

Diaspora Communities in a Globalised World

A comparative study of Mexican and Indian Diaspora¹

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Abstract

Since 1990s, under the effects of globalization the size and intensity of international migration flow have multiplied. Owing to the increased flows, rapidly growing immigrant population and their role in the global economy and politics, the concept of diaspora has revived its importance in international relations and academic research. This period also witnessed a shift in the attitude of sending countries, like Mexico and India, regarding emigrants, from their rejection as ‘traitors’ to the ‘angels of development’, who are contributing to the development of homeland and facilitating the extra-territorialisation of the powers of state. At present diaspora has become a significant source of soft power and influence in the world systems. Hence, it has become imperative to study the evolution of different diasporas in contemporary globalized world and the role played by them in the international politics and economy. By using secondary sources and the data from United Nations Global Migration Database (UNGMD), we are going to compare the evolutionary process, the policies and attitude towards diaspora population at origin countries, demographic profile and territorial dispersion of population in Indian and Mexican diasporas.

Keywords: Diaspora engagement, UN database, demography, territorial dimensions, India, Mexico.

Introduction: Diaspora communities in a globalised world

The process of globalization has been assuming different paradigms over time for centuries from silent trade and barter exchange, through international trade and multi-national corporations, to a free flow of capital and culture beyond the boundaries of nation-states spanning the globe (Bhat and Lakshmi Narayan, 2010: 13). During the later decades of the 20th century, the world entered in an era of accelerated globalisation fuelled by a neoliberal shift of governance around the globe. The enormous growth in the

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technologies of communication and transport has revolutionized the very thought of space and time and miniaturized the globe, by facilitating real time interactions among people poles apart and mobility at an incredible speed (Ibíd). It has increased the importance of diaspora as a productive and useful member, a bridge between nations, a potential mediator, a transmitter of values and a promoters of development for both sending and origin countries (Bloemraad, et al. 2008; Baubock, 2008; Mahroum, et al. 2006). The current definition of diaspora has been widened, from its historical annotation to explain the dispersion of Jews from their homeland, to an expression of 'identity in flux' (Safran, 1991; Cohen, 2008, Brubaker, 2005). While explaining the relation between globalization and diaspora, Safran (2004) states that the diasporas represent the leading edge of globalization because they are not merely minority communities of immigrants, but their members retain a memory, a cultural connection and a general orientation towards their homelands. They relate in some (symbolic or practical) way to their homeland; harbour doubts about their full acceptance by the host land; committed to their survival as a distinct community; and retain a myth of return (Safran, 1991, Cohen 1996).

Since 1990s, the governments of origin countries have started to design diaspora strategies, policies, schemes, and programs to capture, enhance and ramp up the possibilities of cooperation with diaspora population (Boyle & Kitchin, 2014). It resulted in some dramatic changes in official attitudes toward emigrants and their descendants, which were once neglected by their homeland governments as traitors are now honoured as 'angels of development' or 'national heroes' (Durand, 2004; Varadarajan, 2010). This increased diaspora engagement is driven in large part by three main sets of interests and 'resources' represented by diasporas, firstly, the extraction of material resources for economic gain, secondly, the creation or maintenance of domestic and international political legitimacy, and finally, the utilisation of those abroad as a cultural and linguistic resource to be used in defining the boundaries of national identity (Waterbury, 2010: 136). Additionally, by using new information and communications technologies to transmit expertise, the origin countries are also interested in recovering the costly skills lost with educated emigrants, by converting brain drain to brain circulation (Saxenian, 2005; Meyer, 2001). Now the major challenge for national and international governmental bodies is to create an environment with conditions that facilitate diaspora contributions (Brinkerhoff, 2012).

Recently, it has been pointed out how migrations, and therefore transnationalism, is a fundamental part of 'bio politics' - as a new form of governability that has as its object

the modern concept of population (Foucault, 1979)-, creating populations through circulation of bio power and the production of socio-spatial relationships (Bailey, 2013). In other words, the reproduction of spatial relationships is built up through transnational bio politics. In this context, the re-articulation of a given space in the territory of the diaspora, brings back to the table the issue of sovereignty and the state in the governance exercised from the populations and territories that delimit this governance, often expressed in terms of security (Foucault, 2004). This bio politics applied to the diasporas implies, on the one hand, the extra-territorialisation of the sovereign power of the State (Dumbrava, 2014), and on the other, the redefinition of that sovereignty beyond state borders, also known as "Soft- power " (Nye, 2004). As soft power, diaspora is often used by the origin countries to influence the decisions of the host countries and big multinational corporations to reap some economic and political gains, mostly through affluent members of diaspora community. Diaspora countries also create new categories of external citizenship and opportunities for political participation to enhance engagement with diaspora population (Baubock, 2009; Collyer, 2013). Government officials in origin countries are increasingly re-claiming and re-defining 'their' diasporas, fostering friendly cross-border networks and countering transnational communities of dissidents and detractors (Gamlen, 2014). This new articulation of bio politics, territory, and population, which takes migratory movements as a protagonist, is spreading in the third millennium, hand in hand with globalization and the application of neoliberal policies at the origin countries of diasporas.

