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**The power of the strong state: A comparative analysis of the diaspora
engagement strategies of India and Ethiopia**
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**THE POWER OF THE STRONG STATE:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE
DIASPORA ENGAGEMENT STRATEGIES OF
INDIA AND ETHIOPIA**

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Abstract

Migrant-sending countries are increasingly exploring schemes where the human capital of expatriates can be used for the benefit of the home country's socioeconomic development. This paper focuses on the mechanisms of emigration management and problematizes government involvement in diaspora engagement. By exploring two cases of diaspora engagement policies, those of India and of Ethiopia, the paper questions the success of government mechanisms, establishing the conditions under which these mechanisms lead to political and economic benefit from the diaspora. Although countries differ immensely in various aspects, Ethiopia modelled its diaspora policy after the case of India, which provides us with a good case for establishing the necessary conditions. Both countries see diaspora as a key resource in economic development of respective countries and have therefore invested significant resources into developing institutions and policies to engage diaspora. Nevertheless, there are some major differences between the countries, in terms of the countries' resources and capacities to design and implement diaspora engagement policies and also in the composition of migrant communities. While Indian migration has always had an economic component, the Ethiopian Diaspora is primarily characterized by refugee flows. Moreover, India has a long history of migration and one of the largest migrant communities in the world. The paper argues that government resources and capacities to design and implement policies and the composition of migrant communities play a key role in determining the approach governments adopt with their diasporas.

Keywords: diaspora, migration, diaspora engagement policy, diaspora engagement institutions, India, Ethiopia.

1. Introduction

Engagement of the diaspora in the countries of origin is by no means a new phenomenon. There have always been relationships between migrants and people that remain behind in a home country. However, the more institutionalized these relationships become, the more likely it is that such transnational activities will persist through time (Levitt 2001, 197). After recognizing the importance of migrant communities for development, there has been an increased interest of national and international actors in managing international migration in a way that it profits the parties involved. Especially with regard to skilled migration, there has been a dramatic shift in the perceived need for action. Instead of preventing brain drain, policy-makers are now making efforts to facilitate 'brain circulation' by encouraging mobility of professionals as well as supporting different kinds of transnational networks for making use of diasporas and their knowledge and wealth acquired abroad. Some of these policies are planned unilaterally at a national level, but often such policies require bi-lateral or multilevel engagement from various levels.

India has emerged as a leader in this field with one of the most comprehensive state level diaspora engagement policies (Vezzoli & Lacroix 2010, 41). The emigration management reforms in India are taking place at the national level by creating permanent institutions and dedicating resources that cater to their needs. Moreover, the Indian government has signed a number of agreements for bilateral cooperation with the main countries of destinations and takes an active part in regional and global initiatives for migration management. As such, India now works as a model for designing diaspora engagement policies for countries which are just starting to recognize their importance, Ethiopia being one such example. This paper will compare the diaspora engagement policies of India and Ethiopia.

While developing their diaspora engagement strategy, the Government of Ethiopia hired a consultant from India who had worked with the Government of India to develop their policies and institutions. Thus, there are several similar elements in the policies implemented by India and Ethiopia. Both countries see the diaspora as a

key resource in the economic development of respective countries and have therefore invested significant resources into developing institutions and policies to engage their diasporas. However, there are fundamental differences between the two countries that impact the effectiveness of such policies.

The motivation for this paper stems from the differences between the states, relating to a question posed for future research by Peggy Levitt (2001, 211) on the nature and strength of the state. Levitt claims that not enough attention is paid to individual and institutional practices. The opportunities of transnational activities depend on the social and economic context of home and host countries, position of migrants in society and on institutional actors. Levitt, thus, encourages further enquiry into "*How do the activities of strong states compare with those of weak ones?*" In this case, India represents the strong state and Ethiopia the weak state.

Differences between India and Ethiopia occur in terms of countries' resources and capacities to design and implement diaspora engagement policies and also in the composition of migrant communities. This paper will provide a comparison of migrant communities from India and Ethiopia across the world and provide a comprehensive synthesis and comparison of the diaspora engagement policies in India and Ethiopia. The paper is based on an in-depth policy review, individual interviews with Ethiopian Government representatives in the spring of 2010, interviews conducted in February 2009 in India, observation from the conference entitled *India-EU Partnership in Mobility: Data agreements and Policy Immigration* held 21-23 February 2009, and observations and insights gained at the *Dialogue on Mediterranean Transit Migration (MTM) Final Conference* in Addis Ababa in April 2010.

This paper will begin by presenting the cases of India and Ethiopia with an overview of their migration histories and the geography and size of the current diaspora. The second section of the paper will examine the institutions and the third section the policies established by both states and compare the similarities and differences in the states diaspora engagement activities. The fourth and final section of the paper will examine the policy effectiveness of India and Ethiopia's diaspora

policies. Finally, the conclusion will provide a synthesis of the comparison between India and Ethiopia's Diaspora engagement policies.

2. Situating India and Ethiopia: The Strong versus the Weak

India and Ethiopia are both developing countries, but there are significant differences between them that affect their ability to implement diaspora policies and the resulting effectiveness of such policies. Although Ethiopia is one of the fastest growing economies in the world, it is still one of the poorest countries with only US\$ 330 GDP per capita in 2009 (World Bank 2010). In comparison to this figure, India, as a lower middle-income country, is economically much better off. It is one of the largest economies in the world with high sustained economic growth for a number of years. As opposed to an almost non-existent private sector in Ethiopia, this sector has been prospering in India since the introduction of economic liberalization reforms in 1991. The growth of the private sector, as well as the public one, is attributed to a large pool of highly-educated people. Several institutions of higher education in India are highly ranked in terms of quality standards, especially when it comes to the field of science and technology. Ethiopia, on the other hand, is faced with badly developed higher education system, both in terms of quality and relevance of programmes for development of the country (Teshome 2003, 2-3).

Besides differences in terms of socio-economic development of the countries, the diaspora communities also differ in several aspects. Both countries have a definition of their diaspora at the policy level. India has its own distinctive classification and considers the Indian Diaspora to be composed of Persons of Indian Origin (PIO) and Non-Resident Indians (NRI). The Indian government considers anyone of Indian origin up to four generations removed and who has acquired citizenship of another country to be a PIO. Non-Resident Indians are those who still hold Indian citizenship and now live abroad. They have either moved to another country or they are born outside India and still have Indian citizenship.

In a similar manner, the Ethiopian policy treats everyone with the Ethiopian citizenship or of Ethiopian origin living abroad as a member of the Ethiopian Diaspora. Nevertheless, in the context of diaspora engagement policies the Ethiopian Diaspora is mainly seen as those who have some professional experience abroad and are thus able to contribute to Ethiopian development (Schlenzka 2009, 8). Likewise, the Indian government mostly associates the term diaspora in connection with development and investments. Its policy revolves around the diaspora members that are economically, socially and culturally successful and are thus more able to contribute to development by knowledge transfer and investments or to lobby in the interest of India (Vezzoli & Lacroix 2010, 9).

The existing migration statistics point to some important differences between the Indian and Ethiopian Diasporas. First of all, India has been an important emigration country since the early 19th century and represents one of the most established historical diaspora groups. On the contrary, emigration from Ethiopia is a fairly recent phenomenon. Ethiopia had a low emigration rate throughout history with most of the emigration movements concentrated in the last thirty years. According to Cohen (2008, 1-20), migrant communities should display a couple of characteristics to qualify as "diasporas". One of the constituting characteristics is a strong group consciousness and an identity which revolves around maintaining contact with the country of origin. When migrant communities are still too recent, as in the case of Ethiopia, it might be difficult to establish whether they actually function as diasporas.

Secondly, the two migrant communities differ greatly by population size. This matters since the greater the size of the diaspora the easier it is for them to organize themselves and contribute to development in their country of origin. The Ethiopian Diaspora community is estimated to be from one to two million people, which is admittedly large in comparison to diasporas from other Sub-African countries but relatively small when compared to the size of the Indian Diaspora. With an estimated 25 million people in 189 countries around the world, Indians abroad

constitute the second largest migrant community in the world (after China) (Castles 2008, 9; MOIA 2010).

The third major difference between the Indian and Ethiopian Diasporas is in the skills composition of the migrants. Although the bulk of migration from India is low skilled, India at the same time represents one of the most important countries of origin for highly skilled migration. In Ethiopia, on the other hand, emigration has been characterized primarily by refugee flows. In the 1970s the majority of refugees were highly skilled; however, this was not the case in the proceeding refugee flows of the 1980s and 1990s. Although the initial refugee emigrants were highly skilled, as refugees they were in a different economic situation than Indian highly skilled labour migrants when arriving in Western countries.

In order to gain insight into the current situation of both diasporas in question, this section will first examine the history of their formation in each country. The section will then move to look at the current geography of each diaspora and conclude with a discussion of the involvement of each diaspora in the country of origin.

