

**PROFESSOR RADHAKRISHNA
MEMORIAL LECTURE**

**“FROM BRAIN DRAIN TO WEALTH DRAIN:
THE CHALLENGE OF ELITE MIGRATION”**

SANJAYA BARU, Ph.D.



IDSAP

**Institute for Development Studies Andhra Pradesh
Visakhapatnam**

2^{no} February 2024

Professor R Radhakrishna Memorial Lecture

"From Brain Drain to Wealth Drain: The Challenge of Elite Migration."

**Institute for Development Studies,
Visakhapatnam, Andhra Pradesh
2nd February 2024**

I am truly grateful to the Institute for Development Studies for doing me this honour of inviting me to deliver the Professor R Radhakrishna Memorial Lecture. I first came into contact with Professor Radhakrishna when he joined the Department of Economics at the Central University of Hyderabad. I was then the youngest member of the faculty, still working on my Ph.D. thesis. I owe it to Professor Radhakrishna that he assigned relatively light teaching responsibilities till I submitted my doctoral dissertation. Mine was just one example of the manner in which he encouraged younger scholars and instilled confidence in them. While his own professional work and interest was in econometrics and quantitative economics, he took keen interest in classical political economy and economic theory, my fields of interest. It was his open and broad-minded approach to the study of economics and of the Indian economy that brought a wide range of economists to his doorstep.

I recall how Professor Radhakrishna was respected for his intellectual capabilities as much by an econometrician like N.S. Iyengar as he was by an economic historian like Amiya Kumar Bagchi. Be it Professor Krishna Bharadway of JNU or Professor Dharma Kumar of D School, or indeed, Professor Y.K. Alagh, P.R. Brahmananda, T.N. Krishnan, A. Vaidyanathan and N. Krishnaji, a wide assortment of economists with very different intellectual persuasions, had the highest regard for Professor Radhakrishna. This made the Department of Economics at the University of Hyderabad an intellectually stimulating place during the period when he was head of the department.

Over the past quarter century, ever since I moved out of a university campus, I have been in and out of both academia and the media. This experience of dividing my time between the two very different worlds of academia and media has had its problems, with academics viewing me as more of a journalist and journalists viewing me as far too academic. However, since I trained to be a student of applied economics, at the Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum, I have been able to bring some immediacy to my research work, focusing attention on the trends under way within the larger political economy of India's development. My work on the strategic consequences of India's economic performance and my recent book on India's power elite seek to focus academic attention on the ground reality of change even as it is happening. I know that this is the kind of work that Professor Radhakrishna found interesting. Hence, today I wish to speak on what I see as an economic and social phenomenon that should concern us all. I call this the 'secession of the successful', drawing attention to the out-migration of talent from India. What better place than Vishakapatnam to focus on this issue.

* * *

When I began studying the nature of agrarian change and industrial development in erstwhile Andhra Pradesh, Professor Radhakrishna encouraged me to examine the changing dynamics of capitalist development in the State. My research, published in the 1980s and 1990s drew attention to the emergence of agrarian capitalism in the coastal region and subsequently to what I referred to as a 'regional business class'.¹ Many members of that class, like G.M. Rao and G.V.K. Reddy, have since become big business leaders. A second aspect of the change in erstwhile Andhra Pradesh was the rise of a professional middle class and the out-migration of that class. In a paper published by the East-West Centre, Hawaii in 2000 I drew attention to the growing presence of professionals from our state in the emerging link between the United States and India through the growth of the information technology and IT

enabled services economy.² According to Government of India, the so-called Indian 'diaspora' was recently estimated to be around 36 million. Of these approximately 17 million were non-resident Indians (NRI), that is holders of Indian passports and around 19 million persons of Indian origin (PIOs), citizens of other countries whose ancestors were Indian.³ A large number of NRIs are located in the United States and among them the Telugus are the third largest group of Indians, after the Hindi and Gujarati speaking communities.⁴ The out-migration of Telugu talent to the US has had a significant impact on the development of erstwhile Andhra Pradesh and the two new states.

* * *

Migration, or the movement of animals and humans across planet Earth, has been a natural phenomenon through time. The movement of all living beings through history has largely been a response to nature, to the threat to life or a manifestation of the human spirit seeking new horizons. The search for hospitable climes, for food, for habitation, for safety has driven migration. Human movement has also been motivated by a sense of adventure, drawing people to distant lands and beyond the seas. With time, social and economic pressures in the home environment have also pushed people to seek new homes. Some have gone forth as if they were drawn to a distant horizon, some have moved away under the pressure of circumstances, some were forced to move as slaves and soldiers.

