Distinguished Guest Article

Transnationalism and Diaspora: 'Awkward Dance Partners'?

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Abstract

In view of the unprecedented technological progress that has resulted in 'time-space compression,' we have seen a spurt in the worldwide movement of human beings and capital. Such movements have impacts on political, economic and socio-cultural lives of individuals, communities and even on inter-state relationships. In critical parlance two prominent terms – transnationalism and diaspora – are used to describe this movement of man and money. The terms are often used interchangeably. However, it has been argued that they have their own 'distinct birth marks,' particular areas of emphases, and their own evolutionary histories. Dealing with issues related to cross-border migration, their interests often overlap. Diaspora, it has been asserted, is an old term, while transnationalism, as a phenomenon, appears in the 1990s to address certain emerging issues arising in the age of Globalisation. Diaspora and transnationalism have been regarded as 'awkward dance partners,' a phrase that points out both the existence of collaborative partnership and the presence of uneasiness in their relationship. This article makes an attempt to define the terms from the vantage point of our time and figure out their relationship. It also suggests that they should be regarded as cognate terms to analyse the growing impact of cross-border flow of human beings as well as economic and cultural resources.

Keywords

diaspora, transnationalism, border, network relationship, hypermodernity

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In her book *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* (1999) Aihwa Ong begins her discourse on the nature of 'contemporary'[1] Chinese transculturalism with 'passport stories' (1). These 'stories' which are about Hong Kong citizens' possession of passports of multiple countries are situated in the transitional period when Hong Kong was being transferred from the British rule to the mainland Chinese rule. While addressing a meeting of Hong Kong 'business leaders (*taipans*),' Lu Ping, a mainland official presiding over the transition process, 'fished *a number of passports* from his pockets to indicate he was fully aware that the Hong Kong elite has a weakness for foreign passports' (1; emphasis added). Ong then reports that 'more than half the members of the transition preparatory committee' and 'six hundred thousand other Hong Kongers (about ten percent of the total population)' had foreign passports 'as insurance against mainland-Chinese rule' (1). In fact, in the context of political uncertainty, politicians, members of business community, and other members of the elite society sought opportunity not only to avoid the spectre of possible socio-economic and political disaster but also to seek new opportunities in transnational spaces.[2] It is the desire for prosperity and self-fulfilment in a different space, coupled with an apprehension of crisis in the country of origin, that motivated these prominent citizens to keep the option of a different space outside their own country. Here the 'foreign' passport is thus not only a signifier of elitist power and contemporary mobility, it also represents the trend for *trans*-national movement that characterises the contemporary global scenario. Ong rightly observes, "The multiple-passport holder is an apt contemporary figure; he or she embodies the split between state-imposed identity and personal identity caused by political upheavals, migration, and changing global markets" (2). These multiple passport holders, it may be noted, operate from within the mechanism encouraged, and even endorsed, by the nation-states which have in the mean time adopted measures and policies to cope with the invasive influence of late capitalism.

Aihwa Ong refers to yet another 'story' in a different book titled *Ungrounded Empires: The Cultural Politics of Modern Chinese Transnationalism* (1997) co-edited by her (the other editor being Donald M. Nonini). Their introduction ("Chinese Transnationalism as an Alternative Modernity") to this book opens with an incident that underscores a different dimension of transnational mobility of the Chinese people. This time people involved do not belong to the elite class. They are poor people, most of whom hail from the Fujian province in southern China with a long history of emigration to the 'Gold Mountain' (America). They cannot boast of multiple passports. They rely

mostly on illegal means and illegal transport networks. The role of non-state actors is significant in this respect. The Introduction begins with the following narrative: "When, in the summer of 1993, Chinese people from the ill-fated freighter *Golden Venture* were washed ashore on a New York beach, Americans learned about a far-flung Chinese network that smuggled human cargo" (3).'Boat people' is a phrase that nowadays represents an aspect of the global movement of distressed people aspiring after freedom from oppressive regimes, upward mobility and/or aspiration for a better, happier life. Nonini and Ong, whose focus in the book is Chinese transnationalism, argue that "the interceptions of Fujianese boat people provide a glimpse of the *global scope* of many Chinese businesses, their historical roots in diaspora, their *operational flexibility* and *spatial mobility*, and their capacities to circumvent *disciplining by nation-states*" (3; emphases added). In a fast-changing global scenario such migrants, many of whom may have ancestral memory of life-changing sea voyages, are now pushed by '"hypermodernity" of late capitalism' (3). This hypermodernity of late capitalism, aided and abetted by contemporary state policies (or their loopholes), has also led to the increase in the number of economic and political crimes and offenders take help of their multiple passports, economic prowess, settled transnational bases of operation and socio-economic networks to circumvent the laws of the nation-state and seek refuge in other nation-states with which they are already familiar.[3]

