

Roots & Routes

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Editor's Note



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Dear Friends,
Greetings!

As we have entered in to the second half of the year 2020, it is safe to say that the COVID-19 induced pandemic has been the highlight of this year. Last year, this time around who would have thought that we'd all be sitting glued on to our computers and would have to postpone every in-person work for some uncertain time in the future. 32.3 million people worldwide have tested positive for the coronavirus as numerous labs all across the world are striving hard to bring out a vaccine at the earliest. Today, we are witnessing migration like never before, which is in turn giving birth to several issues from migration governance, problems of unemployment, falling GDP and a vulnerable economy to coordination between States, the well-being of migrant children and their education. These are issues that need to be looked in to and tackled by various government authorities.

We at GRFDT are happy and excited to be bringing to you the newsletter 'Roots and Routes' for August. As the world moved online, so did GRFDT's not-to-be-missed panel discussions. GRFDT, along with the Centre for Research on North America (CISAN-UNAM), jointly organised a webinar titled "High Skilled Migration and Post-COVID-19: Perspectives from Latin America and Asia". Sabah Khan and I reported on this discussion, which aimed to assess and identify the future challenges to high-skilled migration, migration management with a particular focus on the healthcare sector. Naziya Naweed reported on another webinar organised by GRFDT along with CISAN, UNAM, Mexico, titled "US Policies on Migration: Lessons from India and Mexico" wherein she writes about understanding the US immigration policy on migration and assessing its impact on India and Mexico; the two most significant immigrant-sending countries. A third discussion was covered by Pratik Satyal, organised jointly by GRFDT with Migrant Forum Asia, Cross-Regional Center For Refugees and Migrant and Civil Society Action Committee where the panellists looked at the relationship between the business continuity mechanism and migrant workers' rights. Wegene Mengistu wrote about Employer-tied Visas and how Solutions to the challenges posed by employer-tied visas could be tackled with the help of multilateral cooperation. He added that networks built for this purpose are the instruments to challenge the defects in employer-tied visas.

Pinak Sarkar and Nutan Shashi Tigga have written about studying the economic consequences of COVID-19 in Bihar from the lens of reverse

migration, with special focus on the employment situation, labour market, revenue loss.

We are also bringing two book reviews in this newsletter which one wouldn't want to miss. *Go Home*, which is a collection of immigration and diaspora experiences, was reviewed by Sharlene Chen. This book contains essays, short stories and poems written by thirty-one Asian diaspora writers, which emphasises on the dominant feeling of being away from home. *Servants, Sirdars and Settlers: Indians in Mauritius 1834-1874* offers a comprehensive account of Indian indentured labour in Mauritius, particularly, the transition from migrants to settlers was reviewed by Sabah Khan.

At the tail end of our newsletter, we have an interview with Tan Sri Professor T Marimuthu who discussed global migration in general and Malay-

sian Indian diaspora in particular. Among other things, he threw light on the contemporary scenario of Indian migration to Malaysia. He believes that the way forward for the Indian community in Malaysia is education.

We wish that you gain something substantial from reading our newsletter for the month of August. Please feel free to get in touch with us via social media or contact us directly with your feedback/suggestions on editorinchief@grfdt.com.



Parul Srivastava

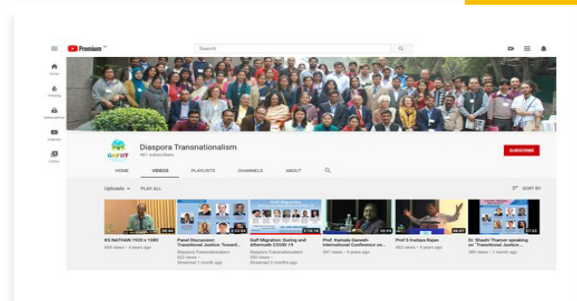
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High-Skilled Migration and COVID-19 Pandemic

High-skilled migration will have an impact on business, functioning of countries, but this is something we have to build in our future policy making.

Sabah Khan

The COVID-19 pandemic has an unprecedented impact on mobility and migration. While the healthcare crisis has halted labour migration to a large extent, there is greater impetus on migration of high-skilled workers, notably healthcare workers. In this context the Global Research Forum on Diaspora and Transnationalism (GRFDT) along with the Centre for Research on North America (-CISAN-UNAM), jointly organised a webinar titled “High Skilled Migration and Post-Covid-19: Perspectives from Latin America and Asia” to assess and identify the forthcoming challenges to high-skilled migration, migration management, etc.

Prof Enrique Camacho, Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, moderated the session posing some methodological questions, such “how pandemic affected skilled migration may be an empirical matter, but to ask about possible scenarios in the aftermath of COVID-19 is a matter of speculation.” He argued that this speculation is interdisciplinary in nature and a common ground of reflection can be articulated by theoretical and philosophical disciplines. The philosophical approaches may offer phenomenology and interpretations of how COVID-19 has affected the experience of skilled workers and also applied ethics may offer ideal frameworks to discuss what justice requires from public policy in the aftermath of worldwide pandemic. In so far as shifts in experience around phenomenological studies are concerned, we have seen an increase in the use of information and communication technologies. Closer space proximity is no longer required in work places. Hence, many people may use these

not only to be recruited, but also to work in other countries without leaving their country of origin. Undoubtedly, there will be pernicious effects of these kind of technologies.

Latin American Migrants in Australia

Prof Laura Vazquez Maggio, Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, discussed the management of COVID crisis by Australia – a country in which skilled migration has played an important role since the last decade of 20th century.

The number of permanent skilled migrants arriving in Australia yearly has increased dramatically from 10,000 in mid 1980s to 120,000 yearly in the past five years.

During 2018, there was an arrival of 11,20,00,000 skilled migrants in the country. A high proportion of Latin American migrants from countries such as Mexico have migrated into this stream. Prof Vazquez pointed out that “the vast majority of Mexican migrants in Australia are highly skilled.” The financial support provided by the Australian government has been able to provide tax support both to individuals and Australian companies. Prof Vazquez made an important point that “a significant number are on high skilled temporary visas in vulnerable situations and in many cases not eligible for financial support.”

Prof Vazquez brought in the discussion an important category of international students as one type of highly skilled migrants affected by COVID

crisis. She stated “as countries imposed ban on travel thousands of international students have been stranded and have seen their academic plans interrupted without a foreseeable solution. Their situation is particularly vulnerable as they are not eligible for government financial support schemes and in many cases, they have made an enormous investment in an international academic experience.”

In order to manage COVID crisis universities have moved online, which resulted in Australian universities suffering from large revenue and job losses. The projected loss of international students may result in the sector losing up to 19 billion Australian dollars in the next few years. It is not an exaggeration to say that without international students, Australian universities may downsize, and some might collapse altogether.

Repercussions of High-Skilled migration

Dr Didar Singh, Former Secretary, Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA), pointed out that “there are many positives and negatives in so far as sending and receiving countries are concerned. For sending countries, the biggest issue is ‘brain drain’”. However, the Bangladeshi Diplomat in Middle East, Nahida Sobhan, does not see it as brain drain, but rather as a ‘brain gain’. She took the case of international students to substantiate her argument and claimed “the top countries where international students originate from mainly from Asia, China, India and Republic of Korea and if you look at the pace of the development and the growth rate in these countries I don’t think it indicates towards any brain drain but rather a lot of international students always contribute back

to their countries of origin.”

Ms Sobhan emphasised that it depends on how we channelise and what actions we take to profit and make it a sustainable brain gain both in countries of destination as well as in the countries of origin.

Several other impacts were pointed out by Dr Singh, such as more skilling within the country, i.e., high-skilled migration travel better, all countries promote or try to promote circulation of migrants particularly, of skilled migrants. So far as receiving countries are concerned, there is an anti-feeling against all migrants. He argued that there is a feeling developing and a fear developing both for low and high-skilled migrants that they take away jobs and steal technology. Yet policy of most countries encourages high-skilled migration rather than low-skilled migration. A grave problem that is faced by many countries now is that of return migration and in turn reduced remittances. An important impact highlighted by Dr Didar Singh was the future of high-skilled migration will be marked by more and more of localisation and less of globalisation. He remarked that this will have an impact on business, functioning of countries, but this is something we have to build in our future policy making.

(This news report is the Part I of the 2 part webinar panel discussion by the GRFDT)

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[Published in Delhi Post](#)

COVID-19 and High-Skilled Migration in the Health Sector

Despite a tilt towards higher skilled across professions, there is a preference on certain sectors such as healthcare workers during this pandemic.

Sabah Khan

There are several factors that impact high-skilled migration. Healthcare situation in the sending and receiving countries, economy and politics are some of them which is an outcome of a panel discussion jointly organized by The Global Research Forum on Diaspora and Transnationalism (GRF-DT), along with The Centre for Research on North America (CISAN), UNAM, Mexico, organised a panel discussion on high-skilled migration, with a focus on the healthcare sector. The panellists in the discussions analysed and throw light on some of the critical issues related to healthcare in the context of COVID-19 pandemic, Indian migration to developed countries, global economic situation, etc.

Healthcare Workers in Mexico

Prof Camelia Tigau, Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, dealt with a particular case of medical personnel in Mexico during COVID-19 pandemic. She focused on Cuban doctors invited to work in Mexico during the pandemic. Medicine is one of the main occupations of skilled migrants in the U.S. There are about 10,000 licensed doctors of Mexican origin in the U.S., and even before the COVID-19 there were discussions regarding the understaffing of hospitals in Mexico due to migration and underemployment of specialists. However, it is in the times of crisis such as this pandemic that the scarcity of good quality doctors has become more prominent. Prof Tigau pointed that there is a governmental agreement between Mexico and Cuba to bring in Cuban doctors to help during the crisis. She was concerned with whether this arrival happened as planned. Prof Ti-

gau argued that “this arrival has faced two main critiques: First, directed to the conditions under which these people were hired and the other associated to discrimination against foreign workers in Mexico.”

Cuba has sent its health workers to around 70 countries during this pandemic as a way to increase income.