2.1 A Brief History of Emigration

In order to understand the Ethiopian Diaspora, it is important to note that it grew out of recent waves of emigration. The first wave occurred prior to the 1970s when there was very little emigration from Ethiopia. It was primarily the elite who went abroad for professional purposes and most returned back to Ethiopia since they were almost guaranteed a very high social position due to their experience abroad (Tasse 2007, 219-229). Political repression that started with the Ethiopian revolution in 1974, together with conflict with Somalia over the Ogaden region and Eritrea's independence movement were the main instigators of refugee flows from Ethiopia that led to the second wave of emigration (Bariagaber 1999, 42).

The third wave of emigration from Ethiopia began in 1982 and lasted until 1991. The bulk of migration in the 1980s consisted of family reunification as people joined the earlier refugee flows. In addition to political oppression, Ethiopia

experienced a national famine in 1984-1985, which induced environmental migration. The totalitarian regime under Mengistu's leadership was overthrown in 1991, which led to the fourth and current wave of emigration. From 1998 till the signing of the peace treaty in 2000, Ethiopia was at war with Eritrea, which once again caused migration flows although to a lesser extent than in previous conflicts. At present, tensions still remain along the border with Eritrea but this is not fuelling further migration.

Currently, refugee flows have significantly declined and people are emigrating primarily for economic purposes. It's important to note, that a mix of low and highly skilled individuals have characterized these historical flows. Initially, it was the highly skilled who were able to migrate to the west; however, as the refugee situation progressed many low skilled Ethiopian refugees were resettled to North America and Europe. Nowadays, it is still both a mixture of the high and low skilled that moves abroad for primarily economic reasons. In general, current migration to the United States, Canada and Europe is characterized primarily by highly skilled migration, whereas emigration to the Middle East is characterized by low skilled migration.

In the case of India, the history of emigration is much longer than in Ethiopia. With early roots in British colonial history, India acted as a source country for migrant labour for centuries. Indian labourers were sent to British colony plantations in the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean, North and South east Asia, Africa and the Pacific to supply labour between the 16th and 18th century (Khadria 2009, 3). Particularly after slavery was abolished, there was a need for large scale labour recruitment in the Atlantic, Pacific and the Indian Oceans and under the 'Kangani System'¹ to destinations in South East Asia (MOIA 2010, 1). These migrants went abroad mainly in the form of indentured workers creating the base of the old Indian diaspora (Khadria et al. 2008, 1-3). It is estimated that between 1834 and 1947, 30 million Indians migrated (Khadria 2009, 3). After WWII, Indian communities dispersed all

¹ Kangani system refers to a method of recruitment, where one of the workers was sent back to India to recruit new men and women, usually from his own region and caste (Rangaswamy 2000, 288)

over the world. India gained its independence in 1947 and with it a complete reorientation towards migration from previous South-South migration to South-North migration. In the 1950s, low skilled migrants went to the United Kingdom, United States and Canada. In the 1960s and 1970s, flows increased to the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada and Europe more generally after Indians were expelled from newly independent African countries (particularly Kenya and Uganda) (Vezzoli and Lacroix 2010, 8-9).²

The second wave of Indian migration to Europe occurred mainly during the European re-construction boom in the late 1960s. The Indian Diaspora that developed from these flows onward is referred to as the "new diaspora". Whereas most migrants moved to the UK, other major destination countries included Germany, The Netherlands, France and Belgium. In the mid 1970s there was also a large flow of low skilled immigration to the Gulf States due to the oil boom attracting emigrants mainly from Kerala and Southern India who returned after the completion of their contracts (Khadria 2009, 3).

The third wave of Indian migration to Europe was in the 1980s, following the restrictive immigration rules of European countries with respect to entry and residence of semi- or unskilled third-country nationals. This changed the dynamics of migration as a continuous stream of highly skilled professionals, such as doctors, engineers and scientists arrived from the Indian sub-continent. In addition, a significant increase in the flow of Indians to the United States is visible from the 1970s onwards. Nowadays, migration consisting mainly of Indian IT software specialists, engineers and health care workers continues to flow to the industrialized countries, while migration to the Middle East is dominated by low skilled labour, in particular construction work, transport orientations, and domestic services (Chanda & Sreenivasan 2006, 217).

² This included the movement of Indians from Surinam to the Netherlands, from East Africa to the UK, from Madagascar, Mauritius and Indo-China to France and from Mozambique and Angola to Portugal.

On the whole, the history of emigration from the observed countries led to the development of two distinct communities, which have different relations with the people remaining in the home country. As opposed to Indian labour migrants, Ethiopians abroad are by large a conflict-generated diaspora, which inhibits their possibilities for transnational activities. Newland and Agunias (GFMD 2007, 8) claim that migrants who are successfully settled in their host country have the best capacity to contribute to development in the country of origin. This view is confirmed by the often-cited example of California's Silicon Valley and the contribution of its entrepreneurs of Indian, Chinese and Taiwanese descent to their countries of origin. For their transnational activities, many of them regularly travel back and forth without any concern for their position in the host country. This is not possible for migrants who came as refugees and are possibly more worried about their position in a host country. At the same time, conflict-driven refugees are also expected to have less trust in the intentions of home country's government and thus, are less willing to engage in transnational activities.

2.2 Current Geography of the Diasporas

This section will present the geographical distribution of Indian and Ethiopian Diasporas. Since diaspora engagement policies address, in particular, those migrants that are in a position to contribute to the development of their countries of origin, we look more in detail at the size of migrant communities in the OECD countries.

As mentioned above, Indians abroad represent one of the largest and most established diasporas around the world. Map 1 below shows the distribution of overseas Indians. It is evident in Map 1 that Indians are dispersed throughout the world with some areas of concentration. The estimates of the High-Level Committee of Indian Diaspora in 2001 found that the total size of the overseas Indian population, including NRIs and PIOs, is most concentrated in the United States as the major receiving country (1,678,765), followed closely by Malaysia (1,665,000) and Saudi Arabia (1,500,000) (Singhvi et al. 2001, xlviii). Other major countries of

destination follow in this order: the UK, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Canada, Mauritius, Trinidad and Tobago, Fiji, Kuwait and Australia.

Given the history of Indian migration, the overseas communities are the result of different waves of migration. Since the 1970s the character of Indian migration began to change and from then on was termed the “new diaspora” as opposed to the Diaspora resulting directly from colonialism. The “new diaspora” consists of people who are moving mainly to North America, Europe, and Australia in pursuit of skilled work and of low-skilled workers moving to the Gulf, West and South East Asia. At present, the bulk of Indian migration is low-skilled in nature with skilled workers representing approximately 20 percent of the total migrant flows from India (D’Sami in Chanda and Sreenivasan 2006, 218).

Given that the bulk of emigration from India is low skilled, it does not come as a surprise, that in the annual labour outflows for 2009 Saudi Arabia is the major receiving country (281,110), followed by the United Arab Emirates (130,302), Oman (74,963), Qatar (46,292) and Kuwait (42,091) (MOIA 2010, 51).

Map 1: Overseas Indians in the World

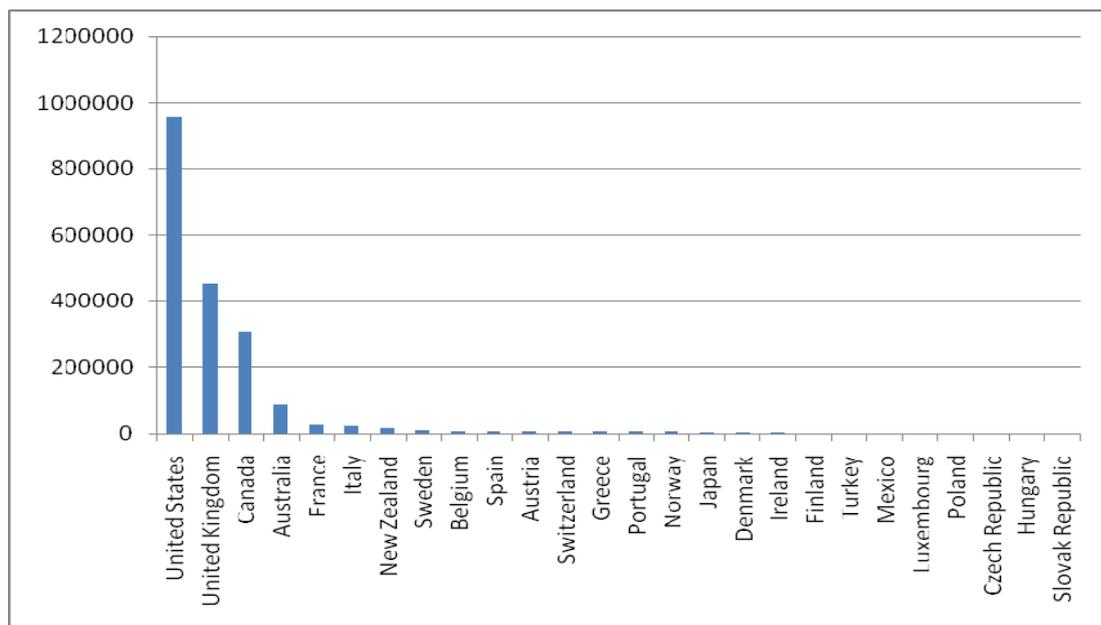


Source: Vezzolli and Lacroix 2010, 9

Among the OECD countries, the Indian Diaspora is mainly concentrated in the United States (Figure 1). According to Desai, Kapur, McHale and Rogers (2007, 5), in the 1960s, only 12,296 Indian-born individuals were residing in the U.S. The Indian-born population grew to 450,406 in 1990 and had reached more than one million by 2000. In 2005, the Indian-born population in the US was close to 1.5 million. Moreover, in 2009, 54,360 persons with their last place of residence in India obtained legal permanent residence in the US, which is close to 5 percent of all the permits issued in that year in the US (US Department of Homeland Security 2010). What is especially notable is that Indians are the most prevalent among the H-1B visa beneficiaries, representing 48 percent of reported beneficiaries for this visa for specialty occupations (USCIS 2010).