Till the beginning of the 20th Century there were few restrictions on the movement of people across countries and continents. Indeed, whole continents were occupied by migrants and new nations came into being, often with conquering migrants wielding the sword against resident native populations. The people settled in the Indian sub-continent, between Indus to the West and the Brahmaputra to the East, the Himalayas to the North and the Ocean to the South, were no exception to the

natural phenomenon of human movement. They have moved into the sub-continent and moved out. ⁵ In more recent times, going back over a thousand years, we have evidence of traders, teachers and conquerors travelling by land and sea connecting many regions of the Indian sub-continent to distant parts of the Eurasian land mass and the shores of the Indian and Pacific Oceans as well as the Mediterranean and beyond. ⁶ The growing global taste for spices, fascination for precious stones, demand for textiles and a wide range of other products and commodities encouraged Indian traders to travel by land and sea to distant markets. The ebb and flow of such movement of people, of traders and teachers, proceeded along with the rise and fall of empires. ⁷

As kingdoms expanded and contracted across the southern Asian and Indian Ocean region, from the Mediterranean to the Malacca straits and beyond, people of Indian origin moved around, settled and resettled across this wide region and beyond. Published in 2006, *The Encyclopedia of the Indian Diaspora*, declared, 'Indians are ubiquitous,' quoting a report in *The Statesman* of August 1980 that claimed that there were at the time only five countries where Indians have not yet chosen to stay - Mauritania, North Korea, Romania, Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde islands. ⁸ In 2022, the Indian ministry of external affairs website recorded a total of over 32 million 'Indians' - including 19 million 'persons of Indian origin' (PIOs) and 13 million 'non-resident Indians (NRIs) living in 210 countries, including in the absent five of *The Statesman* report. ⁹ The Indian diaspora is today the world's largest and most widely spread overseas community, having overtaken China a decade ago. ¹⁰ It was this fact that prompted Prime Minister Manmohan Singh to declare that the sun may have set on the British Empire, but it would never set on the world of the people of Indian origin. ¹¹

There is, interestingly, a geographic concentration of this diaspora in three categories of countries - the Anglosphere comprising of Australia, Canada, New

Zealand, Singapore, United Kingdom and United States; the Arab/Persian Gulf region; and, the erstwhile colonies of the British Empire, stretching from the Pacific through the Indian Ocean and Africa onwards to the Atlantic. While travelers, traders and teachers moved to different parts of the world over long periods of time, the sizeable migration of large numbers has occurred at discrete points in time, to different points in the world and under different circumstances. More recent migration and of larger numbers has dated back to the 19th Century, occurring in three distinct phases, destined to three distinct geographies and exhibiting three distinct features.

While human migration itself is an ancient phenomenon, the first phase of fairly large-scale migration out of India occurred under the aegis of British rule and law. This was the enforced migration of indentured labour that began in the mid-19th Century and went on well into the 20th. The 20th Century saw movement of Indians in and out of the sub-continent, with a large number leaving the country at the time of partition and opting for British citizenship. A second wave of out-migration occurred in the last quarter of the 21st Century when tens of thousands of skilled workers migrated to West Asia and the Gulf and almost equal number of educated professionals began to move to the United States and other English-speaking countries. Migration to the Gulf was triggered by the post oil boom construction activity in the region, with the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait receiving the largest numbers. Migration to the US was triggered by the Y2K problem, of switching electronic systems from 31-12-1999 to 01-01-2000, and the subsequent growth in demand for Indian information technology and software professionals in developed economies, primarily the United States.

This more recent wave of migration, the Third Wave, is still in its incipient stage. It is the migration of the children of wealthy, including the 'high net worth individuals' (HNI), and the politically and socially powerful and influential. This

phenomenon of 'elites migration' over the past decade has seen an entire industry develop focused on facilitating their out-migration. Schools have been set up that offer syllabi aimed at making it easier for Indian students to seek higher studies overseas, mainly the English speaking countries of US, UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Singapore. Firms have been set up to facilitate movement of assets and investments.

While the rising tide of out-migration of educated Indians in late 20th century was a reflection of the success of higher education in India, especially IITs and medical colleges, the 21st century has seen a new phenomenon of educational institutions being set up, at the school level, to equip young Indians to migrate for higher education and settlement overseas. Institutions and businesses engaged in such teaching, training and emigration related assistance have become big business.