According to United Nations, the working conditions of these health workers can be categorised as forced labour—a modern form of slavery.

In response to such criticisms, Mexican authorities maintained that this was voluntary work. The second type of critique to the arrival of Cuban doctors came from the Mexican doctors themselves and has been termed as discrimination against foreign workers. Mexican doctors complained that their Cuban colleagues were better paid and were not really complying with the work they were hired for. In turn, Mexican doctors were criticised for discriminating against Cuban doctors.

Skilled Indian Migration to Developed Countries

There is a significant proportion of skilled migrants from India in various countries, which makes its significance worth noting. Prof Rupa Chanda, Professor in Economics, IIM Bangalore, spoke eloquently on the subject of skilled Indian migration to developed countries. There are several important destination countries for the skilled

migrants, such as the Gulf and the Middle East, as well as the OECD countries. Prof Chanda discussed the example of H1B for which India is the most important contributor of skilled migrants.

Prof Chanda argued that the suspension of H1B programme will have significant impact in terms that the cost will increase, there will be some shift towards local hiring, those who are already sponsored by the employers and are already through the labour certification process and happen to be overseas whether they will be able to go or not is not clear. There will be an effect on family immigration. Prof Chanda made an important observation that “these visas may be restricted to very highly skilled workers and realignment within professions in terms of what sort of skill sets are targeted.” There is undoubtedly “a tilt towards more high skilled, but also across professions.” During this pandemic there is a preference on certain sectors such as health workers.

In discussing the policy response of different countries towards high-skilled migrants, Prof Chanda highlighted that “in the US despite the ban on H1B, there is an exemption on medical and other essential workers. Health workers and investor programme applicants are exempted. The unused immigrant visas can be used for professional nurses and physicians. The UK has called on the government to offer British citizenship or permanent residency to all foreign healthcare workers, free extension visa and scrapped healthcare surcharge. Furthermore, Prof Chanda believes that “mobility is already on the agenda, but how you push it in a post-COVID world is to be seen.”

Global Economic Contraction

Prof Andres Solimano, International Centre for Globalization and Development (CIGLOB), Chile, focused on global economic contraction taking place in COVID crisis. He noted a distinction in economic contraction between global north and south. He argued that “This global economic contraction is affecting more the economies of the global north, the U.S. is expected to contract GDP by around 7 per cent, countries like Germany, France, Italy and UK, between 8 and 11 per cent”.

While the economic contraction is less in the global south.

Prof Solimano pointed that “One may make a distinction between economic sectors, high exposure sectors, like tourism, travelling, live entertainment which are the sectors more exposed to the COVID crisis. Those sectors are going to be hit hard. Sectors with upside potential include medical services, internet and communication platform, e-commerce and e-education are very intensive in the demand for high skilled migrants.” While there is an economic depression, there are also opportunities.

Prof Solimano stated “we have a situation where in the destination areas are shrinking, and the origin economies are also contracting. This is the case with Latin America. For Asia, the situation is less dramatic. China is recovering, while Hong Kong and Singapore are not doing bad.”

Way Forward

One pertinent question that needs to be addressed is—are there new opportunities in the post-COVID world? Prof Chanda shared some possible approaches to keep the flow of high-skilled migration, which are economic engagements through broad or sector-specific bilateral agreements. In the long term, one can push forward more of board-based economic cooperation and partnership agreements. We have to look at investment linked mobility schemes. In a US – India trade deal one of the things to really look at is investment-linked mobility schemes because the US is looking for investment partners, while India is looking at shifting and bringing in investment from other countries, especially from China to India. Hence, can we seize this opportunity and try to negotiate something. Apart from agreements we need to tap into the diaspora. Prof Chanda suggested that we need to leverage the pro-trade, pro-investment lobbying that skilled diaspora can do.

The category of high-skilled migrants is complex

in so far as there are different criteria in different locations for defining it. Dr Dildar Singh pointed out that some countries follow wage criteria, while others follow skills criteria. An important point made by Prof Binod Khadria, Professor of Economics and Education, Jawaharlal Nehru University, was that “we cannot discuss high-skilled migration as if it was an omnibus category. We have to deconstruct it.” The panellists also laid stress on managing migration. Dr Singh emphasised on the need for inclusion of voice of migrants themselves. Furthermore, these discussions brought to fore the aspect of virtual migration, which might become an important category in a post-COVID world. The confluence of technology and migra-

tion implies a change in landscape of migration, which requires further deliberations.

(This is the second part of the GRFDT webinar discussion report.)

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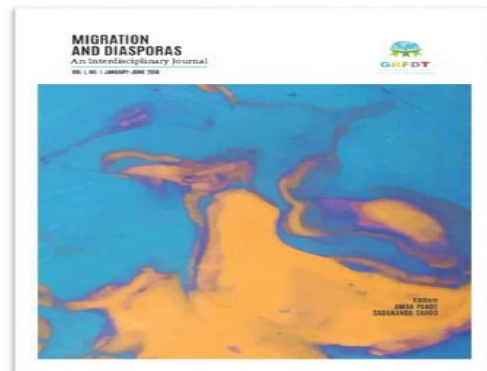


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Global Research Forum on Diaspora and Transnationalism

High Skilled Migration during and post COVID-19: Perspectives from Latin America and Asia

Parul Srivastava

High skilled migrant workers have been on the forefront and accomplishing/involving themselves in various activities in the countries to which they have migrated. However, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, there has been a rampant closure of borders and collapsing of economies which has given way to a rise in the feeling of the 'other' towards the migrants. Therefore, this has resulted in the toughening of migration policies in numerous countries. The United States for instance, is not allowing asylum to anyone who intends on entering the US from the Mexican borders. Such a situation is leading to a rise in fabrication, stigmatization as well as discrimination/prejudice.

Global Research Forum on Diaspora and Transnationalism (GRFDT) along with The Centre for Research on North America (CISAN), UNAM organized an insightful and vital discussion on "High Skilled Migration during and post COVID-19: Perspectives from Latin America and Asia" on August 4th 2020. This session was moderated by Professor Enrique Camacho from the Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, Mexico. This 15th GRFDT virtual panel was attended by policy makers, practitioners and government officials from various countries.

Professor Laura Vazquez Maggio, Univeridad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, Mexico spoke about the management of COVID crisis by Australia, where skilled migration has played a critical role since the last decades of the 20th century. There has been a sweeping increase in the incoming skilled migrants (permanent) to Australia from 10,000 in the mid 1980s to a 120,000 yearly in the last five year. In the year 2018, there were 112,000 skilled migrants. What's interesting is that a large portion of these migrations happen from Latin American countries like Mexico. As per the Australian Bu-

reau of Statistics, around 136,000 among the foreign born migrants currently residing in Australia, come from Latin American countries and out of these, around 5000 were born in Mexico who are highly skilled and probably the most educated cohort in Australia.

Tremendous help/backing has been provided by the Australian government to Australian citizens and permanent citizens. This involves large amount of money that has been allotted to fund and assist people who have lost their jobs. Adding to this, Australia has also provided tax support to individuals and businesses that are experiencing economic complexity. The government has taken charge to support companies in managing short-term cash flows so as to ensure that employers do not have to let go of their employees in such trying times.

Dr. A Didar Singh, Former Secretary MOIA and Former Secretary General, FICCI, India shed light on the rough distinction between high skilled and low skilled migrants wherein she categorized them as professionals and labours, respectively. Talking about receiving countries, there has been an anti/ill feeling towards all migrants. This fear is towards low and high skilled migrants, that they take away jobs. There is another issue around the stealing of technology wherein these countries believe that high skilled migrants, students and professors steal technology. There is a threat from high skilled migrants who might steal jobs from the receiving countries but these countries make rules which ease the coming in of high skilled migrants into their countries and reduce low skilled migrants from coming in. The ongoing pandemic is speeding up the existing fear of anything that migration represents.

Professor Camilia Tigau, Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, Mexico talked about how Medicine is one of the prime occupations of skilled migrants in the USA and if we were to look at the census, there are about 10000 licensed doctors of Mexican origin in the USA. Prior to the corona virus pandemic, the understaffing of Mexican hospitals and underemployment of specialists were being talked about but it is during such emergencies that the scarcity of good quality healthcare really becomes an focal issue. Due to a governmental agreement between Mexico and Cuba, Mexico welcomed Cuban doctors during this pandemic after paying 6.2 million dollars for the services of 585 doctors. This however has faced two critiques. The first one being the conditions under which these doctors were hired and the other was associated with the discrimination against foreign workers in Mexico. Cuba is a nation where healthcare is free and universal and has the most doctors per capita in the world. She believes that focus on the issue of discrimination of Cuban doctors might distract us from more serious problems at the political level to fight the virus.

Professor Rupa Chanda, RBI Chair in Economics, IIM Bengaluru, India spoke about skilled Indian migration to developed countries from a trade and economic cooperation perspective. Professor Chanda says that looking at the migration from India to other countries and the distribution of that migration, we can notice that a huge chunk of migrants has increased threefold from 1990 to 2019. Further citing the United Nation, she said that the UN estimated this migration to be around 17.5 million. Professor Chanda goes on to give an explanation of the h-1b visa to the USA and its breakdown. India has been the leading source country for foreign countries and Indians come second in terms of nurses. She also shed light on the case of Gulf countries and Canada and highlighted that Indians represent a vast proportion of skilled workers. Off late however, there have been certain disputes in this arena, for instance the hike in visa fees in USA and in UK where there was a removal of post-study work program which eventually led to a decline in the number of students opt-

ing to study there. Even though a major portion of the remittance come from the Gulf countries to India, but then the OECD countries (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) also constitute around 34% of the total remittance to India. Looking at the COVID-19 scenario, there has been a further increase in the restrictions that were already on the rise (border policies) which will go on to affect international students from India.