Ong's examples cited above point out to two important aspects: first, there is an unprecedented flow of human beings and capital, in recent decades. The exodus of people has taken both legal and illegal channels, and the demand has led to the proliferation of agencies and networks, located at both national and international levels. These agencies connected to international networks facilitate movement of human beings and flow of capital across national borders. The 'hypermodernity' of late capitalism in the form of unprecedented technological innovations and development of means of transport boosts the passageway for transnational movements around the globe. It has resulted in what Harvey calls 'time-space compression,' a phenomenon which he traces historically to the onset of innovations and 'progress'. Harvey uses the term 'time-space compression' to refer to the

> processes that so revolutionize the objective qualities of space and time that we are forced to alter, sometimes in quite radical ways, how we represent the world to ourselves. I use the word 'compression' because a strong case can be made that the history of capitalism has been

characterized by *speed-up in the pace of life*, while so overcoming *spatial barriers* that the world sometimes seems to collapse inwards upon us. The time taken to traverse space … and the way we commonly represent that fact to ourselves … are useful indicators of the kind of phenomena I have in mind. As *space appears to shrink to a 'global village' of telecommunications and a 'spaceship earth'* of economic and ecological interdependencies … and *as time horizons shorten to the point where the present is all there is …,* so we have to learn how to cope with an overwhelming sense of *compression* of our spatial and temporal world. (Harvey 240; emphases original)

Connected to the 'time-space compression' Harvey speaks of are the two phenomena: unprecedented pace of innovations and the resultant progress. Progress, he argues, "entails the conquest of space, the tearing down of all spatial barriers, and the ultimate 'annihilation of space through time'" (Harvey 205). Innovations generate progress by removing spatial barriers through "the production of particular spaces (railways, highways, airports, teleports, etc.)" (232). Harvey points out that innovations "have been of immense significance in the history of capitalism, turning that history into a very geographical affair – the railroad and the telegraph, the automobile, radio and telephone, the jet aircraft and television and the recent telecommunications revolution are cases in point" (232). Although Harvey's book was first published in 1990, and at that time he was not in a position to pre-view further technological changes that took place during the three intervening decades, his formulation of the idea of 'time-space compression' has tremendous relevance to the phenomenon known as 'transnationalism.' Harvey already felt the effect of large-scale movements of labour and capital, experienced the 'speed-up' in the turnover of capital, and the unprecedented growth of network, both economic and social.

Secondly, in the context of the fast-changing technological scenario mentioned above, the role of the nation-state and the function of its territorial borders have to be re-examined. "How are the global mobilities negotiated within and across policies of immigration control?" asks Avtar Brah (3). This is a crucial aspect involving state actors to understand the dimensions of transnational movements and transformative role of national governments. It is often argued that transnationalism has dented the authority of the state to a great extent. Avtar Brah observes that "some of the functions of the nation state may have become less central" but nevertheless nation-states "retain very significant

importance in articulating state sovereignty" (3). She asserts that "the nation state and transnational formations are relational" (3). This 'relationality' spoken of by Brah must be understood in the context of Globalisation which has radically transformed the global economy and inter-state politico-economic relationships. Holding multiple passports is a manifestation of this new relationship because the figure of the persons with multiple passports represents ownership of capital, transference of the same, capital investment at a global scale, transference and exchange of Information Technology (IT) skill and resources, remittance of money to the country of origin and a host of other related issues. All these activities can be conducted only through the consent of, and agreement between, the nation-states concerned. So, the 'disciplinary' actions at the ground level at the instance of the states operate in accordance with their economic and political policies. Immigration, a sensitive issue in this respect, may invite Statist anger and persecution which are part of their disciplinary functions. While immigration may have become an easier process for the highly mobile jet-setters who may cover several countries in a day or two, it may not be so for the poorer sections of people who have no capital or skills to offer to the host nations which are usually very prejudiced in their approach to selection of immigrant groups on the basis of ethnicity, religion, nationality and the skilled resources they will be able to offer at the altar of the host nations. Having no other resources but raw labour at their disposal, these people often fail to acquire the consent of the states to move across nations. This explains why they take help of unscrupulous non-state actors/agencies who ferry them out to their destinations. Often their attempts fail as the case of 'ill-fated freighter *Golden Venture*' mentioned by Ong and Nonini proves. But sometimes the attempts are successful as well and then these people live as undocumented immigrants in the countries of destination and later obtain legal papers through illegal routes.[4]

