

**ROLE OF INDIAN DIASPORA IN INDIA-SINGAPORE
RELATIONS,**

1994 -2014

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the award of the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

ANKITA CHAUHAN



Centre for Indo-Pacific Studies

School Of International Studies

Jawaharlal Nehru University

New Delhi-110067

India

2016



CENTRE FOR INDO-PACIFIC STUDIES
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

NEW DELHI- 110 067

Phone : 2670 4350

Fax : +91-11-2674 2592

Date: 26.07.16

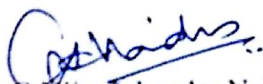
DECLARATION


I declare that the dissertation entitled "ROLE OF INDIAN DIASPORA IN INDIA-SINGAPORE RELATIONS, 1994 -2014" submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.



Ankita Chauhan


CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.


Prof. O. Vijayachandra Naidu
(Chairperson)


Prof. Ganganath Jha
(Supervisor)


Chairperson
Centre for Indo-Pacific Studies
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067


Centre for Indo-Pacific Studies
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

Acknowledgement

First and foremost I offer my sincerest gratitude to my supervisor **Prof. Ganganath Jha**, who has supported me throughout my dissertation with his patience and knowledge. I attribute the level of my M.Phil. degree to his encouragement and effort, without which it would not have been possible to complete this dissertation.

I would also like to extend my thanks to the Dean, all faculty members and technical staff of *School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University*. I also want to express my thanks to **UGC** for their financial support granted through pre-doctoral fellowship.

I am lucky enough to have been blessed with the support of many good friends, which includes Dr.Deepika, Rida, Mayank, **Sintoo and Gaurav**, who have provided continuous support to me with their strong arguments related to my work and helped me maintain a stable and healthy mind-set and body.

I am grateful to my family for their love, care and prayers.

*I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my beloved Maa. and Tipudi
(Hardik)*

Ankita Chauhan

Preface

The present study aims to bring out the significance of Indian diaspora with special reference to its role in India-Singapore bilateral relations .The dissertation is divided into five chapters. Chapter one offers an overview of diaspora and importance of diaspora as instrument of soft power .Chapter two analyses how diaspora impact the foreign policies of home country and how home country engage its diaspora for its development. Chapter third discuss diaspora's contribution in strengthening of bilateral relations of home and host country. Chapter four focuses on bilateral relations between India and Singapore and examines diaspora dynamics in this triadic relationship of Indian diaspora, India and Singapore. Chapter five summarizes the discussion in the forgoing chapters.

Ankita Chauhan

List of Abbreviations

ADB	The Asian Development Bank
ADMM	ASEAN Defense Minister Meeting Plus
AHN	ASEAN Highway Network
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
BJP	Bharatiya Janta Party
HLCD	High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora
ICRIER	Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INC	The Indian National Congress
MOIA	The Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....*III*

Preface.....*IV*

Abbreviations.....*V*

CHAPTER - 1

INTRODUCTION1-16

CHAPTER-2

DIASPORA AS A FACTOR IN INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY....17-38

CHAPTER-3

DIASPORA IN BILATERAL RELATIONS39-50

CHAPTER-4

SCOPE OF INCREASING ROLE OF INDIAN DIASPORA.....51-68

CHAPTER-5

CONCLUSION69-72

REFERENCES73-83

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

This is a study of Indian Diaspora in Singapore, whose role in the socio-economic life of Singapore is very important. The number of people of Indian origin in Singapore is 6.70 lakh, and most of them migrated to that country during the colonial period. However before analyzing their contribution in the socio-economic life, it is necessary to define Diaspora at the outset.

The term diaspora has long been associated with history and social science with the dispersal of Jews from Palestine ,their homeland after Romans defeated them in 70 A.D. Modern concept of diaspora has been generalized to refer any population which has migrated from its country of origin and settled in foreign land but maintains its continuity as a community .

According to the definition proposed by Grabiell Sheffer (1986), the diaspora is an ethnic minority group of migrant origin residing and acting in host countries which maintains sentimental or material links with its land of origin.

The Indian diaspora is recognized in the diasporic regions of the world for its socio-cultural diversities of family patterns, kinship systems, castes, tribes, sects, religions, languages, dialects, food, dress, festivals, rituals, customs, traditional practices, art, music, and dance.

According to data released in December 2014 by Singapore Department of Statistics, ethnic Indians constitute about 9.1% of the resident population of 3.9million in Singapore. Also among 1.5million foreigners residing in Singapore, about 3.5 lakhs are Indian expatriates holding the Indian passport, mostly serving in financial services, computer/software sectors, construction and marine sectors. There are about 1.5lakh Indian migrant workers in Singapore. India and Singapore have been very important partners for each other regarding political, economic and diplomatic strategies. India was among first countries to establish its diplomatic relations with newly independent Singapore, which got its independence on 24 August 1965. The cordial relationship India

and Singapore are sharing based on the convergence of political, economic and strategic interest. The process of economic reforms which India started in 1990 created a strong platform for cooperation with Singapore and opened up economic opportunities for significant participation for mutual benefits. According to Report of the High-Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora 2001, the Indian community is the most diverse of Singapore's ethnic communities in cultural terms. About 64% are of Tamil origin and Tamil is one of the four official languages together with Chinese, Malay and English. There is also a sizeable Punjabi, mainly Sikh community (about 7%), most of whom initially arrived in Singapore as members of the British army and police. The other distinct Indian communities are the Malayalis (about 8%), Sindhis (about 6%) and the Gujaratis (about 2%). Indians are also the most religiously diverse of Singapore's ethnic categories; an estimated 50-60% is Hindus, 20-30% Muslims, 12% Christians, 7% Sikhs and 1% Buddhists. In the 60s and 70s, top posts in the Government, among civil services, judiciary, armed forces and educational institutions were largely held by Indians. Some people of Indian origin prominent in Singaporean politics and Government include the President, Mr. S.R. Nathan, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Law, Prof. S. Jaykumar and Opposition leader Mr. J. B. Jeyaretnam. PIOs are also represented in all sectors of Singaporean economy and society to a greater extent than the Malays especially in the traditional professions such as medicine, law, and academics. PIOs and NRIs are currently contributing significantly to the efforts of Singapore to become the new economy hub for the region. Even today, Singapore recruits the majority of its construction workers from India. They have also kept Indian culture alive in Singapore. Part of Singapore's IT industry today is being fuelled by Indian expertise. There is also a significant Indian contribution to scientific research including in biotechnology and medicine. Singaporean authorities accord equal treatment about their basic demands, such as housing, schooling, recognition of cultural traditions, etc. The community is now overwhelmingly local born and linked to India primarily through the maintenance of cultural traditions. There is an area called Little India, around Serangoon Road, which is almost completely populated by PIOs. All Indian religions are represented in Singapore. There are quite a few gurudwaras, temples, churches and mosques as also religion based

associations, such as the Ramakrishna Mission. Cultural troupes sponsored by the ICCR stage various performances in Singapore on many occasions. Cultural organizations also frequently organize Indian cultural program with local talent. Singapore has played a crucial role in reconnecting India to the South East Asian countries since India adopted look East Asia policy after the end of cold war Singapore and India both perceive each other as most reliable strategic partners in South East Asia region. Singapore has emerged as a strong supporter of India's geostrategic initiatives and advocates greater Indian presence in Asia Pacific. Singapore reciprocated India's look east policy enthusiastically and provided a strong base for integration of India with ASEAN. There are two different bonds which Singapore-based Indian diaspora shares with both nations. The bond of loyalty exists between Indian diaspora and Singapore, its host country and another is a bond of co-responsibility which it has with India, its country of origin.

C. Raja Mohan described Indian diaspora as 'an instrument of soft power.' In the contemporary world, soft power instrument considered as a strategic asset as it has "strategic influence" over the bilateral relations, regional and global equations.

Previously diaspora was only seen as a source of human capital, direct and indirect investment. Now nations started focusing on the catalytic role of diaspora as network builders and source of skills, expertise. Now developing as well as developed countries have recognized the importance of diaspora as 'development partners' beyond diaspora's previous image of the financial source which was limited to only their remittances and investments.

In the globalized world, there is global competition for talent, skills, expertise, and knowledge. Moreover, each nation wants to maximize its ability, intellectual for its high participation and to increase economic, political, strategic efficiency and productivity through compensating its brain drain through 'brain circulation' with complete utilization of its diaspora expertise. Diaspora acts as an evergreen resource of talent, skills, knowledge for both its homeland as well as its host country.

The effective engagement of all three components of triadic relationship is not only beneficial to them in economic, cultural terms but also provides them an extra edge over others in political and strategic means at the regional level and also strengthens their position in existing global order.

Diaspora as instrument of soft power

The term "soft power," was first coined by Harvard University Professor Joseph S. Nye Jr. in a 1990 book, *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*. He further developed the concept in his 2004 book, *Soft power: The means to Success in World Politics*. He defines soft power, as "the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments." In other words, soft power is a power that is based on intangible influences such as culture, values, ideology, one's occult knowledge and it is like. It is the ability to entice others, and get others to do what you want them to do, without having to use military force or economic incentives, which Joseph S. Nye Jr. terms as "hard power."

The capacity of nations to make themselves attractive in a globalizing marketplace of ideas and images has become an important aspect of contemporary international relations, as has been the primacy of communicating a favorable picture of a country in an era of global digital flows, involving both state and non-state actors and networks.

Soft power is harder, because many of its crucial resources are outside the control of governments, and their effects depend heavily on acceptance by the receiving audiences. Moreover, soft power resources often work indirectly by shaping the environment for policy, and sometimes take years to produce the desired outcome soft-power Resources are slower, more diffuse, and more cumbersome to wield than hard-power resources. The Diaspora of any country has enormous geostrategic importance in their host countries. As citizens of the host country, diaspora communities can be politically engaged in the domestic politics of their new home and even from political lobbies. They can run for

office and specifically focus on the needs of the Diaspora and the country, from which they originate, with the goal of improving relations between said countries. Expats can work in specialized industries such as software and information technology in the major multinational corporations, which are increasingly important actors in the international arena.

Nowadays, States try to mobilize their Diaspora so recognizing their actor's place in the international relations arena. They use to do it with the principle of the soft power that can be applied in both directions: for the State of reception, the conversion to its values of the Diaspora presents on its territory allows it to act on the State of origin; for the State of origin it consists in using the Diaspora to win in its opinion the State of reception.

Indian Soft Power and Indian Diaspora

Discussion of the "soft power" ingredients in India's international relations took off parallel to Nye's evolving views. C Raja Mohan argued as early as 2003 that "India could always count itself among the few nations with active cards in the arena of soft power," asserting that India's biggest "instrument" of soft power was its diaspora. India's diaspora is certainly an asset, but far from the only one. Beyond its cultural and civilizational riches, its vibrant (if at times chaotic) democracy, its free media, its mostly independent judiciary, its dynamic civil society, and the impressive struggle for human rights since independence all make it attractive to publics in much of the world where these characteristics of its national experience are known. Also, India's mostly non-violent defeat of colonialism served as an important beacon for freedom movements and newly independent countries elsewhere in the 1950s and 1960s.

Shashi Tharoor, briefly minister of state for external affairs, 2009-10, spoke and wrote about soft power often, noting, "Hard power without soft power stirs up resentments and enmities; soft power without hard power is a confession of weakness" (Tharoor 2009).

India's soft power potential lies, among other things, in its democratic credentials, secular values, pluralistic society, the significant pool of skilled English-speaking professionals, varied culture (mainly Bollywood movies), and its food and handicrafts. India, over millennia, has offered refuge and, more importantly, religious and cultural freedom, to Jews, Parsis, several varieties of Christians, and Muslims, a factor that should be better known internationally than it has been to date (Tharoor 2009).

As one of the world's fastest growing economies and a vibrant, pluralist and secular polity, India offers unprecedented opportunities to project its soft power in a context of globalization. The role of the mass media in such an enterprise is crucial. In an age of mediated international relations, the perception of a country and its culture becomes a valuable brand, which can mitigate negative stereotypes but also distract from social realities.

As argued by Sunil Khilnani, India's greatest asset remains its "accumulated political legitimacy" rather than any hypothetical or real accumulation of power. Moreover, political legitimacy lies at the core of "soft power" for any state.

In 2010, Uma Purushothamam noted the saliency of Indian "soft power" in southeast Asian countries, describing them as "civilizational neighbors" (while also noting that, helpfully, unlike several contiguous neighbors, none of the Southeast Asian countries entertain border disputes with India).

India's youth is a crucial asset in Asia. "It is the power and energy of our human capital, young and old, that has been central to the Indian transformation" (Nilekani 2009: 26-27). Thus, unsurprisingly, in Singapore, the finance and information technology (IT) sectors welcome young Indians with open arms and many companies, banks and financial institutions have started visiting top Indian campuses for recruitment purposes (Duttgupta 2008). Indeed, India has emerged as an important source of skilled workers in much of Asia (Kaur 2009: 84).

The Indian diaspora is a crucial actor in India's influence in Asia. Southeast Asia alone accounts for an estimated 6.7 million people of Indian origin (Sridharan 1996). The significant economic resource represented by diaspora and migrant labour remittances back to India has guided much of Delhi's efforts to engage this large community. Between 2007 and 2008, these remittances increased nearly 45%, and they proved robust even during the 2008-09 global economic crises (Government of India 2009: 5-6).

Three factors shape the foreign policy of most countries: history, geography, and capability. Moreover, each of these has decisively influenced Indian foreign policy, in different ways at different times. India's power of attraction, the foundation of any country's "soft power", derives from each.

Indian approaches to developing and projecting its soft power have focused mostly on the power of attraction exercised by its cultural riches and heritage, as well as carefully considered promotion of human rights and democratic development at the multilateral level, while eschewing the introduction of the promotion of Indian values into bilateral relationships with countries possessing different political systems.

The Indian diaspora can play a significant role in spreading the soft power of India through the immense influence that they possess in their residential countries. The government should assist and encourage them to do so. Indian educational institutes should be established all around the world, where Indian knowledge and wisdom could be taught and hence benefit the recipients of that country and also would indirectly enhance India's uncertain status.

Public Diplomacy and Diaspora

The concept of *Public Diplomacy* follows from the concept of soft power. International politics is competition in credibility in which every nation tries to project an attractive image to others through information, diplomatic representations, and other means. However, there are often limitations to these and hence the need for other cultural, educational, recreational, unobtrusive means for image building and image projection abroad.

Historically, diplomacy involved conducting relations between nations, at government-to-government levels. The term “public diplomacy” was first coined in 1965 by Edmund Gullion of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University who described it “as the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies” (Ming, 2009, p. 1). The concept of public diplomacy has evolved through the years since then, with many scholars offering their interpretations of the term. Diasporas play a constructive role in national and international development. Countries reach out to them because of their potential influence in advancing the countries’ public diplomacy agendas.