Professor Andres Solimano, International Center for Globalization and Development (CIGLOB) in Chile focused on the impact of the global economic contraction that is taking place during the COVID-19 and the COVID-19 containment policies like restrictions, mobility, lockdown etc. According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF, the global economy should contract between 5.5-6% since we are in a huge economic contraction, for the first time since the Great Depression of 1930s. This is having a huge impact on the economies of the global North. The global South which consists of developing countries is not hit as hard as the global North (Canada, USA, Europe etc). This is mainly because China and India are keeping the positive growth and because the migration is usually from the global South to the global North. Speaking about the impact of the ongoing crisis, he said that there is nothing black and white in such a situation because several countries in Asia are recovering from this pandemic whereas India, on the other hand has shown positive growth in COVID-19 cases.

Nahida Soobhan is a Bangladeshi diplomat who is also the first female diplomat in the Middle East was glad to see that the international students are included in this dialogue of international migration. She doesn't agree with the concept of Brain Drain and in fact looks at it as a Brain Gain. She points out towards the growth rate of countries in Asia who send out a huge number of international students every year and says that the growth rate does not direct towards any kind of brain drain. She spoke about the Bangladeshi perspective as to how she has seen international students contrib-

ute to the countries of their origin or work with the diaspora and how they ultimately end up contributing immensely. COVID-19 has definitely impacted international students to a large extent as they are hit financially and also in terms of their visa.

Professor Binod Khadria commented that the world is experiencing a drastic change and it's something that we did not expect. He talked about two philosophies that originated in his part of the world (Indian subcontinent) and they are Hinduism and Buddhism and they both talked about Globalisation. He explained the meaning of the Sanskrit term 'Vasudeva Kutumbakam' which mean that the entire earth is one family and mankind is its citizens. COVID-19 has taken the world by surprise and however many projections one

might have made, the world was just not prepared to deal with this pandemic. He talks about making a paradigm shift in our theoretical constructs as the world was not ready for something like the ongoing pandemic. We need to decide and discuss what's more important, which one should come first- life or livelihood and this is something that we address with a new paradigm.

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VIRTUAL PANEL DISCUSSION 15

**HIGH SKILLED MIGRATION DURING AND POST COVID 19:
PERSPECTIVES FROM LATIN AMERICA AND ASIA**

DATE: Tuesday, 04 August 2020 | TIME: 06:30 pm, (IST, GMT+5:30)

SPEAKERS

Moderated By



Prof. Enrique Camacho
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México



Prof. Laura Vázquez Maggio
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México



Prof. Camelia Tigau
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México



Prof. Andres Solimano
University of Oxford, United Kingdom



Dr. A Didar Singh
Former Secretary, MOIA and Former Sec. Gen., FICCI, India



Prof. Rupa Chanda
RBI Chair Professor in Economics, IIM Bangalore, India



Prof. Wei Li
Arizona State University, United States of America

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Rethinking the US Immigration Policy: Lessons from India and Mexico

The immigration policy of the US will impact migrants hailing from India and Mexico; with the ban on H-1B visa, the popular opinion is not going to be in favour of immigrants.

Naziya Naweed

Migration has been a keenly debated topic across the world, and its relevance has become much more crucial in times of the pandemic. The recent US immigration policy under President Donald Trump is no exception, which prioritises the flow of immigrants by giving precedence to the US nationals. In this context, the Global Research Forum on Diaspora and Transnationalism (GRF-DT) along with the Centre for Research on North America (CISAN), UNAM, Mexico, jointly organised a webinar titled “US Policies on Migration: Lessons from India and Mexico” to understand the US immigration policy on migration and assessing its impact on India and Mexico; the two most significant immigrant-sending countries.

“The US, under the leadership of President Donald Trump, has imposed restrictive policies against migrants and asylum seekers before the onset of COVID-19 pandemic”, said Prof. SiviaNúñez, National Autonomous University of Mexico, Mexico, while moderating the session. She shared further that in the context of COVID-19, the Title 8 Enforcement Actions and Title 42 Expulsions empower CBP’s (US law enforcement agency) immigration authority to prohibit the entry of certain persons in the US from the borders of Mexico and Canada in the interest of public health system. Hence, there will be damaging effects of these kinds of challenges on the migrants hailing from the neighbouring borders.

Restrictionist Immigration Policy

Cyrus Mehta, Immigration Lawyer, USA, explained the nuances associated with the US immi-

gration policies under President Trump. America has always been a nation of immigrants; however; President Trump ascendency has changed how the US perceives migrants. He brought the example of Mexico, and argued: “if Mexican immigrants hail to the US in the undocumented capacity they are often labelled as criminals and rapist”.

Mehta stated that “President Trump has used the provision of section 212 of the US Nationality Act to far off any groups of foreign nationals if they are detrimental to the interests of the US as part of the ‘America First Policy’”.

Using the provisions of the Act, which was earlier used in low capacity, the Trump administration has weaponised the COVID situation to reorder US immigration law to restrict immigrant visa further.

Is There a Crisis on the US–Mexico Border?

According to Prof Mónica Vereá, National Autonomous University of Mexico, Mexico, President Trump has hardened the US policies on the integration of Mexican asylum seekers in the US through the establishment of multiple executive orders and federal regulations. Although the flow of Mexicans to the US territories has increased significantly in the past, Prof Vereá observed that it had posed considerable pressure on Mexican president Andrés Manuel López Obrador to impose enforcement policy to curb immigration. Despite the lack of concrete efforts on the ground, it has proved to be a daunting task for the Mexican administration to carry out the objective.

Alternatively, Prof Antonio Alejo, University of Coruña, Spain, considered Mexican immigrants in the US without any 'formal recognition' in the host territory. Considering such issue, to him the political landscape has cultivated 'white nativism' sentiments among the US nationals, hence making Mexican migrants' assimilation difficult. Similarly, concerning the issue of deportation, he believed that it is a challenge for the Mexican migrants to go back and integrate again in the country of origin. Further Prof Alejo shared the optimism that Mexican grassroots-level organisations could help migrants identify opportunities to restart their lives with dignity. In spite of the deportation, these Mexican deportees consider the US as their home.

Highly Skilled Indian Migration to the US

Prof Binod Khadria, Former Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India, presented succinct historical and geopolitical lessons for India concerning the US policies on migration that goes back to 500 years when Columbus discovered America. The US policy on immigration has not been welcoming concerning the unskilled migrants. On a similar note he argued that in the year 1917, the US congress passed 'literacy test bill' to curb Indians, Chinese, Fijian and people from Asiatic origin enter into the US who were not literate in English language.

However, Prof Khadria believed that the "policy-making has been a democratic process in the Congress, but there have been times, when executive orders override article 212 (f), which comes handy to dictators for putting in place what they want, in terms of violating the rights of the people"

The historical narratives also suggest that Indian IIT graduates and professionals were attracted to the US due to unemployment back in the home country. The recession of 1992, Prof Khadria argued, has further compelled Indians to give up Indian nationalities and naturalise themselves into American citizenship. Subsequently, he brought in the discussion a relevant category of IIT graduated and professionals who flooded the Silicon Valley

with their technological skills and expertise and eventually revolutionised the US economy.

Future Trump and Biden Path on Immigration

The future of the US immigration policies will depend upon the elections scheduled for November 2020 between President Trump and Joe Biden. In terms of whether there will be a comprehensive immigration reforms after the election, Tony Payan, Rice University, US, believed that due to COVID-19 and generated unemployment in the US, the priority of the administration is going to be for these 30 million citizens or residents who are unemployed. So, it would be difficult for Biden to reverse some of these executive orders. Secondly, while the US has not defined border security, he identifies that the move will give room for manoeuvre in restricting immigration and asylum seekers. Finally, Payan proposed that the issue of 11 million undocumented immigrants will create another hurdle for Biden.

On the policy front too, Prof. Elizabeth Salamanca, University of the Americas, Puebla, believed that the Trump administration "has dismantled and reconstructed many elements of the US immigration system that was last reformed in 1996". She endorsed that skilled and high-skilled migrants will be affected by measures the Trump administration has undertaken, such as suspension of various categories of visas like H-1B. In the long run, such changes will prove detrimental to the US economy. She further asserted that "if Biden comes to power, it would be difficult for the new administration to rescind the changes made to the immigration laws that Trump administration has implemented". However, if that happened, it would require massive financial personnel and bureaucratic investment to carry out such an objective.

Repercussions of the US Immigration Policy

There is a dire need to focus on the impact of changed immigration policies on India and Mexico. The importance is to rethink in terms of what

the prospective migration scenarios will emerge shortly. As Prof Amba Pandey remarked, “while talking about migration and immigration; we tend to talk so much about policies, but we also have to relate those policies to the local politics”. In the case of India, according to Mehta, the H-1B visa is used widely by the Indians high-skilled workers and professionals. The ban on the issuance of the permit will impact immigrant capacity to sponsor their family members. As variance to the argument put forward by Mr Mehta, Prof Pande believed that the US ban on foreign nationals would not affect the Indians. Rather, Indians will find their new destinations; as an alternative, the focus should be on how much India and Mexico are capable of refilling the depleted skill gap globally. For Prof Khadria, a closer look at the history of migrant movement between India and the US will help to shape the future lessons. However, he promptly acknowledged that the student’s mobility, especially of STEM students and STEM professionals, to the US would continue. At the same time, from the point of the parents, as the region is profoundly affected by the virus, he argued; will withhold them to take that risk of sending their children’s and are likely to choose a less-risky country, like Canada or Mexico.

In line with Prof Verea’s argument, Mehta observed that the ban on visas will have a detrimental effect on the Mexicans when people try to cross into the US from Mexico and apply for the asylum in the US.

Interestingly, the financial situation and political climate under Lopez administration compelled many US migrants from Mexico to move towards the US and re-enter their own countries, which will further pose a challenge. In the wake of the new

immigration rules and their possible impact on care workers, Payan doesn’t foresee that the strict US immigration law will initiate any shift in the labour market for women who provide healthcare services for the elderly and childcare services. He took the case of women workforce employed privately to substantiate his argument and claimed that such emerging labour demands had met in terms of home-based coaching.