Our main objective in this article is to account for this process from the comparison of the Mexican and Indian Diasporas, in three different areas: 1) their formation, chronology, demographic profile and geography and, 2) To speculate on the changes caused by the demographic, economic and political evolution of both countries, on their diaspora in the future. The reasons behind the selection of India and Mexico are: firstly, with more than 13 million individuals, both these countries occupy top two places in the hierarchy of world's biggest diaspora communities, and are comparable in terms of the diaspora population size and have more than century long evolutionary histories. Secondly, both countries are making strategies to reap economic and political benefits from their emigrant population, and provide us an opportunity to analyse the diaspora engagement policies and their impact on diaspora and origin countries. And finally, the demographic evolution of both countries and its impact on diaspora population, provide

us an opportunity to study how the demography of the origin countries affects the growth of diaspora communities.

2. Data Sources

The data for this study was taken from the United Nations Global Migration Database (UNGMD), which is a comprehensive collection of empirical data on the number (“stock”) of international migrants by country of birth and citizenship, sex and age as enumerated by population censuses, population registers, nationally representative surveys and other official statistical sources from more than 200 countries and territories in the world. The UNGMD was developed by the United Nations Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA). The data contained in the database were derived from numerous sources, including the Demographic Yearbook, produced by United Nations Statistics Division, tabulations collected by the Population Division as well as official publications available from resource centres, libraries and the internet. It provides estimates for the years 1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010, 2015 and 2017.

In relation to the Indian and Mexican diasporas, to estimate the number of total immigrants the UNGMD uses the codes ‘B’, which indicates that estimates were derived from data on the foreign-born population, and ‘R’, which indicates that the number of refugees or persons in refugee-like situations as reported by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) or, where appropriate, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) were added to the estimates. It provides this information for the period of 1990 to 2017, which allows temporal comparisons and to see the evolution of the size and territorial expansion of the Indian Diaspora.

3. Indian and Mexican Diaspora: Population and Space

3.1 Diaspora population: Growth and Stock

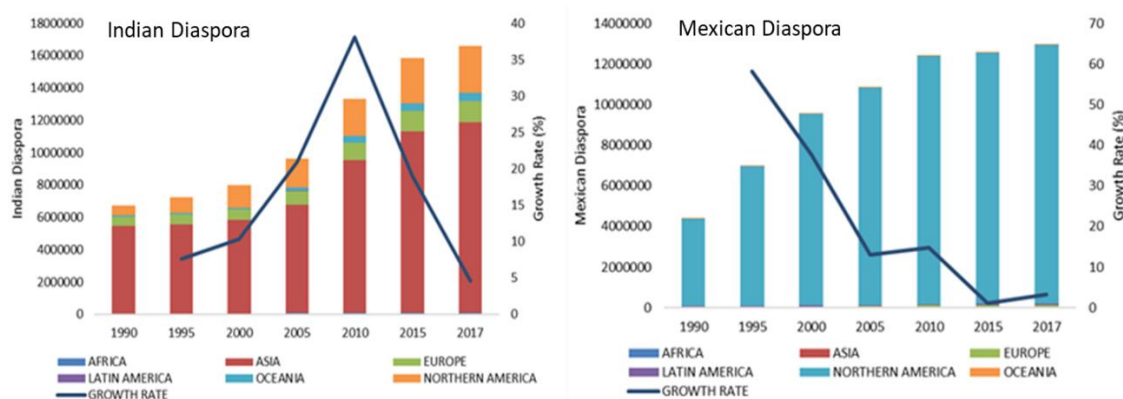
It is very difficult to define the term diaspora population. As who will be included in a diaspora population depends on the criteria used to describe an ‘immigrant’ and political interests of the nations involved. In the case of Mexican diaspora, it is very difficult to tell precisely the exact number of Mexicans living abroad. Only in US estimated 36.3 million people of Mexican origin were registered in American Community Survey in 2016, in which almost 5.6 million were irregular and a great part of them are the children, who have one or both parents of Mexican origin. The Institute for Mexicans

Abroad, which is a government entity for the emigrant's administration, reports that there are 11.9 million Mexicans living abroad, in which 97.8% live in the United States (IME, 2015). Similarly, in the case of Indian diaspora, according to the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA), it is divided into two broad legal categories: 'Person of Indian Origin' (PIO) and 'Non-Resident Indians' (NRI). The PIO, consists of people who were (or whose ancestors were) born in India or nations with Indian ancestry, but who at present hold citizenship/nationality of another country. Some of them are also former citizens of India who had to renounce their Indian citizenship while going through the procedure of naturalization (in the case of countries that do not recognize multiply citizenships). The NRI, on the other hand, are defined as Indian citizens who are usually residing outside India and hold Indian Passports. In 2017, according to MOIA, the size of Indian diaspora was 31.2 million people, in whom 13.3 million were NRIs and 17.9 million were PIO.