Since 1976, as many as a 176 'world schools' have come up across India that offer International Baccalaureate (IB) certificates that help qualify Indian children for graduate education abroad. The fee charged by IB world schools can range from around Rs 75,000 per month to Rs 150,000 a month. Many of them employ experienced, elderly British and European teachers retired from institutions in their countries. The rising number of such schools and enrolment is partly due to the increasing number of professional Indians working around the world leaving their children back home in India to study at boarding schools. Many IB schools are indeed such boarding schools. Once schooling is over their non-resident parents take the child away to some college overseas for higher education. Many others at these schools come from financially well-off families—both the 'old wealthy' and the 'nouveau riche'—who prepare their young for higher education overseas.

It is not just the IB schools that prepare students to go abroad for higher education. Data collected from a couple of high-profile private schools in New Delhi

show that while around the turn of the century around 20 per cent of school-leaving children went abroad for graduate studies, this number shot up to close to 50 per cent by 2010 and to 70 per cent in 2019. In December 2020 the Indian Express reported the results of a study it had conducted that showed that over half of the first rankers in Class 10 and Class 12 examinations (conducted by the Central Board of Secondary Education and the Council for Indian School Certification Examination) during the two decades of 1996-2015 had migrated and were employed overseas, mostly in the US. ¹²

Firms have been set up to advise wealthy Indians as to how they can secure citizenship in countries with lower tax rates or no personal taxation at all. In February 2004 the Reserve Bank of India introduced the Liberalised Remittance Scheme permitting Indian citizens to transfer up to \$25,000 per annum for purposes ranging from travel and tourism to education overseas, maintenance of family overseas, investment in firms and property and so on. This sum was gradually raised and in 2015 it was increased to \$250,000 per annum. Outward remittances under the LRS scheme have increased rapidly from a few thousand Dollars to close to \$30 billion in fiscal 2022-23. As for tuition fees paid by Indian students for overseas education, various estimates are available. The most recent estimate is that of a Bangalore-based consultancy firm, Redseer Strategy Consultants, which has estimated that overseas Indian students spend about US\$28 billion, amounting to about 1% of GDP, with tuition fees alone adding up to \$6 billion. ¹³

Thus, if the first wave of 19th Century migration was of the poor and the second wave of the 20th Century was of the middle class, the third wave of the 21st Century is of the rich and powerful. The first wave was enforced. The second wave was in search of opportunity. The third wave in many ways amounts to what I have referred to in my book on *India's Power Elite*, as the 'secession of the successful'. ¹⁴

To collapse these three historically, sociologically, economically and even geographically distinct waves of migration into one single phenomenon that Tumber dubs as the 'Great Indian Migration Wave' would be of limited analytical value in understanding the changing composition of the Indian diaspora. The first wave of the migration of indentured labour had only marginal impact on the home economy, while the second wave of professionals migration and the third wave of the migration of the wealthy have had and continue to have economic implications for the home economy.

* * *

For close to two decades after independence the out-migration of Indians was not a matter of domestic policy concern with the foreign ministry focused mainly on the citizenship status of overseas Indians. The Government of India examined the issue of granting dual citizenship and finally opted not to do so. As an early study of the Indian Council of World Affairs summed up: "The basic policy is to avoid double citizenship and to encourage overseas Indian nationals to settle down permanently and to identify themselves with the interests of the immigrant countries." ¹⁵

There was very little out-migration in the 1950s and even the 1960s. It was only in the 1970s that economists like Jagdish Bhagwati began to express concern about the challenge of 'brain drain'. In an early intervention on the subject, economist Harry Johnson rejected the concept stating that it was based on a 'nationalist' view of development and that as an economist one must view 'brain drain' purely in terms of the supply and demand for talent. In an open system, talent will flow in search of higher reward. ¹⁶ Taking a very different view, especially in the context of developing countries like India investing public money in professional education, Jagdish Bhagwati tried to estimate the economic impact of 'brain drain' and ways in which home countries could impose a tax on it.

In papers published in the early 1970s, Bhagwati and others drew attention to the international migration of professional talent.¹⁷ While recognising that migration is a natural and historical phenomenon that cannot be easily prevented, Bhagwati and others felt that developing countries that had invested in human capital development were at a disadvantage when developed economies offer attractive remuneration and so suggested that a 'brain drain tax' be imposed both to discourage talent migration and for the developing country to fiscally benefit from it. This was justified on the grounds that many of the professional migrants had secured state-subsidised education in home country.