The second major country of destination among the OECD countries is the United Kingdom. In fact, the UK accounts for two thirds of the Indian community in the EU, with a diaspora of approximately 1.2 million (Singhvi et al. 2001, 124). A SOPEMI report assessed the stock of Indian migrants for 2008 in the UK to be 570,000 (OECD 2008). The UK has had a large Indian Immigration for a long time, which has recently further increased. In 2002, there were 20,369 Indians migrating to the UK and by 2006 this number has increased to 51,849 Indians annually migrating to the UK (Eurostat data).

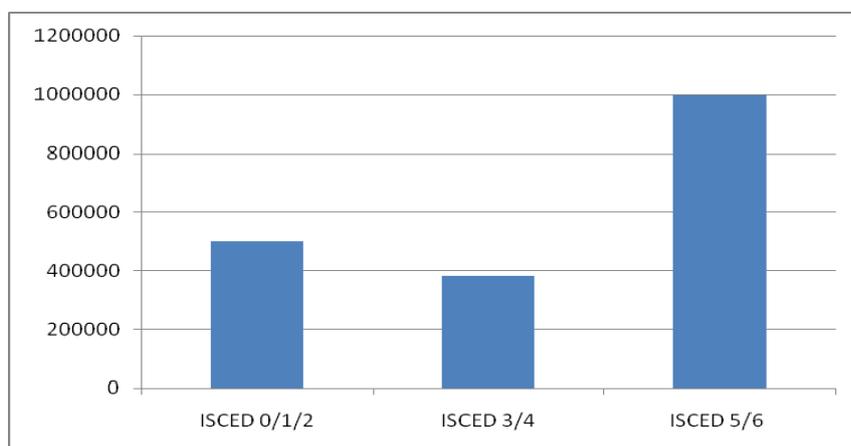
Figure 1: Indian-born Immigrants in OECD Countries



Source: OECD.stat, extracted on September 26, 2010

The majority of the Indian population in OECD countries is highly educated. As indicated in Figure 2, a large share of all immigrants born in India have completed tertiary education.³

Figure 2: Immigrants in OECD Countries born in India, by education

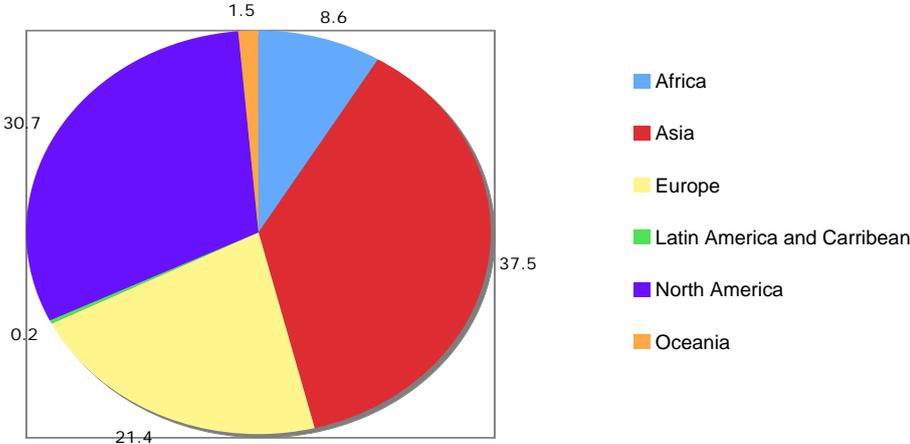


Source: OECD.stat, extracted on September 26, 2010

³ ISCED 0: pre-primary education, ISCED 1: primary education, ISCED 2: lower secondary education, ISCED 3: upper secondary education, ISCED 4: post-secondary non-tertiary level of education, ISCED 5: tertiary type education, ISCED 6: advanced research qualification

Despite the many limitations of the statistics on Ethiopian migration, the most often cited estimates approximate one to two million Ethiopians living abroad. The top ten destination countries for Ethiopians include Sudan, the United States, Israel, Saudi Arabia, Germany, Canada, Sweden, Italy, United Kingdom and the Netherlands (World Bank 2008, 103). The geographic distribution of Ethiopians abroad is presented in Figure 3. The largest concentration is in Asia, followed by North America and Europe.

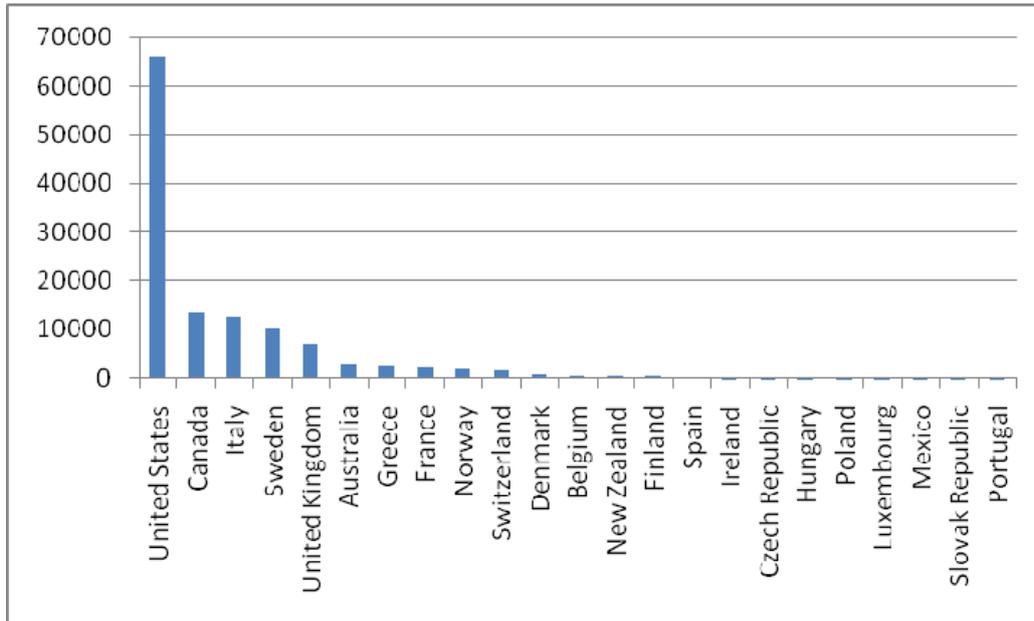
Figure 3: Proportion of Ethiopia's International Migration Stock Residing in the Following Continent (2000-2002)



Source: World Bank, 2008.

The total estimated size of the Ethiopian Diaspora in all OECD countries is 146,100. Figure 4 shows the estimated size of people who were born in Ethiopia and now reside in one of the OECD countries. It is noticeable that they are highly concentrated in the United States, followed by smaller numbers in Canada, Italy, Sweden and the United Kingdom. The United States has been a large recipient of African refugees throughout history. The number of people of Ethiopian origin (including first and subsequent generations) residing in the United States, according to the OECD, is 72,245. Other estimates of the Ethiopian population in the United States include 73,000 Ethiopian-born residents and 460,000 including second and subsequent generations (Lyons 2007, 536).

