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Neither Here nor There

An Overview of South-South Migration from both ends of the
Bangladesh-India Migration Corridor

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Abstract

This review essay draws on a survey of available literature to explore key themes, dimensions and opportunities for future research on South-South Migration flows. Through an analysis of the Bangladesh-India migration corridor, the paper attempts to explore nuances in South-South migration flows and suggests a shift from simplistic analysis towards a framework that adequately considers regional complexities. The paper demonstrates the predominant focus on narrow aspects of Bangladeshi transnationalism within academic research and how this has obscured issues of gender, rights and social justice within the cross-border migration process. It further explores tacit assumptions regarding women's cross-border mobility and draws attention to the missing gender dimension in the discourse on South-South migration and concerns of vulnerability and exploitation, while simultaneously suggesting the limitations of these views. In doing so, the authors attempt to map challenges in research, management and protection of migrants in the region and their implications for poverty, gender, health, and migrants' rights.

In reviewing the literature and policies governing these flows, the authors identify and unpack the dichotomy between the Indian government's obvious anxiety about unauthorized migration from Bangladesh and the government of Bangladesh's overt denial of the scale of this phenomenon. It is clear that framing suitable policies will require consolidated efforts by sending and receiving countries to improve data collection and analysis of Bangladesh-India migratory flows. Policymakers must also pay attention to the challenges that arise due to India being not only a country of origin of migrants, but also a key destination and site of transit for migrants in the region.

Keywords

International migration; Bangladesh; India; South-South migration; women's migration; border control.

Neither Here nor There¹

An Overview of South-South Migration from both ends of the Bangladesh-India Migration Corridor

1 South-South Migration

Heightened migration flows between and among developed and developing countries in the last few decades have redrawn static boundaries worldwide. In recent times, linkages between migration and development have received renewed attention, however the focus of this attention has largely been restricted to migrant flows from the Global South into the North. When it comes to cross border migration, it is clear that migration to the North/relatively wealthy countries continues to be the focus of attention of policy makers, academics and media even though according to the 2010 census, about one third of the global migrant stock both originated and was living in the Global South. This number was only slightly smaller than the number of international migrants originating in the South and living in the North (United Nations Population Facts No 2012/3, 2013). Over the last decade, states, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and international organizations such as the World Bank have become increasingly committed to framing policies to maximize remittances, direct them into formal channels, as well as to maximize their impacts on development in sending countries (de Haas 2006). As evidenced by the overall academic and policy preoccupation with South-North migration, recent policies have almost exclusively concentrated on North-South remittances.

According to recent estimates, only about 40 per cent of all migrants from developing countries live in wealthy Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, 13 per cent live in wealthy non-OECD countries, such as Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR) and Singapore, while as much as 47 per cent live in other developing countries (Ratha and Shaw 2007). The share of South-South migrants in total emigrant stocks seems particularly high in the poorest countries. What is particularly interesting is that 80 percent of these flows occur between neighbouring countries (Piper and Hujo 2007). In sub-Saharan Africa, for instance, 64 per cent of all international migrants live within the region. Only 27 and 22 per cent, respectively, of all international migrants from sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia have migrated to wealthy OECD countries (Ratha and Shaw 2007). According to the ILO (2006), in recent years, Asia

¹ A study commissioned by the International Institute of Social Studies, The Hague (Erasmus University Rotterdam), within the project on 'Migration, Gender and Social Justice', funded by the International Development Research Centre (Canada). The authors: Jolin Joseph and Vishnu Narendran - Researchers, Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum, India. Coordinator: Dr. S. Irudaya Rajan is Chair Professor, Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA) Research Unit on International Migration at the Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala.

itself absorbs an estimated 40 percent of the 2.6 to 2.9 million Asian workers who leave their homes each year to work abroad.

The key reasons for the sustained increase in intra-regional mobility are social networks based on ethnic, community and family ties, income and wage differentials, and proximity (World Bank 2005, Piper and Hujo 2007:2). As South-South income differentials are mostly relatively modest, proximity and networks likely have a proportionally greater impact (Ratha and Shaw 2007). Motivations for South-South migration also include seasonal patterns and flight from ecological disasters or civil conflict. Other motivations include transit to the North and petty trade. It should be noted that an estimated 65 percent of this migration occurs to neighbouring countries and it mainly tends to involve poorer undocumented people. The poorest are less likely to be involved in international migration because of the significant costs and risks usually involved in moving abroad, and most poor migrants therefore seem to migrate internally (Zohry 2005) or cross-border, as relatively less expensive and therefore a viable survival strategy for poorer sections of society.

South Asia features prominently in South–South migration. The historic ties that link various populations across the region, accentuated by the modern day dynamics of migration, have given rise to multiple forms of population movement ranging from voluntary to involuntary, internal to external, long term to temporary (Haque 2005). Records indicate large scale labour movements historically, especially in the agricultural sector with seasonal movements from the upper Gangetic plain to the lower plain. During the British period people were transported from one region to another to work in mines and plantations. The end of the British colonial period and the subsequent partition of the Indian sub-continent resulted in protracted ethnic and religious strife leading to massive partition-led migration.

The emergence of nation states and national boundaries in 1947 could not altogether stop the movement of people within the subcontinent. The “natural integrated labour market” of South Asia on the one hand, and the limited state capacity to monitor and control borders effectively on the other, remained as the major factors in the management of population movement in the region, with far reaching consequences on the economies and societies (Haque 2005). Since most of these flows are undocumented there is very little systematic understanding of the magnitude, structure and importance of such migration.

South-South remittances accounted for up to 10 to 29 percent of developing countries’ remittance receipts in 2005 (Ratha and Shaw 2007). Although this might not seem very high, the real number of South-South migrants and remittances may be substantially higher because many South-South migrants are irregular or undocumented and remittances are often sent informally, thus obscuring them from view. Furthermore, the relative importance of South-South (and internal) remittances seems to be disproportionately high for the poorest countries and communities, which often have limited access to South-North migration and, hence, North-South remittances.

2 Bangladesh to India Migration Flows

Bangladesh has been an increasingly important source country in labour migration since the 1980s. According to Bureau of Manpower Employment and Training (BMET) Bangladesh data, since 1976 a total of 8,307,749 migrant workers have gone abroad on work (RMMRU, 2012). The primary destinations for Bangladeshi migrants have been the Middle Eastern countries, particularly members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). Other than this contract labour migration, cross-border mobility and other types of movements form part of the larger landscape of international migration in Bangladesh.

According to Ratha and Shaw (2007), almost 80 percent of South-South migration is estimated to take place between countries with contiguous borders. Since its formation in 1971, an increasing proportion of Bangladeshi labour movements have streamed into neighbouring India. India shares a 4,096 kilometre (roughly 2,550-mile) border with Bangladesh, the longest among all its neighbours and the world's fifth-longest. Of this four north east states -- Tripura, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Assam -- account for 1,879 km while the eastern state of West Bengal has a border of 2,216 km with Bangladesh.

Historical links and associated cultural ties play a significant role in explaining migration pathways between Bangladesh and India. The shared histories of Bangladesh and India, and the ethnic, linguistic and religious commonalities between Bangladeshi migrants and certain Indian communities, in particular in India's states of West Bengal and Tripura, that straddle the borders of the two countries, play a vital role in sustaining these flows (Kibria 2011). In 2010, international migrants from Bangladesh residing in India constituted the single largest "bilateral stock" of international migrants residing in the South (3.2 million) (United Nations Population Facts No 2012/3, 2013). The World Bank estimates 3.3 million migrants across the Bangladesh-India corridor (2011:6).

Considering the volume of Bangladesh's migrant workers residing in India, the paucity of data and literature on inter-regional migration in general, and on within the Indian subcontinent in particular, is striking. Studies on international migration are yet to ascertain an accurate number of workers migrating from Bangladesh to India. One possible source for figures on Bangladeshi immigrant workers is the port of destination. However, their movement is not adequately registered in the process of their emigration or immigration due to the porous nature of the adjoining borders and the proliferation of undocumented migration. While Census data estimated the number of Bangladeshis in Indian states, these figures do not offer a complete picture of the phenomenon. In addition, Bangladeshi similarity in culture, language and customs to individuals in bordering states in India make detection of foreign workers in host communities difficult.

Although both India and Bangladesh consistently figure among the top emigrating countries in South Asia, it is apparent that the gains of globalisation have not been equitably distributed between the two. The nature of migration from Bangladesh to India differs greatly from the migration to the oil-rich Gulf and Western industrialised countries. The occupational and skill category

profiles of Bangladeshi migrants moving to different destinations abroad also differ. Unlike the permanent nature of migration of doctors to the Western industrialised countries and the short-term assignments that constitute the bulk of the migration to the Gulf, migration from Bangladesh into India consists primarily of low-skilled and semi-skilled employment as well as informal, undocumented entries. People from Bangladesh frequently work as daily labourers, rickshaw pullers and domestic helpers (Naujoks 2009) in Indian metro cities or as agricultural labourers in the north-eastern states of India. Alongside regular and more productive migration there are also rampant irregular and circular migration streams to neighbouring India. Driven by cross-border trade industries and other economic opportunities, informal channels of remittance and human trafficking continue to persist. Unable to secure a legal permit to work in India, many Bangladeshi workers cross the border unofficially, often paying dalals (agents), brokers or border agents to ensure quick and safe passage (Samuels and Wagle 2011). The Border Security Force allegedly allows Bangladeshis to cross the border illegally in exchange for money or, in some cases, sexual favours (Datta et al 2008; Sikder 2008). Despite (or indeed through) the irregularities in the movements from Bangladesh to India, this remains an important international migration corridor (Ratha and Shaw (2007): Figure 3 and World Bank 2005).