While talent and skill migration was a trickle till the 1970s, the numbers began to rise in the 1970s and 1980s with global demand for skilled Indian labour rising in the Gulf and demand for skilled professionals rising in developed economies. Faced with continuing out-migration of talent from developing to developed economies, Bhagwati once again flagged, in a 2012 essay, his 'brain drain tax' idea and further proposed that both developing and developed economies find ways in which exported talent could still play a developmental role in home country.¹⁸

While governments have ignored such proposals, economists have come up with counter arguments suggesting that rather than contribute to 'brain drain', the diaspora is a 'brain bank' and a link to host economies from which home economies can benefit through 'brain gain'.¹⁹ While there is as yet little evidence to support this hypothesis, both Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Prime Minister Narendra Modi have endorsed the view that India has begun to benefit from a 'brain gain' as a consequence of an earlier 'brain drain'.²⁰

AnnaLee Saxenian, who has systematically documented the contribution of Asian Americans to the US economy, has estimated that "By the end of the 1990s,

Chinese and Indian engineers were running 29 percent of Silicon Valley's technology businesses. By 2000, these companies collectively accounted for more than \$19.5 billion in sales and 72,839 jobs. And the pace of immigrant entrepreneurship has accelerated dramatically in the past decade." ²¹ However, while suggesting that these links also end up benefitting the home country through reverse flow of technology, Saxenian can only provide evidence from Taiwan and hopes such 'brain circulation', as the literature now terms this phenomenon, would also benefit China and India. There is as yet little data to show how much India has benefitted from such 'brain circulation'. This is an area of research waiting to be explored.

The second wave of migration had two components to it. First, that of skilled labour across the Arabian Sea and second that of post-Y2K boom in demand for information technology and software professionals in the United States. While professional migrants to the US in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s were largely from urban, middle class families with a degree from IITs, IIMs, medical colleges and elite institutions, the demand for skilled software technicians triggered by the Y2K problem and later the rising demand for low skill IT workers contributed to migration of young people from lower middle class families, including from small towns with only basic skills in English, more comfortable in their mother tongue, migrating in ever larger numbers. Securing H1B visas became an important diplomatic and political issue for successive Indian governments.

The term Non-Resident Indian (NRI) came into common usage in late 20th Century, with an increasing number of expatriate Indian citizens working overseas, especially in the Gulf region. It was assumed at the time that most would return home, given that many Gulf countries did not allow families to settle down in the migrant's host country. Policies were devised assuming such expats would return home and NRI savings schemes became an important window for inward Dollar remittances. However, by the second decade of the 21st Century it has become clear that a growing

number of NRIs are not returning home. Hence the term NRI has come to denote 'Not Returning Indians'. They either settle down in countries where they work, if such countries permit families to join them, or they move to third countries like Canada, Australia, Hong Kong, Malaysia and so on. Hence, the numbers giving up Indian citizenship is rising. Admittedly, this has also been prompted by the Indian policy of not awarding dual citizenship. While over a hundred countries do, in South Asia only Pakistan and Sri Lanka offer dual citizenship.

Quite understandably, the growing economic importance of overseas migration, with inward Dollar remittances becoming an important constituent of foreign exchange reserves, and the growth of business process outsourcing from developed to developing economies, encouraged the Indian government to seek a multilateral regime that could offer and protect employment opportunities in the services sector. In 2023 such inward remittances amounted to over a US\$125 billion, accounting for about a fifth of India's foreign exchange reserves.

The export of services embodied in workers and professionals, referred to as Mode 4 exports in the trade terminology of the World Trade Organisation, entailing cross-border travel of skilled workers and professionals, has also become an important constituent of India's foreign trade. Taken together, services exports account for close to 12% of India's GDP, up from just around 3% in 1990. Indian trade policy has, therefore, placed great emphasis on securing visas for workers and professionals travelling overseas for work. Many such temporary workers end up migrating to host countries.

Not only has India not been able to secure all its interests through a multilateral agreement protecting the interests of Mode 4 emigrants, in signing up to the WTO's concept of trade-related intellectual property rights India has agreed to make royalty payments for IPRs embedded in imported technology without gaining anything in

return for IPRs embedded in exported labour and knowledge power. Hence, while millions of Dollars are paid out for imported technology, there is no quantification of foreign exchange earned from export of 'brain power' except in the form of voluntary inward remittances made by NRIs and their voluntary investment in financial instruments, mutual funds and real estate.