Despite the impact of Globalisation and transnational movements, the acts of disciplining agents of nation-states may be highly prejudiced in select cases. One can note the policy shifts of the United States of America in the context of immigration and the disciplinary steps taken in this regard. Through policy changes in the cases of existing programmes and usual practices, its use of Executive Orders and 'agency memoranda' the US government has been executing violence and violating ethical norms. Pierce and Selee sums up the actions in the following way:

> Trump administration has set in motion a range of significant changes during its first year in office, including increasing arrests and removal of

unauthorised immigrants within the US interior by, among other things, expanding the priorities for immigration enforcements. During 2017, the administration also banned nationals from entering the United States; cancelled the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program; ended Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for nationals of several countries; and reduced refugee admission to the lowest numbers since the statute guiding refugee resettlement was enacted in 1980. (1)

Avtar Brah too speaks of the unequal system of immigration policies. She asserts, "Histories of colonialism, imperialism and contemporary neoliberal regimes have created inequities and inequalities across the world" (4) and cites the example of global north and global south: "it is much easier for people from the global north to gain visas to travel and settle around the world than for the people of global south to put routes in the North" (4-5). She concludes, "The economic and political power relations are central in the ways in which all borders – whether social, cultural, psychic or territorial are regulated" (5). Here comes the role of the nation-states which control their borders to suit their own interests. Borders in fact "symbolise the ability of states to exercise control over the movement of people, goods, trade, capital and information" (Brah 5) and this is attested by the overtly prejudiced approach of Mr. Donald Trump, the current President of the United States.

If border-crossing is an important aspect in transnationalism, transformation of the nature of border also needs to be discussed. Border is no longer just territorial in nature. The improvement of fast transport system, proliferation of air journey, and the resultant growth of airports all these have lent a new dimension to the concept of border. It is no longer limited to the end-of-the-land demarcation lines secured with barbed wire and marked by the presence of sentry and other surveillance mechanism. Airports situated at different points of a nation-state do play the role of borders as well, and the entire machinery for checking cross-border movement is installed there. Surveillance is at its best at such sites. The disciplinary infrastructure of the state we have spoken of earlier is very much visible here and it is difficult for an individual to evade the surveillance network. In this sense, border can be located even in the middle of a nation-state with no immediate proximity with the neighbouring nation-state. We can think of border in the context of virtual space as well, specifically in the context of movement of capital. Capital flows across borders in more complex ways with the introduction of technological innovations such as internet, App (Application) programmes and money/resource transfer devices. In this sense, border is more virtual than physical, and apparently the capital flow

seems not overtly subjected to usual regulatory regimes. But the state apparatus keeps a strict vigil on capital transfer and there is apparently no let-up in disciplining the economic offenders. Hence, the concept of border has assumed much broader scope. Thus, Brah is very much inclusive in her approach when she speaks of border in terms of disciplinary power of the state: "[b]orders symbolise the ability of states to exercise control over the movement of people, goods, trade, capital and information' (5). It is through the regulatory processes that nation-states assert their power by both allowing and resisting physical and virtual movements of 'people, goods, trade, capital and information' to their own best benefit.

A particular area of benefit for the sending nation-state is the incoming remittance from the transnational population that boosts the state economy. Thomas Lacroix points out that remittance plays a significant role in the encouragement of transnational movements. He also asserts that it is a transnational 'communicative' process between the migrants (he empirically examined members belonging to the labour class of different ethnic backgrounds) and the 'village community' located in their ancestral country. The migrants consider it their social responsibility towards their own family and community back home. The family and the community in their turn acknowledge the migrants' contribution to the family income and community development. He refers to a survey in 477 Indian villages in Punjab which shows that 4.5 million dollars was transferred by the NRIs (Non-resident Indian) for projects meant for social and religious developments (7). He argues that remittances are "a type of communicative action" to convey the migrants' responsibility which "emerges at the crossroads of personal, family and community expectations" (21). Although he acknowledges the role of the state in the transnational process of remittances, he does not deal with that because that is not within the scope of his article. Of course the state encourages the process of the development of the nation-state and that is why the Government of India celebrates *Pravasi Bharatiya Divas* (Non-Resident Indian Day).[5]

If this is the nature of transnationalism, what then is diaspora? And what is diaspora's relationship with transnationalism? Do they have contradictory roles to play? Such questions need to be raised because both the terms are used in contemporary parlance indiscriminately, and often interchangeably. We need to explore their relationships more explicitly because in discursive discussions terms need to have firm theoretical moorings.