Several other repercussions were pointed out by Prof Elizabeth, for the workers and native people, especially during COVID-19. She pointed out that “backlogs may appear in the processing of visa applications for most categories of migration immigrants and non-immigrants”. As a result, many potential high-skilled migrants may reconsider their options and cancel or delay their immigration.

Despite the pandemic in place, the current situation has shown that with the changes in the immigration law, the US will become much pickier when it comes to who can come in. Payan had remarked that the trend is likely to change the demand towards much higher-skilled immigrants. Henceforth, countries like India and Mexico must now shift their policy to provide more opportunities for their own populations.

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Justice to Migrants: Ensure Ethical Recruitment Policies

Large multinational enterprises with significant influence over global supply chain are in unique position to influence the suppliers, recruitment agencies to ensure labour standards, human rights and place a mechanism for transitional justice.

Pratik Satyal

Migrant workers have been subjected to gross violations of their labour rights on a large scale including the very important issue of ‘wage theft’. Civil society and various actors have made a call for transitional justice mechanism to be put in place so that migrant workers would be able to access their legal rights and thus justice can be delivered. The role of public and private sectors to ensure accountability in terms of justice mechanism is important.

“Dispute resolution mechanism should be made adequate and reachable. There is the need of urgency to look into business in preventing labour and human rights abuses and for businesses to be guided by the UN guiding principles”, said Dato’ Sri M. Ramachelvam, an advocate and solicitor of the high court of Malaya, Malaysia. He was moderating the webinar session titled “Business and Transitional Justice”, which was organised by the Global Research Forum on Diaspora and Transnationalism (GRFDT) along with Migrant Forum Asia, Cross-Regional Center For Refugees and Migrant and Civil Society Action Committee. Ramachelvam further shared further that the pretext of transitional justice, as per the International Centre for Transitional Justice, an emphasis was made on the relationship between law and politics as well as the notion of dignity.

The expert panelists in the webinar looked at the relationship between the business continuity mechanism and migrant workers’ rights.

Corporate Accountability

Business house put the migrant workers in a difficult situation to seek justice. Migrants are fearful of speaking out as they may be detained, restricted from moving out and in some cases imprisoned as well. Isobel Archer, Project Officer for Migrant Workers in Qatar and UAE with the Business and Human Rights Resource Center, discussed on the company responding to public allegations. She further explains “The research conducted by the center found that the rate of company responding publicly dropped to around 20–25 per cent on average across the six major Gulf countries”. Furthermore, Gulf countries are characterised by the restriction imposed around human rights, labour rights and unionizing, which constricts the migrant workers to seek justice. The other looming difficulty for tracking the labour abuses around the Gulf is the organisational setup where the chains of ownership are hard to pick by. This in regards creates the challenging questions on “Where does the responsibility of the migrant workers lie when they face issue?” However, during the time of April and mid-July of 2020, there has been monumental increase in the allegations compared to last year, and this increase is under 400 per cent.

COVID-19 has had huge factor to play in the recorded cases in which most cases pointed to the lack of access to medical care, workers being stranded and workers not being paid with employers citing economic downturn.

There has also been big gap between companies’ policy commitment and the factory implementation. Golda S. Benjamin, Programme Director

of Business and Human Rights Resource Center, placed emphasis on the garment sector in the Asia region. There is lack of COVID-19 safety precautions in the garment industries all over Asia. In 4 out of 10, i.e., Pakistan, Bangladesh, Myanmar and Philippines, garment workers protesting over unpaid wages have been subjected to violent crackdown. In addition to this, workers having membership with the union have been sacked in apparel companies and the sacking of workers figured around 5000.

Ethical Recruitment Practices

In order to curb down the mishandling of the migrant workers in the workplace, it has to be ensured that they are recruited in a fair, legal and humane manner. Marie Apostol, who have worked on the recruitment process through fair hiring initiatives brought to light the certification model that helps to improve the performance of recruitment agencies on both sending and receiving countries. It could prevent the issues of trafficking, debt bondage, forced labor and issues related to employment like contract violations. She further states “For the recruitment practices to have clarity and consistent, civil societies have to get involved in testing the grievance mechanisms.” She also pointed to the fact that recruitment agencies are looking into the increasing cost up to 40 per cent per employee. The employment phase model will now look into the cost like quarantine cost, personal protection equipment (PPE), flight and others that have been surfaced due to the pandemic. However, the desperation among the workers will be more in finding jobs and as she brought out, the workers will be doing any job available. This in turn will increase the workers vulnerability to exploitation. On the other hand, as Marie brought to light that the institution have to look into the pertinent questions on the control and mitigation mechanism such as transitional justice to curb the vulnerability that the workers might face.

Local Legislation and Government Regulation

Murtaza Khan, Regional Managing Partner of

Fragomen based in Middle East and Africa region, also indicated that the recruitment process is the first entry point and a special attention needs to be given to that process. He further points to the fact that the recruitment agencies that the company are using and the process should be in ethical principles in terms of local legislation that sits in part with the international standards. In today’s fast-paced technological world, non-compliance risk to the company adds huge administrative as well as legal cost and not to forget the reputational cost. Thus ethical fair recruitment will be beneficial for the company. However, he also clarified that companies alone cannot solve the unscrupulous recruitment process and government regulation framework is a must.

The landscape becomes even more complex when the recruitment involves multiple countries, sub-agencies and this further entails that bilateral and multilateral co-operation between the government agencies.

The Montreal Recommendations on Recruitment: A Road Map towards Better Regulation is the way forward to ensure fair and ethical recruitment process, which was highlighted in the session by Neil Wilkins. The recommendations has worked on the protection of migrant workers through recruitment regulation along with recruitment fees, bilateral mechanism, dispute resolution, grievance mechanism, legal compliance standards and administration introspection. Businesses have a role to play in disseminating the information through their supply chain. The COVID-19 have now created a discussion in the “gig-economy” jobs as well, which are to be viewed in retrospection. Migrants who represent less than 5 per cent of global workforce make up to 25 per cent of modern-day slaves that are accelerated as a matter of debt bondage. The challenges have been well seen by the concerned institution. Tara Dermott from IOM (International Organization for Migration) Hong Kong reference to the UN 2030 agenda, which has recognised migration as an important global factor for development could be decisive for upholding rights of migrants. Similarly, Objective 6 of the

Global Compact for Migration is to facilitate fair and ethical recruitment and safeguard the conditions for decent work. Furthermore, a call for the ethical recruitment based on IRIS (International Recruitment Integrity System) standards is to be expedited. Large multinational enterprises with significant influence over global supply chain are in unique position to influence the suppliers, recruitment agencies to ensure labour standards, human rights and place a mechanism for transi-

tional justice.

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WEBINAR ON “BUSINESS AND TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE”

Date: 18 August 2020
Time: 05:30 PM Indian Time (GMT + 05:30)

	<p>Dato' Sri M. Ramachelvam Advocate & Solicitor of the High Court of Malaya, Malaysia (Moderator)</p>		<p>Isobel Archer Project Officer, Business & Human Rights Resource Centre</p>
	<p>Golda S. Benjamin Programme Director, Business & Human Rights Resource Centre</p>		<p>Neill Wilkins Head, Migrant Worker Programme, Institute for Human Rights and Business (IHRB)</p>
	<p>Murtaza Khan Regional Managing Partner, Fragomen, Middle East and Africa region</p>		<p>Tara Dermott Head of Sub-Office IOM, Hong Kong SAR, China</p>

Employer-tied Visas: Posing Challenges to Human Rights

Solutions to the challenges posed by employer-tied visas need to be tackled with multilateral cooperation. An alliance between migrants, civil society, and trade unions should be formed.

Wegene Mengistu

The difficulties prompted by employer-tied visas are fairly sufficient to invite a proper dialogue on the issue. An international panel of scholars and practitioners recently looked into the challenges and alternatives to employer-tied visas at the webinar “Employer Tied Visas”, which was organised by the Global Research Forum on Diaspora and Transnationalism (GRFDT), Migrant Forum Asia (MFA), Cross-Regional Center for Refugees and Migrants (CCRM), and Civil Society Action Committee. While moderating the webinar Roula Hamati, coordinator, CCRM, indicated that there are 272 million migrants globally, of which the two-third (167 million) are migrant workers. As worrying as the absence of particular instruments that discuss employer-tied visas is, there are ILO conventions on the determination of employment as well as forced labour.

Felipe Gonzalez, a UN special rapporteur on the human rights of migrants, claims that employer-tied visas are posing challenges to the labour rights, and economic and social rights of migrant workers. Retention of migrant workers’ passports, limits to the freedom of movement, and lack of access to legal aid or services are among the problems that migrant workers face. Mostly based on the experiences of the US and some Latin American countries, Helen Olea, Associate Director, Programmes, Allianz Americas, identified different challenges associated with employer-tied visa arrangements. In some cases, migrant workers who have filed for a law suit are apprehended and deported to their country of origin. Migrant workers in such arrangements are forced to have the blessings of their employers to move to another work. According to Olea, similar arrangements

that involved a violation of migrant workers’ rights were observed among temporary agricultural workers in the US and domestic workers in other parts of the world. Even today, due to the intricacies in such arrangements, migrant workers are threatened to stay in exploitative work environments and remain without health insurance, accommodation, and other important protections.

Olea shared that “employer-tied visas are deficient as they fail to provide immunity or protection to migrant workers who have dissociated themselves from their employers.”

Conceptual and Normative Clarity Matters

Ellene Sana suggested that “rethinking many issues including the kafala system as well as temporariness is vital to how we decide to entertain the challenges linked to employer tied visas.” Begum’s approach to the issue refrains from making a categorical rejection of employer-tied visas, including the kafala. She stated that the kafala is a longstanding concept in the Arab world. Unique to present-day kafala is that it is bureaucratized and instrumentalised to serve the specific purposes outlined by members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). Communication and reports by different UN agencies regarded the kafala as a contemporary form of slavery. Rothna Begum, a senior researcher on women’s rights at Human Rights Watch, made a distinction between the kafala system and slavery. Contrary to Begum’s account, Laxman, a secretary-general of South Asian Regional Trade Union Council, identifies the kafala with modern-day slavery.

