundary Agreement, 1974 and Protocol of 2011 to the Land Boundary Agreement	Demarcation of the Land Boundary
2	Protocol on inland water transit between India and Bangladesh	Inland Water Transit
3	Memorandum of Understanding between the Coast Guards of the Republic of India and Bangladesh Coast Guard of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for the Establishment of Collaborative Relationship to Combat transnational illegal activities at sea and development of regional cooperation between the India Coast Guard and Bangladesh Coast Guard.	Establishment of Collaborative Relationship to Combat transnational illegal activities at sea and development of regional cooperation
4	Trade Agreement between India and Bangladesh	Trade Facilitation
5	Agreement between Bureau of Indian Standards and Bangladesh Standards and Testing Institution on Cooperation in the field of Standardization and Conformity Assessment.	Cooperation in the field of Standardization and Conformity Assessment.
6	Protocol on Operation of Passenger Bus Service between Guwahati in India and Dhaka in Bangladesh in Terms of Agreement between Government of the Republic of India and Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.	Operation of Passenger Bus Service
7	The Cultural Exchange Programme (CEP) between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for the year 2015-2017	Cultural Exchange Programme

8	Memorandum of Understanding between Government of the Republic of India (GoI) and Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh (GoB) for Extending a New Line of Credit (LoC) of US Dollar 2.0 Billion by GOI to GOB	Provision of Line of Credit
9	Memorandum of Understanding between Ministry of Shipping, Road Transport and Highways Government of the Republic of India and Ministry of Shipping Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh relating to the use of Chittagong and Mongla Ports for Movement of Goods to and from India	Use of Chittagong and Mongla Ports for Movement of Goods to and from India
10	Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of People's Republic of Bangladesh in the field of Blue Economy and Maritime Co-operation in the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean Region	Maritime Co-operation in the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean Region
11	Memorandum of Understanding between Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh on Bilateral Cooperation for Prevention of Human Trafficking Especially Trafficking in Women and Children; Rescue, Recovery, Repatriation and Reintegration of Victims of Trafficking.	Cooperation for Prevention of Human Trafficking
12	Memorandum of Understanding between Government of the Republic of India and Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh to Prevent and Counter Smuggling and Circulation of Fake Currency Notes	Prevent and Counter Smuggling and Circulation of Fake Currency Notes
13	Memorandum of Understanding on between the Republic of India and the People's Republic of Bangladesh for cooperation on Establishing Indian Economic Zone in Bangladesh.	Cooperation on Establishing Indian Economic Zone in Bangladesh.
14	Memorandum of Understanding between Ministry of External Affairs of the Republic of India and	Grant Assistance for Climate Change in South Asia

	Department of Environment and Forests of the People's Republic of Bangladesh relating to Grant Assistance from Government of India under the India endowment for Climate Change in South Asia (IECC-SA) for installation 70,000 in improved cook stoves (ICS) in selected areas of Bangladesh	
15	Memorandum of Understanding between Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, India, and University of Dhaka, Bangladesh for Joint research on Oceanography of the Bay of Bengal	Joint research on Oceanography of the Bay of Bengal
16	Statement of Intent between the People's Republic of Bangladesh and the Republic of India on Education Cooperation	Education
17	Handing over of a Letter of Consent to the Chairman, Life Insurance Corporation (LIC) of India by Chairman, Insurance Development and Regulatory Authority (IDRA) of Bangladesh to Commence operations in Bangladesh by LIC	Commence operations in Bangladesh by LIC
18	Agreement between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for the Regulation of Motor Vehicle Passenger Traffic between the Two Countries.	Regulation of Motor Vehicle Passenger Traffic
19	Agreement on Coastal Shipping between the Government of the Republic of India and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh	Coastal Shipping
20	Agreement between India and Bangladesh for the regulation of motor vehicle passenger traffic between the two countries from Agartala to Kolkata via Dhaka and vice versa	Regulation of Motor Vehicle Passenger traffic

Source: Ministry of External Affairs, website

ANNEXURE III

September 06, 2011

**FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION FOR
DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN
GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA
AND
GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH**

The Government of the Republic of India (hereinafter Government of India) and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh (hereinafter Government of Bangladesh)

RECALLING the two countries' shared bonds of history, culture and common values;

DESIRIOUS of living in peace and harmony with each other and fostering good neighbourly relations based on sovereign equality, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, and mutual respect and mutual benefit;

INSPIRED by an abiding faith in and total commitment to democracy, development, pluralism and peaceful co-existence;