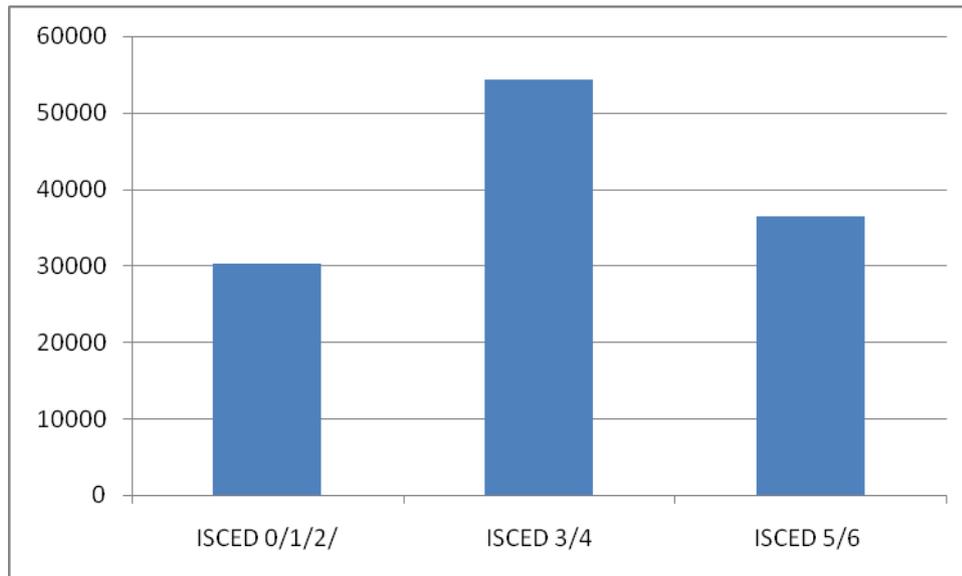
Figure 4: Ethiopia-born Immigrants in OECD Countries



Source: OECD.stat, extracted on September 26, 2010

According to the 2000 Census in the United States (citing the Ethiopian Foreign Born population at 69,530) the majority of the population with Ethiopian origin was not highly educated with only 29.5% having a bachelors degree or higher. This indicates that the majority of the Ethiopian Diaspora in the United States prior to 2000 are low-skilled refugees who most likely came to the United States through resettlement programmes. Taking into account the high concentration of Ethiopian migrants in the US, the figures at the OECD level show a very similar picture with respect to educational representation (See Figure 5). As opposed to persons born in India among whom more than a half has tertiary education, only 29.2% of migrants born in Ethiopia belong to the same educational group.

Figure 5: Immigrants in OECD Countries Born in Ethiopia, by Education



Source: OECD.stat, extracted on September 26, 2010

It is evident that the Indian and Ethiopian Diaspora take different forms. As mentioned previously, India has a much longer history of emigration, a much larger diaspora, and a higher educated diaspora. This situation is particularly pronounced in the United States, which has the largest population of the Indian and the Ethiopian Diasporas in the world. These differences result in different capacities of the Diasporas for being able to engage in their states diaspora policies. Understanding this capacity is essential to implementing policies that will be effective. This topic will be further examined in the final section of the paper that examines the policy effectiveness of the states diaspora engagement policies.

3. Institutions

This section will provide an overview of the different institutions and policies that India and Ethiopia have established to engage their diaspora. Institutions can be divided into three different categories based upon their purpose. The first type of institution is those that are established for general diaspora engagement. This would include institutions that provide information to the diaspora, that liaise with them, and seek to gain knowledge from the diaspora, but do not seek to gain any financial investments from them. The second type of institution is those that are established to facilitate trade and investment into the country of origin. This would include investment banks, trading institutions, and associations devoted to promoting investment and trade from the diaspora. The third type of institutions is those devoted to protecting the rights of the diaspora. This type of institution generally provides services for low skilled migrant workers abroad. This would include organizations devoted to promoting migrant's rights, dealing with other government and consulates to protect migrant's rights abroad, and providing migrants with information on their rights.

Table 1 and Table 2 present an overview of India's and Ethiopia's Institutions that have been established to engage the diaspora. There are several evident differences within the institutional approach established in India and Ethiopia. First, India has established the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA) devoted to the diaspora that coordinates all diaspora engagement activities across all three-engagement areas of general engagement, facilitation of trade and investment, and protection of migrant's rights abroad. All of India's more specific institutions operate through MOIA, which provides central coordination for all policies, developments, and institutions related to the diaspora. Ethiopia, on the other hand, does not have a diaspora institution that operates at the Ministerial level. The highest institution in Ethiopia for Diaspora engagement is at the sub-ministerial level: the Ethiopian

Expatriate Affairs General Directorate as part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Thus, the institutional importance in Ethiopia is less than in India.

3.1 General Diaspora Engagements

In terms of general diaspora engagement activities, India has several institutions with differing roles coordinated under MOIA, whereas in Ethiopia this is coordinated through either the Diaspora Coordinating Office of the Ministry of Interior or the Ethiopian Expatriate Affairs General Directorate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Diaspora Coordinating Office is charged with mobilizing and coordinating support from overseas, organizations and individuals for transferring knowledge and technology to bring a meaningful and sizable impact to the economic development of Ethiopia. These functions are similar to those of the Diaspora Services Division of the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs, which runs several schemes related to overseas Indians, ranging from establishing networks to engaging the diaspora in development efforts and other types of initiatives. India also has some additional institutions for diaspora engagement, namely the Global Advisory Council at the Prime Minister's Office, the India Development Foundation of Overseas Indians (IFC) and the Global Indian Network of Knowledge. The Global Advisory Council meets twice a year to draw upon the experience and knowledge of eminent people of Indian origin in diverse fields from across the world. The IFC encourages and facilitates philanthropy from the Indian Diaspora and the Network of Knowledge provides an ICT interface to facilitate knowledge exchange and interaction among the diaspora. Both of these concepts require a highly educated and well-off diaspora in order to be successful.

In India, the engagement with the diaspora is then carried out through the Overseas India Centers (OIC) located in Washington, Abu Dhabi, and Kuala Lumpur. These offices network, organize events, provide assistance, and provide consular services to the diaspora at a more sophisticated level than the services provided in embassies. Indian embassies continue to provide support to the diaspora in countries that do not have an OIC. This role is similar to the service desks for

Diaspora Services that are located in 13 Ethiopian embassies. The goal of these desks is to adapt the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' general plan on engagement of the diaspora to the specific local context, to provide updated information on Ethiopia, to organize research on the specific communities where they are working and to inform the diaspora about their rights and privileges set up by the government (Belai, 2007, 40). As an example, the Ethiopian Embassy in Ottawa achieves this mission through hosting events to share information regarding diaspora policies and investment opportunities with diaspora members (personal communication, 2010).

3.2 Institutions for Trade and Investment Facilitation

India and Ethiopia have a similar objective for the institutions that seek to facilitate trade and investment. Both countries have sought to generate a 'one-stop-shop' for diaspora investment, which are the Overseas Indian Facilitation Centre (OIFC) and the Ethiopian Investment Agency (EIA). However, the OIFC is solely devoted to diaspora investment whereas the EIA handles all investment in Ethiopia. The OIFC offers several services for investors, entrepreneurs looking for investors, and consultants seeking opportunities in India. The OIFC disseminates information through a monthly newsletter (IndiaConnect) on the current investment trends in India, an investor's guide, an annual India Economic Summit as well as other events, and they facilitate online groups for Diaspora to join to share knowledge on investing in India. In addition, they have in-depth fact files highlighting five key sectors for investment in India: education, energy and environments, health care, infrastructure and ICT. Finally, the website of the OIFC provides live help chat, frequently asked questions for diaspora investors, and an 'ask-the-expert' section⁴.

The EIA seeks to promote foreign direct investment in Ethiopia. They are responsible for all investment activities in Ethiopia from bi-lateral cooperation with other states, to providing assistance to individual investors. There is no section of the website directed to the diaspora and there is no diaspora investment specific

⁴ See www.oifc.in Accessed 4 November 2010

information available⁵. Embassies provide support to the EIA by working with the diaspora members to encourage and inform them about investment opportunities in Ethiopia. For instance, the Ethiopian Embassy in Ottawa is working with the Ethiopian Canadian Development Council to host a Forum to provide information on investment opportunities in Ethiopia (personal communication, 2010).

Although Ethiopia has also developed a one-stop shop for investment purposes, the lack of focus on the diaspora makes the special opportunities for investment confusing. In addition, the level of support provided to Ethiopian Diaspora investors is far less than the multiple elements of support offered to Indian Diaspora members through the OIFC.

3.3 Protection of Overseas Workers

Finally, within the category of protection of migrant workers abroad, India's institutions are far more advanced than Ethiopia's. To prevent malpractices in receiving countries, several institutions were set up for better protection and welfare of Indian workers. Empowerment and protection of emigrants is the overarching task of the second division of the Ministry: The Emigration Policy Division. The Emigration Policy Division was established in March 2006 to deal with legislative reforms for improving emigration management.

Furthermore, the Indian Council of Overseas Employment has a mandate to promote overseas employment and to serve as a think tank to advise the government on interventions for better protection and welfare of overseas Indian workers⁶. India has gone further to protect their emigrants abroad by establishing 'on site' welfare services for emigrants in 42 countries (including Middle Eastern, European and North American countries). The Overseas Workers Resource Centre (OWRC) compliments this service by providing information through a telephone help-line for any kind of questions or complaints from emigrants regarding employment

⁵ See www.ethioinvest.org Accessed 4 November 2010

⁶ See <http://moia.gov.in/services.aspx?id1=75&id=m1&idp=75&mainid=73>, accessed on August 10, 2010.

and recruitment agencies. These initiatives take protection to the emigrants in the country of migration where the Indian government continues to serve its citizens. In addition, a Migrant Resource Centre has been established in Kochi, Kerala, which is the most important Indian state in terms of emigrant population size. More supervision over recruitment agencies is undertaken by the Protector General of Emigrants who is responsible for granting registration certificates to the agencies as well as for cancelling and revoking them in case they do not comply with the agreed conditions.