After the balance of payments crisis of 1990-91 several tax incentives were given to NRIs to keep their overseas savings in Indian instruments. An intricate financial system developed to attract inward foreign remittances.²² In its wake a regulatory system has developed and inward remittances acquired importance within India's balance of payments and trade strategies. However, with the more recent threat of what the Bharatiya Janata Party once called 'tax terrorism', in its 2014 election manifesto, an increasing number of wealthy Indians are using overseas tax shelters to escape Indian tax system.

The flight from national taxation has been a common characteristic of all wealthy individuals around the world. As India became home to an increasing number of millionaires and billionaires the number of Indians seeking overseas residence to escape national tax laws has increased. A London based global citizenship and residence advisory firm, Henley & Partners, reported in 2022 that 7500 High Net Worth Individuals (HNIs) had left India to take up residence and citizenship in a foreign country. In 2023 another 6500 are expected to leave.²³ The global investment bank, Morgan Stanley reported in 2018 that between 2014 and 2018 as many as 23,000 Indian millionaires had left the country. Favoured destinations for HNIs include Mauritius, Singapore, Dubai, Italy, Portugal, Malaysia and an assortment of small island economies in the Atlantic. Several countries offer 'Golden Visas' to Indians willing to invest a certain sum of money, normally upwards of a million dollars. Several big business families like Mukesh Ambani and G.M. Rao have set up family trusts in Singapore and Dubai.

The suggested policy response to migration of talented professionals was the imposition of a 'brain drain tax'. What policy instrument can be developed to deal with the altogether different challenge of 'wealth drain'?

* * *

Replying to a question in Parliament on 21st July 2023 India's external affairs minister, S Jaishankar stated that, a total of 2,25,260 Indians had "renounced their Indian citizenship" in 2022. This compared to 85,256 in 2020. Taken together a total of 16,63,440 Indians had renounced their citizenship in the period 2011-22. In the first six months of 2023 the figure was already at 87,026. The minister then added: "The number of Indian nationals exploring the global workplace has been significant in the last two decades. Many of them have chosen to take up foreign citizenship for reasons of personal convenience. The Government is cognizant of this development and has undertaken a range of initiatives centering around 'Make in India' that would harness their talents at home. At the same time, to take full advantage of the contemporary knowledge economy, we have also promoted skills and start-ups."

The minister took the view that, "the Indian community abroad is an asset to the nation, Government has brought about a transformational change in its engagement with the diaspora. A successful, prosperous, and influential diaspora is an advantage for India, and our approach is to tap diaspora networks and utilize its reputation for national gain. The Government's efforts are particularly aimed at encouraging the exchanges of knowledge and expertise in a manner that would contribute to India's national development."

While the benefits of such 'brain circulation' for the home economy are yet to be quantified, it is equally important to quantify the contribution of Indian brains to

wealth creation and economic development of host countries. To what extent has Indian migrant talent contributed to the technological dominance of the Anglosphere? Unless these economic flows are estimated it would make no sense to assume that the so-called 'brain circulation' has benefitted the home country as much as it would have the host country. The migration of educated Indians to developed English speaking countries, especially the US, has contributed significantly to the revitalisation of these economies. The head of the US National Science Foundation is a person of Indian origin and so are many of his colleagues. Indians working in basic sciences, AI, and other leading knowledge sectors, universities and global corporations have empowered knowledge-based industries and research organisations and have contributed to the global competitiveness of these economies. There has so far been no systematic effort to value the contribution that Indians have made to developed economies. The geo-economics and geopolitics of these brain flows require to be studied. While this would not be easy, and the data base is patchy, there are any number of illustrative and anecdotal examples of how Indian professionals have been empowering western, especially American, multinationals and institutions of national security and development.

Similar studies require to be conducted of wealth and capital outflows from India and their contribution to developed host economies.

To sum up, while the large scale migration of people of Indian origin from the middle of the 19th Century has its origins in the enforced export of poverty-stricken indentured labour, late 20th Century migration has been largely of a rising middle class seeking employment opportunities overseas and opting to live overseas. The more recent phenomenon of the 'secession of the successful' indicates an attempt of both the wealthy and the disaffected to escape from this so-called 'New India' of the 21st Century. While less fortunate Indians are finding ways of escape, including illegal migration, the more fortunate are willing to invest vast sums to seek citizenship of

other countries or at least maintain a dual status with one leg in home country and another in host country.

Migration, as we said at the beginning, is a natural phenomenon. While nation states seek to control if not restrict, such movement of people across borders, humans will continue to move across territories. While one must understand why people migrate and estimate the benefits and costs of such migration to nations and families, one cannot and need not devise policies to prevent migration. Where migration is legally disallowed it occurs illegally.