REITERATING their common objective of eradicating poverty, hunger, illiteracy and disease and promoting social justice and inclusive growth with a view to enabling their peoples to realize their potential to the full;

DESIROUS of promoting trans-border cooperation in the management of shared water resources, hydropower potentials and eco-systems and in the areas of connectivity and trade and economic cooperation;

CONVINCED that cooperation at the bilateral, sub-regional and regional levels will accelerate development and enable the two countries to realise their developmental aspirations, shared destiny and common vision of a peaceful and prosperous South Asia;

HAVE AGREED as under:

ARTICLE 1

To promote trade, investment and economic cooperation, this is balanced, sustainable and builds prosperity in both countries. Both Parties shall take steps to narrow trade imbalances, remove progressively tariff and non-tariff barriers and facilitate trade, by road, rail, inland waterways, air and shipping. Both Parties will encourage the development of appropriate infrastructure, use of sea ports, multi-modal transportation and standardization of means of transport for bilateral as well as sub-regional use.

ARTICLE 2

To enhance cooperation in sharing of the waters of common rivers, both Parties will explore the possibilities of common basin management of common rivers for mutual benefit. The Parties will cooperate in flood forecasting and control. They will cooperate and provide necessary assistance to each other to enhance navigability and accessibility of river routes and ports.

ARTICLE 3

To develop mechanisms for technical cooperation and exchange of advance information with respect to natural disasters. The Parties shall also promote training and capacity building initiatives and cooperation between respective disaster management authorities, with a view to upgrading response mechanism.

ARTICLE 4

To establish arrangements for cooperation in generation, transmission, and distribution of electricity, including electricity from renewable or other sources. The Parties also agree to use power grid connectivity to promote power exchanges to mutual economic advantage.

ARTICLE 5

To promote scientific, educational, cultural and people to people exchanges and cooperation between the two countries. These shall be implemented through programmes and joint initiatives in areas such as agriculture, education and culture,

health, tourism, sports, science & technology and any other area that the Parties may agree. The Parties shall cooperate by means of exchange of data, scientific knowledge, collaborative research, training, common programmes and in any other manner as may be agreed between the two Parties.

ARTICLE 6

To develop and implement programmes for environmental protection and responding to the challenges of climate change through adaptation. The Parties shall collaborate on projects of mutual interest to preserve common eco-systems and, as far as practicable, coordinate their response in international fora.

ARTICLE 7

To harness the advantages of sub-regional cooperation in the power sector, water resources management, physical connectivity, environment and sustainable development for mutual advantage, including jointly developing and financing projects.

ARTICLE 8

To cooperate closely on issues relating to their national interests. Both parties shall work together to create a peaceful environment conducive for inclusive economic growth and development.

ARTICLE 9

To cooperate on security issues of concern to each other while fully respecting each other's sovereignty. Neither party shall allow the use of its territory for activities harmful to the other.

ARTICLE 10

To establish a Joint Consultative Commission for effective and smooth implementation of this Agreement that shall meet once a year.

ARTICLE 11

The Agreement may be amended by mutual consent in order to enhance, deepen and widen the scope of cooperation, including regional / sub-regional expansion.

ARTICLE 12

This Agreement shall come into force on the date of its signing by the two Parties and shall remain in force until terminated by mutual consent in accordance with Para 2 of this Article.

Either Party may seek termination of this Agreement by giving a written notice to the other Party providing the reasons for seeking such termination. Before this Agreement is terminated, the Parties shall consider the relevant circumstances and hold consultations to address the reasons cited by the Party seeking termination in the Joint Consultative Commission.

Actions taken or agreements reached pursuant to this Agreement shall not be affected by its expiry or termination.

Done in Dhaka on the Sixth day of September, 2011, in two originals in English Language.

Dr. Manmohan Singh
Prime Minister

Sheikh Hasina
Prime Minister

Government of the Republic of India

Government of the People's Republic of
Bangladesh

ANNEXURE IV

March 19, 1972

TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH

Dacca

INSPIRED by common ideals of peace, secularism, democracy, socialism and nationalism,

HAVING struggled together for the realisation of these ideals and cemented ties of friendship through blood and sacrifices which led to the triumphant emergence of a free, sovereign and independent Bangladesh,

DETERMINED to maintain fraternal and good-neighbourly relations and transform their border into a border of eternal peace and friendship,

ADHERING firmly to the basic tenets of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence, mutual cooperation, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty,