Prof Binod Khadria, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India, stressed the need for a distinction between a human rights and labour rights approach to the issue of migrant workers' rights. He explains, "human rights are primarily about migrants' families, while labour rights are concerned about migrants themselves." Having characterised Prof Khadria's distinction as insightful, Olea explained how migrant workers' rights can also be incorporated in issues of human rights.

Labour Categories, Visa Arrangements, and Discrimination

Gonzalez shared that even in those states which have partially abolished the kafala system, migrant workers are systematically excluded from labour laws. Consequently, access to the justice system is close to impossible. Employer-tied visa schemes are based on the assumption that the migratory status of migrants is a temporary one. Gonzales associated the lack of vision to integrate migrants into the host society with the above assumption. Olea underscores the need to revisit the skilled–unskilled labour distinction provided by economics. She has touched on the issue of discrimination vis-à-vis different categories of migrants, i.e., skilled, low skilled and unskilled. Substantiating the claim made by Olea, Elizabeth Tang, president, International Domestic Worker's Federation (IDWF), stated that employer-tied visas are not unique to domestic migrant workers. However, the exploitation of migrant workers by their employers has been vastly witnessed in areas involving low-skilled workers.

Speaking about the African experience with the employer-tied visas, Joel Odigie, deputy director, International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC-Africa), sounds unconvinced by the efforts of African states to regulate migration from parts of the continent to the Gulf region. Migrant workers' path to employment depends on both institutional and non-institutional factors. Not shocked by the agonies of their citizens, most sending states of the continent appear to lack a clear benchmark as well as a blueprint for migration management.

According to Odigie, most sending states of Africa seem to concur with the "take it or leave it" offer of receiving states in the Gulf region.

It is only recently that some efforts have been made by Kenyan and Ugandan authorities to regulate recruitment processes. The implementation of recruitment guidelines approved by global institutions is still not incumbent among all involved.

Alternative Arrangements

Alternatives to employer-tied visas call for a collaborative engagement of both countries of origin and destination. According to Olea, since the migratory status of migrant workers is temporary, they should be allowed to take their savings and contributions to their country of origin. Given the way to labour agreements is a long way to go; in the meantime, proper regulation of labour inspection and fair recruitment processes might provide a provisional comfort.

Begum and other panelists suggested the idea of new visa arrangements (for example, a domestic worker visa). However, this arrangement itself isn't without problems. Although being able to change an employer is the first step in the right direction, some of the challenges in this regard include recruitment fees, health insurance, and accommodation. Tang additionally suggested a look into the best experiences of some Latin American countries and South Africa, where migrant workers are allowed to switch to a different visa arrangement than the one used to enter the destination at first. Showing recent developments, Begum stated that countries like Bahrain and the UAE are considering allowing already existing migrant workers to change employers.

Additionally, solutions to the challenges posed by employer-tied visas need to be tackled with multi-lateral cooperation. An alliance between migrants, civil society, and trade unions should be formed. Odigie added that networks built for this purpose are the instruments to challenge the defects in employer-tied visas. Alongside the institutional re-

sponses to employer-tied visa induced problems, Tang emphasised the role of awareness-raising in enhancing migrant workers' understanding of the issue.

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Economic Consequences of COVID-19 in Bihar: From the Lens of Reverse Migration

Pinak Sarkar[1] and Nutan Shashi Tigga[2]

Abstract:

The COVID-19 has disrupted the lives of millions of people in India, many have lost their livelihood and income generation options which have created a massive humanitarian crisis. In this regard, it becomes imperative to focus on Bihar, a state with severe poverty rate and underdevelopment. The state also witnesses highest rate of inter-state out-migration to the economically prosperous states and benefits immensely from the remittances. The sudden lock down due to the pandemic have resulted in return of millions of migrant workers to the state that have created severe economic challenges to the already weak economy of Bihar. In this context, this paper tries to examine the economic consequences of reverse migration in the state with particular focus on employment situation, labour market, revenue loss. An attempt is also made to suggest measures that can benefit the migrant workers. The study uses data sets and reports such as Census 2011 D-series, NSSO 64th round 2007-8 data on migration, PLFS round 2017-18 and 2018-19, CMIE, Bihar Economic Surveys 2019-20 etc.

Keywords: COVID-19, Migration, Bihar, Remittances, Economic consequences, labour market, Census 2011, PLFS.

1. Introduction:

The sudden onset of Covid-19 in the country gave little time to prepare for this pandemic, resulting to huge loss of lives and livelihood. With the nation coming to a standstill and halting all eco-

nomical activities, thousands of people were stranded with no employment opportunities. The informal workers, particularly the migrant community was adversely affected by the ongoing crisis. Loss of jobs and little saving to survive in cities, lead to huge exodus of migrants from the major cities such as Delhi, Mumbai etc. With transportation shut, many walked miles with their minimal belongings to their villages. There are also instances where out of desperation to return, many have used all their savings or have resorted to taking up new loans or even got money transfers from family members and friends. This facilitated debates around the pathetic livelihood conditions of migrant population across various cities and states. It can be assumed that the lack of support both from the employers and the government agencies, have forced the migrant workers to return to the home state either on foot or by the thousands of Shramik express trains run by the government. A study by Bhatnagar (2020) based on a survey conducted by Gurgaon Nagrik Ekta Manch (GNEM) found that due to the prolonged lockdown around 87 percent of the migrants were left with INR 500 or less in hand, many were forced to take loans and also faced food distress.

While most of the Indian states are working relentlessly to control the spread of COVID-19 cases, states such as Bihar faced a dual challenge of the pandemic, viz., shrinking economy and the situation of reverse migration (Ranjan et al., 2020). The effect of the pandemic can be most devastating in Bihar given its socio-economic and demographic characteristics. Bihar is one of the poorest states in the country with a population size of 104

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million (104,099,452 persons) which is around 8.6 percent of the total population of the country (Census 2011); and in 2020, it can be estimated to be around 128 million (128,458,570 persons). It is also characterized by high population density (1102 per sq. km), limited industrialization, lack of employment opportunities, and the highest propensity for out-migration rate, which may further aggravate the current situation of the state (Table-1).

Studies in the context of inter-state out-migration from the poorer states in India have shown that across the various socio-economic groups, the migrants at the urban destinations are economically better placed in the MPCE[3] wealth quintile when compared to the non-migrants/population at the native state (Rajan and Sarkar 2020; Sarkar 2019; Joe et al. 2011). But in the current situation it can be argued that the sudden loss of job for the migrants, and their unplanned return to the native state will impact their economic wellbeing and push them towards the lower levels in the MPCE wealth quintile distribution.

2. Reverse Migration and its impact on Bihar Economy:

The impact of reverse migration can be much higher in Bihar than other Indian states given the fact that the propensity of economic migration in the state for economic reasons is highest in the country. Since the sudden announcement of the countrywide lockdown, the state has witnessed an influx of around 3.2 million migrants from various cities in the country (Kumar 2020). To understand the overall impact of the reverse migration in Bihar, it is important to look into the demographic and industrial profile of the state, labour market, the employment-unemployment scenario and dependence on remittances.

Industrial and Demographic Profile of Bihar

The economic impact of return migration on Bihar

economy is substantially very high given the fact that it is one of the poorest, and among the least industrialized states in the country. In Bihar, the share of labour force participation in the industry is only 8 percent and holds 33rd position in the per capita GDP ranking across states[4]. The occupational structure of the state suggests that roughly around 56 percent of the labour force is engaged in agriculture which is around 12 percent higher than the national average (Mehrotra and Roy 2020). Further, only 8 percent is engaged in the industry which is 15 percent less than the national average. According to the estimates from the Periodic Labour Force Survey (PLFS) 2017-18 and 2018-19, Bihar has the highest number of informal workers in the total workforce which can be estimated to be between 90-94 percent. This suggests that the state government will face extreme difficulty in creating new jobs both in agriculture or industry. Table-1, shows a comparative demographic and industrial indicators of Bihar and table-2, shows the Labour Force Participation rate (LFPR) and the Worker Population Ratio (WPR) of Bihar and India. These comparisons will help to analyze the extent to which the state government is in a precarious situation to tackle the return migration crisis in the time of COVID-19 crisis.

Table-1: Key demographic and industrial indicators:

Demographic and Industrial Indicators		
Demographic Profile	Bihar	India
Population Density	1102 per sq. Km	382 per sq. Km
Population Growth Rate (Decadal)	25.40 %	17.70 %
Urbanization Rate	11.29%	31.16%
Literacy Rate	63.82%	74.04%
Industrial Profile	Bihar	India
No. Factories in Operation ('000)	2.91 (1.5%)	194
Persons Engaged (in '000)	1162 (0.8%)	149112
Value of Output (Rs '000 crore)	47.69 (0.7 %)	7266
Net Value Added (Rs '000 crore)	5.37 (0.5 %)	1146

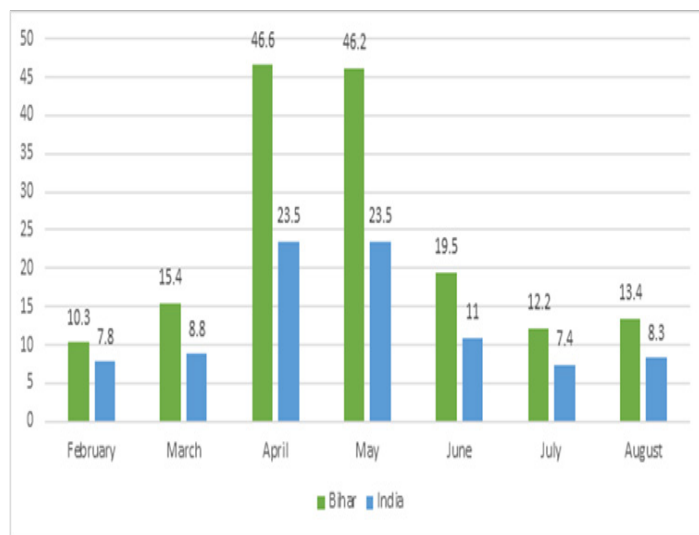
Source: Compiled from Census 2011 and Bihar Economic Survey 2019-20.

