

RETURN MIGRATION OF WOMEN FROM GULF IN COASTAL ANDHRA

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Award of the degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In

INDIAN DIASPORA

By

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May 2018



DECLARATION

I, *Vili G Kibami* hereby declare that this thesis entitled *Return Migration of Women from Gulf in Coastal Andhra* submitted by me under the guidance and supervision of *Dr. Amit Kumar Mishra* is a bonafide research work which also free from Plagiarism. I also declare that this has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this University or any other University or Institution for the award of any degree/diploma. I hereby agree that my thesis can be deposited in Shodhganga / INFLIBNET

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A. Publications:

—“Return Migration of Women in Hyderabad and Social Readjustment”, *Desh Vikas journal*, *Social Vision* Volume: 4 Issue: 1 April – June 2017 pp 01-10.

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PLAGIARISM CERTIFICATE

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ABBREVIATIONS

AP	Andhra Pradesh
APSRTC	Andhra Pradesh State Road Transport Corporation
ATA	American Telugu Association
BATA	Bay Area Telugu Association
BC	Backward Class
CDS	Centre for Development Studies
CSID	Centre of the Study of Indian Diaspora
ECNR	Emigration Clearance Not Required
ECR	Emigration Clearance Required
GCC	Gulf Corporation Council
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GLMM	Gulf Labour Markets and Migration
ICM	India Centre for Migration
ICWF	Indian Community Welfare Fund
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MFA	Migrants Forum of Asia
MGPSY	Mahatma Gandhi Pravasi Suraksha Yojana
MOIA	Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MRC	Migration Rights Council
NORKA	Non Resident Kerala Affairs

NRI	Non Resident Indians
NSS	National Sample Survey
OCI	Overseas Citizen of India
OMCAP	Overseas Manpower Company Andhra Pradesh Ltd
PBBY	Pravasi Bima Bhartya Yojna
PIO	People of Indian Origin
PLIF	Pension and Life Insurance Fund
POE	Protector of Emigrants
PSK	Passport Seva Kendra
RA	Recruiting Agents/Agencies
SC	Schedule Caste
SLBF	Sri Lanka Bureau
ST	Schedule Tribes
TAM	Telugu Association of Malaysia
TAMA	Telugu Association of Metro Atlanta
TANA	Telugu Association of North America
TANTEX	Telugu Association of North Texas
TOMCOM	Telangana Overseas Manpower Company Limited
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UK	United Kingdom.
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USA	United States of America

INTRODUCTION

While movement of people across borders have shaped states and societies since time immemorial, what is distinctive in the recent years is their global scope, their centrality to the domestic and international politics and their enormous economic and social consequences (Castles and Miller, 2002).

Migration of people across borders, both nationally and internationally, is not a new phenomenon. The human population has traversed from one location to another for survival all through history. With modern innovations and technology, migration has become more easily undertaken and at the same time more widespread as one set of population moves from one space to another. Also, with the increase in the number, diversity and impact on both the receiving and sending societies, the complexity of contemporary migration has become more apparent. A World Bank reports that a huge population of more than 247 million people were living outside of their countries of birth in 2013, and noted that over 750 million are internal migrants (World Bank, 2016). International migration of people occur due to many reasons. While some migrate for economic reasons, some migrate to escape political conflicts and wars. The motivation for some could be to experience a different culture. The patterns and routes of migration have experienced changes over the long course of migration in human history. According to Massey (1999), human migration occurred in four phases:

- i. *Mercantile period (1500–1800)*: This period was characterized by European domination and the migration stemmed from the process of colonization and economic growth under mercantile capitalism. The period also saw the rise of demand of cheap labour, met partially by indentured labourers from East Asia and also forced migration of African slaves, radically changing the social and demographic composition of Europe and the Americas.

- ii. *Industrial period (early 19th century)*: The spread of industrialism from Europe to other parts of the world led to a migration of 48 million people in search of new lives in the Americas and Oceania.
- iii. *Period between World War I and World War II*: Migration of people was temporarily halted, although it did not stop completely. The migration of people largely consisted of refugees and displaced persons.
- iv. *Postindustrial migration (starting from the 1960s)*: Migration during this time became a truly global phenomenon with people moving to developing countries and not to the European countries. People were moving to a variety of destinations – from traditional immigrant receiving countries like the US, Australia and New Zealand to Germany, France etc. The rise of oil prices and the rampant development of the Gulf countries also changed the phenomenon of migration, attracting millions of migrants in the 1970s.

People move to places where they see better prospects. According to scholars in migration studies, migration is caused by geographic differences in the supply of and demand for labour (Todaro & Maruzko, 1987).

According to the IOM, “emigrants are those who depart or exit from one State with a purpose of settling in another” (IOM, 2004). In this definition, the *intent* of the act of the move is important as it suggests permanency. However, not all migrants move with the intention to settle – some may move with the intention to settle for a short duration but may eventually settle in permanently; and some may return despite the initial intention to settle permanently. Lee(1966) defines migration in general “as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence with no restriction placed upon the distance of the move or upon the voluntary and involuntary nature of the act, and the distinction is made between external and internal migration” (pp—49). He also states that a move across the hall from one apartment to another is counted as just as much an act of migration as a move from Bombay, India, to Cedar Rapids, Iowa, though, of course, the initiation and consequences of such moves are vastly different(*ibid*).

Kivisto & Faist (2010), on the other hand, say that not everyone who crosses an international border is a migrant; for example, tourists cannot be defined as immigrants,

though they can sometimes live outside their homeland for extended periods of time or those who are studying abroad, though sometimes their programs of study may keep them in a foreign land for several years (pp—42). Likewise, diplomats and employees are not considered to be immigrants during their postings outside the country. For them, labour migrants are assumed to be voluntary immigrants (Kivisto & Faist, 2010). They argued that although harsh realities are often at play in shaping an individual's decision to migrate or remain in one place, the general assumption is that such moves are able to, within various obvious constraints and challenges, exhibit *choice*.

Theoretical Perspectives.

In the field of migration studies, there is a growing body of theories which explains migration trends and patterns. In the return migration literature, the theories look at defining and characterizing return in terms of reasons, the returnee and the human capital. The understanding of labour migration in the pre-colonial and colonial times cannot explain the contemporary migration to developed countries. The international migration of labour across the globe intensified by globalisation and advancement, migration today has changed its direction and patterns. What was earlier perceived as a permanent migration, today the migration is mostly impermanent and circular as people do not move from one particular place and back to where they started.

This study is based on the broad understanding of gendered migration and how it has an impact on an individuals' social and economic life. My study tries to see at the decision-making process in female migration, bringing in the debates of neo classical theoretical perspective and new classical economics of migration and the relevance of these theories in the return migration of Coastal Andhra women from the Gulf. Using the migrant network framework gives an understanding of how migrants form and use kin and friendship to lower risks and cost of migration. Also relevant to the study is the theory of culture of migration which explains how a certain group of migrating individuals and their economic outcomes influence and perpetuate migration in the region.

Neo Classical Perspectives

Among the most popular approaches in labour migration, this theoretical approach sees labour as a resource that is created due to the demand and the availability of supply. This approach sees that the main reason for labour migration is the wage differentials between regions combined by differences in demand and supply of labour. Proponents of this approach see an individual as a rational being who is able to make migration decisions purely based on economic maximization. Todaro (1969) says that the ‘lure of relatively high income’ will continue to attract migrants to regions with higher probability of economic income. As this model is based on economic maximization, return migration here seems to be viewed as “the result of unsuccessful migration experience which did not yield beneficial results as was expected by the migrant” (Cassarino 2004, pp—255). This theory is useful to understand the migration of labour from India to Gulf as the factors which contributed to this push was the poverty and unemployment at the home of the origin. The pull factors were the attractive wages that the migrants would not have been paid back home. However, the criticism for this approach is that the economic factors alone do not explain, the push and pull of the migrants from one place to another and for not taking into account the socio–structural factor that informs some migration. Social factors for example, gendered local labour market where women are not able work certain types of jobs or the high social status that can bring to a family of having an ‘NRI’ son or son-in-law etc.

Nevertheless, this theory is useful for the case of women migrants to the Gulf from Coastal Andhra as migration is prompted by the probability of higher income in the rich Gulf countries where there is demand for labour.

Social Network Theory

This is one of most popular approach of labour migration which sees that the social networks are central in providing resources in terms of information and financial aid that can make migration more accessible to an individual. The general definition of social network is the interpersonal relationship individuals have with each other through social relationships that could be through kinship, friendship or through communities. The social network constitute as *social capital* which, according to Bourdieu is

the cumulative of the “actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu, pp—21).

In the study of migration the social network approach sees social networks as sets of cross-border interpersonal ties connecting migrants, return migrants and non-migrants through “ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin” (Massey, 1999: pp—44). Migration of people can be varied and can pose serious challenges or even provide opportunities for the migrants in a new location. In international migration, the deliberate or more ambiguous choices made by pioneer migrants, labour recruiters or others tend to have a great influence on the location choice of subsequent migrants, who tend to follow the ‘beaten track’(de Haas, 2010).

According to network theory, networks that the migrants and non-migrants have through friendship and kinship can induce further migration. Pertinent in this theory is the position that networks “increase the likelihood of movement because they lower the costs of relocation and, assuming a positive earnings differential between origin and destination areas, increase the expected net returns to migration” (Massey, 1999: pp—44). According to this approach, those who already have relatives and friends engaged in the migration process, can acquire knowledge about job possibilities and maximum wage benefits than does who do not possess social networks. These social networks or ties which Tilly and Brown (1967) refer to as ‘*auspices* of migration’, the role played by kin networks among migrants to Wilmington, Delaware, found that kinship ties and community attachment facilitate migration. Migration under the auspices of kinship promotes continuing intense involvement in kin groups, and thereby slows down assimilation to the formal structures of the city (*ibid*). Talking about the ties in social networks, Granovator (1973) distinguishes between the types of ties into ‘strong ties’ and ‘weak ties’; strong ties being the social tie who are close to an oneself, kin or friend, weak ties are those who form part of an individual network but not a part of an individual’s circle of close friends, in other sense a remote acquaintance. He posits that weak ties have the ability to provide potential job information, information which are not possessed by strong ties as they tend to move in same circle with oneself.

Migration networks according to Tilly(2007) is based on trust networks, which according to him “consist of ramified interpersonal connections, consisting mainly of strong ties, within which people set valued, consequential, long-term resources and enterprises at risk to the malfeasance, mistakes, or failures of others” (pp—7). As migrant networks connections constitute a form of social capital that an individual use to get access to information on migration, employment and settlement as well as a safety net in times of distress like loss of job, it forms as a type of long term insurance. Because, once an individual from a personal network migrate, “the ties are transformed into a resource” that which other potential migrants can benefit from to get foreign employment and benefits (Massey, 1999: pp—44). However Tilly opines that since trust network membership is based on “stringent obligations”, it can be run smoothly as long as the migrants maintain this relationship by sending promised remittances or help the new migrants in the host country which otherwise will lead to criticism and “loss of access to this network” (Tilly 2007). Thus trust network maintained by previous social ties and commitments across borders is further reinforced by sending remittances to the home of origin.

Using this framework to analyse the migration of Coastal Andhra women to the Gulf countries, this study delves into the social and friendship networks used by them to secure useable information as well as financial resources. There usage of networks do not only start in the recruitment process for securing jobs but also the closer kinship support system tend to perpetuate the migration stream by way of taking up the ‘mother-role’ in the study areas for the absent mother by the female relatives. The nature of migration to the Gulf from the Coastal areas in Andhra is characterized by labour migration of women, predominantly from the Dalits caste, who in turn help others, usually other females related through kin and friendship, to get information and employment in the Gulf.

Culture of Migration

What this framework tries argue is the idea that due to the prevalence of migration that has existed within a culture it is likely to have influence on the others to migrate. The idea that it is not just the push –pull factor that underlies migration from a poorer country to richer country but tradition and geography are critical in the migrants’ decision to make the move

(Cohen, 2004). Central to this approach is “a system in which migration is integrated and integral to ongoing cultural social development” (Cohen 2004, pp— 29). Migration can bring economic benefits that can change the whole lifestyle and status of those of the migrants and their dependents. The extravagant lifestyle and materialism displayed by migrants can be a motivating factor for other members of the society to migrate with the hope for a similar or better economic return from migration. Ali (2007) argues that “migration is a learned social behavior; people learn to migrate, and they learn to desire to migrate” (pp—39). Moreover in this framework, the social networks play an inevitable role of influencing others members to migrate. For instance, Kandel and Massey (2002) argues that non migrant members of the society emulate lifestyles of the migrants within their social network.

Kandel and Massey (2002), in their study of Mexican migrants to the US, state that “the essence of the culture of migration argument is that non-migrants observe migrants to whom they are socially connected and seek to emulate their migratory behavior” (pp— 983). Migration in this sense then becomes a symbol of being upwardly mobile and “become the norm rather than an exception, and staying home can become associated with failure” (de Haas, 2010, pp—1595). According to Cohen (2004) “culture of migration” means that migration is socially accepted and inevitable in the society, both historically and currently and that decisions about migration are “rooted in everyday experiences”. Similarly Ali (2007) talking about culture of migration among young Muslim men in Hyderabad defines the culture of migration as those “ideas, practices and cultural artefacts that reinforce and reinvigorates the celebration of migration and migrants” (pp—39). Bringing in the culture of migration framework in this study is appropriate as it allows for the use of ethnographic methods to study and understand how people give meaning to migration.

Rationale of the Problem

The migration of temporary workers to the Gulf has captured the interest of many scholars due to the economic, social as well as political effects it has on the sending countries and the receiving countries due to the enormity of the movement of people, especially from

South Asia. What is distinctive of the migration of workers to the Gulf is the complexity of the immigration policies and employment structures not just in the receiving countries but the sending countries as well.

With the feminization of labour, women migrated to the rich countries for jobs in their own right as economic migrants and not just as a part of family reunion of dependents. Female migrants, especially those in the unskilled sectors are particularly vulnerable because they go into individualized work situations, where there is greater isolation and lower likelihood of establishing networks of information and social support, compared to male migrants who commonly work in groups on construction sites or plantations (Lim & Oishi, 1996).

Due to the labour recruiting policies of the Gulf countries, labourers have to return home after the completion of the contract. Return migration has a huge impact on the economy and society of the individuals engaged in the process as well as the dependents of the migrants. The remittances of the migrants have proved to be substantial for India, with states like Kerala depending heavily on the Gulf migrants. India received the highest remittances which figured at \$72.2 billion as per the (World Bank, 2016). There has been a tremendous effort on the part of the government, especially in Kerala, to study this phenomenon. Studies on the social aspect and impact on the individual, family and society, however, is very little.

Unlike migration to and return from other countries, return migration from the Gulf is much more complex. The female migrants to the Gulf are mostly unskilled workers though there is a small group of skilled and professional. Their status as women, as migrants or non-nationals, and as workers in gender segregated labour markets makes international female migrant workers particularly vulnerable to various kinds of discrimination, exploitation and abuse (Lim & Oishi, 1996), giving rise to crucial policy issues and challenges. It is in this role that many civil society organisations and NGOs as well as individuals can fill the gaps left by the governmental neglect and lobby for migrants' rights and protection both in the host country as well as the home country.

Objectives of the Study

The aim of this work is to look at the trend, nature and extent of return migration of women and their experiences. An analysis of the socio-economic impact of return migration of women to their home of origin will be attempted and the Indian state policies for women migrants will be examined.

Social implication: The main aim is to explore how migration changes gender relations as women migrate and become ‘bread earners’ of the family. The research will also look at how migration affects the family, the social relations and mobility. The social readjustment issues faced by women after they return will also be analysed.

Economic implication: The study will also look at the economic challenges and opportunities created by migration, focusing on the issue of return and its impact on the returnee, the family and the society at large.

Policy implication: The study will also look at the readjustments made by women returnees and the problems faced on their return. The state’s response to the problems and the Indian state policies for women migrants and their families will also be examined.

Research questions

1. What are the benefits that women gain from migration experiences?
2. Does migration of women change gender relations and social mobility?
3. What kinds of issues and challenges do women migrants face in migration and return?
4. What are the policy challenges that hinder women from getting maximum benefit from migration?

Selection of Field site

Although migration of people from the state of Andhra Pradesh is not new, it has distinguishing features. A survey undertaken by CDS Kerala in 2013 shows that Andhra Pradesh has the highest number of female migrants to the Gulf (Rajan, 2014). The upper educated masses move to countries such as the US, UK and Canada, and are mostly employed in the highly skilled sectors such as IT and medicine; the unskilled and semi-skilled – with majority of them being illiterates – move to the Gulf countries and are

generally employed in the construction sectors. Among those moving to the Gulf countries from the states of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh, majority of the male migrants are from the Telangana districts of Karimnagar, Nizamabad and Mahaboob Nagar, whereas most of the female migrants are from the Coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh such as East Godavari and West Godavari districts as well as Kaddapa . Occupation-wise, the male migrants from Telangana are concentrated in construction related activities, and as shop keepers, office boys, drivers and other manual labourers (Chandan T 2017, PhD thesis unpublished), whereas women from Coastal Andhra are employed as domestic workers. Additionally, prior to the entry into the field I visited labour organizations such as Migration Rights Council (MRC); Deccan Alliance Domestic Workers Union (DADWU); National Domestic Workers Alliance (NDWM) in Hyderabad, which is working closely with the migrants to the Gulf; and Peoples Action For Rural Awareness (PARA) in East Godavari. Vice President of MRC as well as the Vice President of DADWU, who was also a returnee, were able to give me an insight of the migration of people to the Gulf from Andhra Pradesh.

Methodology

This research attempts to study and seeks to analyze the facts and patterns instead of confining to the theoretical aspects alone. For the purpose of the study, I employed the qualitative method of enquiry which gave me an understanding of the migration experience from women's perspectives and how they give meaning to the areas of migration study. For the study, both primary as well as secondary sources were used. For primary sources of data in-depth interviews were conducted at their homes. In order to get secondary sources, I referred several published books and survey reports, as well as newspaper articles and journals of local, national and international media.

Respondent Selection

My sample consisted of seventy returnees and ten dependents including husband and children. I used the sampling technique for choosing respondents. Sampling is the process of selecting units (e.g., people, organizations) from a population of interest so that by studying the sample we may fairly generalize our results back to the population from which

they were chosen¹. Purposive sampling and snowballing sampling were the two sampling methods used for the collection of information. Purposive sampling was used, wherein I went to the field with a purpose to collect information from people who were interested, willing and also suitable for the study.

Purposive Sampling

A method in which a sample is chosen by intentionally seeking individuals or situations likely to provide better understanding of a concept of research interest. It also means deliberate selection of sample units that conform to some pre-determined criteria. It is a sampling technique in which a researcher relies on his or her own judgment when choosing suitable candidates for collection of information. Only those women who had stayed for more than a year in the Gulf and have returned not prior to 5 years from the time of my study were chosen. This was done as it seemed that those who have returned within the 6 month to 1 year period of their 2 years contract did not have much experience to share or do not consider themselves to be *Gulf returnees*. Moreover, the impact of their migration both economically and socially was not felt to be strong. The reason for selecting respondents who have returned not prior to 5 years ago from the time of my study was because recent returnees assumed to have clearer memories of their experiences than those who are older returnees. However, respondents also consisted of women who have returned more than five years ago but have stayed more than 10 years in the Gulf. This was done because during the fieldwork it was found that in most villages these women were the first Gulf migrants and influenced many women to migrate and are witnesses to change in the migration trends from the area. Identifying and choosing respondents at the initial stage of research was done through personal networks and also through meetings with labour organizations in Hyderabad and NGOs such as NDWM (National Domestic Workers Movement) and PARA(People's Action for Rural Awakening) in Ravulepalem, East Godavari district. With help from these initial respondents, majority of the respondents were identified through snowballing.

¹ <https://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/sampling.php>. Accessed 6th July 2017.

Snowballing

A technique used for collecting data, snowballing leads you from one respondent to another through respondents who think they know people with similar experiences. It is a method based on “referrals from initial subjects to generate additional subjects”². Widely used in sociological research, it is a “method used mostly when the issues are sensitive and, therefore, require the knowledge of insiders to locate people for study” (Bieranacki & Waldorf, 1981, pp—141). The nature of the subject of Gulf migration sometimes required the migrants to talk about sexual harassment and other family related issues. Using this method helped me find respondents through the respondents who knew other women from the area; thus, making it less intrusive.

Interview

Open ended interviews were conducted, which lasted for one to two hours at an average. Most of the interviews were conducted at the homes of the respondents. Some were conducted at workplace, and also at the POE office compound in Hyderabad. A loosely structured interview guide was used which helped me keep the interaction from wandering and the conversation focused on the collection of relevant information.

As much as possible, the male dependents and neighbors were avoided during the interviews to allow the respondents to speak freely without interruption and hesitation about issues they don't want others to know. Anonymity and confidentiality were assured to the respondents, after which they conversed with me more freely. A recorder was used so that I would not miss out details which could be missed out while jotting down notes and conversing with them at the same time or which could be lost in translation. After the interviews I went back to the recordings with my translator and in cases where I found any information that need to be clarified, we visited the respondents again, for which they willingly helped in clarification. However, some respondents were not very comfortable

² <https://research-methodology.net/sampling-in-primary-data-collection/snowball-sampling/>. Accessed November 2017.

with being recorded on tape, and therefore, in those cases, I took longer interviews and wrote down the information.

Insider/Outsider approach

Insider researchers have the same culture, language, ethnicity, nationality and religious heritage with their respondents while outsider researchers do not share such commonalities with the participants (Nowicka & Ryan, 2015). However, in practice, a researcher's identity can change based on where and on what subject the research is being conducted. The "researcher's own identity and how it is perceived by the researched can also significantly influence the ethnography as well as the analysis emerging out of it" (Rayaprol, 1997; pp—54). According to Dwyer & Buckle (2009), "whether the researcher is an insider, sharing the characteristic, role, or experience under study with the participants, or an outsider to the commonality shared by participants, the personhood of the researcher, including her or his membership status in relation to those participating in the research, is an essential and ever-present aspect of the investigation" (pp—55).

My identity as a woman researcher roused the curiosity of the villagers and respondents who had low educational qualifications, especially those of women from social spheres where there is less mobility. My physical features also proved to both hinder and create advantages during the fieldwork. I had to negotiate these issues in order to build a rapport with my respondents. The villages I worked in had low status for women and very less priority is given to education of women. However, the curiosity was not towards the educational qualification but towards my identity. A woman with mongoloid features which is very foreign to them walking along with my local translator going from one house to another to interact with people roused curiosity and many times, suspicion. It also sometimes led to rowdy gathering of people to see what is going on. It sometimes involved some cajoling by my informants who the respondents identified as they were from well-known local NGO. They assured the respondents that the intention of my visit is for research and therefore will not cause any harm.

My physical features also proved to be beneficial during the fieldwork as it brought back the returnees' memories of their Filipino and Indonesian friends who were their co-workers in the Gulf. It sparked their interest in me and many a times became a starting point for conversations. Also an added advantage was sharing commonalities in faith with majority of the respondents. I did not disclose I was a Christian unless I was asked, but the knowledge of my religious background broke down the initial barriers they had towards an 'outsider'.

Translators

Due to the language barrier, I had to use translators during the interviews. In total 2 translators were used for interpreting the conversation. They were also involved in transcribing the recorded conversation. Prior to the entry into the field, again due to the sensitivity of the subject, choosing translators for the study at first proved to be very tedious. I did not find local female candidates who were willing to go and canvass the wide study area which meant long travel time and interacting with people. A few backed out at the last minute as they were not permitted by the family on learning the nature of the work involved. The translator involved in my study came from the same social religious background as my respondents who I got acquainted through personal contacts from the university. It gave me an insight into the complexities of caste identities of the region and cultural realities of the societies I was about to enter.

Description of the Field Site

Andhra Pradesh was formed on 1 November 1956, with Hyderabad as its capital. It lies between 12°38' and 19°55'N and 76°45' and 85°45' E. It was divided into three regions which are culturally and historically distinct, namely Rayalaseema, Coastal Andhra and Telangana. With a total population of 7.57 crore according to the 2001 census, the state had 23 administrative districts. The sex ratio is 978 females per 1000 males. Andhra Pradesh was divided into two states – Andhra Pradesh and Telangana – by the AP Reorganisation Act of 2014. The bill was passed by the parliament under the UPA government for the formation of Telangana state. Hyderabad has been declared the *de jure* capital for both Andhra Pradesh and Telangana for ten years. AP now has two main regions, Coastal

Andhra and Rayalaseema, often quoted as *Seemandhra*. The geographical area of the present Andhra Pradesh is 160000 sq km, with a population of 4.9 crores. Under its administration is 13 districts, namely East Godavari, West Godavari, Guntur, Kurnool, Vijayawada, Vishakhapatnam, Kadapa, Prakasam, Vizianagram, Chittoor, Krishna, Nellore and Anantapur. It has 664 revenue *mandals* under its administration. Andhra Pradesh has an overall Schedule Caste population of 17.1% and 5.3% of Schedule Tribe population and the literacy rate stands at 67.6%, which is much lower than the national literacy rate which stands at 74.04% as per the 2011 census.

Historically, Andhras have long migration history. The Andhras, originally an Aryan race living in North India, migrated to the south of the Vindhyas and later mixed with non-Aryans. Regular history of Andhra Desa, according to historians, begins in 236 B.C, the year of Ashoka's death. During the following centuries, the Satavahanas, Sakas, Ikshvakas, Eastern Chalukyas and Kakatiyas ruled the Telugu country. Other dynasties that ruled over the area in succession were the kingdoms of Vijayanagara and Qutub Shahi, followed by Mir Qumruddian and his successors, known as the Nizams. Gradually, from the 17th century onwards, the British annexed territories of the Nizam and constituted the single province of Madras. After Indian independence, Telugu speaking areas were separated from the composite Madras presidency and a new Andhra state was formed on 1 October 1953. With the passing of the States Reorganisation Act, 1956, there was a merger of Hyderabad state and Andhra state, and consequently Andhra Pradesh came into being on 1 November 1956.

Agriculture is the main occupation of about 70 per cent of the people of Andhra Pradesh. About 40 per cent of agricultural land is irrigated. The state is surplus in food grains, particularly rice, while the other major crops are jowar, bajra, maize, ragi, small millets, pulses, castor, tobacco, cotton, sugar cane, ground nuts, and banana. Forest cover 23 percent of the state's area, with important forest products including teak, eucalyptus, cashew, bamboo, soft wood, etc. About 35% of the state's domestic product comes from the primary sector, 19% from the secondary sector and 45 % from the tertiary sector. According to 2011 census 66.64% of AP population lives in rural areas. Andhra Pradesh also has 17.8 percent of Schedule Caste population out of which 78 percent are

concentrated in the rural areas. The majority (76%) of the workforce in Andhra Pradesh is concentrated in the agricultural sector.

Table 1: Andhra Pradesh State Profile according to 2011 Census.

Geographical Area	1,60,205 Sq Km
Total population	49.67 million
Population density	304 per/ sq km
Sex Ratio	996 per 1000
Rural population	70.53%
Urban population	29.47%
Literacy rate	71.35%
Female literacy	59.96
Number Of Districts	13
Number of revenue divisions	50
Number Of Mandals	670

Source: Census of India, 2011

MAP 1: ANDHRA PRADESH



Coastal Andhra

The area of study was selected prior to these events, with an aim to look at the migration patterns of women in Andhra and the reasons for high proportion of women migrating from the Coastal belt to and from Gulf. The districts of West Godavari and East Godavari of Coastal Andhra were the main focus of the present study.

Coastal Andhra is known as such because of its long coastline located on the southeast coast of the Indian peninsula (map). It is the second longest Coastal line among the states of India. Coastal Andhra consist of Srikakullam, Vishakapatnam, Nellore, Prakasam, West Godavari, East Godavari, Krishna, Guntur and Vizianagaram districts. The Coastal Andhra region is a highly populated district spread across the delta region of River Godavari and more developed than other regions of Andhra Pradesh, both before and after the bifurcation. Crucial to the development of this region, and to the districts of Guntur, Krishna, East and West Godavari in particular, were the construction of irrigation projects across the Krishna and Godavari rivers in the mid-19th Century by the British colonial State (Srinivasulu, 2002).

Caste identity plays a very important role in the economic, social and political life of the region. The dominant ones being Reddys, *kammas and velammas* which are categorized as the forward caste. As for the scheduled castes, the *malas* and *madigas* are numerically dominant in these region.

East Godavari District

East Godavari district is located on the river banks of Godavari. The district is a residency portion of the old Godavari district after West Godavari district was separated in 1952. As the name of the district conveys, East Godavari district is closely associated with the River Godavari, occupying a major portion of the delta area³. East Godavari district is situated North-east of Andhra Pradesh and is bounded on the north-east by Visakhapatnam district, North by Odisha State, East & South by Bay of Bengal, West by West-Godavari and North-

³ District Rural Development Agency, East Godavari. <http://drdakda.nic>. Accessed 6th July 2016.