In their Preface to their edited volume *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods* Rainer Bauböck and Thomas Faist argue that the two critical terms – 'diaspora' and 'transnationalism' – carry 'the birthmarks of distinct imaginaries, research puzzles and disciplinary styles of reasoning' (7). In a separate article in the book mentioned earlier Faist observes, "While diaspora is a very old concept, transnationalism is relatively new. Not only in public debates but also in academic analysis, the terms have fuzzy boundaries and often overlap" (11).'Diaspora' refers to a specific form of socio-cultural formation based on religious or ethnic identity. It is 'a human phenomenon – lived and experienced' (Braziel and Mannur 8). I have defined 'diaspora' elsewhere thus, "Diaspora is a social formation outside the nation of origin. It is a phenomenon involving uprooting, forced or voluntary, of a mass of people from the 'homeland' and their 're-rooting' in the hostland(s)" (Lahiri 4).[6] It involves a new hybrid cultural formation resulting from encounter of different cultures. Diaspora, unlike transnationalism, naturally looks back to the past and future. References to rootedness, uprootedness and re-rootedness necessarily require a historical look-back as well as a desire for a stable life in future. The triadic bond between homeland (ancestral land), hostland (which may turn into a 'homeland' in future) and the ethnic or religious community in 'exile' which is an important component in diasporic discussions remain relatively stable categories. With the appearance of new generations in the diasporic space and the gaining of acculturation, assimilation as well as citizenship in the new country, equations between the three begin to change over a longer period. But, on the whole, for the first generation at least, 'home' and 'homeland' refers to the ancestral land left behind. In a jointly authored book William Safran, Ajaya Kumar Sahoo and Brij V. Lal underline one of the main differences between diaspora and transnationalism, "Diasporic communities like the Chinese in Chinatowns or Indians in their ethnic enclaves of 'Little India' the world over have built *homes away from home*, but the transnational networks of the contemporary era have facilitated members of these communities to be *here and there*" (xii; emphases original). The concept of 'home' for the people belonging to the latter category is rather ambiguous, or not that important as they feel homeliness in multiple spaces. Their interest is in the present time and multiple places, and they feel 'homely' in all these places.

Since the term 'diaspora' refers to 'a human phenomenon – lived and experienced,' it finds its natural nest in humanities studies, and since transnationalism carries the implications of cross-border ties and network of relationships, mostly economic in nature, its field of usage is mainly social science. That does not mean that

they do not overlap in their usage. According to Braziel and Mannur, 'transnationalism' has "larger, more impersonal forces – specifically, those of globalization and global capitalism" (8). These impersonal forces are related to globalised economic and political transactions through well-established nodal points and various ties and channels. These include 'everyday practices of migrants' such as "reciprocity and solidarity within kinship networks, political participation not only in the country of emigration but also of immigration, small-scale entrepreneurship of migrants across borders and the transfer and re-transfer of cultural customs and practices" (Faist 11). These 'cultural customs and practices' come mainly as the by-product of globalised politico-economic networks. These to-and-fro movements, these activities of exchange are not usually associated with the term 'diaspora.' Faist observes that "the pioneers of the transnational turn in the early 1990s coined it ['transnationalism'] as a concept with an approach that brought migrants 'back in' as important social agents" (11). This bringing back of migrants within the socio-cultural and economic purview of the ancestral nation is not possible without "a relatively stable, lasting and dense sets of ties reaching beyond and across borders of sovereign states" (Faist 13). Faist elaborates the idea thus:

> In transnationalism, non-state agents, among them prominently but not exclusively migrants, are defined as crucial agents. Country of origin, country of destination and migrants (plus their significant others who are relatively immobile) thus create a triangular social structure, which can be expanded through the inclusion of countries of onward migration. In this multi-angular structure, the element of migrant formations covers a host of organisations and groups, including migrant associations, such as hometown associations, religious communities and employer organisations. (Faist 14)