Officially, the Employment Service Promotion Directorate of the Ethiopian Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MOLSA) is supposed to perform a similar role. Over the past few years MOLSA has worked to establish protocols and practices for registered Private Employment Agencies that adhere to MOLSA's code of conduct and are able to legally recruit and place Ethiopians abroad. In addition to providing the permits for these legal agencies, MOLSA provides a short orientation to Ethiopians recruited to work overseas (personal communication, 2010). However, due to capacity challenges, the Employment Service Promotion Directorate in Ethiopia is not an institution that can effectively promote and safeguard emigrant's rights once they leave Ethiopia.

Table 1: India's Diaspora Engagement Institutions

Institution	Type of Institution	Level of Government	Vision/ Mandate	Main Activities	Year
INDIA					
Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA)	<i>Diaspora Engagement/ Protection of Workers Abroad/ Facilitation of Trade and Investment</i>	Ministry	To connect Indians abroad with India.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - legislative reform - regulatory reforms - process reforms - international cooperation 	2004
The India Development Foundation of Overseas Indians (IFC)	<i>Diaspora Engagement</i>	Trust under MOIA	Assist overseas Indians to Contribute to Indian Philanthropy and channel philanthropy to poverty alleviation and development.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - encourage and facilitate Diaspora philanthropy 	
The Global Indian Network of Knowledge		Cooperation between MOIA and Tata Consultancy	Catalyze Diaspora ability and willingness into well thought out programmes for development, and transform individual initiatives into community action.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establishment an ICT interface - facilitate knowledge exchange and interaction 	
The Overseas Indian Centers (OIC)	<i>Protection of Workers Abroad</i>	Embassies: Washington, Abu Dhabi, Kuala Lumpur	Provide Field information to Indians Overseas.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Networking with Indian associations - Organize events - Provide legal and medical assistance - Carry out field studies - Carry out consular services 	
The Indian Council of Overseas Employment (ICOE)		Established by MOIA, functions as independent 'think-tank'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Promotion of overseas employment - Better protection and welfare of overseas Indian workers - Study of emerging overseas employment opportunities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - creating awareness about the growing international market needs, - conducting market research, - identifying employment opportunities in the international labour market, - devising strategies to 	2008

				<p>respond to the market dynamics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - helping emigrants to reap the demographic dividends of globalization 	
<p>The Global Advisory Council at the Prime Minister's Office</p>	<p><i>Facilitation of Trade and Investment</i></p>	<p>Special Council under MOIA</p>	<p>Advise Government on how to facilitate a dynamic two-way engagement between stakeholders in India and the Overseas Indian community.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - promotion of business-to-business partnerships - accessing knowledge of the Indian Diaspora - knowledge transfer and capacity building 	<p>2009</p>
<p>Overseas Indian Facilitation Centre (OIFC)</p>		<p>Not-for-profit public private initiative between the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA) and Confederation of Indian Industry (CII)</p>	<p>To be a 'one-stop-shop' for Global Indians to facilitate investment into India</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - provide services and information for investing in India 	<p>2007</p>

Table 2: Ethiopia's Diaspora Engagement Institutions

Institution	Type of Institution	Level of Government	Vision/ Mandate	Main Activities	Year
<i>Ethiopia</i>					
Ethiopian Expatriate Affairs	<i>Diaspora Engagement/ Facilitation of Trade and Investment</i>	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Fostering the relationship with migrant communities abroad and encouraging them to participate in activities in Ethiopia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - serve as a liaison between the different Ministries and Ethiopians abroad, - encourage the active involvement of Ethiopian expatriates in socio-economic activities of Ethiopia, - safeguard the rights and privileges of Ethiopians abroad and - mobilizes the Ethiopian community abroad for sustained and organized image building 	2002
Diaspora Coordinating Office	<i>Diaspora Engagement</i>	Ministry of Interior	To fully mobilize and utilize diaspora resources and facilitate optimal brain gain and capacity building for poverty alleviation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Maintain database on Diaspora skills - Maintain database on skills needed in Ethiopia - Coordinate Knowledge Transfer Programs for Capacity Building 	2005
Employment Service Promotion Directorate	<i>Protection of Migrant Workers Abroad</i>	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs	To assist in the protection of Ethiopian migrant workers abroad, to assist Ethiopians in accessing employment locally and abroad, to	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Collects & compiles labour market information - Issues/renews work permit and work permit clearances to foreign 	

			formulate policies to protect the rights of migrant workers and to facilitate legal migration	nationals & Ethiopian nationals - Undertakes studies on foreign employment opportunities for Ethiopians - Issues license to private employment agencies & monitors its proper implementation - Undertakes follow-up activities on the rights & dignities of Ethiopians employed abroad.	
The Ethiopian Investment Agency (EIA)	<i>Facilitation of Trade and Investment</i>	Ministry of Trade and Industry	Handles all foreign investments, offers both pre and post-investment services to investors and is a liaison with other relevant agencies	- all encompassing support system that ensures all practical aspects are taken care of for investments, from making sure permits and licenses are obtained to helping get access to electricity and water	

4. Policies

The policies in this section have been divided into three categories based on Gamlen's (2006, 6) typology for three types of government engagement policy. The first type is capacity building policies, which generally have two aims: (1) to produce a state-centric 'transnational national society' and (2) to develop a set of corresponding state institutions. These policies aim to create communal belonging among expatriate members. Capacity building policies include: programmes to teach national language and history amongst the diaspora populations, state held conferences and conventions and the promotion of national symbols to stimulate

common identity. Institutional building policies have a further objective to 'govern' diaspora populations. Institutional building policies generally begin with steps to monitor the diaspora population. Specific institutional building policies include: establishing consular and consultative policies, building transnational networks, monitoring efforts, establishing a dedicated bureaucracy, and establishing a ministerial level agency dedicated to the diaspora.

The second type of diaspora engagement policy in Gamlen's typology is extending rights to the diaspora. This includes the political incorporation of the Diaspora and establishing specific civil and social rights for the diaspora. Policies that extend political incorporation rights include: dual nationality, special membership concessions, embassy voting, postal voting, parliamentary representation, and the ability to run for office. Policies that extend civil and social rights include welfare protection and tourism services.

The final type of diaspora engagement policy is extracting obligations from the diaspora. This includes both investment policies and lobby promotion. Specific investment policies include: mandatory payments to the government, the establishment of special economic zones, remittances and FDI capture, and knowledge transfer programmes. Lobby promotion occurs when the home states 'seek the help of expatriate 'lobbyists' to promote involvement, investment, and relationships with corporate actors (Gamlen 2006, 18). Several of the mentioned policies have more aims and could fall under more than just one category. Especially policies which extend rights to the diaspora often also aim at creating collective identity of its members. Bearing this in mind, each of these categories will be further examined below referring to the main stated goals of the policies. Table 7 and Table 8 provide an overview of India's and Ethiopia's diaspora engagement policies based on the described typology.

4.1 Capacity Building

In the category of capacity building India and Ethiopia have taken similar approaches. Both countries have organized days when they celebrate the

achievements of their respective diasporas. India has created the Pravasi Bharatiya Divas conventions, which stand for a Day of Non-resident Indians. Every 9 January since its inception in 2003, Indian officials gather with diaspora representatives to honour high-profile Indians for their exceptional achievements. The prestigious Pravasi Bharatiya Samman Award is conferred by the President of India on an individual or an institution run by an NRI or PIO. These conventions are also useful for networking among overseas Indians and an opportunity for migrants to express their concerns.

In 2009, the Ministry of Expatriate Affairs hosted the first 'Ethiopian Diaspora Day' in Addis Ababa. The day occurred during the holiday period in 2009 when many members of the diaspora were returning to Ethiopia. The Government established the day to create linkages with the diaspora and to inform them of the government's current initiatives for diaspora investment opportunities and other policies. The objective of the Ethiopian government is to continue the Diaspora Day in Addis Ababa and to expand it to other countries. The day is not as established as the diaspora conferences and conventions in countries such as India or Lebanon, but provides a strong example of the Government of Ethiopia working to create ties with the transnational Ethiopians.

The Government of Ethiopia has also focused on information dissemination through government publications, embassies and consulates (as detailed in the previous section of this paper) and the support for satellite broadcasting of Ethiopian television. A similar objective for India is followed by the official e-zine of MOIA, which provides up-to-date information on ministry's activities and achievements.

Both of these capacity building measures seek to create linkages with the diaspora and provide opportunities for networking. The approach of India honours the diaspora members with recognition and a celebration of the accomplishments. The event is much bigger, has been in practice for longer, and is more high profile with the Prime Minister playing a leading role. This is perhaps one policy that

Ethiopia could adopt from India to show appreciation and give recognition to the accomplishments of the diaspora.