West by Khammam districts. The district headquarter is located at Kakinada. East Godavari is the most populated district in Andhra Pradesh. The district is situated within the geographical co-ordinates of 16° 30 and 18° Northern latitude, 81° 29 and 82° 37 Eastern longitude. East Godavari district occupies an area of 10,807 sq kms.

The history of East Godavari district, like the rest of Andhra, may be traced to the period of the Nandas. Mahapadma Nanda, the founder of the Nanda dynasty, led expeditions and defeated several monarchs of the Deccan. The subsequent history of Nanda dynasty is not known, except that, the last ruler Dhana Nanda was overthrown by Chandragupta Maurya in 322 B.C. After this, many rulers like Samudra Gupta to the Nizams ruled the district before Zamindars came into prominence during the period preceding the transfer of the district to the English. The Zamindars of Rampa, Peddapuram, Pithapuram, Kota and Ramchandrapuram were important Zamindars of this region.

East Godavari, well-known for rice production, is known as the rice bowl of Andhra Pradesh. East Godavari district is also called as Konaseema because it is the cradle of coconut plantation in Andhra Pradesh. Due to the huge coconut trees, rice fields, and similar geographical and climatic features, East Godavari is also called as another Kerala.

The area of East Godavari district is 10,807 square km. The density of population in East Godavari district is 452 per square km. According to the census of India 2011, the urban and rural population in the district is 1,151,885 and 3,749,535 respectively and the sex ratio in the district is 992. The district consists of 7 revenue divisions viz., Kakinada, Rajahmundry, Peddapuram, Rampachodavaram and Amalapuram with 60 mandals. The major crop grown in the district is paddy which is cultivated both during the Kharif season and the Rabi season. Total workers in East Godavari district is 1,940,214, with main workers comprising 1,614,799, marginal workers comprising 325,415 and non-workers comprising 2,961,206 (census of India, 2011). Climate wise, there are regular incidences of calamities like cyclone in East Godavari which pose a serious problem for the district heavily dependent on agriculture.

Table 2. East Godavari District Profile⁴.

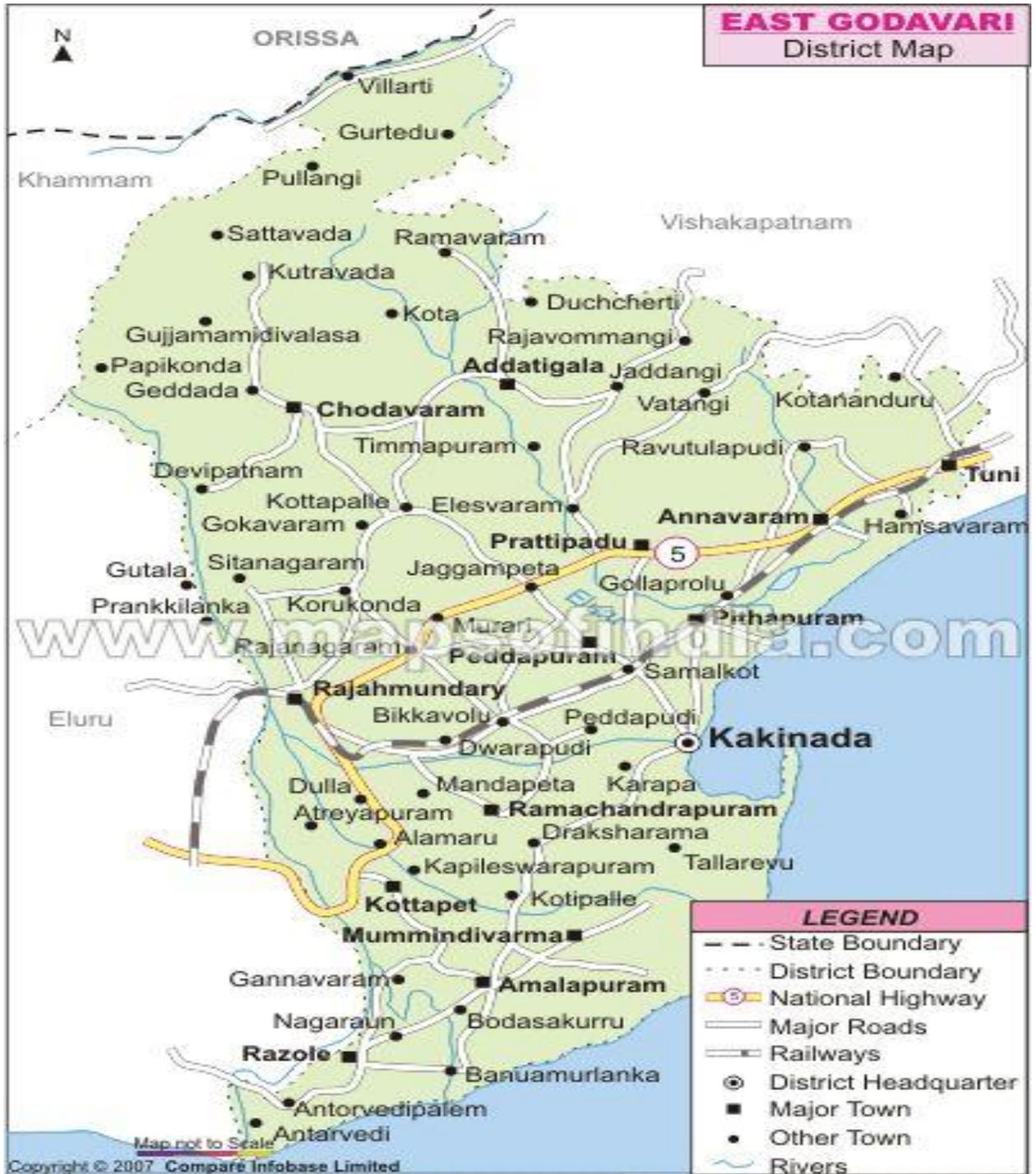
Population	51.51 lakhs
Literacy Rate	71.35%
Number Of Revenue Districts	7
Number Of Mandals	64
Number Of Villages	1681

Source: Compiled from Census of India 2011;

For the purpose of interviews several household visits were undertaken in Rajamundhary, Razole, Peddapuram, Amalapuram revenue divisions. Within these, certain villages were for visit for the purpose of personal interviews in the homes of the respondents which were often located in the villages as well as in towns. However the villages were not very far from the main towns. For instance, around 10 respondents were from Videshwaran village under Ravelupallem mandal which is under Amalapuram revenue division is around 2 km from the main town.

⁴ <http://www.ap.gov.in/about-ap/districts/east-godavari/>. Accessed 6th July 2016.

MAP 2: EAST GODAVARI DISTRICT



Source: www.mapsofindia.com

West Godavari District

The district is located in delta region of the Krishna and Godavari rivers. The district is situated between 80° 50' and 81° 55'E, of the eastern longitudes and 16° 15' and 17° 30'N, of northern latitudes. Khammam District lies to the north, East Godavari District to the east, the Bay of Bengal to the south, and Krishna District to the west. Its districts include Eluru, Kovvur, Narsapuram and Jangareddigudem. The district headquarters is Eluru. West Godavari, like East Godavari, is also known for its production of rice. It also produces other agriculture produces like maize, coconut and sugarcane.

Table 3: West Godavari District Profile⁵

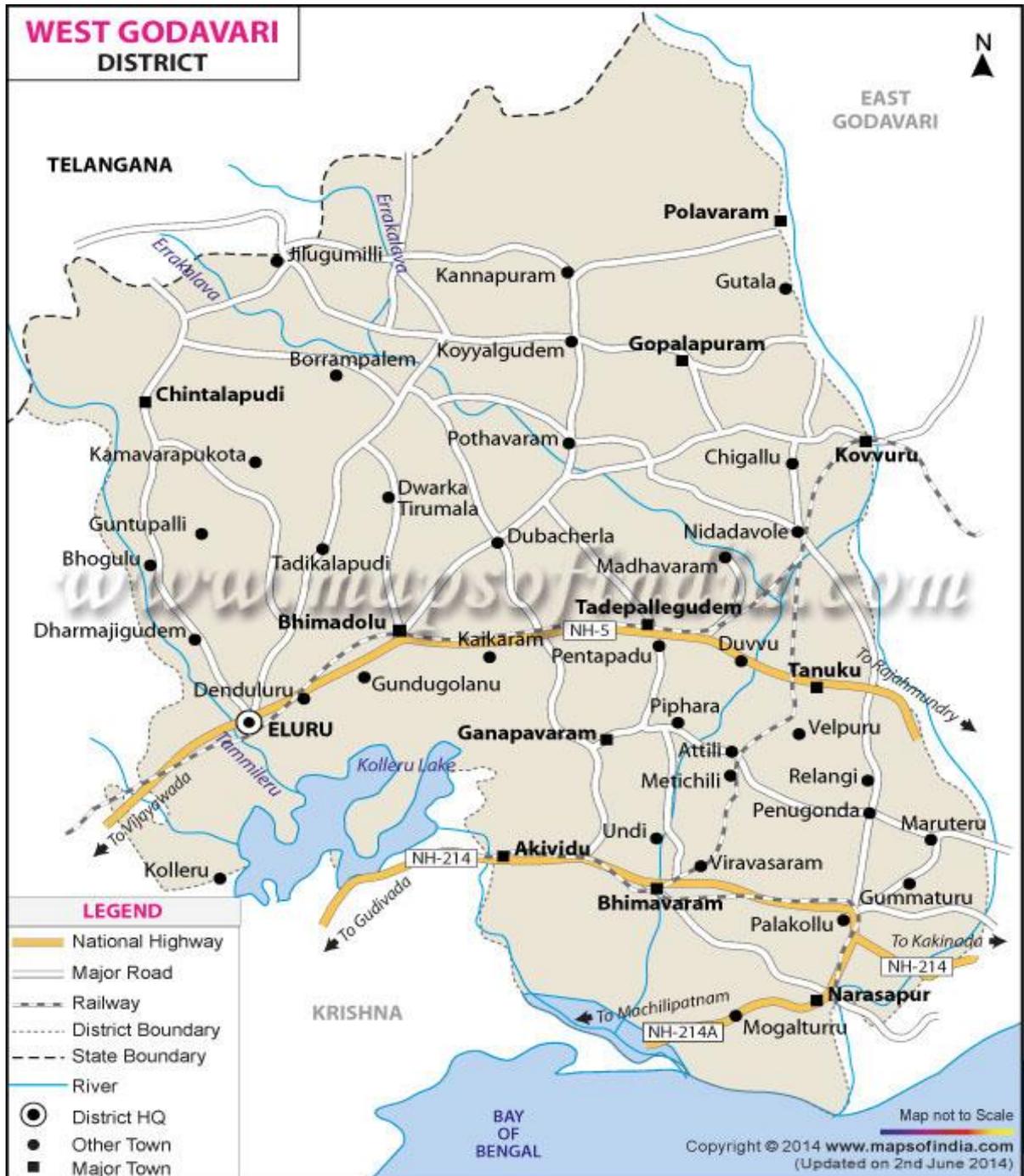
Population	39,34,782
Literacy Rate	71.35%
Number Of Revenue Districts	4
Number Of Mandals	46
Number Of Villages	874

Source: ap.gov.in

From West Godavari, Gopavaram village of Nidadavole Manda was visited. With around 2500 households Gopavaram has low female literacy rate at 28 percent and the schedule caste population is 23 percent according to the 2011 census. The main source of income is from the cultivation of paddy, banana and sugarcane. It is 5 kilometer from Nidadavole.

⁵ <http://www.ap.gov.in/about-ap/districts/west-godavari/>. Accessed 6th July 2016.

MAP 3: WEST GODAVARI DISTRICT



Outline of the Study

The thesis has *Six* chapters. In the *Introduction* section, I have provided an overview to the migration scenario internationally over the long phase of human migration. The objectives of the study has been stated and the methods used in the study have been discussed.

The *first* chapter is a discussion of the general pattern of migration from India with a focus on Andhra Pradesh and traces the phases of migration of Telugu speaking people globally.

The *Second chapter* discusses the migration pattern of Indians to the Gulf countries. This chapter also includes the theme of return and how it is seen in literature, focusing on Indian returns from the Gulf nations as well as other western countries.

The *third chapter* examines migration of women, focusing on the patterns of migration of Indian women during the colonial and post-colonial phases of history. The chapter also deals on how destinations and patterns of migration vary according to the levels of skills and education of women.

This *fourth chapter* gives a broad understanding in the policies of the Indian state and discusses the MOUs and other welfare programmes initiated by the Government of India concerning the Gulf migrants, especially women.

The *fifth chapter* makes an empirical observation and is carried out through interviews and questionnaires with the returned women migrants, intending migrants, as well as their dependents. Through data collected from women returnees at different locations of East and West Godavari districts via interviews, the issues and experience of migration and readjustment have been dealt with. It provides an understanding into the causes, processes and consequences of migration and the socio-economic impact on women migrants' families and the society.

The *sixth chapter* brings together the theoretical and empirical evidences set out at the start of the research. The findings have been summarized and certain recommendations for further research and policy concerns have been presented.

CHAPTER 1

MAPPING THE INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION OF INDIANS: APPROACHES AND CONCEPTS

SECTION I

1.1: International Migration of Indians

In the post-colonial era, international migration of population has become a truly global phenomenon on an extraordinary scale. Millions of people live outside their country of birth and millions are continually on the move to other countries, primarily in the quest for better opportunities. These movements of people from diverse places and regions to different destinations all over the globe are reshaping and transforming the societies around the world and making the countries and societies that are culturally and linguistically homogenous more heterogeneous. Indians have been migrating out of India for centuries but the settlement of Indians abroad started taking place quite concretely during the colonial period. This was the ensuing effect of the economic, political and social environment that was prevalent in India under the colonial rule.

Indian migration can be seen in three sequential phases in universal historical terms – the pre-colonial migration, the colonial migration and the post-colonial migration. In pre-colonial times, the Indian monarchs and traders from the east and west coasts of India tried to reach out and establish contacts with the regions of the Middle East, eastern and northern Africa and South-east Asia for political, economic and religious expansion and exchange. This resulted in the migration of people across borders during this age. These migrations for the purpose of trade and spreading of religion have also been documented in the historical texts of India. The following section will discuss the migration of Indians in different phases.

Indian Diaspora in Colonial Period

The migration of Indian diaspora reached its magnitude today which took its roots during the colonial rule. In this phase of migration from India, the distinctive factor for the cause of migration was the abolition of slavery in 1834. As the slavery system, which sustained the colonial rulers' economic and political control over the colonies, came to be abolished, the colonial rulers needed labour to continue sugar and rubber plantation in their occupied territories. Labour was needed as there was shortage of workers in various British colonies to replace the slaves who were hitherto taken from the African countries. Therefore, the British colonial rulers recruited the Indian workers, following the practice of other Latin American and Cuban colonial rulers who brought in the Chinese indentured labourers from the Portuguese-ruled area of Macao. The Indian labourers have already been found valuable in various colonies working as slaves and convicted prisoners as they were hired in public works like roads, ports, offices and jails. People were moving to urban areas in search of employment; thus, the cities and ports had a large supply of such people. At home, the failure of the British government to protect the civilians from famine, drought, and corrupted land owners, and the destruction of the local handicraft industry led to widespread unemployment and acute poverty. So where there were opportunities for employment in plantation labour in the British and French colonies, it pulled many to immigrate. Both men and women migrated with a hope to escape from social prejudices, especially widows and other lower caste "for their condition was virtually one of slavery under the grip of the upper castes, and any release from the bondage was to be welcomed" (Tinker, 1974: pp-54), while some upper caste people migrated as they lost their power and land to the Britishers. They were attracted by the promise of a better life in the plantations.

The attraction of the Indian labourers to the recruiters to work in plantation was their availability, cheap cost of labour as well as the docile and dependable labour. Indian migrants during this time migrated three distinct pattern: indentured labour, Kangani and maistry labour and also free passage. Under the indentures labour emigration a contract was signed by the labourers to work in the planation. They were recruited under the

indentured system to various plantations in Mauritius, British Guiana, Trinidad and Jamaica, West Indies, Natal, Surinam and Fiji. Under the Kangani or Maistry systems which operated mostly in south Indian states, the overseer/ supervisor or the kangani/maistry who were recruited to supervise as well as recruit other Indian labourers to work in Ceylon, Malaya and Burma. The emigration of Indian continued over a long period of history and the population continued to grow as more migrants after the abolition of indenture migrated as 'free passage' who migrated to work in construction of railroads who were not bound by any contract like the previous migrants.

Migration in the Post-Colonial / Independence

Migration in the Post-Colonial / Independence phase has characteristics different from that of the previous phases of migration. This phase consists of the migration of Indians to the developed countries. Moreover, the migrants consisted mostly of skilled professionals in search of better career opportunities that India lacked despite having a large number of educated people. This was strikingly different from the cheap indentured labour that migrate to work in the plantation and whose social economic background was vastly different from the later migrants post-independence.

This period was marked by migration of educated professionals, skilled and semi-skilled workers migrating to the western developed countries. Due to the colonial connections, the largest population of migrants moved towards Britain and Australia initially and later to Canada and USA which became premier locations for highly skilled professional who migrated in search of opportunities that was plenty. Later in the 1970s Middle East emerged as a destination for many Indians due to the oil boom that attracted millions of people for its expanding developmental projects. In this period, both skilled and semi-skilled were part of the movement. Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan and other South East countries were also becoming prime destinations. By this time Indians were found all over the globe where in some countries like UAE for example the local population were getting outnumbered by the migrants dominated by Indian nationals by a huge majority. Today the Indian population is 312,33, 234 with 179,05,796 PIOs and 133,27,438 NRIs

according to the latest Indian government statistics(MEA, 2017) . Given below are the estimates of Indian In major countries around the world.

Table 4: Population of Overseas Indians, Selected Countries 2017

COUNTRY	NRI/OCIs
Australia	4,96,000
Bahrain	3,16,175
Canada	10,16,185
Fiji	3,15,198
Kuwait	9,19,543
Malaysia	2,97,793
Mauritius	8,94,500
Myanmar	20,08,690
Oman	7,83,959
Qatar	6,97,500
Saudi Arabia	32,55,864
South Africa	15,60,000
Trinidad And Tobago	5,56,800
UAE	28,03,751
UK	18,25,000
USA	44,60,000

Source: Ministry Of External Affairs, 2017

1.2: Migration of Indians to Different Parts of the World.

As already stated Indians migrated to different parts of the world. However the composition of Indian migrants and the socio economic demographic profile is not homogenous. While some migrate as skilled migrants working in multinational companies, some migrate to work in construction while some migrate as students. Indian migrants also come from different social situations and economic background. The steady flow of Indians towards many developed countries was in response to the labour demand due to their declining labour force and the aging population while India had a large pool of young educated labour force. The immigrant population that is found today in many parts of the world consist of those working in diverse fields in different capacities. However each destination country have their own regulations and environment which make people prefer one country over the other to work temporarily or settle down permanently. A brief description of Indians living in some major host countries will show the characteristics of Indian immigrant population

USA

The United States of America hosts the majority of Indians immigrants in the present time. The difference between NRIs and OCIs in short is that NRIs are Indian citizens living in another country whereas OCIs are those who have ancestral roots in India but are not citizens themselves.

The arrival of Indians in the US cannot be dated for certain but the early arrivals were documented to be in early 1900s. There were around “6000 Indians mostly peasants from the northern state of India Punjab who had initially worked in Canada working in railroad construction and moved on to work in agricultural fields in United States” (Chandrasekhar, s 1944: pp-138). The emigration policy of America soon clamped down this migration as in 1923 east Indians were restricted from getting citizenship according to the US naturalization law of 1790 Declaring Indians not ‘free white persons’ (Chandrashekar 1944, Rayaprol, 1997). Besides these Sikhs peasants, there were also students who migrated to US during the colonial domination in India. It was only in 1946 that after much

debate, Indians were granted naturalization rights and immigration quota. Indian remained in US only in few numbers of around 1500 people. The Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 sparked the mass migration of Indians to US soils that marked the start of what was to constitute the Indian migration to the US in the coming years. By “1990s there was an increase of 110% Indian population from 387,223 in 1980 to 815, 447 in 1990”(Rayaprol, 1997: pp-15). After this act “during the first 15 years, 93 percent were classified as professional/technical workers” (Lal et al.2007: pp—316) who arrived as engineers, professors, and technicians along with their families. The income level of the Indian migrants given their professions were high above the other immigrants, they settled down and transplanting various forms of tradition, customs and religious practice of the home country (Rayaprol, 1997). Many prominent figures from Indian origin are working in diverse fields of politics, arts and sciences in the US today. According to the recent Indian government estimates, approximately 44, 60,000 Indians live in the US including the NRIs and PIOs (now OCI) (MEA, 2017).

Canada

Canada saw the migration of Indians when groups of Sikhs came to work as cheap labour in 1900. As the immigrants began to prosper Canadian workers were said to be threatened by the breaded turbaned migrants from Punjab migrating to work in railroad construction, lumber mills and agricultural fields in Vancouver and Seattle (Chandrasekhar, 1944). Canadian nationals who had lost jobs due to a downturn of economy by introducing Asiatic Exclusion League pressured the government to stop immigration. Restrictions were put on immigrants banning their voting rights and employment which the government rationalised was to protect the work of the white workers which led to many Indians moving to California after much resistance.

The migration of Indians decreased from “5351 in 1900-1920, decreased to 422 in 1940 and in 1930-42 there were only 338 Indians admitted into Canada” (*ibid*:pp—140). The voting ban and ‘continuous journey rule’ which led to decreased migration to Canada was lifted 1947. It was only “in 1960s did immigration to Canada resumed as the numbers jumped from 3,360 in 1961 and continued to grow in numbers with many Indians coming

directly from India as well as the from Fiji where there was immigrant Indian conflicts with indigenous Fijians”(Lal et al 2007:pp—329). By 2017, Canada had 10,16,185 Indian NRIs and OCIs living in different parts of Canada(MEA, 2017). Similar to USA, Indian migrants who came directly from India after 1960s consisted of skilled professionals and excelling in diverse fields and creating communities that recreate the memories of the home of origin.

United Kingdom

As India was under the imperial order of Britishers, it is not surprising that many Indians were migrating to UK to work under the colonial officers as servants and workers. There were also records of lascars who were employed by the colonial authority to work in ships and there were also soldiers who were recruited to fight in World War II (Lal et al 2007). Even though these were frequent mobility between India and Britain, the ample life opportunities that the country had made some settle down while those who returned to India brought back the stories with them to their towns and villages. After India got independence mobility continued and the number of British Indian diaspora expanded. The main origin of the migrants was from Punjab and the chain migration added to the numbers. The Immigration Bill instituted in 1962 could not stop the flow of Indians into UK. There were also migration of Indians from east Africa. Skilled migrants dominated the flow as doctors during this time while the IT boom in 1990s led to migration of IT professionals from the southern states of India. In 2017, the number of Indians in UK 18,25,000 including NRIs and OCIs (MEA, 2017).

Australia

Australia as a destination for many Indians only gained momentum after 1980s, however it has gained a prominent position hosting thousands of Indian communities today. Indians arrived in Australia during the colonial rule as servants and labourers. Indians were recruited as indentured labours in Australia, to work in plantations, as camel drivers, pedlars and other low skilled jobs. The immigration restriction act in 1901 decreased the migration to a very few numbers. After Indian independence many Anglo- Indians

migrated to Australia with the relaxation of the immigration act in 1966. Skilled professionals also began to migrate to Australia increasing the number from 15,754 in 1966 to 77, 689 in 1996. Within this span of time, many immigrants had settled down and formed communities. In 2017, Australia hosted 4,96,000 people of Indian origin making Indians the largest ethnic community in Australia (MEA, 2017).

The Caribbean

The Indian migration to the Caribbean has its roots in the colonial labour migration. The Indian labourers first arrived in Guyana, hitherto known as the British Guiana, in 1834 to serve in the sugar plantations. Recruited with the promise of better life than what they had back home in the colonial India, Indians migrants were taken to the Caribbean from 1834 to 1917 to work as indentured labourers to replace the African slaves.

Table 5: Number of Indians imported to the Caribbean (1838-1917)

	Period	No. of Indians
British Guiana(now Guyana)	1838-1917	238,909
Trinidad 143,939	1845-1917	143943
Surinam	1873-1918	34024
Guadeloupe	1854-87	42595
Jamaica	1845-1916	38681
Martinique	1848-84	25509
St Lucia	1858-95	4354
Grenada	1956-85	3200
St Vincent	1860-80	2472
St Kitts	1860-61	3372

French Guiana	1853-85	19296
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Source: Lal et al *ed.* 2007.

The shiploads of immigrants were taken to these locations for a period of generally five years contract. The Indian labourers who were already in search of employment in the cities of India were pushed by poverty cause by famine, taxation, caste and other personal circumstances were recruited. Tinker (1974) notes that the first recruitment was the aboriginal from the hinterland of Chota Nagpur and also other wanderers in the metropolis and further expanding to other regions as the demand for more workers increased. Calcutta was the main point of embarkation.

The indentured labourers were taken to “Guyana in 1838; Trinidad and Jamaica 1845; West Indies in 1850s, natal in 1860, Surinam in 1873 and Fiji in 1879” (Lal, 1998: pp—216). The exploitative nature and harsh treatment of the labourers in the plantation especially in the sugar plantations with cutting of wages, heavy penalties for minor offences and sexual exploitation of the women were rampant (Tinker, 1974). Their source of survival was in celebrating the feast and festivals and recreating the memories of the lost India. Religion in particular kept the Indians feel closer to their homeland and also way to “orient their lives in the land far from home” (Rayaprol 1997: pp—6).

After the contract period was over, some returned to India, but the majority settled in the colonies in hopes of better prospects, the discouragement by the planters who fear losing labour and also the labourers the fear of going through the trauma of the long sea voyage all over again. They commuted their return passage home for land or purchase land themselves with the money they earned working on the plantations. Some moved on to towns and started engaging in small businesses and other occupation. By 1920s the former indentured labourers had educationally progressed with the encouragement of the Christian missionaries and started involving politics and economic activity. In 2017 according to MEA (2017) statistics, Guyana has 2,97,793; Trinidad 5,56,800; Suriname 1,54,471, , Jamaica 80,000 Indian population including OCIs and NRIs.

Southeast Asia

Indian migrants to the Southeast Asian countries had a long history due to the trade relations and religious travels that existed way before the colonial rule introduced indentured labour migration. However it was only after the colonial importation of labour that the character of migration to Southeast Asia underwent tremendous change that continues till today. Migration of Indians to Southeast Asian countries under the imperialism consisted of the people mainly from the southern states of India- Telugus, Malayalis and Tamils. In Singapore before the indenture labour, sepoys were brought by Sir Stamford raffles for establishment of base in 1829. The indenture labour was brought from the year 1830 consisting mainly the Tamilians to work on the plantations thereafter flowed by the traders.

Likewise Indian labour migration into Malaysia started with in 1786 but the migration increased in number as Indians were imported to work in sugar, coffee and rubber plantations. In Malaysia, the streams of Indians consisted of indentured labourers mainly Telugus and Tamils, followed by soldiers and other lower ranked service jobs mostly from north India and there were also a small but influential migrants- merchant class mostly the Chettiars of South India and the Gujaratis of north India. The labourers came first under indentured contract system and then *kangani* system from 1910 after the abolition of the indenture system due to the abuse of the system. While some returned to India after the contract, by “1957 with a population of 858,615, Indians in Malaysia had settled down and some intermarried with the Chinese, speak Malay language and have no ties with India” (Rayaprol 1997, pp-8). What comprise the contemporary Indian population in Malaysia are those who are the descendants of the early migrants with a population of 29,75,000 NRIs and OCIs in 2017(MEA,2017).

Mauritius

In Mauritius the prisoners from British ruled India were sent prior to the influx of Indian labourers under the indenture system in 1830s mainly from the United Province, the Madras presidency as well as the Bombay presidency. Besides these indentured labourers the merchants and traders from Gujarat also migrated as ‘free passage’ migrants. The heterogeneous aspect is a defining characteristic of the indo-Mauritians due to regional,

caste and religious based divisions. Hindus make up the majority of the Indian population at around 60 percent and Muslim with a significant number as well as Christians. The official language is English, however *creole* is spoken along with other ancestral languages Bhojpuri, Telugu, Tamil, Urdu, Marathi and Hindi are spoken. Indian diaspora in 2017 had 8,94,500 NRIs and OCIs(MEA, 2017).