As 'diaspora' relates to dispersion of people from their homeland to two or more destinations, the inclusion of children of immigrants into the diaspora population is a matter of debate. Hence, to avoid this confusion, following the classification of the UNGMD, in this paper the diaspora population is considered as the people migrated from their homeland to other countries or in other words, people who are not living in the same country where they were born. According to the UNGMD, in 2017, India has the biggest diaspora in the world with 16.6 million individuals born in India and living abroad, followed by Mexico (13 million), Russian Federation (10.6 million) and China (10 million). The size of Mexican diaspora population increased rapidly during the period of 1990 to 1995 from 4.4 million to 6.9 million individuals. In the coming decades, while the population size kept on increasing, but the growth rate declined sharply, ultimately reaching to 1% in 2015. Most of the Mexicans were settled in North America (98%). On the other side, the size of Indian diaspora increased slowly from 6.7 million in 1990 to 7.9 million in 2000, but during the first decade of the 21st century, the Indian diaspora started growing at a very high rate (38% during 2005-2010) and reached to 16.6 million in 2017. The number of Indians living abroad was highest in Asia (71%), especially in Gulf countries, followed by North America (17.5%) and Europe (7.9%). During the period between 1990 to 2017, the share of Indian immigrants increased in North America (by 8%) and Oceania (1.7%), remained constant in Europe and declined in Asia (10%). (Fig. 1). Despite the rapid increase and biggest size of Indian diaspora, the proportion of Indian diaspora population to its total population has never increased from 1.25%. On the other

side, the Mexican diaspora population makes more than 10% share of its total population. Similarly, the proportion of diaspora population in Indian diaspora have increased very slowly from 0.8% in 1990 to 1.2% in 2017, while the proportion of Mexican diaspora population has been doubled from 5.2% in 1990 to 10% in 2017.

Figure 1: The evolution of stock and growth rate of Mexican and Indian Diasporas, 1990-2017.



Source: own elaboration, with data from United Nations Global Migration Database, UN, 1990-2017.

As per the sex composition of both diasporas, in the initial stages of evolution, both diasporas were male dominated, but at present the degree of masculinity is much higher in Indian diaspora as compared to Mexican diaspora, which is increasingly becoming more feminized with the large scale immigration of young females to North America and Europe. Owing to the strong patriarchal structure of Indian society and the prevalence of male bread winner model, Indian diaspora always remained highly male dominated. At present, there is no continent around the globe with more female Indian population than males. In 1990, the sex ratio for the whole diaspora community was 1.4 males per female and it remained more or less consistent till 2000. But in the following decade, due to the increased immigration of male unskilled or semiskilled labour to the Gulf countries, the sex ratio increased in the favour of males. In 2017, especially in the Gulf countries, like Oman (7.23 males per female), Qatar (6.24), the UAE (3.5), Bahrain (3.1), Kuwait (2.6), and Saudi Arabia (2.3), the sex-ratio was considerably higher as compared to the developed countries, e.g. the USA (1.1), the UK (1), and Canada (1). Nepal (0.4) was the only country in the top 15 destinations with sex-ratio in favour of females. On the other side, Mexican diaspora, shows a high degree of feminisation in all other continents, except North America, but as 98% of their population lives in North America, it can be concluded that they have sex ratio slightly in favour of males.

A major difference in both diasporas lies in the profile of the emigrant population originated from both countries. Shortly after the independence of India in 1947, the spread of technical and university education resulted in the creation of a class of highly educated and skilled workers. Owing to the lack of jobs in India, mass emigration of more educated professional class begins in the 1970s, which was termed as Brain Drain (Bhagwati 1976). The 'brain drain' explained as a quality exodus of India's cream of highly skilled professionals comprising doctors, engineers, scientists, teachers, architects, entrepreneurs, and more recently the IT workers, and nurses (Khadria 2008). India has experienced a loss of skilled professionals migrating abroad to the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. This immigration has converted the Indian diaspora, which was initially a diaspora of unskilled manual labour to the diaspora of mixed character, embracing low and highly skilled migrants. In 2017, where majority of Indian immigrants in gulf countries and southern Europe were engaged in low paid blue colour jobs, one third of the doctors in National Health Service in England and 80% of the H1B visa holders, in the USA were from India (Garha et al. 2016; Esmail 2007; USCIS 2017). On the contrary, the emigration from Mexico mostly consisted of the low skilled peasants and manual labours who fled from the country to work in the agricultural fields and factories across their northern border (Durand, 2016). In the USA, Mexican immigrants tend to have much lower educational attainment in comparison to the overall foreigners and native-born populations. In 2014, 6 percent of Mexican immigrants (ages 25 and over) had a bachelor's degree or higher, compared to 29 percent of the total foreign-born population and 30 percent of the U.S.-born population (Zong and Batalova 2016). While, 70% Indians in the USA complete their Graduation or Master degrees, before immigration.

3.2 The Diaspora Space

Diaspora, as in its definition means dispersion of population from one country or region to two or more countries, is strictly related to space. Hence, while studying different diasporas, it is essential to measure the degree of dispersion of diaspora population. The diaspora space consists of the area occupied by the diaspora population and its recognition by the home state. In the initial evolutionary stages, the expansion of diaspora space is directly related to the addition of countries in the diaspora through emigration flows to new destinations. But in the later stages, with the shift of the political consideration of people living out of the national borders, the diaspora space converts into

a territory with political interest for both sending and receiving countries, who try to expand or contract it by using different definitions for immigrants or by modifying laws regarding their legal status.