In 1963, Edward R. Murrow, the noted broadcaster who was director of USIA in the Kennedy Administration, defined public diplomacy as interactions aimed not only at foreign governments but primarily with non-governmental individuals and organizations, and often presented a variety of private views in addition to government views. Conveying information and selling a positive image is part of it, but public diplomacy also involves building long-term relationships that create an enabling environment for public policy.

There are three dimensions of public diplomacy; all three are important, and they require different relative proportions of direct government information and long-term cultural relationships. The first and most immediate dimension is daily communications, which

involves explaining the context of domestic and foreign policy decisions. The second dimension is strategic communication, in a set of simple themes is developed, much like what occurs in a political or advertising campaign. The campaign plans symbolic events and discussions over the course of a year to reinforce the central themes, or to advance a particular government policy. The third stage of public diplomacy is the development of lasting relationships with key individuals over many years through scholarships, exchanges, training, seminars, conferences, and access to media channels.

Each of these three dimensions of public diplomacy plays an important role in helping to create an attractive image of a country that can improve its prospects for obtaining its desired outcomes.

Over the past several years, India has boosted its public diplomacy efforts and reached out to foreign publics, especially the diaspora, underscoring the increased importance of diaspora in fulfilling its foreign policy objectives. Hall (2012) says that since its Independence in 1947, India has invested considerable resources in advancing its interests through high-level dialogues and cultural exchanges. He argues that the India's renewed attention to public diplomacy has been fueled by its views of how China is using its soft power to exert its global influence.

Hall (2012) identifies three key features that he says are hallmarks of India's "new public diplomacy" (p. 1090). First, India is actively looking for new audiences, including domestic populations in India and the diaspora in the West. Second, India seeks to inject transparency into its foreign policy-making process. Third, it wants to concentrate its efforts on new media sources about traditional media.

India's efforts to promote its soft power have been driven by perceptions within domestic policy makers that India has not sufficiently brought its soft power achievements to the public knowledge. India's public diplomacy efforts target both foreign publics and domestic publics (Hall, 2012).

Suri (2011) highlights the importance of more publicity of India's achievements to counter any negative discourse about the country. Thus Singapore-based Indian diaspora has a much bigger role in strengthening of India-Singapore bilateral relation. The study will also focus on the strategic dimension of role, and the Indian diaspora plays in India-Singapore bilateral relation. Now an attempt will be made to trace various writings as a review of the literature.

Many scholars have written books and articles on Indian Diaspora in Singapore, and the following is the thematic overview of the literature review.

On Diaspora

Gabriel Sheffer(1986) presented the definition which states that modern Diaspora is ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin –their homelands.

William Safran(1991) has presented-point model which defines characteristics of diasporas includes the following:

- Dispersal from the original homeland
- Retention of collective memory
- Vision or myth of the original homeland
- Partial assimilation in host society
- Idealized wish to return to original homeland
- Desirable commitment to restoration of Homeland

- Continually renewed linkages with homeland

Toloyan Chachi(1991) has discussed that the term Diaspora that once described Jewish, Greek and Armenian dispersion now shares meanings with a larger semantic domain that includes words like an immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest worker, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community.

Robin Cohen (1997) classified Diaspora in five different categories:

- Victim Diasporas (e.g., populations forced into exile such as the Jewish, African, Armenian diasporas)
- Labour Diasporas (e.g., mass migration in search of work and economic opportunities such as the Indian and Turkish diasporas)
- Trade Diasporas (e.g., migrations seeking to open trade routes and links such as the Chinese and Lebanese diasporas)
- Imperial Diasporas (e.g., migration among those keen to serve and maintain empires such as the British and French diasporas)
- Cultural Diaspora (e.g., those who move through a process of chain migration such as the Caribbean Diaspora).

Van Hear, Frank Pieke (2004) defined diaspora as populations of migrant origin who are scattered among two or more destinations, between which there develop multifarious links involving flows and exchanges of people and resources: between the homeland and destination countries and among destination countries.

Rogers Brubaker (2005) notably argued that “as the term Diaspora has proliferated its meaning has been stretched to accommodate the various intellectual, cultural and political agendas in the service of which it has been enlisted. This has resulted in what one might

call a 'Diaspora' Diaspora-a dispersion of the meaning of the term in semantic, conceptual and disciplinary space.”

Milton J. Esman (1986) has presented a convincing argument that the continuing links between Diasporas and Homelands can be politicized, and this is their major significance in the study of international relations. Diaspora solidarities can be mobilized and focused on influencing political outcomes in the home country, to provide economic, diplomatic and even military assistance to the home country or to seek protection and help from its government.

Michele Reis (2004) builds upon the core features specified by Safran and specifies different phases of Diaspora and the impacts of globalization in the essay “Theorizing Diaspora: Perspectives on “Classical” and “Contemporary” Diaspora.” She highlights an important feature of the new contemporary Diaspora communities – many of them are now migrating to other countries voluntarily instead of through exile or slavery. Contemporary Diasporas is also the commingling of the contemporary diasporas, transnationalism, and globalization.

On Indian Diaspora

Arthur W. Helweg classified the development of Indian Diaspora in three phases: ancient, colonial and modern. He discussed that during the ancient period the goals for immigration were to promote trade, conquer and the spread the teachings of Buddha. During the colonial period, India provided cheap labor for the development of Britain holdings. The modern phase began after the Second World War when India gained independence, and her Diaspora began to advance from servitude to participation in modern mercantile and industrial world.

Sudesh Mishra(1992) in his essay —From Sugar to Masalal divides the Indian Diaspora into two categories - the old and the new. He writes that: This distinction is between, on the one hand, the semi-voluntary flight of indentured peasants to non-metropolitan plantation colonies such as Fiji, Trinidad, Mauritius, South Africa, Malaysia, Surinam, and Guyana, roughly between the years 1830 and 1917; and the other the late capital or postmodern dispersal of new migrants of all classes to thriving metropolitan centers such as Australia, the United States, Canada, and Britain.

Walton Roberts(2004) argues that the new Indian diasporas have clear linkages with the process of globalization that can be defined as the intensified and deepened cultural, economic, political and institutional interconnectedness and interdependency that has developed between corporations, communities and states, particularly since 1970's.

Parama Sinha Palit and Amitendu Palit(2009) unequivocally aimed to explore the role of the Indian diaspora in a globalized world. Moreover, presented an argument that the Indian diaspora has transformed the economies and has come to occupy a pride of place in their host countries. Its members are found as entrepreneurs, workers, traders, teachers, researchers, inventors, doctors, lawyers, engineers, managers, and administrators. By playing a leading role in the global technological revolution, it has transformed India's image abroad. It clearly reflects the desire to engage an already proactive diaspora actively for not only influencing domestic politics in host countries in a manner beneficial for India but also for obtaining long-term economic gains and enhancing India's image abroad. The economic and political significance of the diaspora and the need for engaging it is a natural corollary of India's rising strategic significance.

On Indian –Singapore relation

Faizal Yahya (2007) discussed that Singapore-India relations effectively took off after 1991, when India “opened up” with its Look East Policy (LEP) following the end of the Cold War, and after Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong’s 1994 visit to India. This was when

Singapore- India relations re-established a “confluence of interests”, undergirded by a shared “pragmatic” approach to foreign policy that, in India’s case, sought “manageable coalitions” and integration into the world economy.

Rajesh M. Basrur stated that it has only been twenty years since bilateral relations substantially took off in 1994, Singapore-India relations can be said to have come a very long way. Political ties have expanded, and bilateral relations are broad-based and multi-faceted. These are underpinned by a convergence of political, economic and strategic interests, all the more as India has placed Singapore at the heart of its LEP.

Kripa Sridharan has argued that India's geostrategic location in the Indian Ocean, and its growing economic integration with the Asia-Pacific, has made it an attractive partner for Singapore. Yeoh and Huang (2003) acknowledged that the Singapore economy currently needs foreign talent to enhance its global competitiveness and to keep pace with global changes.

The literature review has failed to link the Indian Diaspora and its role in strengthening bilateral relations with India and Singapore from 1994-2014. The literature provides a basic understanding of concepts separately. However, there has not been endeavor made to articulate in the manner of linking the impact of Indian Diaspora in the articulation of objective of their activities and strengthening of the triadic relationship between the Diaspora, the host country, and the homeland. Hence a study is necessary to analysis the facilitating and catalytic role Indian diaspora plays in connecting both its homeland and the host country.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study is analytical and descriptive in nature. Both the quantitative and qualitative methods of research used wherever applicable. The resources from the Jawaharlal Nehru

University, the Central library, website of Ministry of External Affairs of India, website of High Commission of India in Singapore employed for the study. The secondary sources are consisting of books, articles in journals, newspapers and websites etc. The work made use of the existing literature on the research topic to gain a better understanding on the topic of research. The research made use of the digital and non-digital media to a broader extent.

HYPOTHESIS

1. Indian diaspora has a vital role to play in strengthening of India-Singapore bilateral relations.
2. Indian Diasporas acting as bridge between societies and creating transnational communities of mutual development benefit to the host and origin countries.

Chapter 2

Diaspora as a factor in Indian foreign policy

By the foreign policy of a state, we mean its behavior with reference to the environment outside its territory. It differs from inter- national relations in that it classifies phenomena from the point of view of the single state rather than from that of the world. It results from the continuous effort of the community either to modify the external environment in order to fit its own interests or to change its interests so as better to fit the changing world environment. (Quincy Wright, 1930)

Diaspora to exert influence on a homeland's foreign policy in case of existence of motive, opportunity, and means; that is, a diaspora should both want to exert influence and have the capacity to do so. This capability depends on the ability to unite members of the kin community as an influential group (which depends in part on the nature of the host-land regime), and on the receptivity of the homeland's political system to diasporic influence. Thus the factors affecting the efficacy of diasporic influence include the degree of diasporic motivation, the sociopolitical nature of both the hostland and the homeland, and the strength relations ('balance of power') between the diaspora and the homeland. All of these factors are interconnected. If engagement in a motherland's foreign policy is perceived by diasporas as identity-reinforcing and by the motherland as legitimate, then diasporas will be motivated to exert influence on the issue. These factors depend, of course, on the nature of the hostland and the homeland. If the hostland's foreign policy is important to the nation, and the hostland is receptive to the diaspora's efforts to influence its foreign policy, then the diaspora's ability to influence the homeland's foreign policy is enhanced. the influence of a diaspora on the foreign policy of its homeland is determined by the balance of power between the community and the homeland . This balance, in turn, is determined by three factors: the strength or weakness of the homeland (materially, ideologically, and in terms of permeability); the degree of cohesion in the diaspora regarding homeland foreign policy; and the extent to which the diaspora is perceived as an asset or liability by the homeland. (Yossi Shain and Aharon Barth, 2003)

Diaspora and Foreign Policy Emigration always had repercussions for the source country's relationship with the countries of destination. However, only in the last few

decades have states the world over made explicit attempts to draw their immigrant populations—their diasporas—into the framework of their foreign policy. Thus, the emergence of ‘diaspora policies’ by countries in all regions of the world have highlighted the need to examine immigration phenomena and diaspora-home state relations from the viewpoint of international relations (IR) theory.

There is a growing interest to understand the interlinkages between the country of origin governments, diasporic communities, and their host countries. Apart from the significance of diasporic communities for economic development and cooperation, diasporas are increasingly conceptualized as strategic assets by their respective home governments. The Indian government has established one of the most comprehensive systems of ‘diaspora governance’ with a multitude of different policies at the central, as well as at the regional level. These range from large diaspora conferences—the Pravasi Bharatiya Diwas— individual membership categories, such as the Person of Indian Origin Card and the Overseas Citizenship of India, to specific cultural, investment, and educational programmes that involve special services for diaspora youths, publications, and cultural events.

In a historical perspective, the immigration and foreign policy of pre-independence British India were influenced by the interests of the U.K. and other colonial powers and facilitated migration of indentured labour and workers to colonies controlled by the British and other European powers. It has not been sufficiently explored how post-colonial theory can enhance our understanding of current challenges of diasporas in international relations. As a positive example for the importance of the diaspora in international relations, the U.S. Congressional Caucus on India and Indian-Americans is of relevance which includes more than a third of all U.S. lawmakers, as well as the U.S. India Political Action Committee (USINPAC). Indian-American advocacy efforts reportedly played a significant role in the signing of the U.S.-India agreement for civil nuclear cooperation in 2008, in lobbying for the removal of U.S. sanctions in the aftermath of India’s nuclear tests in 1998, as well as on other occasions. The degree of

influence that diaspora may exert on foreign policy depends on the strength of relations between the homeland (governmental institutions) and its diaspora.

Diaspora engagement policies refer to a variety of institutional mechanisms established by state governments to constructively strengthen the relationship between the state and its Diaspora ,to harness the developmental potential of diaspora through encouraging diaspora interaction with the state. There are many ways in which diaspora interact with their home. Diaspora communities are transnational actors, but they keep alive their sense of belongingness with their countries of origin and are emotionally attached to their ancestral home.

Diasporas are connected to their countries of origin societies through various social, economic and political networks. These connections of diaspora with their homeland are beneficial to the motherland. Diaspora now termed as strategic assets for their own country and their countries of origin policymakers also acknowledged their development potential as diaspora acts as a bridge between their home and the host country. Diaspora communicates their countries of origin's concerns to host country governments.

This communicating capability made diaspora an important instrument of diplomacy between home and the host country. Diaspora gained knowledge and expertise abroad and able to transfer their knowledge back at home with their preserved networks with home societies.

Diaspora is consumers of homemade products at international market and contributes in development domestic manufacturers of the countries of origin. An international network of diaspora opens up global opportunities for its countries of origin's small entrepreneurs, businessman. Diaspora contributions mainly measured in terms of remittances which are significant financial resource help in poverty alleviation at underprivileged sections of home country societies. Investments made by diaspora can play a critical role in education and health care infrastructure development.

Diaspora follows the old tradition of “giving back” to the home country. In recent times diaspora is interested in making philanthropic contributions to community development at host society. There are obstacles in the way to utilize this potential. Diaspora’s willingness is not enough to realize diaspora’s potential into substantive home country’s development. Diaspora resides outside their countries of origin and any of their contributions (financial and non-financial) pass through many verifying governmental banking and security agencies of host and home country. Transactions can be made after compliance with regulations of host and home country institutions. And there also transaction charges are applied on. To explore and exploit development capabilities of diaspora their countries of origin should have liberal regulatory policies with minimum hindrance to making smooth transactions of goods and services. The bilateral relations of home and host country also have an impact on the diaspora contributions. Diasporas are resources of human and social capital apart from financial remittances. Well-structured and evaluated diaspora engagement policies can help both diaspora and home country to work together for home country development. Diaspora act as a key driver in the determination of host country’s foreign policy as being a receiving state, proper management of immigrants/diaspora is prerequisite to utilize their capabilities constructively. This good management includes effective integration into host country’s societies, providing essential amenities, accommodation, health and care facilities and assistance in various forms.