DETERMINED to safeguard peace, stability and security and to promote progress of their respective countries through all possible avenues of mutual cooperation,

DETERMINED further to expand and strengthen the existing relations of friendship between them, convinced that the further development of friendship and cooperation meets the national interests of both States as well as the interests of lasting peace in Asia and the world,

RESOLVED to contribute to strengthening world peace and security and to make efforts to bring about a relaxation of international tension and the final elimination of vestiges of colonialism, racialism and imperialism,

CONVINCED that in the present-day world international problems can be solved only through cooperation and not through conflict or confrontation,

REAFFIRMING their determination to follow the aims and principles of the United Nations Charter, the Republic of India, on the one hand, and the People's Republic of Bangladesh, on the other,

HAVE decided to conclude the present Treaty

ARTICLE 1

The high Contracting Parties, inspired by the ideals for which their respective peoples struggled and made sacrifices together, solemnly declare that there shall be lasting peace and friendship between their two countries and their peoples, each side shall respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other and refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of the other side.

The high Contracting Parties shall further develop and strengthen the relations of friendship, good-neighbourliness and all-round cooperation existing between them, on the basis of the above-mentioned principles as well as the principles of equality and mutual benefit.

ARTICLE 2

Being guided by their devotion to the principles of equality of all peoples and states, irrespective of race or creed, the high Contracting Parties condemn colonialism and racialism in all forms and manifestations and are determined to strive for their final and complete elimination.

The high Contracting Parties shall cooperate with other states in achieving these aims and support the just aspirations of people in their struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination and for their national liberation.

ARTICLE 3

The high Contracting Parties reaffirm their faith in the policy of non-alignment and peaceful co-existence as important factors for easing tension in the world, maintaining international peace and security, and strengthening national sovereignty and independence.

ARTICLE 4

The high Contracting Parties shall maintain regular contacts with each other on major international problems affecting the interests of both States, through meetings and exchanges of views at all levels.

ARTICLE 5

The high Contracting Parties shall continue to strengthen and widen their mutually advantageous and all-round cooperation in the economic, scientific and technical fields. The two countries shall develop mutual cooperation in the fields of trade, transport and communications between them on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual benefit and the most-favoured nation principle.

ARTICLE 6

The high Contracting Parties further agree to make joint studies and take joint action in the fields of flood control, river basin development and the development of hydro-electric power and irrigation.

ARTICLE 7

The high Contracting Parties shall promote relations in the fields of art, literature, education, culture, sports and health.

ARTICLE 8

In accordance with the ties of friendship existing between the two countries each of the high Contracting Parties solemnly declares that it shall not enter into or participate in any military alliance directed against the other party.

Each of the high Contracting Parties shall refrain from any aggression against the other party and shall not allow the use of its territory for committing any act that may cause military damage to or constitute a threat to the security of the other high contracting party.

ARTICLE 9

Each of the high Contracting Parties shall refrain from giving any assistance to any third party taking part in an armed conflict, against the other party. In case either party is attacked or threatened with attack, the high contracting parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to take appropriate effective measures to eliminate the threat and thus ensure the peace and security of their countries.

ARTICLE 10

Each of the high Contracting Parties solemnly declares that it shall not undertake any commitment secret or open, toward one or more States which may be incompatible with the present Treaty.

ARTICLE 11

The present Treaty is signed for a term of twenty five years and shall be subject to renewal by mutual agreement of the high Contracting Parties.

The Treaty shall come into force with immediate effect from the date of its signature.

ARTICLE 12

Any differences in interpreting any article or articles of the present Treaty that may arise between the high Contracting Parties shall be settled on a bilateral basis by peaceful means in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding.

DONE in Dacca on the nineteenth day of March nineteen hundred and seventy two

Sd/-

(Smt.) INDIRA GANDHI

Prime Minister

For the Republic of India

Sd/-

SHEIKH MUJIBUR RAHMAN

Prime Minister

**For the People's Republic of
Bangladesh**

ANNEXURE V
QUESTIONNAIRE I
FIELD WORK

(For Students/Academicians who returned to home country after completing degree)

The purpose of this study is to verify the reasons behind choosing India and higher education destination and the outcome of studying in Indian institutions. This Questionnaire is an entirely voluntary exercise and identity of the respondents will remain classified. Your signature asserts your understanding of the purpose and nature of the study, and does not obligate you in any manner.