Note: Figure in Parenthesis refers to the percentage share of Bihar to the India level. The industrial profile information is for the period 2017.

Implication of Reverse Migration: Unemployment, Revenue and Labour Market Scenario

On the employment front, the recent survey conducted by the Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy (CMIE) shows that, the unemployment rate in Bihar rose to 46.6 percent in April 2020 which is far greater than the national unemployment rate of 23.5 percent. Figure 1, shows that after April and May, the unemployment rate started to normalize as some relaxations were given to some sectors to carry on economic activities. However, it is observed that even though the unemployment rate started to come down during the month of June, July and August, for Bihar it was substantially higher than the national average. The abnormal increase in unemployment rate in Bihar can be very much attributed both to ‘reverse migration’ and also the ‘shrinking economy’ during the lockdown.

Figure 1: Monthly unemployment rates in 2020 (in percent)



Source: Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy (CMIE).

Table-2 shows the LFPR and WPR for Bihar and India. These are some of the most prominent indicators which can reflect the state of employment, economic activity and the performance of the overall economy. The LFPR is defined as the

percentage of persons in the labour force in the population. It is a measure to evaluate the working age population in an economy. Lower rate of LFPR usually reflects poor level of economic activity and economic development. WPR is the number of persons employed per 1000 population. It can be noted that Bihar has lower level of LFPR and WPR compared to all-India level for all the groups: male and female, and rural and urban.

Table-2: LFPR and WPR (in per cent):

Categories	Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR)		Worker Population Ratio (WPR)	
	Bihar	India	Bihar	India
Rural Male	48.8	55.1	43.6	52.1
Urban Male	48.4	56.7	43.4	52.7
Rural Female	2.6	19.7	2.6	19
Urban Female	4.7	16.1	4.1	14.5

Source: Calculated using PLFS (2018-19).

The fiscal situation of the state has also worsened during this period. The loss of revenue for the state government stands at around 82.29 percent in April this year compared to the April 2019-20 financial year. The revenue for the month of April fell to INR 450.21 crore from INR 2542.23 crore in last April (Singh 2020). According to SBI Ecowrap report, 2020[5], the states have witnessed a huge loss in the share of Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP). Accordingly, the state of Bihar has witnessed an estimated loss of INR 74,249 crores (11.5 percent of GSDP). Given this scenario, it can be argued that the government of Bihar is under huge financial constraint to accommodate the return migrants. It is also expected that due to the unprecedented excessive supply of labour, the wages in Bihar may fall further which is already amongst the lowest in the country. The fall in wages will also adversely affect the already falling consumption demand. Source: Calculated using PLFS (2018-19).

The return of millions of migrant workers will put immense burden on the rural labour market which has always been in a very poor state of affairs, and was one of the very reasons for high migration rate from Bihar. The shrinking GDP levels will further add to the fuel, and will make it very difficult for

the employment-oriented sectors such as construction, industry, manufacturing, service sectors etc., to revive. Hence, it can be argued that those who have returned to the respective native states may not get an immediate opportunity in the existing job market. Therefore, the rural labour markets will experience several challenges given the fact that a large proportion of return migrants will now seek employment in the agricultural sector.

The employment opportunities in the rural non-farm sector is also very limited given the fact that it largely comprises small and petty traders, shops and businesses which doesn't create enough employment options. In such circumstances, the rural labour markets in these poorer states may experience higher levels of unemployment, disguised/hidden unemployment, under-employment, exploitation, deterioration of working conditions etc. This may also lead to substantial fall in wage rate in the state which is already among the lowest in the country. The only option left to those who are seeking employment in the rural labour market is to get work through MGNREGS and other employment generating schemes such as Garib Kalyan Rojgar Yojana (GKRY).

Economic Impact due to loss of Remittances:

Along with the fallout of overall economic health of the state due to the pandemic such as rising unemployment rate, shrinking economic activity etc., the loss of remittances may have enormous negative impact in the overall economy. The sudden loss of remittances due to the reverse migration will further push the rural population towards poverty (Ranjan and Bisht 2020). According to a recent survey conducted by IIPS Mumbai, more than 50 percent of the households in Bihar have migrant members who moved for economic reasons (Roy et al 2020). The study shows that the dependence on remittances are very high among the migrant households. On an average the remittance sent by a migrant is INR 26,020. Earlier surveys such as NSSO 64th round on migration (2007-08) also found that the state has highest remittance dependency in the country. In rural Bihar, among the migrant households, around 74.5 percent of

households have received remittances, this rate is twice the national average of 36.6 percent. In urban Bihar, it was around 61.4 percent against the national average of 24 percent. This helps to argue that the absence domestic remittances will also push the households towards indebtedness, as roughly around 6 percent of the remittance receiving households uses remittances for repayment of loan/debt. Given very high dependency on remittances, it can be argued that without remittances, the demand for the consumption goods will fall. Most of the return migrants have already faced severe economic challenges and have undergone emotional trauma during the journey back home. Therefore, it can be argued that these migrants will not be able to re-migrate soon to the usual migration destinations. Decision to migrate requires money to cover the cost of migration, and also confidence on the destination labour market, which seems to be both missing in the current times.

3. Impact of Reverse Migration on the major destination states:

The major destinations for economic migrants are the higher income states that have advantages of having economic pull-factors. These states have higher wages, higher per capita income, infrastructural development, employment/business opportunities in various sectors such as industries, construction, manufacturing, service sectors etc. Empirical studies in the Indian contexts have shown that the richer states such as Delhi, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Punjab etc. are the major destination states and are the gainers of human capital. Whereas, the economically backward states such as Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Odisha are losing human capital etc. (Chandrasekhar and Sharma 2014; Castaldo et al 2012; Joe et al 2011; Bhagat 2009). However, with the emergence of pandemic and the return of millions of migrant workers, it is the industrial destinations which are losing the cheap labour from the poorer states.

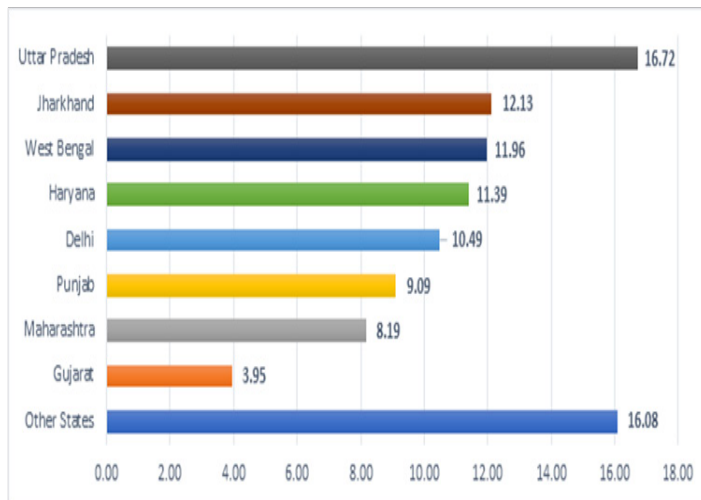
Most of the migrant workers from Bihar usually worked in the unorganized sectors in construction, manufacturing, service, small businesses and also as domestic help etc. The absence of these mi-

grant workers who previously worked at various capacities in the urban areas of these states will lead to labour shortages and create bottlenecks in the production process, thereby impacting the industrial and the overall growth of the economy. It is now the worry of these states as to how to retain the migrant workers or to re-attract them to address the problems associated with the shortage of labour.

Figure 2: Major destinations for Bihari migrants for economic reasons: Male migrants (in percent):

Source: Calculated using D-3, Census -2011.

Figure 3: Major destinations for Bihari migrants for economic reasons: Female migrants (in percent)



Source: Calculated using D-3, Census -2011.

According to Census 2011, in terms of absolute numbers the share of inter-state migration flow from Bihar is around 17.91 percent which is the second highest after Uttar Pradesh. Figure-2 & Figure-3 shows the major destination states for the economic migrants from Bihar. It is observed that for the economic migrants from Bihar, the pattern for destination states changes considerably for the male and female migrants. For the male economic migrants, majority of them, i.e., around 17.51 percent migrated to Delhi. On the otherhand, in case of female migrants, majority of them i.e., 16.72 percent migrated to the bordering state of Uttar Pradesh. These show some kind of bias on the selection of destination states for male

and female migrants. However, even though the propensity to migrate and the choice of destination varies between both the groups, the major destination remains the same set of eight states. Also, it can be argued that as inter-state economic migrants from Bihar is mostly dominant by the male stream with a concentration of around 92.63 percent. Thus, destination states such as Delhi, West Bengal, Jharkhand, Maharashtra etc. will be most affected due to the the absence of Bihari male migrants.

4. Ways ahead:

a. Boost demand: One of the most powerful ways to revive the economy is to boost effective demand in the economy. This can be done by ways such as lowering income tax which will increase disposable income and encourage consumer spending.

b. Generate employment: The government should ensure that people are getting work through the employment oriented programmes such as MGNREGS, Garib Kalyan Rojgar Yojana (GKRY) and other such schemes. The number of days for work can be increased from 100 days to 200 days under the MGNREGS.

c. Recognize the skill level of the migrant workers: Bihar is the first state which has conducted skill-mapping for all the migrant workers those who have returned during to the Pandemic. The migrants have been categorized into groups viz. handicrafts, mechanics, healthcare, general services, electronics and electrical, construction, computer and IT, banking and financial services, agriculture and others (Swaroop 2020). This creates a huge database for the government which can be used to identify and provide adequate help to the migrant such as special economic packages.

d. Post-pandemic/post-lockdown protocols: Specific post-pandemic protocols for the migrants are required, so that when the lockdown is lifted, it can assist the migrants to get employment in the respective sectors according to skill levels. For those who want to return, for them the government could provide logistical and monetary support.

e. Use of Consolidated Sinking Fund: In the current economic turmoil, the state government should efficiently use the Consolidated Sinking Fund (CSF) that was created in 2009 for overall economic development. A portion of the CSF can be dedicated for the welfare programmes for migrants, as migrants are a vital part of the Bihar economy.