4.2 Extending Rights

The implementation of policies under the category of extending rights has been the focal area of the Government of India's policies, whereas the Ethiopian Government currently only has one policy in effect in this area. This suggests a fundamental difference in the approach to the Diaspora, as the Indian Government has invested in building a two way relationship with the Diaspora, whereas the Ethiopian Governments policies are more heavily concentrated in the next category of extracting obligations.

The Overseas Citizenship of India (OCI) and the Ethiopian Origin Identity Card, known as the Yellow Card, are very similar policies. In fact, the Yellow Card was modelled after the OCI as a recommendation from an Indian consultant working with the Ethiopian government to establish their Diaspora policies. Both of these policies are new with the OCI entering into force in 2006 and the Yellow Card coming into effect in 2005. Neither country allows for dual citizenship, as it is not a favourable political option due to concerns with border populations (in India with Pakistan and Bhutan, and in Ethiopia with Somalia and Eritrea). Thus, a quasi-form of citizenship was established with the identity cards. In both countries, holders of the identity cards are not allowed to vote or to be elected into public office. In India, descendants of Indian migrants up to four generations are eligible for OCI. Overall, in both countries the citizenship cards have granted diaspora members significant rights. In Ethiopia, the Yellow Card has allowed Diaspora members to be viewed as local investors, which grants them significantly more access to invest in the country as there are different laws for foreign and local investors in Ethiopia. In India, it has granted registered Overseas Citizen of India to general 'parity with Non-Resident Indians in respect of all facilities available to them in economic, financial and educational fields except in matters relating to the acquisition of agricultural or plantation properties' (MOIA 2010). They enjoy some further privileges such as

access to local air fares, local national park tariffs, and inter-country adoptions. Considering the difference in the population size of respective diasporas, the take-up rate for the OCI has thus far exceeded that of the Yellow Card with 552,355 OCIs distributed by February 2010 and approximately 21,000 Yellow Cards distributed by 2010.

The Indian Government's policies in the category of extending rights continue far beyond the OCI. The policies in the category of extending rights appear to have two primary goals: the first is the protection of the Indian Diaspora abroad; and the second is to assist NRIs and PIOs to connect with their cultural roots and heritage in India. Under the first category of protecting the Indian Diaspora abroad, the Protector General of Emigration is charged with protecting the rights of emigrants abroad. Thus, emigration is a managed and monitored process for citizens hired through recruiting companies wherein the "case of unskilled worker, farm worker and women emigrant, Employment agreement attested by Indian Embassy is mandatory" (MOIA 2010). There is a list of requirements that must be adhered to by the recruiting company in order for the contract to be approved and the citizen to receive clearance⁷. This is a progressive step taken by India in a manner similar to the Philippines to seek to protect emigrant workers. India has also established overseas worker resource centres in India to provide information to citizens seeking to emigrate.

The second distinct initiative of the Indian government is the cultural programmes that provide opportunities to PIOs to learn about India, trace their roots, and study in India. The Know India Programme is similar to schemes offered in Israel that encourage second-generation youth to connect with their homeland. The PIO Universities will provide opportunities to benefit children of Overseas Indians. The first such university has already gotten the approval of the Cabinet and will be set up in Bangalore.

⁷ See www.mois.gov.in Accessed 4 November 2010

In pursuit of transparent and effective migration management, the Indian government has also signed a number of agreements for bilateral cooperation with the most important countries of destination, such as Qatar, UAE, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. In addition to labour agreements, India is also pursuing signatures of social security agreements which improve the position of expatriate workers by providing social security coordination between the two countries. The first bilateral social security agreement was concluded with Belgium in 2006, followed by agreements with The Netherlands, Germany, France, Luxembourg, Denmark, Hungary, Czech Republic, and Switzerland.

These programmes highlight the degree of advancement of the Indian government's diaspora engagement policies when compared with Ethiopia. Ethiopia does not have the capacity to provide such a degree of protection to its emigrants, even though emigration to the Middle East and abuse of Ethiopian women is an increasingly salient issue. In addition, Ethiopia does not have the educational capacity to provide for all Ethiopian citizens, let alone to provide opportunities to Ethiopians born abroad. The country of Ethiopia must be further developed before it would be able to offer such rights to emigrants. This suggests that Indian emigrants may be able to receive better working conditions than Ethiopian emigrants in the Middle East in the future as India further develops and enforces its emigration protection policies.

4.3 Extracting obligations

Table 4 illustrates that the majority of Ethiopia's diaspora engagement policies have focused on this final category of extracting obligations. Ethiopia and India have similar policies in this category in regards to bank accounts/ deposit schemes, and diaspora bonds. Both countries have remittance service provisions, but these take different forms.

The deposit schemes for overseas Indians were one of the first diaspora engagement policies implemented by the Indian government. Since the 1970s, a number of schemes enabled NRIs to open deposit accounts exclusively created for

NRIs. At the time, the motivation for the accounts was that India was in great need of foreign currency. The incentives included high interest rates for deposits in foreign currency and exchange rate guarantees for foreign currency accounts. The accounts facilitated the repatriation of deposits; the exemption of income and wealth tax for deposits and there was no ceiling on the amounts deposited. However, there has now been a shift with respect to NRI deposits policies: exchange guarantee schemes have been withdrawn, the interest rates have been aligned to those of the international rate of relevant currencies, and the interest rates on rupee deposits with domestic interest rates and the ceiling on the amounts has been lowered. Finally, the income from interests on NRI deposits is now taxed. Several reasons underlie this shift, but the primary reason is that the NRI deposits started to be viewed as contributing to external debt (Kumar Varma & Sasikumar 2005, 329).

The NRI deposits still exist with multiple options, such as foreign currency accounts or rupee accounts, which are similar to Ethiopia with the option for foreign currency accounts or Birr accounts. Both countries also have the option for a current account, which functions essentially as a chequing account, or for a fixed account, which is a savings account for a fixed time period. A fixed account in India is for a minimum of one year, whereas in Ethiopia the time is a minimum of three months. In Ethiopia, however, there is also a minimum of USD 5000 deposit for a fixed account. By 2009, approximately 1,000 accounts had been opened in Ethiopia, whereas in March 2010 India had USD 14.3 million in foreign currency denominated accounts, and USD 33.6 million in rupee denominated accounts.

Both India and Ethiopia have also been two of the few countries to offer Diaspora Bonds. A Diaspora Bond can be defined as *"a debt instrument issued by a country – or potentially, a sub-sovereign entity or a private corporation – to raise financing from its overseas Diaspora"* (Ketkar and Ratha 2007, i). The concept originated from Israel in the 1950s and has been actively used by India in the 1990s. Table 5 provides an overview of the three different Diaspora Bonds offered by India. The Ethiopian Diaspora Bond was issued by the state-owned power utility company

Ethiopian Electric Power Corporation (EEPSCO) (Negash 2009, 1). The bond is known as the Millennium Bond and is a corporate bond underwritten by the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia (Ethiopian Embassy UK 2009).

Table 5: India’s Diaspora Bonds Overview

Bond Type	Amount	Year	Maturity	Minimum	Coupon
India Development Bond	\$1.6 bn	1991	5 years	Not available	
USD					9.50%
GBP					13.25%
Resurgent India Bond	\$4.2 bn	1998	5 years		
USD				2,000*	7.75%
GBP				1,000**	8.00%
DM				3,000*	8.25%
India Millennium Deposits	\$5.5 bn	2000	5 years		
USD				2,000*	8.50%
GBP				2,000*	7.85%
EUR				2,000*	6.85%

* plus multiples of 1,000; ** plus multiples of 500

Source: Ketkar and Ratha 2007, 9 from State Bank of India

Diaspora Bonds present another avenue to attract foreign investment in the country of origin. A key benefit of Diaspora Bonds is that they are rooted in patriotism and as such when a country destabilizes the investments are more likely to remain (Ketkar and Ratha 2007, 3). India has only issued Diaspora Bonds in times when the country needs further investment. Ratha and Ketkar (2009) suggest that Ethiopia has the potential to save USD 1.6 billion from Diaspora Bonds. By June 2009, the Millennium Bond had raised USD 200,000, which was less than expected, whereas India has made of USD 11 billion from its Diaspora Bonds (Terrazas 2010, 16).

Finally, remittances are commonly viewed as the greatest contribution towards economic development from the Diaspora. In India, the amount of remittances has increased three-fold from 15.8 billion USD in 2001-2002 to 46.9 billion in 2008-2009 (MOIA 2010). Remittances also increased considerably in the early 1990s due to economic reforms which instituted a liberalized exchange rate

regime and current account convertibility (Kumar Varma & Sasikumar 2005, 328-329). Due to these changes, most remittances were now channelled through formal routes. In addition, the money transfer service schemes have been introduced to make the transfer of remittances faster and easier. This scheme links the money transfer companies abroad with agents in India, which then give funds to recipients at current exchange rates (Kumar Varma & Sasikumar 2005, 331). Chishti (2007, 1) ascribes such increase to the reduced use of informal channels, greater competition among money transfer organizations, the change in the earnings composition of Indian migrants and to the general improvement of the Indian economy.