3 Historical Context

For several decades, people belonging to undivided greater Bengal moved across the subcontinent, primarily for economic purposes. According to Barmen (2004), the partition of Bengal in 1905 which took place under the British strategy of 'Divide and Rule' may be considered one of the most important events in the context of forced migration in today's Bangladesh, although the event took place long before the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent country. Prior to the creation of Pakistan in 1947, current Bangladesh was a part of the undivided province of Bengal within British India. The pre-colonial socio-economic condition of what is presently Bangladesh was relatively rich and thriving. It was not without commercial centres, and Dhaka in particular grew into an important cusp of trade activity during the Mughal period. Upon the arrival of the British in the 17th century, prominence shifted to Calcutta, which developed as a commercial and administrative centre for South Asia. Thus, since colonial times East Bengal served merely as the hinterland of Calcutta and the birth of Pakistan lowered it to the status of a periphery of the Western wing of Pakistan, a wasteland of Karachi.

The '1905 partition' triggered the growth of communal tensions, division and communal riots among Bengali population on both the sides of the newly created boundary line. This also led to the vast migration of people from densely populated East Bengal to land abundant Assam. The communal violence that occurred in the wake of the partition led to the fresh exodus of Hindu minority groups from East Pakistan to India. Refugee camps were opened in West Bengal, Tripura and Assam. According to Chakrabarti (1999),

in the first three months of 1950, the total number of refugees to India from East Pakistan was 150,000 and by the end of the year the figure had touched nearly 2.1 million. The flow continued till 1952 when both India and Pakistan introduced the passport and visa regime. Mid fifties also saw the closing down of refugee camps in West Bengal. But a fresh spate of communal violence and military persecution in East Pakistan in early sixties resulted in another round of major refugee flow to India forcing West Bengal government to reopen the refugee camps and rehabilitation plans. Construction of Kaptai dam on the Karnaphuli rivier caused the fleeing of ethnic Buddhist Chakmas to India during the same period.

In 1971, after almost two-and-a-half decades of colonial rule by their Punjabi and Sindhi west Pakistani brethren, Bengali Muslims started a liberation war against West Pakistan under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and ultimately attained independence on 16 December 1971. During the war in East Pakistan in 1971, which led to the formation of Bangladesh, approximately 10 million refugees (of which close to 80 percent were Hindu) crossed the border into India. Naujoks (2009) cites an estimate that 35,000 of them remained in India, predominantly in West Bengal. After the war, driven by cross-border trading industries and other economic opportunities, irregular and circular migration streams to neighbouring India have continued. Thus Sarkar (2010) divide the flows into various phases: according to her the Partition (1947) signalled the birth of the phenomenon; a further spurt in migration streams was witnessed as a consequence of the War of Independence of Bangladesh (1971); and other factors such as the deadly famine of 1974-75 and the death of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (1975) perpetuated the flows.

As we mentioned, in 2010, migrants from Bangladesh residing in India constituted the single largest “bilateral stock” of international migrants residing in the South (3.2 million; United Nations Population Facts No 2012/3). The 2001 Census of India estimated three million whilst those seeking political mileage out of the issue claim up to 30 million (Shamshad 2013). It has been reiterated by several scholars and in the media that there is no official estimate of the total number of undocumented Bangladeshi migrants in India.

4 Causes for Cross-Border Migration

There are a variety of contributory factors that led to the emergence and resilience of trans border migration from Bangladesh to India. Cultural affinities, historical linkages, geographical similarities and the presence of social networks induced people from Bangladesh to cross the border into India. The dire economic conditions of Bangladesh along with environmental and political turbulence, population pressure and unemployment combined to sustain the influx of Bangladeshi immigrants into India.

Datta (2004) offers insights into the economic, demographic, religious and political factors contributing to the phenomenon of undocumented migratory flows from Bangladesh into West Bengal. She examines factors such as the Farakka Barrage, the Vested Property Rights Act enacted in East Pakistan

during 1965 and various other issues that led to the influx of illegal migrants. Datta maintains that although Bangladesh's internal politics, climatic conditions and economic deprivation are major factors for the perpetuation of these flows, permissiveness towards illegal immigration in Indian political circles and political patronage from West Bengal remain among the major pull factors.

Raisal Mahmood (1998) attempts to understand the processes through which illegal migration arises and is perpetuated. He points to 'appalling economic conditions' at home as a reason behind the willingness of many Bangladeshis to face the risks involved in entering and remaining in India on an unauthorized basis. He also discusses the rationale behind employing illegal migrant workers in the receiving countries, citing economic gain, workers' flexibility and willingness to work long hours, and lack of organization as the main factors that help to sustain this process. Hazarika (2000) details the perilous pathways of migrants in their journey to India across *chars* (river islands), valleys and treacherous terrain. He points to landlessness, population pressure and the quest for greater economic security as the contributing factors responsible for migration in the region. Sammadar (1999) describes economic pressures, rapid population growth, disease, unemployment, starvation and a constant spectre of natural disasters as the main drivers of the influx of Bangladeshi irregular migrants to West Bengal.

Over the years, migration from Bangladesh has been primarily for economic reasons, although distress-driven migration is also prevalent. The occurrence of natural disasters, such as the floods of 1988 that drowned almost 60 percent of total land area in Bangladesh, affects crop production, roads, railways and renders thousands homeless. Likewise, out-migration was further propelled by the famine conditions of 1974-75 where thousands were seen fleeing Bangladesh to escape hunger and dire poverty. Periodic conflict-driven migration also forms a part of the flows from Bangladesh to India. Persecution in Bangladesh resulted in the influx of Hindu refugees that entered West Bengal, Assam and Tripura post 1971. Clashes and communal violence in the wake of the demolition of Babri Masjid in Ayodhya (India) in 1992 and retaliatory destructions of places of worship and property forced many Hindus from Bangladesh to seek sanctuary in India. Overall, economic depression, lack of industrialization, social insecurity, demographic explosion, political instability in Bangladesh and cultural similarity have been considered the other main motivating factors behind this migration phenomenon. The lack of employment and business opportunities at home, financial difficulties, better wages, and joining family members were reported as the main economic push factors.

Bangladesh is the world's most densely populated large country, with a population density of over 1000 per square kilometre. The growth rate of population in the country was for long over 2 per cent. Each year nearly one third of Bangladesh is inundated by floods, displacing 19 million people. Furthermore, 70 million people constituting half the population live below the poverty line. The per capita income in Bangladesh is considerably lower than the per capita income in India. The mounting population pressure in

Bangladesh and the occurrence of natural disasters that frequently displace people from their homes has combined to create an acute crisis of living space (lebensraum) in the nation. This land hunger also prompts Bangladeshis to leave their homeland and cross over to adjacent countries.

For decades, India has received a constant inflow of unauthorized migrants from Bangladesh. There are essentially two types of migrants. One set of migrants are forced to move due to persecution for various reasons, and the other group chooses to move for economic reasons. Persecution is essentially either for political or religious reasons. According to a survey conducted by the Indian Statistical Institute in 2002-2003, most migrants cite economic reasons for migrating, such as poverty and the lack of employment opportunities, in addition to political instability (Datta 2004).

After the Liberation War of 1971, majority of the people who crossed the border went back to Bangladesh in the hope of starting a new life in their newly independent homeland. Though in the initial years of the independent Bangladesh, they adopted policies of secularism under the leadership of Mujibur Rahman, his assassination in 1975 coupled with successive military regimes planted seeds of insecurity in the minds of minorities in Bangladesh, especially Hindus. Apart from the attacks on minorities, the Vested Property Act acted as an effective mechanism for the expulsion of Hindu minorities from their homeland. The law has been highlighted by the U.S. Department of State and Amnesty International as a major human rights concern that has contributed to internal displacement, emigration and disenfranchisement. Since 1947, Hindu population in Bangladesh has been reduced from 30 per cent to less than 10 per cent because of the religious persecutions and political terrorism (Kumar 2009).

A study conducted by Pranati Datta in 2004 showed that about 56 per cent of the respondents expressed lack of industrialization/lack of employment/economic insecurity as the probable cause of this migration. Thirty-five and a quarter percent of the respondents pointed to economic depression/poverty as an economic push factor for undocumented Bangladeshi migrants. Economic opportunities in terms of job availability in primary and informal sectors, political stability, and above all better pay for jobs in India, work as a major pull factor for Bangladeshis to cross the border.

Push factors in Bangladesh: Economic Reasons	Percentage of respondents
Lack of industrialisation/lack of employment/economic insecurity	55.9
Crisis in agriculture and cottage industry/struggle for livelihood	2.9
Economic depression/poverty	35.4
Forced grabbing of landed property	2.9
Not known	2.9
Total	100.0

(Datta 2004).

On the other hand migration does take place the other way round as well – from India to Bangladesh. This includes migration through marriage and seasonal agricultural migration. From time to time newspapers also report on seasonal migration from India to Bangladesh in the border areas, but systematic research on the extent of such movements is not available (Siddiqui 2006).

5 South-South and Bangladesh-India Migration: Insufficient Information

We noted that almost half of the migrants from the developing world reside within other developing countries (Ratha and Shaw 2007). Despite their large numbers, migrants in the South are often overlooked in the wider migration discourse and policies. In the case of migrant women from the developing world, the scholarship on migration is so narrow as to restrict our understanding of Third World women migrants to a few broad stereotypes; “exotic” mail-order brides, “docile” domestic workers, and/or distressed refugees and sex-workers. While the disadvantaged and unskilled do form a part of the Bangladesh-India mobile workforce, they are only a section of a vibrant and distinctive subgroup. This paper attempts to overcome these academic omissions, by bringing attention to the situation of all migrant workers in the region.

Singh’s (2001) volume on *Migration in the Third World (1954-1994): Views and Reviews*, although originating from India, fails to consider migration within and into South Asia, choosing instead to focus on migrant workers in the Arab region, Africa, South America and East and South-East Asia. Despite its supposed emphasis on uncovering migration dynamics in the Third World, it devoted more attention to migration streams from the developing world into the developed countries of America and Europe. The author concedes that since 1971 migration has assumed a South-South dimension, however, he questions the underlying motivations behind these flows. The book is not unique in urging Third World nations to ‘stop brain drain’ and recommending that ‘intellectuals and persons of distinguished merit’ in developing countries should not try to migrate either physically or intellectually. Overall, it does not contribute substantially to the research on South-South migration, and instead illustrates a rather antiquated approach that ignores and often decries these movements.