During the last two centuries, the core of Mexican diaspora remained fixed in the USA. The US-Mexico immigration corridor has become the world's busiest immigrant corridor. In the new millennium, the Mexican people also start emigrating to other destinations, like Canada in North America, and Spain, Germany and France in Europe, and Guatemala in Central America. In 2017, the Mexican diaspora was stretched to 68 countries. The presence of Mexicans in Asia, Africa and Oceania is almost inexistent. It reduces the Mexican diaspora to North Western countries along with the coasts of Atlantic. Unlikely to the Mexican diaspora, Indian diaspora expanded enormously, initially, owing to the migration of indentured labour to the British and French colonies, and later on with the emigration of traders, unskilled and skilled workers, and students to several destinations around the globe (Khadria, 2008). In the Indian history of migration several countries or regions have emerged as the core of diaspora and other disappeared from its map, like during the indentured period Caribbean Islands were the major destinations for Indian labour, after the independence the UK emerged as the leading receptor of Indian immigrants, during the Oil Boom of 1970s the gulf region becomes the major destination for the unskilled labour from India, and in the coming decades the USA emerged as the leading receptor of skilled labour from India. According to UNGMD, in 2017, Indian diaspora was stretched to 130 countries around the globe. In Asia, the UAE had the highest number of Indian immigrants (3.3 million) followed by Saudi Arabia (2.0 million), Pakistan (1.9 million), Oman (1.1 million) and Kuwait (1.1 million). More than half of the total Indian diaspora population at present live in the Gulf Countries. In North America, 2.3 million Indians were settled in the USA and 0.6 million in Canada, while in Europe, the United Kingdom had the largest number of Indian immigrants, i.e. 0.8 million. After the UK, southern European countries like Italy, Spain and Portugal are emerging as preferred destinations for low skilled Indian immigrants. On the eastern side, apart from Singapore (0.15 million) and Malaysia (0.14 million), who have historical immigration ties with India, Australia (0.4 million) and New Zealand (71.6 thousand) are emerging as leading destinations for Indian students and skilled immigrants (Table 1).

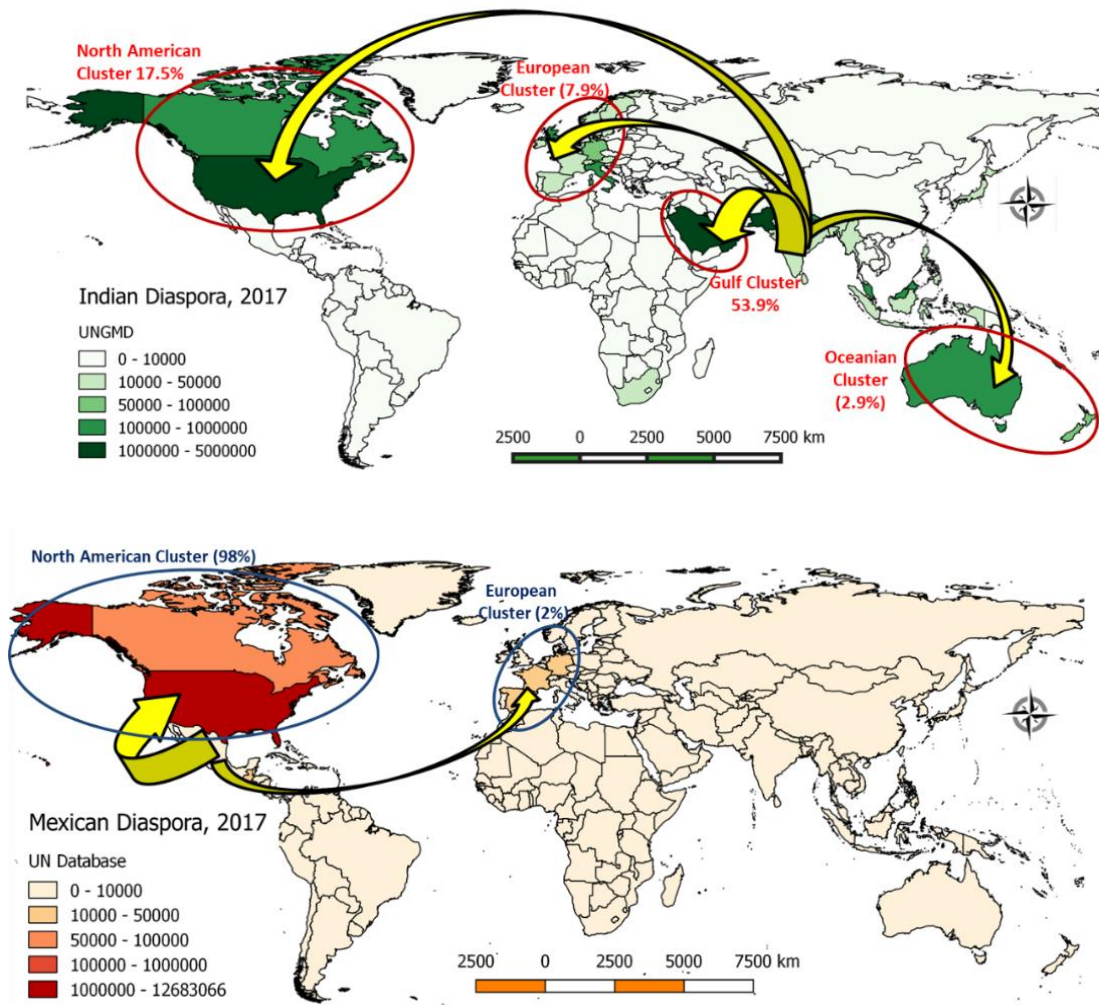
Table 1. The size and proportion of Indian and Mexican diaspora population in 15 major destination countries in 2017.