It is not the migration of the poor and needy or of the middle class professional that must worry a developing country as much as the migration of a nation's wealthy, it's economic, political and cultural elites. In the immediate Indian context it is necessary to focus on and analyse this 'secession of the successful'. The growing out-migration of HNIs and of the children of the nation's power elite. What then can and should be done to at least reduce the out-migration of Indian talent and capital?

First, faith has to be restored in the inclusive character of the Indian Republic based on the principle of 'unity in diversity'. That India is for all, irrespective of caste, class, region or religion.

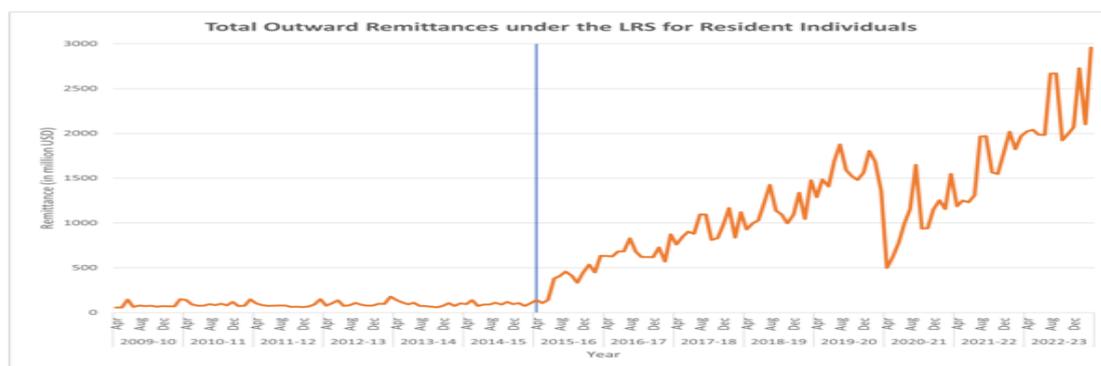
Second, domestic employment opportunities must increase in tandem with the supply of skilled and scientific manpower.

Third, conditions of living and employment have to improve to reduce the incentive to migrate.

Fourth, the Union and State governments must stop harassing the citizen through the weaponisation of administrative rules and procedures, tax policy, and of financial and investigative agencies. Fear of violating law is different from fear of upsetting law makers and law enforcers. The fear of government must end.

All this may not end elite out-migration but it could substantially reduce the incentive to migrate. The Indian elite may continue to migrate as they aspire for First World living standards. The migration of labour and of professionals is a more universal phenomenon than the migration of the elites. A developing country like India has to worry about the growing incidence of elite migration. There are challenges and problems with respect to labour and talent migration, but the migration of wealth is an altogether different phenomenon and casts a longer shadow on national development.

Chart 1: Outward Remittances Under RBI LRS Scheme



Source: Reserve Bank of India Bulletin, Several Issues.

Notes

¹ Sanjaya Baru, 'Capitalism in Agriculture and Growth of Manufacturing: Some Issues with Reference to Andhra Pradesh', in Y.V. Krishna Rao, G. Parthasarathi, M. Yadava Reddy and Waheeduddin Khan (Edited), *Peasant Farming and Growth of Capitalism in Indian Agriculture*, Visalandhra Publishing House, Vijayawada, 1984. Chapter 3.5, pp. 365-384.

Sanjaya Baru, 'Economic policy and the development of capitalism in India: the role of regional capitalists and political parties.' in *Transforming India: social and political dynamics of democracy*, F. R. Frankel, et al (Editors). Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000.

Sanjaya Baru, 'Enterprise and Development in India - An Inter-regional Perspective', *India Review*, Vol 3, No.4, October 2004. Frank Cass, Taylor & Francis Group.

² Sanjaya Baru, 'IT and the E-Economy: The Ballast for India-US Relations', in Sanjaya Baru, *Strategic Consequences of India's Economic Performance*, Pp. 294-329. Routledge, New Delhi, 2006.

³ Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. Accessed at: https://www.mea.gov.in/images/attach/NRIs-and-PIOs_1.pdf

⁴ S Badrinath, D Kapur, J Kay and M Vaishnav, 'Social Realities of Indian Americans: Results from the 2020 Indian American Attitudes Survey, Carnegies Endowment, Washington DC, June 2021. Accessed at: <https://carnegieendowment.org/2021/06/09/social-realities-of-indian-americans-results-from-2020-indian-american-attitudes-survey-pub-84667>

⁵ For an excellent account of early human migration into and across the Indian sub-continent see Tony Joseph, *Early Indians: The Story of Our Ancestors and Where We Came From*, Juggernaut, Delhi, 2018.