The reason that India did not perceive the Overseas Indian's interests within the framework of its own national interests because they, formed a part of the sovereign country of their adoption. Importantly, the British colonial administration or the Imperial policy could no longer be a target of India's criticism for the ill-treatment of the Indians overseas, but potential sovereign states whose interests had to be reconciled with India's own. As such, any direct adverse reaction by India to the Overseas Indian's problems or cultivation of a relationship with them outside the periphery of its bilateral relations with the country of their adoption would infringe on the sovereignty of the latter country. This was bound to create problems in international relations, and the issue, if blown up, would

affect India's national interests.(U. Mahajani.,1976) An essential element guiding India's approach towards the Indians overseas has been the emphasis on the development of their harmonious relations with the natives. Nehru felt the need for such relationship because the promotion of the Overseas Indian's interests was rested with the political machinery dominated by the natives. Given this, any antagonistic attitude on the part of the Overseas Indians towards the citizens or absence of any goodwill among the latter towards the former would result in the adoption of harsh measures to restrict the Indian's rights and privileges.

Nehru, therefore, advised the overseas Indians To completely "associate" themselves with the indigenous people of the country of their adoption and "cooperate" with, and "help," them "while maintaining their own dignity and respect." Disassociation with, or being unfriendly to, native people, according to Nehru, would "spoil the fair name of India". He also asked the Overseas Indians who were antagonistic to the citizens to "come back to India,"To give "primary consideration to the interests of the original inhabitants" of their adopted country, and "not to develop any vested interests" which were against them., Not to demand any "special rights and privileges" vis-a-vis the indigenous inhabitants, to extend their undivided "loyalty" to the country of their residence, and to "work" for the establishments of multi-racial democratic societies.(Abraham, George. 1993)

The Narsimha Rao Government embarked on New Economic Policy that called for immediate and extensive reforms. The economy was for the first time opened up to outside investors who could acquire a majority shareholding in the Indian companies. A plan to dismantle the public sector loss-making units was also decided upon. Subsequently, the tariffs were slashed, and the rupee was made convertible on the trade account. Thereafter, the rupee was also devalued.(Sheth, V .S. 2000.) The Minister of State of the Finance Ministry R. Thakur stated that: "... the resulting improvement in our balance of payments will restore the confidence of NRIs in the Indian economy and

encourage the inflow of foreign exchange from NRI sources".(Singla, Surinder Kumar 2001)

The advent of the BJP- led NDA government brought about a radical shift in the policy of the government of India. They quickened the pace of the reforms and speeded up the move towards integration with the process of globalization. It recognized that the technology transfers and the augmentation of the foreign exchange reserves were part of its New Industrial Policy. This shift was clearly evident by 1999 when the Chennai Declaration of the BJP included: "We believe that the vast community of NRIs and PIOs also constitute a part of the Great Indian Family. We should endeavor continually to strengthen their social, cultural, economic and emotional ties with their mother country. They are the rich reservoir of intellectual, managerial and entrepreneurial resources. The Government should devise innovative schemes to facilitate the investment of these resources for India's all- around development" .('Chennai Declaration'.1999.) In September 2000, the government constituted a High-level committee on Indian diaspora under L.M. Singhvi to look into the matters concerning the NRIs and the People of Indian Origin. The government of India Committee on the Indian Diaspora was created to recommend a broad and flexible policy framework after reviewing the status, needs, and role of persons of Indian origin (PIOs) and non-resident Indians (NRIs). The Committee was headed by L.M. Singhvi , MP (BJP) and former High Commissioner to Britain, with the rank of a cabinet minister, and submitted its report by 7 december2001 to the external affairs minister.

Singhvi committee Report Atal Bihari Vajpayee released the Singhvi Committee report on 8 January 2002. The report is in five parts. The Committee found that with over twenty million people of Indian origin spread across 110 countries, the Indian diaspora was as significant a player in the global system as diasporas of other nations. Indeed, the Committee found that in most of the countries in which it was present, the Indian diaspora was making a significant contribution to their socio-economic fabric. In general, people of Indian origin in most countries had better per capita incomes, were more

educated, and made better professionals and businessmen than members of other nationalities. What is more, Indians also enriched local culture through their contributions to art, cuisine, spirituality, etc. After mapping out the key features of the Indian diaspora and appraising their expectations from their mother country, as also studying the policies of other nations towards their diaspora, the Singhvi Committee made a comprehensive set of recommendations covering all aspects of India's relations with its diaspora. The thrust of the Committee's vision was that rather than pursue a hub-and-spoke relationship with its diaspora, as attempted thus far, the Government of India must have a policy framework to forge a web relationship. The Committee thought, and rightly so that creating a network of people of Indian origin that strengthens the diaspora would also enhance India. What is more, this network would also have a positive impact on India's relations with the host countries where the diaspora plays a significant role. Among some of the highlights of this report is the granting of the dual citizenship to foreign nationals of Indian descent settled in the particular country, within the rubric of the Citizenship Act. The committee also recommended that a 'single window' organization should be opened for interacting with them. "it emphasizes the requirement for developing a clearly defined policy and suitably calibrated country-specific plans for enhancing connectivities." Apart from general recommendations, the other issues that are covered include improvement of airports, regulatory requirements of the government, the welfare of Indian women married to NRIs/PIOs, problems of overseas Indian labour. There are wise sector recommendations to under the headings of culture, Economic Development, Tourism, Education, Health, Media, etc.

Pravasi Bhariya Divas, the Singhvi committee recommended that every year the Government of India must organize an event that brings together members of the diaspora from all over the world. Not surprisingly, the day chosen was 9th January as it was on that day in 1915 that one of the most eminent Pravasi Bhartiya of all time, Mahatma Gandhi, returned to India from South Africa. This formed the backdrop to the first Pravasi Bhartiya Divas that was conceived as a platform for forging a strong network of Indian diaspora across the globe.

Thus, 9th January marked a historical turning point in India's relations with its diaspora when New Delhi hosted the first Pravasi Bhartiya Divas, which brought together over 2000 Persons of Indian Origin (PIOs) and Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) in Pragati Maidan from over 61 countries. This was at first and largest gathering of diaspora officially hosted by the Government of India and marked the beginning of a new journey of togetherness for people of Indian origin from across the world. Co-organized by the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), the first Pravasi Bhartiya Dias was a mega event comprising a conference, an exhibition, a food festival and cultural programmes that drew artists of Indian origin from many countries of the world including superstars from Hollywood. The three-day conference included four plenary sessions, nine parallel sectoral sessions and seven parallel sessions with state governments of India. Commenting on the idea of dual citizenship Jayati Ghosh wrote in the Frontline that : "The government's apparent intentions on the issue of dual citizenship make it clear that certain elite Non-Resident Indians are to be treated differently from ordinary Indian citizens, both at home and Abroad." Dual citizenship will give advantages to PIOs in investment in India like ownership of property within India. The BJP has enormous support both political and financial from the Indians living in these regions mentioned above (Mostly industrialized countries). Moreover, those who have migrated to these countries belong to the professional classes and would like to remain part of the decision-making process.

The aim of wooing the Indian diaspora in the west could be seen in the context of that dramatic shift in India's policy since 1997. If one can stretch this argument that by providing the diasporic Indians these inducements they hope to inculcate and develop within the Indian diaspora a strong pro-India lobby in these countries that could help India back home. These countries could then look at India more favorably for investments as well as be more positive towards India's Foreign Policy posturing. The Indians living there are wealthy and have substantial financial clout. Singhvi stressed the need for rethinking in India of its diaspora because of current changes in society and economy that had tremendous implications for the Indian diaspora. He stated that Indians

operated in a web of relationships and the networked economy held enormous possibilities for the prosperity of the Indian diaspora (like China).

Subsequently, during the second Pravasi Bhartiya Diwas, Bharatiya Samman Awards were conferred on ten eminent NRIs/PIOs. Here, Mr. Vajpayee welcomed the guests by saying that 'We invite you not only to share our vision in the new millennium but also to help us shape its contours. We do not want your investment er also want your ideas. We do not want your riches we want the richness of your experience'. The third Bhartiya Pravasi Diwas concluded with a call by the President API Abdul Kalam to the Non-Resident Indians to fund the establishment of an Overseas Indian Research Foundation (OISF) to support research in challenging areas including earthquake prediction, and involve themselves in extending urban amenities to rural areas of the country with the establishment of "PURAs (Providing Urban Amenities in Rural Areas)" Since the nation faced enormous challenges in this area. Here, the Prime Minister Manmohan Singh announced that his government would extend dual citizenship to all overseas Indians who had migrated out of the country after 26 January 1950, and assured of the continuance of economic reforms at a greater speed to unleash India's latent potential.

Thus, in the recent past the government has taken some very imaginative and thoughtful initiatives to exhort the Indian diaspora ever since the creation of a separate Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs and such as the observance of Pravasi Bharatiya Divas, the institution of Pravasi Bharatiya Samman Awards, the Overseas Indian citizen's certificate and Persons of Indian Origin (PIO) cards.

Diaspora has different ethnic, cultural, linguistic background and lifestyle practices from the host country's societies. For its survival and sustainability diaspora adapt and accommodate itself with host country's culture and diaspora transform itself on various levels which is a challenge in itself. This conformance leads to diaspora's integration into host societies and lowers the vulnerability of diaspora by establishing mutual understanding between diaspora and host country communities. To integrate diaspora in

own communities, host government formulate integrating domestic policies and these also impact their foreign relations.

Diaspora engagement policies should not necessarily be seen as part of a unitary, coordinated state strategy. Rather, they form a constellation of institutional and legislative arrangements and programs that come into being at different times, for various reasons, and operate across different timescales at the various levels within home-states. (Alan Gamlen, 2006)

Whether or not they are coordinated as part of a particular state strategy, diaspora engagement policies (re)produce citizen-sovereign relationships with expatriates, thus trans-nationalizing governmentality – the means by which a population is rendered governable, through the construction, machination, and normalization of a set of governmental apparatuses and knowledge (Foucault 1978: 102-103).

At particular moments, a number of states have deliberately coordinated their diaspora engagement policies so as to ‘reinscribe’ (Gupta 1992) the place of the nation as a “transnational social field” (Levitt 2001). States hope that diaspora engagement policies will help them to manage the scale of their political and economic maneuvers; both by leveraging powerful expatriates to upscale their concerns into global-scale and by exerting control on urban-scale transnational dynamics through closer engagement with migrant civil society (Alan Gamlen, 2006).

According to Foucault, the capacity to exercise power consists in three types of relationships: relations of authority, relationships of communication, and finalized activities (Foucault 1982). Together, these three types of relationship constitute the ‘disciplinary’ apparatus necessary for the exercise of power. States firstly aim to produce a relationship of communication at the transnational scale, based around the idea of the nation – a system of symbols and signs within which states can immerse the exercise of power. Secondly, states aim to create physical capacities for the realization of power

relations by building diaspora institutions. Thirdly, the “finalized activities”, or “specific effects” of this transnational exercise of home-state power consist of “trans-nationalized citizenship” (Lee 2004), conceived of here as the extension of rights and the extraction of obligations to non-residents (Alan Gamlen, 2006).

Diaspora engagement policies can be categorized following ways:

Capacity Building: In Foucauldian terms, institution building puts in place the “objective dimensions” that make possible the exercise of power, while symbolic nation-building establishes a “relationship of communication” – a system of symbols and signs through which the exercise of power is transmitted (Foucault 1982). The capacity of a home-state to implement diaspora engagement policies is dependent firstly on the imagined (or discursive) existence of a cohesive transnational community, based on a standard, state-centric national identity, towards which policies can be directed (see Gonzalez Gutierrez 1999).

Diaspora networks multiple and has scattered identities and form a heterogeneous group. There is also a lack of coordination among all diaspora groups diffused in different parts of the world. Capacity building policies are two types one is symbolic nation building, and another is institution building.

Symbolic nation-building: Symbolic policies are aimed to create a homogenous national Diaspora identity among diffused heterogeneous diaspora. These policies include cultural initiatives and programs to connect diaspora to their home country. Home governments support programs to organize classes for national language, history and also promote cultural events to celebrate home country’s festivals.

The countries of origin also host annual meetings of diaspora communities to celebrate achievements of emigrants as national achievement and bestow them with awards.

Home-states often play role in shaping diaspora-targeted media, communications, and public relations – partly to support these general aims of producing a homogeneous population, but also to send more specific messages designed to mobilizing expatriates in particular ways, such as to return home, to remit money, or to help advance ‘national interests’ abroad

The common thread running through all these policies is the attempt by states to produce a communal mentality amongst non-residents; a sense of common belonging to the home-state (see González Gutiérrez 1999) that renders expatriates governable.

Institution-building: Institution-building policies furnish the state with technologies – systems and institutions – to ‘govern’ diaspora populations. The first step for many countries is the implementation of surveillance. Monitoring efforts are typically conducted through the foreign service or the immigration bureaucracy and aim to collect statistics on which to base strategic orientations towards emigrants. This process is often not merely a way of collecting inert data, but a way of selecting actors whom it would be profitable to deal with and forming long-term relationships with these actors (González Gutiérrez 1993). Monitoring efforts frequently stimulate greater state involvement with a wider range of immigrant associations, resulting in increased consular work – in some cases to the extent that state representatives are present at most or all immigrant association events and meetings (González Gutiérrez 1993; Thunø 2001) – and expansion of budgets to cope with this increased activities.

Thus, institution building aims to furnish states with the capacity – in terms of bureaucratic instruments and systems – to upscale their political and economic manoeuvres within global arenas, but it also allows them to manage lower levels of spatial scale, inserting and mobilizing representatives at the scales of local communities and urban municipalities.

Extending Rights : In Foucault’s terms, whereas institution building aims to construct objective capacities to realize relations of power, and symbolic nation-building policies seek to produce a relationship of communication, the extension of rights and the extraction of obligations – or the trans-nationalization of citizenship (Lee 2004) – constitutes the “finalized activities”, or “specific effects” of the exercise of power (Foucault 1982).

Political incorporation of emigrants: Itzigsohn (2000) and Goldring (1998) both argue that upgraded membership in the home society is a primary incentive for immigrants to become involved in transnational activities. Thus, the rationale behind politically incorporating immigrants is that this upgraded membership status will flatter or appease expatriates, producing goodwill relationships that help to protect steady flows of remittances and investments.

Civil and social services to immigrants : Ability to guarantee the civil rights of citizens is one of the most central claims to legitimacy that a state can make, and thus a number of states see the extension of civil rights as a necessary part of playing the role of legitimate transnational sovereign with respect to ‘their’ diasporas. most common set of services is offered to emigrants in the context of deliberate labour export policies, such as those of the Philippines, in which the state manages the recruitment, deployment, and protection of overseas workers (Alcid 2003). Protection can involve healthcare and assistance with integration and employee relations, or advocacy in taxation and similar issues. Other types of services identified in this study include the exclusive service centres for immigrants returning on holiday (De Haas 2006).