Country of Destination	Indian Immigrant	Proportion to Total (%)	Country of Destinatío	Mexican Immigrant	Proportion to Total (%)
UAE	3310419	19.96	USA	12683066	97.83
USA	2307909	13.91	Canada	81033	0.63
Saudi Arabia	2266216	13.66	Spain	49074	0.38
Pakistan	1873650	11.30	Germany	18329	0.14
Oman	1201995	7.25	Guatemala	18250	0.14
Kuwait	1157072	6.98	France	12770	0.10
UK	836524	5.04	Bolivia	9911	0.08
Qatar	658488	3.97	Italy	8982	0.07
Canada	602146	3.63	UK	8610	0.07
Nepal	440198	2.65	Switzerland	6851	0.05
Australia	408880	2.46	Australia	5176	0.04
Bahrain	310591	1.87	Panama	4989	0.04
Singapore	154788	0.93	Netherland	4577	0.04
Italy	138802	0.84	Venezuela	3890	0.03
Malaysia	135352	0.82	Belize	3810	0.03
Others	784690	4.73	Others	45564	0.35
Total	16587720	100	Total	12964882	100

Source: own elaboration, with data from United Nations Global Migration Database, UN, 2017.

While comparing the space occupied by both diasporas, Indian diaspora is much more dispersed than Mexican diaspora. The global dimension of Indian diaspora makes it world's most disperse diaspora, where now 'sun never sets' (Jain 2012). It has four major clusters i.e. Gulf cluster 53.9%, North American cluster 17.5%, European cluster 7.9%, and Oceanian cluster 2.9%. The North American cluster is growing faster with the regular inflow of skilled or unskilled workers, students and family members of immigrants, followed by the Oceanian cluster, which have succeeded to attract a large number of students and high skilled workers from India. The European cluster is more or less stagnant or growing at a very slow pace, while the Asian cluster is relatively shrinking. On the other side, Mexican diaspora has very limited territorial dispersion, which is limited to the northern coasts of Atlantic. It has two major cluster, the North American cluster is the biggest one with 98% of the total diaspora population and European cluster is the smaller one with only 2% of it, scattered in Germany, Spain, France and the UK (Map 1).

Map 1. Major clusters of population in Mexican and Indian diasporas, 2017.



Source: own elaboration, with data from United Nations Global Migration Database, 2017.

4. Future perspectives: Demographic, Economic and Political concerns

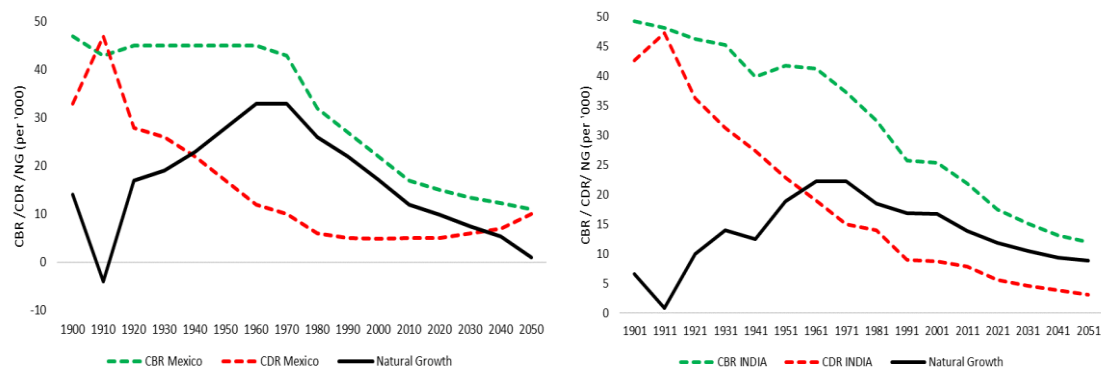
The future of Indian and Mexican diaspora engagement largely depends on the demographic, political and socioeconomic conditions of the origin countries. All these factors are discussed below:

4.1 The changing Demography and Diaspora

The first important concern is the changing demography of both countries. Apart from the colonial destruction, the unbalanced demographic and economic growth of India and Mexico played an important role in the expansion of diaspora and it is expected to play a decisive part in shaping the size and space of diaspora in the coming decades. Late and slow first demographic transition (in the second half of the 20th century) in both countries, as compared to the European countries, resulted in the fast natural growth of population.