SECTION II

1.3: Tracing Migration in Andhra Pradesh

Andhra Pradesh has a high incidence of both short term and long term migration. It has been a long and ongoing process since the olden times where migration occurred due to wars with other kingdoms, spread of religion, etc. It also had a very robust trade and commerce with other countries. The Telugu speaking people of Andhra now have a large proportion of population spread all over the world. As they migrate, they have also transported with them the inherent culture and tradition as well as language and beliefs system and transplanted them in the places they hope to make their home. The migration of people from this region of India has taken place in three phases, namely the pre-colonial phase, the colonial phase and the post-independence phase. There are characteristics distinctly differentiating one phase from the other. Not only do they are diverse in terms of their socio-economic background and the locations but also in terms of their degree of interaction with the land of origin (Sahoo A.K, 2006).

Pre-Colonial Migration

The migration of Telugus during this period was mainly for maritime trade and religious purpose. Migration goes back as far as the Satavahana rule when the Andhras had trade relations with the Romans, importing goods like wine, copper, tin, lead and exporting spices and other clothing material. They also established trade links with China, Japan and Burma (Sahoo, A.K, 2006). Unlike in the later colonial period, the dynasties in the ancient and medieval Andhra did not discourage maritime travel as it boosted the treasury of the

kingdom. There were neither caste regulations for travel nor was there any question of losing their caste identity due to travel.

Colonial Period Migration

In many other parts of the Indian subcontinent and other countries, the colonial rule had a big impact on the migration scene of that time and what was to follow. As already mentioned in the introductory part of the chapter, the abolition of slavery in 1833, led the Britishers to look for cheap labour to replace the African slaves, which saw waves of people travelling across seas, in order to escape starvation and death. The Telugus formed the third largest regional and linguistic diaspora to migrate from India as indentured or *kangani* labour at the time of the colonial era, next only to the Bhojpuris and the Tamil Diasporas. During the colonial period, Telugus, especially from the Coastal areas of Andhra Pradesh, migrated to work in the tea and coffee plantations of Ceylon and rubber plantations of Malaysia, mainly as Kangani or Maistry form of labour (Laxmi Narayan, 2005). They formed a large part of migrants under the Kangani system.

They were recruited mainly from Coastal areas of Vishakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Guntur and Nellore (Tinker, 1974; Satyanarayan, 2001). They were being recruited to work in the coffee plantations of Ceylon and the rubber estates of Malaysia. The improvement of transportation facilities with “the introduction of British-India steamer circuit—Cocanada-Vizagapatam-Gopalpur-Rangoon was a significant contribution that facilitated emigration of the people of Coastal Andhra to Burma” (Satyanarayan, 2001:pp—7). They also were recruited to Mauritius, South Africa, and Fiji. The preference of South Indian workers in the plantation was because they were docile and hardworking and easily manageable.

They included the *Naidus* and *Reddies* (agricultural castes) as well as lower castes including the untouchables. There were also some free passage migrants such as clerical staff, teachers, *komatis* (Traders), *kamsala* (Blacksmiths) and *kumara* (Potters), many of whom lost their identities in course of their settlement. Most of the *kangani* emigrants came

from castes such as *Gavara*, *Kapu* (sometimes called as *Telaga*) and *Velama* (the richer section among them are called *Velamadora*) and the remaining were from *chakali* (washer man), *mangali* (barber) and other functionary castes (Bhat & Bhaskar, 2007).

The labourers were recruited with a contract of five year indentured and three years for *Kangani* after which they could return to India. However, many remained on and continued to build a life for themselves in the colonies. During this time, there were also “free migrants” who were not under the obligation of the contract labour. Their purpose was for business as more and more migrants started settling in the colonies and they needed material from ‘home’. There were also lascars and sepoy who became permanent overseas migrants, while others moved on to other countries with only a few returning back to India.

Post-Colonial Migration

The post-colonial period saw the beginning of a new pattern of migration, wherein Telugus along with the other migrants from other parts of the country moved towards the developed countries of the west as opportunities for the educated and the trained professionals opened up in the US, Australia, New Zealand and Canada. During this time in India, there was advancement in science and technology due to the as there was an exponential growth of strong, educated and confident middle-class in the state of Andhra Pradesh (Sahoo, 2006). The years in the late 1960s and early 1970s, there were number of families that had emigrated to the USA, the UK, Europe and the Gulf

Statistically it is difficult to estimate the number due to the unavailability of data either pre or post bifurcation but it is believed that the Telugu-speaking migrants constitute one of the largest diasporic groups living worldwide. Some estimate on the diasporic population suggest that the “number of Telugu-speaking people in Canada is estimated to be 2,85,000 and the people from the four districts (Krishna, Guntur, West Godavari and East Godavari) constitute around 30 per cent of this number which is estimated to be between 2,50,000 to 4,00,000” (Ananth, 2015 pp—7). Meanwhile, the number of immigrants from Andhra Pradesh in the US is likely to be higher though official estimate has not yet been made.

The western countries like the US saw a remarkable increase of professionals after the 1960's as they loosened the migration policies to attract the brightest, commonly referred to as "brain drain" for India as the best and the brightest migrated for better living conditions and opportunities that the western countries opened up for them. The Telugus travelled to the US in the early 1950s and 60s as engineers, doctors, academicians, software professionals and students and also as dependents of family members who migrated as a part of family reunion programmes. From Coastal Andhra, "in the initial phases, starting in the late 1960s, a few economically higher class people migrated to the UK for advanced studies, many of whom returned to India" (Ananth 2015, pp—7), while some stayed. The later years saw the new stream of Telugu diaspora comprising of educated youth from the important cities of Andhra Pradesh, such as Hyderabad, Vijayawada and Visakhapatnam, besides a few from well-to-do farming families of West and East Godavari region. The migration was further spurred by the 'global body shopping' an Indian labour system in the information technology industry (Xiang, 2007) which arose with the wake of the need to fix the y2k crisis during the 1990's and the demand of IT labour in the west.

Xiang (2007) in his book on *Body Global Shopping* talks about the y2k crisis and the resultant 'IT mania' which led to the mushrooming of *body shops* with Hyderabad as a centre of body shopping business. The then chief minister Chandrababu Naidu tried to promote Hyderabad as a 'global' city and soft hub by spearheading heavy public investment and private investments into urban infrastructure construction devoted to 'IT' companies (Xiang, 2007; Upadhyaya, 2014). There was a consequent recruitment and opening up of a huge number of colleges and training institutes to train the aspirants for 'IT Jobs'. In a span of five years, 1995-2000, seventy-five engineering colleges were opened, compared to twenty-six in sixty years (1929-1989) including private and government, offering computer-related courses (Sche 2001a, cited in Xiang, 2007). The following years saw more colleges of this kind all over Andhra Pradesh. "This emergence of private commercial educational institutions in the 1990s, changed migration scene and led to the intense pattern of outmigration of educated youth, driven by the demand for software engineers within India and abroad"(Upadhyaya, 2014 pp—3). The high fees demanded for such courses in these engineering colleges and training institutes saw that

the richer sections of the society could only afford these fees. These richer sections of the society constitute the affluent land owning caste groups, and other dominant castes, mainly the prosperous agricultural castes such as the Kammas, the Reddys and the rich Brahmin agricultural farmers and other dominant caste groups. This resulted in the Andhras ‘culture of migration’ (*ibid.*) as these software engineers got placements and moved across international borders making networks and achieving their ultimate goal to settle abroad.

Table 6: Patterns of Telugu Emigration

Time Period	Category of Emigrant	Destination
Pre—Colonial	Religious/Trade	West Asia, Southeast Asia and African
Colonial	1) Indenture 2) Kangani 3) Maistry	1)Mauritius, South Africa, Fiji 2)Malaya and Ceylon 3) Burma
Post-independence	Professional, Labour and Family Reunion	USA, UK, Europe, Australia and West Asia / Gulf

Source: Compiled from various sources.

Another post-colonial strand of migration that occurred was the migration towards the oil-rich countries of the Gulf kingdom. Prior to the oil-boom of 1970, South Asians were said to be active in the region during the early phase of oil production in the 1930s and 1940s (Secomme & Lawless, 1986); however, the increase in the demand of workers reached its highest level during the 1970s and 1980s as the Gulf nations needed manpower for the construction of infrastructure. Workers from the southern states of India like Kerala and

Tamil Nadu rushed in the search for employment and opportunities in these economies. Telugus migrated from all parts of Andhra Pradesh, but the highest numbers were from the Telengana region as rural employment was very hard to come. It was also affected by the socio-political environment that was prevalent during the period.

Comprising of six Gulf countries, namely Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and United Arab Emirates (UAE), the GCC in 1973 was a hot-bed for migrants who wanted to work and earn. Indians, such as people from Andhra, were part of this race to migrate and earn money. The largest group of migrants to the Gulf was in construction, the second group comprise the workers in the private sector as service workers, while a few were employed in the government sector .Domestic workers also constituted a huge number of migrants who were employed there as they were in demand from the new rich middle class families.

1.4: Overseas Telugu Associations

Telugus from all over the world have continued interest in the economy, politics and culture at home and engage themselves in philanthropic activities. Many associations were formed to unify the Telugu speaking people living all over the world. The presence of many Telugu Associations makes the Telugu diaspora to affiliate with the same and reinstitute the Telugu way of life and reinforce the identity with the Telugu culture (Bhaskar, 1999). These associations organise cultural and social activities like *Ugadi*, *Deepawali*, etc. One such organisation is Telugu Association of North America (TANA), formed in 1977, which aims to identify and address social, cultural and educational needs of the North American Telugu community in particular and Telugu people in general⁶. Several other associations have been set up along those aims in different parts of the US, prominently ATA(American Telugu Assocaition), Telugu Fine Arts Society (TFAS), Bay Area Telugu Association (BATA), Detroit Telugu Association (DTA), San Diego Telugu Association (SDTA), Telugu Association of North Texas (TANTEX), Tristate Telugu Association, Telugu Association of Metro Atlanta (TAMA) and others. Associations in

⁶ <http://www.tana.org/about-us/about>. Accessed 8th July 2016.

other countries are also organised along similar lines which is for social and cultural preservation. Examples include TAM (Telugu Association of Malaysia) and Telugu Kala Samiti in Kuwait.

The Telugus living abroad play an important role in the developmental activities of Andhra Pradesh, not only through investments in industry, science and technological institutions but also through contributions to various constructive projects taken up by the government (Sahoo, 2005). The involvement of the government in these projects is prevalent. One such initiative is *Janbhoomi* started by the chief minister Chandra Babu Naidu. This programme called for individuals to be involved in the development of the state by donating for civil works. The programme tried to reach out to citizens in Andhra Pradesh and also to those who are located around the world to invest and contribute in the building of infrastructure and development projects in the state. According to Roohi (2017), even though this initiative had a few takers, with the involvement of the government it was a success in the district of Guntur. She elaborates how the setting up of NRI Cell in 2002 further boosted the private–government partnership in philanthropy where many villages from where the NRIs hail benefitted. While the ‘giving back’ culture is found in economically successful migrants through development of infrastructures such as schools, temples, etc. it is mostly towards their own native villages and the remittances based development is found in ‘pockets’ and is not a widespread activity.

In terms of investments, land is central to the investment culture of the Coastal Andhra region Ananth (2015) noted that the investment culture in Coastal Andhra by the NRIs is largely on real estate than on agricultural lands and businesses and these investments are not made directly but through the general power of attorney, their parents or relatives as the NRIs and non-Indian citizens are prohibited by law to purchase or sell agricultural land. He also stated that the frequency of remitting money differs based on the level of education—while the money remitted by the white collared tend to be larger in transactions and used for purchasing assets like lands, the blue collared or the unskilled and manual workers, send money more frequently mostly on a monthly basis to repay debts, and spend on marriage, household expenses, education, healthcare, etc.

1.5: Conclusion

This chapter will discuss the context, nature and trace the pattern of migration of Indian migrants in the Gulf countries. The chapter will bring a broad understanding of the demographic information of the Gulf countries and their development ambitions that led to the mass migration of millions into these countries. This chapter would also trace how the recruitment process of Indian workers to the Gulf countries had taken place over the years in response to the market labour demands. The policies of the Gulf countries and the steps undertaken by the rulers of these countries to monitor international migration and the consequences on the source countries will also be discussed in the following section. The main argument will be that as much as the Gulf countries are dependent on the migrants for development, the source countries are also reliant on the remittances sent home by millions of workers.

CHAPTER 2

MIGRATION OF INDIANS TO THE GULF WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ANDHRA PRADESH

SECTION I

2.1: The Gulf Nations

The massive energy deposits of the Gulf countries has made it an important region impacting the economy of many nations today. The seven states bordering the Persian Gulf, namely Bahrain, Iraq, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates form the GCC. The GCC (Gulf Cooperation Council) consisting of all the countries, except Iraq, are monarchies which have political and economic alliance. It was established with the signing of a charter in 1981. The countries in this region have always had a very strong trade relation with India, East-Africa, South-East Asia and China. The new age of colonial domination started with France and UK at the forefront. They carved up the Middle-East which presently constitutes Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

One of the unique features about the Gulf region is the dependency on the migrant workforce for the purpose of speedy developmental programmes post the 1970s caused by what is commonly known as the ‘oil boom’. These developmental programmes of Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries have induced many migrants to flock to these countries for various kinds of work, making it a region where foreign nationals, outnumber nationals. The migration of people has eventually brought about a tremendous impact on the socio – economic structure as well as the politics of these countries. A brief description of each of the Gulf States will give a broad idea on the destination countries of many migrants. Each Gulf state have their own social, political and cultural set up and bring an understanding of the nature and pattern of labour migration

As mentioned earlier, the GCC consist of seven states. A brief description of the countries excluding Iraq, would give a broad understanding of the demographic composition of these countries.

Bahrain

With its capital at Manama, Bahrain is a nation which comprises of more than 30 islands. It is the smallest state of GCC and yet one of the richest countries in the world. One of the first country to discover oil among the Gulf nations, the oil revenue drove the economy of Bahrain. Like other GCC countries, migration of workers from Asia is not a new phenomenon and the number of population of non-nationals exceed the nationals (Table 7). Bahrain, similar to other Gulf countries have high unemployment rate especially in the private sector (Table 8). Their nationalization policies also called Bahrianization have so far unsuccessfully tried to bring in the nationals into the private sector.

Table 7: Population Estimates of Bahrain, 2017

Total population	14,23,726
Bahrain	664, 707
Non Bahraini	759,019

Source: Information and eGovernment Authority portal, Bahrain accessed 7th March 2018.

Table 8. Estimated Labour Force Participation by Nationality and Sector, 2014.

Nationality	Public sector	Private sector	Domestic workers	Total employment
Bahraini	56,988	96,537	---	153,525
Non-Bahraini	10,010	392,789	105,203	508,002
Total employment	66,998	489,326	105,203	661,527

Source: Labour Market Regulatory Authority, Bahrain. Accessed 7th March 2018.

Kuwait

Kuwait with an area of 17,820 square kilometre, has approximately 4.5 million including expatriates who constitute the largest majority of about 69.5 percent of the total population. The majority of the expatriates are Asians and Arabs. Educationally, Kuwait is the most advanced region. Kuwait gained independence from the United Kingdom in 1961, in 1990 Kuwait was invaded by neighbouring Iraq under Saddam Hussein's regime which after a long seven month struggle of Iraqi occupation came to an end after a direct military intervention by coalition forces. This event is also called the Gulf War and many non-Kuwaitis were evacuated from country however it resumed recruitment of labour for post-war development. Kuwait's large oil fields were discovered in the late 1930s had been the driving force of the economy. The common problem faced across the Gulf region is the dependence on expatriate labour and Kuwait is not immune from this problem. The labour force participation for the Kuwait nationals was 45.8 percent in 2015 while the unemployment rate is 4.7 percent, an overwhelming 95 percent work in the government sector (CSB, 2017). On the other hand, non-Kuwaitis labour participation were estimated to be 84.5 percent and only 8 percent worked in the government/ public sector (*ibid*). The table below gives the figures on the approximate numbers of labour force participation by nationality, sector and gender.

Table 9: Population Estimates of Kuwait, 2017

Total Population	4, 521780	100%
Kuwaitis	1,376,347	30.44%
Non-Kuwaitis	3,145,433	69.56%

Source: The Public Authority for Civil Information (PACI).

Table 10: Labour Force Participation by Nationality, Sector and Gender in Kuwait 2016.

Nationality	Public Sector		Private Sector	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Kuwaiti	120,936	156,999	34,735	36,122
Non-Kuwaiti	58,571	41,209	1,369,171	120,500

Source: Central Statistical Bureau (CSB), Kuwait 2017.

Qatar

Officially known as an emirate In the Middle East, Qatar is a peninsular state in the northeastern coast of Arabia bordered on the south by Saudi Arabia and surrounded by the Persian Gulf on the other three sides. Its capital is Doha and like other GCC countries it is an oil- and gas-rich nation with the third largest gas reserves. Qatar has 2.6 million population. Indians constitute the largest expat community with a population of about 65,000 which is 25 percent of the total Qatar population in 2016 followed by Nepalese migrants at 35000⁷. The table below will show the labour force participation of Qatar.

⁷ <http://privadsouza.com/population-of-qatar-by-nationality-in-2017/> . Accessed March 2018.

Table 11: Labour Force Participation Figures by Nationality and Sex from 15 Years and above.

Nationality	Economically Active		Economically Inactive	
	Male	Female	Male	female
Qatari	64,904	36,736	29,960	62,832
Non-Qatari	1,657,237	216120	29,383	118,259

Source: Ministry Of Development Planning and Statistic (MDPS), Qatar, 2016.

Oman

With a total population of 4.4 million, about 50 percent of the population lives in Muscat which is the capital (NCSI, 2016). Oman is ruled by an absolute monarchy. The expatriate population living in Oman is 46 percent to the total population, which is much lower than the proportion of expatriates in other Gulf states besides UAE. Most of them are guest workers from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Egypt, India and Philippines, with Indians constituting the highest expatriate population. Despite the Omanization policy instituted in 1988, only 12 percent of Omani nationals work in the private sector in 2017, therefore the government has called to enforce it more stringently⁸.

Table 12: Population Figure by Nationality and Sex, Mid 2016.

Omani	2,427,825
Non Omani	1,986,226
Total Population	4,41,4051

⁸ <https://www.thenational.ae/world/oman-warns-private-sector-over-omanisation-targets-1.82155>, Accessed 5th March 2018.

Source: National Centre for Statistic and Information (NCSI). Sultanate of Oman. 2016

Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia is the largest country in the Gulf region with 2,149,690 square kilometre and is the largest country in GCC. According to an estimate it has a population with 32 million people in 2017⁹. The population of the size of foreign labour force is also high in Saudi constituting 33 percent the total population with Syrians and Indians representing the highest numbers (table). It is an important destination for devout Muslims all over the world who travel to the country for hajj pilgrimage. As like other Gulf countries, Saudi Arabia is also depended on oil revenue. The table below gives an estimate of the non-national population by nationality of selected countries which make up the total population of Saudi Arabia.

Table 13: Population Estimates of Selected Countries, Saudi Arabia 2017.

Nationality	Population	Percentage
Syrians	2,480,332	23 %
Indians	1,535,443	14%
Pakistanis	1,062,999	10%
Egyptians	1,062,990	10%
Yemenis	9,444,888	9%
Bangladeshis	2,86,777	8%
Filipinos	708,666	7%

⁹ <https://saudiexpatriate.com/population-expatriates-living-saudi-arabia-2017/> . Accessed 5th March 2018

Source: Saudiexpatriate.com¹⁰.

UAE

United Arab Emirates (UAE) is the most industrialised country in the region propelled by the oil revenues. It has a population of 9.54 million in 2018. It's most important cities are Abu Dhabi which is the capital, Dubai and Sharjah. Similar to other Gulf countries, it is also heavily dependent on the expatriate population which constitute 89 percent of the total population which is highest in the region¹¹.

Table 14: Population by Nationality of Selected Countries in UAE, 2016.

Nationality	Population	Percentage
India	2,600,000	28%
Pakistan	1,200,000	13%
UAE	1,084,764	115
Bangladesh	700,000	7%
Philippines	525,530	6%
Iran	450,000	5%
Egypt	400,000	4%
Nepal	300,000	3%
Sri Lanka	300,000	3%
China	200,000	2%

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Accessed 8th March 2018.

¹¹ <http://www.abudhabi2.com/uae-population-by-nationality/> . Accessed March 5th 2018.

All other countries	1,696,334	18%
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Source: www.abudhabi2.com

2.2: National vs the Non-national Population

The migrants' presence in the Gulf is not a new phenomenon. Secombe & Lawless (1986) states that the GCC region's reliance on immigrant manpower to perform technical, managerial, artisan, clerical and even some unskilled tasks, dates back to the 1930s and that the bulk of immigrants labours were drawn from the Indian sub-continent due to the old ties that had existed since ancient history (pp—572). All countries import foreign workers both skilled and unskilled labour; however, the distinctiveness of the GCC countries is that the non-nationals outnumber the local population by millions, and even by a larger margin for some countries .The acceleration of the number of migrants in the Gulf to this magnitude is attributed to the oil-boom in the 1970s. As the pace of development was accelerated during this time, the population of the nationals was very less and also not equipped with the knowledge and professional skills to build, operate and also maintain new infrastructure.

The price of oil rose and the ruling GCC elites needed to diversify the revenues from the oil by investing in various projects to develop their economies. However, the ruling elites were worried about interference in political power, thus, the elites aimed to appease the population by sharing wealth in order to avoid the disruption of the existing political structure or the sharing of political power (Weiner 1982, pp—2). To fulfil these objectives, they aimed to develop the infrastructure, governmental ministries and services, their industrial and agricultural sectors and share wealth with the citizens. Substantial improvements were made in the social services area, as well as in health care and education. Construction workers were brought in on contract basis to build the infrastructure. Cheap labourers, brought in from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, formed a huge part of the private sector. There was a preference for Asian labourers not only because

they can be hired cheap but also because they do not pose the threat of interacting with the Arab speaking citizens that exist due to language barrier (Risso, 2009).

As this rapid progress was taking place, migrants came in in huge numbers. In 1975, the total local population of the GCC countries was estimated to be little more than 6 million and there were 2.762 million foreigners in these countries, constituting 31.3 per cent of the total population. In the same year the percentage of foreign population was 69.5 per cent in UAE, 62.0 per cent Qatar, and 52.5 percent in Kuwait. It continued to grow until 1990. Post 1990, with the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the number of foreigners decreased dramatically as workers returned to their homes of origin. According to Winckler (1987), “from a population of 500,000 Asians in mid-1990, only 12,500 remained in February 1991 in Kuwait” (pp-482). The period after the war in 1992 witnessed the number of foreign workers swell gradually as reconstruction started. The numbers of migrants kept fluctuating which was in response to several factors – “ fluctuation in oil prices, law of labour demand and supply, Arabisation of labour policy and the changing profile of labour demand itself” (Jain, 2005, pp-59).

In these countries, the nationals became minorities, raising concerns of security and cultural threats. The governments began to take stricter control and attempted to regulate the recruitment of labour from foreign countries. However, the numbers continued to grow, raising serious concerns for the Gulf States, an overwhelming number of foreign population is present in the Gulf countries with as high as 89.9 percent in Qatar in 2015. By definition, “non-nationals are those bearing the nationality of a foreign state other than that of the GCC or bearing no proof of nationality from any given state and the nationals as holders of residence permit residing in the given GCC country at the date of the census”¹².

2.3: Gulf Policies towards International Migration

¹² <http://Gulfmigration.eu/gcc-total-population-percentage-nationals-foreign-nationals-gcc-countries-national-statistics-2010-2016-numbers/>. Accessed 14th December 2017.

The governments of these countries, partly due to the sense of threat their migration demographics represent and partly due to the large welfare benefits that come with being a citizen, define foreign residents as “social, legal and cultural *outsiders* to the nation-state” (Vora, N 2013). These outsiders/foreign nationals are not given naturalization and stay only during their contract in the GCC. Also within the duration of their stay, the non-nationals are also restricted from joining trade unions, involving in political activities and accessing social welfare benefits.

According to Shah (2005), the international migration policies of the Gulf government can be grouped into two broad categories; “those affecting the supply of labour and those affecting the demand” (pp—18). Several specific policies under each of these categories are identified.

-Firstly, policies that aim to reduce the supply of foreign workers; increased cost of living for migrant workers, periodic amnesties, stricter visa regulations, and curbs on visa trading to be especially important.

-Secondly, those that aim to reduce the demand for foreign workers; creation of job opportunities for nationals and indigenization of the labour force through administrative mechanisms (pp—18).

The international migration system of the Gulf countries is monitored by a system called the *Kafala*, which manages the flow of workers. “Delegating some of the control over migrant workers to the local private sector, GCC governments from the 1960s on curtailed foreigners’ internal labour market mobility through “sponsorship” rules, tying them to their local employers” (Hertog, 2014, pp—5). In this system the *kafil* or the sponsor obtains the entry visa and work permit of the migrants and takes care of the legal and economic responsibility of the workers who he has brought in for employment and acts as the guarantors for migrant workers during the period of their stay in the country. Historically, this system has been practiced by the Bedouin tribe as a tradition of taking responsibility of the guest by the host as a form of hospitality and being responsible for the actions of the guest. It is used today as a migration management system to fulfil the demand of labour.

And as the migrants cannot stay for longer than what is specified in the work contract, Kafala has made the migrants dependent on the sponsors'/ kafils' mercy. This system has gained notoriety due to its rigidity and abusive relationship between the employer and the migrant worker and more because it does not allow the migrant workers to change their employers at times when there are malpractices such as non-payment of wages, bad working and living conditions or any such disputes. One of the serious problems behind the *Kafala* system is that it makes it so difficult for workers to contest or complain when any part of their contractual agreement is not upheld, when any of their legal rights are violated, or even when they face more serious forms of abuse¹³. If the workers do not comply or change jobs without the consent of the kafils, the kafils have the right to have their work permit cancelled and report them as absconders and they very likely to be deported because once the employment relationship is concluded, there is no authorized basis for the employee to remain in the host country, as foreign migrant labourers are generally not authorized for permanent residency status or citizenship. With such regulations and Kafala remaining the main system of labour migration management in the region, it affects the living of millions of migrant workers in the Gulf and their dependents back home.

Nationalization Policies

Due to the huge number of non-nationals concentrated in the labour market, what the GCC countries have been trying to do is integrate the national population into the local labour market by introducing *nationalisation* policies aimed at reducing the dependence on migrant workers. This is one of the major challenges face by the countries of GCC in the present times (Hertog, 2014). Policies called as Gulfization, localization, nationalization or indigenization of labour, also referred to as Saudization, Omanization and Emiratization, depending on the country, and are prominent.

¹³ <https://www.migrant-rights.org/2015/03/understanding-kafala-an-archaic-law-at-cross-purposes-with-modern-development>. Accessed 4th April 2016.

Though initiated in Kuwait in 1985 and Oman in 1988, the strategy was followed more aggressively post 1990 after Saudi Arabia's involvement (Rakhee & Timothy, 2012). For example In UAE, the ruling authority decided to replace expatriates in 2005 and under this law, the companies, having more than hundred workers will be compelled to employ the nationals of GCC. Similar programs are started to be implemented in other GCC countries. This nationalization of employment introduced by the GCC is aiming to replace the foreign labour in phased manner without impacting drastically the overall working population.

Oman aim to reduce the expatriate population in the region from 25 percent to 15 percent by 2020. The target of Omani government is to make 35 percent of the workforce as nationals¹⁴. In 2016, Saudi Arabia, revised the *nitaqat* scheme, Arabic for nationalization, rejecting 67 percent of work visa. In 2016, 739,601 establishments were removed from operation and 255,356 establishments are in a jeopardizing position according to the Saudization law¹⁵. Bahrainization rules, implemented basing on quota system in 1995, require a company to employ 20 percent nationals as its labour force that was to be increased eventually by 5 percent each subsequent year (Hertog, 2014) which could not be met. Stipends and unemployment schemes are given to students to train them for employment. Saudiazation with the aim to “indigenize labour employment gives incentives to companies to train first time recruitment of Saudis” (*ibid.* pp—16)

The rationale for the policies is due to the declining oil prices, political factors and also demography. Another important factor is the unemployment rate of its nationals as the jobs are overwhelmingly dominated by the foreign workers, especially in the private sector. The rise of unemployment among nationals concerned the GCC governments who decided to embark on the designing of labour market strategies in order to create enough employment opportunities for nationals, and at the same time limit the dependence on the expatriate labour. According to Kapizweski (2006) the policies were aimed to reserve certain jobs for the nationals, provide wage subsidies and other incentives as well as bring

¹⁴ <https://www.thenational.ae/world/oman-warns-private-sector-over-omanisation-targets-1.82155>, Accessed February 12 2018.

¹⁵ <http://saudigazette.com.sa/article/514276/SAUDI-ARABIA/Nitaqat>, Accessed February 13, 2018.

about change in the education system and train the nationals to make them suitable for technical jobs. The preferential treatment towards the national labour force ignore the fact that the nationals are not equipped with the necessary skill.