Extracting Obligations: The strength of states’ claims to legitimately extract benefits from ‘their’ diasporas arguably flows from their reciprocal provision of profits. Indeed, this realization seems to underpin both the emerging “co-development” discourse surrounding migration and development (Global Commission on International Migration

2005) and the logic by which Robert Smith (2003) and others observe that “global nation's policies” open up transnational public spheres.

Investment policies: Mandatory payments. Jagdish Bhagwati's proposed ‘brain drain tax’ (Bhagwati 1976) seems to have been one of the first theoretical attempts to justify taxation by citizenship rather than residence. Though unpopular when first proposed, the tax is regaining some traction from the argument that the sovereign’s provision of rights and the citizen’s fulfilment of obligations (most notable of which is payment of taxes) are co-dependent (Bauböck 2003a).

With respect to the macroeconomic impacts of remittances on poverty reduction, the optimists seem to have gained a victory: there is a cautious consensus that remittances should be seen as (at least potentially) positive, and that policymakers should find ways of targeting them.

Current consensus seems to have settled on supporting the expansion of access to remittance-sending infrastructure and the lowering of transaction costs (for example through lowering start-up costs for remittance companies (IOM 2005; World Bank 2005), whilst refraining from interfering with private transfers in other ways, such as trying to force remittances through formal channels and into specific projects or altering exchange and interest rates (Hugo 2003; Lucas 2005; IOM 2005; World Bank 2005).

Nevertheless, numerous policies around the world have targeted remittances with the aim of channeling them into investments. In addition to the policies above aimed at directing smaller remittance flows into larger investments, many countries have incorporated a particular focus on expatriates (either as investors or as bridgeheads) into their broader FDI and development strategies.

State attempts to attract investments from expatriates are based on the belief that collective national identity can strengthen or underlie vital “strategic alliances with corporate actors” (Ong 1999: 21).

Knowledge transfer programs: New Growth economic theory posits knowledge as the engine of growth, prompting states to invest in higher education, as well as industrial research and development. Countries with high immigration fear a ‘brain drain’ of the highly skilled, representing both a loss on these investments and forfeiture of future gains through knowledge production. The prospect of mobilizing highly skilled diasporas to increase knowledge production at home is attractive to many states, especially those fearing brain drain.

World Bank economist Yevgeny Kuznetsov identifies three main types of “‘brain circulation’ Diaspora networks”: of scientists and R&D personnel; business networks of innovative start-ups and networks of professionals working for multinationals (Kuznetsov 2005). He argues that scientific networks are easier to start than to maintain, while the opposite is true for networks of influential professionals in multinationals, and that top-down networks are not as useful as bottom-up organizational structures “designed in accordance with [their] own nature.” A huge range of home-states has sponsored, supported or developed relationships with web-based “brain circulation” networks, which a number of studies have attempted to survey (e.g. Meyer and Brown 1999a).

Diaspora engagement policies cannot be seen as singular, discrete. Rather, they form a constellation of institutional and legislative arrangements and programmes that come into being at different times, for various reasons, and operate across different timescales at the different levels within the state

Toward this purpose, the typology may begin to the categorization of countries on the basis of the patterns of diaspora engagement policies they use. For example, capable states (i.e. those with developed diaspora engagement capacities) might fall into three

categories: exploitative states, which extract obligations without extending rights; liberal states, which extend rights without extracting obligations, and engaged states, which both extract bonds and extend rights(Alan Gamlen,2006..put it in start or in end).

India's diaspora engagement policies

India has the second largest diaspora in world and constitute global Indian family The Indian diaspora, comprising of Persons of Indian Origin and Non-Resident Indians represents a world community “representing diversity of forms, types, geographies and times of formation” and thus calls for an engagement that is distinct and diverse(Annual Report 2012-13).

The following various program and initiatives are taken by Indian government to engage Indian diaspora :

Know India Programme: Know India Programme of the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India is a three-week orientation programme for diaspora youth conducted with a view to promoting awareness on different facets of life in India and the progress made by the country in various fields e.g. economic, industrial, education, Science & Technology, Communication & Information Technology, culture. KIP provide a unique forum for students & young professionals of Indian origin to visit India, share their views, expectations & experiences and to develop closer bonds with the contemporary India. 4-5 such programmes are conducted every year in partnership with one or two State Governments.

Study India Programme: The Study India Programme initiated by the Ministry of overseas Indian affairs is envisaged as a means of enhancing engagement with the diaspora youth. The objective of the Scheme is to enable overseas Indian youth i.e. foreign citizens of Indian origin in the age group of 18-26 years to undergo short term

courses in the nature of summer schools to familiarize them with the art & culture, heritage, history, economy and development of India. Such short term courses shall aim at providing an opportunity to the overseas Indian youth to better understand and appreciate contemporary India, foster closer ties with the land of their ancestors and enhance their engagement with India.

Overseas Indian Youth Club (OIYC): Overseas Indian Youth Club (OIYC) is an initiative of the Indian government to engage the diaspora youth in the age group of 18 – 30 years in countries having substantial diaspora population. The OIYC is providing an institutional mechanism in the Indian Missions/Posts abroad to engage young overseas Indians, students, and professionals, including facilitation of their work in social sectors at the district level in India. The core membership of OIYC comprises the alienated youth who have availed of the facility to visit India under the Know India Programme (KIP). The endeavour is also to include participants of other Programmes of the Ministry such as Scholarship Programme for Diaspora Children (SPDC), Study India Programme (SIP), etc. Through this core group, the Indian Missions/Posts will reach out to other diaspora youth.

Scholarship Programmes for Diaspora Children: Scholarship Programme for Diaspora Children (SPDC) was introduced in the academic year 2006-2007 with the objective to make higher education in India accessible to the children of overseas Indians and promote India as a centre for advanced studies.

Under the scheme, 100 PIO/NRI students are awarded a scholarship of up to US\$ 4,000 per annum for undergraduate courses in Engineering, Technology, Humanities, Liberal Arts, Commerce, Management, Journalism, Hotel Management, Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and some other courses.

Tracing the Roots: The Ministry is running a scheme known as "Tracing the Roots" to facilitate PIOs in tracing their roots in India. PIOs who intend to trace their roots in India

need to apply in a prescribed Form, through the Indian Mission/Post in the country of their residence

Indian Community Welfare Fund (ICWF): The Indian government has established the Indian Community Welfare Fund (ICWF) in the 43 Indian Missions across the world in countries that have a significant overseas Indian population.

The Indian Community Welfare Fund (ICWF) is aimed at providing 'on site' welfare services on a means tested basis in the most deserving cases including:

- Boarding and lodging for distressed overseas Indian workers in Household / domestic sectors and unskilled labourers
- Extending emergency medical care to the overseas Indians in need
- Providing air passage to stranded overseas Indians in need
- Providing initial legal assistance to the overseas Indians in deserving cases
- Expenditure on incidentals and for airlifting the mortal remains to India, or local cremation/burial of the deceased foreign Indian in such cases where a sponsor is unable or unwilling to do so as per the contract and the family is unable to meet the cost.

Overseas Indian workers duped by unscrupulous intermediaries in the host countries, runaway housemaids, those who become a victim of accidents, deserted spouses of overseas Indians or undocumented foreign Indian workers in need of emergency assistance, or any other overseas Indian citizens who are in distress would be the main beneficiaries of the Fund. The Fund will also be utilized to meet the expenditure for

airlifting the mortal remains of overseas Indian citizens to India on a means tested basis, on the recommendation of respective Heads of Missions.

India Corporate Internship Programme: The India corporate internship programme is a prestigious, first of its kind programme of Government of India, Ministry of overseas Indian affairs, through the overseas Indian facilitation centre in partnership with the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) for students of Indian origin pursuing Postgraduate programmes in management, engineering and science & technology at premier universities of the world. The program invites them for paid internships in world-class Indian companies for 2-6 months. OIFC has brought on board 23 top Indian companies to offer 60 paid internships. Indian Diaspora students will have an opportunity to work in projects from diverse sectors like Aerodynamics, Automotive, Banking & Financial Services, Healthcare, Incubation centers for Indian start-ups, IT (software & services), Manufacturing (heavy engineering, consumer durables, infrastructure, etc.), Power (distribution & systems), Retail & E-commerce and Social Enterprises, etc

Overseas Indian Facilitation Center (OIFC): Overseas Indian Facilitation Centre (OIFC) is a not-for-profit Trust set-up by the Indian government in 2007, in partnership with India's apex industry association Confederation of Indian Industry (CII), to promote economic & knowledge engagement of Indian Diaspora with India. Backed by a strong network of State Governments & domain experts as its partners, OIFC is the first point of contact for business and investment related information for Overseas Indians. In order to facilitate business dialogue with Overseas Indians, OIFC regularly organises Indian Diaspora Business Meets in countries with a high concentration of Overseas Indians. The OIFC Business Meets present opportunities in the major flagship initiatives of the Government, growing industry sectors as well as the States of India. These meets are also a connecting platform as they facilitate linkages of Indian Diaspora with State Governments and Indian industry through B2B & B2G meetings.

India Fellows Programme : To offer a specially-curated programme on ‘How to do business in India’, emerging opportunities therein, for young Diaspora entrepreneurs (21-39 years of age).The plan being offered in association with Indian School of Business aims to provide first-hand insights into the Indian business, legal & regulatory environment. Programme highlights include :

- Year-long engagement through monthly webinars, Google Hangouts, CEO speaks sessions
- Ten days of intensive experiential classroom sessions at the ISB campus in Hyderabad and Mohali, India
- Networking with new age Indian entrepreneurs & senior Government of India officials meets potential business partners
- Captains of Indian industry, Senior officials from line Ministries, domain experts & consultants as guest speakers

Conclusion

India, because of its size, population, and strategic location is aspired to establish itself as a global player. In this context, the role played by Indian Diaspora has, over the period of time, become important and is emerging as an important factor in promoting particular foreign policy goals. Initially, the Indian government was conscious of the potential of PIOs. Till 2000 there was no definite policy vis-a-vis the Indian overseas. Recent initiatives taken by the government has given strong signals of the Indian government's intentions to continue to engage the Indian Diaspora giving it a vanguard role in India's quest to emerge as a regional and global power. Turning to the policy implications, an appreciation of the heterogeneous nature of the Indian diaspora and the asymmetrical

orientations of India and her diaspora towards each other, rules out any uniform policy by the Government of India towards PIOs. Diaspora policy and Indian foreign policy are two sides of the same coin. Diaspora is productive as well as counter - productive. India is yet to utilize the potential of Indian Diaspora in its domain of foreign affairs. In the recent decades, the international migration of semi-skilled and high-skilled Indians has seen an upsurge due to demand of software Industry and other different sectors. A tangible and scrupulous Diaspora policy are imperative to leverage upon the growing Indian Diaspora population. With the versatile role of Diaspora, India tries to fulfill its cherished dream of being a super power and it makes much headway in its international and foreign affairs.

Chapter 3

The Role of Diaspora in Bilateral Relations

The contemporary world is characterized by growing interdependence among states and provides prospects for greater cooperation to harness the benefits of the increased movement of ideas, goods, and people across borders. Globalization opened the doors of opportunities for a better life which motivated people to explore and exploit those options through migration. There are two sets of factors one set includes factors which are pushing in nature and cause involuntary migration are wars, conflicts, famine and other natural disasters and another set comprise of pulling factors responsible for voluntary movement are employment, trade, higher studies, tourism, etc.

Now international migration is no longer perceived as a problem, burden for socio-economic wellbeing of the country of its destination and the brain-drain for its country of origin.

Accordingly global impact of migration and its role in development acknowledged by policy makers and now migration also considered as a significant key factor in formulations of domestic and foreign policies of home as well as the host country. Thus Diasporas created by immigration that plays a vital role in bilateral relations of home and the host country. Diaspora serves as a connecting link and has the capability to transmit culture, information, skills, and knowledge in both directions.

Migration cuts across almost all MDGs, and for many migrant-sending countries diasporas are a primary source of foreign direct investment (FDI), market development (including outsourcing of production), technology transfer, philanthropy, tourism, political contributions, and more intangible flows of knowledge, new attitudes, and cultural influence (De Haan 2000; Meyer and Brown 1999; World Bank 2004).

The departure of highly skilled migrants is frequently referred to as a 'brain drain' for the countries of origin, and as a benefit, or 'brain gain', for the countries of destination. The adverse effect goes beyond the loss of skilled manpower and includes the loss of return on the investment made by the country of origin in the training and education of its nationals (Findlay 2001; Kapur 2003).

Countries of origin stand to benefit in a number of ways, including the inflow of remittances; access to knowledge, new technologies, and new markets through links to their diaspora communities; the possibility of migrants returning with superior training skills, management experience, and ties to foreign institutions; and networking capacity acquired while abroad (Ostergaard-Nielsen 2003).

New technologies that mark the contemporary globalization era, particularly in the area of communication and social media, are changing the face of diaspora communities and enhancing the persistence and robustness of transnational networks. Diaspora not only communicates with their countries of origin but also with their counterparts in other countries, thus creating a secure system whereby they can share information and also maintain their culture (Abd El-Aziz et al.).

Globalization is also characterized by revolutionary advancement infeasible transportation which is encouraging free movements of diaspora between home and the host country. And when diaspora moves from home to host or from host to home, in both circumstances diasporas transmit its culture, ideas, skills, experiences, expertise, knowledge and information to either side, which they have acquired at home or host country.

Diaspora maintains their distinct identity in host societies in which they have integrated but still they preserve their connection to their home.

Though diaspora communities are randomly distributed through over the world, remain connected to multiple networks. Diaspora participates in both home and host countries' socio-economic spheres where they hold overlapped position between both countries. Diaspora plays a various role in bilateral relations of home and host country and which provides interlinkages at different levels. These parts includes mainly as investor for home country infrastructure development and business operations, suppliers of technological skills and expertise, customers of homemade products and business services ,philanthropist by contributing in education ,health care facilities and support for

need-based projects and as ambassadors of cultural heritage and operational excellence (first Pravasi Bhartiya Diwas report, 2003).

Diaspora impact home and host country bilateral relations in following ways:

- Diaspora connects home and host societies as cultural ambassadors
- Diaspora strengthens economic links between home and host society
- Diaspora integrating intellectual assets of home and host country
- Diaspora integrates home and host country for philanthropic contributions
- Diaspora establishes knowledge networks between host and home country

Diaspora connects home and host societies as cultural ambassadors

Diaspora is now termed as cultural ambassadors because when they move to new host country from their home they carry their cultural practices, customs with themselves. They maintain their cultural belongingness to home and practice their culture.