In both countries, the death rate began to fall after 1920, but the birth rate remained high up to 1960. After 1960s, the birth rate also began to fall, but the fast decline of death rate, resulted in continuous population growth. The gap between birth and death rate narrowed in the last decade with a small decline in the population growth rate, which shows that both countries are moving from the middle transitional stage to the late transitional stage of the first demographic transition (Fig. 2). The demographic dividend or the surplus of population due to natural increase put enormous pressure on the local labour markets - which were mainly agriculture based economies and recovering from the wounds of colonial loot and civil wars- to produce employment opportunities for all. The failure to fulfil the employment aspirations of native population leads to the economic expulsion of masses from the rural parts of India and Mexico to developed countries. It increased the size of diaspora community and expanded the diaspora space by including several new destinations to it. Similarly, from Mexico low skilled workers mostly ended up in the USA, which has remained the prime destination for Mexican low skilled workers.

Figure 2. The first demographic transitions and natural growth of Mexican and Indian Population, 1900-2050.

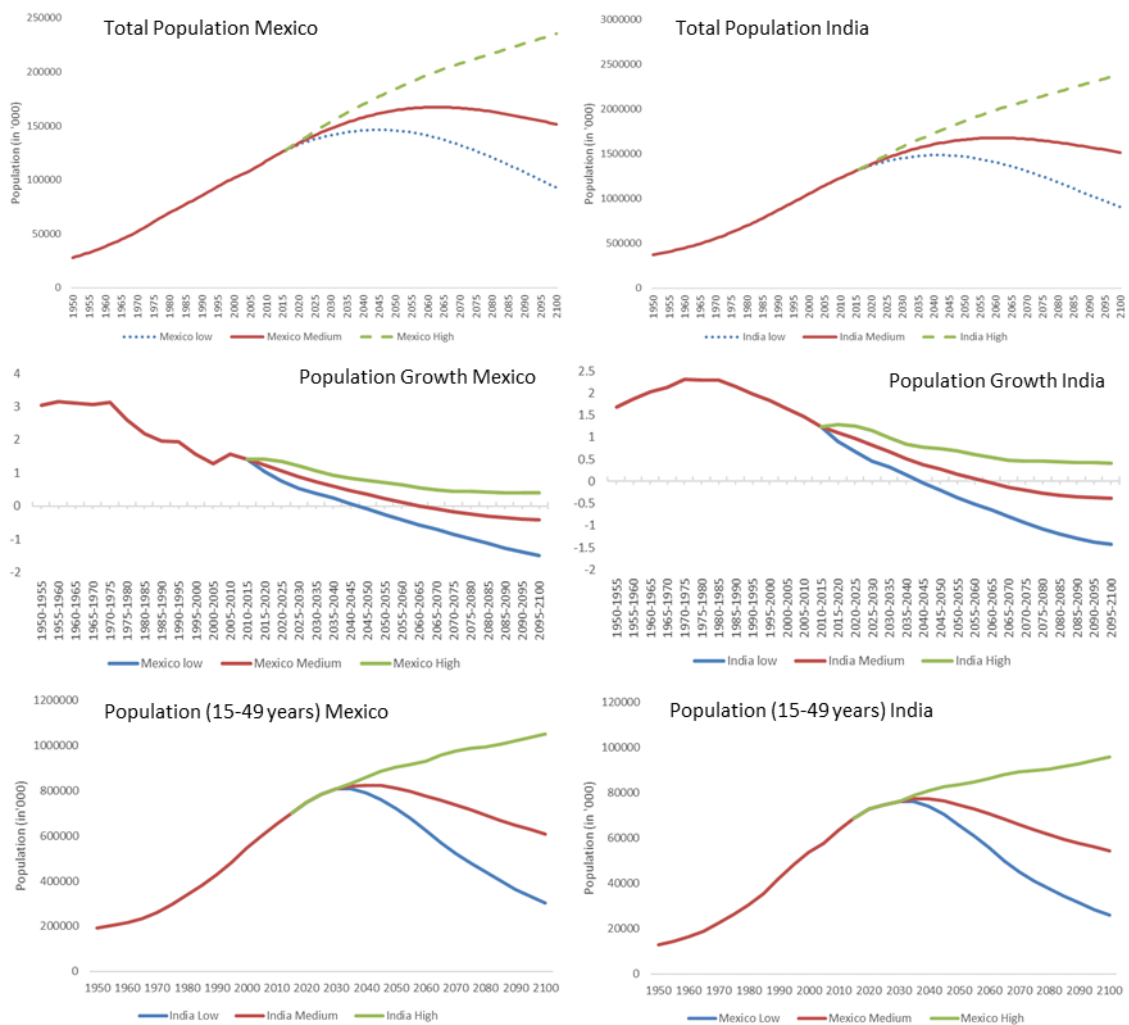


Source: Kulkarni (2014), Office of the Registrar General, India and Partida-Bush, V. (2004), National Council on Population (2002), Mexico.