Moreover, the problem is that the nationals do not favour jobs as the incentives provided is much lower than what they demand and the companies cannot afford to pay (Shah 2005). Moreover, the jobs in the private sector is not favoured because sometimes the nationals find them “debasement of the nationals’ social status” (Kapizweski, 2006: pp-5). Due to some of these reasons, the indigenising of the labour market has so far been unsuccessful.

These policies, put into force more stringently, are expected to have an impact on the migrant- sending countries who are dependent on the Gulf remittances for living. It is especially true in the case of countries like Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh who are the major labour sending countries to the Gulf. The remittances received by these countries play a significant part in the economy. For example, by GDP percentage, Sri Lanka received 8.9 percent, Bangladesh 8.7 percent, Pakistan 7.0 percent and India 3.4 percent in the year 2014 (World Bank, 2016)¹⁶. The nationalization of workforce policies combined with the already stringent monitoring of the freedom of the workforce further debilitate the state of the migrant workers. As mass deportation of workers in certain categories of work will impact the employment of thousands of workers from India. For instance Oman has temporarily stopped issuing expats visas to 87 categories of work in 2018¹⁷ as part of Omanization drive. This include those in IT, banking, marketing, administration and Human resources, Insurance, engineering, medical professions and technical professions. This trend is likely to continue and the impact of the policies is

¹⁶ <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.TRF.PWKR.DT.GD.ZS>. Accessed 11th February 2017.

¹⁷ http://timesofoman.com/article/127000/Oman/Omanisation/oman-to-temporarily-stop-issuing-expat-visas-for-87-jobs?utm_campaign=magnet&utm_source=article_page&utm_medium=recommended_articles, Accessed February 13 2018.

already being felt in India¹⁸ with states like Kerala which receives remittances of estimated 90,000 crores from the GCC countries.

SECTION II

2.4: Migration of Indians to the Gulf Countries

As will be discussed in the following sections, the migration of Indians in the Gulf is not a new phenomenon and has continued to grow in the present times. The migration has evolved into different phases, while the phase pre 1970 was dominated by the migration of for the purpose of trade and commercial activities, post 1970s migration was dominated by expatriates migrating to work in the development projects of Gulf. The following section will discuss the migration of Indians during different phases of migration to Gulf.

Old Indian Connection with the Gulf- Pre 1970.

The presence of Indians in the Gulf is significant and the demographic composition of the migrants have undergone significant changes over the years. Especially with the discovery of oil and the mass migration of people to the Gulf, the market for labour evolved to what it is today. To get a better understanding of the Indian Gulf migration, it can be divided generally into different phases namely the pre oil or the 1970s during which Indians had old historical ties and exchange of trade and commerce and the post 1970s where with the discovery of oil in the GCC and its economic expansion projects led to mass migration of Indians mostly from the unskilled, clerical and service sector.

As already mentioned in the paragraphs above, the present number of Indians in the Gulf is very large. However these are not recent developments but had existed due to continuous exchange of goods and services that had started since antiquity. Many accounts suggest the vibrant trade and commercial exchange that had existed between the Gulf countries

¹⁸ <http://www.firstpost.com/india/as-kerala-diaspora-in-gulf-sees-downturn-of-fortunes-migration-experts-warn-of-5-to-10-percent-fall-in-remittances-4302227.html> Accessed February 13 2018.

and India through trade and commerce (Weiner, 1982; Onley 2014; Fuccaro, 2014) as many Indian merchants settled in the Persian Gulf and had also maintained strong commercial and family links in India

Indians before the dawn of the oil era and the partition of India after World War II, had already few thousand residing there in the Gulf region. However, they were rich elites regarded highly in the society and consisted mainly of “three Banians (Hindus and Jains); Khojas, Lawatiyya, Bohras, and Memons (Muslims); and Catholics and Anglicans (Christians)” (Onley, 2014: pp–233). There were also “a small number of Sunni Mapilla who resided in Muscat during 1509–1650” (*ibid*: pp—236), which explains the connection of the historical ties of Kerala migrants. The Gulf region had an on-going, significant demand for certain Indian commodities – timber for shipbuilding, cotton for clothing, rice as a dietary staple and other spices. India also imported pearls from Gulf countries before the discovery of oil and according to Fuccaro, (2014), “the exponential growth of the Gulf’s pearl industry was a contributing factor that helped cement political and commercial ties with India and with Bombay in particular as the centre of the world pearl market” (pp—28). Moreover pearl divers were employed from the Malabar Coast. Due to their wealth and position, Indians during this time held high prestige and command respect unlike the new migrants who started to come into Gulf post the oil discovery.

The factors that led to the mass migration of Indians to the Gulf can also be attributed firstly to the geographical proximity and secondly the ease of recruitment for British colonial rulers to employ the already colonized Indians to work in their oil companies in Gulf countries. The relationship between the Gulf and India that fostered by the period of the British rule during which the Indian rupee was the principal currency in the Gulf, Indian stamps were used, political officers applied British Indian regulations, and Hindustani Urdu and Hindi words infiltrated Arabic Coastal dialect (Leonard , 2007).

The recruitment of workers to work in the oil fields changed its pace over the years and the first recruitment stage of Indians in this new sector started in the early 1900s. Tracing the migration of Indians to the Gulf countries for employment in the oil companies and related fields, Onley (2014) states,

“Indian oil workers were first recruited by the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC, now British Petroleum or BP) from 1909 onward to work in the oil fields of southwest Iran and its refinery at Abadan. By 1910, APOC employed 158 Indians. Around 1922, APOC opened a recruiting office in Bombay. By 1925, APOC employed 4,890 Indians, after which the number of Indians gradually declined as qualified Iranians took their place.⁹² The Bahrain Petroleum Company began to recruit Indians in 1933. It opened a recruitment office in Bombay in July 1936 and, by October 1937, it employed 236 Indians, rising to a high of 659 by 1949.⁹³ The Kuwait Oil Company began hiring Indians in 1935, although the number of Indians never exceeded a few dozen until oil production began in 1946, after which the numbers shot up dramatically: 28 in 1945, 177 in 1946, 723 in 1947, 3,211 in 1948, and 4,908 in 1949. It recruited its Indian employees through the APOC office in Bombay. Petroleum Development Qatar began hiring Indians in 1937, although its circumstances remained the same as Kuwait’s, with the number of Indian employees not rising above a few dozen until the start of oil production after World War II: 194 in 1947, 552 in 1948, 690 in 1949, and 841 in 1950. It also hired its Indian employees through the APOC recruitment office in Bombay. Both Petroleum Development Trucial Coast and Petroleum Development Oman started to employ Indians in the 1940s, but their numbers did not rise above a few dozen until the start of oil production in the 1960s” (pp—258).

The local population could not meet the demands of supply of labour due to its small number and inexperience, Indians were recruited for clerical jobs, technicians and so on. As Bombay already was the main port linking the Gulf with India, it became the center for recruitment of workers as many Indian men in search of employment usually end up at these ports, learning about the prospect in the Gulf. This situation more or less, continued until the mid-1970 when following the hike in the oil prices during 1973-74, there was a substantial increase in the oil revenues of the oil producing and exporting Gulf countries (Jain, 2005). The years that followed was the migration of people in thousands and the introduction of oil-wealth in the twentieth century has become a unique Gulf-India relation that has developed given that the economic wealth had driven the building of infrastructure and the need for cheap construction and service labour (Risso, 2009).

Contemporary Migration to the Gulf- Post 1970

Post the 1970s, the migration of Indians had expanded with fluctuation in the numbers in response to different economic and political situation of the Gulf countries. Even after a long period of migration to the Gulf, the numbers are not documented properly. What we have of the numbers is from the Protector of General Emigrants (PGE) which issues emigration clearance for those migrating to the countries listed under the ECR (Emigration Clearance Required) countries. Even then the data do not capture the whole magnitude because there are a large number of migrants who migrate with a visit/ tourist visa or *hajj/umrah*¹⁹ for religious pilgrimages and stay illegally. There are also migrants under the skilled-migrants category who are not required to take emigration clearance. Thus, these make it difficult to estimate the number of migrants from India to the Gulf countries. However, the estimated overseas Indians in Gulf as of 2016 according to Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) was 8,443,772, with the majority living in Saudi Arabia.

Table 15: Number of Indian Citizens in the Gulf Countries in 2016.

Country	Indian Citizens
Bahrain	316,175
UAE	2,803,751
Qatar	600,000
Kuwait	923,260
Saudi Arabia	3,004,585

¹⁹ Pilgrimages undertaken by adult Muslims to Mecca, Saudi Arabia. For *Hajj* which is supposed to be undertaken at least once in a life time in the last month of the Islamic calendar year. For *umrah*, it can be taken any time of the year.

Oman	796,001
Total	8,443,772

Source: MEA (2016), Govt. of India.

The available data suggests that the migration of Indian workers to the Gulf was in response to the market demand for labour, fluctuating oil prices, and the labour migration policies. For instance, the steady increase of migrants since the oil boom faltered in the second-half of 1980 as a result of the economic recession and drop in the oil prices. The invasion of Kuwait also played a part in the lower volume of migration. However, the dramatic increase of migrant workers from 1991 onwards was due to the demand for workers for post-war reconstruction projects in the Gulf – this trend continued until 2008. The fall of numbers in 1998-1999 is attributed to the nationalization policies of the Gulf nations and then picking up its growth rate till 2008 that the Gulf countries introduced to reduce the dependency on the migrant workers. However, despite the unstable conditions, the economic gains offered by migration to the Gulf have remained as an important source of survival for many families from low income countries like India.

The number of migrants given emigration clearance by India during 1976 to 2016 has been given below;

Table 16: Labour Outflows from India to ECR/ECNR Countries 1977–2016.

Year	Numbers	Year	Numbers	Year	Numbers	Year	Numbers	Years	Numbers
1976	4,200	1986	1,09,234	1996	4,14,214	2006	6,76,912	2016	5,20,960
1977	22,900	1987	1,21,812	1997	4,16,424	2007	8,09,453		
1978	69,000	1988	1,65,924	1998	3,55,164	2008	8,48,601		
1979	1,71,800	1989	1,25,786	1999	1,99,552	2009	6,10,985		

1980	2,68,200	1990	1,43,565	2000	2,43,182	2010	6,41,335		
1981	2,72,000	1991	1,97,889	2001	2,78,664	2011	6,26,565		
1982	2,24,257	1992	4,16,784	2002	3,68,885	2012	7,47,041		
1983	2,17,971	1993	4,38,338	2003	4,69,858	2013	8,16,655		
1984	1,98,520	1994	4,25,385	2004	4,76,526	2014	8,04,862		
1985	1,60,550	1995	4,14,334	2005	5,48,853	2015	7,82,083		

Source: *Ministry of External Affairs, Govt. of India*

Indians migrated to the Gulf in various capacities.

1. The skilled professionals consisting of doctors, nurses, engineers, architects, accountants, and also persons in managerial positions.
2. Semi-skilled workers like craftsman, drivers, artisans, and other technical workers.
3. Unskilled labourers in construction sites, farmlands, livestock ranches, shops and stores, and households (domestic labour) (Khadria, 2010). They may be contract migrant workers, guest worker, project-tied workers, or temporary workers.
4. Finally, some Indians are directly employed by local Arab families as ayah, cooks, sweepers, and gardeners (Weiner, 1982).

While the provisions for the skilled migrants are quite reasonable, the condition of those in the other unskilled category like construction workers, drivers, cooks, etc. are not decent. As they are bound by laws and regulations of the country in which they are employed, many face legal issues without a proper legal redressal system. The facilities and rights that they are able to access also differ. The construction labourers are covered under the labour law, while those employed as domestic workers are not covered by these rights. Those employed as construction workers are given accommodation near the construction sites in barracks provided by the companies, with their own canteen and

medical facilities and those are usually called as *labour camps*. They are arranged to stay in groups of 8–10 people in a small room without proper sanitation. In case of other workers such as domestic workers, drivers and ayahs, they are given accommodation in the house of the employers and work within the house with separate areas for sleeping.

2.5: Origins of the Indian immigrants.

The Indian migrants to the Gulf come from all the states of India; however, some Indian states send more than others in terms of numbers. The shifting trend in the numbers and regions have also appeared over the years. For instance, the traditional sending states like Kerala and Tamil Nadu from the southern region of India have been overtaken by new states from the northern region of India, namely UP and Bihar, which are poorer and more populous. This trend can be seen as a new phase in Indian migration. The table below shows the number of migrants to the Gulf countries from major sending states in 2006–2016.

Table 17: Data on ECR Granted Of Some Major States in India (2006–2016).

YEAR	Kerala	Uttar Pradesh	Tamil Nadu	Bihar	Andhra Pradesh	Telangana	India
2006	1,20,083	66,225	1,55,631	364,99	97,680	---	6,76,912
2007	1,50,475	91,615	1,50,842	51,805	1,05,044	---	8,09,453
2008	1,80,703	1,37,298	1,28,791	60,642	97,530	---	8,48,601
2009	1,19,384	1,25,548	78,841	50,227	69,233	---	6,10,272
2010	1,04,101	1,40,501	84,510	60531	72,220	---	6,41,355

2011	86,783	1,58,315	68,732	71,438	71,589	---	6,26,565
2012	98,178	1,91,143	78,185	84,078	92,803	---	7,47,041
2013	85,909	2,17,849	83,087	96,894	1,03,049	---	8,16,655
2014	66,050	2,29,436	83,201	98,733	53,101	38518	8,04,862
2015	43,133	2,36,495	73,016	1,07,285	45,232	36312	7,82,083
2016	25,166	143,737	42,541	76,384	27,005	25079	5,20,960

Source: Compiled by the author using data from the Annual Reports of MEA, New Delhi.

**Telangana was carved out as a new state in 2013.*

This migration made important changes both socially and economically in some particular states such as Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and some states in the northern part of the country. India has 2, 19, 09875 overseas population, and of this 26 percent, i.e., 5,68,7032 are in the Middle East countries (Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs, 2012). As shown the above (Table 17) Kerala has been experiencing a steady decline of migrants to Gulf migration, whereas from Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh, the migrants have increased by considerable numbers. One of the reasons for decline in labour migration from Kerala can be because larger numbers of people migrating from Kerala are educated and most likely to work as skilled and professional related jobs in the Gulf.

Emigration check stamp before leaving India, this will be signed by protector of emigrants (ECR) as per Emigration act 1983. Emigration check required is exempted for educated and high skilled professionals and the holders' Diplomatic/official passport. All educated

person can hold ECNR stamped passport;²⁰ whereas the majority of migrants from Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh (Telangana) require emigration clearance to immigrate to foreign countries as they are mainly unskilled workers (Azeez & Begum, 2009). There is high increase of migration from Uttar Pradesh in the recent years. In 2014, Uttar Pradesh rise to the position of primary sending state with 229,444 migrants, followed by Bihar with 98,721 persons and Andhra Pradesh with 91,635 persons (MOIA 2015). Pertinently, while long-held positions of Kerala and Tamil Nadu were replaced by Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, Andhra Pradesh continued to hold steady in third position at the national level (Kumar and Rajan 2014) followed by Bihar, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Punjab, West Bengal and Rajasthan.

2.6: Kerala migrants

Kerala, which has a long history with the Persian Gulf, has 1,426,740 Gulf Diaspora (Kerala Pravasi Census 2013), accounting for approximately 90 per cent of Kerala overseas population. In 1987, Kerala had 300,929 Gulf migrants (Government of Kerala, 1988), accounting for 91 per cent of Kerala's total emigrants. In the course of time, Gulf emigration became the economic back bone of Kerala society. In 2011, Kerala received 49,695 crore as Gulf remittances (Zachariah and Rajan, 2012). Out of the 70 million dollars remittances received by India in 2013, Rajan²¹ estimated that Kerala got around 75,000 crore foreign remittances from its overseas Kerala population in the year 2013, which is a fifth of the total 90 per cent of total remittances contributed by the Kerala overseas population.

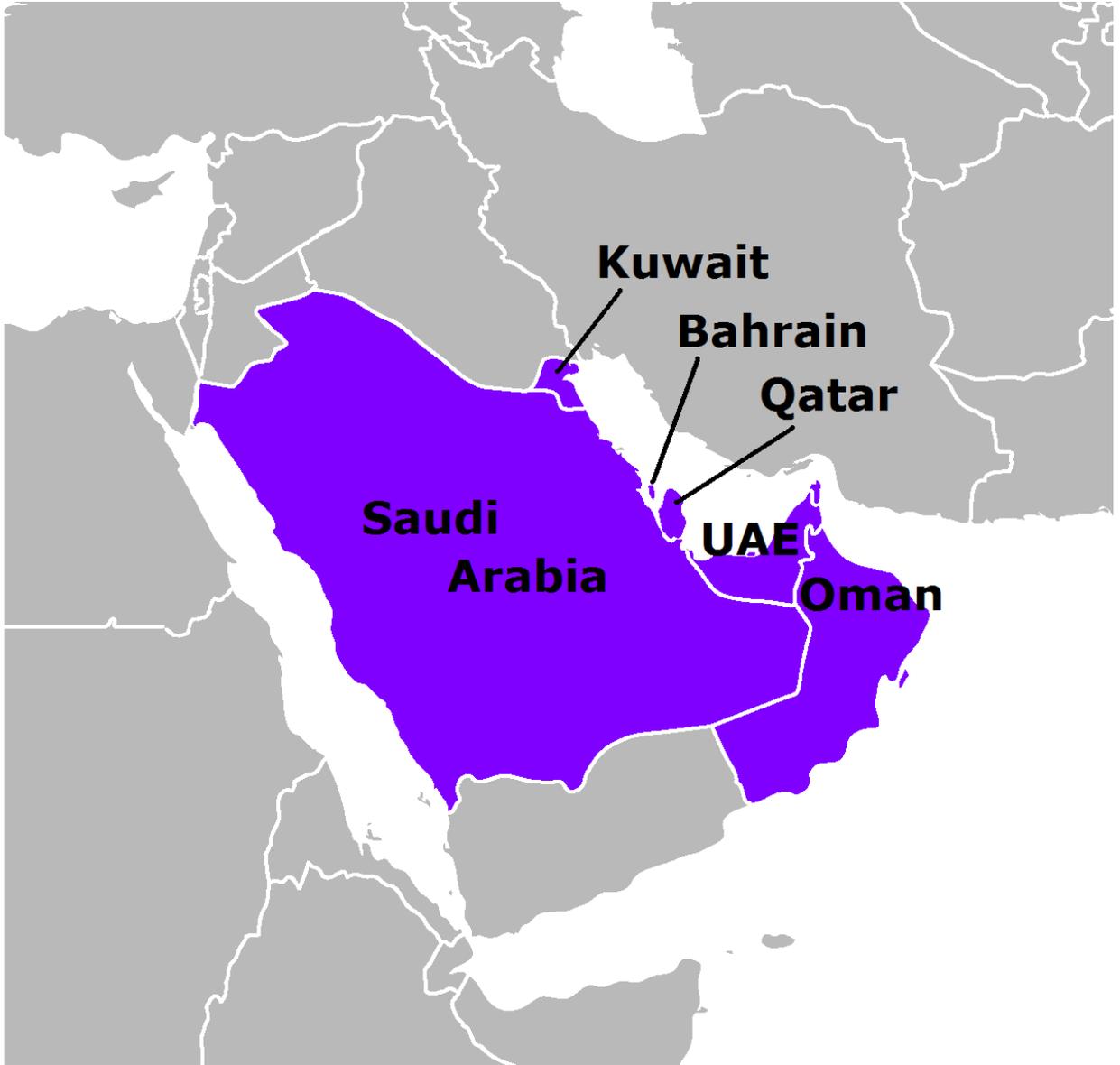
Migration to the Gulf in the early migration streams was seen as a positive outcome of Kerala Model Development by scholars who find that migration must have contributed to poverty alleviation more than any other factor including agrarian reforms, trade union activities and social welfare legislations (Zacharia, et al 2003). Similarly, Prakash (1998)

²⁰ Workers going abroad require Emigration check stamp before leaving India, this will be signed by protector of emigrants (ECR) as per Emigration act 1983. Emigration check required is exempted for educated and high skilled professionals and the holders' Diplomatic/official passport. All educated person can hold ECNR stamped passport.

²¹ <http://www.thehindubusinessline.com/news/national/a-fifth-of-remittances-to-india-will-be-from-keralites-in-Gulf/article5201272.ece>. Accessed 4th April 2015.

also opines that the Gulf migration had the greatest impact on the otherwise poor and industrially backward state of Kerala. Gulf emigration brought about both social and economic changes in Kerala society. It had brought changes in the lifestyle and consumption pattern of the Keralites. However, the negative outcomes of migration have also been noted – disparities in the flow of remittances across households, religious groups, *taluks* and districts; and migration of skilled youth, leading to scarcity of qualified workers in the state (Zachariah and Rajan, 2012). The spill over impact has also been noted by other studies. Prakash(1998) notes that the “Gulf remittances have also pushed up prices of land, construction material, consumer goods and charges on health, education and transport, adversely affecting non-migrant households belonging to poor, middle class and fixed income groups” (pp—3212). As Gulf emigration continued as chain migration, acquiring a job in the Gulf became the symbol of social status. Kurien (2002) talks about the state being in a strong consumerist orientation. She finds in her fieldwork that many migrant households’ access to foreign goods, once considered exotic and elitist, has become widespread and was deemed a necessity to maintain a basic status in society.

MAP 4: GCC



SOURCE: Wikipedia²².

²² Gulf Cooperation Council In Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gulf_Cooperation_Council#/media/File:Persian_Gulf_Arab_States_english. Accessed 28th January 2017.

2.7: Human Rights Violation Issues

As much as the marvel of the development and the opulence that has happened post the 1970s that has attracted the attention of other international observers, the countries of GCC have gained a lot of negative attention for the number of human rights violations issues against the migrant workers who are behind these light-speed development. Many reports from the media and the international labour and human rights organisations have highlighted the condition of the migrants living and working in the Gulf countries²³. The laws that govern the international migration system in GCC is extremely complex with inadequate redressal mechanisms. The flawed recruiting systems, the work conditions and inadequate redressal systems are some of the problems that plague millions of workers working as low-skilled labourers. In a fieldwork-based study on Indian male workers in UAE and Qatar, Rajan & Suresh finds that the major problem many workers report on are non-payment of wages, denial of overtime wages and gratuity as well as excess work (Rajan & Suresh, 2016). The working hours of those in the construction sector is also not as specified in the contract as they have to work for more than 8 hours. There is also a constant fear of losing their jobs or being imprisoned if they are in conflict with the employers.

The fact that the domestic workers who migrate to these countries for work face abuse and violation of their basic human rights is frequently covered by both national and international media. The Human Rights Watch reports (2014) that many domestic labours are abused and exploited by the employers who claim to have ‘bought’ these migrant women²⁴. In another report by Human Rights Watch (2016)²⁵ the domestic workers described abuses that amounted to forced labour or trafficking, including across Oman’s porous border with the United Arab Emirates (UAE). An Amnesty International report

²³ <https://www.ituc-csi.org/Gulf-countries-increase-migrant> . Accessed on 15th April 2017.

²⁴ <https://www.hrw.org/report/2014/10/22/i-already-bought-you/abuse-and-exploitation-female-migrant-domestic-workers-united>. Accessed on 15th April 2017.

²⁵ <https://www.hrw.org/report/2016/07/13/i-was-sold/abuse-and-exploitation-migrant-domestic-workers-oman>. Accessed on 15th April 2017.

(2014) also highlights the condition of the domestic workers. Some of the issues faced by these workers according to the report are²⁶

- Severe restrictions on freedom of movement and communication, including not being able to leave the house or make phone calls
- Verbal harassment and dehumanizing treatment; and
- Physical and sexual violence.

SECTION III

2.8: Return Migration

Migration of people across international borders has led to debates on how the movement of people out of their homes has an impact on the home society as well as the receiving societies. The substantial remittances sent by migrants are found to have supplemented the national income of the countries who send out migrants. Return migration in the migration scholarship has also garnered interest especially for the ‘contribution’ that the returnees can potentially give for the development of their homes of origin in the ‘brain gain-brain waste’ debates. Some scholars also talk about the readjustment/reintegration problems that the returnees face on their return.

2.9: Defining Return Migration

Gmelch (1980) defines return migration as “the movement of migrants back to their homeland to resettle” (pp—136). Many other related terms he says are used to describe return migration, namely reflux migration, homeward migration, remigration, return flow, second-time migration and repatriation. Return migration has also been defined as “the movement of people to places where they have lived before—often where they were born and raised” (Da Vanzo & Morrison, 1981: pp—81).According to OECD, returning

²⁶ <https://www.amnestyusa.org/reports/my-sleep-is-my-break-exploitation-of-migrant-domestic-workers-in-qatar/>. Accessed on 15th April 2017.

migrants are persons returning to their country of citizenship after having been international migrants (whether short-term or long-term) in another country and who intend to stay in their own country for at least a year. International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2004) has defined return migration as, “the act of going back from a country of presence (either transit or destination) to the country of previous transit, or origin.”

2.10: Data on Return Migration

In the earlier known literature on migration, Ravenstein (1885) comments in his *laws of migration* that with each main stream or current of migrants there runs a *counter-current*, which more or less compensates for the losses sustained by emigrants. However not much has been done to examine the movement because of very sparse data. According to King (1978) “many countries fail to record the returning migrants let alone note their characteristics” (pp—176). It is hard enough to capture the whole out migration of people across international borders, government or non-government organizations did not make it necessary to register returnees and maintain a database for research or any other purpose. This non-documentation of return migration made it difficult to capture the trends and volume of the phenomenon and comparability across countries or regions.

2.11: Motivation of Return

The reasons why people return to their place of origin can depend on various factors whether it is voluntary return migration or involuntary. “While the reasons for people returning vary widely, the objectives set at the time of migration can define the reasons why people return” (Arowolo, 2000 pp—63). The existing literature on return migration Gmelch (1980) noted that the return of migrants back to their country of origin was analysed based on their *intention* at the time of migration.

—“First are those returnees who intended temporary migration. The time of their return is determined by the objectives they set out to achieve at the time of emigration.

— Returnees who intended permanent migration but were forced to return. Their preference was to remain abroad but because of external factors they were required to return.

— Returnees who intended permanent migration but chose to return. Failure to adjust and/or homesickness led to their decision to return” (pp—137-38).

Return migration can, therefore, be a decision made out of their own volition and can also occur due to different circumstances that can force the migrants to return. However, typifying returnees solely basing on the ‘intention’ can be problematic because most migrants can migrate on a ‘trial basis’, and the decision for settling or return can dictated by the favourable or unfavourable situation of the host land (Gmelch 1980). Besides the individual’s *intention* to return or the circumstances that can make an individual to return, return also can be due to the immigration policies of a host land for example; in the case of Gulf countries the migrants are not allowed for permanent residency.

Drawing from his study of return migrants from the US to Italy, Cerase (1974; pp—253-258) categorizes the 4 typologies of returnees in his study basing on the expectation and reality of the migration process.

1. Return of Failure—All the migrants face different adaptation issues as they move to a new society due to the existing prejudices and the stereotypes and unsatisfactory jobs. Some find it difficult to adjust into this new cultural setting and fail to get launched in to the new society making them return before they are able to reap the benefits of migration. These group of migrants are called *return of failures*.

2. Return of Conservatism:—with the fixed intention of returning even before they migrated, these groups of migrants save money to buy land to be able to live satisfactorily in their places of origin. With that set as their goals they detach themselves and do not integrate themselves into new society. They also measure their earnings in terms of the standards of the society they left which they aim to eventually return. On return these types of returnees’ goal are not to bring any changing social values in the society they had left

before migrating, and remain detached to their society as well yet they preserve the current system of agriculture.

3. Return of retirement— after working for years in the host society, these types of returnees return with a hope to find security in the society they left behind in their old age. It is especially for those without offspring.

4. Return of innovation—these type of returnees return with a hope to bring about change in the home society they left. Their aim is to bring change and expect to be met with opposition in the home society yet “he envisage himself the ultimate winner of the struggle” (Cerase 1974). They are seen as a threat to the already established local power structure especially in rural societies where they are new to their concept of development.

His approach on return migration sees the returnees as subjects whose relationship with the already larger established system have an impact on the migrants’ migration, adaptation and return. While returnees under the return of failure category were unable to adjust to the social set up in a new country they return to their familiar setting. The returnees under the return of conservatism category do not aim to change the social set up but rather “help preserve it”, while the returnees under the return of retirement category hope to find security in the old familiar home of origin. The returnees under the return of innovator category are met with opposition to in the already established system and come out disillusioned (*ibid.*)

2.12: Return Migration and Social Readjustment

When migrants move to a new location, they carry with them, as Jayaram (1998) stated, “a socio-cultural baggage which among other things include a pre-defined social identity, a set of religious beliefs and practices, a framework of norms and values governing family and kinship, and food habits and language”. When a migrants return, his/her successful readjustment back into the home society is important to be able to contribute to the society and for the wellbeing of the returnee and dependents.