Similarly, the study by Datta (2004), although an important contribution to the subject and commissioned by an Indian government agency, falls short of capturing the complex and dynamic processes of undocumented migration and its implications. This is, in part, due to the small sample size of 50 migrants, the small area of research, covering only two districts of West Bengal and no North Eastern states like Assam and Tripura that face similar situations, and problems in the selection process that resulted in more information regarding skilled migrants rather than illegal immigrants themselves. The paper is largely a qualitative effort and extrapolations from such a small sample frame cannot be used to theorize on the conditions and motivations of Bangladeshi

immigrant workers as a whole. Nevertheless, the paper fulfills its goal of serving as a baseline for further research on the subject.

If there is a paucity of literature on the India side, there is a complete lack of it on the Bangladesh side. Besides some brave attempts by a miniscule minority of Bangladeshi scholars to highlight the flight of Hindus, academics have virtually ignored – willingly or otherwise – the migration of Muslims to India. Most scholarly works, for instance that of Siddiqui (2003), have restricted themselves to concentrate on the “safe” terrain of migration of skilled Bangladeshi labour to countries other than India. This omission is, perhaps, guided by the implicit state policy of denying that there is any outmigration from Bangladesh to India (Nandy 2003, 2005).

6 Women’s Mobility and the Precarity of Gender

Despite the increasing feminisation of migration, gender dimensions of labour mobility have received less attention, particularly among South-South flows (Kofman and Raghuram 2009, 2012). Today, women are increasingly on the move and this necessitates a re-gendering of migration research to recognize the critical contributions that women make in enhancing positive development outcomes both at home and at the destination.

Women’s movements in the Global South are all too often equated to trafficking and oppression or regarded as an involuntary move borne of desperation. The poorly integrated domestic worker is habitually used as a surrogate for all immigrant women in the developing world, allowing skilled workers and successful domestics to fall through analytical gaps. For some women, working overseas represents a positive experience because it provides them immediate income by which they are able to support their family and achieve greater independence. Others face a torrent of oppressive conditions. A majority of existing studies fail to consider women’s agency, productive roles and the positive multiplier effect of women’s mobility on socioeconomic development in the region.

With respect to total outflows from Bangladesh, it was observed that 35 per cent of the emigrant women migrated to India against 11 per cent of the men (Blanchet 2010). However, there remains disproportionately low representation of women in the literature on this migration corridor. Nevertheless, the processes of women’s migration and entry into the labour market, and their coping strategies within the labour market and society, have traditionally received little attention in the South-South migration policy discourse (Afsar 2002). Such neglect is regrettable, not only because female migration is occurring on a scale comparable to that of men in most regions of Asia, but also because there are interrelations between female migration, the functioning of the urban labour market and society, and women’s roles and status (Siddiqui 2008).

Asian female labour migration on the whole is strongly characterized by concentration in a very limited number of female-dominated occupations associated with traditional gender roles, which means mainly domestic work

and the “entertainment” industry. Women migrant workers are largely confined to particular occupations, such as domestic work, “entertainers” and garment workers (ILO 2012). While these jobs do not necessarily have to be exploitative, the circumstances of the job and migrant women’s precarious legal status often lead to a high degree of vulnerability to abuse and exploitation.

According to various studies on the direction of Bangladeshi women’s migration, India is the primary destination country-wise and Middle East the first destination region-wise. The share of women in cross-border migration flows from Bangladesh into India is progressively increasing. According to the ILO, women migrant workers currently comprise about 6 per cent of the total annual outflow of migrant workers from Bangladesh; this figure is much higher than the 1 per cent in 2004 but much lower than corresponding international figures (ILO 2012). The IOM however contends that women constituted about 13.9 per cent of Bangladesh immigrants (IOM 2010). India serves both as a destination and transit country for women migrating from and trafficked from Bangladesh. In addition, step-migration of women who enter India and are later transited from India to countries in the Middle East is also rampant.

Women migrants from Bangladesh to India routinely face gender-specific impediments whilst their family’s survival often depends on their ability to adjust to and compensate for impoverishment. The growing evidence on trafficking of women as domestic workers, slaves and sex workers underlines concerns about exploitation. The Centre for Women and Children Studies estimated in 1998 that 27,000 Bangladeshis have been forced into prostitution in India. Women in Bangladesh have unequal access to information and formal migration routes, and movements are therefore mired in informality. Lack of safety nets and social security provisions further weakens their conditions. In addition, fleeing women refugees face the very real threats of rape by border guards, prostitution and capture by the sex-trade.

The dominant discourse implies that a majority of immigrant women from Bangladesh include those trapped in informal jobs with little or no security, victims of trafficking and other forms of brutal exploitation. While it is true that some women continue to be trafficked, protective laws on trafficking treat most illegal women migrants arrested in India – whether trafficked or not – as victims of trafficking or prostitution rings (Sikder 2008). The treatment of non-trafficked female Bangladeshi migrants in this way exacerbates the stigma and discrimination they face (Samuels and Wagle 2011).

According to a UNDP commissioned study on overseas migration from Bangladesh (2009), significantly lower migration by women is attributed to government restrictions on the overseas employment of female workers in an effort to protect them from the hardships and vulnerabilities often associated with migration. In practice, restrictions on the mobility of female workers pushes migration underground and further encourages undocumented migration (Siddiqui 2001), placing women at even greater risk of exploitation. In contrast to official statistics, the reality is that a large number of women migrate from Bangladesh for work. Selim Reza, a researcher with the Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit, an affiliate of the University of

Dhaka, indicates that in many villages along the Indian border, particularly the Jessore and Satkhira districts, women have traditionally walked across without papers, while the Bangladeshi government chooses to ignore this. When restrictions were lifted in 2003, the number of women officially migrating jumped to six percent of the total by 2006 as opposed to 1 per cent in 2003 (ILO 2012). According to a study funded by the UN Development Programme (2009), only 40 per cent of Bangladeshi women migrants use recruitment agencies. The rest are believed to make private arrangements with the help of relatives and friends. This further obscures their movements from official figures and renders them vulnerable to exploitation.

With respect to socio-economic characteristics of women migrants in the South, over half of South Asian women migrants are married. In the case of Bangladesh, this is shaped by the Bangladesh government policy on overseas female migration that disallowed unmarried women from migrating (Siddiqui 2001). Such restrictions, while an attempt to reduce vulnerabilities, only served to re-route migration channels through informal channels.

Despite the appalling lack of gender disaggregated data on Bangladesh-India migration flows, some progress has been made in foregrounding women's mobility in the South. In November 2012, the Global Forum on Migration and Development Mauritius Chair identified South- South Migration as a primary area of interest and included a thematic focus on "A gender sensitive analysis of the socio-economic impact of South-South Migration" as part of its agenda. To take the research on Bangladesh-India migration forward, it is necessary to explore and contest how Bangladeshi migrants and migrant women in particular are positioned in contemporary migration policies and academic discourse.

7 Environment, Climate Change and Migration

Future climate change is expected to severely affect people's livelihoods worldwide through the intensification of natural disasters; increased warming and drought affecting agricultural production and access to clean water; rising sea levels making coastal areas uninhabitable and increasing the number of disappearing island states; and increased competition over natural resources that may lead to conflict (Martin, 2009; Black et al, 2010). The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) predicts that global temperatures will rise between 1.8 degrees Celsius and 4.0 degrees Celsius by the last decade of the 21st century.

It also noted that the greatest single impact of climate change could be on human migration - with millions of people displaced by shoreline erosion, coastal flooding and agricultural disruption. Yet knowledge in this field remains limited and fragmented: there are uncertainties surrounding the actual mechanisms at stake, the number of persons affected and the geographical zones concerned; there are debates between those who stress the direct impact of the environment on population flows and those who rather insist on the social, economic and political contexts in which such flows occur; and different disciplines make their diverse respective inputs to the literature,

ranging from empirical case studies to analytical discussions (Piguet et al., 2011). It is currently a great point of debate among migration scholars whether people's movement has any direct impact on climate change. Scholars like Hugo (1996) have noted a strong affinity between climate change and migration whereas there are other sets of scholars who argue that climate change has very different impacts on different sets of people.

Bangladesh is highly vulnerable to the adverse impacts of climate change due to a combination of factors including its geographical position, exposure to tropical cyclones and sea level rise but also due to its high population density and widespread poverty, with a heavy dependency on natural resource-based livelihoods (Agrawala et al. 2003). The United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) has predicted that Bangladesh could lose nearly one fifth of its land by 2050 because of rising sea levels due to global warming. Because of the popularity this topic has gained in recent times, several theories and views have cropped up with regard to the potential climate-induced migration from Bangladesh to India, especially within India.

According to Architesh Panda (2010), a growing number of people migrate annually from Bangladesh to India for numerous economic, social, and cultural reasons. In addition, climate change coupled with environmental depletion in Bangladesh may act as a push factor that drive people to move to India en masse. He points out the absence of regional or international instruments in place to protect these migrants and makes certain recommendations in order to address the vulnerabilities these migrants might face.

Sarfaraz Alam (2003) in his paper argues that the environmental crisis and its impact on people in Bangladesh are a major reason for continued migration to India. He maintains that scarcity of natural resources coupled with environmental change and rapid population growth causes ecological and economic marginalisation of the poor. Low economic prospects further spur the people to move towards India where the economic prospects appear to be better. In contrast to these views, in the UK government's Foresight report on Migration and Global Environmental Change (2011), it was found out that global environmental change could also lead more people choosing to stay/being trapped in places that are vulnerable to environmental risks. For instance in the case of Bangladesh, when the authorities invested in storm shelters and other kinds of temporary security measures during a series of devastating cyclones, the majority of people in that area chose to remain in those vulnerable places. Similarly a study published by IOM titled "Assessing the Evidence; Environment, Climate Change and Migration in Bangladesh" (2010) stresses the fact that though there is much visibility of this issue both in regional and international media, policy and academic circles, reliable data on characteristics of environmental induced migration from Bangladesh to India is not available and there is always a huge gap between reality and what is reflected in academic, media and policy discourse.

In short, in the case of climate induced migration from Bangladesh to India, more detailed studies are needed in order to have a clear understanding

of whether there is any direct relation or major pushing role for environmental factors on people's movement across the border.