Please Note:

- i. The respondents are students, research scholars and academicians addressed as 'respondents'.
- ii. The destination of higher educational attainment or the host country in context of this research is India.
- iii. The country from where the respondents are expected or the home country is Bangladesh

Student Signature: _____ Date: _____

Interviewer: _____ Completed by self: _____

Country of the Respondent _____

General Information

1. Age: _____
2. Gender: F ___ M___
3. Name of the institute: _____
4. City/State: _____
5. Name of Program: _____
6. Name of Course: _____
7. Duration (Year) of stay: From _____ To _____
8. Completed the Program: ___ yes ___ no
9. If No, why? _____
10. Financial Source for Higher Educational expenses: ___ Self-finance
___ Parents ___ Spouse ___ Loan ___ Employer Support ___
Scholarship/Grant
11. Name of Scholarship (if any): _____

II. The following section is an attempt to ascertain information on the educational experiences of the respondents who have been associated to higher education institutes (in India):

1. One would prefer studying in an educational institute based in foreign country for :
Primary education ___
Secondary education ___
Higher Education ___
All of the above ___
None of the above ___
2. India makes a good choice for higher education for foreign students (especially SAARC region):
I Agree ___
I Disagree ___
I am Undecided ___
3. How well do/did you like your institute:
Like it very much ___
Don't like it very much ___

I just needed a degree hence it doesn't matter ____

Undecided ____

4. If you could start over again, would you go to the same institution or same country you are attending or attended?

Yes ____

Probably Yes ____

No ____

Probably No ____

Does not matter ____

5. How would you rate the overall quality of the program you were enrolled in (in India):

Excellent ____

Good ____

Fair ____

Poor ____

Undecided ____

6. How would you rate the overall quality of the course instructors (in India):

Excellent ____

Good ____

Fair ____

Poor ____

Undecided ____

7. The standard of teaching in the higher educational institutes (in India) are:

Excellent ____

Good ____

Fair ____

Poor ____

Undecided ____

8. Academic standards as a foreign student expected of you:

Excellent ____

Good ____

Fair ____

Poor ____

It did not matter ____

9. Your overall learning experience in the Indian educational institute in comparison to what you have experienced in Bangladesh:

Excellent ____

Good ____

Fair ____

Poor ____

Undecided ____

10. Experience of any academic problems associated with studying abroad? __ yes
__ no

If yes, kindly mention (optional):

III. The following section is an attempt to ascertain the perceived benefits received or academic choices made by the respondents who have been associated to higher education institutes (in India):

1. The involvement in study in India program has affected academic or personal decisions at home institution/country.

Yes ____

Somewhat yes

No ____

Somewhat No ____

Not much difference ____

2. The involvement in study in India program has benefited me in terms of career opportunities?

3. I am satisfied with the teaching professionalism in Indian institutes compared to institutes in Bangladesh.

Satisfied ____

Not satisfied ____

I expected more ____

It does not matter to me ____

4. I plan on returning to India for educational purpose even in the future?

Yes ____

Probably Yes ____

No ____

Probably No ____

Never Again ____

5. I will recommend other Bangladeshi nationals who are prospective students/researchers to choose India as their destination to pursue higher education.

Recommend ____

Definitely Recommend ____

Not Recommend ____

Definitely not recommend ____

It does not matter to me ____

6. I chose to pursue higher education from an Indian Institute because:

Answer:

IV. The following section is an attempt to ascertain the kind of influence the respondents had on their career developments after returning with a degree from an Indian higher education institute:

1. A degree from India has increased my employability and has in Bangladesh
Yes ___
No ___
It made no difference ___
I struggled to find a decent job ___

2. My degree and learning from the Indian institute has contributed directly to my current or past employment
Yes ___
No ___
It made no difference ___
I struggled to find a decent job ___

3. My degree and learning from the Indian institute has allowed me to acquire a skills set that influenced my career path
Yes, it has ___
No, it has not ___
It made no difference ___
My skills were not valued in my country ___

4. I may return to India for Higher Education (MPhil/PhD) in the future
Yes, ___
No, ___
Maybe ___
Never Again ___
Undecided ___

V. the following section is an attempt to ascertain the respondents' perception about Indian society, culture, governance and foreign policy developed through the educational experience and residence in India

1. Before your arrival in India, what were your perception about Indian society, its people, values and culture?
2. Did you experience any social or cultural problems associated with living in a different country?