Diaspora introduce their culture to their neighbors in host country through food, music dance, folk arts, festivals and in same way diaspora also make familiar themselves with the culture of host societies. This sharing of culture between diaspora and their host nations helps diaspora to assimilate them with host societies. Diaspora organizes concerts, cultural programmes and invites performers from the home country.

Diaspora celebrates their host society's festivals with their host nation's friends, and they invite their friends and neighbors when diaspora celebrates their own home country's festivals. This sharing of cultural practices develops a mutual understanding and mutual respect for each other's culture. This exchange established a mutual agreement between the culture of home and host society reduces the cultural barriers and strengthens the

cultural relations between diaspora and host country community and between home and host country's cultural affairs. By sharing its culture diaspora also promote its culture in the host country. This promotion of culture is beneficial to the countries of origin as cultural exchange doesn't stop at celebrating festivals of diaspora communities, whether it generate demands from host societies for cultural products of Diaspora's home country, Which has an economic impact too on homeland industries and economic relations of home and the host country.

Diaspora is representative of the countries of origin and by promoting its homeland cultural identity and heritage, diaspora makes home country's artistic image at the international stage. It also attracts significant tourism from world and host country to the homeland. On the other side diaspora also shares information about host country's cultural heritage and tourist places which also contributing in tourist visits from the motherland to the host country. This creates cultural proximity and strengthens economic co-operations between home and the host country.

For example, Indian diaspora has scattered in a different part of the world, and cultural interactions between Indian diaspora and their host societies has generated growing demands for Indian cuisines. Indian outfits, Indian handicrafts, Indian movies, Indian literature and Indian jewelry, which has a positive impact on India's economic development and economic relations between India and host countries. And cultural image projected by Indian diaspora also attracts millions of tourists to India every year.

Diaspora strengthens economic links between home and host society

Diaspora contributes economically to both home and the host country. Diaspora provides for many financial networks between home and host country. Diaspora moves to host country mainly for economic reason. Diaspora as entrepreneurs established their business at host country and created jobs for host country's citizens. Diaspora exploits its cultural knowledge of both home and host societies and its better understanding with consumption patterns of its homeland and host land through its business links.

Remittances, investment, and trade activities are contributing mainly in diaspora led development and poverty reduction at motherland.

Newland et al (2004) emphasized that remittances have a clear multiplier impact on development, particularly in alleviation of poor where they can meet their basic needs and countries with large remittances and diaspora investment pools i.e. China, India, Philippines, and Mexico are working to maximize the impact of remittances, develop investment and open trade opportunities.

Diaspora acts as intermediaries for productive economic transactions between home and the host country. Remittances are seen as significant resources for funding developmental activities at home country. Remittances productively contribute to the economic well-being of Diaspora's family living at home country and development of local communities by funding in health care and education infrastructure mainly. Diaspora also plays a significant role in host land economy. Diaspora positively contributes through paying taxes to the host country and participating in social welfare activities at host country. Public services and infrastructure in host country also financed by diaspora communities

The workforce at host country is expanding through diaspora which constructively contribute to GDP growth of host country. Remittances benefit not only to the countries of origin but also to intermediary banking institutions of the host country. These institutions get benefits through savings, fixed deposits, transactions and transfers of money made by diaspora accounts. To facilitate these monetary transactions home and host country willingly cooperates each other so both host and the home country can harness diaspora's economic potential. The productive impact of remittances on both home and host country make them cooperate each other to eliminate obstacles in diaspora's financial transactions and this regard government of home and host country work together to establish an effective, efficient mechanism to provide assistance to the diaspora.

Diaspora acts as bridges to develop new trade connections of the host country with their home. Diaspora facilitates the trade of goods and service between home and host country.

Diaspora for its personal consumptions import homemade products and introduce those to their host country culture which creates markets for products from their countries of origin. Transnational trade links of diaspora open global opportunities for both home and host country.

More important, migrants can increase the availability of market information essential for business by helping origin-country exporters find buyers, improve their knowledge of the market, and comply with government requirements and market standards. Migrants facilitate bilateral trade and investment between host and source countries because they help to overcome information asymmetries and other market imperfections. For example, transnational networks can help producers of consumer goods find appropriate distributors, and assemblers to find the right component suppliers. Sharing the same language or a similar cultural background eases communication and facilitates a better understanding of transport documents, procedures, and regulations.(Sonia Plaza,2013)

The presence of diaspora in host country promotes the growth of bilateral trade in forms of imports and exports. Diasporas are aware of investment opportunity and regulatory requirements, and this information increase investment flows between their home and the host country. Diaspora willingly direct invest in their countries of origin as diaspora are capable of evaluating risk factors as diaspora has a better understanding of home country's investment market.

Investment from diaspora also creates jobs and opportunities for host country's experts and executives.Diaspora builds trust on the business goodwill that also attract significant investments from investors and entrepreneurs of the host country. Diaspora provides knowledge about markets and investment opportunities to host country's investors and also helps them to make their contacts with their counterparts in the countries of origin. Diaspora created understandings on mutual economic benefits for both countries of origin and host country and encouraged both to cooperate effectively and efficiently at ministerial level.

Diaspora integrates intellectual assets of home and host country

A new and promising strategy emerged during the last decade; this is referred to as the «diaspora option. The diaspora option seeks to mobilize highly skilled expatriates to contribute to the social and economic development of their country of origin. The diaspora option develops from an entirely different position to traditional approaches in that it recognizes that highly skilled expatriates, although they might still have loyalties to their country of origin, might not necessarily want to return home. The distinguishing feature of the diaspora option thus is that expatriates don't have to come back to the country of origin, but can contribute their skills and expertise to their countries of origin from wherever they are in the world. The diaspora option sees the creation of intellectual, mainly science and technology networks of expatriates establishing links with their counterparts in their home country and participating in the development process of their country of origin. These linkages are widely, but not exclusively, facilitated by the advancement of information technology, especially the development of the Internet.(M Brown,2002)

Intellectual class referred to a group of people whose professions consist of working with and expounding ideas. This class includes college and university professors, administrators, scientists, commentators, a few journalists, activists, writers, artists, cartoonists, and so on, including scholars who work in research institutes or "think tanks." (Steven Yates, 2002)

What characterizes the real intellectual is the breadth of knowledge, a capacity to speak on many issues, and to have grasped the connections between them. They often have what it takes to be conceptual, "big-picture" thinkers. Intellectuals tend to know more history and more culture in some cases, more science in others, than nonintellectual. This makes them ideal educators.(Steven Yates,2002)

The intellectual members of the diaspora can be termed as “intellectual assets” who are acutely aware of their position at home and host country and how they can contribute through their knowledge in the socio-economic development of the countries of origin as well as of host country. These intellectual members take initiatives to organize events like conferences, seminars, panel discussions, workshops where scholars not only from home and host country participate but also delegate from other nations take part.

These events provide a platform to all participants from multiple disciplines, with different backgrounds and expertise to discuss and debate, to share and exchange, to teach and learn, to raise problems and find solutions and overview the current state of research and future directions of inquiry for the sharing of the latest conceptual and technological developments in the fast moving study area of beneficial interactions among home-host-diaspora triad.

These intellectual interactions generate conceptual recommendations which act as guidelines to policymakers and have the capability to put a positive impact on effective implementation.

The rational members of diaspora also connect scholars at home and host country and open up both sides to find out areas of converging interest where they can collectively contribute with their diverse knowledge in the socio-economic development of home as well as the host country. This integration of intellectuals from home and host country provides prospects for more bilateral cooperation between home and host country. It is also in great favor of both home and host country to appreciate, encourage and support initiatives of knowledge sharing and network building taken by the intellectual diaspora. Intellectual Diaspora helps both home and host country in exploring new approaches for smart engagement and utilize untapped potential of diaspora through bilateral cooperation.

Diaspora integrates home and host country for philanthropic contributions

Diaspora philanthropy is mainly associated with the diaspora's tradition of "giving back" to home societies. This giving back can be in the form of monetary donations, development of education and health care infrastructure, providing training, teaching skills, offer scholarships to home country students for their higher studies in abroad, etc.

Philanthropic contributions made by diasporas are mainly aimed at community development at their countries of origin. Diaspora leaves their home country mostly for economic reasons and host country always provide an extra edge in economic opportunities and socio-economic wellbeing. Economic, social and political stability of host country enable an environment for diaspora in which diaspora grows financially, gains knowledge and help them to achieve economic and social stability at individual /community level. Diaspora's profound emotional connections motivate them to share a part of their prosperity and wellbeing to its people, who are facing many challenges to meet their basic needs.

Diaspora makes their philanthropic contributions with the help of home country based non-governmental organizations which are actively engaged in the welfare of underprivileged sections of home country societies. Diaspora also establishes such non-profit institutions to monitor all transactions and activities with proper accountability. Diaspora cooperates in social well-being and disaster relief operations at host country and gains knowledge about health program designing, mechanism, technical requirements and management and proper utilizations of human and financial resources. The skills and experiences diaspora learns at host country, diaspora implement in a cautious and suitable manner to make efficient philanthropic contributions at home country. Diaspora engages host country's philanthropist in their community development services at home. The good reputation of diaspora plays a crucial role which convinces donors of the host country to grant their financial aids and non-monetary assistance in welfare programmes initiated by diaspora communities for their home country development. Collective

collaboration for innovative and creative philanthropic approaches towards socio-economic development brings host and home country closer.

Diaspora establishes knowledge networks between host and home country

Diaspora being transnational actors develops the various system at home country, host national and other parts of the world. These systems can be classified into two broad categories: informal networks and formal networks. Informal networks diaspora have with their family, friends, and relatives which are personal in characteristics. Other side formal networks diaspora builds for professional reasons, and it can be in the form of institutional systems. The knowledge diaspora acquired being a transnational actor is shared through channels of its formal and informal networks.

Diaspora is geographically distant to their home country, and this geographical factor act as a hindrance in knowledge sharing as diaspora stayed for a short period at homeland during their visits to their homeland. Although diaspora's experience has the potential to impact home country development positively without transferring and sharing of knowledge, it remains untapped. In this scenario networks, connections of diaspora community with its people and institutions at homeland play a significant role in knowledge sharing. Diaspora in host country shares its knowledge, skills to young students, family members sitting in the foreign home state quickly. Revolutionary innovation in information technology enables this knowledge sharing instantly. The Internet, social networking sites, research-related educational sites keep on updating about all scientific advancement in every second. Scientific and academic diaspora creates more knowledge networks and shares their progressive studies with the whole world. This easy access to knowledge through learning networks made feasible to interact with experts, get guidance directly and helps scholars at home country. Knowledge networks not only diminish the geographical obstacles in the process of knowledge sharing but also reduce technological gaps between countries.

In recent times foreign policy objectives of states include promotion of people to people contact because increased contact between people of different countries builds mutual understanding and results into mutual cooperation. Diaspora develops communication not only between nations but also create people to people contact. And people to people contacts created by diaspora strengthen the bilateral relations of home and host country.

Chapter 4

Scope of increasing role of Indian diaspora

Indian emigrants started settling in Singapore when a trading post was established there by Sir Stamford Raffles. In order to meet the demands of the expansionist imperial policy, Britain encouraged the emigration of Indian and Chinese indentured labourers. Having low population density, Malaya and Singapore became the perfect spot for settlement. The trading post also attracted Indian merchants and traders. The Chulias (Tamil Muslim traders from the coastal area) were the earliest Indian traders to come to Singapore. Another important group of migrant traders was led by Narayana Pillai, an influential figure among the old diaspora, who built the famous Sri Mariamman Temple in 1827. Next came the Chettiars, who were in the moneylending business, followed by Sindhi traders in 1860. Singapore became the favourite destination of English educated Malayalis, giving rise to a middle class of Indian professionals. The Sikhs also started immigrating in 1870, mainly as part of the police force and as military personnel. By 1931, Indians in Malaya and Singapore numbered over 620,000 and comprised 14.3 percent of the population. In the 1940s, the Emergency period saw the rise of Indian nationalism in Singapore. Due to the communist insurgency Singapore imposed strict restrictions on migration. Immigration for Indians was not fully opened until 1990. The new immigrants, members of Singapore's new diaspora, are mainly professionals and have had major impact on the demographics of the Indian community. The vast majority of Indians in Singapore today are descendants of immigrants who arrived during the colonial period. The term "Indian," in the context of Singapore is used as a generic category to refer to all people who originate from the Indian subcontinent — Bangladesh, India, Nepal. The vast majority of the Indians in Singapore, almost 64 percent, are Tamilians. They are followed by Punjabis, 8 percent; Malayalis, 8 percent; Sindhis 6 percent; and Gujaratis 2 percent. Almost a quarter of the Indian population, 90,000, are permanent residents — non-citizens who live and work in Singapore, mostly as financial services professionals, computer engineers, construction labor and domestic help. Singapore's Indian citizens have noticeably lower academic credentials: fewer than 8 percent of Singapore Indian citizens have a college degree. Though new, educated and high income Indian professionals have altered the overall community demographics in dramatic ways. In the last ten years, the proportion of Indian blue collared workers has

halved, from about 15 percent to 8 percent, while the proportion of the professionals and managerial workers has doubled from about 22 percent to 43 percent of the total Indian workforce, revolutionizing the image of Indians in the Singaporean society.

The Cold War period to the post-1997 period saw an exponential growth in India-Singapore bilateral relations. This is largely because of the convergence of the ideas and interests of political leaders such as Narasimha Rao, Vajpayee, and Goh Chok Tong. Significantly, Rao and Vajpayee valued the benefits of India's increased presence in Southeast Asia in order to avoid being isolated from the region and losing international relevance. Goh Chok Tong equally valued India's presence in the region as a counter-balance to China's geo-political presence. However, aside from converging ideas and interests, the changing geo-political context in which both Singapore and India functioned in is equally significant in accounting for the improvement of their bilateral relations. Although there was a significant ideational change propounded by Rao and upheld by Vajpayee wherein India was envisioned as a nation integrated into the Asia-Pacific through the Look East Policy, there was still a need for India to be freed from the dynamics of the Cold War and be able to consciously decide to align itself with an ally of the United States of America such as Singapore. On the economic front, India-Singapore relations have improved substantially as well from the "Cold War" period to the "Post-1997 Asian Financial Crisis" period. Similar to the scenario presented for the improving geo-political bilateral relations between Singapore and India, the importance of ideas championed by political leaders cannot be over-emphasized when accounting for the improvement seen in economic relations. While political leaders such as Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi failed to establish a firm stance against the vested interests of political and business entities as well as trade unions, Rao and Manmohan Singh liberalized India's economy. This constituted an ideational tipping point, when the structure of ideas within the Indian state had been transformed enough so that a balance of payments crisis in 1991 was used strategically to transform economic institutions and policies of India to favor global economic integration. This paradigmatic ideational shift turned out to be propitious for India-Singapore economic relations. Hence, observing the trajectory of

India-Singapore bilateral relations on both the geo-political and economic fronts, it is apparent that ideational changes within the Indian state were not sufficient for bringing India and closer to Singapore. There had to be a confluence of factors such as changing geo-political contexts and the state's embrace of globalization. Security and trade relations were intertwined. When they moved together in one direction the state in India found the resolve to fight the vested interests ranged against warm ties between India and Singapore.