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Buchanan, R. H. (Ed.). (2018). *Go Home!*. Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 320 pages

Sharlene Chen

“Go Home!” is an inclusive collection of experiences of immigration and diaspora. The book contains essays, short stories and poems written by thirty-one Asian diaspora writers, powerfully holding volume up on the feeling of being away from “home”. Some pieces reflect on White supremacy discrimination on the basis of color, while others explore the notion of home, which is often a hardship endured by people who are away from their cultural origins and are on the move. This collection expands the definition of “home,” and sets forth several elements that form the idea, including identity, emotion, tradition, the sense of taste and so on. As a Chinese-American who grew up in Taiwan and is currently living in London, each short work depicts a subtle sense or emotion of an immigrant’s experience which I highly relate to but could never find the right words to express. This book sets off as an outstanding introductory for those who do not have an immigration experience to explore this common and critical issue. As migration is a natural human behaviour, it would be particularly emotive for readers who themselves are immigrants.

The politics of identity is rooted in the branding of oneself and determines how a person exists in the social world. Amitava Kumar, one of the authors in this book, questions himself on “when it was that I stopped thinking of myself as a new immigrant” in the essay, “Love Poems for the Border Patrol,” presenting the dynamic nature of identity. The essay further mirrors many immigrants’ frustration concerning their identities, the fundamental: Who



am I? Where should I call home? It is possible for an immigrant to develop a feeling of one’s identity being blurred by losing the ability or environment in which they can use their mother tongue or having a lifestyle distant from one’s culture of birth. Entangled with identity, the concept of home become particularly confusing, it and makes an immigrant even more vulnerable to the fear of belonging nowhere.

Home keeps people in or out and defines whether a person is considered part of the whole. Being away from home sometimes make people feel like an outsider; being considered a refugee in many American’s eyes, Rowan Hisayo Buchanan “knew inarticulately that she was an outsider.” What exactly does it feel like to be an “outsider?” People inevitably feel more alert, uncomfortable, and often are more aware of the surroundings when they’re outside of their “homes” which often seems like double torture as they are reminded by locals that they’re outsiders. In Muhammad Amirul bin Muhamad’s word, it’s “delicate”. This delicacy is based on a series of factors an immigrant may be forced to tolerate, which can include language barrier, fragility, fear of the unknown, which often results in a loss of courage and confidence to speak, communicate, etc. or to be true to oneself.

It’s a harsh reality that outsiders experience as they seek to satisfy their craving for acceptance and understanding from others. In “Esmeralda”, a short story written by Mia Alvar , a migrant cleaner desperately looks for connections between herself and the splendid city, despite living and working in the city for nineteen years. Another

author, Fariha Róisín, speaks of her experience as a Muslim and the experience of realizing that she is Muslim. There was no religion class based on her beliefs that she could be assigned to in school and she was foreign to Christian Hymns. She had encountered men with inequitable assumptions of women and had been offended by French authorities who clearly misinterpreted her religion. Being in a place where people did not understand her culture, Róisín's identity was invalidated, which made her wonder whether she should look for understanding from others.

Chang-Rae Lee illustrates the mixed feelings of confusion, frustration, shamefulness, and fearlessness of her mother as a first-generation immigrant in "The Faintest Echo of Our Language." The language barrier, political alienation, and social estrangement had constructed contradictions inside her when she was raising Lee in the United States. For instance, her pride of being a Korean, demanded her to teach her son to hold on to his Korean origin, and to never forget where his "home" truly is. But, concurrently, she taught Lee the importance of learning English without which he could have never become a "true American." His mother's story depicts the struggle that a lot of immigrants endure, as well as how they contrive to handle the disparity between the culture of their hosting countries, and their unbreakable linkages with their origins.

Mohja Kahf's poem, "My Grandmother Washes Her Feet in the Sink of the Bathroom at Sears," reveals the tension and conflict between Muslim religious rituals and American culture, which the latter considers inappropriate, unhygienic, and even "a contamination of American standards". The young American Muslim woman as a multi-cultural actor in this poem was stuck in the middle of two ethnical identities, witnessing how the lack of understanding, stereotype, and disrespect took effect, and how minorities suffer from discredit. The poem provides an excellent example of the way many Americans see Muslims, that creates a climate of hostility which Muslims must often experience. The experience of Muslim women being harassed for wearing hijab in the Western world is

also mentioned in "Meet a Muslim." These women may come across discrimination, sexual harassment, abuse, or even murder only because of the way they represent themselves –respecting and complying with their religious regulations and customs. Being at a place where one's ethnical identity is not commonly recognized and accepted can be tormenting to immigrants, negatively impacting their ability to prosper.

"East or West?" this was the question Esmé Weijun Wang had been asked by a flight attendant during an in-flight catering service, as if her choice of food would define who she was or wanted to be. Food is often a prominent cultural indicator, so it's fair to say that an immigrant's origin can be traced back by his/her palate. Raised by her Taiwanese parents in Michigan, Esmé regards the taste of Taiwanese cuisine as the taste of home. For people in the diaspora, the culinary experiences of their cultures of origin are memories in which are rooted their sense of identity. Food can also act as a barrier, reminding people that they do not fit in, or that they are away from what they are familiar with. In "The Words Honey and Moon," a newly-wed man was uncomfortable eating American food in a restaurant during his honeymoon. The frozen and canned vegetables, as well as the oversweet orange sherbet with artificial coloring that his wife ordered, shocked his taste bud, and spurred feelings of being unsettled and remote.

The literary works in this book guide readers through the moving, nuanced, and exceptional experiences of immigrants. Although it seems like there is a pattern in the experience of being a part of a scattered population, these short works show that it varies from story to story, from person to person. Most works center on the searching of home and the sense of belonging, where readers are able to find traces of how these authors dug into their memories, identity, and feelings throughout the writing. Others do not seem as relevant to the overarching topic set in this anthology, which is a bit harder to connect with. The editor included works centering on various topics, which to some extent scattered the focal point of this book. The topic of the book could have been better highlight-

ed had the selection of works been more focused. Nonetheless, the collection put together several remarkable pieces and left readers, especially those with experiences of migration, with many thought-provoking questions. To an immigrant, what does “home” refers to after land-crossing? How can we create a more inclusive society where every individual of any background can belong? And, most importantly, how can we empower immigrants to find their voices?

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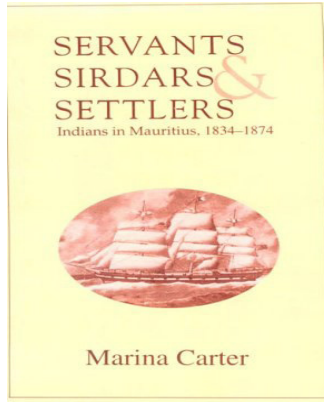


*To form a separate language session we need at least 10 selected papers. Otherwise presenters will have to present in English

Carter, Marina. 1995. *Servants, Sirdars and Settlers: Indians in Mauritius 1834-1874*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, pp.343

Sabah Khan

Servants, Sirdars and Settlers: Indians in Mauritius 1834-1874 is a descriptive work by historian Marina Carter, which deals with the character of the nineteenth century indentured migration. This book offers a comprehensive account of Indian indentured labor in Mauritius, particularly, the transition from migrants to settlers. It provides an exhaustive account of how labor recruitment evolved through years and living conditions on the plantation between 1834 to 1874.



This text moves beyond the prevalent perspectives of officials, planters and historians. Historians like Hugh Tinker saw indenture as 'a new system of slavery', but for Carter it offers a static view which does not incorporate changes over time in the conditions of indentured workers. In contrast to these approaches, the revisionist studies have brought a new dimension to the historiography by the use of quantitative data which has destroyed stereotypes of official accounts. Most studies on indentured migration have assumed that either recruits were obtained by deception or those who were unemployed voluntarily engaged in it. The issue of how recruitment of bonded labour system was maintained has been scarcely explored. Carter's study comes as a breakthrough, which explores the means by which Indian indentured workforce was recruited for Mauritius through the use of returnees.

Most of the literature available are historical studies of indenture but this particular work relied on local correspondence between the Mauritian immigration Office and its emigration agents in India, petitions and statements of Indians under inden-

ture. The arguments in the book are substantiated with statistical tables and graphs. Carter has taken archival data in a systematic way, adding temporal dimension to it which marks the systematization. The temporal aspect becomes important as it was in 1834 that indentured immigration began and 1874 represented a watershed in the history of indenture as it marked a slow process of retreat and reform. This book can be classified under old diaspora but unlike other studies of

the period which had primarily relied on records, this work takes account of an important category of 'returnee'.

Carter has provided a wholistic picture of indentureship in the eight chapters, beginning with the ideological and economic foundations of the system i.e. as 'great experiment' testing the proposition of free labor as more productive than slaves; while economic foundations being that of cheap labour supply. She offers a discussion of push and pull factors of migration, who migrated, from where, their religious and caste profiles, the experience of the voyage, at the depot, modes of controlling workforce through mechanisms of pass system and labour contract. This text also takes account of migration of women not in terms of an escape but the issues they faced with in the colony i.e. their dependency on men as they were not directly recruited, their vulnerability due to imprisonment of men, etc. Carter's study is admirable for the attention that it pays to gender, bringing out three images of women like immoral, polyandrous; secondly, that of reproducers of labor force and thirdly, women as small planters and heads of households.

The book includes an elaborate discussion on family, culture and religion in the plantation context. It sheds light on how the estate labourers refashioned their cultural, traditional symbols and practices in Mauritius, which they had carried over from the old society. Indenture was generally seen as destructive for family, but Carter emphasized on the stability of family and how people were able to recreate the sacred topography of India in Mauritius with their religious traditions, symbols, festivals and temples. It distinctively acknowledges the presence of caste in diaspora and its transformation in immigrant cultures from structure to culture. In her discussion of such aspects she has marked as shift from other scholars writing on the same issue.