8 “Illegal” or “Invisible”: The Dichotomous Debate

The optics of mainstream migration literature view migration between Bangladesh and India as a cause for concern, whereas literature and policies originating in Bangladesh fail to acknowledge the extent of the phenomenon. In India, there is anxiety about unauthorized migration from Bangladesh and its social and political consequences. **Riots between locals and migrants are becoming a daily affair in the north eastern states of India.** While the 2001 Census of India estimated only three million immigrants, we noted that those seeking political mileage out of the issue claim up to 30 million (Shamshad 2013). It has been reiterated by several scholars and in the media that there is no official estimate of the total number of undocumented Bangladeshi migrants in India.

The illegal migration of Bangladeshis to India is a focal point of debate among policy makers, academics and defence circles in India. Thapliyal (2000) considers these flows a cause for concern and highlights the socio-political problems that arose in north-eastern India as a consequence of immigration of Bangladeshi workers. A majority of academics, including Hazarika (2000), Kumar (2006) and Nath (2003) highlight the social tension and conflicts that arise as a result of persistent labour migration from Bangladesh to India. They criticise existing Indian government initiatives to extend citizenship to illegal immigrants on grounds that this would instigate further instability in the North Eastern states of Assam, Meghalaya and West Bengal. Hazarika (2000) illuminates the perceived threat to Assamese culture and identity and the rise of militant nationalism and insurgencies as a result of Bangladeshi inflows. Nandy (2003, 2005) condemns the massive immigration from Bangladesh as a “demographic invasion” of India. He also perceives Bangladesh's undeclared policy of getting rid of its unwanted and excess population as important factors behind human displacement and forced migration. Partho Ghosh (2009) considers illegal immigration as a political problem as Bangladeshi immigrants affect the vote bank and destabilize demographics. It is clear that a majority of studies focus almost exclusively on the impact of illegal migration streams from Bangladesh and maintain that it is these inflows that have kept north-eastern India in a state of perennial turmoil and emasculated the region economically.

B.B. Kumar (2006), in his introduction to a compendium of papers on *Illegal Migration from Bangladesh*, refers to the influx of migrants from Bangladesh a ‘grave situation’ that adversely affects the Indian economy, national security and social environment. He points to inflows of Bangladeshi immigrants as the cause for dilution of India's cultural integrity and electoral process and questions economic rationalizations of employing Bangladeshi migrants. Naresh Chandra, an Indian civil servant (Kumar 2006), advocates a judicious mix of a liberal, humane approach and pragmatic measures to curb illegal migration from Bangladesh. He problematizes the wording of mainstream

reports on Bangladeshi migration and calls for a refinement in the debate. He also suggests a decentralization of decision-making on issues of cross-border migration that gives border regions more autonomy in managing the situation. Udayan Mishra (Kumar 2006) in his paper questions the validity of the term 'illegal' in reference to Bangladeshi immigrants and outlines the historical processes surrounding population flows between Bangladesh and North Eastern India. Sanjoy Hazarika (Kumar 2006) cautions against pejorative rhetoric surrounding the issue of illegal immigration from Bangladesh and supports an inclusive approach to the management of refugees, migrants and displaced peoples.

Ranabir Samaddar's work on transborder migration in South Asia, particularly the Bangladesh-West Bengal corridor, rather than only an account of migratory flows, points to the processes whereby the nation is being marginalised in South Asia (Samaddar 1999). He campaigns for peaceful yet effective methods of resolution to tackle the 'problems' of infiltration and border-crossing. Samaddar's remedial measures include stringent visa rules, regulatory mechanisms at village and panchayat level to record births and deaths and new arrivals, 'educating border populace about the 'menace of infiltration etc', strengthening the border patrol force of the mobile task force (MTF), even more walls and fencing, and issuing ID cards. Proponents of stringent and arbitrary measures of control often fail to take into account the fact that local people have always routinely crossed this border from both the sides for trade and commerce. Social and family networks, and cultural, linguistic and religious affinities between the populations across the border, make it a very complex issue to manage.

According to former Minister of State for External Affairs, Shashi Tharoor, India estimates that over 20 million Bangladeshis are living illegally in India. At the same time, the Bangladesh government has consistently denied these accusations and adopted a 'don't ask, don't tell' approach when dealing with questions of Bangladeshi immigration to India. While the Indian government appears to endorse the rhetoric against illegal Bangladeshi immigration in India, successive Bangladeshi governments continue to deny this fact of people's movement. Willem van Schendel (2005) suggests that the state of Bangladesh denies the existence of cross-border emigrants, while stripping those who move of their Bangladeshi citizenship. Singh observes that the Bangladeshi Government refuses to acknowledge that these are Bangladeshi migrants and further propagates that India is pushing back Bengali speaking Indian Muslims into Bangladesh (R.N.P. Singh, 2002:146).

A twelve member delegation of Bangladeshi MPs to India in 2012 categorically announced that India has never raised the issue of cross border illegal migration with Dhaka. They maintained that, although migration is a burning affair in north-eastern states of India, other than the peace accord signed by Rajiv Gandhi in order to solve the issue, till now Indian authorities have never taken up the issue officially with Bangladeshi counterparts².

² See: http://www.telegraphindia.com/1121202/jsp/frontpage/story_16264390.jsp#.UaAxSaKl33Q (The Telegraph, December 2, 2012, Calcutta, India).

Tensions between India and Bangladesh have mounted over attempts by India's Border Security Force (BSF) to deport a number of Bangladeshis who have been staying illegally in India. The Bangladesh government maintains that the alleged illegal migrants are Indian citizens, and has consistently maintained that 'there are no Bangladeshis in India'. Some Bangladeshi policymakers allege "India is just trying to throw out Bengali-speaking Muslims from their country by branding them Bangladeshi migrants". At a weekly press briefing in Dhaka on January 30, Bangladesh Foreign Secretary Shamsher Mobin Choudhary insisted that, since January 22, 2003, the BSF has made 30 'push-in attempts' through several border points into Bangladeshi territory. The Bangladesh government also issued an aide memoire regarding repeated 'push-in attempts' to the Indian Deputy High Commissioner in Dhaka.

According to a report on illegal migration into Assam submitted to the President of India by the then Governor of Assam, Lt. Gen. (Retd.) S. K. Sinha (1998) while there is no evidence of Bangladesh authorities organising the movement of population, they have certainly made no attempts to prevent it and indeed, may be implicitly encouraging it, to ease their rising population problem. Sinha further points to another pressing concern, that the Indian government has cloistered this problem of "invidious Bangladeshi intrusion" as a regional concern effecting Assam and other border areas rather than elevating it as a matter of national significance. Dr. Chrantan Kumar (2009) raises issues and gathers evidence on the question of why only Bangladeshis come to India and not other neighbours such as Chinese and Pakistani migrants. He maintains that unjust and suppressive policies from the part of Bangladesh government force the minorities and indigenous people to cross the porous border and come to India.

Amidst these allegations and counter allegations, tension continues to mount at several border points, particularly in the north-eastern regions and the state of West Bengal. The competing viewpoints on the subject illustrate the contested socio-political framework within which these movements are situated and the different ways in which borders, citizenship and (in)security are viewed and politicised in contemporary Asia and beyond.

9 Border Management, Securitisation and State Response

India views Bangladesh through a trio of security concerns—illegal migration into India of Bangladeshis, cross-border terrorism, and territorial disputes along the 4,100 km border. At the same time, water-sharing, land demarcation and the killing of Bangladeshi civilians by Indian Border Security forces have remained problems that the Bangladesh government considers 'beyond resolution'.

While the magnitude of illegal infiltration and immigration of Bangladeshi nationals is unrecorded, there is a mounting concern regarding the use of

Bangladeshi territory for terrorist and subversive activities against India.³ The porous India-Bangladesh border also fuels smuggling, the drug trade and proliferation of small arms. Available evidence suggests a collusive network between smugglers, a section of illegal migrants and terrorist groups operating in India's Northeast, according to Jha (2003).

The militarised, two-metre-high fence on the Indian side ensures that influx of cross-border immigrants and smuggling of contraband goods does not go uncontrolled. Although shortly every available crossing point between India and Bangladesh will have been blocked off by the fence, a study conducted by some NGOs in India and Bangladesh found out that many bordering villages have a "lineman" -- what would be called a coyote on the U.S-Mexican border -- who facilitates the smuggling, paying border guards from both notoriously corrupt countries to look the other way when people pass through (Carney et al, 2011).

The idea of protecting the Indo-Bangladesh border with a fence is not a recent strategy. Regional politicians in Assam first proposed fencing the border in the 1960s in order to isolate the population of East Pakistan. During that period, the Government of Assam launched a campaign to deport immigrants settled in Assam since 1956, ignoring Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's request to go slow on the issue (Hazarika 2000). In the late 1970s and early 1980s there were violent protests and anti-Bengali programs in Assam, which led to the establishment of the Assam Accord. Hitherto the "intrusion" of illegal migrants has generally been looked upon as a local problem affecting only the people of the borderlands (Sinha 1998), but over time India has taken cognizance of the consequences of these unchecked cross-border flows as a threat, both to the economy and the security of the country. The mainstream Indian political leaders debated the issue and placed it on the national agenda in 1985 (Ramachandran 2002; Hazarika 1994). An early measure to check Bangladeshi inflows was "Operation Push Back", conceptualised as part of an action plan taken and implemented by the Narasimha Rao Congress Government in 1992 to deport illegal Bangladesh migrants. The plan had three steps, namely: detection, identification and deportation. The first operation took place in September 1992. A group of 132 people were identified as illegal Bangladeshis and removed from a slum in New Delhi and taken to the West Bengal-Bangladesh border for deportation in an inhuman manner and handed over to the Indian Border Security force (BSF) to push back to the Bangladesh side. This operation was highly criticised by national and international human rights, religious and non- governmental organisations (Shamshad 2013). Hence, Operation Push Back was suspended in November 1992 as abruptly as it was started (Ramachandran 2002).