Diaspora Publications

The Hindu, one of India's leading English dailies, has a resident correspondent based in Singapore. There are many societies in Singapore (such as the Singapore Fine Arts Society, Nrityalaya, Kalamandir, the Expatriate Indian Women's Club, etc.) as also societies constituted along regional and linguistic lines, which are actively propagating Indian culture. Popular culture in the form of Indian films and music is also widely distributed in Singapore on a commercial basis, targeted at the Indian-origin community and resident NRIs.

Distinguish Diaspora

The former president of Singapore, Sellapan Ram Nathan, is of Indian descent also has been conferred with the prestigious Pravasi Bharatiya Samman in 2012, the highest honour accorded to people of Indian-origin overseas. Singapore's former Deputy Prime Minister, Professor Shunmugam Jayakumar is of Indian descent, as are two other cabinet ministers: Tharman Shanmugaratnam, Minister for Education, and Vivian Balakrishnan, Minister for Community Development, Youth and Sports, and Second Minister for Trade and Industry. Singaporean Indians have distinguished themselves as judges, doctors, civil servants, air force commanders, entrepreneurs, artists, union leaders, teachers, and academics. J.Y. Pillai has led Singapore Airlines to world renown. A. Vijaratnam is the

engineering brain behind the posh Changi International Airport and the Port Authority of Singapore. S. Dhanabalan is chairperson of BS Group Holdings and Temasek Board of Directors, Singapore's prime investment company managing a diversified portfolio of \$60 billion. Vikas Goel, chairperson and group managing director of eSys Technologies, received the 2005 Entrepreneur of the Year award at the 4th Ernst & Young's annual Entrepreneur of the Year Awards.

Indian diaspora organizations at Singapore

The Indian Women's Association (IWA) of Singapore is a non-profit organization which functions as a Voluntary Welfare Organization (VWO) through its elected committee and volunteer member base. IWA comprises of a large exclusive member body representative of both the expatriate as well as local Indian Community. IWA is managed by a volunteer executive committee elected annually. IWA endeavours to bring the Indian community together by giving them a platform to connect, support, and network with each other while living Singapore. Through IWA our members participate in social, cultural, educational and philanthropic activities. IWA's mission is not only to present a cultural platform but also to provide a networking interface to its working members. MEMBERSHIP is open to all women of Indian origin or married to men of Indian origin residing in Singapore. Recently, an Associate Membership was launched where women residing in Singapore can join as members too.

The Singapore Indian Association was one of the several ethnic sports clubs established to serve their community during the Colonial Times. Founded in 1923, the Association aims at promoting the social, physical, intellectual, cultural and the general welfare of its members. It was a popular place for young Indians to meet socially and indulge in sports, particularly cricket, tennis, and billiard. The Association excelled in cricket and hockey with many of its members participating in regional and international competitions in the fifties. In 1950, the Prime Minister of India, the late Pandit Nehru came all the way to Singapore to officiate at the laying of the foundation stone at the Indian Association and

the present Clubhouse took shape. Over the years, the Indian Association has produced several national hockey players. The late nineties marked the beginning of a new era for the Association and a new lease of life.

The Singapore Indian Education Trust (SIET) is an Indian community trust fund that supports the education of local Indians, particularly those from economically disadvantaged backgrounds. It was set up on 31 December 1967 with trade unionist Govindasamy Kandasamy as one of its key founders. The Singapore Indian Education Trust was established in the midst of tumultuous economic change among local Indians, brought on by the separation of Singapore from Malaya, and the imminent withdrawal of British forces upon whom the Indian community had heavily depended on for employment. Realising the importance of education for the Indian community's future success, activist Govindasamy Kandasamy gathered 12 volunteers to help to set up a scholarship fund. The trust was registered on 31 December 1967 with a total of S\$3,297.10 in its funds.

The Singapore Indian Development Association (SINDA) is a self-help group of the Singapore Indian community, which aims to support education, families in need and foster collaboration with related organisations. Its mission is to “build a well-educated, resilient and confident community of Indians that stands together with other communities in contributing to the progress of multi-racial Singapore”. SINDA, like its counterparts Yayasan MENDAKI, Chinese Development Assistance Council (CDAC), and The Eurasian Association (EA), provides a range of educational and social services and programmes to assist its target community.

The Singapore Indian Fine Arts Society (SIFAS) is a non-profit cultural organisation, dedicated to the preservation and transmission of Indian culture through the arts. Its motto is Kala Sanskriti Lakshanam, meaning "art characterises civilisation." SIFAS provides classes in Indian classical dance (including Bharathanatyam, Kathak, and Kuchipudi) and music (including Carnatic Vocal, Veena, and Hindustani Vocal and

Sitar). In August 2004, the curriculum was expanded to include a School of Visual Arts.

India's Trade India's imports from Singapore had been fluctuating since the 1990s. The share of imports from Singapore, in India's total imports, ranged between 1.59 per cent to 2.97 per cent during 1990-97. Though the value of India's imports from Singapore increased from the US \$ 689 million in 1990 to the US \$ 1,124 million in 1997, the percentage share of India's total imports increased slightly, from 2.87 percent in 1990 to only 2.89 per cent in 1997. India is one of the famous destinations for Singapore's exports, India's shares being more than 2 per cent in recent years. In fact, a number of total Singapore's exports to India has increased from the US \$ 1.1 billion in 1990 to 2.5 billion in 1999. On the other hand, a number of Singapore's imports from India has shown a dismal picture. The share of Singapore imports (from India) is approximately one-third of Singapore's exports. India's trade reforms since 1991 have led to an increase in India-Singapore trade links. Singapore's total trade growth, total exports growth, domestic exports growth and re-export growth with India have been higher than the corresponding growth rates with the world as a whole.

India's FDI inflow from Singapore had been consistently increasing till 1995: accounting for 3.09 percent of India's total FDI inflow (approved) in 1995. As far as investment policy is concerned, Singapore gives importance to foreign investment, which accounts for almost 70 percent of the net investment in Singapore's manufacturing sector. There is virtually no restriction on inward foreign investment in most sectors. Apart from providing a stable environment, Singapore gives some incentives to foreign investors. These incentives are provided in the form of tax holidays, concessional tariff rate, exemption of taxable income on the new fixed investment, etc. Some restrictions have been imposed for excellent service and utility sectors for inward FDI. They are generally in the form of foreign ownership, and this limitation has been noticed particularly in electricity services, water services, residential property, etc. There is almost no restriction on outward foreign investment. In fact, Singapore promotes outward foreign investment

through tax exemption and non-tax incentives such as finance programme. Singapore is a member of the multilateral investment guarantee agency, and it has signed an investment guarantee agreement with some countries. Under such arrangements, foreign investments are generally protected against unforeseen risks like war, etc. Singapore has also concluded double taxation treaties with many countries, including India. Singapore is also signatory to the ASEAN Investment Area (AIA), and the Agreement between New Zealand and Singapore on a Closer Economic Partnership (ANZSCEP) with different provisions relating to investment.

Singapore is India's largest trade and investment partner in ASEAN and accounted for 22.13 % of our overall trade with ASEAN in 2014-15. It is the second largest investor in India with a share of 16% of total FDI received during April to December 2015. Our economic and commercial ties have expanded significantly in recent years, particularly after the conclusion of the Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (CECA) in 2005. In addition to that, the conclusion of ASEAN-INDIA Free Trade Agreement (AIFTA) in Trades in Goods (TIG) in 2009 also help in boosting India's economic and commercial ties with Singapore. Indian companies are increasingly using Singapore for raising funds, particularly for global operations. For public sector units opting for disinvestment through IPO/FPO, Singapore is an attractive destination for pre-market discussion as well as road shows during IPO/FPO. Nine Indian banks operate in the country - Bank of India, Indian Overseas Bank, UCO Bank, Indian Bank, Axis Bank, State Bank of India, ICICI, EXIM Bank and Bank of Baroda. SBI and ICICI have been granted Qualifying Full Bank (QFB) status with retail operations.

The India-Singapore CECA has four key components: a free trade agreement (FTA) in goods; an arrangement for boosting trade in services, including financial services; a package to promote investment flows and provide mutual investment protection; and a new agreement for avoiding double taxation. It also includes Mutual Recognition Agreements on quality certification of goods and services, liberalized visa rules for professionals, and undertakings to cooperate on several sectors like Customs, dispute

settlement, intellectual property rights, education and e-commerce. The CECA also resulted in the signing of a protocol amending the DTAA. Laying out the duties and obligations of the two countries in the above fields, CECA also provides for dispute settlement procedures and recourse to arbitration in certain contingencies. Annexes to the CECA set out detailed information including a list of products for tariff reduction/elimination, certification, and testing as well schedules on specific commitments.

With the signing of Amendment to DTAA (Double Taxation Avoidance Agreement) in 2005, providing for certain benefits for investments coming from Singapore, the country has emerged as the second largest investor in India with a share of 16% of the total FDI received by India US \$ 43.2 billion has been received from Singapore as FDI from April 2000 to December 2015. A positive enabling environment provided by Singapore and its competitive tax regime have encouraged Indian companies to set up both manufacturing and servicing operations in Singapore and also base their regional headquarters for the Asia-Pacific regional operations in Singapore. Strong air connectivity and the presence of a large Indian community, Singapore is emerging as a key offshore hub for Indian corporate. The Indian corporate presence in Singapore has also grown significantly, and there are about 6000 "Indian" companies registered in Singapore. During official visit of PM Narendra Modi to Singapore in November 2015, a joint declaration was signed which elevated India- Singapore relations to a Strategic Partnership. PM Modi invited Singapore companies in a bigger way and assured them that the Government was committed to making easier to do business in India and described Singapore as "Incubator to India's laboratory" for India's new goal to turn itself into a Global Manufacturing Hub.

Eight Indian banks have a presence in Singapore. While UCO bank has a two-branch operation in the country, Bank of India, Indian Overseas Bank, Indian Bank, Bank of Baroda, State Bank of India, ICICI Bank Ltd and Axis Bank Ltd have only one branch each. To operate in Singapore, a bank needs a minimum cash balance of 3% of its liability

base, and 18% of its liabilities should be kept in liquid assets. Out of this, at least 10% is to be invested in Singapore government securities — bonds or treasury bills.

POLITICAL RELATIONS

India-Singapore relations are based on shared values and approaches, economic opportunities and convergence of interests on the main issues.

The framework of the Relationship: Agreements concluded between India and Singapore reflect the growing breadth of our cooperation and provide a larger framework for activities between the two Governments, the business community, and people-to-people exchanges. Key agreements include the Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement (2005), Double Taxation Avoidance Agreement (1994, Protocols signed in 2011), Bilateral Air Services Agreement (1968, revised in April 2013), Defence Cooperation Agreement (2003, enhanced Agreement signed in Nov 2015), MOU on Foreign Office Consultations (1994) and Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty (2005). There is a Joint Ministerial Committee (JMC), chaired by External Affairs Minister and Singapore Foreign Minister.

THE 5-S PLANK

India and Singapore are building relations focused on the 5-S plan which was agreed to by both countries in August 2014.

5S-I - Scale up trade and investments: India is currently Singapore's 10th largest trading partner, up from 12th and 11th in the last two years, with a share of 2.55% in Singapore's overall global trade of USD 631.5 billion in 2015. Bilateral trade with Singapore amounted to USD 15 billion in 2015-16, a decline of 11.2% compared to 2014-15. Exports to Singapore stood at USD 7.7 billion, a decrease of 21.2% in year on

year terms. Imports from Singapore stood at USD 7.3 billion, recording a growth of 2.6 % in year on year terms.

Total foreign direct investments from Singapore into India was USD 45.89 billion (April 2000 – Mar 2016) which was 16% of total FDI inflow. The FDI from Singapore in the period April 2015 – March 2016 was US\$ 13.7 billion. The sectors which attracted investments include Information Technology, real estate, manufacturing, construction, renewable energy, and pharmaceuticals. The Indian outward FDI to Singapore was US\$ 5.27 billion in the period Jan-Dec 2015, the total (till Apr 2016) being USD 41.51 billion.

5S-II - Speed up connectivity: The Air Services Agreement of 1968 was revised in 2002 and 2005. With increased economic activity, an MOU on bilateral air services arrangements was signed in April 2013. Directly connected to 14 Indian cities, there are 238 weekly services (476 weekly flights) between Singapore and India. Singapore also has access to 18 additional Indian points open to ASEAN countries. Singapore Airlines (SIA) holds a 49 per cent stake in Vistara, a joint venture with the Tata Group. Vistara commenced domestic operations in India from 9 January 2015.

5S-III - Smart cities: Singapore has developed the master plan for the new Andhra capital Amaravati and is in discussion with the State Government for further cooperation. Minister S. Iswaran represented Prime Minister of Singapore at the foundation ceremony of Amaravati by PM Modi on 22 October 2015. Singapore is also working with Government of Rajasthan in preparing Concept Plans for townships in Udaipur and Jodhpur. There is also cooperation in capacity building in urban planning.

5S-IV - Skill development: A Memorandum of Understanding between Delhi Government and Singapore ITE Education Services (ITEMS) was signed on 11 July 2012 to provide the necessary framework for collaboration in setting up of a Green Field World Class Skill Centre (WCSC). It started functioning from a temporary campus in

2013. Singapore is working with the Rajasthan Government in developing the Centre of Excellence for Tourism Training in ITI Udaipur.

5S-V - State focus: The Chief Ministers of West Bengal, Telangana, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh have visited Singapore since 2014. Delegations from Assam, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, and Gujarat, have also visited Singapore. Singapore's Minister for Home Affairs and Law K Shanmugam attended the Resurgent Rajasthan Partnership Summit (Nov 2015) of which Singapore was a Partner country. Singapore was a Partner Country of the 7th Vibrant Gujarat Summit (Jan 2015). Singapore is Minister for Trade & Industry S Iswaran has visited Andhra Pradesh several times in connection with the new capital city, Amaravati. Singapore is also working with Rajasthan Government in water management and conservation.

DEFENCE COOPERATION

Defence Cooperation Agreement (DCA), signed in October 2003, and the enhanced DCA signed in November 2015, provide the overarching framework for bilateral defence cooperation. Defence interactions, under the context of the Agreement, include policy dialogues, working groups, staff talks, exercises, training activities, exhibitions and conferences.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

A 1993 MOU governs Inter-governmental cooperation in culture for Cooperation in the fields of Arts, Archives, and Heritage. Executive Programmes (EP) on cultural cooperation are agreed upon for specified periods, the latest for the period 2015-18 was signed during Prime Minister's visit to Singapore in November 2015. ICCR and the National University of Singapore (NUS) signed an MOU in March 2010 establishing a short-term Chair on Indian Studies at the South Asian Studies Programme, NUS. Indian

cultural activities are held regularly in Singapore by various community organizations. Some cultural societies, such as the Temple of Fine Arts, Singapore Indian Fine Arts Society (SIFAS), Apsara Arts, among others, promote Indian classical dance and arts. Regional and community-based organizations are active in promoting language teaching, yoga, and arts.