Yes

No

If yes, kindly elaborate:

3. Allowed me to understand my own cultural values and biases/ better along with an understanding of cultural differences/similarities:

4. Influenced and improved my interaction with people from different cultural and social backgrounds:

5. Has influenced my political and social awareness.

Yes ____

No ____

I am not politically/socially aware anyway ____

It made no difference in my understanding ____

6. In your opinion, do you think Indians are hostile of friendly towards Bangladeshi?

Indians are friendly ____

Indians are hostile ____

Indians are judgmental about Bangladesh in general ____

Indians are neutral in opinion ____

Indians don't care much ____

7. Do you think staying in India for study purpose has given you a better understanding of the Indian people society and culture
- A lot better ____
- Somewhat better ____
- Not better ____
- My understanding remains the same as before ____
8. Do you approve or disapprove of the international politics of the current Prime Minister vis-à-vis Bangladesh?
- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Strongly disapprove
- Somewhat disapprove
- It doesn't matter to me
- Please Comment (optional): _____
9. What is your opinion towards Indian governments' policies towards Bangladesh?
- They are fair ____
- They favor Bangladesh a lot ____
- They don't favor Bangladesh at all ____
- They don't consider Bangladesh is strategically very important ____
- Don't know ____
10. Do you think relations between India and Bangladesh has improved in recent years?
- Really improved ____
- Somewhat improved ____
- Remained same ____
- Somewhat deteriorated ____
- Really deteriorated ____
- Don't know ____

11. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going vis-à-vis India-Bangladesh relation
- Very Satisfied ____
- Somewhat satisfied ____
- Dissatisfied ____
- Somewhat dissatisfied ____
- It can improve ____
- Don't know ____
12. What was your primary reason for choosing India _____
- India is culturally similar hence it is easy or was easy for me to adjust_____
- Educational expenses are cheaper and affordable compared to a foreign country_____
- The standard of education/research is way better in India than in Bangladesh_____
- For affordable, standardised and quality higher education India is the best option of middle class families _____
- My area of studies is best taught and researched in India _____
- I just want to move out of Bangladesh for a couple of years therefore I don't mind living in India as a student for few years _____
- Others reasons too that was beneficial for me in certain ways _____
- Socio-liberty is more in India _____
13. How do soft power policies help in developing a people-to-people connection between two countries like India and Bangladesh and their bilateral relations?
14. In your opinion, do you think coming of Bangladeshi students in India to study and vice versa and various initiatives like educational exchanges, study tours, institutional collaborations, is helping in building people-to-people connections between the two countries?

ANNEXURE VI
QUESTIONNAIRE 2
FIELD WORK

(For Students/Scholars who returned planning to pursue Higher Education
from out of Bangladesh)

The purpose of this study is to verify the reasons behind choosing India and higher education destination and the outcome of studying in Indian institutions. This Questionnaire is an entirely voluntary exercise and identity of the respondents will remain classified. Your signature asserts your understanding of the purpose and nature of the study, and does not obligate you in any manner.

Please Note:

- i. The respondents are students and research scholars.
- ii. The destination of higher educational attainment or the host country in context of this research is 'India'.
- iii. The country from where the respondents are expected or the home country is 'Bangladesh'.

Respondent Signature: _____ Date: _____

Interviewer: Hoimonti Barua Completed by self: _____

Country of the Respondent _____

General Information

1. Age:
2. Gender: F ___ M___

I. The following section is to ascertain the educational information from the students or scholars who have been associated to higher education institutes or about to be enrolled in higher education institutes in Bangladesh and consider further higher education abroad:

1. Name of the institute: _____
2. City/State: _____
3. Name of Program: _____ Name of Course: _____
4. Completed the Program: ___ yes ___ no
5. Considering to pursue higher education from any country outside Bangladesh:
___ yes ___ no
6. If yes, select the destination(s) as per your preference : ___ U.S.A/Canada ___
Europe ___ Australia ___ China ___ India ___ Malaysia ___
Japan/Korea/Singapore_____
7. Source of support for international educational expenses: ___ Self-finance
___ Parents ___ Spouse ___ Loan ___ Scholarship/Grant ___ not applicable
8. You chose the aforementioned countries because of the following reasons

9. In case of scholarship, please mention the name of scholarship:

II. The following section is to ascertain information on the educational experiences of the respondents who have been associated to higher education institutes in Bangladesh:

1. Higher education institutes are becoming money-making factories?

2. In the current higher education scenario, institutes have to compete nationally and internationally to increase student number to increase income. This is not good for higher education
Strongly agree
Agree
Neither Agree not Disagree
Disagree
Strongly Disagree