⁶ For a succinct account of the more recent movement of people across the Indian sub-continent and out of India see Chinmay Tumble, *India Moving: A History of Migration*, Penguin Viking, Delhi, 2018.

⁷ For a popular history of such globalisation see Nayan Chanda, *Bound Together: How Traders, Preachers, Adventurers and Warriors Shaped Globalisation*, PenguinViking, India, 2007.

Scott C Levi, *Caravans: Indian Merchants on the Silk Road*, Allen Lane, Penguin Books, India, 2015. p.3. in Ranabir Chakravarti (Edited), *Trade in Early India*, Oxford University Press, 2001.

Medha Kudasiya, India's Merchant Communities, *Asian History*, April 2022.

⁸ Brij V. Lal (Editor), *The Encyclopedia of the Indian Diaspora*, Editions Didier Millet, Singapore, 2006. pp. 10.

Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas, 1830-1920*, Oxford University Press, London, 1974.

Tayyab Mahmud, 'Cheaper Than a Slave: Indentured Labor, Colonialism and Capitalism', *Whittier Law Review* 34, 2013. Pp. 215. Accessed at: <https://digitalcommons.law.seattleu.edu/faculty/139>

⁹ Persons of Indian Origin (PIO) are nationals and citizens of other countries, and mostly second or more generation immigrants in their host country. Non-resident Indians (NRI) are citizens of India resident overseas. *Population of Overseas Indians*, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. Accessed at: https://mea.gov.in/images/attach/NRIs-and-PIOs_1.pdf

¹⁰ 'India's diaspora is bigger and more influential than any in history', *Economist*, 12 June, 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.economist.com/international/2023/06/12/indias-diaspora-is-bigger-and-more-influential-than-any-in-history>

¹¹ Manmohan Singh, Address at Oxford University, 8 July 2005. Accessed at: mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl%2F2623%2FAddress+by+Prime+Minister+Dr+Manmohan+Singh+in+acceptance+of+Honorary+Degree+from+Oxford+University

¹² Indian Express Investigation, '20 years on, where are the Board toppers? Over half are abroad, most in science and technology', *The Sunday Indian Express*, 27 December 2020. Accessed on 27 December 2020 at: <https://indianexpress.com/article/express-exclusive/school-board-toppers-career-united-states-science-technology-education-7121532/>

¹³ Ummar Jamal, 'Make Them Stay', *The Telegraph*, Kolkata, 1st January 2024.

¹⁴ See Sanjaya Baru, *India's Power Elite: Class, Caste and a Cultural Revolution*, PenguinViking, New Delhi, 2021. Chapter 11.

¹⁵ C Kondapi, *Indians Overseas, 1838-1949*, Indian Council of World Affairs, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1951.

Niranjan Desai, India and Its Diaspora, *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, Vol.1, No.4, Oct-Dec 2006. Pp.94-108 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/35688b0b-d9b2-3bd4-a2cd-a122aa00ff3c?read-now=1&seq=1>

J.C. Sharma, 'India's Foreign Policy, National Security and Development', Distinguished Lecture, Ministry of External Affairs, Govt. of India, 3 December 2013. Accessed at: <https://mea.gov.in/distinguished-lectures-detail.htm?9>

¹⁶ Harry G. Johnson, 'Some Economic Aspects of Brain Drain', **The Pakistan Development Review** Vol. 7, No. 3 (AUTUMN 1967), pp. 379-411. Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad. Accessed at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/i40056624>

¹⁷ Jagdish Bhagwati & William Dallalfar, 'The Brain Drain and Income Taxation: A Proposal', Working Paper No.92, Department of Economics, September 1972. MIT, USA. Accessed at: <https://dspace.mit.edu/bitstream/handle/1721.1/63416/braindrainincome00bhag.pdf?s>

Bhagwati, J. and Hamada, K. 'The Brain Drain, International Integration of Markets for Professionals and Unemployment: A Theoretical Analysis.' *Journal of Development Economics*, 1, 19-42. 1974. Accessed at: [http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0304-3878\(74\)90020-0](http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0304-3878(74)90020-0)