The Group of Ministers Report in 2000 reported that illegal cross-border migration had been occurring over five decades and estimated that there were 15 million Bangladeshis, 2.2 million Nepalese, 70,000 Sri Lankan Tamils and 100,000 Tibetan migrants currently in India (Ministry of Defence, 2000). There

³ See <http://www.indianexpress.com/news/no-details-about-magnitude-of-illegal-migration-from-bangladesh/998782/#sthash.dqFa4795.dpuf>

have been numerous estimations on the stock of illegal migrants within the country and these estimates range often from twice to ten times official figures. For these sorts of reasons, India's parliament approved construction of the India-Bangladesh border fence in 1986, a measured response to regional fears of illegal Muslim immigrants tipping religious majorities in the Assam province.

In 1986, the Indian government approved the Indo-Bangladesh Border Road and Fence project to prevent illegal (also called irregular) migration from Bangladesh. However, the progress of the project was very slow (Schendel, 2005). The project was budgeted at Rs 33.7 billion in 1986. Progress on the fence construction on Bangladesh-Assam border was slow and irregular till 1998 (Shamshad 2013). The fence was allocated comparatively minimal funds when construction began in 1989. But the issue of Bangladesh migrants residing in India (apart from the North-east) became a concern of the Indian media when it became a political agenda item of the Hindu nationalist mainstream political party Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and SanghParivar in the 1980s and 90s (Schendel 2005). It wasn't until the BJP won a countrywide majority in the late 1990s, that efforts to "secure" the Bengal border gained traction. The BJP allegedly used inflated estimates of the number of illegal Bangladeshi immigrants residing in India to garner political clout, win elections and unite Hindus against the perceived threat of Muslim refugees. In an effort to stir up nationalist fervour, the BJP associated Muslim Bangladesh not only with joblessness in India, but with terrorist attacks inside India. A spokesman for the Indian Ministry of External Affairs cited the reasons for the fence as a combination of the same motivations that had made the United States and Israel to build fences with Mexico and the West Bank respectively to prevent illegal migration and terrorist infiltration (Shamshad 2013).

Over the past 25 years, India has pumped billions of dollars into the construction of perhaps the world's longest border fence. Every year its Ministry of Home Affairs spends an additional \$1.3bn to maintain and man this expensive and inefficient national defence project. India's urgency about constructing the fence was cemented by the fact that the Indian government tripled its budget for border security in 2003 and has already spent over Rs 2404.7 million towards fencing the Bangladesh border, making it one of the longest geopolitical barriers in the world. The border is patrolled by India's Border Security Force (BSF), a Central government-administered paramilitary agency set up for peacetime border control but now tasked with everything from human-proofing to narcosmuggling prevention to stopping militant infiltration, and by the Border Guard Bangladesh (earlier Bangladesh Rifles), a 'first line of defence' paramilitary unit with enormous powers.

There have been allegations that over 1000 Bangladeshis have been killed by the Indian BSF over the past ten years, while trying to cross the border.⁴ Several national and international NGOs have rallied against this arbitrary 'shoot-to-kill' policy for some time. Following the release of *Trigger Happy*, the Human Rights Watch 2010 report which found that far more Bangladeshis

⁴ See <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/libertycentral/2011/jan/23/india-bangladesh-border-shoot-to-kill-policy>

than Indians have been killed by the BSF in their efforts to end cross-border smuggling, the Indian government called for restraint and recommended the use of nonlethal force. Despite the recent order revoking the BSF's right to shoot-at-sight those attempting to cross, the guards still have legal impunity, which might go a long way towards explaining the five reported Bangladeshis shot and killed in the second half of last year.

In light of these issues, Joseph (2006) attempts to analyse whether desecuritization of the Bangladesh-India border issue would have any lasting positive impact on solving the problem. He believes securitization is no assurance of an end to the issue but could be a powerful potential tool in the hands of security agencies and those in power. Joseph concludes that despite the mammoth nature of the Bangladeshi immigration problem and ethnic, religious and linguistic sensitivities surrounding it, the rhetoric of securitization has not been matched with 'practical solutions' on the ground. Until both governments take informed action on the issues arising from the securitisation of the border at both sides, there can be no resolution of issues beyond the barriers.

10 Rights and Access to Justice

This section attempts to unpack various dimensions regarding the rights and access to social security among Bangladeshi immigrants to India. While one official estimate is that there are over 20 million irregular migrants in India (Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs 2010), immigration to India from South Asian countries consists mostly of informal and unrecorded movements. The irregular nature of migratory flows between the countries results in structural constraints on migrants' access to social protection.

India's open borders with Bangladesh and Nepal have put the country in a difficult situation, with immigrants entering the country easily. In terms of unrecorded emigration from India, Bangladesh reports nearly 500,000 Indians staying on in the country illegally after expiry of their tourist visas and working in various business establishments. In contrast, the UNHCR reports only 185,323 refugees and 5,441 asylum seekers in India, while the refugees and asylum seekers originating from India were recorded as 24,236 as of January 2010. India is yet to sign the International Conventions on refugees due to concerns arising out of national security (Valatheeswaran and Irudaya Rajan 2011). On the other hand, the *de facto* refugee population in India continues to rise, with the Bangladesh-India border as one of the most active corridors for immigration into India.

India has a long history of accepting outsiders whether it is the Tibetan government in exile or Sri Lankans fleeing a drawn-out civil war. However faced with the threat of mass migration from the east, New Delhi has drawn a line in the sand and is erecting a barbed wire fence along the border in an effort to stem illegal trade and migration. We noted reports by several human rights organisations that more than a thousand Bangladeshis were killed by Indian Border Security Force (BSF) since 2000 while trying to cross the border. Though India made promises on several occasions to switch to nonlethal

weaponry, they have seldom followed through on them. In the past as well, there has been documented evidence of inhumane practices from elements of the Indian state to wipe out undocumented Bangladeshis. We earlier noted severe measures in the nineties, dubbed ‘Operation Push Back’ and ‘Operation Flush Out’, that affected the lives of millions of migrants in the region.

According to the Bangladesh government and various human rights groups in both countries, the fencing has done more harm than good, and the BSF’s strongarm methods are incommensurate with India’s problems on its eastern border. Policing the Indian-made India-Bangladesh border fence has ostensibly put the lives of thousands who live along the border at high risk. Hundreds of cases have been documented of BSF brutality—verbal assaults, intimidation, rapes and killings—against both Indians and Bangladeshis living and working along the border region or dealing in legal transborder transactions. HRW (2010) recommends that the Indian government should prosecute BSF soldiers responsible for serious human rights abuses and use of excessive force at the Bangladesh Border. Of the over 1000 Bangladeshi nationals killed by the BSF over the last decade, many of them had crossed into Indian Territory for farming, petty-trade, cattle rustling or other smuggling activities. In many of the cases investigated by Human Rights Watch, the victims were cattle rustlers -farmers or labourers hoping to supplement their meagre livelihood as couriers in the lucrative but illegal cattle trade that is rampant along the West Bengal border. In several cases it was found that Bangladeshi nationals were injured or killed due to indiscriminate firing from across the border. Since both Indians and Bangladeshis have fallen prey to this excessive use of force, Human Rights Watch advocated that the governments open a joint independent investigation to turn the situation around.

Migrant health poses a triple challenge by raising fundamental questions of social equity, public health and human rights. The WHO/World Bank joint report on *International Migration, Health and Human Rights* (2003) identifies that migrants and refugees are among the groups that are disproportionately affected by limited or lack of access to health care, either because they are excluded from existing service arrangements or because there is no provision for health care. Cultural, linguistic and legal barriers prevent migrants from accessing government healthcare services and increase their vulnerability to HIV infection. One of the most important determining factors of whether migrants face barriers to accessing health services is the question of their legal status in the country. It is therefore important to analyse the health and human rights issues pertaining to undocumented or irregular migrants. Laws and policies which prevent migrants from accessing social services, including health care, based on immigration status, rest upon and convey the idea that irregular migrants themselves are primarily responsible for their precarious situation, that it would be expensive for taxpayers to afford them health services, and that excluding them from social benefits would serve to deter future irregular migrants. Allowing irregular migrants access to health services is therefore often considered charity or ‘generosity’ on behalf of the State.

In *The Marginal Nation* (1999), Sammadar addresses issues of trans-nationhood, marginal identity, political exploitation and perpetual insecurity,

and human rights. According to him, ‘protection of migrants’ has become a catchword in the liberal agenda of South Asia but the complexities surrounding these entitlements are all too often ignored. Until 1971 the government of West Bengal together with many national and regional voluntary organisations assisted refugees by providing food, shelter, money, rations and establishing camps. The government further helped them in future settlement as well. In light of the continued mass population displacement, this protectionist agenda has been shed and governments currently view the trans-border population flux as a challenge to state security. South Asian states are increasingly taking steps to obstruct arrival of asylum-seekers, push back and contain displaced peoples within their homelands, and to return refugees against their will to the country of origin.

Despite the (real or perceived) burden on India’s economy, there needs to be a balance between measures to manage cross-border migration and measures to enhance protection outreach to vulnerable migrants residing in the country. Naresh Chandra (Kumar 2006) calls for a judicious mix of humanitarian relief and return and reintegration services, that will go a long way in correcting the current situation.

Overall, ratification of instruments on migration is mainly relevant for legal migrants. Even existing legislation and national policies address formal migration between Bangladesh and Southeast Asian countries, the Middle East, European nations and the USA, and do not contain laws and provisions to safeguard the interests of informal migrant workers, especially women. Given current mobility patterns between Bangladesh and India and the associated health related vulnerabilities and risks, targeted interventions are needed for all categories of migrants (Samuels, F. et al. 2011). Denying or impeding access to rights for migrants carries a high risk that they will be socially and economically excluded, with severe consequences for migrants themselves as well as for their host and home communities.