The present trends of population change show that the continues decline in total fertility in both countries will reduce the number of potential emigrants in the coming decades. It will also affect the growth of diaspora which is a demographic reproduction system based on emigration. In both countries the total population is still increasing, but the growth rate of population is continuously decreasing. According to medium variant UN population projections, the growth rate will become negative in 2060 and afterwards the total population will start decreasing. As most of the people emigrate in the age group

of 15-49 years, the fast decline in the size of this age group will also affect the growth of both diasporas. The size of population in this age group is projected to start declining from 2040 (Fig. 3). On the other side, the Indian and Mexican economies are growing rapidly, and the demand of labour for the home industry and services is increasing exponentially. In future, both countries can become able to absorb all manpower they produce. This change in demographics and the growth of local economies will affect the growth of diaspora. Mexico have already started to observe these changes (Giorguli-Saucedo, et al. 2016), but in India, where the demographic momentum is still very strong to maintain the positive net population growth, these changes are expected to start appearing in 2030s.

Figure 3. Total registered (1950-2015) and projected (2015-2100) population of India and Mexico.



Source: UN population projection, World Population Prospect, 2017

The future of diaspora population also depends on the return migration of emigrants who left their country for work and finally return after spending some time in one or several destinations in the diaspora, and on the policies of origin governments to include or exclude them as member of their diaspora population. While comparing the return migration, the number of Mexicans who returned from diaspora is much higher as compared to India. In the case of Mexico, the forced and voluntary deportation system expel a large number of Mexicans who were living irregularly in the USA. This forced return of Mexican nationals and their children born in the USA creates a huge problem for the Mexican administration for their rehabilitation in the country. The Mexican government has launched many programs to rehabilitate the return migrants and their children. In India, the return migration from the western developed countries is very low and mostly people return after retirement or through involuntary deportation, but the rate of return from the neighbouring countries (which were part of India before independence), is extremely high, which creates problem for the local administrations in the border states. The government of India have no policy for the people who return from the diaspora, on the contrary, it encourages the people to settle in their new destination countries. Even at the time of crisis, where the life and property of the Indian emigrants are at stake, the government of India have double standards regarding their diaspora population. They have launched missions for the evacuation of Indian immigrants trapped in Kuwait during Gulf War and Yemen in the recent civil war, but they have not shown any sympathy towards Indians in Myanmar also known as Rohingya Muslims.

4.2 The Economic contribution of Diaspora

The second important factor is economic contribution of diaspora to homeland development. Financial remittances are a highly recognized contribution from diasporas to homelands (Brinkerhoff, 2012). Remittances, as the portion of international migrant workers' earnings sent back from the country of employment to the country of origin, have come to play a central role in the economies of labour-sending countries (Stanton-Russell, 1986; Boyle & Kitchin 2014). Both India and Mexico are considered as labour sending countries and receives a large amount of foreign currency in the form of remittances from their diaspora. In the year 2017, Indian was the leading nation with \$68.9 Billion received in the form of remittances, which makes 11.2% of the world's total remittances. While Mexico, has received \$30.6 Billion in the form of remittances, which makes 4.9% of the total global remittances. In 1990s, the amount of remittances received

in Mexico was higher than in India, but in the coming years owing to the rapid growth of Indian emigration and remittances, Mexico lagged behind in this race. After 2006, the inflow of remittances to Mexico declined, but to India remained increasing with some small ups and downs in the last three years (2014-2017).

While comparing the per capita remittances to both countries, Mexico was always remained receiving higher amount than India. According to World Bank estimates, in 2017 the per capita remittance to India was 51.5\$ as compared to 236.9\$ in Mexico. The money received as remittances plays a very crucial role in elevating the socioeconomic status of the emigrant's families and contributes to the development of several projects in the origin countries. Apart from the remittances, the programs like 2X1 and 3X1 in Mexico are the clear symbols that represents the importance of financial contribution of diaspora in the local projects. In India also the government is giving rebates to attract foreign direct investment. NRIs are encouraged to have their bank accounts in India and to deposit their savings in these accounts. It shows the potential of diaspora as a major source of foreign exchange for the local economy (Afram, 2012; García Zamora, 2005), which encourages the governments of both countries to build strong relations with their diaspora.

4.3 Diaspora Political and Cultural engagement: Soft Power or Liability

As per the political engagement is concerned, Mexican diaspora is more politically engaged in the homeland and destination politics as compared to the Indian diaspora. Mexican government has given the dual nationality (in 1996 constitutional reform) and right to vote (in 2005) in the local elections to all Mexican immigrants living abroad. It facilitates the direct participation of immigrants in homeland politics through general elections. Now the political parties in Mexico also organise campaigns to attract diaspora voters, hence making them capable of political change in Mexico. Mexican government have also reserved seats for the immigrants in their parliament, and an administrative body has been created to deal with the issues related to emigrants. On the contrary, Indian government still don't allow dual citizenship and voting rights to the Indians living abroad. Owing to the pressure from its Diaspora (mainly in North America), in December 2003, through an amendment of the Citizenship Act 1955, Indian government has evolved an 'Overseas Citizenship of India (OCI)' card, which is actually a follow up of the earlier grant of a 'Person of Indian Origin' or PIO Card. OCI cards deprived overseas Indians of political rights, while it conferred them some economic privileges. OCI card is not to be