In Ethiopia, remittances have also increased; however, the flows are much smaller than in India, as shown in Table 6. Remittance values in Ethiopia are not only low compared to India, but at USD 4 per person, this is also low compared to the Sub-Saharan Africa average of USD 26 per person (UNDP 2009). Unofficial flows, however, are not included in this number and could account for up to 50-60% more.

Table 6: Remittance Figures in India and Ethiopia in 2007

	<i>India</i>	<i>Ethiopia</i>
Remittance Inflows (USD millions)	35, 262	359
Remittances Per Capita (USD)	30	4
Remittances as percentage of net ODA receipts	2,716.2	14.8
Remittances as percentage of GDP	3.1	2.0
Ratio of Remittances to FDI	1.5	1.6

Source: UNDP Human Development Report, 2009

Both India and Ethiopia have sought to provide facilities for remittances, but have taken different approaches. Ethiopia has worked to formalize remittance sending and to make formal remittance channels transparent by regulating rates and

service providers. India, on the other hand, has made remittance sending tax free and legal without permission from the Reserve Bank of India for amounts of up to USD 1 million per year.

Table 7: Diaspora Engagement Policies of the Government of India

Policy	Category	Objective	Description	Take-Up Rate
Pravasi Bharatiya Divas conventions	<i>Capacity Building</i>	To mark the contribution of Overseas Indian community in the development of India	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Indian officials gather with diaspora representatives to honour high-profile Indians for their exceptional achievements 	
Indian Community Welfare Fund	<i>Extending Rights</i>	Aimed at providing 'on site' welfare services to Indians in need	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 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 overseas 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. 	Currently administered in 42 countries
Know India Programme		Three-week orientation programme for diaspora youth conducted with a view to promote awareness on different facets of life in India and the progress made by the country in various fields.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - PIOs in the age group of 18-26 years, are selected based on recommendations received from Heads of Indian Missions/Posts abroad - Selected participants are provided with full hospitality in India during the duration of the programme - 90% (ninety percent) of the total cost of air ticket (at lowest economy excursion fare) is refundable to the participants on successful completion of the programme by them 	400 participants to date ⁸
Tracing the Roots		Ministry assists PIOs to trace their roots in India	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The details of the roots in India (where traceable) i.e. name of close surviving relatives, details of the place of origin of their forefathers (paternal and maternal side) 	4 roots have been traced to date
Scholarship Programme for Diaspora Children		To make higher education in India accessible to the children of overseas Indians and promote India as a centre for higher studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 100 PIO/NRI students are awarded scholarship of up to US\$ 3,600 per annum for undergraduate courses in Engineering, Technology, Humanities, Liberal Arts, Commerce, Management, Journalism, Hotel Management, Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and some other courses 	
The Overseas Citizenship of India (OIC)		To provide rights to Indians who are no longer residents.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The OCI status entitles its holders a lifelong, multiple entry visa for multiple purposes to India and exempts them from registration with Foreigners Regional Registration Office for any length of stay in India - entitled to general 'parity with Non-Resident Indians in respect of all facilities available to them in economic, financial and educational fields except in matters relating to the acquisition of agricultural or plantation properties' - Does not permitting voting rights or to hold public office 	By Feb 2010, 552 355 people had registered for OICs

⁸ <http://knowindiaprogram.com/aboutus.html>

PIO University		The Ministry is in the process of setting up a PIO/NRI University for the benefit of children of Overseas Indians	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The University is to be accorded the status of "Deemed University" de-novo under Section 3 of the UGC Act. - The University would be set up by Manipal Academy of Higher Education Trust (MAHET), Manipal at Bangalore, Karnataka. - The board held two meetings and has approved, in principle, the DPR submitted by the MAHET. 	
Overseas Workers Resource Centre		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Information dissemination on matters related to emigration - Registering, responding to and monitoring complaints received from emigrant workers or prospective emigrants. - Grievance redress and follow up with the stakeholders. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Operating a 24x7 helpline to provide need based information to emigrants and their families through a toll free number. - The complaints or grievances received on the helpline are promptly attended to, and feedback provided to the complainant. - The helpline numbers are disseminated as a part of the multimedia awareness campaign organized by the Ministry. 	
Protector General of Emigration		To provide protection to Indian emigrants going abroad.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Monitors and provides emigration clearance. Emigration clearance means that all rules have been adhered to. - Registering authority to issue Registration Certificate to the Recruiting Agents for overseas manpower exporting business - Provides guideline for direct recruitment from foreign companies - Provides guidelines for the security of workers in Afghanistan - Provides grievance redress against recruiting agents 	
Tax Incentives for NRIs	<i>Extracting Obligations</i>	Specific tax breaks are given to NRIs.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Income tax exemption on NRE accounts - Foreign income is not taxed 	
Remittance Facilities		To ease the process of sending money for NRIs and PIOs abroad	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Remittance of capital assets in India held by a person whether resident in or outside India would require approval of the Reserve Bank except to the extent provided in FEMA or Rules or Regulations made there under. - NRI/PIO can remit US\$ one million per year 	
Deposit Schemes for Overseas Indians		Provide investment and capital market development.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Various forms of accounts available to NRIs - Foreign accounts and local currency accounts available as current accounts (which can be joint accounts), or fixed term deposit accounts - Foreign accounts available in Pound Sterling, US Dollar, Jap Yen, Euro, Canadian and Australian Dollar 	US\$ 14.3 million in foreign currency denominated accounts and US\$ 33.6 million in rupee-denominated accounts as of March 2010

Diaspora Bonds		To fund current account imbalances at times when other international investors had lost confidence in Indian sovereign debt. ⁹	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Issued in 1991, 1998, and 2000 - Fixed Rate Bonds - Five year maturity - Issued by State Bank of India 	Raised over US\$ 11 billion.
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⁹ Terrazas, A. (2010). "Diaspora Investment in Developing and Emerging Country Capital Markets: Patterns and Prospects". *Migration Policy Institute*. Washington, DC. Accessed online at: www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/diasporas-markets.pdf Retrieved: 8 August 2010.

Table 9: Diaspora Engagement Policies of the Government of Ethiopia

Policy	Category	Objective	Description	Take-Up Rate
Information Dissemination	<i>Capacity Building</i>	To create linkages with the Diaspora and to inform the Diaspora of the government's current initiatives for Diaspora investment opportunities and other policies.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Diaspora Day held annually in Addis Ababa during the Holiday Season - produced an information booklet for Ethiopians and Foreign Nationals of Ethiopian Origin Living Abroad and an Ethiopian Investment Guide - supported the launch of Ethiopian Television to Satellite 	
Ethiopian Origin Identity Card (Yellow Card)	<i>Extending Rights</i>	Provide rights to Ethiopian Diaspora Members while not granting Dual Citizenship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Allows for all rights of citizenship except the right to vote, be elected to public office, and work for the National Defence, Security, Foreign Affairs, or other similar establishment on a regular basis - Costs US\$ 500 for the first 5 years and US\$ 200 for every 2 years thereafter 	21,000 in early 2010
Return Incentives		Permitted individuals returning to Ethiopia permanently to import their personal and household effects 100% duty free	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In 2006 the provision was lifted as the government suspected that vehicles were being signed over to third parties without paying duty, which violated the law 	
Investment and Import Incentives	<i>Extracting Obligations</i>	Make investment in Ethiopia more attractive to the Diaspora.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Defined a Domestic Investor to be inclusive of foreign nationals who are Ethiopian by birth, which allows the members of the Diaspora to be treated as domestic investors, who have significantly different rights than foreign investors in Ethiopia - Incentives for Domestic investors include custom import duty exemptions and income tax holidays 	Approximately 10% of domestic investment in the last decade has been from diaspora members and 90% of this investment is in Addis Ababa ¹⁰ .
Foreign Currency Bank Accounts		To encourage investment from the Diaspora and to "support the international foreign exchange reserve and ease the balance of payments problem of the country".	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Fixed (time deposit) account</i>- takes the form of a deposit certificate, issued in the name of the depositor where the maturity period of the deposit can vary based on agreements with the bank; however, the minimum maturity period is three months. The minimum deposit required to open this account is US\$ 5,000. - <i>Current account</i>- acts in the same fashion as a regular bank account wherein deposits or withdrawals can be made at any time. The minimum deposit to open this type of account is US\$ 100 and an individual can only open one <i>current account</i> at one bank. - <i>Non-repatriable Birr account</i>- a savings deposit 	By 2009, approximately 1,000 Foreign Current Bank Accounts had been opened ¹¹ .

¹⁰ Chacko, E., and Gebre, P. (2009). "Diaspora Investments, Motivations, and Challenges: The Case of Ethiopia." *World Bank International Conference on Diaspora and Development*. 13-14 July 2009, Washington D.C.