Cross-border migration carries risks both for migrants and for the countries sending and receiving them. However, the benefits of migration can be maximised by improving planning for internal and international mobility, encouraging legal migration and promoting low-cost methods for sending remittances. As both a home and host country of migrant workers, India has to make and honour commitments to protect the migrant workers it sends and receives. Current efforts to protect migrant workers in India include the Interstate Migrant Workmen Act 1979; however, there is much to be desired in this area of legislation and practice. Bangladesh has not ratified the 1990 UN Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families. Though Bangladesh is a signatory to the convention, ratification has been likely been blocked by fears that it might discourage the governments of labor receiving nations from recruiting Bangladeshi laborers for work in their countries (Kibria 2011).

To enhance the portability and benefits of migrant rights, policymakers and academics must work with relevant government institutions and other partners to improve coverage of social protection, including improved migration systems, and to increase the protection of the migrant workers,

especially female migrant workers. It is imperative that the rights of women workers should not be viewed in isolation but in tandem with other migrant worker rights. Furthermore, the eradication of abuse and mistreatment of overseas workers will only occur when host and origin governments simultaneously strengthen their commitment to human rights and bolster institutional mechanisms to protect those rights, from both sides.

11 Furthering the Frontiers of South-South Migration

The poor nature of data on South-South labour movements, coupled with scarcity of systematic research, has impeded the formulation of policies that can effectively use this intra-regional labour mobility as an enabler for structural transformation, growth, poverty reduction and rural development in the developing world. The paper serves to further demonstrate this lacuna through an evaluation of the literature surrounding cross-border movements from Bangladesh to India.

Proximity, historical links as well as linguistic and cultural affinities play a central role in driving labour mobility within the Indian subcontinent. However, to date, the response of both Bangladesh and India has been inadequate to deal with issues relating to illegal immigrant flows, border securitisation and communal and political violence arising along the countries' 4000 km of shared borders. Evidence-led research from both sides of the border must be undertaken to inform policy decisions and formulate a co-operative course of action.

With the rising mobility of populations and associated risks and vulnerabilities, policy interventions to uphold the rights and welfare of migrant workers are necessary. Comprehensive bilateral agreements between India and Bangladesh to ensure the portability of migrants' rights and provide them a safer, more protected environment are required. At the same time, each country must make and honour commitments to protect all migrants within their own national boundaries. Concerted efforts by both governments are required to improve adherence to national laws, border mandates and international labour standards.

It is widely apparent that women constitute an increasing proportion of South Asian labour movements. This includes migration for economic purposes, informal employment and instances of trafficking. A majority of studies obscure the gendered impacts of migration and fail to analyse the specific conditions of women migrants. Others focus almost exclusively on a pessimistic 'victim approach' that portrays women migrants as hapless victims of the migration process. Nevertheless, considered evaluations of existing studies reveal that women's migration from Bangladesh to India is not fundamentally repressive or fundamentally emancipatory. It is at once complex and contradictory. Upon this understanding, future researchers must aim to unveil migrant women's agency and the many ways they negotiate their outcomes and emerge successful.

Bangladesh has to conspicuously recognise that the migration from their country to India is real, and the Indian government should realign its priorities from a policy of ‘zero tolerance’ and commit to extending humane practices while dealing with the migrants. In short rather than politicising the issue of Bangladesh-India movements what is required to resolve the problem is to hold bilateral talks between the governments. To ensure swift, secure and systematic movements of people between the two countries, researchers must seek to find sustainable solutions, not to curb these flows, but to make them increasingly socially tenable and durable. Above all, academia and policy experts in both countries and worldwide should conduct studies in a neutral way to understand the impact and depth of the issue, in order to provide constructive recommendations and address the specificities of South-South migration.

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This study explores the ways in which migrant women enter and cope with the demands of the urban labour market and society, their position in the labour market, and differential labour market outcomes as compared to male or non-migrant co-workers. Despite its focus on the textile manufacturing sector in Dhaka, this volume is a substantive contribution to overall understanding of the modalities of women’s migration in the Global South. Male migration is an established phenomenon in South Asia, in general, and Bangladesh, in particular, and mechanisms have evolved to facilitate such migration over the years. Independent female migration is a relatively recent phenomenon. It is important, therefore, to explore the mechanisms that facilitate female migration and settlement in both urban and rural areas.
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According to various studies on the direction of Bangladeshi women’s migration, India is the primary destination country-wise and Middle East the first destination region-wise. Thirty five percent of the women migrated to India against 11% of the men. This article deals with the migration of Bangladeshi village women to the bars of Bombay. Ladies' bars provided a lucrative source of income for young women from villages of Jessore and Satkhira in Bangladesh. The author looks into various questions that arise regarding this type of migration. The questions include: how could their activity be reconciled with village norms requiring women to restrain their movements, show modesty and remain under the authority of guardians? How could women's migration be accommodated with village religion and principles of life held to be fundamental to an Islamic way of life and to the good order of society? How could women's earnings be enjoyed without reprobation or disturbances? The article is a significant contribution to existing literature on Bangladesh-India migration and explores the hitherto neglected gender dimension of migrant flows from Bangladesh to India.

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political circles and political patronage of West Bengal remain one of the major pull factors.

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- Foresight, (2011) *Migration and Global Environmental Change* Final Project Report. London: The Government Office for Science.
- Ghosh, Partha S. (2001) *Migrants and Refugees in South Asia: Political and Security Dimension*. Shillong: North Eastern Hill University, pp. 9.
- Ghosh, Partha S. (2009) Politics of Competing Ethnicity and Violence: The Experience of India's North East," in *Political Governance and Minority Rights: The South and South-East Asian Scenario*. Lipi Ghosh, ed. (New Delhi, Routledge), pp. 3-30.
- Haque, S.Md. (2005) 'Migration Trends and Patterns in South Asia and Management Approaches and Initiatives', paper presented at the Regional Seminar on the Social Implications of International Migration, Bangkok, Thailand (24-26 August).

The paper attempts to highlight some of the emerging trends and complexities of migration, specifically in South Asia. The author starts with a detailed explanation of migration history, from the pre British period. He then outlines the various driving forces and present day patterns of migration in the region in a countrywise format. He adds a detailed account of irregular migration and human trafficking from country to country in the region. The paper then discusses the migration policy framework existing in the region, highlighting both national arrangements and various regional initiatives in the management of population movement.

- Hazarika, S. (2000) *Rites of Passage: Border Crossings, Imagined Homelands, India's East and Bangladesh*, New Delhi: Penguin Books.

In this seminal book on Bangladesh migration to India, Sanjoy Hazarika details various issues surrounding these movements, border management, integration and implications for both nations. He identified major push factors for migration from Bangladesh and provided valuable information on the paths of migrants in their journey to India across *chars* (river islands). The book provides details on the quantum and nature of entrants, and their destinations in India and beyond, based on extensive fieldwork in Assam and Bangladesh. He also made a distinction between environmental and political refugees as well as between 'unwanted migrants' (spurned by host country) and 'rejected people' (refugees driven away by own government). Hazarika criticises government initiatives to extend citizenship to illegal immigrants, as this would instigate further instability in North Eastern states of Assam, Meghalaya and West Bengal. He maintains that issue must be politicised and permeate the national consciousness so as to bring real change. He recommends the setting up of a National Commission to monitor existing laws and policies regarding migrants' rights within India such as the Foreigner's Act, The Illegal Migration (Determination) Tribunal Act, and to aid the evolution of a National Law pertaining to Migrants and Refugees.

- Hazarika, S (1994) A ration card is not a passport to citizenship. *Asian Age*, 14 October: 8.
- Hugo, G. (1996) Environmental concerns and international migration. *International Migration Review* 30(1).

- Hujo, K. and N. Piper (eds.) (2010) *South-South Migration: Implications for social policy and development*, UNRISD Social Policy in a Development context series, Palgrave Macmillan.

The book uses several entry points in its attempt to systematically analyse and unpack the social dimensions of migration in the South and its implications for policy, specifically with regard to the role and challenges for social policy and social provisioning in the Global South. Contributors identified research gaps and future directions of research pertaining to movements between developing countries. These contributions, albeit part of an exploratory research agenda, reveal regional and global debates on migration and development, the implications of migration for gender and care regimes, linkages between migration and human resource flows, remittances, poverty and political organizations by or for migrants. It offers a comprehensive roadmap toward inclusive migration and social policy regimes. The collection suffers from a lack of regional emphasis, nevertheless it is an essential handbook for any researcher investigating issues pertaining to rights and conditions of migrants in the growing south-south corridor.

- Human Rights Watch (2010) *Trigger Happy: Excessive Use of Force by Indian Troops at the Bangladesh Border*. Available at : <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2010/12/09/trigger-happy-0>

This 81-page report documents the situation on the border region, where both Bangladesh and India have deployed border guards to prevent infiltration, trafficking, and smuggling. Human Rights Watch found numerous cases of indiscriminate use of force, arbitrary detention, torture, and killings by the security force, without adequate investigation or punishment. The report is based on over 100 interviews with victims, witnesses, human rights defenders, journalists, and Border Security Force and Bangladesh Rifles' (BDR) members.

- IOM (2001) *In Search of Dreams: Study on the Situation of the Trafficked Women and Children from Bangladesh and Nepal to India*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration.
- Joseph, J. (2006) 'Securitization of Illegal Migration of Bangladeshis to India', IDSS Working Paper Series on Non Traditional Security in Southeast Asia, No. 100. Singapore: Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies.

The illegal migration of Bangladeshis to India is always a focal point of debate among policy makers, academics and defence circles in India. Almost all these debates led a general consensus within India for tightening the security measures to stop the flow of people. This paper examines the securitization of the issue by various actors over a century. The paper goes into the influences of political ideologies on the Indian State's response to the issue, and the impact of speech acts and other actions of securitizing actors on the issue. At the crux of this paper lies an attempt to examine if desecuritization of the issue would have any lasting positive impact on solving the problem. Securitization, the author believes, is no assurance of an end to the issue but could be a powerful tool in the hands of security agencies and those in power. He concludes that despite the mammoth nature of the problem and ethnic, religious and linguistic sensitivities about it, the rhetoric of securitization has not been matched with 'practical solutions' on ground.

- Kibria, N. (2011) *Working Hard for the Money: Bangladesh Faces Challenges of Large-Scale Labor Migration*. Migration Information Source, Country Profiles. Available at: <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=848>
- Kofman, E. and P. Raghuram (2009). *The Implications of Migration for Gender and Care Regimes in the South*. Social Policy and Development Programme Paper Number 41

July 2009, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD).