In chapter eight of the book, author discussed the impact of indenture based primarily on statistical data. Between 1846-1871 percentage of males employed in sugar cultivation fell and the Indians working for proprietors gradually diminished in favor of job-contracting system. Some Indians were now planters in their own right, others entered commerce, primarily, transport sector. Old immigrants purchased small plots of land and moved off estates. The only real beneficiaries of indenture and those most likely to become coolie millionaires were the sirdars and job-contractors whose wages and benefits far outweighed the earnings of ordinary labourers. Sirdars received higher wages and double rations from planters and became money lenders and shopkeepers. Overall only a minority of immigrants were able to profit from the indenture. Indentured servants did become settlers in Mauritius, but their status remained insecure and dependent upon the acquisition of property and wealth in sufficient quantity.

One of the objectives of this study has been 'to chart shifts in strategies of labour mobilization from tacit acceptance of male-dominated migrations to espousal of family settlement' (Carter 1995:6). It emphasizes those areas of migrant experience which were outside the realm of official world, for instance the role of returnee migrants or sirdars in creation of migrant streams. Unlike the Tinkerian school, which tended to minimize

the impact of family or group migration on the indentured experience, Carter emphasizes on the opportunities created from migration and the ability of the individual indentured laborers to shape their own destiny. Its premise seems convincing that labour migration in Mauritius can be classed as somewhere between the Kangani and indenture models. Kangani being a labour recruitment system in parts of Southeast Asia under British colonial rule. Under this system, the recruitment was taken up by the Kangani (the foreman), an Indian immigrant himself, who would directly recruit migrants from India.

This book deals with three important categories of sirdars. First category is of sirdars, who were elected by the planters or labourers to supervise the field labour and also involved in returnee recruitment; second category is that of settlers who emerged from the rank of indentured servants and often followed the path leading from indenture to sirdari and ultimately, to the purchase of land and acquisition of status of small planter. Third category is returnee i.e. dissatisfied with the quality of migrants dispatched by commercial collectors, planters began to send back Indians who had worked well to recruit others, who often recruited amongst their own kin or village community. Carter has brought out the important role of returnees in indentured migration. Returnees played a significant role in labour mobilization as well as in reduction of capital wastage in recruiting. They were also important transmitters of information to new recruits about the changing conditions in colony. Returnees transformed the image of overseas destinations from an unknown to a known world for potential migrants.

Marina Carter achieves the task set out, i.e. to go beyond the official correspondence and colonial discourse, presents a range of new data and insights into the mobilization of indentured labourers and their patterns of settlement overseas. This meticulous text brings out the distinctive pattern of labour migration that emerged in Mauritius, distinguishing it from slavery and other forms of migration. There are some limitations to the work as well, as it leaves one important area unexplored:

namely, the emerging nature of the relationships between the Indians and the ex-apprentice populations as the two groups struggled. Another shortcoming in Carter's work is the lack of definitions for the variables used in the work like 'servants' and 'settlers.' Nevertheless, it remains an engaging book offering a nuanced understanding of indentured labour. This book would be resourceful for scholars studying history, migration and diaspora.

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國際線上會議

移民、散居人群與永續發展： 觀點、政策、機會與挑戰

2020年11月2日 – 2020年11月5日

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亞洲移民論壇（菲律賓馬尼拉）及跨區域移民與
難民中心（黎巴嫩貝魯特）聯合主辦

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線上報名

重要日期：

論文摘要繳交期限：**2020年9月20日**

公告入圍者：**2020年9月20日**

論文全文繳交期限：**2020年10月15日**

网络研讨会日期：**2020年11月2日 – 2020年11月5日**

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- 與僑居人口的經濟影響相關的政
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In Conversation with Prof. T. Marimuthu

Dr. M. Mahalingam: I like to welcome Tan Sri Professor T Marimuthu for the discussion. I like to know the views on global migration in general and Malaysian Indian diaspora in particular. Sir, good afternoon the Tamil school education



system of Malaysia has commemorated his 200 years of existence recently, what are the main contributions and contemporary challenges of Tamil school system in multiethnic Malaysia?

Prof. T Marimuthu: Tamil schools have been there for the last 200 years. And it is, as far as the Tamil schools are concerned, it is symbolic institution for the Tamils. It has been there for 200 years. It also traces the history of Indians in the last 200 years. Therefore, the Tamil school as a real has an emotional relationship with the community. So, although the contribution you're talking about the contribution, before the attainment of Independence, the Tamil schools were performing a custodial function, meaning that it has provided three, four years of education, so that it was actually preparing the children for the laboring work in the plantations. And there was no avenue of social mobility, in terms of educational mobility, therefore, but after independence, the Tamil school played the role of social mobility in terms of students completing the six years Tamil schools of education and going on to secondary education. And that is the contribution the single contribution that has been made for the Indians would be that it provided an avenue from the plantation background for them to get into the education, their next level of education, and then they can, they can theoretically go up to the higher education, university education and so on. And but for some time, there

has been the attainment of these schools have not been not been able to provide that educational ability, because the problems have been in terms of the infrastructure, facilities, quality of teachers, and quality of students and so on all these

have provided that for the first maybe 10-20 years, the problem has been their- higher dropout rates, lowest academic achievement rates, and poor schools, poor facilities. And so, they have been provided these from the colonial days. And it has taken some time before the schools can compare with schools in urban areas. But now, I am very happy to say the achievement rates of the Tamil school students in terms of the reason to UPSR achievement they have achieved as equal to the other media schools like Chinese as well as national schools. In fact, I saw statistics that the average achievement of the Tamil school students in UPSR achievement was higher among even compared to Chinese and National School. Therefore, the Tamil schools are here to stay, although the enrolment is coming down, not because the parents are not sending them to the dental school, but because the birth rate has been going down. fertility rate not only for the for the Indians, but also for the other except for the Malays. The Chinese and the Indians. Generally speaking the enrolments in all schools is coming is coming down.

Dr. M. Mahalingam: The 14th General Election of Malaysia is due in 2018, there is a rise of discontent against the PM for various recently thing that the ruling PM coalition can retain its power or not. Could you share with us the current political dynamics in Malaysia?

Prof. T Marimuthu: No, there are problems. I mean, I'm not saying there are not problems, there are problems against the Prime Minister. There are also problems within the opposition parties. So, I mean, it's a continuing problem, our political parties will have problems. They there was, in fact, in 1990, when I was contesting for a seat in Parliament for parliament. The coalition Barisan Nasional, was expected to lose because there were internal problems. There was one of the Vice President or the Deputy President started another party, and therefore, the reason was, was expected to lose, but somehow, they won the election with two thirds majority. What is important here is the two-thirds majority. Two-thirds majority in parliament provides the power the ruling party to change the constitution. So only the last general election that they did not get the two-thirds, therefore there are problems. Right. I won't say the problems. But whether the ruling party will, again come to power is a question. But looking at the opposition. Looking at the opposition, they are in a disarray. They there, they're strange bedfellows you know, like for example, now, you the Dr. Mahathir, who was in fact, the ruling, he was there for 21 years. And he has now joined the opposition, because he his main concern is to get removed Najib from this position of Prime Ministership, there is people say that he has got his own because he wants his own children. Now, not necessarily ego clash, I mean all said and done, he has put Malaysia on the map. He was an innovative person. He made decisions he was he was very strong; he was able to do things without any problem. That I mean, any person, you know, come in there, because when you have when you have racial parties, I mean, the parties, political parties are divided according to race, except for the opposition. Even the opposition like VAP is considered to be a nation party. So racist, it's not a negative term, as far as I'm concerned, because everybody is fighting for his race. Therefore, he is actually he must be seen to be supporting the Malays, so that he will get he'll be in power. I cannot say there exists a racist aside, but he has done a lot for the country as a whole. So, I think, yes, definitely, I think is in 21 years, he has, you know, look at the projects that he has done, you know, it's the highways, infrastructure facilities during his time

was excellent. I mean, the Penang Bridge and the federal roads and so on. Infrastructure and facilities was one thing, and that Putrajaya, the capital, the airport and so on, I mean, they say mega project, but mega project needed, what we call workers and this is how where we are coming from, we needed workers and we had to get immigrant workers from Indonesia and Vietnam and Cambodia and Bangladesh and Pakistan and so on. So, he is my father of modern Malaysia. Definitely.

Dr. M. Mahalingam: Sir, I would like to know the contemporary scenario of Indian migration to Malaysia. In colonial period most of them came from southern states particularly, Tamil Nadu, other states like Kerala. But what is the present scenario? Is it the same or are they now coming to Malaysia from different parts of India?

Prof. T Marimuthu: Indian migrants, as far as I am concerned, they are largely from the south. I don't see much from the north. They are coming mainly because of the service sector; we need cooks for the restaurants. A cook is a skilled person, as long as he is a cook, commands a very high salary in Malaysia. The restaurants in fact, there was some restrictions in terms of immigration, many of the restaurants closed. So, it is largely from the southern part of India and some of them would work in the plantation sector but largely in the service sector. I don't see them in the manufacturing or construction sector.

Dr. M. Mahalingam: Sir, what is your vision for the community, what are your strategies for the Indian community?

Prof. T Marimuthu: We have been thinking about the only way is through education. The Chinese community were not bothered about education, they were bothered about business. The Malay community has the government to support them, for us we have to be on our own...we have accumulated deficits. Therefore, the fact that we are already third is itself admirable. So, my aspiration for the community, the community is doing well. The community is moving forward but there is 1/3rd or 20 percent of these people are drop outs or they get into gangsterism and so on. What

we need is, as a community we must address this problem and save them from this notorious, negative activities. That is our challenge, if we do that, 70-80 percent of the community is fine and 20 percent are like Kabali express and that is the one that gives us a bad image, of Indians still toiling. No! everybody is up. So, my vision for the community for this 21st century, by the end of this century it will be our century for the Indians. Globalized Indians are doing well and I don't see a reason why the Malaysians cannot do.

(... for more details, please visit to our GRFDT [YouTube channel](#))

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