¹¹ Teshome, M. (2009). "Low Remittance Spurs Ministry On". *Addis Fortune*. Accessed online at: www.addisfortune.com/LowRemittanceSpursMinistryOn.htm Retrieved: 25 June 2010.

			that can only be used for the purpose of local payments, where the interest is double of the minimum savings deposit rate set by the National Bank of Ethiopia.	
Provisions for International Remittance Services		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "To improve the operations of the formal remittance service in Ethiopia - To reduce the costs of remittance transfer system in Ethiopia - To increase access of international remittance service for Nationals and make the service reliable, fast and safe." 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establishes regulations around rates and remittance service providers - Rates of different providers (for sending remittances to the National Bank of Ethiopia) are available on the website of the National Bank of Ethiopia 	
Diaspora Bond		To provide investment capital for the Ethiopian Electric Power Corporation (EPCO)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The minimum amount is US \$500, and the interest rates are 4%, 4.5 % and 5% for five, seven, and ten years maturity - The bonds are tax-free in Ethiopia, and interest is paid annually - The bond can also be used as collateral for borrowing from local banks in local currency 	By June 2009, the Millennium Bond had raised US \$200,000 ¹²
Transfer of Knowledge and Skills Programme		For skilled members of the Diaspora to temporarily return to Ethiopia for a period, preferably, of six months or more to provide support to Ministries and public institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The International Organisation for Migration (IOM), in cooperation with the Diaspora Coordinating Office of the Ministry of Interior, administers the programme - Ethiopian Embassy's recruit members of the Diaspora - Ministry of Interior assesses needs for skilled workers in Ethiopia - The IOM in Ethiopia who coordinates the linkages and logistics 	

¹² Terrazas, A. (2010). "Diaspora Investment in Developing and Emerging Country Capital Markets: Patterns and Prospects". *Migration Policy Institute*. Washington, DC. Accessed online at: www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/diasporas-markets.pdf Retrieved: 8 August 2010.

5. Policy Effectiveness

Policy effectiveness often presents a challenge and this is furthered when addressing such large goals as the effectiveness of states diaspora engagement policies. Agunias states two reasons why it is difficult to assess the effectiveness of diaspora institutions and their impact on development as: 1) few evaluations have been completed on these policies and 2) a lack of policy and academic literature on the topic (2009, 2). Furthermore, the diaspora engagement policies of India and Ethiopia are quite new, with some specific policies only coming into effect in the last year. In any case, the final section of the paper will seek to compare the effectiveness of the diaspora engagement strategies of India and Ethiopia.

Agunias identifies four categories to evaluate the effectiveness of sending states diaspora policies (2009, 18-25). The first is *do your homework*, which includes “preparatory work aimed at understanding the diasporas’ needs, wants, and potentials; appraising the current government approach to diaspora engagement; and learning from the experience of other countries” (2009, 19). In this area, India offers quite an exemplary approach. In 2000 the Government of India convened The High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora with the mandate to map the Indian Diaspora in terms of its size, capacities to engage, its expectations, challenges, and willingness to engage with the state. In addition, the committee evaluated other countries policies and India’s own policies and institutions to date and their effectiveness with dealing with the diaspora. This was a five person committee consisting of two current Indian parliament members, two retired diplomats, and one NGO representative. In 2004, the committee produced a comprehensive 600 page report that discussed all aspects of the diaspora and made several recommendations to the Government. This document, proved to be the basis for the Indian Governments diaspora engagement policies. India achieved all the required steps to *do your homework* for the development of its policies.

Ethiopia on the other hand, did not complete all of these steps. One of the greatest weaknesses of the Ethiopian Government's diaspora engagement strategy is a lack of data on the diaspora. The size of the Ethiopian Diaspora is unknown and there is limited connection between Ethiopian embassies abroad and the diaspora. Thus, the government has a weak ability to know the needs, wants, and potentials of the diaspora. Ethiopia has sought to learn from the experiences of other countries by engaging a consultant from India to act as the key advisor for the government's diaspora engagement strategy. However, this was the only step taken to *do your homework*.

The second category is to value the process as much as the outcomes meaning that how institutions are created and the activities chosen are critical indicators of success. This relates strongly to the first category. In India, a lengthy process was established to determine how the institutions were created and the activities of those institutions. For instance, MOIA was born out of the committee's report, as were many of the policies adopted by India. Ethiopia has not engaged in such a process, which provides a possible explanation as to why it is not clear how the institutions were chosen and developed.

The third category is to invest in capacity building within the institutions dedicated to the diaspora. This is a challenge as diaspora engagement is generally not high on government's priority areas. MOIA is the smallest Ministry of the Indian government and recognizes itself that it lacks manpower and logistics. In addition, MOIA has a large coordination challenge, particularly in regards to its emigrant protection policies and managing a diverse group of stakeholders. In 2010 MOIA began an e-governance project on emigration with the National Institute for Smart Governance in Hyderabad. This project recognizes the various Ministries and stakeholders involved in the emigration process, the lack of coordination among the Indian Ministries, and the need for greater capacity in this area. The e-governance project will build internal capacity in order to have better protection of emigrants. Capacity building is a consistent problem in Ethiopia and the EEA is a small unit

servicing the diaspora. At this time there are no projects in Ethiopia to strengthen the capacity of the EEA, to improve technical knowledge, to create partnerships for further learning.

The final category is to link the diaspora institutions to the National Development Priorities of the country. In both India and Ethiopia there is a link between the development objectives of the Diaspora policy and the development objectives of the country. For instance, in Ethiopia the Diaspora bond was implemented for the state owned Ethiopian Electric Power Corporation to support infrastructure development, one of the government's key goals for the country. In India, the Indian Development Foundation was established to "lead Overseas Indians philanthropic capital into India's Social Sector by forging partnerships between donors and credible non-government and non-profit voluntary organisations working in the Social Sector in India," thus providing a connection between the Diaspora and development projects in India. However, there is no evidence that either India or Ethiopia has sought to align their diaspora policies with the countries development policies. This would require further coordination but could result in further development effectiveness of diaspora policies.

It is evident that India has had much greater Diaspora policy effectiveness than Ethiopia. This is highlighted not only by the four categories identified by Agunias above, but also by the take-up rates of the policies identified in the previous section of the paper. As identified in the first section of the paper, India has a much longer history of emigration, and a larger and higher skilled diaspora than Ethiopia. It can be assumed that all of these elements contribute to India's successful diaspora engagement policies.

6. Conclusion

This paper began by posing the question: *"How do the activities of strong states compare with those of weak ones?"* from Levitt (2001). The first section of the paper provided a comparative overview of the Indian and Ethiopian emigration experience, the emergence of the diasporas and the current geography of the diasporas. This section highlighted that there are three key differences between the Indian and Ethiopian Diasporas: the history of emigration, the size of the Diasporas, and the skills composition of the Diasporas. It was evident from this section that India has a much greater capacity for state engagement with the diaspora, and at the same time, that the diaspora itself has a much greater capacity to give back to India. Ethiopia, on the other hand, has a newer diaspora that is rooted in a refugee population that is often less educated and has a weaker capacity to contribute to the home country.

The second section of this paper examines the institutions and policies implemented in India and Ethiopia to engage with their Diaspora. Ethiopia has modelled its Diaspora engagement policies after the case of India, so these two cases became a natural comparison. It is evident; however, that India has a much greater capacity to equally engage with its Diaspora than Ethiopia. That is, India has a greater capacity to give back to its diaspora and extend rights than Ethiopia. By setting up the specialized Ministry, the Government of India declared its long-term commitment to reach out to their migrants. By dedicating sufficient time and resources to create institutions, the Indian Government shows its assurance in the necessity for links with overseas Indians and set the framework which is difficult to uproot by the future governments.

The final section of this paper examines the effectiveness of India and Ethiopia's diaspora policies. The policies are examined based on four criteria of do your homework, valuing the process as much as the outcome, capacity building, and linking diaspora policies to national development policies (Agunias 2009, 18-25). In

all of these areas it is evident that India performs superiorly to Ethiopia. India invested to understand its diaspora, their needs, India's own institutions and capacities. This led India to be able to develop appropriate institutions and policies that met the needs of the diaspora and the Indian government. Ethiopia has not engaged in such a process, and as a result the policies meet the needs of the Ethiopia government, but the take-up rates of the policies suggest they do not meet the needs of the diaspora.

In conclusion, although the policies and activities of India and Ethiopia are similar in form, the implementation and effectiveness shows significant gaps. It is evident that the policies are not effective in Ethiopia because, first, the Ethiopian diaspora lacks the capacities of the Indian diaspora, and secondly, the Ethiopian state lacks the capacities of the Indian state. The activities of India take into account the needs of the diaspora and the government, whereas the activities of Ethiopia have largely focused on the needs of the government. In the future, more has to be done towards extending rights to migrants and increasing their sense of belonging and aiming towards the same goals, instead of focusing on extracting economic benefits from them. Ethiopia still has much to learn from India's approach, however it lacks the capacity to match India's advanced policies and institutions. As a result, although some policies may be the same in form, the fundamental capacity differences leave the weak state ineffective in comparison to the strong state.

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