Like Faist, Vertovec puts emphasis on the role of the non-state actors spread across the world and on the "sustained linkages and ongoing exchanges" among them (3). He includes "businesses, non-government-organizations, and individuals sharing the same interests (by way of criteria such as religious beliefs, common cultural and geographic origins)" as the mediums through which the ties are rendered durable. Vertovec in fact defines transnationalism when he observes that it "describes a condition in which, despite great distances and notwithstanding the presence of international borders (and all the laws, regulations and national narratives they represent), certain kinds of relationships have been globally intensified and now take place paradoxically in a planet-spanning yet

common – however virtual – arena of activity" (3). While sustaining 'planet-spanning' linkages, transnationalism limits itself to the present, harps on the importance of spaces, online communities and reciprocal ties, and hardly speaks of history. In an article entitled "On the Edge of Empires: Flexible Citizenship among Chinese in Diaspora" Aihwa Ong appropriately catches the spirit of a deterritorialized transnational subject who can blurt out, "I can live anywhere in the world, but it must be near an airport" (qtd. in Clifford 257). Ong also underlines the radical and transgressive nature of transnationality and transnationalism when she asserts, "*Trans* denotes both moving through space or across lines, as well as changing the nature of something. Besides suggesting new relations between nation-states and capital, transnationality also alludes to the *trans*versal, the *trans*actional, the *trans*national, and the *trans*gressive aspects of contemporary behaviour and imagination that are incited, enabled, and regulated by the changing logics of states and capitalism" (4, emphases original).

It emerges from the discussion above that diaspora and transnationalism are not mutually exclusive terms. Although they have different foci and emphases when put under the critical scanner, they have overlapping areas of concern. That is why elsewhere I considered them as 'cognate' terms (Lahiri 14) and proposed, "Since people often migrate as part of the movement of, and in the shape of capital itself, the terms 'diaspora' and 'transnationalism' can be used together to refer to the broad phenomenon of man-capital flow beyond the national border" (Lahiri 3). Both the terms may be used in both Diaspora Studies and Transnational Studies. Faist considers them as 'dance partners' in the title of his article (9) but then in the beginning mentions that they are 'awkward dance partners' (9), the word 'awkward' creating a jarring note. Dance is an artistic performance that employs skill, control and rhythm. When more persons than one are involved in the performance, the partners need to act in coherence and coordination, and the whole performance comes alive with the actors playing their parts in unison. Dancers have their own individual artistic styles and personalities but these get merged in the whole aesthetic exercise. (There are other artists contributing to the show as well, such as the musicians and instrumentalists, and not all of them may be visible to the spectators/audience). When Faist applies the phrase 'awkward dance partners' to diaspora and transnationalism as critical terms, he must have their mutual coordination and juxtaposition in mind – both participating in the exercise of cross-border movement but having distinctive 'birth marks' and living styles of their own. The occasionally visible different notes they play during their performance together often create the jarring notes.

In critical studies now terms specific to one particular discipline tend to cross the disciplinary borders and enter into the jurisdiction of others – in fact one discipline borrows ideas and methodologies from others to suit its own interests. Those of us located in literary studies departments will be happy to employ the terms to context-specific cases and we have to do it being fully aware of each term's connotations. At a period when time and space have been 'compressed,' disciplines are being compressed too. That is why we need to be sensitised to the wider and interactive forces working between disciplines called history, culture studies, economics, politics, sociology and others. That does not mean that the 'local' and specific geography of literary studies has altered radically, although the methodology of looking at it has changed to a great extent. In this altered world of high velocity, words such as 'diaspora,' 'transnationalism,' 'exile,' 'immigration,' 'expatriation' and the like will co-exist, although with specific connotations and contexts attached to each of them.