INDIAN COMMUNITY

Singapore's total population is 5.54 million (June 2015), which includes 3.9 million Singaporeans and 1.6 million foreigners. Indians constitute about 9.1 per cent or around 3.5 lakhs of the resident population. Also, among the 1.6 million foreigners in Singapore, an estimated 3.5 lakh are Indian expatriates, serving in financial services, IT, students, and workers mainly in the construction and marine sectors. Tamil is one of the four official languages of Singapore. Hindi, Gujarati, Urdu, Bengali, and Punjabi are also taught in schools. About two-thirds of the community are Tamil. Punjabis, Malayalis, and Sindhis are the other major communities.

CONSULAR MATTERS

Welfare and well-being of the Indian nationals, including of Indian workers feature prominently in consular responsibilities. It is estimated that about 1.5 lakhs Indians are working in Singapore, mainly in construction and marine sectors. Singapore does not fall in the "Emigration Clearance Required" category.

STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

This robust relationship was elevated to a Strategic Partnership during the visit of Prime Minister Modi, who signed a Joint Declaration on a Strategic Partnership with Singapore

Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong on 24 November 2015 on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations.

During Prime Minister Modi's visit in November 2015, nine bilateral documents were signed/exchanged in areas of defence, maritime security, cyber security, narcotics trafficking, urban planning, civil aviation, and culture and a Joint Statement was issued which outlined areas of cooperation and mutual interest. Joint commemorative stamps depicting the Presidential Buildings of the two countries were released by the two Prime Ministers to commemorate the 50th anniversary of diplomatic relations. Prime Minister paid homage to Netaji at the INA Memorial Marker, delivered the 37th Singapore Lecture titled '*India's Singapore Story*', visited the Institute of Technical Education (ITE) and addressed the business community at the India-Singapore Economic Convention and the Indian community in Singapore at a gathering of around 20,000 people.

EXCHANGE OF VISITS

PM Modi had visited Singapore earlier in 2015 to attend the State Funeral of Lee Kuan Yew on 29 March. PM's participation in the funeral along with the declaration of the funeral day as a day of mourning in India with our flags flying half-mast was deeply appreciated by Singapore Government

Singapore's President Tony Tan Keng Yam undertook a State Visit to India on 8-11 February 2015 on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations. Commemorative events were held by Singapore in India during this visit including a Peranakan Exhibition at National Museum, a Singapore Food Festival and the launch of a book on India-Singapore bilateral relations. Several commemorative events held by India in Singapore from August 2014 were well-received and included ship visits, cultural performances, Buddhist Art Exhibition titled "*Treasures from Asia's Oldest Museum: Buddhist Art from the Indian Museum, Kolkata*" at the Asian Civilisations Museum, film festivals, food festivals, among others.

An active calendar of visits from both sides has added momentum to bilateral relations. Recent visits **from India** include Shri Manohar Parrikar, Defence Minister on 3-5 June 2016 for the inaugural Defence Ministers' Dialogue and the Shangri-La Dialogue; Minister of State (IC) for Power, Coal & NRE, Shri Piyush Goyal on 23 May 2016; Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, Shri Shivraj Singh Chouhan, in Jan 2016; Minister of Railways, Shri Suresh Prabhu, on 20-21 October 2015 to participate as a key speaker at the Infrastructure Finance Summit 2015 organised by the World Bank and Government of Singapore; Minister for Finance and Minister for Corporate Affairs and Information & Broadcasting, Shri Arun Jaitley, on 18-19 September 2015; Minister of Heavy Industries and Public Enterprises, Shri Anant Geete, for the National Day Celebrations on 9 August 2015 on the occasion of Singapore's 50th year of Independence; Minister of State for Tourism (IC), Culture (IC) and Civil Aviation, Dr. Mahesh Sharma, on 17-18 June 2015 to inaugurate a Buddhist Art Exhibition; and Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh Shri C Naidu in connection with the new capital city of Andhra Pradesh.

Visits to India from Singapore have been by Singapore's Deputy Prime Minister and Coordinating Minister for Economic and Social Policies, Tharman Shanmugaratnam to attend the Growth Net Summit in Delhi on 7 April 2016; Minister for Home Affairs and Minister for Law, K Shanmugam on 17 – 20 November 2015 leading a business delegation to the Resurgent Rajasthan Partnership Summit in Jaipur in which Singapore participated as a 'Partner Country'; Senior Minister of State, Prime Minister's Office, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Transport Josephine Teo to New Delhi on 28 - 30 October 2015 to attend the Third India Africa Forum Summit (IAFS) where Singapore was a "Special Invitee"; Minister for Trade and Industry (Industry), S Iswaran attended the foundation stone laying ceremony at Amaravati, Andhra Pradesh's new capital city, on 22 October 2015, on behalf of Singapore Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong; S Iswaran when he was Minister PMO & Second Minister for Trade & Industry on 20 July 2015 and on 25 May 2015 in connection with the new capital city of Andhra Pradesh, Amaravati, for which the Master Plan was developed by a Singapore consortium; former Foreign Minister K Shanmugam to Tamil Nadu in July 2015,

Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh in February 2015; and current Foreign Minister Dr Vivian Balakrishnan to attend the 4th Joint Ministerial Committee (JMC) Meeting in Delhi on 12 October 2015.

Re-thinking upon the 50th anniversary of Singapore-India relations So far, economic and security cooperation have been the focal areas of Singapore-India relations. With the arrival of the 50th anniversary of Singapore-India relations, signalling a deepening and maturing relationship, it may be timely to broaden the relations by strengthening the cultural and societal dimensions of this relationship. No doubt, relations are currently expanding in the less overtly strategic areas: in tourism, education, and culture. A Joint Action Plan on tourism cooperation signed in August 2009 has enabled increased air connectivity, and Indian arrivals now constitute the fourth largest group with 894,600 visitors in 2012, after ASEAN, Japan, and Hong Kong. The rapid growth of the Indian economy, as well as the Indian expatriate community in Singapore, has led to the establishment of numerous Indian educational institutions and tie-ups. In May 2012, the Singapore Management University and the Indian Institute of Management Bangalore entered into an MOU in management research and education. There would now be a postsecondary technological institute in Delhi, set up between the Institute of Technical Education and the Delhi Department of Training and Technological Education. There is also cultural support from the Singapore Government and community organisations to the Temple of Fine Arts, Singapore Indian Fine Arts Society, and the Nrityalaya Aesthetics Society Singapore, which promote Indian art, craft, classical music and dance. The Indian Heritage Centre opened in 2015 under the Singapore National Heritage Board, traces the histories of the Indian and South Asian communities in Singapore and the region. Currently, Singapore is heading an international consortium to revive the ancient Nalanda University in Patna, India. However, these cultural initiatives as they currently stand remain largely government driven, and they play a somewhat supporting role, mainly appealing to select interest groups. These initiatives can risk conflating cultural identities with state identities, accentuating both national and cultural differences, rather than re-shaping or transcending them. They might overly simplify India's array of

"unhomogenisable diversity", and reproduce cultural stereotypes of India, as well as state-centric perspectives that favour power politics and narrowly-defined nationalism.⁵ There may be a need to broaden one's conception of foreign policy and international relations.⁶ Indeed in recent years, studies in international politics have also broadened its scope to explore how art, film, literature and even architecture contribute to international relations and security. ⁷ In this regard, India's great historical, cultural and civilisational heft opens up whole new cultural and intellectual dimensions to strengthening Singapore-India relations. Indian film and literature may be two of the most productive avenues for exploration. India's Bollywood is a distinct zone of cultural production that is now a multi-billion dollar industry on the global stage. Long acknowledged to be significant in the "national popular" domain, "Global Bollywood" is beginning to re-frame relationships between geography, cultural production and cultural identities in ways that are transforming India and the world. Similarly, India is a giant in literature, and this is certainly not a recent phenomenon: Rabindranath Tagore was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1913 – the first non-European to achieve this accolade. Since then, writers from India or of the Indian diaspora have gone on to world acclaim, especially in the realm of English literature: Arundhati Roy, Vikram Seth, Salman Rushdie, V. S. Naipaul, Kiran Desai, Anita Desai, Amit Chaudhuri and Jhumpa Lahiri, to name a few. Not only have their works transformed the idea of India, but they have also contributed to the very transformation of the English language. These aspects of culture have the potential to enhance Singapore-India relations, and could be taken more seriously in Singapore's engagement with India. Film and literature can represent more adequately and accurately, if exhaustively, the complex faces and natures of India. This contributes to a fuller understanding of India and creates goodwill in the most traditional spheres of engagement. Indeed, interviews conducted with various Delhi-based scholars reveal an overwhelming desire for cultural engagement in these domains to be a part of foreign policy and Singapore-India relations. They note how a limited knowledge of culture can disadvantage bilateral relations and that India's civilisational ethos and its cultural philosophies – "parallel spaces" and "inherent pluralities" – have not been sufficiently engaged with.⁹ India's numerous festivals, and cultural strengths in film and literature

have great potential to bypass instrumental policies into wider platforms of engagement between the peoples of Singapore and India. Similarly, think tanks, universities and civil societies are sites of productive exchanges of cultural knowledge that need to be utilized. As the Indian thinker Ashis Nandy observes, beneath statist conceptions of India and Singapore, "silk road cosmopolitanism" is alive and well within and between these two cultures, where "different kinds of intimacies" are possible.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

The Indian Diaspora in Singapore can play a crucial role in strengthening India–Singapore ties. The centuries old geographical, cultural and strategic links between these two Asian neighbors coupled with mutual economic interests and identical foreign policy made their relationship as a notable example of friendship. Historically, both India and Singapore had a common past. Once under the grip of British Colonialism both India and Singapore underwent many social, economic and political changes. Singapore was a part of British India and was ruled under the Western concept of government and politics imposed by Britishers. India and Singapore had many other common factors which played a vital role in determining their relations. These factors besides colonial legacies, identical value systems and personality orientation of post-independence leadership were geographical situation, cultural links, economic activities and foreign policy matters.

The present study has developed a thematic approach towards conceptualizing of the Indian diaspora. There are some prominent aspects of India's diaspora policy in general and Singapore in particular. For a viable understanding of the Indian diaspora policy, this study discussed the history of the Indian diaspora, the theoretical aspects and debates and the impact of Indian diaspora on Indian foreign policy. The Indian Immigrants in Singapore were the crucial factor in Indo-Singapore relations. The origin of Indian immigration to Singapore is not a recent phenomenon. The most important determinant that for centuries had played a role in Indo- Singapore relations was a cultural factor. Through years of contact, India's culture, religion, art, literature, language, dance forms, etc. reached Singapore and influenced the Singapore's way of life.

The Indian diaspora is estimated to be the second largest in the world with and global presence. The diaspora estimated at over 25 million and spread across more than 200 countries with a diversified global presence with a high concentration in developed and developing countries. Thus, diaspora plays a crucial role in strengthening relations among the nation states. Foreign policy is no longer the sole domain of the diplomatic corps; rather the diaspora community organizations and members also play the important role in promoting stronger, deeper, more effective bilateral collaboration with their countries of origin. Diaspora builds on existing linkages to nations of origin and draws on the talents,

creativity, resources, and networks of diaspora communities are a vital part of the foreign policy process. Indian diaspora policy and Indian foreign policy are two sides of the same coin. Diaspora can be active actors to influencing the foreign policies of their host lands as well as their homelands. Diaspora can directly achieve that economic and political power and also affect the foreign policies of their homeland.

The Indian population has a global migration history. Since 1834, Indians have migrated to widespread places in the world. Today' Indian diaspora is one of that extends to the four corners of the world. Now, in this era of globalization where distance is diminishing, contacts are ever increasing the role international diaspora increased many folds in the international system. International migration has shown a tremendous increase in last few decades and therefore, their role in political, economic, cultural and other aspects of international relations is growing. The Indian Foreign Policy is to engage Indian Diaspora and promote them to play a more meaningful role in the enhancement of India relations with another nation state. According to Mahalingam (2013) argues that diaspora policy and Indian foreign policy are two sides of the same coin. Diaspora is productive as well as counter - productive. India is yet to utilize the potential of Indian Diaspora in its domain of foreign affairs.

The adoption of Look East policy in the early 1990s, the economic engagement between India and Singapore has been steadily growing. Among the factors shaping India's policy towards Singapore is that challenge of counterbalancing China's growing influence, enhancing security in the Indian Ocean.

Singapore bilateral relations remain largely guided by geopolitical considerations. The relations have been strengthened over the past decade with a vast potential for expansion in political, economic, security and strategic areas. Though, the diaspora has emerged as powerful factors in developing relations especially in the case of India-Singapore relations.

After 1990 when the Indian economy faced several crises to develop economically and remain competitive in swiftly globalized world, it had aggressively to attract Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and the infusion of new technologies. In this context, larger policy shifts appeared in the reengagement of Indian with its diaspora. When India initiated its Look East Policy towards the Southeast Asian countries, the large presences of ethnic Indian in the region are unquestionably in the minds of the foreign policy makers, but unfortunately they missed the opportunity to engage its diaspora constructively and gratify its aspiration and inspiration of the diasporic community.

After the Indian Diaspora in the USA successfully lobbied for clinching of the Indo-US civil nuclear deal, now Singapore is using the Indian Diaspora as an asset by wooing the cash-rich Indian Diaspora in the USA for investments, technology, and other expertise. This could be an eye-opener for other countries having a sizeable Indian Diaspora. The motivating factor for India's policy towards Indian diaspora in Singapore has been its growing economic integration with the ASEAN region. Both India and Singapore are playing a major role in promoting bilateral trade as well as the bilateral relations.

Thus, Indo-Singapore relation post-1990 is a phase of unique importance. On a bilateral level, they cooperated keeping in view each other's national interests. On the global level, they worked hard for the establishment of world peace. On economic matters, they worked jointly to provide a better living to their country's population. Increase in people to people contacts, youth exchange program, cultural exchange program and other institutional activities especially targeted towards PIOs. Establishment of local institutes or centers, financial and other support in the form of books, instruments, etc. from the government of India for promoting India's culture. Various cultural troupes exchanged visits and performed in both countries, the future of the Indian Diaspora, as well as Singapore, will be bright, including their bilateral relations with India.

References:

Abraham, George. 1993. 'Indians in South- East Asia and the Singapore Experience', in Motwani.et.al. op. cit., p.269.