Readjustment is primarily the transition from the host culture back into one's home culture where the person "experience of previously familiar surrounding after living in a different culture for a significant period of time" (Adler 1981: pp—343). Moving from one social space to another can mean the renegotiating of their old beliefs and norms to assimilate into the culture unfamiliar, yet once familiar to them. On return to their once familiar structure does not always mean that they can ease back to the culture they had known or were socialized in. According to the Oxford dictionary of Sociology, those who have become partially, or fully, immersed in a new culture may suffer from return culture shock when re-entering their own society. The memories of what they knew might not be the same when they return. Therefore, the returnees often face 'reverse culture shock'. Martin(1984) opines that there is a similarity between individuals adjustment to the host land and readjustment to their home culture as it mean that both processes can mean "the loss of familiarity with the culture and thus both processes need culture learning and culture relearning". The differences between the two processes however he points, out can be seen in three ways;

— Firstly, people have different *expectations* when they go to a different culture as opposed to when they return to their home culture. Returnees do not expect to face problem since they are returning to their own culture. Therefore it comes as quite a shock to them when they do not find familiarity or when their expectation of their homeland and reality oppose each other.

— The second difference he talks about is the concept of *change*. When a sojourner moves abroad, the change in the environment is expected and experienced. On return, the sojourner not only struggles with the changed 'home' milieu but also struggles with the internal changes of values, attitudes and behaviour that have happened in themselves due to migration.

— The third difference is the *consciousness of the changes* that have occurred. It is only on return that the sojourner and people around feel the impact of the migration that has brought about internal changes that has influence on how the returnee feels about the challenge of re-entry(pp—123-24).

One cannot deny the fact that readjustment can also take place in the face of changes in the economy, society and environment of the home of origin. Szkudlarek (2010) says “that both the home environment and the returning individual have changed substantially during the period of intercultural sojourn”(pp—4). The idea of *home* that the migrant have may not be the same by the time a migrant returns to his place of origin; familiar people have move on to cities or local leadership have changed or even the landscape changes over time. Gmelch (1980) bring out two perspectives to answer the question of re-adaptation; the first concerns the economic and social conditions of the returnees— jobs and adequate housing, developed personal relationships, and participated in community organisations. The second concerns adjustment, which is analyzed as a form of personal adjustment affecting the migrants’ own perception of whether or not he/she thinks he/she has readjusted (pp—142). The returnees after finding the changes may feel like an alien when they reenter. It can also be psychologically taxing for them when they are not met with what they had expected to find. Perhaps they many re emigrate or stay and may negotiate the new ideas and form new relationships

2.13: Gender Differences in Return and Readjustment

Some scholars believe that readjustment patterns between the male and female genders can be different, in the sense that women and men face different degrees of readjustment anxieties and expectations. In a study of returnees’ readjustment processes in Barbados, Ireland and Newfoundland, Gmelch & Gmelch (1995) finds that “the gender differences can be accounted for by looking at the differential opportunities for women and men in the labour force, their feeling about being separated from grown children and their families, the returnees’ settlement pattern in home society, and the experiences they have in communities they return to” (pp—471). They found that the reasons why women face higher rate of dissatisfactions and readjustment problems on their return more than men were because of boredom caused by “forced retirement”, lack of friends or relatives close by as most women return not to their home communities but to that of their husbands, narrowing down the range of social activities when they return home. It was also found that more women than men face difficulties making friends as they find local people to be

narrow-minded, backward, provincial, and inflexible and preoccupied with others' lives. Similarly, Reynolds (2008) in his work on the second generation returnees in the Caribbean suggests that the gender-related cultural expectations and practices presented challenges for the women while they were trying to readjust on their return to their ancestral home. Found in my own study of returnee's readjustment issues for women returning to India, one respondent says

One of my biggest concerns about returning to India was that women have more of a secondary status here. In the US, my husband and I were more or less equal partners. We both held high-paying jobs in technology companies in the Silicon Valley, had cars and he helped equally around the house. We were part of the upper middle class there you could say. Over here, due to the ages of our children, I stayed home. He runs an engineering industry, so we are part of the upper class. We have many servants so he does not do any housework now. I miss the times we had in the US, because even while doing grocery shopping there, we spent time together as a couple. Here he is too busy. Also, it was automatically assumed that since I am the woman, I will stay home and look after the children – I am not complaining about this, I am very happy that I am lucky enough to witness my children growing up first-hand. But this situation would not have arisen in the US – since both of us were in salaried jobs, having three children there would have meant we both had to work and share child-rearing duties.²⁷

2.14: Return Migration in India

India has a huge population of migrants working all over the globe. The migrants consist not only skilled professionals from IT and health sectors but also less-skilled workers in GCC, Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong. Returnees are often given particular importance as they represent the inflow of both financial and human capital through their

²⁷ Kibami, G Vili (2009) *Social Readjustment Of Women Return Migrants In Hyderabad* (Unpublished, Mphil Dissertation), Submitted to University Of Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh.

new acquired skills and knowledge from working overseas to their country of origin (Wahba.J, 2007). However, not all returnees return with the expected success they wished at the time of migration.

Return of Skilled Professionals

“Return migration of the highly skilled is generally considered to create a ‘triple-win’ situation, benefitting the sending country, receiving country as well as individual migrants” (Wiesbrock 2008: pp-31). Scholars on migration studies have, however, put forward that India has experienced increased frequency of return migration and a growing role of diasporic Indians in its economy, especially in sectors such as IT and business process outsourcing (BPO) (Chanda and Sreenivasan 2006; Chacko, 2007). With the setting up of many companies and organizations that offer services at an international standard, there has been a growth of opportunities for the returnees to contribute to India through collaborative activities.

It is estimated that between 30–40 per cent of the Indian IT expats who return take up work mostly in the offshore IT services markets (Chanda & Srinivasan, 2006). In the recent years, India has become a competitive global destination for investment and business ventures. With global companies opening their branches in the IT hubs like Bangalore and Hyderabad, those skilled professionals who planned their migration to be permanent are returning to take part in the upturn of opportunities back in their country of origin. In a research done by Chacko (2007) on the returnees from US to Hyderabad and Bangalore, she found out that “the motivations to return were driven by career prospects in India, prospects of advancement and making a difference, a desire to return to their roots, hope for a lifestyle that allowed more time with family and salaries that were commensurate with those in the US in terms of purchasing power” (pp—135).

The return of healthcare professionals have also been increasing even though it is not as high as the return migration from IT sectors. Sahoo (2005) finds that the motivations for many doctors to return, besides family and cultural reasons, are improved professional culture, social service and availability of new technology that helps in their work.

Commenting on the return of healthcare professionals to Hyderabad, Sahoo(2005) says that the contribution of the healthcare professionals has been instrumental in the establishment of several small and corporate hospitals in different cities in AP/Telangana, notably Apollo Hospitals, Medwin Hospitals, CDR Hospitals, Kaminini Hospitals, Yeshoda Hospitals and Vijaya Diagnostic Centres.

Return of Unskilled Workers

Even though there are unskilled workers in other migration streams from India, Gulf has the majority of the share. The motivation of Gulf migration stream is primarily for economic reasons. Unlike the migration of skilled professionals to countries like US, UK and Canada, the Gulf migrants do not have the option to settle down permanently. However, their economic contribution to India is prominent. These unskilled workers migrate to work as construction workers, domestic maids, drivers, agricultural labourers etc. The migration policies of the host country is restrictive and the workers face many complications compared to those going to developed countries in the west. As mentioned already, migration to the Gulf is bound by specific contractual rules, which the migrant workers are expected to follow. The workers are governed by the *kafala*/sponsorship system. *Kafala* is a system that regulates residency and employment of the workers in the GCC countries. It is the *kafils*' responsibility to pay for recruiting the worker to the GCC country. After the arrival of the worker, he is again required to assume full economic and legal responsibility and the workers' visa status is tied to the sponsor with a minimum contract period of two years. It is only through these *kafils* that the workers can enter a GCC country for employment.

In the migration scholarship, return migration is generally referred to that type of migration which is intended to be permanent. However, there are a large proportion of the recent migration categories that is temporary in nature due to the migration policies of the host land – migration in this context is therefore temporary and so is the return, as in the case of the Gulf. Return migration there is not used in the conventional. Many migrants migrate and remigrate numerous times in order to fulfil their economic goals. And within this

movement, there are many who can be categorized as ‘success’ or ‘failure’ migrants. There are different types of returnees within the temporary migration context

- i. *Those who return due to the end of their contract:* The workers in this category return after the fulfillment of their work contract in the country. They, however, have the option to re-migrate when they get job openings or renew their work visa.
- ii. *Those who were repatriated:* These type of migrants are forced to return due to their illegal status in the country as they do not have proper work documentation. They are repatriated before they could attain their economic goals.
- iii. *Those who return voluntarily:* In these cases, similar to Cerase’s (1974) typology of returnees, also called the *return of failure*, this group of people return as they are unable to cope with the work culture and prejudices and stereotypes in the new society.

The returnees in the first category mentioned above, i.e. *those who return at the end of the contract* generally return and remigrate by renewing their visa if they find new job openings. The workers need not go to the same employer or company. Many choose to remigrate and work in similar jobs they have worked previously. They remigrate repeatedly if they have to attain their economic goals.

For the second type of returnees, they are forced to return because of their illegal status in the country. The reasons for repatriation can be varied but is mostly related to their legal/illegal status tied to their valid/invalid work permit. Many workers are repatriated when they do not have proper work documentation with them. This group of migrants has become a challenge faced by both the sending and receiving countries and on the migrants as well. Some identified reasons for illegal status according to GLMM (2014) are:

- i. *Overstaying a valid residence permit or a visit visa:* This involves the migrants staying in the country for more than what is allowed for a specific type of visa – even when the visa is a valid residence visa, if the migrant stay after the expiry of the visa, he/she is repatriated.

- ii. *Absconding*: This generally occurs due to the *Kafala* producing irregularity through visa trading or due to a case of a conflict with the employer, and the inability to transfer easily to another employer.
- iii. *Trafficking*: There are also fraudulent circumstances including misstatement about the prospective occupation. Smuggled entrants remain in the country as irregular migrants, often participating in the informal sector in marginal occupations.
- iv. *Runaway*: Many workers especially domestic workers run away from their employers due to mistreatment and find shelter in their embassies, leaving behind their documents.

The third types of returnees are those who are unable to adjust to the work culture or who face abuses and mistreatment. “What remains of their experience in the new society is a sense of suffering, fear, and abandonment, mixed with the memory of "marvels", incomprehensible "great things", seen through amazed eyes” (Cerese, 1974: pp–249).

The rehabilitation of returnees is another major challenge faced by the Government of Kerala, including other states. The inevitability of return for the Gulf migrants at the expiry of the contract poses a serious challenge to the migrant-sending states to absorb them into the domestic labour market. Since there are also a large number of migrants who return due to recession and compulsory repatriation due to their illegal status in the country, on return to the state, the returnees are not willing to work in the low-end jobs which pay less than their jobs abroad, compelling them to start their own businesses (Prakash, 1998).

CHAPTER 3

WOMEN IN MIGRATION

SECTION I

3.1: Introduction:

Historically, women have been part of the migration process. However, their presence is often ignored due to the assumption that migration is driven by economic factors undertaken by men. This assumption, however, is not based on statistical evidence, and hence, is negated by studies (Morokvasic 1984, Zlotnik 2003), confirming that birds of passage are also women (Morokvasic 1984). Women have been part of the migration process historically and continue to increase in both the developed and the developing countries (Zlotnik, 2003). What is significant today, however, is the magnitude and complexity of the movement, diversification of migration of women in terms of origin, destination, distance and skill (Hugo, 2006). The literature representing women migrant has changed over the years, and the renewed interest in migrant women is closely linked to the establishment of Women's Studies from the 1980s onward in the West (Lutz, 2010).

3.2: Feminization of Migration

The early 1980s saw a consistent, continuous and increasing trend in the international migration of women. Castles & Miller (1998) sees this trend and shift in the gender ratios and period of feminisation of migrants flow as being characteristic of 'new age of migration'. However, some studies suggest that feminization has been occurring even before the 1980s (Gabaccia & Donato 2016, Zlotnik 2003, Morokvasic 1984). Women in fact have been part of the migration even though the numbers keep fluctuating over the centuries (Gabaccia & Donato (2016). Zlotnik (2003) says that despite the claim that feminization is a recent phenomenon and represent the 'new age of migration' (Castel and Miller, 1998), the 'feminization of migration' which is defined as an increase in the number of movement of international migrant women, the percentage of migration of women was

already at 49 percent in the 1960's. Gabaccia & Donato (2016) goes further to illustrate that women constituted 20–40 percent during 1840–1924 and during this time span, in 1874 and 1875 they represented about half of the outflows. These conflicting views on the feminization of migration could be the result of various reasons.

Lutz (2010) suggests the reasons why women have remained invisible in the migration data. In her description, she notes that the reasons why there has been little interest to investigate Ravenstein's statement by a comparative analysis of various data on the migration propensity of women and men and why the focus on 'men' was considered 'natural'. She also borrows from feminist researchers who have suggested that the gender bias was a product of the absence of female researchers in the field of theory-making. Quoting Jørgen Carling (2005), she says that another possible reason could be that in studies of mass migration, 'Women were not considered because they were seen as following men or *behaving like men*', thereby proposing that the gendered rule as such need not be revised as long as female migratory activity is considered a habitual aberration. These reasons could help in the theoretical understanding of feminization of migration, and its trends and perspectives (: pp,1648—49).

Morokvasic (1984) in the first *International Migration Review* 1984 says that the stress should be on how little impact the present literature has on the migration policies. Since then a plethora of studies on women migration has emerged. Looking at the migration literatures today, it is evident that the interest on the topic of feminization of migration roused as Yamaka and Piper suggests that it is with rapid industrialization, requirement and recruitment of large inexpensive flexible labour forces that migration emerged as a policy concern of many labour as well as host countries and the government began to legislate, formalize and collect statistics about migration (Yamaka and Piper, 2005).

According to a 2015 UN report on international migration, women comprise slightly less than half of all international migrants worldwide, showing a slight decline of the proportion of women from 49 per cent in 2000 to 48 per cent in 2015 (UN ,2015). The developing countries of Asia have not lagged far behind, with some countries in Asia having more

female migrants than male migrant. The Caribbean and Latin America are also showing an increasing number of female migrants.

3:3: Capturing the Magnitude

The above points, however, do not capture the whole migration scenario today because a few categories escape the statistical record and the data were of migrants migrating legally despite the significant number of illegal migrants crossing international borders. In the Gulf countries, which have a large population of temporary migrant workers, illegal migrants constitute a huge proportion. Data discrepancies and inadequacies make the enumeration of migrants to different countries either as workers or as dependents difficult. One of the reasons could be because the emigration policies of most countries being restrictive and prohibitive, has led to many migrants opting unscrupulous means to travel for work.

Another reason is that the emigration policies of most countries being restrictive and prohibitive, has led to many migrants opting unscrupulous means to travel for work. While the migration of women to the developed countries showed a higher rate of skilled workers and with the admission of family reunification and higher educational qualification women had better opportunities for employment (Zlotnik 2003), in the developing countries in Asia, the migration is directed mostly towards GCC countries and other Asian countries where there is a demand of temporary workers mostly at the lower end of the spectrum in services sector as nurses, teachers and domestic workers. Another reason Iradale (2005) suggests is that migration data may also be lacking and inadequate as many women who are skilled may not be counted simply because they were not working at the time of migration and instead categorised as ‘not in labour force’ or ‘home duties’. Thus, a vast majority of women migrants are not captured in a national database, making it impossible to capture the whole migration scenario.

3.4: Differential Migration Experiences of Men and Women

Women have been perceived to be associational migrants which according to Lee (1966), ‘children are carried along by their parents Willy nilly and wives accompany their

husbands though it tears them away from the environment they love' (pp—31). The recognition of women as unattached, autonomous migrants in the migration literature has brought about a change in the direction of the perspectives on migration studies (Morovasik, 1984; Lutz 2010; Todaro &Thadani, 1979). Looking at migration through the gender perspective gives a picture of the differences in the decision-making power to migrate and also return, different channels of migration, the problems adjusting to new society, problems at workplace and also of how they remit money back to their home of origin. The international labour recruiting trends, the culture and practices of the receiving countries and the gendered practices of the sending countries have an impact on the culture of migration and the type of flow of migrants. The continued literature on brain waste according to Raghuram (2000) is not gender neutral debate, but that women are not capable of finding access to jobs in the labour market that are commensurate with their skills. She also recognizes the conceptual legacies of feminist contribution to migration research, which firstly highlights the presence of women in migration stream, identifies the differences in gender migration experience and emphasizes the agency of the women. According to scholars in migration studies, the differential experiences in the migration experience is due to the patriarchal and stereotypical image of women and also due to the women's limitations to the access of resources and information (Pessar, 2001). In most societies, women are seen as care-givers and dependent on the male members of the family and in need of male protection. For instance, women in Nepal cannot get a passport on their own account but they need male guardians with them to be able to attain it (Adhikari, 2006). Oishi (2005) found that the countries where women tend to have higher autonomy and decision-making power within their household are the major sending countries e.g., Philippines and Sri Lanka.

3.5: Factors for Female Migration

Women migrate with the same ambitions as men – with the hope of better life opportunities. The financial outcome of migrating across international borders to work can have an impact on migrants and the dependents back in the home of origin. However, migration does not always entail economic considerations. Women may migrate as 'associational migrants' or to escape oppressive social relations, while some are victims of

trafficking. Generally, women migrants migrate as *associational migrants*, which refers to those women who migrate with their families – either spouse or parent; and ‘unattached’, which refers to (those women who migrate independently) (Todaro & Thadani, 1979). There are also other groups of female migrants who are trafficked or are refugees. There are growing numbers of students who move to other countries to get education and sometimes stay as they get employment opportunities or get married and settle down in some cases. Looking at the motivational aspect of migration, it cannot be assumed as the sole driving force for an individual to migrate. The factors leading to migration as found by studies show that they could be overlapping, and hence, cannot be categorized as such. For instance, Kabeer (2007) opines that while women may initially migrate as spouse of the male migration, this move can be a strategy for economic reasons as well and can be motivated by livelihood considerations where family reunification may be a precursor to entry of women into the labour force or to a shift in their livelihood (Kabeer 2007; pp—3). Similarly, Todaro & Thadani(1979) talking about rural-urban migration says that even in case of those categorized as associational migrants, their migration might be induced by the expectation of urban employment and/or by dislocation of their traditional employment. Oishi illustrates the “ideal types” – adventurous women, dutiful daughter, good mothers and wives, distressed women, destitute women – based on the motivations for migration in which the migrant women in her studies fits (2005: pp—113). She also recognizes that most of them could fit multiple categories because individuals’ motivation are so complex (*ibid*).

Push Factors for Female Migration

While migration of women across international borders has led to a large number of studies on the phenomenon, the motivations for migration is varied. Economic consideration is the primary reason for migration due to conditions prevailing at the home of origin. But it is not only for the luxury of “financial” income that the individual and the dependents can enjoy that motivates the move. The factors which are not directly economic can motivate the women to cross international borders in search of gainful employment. For instance, my present fieldwork conducted in Andhra Pradesh suggested that social prestige that

comes along with the financial gain through migration, motivate women to migrate to Gulf countries as social practices like dowry and other life cycle ceremonies like birth, “mature function”, death etc. can cause a financial burden on the family.

Migrating to another country for work is an option chosen by many women because of the social constraints that hinder women from getting gainful employment at home. Studies show that in some Muslim societies women are discouraged to work outside their homes as it goes against the religious practices; and thus, may induce some women to migrate even though the men are unrelated (Fernandez 2011). Migration may also be a practical response to a failed marriage and the need to provide for children without male help (Ehrienrich & Hochschild, 2003). Male unemployment as found by Gamburd (2002) induced migration among the Sri Lankan women migrating to the Gulf. In the case of the unmarried Ethiopian female domestic workers to the Gulf, Fernandez (2011) found that women are culturally expected to provide for the natal families, and given the limited employment at home, choose to migrate. She says that employment of one member abroad could be considered part of a household livelihood diversification strategy essential for survival and a buffer against varied multiple crises such as rising food prices, drought and unemployment in Ethiopia(*ibid*).

Pull Factors for Female Migration

The labour market demand for cheap labour force in the developed countries for types of work usually not opted by the local population are filled in by the migrants from the developing countries. As important as the factors that ‘push’ the migrants to move, the pull factors play an active role in the large migration of a population. As in the case of migrants moving for economic considerations, Khadria (2008) says economic migrants are not always pushed by the opportunity-deficient home economies; many times they are pulled by the receiving countries to avert the negative impact of labour or skill shortages arising due to reasons such as demographic imbalance or massive expansion of economic activities (Khadria et al 2008). The migration of women today consist of various job profiles including managerial jobs in leading companies and many social fields. Moreover the global market demand of women for ‘caring work’ jobs is very significant performing

either in private homes or in institutional settings such as hospices, childcare centres and nursing homes as nurses and housemaids which will be discussed in the later paragraphs.

SECTION II

3.6: Migration of Women from Asia

The persistent interest in the migration scholarship towards women migrants is the belief that all migrants should reap the benefit of migration. At the same time there has been an increasing policy concern and human rights issues related to women migrants. This is mostly because women are employed in jobs that pose threat to their human rights.

While it is true that feminization of migration is not a new development (Gabaccia & Donato 2016), the significance today is the magnitude and diversification of migration of women in terms of origin, destination, distance and skill (Hugo, 2006), which is true especially in case of Asian countries. There has been a rapid growth in the number of migrants from the Asian region. The stock of female migrants increased by 40% from 22 million in 2000 to 32 million in 2015 (UN 2015). Of the many types of migratory movements in the Asian region, the movement of less-skilled and highly-skilled categories has been the norm and has been the subject of sustained social scientific enquiry since the 1970s (Piper & Asis 2008). When it comes to women migrants in particular, migration of women who are less skilled have garnered much more attention, especially those moving to other Asian countries, specifically middle east, post the oil boom. However, they also move to other countries like Hong Kong and Malaysia. Asian countries like Philippines, Indonesia and Sri Lanka have become the major sending countries of women migrants. The demographic profile of the migrants, trends and patterns as well as the social consequences of migration differ from each other. A brief discussion of major sending countries of women migrants from the Asian region is given below:

Philippines:

Philippines has a large number of migrant women going overseas for work. Oishi (2005) explains that the *social legitimacy* that already exist in the Filipino society where female migration occurs at a very early age can explain the women's mobility among the Filipino society compared to other countries like Bangladesh and Pakistan where girls are kept at home and strictly protected by male guardians until marriage. She shows that Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) were high school and college grads, aged between 25–35 and also had broad work experience (*ibid*). The Filipinos are more in demand even if they were not well educated because on average they speak and understand English better than Sri Lankans, Indians, Indonesians, and Thais.

Moreover the *culture of migration* that is present in the Philippines has also been influenced by the state policy towards migration as the government recognizes the importance of the migrants' remittances on the national economy. The migrants are deemed as 'national heroes'. The migration is facilitated by the government, which regulates the operations of the recruitment agencies and also protects the rights of its migrant workers (Asis, 2006). Other government initiatives like pre-departure orientation seminars and deployment of labour attaches and welfare officers to countries having large OFW population that are good practices that other countries of origin have also implemented(*ibid*).

Indonesia:

With a majority of Muslim population, Indonesia presents a very contrasting picture with the official labour migration being mostly towards the Middle East especially to Saudi Arabia. It is also highly feminized and the larger unofficial labour migration is towards Malaysia and is heavily male (Piper & Asis and 2008). In 2014, approximately 430,000 Indonesian workers entered the overseas labour market, with nearly one-third of it as domestic workers and another 11 percent as caregivers. Indonesia has one of the largest women migrants working in the Middle East. However the notoriety of unofficial labour migrants has been known, as most of the migrants were overstaying their pilgrimage visa

²⁸. Like the Philippines, the Indonesian government also supports the migration of the workers.

The South Asian countries, consisting of the six nations classified based on geographical region for statistical convenience (UN), namely India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Afghanistan, Bhutan, also known as the SAARC countries. The countries in this region are both sending and receiving countries. It is interesting that some of the world's largest stock of women migrants come from this region.

Sri Lanka:

Among the South Asian countries, Sri Lanka has a largest number of its population working outside the country. The country is also heavily reliant on the remittances the migrants send home. The women migrants from Sri Lanka are mostly concentrated in the domestic work sector, with a majority of them going to the Gulf countries. The main destination of these migrants is Middle East, but there is also a growing number of migration towards Malaysia and Singapore. The SLBFE, which is currently under the purview of the Ministry of Foreign Employment is the sole authority in Sri Lanka that is responsible for governance and regulation of the foreign employment industry, protection and welfare of migrant workers and their family members, and promotion of employment opportunities for Sri Lankans outside Sri Lanka. ²⁹Prior to migration, the migrants are required to register with SLBFE. The migrants are also required to undergo pre-departure training for 12 days for Middle-East countries and for 21 days for other countries. According to the SLBFE, the migration of women remained steady from 1995 to 2015; however, it decreased to 34 % out of which 81% were recruited as housemaids (SLBFE, 2015). The women migrants are required to be more than 23 years of age and their children should be at least 6 years old for the mothers to be able to migrate.

²⁸ <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/indonesias-labour-looks-abroad>

²⁹ <http://www.slbfe.lk/page.php?LID=1&MID=22>

SECTION III

3.7: Migration of Women from the Indian Sub-Continent

The migration of women from the Indian sub-continent has a long history. There is very few documentation of the movement; however, the few literature that exist shows the evidence of women as being a part of the movement. The migration of women from India changed in its pattern and direction and each period had its distinctive characteristics.

Migration during the Colonial Period

The colonial period saw the migration contract labourers, also called the indentured labourers, hired by the Britishers to work in rubber and sugar plantations from the 1880s till the end of indentured labour emigration in 1916. The main labour recruiting regions were from the indo -Gangetic plains of India. The people recruited were a ‘fragmented mass of humanity’ on the move (Lal, 1998 pp—220). The migrants came from all the sections of the society due to the economic and political conditions that prevailed during that period of time. Women too were part of this mass emigration though their number were lesser. They played a significant role as time went by in the *reconstitution* of the overseas Indian society and played a significant role in transmitting traditional culture and tradition-based ‘sanctions’ in the treacherous setting of the indenture.(*ibid*). They were, however, mostly misrepresented in the official records and not taken into importance until years later when researchers (Lal,1998, Reddock,1986) proved otherwise.

Reddock (1986) argue that women migrated not only with their families under the power and influence of the male members and relatives but also travelled as independent individual women. The women were recruited mainly from the markets, railway stations and bazaars. Many of these women were those who have ran away from home – especially prostitutes, young widows and other women – in order to escape poverty, patriarchal rules and social evils prevalent at that time. Reddock (1986) found that,

“Of the two-thirds who were not wives of migrating husbands the majority as mentioned earlier were widows. In India then as now, in many cases the position of widows was particularly abhorrent. In particular, Brahmin widows and those of other twice-born castes who in spite of certain possible escapes suffered, the stigma

of impurity, were forbidden to remarry and were forced to live miserable lives in the homes of their in-laws. In particular the case of child widows was ...as a result of this Brahmin widows comprised a large proportion of those migrating. The remaining number usually comprised women who had left their husbands or been deserted by them for whom prostitution or destitution was the only remaining alternative in India. A smaller number included unmarried women who were pregnant or already practicing prostitutes seeking a new life.” (pp—30-31).

The Problem with Numbers

The gender composition of indentured labour migration was always disproportionate and had huge numerical disparity. The recruitment of women in the plantations changed over the due course of indentured labour migration and recruited in relation to the need and the exigencies of the recruiting situation which were mediated through the policies of the recruiting authority of the colonial rulers (Reddock 1986, : pp—28). With the planter’s preference for able-bodied men over women who were viewed as a *financial liability*, women were recruited in very less numbers.

The ratio of female to male immigrants always lagged well behind the recommended ratio of 2:5 set by the immigration ordinances throughout the migration period (Poynting 1986, pp—133). For instance, in Guyana the sex ratio in 1857 was 35 to a 100 men which progressively rose to 50:100 by 1860 (Rayaprol, 1997: pp—22). Although repeated requests were made to colonial immigration agents for more women, the disparity of female indentured labourers remained throughout the indenture period. This disparity and the inability to reach the recommended quotas was because there were no ‘better class women’ who were willing to migrate and moreover there was an assumption that even if recruited they would not be suited for estates which demanded hard labour (Reddock, 1986 : pp—29). This meant that there was a negation as the Indian male desired for a docile, secluded and controllable women as befitted their aspiration for ‘*higher caste status*’ while with the planters need for women as labourers(*ibid*, : pp—30).