¹⁸ Jagdish Bhagwati, 'The Brain Drain Panic Returns', *Project Syndicate*, 27 January 2012. Accessed at: <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/the-brain-drain-panic-returns-2012-01>

¹⁹ Sandra Berger, Brain Drain, Brain Gain and Its Net Effect, World Bank, November 2022. Accessed at: www.knomad.org/sites/default/files/2022-11/knomad_paper_46_brain_drain_brain_gain_and_its_net_effect_sandra_berger_november_2022.pdf

²⁰ Manmohan Singh, "India has converted 'brain drain into 'brain gain'", *The Economic Times*, 2 December 2010. Accessed at: <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/economy/indicators/india-converted-brain-drain-into-brain-gain-pm/articleshow/7029952.cms>

Narendra Modi, "Brain Drain Can Become Brain Gain", *The Hindu*, 28 September 2015. Accessed at: <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/Modi-at-SAP-Centre/article60516522.ece>

²¹ AnnaLee Saxenian, 'Brain Circulation: How High-Skill Immigration Makes Everyone Better Off', Brookings Institution, Washington DC, 1 December 2002, Accessed at: www.brookings.edu/articles/brain-circulation-how-high-skill-immigration-makes-everyone-better-off

Gi-Wook Shin & Rennie Moon, 'From Brain Drain to Brain Circulation and Linkage', The Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, Stanford University, 21 February 2018. Accessed at: <https://aparc.fsi.stanford.edu/publication/brain-drain-brain-circulation-and-linkage>

²² Gabi G. Afram, *The Remittance Market in India Opportunities, Challenges, and Policy Options*, World Bank, Washington DC, 2012. Accessed at: <https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/785341468269661757/pdf/662350PUB0EPI000India09780821389720.pdf>

²³ Henley Private Wealth Migration Report, 2023. Henley & Partners, UK, June 2023. Accessed at: <https://www.henleyglobal.com/newsroom/press-releases/henley-private-wealth-migration-report-2023>
Lubna Kably, 'Indian Rich topworld in looking to leave country', *Times of India*, 13 February 2021. pp.1

ends

About IDSAP

The Institute for Development Studies Andhra Pradesh is a leading institution for Economic and Social Studies focusing on Andhra Pradesh from national and global perspectives. It is an Autonomous, supported and funded by Government of Andhra Pradesh. It undertakes development research, teaching, capacity building and policy advocacy. It serves as a Think Tank of Government of Andhra Pradesh and Government of India. It is registered under Andhra Pradesh Society Act 2001 vide Reg.No.101/2019. Centre for Tribal Studies has also been established as a part of IDSAP.

The vision of Development Studies is to build an inclusive society, ensuring that the people of Andhra Pradesh are free from hunger, poverty and injustice. It envisaged that IDS would emerge as a centre of excellence engaged in cutting edge policy research and creation of evidence-based knowledge for shaping social progress.

It conducts research on network mode involving eminent experts drawn from state, national and international centers of excellence to work towards social progress. It builds data base and documentation on Andhra Pradesh Economy accessible to researchers. Its faculty is a mix of core residential faculty, adjunct faculty, visiting faculty and affiliates drawn from other centers of excellence. The residential faculty is a mix of established senior scholars and potential and motivated young scholars.

Research Agenda

MACROECONOMIC CONTOURS

Research relates to GDP growth, Sectoral growth, Employment, Exports, Trade, Infrastructure, Institutions, policy environment, reforms and Governance.

PUBLIC FINANCE

Research relates to State's Revenue, Expenditure, Budget Deficit, Debt, Capacity to raise funds, Capacity to absorb funds for development, Capacity to negotiate.

SECTORAL DEVELOPMENT

Research relates to Agricultural sector, Industrial sector and Service sector, with special attention to Information Technology and Digitization.

Sectoral research also relates, Rural sector and Urban sector.

EMERGING SOCIAL CONCERNS

Research relates to Education, Health, Food security, Poverty, Housing, Economic, Social and Regional Inequality, Gender discrimination, Social Protection and public provisioning

COVID-19 PANDEMIC

Detection, Treatment, Control, Immunization and Management – Economic Impact

ENVIRONMENT

Sustainable Agriculture, Land, Water, Forest -Conservation, Climate change and disaster management.

IDSAP

Institute for Development Studies Andhra Pradesh

Midhilapuri VUDA Colony Madhurawada, Visakhapatnam - 530 041.

Phones: +91 9949 219 613; +91 7093 219 613

E-mail : directoridsap@gmail.com / director@idsap.in Website : www.idsap.in