Abraham, Thomas, 2006, "Indian Diaspora- emerging organizational and political structure, role and responsibility", International Symposium on diaspora politics Center for Baseque Studies, University of Nevada, Reno, pp.1-14.

Akinrinade, Sola & Ogen, Olukoya, 2011, "Historicising the Nigerian Diaspora: Nigerian Migrants and Homeland Relations", Turkish Journal of Politics, 2(2)71-85.

Anthias,Floya, 1998, "Evaluating Diaspora: Beyond Ethnicity?",Sociology, 32(3): 557-580.

#(2008), " Annual Report 2007–08". Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs, New Delhi

#(2013),"Annual Report 2012-13" - Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs, New Delhi

Arthur W.Helweg (1986), 'The Indian Diaspora: influence on international relations', in G. Sheffer (ed.), Modern Diasporas in International Politics, 103-129

Arunkumar, M.C. 2010, "Meitei Diaspora and the Identity Politics", Department of Anthropology, Manipure University, 1(1): 1-12.

Asher, Mukul G. and Ramkishen S. Rajan, "India and Singapore: Forging Economic Linkages in the Post-Cold War World," Asian Survey, Vol. 35, No. 10, October 1995, pp.896-908.

Bhagwati, J. 2003. Borders Beyond Control. *Foreign Affairs* 82 (1):98.

Bhat, Chandrashekhar & Naryan, K Laxmi, 2010, "Indian Diaspora, Globalization and Transnational Networks: The South African Context", *Department of Sociology, Tezpur University*, 25(1): 13-23.

Bhatia, Rajiv Kumar, 2011, "Myanmar-India relations: the way forward", *Indian Foreign Affairs*, 6(3): 315-326.

Brown Mercy, « Intellectual Diaspora Networks: their Viability as a Response to Highly Skilled Emigration », *Autrepart* 2/2002 (n° 22), p. 167-178

Brubaker, Rogers, 2005, "The Diapora: Ethnic and Racial Studies", *Routledge*, 28(1): 1-19.

Buszynski, Leszek, 1996, "Trends, Developments and Challenges Southeast Asia", *Institute of Southeast Asian Studies*, pp.3-20.

Butler, Kim D. 2001, "Defining Diaspora, Refining a Discourse", *Rutgers University*, 10(2): 189-219.

Carter, Marrina, 2008, "Indians and the Colonial Diaspora", *Institute of South East Studies*, pp.12-26.

C. Bhat., "India and the Indian Diaspora: Inter-linkages and expectations", in *The Indian diaspora: Dynamics of Migration*, ed. N. Narayan (New Delhi: Sage, 2004), pp. 11-22.

Chakrabarti, Shantanu, 2012, "India's Regional Policy Making in Post-Cold War Setting", *Social Studies*, 4(2): 407-425.

Chaturvedi, Sanjay, 2005, "Diaspora in India's Geopolitical visions: Linkages, categories, and contestation", *Asian Affairs*, Taylor & Francis, Ltd, 32(3): 144-168.

'Chennai Declaration'.1999. BJP News Report, 28-29 December.

Cheong, Yong Mun and V V Bhanoji Rao (eds.) (1995), *Singapore-India Relations: A Primer*, Singapore, Singapore University Press.

Christian, David, 2003, "The Indian Diaspora in Central Asia and its Trade 1500-1900", *University of Hawali Press*, 14(4): 566-568.

Clifford, James, 1994, "Diaspora: Cultural Anthropology", *University of California, Santa Cruz*, 9(3): 302-338.

Clifford, James, 1994, "Diaspora", *American Anthropological Association*, 9(3): 302-338.

Cohen, Robin, 1996, "Diaspora and the Nation-State: From Victims to Challengers" *International Affairs*, 72(3): 507-520.

Das, Linamee, 2014, "Theoretical Conceptualization of International Diaspora", *Indian Streams Research Journal*, 4(5): 1-8.

Deriderio, Maria Vincenza & Weinar, Agnieszka, 2014, "Supporting immigrant integration in Europe? Developing the Governance for Diaspora engagement", MPI, PP.1-64.

Dubey, Ajay. 2013, "Diaspora in India's foreign policy and national security: A comparative perspective", *Academic Journal of Diaspora studies*, New Delhi pp.1-2.

Duncan, Howard, 2006, "Diaspora and Transnationalism", *Metropolis World Bulletin*, Vol.6, pp.1-32.

Dwivedi, Manan, 2011, "Indian Diaspora in the United States: Issues and perspective", *International Migration and Diaspora Studies Project Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University New Delhi, India, No.40-42*, pp.1-46.

Esman, M. (1986), 'Diasporas and international relations', in G. Sheffer (ed.), *Modern Diasporas in International Politics*, 333-349. London: Croom Helm.

Foucault, M. 1982. *The Subject and Power*. In *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, eds. H. L. Dreyfus and P. Rainbow, 208-226. Sussex: The Harvester Press Limited

Gabriela Tejada , Metka Hercog , Christiane Kuptsch, and Jean-Claude Bolay (2011) *The Link with a Home Country A Comparative Analysis of Host Country :Environments for Diaspora Engagement*

Gamlen A,2006, *Diaspora Engagement Policies:What are they ,and what kinds of states use them ?* Centre on Migration, Policy and Society

Gaur, Mahandra, 2011, "India's Look East Policy", *Foreign Policy Research Center, New Delhi, No.8*, pp.1-326.

George,Rosemary Marangoly, 1996, "At Sight Angle to Reality: Reading Indian Diaspora Literature", *Oxford University Press*, 21(3): 179-193.

Gilroy, Paul, 1997, "Diaspora and the Detours of Identity", Sage Publications, London, pp.299-343.

González Gutiérrez 1999. Fostering Identities: Mexico's Relations with its Diaspora. *Journal of American History*, Special Issue: Rethinking History and the Nation-State: Mexico and the United States 86 (2).

G. Shantakumar, "Human Resources Complementarities Between Singapore and India: Formulating Strategy for a Win-win Situation", in *Emerging Asia*, edited by Vohra, op. cit., p . 251.

Gupta, Rajneesh Kumar, 1969, "Non-state actors in international relations: a case of Indian Diaspora in Africa", pp.1-20.

High Level Commission on the Indian Diapsora. 2001. Report of the High Level Commission on the Indian Diapsora. New Delhi: Non Resident Indians & Persons of Indian Origin Division, Ministry of External Affairs.

High Commission of India in Singapore, website <https://www.hcisingapore.gov.in/>

Hussain, Asaf, 2005, "The Indian Diaspora in Britain: Political interventionism and diaspora activism", *Asian Affairs*, 32(3): 189-208.

K. Satchidanandan, " That Third Space: Interrogating the Diasporic Paradigm", *Indian Literature*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (203) (May-June, 2001), pp. 5-9

Kripa Sridharan, "Transcending the Region: Singapore's India Policy", in *Emerging Asia*, edited by Vohra, op. cit., p p. 26-27; Ishtiaq Hossain, " Singapore-India Relations in the

Post-Cold War Period: A Singapore Perspective", in Singapore- India Relations, edited by Yong and Rao, o p. cit., p p. 48-49.

Jain, Prakash C, 2013, "Aspects of Indian Diaspora in the ASEAN- Pacific Region", Jawaharlal Nehru University, India, pp.1-28.

Jain, Ravindra K, 2004, "Indian Diaspora, Old and New: culture, class and mobility", Indian Anthropological Association, 34(1): 1-26.

Jain, Ravindra K, 2010, "Diaspora, Trans-Nation and Nation: Reflections from India", Indian Sociological Society, 59(1): 3-21.

Jain, Shobhita, 2006, "Women Agency in the Context of Family Networks in Indian Diaspora", Economic and Political Weekly, 41(23): 2312-2316.

Jayaram, N. 2000, "The Dynamics of Language in Indian Diaspora: The Case of Bhojpuri/Hindu in Trinidad", Indian Sociological Society, 49(1): 41-62.

Jyoti, 2013, "India's Look East Policy: In its Second Phase", Global Journal of Pharmaceutical Science and Education, 2(1): 1-14.

Kapur, Devesh, 2003, "Indian diaspora as a strategic asset", Economic and Political Weekly, 38(5): 445-448.

Katanyuu, Ruukun, 2006, "Beyond Non-Interference in ASEAN: The association's role in Myanmar's National Reconciliation and Democratization", University of California Press, 46(6): 825-845.

Lahneman, William. J., 2005, "Impact of Diaspora Communities on National and Global Politics", Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland, pp.1-35.

Li, Li, 2010, "India's Engagement with East Asia: A Chinese Perspective", Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, PP.1-12.

Lee, C. 2004. The Transnationalization of Citizenship and the Logic of the Nation-State. In Asian-Pacific Sociological Association 6th Conference on Asia-Pacific Societies in Globalization. Seoul.

Mahalingam, M, 2013, "India's Diaspora policy and foreign policy: An overview", GRFDT, pp.1-8

MicheleReis, "Theorizing Diaspora: Perspectives on "Classical" and "Contemporary" Diaspora." International Migration. Vol. 42. (2004). 47.

Mishra, S. (n.d.). "From Sugar to Masala." In Illustrated History of Indian Literature in English (p. 279).

Moharir, Vasant, 2009, "India rising: the role of Indian Diaspora in accelerating India's transition as a global power"Pravasi Bharatiya Divas- Europe, pp.1-18.

Muni, S.D, 2011, "India's Look East Policy: The Strategic Dimension", Institute of South Asian Studies, No.121, pp.1-25.

Naidu, G.V.C, 2004, "Whither the Look East Policy: India and Southeast Asia", Strategic Analysis, 28(.2): 331-346.

Naidu,G.V.C, 2013, “India and East Asia: The Look East Policy”, Perceptions, Vol.XVIII.

N. Jayaram (ed),2004 The Indian Diaspora: Dynamics of Migration (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2004)

Naujoks, Daniel, 2009, “Emigration, Immigration and Diaspora Relations in India”, The online journal of the migration policy institute, pp.1-39.

Newland, K. & Patrick, E. (2004). Beyond Remittances: The Role of Diaspora in Poverty Reduction in their Countries of Origin. Migration Policy Institute for the Department of International Development. Retrieved

Palit, Parama Sinha & Palit, Amitendu, 2009, “Role of Indian Diaspora in increasing strategic influence in a Globalised World”, Journal of International Affairs, 13(1): 1-3.

Purushothaman, Uma, 2010, “Shifting Perceptions of Power: Soft Power and India’s Foreign Policy”, Journal of Peace Studies, 17(2): 1-16.

Raghavan, Srinath, 2012, “The Diaspora and India”, Routledge, 11(1): 65-72.

Roy, Jayanta & Banerjee, Pritam, 2007, “Attracting FDI from the Indian Diaspora: The Way Forward”, Confederation of Indian Industry, pp.1-36.

Safran, William, 1991, “Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return”, Diaspora, 1(1): 83-99.

Safran, William, 2005, “The Jewish Diaspora in a Comparative and Theoretical Perspective”, Indian University Press, 10(1): 36-60.

Sahoo, Ajaya Kumar, 2006, "Issues of Identity in the Indian Diaspora: A Transnational perspective", Center for Study of Indian Diaspora, University of Hyderabad, 5(2): 81-98.

Salehi, Soodabeh, 2007, "Building Bridges: The Role of the Indian Diaspora in Canada", Queen's University, pp.1-30.

Sen, Rahul, Asher, Mukul G. & Rajan, Ramkishen S. 2004, "ASEAN-India Economic Relations: Current Status and Future Prospects", Economic and Political Weekly, 9(29): 3297-3308.

Shain, Yossi, 1995, "Multicultural Foreign Policy", Foreign Policy, No.100: 69-87.

Shain, Yossi & Barth, Aharon, 2003 "Diasporas and International Relations Theory", International Organization Foundation, 57: 449-479.

Shain, Yossi, 1995, "Ethnic Diasporas and U.S foreign Policy", The Academy of Political Science", 109(5): 811-841.

Sinderpal singh and syeda sana rahman 2010, " India-Singapore Relations: Constructing a "New" Bilateral Relationship" ,Contemporary Southeast Asia, Vol. 32, No. 1 (April 2010), pp. 70-97

Singh, Alwyn Didar, 2012, "Working with the Diaspora for development policy perspectives from India", Indian Institute of Management Bangalore, No 376, pp.1-38.

Singla, Surinder Kumar 2001. 'Recognizing Indian Diaspora's Contribution'. World Focus. Vol. 22, No.3, pp. 14-15.

Shekhar Vibhanshu 2007, "INDIA-SINGAPORE RELATIONS :An Overview", IPCS special report, No.14,june 2007

Sheth, V .S. 2000. 'Dynamics of Indian Diaspora in East and South Africa'. Journal of Indian Ocean Studies, Vol.8, No.3, pp. 217-18.

Somini Sengupta. "Countries Seek Entrepreneurs From Silicon Valley." NYTimes.com. The New York Times. (2013, June 5). Talent capital

Sundaram, A, 2013, "Look East Policy", International Journal of Advancements in Research & Technology, 2(5): 169-185.

Tololian, Khaching, 1991, "The Nation State and its others: In Lien of a preface", Diaspora, 1(1):32-47.

Tsagarousianou, Roza, 2004, "Rethinking the Concept of Diaspora Mobility, Connectivity and Communication in a Globalised World", University of Westminster, London, 1(1): 52-65.

Vertovec, Steven, 1999, "Three Meanings of Diaspora Exemplified among South Asian Regions", University of Oxford, 7(2): 1-37.

Vertovec, Steven, 2005, "The Political Importance of Diaspora", University of Oxford, No.13, pp.1-11.

Yahya, Faizal (November 1995), "Singapore-India: a confluence of national interests," Asian Studies Review, Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 25-36.

Yahya, Faizal (2003), "A passage to India: India-Singapore collaboration in ports development," *Asian Studies Review*, Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 55-80.

Steven Yates, 2002, "Biases of the Intellectual Classes",] November 15, 2002
<https://mises.org/print/7117>

Yahya, Fazal, 2003, "India and Southeast Asia: Revisited", *Institute of Southeast Asian Studies*, 25(1): 79-103.

Yahya, Faizal (2007), "Singapore-India: A Confluence of National Interests", *Asian Studies Review*, 19(2), 25-36.

Yeoh, Caroline and Yeung Wong, "Extending Economic Boundaries and Exporting Expertise: New Evidence on Singapore's Gambit in Indonesia, Vietnam and India," *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy*, Vol. 11, No. 1, February 2006, pp. 79-105.

Yossi Shain and Aharon Barth (2003) *Diasporas and International Relations Theory*
International Organization, Vol. 57, No. 3 (Summer, 2003), pp. 449-479

Yusuf, Shahid et al 2003, *Innovative East Asia: The Future of Growth*, The World Bank: Washington D C.

'Chennai Declaration'. 1999. BJP News Report, 28-29 December.