This paper examines the implications of migration for gender relations and care provisioning in the countries of the global South, in particular through the use of the 'care diamond' and its spatial and institutional dimensions as a conceptual tool. The authors explore some of the ways in which the care diamond needs specifying and moderating in relation to a Southern context. The authors describe the need to map the actual practices of caregiving and care receiving as well as the different institutional and spatial arrangements of state, public sector, community and households, which influence care provision, in order to understand social implications of migration for gender and care. These diverse arrangements are multifaceted and dynamic and vary regionally and temporally. The paper also assesses the applicability of key concepts such as the global care chain and the ethics of care for migration in Southern countries. Finally, it draws lessons for policy makers with regard to the care-related needs of migrant families and households in different regions. Too often the importance of migration as a buffer securing a cheap care workforce has meant states have not recognized the economic and social importance of care; this paper argues for the need to correct this imbalance.

- Kofman, E., & Raghuram, P. (2012). Women, Migration, and Care: Explorations of Diversity and Dynamism in the Global South. *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society* 19(3), 408-432. Oxford University Press. Retrieved May 18, 2013, from Project MUSE database.

Whilst recent research has sought to highlight the heterogeneity of care chains in the North, both from its peripheral areas and the more distant South, less attention has been paid to care chains in the global South and towards understanding the diversity and dynamism of the South. Levels of growth, migratory systems, gender regimes and welfare arrangements all vary across countries. The middle-income countries pose particularly interesting questions as they are tied into global circuits of care in distinctive ways and have different kinds of care arrangements. The paper begins with an overview of Southern migration patterns, especially those of women. The second section looks at the theoretical frameworks through which migration and care have been analysed, in particular global chains of care, and outlines some of the conceptual gaps that exist. The paper then explores what acknowledging the diversity and dynamism of Southern countries and the resultant variations in care mean for theorising care.

- Kumar B.B. (ed.) (2006) *Illegal Migration from Bangladesh*, Papers presented at the National Seminar on Illegal Migration from Bangladesh, held at Delhi during 21-22 February 2003. Concept Publishing, New Delhi.

This compendium of papers traces the factors responsible for illegal migration, both historical and economic, its implications for India in general and the North Eastern states in particular. The contributors underscore high population growth, demographic imbalances, threats to internal security, deteriorating economy and influence on electoral politics as some of the complex problems arising due to illegal migration from Bangladesh. The volume brings together inputs from academics and policymakers and provides the reader with insights into the varying approaches to the issue of cross-border migratory flows from Bangladesh. For example, Dr. Kumar in his introduction refers to the influx of migrants from Bangladesh as a 'grave situation' that adversely affects the Indian economy, national security and social environment. He points to inflows of Bangladeshi immigrants as the cause for dilution of India's cultural integrity and electoral process and questions economic rationalizations of employing them.

- Kumar, C. (2009) 'Migration and Refugee Issue between India and Bangladesh', *Scholar's Voice: A New Thinking* 1(1): 64 – 82.

In this paper the author outlines the issue of migration and the refugee flow from Bangladesh to India, its causes and impacts, and eventually outlines a possible road map that suggests a (possible) solution to the problem. The author identifies that the unjust and suppressive policies from the part of Bangladesh government forces the minorities and indigenous people to cross the porous border and come to India. He further answers the question why only Bangladeshis come to India and not other neighbours such as Chinese and Pakistani migrants. The author proposes a comprehensive border management policy which include the setting up of an effective mechanism to manage the trans-border movement of people, effective surveillance, a comprehensive and coordinated intelligence apparatus, the involvement of border populations and a greater role for the local administration and law enforcement agencies.

- Mahmood, Raisal Awal (1998) "Bangladeshi Clandestine Foreign Workers", in Appleyard, R. (ed.) *Emigration Dynamics in Developing Countries, Volume II: South Asia*, Asgate Publishing Limited, England. Pp 177-213.

The paper by Raisal Mahmood (1998) attempts to understand the processes through which illegal migration arises and is perpetuated. His study focuses on the major stages and actors that help sustain illegal migration and investigates its linkages with major macro factors and policy regimes adopted in labour sending and receiving countries. The author describes the level, trend and destination of these flows, the process of entry into the country and job market, services of middlemen and other factors that determine the supply side of migrants. The willingness of many Bangladeshis to face the risks involved in entering and remaining in destination countries on an unauthorized basis is explained, in part, by what Mahmood, describes as 'appalling economic conditions' at home. He also discusses the rationale behind employing illegal migrant workers in the receiving countries, citing economic gain, flexibility, willingness to work long hours and lack of organization as the main factors that help to sustain this process. The paper serves as a useful introduction to Bangladeshi emigration dynamics in South Asia with respect to select countries of destination.

- Mantoo, Shah Nawaz Ahmed (2012). Bangladesh Illegal Immigration: Effects and Consequences. *Journal of Eurasian Studies* Volume IV(3), 38-53. http://epa.oszk.hu/01500/01521/00015/pdf/EPA01521_EurasianStudies_0312_038-053.pdf
- Martin, S.F. (2009) Managing environmentally induced migration. In: Laczko, F. and Aghazaram, C. (eds.) *Migration, Environment and Climate Change: Assessing the evidence*. Geneva: International Organisation for Migration, pp. 353 – 384.
- Nanda, Aswini Kumar. 2005. Immigration from Bangladesh to India Based on Census Data. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 14(4), 487–499.
- Nandy, B.B (2003) Demographic Invasion from Bangladesh, *Himalayan and Central Asian Studies*, Vol. 7, Nos. 3-4, pp. 169-176.
- Nandy, B.B. (2005) Infiltration Menace: Fear of Socio-Political Tensions in the Northeast, *The Statesman*, Kolkata, June 23, 2005.
- Naujoks, Daniel (2009) Emigration, Immigration, and Diaspora Relations in India. Migration Information Source, Country Profiles, available at :<http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.cfm?ID=745> Accessed on : 22/05/2013
- Oishi, N (2005) *Women In Motion: Globalization, State Policies, And Labor Migration In Asia*, Stanford University Press.

- Ozden, C. and M. Schiff (2006) *International Migration, Remittances and the Brain Drain*. Washington: The World Bank and Palgrave MacMillan.
Although part of the South-South migration flows consists of refugees and asylum seekers, much of it is motivated by economic factors, such as migration from other African countries to South Africa. Even though data is quite scarce, tentative figures suggest that economically motivated South-South migration is large. In the first part of this book, the authors try to analyse the determinants and impacts of migration and remittances on different measures of development and welfare such as poverty, education, health, housing etc.; and the second part of the book focuses on brain drain and related issues of brain gain, brain waste and migrants' contribution to technological progress in destination countries.
- Panda, A. (2008) '*Climate Induced Migration from Bangladesh to India: Issues and Challenges*'. Accessed 17 April 2013 <<http://www.ehs.unu.edu/file/get/5408>>.
Though the data on environmentally induced migration is scarce and the number of people who are migrating due to environmental factors and climate change is generally contested, various studies in the area highlight the fact that climate change in the form of higher frequency of droughts, floods, sea-level rise and glacier melting displaces a large number of people and induces migration. Bangladesh is a country that is highly vulnerable to environmental and climatic factors affecting a large number of people. This paper considers the nexus between environment and cross border migration from Bangladesh to India through the lens of current and future climatic changes and the environmental degradation in Bangladesh. The paper argues that the vulnerability of specific individuals and communities is not geographically bound but, rather, is connected at different scales. Among the many causes of vulnerability of people, cross border migration due to climate change might increase the susceptibility of people to climate change in both the countries. Without adequate bilateral and multilateral institutional arrangements in place to protect of climate migrants, it will pose greater risks to India.
- Pathania, Jyoti M. (2003) *India & Bangladesh - Migration Matrix- Reactive and not Proactive*, Paper no. 632, South Asia Analysis Group. Available at: <http://www.southasiaanalysis.org/paper632>
- Paul, Madan C, & Lin, Sharat G. (1995) Social Insecurity, Vote Banks and Communalism: A Study of Bangladesh Immigrants in Delhi. *Social Action*, 45(4), 468.
- Pramanik, Bimal (2006) *Illegal Migration from Bangladesh: A Case Study of Bangladesh*. In: Kumar (2006). Pages 137–47.
- Paul, B.K and S. A. Hasnath (2000) "Trafficking in Bangladeshi Women and Girls", *Geographical Review*. Pp.268-276.
- Piguet, E. et al. (2011) Introduction: migration and climate change, In: Piguet, E. et al. (eds.) *Migration and Climate change*, Cambridge: UNESCO/Cambridge University Press.
- Plaza, S. and D. Ratha (2011) *Diaspora for Development in Africa*. Washington: The World Bank.
- Raihan, S. and Syed Al-Helal Uddin (2011) Bangladesh: Country Study, in Kelegama, S. (ed.) *Migration, Remittances and Development in South Asia*, Sage Publications, India.
- Ramachandran, S. (1999) Of boundaries and border crossings: undocumented Bangladeshi 'infiltrators' and the hegemony of Hindu nationalism in India. *Interventions: The International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* (1): 235–253.

- Ramachandran, S. (2002) Operation Pushback: Sangh Parivar, State, Slums and Surreptitious Bangladeshis in New Delhi. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 23 (3): 311-332.
- Ramachandran, S. (2004) There are many Bangladeshis in New Delhi, but...?: methodological routines and fieldwork anxieties. *Population, Space and Place*, (10): 255-270.
- Ramachandran, S. (2005) Indifference, impotence, and intolerance: transnational Bangladeshis in India. *Global Migration Perspectives*. Global Commission on International Migration, Geneva. Available at: <http://www.gcim.org/attachements/GMP%20No%2042.pdf>
- Ratha, D. and W. Shaw (2007) '*South-South Migration and Remittances*', World Bank Working Paper No. 2. Washington DC: The World Bank.