Notes

1. The word 'contemporary' in 'contemporary Chinese transculturalism' should be carefully noted. The assumption is that there was a prior 'transnationalism' in the history of Chinese trans-border movements. If the word 'transnationalism' is taken semantically, it obviously refers to movement beyond ('trans') a nation. In this sense 'transnational' mass movements of the Chinese people took place right from early nineteenth century, although there were 'sojourners' even before that time. Aihwa Ong, aware of this history of Chinese people venturing beyond the nation, uses the word 'contemporary' in the phrase. However, this may rob the critical term of its connotations rooted in present material conditions of a postmodern capital-oriented world.
    It may, however, be mentioned that the word 'transnationalism' was first used by Randolph Bourne. In his article entitled "Trans-National America" (1916) he employed this term to mean co-existence of communities of different backgrounds in a particular place. Bourne's use of the term was much in line with the modern-day idea of the term 'multiculturalism.' As we shall find in the present article, the connotations of the term have undergone radical changes. The usage of the term, in its present sense, can be trace back to 1990s.

2. Interestingly, this kind of uncertain situation is being witnessed now in Hong Kong. A mass protest movement is going on there over the issue of a proposed extradition bill (now shelved because of the popular agitation). This bill "will cover Hong Kong residents and foreign and Chinese nationals living or travelling through the city" (*The Telegraph* 3). The bill, when passed as law, would empower the government to send, when requested, suspected economic offenders to the mainland China. It would allow Hong Kong court to 'freeze and confiscate assets' of the 'criminals' (*The Telegraph* 3). The fear of the control of Chinese mainland over the lives and economic assets of Hong Kong residents, the apprehension of masked Chinese control in Hong Kong and the overall uncertainly have affected this former British colony. In view of the perceived threat the 'passport stories,' with all their affective values, are being re-enacted now. According to *The Telegraph* report mentioned above, Hong Kong tycoons who must be in possession of 'multiple passports,' have started moving assets offshore through banks and other channels. Singapore is their main destination.

3. Just before the last Parliamentary election in India the issue of 'fugitive economic offenders' such as Vijay Mallya, a liquor tycoon and the former boss of Kingfisher Airlines, and Nirav Modi, a prominent businessman, (with his associates) exploded in the political scene. They took huge loans from Indian banks, allegedly embezzled the money, and fled the country. They used the existing transnational networks and used the legal and administrative loopholes to their advantage, and utilised their positions of power and the vast economic resources invested in multiple places of the world. This is certainly a side-effect of transnationalism.

4. Bharati Mukherjee's novel *Jasmine* provides such an example of a female protagonist who successfully arrives in the United States on a forged passport and struggles hard to achieve her 'American Dream.' It also mentions how in India agents are active to arrange forged passports to people who are willing to pay and arrange their journey by old aircrafts and ramshackle boats. Speaking of this world parallel to the legal one, Mukherjee comments in her novel, "There is a shadow world of aircraft permanently aloft that share airlanes and radio frequencies with Pan Am and British Air and Air-India, portaging people who co-exist with tourists and businessmen" (100). With her 'forged, expensive visa' (103), she travels through different points of Europe and ultimately reaches United States. The illegal documents were procured by her through 'travel advisers': 'All over Punjab "travel agents" are willing to advise. The longest line between two points is the least detected' (99). The 'two points' mentioned above probably refer to the points of departure and arrival, and '[t]he longest line' perhaps suggests the existence of the illegal means and networks of global reach for facilitating transnational transportation of illegal immigrants.

5. The celebration of "*Pravasi Bharatiya Divas*" (Non-Resident Indian Day) celebrated by the Government of India is a glaring example of state interest in the people of Indian origin settled

abroad obviously because they contribute to the growth of the economy and development of the country. The extract quoted below from the Ministry of External Affairs website offers us the following information:

> Pravasi Bharatiya Divas (PBD) is celebrated on 9th January every year to mark the contribution of Overseas Indian community in the development of India. January 9 was chosen as the day to celebrate this occasion since it was on this day in 1915 that Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest Pravasi, returned to India from South Africa, led India's freedom struggle and changed the lives of Indians forever.
>
> PBD conventions are being held every year since 2003. These conventions provide a platform to the overseas Indian community to engage with the government and people of the land of their ancestors for mutually beneficial activities. These conventions are also very useful in networking among the overseas Indian community residing in various parts of the world and enable them to share their experiences in various fields.
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> (https://www.mea.gov.in/pravasi-bharatiya-divas.htm)

6. I have tried to define both diaspora and transnationalism and discussed their relationship in my book *Diaspora Theory and Transnationalism* (Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan, 2019). Please see pp. 3-18. I have borrowed some ideas from the above-mentioned source.
The portions under double inverted commas not backed up by the source within brackets are from the same source text, translation and page no. last cited; this has been done to avoid repetition of the source.

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