As a result, the disproportion of the sexes created social problems for men and women on the estates. The migration of the labourers to the plantations as indentured labourers and

as a replacement for slaves yet was no less traumatic and back breaking, which Tinker(1974) calls as ‘ *a new system of slavery*’. Under this system, women immigrants while escaping the treacherous condition at home landed in similar or even worse conditions than they were before. Women were constantly exposed to planters’ tyranny and neglect. Planters abused their position of authority and engaged in sexual relationships with Indian women, and in most cases, other men’s (Indian labourers) wives causing tension. The experience of women in the plantation in this period of migration according to Poynting, therefore, was one of multiple oppression: as indentured workers in a system of quasi-servitude, as Indians whose culture was despised as barbaric and heathened by other sections of the population, and as women who suffered from the sexual depredation of the white overseer class and were restricted within the ‘Indian’ family structure (1986, : pp—133). The resultant effect of disproportionate sex ratio also led to child marriages and discriminatory treatment of young married women in educational spheres as well as other benefits (Rayaprol 1997 pp—22). Gynecological problems while on the plantation were also common because of the lack of facilities for pregnancy and childbirth, the mistreatment of pregnant women and the heavy workload for long hours even during their pregnancy (Lal 1998).

However, despite the odds against them, women were able to survive with a semblance of independence as they became wage earners themselves. As women emerged from indenture as productive workers in their own right they enjoyed to an extent while negotiating a measure of independence perhaps unimaginable back home. They also received the status as *preservers* of Indian domestic culture, which was initially the principal means to maintain their Indian identity. Through the transmission and practice of folk religion and traditions (Lal, 1998: pp—232) the women played a crucial role in maintaining and creating their own cultural space in the new communities.

Women Migration in Post-Independence Period

Migration pattern in the post-independence India changed direction. People were moving to more developed countries for better opportunities. Women during this time migrated in an increasing number to different countries like never before. They have become a part of

the transnational migrants moving from one country to another like the male migrants. The different categories under which they have migrated are discussed below

Skilled Women Migrants

Although the domination of men as skilled migrants is undisputed, women have also found their place as skilled migrants in various capacities. Purkayastha(2005) opines that despite the vast literature on ‘skilled migrants’ they tend to focus mostly on the highly skilled male migrants and the institutional contexts within which they migrate and rarely on the highly skilled spouse, who has to put her career on a slower track temporarily and migrate as the “dependent wife”. Attitudes to their employment and careers and family and societal values about the status of women all affect their position in society and their ability to migrate. It is in this one area where she finds that women’s experiences remain invisible. Women engage in diverse professions – as doctors, scientists, designers, etc. – that require specialized skills.

It is hard to assess the number of skilled women migrants because most countries do not have exit controls or emigration clearance of all categories of migrants (Iradale, 2005). Also there is a shortage of sex-differentiated data on skilled migration (Raghuram, 2000), making it impossible to ascertain the volume of migration of skilled women migrants. A majority of skilled women migrants have globally tended to go into what can be broadly classified as the welfare and social professions (education, health, social work), which are traditionally “female jobs” (Piper,2005). It is very much evident in the substantial number of skilled women migrants in the health sector such as the nursing profession. The occupation mostly dominated by women is nursing as there is a demand for English speaking nurses in the developed countries, especially in the US, UK, Ireland and the Persian Gulf. Khadria (2007) in his study on the migration of nurses from India found that there is a huge demand for educated and trained Indian nurses in foreign countries. There are many ‘recruitment hubs’ that have come up in various geographical areas of the country and some of the best hospitals are facilitating the migration of nurses to different destinations of the world.

In family migration, scholars (Purkhayastha, 2003; Iradale 2005) discuss how female migrants are more likely to move as ‘wives’ rather than as highly skilled women. In skilled migration streams, women tend to be unemployed at the time of migration and move as a part of family migration even if they were skilled workers before migrating. For instance, many women in India leave their jobs in order to follow their husband after marriage to another country where the husband is employed. It is found that for many women, after migrating as a part of family they face the problem of not finding jobs which corresponds to their qualification (Canadian Business Resource Centre *cited* in Iradale, 2005). Moreover the existing gendered inequalities in the entry to the employment market and the possibilities for advancement career wise in sending countries also influence the decision to migrate (Hawthorne, 1997). There is a gendered-based inequality in access to education, which opens up space that is very narrow and women and men have different and unequal access to jobs, promotions, and wages to human capital development. Thus, women face career blocks in ways men do not (Raghuram 2000).

3.8: Migration of Nurses and Housemaids

Ehrenriech &Hochschild (2003) opines that the ‘care deficit’ that has been emerging in the wealthier countries as women enter workforce, is the reason that pulls the migrants to rich countries while the poverty at the home of origin pushes the migrants. As in the case of nurses, the United Nations World Health Organization (WHO) in 2013, reported the serious consequences due to the shortage of healthcare workers globally, which is projected to grow to 12.9 million by 2035 from the current deficit of 7.2 million³⁰.

Migration of Nurses

International migration of nurses has been triggered by the shortage in many developed countries like US, UK and Canada. This migration of nurse according to Percot and Nair (2011) is treated as part of feminization of migration and known as the care sector. Many nurses from the developing countries move to developed countries who offer better pay

³⁰ <https://news.un.org/en/story/2013/11/455122-global-shortage-health-workers-expected-keep-growing-un-agency-warns>. Accessed 23rd February 2018.

packages and working conditions. The aging population of the western countries is a contributing factor for the surge in the demand of nurses. This has led to shortages in the source countries and compromise in the quality of healthcare system due to understaffed health services as well as the problem of cost of recruitment and retention to replace those who have migrated to other countries (Buchan, 2006). The main source countries are mainly Philippines, South Africa, Australia and India with countries like Philippines supported by the government for the training and export of nurses mainly due to the remittances they bring into the country.

In the case of India, not only do the nurses migrate to US and UK, many migrate to Gulf countries for employment. The majority of the nurse come from the state of Kerala and hail from typically rural lower middle class homes and the majority of the migrants are Christians (Percot and Nair, 2011). Khadria (2007) describing the international recruitment of Indian nurses said that the renowned Indian hospitals actively recruit and train for foreign exams. These recruitment hubs are located in New Delhi, Bangalore and Kochi. Out of the 5000 nursing students graduating every year in Kerala, it was reported that a staggering 3500 find placement looking for better opportunities in developed countries including the Gulf countries³¹. According to Percot and Nair (2011), migration occurs in phases as the nurses migrate to Indian cities then moving to Gulf countries and eventually to the developed countries in the west. They found that there is a new respect for the profession which was historically stigmatized as it involved bodily contact with the patients which caused the fear of impurity.

The problem faced by India like other source countries of nursing profession is the need to produce enough nurse so as to compete with other countries to supply and at the same time meeting the healthcare needs of the country (Khadria, 2007). If this trend of recruiting excessively for export continues, Khadria opines that the country might be in serious threat of depletion of most qualified nurses hindering the quality of healthcare in India.

Migration of House Maids/ Domestic Workers

³¹ <http://www.thehindu.com/society/green-green-grass-of-other-places/article19777732.ece>. Accessed 23rd February 2018.

Another profession that has its large source of origin in the developing Asian countries like Philippines, Indonesia, India and Sri Lanka are the housemaids or domestic workers. The ILO (International Labour Organization) estimates that there are 67.1 million domestic workers globally, out of which 11.5 million international migrants, which is 17.2 per cent of all domestic workers and 7.7 per cent of all migrant workers globally. Like nursing profession, domestic work is also categorized as care sector and is dominated by female workers. The majority (73.4 percent) of the migrant domestic workers worldwide are women which is around 8.5 million. Unlike nursing profession which needs a minimum college degree and proficiency in English language, housemaids do not need such qualifications though it is preferred by the employers to have an English speaking housemaid.

Sassen (1991) opines that with the skyrocketing demand for highly paid professionals in the developed countries, more and more women have joined the workforce taking up their time and making it impossible to handle household tasks. This has led to growth of 'professional household without a wife' as they relocate the domestic task to hired workers to take care of the household and children as nannies in their stead which is fulfilled by migrant women. The migrant women leave their children in the care of other female relatives (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2003) to work for the rich in the global cities. This large majority of the stock of migrants originating from Asian countries and has called in for several policy challenges and debates in the migration literature today, especially because of the demographic profile and the issue and consequences on the homes of origin.

With the demand for workers who do not have educational qualification or training in the developed countries, especially for help around the household, the developing countries in South Asia have taken advantage of the opening in the market in this sector. Sri Lanka, India and Bangladesh and Nepal are among the countries in the Asian region sending a large number of workers, particularly as domestic workers. The direction of the flow of these category of workers is mostly towards the booming economies in West Asia and East Asia where the income level and standards of living have improved and hiring domestic service has become a symbol of high status in and added convenience (Gulati 1997).

Domestic workers constitute a large proportion of today's migrant workers population. It is here that more women are concentrated as men tend to take up jobs that demand hard physical labour in the factories and construction sectors. Domestic work becomes an extension of the work that women usually do at home as it does not require specific skills. Their work may include cleaning, washing, cooking, taking care of the children and sometimes elderly. Women with low education and less hope of getting employed at home take this as an opportunity to earn for the family, many times becoming the sole or main bread earner for the family back in the home of origin. According to Gulati(1997), while no firm estimates are available on the presence of Indian women workers in West Asia, the informal estimate is that their number could be well in excess of 50,000, and perhaps, closer to 100,000 if not as large as 200,000. Sri Lankan migrants had more women than men migrants with 52 percent share in 2009.

The workers in this category are the most vulnerable and have given rise to policy concerns and human right issues of migrant workers as already mentioned earlier. They are more vulnerable as they go into private homes and situations, where there is greater isolation and likelihood of establishing networks of information and social support is impossible, compared to unskilled men migrants who commonly work in groups on construction sites or plantation sites (Lin & Oishi 2010). Recognizing these vulnerabilities, the UN under its specialized agency ILO has set standards for the international community to ensure decent work for the domestic workers. This section will be elaborated further in chapter 4.

Moreover, the women also face the problem of being looked down upon based on the location she migrates to. While the migrants to Japan, Singapore, Korea, Hong Kong, the UK and the US are highly respected even if the category of work remains the same, migrating to the Gulf are looked down upon (Adhikari 2006). They face the risk of getting stigmatized on their return from the Gulf. Nevertheless, despite these issues women migrate to improve the economic status of their families, especially to build a permanent home, educate their children better and overcome economic difficulties such as constant state of indebtedness (Kottegoda 2006).

Besides the human rights issues, the women migrants also face ‘de-skilling and erosion’ as women from the developing countries take up jobs lower than their qualification and they understate their qualifications in order to land jobs. In Kerala, it was found that female migrants are better qualified than male migrants, but a few of them are gainfully employed (Zachariah and Rajan, 2001). Alternatively, the present study also found a few respondents who were recruited as nurse but had to work as caretakers to the elderly in private homes and also had to perform work generally done by hired domestic workers and do not get paid for the extra work.

3.9: Marriage Migration

The motivation for migration in general is for economic reasons and the impact on the society it has can change the social status of a family whether it is the male or the female whoever is migrating. One of its impact is on the marriage practice and choices of a community (Biao, 2007; Kalpagam, 2005). The potential marriage alliance sought after by the middle-class Brahmins in Tamil Nadu referred to American *varan* (Kalpagam 2005) where there is a preference for grooms who have Green Card of US or Canada or have a potential to get one. Getting married to an NRI is a matter of prestige for many Indian families. Biao (2007) looks at the craze for ‘IT Groom’ among the local society in Andhra Pradesh and found that it is a matter of ‘prestige’ to get married to one. In Andhra Pradesh, an IT professional attract a high dowry- gifts to the groom by the bride’s family, a practice found in many forms in many parts of India. These gifts may include cash, gold, cars and so on. According to Biao (2005), the competitive dowry practice system- who can get more dowry-is dependent on his occupation or where he is settled and the family prestige is attached to it. This, he says induce many men to lean towards IT profession and migration further escalates this system. For the bride’s family, the possibility of marrying an IT professional increases the chances of settling abroad with the IT husband who are sent abroad to deliver services by their companies. Especially in the US where H-1B visa holder is allowed to bring a dependent usually the wife, many women even though they are highly educated and sometimes leave very high paying jobs in India, migrate under H-4 visa. Since H-4 visa holders are not allowed to work, they put their careers on hold until they get their H-4 EAD, (Employment Authorization Document), the work permit which allows

them to work for a certain time depending on the status of their spouse's visa and their marital status. Some women migrate under to study under F-1 visa and return to marry an Indian H-1B visa holder and go back as a dependent (Biao, 2005; Kalpagam 2005).

This brokering of marriage alliance is usually done through social networks as well as through the various matrimonial websites that have come up to cater those who are in search of their prospective partners. Shaddi.com, bharatmatrimonials.com, jeevanshaathi.com and so many other websites offers the services of finding partners for marriage including NRI match up services. These advertisements are put up typically by the bride's parents who wish to find an NRI son- in law.

Not only does marriage induce migration for an individual as the bride moves to a foreign country where her new husband is settled, marriage to someone who is a migrant can also serve as a path way for migration for other family members as well (Palriwala & Uberoi, 2008). Marriage migration is not without its risks. Kalpagam(2005) found in her study that some of these America *varan* marriages fall apart due to abandonment, dowry demand and so on. Moreover the cultural differences and the different expectations of marriage can further contribute to the challenges faced by women. It becomes even more severe when they are isolated when living in another country without social support. Despite these risks the women were willing to take such risks.

3.10: Migration and Gender Role

In a patriarchal set up like those that exist in South Asian societies, the female and male role is challenged when the women migrate to become bread earners (Gamburd, 2002). Both skilled and unskilled women migrants have their own set of problems, expectations and renegotiations and readjustments in their host country. For those who migrate as skilled workers as part of family reunification, the role as a wife and mother is prioritised and their careers are made secondary. Expected traditional role of women as the nurturer and the male member as the breadwinner is challenged in the families where female members migrate for earning the livelihood. In many female migration dominated regions in South Asia, like Sri Lanka, some states of India (P, Kerala) and Bangladesh the majority of the migrants are married women and have children. The traditional role of the female as

the care giver or nurturer and the male as the head of the household and the breadwinner is reversed. In the times of local poverty and lack of male employment, women leave homes to bring income for the survival and the husband reluctantly takes up the 'female role' as the care giver (Gamburd, 2000). The recurring figure of a women breadwinner has offered challenges to the accepted gender roles in the society (Sasikumar & Rakhee 2012). This reversal of role is not accepted without being challenged. The families have to renegotiate these reversal of roles and also keep the family intact at the same time. It also led to men feeling a loss of self-respect and dignity (Gamburd,2000). Some studies suggest that there is even a high rate of divorce among families with migrant female members, resulting from the endangerment of patriarchal positions, and the potential for conflict among married couples (Kifleyesus,2012).

Scholars on return migration have also pointed out how return migration can have contrasting impact on men and women returnees who migrate as a family. According to Gmelch & Gmelch (1995), the gender differences can be accounted for by looking at the differential opportunities for women and men in the labour force, their feelings about being separated from grown children and their families, the returnees' settlement pattern in home society, and the experiences they have in communities they return to. In a study on Hyderabad return migrants, women and men have different expectations and anxieties returning after staying abroad as they move back into joint families and the social network is wide. For women, change in the lifestyle, their decision-making with kids and everything could be altered when they are exposed to all the family and relatives (Jimomi P, 2016; Unpublished). As for men she finds that men on return to the Indian neighbourhood tend to become cautious of people around them and become less supportive than when they lived independently when abroad for the fear of being judged upon for taking up 'the expected role of women'.

3.11: Remittances and Women Migration

tion for migration is not just for economic reasons as shown by researchers, the economic impact that the remittances has on the migrants themselves, family and society is very

significant. IOM (2004) recognizes that the remittances sent by migrants through monetary transfers reduces household poverty and enhances local development.

It has been acknowledged now that the patterns of sending and use of remittances is not gender neutral (Kifleyesus, 2012). Gender in fact influences not only who, when, where, how and why, it also affects the amount and frequency of remittances which migrants sends home and how it will be used (IOM 2004). There is no gender differentiated data on the remitting patterns of migrant population and how money is utilized but case studies (UN-INSTRAW, 2006) have suggested that the channels of sending money was found to be different for both male and female migrants especially in the case of Middle East migrants. Women use more informal means to send money home, for example, through people who are going home or *hawala*³² channels, whereas men use formal means of transfer like the western union, bank transfer etc. This pattern may be due to the knowledge of use of legal methods of transfer as the majority of women are less educated or have no education and do not have proper guidance and may also be due to the segregation from other migrants due to the nature of their work compared to men. Among the Eritrean migrant workers, on average, women remit over 60 percent of their earnings, while men remit about 45 percent of their earnings (Kifleyesus, 2012). In the case of domestic workers, sending home more money compared to males can also be attributed to the type of employment and the living situations in the work place. Female workers especially those working as live-in domestic workers do not have to spend their savings on housing, food etc. as they are provided free of cost as they live with the employers, and thus, are able to send almost all the money home. .

3.12: Conclusion

Migrant women may not be the sole earners in their families but they become the significant bread earners. The use of remittances, as found by UN-INSTRAW(2006),

³² *Hawala* is a way of transferring money from the sender in one country to the recipient in another country without actually moving the money. Handled by middlemen who are known as hawaladars, the worker remit the money through the hawaladar where the sender pays a sum in foreign currency equivalent to the local currency to the hawaladar at an agreed exchange rate and the hawaladar calls another middleman in the recipient country to pay the sum to the recipient with commission.

women send money back home to the female relatives, taking care of the children and contributing to the education of the girl children. The money is also channeled towards the family wellbeing including basic needs, household improvement, and health and education. However, it may not have the same conclusion with other societies around the world. As women migrate and start earning and remitting money, they have more bargaining power and autonomy within the household as they are no longer dependent on the male members for economic survival. With the advantages of being able to look after the family, women face the disadvantages of working long hours and sometimes in inhuman conditions to earn money. Moreover, despite the assumption that women are empowered through migration, in many cases of some Sri Lankan domestic workers in the Gulf it was found that women may not have the power to decide on how to use the money as it is the men who often manages the money sent home and are sometimes misused and women have to remigrate to earn again (Gamburd, 2002).

The importance of female population of migrants is being recognized and the increasing number of literature is being seen. Women have been migrating as early as men. Women migrate not just as a part of family reunion and dependents of male migrants but it has been shown that they also migrate as independent individuals with different motivations and varied social backgrounds. Increased feminization has opened up spaces and jobs as women become a part of the ever increasing technological advances and globalization as another women (migrant) take up the role of taking care of her child and leaving her own to be taken care by other unpaid female relatives, which Hoschchild (2003) described as 'global care chain'.

Women constitute half the world migrant population, and in some countries out number male migrants. The labour recruitment and immigration industry has greatly facilitated female migration as it has become a lucrative business catering especially to the unskilled workers. Women move away from the protective and sometimes binding culture, which most of the times hinder their freedom of expression and movement. For some women, migration can be empowering as that they can make independent decision on when, how and where to migrate, and how the remittances should be utilized. But migration also

brings with it issues and complications in the life of the women and those left behind. At the same time research has found how women face problems integrating into the society that is completely different from theirs. Also readjusting to the home society after return can be an overwhelming experience as women have to give up their decision making power as they come back to the familiar yet unfamiliar setting with a larger social network. Despite these women continue to move to countries and earn so as to be able to take care of their families and they find that the benefits given by migration outweighs the problems for them.

CHAPTER 4

INDIAN STATE POLICIES AND SCHEMES TOWARDS WOMEN GULF MIGRANTS

SECTION I

4.1: Introduction:

As concerns for the welfare of the migrants grow, many national as well as international organisations have recognised the need for rights based on efficient migration policies. As migration has become more feminized it is well recognised in the migration literature that the need for special recognition and inclusion of women migrants in both the national and international level policy analysis is indispensable. Oishi (2002) views that the emigration policies towards women are not value neutral workforce seen as symbols of national dignity and pride, thus protective and restrictive policies for women. It is evident in the emigration policies which treat men and women differently. For instance, *age* becomes a variable to restrict the international migration of women, particularly the domestic workers (Rakhee & Timothy, 2012). The government of some countries have played an active role in promoting migration flows (Lin & Oishi 1996). However, they also point out that in the case of female labour, the governments of Asian exporting countries are faced with a serious policy challenges. While in some countries there are restrictions on the age of women migrants, for example in India the minimum age for women migrants is 30, yet there is no age limitation for men. This policy is seen to be of less help and do not at all guarantee the safety of women. As spoken to me by one social rights activist for migrants' rights, she points out that this age restriction does nothing to protect the Indians working in the Gulf. Not only the 'underage' but also women of 40–50 years face the problem of abuse and exploitation.

Table 18: Age Limitations for Migrants in South Asia

<i>Country</i>	<i>Condition</i>
Bangladesh	Women must be at least 25 years old
India	Women must be at least 30 years old or should have completed matriculation
Nepal	Women must be at least 18 years old
Pakistan	Women must be at least 35 years old
Srilanka	Women must be at least 21 years old

Source: Sasi Kumar & Rakee Timothy (2012).

These policies do not stop people from migrating. But instead, women are driven to ‘clandestine mobility mechanism putting them at greater risk at trafficking and exploitative treatment’ (Khadria et al, 2008). These restrictive policies are targeted towards the unskilled and semi-skilled migrants. Generally, unskilled and semi-skilled workers get discouraged as they cannot change employer although skilled workers can do so (Lim&Oishi 1996). This becomes a major constrain for the workers because even if they are exploited and treated inhumanly they are left at the mercy of the employers. A look at some of the policies of some of the major women migrants sending countries is discussed.

Migrant policies need to be put in place and administered in a responsible manner to be able to bring about beneficial outcomes for migrants, their families and origin communities as well as for the sending and receiving countries. Many countries in the recent years have different policies and managing programmes and the ‘good practices’ have been taken up by other migrant sending countries for better management and redressal of migrants’ issues.

4.2: International Organisations

When it comes to migration of women, especially those in the low paid jobs like domestic works, international organisations and NGOs have been united in their stance that women should be treated equally and given social protection that are given to other workers. At the global level, the UN and its specialized agency ILO works with a constitutional mandate to protect migrant workers. The ILO deals with the labour issues, particularly that of international labour standards, social protection and rights of the migrant workers. With its rights-based approach to migration, “it works to promote social dialogue in the labour migration policy involving governments, employers and workers” (ILO,2009) Many conventions have been drawn up and passed for the member states to follow some of which will be further explored with particular emphasis on those conventions that deal with migrant women workers. Also UN-women also deals with issues of empowerment and gender-related issues. IOM, another entity of the UN, deals with migrated related issues. IOM works in the areas of migration and development, facilitating migration, and regulating migration and forced migration. IOM’s activities also include the promotion of international migration law, policy debate and guidance, protection of migrants' rights, migration health and the gender dimension of migration³³.

4.3: C189, Domestic Workers Convention, 2011.

The adoption of the convention marks an important moment in the struggles to draw paid domestic work out of the shadows into the mainstream (Rosewarne, Stuart, 2013). The preamble of the convention recognizes the domestic workers as significant contributors to the global economy. It also recognised the overwhelmingly number of female workers who are migrants or from the disadvantaged communities. They are particularly vulnerable to abuse of their human rights and discrimination at the workplace.

³³ <http://www.iom.int/>. Accessed 5th July 2015.

Article 1 (a&b) of the convention defines *domestic work* as work performed in or for households and the *domestic worker* as any individual engaged within an *employment relationship*.

Articles 3 and 5 of the convention set to ensure effective promotion and protection of human rights for all domestic workers and also ensure that they enjoy effective protection against all forms of abuse, harassment and violence. It promotes fundamental principles and rights at work with regards to freedom of association. It also stresses on the elimination of forced labour and discrimination with respect to employment and occupation. The convention also calls for promotion of fair terms of employment for the domestic workers like other workers. It also emphasizes the need to ensure decent working and living conditions for the live-in domestic workers and respect the privacy of the workers (Article 6).

With the objective to ensure transparency and awareness of the types of work and responsibility they will be taking up at the workplace prior to their entry , Article 7 calls for proper information on terms and conditions of employment in an appropriate, verifiable and understandable manner. The listed information should include duration of the contract, type of work to be performed, enumeration working hours, annual leave, terms and conditions relating to the termination of contact etc. The convention recognised domestic workers to be mainly migrants (Preamble) and therefore the members are called upon to ensure adequate protection to prevent abuses of workers recruited in one country by collaborating with other member countries and consider concluding bilateral agreements (Article 8). The right to keep possession of their travel and identity documents has been emphasized in Article 9. An extension of the terms of leave and working hours for the workers as given in Article 9(b) and Article 10 emphasize that the working hours shall be at least 24 consecutive hours (Article 10b) and the workers be free to decide on how to spend their time. As for their wage, the convention calls upon the member countries not to discriminate the workers based on their sex (Article 11) and calls for payment of remuneration by cash at regular intervals or other lawful means of monetary payment with the consent of the workers concerned (Article 12). More importantly, the convention seeks

for the right of the workers to social security and protection and calls for the member countries to promote the occupational safety and health of domestic workers (Article 13). The private recruiting agencies through which the domestic workers are often recruited play an important role in ensuring safe and desirable outcome for the migrants. It therefore stressed that it is important that private recruiting agencies be investigated for complaints and monitored against fraudulent practices and abuse in accordance with national laws, regulation and practices applicable within its jurisdiction (Article 14) to prevent abuses in fraudulent practices in recruitment, placement and employment.

This convention, if ratified by major labour importing countries could go a long way in ensuring safer and more decent working and living conditions for the most vulnerable groups of workers, especially the migrants. However, very few countries have so far ratified this convention (17 countries as of January 2015), which has proven that it is of not very much help for those migrants working in countries which have strict labour laws and are also major importers of domestic workers.

4.4: The General Assembly of the UN adopted the Declaration of High Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development on 03 Oct 2013.

Recognizing the importance of migrants' role in development, the declaration is a reaffirmation that there is a need to promote and protect the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all migrants, regardless of their migration status (10). This declaration like the C189 also recognized the importance and volume of woman migrants and the need to address their special situation and vulnerability by incorporating a gender perspective into policies and strengthening national laws, institutions and programmes to combat gender-based violence (11). The 12th declaration also clearly emphasised the need to establish measure for the protection of women migrants in all sectors.

The international organisations and conventions help in giving broad guidelines for all the member countries. However, it is upon the individual country to look at how these are followed and how their citizens and migrants are being treated and regulated in the destination countries.

SECTION II

4.5: Indian State Policies towards Migrant with Special Reference to Women Gulf Migrants.

The Indian state has been criticized in its stance and poor regulation of its migrants especially those in the Gulf countries. Oishi (2002) notes that the migration policy of the Indian state towards migration has stark gendered differences. Despite the large number of migrants working and residing in the Gulf, India has struggled to regulate the migration especially when there is no comprehensive policy on labour migration (Khadria, 2010). The regulation of workers, especially women workers in the domestic work role, has also been in disarray as many illegal migration with the help of illegal agents has been flourishing especially from the rural areas despite the restriction as provided in the Emigration Act 1983. The Emigration Act of 1983 which replaced the Indian Emigration Act Of 1922, was enacted with the aim to provide more protection towards those who are from the lower-skilled category – workers like domestic workers.

The Emigration Act of 1983

The Emigration Act of 1983 serves as a statutory framework that regulate and assist workers moving to countries outside India for the purpose of employment. The Protector General of Emigrants (PGE), now under the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA), India enforces the Act. The PGE has been authorized by the Central Government to function as the registering authority to regulate the recruitment through recruiting agents and also as the Competent Authority to regulate direct recruitment by employers (Annual Report, MOIA: 2014-2015). Supervised by the PGE, are the Protector of Emigrants (POE), which operate at 8 state offices in India, namely New Delhi, Cochin, Mumbai, Trivandrum, Chennai, Chandigarh, Hyderabad and Kolkata. This Act specifically makes it mandatory for those emigrants with Emigration Check Required (ECR) passport, who wish to emigrate for the purpose of employment to get emigration clearance from their nearest POE offices. Those exempted include those in the skilled-labour category and also those who go for pilgrimage purposes. Women below the age of 30 have been particularly restricted from going abroad for employment. The Act also mandates Recruiting Agents

(RAs) to be registered with the government in order to recruit workers for overseas employment. Recent developments in the government policy have made it mandatory for other stake holders like foreign employers, project employers etc. to register with the government for recruitment of workers.

The Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA)

The MOIA which was established in 2004 is a part of the Government of India that deals with the services pertaining to Indians living/working overseas. Recognising the importance of its overseas population, the MOIA was created with the objective of establishing an institutional framework for a sustainable and mutually beneficial engagement with its Diaspora (Annual Report, MOIA: 2014-2015). The goal of the MOIA is to establish a strong and vibrant institutional structure to help facilitate and support mutually beneficial networks with and among overseas Indians to maximize the development impact for India and enable overseas Indians to invest and benefit from the opportunities in India (*ibid*). In accomplishing this mission, the ministry is guided by four key policy imperatives (*ibid*):

1. Offer customized solutions to meet the varied expectations of the overseas Indian community.
2. To bring a strategic dimension to India's engagement with its diaspora.
3. Tap the invisible diasporic community in terms of knowledge and resources in diverse economic, social and cultural areas.
4. Anchor the diaspora's initiatives in the states.

Aligning with these missions, the MOIA had also initiated several services that are made available to the overseas Indians. Among other services that are made available to the diaspora in general, services that are targeted for those migrants who are in the Gulf include awareness campaign on risks for illegal migration, e-governance, and establishment of the Indian Centre for Migration, MGPSY, OWRC, PBBY, PBD etc. by the Government of India in 2016. For the welfare of women migrants, the government has also set a minimum wage in the range of 300–350 dollars after taking into account the prevailing market wage of the relevant countries (Rakhee & Timothy, 2012). In Jan 2016, the government decided

to merge the MOIA with the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA), which now has taken over the foreign related issues.

MEA

In January 2016, the MOIA was merged with the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) with the aim to bring more efficiency in the handling of various issues related with overseas emigration (MEA, 2016).

Most policies, programmes, schemes and initiatives of MOIA were being implemented through MEA and Indian Missions/Consulates abroad. Matters pertaining to Indian nationals abroad, their welfare and protection are also taken up by MEA and the Indian Missions abroad. MEA handling the Overseas Indian Affairs would bring in more efficiency in handling matters related to Indian Diaspora. The merger is also in accordance with the Government's objective of maximum governance with minimum government³⁴ (MEA, Press Release, 2016).

This move has been received with a strong opposition by the states like Kerala where the Chief Minister Oomen Chandy objected saying that the move is an insult to the NRIs and that their contribution to India is being ignored. This move he says might prove as a hindrance to the vast number of expats all over the world and their problems not actively addressed and thus a separate ministry should always be there for the Diaspora communities abroad³⁵. The ministry has also introduced the eMigrate system targeted towards the ECR employment countries which hopes to bring a better regulation of migration of workers and monitoring of the employers.

eMigrate:

³⁴ MEA (2016). <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=137567>. Accessed 16th September 2017.

³⁵ <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/merging-overseas-indians-ministry-with-mea-insult-to-nris-oommen-chandy/>. Accessed 16th September 2017.

Launched in July 2015, eMigrate is a programme which makes it mandatory for the foreign employers wanting to hire workers from India to make online registrations. It highlights the following:

1. Registration of FEs, RAs, PEs and emigrants
2. Recruitment only through registered RA or FE
3. Clear specification of work contract as per the format prescribed
4. All monetary transactions through online mode
5. Emigration clearance through online mode

This system moves to integrate passport and emigration clearance verification as well as validation of insurance agencies for PBBY scheme and Indian missions abroad. The details of foreign employers and registered recruiting agents are made available for verification. It also seeks to address grievances as well as track the travel status of the workers employed abroad. The main aim of the programme is to make migration and employment of the workers transparent, bring down the volume of illegal migrants and avoid exploitation of workers abroad. Whenever an emigrant reaches an airport or check-post to proceed abroad, his/her passport details are validated online by the Immigration Officers and only those who have attained emigration clearance are certified to travel. The main beneficiaries of this programme are the blue-collared job holders as well as domestic workers, nurses and others in various low-end jobs.

Table 19: Specified Minimum Wages applicable to Gulf countries in eMigrate System³⁶.

³⁶ https://emigrate.gov.in/ext/openPDF?strFile=MRW_CONSOLIDATED_REPORTS.pdf. Accessed 16th September 2017.

Country	Designation	Minimum wage	Wage in Indian currency(approx.)	wef
Bahrain	Housemaid	100 BHD	17,000	08/21/2015
Kuwait	Housemaid	70 KD	15,000	08/21/2015
Oman	Housemaid	75 OMD	12,000	08/21/2015
Saudi Arabia	Housemaid	1500 SAR	26,000	08/21/2015
Qatar	Housemaid	1180 OMD	30,000	08/21/2015
UAE	Housemaid	1100 AED	19,000	08/21/2015

Source: Compiled by author from eMigrate.com

OMCAP

Overseas Manpower Company Andhra Pradesh Limited (OMCAP) is a recruiting agency launched by the Government of Andhra Pradesh in May 2006. It operates under the approval of the Protector General of Emigrants, Ministry of Labour, Government of India. OMCAP started a scheme for skill up-gradation and pre-departure orientation for emigrant workers – it provides details regarding overseas work conditions, passport, visa, opportunities, risks, safety precautions, work contracts, functional Arabic language learning etc. The training is given for 15 days to 2 months to the eligible candidates who have been selected by the foreign employers for overseas placement and to candidates having ready passport and relevant experience. The training is given to electricians, plumbers, carpenters, welders, fitters, machine operators, security guards, drivers, and people in construction and health sectors. These kind of jobs are generally aimed for Gulf

migrant aspirants. It also provides counselling and advice for passport and recruitment. Despite the presence of registered recruitment agencies, the women are not aware of them and go through illegal agents. There is a need to create more awareness programmes promoting safe migration through legal agencies such as OMCAP.

TOMCOM

After the division of the state, Telangana Overseas Manpower Company Ltd (TOMCOM) was set up in June 2014 as a recruiting agency licensed by the PGE, Ministry of labour, Government of India. It was set up to take up the issues of those in Telangana state. Covering all the districts of Telangana, the new government has sought to help the young work force to be recruited safely and legally and return safely after the expiry of their work visa. Since its inception, the recruiting agency has been conducting recruitment drives for various electricians, drivers and helpers as well as for nurses, both male and female.

Migration Rights Council, Mahaboobnagar/Hyderabad.

Migrants Rights Council (MRC) is a migrant labour rights group in Andhra Pradesh working, advocating and providing support for migrant workers by giving them access to legal aid, redress mechanisms and dispute resolution. The MRC operates in the state of Andhra Pradesh and lobbies with the government to address issues like imprisonment in the Gulf countries, retrieval of death bodies and also conducts a few awareness drives in the high migrant-sending districts.³⁷ This labour rights group has been able to help many migrants and often conducts meetings and celebrates International Migrant's Day by inviting returnees. The main aim of these meetings is to create awareness, improve the plight of the migrants and to call on the political leaders to help the migrants and their families. Some of the demands put forward by Mr. T.Jeevan Reddy, Ex Minister & Congress MLA (Member of Legislative Assembly) when he attended one of these meetings as Chief Guest were:

³⁷ <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/tp-andhrapradesh/migrant-rights-council-wants-indiauae-pact-implemented/article4169174.ece>. Accessed 16th April 2017.

- Pravasi Bharatiya Bima Yojana (PBBY) Insurance Policy should include Life Insurance coverage with renewal facility.
- Mahatma Gandhi Pravasi Suraksha Yojana (MGPSY) Pension scheme & PBBY should be given to all emigrants irrespective of ECR (Emigration Clearance Required), ECNR (Emigration Clearance Not Required) Category Passports.
- Telangana and Andhra Pradesh State Governments should give Rs. 2 Lakhs ex gratia for families of Gulf deceased.
- Legal aid should be given to the families of Gulf deceased in claiming the legal dues, death compensation etc.
- For dead bodies of Indian workers lying for months in Gulf mortuaries, an exclusive section should be established for this purpose.

4.6: MoUs and Bilateral Talks with the Gulf Countries

India has been a huge source country for labour migrants to the Gulf. Many migrants are from the economically and socially disadvantaged communities. The concern for the rights and safety of workers has led to the signing of MoUs with countries which have strict labour laws and have a high number of Indian migrants from the lower end of the labour market. The bilateral cooperation agreements signed with the destination countries are renewable every 5 years unless one party intends to suspend or terminate them. There are no specific objectives stated in the MoUs except for the strengthening of relations with each other – the idea is probably not to regulate the flows but to provide a framework to rationalise an already thriving labour migration system (Wickramasekara, 2013).

The MoUs signed with the GCC countries over the years are aimed at remaining on friendly relations. The main objectives of the MoUs are:

1. Strengthen the existing friendly relation
2. Promote cooperation, coordination and exchange of knowledge
3. Monitor recruiting agencies
4. Settle disputes
5. Provide proper information on job offers.

6. Protect labourers
7. List the terms and conditions of recruitment
8. Set up joint working group.

In the MoUs, the “manpower” (UAE and Oman) or the “employee” (Bahrain) are the “contractual expatriate” who are employed for a certain period of time after which they have to leave the country on the expiry of their contract. Wickiramasekara (2013) points out that there are glaring “omission instead of commission” of issues that are of main concern in the migration governance and protection of migrants, some of which he points out are recruitment malpractices, *kafala* system and high migration cost. The protection of women workers who are the most vulnerable group of migrants, especially in the domestic labour market sector, have been left out. There is also no proper legal system set up to address issues specific to migrants’ issues. Even though there is provision given for “protection and welfare of the workers who are not covered under the labour law” “to take appropriate steps”, it remains unclear what steps will be taken and to which group of workers it applies to. For workers in the domestic sector who are partially and completely invisible before the labour laws and therefore much more vulnerable, there needs to be strong, effective and enforceable laws to deal exclusively for those in this sector.

Table 20: List Of MoUs and Bilaterals Signed With GCC Countries.

Memorandum of Understanding	Year	Signatories
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> MoU between the Govt of UAE and the Government of India In the field of manpower. 	2006	UAE
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> MOU on labour and manpower development between GOI and government for the state` of Kuwait 	2007	KUWAIT
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> MOIA in the Republic of India and Ministry of Manpower in the Sultanate of Oman in the field of manpower 	2008	OMAN
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> MoU for employment of workers between GOI and Government of Malaysia 	2009	MALAYSIA
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> MOU between Republic Of India and the Kingdom of Bahrain on labour and manpower development 	2009	BAHRAIN
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Revised MoU between the Government of UAE and Government of India in the field of manpower 	2011	UAE
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agreement on Labour Cooperation for DSW on Recruitment between The MOIA fF the Republic of India And The Ministry of Labour, Kingdom Of Saudi Arabia 	2014	SAUDI ARABIA

SOURCE: Compiled From MEA website and others

4.8: The Agreement on Labour Cooperation for Domestic Service Workers (DSW) Recruitment

This agreement signed in on 2nd January 2014 is the latest of several MoUs with the Gulf countries as mentioned earlier. This is an agreement that has more direct references to domestic labour recruitment issues and outlines important issues compared to the MoUs with other Gulf countries previously signed. It has addressed issues particular to domestic workers. It has also ensured legal measures against recruitment offices, companies or agencies in violation of the laws of the country. The agreement has the following

Important features: The main objective of the agreement is to protect the rights of both the employers and the DSW and regulate their contractual relations (Article 2). The agreement defines the DSW or Domestic Service Workers as the employees employed to work within the household including, but not limited to drivers, gardeners and caregivers. (Article 3) It seeks to ensure that the welfare and rights of the DSW are promoted and protected in accordance with the applicable laws, rules and regulation.

The agreement sets the responsibility of the Ministry of Labour of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, as the first party signatory to promote and protect the rights of the DSWs. The possibility for settlement of labour contract violation cases are open and can be filed before the appropriate Saudi authorities/courts. Ensuring the recruitment of the workers to be done directly by licensed/registered recruitment agencies, the agreement seeks to control the recruitment cost. It also seeks to establish mechanism to provide 24 hour assistance (Article 4). The agreement also sets out the responsibility of the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs as the 2nd party signatory to ensure that the prospective DSWs satisfy health requirements with no criminal record. It also urges the prospective DSWs to observe the laws, morals, ethics and customs of the Kingdom while employed in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Article 5). Like in the MoUs with other GCC countries and Malaysia, there is a provision for setting up of Joint Committees for periodic review, assessment and monitoring of the implementation of the agreement.

This agreement came after a long negotiation on the part of the Indian government with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and was much celebrated and is a welcome step for workers in the domestic sectors who constitute a large labour force in Saudi Arabia. The Standard Employment Contract (Appendix II) among other details, sets the continuous resting hours of the domestic service workers (8 hours) and leave (1 day per week), paid vacation provisions, freedom to communicate with family/friends. The working hour limits are in accordance with the labour laws. A suitable and sanitary living accommodation for the workers and adequate food to be provided has been agreed upon as well as the workers right to keep possession of their passport and work permit during their time of employment in the country. The end of employment and renewal have also been detailed which gives the workers a clearer understanding of their rights and end of employment settlements.

The agreement which has been long awaited has addressed some issues faced by migrants which were not addressed in the MoUs with other GCC countries, especially those faced by migrants working in the domestic sector. However, it needs to be seen how it will be implemented and practiced. The government of India has scrapped the security deposit scheme that the employer has to deposit which is 2,500 dollars. This deposit was used as a fall back for the migrants who face problems such as non-payment of salaries. However the government's decision to discontinue this will affect many workers who cannot get paid for times when they do not get paid.

4.9: National Schemes and Programmes of the Government of India for Diaspora with Special Reference to Andhra Pradesh Gulf Migrants.

9th January is celebrated as The Pravasi Bharatiya Divas (PBD) every year marking the contributions of the Indian community living overseas in the development of India. This day was chosen as the day to celebrate this occasion because on this day in 1915, Mahatma Gandhi returned to India from South Africa and led India's freedom struggle.

Started in 2003 by the then prime minister of India Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, every year the programme is aimed to recognise the contribution of the NRIs/PIOs and also addresses issues and concerns of the diaspora. This is an attempt on the part of the government to

make the diaspora engage with their home country and facilitate and encourage investment and development.

Pravasi Bharathi Bhima Yojna (PBBY) 2008

PBBY is a compulsory insurance scheme for Indian migrants, payable to the nominee/heir in the event of a death or permanent disability of a migrant. Initially when this scheme was announced in 2003 the insurance covered 2 lakhs. It was revised to 5 lakhs in 2006 and in 2008, the insurance cover has been enhanced to 10 lakhs. It is eligible for those going to the Gulf for work legally after obtaining emigration clearance from the Protector of Emigrants. It covers the period of employment contract of two years, or whichever is longer.

In the case of a death, besides the transportation of death bodies, the flight fare of one attendant is to be reimbursed by the insurance company. In cases where the worker is not received by the employer on arrival at the destination, or if there is dissolution or change in the employment without any fault on his/her part, the insurance provides a one way economy class airfare.

The legal expenses incurred in any lawsuit relating to the migrants employment is refunded with a minimum of rupees 30,000. Medical reimbursements are offered in this scheme with a minimum cover of rupees 75,000 to the insured emigrant worker on grounds of accidental injuries, or illness occurring during the period of insurance whether in India or while working at the workplace. For women, maternity benefits are offered. An added advantage of the scheme is that there is also provision for the family of migrants where the spouse and two dependent children up to the age of 21 years are entitled to get their medical expenses covered in the vent of death or permanent disability of the insured person of up to rupees 50,000 per annum. The premium to be paid for PBBY is quite fair and reasonable which is set at 275 for a 2 year period and 375 for a 3 year period.

This scheme is provided with an aim to help the migrants or the dependents of the migrants in the event of a mishap. However, the fieldwork suggested that very few migrants and their families know about the availability of such schemes and what they entail, as it is available for only those migrants who have obtained emigration clearance from the POE.

This is also because many go illegally and do not have access to the information. This needs to be widely publicized through community radios and information spread through the local panchayats, NGOs etc. in regions where there are high incidence of migrants going to ECR countries.

Mahatma Gandhi Pravasi Suraksha Yojana / Pension Life Insurance

As many migrants from India get employment abroad, remittances are sent home and used without saving and accumulated for when they return home or are not able to enter the job market. The earning is not high. Whatever they earn is used as soon as it reaches the dependents for everyday consumption, education and other social obligations like dowry. Recognizing this, the government has taken up this scheme to help migrants on their return from their employment. The MPGSY insurance scheme was launched in 2012 with the aim to encourage expat employees “to build up savings that can be used for their resettlement on their return to India” (The Hindu, 2013).

The Government launched this programme in the UAE in 2013. The launching of this programme was also reportedly taken to labour camps to spread awareness³⁸. However these awareness programmes cannot be accessed by female workers who work in households with very less / no access of news outside the workplace. However, in the recent developments, the government decided to scrap the insurance scheme. There were very less subscribers to the scheme unlike PBBY, which is mandatory for all migrants. There were only 1,033 subscribers since its inception and no new subscribers for almost a year, which prompted the government to close down the scheme in April 2017.³⁹

4.11: Conclusion

³⁸ <https://www.thenational.ae/uae/pension-and-insurance-scheme-for-blue-collar-indian-workers-1.346718>. Accessed 4th March 21, 2018.

³⁹ <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/nri/working-abroad/government-approves-closure-of-insurance-scheme-for-overseas-indian-workers/articleshow/58034730.cms>. Accessed January 10th 2018.

The government plays an important role in the protection and welfare of the citizens working abroad. Over the years, Indian policies with respect to labour migrants in the Gulf have evolved from a narrow emphasis on protection/restriction to the implementation of welfare initiatives, and most recently to developmental/restorative measures (Khadria, 2010). The welfare measures undertaken by the government hopes to cover millions of workers in the Gulf, including the domestic workers. However, many measures are met with strict regulations of the destination countries. Stronger dialogues on the part of the government for better wages and work conditions with the labour importing countries by learning the good practices of other countries like Philippines, for instance, is required⁴⁰.

The agreements and MoUs signed are made for the protection and beneficial return of the migrants and at the same time for maintaining and promoting friendly diplomatic relation between the countries. However, in the process the restrictions imposed on migrants lead to illegal flow of migrants posing a threat to their welfare and protection. The governments should therefore be updated and regularly revise the agreements with proper information and cooperation from all stakeholders. The international conventions and agreements should be monitored and ratified, which will guarantee a better protection for migrant workers. The Indian immigration policy needs to be revised and redefined to meet the changing context in tune with the present issues and future challenges. The international conventions are very much needed to be ratified by countries like India which is both a labour exporting as well as importing country. In order that the citizens migrating abroad for work be treated with respect and dignity, it is also right that the country adopts such conventions for humane treatment of migrant workers working in the country.

The schemes and programmes like the MPGSY and PBBY are helpful as it serves as a security for health and emergencies and also for the resettlement on their return. However, the migrants are wary of such government schemes, especially due to the lack of awareness.

⁴⁰ <http://Gulfbusiness.com/philippines-demand-more-minimum-wage-domestic-workers-kuwait/>. Accessed September 15th 2017.

There is also a need for better coordination of various stakeholders, the trade unions, NGOs, workers associations and similar entities and for exchange of information, for problem solving especially when dealing with the low paid migrants who come from the lowest strata of the society and are vulnerable to malpractices as have been found by many studies as well as from the media. The local NGOs and civil society organizations have better access to the information and knowledge of the local culture, language of the migrants and their society. By coordinating with each other, there can be wider dissemination of government policies, schemes and programmes and could help educate migrants of their rights and migration realities. Strong enforcement and dedicated agency needs to be put in place so that these policies and schemes are effectively enforced. Additionally, as found in the present fieldwork in the villages of Coastal Andhra there is no population data on the migration of workers. In order to identify migration trends and proper information dissemination, the government should make it mandatory for the data on migration to be captured not only at the state level but also in district and mandal levels.

CHAPTER 5

RETURN MIGRATION OF WOMEN FROM GULF REGION: ISSUES AND EXPERIENCES.

SECTION I

5.1: Introduction: A migrant's entry into the job market is in response to the availability of job opportunities in the Gulf and their family circumstances and hope for securing better living conditions for the family. This chapter makes an empirical observation carried out through interviews and questionnaires with the return women migrants, intending migrants, as well as their dependents. This chapter highlights the profile of the respondents, the motivation driving the large incidence of women migration Andhra Pradesh to the GCC countries. It also looks at the different challenges during the different stages of migration. The data collection from women returnees was carried out at different locations of east and west Godavari district. The data on intending migrants was also collected through interviews in Hyderabad on POE registration grounds. It provides an insight into the causes, processes and consequence of migration and the socio-economic impact on women migrant's family and the society.

Andhra Pradesh has the largest number of women migrants working in the Gulf (Rajan, 2014). This data has been captured from the POE and reflect only the migrants under the ECR (Emigration Clearance Required) category which is needed for unskilled workers as listed in the Emigration Bill passed in 1983. Thus the estimation will be higher as other skilled women migrants also migrate to the Gulf as nurses, teacher as well as dependents of skilled migrant workers and do not need clearance from the POE. This gap causes the inability to capture the actual number of women migrants working in different parts of Gulf countries. This data was also taken before the bifurcation but it has been noted by observers that the women from the Coastal areas have higher migrants while the Telengana district has more male migrants (Reddy, MRC: Personal Interview). For the purpose of this study, the respondents are the unskilled women migrants migrating to the Gulf under the ECR category. The respondents were identified through personal networks and through

the Migrants Rights Council at the initial stages/point of contact and more were identified through snowballing.

The Gulf countries has been the prime destination for unskilled workers as demand for workers in the market for domestic help is very high in the region since many years. This is responded in supply through the availability of women willing to work, especially from very low income families, most commonly those in the lower strata of the society. The study shows the routes and means, causes, processes through which the migrants move and also the consequences of such moves. Selected cases of interviews have been presented in the chapter. The names of the respondents have been kept anonymous as had been requested by them.

The migration to the Gulf is often difficult due to the legal, socio-cultural and language differences. Moreover the Gulf countries as portrayed in the media and from the accounts of those who have worked and returned haven't been very positive. It is worth noting that the women were aware of the problems and the risks involved with Gulf migration before they decide individually or by the family as a whole. Their awareness is through the accounts of earlier migrant women and men as well. However they see economic advantages and rewards of migrating much greater than the risks involved.

5.2: Social, Economic and Demographic Profile of the Respondents

The socio-economic profile of the respondents was taken to provide an insight not only for statistical information of the respondents but to also analyse if their age, status, religion or education qualification has any co relation with the type of work they choose to get employed in and the influence these factors have on migration. It serves to analyse the type of impact on the challenges they face at all during the different stages of migration. The data is based on 70 respondents interviewed in the East and West Godavari districts of Coastal Andhra. These interviews were conducted at their homes. The respondents were selected through snowball sampling.

Age at the time of Migration

Age is an important variable when talking about the women migrants going to the Gulf from many South Asian countries. On the recommendations of the National Commission for Women (NCW), a ban was imposed on grant of emigration clearance to women below the age of thirty (30) years for all kind of employment in any ECR country from India. This age restriction for women migrating to Gulf countries has a complicated reasoning. Oishi (2000) found in her study that the government's stance on the restriction is supposed to be for the welfare of women migrants. However she finds that it is debatable as it do not seem to be effective. Age is an important aspect in both migration and return migration. Some countries do not give permission to work after a fixed age. Retirement age is different from country to country. A survey of Kerala Government shows that 70 per cent of the Gulf returnees are below the age of 40 and their rehabilitation would be a very important problem for the state (Government of Kerala, 1988). Emigrants and return emigrants mostly belong to the age 20-50 age span. Between the two groups, the return emigrants are relatively older and have a more even spread in the middle age groups (Zachariah and Rajan, 2011b). Some NGOs working with the Gulf migrants finds that the age restriction do not protect the migrants from abuse of any kind of discrimination. Dr Lissy Joseph (NDWM) in a personal interview commented

We deal with many women migrants who face abuse and mal practices in all age groups. One woman who was in her late forties has to be rescued when her employer abused her. So we've been lobbying to the government to lift this restriction.

It was found in the study that the majority of the migrants were between 30- 40 years of age at the time of their migration. However like in other studies from the states of India like Kerala, (Rajan & J.Joseph, 2013) the study here also showed that despite the government's restriction of age for migrants in the ECR countries to 30 years, there were women who change their age in the birth certificates in order to be able to migrate.

They pay an exorbitant amount of money to get these illegal documents made with the help of the ‘agent’ to be able to migrate. Many women in the study had changed their age to be able to migrate.

Table21: Distribution of Respondents Age at The Time Of Migration

Age	No. of respondents	Percentage
<30	18	25.7
30-35	25	35.7
35-40	20	28.5
40-45	5	7.1
45-50	2	2.8
Total	70	100

This was found to be a common practice and the respondents do not see the illegality of such task. On asked why they did not wait till they are legally able to migrate one respondents said

It was urgent and everyone change dates in the document if they want to go. I got married at the age of 16. I have 3 girl children. My husband met with an accident. He was working as an auto rickshaw driver. After the accident, the responsibility to earn money fell on me to take care of girls and for medical bills. I did not get job here in Rajamundhary, so I had to go to where there is job. My husband did not want to send me but what can we do.

Like this migrant, many other respondents had similar stories to tell. It was also noted that the very low average marriage age of the migrants (which will be discussed further in the later paragraphs), and the responsibility to become the primary earner, could be pushing

the migrants to look towards Gulf for employment. And since everyone does it, it was not seen as hurdle to migrating when they choose to migrate. It becomes a part of the necessary preparation to migrate. With these illegally made documents, the migrants are wary of seeking help from others for the fear of being deported or jailed. Hence with very little or no education and no skills, it is an arduous journey often keeping them at the mercy of unscrupulous agents and employers.

Education Qualification

The educational qualification of the respondents is an important factor in the migration which might determine how an individual can respond to various challenges and negotiate their outcomes in the migration process. It can also determine their preference and ability to choose one job over another based on their qualification. In India there had been a wide gender gap in the education since independence and still persists. Even though there seem to be an improvement yet the girls still have lower enrolments rates, lower attendance and the drop-out rate is very high especially in the rural areas. This is also reflected in the migration trend of Coastal Andhra. The educational profile of the migrants working in the unskilled sector is very low. The literacy rate of women in Andhra Pradesh according to 2011 census shows 59.74%, against male literacy rate of 75.56% which is lower than the national literacy rate of 65.46%. The reason for this low literacy rate is poverty compounded by their low caste status. However positive signs of increase in the literacy rate is being found in 2011 census as it showed 39% increase from 2001 census, the literacy rate of the SC in AP women is 66.10% out of which 52% are from rural and 68.60% is from urban (MoSPI, GOI. 2014).

In the study, fifty-eight of the women I talked to had some primary education from local primary schools taught in the local Telugu language. But most of them drop out by the time they reached 5th or 6th standard. Some because of poverty, and some dropped out because they lost interest. Ten of the respondents were illiterate and only two women had matriculation certificate.

Table 22: Distribution of Educational Qualifications of the Respondents

Education	No. Of Respondents	Percentage
Illiterate	10	14.2
Below 10(Primary)	58	82.8
10 Class	2	2.8
Intermediate	nil	-
Total	70	100

Again with no adequate education qualification or specialized skills to take up jobs in the nearby towns, Gulf offers a way out for these women from poverty as the skill set needed to perform work like domestic work seem to be an extension of what they do at home, except, it is paid. One of the respondent said

Working at the homes of other without having education is a blessing because nowadays who employs you without even able to write name. Even if I face problems while working if I can earn to give education to my children so they don't have to do such dirty works that I used to do at the house of my sponsor it is enough for now. Anyway these jobs like cleaning, cooking and washing I do it here as well so I don't need education for that, do I? It's harder working at someone else's home though.

Consequently with very low or no education, the migrants are more susceptible to exploitation by the recruitment agents who take exorbitant fees for processing of necessary travel documents. They are unaware of the costs, benefits and ways to migrate legally as they are not able to comprehend the specifications in their contracts. As they are

uneducated they leave it up to the recruiting agents to provide information about the work contracts, employers, and socio cultural expectations of the place where they are migrating for work etc.

Moreover at the country of employment, discrimination based on nationality and educational background had been note where the low level of education and inability to read/write English can cause discriminatory practices like low wages and prejudices against them (Oishi 2005; Vora N.,2013). Workers from India, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh are paid less as they do not have English language proficiency compared to the Filipino domestic workers who are seen as a 'status symbol' and thus paid more by the employers(Oishi, 2005). Moreover their chances of learning new skills is highly unlikely because they do not know how to read or write. Thus even if they remigrate repeatedly they are stuck in a dead-end job in the domestic work sector working in people's houses.

Caste/ Religion of the Migrants

The demographic characteristics of those migrating to the Gulf countries across India are majorly from the lower, unskilled labour categories. Caste and religion are intricate part of the Indian society. Among other variables, they play an important role in the migration of migrants to the Gulf. Caste-based discrimination and wealth distribution in the home society plays a vital role in the people search for employment. Likewise, the religious background of the migrant also influences the migrant decisions and propensity to migrate. In many communities, the restrictions and possibilities of migration is determined by the religious and social group to which an individual belongs and which is especially rigid for women. In some studies in Indian rural societies, caste characteristics of migration streams are closely associated with village characteristics and the two reinforce each other, leading to a higher incidence of migration amongst certain castes (Deshingkar & Start, 2003,).