3. Considering government facilities provided for higher education such as scholarships, research grants, exchange programmes etc do you think Bangladesh's neighbouring country like India is improving about the same time or worse? *If better or worse in your opinion what do you think:*

4. Higher education in private institutes of Bangladesh is very expensive irrespective of the quality provided:
I agree ____
I disagree ____
The expense is worth the value ____
Neither Agree not Disagree

5. Higher education in public universities are affordable but lost its probity and quality
I agree ____
I disagree ____
The degree matters not the quality ____
Neither Agree not Disagree

6. Would you prefer India as a destination to pursue your higher education?
- Yes ___
- Probably Yes ___
- No ___
- Probably No ___
- Does not matter ___
7. How would you rate the overall quality of the program you were enrolled in Bangladesh:
- Excellent ___
- Good ___
- Fair ___
- Poor ___
- Undecided ___
8. How would you rate the overall quality of the course instructors in Bangladesh:
- Excellent ___
- Good ___
- Fair ___
- Poor ___
- Undecided ___
9. The standard of teaching in the higher educational institutes in Bangladesh are:
- Excellent ___
- Good ___
- Fair ___
- Poor ___
- Undecided ___

III. The following section is to ascertain the outcomes one might experience by associating with educational institutes/academic choices made outside Bangladesh (preferably India):

1. Enrolling in Indian institutes will benefit me in terms of career opportunities when I return to my country:

Yes, it will ___

No, it will not ___

Countries outside South Asia are better options ___

I prefer staying in my country ___

It does not matter ___

2. I am satisfied with the teaching professionalism in Bangladeshi institutes therefore foreign countries do not attract me.

Satisfied ___

Not satisfied ___

I am confused ___

It does not matter to me ___

3. I will recommend other Bangladeshi nationals who are prospective students/researchers to choose India as their destination to pursue higher education, whether it is my preference or not.

Recommend ___

Definitely Recommend ___

Not Recommend ___

Definitely not recommend ___

It does not matter to me ___

IV. The following section is to ascertain the kind of influence the respondents may possibly have on their career developments after returning with a degree from an Indian higher education institute:

1. A degree from India will increased my employability in Bangladesh
Yes, it will ____
No, it will not ____
It will make no difference ____
I will have to struggled to find a decent job with an Indian degree ____

2. My degree and learning from an Indian institute will help me acquire skill sets to influence my career:
Yes, it will ____
No, it will not ____

It will make no difference ____

My skills will not be valued in my country ____

V. The following section is to ascertain the respondents' perception about Indian society, culture, governance and foreign policy

1. What is your perception about Indian society, its people, values and culture?
Answer:

2. Have you ever visited India and considered enrolling yourself in an Indian educational institute?
Yes, I have ____
No, I have not ____
India is good for travelling, not for studying ____
Irrelevant ____

3. In your opinion, do you think Indians are hostile or friendly towards Bangladeshis?

Indians are friendly ____

Indians are hostile ____

Indians are judgmental about Bangladesh in general ____

I don't care much ____

4. Do you approve or disapprove of the international politics of the current Prime Minister vis-à-vis Bangladesh?

Strongly approve ____

Somewhat approve ____

Strongly disapprove ____

Somewhat disapprove ____

It doesn't matter to me ____

Please Comment (optional): _____

5. What is your opinion towards Indian governments' policies towards Bangladesh?

They are fair ____

They favor Bangladesh a lot ____

They don't favor Bangladesh at all ____

I don't know ____

6. Do you think relations between India and Bangladesh has improved in recent years?

Really improved ____

Somewhat improved ____

Really deteriorated ____

Somewhat deteriorated ____

Don't know ____

What is your general perception about Indian higher education?

Answer:

What is your perception about India-Bangladesh relations?

Answer:

While considering a destination for pursuing higher education what would be your first preference and why would you choose that country?

Have you ever heard of the following institutions?

- i. Indian Institute of Management (IIT) ____
- ii. University of Delhi ____
- iii. London School of Economics & Political Science ____
- iv. Calcutta University ____
- v. Massachusetts Institute of Technology ____
- vi. Jawaharlal Nehru University ____
- vii. Fergusson College ____
- viii. Christ University ____
- ix. New York University ____
- x. Jamia Milia Islamia ____
- xi. Heidelberg University ____
- xii. The University of Tokyo ____
- xiii. University of Sydney ____
- xiv. University of Oxford ____
- xv. Yale University ____
- xvi. University of British Columbia ____

Thank You for your patience and participation.

Hoimonti Barua