When it comes to cross border migration, it is important to acknowledge that migration to Global North/relatively wealthy countries continue to be the focus of attention of policy makers, academics and media even though according to the 2010 census, about one third of the global migrant stock both originated and was living in the Global South. This number was only slightly smaller than the number of international migrants originating in the South and living in the North (United Nations Population Facts No 2012/3, 2013). This paper is an effort from the part of authors to put together a database on bilateral migration stock and bilateral remittances flows for the Global Southern countries. It provides a comprehensive survey of the literature on this topic and sets out some working hypotheses on the determinants and socio economic implications of South – South migration.

- Sammadar, R. (1999) *The Marginal Nation: Trans-Border Migration From Bangladesh To West Bengal*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

The book deals with the influx of Bangladeshi irregular migrants to West Bengal due to ever increasing economic pressures, rapid population growth, disease, unemployment, starvation and a constant spectre of natural disasters. Beginning with the discussion of problems faced by migrant people, the author brings issues of age, gender, religion, language and ethnicity in addition to the questions of exploitation and human rights. It gives a clear picture of the world of the migrants: their definitions of their destinies and nations; interactions with their families, communities and the villages; and a subjective view of their lives and struggles. The Marginal Nation addresses issues of trans-nationhood, marginal identity and globalization. In it, Sammadar demystifies constructs of 'borders' and 'national territory' by bringing to the fore the viewpoints of migrants themselves. He questions the practical value of these terms by depicting how flow of people across the Indo-Bangladesh border is prompted and propelled by historical and social affinities, geographical contiguity and economic imperatives. Pitted against the natural urge for survival, 'nation' and 'state' are marginalised in the minds of migrants who then find 'illegal' ways to tackle these man-made barriers, obstacles in the path of their well-being. The net result is that the very future of concepts such as nation state and national security, national border and 'sovereign space' has fallen into doubt in present day South Asia. Sammadar's book is somewhat unique in that it campaigns for peace, reconciliation and upholding the human rights of refugees, minority rights, rights of migrants and free movement of labour from Bangladesh to India, to help formulate policies that encourage rather than deter these regional labour movements.

- Samuels, F. et al. (2011) '*Vulnerabilities of Movement: Cross Border Mobility between India, Nepal and Bangladesh*'. Accessed 15 May 2013
<<http://www.odi.org.uk/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/7404.pdf>>
This paper published by the Overseas Development Institute tries to throw light on the magnitude, causes and consequences of migration in South Asia. It examines social and behavioural mechanisms underlying the relationship between migration and HIV-related vulnerabilities. The paper explores who these migrants are, their migration patterns and their related vulnerabilities, particularly in relation to HIV. It concludes by providing some tentative recommendations both for policy and programmatic responses.
- Samuels, F., and Sanju Wagle (2011) Population mobility and HIV and AIDS: review of laws, policies and treaties between Bangladesh, Nepal and India. London: Overseas Development Institute. Available at :
<http://www.odi.org.uk/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/7108.pdf>
While mobility itself is not considered a vulnerability factor for HIV infection and other health-risks, the unsafe conditions under which people migrate exposes them to a greater risk of infection. This Background Note provides a short overview of the HIV situation in each country - India, Nepal and Bangladesh, followed by a review of the individual country legal frameworks and an outline of regional initiatives around migration and HIV. The Background Note concludes by discussing priorities and processes that could safeguard the health and rights of migrants and their families.
- Sarkar, Jyothi Parimal (2010) Cross- Border Migration in Developing Countries : A case of Bangladeshi Migration to India, *India Migration Report 2010*, S. Irudaya Rajan (ed), Routledge, India.
Sarkar identifies the major reasons for cross-border migration from Bangladesh and divides these flows into various phases. According to her the Partition of India and Pakistan (1947) signalled the birth of the problem and a further spurt in migration streams was witnessed as a consequence of the War of Independence of Bangladesh (1971). Other factors such as the deadly famine of 1974-75 and the death of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman (1975) perpetuated these flows. The dire economic conditions of Bangladesh along with environmental and political turbulence, combined to sustain the exodus of Bangladeshi immigrants into India. Cultural affinities, historical linkages, geographical similarities and the presence of social networks induced people from Bangladesh to cross the border into India. Through primary data collected through surveys across 100 households in 4 districts of West Bengal (selected based on high growth rate observed in the first two decades after India's independence), Sarkar details the socio-political and economic burden on W. Bengal as well as the socio-political problems faced by migrants in the host communities. This work, while relying largely on secondary data sources, puts together a lucid narrative of the debates surrounding cross-border migration in the region.
- Schendel, W. van (2005) *The Bengal Borderland: Beyond State and Nation in South Asia*. London: Anthem Press.
- Sen, Satadru 2003. Border of Insanity: Deporting Bangladeshi Migrants. EPW, 38(7), 611.

- Shamshad, R. (2013) *Politics and Origin of the India-Bangladesh Border Fence*, paper presented at the 17th Biennial Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia in Melbourne 1-3 July 2008. Available at <http://artsonline.monash.edu.au/mai/files/2012/07/rizwanashamshad.pdf> Accessed on : 17/05/13.

- Siddiqui, T (2001) *Transcending Boundaries: Labour Migration of Women from Bangladesh*, Dhaka: University Press.

This book encapsulates the international migration experience of the women of Bangladesh. Historically, Bangladeshi women migrants were referred to only in the trafficking discourse. This study highlighted that many Bangladeshi women now go abroad as the principal migrant, for the first time. The successive governments of Bangladesh pursued policies that either banned or restricted international movements of unskilled and semiskilled women for work. These policies resulted in undocumented migration of women, exposing them to harsh work conditions and physical and mental insecurities. The research strongly recommended that state should rescind its policy of banning /restricting different categories of women from migrating. Policy advocacy by RMMRU along with other civil society organizations eventually convinced the government to lift the ban from migration of unskilled women in 2003. Other major recommendations of this study, like skill and pre-departure orientation training of would-be female migrants, were also implemented by the government and the civil society organizations. While the study covers a range of issues surrounding and resulting through women's labour migration, it falls short on areas relating to cross-border movements and the incidence and implications of these intra-regional flows.

- Siddiqui, T. (2003) 'Migration as a livelihood strategy of the poor: the Bangladesh Case', paper presented at the Regional Conference on Migration, Development and Pro Poor Policy Choices in Asia, Dhaka, Bangladesh (22-24 June).

Historically, migration has been a common livelihood strategy of Bangladeshi people and since the 18th century emigration from Bengal has had a direct relation with colonialism. During the 1970s, the labour markets in the Middle East offered new scope for Bangladeshi migrant labour. Later, such migration also expanded to the newly industrialised countries of South East Asia. The paper outlines complex processes of labour migration. It identifies where policy interventions may act to make international migration an important livelihood strategy for poor people while ensuring that migrant workers receive maximum protection both at home and abroad. It describes the extent, nature and types of both short and long term international migration.

- Siddiqui, T. (2008) 'Migration and Gender in Asia', paper presented at the United Nations Expert Group Meeting on International Migration and Development in Asia and the Pacific, Bangkok, Thailand (20-21 September).

Since the 1950s Asia has been experiencing increased movements within the region. This has been marked by the growth of often temporary short term contract migration. This has created a major scope for movement of semi- and low skilled workers along with professionals and skilled workers. Another important trend in migration within Asia is the emergence of women as principal migrants. In case of migration of women four broad streams are discernible: (a) typical migration of women as dependent spouses of male migrants both within and beyond Asia; (b) independent migration of women for labour; (c) independent migration of women as students and professionals; and (d) international marriage migration. Remittances of female migrants helped many of their families to come out of poverty. Studies found that more than half of female

remittances were used for daily consumption, health care and childrens' education. This paper highlights the diverse experiences of migration of women from various Asian countries, and tries to link this diversity to migration policies of their countries of origin and gender determined demands for labour in the destination countries.

- Sikder, M.J.U. (2008) *Population Movements and the Threat of HIV & AIDS at the Bangladesh-India Border*, NTS – Asia Secretariat, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Monograph No. 14. Singapore: Booksmith.
- Singh, Deepak K. (2009) *in South Asia: The Chakmas between Bangladesh and India*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Singh, R.N.P, (2002), *Bangladesh Decoded*, India First Foundation, New Delhi.

This book offers a chronological overview of the contentious relationship between India and its neighbor Bangladesh. It begins by outlining the factors behind the partition and creation of Pakistan, evolution of East Pakistan into Bangladesh and goes on to analyze the rise of Bangladesh state and society as a hub of radical Islam and terrorist activity. It further details the implications of these developments on the security of India's north-east, undermining of minorities, the persistent denial of illegal migration of Bangladeshis to the adjoining states of India and the harbouring of anti-India militants and terrorists in its territory. The book offers several useful insights into the history and causes of dissent between the two countries, however, on matters of forced communal displacement and demographic change and the sheltering of terrorist factions, it remains largely biased.

- Singh, Sudama (2001) *Migration in the Third World: (1954-1994) Views and Reviews*, Radha Publications, New Delhi.
- Sinha, S.K. (1998) *Report on Illegal Migration into Assam submitted to the President of India by the Governor of Assam*. 8 November, 1998. Available at : http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/assam/documents/papers/illegal_migration_in_assam.htm. Accessed on 23/05/2013.
- Thapliyal, S. (2000) Bangladeshi Migrants in India: A Cause of Concern. *South Asian Studies*, 35(2).
- Upadhyay, R. (2005) '*Politics of infiltration - a threat to socio-economic identity of Assam*'. <<http://www.southasiaanalysis.org/%5Cpapers16%5Cpaper1557.html>> Accessed 1 April 2008.
- Valatheeswaran, C. & Irudaya Rajan, S. 2011. Sri Lankan Tamil Refugees in India: Rehabilitation Mechanisms, Livelihood Strategies and Lasting Solutions. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 30(2), 24–44.
- World Health Organisation (WHO) and World Bank (2003) *International Migration, Health & Human Rights*, Health & Human Rights Publication Series Issue No.4, December 2003.
- Zohry, A. (2005), "Migration without Borders: North Africa as a reserve of cheap labour for Europe", *Migration Without Borders Series*, UNESCO, Paris.