misconstrued as a 'dual citizenship', at best, it could be called 'dual economic citizenship' (Singh, 2012). Indian nationals living abroad still have no right to vote or participate in the local elections in India. Since the new Indian government, led by N. Modi, took power in May 2014, several structural reforms have been introduced to the existing diaspora engagement policy. Modi and his government wish to make India a *vishwaguru* and a 'leading power'. The main idea of the Indian government is to use the diaspora community members, who now occupies high political and professional posts in the diaspora countries and big multinational companies, as a soft power tool to influence the strategic decisions in favour of Indian businesses and its position in the world politics. It is important to note that, although the Indian diaspora is often considered as an asset for the country, but it can also be a liability and a source of tensions in relations with other states e.g. The Indian Tamil minority in Sri Lanka and alleged discrimination against them has been a constant point of frictions between India and Sri Lanka; safety and labour rights of Indian workers in the Gulf States have become a serious concern in Indian relations with the region (Kugiel and Pędziwiatr 2014), and most recently the Rohingya crisis in Myanmar is creating conflicts with neighbours in the region (Ghoshal 2017).

On the contrary, owing to the lack of 'global dimension' and 'highly qualified human resources', Mexican government is still not in a position to use its diaspora as soft power tool. Their all efforts are limited to serve their population in the USA, where they explicitly claim that they have no intention to interfere in the local affairs of the US government or lobby groups. For them diaspora is a liability than a source of soft power.

On the cultural front also Mexican government has started several programs to promote Mexican culture and Spanish language in the diaspora. Through home town associations and by sending teachers to the US schools to teach Spanish to the descendants of the Mexican immigrants, the government is investing resources in the maintenance of Mexicanness in the diaspora. These efforts are facilitating the preservation of language and identity among new generations of Mexican immigrants born in Diaspora. On the contrary, Indian government have not contributed sufficiently to preserve the language and identity in the diaspora. Some efforts have been made to provide education to the children of manual labours in the Gulf Countries, but they are insufficient to support the large number of diaspora population in these countries. From 2010 some scholarships have been awarded for the diaspora students who want to study in Indian Universities.

5. Conclusions

As the bio politics at its birth was linked to ‘liberalism’ (Foucault, 1979), by putting ‘market’ as a model and limiting the regulatory functions of the State, and especially to fertility and the increase of life expectancy -as forms of creating life in the 21st century-, the management of the emigrated populations, has become a new source of power, based on the influence that it wants to operate on the emigrated individuals and the population as a form of governability. This does not stop causing tensions between the sending and receiving countries, which, as has also been pointed out, can sometimes express themselves in paradoxical ways with respect to the principles of representativeness of the liberal democracies involved (Baübock, 2010). After releasing from the shackles of civil wars and colonialism, both Mexico and India, have managed to create world’s biggest diaspora communities, which are now contributing to their economic development and secure their position as key actors in the world politics. Since 1990s, under globalization and neoliberalism, the attitude and policies of origin governments towards emigrants have witnessed a remarkable change and the engagement with diaspora in economic, political and socio cultural spheres has increased significantly.

While comparing Indian and Mexican diaspora population and space, we can conclude that despite a small difference in the total size of diaspora population, Indian diaspora is growing much faster in terms of space occupied (by increased flow and by adding new destination countries) as compared to the Mexican diaspora. As per the dispersion and growth of the population is concerned, the Indian diaspora is polycentric and growing in the form of different nodes, like one around the USA, second around the UAE, third around the UK and most recently fourth emerging around Australia. These nodes are growing parallel by attracting new immigrants from India. On the contrary, the Mexican diaspora is monocentric, and revolves around the USA. In the last decade, with an increased emigration to European countries like, France, Germany and Spain, a small cluster is emerging along with the eastern costs of Atlantic.

The use of diaspora as a soft power tool has contributed to the increased diaspora engagement and extra territorialisation of the powers of state. Origin governments have started to give more rights and recognitions to the affluent members of the diaspora community to use them as their ambassador in the destination countries. Since 2006 Indian government have started OCI cards for the Indians living in some selected Western countries to enhance their participation in Indian business and trade. Where Indian government is mainly focusing on the economic benefits from the diaspora and tries to

use it as a soft power tool, the Mexican government has engaged itself in promoting the political and cultural participation of their emigrants in homeland socio-cultural and political affairs. They have encouraged the direct participation of Mexicans living abroad by extending them dual citizenship and right to vote in general elections of their homeland. In sum, we can conclude that the Mexican diaspora population enjoys more political rights and recognition from their homeland, as compared to Indian diaspora.

The future of both diasporas depend on the demographic and socio economic conditions of the origin and host countries. The rapid demographic (decreasing fertility) and economic changes (high economic growth) in India and Mexico can negatively affect the growth of diaspora. With continuously decreasing total fertility, the supply of labour –which is the main element of growth for both diasporas- is expected to reduce in the coming decades and with the increased return of emigrants, especially in the case of Mexican diaspora, the size of diaspora population and space may reduce in the coming decades. At the same time, with the fast means of transport and communication, and the globalization of the production process, it is also possible that the national boundaries will lose their importance to control the movement of capital and humans, and leads to the emergence of transnational communities of diasporic character.

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