In the case of Andhra Pradesh, caste and religion have a complex interrelation. While some individuals many identify themselves as 'Hindu' in order to be able to avail the government benefits given toward the lower 'caste' groups, who come under the Hindu religion, when an individual identifies themselves as Christian, Muslims, they are not covered under the

purview of the 'caste system' making them unable to avail the special reservation given for the lower caste categories by the Indian government.

5.3: Poverty, Caste and migration

Like in other parts of India, the source of income for the rural areas is mainly from agriculture. In Andhra Pradesh, 62.17 percent of the total population is dependent on agriculture and allied activities (Gov. of AP 2015). However due to the erratic monsoon, the state is also plagued by droughts and floods. Moreover, landlessness among the poor is very high. Coastal Andhra which is relatively fertile well irrigated region but the land distribution is unbalanced. In fact the land concentration and the landlessness has become more in areas where irrigation was available from a long time and where the capitalist relations are well developed (Reddy et al., 2012). Rich farmers control most of the land whereas the agricultural workers, tenants and marginal farmers who constitute nearly 87 percent of the agricultural dependent households are either landless or have very little land (*ibid.*) in the state, the highest inequality of land distribution being in Coastal Andhra. Caste-wise distribution of land is also underlined by studies (Reddy et al., 2012, Deshingkar, 2003) which suggests that the numerically lesser social groups but higher in social status groups control the larger share of the land. The higher caste, Reddys and Kammas control the majority share of land in Andhra Pradesh. This has not always been the case but in fact the Green Revolution in Coastal Andhra formed an important stage in the rural economic and political developments. According to Srinivasulu (2002), the *shudra* castes, such as Reddys, Kammas and Velamas have emerged into the dominant position in the production process and have successfully translated this into political and cultural domains during this period as Green revolution banked on capital intensive technology as a means of increasing agricultural productivity. These peasant caste gained economic and political strong hold mainly with the help of Green revolution as they owned land and important positions in the villages. The Dalits on the other hand, did not benefit from the technological advances but lost jobs and worked as seasonal agricultural labourers

for very low daily wages. Green revolution according to Srinivasulu (2002) also led to the breakdown of traditional *jajmani* - system of mutual dependence which guided the rural occupational structure. The Dalits here are the Malas who are the numerically dominant Dalits in Coastal Andhra even though there are several other sub castes in the region.

When there are no agricultural land holdings to depend on for survival, people depend on the employment. However the minimum wages rate in the state is very low. The average rate⁴¹ for daily agricultural wages for workers is Rs.326.67 for males and for female workers is Rs. 187.50 for east Godavari district which also shows a wide gender discrimination in wages rates even though the type of work is the same (Ministry of Agriculture, 2015). There are also some types of work where women are not hired which are deemed hard for women like well digging, driving and so on. These wages again are not guaranteed throughout the year as the number of working days averages at 109 days per annum (Reddy et al., 2012) which is mostly during peak agricultural seasons. The competition for wage employment is also high in the state despite the low wages. Talking about seasonal migration from the Andhra Pradesh, Deshingkar & Start (2003) points out that even though the mobile Schedule Castes live in areas which regularly import labour, they do not get enough work during the peak seasons to tide them over the lean season and are forced to migrate for part of the year. The poor hence are landless and given the limited employment opportunity at home, they choose to migrate to escape poverty. In the study it was found that the majority of the respondents were from the lower caste. It was noted in the study that the majority of the migrants were Dalits. Out of 70 respondents 50 were Dalits Christians, 15 were Muslims and 5 were Hindus.

Caste consciousness is very strong in the areas of study. While interviewing the respondents, it was very evident from the way they asked repeatedly about what caste I belong to and pointing out the houses which belong to higher caste suggests the caste awareness among them. My field observations and study also suggested that the forward

⁴¹<http://www.andhrapradeshstat.com/table/agriculture/2/agriculturalwages20102011to20142015/921829/1043163/data.aspx>. Accessed 6th April 2016.

caste Hindus were reluctant to mix with the lower or the Dalits Christians/Muslims. This was apparent in the search for translators which I needed for my interviews.

Table 23: Caste Distribution of Respondents

Caste	No of respondents	Percentage
Mala	50	71.4
Muslims	15	21.4
SC Hindus	5	7.14
Total	70	100

5.4: Religion

Whereas, the areas which had the largest number of migrants moving to work in the Gulf like Karimnagar, Nizamabad (now Telangana) has more male migrants, the Coastal areas of Andhra Pradesh have more female migrants who are predominantly Christians. It was also found that the majority of them were Dalit. The Dalit Christians here is referred to those hitherto lower castes especially the Malas and the Madigas who converted to Christianity. Although they have converted to Christianity, the Dalits still profess caste practices and also referred to by their caste names. Most Dalits here do not ‘declare’ themselves as Christians which would render them ineligible to avail the benefits of state reservation privileges especially in the official documents as already mentioned above

In the later stages of my field work it was found that religious background of the migrants played an important part in their decision to migrate. It also sometimes determine how they are able to cope with circumstances during their stay in terms of language, dress and work.

The reasons as to why there is a greater propensity to migrate among the Muslims and Christians and very less among the Hindus were explored. Some of the reasons were found through the interviews with the migrants and also some non-migrant as well as male returnees who threw some light on this phenomenon.

The social ideals and beliefs of a community can play a crucial role in the migration characteristic of a mobile population. For instance, migrating to the Gulf as domestic help in the homes of rich is not seen favorably especially among the upper caste Hindu families in the Coastal Andhra region. Even among the migrants moving within the country, seems that even though female participation in labour markets is now widespread, it is still seen as shameful for a woman to leave her own village to work (Deshingkar & Start, 2003: pp—15). It is mostly the male member of the family who migrate or those women who have no other alternative and consist mainly from the female-headed families (widows or divorced) who to Gulf for earning livelihood for the family. One Hindu respondent who was a non-migrant said,

In our family my father do not even allow me to go and mix freely with the Dalits. When one of my aunties wanted to go there was a huge uproar in the family. It is a matter of honour. My parents will not allow us to go and serve in someone's family for money.

Another reason which came out of the conversation with the migrants was that for Hindu women to migrate it becomes difficult because of the food habits and more particularly the use of beef. It is not possible to avoid those situation for women as they have to cook and clean in the kitchen. Some respondents mentioned how they preferred to not reveal it to their employer for fear of their contract terminated.

5.5: Marital Status and Migration

The marital status of the migrants proved to be an important aspect in the study of women migration toward Gulf for employment in the study areas. The marital status had different impact on the decision to migrate, motivations for migrating, and their readjustment to the society on return and so on. However not all cases were the same and differ from person to person. As mentioned earlier, the migration is driven by the demand factors and the

availability of manpower. The push factors in the migration of women in the study have stemmed from the financial need of the family either their own, for those married/divorced/widows or also their natal for the unmarried migrants. Migration and employment of a member of family abroad is seen as a “household livelihood diversification strategy” (Fernandez, 2011). In the same study by Fernandez find that the majority of migrants from Ethiopia to Gulf countries were unmarried women. However, in the case of India, the majority of Indian migrants are married. Centre for Development Studies report shows that 86 percent of returnees are married and the propensity to return home is very much higher among the married emigrants (Zachariah and Rajan, 2011b). Similarly, in the study, the majority of women migrants from Andhra Pradesh is married or divorced/separated. This can be explained first due to the age restrictions for Indian women set at 30 and secondly by the social cultural practices that do not allow unskilled women to migrate prior to marriage.

Early marriage of the women in the Coastal Andhra region beside other reasons seems to have added to the reasons for high migration from these areas with high female migration incidence areas. Women take on the responsibility of the family at a very young age. A study by UNICEF 2001 show that 80% of females marry before the age of 18 and 50% before they are 15(cited by Biao, 2007). For instance, during the course of my fieldwork I interviewed returnees in the Ankapallam village in East Godavari who got married at the age of 12-13. It is not uncommon to get married at such young age and is not looked upon differently. Although the situation is changing now, the respondents themselves were married at a very young age. It takes off the financial burden of education for these poor families. In the Andhra society, a social ceremony to celebrate the coming-of-age of the child called *rajaswala* in Telugu also called “mature function”. This is celebrated upon receiving her first menstruation cycle and introducing her to the society her maturity and that she is responsible person now. Decked in sari and makeup for the first time, professional photographers are hired to take pictures of the girl. Talking about this ceremony one respondent who I talked to on the day they were celebrating it explained,

This is a ceremony to show to the society that y daughter is ready to get proposals for marriage. She is 13 years. No, she doesn't have to marry now but if someone good comes they can be engaged and marry in 3-4 years.

As girls got married very early that by the time they are 24-25 they are faced with the financial constraints at home due to rampant unemployment, obligation to educate the children, dowry for daughters and daily needs. It gets harder for the family when the husband is incapable to earn money or unemployed or expires leaving the burden of taking care of the family on her alone. As they get married early they have no education or employable skills that can guarantee income for the family survival. However on being asked if they would allow their daughters to be married early as well like them, the women replied that they do not want an early marriage for their daughters. For many women whose living condition has fairly improved after migration want their daughters as well to at least get a degree or a vocational training in polytechnics before they marry.

5.6: Decision-Making in Migration

For the women who have not worked outside their homes, deciding to migrate to another country for a living for herself and the family is a process they go through either by it is deciding it for herself or a 'household strategy'. The question of who migrate and who do not in the family, among the women in the study it was found to have co-relation with the whole social and cultural realities. In the context of women migrating to GCC for work in Andhra Pradesh, a large part of the decision—making regarding migration is heavily influenced by the marital status of the women. In the traditional patriarchal families, it is the eldest or the most able bodied male member who is expected to provide for the family. However, the job openings in the Gulf and the demand for women workers have led to breaks this tradition.

Prior to migration, the women except in majority of the cases were not expected to join the workforce. Majority of the women were home-makers prior to migration with an exception for a few of them who worked in the agricultural fields as seasonal daily wage earners. Their motivation to migrate was their families' collective welfare rather than their own (Handapandagoda, 2014). A study from Ethiopia shows that single women migrating to

the Gulf for work as domestic workers could be considered as household livelihood diversification strategy as strong cultural expectation is placed on the young women to earn for the natal family (Fernandez, 2011) In the case of migration of women from Andhra Pradesh poverty and in lesser degree cultural expectations which inspires migration. For married women with children, the decision to migrate is expected to be a decision made by both husband and wife. Majority of the women had been dependent on the income of the male-head of the family that is typical of a patriarchal society. However in times of distress, women take up the role as the primary bread-winner. They first get the information from the neighbours or other female relatives about the vacancy in the Gulf.

In in the study it was found that the majority of the women felt it as their responsibility to take care of the family while the husband was not very eager to send them as it undermines the traditional image of the male member to be the 'provider'. It is especially true for those whose husbands were not able to provide for the family either due to illness or unemployment. It is with some reluctance that the male head give permission and 'allows' them to go. One respondent said,

It was my decision to migrate. My husband did not want me to go and told me to get a job in Hyderabad but I do not have any contacts through which I can get employment. My daughters also did not want me to go but I had decided and went ahead with it. He wanted to be the one to earn money but he had an accident while working as an auto driver. i stayed for 2 years and I am planning to go again but he doesn't know that. I will tell him after I get it and ask him if I can go.

For the married migrants, women generally migrated due to high male unemployment, sick husband or because the income of the husband alone could not support the financial circumstances of the family as most of them worked as daily wage earners as agricultural labourers or as rickshaw drivers etc. One respondents who is a repeat migrant said,

I have 3 children. My husband is sick and cannot work. I have to go and work because we don't get work which will pay enough for the family. The daily wage which I used to do before is 4000 per month which cannot cover medical expenses for husband and children's education. Working in Gulf pays 10000 per month. I

spent 30000 but this time it's free. The employer is paying for the flight tickets. My sister is also going to Gulf to Bahrain, because her husband working as agricultural labour is getting paid very little, 200 per day and that work is also not easy to get. Sometimes he doesn't get work for the whole month.

Although very less in number the migration of single/ never married women were found to be very important aspect of migration in this study. For those who were unmarried at the time of migration, it is mainly the head of the family either male or female who decides to send the one who will be the most suitable for the available job. Some were pressured and expected to take care of the family by migrating and earning. One such respondent in her words,

I did not want to go but my father told me to because we are three children, girls only and we need money for education, dowry and I was the eldest one. I had no option but to go. My mother was very sad but she couldn't say anything to my father.

As for widowed/ divorced women, as the bread-winner in the family and very low employment opportunities at home compounded with little or no education, migrating to Gulf countries as a domestic worker is a way out they choose. One widowed respondent said

I wouldn't have gone there if my husband was still alive. He would have earned money somehow. I cried for many nights before I went because I was scared, what will happen to me, what will happen to my children if I go. But I had to in order that they have food in their stomach.

In some cases however some women went to experience what it was like to work in the Gulf. These cases were very few but significant in the sense that they do not care much about the outcome but were willing to go and work out of curiosity. One such respondent said,

I wanted to see how it was. I lost my husband and I did not have children. There was no one stopping me at home or waiting for me. When people go to Gulf and come

back they talk about it a lot. Some said it was good and some said badly. Some went and became rich while some became poorer. I went there to experience it and I stayed for five years.

In the study it was found that the majority of the respondents prior to migration were not part of active labour force. Out of the 70 respondents, only 8 worked as seasonal agricultural workers in nearby villages.

SECTION II

Different phases of migration has an impact on how the migrants go through the process and negotiate the challenges they have to face. This section talks about the experiences before the migration. It brings to light the various factors which contributed to the eventual migration and the challenges the migrants face and what their expectations and perception of migration mean to them.

5.7: Prior to Migration

When the migrants decide to migrate whether it is a household decision or individual, they take the risk and hope that the outcome will be favourable. There are no information dissemination centres or pre-migration training centres in Coastal Andhra. The information about migration is only through word of the mouth from previous migrants and their trust on the agents who operate in the village. There are both legal and illegal agents who operate in recruiting women. In the study it was found that majority of the migrants used these agents to help them in the process of preparation to migrate while some women migrated with the help of relatives.

5.8: Recruiting Agents

The recruiting agents have been played a vital role in the migration of women especially from the semi-urban and the rural areas of Andhra Pradesh. The recruiting agents plays the role in preparation for migration departure which includes recruitment, obtaining a passport, the job search, travel booking and emigration clearance from Ministry of Indian

affairs (now MEA) through the POE. This also includes procuring false birth certificates for the women who have not reached the age of legal 30 years of age. Their notoriety has gained immense attention in the recent years due to their huge recruiting fees, misinformation and no follow up on the condition of the works once sent to Gulf.

The MOIA has set the amount of recruiting fees to be “equivalent to wages of 45 days as per the employment contract subject to maximum of Rs 20,000/-” (MEA, accessed Nov 2016). However the women in east and west Godavari pay around 50- 60 thousand rupees to the agents. The operation of the agents and brokers is quite complex in the areas where there are women migrating. There are only 13 registered Recruiting agencies in the state as listed in MEA website as of October 2016. Eight of these listed RAs are in Vishakapatman, 1 in Chitoor and 2 in YSR districts (Kadapa). However there are thousands of ‘agents’ who are recruiting the workers are the sub agents of the formal. These agencies recruit sub agents in the village level and the sub-agent deals with the prospective migrants. The services of these agents to the migrants include preparing documents such as passports, emigration clearance, employment contract, Visa or work permit, medical certificates, police clearance certificate for migration. The migrants rely on these agents as majority of them are illiterate first-time migrants. These agents do not have authorised license and therefore illegal to work as agents yet they operate out of their house. For instance, I came across an individual who was known as ‘agent’ who was a tailor by profession but had worked as an agent in the area and had sent three four women in the area. He, however did not want to be interviewed. The illegality of the status of these recruiting agents made it impossible to interview any of them. None of the interviewed women were related to these agents but even if they were they did not give away any information. In one case a man admitted that he sometimes worked as a middle man and find women for other agents to send to Gulf. When the prospective migrants know that the agents are from the village, these transactions occur based on trust. These agents are sometimes returnees but most have never had migration experience.

Some issues that came up in the course of fieldwork that the returnees said they faced were. Most of the Gulf migration happened through family members and neighbours. Sekher

(1997) study shows that 70.7 per cent Gulf migrants got visa through their relatives and 21 per cent got through their friends.

- *Huge recruitment fees:* The agents ask for 50 -60 thousand rupees for recruitment. The women had to take loans for from the money lenders at a very high interest rate. It generally took 9 months to 1 year to be able to repay back this amount with interest. This problem was found in the majority of the interview I undertook.
- *Salary not as promised:* In a bid to sell the work visa, the agents and sub agents quotes the amount of salary higher than what is actually promised by the employer. The women are misled with this information and helpless at the work destination when they find out that the promised salary was false.
- *Misinformation regarding work:* Some women were led to believe that they will be working as a domestic worker and take care of the household, but the respondents found that in reality the workload was heavier and impossible to do. Some women had to work even in several households without extra pay. Some of the standout reasons the women returned was because of heavy work load.
- *No follow up:* After the workers are sent to the airport, there is not follow up on the well-being, conditions of workplace, and treatment of the workers or if the salary is being paid regularly and as promised. In fact the women are left alone even when they are facing difficulties and harassment at the work place.

5.9: Types of Visa

There are different types of visas that the migrants go to Gulf with. The types of visas they choose shows the aspect of Gulf migration which unfortunately many times land them in risks when they reach their destination. Some women were aware of the risks and most them were not as they do not have the prior knowledge of the legal issues involved when they migrate without proper work visa. The types of visa that are being used by the respondents to migrate are,

- **Employment visa:** This type of visa is most commonly used by the respondents to migrate. This type of visa is procured with the help of the agents and brokers who are working in the region.
- **Visit visa:** Under this visa, sponsorship of a UAE resident is required and is valid for 60 and renewable for total stay up to 90 days. For those who have relative or friends staying/working the women use this visa to find employment while staying with them there. This visa is used because it is much cheaper as they just have to pay for the air travel.
- **Free visa:** When there is a close family member already working in the Gulf, the women are sent the visa to work in the home of the employers' relatives. This type of visa allow workers to work in multiple homes Some women migrants also make money by selling the visas to their relatives who are willing to come to work. Some returnees who have worked for a long time said that they have been able to send visas to their relatives and women in the areas from where she is. This has helped further in the acceleration of migration in villages like Videswara and Ankapallam in East Godavari.
- **Tourist visa:** Although it was found that not many women go under this type of visa, some do go under this visa. It entitles its holder to a 30 day stay during which the women hope to find work.

SECTION III

5.10: Culture Shock, Negotiating the Workplace Issues and Challenges.

Culture shock is 'the feeling of disorientation experienced when suddenly subjected to an unfamiliar culture or way of life'(Oxford dictionary). When a migrant moves to a new location, they carry with them as Jayaram(1998) puts it a socio-cultural baggage which among other things a 'pre-defined social identity' 'a set of religious beliefs and practices 'a framework of norms and values governing family and kinship and food habits' and language'. The Gulf countries have their own their own beliefs system and also expects the employees to adhere to the cultural norms and respect the religious beliefs and lifestyle very strictly. Travelling for the first time and adjusting to the new culture sometimes become an overwhelming experience for the migrants. It is true that the majority of them

knew about the cultural practices and beliefs of the countries they were going to through the accounts of the earlier migrants. Experiencing it first-hand however can be very different and unsettling for many women who have never travelled outside their hometowns and villages.

Language

The respondents have very low education and are taught in local primary schools in Telugu language. One of the main problems migrants to the Gulf often face therefore is the language barrier as they were not able to communicate well with the employers. As majority of women work in the private spaces and no chance of having a translator who can relay the problems they face to the employers. They work as demonstrated by the employer when they first arrive. One respondent said,

When I first went I did not know the language so even when I don't know how to operate some electronic gadgets I did not know how to ask. Even there are misunderstandings I couldn't tell them so that lead to problems. We also cannot talk our way out when we have even simple problems. I realised I should have learnt Arabic even little before I came.

This problem was faced by the Christian and Hindu migrants however for the Muslim migrants they did not face this problem as they knew Hindi and Arabic. Therefore they do not have issues relating to communicating with the employers in this aspect and therefore to lesser adjustment problems for them.

Clothing

In addition, many non-Muslim migrants face adjustment problems when, for instance the women who work there are expected to wear a *hijab*⁴² when they go out to public spaces and long dresses at home. They are also not allowed to wear ornaments which are important part of their culture back home in Andhra Pradesh. For Muslim women migrants, they

⁴² A type of clothing used by some Muslim women worn in public which usually covers from head to toe.

already know about the culture as most of it practices it at home, they do not have these problems. One respondent recalled saying,

As soon as I arrived madam handed me a black dress which is worn by Muslim women. I was told to take out my ornaments and cover my head at all times. I was allowed to wear tops and jeans but underneath the hijab.

Food Habits

Some of the other problems faced by the women was the food. In Andhra Pradesh, rice is the staple food and rice is eaten twice or thrice a day. Andhra cuisine is also known for spices used in many of the delicacies. When they first go to Gulf, they are given bread and cool drinks for breakfast and also sometimes for dinner and lunch. The women said that it was the most difficult to adjust to this food culture and most of them had to starve as they could not eat what was given. One women in her words said,

The employer was not sympathetic towards me but was not able to eat their bland tasteless food. I had to buy from the market to eat with my money because I couldn't eat their food at all. It was really very hard at first. I lost weight and had no energy so I could not work properly and got scolding because of that.

For those few who are not live-in maid are able to cook for themselves in the small dormitories that they share with other fellow workers. For example, one respondent who worked in a hospital as a nurse assistant was able to share food with other Indian workers who brought spices from home.

It was also found that even for those who had better education than most migrants did not get better employment even in the Gulf. For instance, one migrant, one of my informant, had a nursing diploma was recruited and was hired to work as a private caretaker of an elderly. However, she had to perform jobs outside the purview of her job description and take care of other duties usually done by workers employed as domestic workers. Even though her salary was a little better than a typical domestic worker salary she said,

In the job contract she said that I am being employed as a personal nurse. I went and found out that I have to take care of an old man. He was in his 80s. I was his

personal nurse and took care of feeding, cleaning, washing him and supervise his medication and health. But when I started working I was told to do other works as well. I had to do the cooking, washing and keeping the house clean for the family most of the times because they did not have a helper for almost 6 months. It was very hard but they did not give me the salary of the domestic help part. The work load became too heavy for me and I decided to return.

This could not be substantiated but the preference of one religion over other came up in some of the interviews because a few of the respondents felt that there were preference for Muslims and Christians. One respondent said,

I faced many problems at first because I was a Hindu and I did not touch beef. My agent did not inform me that he had written 'Muslim' as religion in my documents. On the first day I arrived, I was told to clean beef to cook and I was very disgusted. I was using gloves while washing the beef. My employer came and saw and told me to wash with bare hands and when I told her I am a Hindu so I could not do it. It was then I got into so much of trouble. She called the baba and they stood me in the middle of the living room and they started questioning me for many hours asking why I tried to lie to them about my religion. I told them that it was done by mistake and I did not know about it. They did not send me back however. They kept me because they did not have any other servant in the house and I did all the work. Soon they started to realise that I am very good at taking care of the house, they did not report me to the police and I stayed for 4 years.

Surveillance

Most of the employers work in an office or their businesses. They monitor their household with the help of cameras installed. Growing distrust of childcare providers is causing many families to install cctv camera in their homes⁴³ the workers who have no prior knowledge of such systems find that the constant monitoring of their movement in every part of the

⁴³<https://www.thenational.ae/business/technology/cctv-in-homes-peace-of-mind-for-families-or-a-step-too-far-1.135503>. Accessed April 14th 2016.

household very uncomfortable. Many mentions were made regarding this issue. In the words of one respondent,

When I first came, they kept me in a room with food and other jewelry. I did not touch anything. Madam later told me that she was watching me to know if I could be trusted in the house and that she was happy that I did not touch anything.

5.11: Work Condition, Abuse and Rights Violation

Many research and media reports have thrown the light on the deplorable work condition of workers in the Gulf countries. International organisations have also voice how domestic abuses continues to be normalised⁴⁴ in the public and private spheres. An important and pronounced attention has been drawn towards that of the women workers especially working as live-in maids who come from the poor countries like India, Bangladesh, Nepal etc. The treatment of the maids and absence of proper law in place and grievance redressal platforms to protect the most vulnerable migrants have caught the attention of human rights organisation internationally. The Human rights groups and other national rights groups have been pressuring the GCC countries to improve the condition of domestic workers by reforming their labour laws and cover these category of worker with others for equal protection⁴⁵. The accounts of some returnees and other NGOs and labour associations helped shed more light into the plight of the women migrating to Gulf. Sister Lissy Joseph who is the founder of National Domestic Workers Movement and works with many victims of abuse and harassment both in India and overseas. She recounts many cases which she had to deal with which involved cases like physical abuse, prisoned in Gulf jail for false cases, non-payment of salary and even deaths. In her words,

These women migrating are from very poor back ground. They have no education and are from backward both economically and socially. They do not know the laws there and are abused, beatings and sexual harassment. This few months I am trying

⁴⁴<https://www.migrant-rights.org/2017/09/Gulf-media-continues-to-normalise-abuse-of-domestic-workers/>. Accessed September 30th 2017.

⁴⁵ <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/07/kuwait-sets-minimum-wage-domestic-workers-160714143830769.html>. Accessed 15th April 2017.

to talk to the government to help bring back a woman who has been languishing in the jail for 10 years now. The family members keep asking me and I cannot even tell them the truth because it will hurt them more. In my travel to Gulf I have also come across women who are left at the airport waiting and starving. They are illiterate and the relatives are waiting for them to send home money.

The abuse and harassment of domestic workers is so common yet it is not very openly discussed among the migrant returnees. It is because of the fear of being gossiped about and ridiculed. Some were eager to talk about the beatings and condemn they had to face in the hands of the employers. One respondent in a village of West Godavari narrated,

When I first went there I stayed at a house where the kids would behave very badly and did not listen to anything I say. They would do naughty things and report to the malik that I was the one who did it. They also did not pay salary on time. Sometimes they would pay for two months and did not pay for the next two months. I did not know proper Arabic so my fellow workers asked the malik to pay the salary because I have to send money home because my daughter had blood cancer and I am the only one who has to provide for the family but they did not listen. So I decided to run away. The employers kept the passport so I had to run away without it. While running away, I lost my way, so I asked a taxi driver the way to the embassy. He told me he knew the place and told me to get in the taxi, he tried to molest me. I started to struggle and shouted and some people heard me and rescued me and took me to the embassy. The taxi driver ran away. The malik called the embassy to enquire if I came there but they hid me. The officials went to the owner's house and took the passport and arranged for me to work in another house. However no enquires were made. In another house, there were other 3 more workers working there. The malik however tried to act very inappropriately with me and so the end i decided to return home.

Another respondent in the study who worked as a nurses' assistant at a hospital in Saudi Arabia related to me that the reason why she worked in a hospital even though it paid so lesser than domestic workers because of safety reasons. Working in the hospital for 10

years she relates that she saw many Indian domestic workers almost every day coming to the hospital with broken bones and badly beaten bodies. In the course of the fieldwork it became apparent that the women did not have any knowledge of their rights, the traditions and laws of the place they were employed in, nor were they aware of any platforms where they can lodge their complaints. Some of the common issue that cropped up while interacting with the women were

- *No mobility*: The majority of the women interviewed said that they were never allowed outside their home. One woman who was interviewed at POE Hyderabad said that she stayed in a house for 2 years and was not allowed to go out even once. Even if they do go out, they go with the madam to the bazaar for shopping and for some workers the drivers are directed to take them to the bank to send home money and come back home. The employers assured her that it was for her safety. This was a common reply when the women were asked if they were allowed to go out. Some women were allowed to go out on Christmas day only.
- *Long working hours*. All the respondents worked from 5 am to 11pm every day. They are not allowed to rest and slept for only 4-5 hours.
- *Heavy work load*: Many of the respondents said that they returned because of heavy work load. Not only do they have to work at the employer's house, they also shifted them around the relatives' houses without extra pay. On Fridays for '*jummah*' they had to work extra preparing for parties held at home. *Jummah* is a congregational prayer that people of Muslim faith hold every Friday. It also forms as a day when families gather to socialize and share lunch, with men and women in different rooms and a day to exchange social and private news. No business transaction is held on the day and is wholly dedicated to family and social interactions. It is also on this day that when the families bring their own domestic help to work in the kitchen cooking and cleaning and others errands for the families gather which is usually close relatives
- *Withholding salary*: Some women complained that they had faced problems because they were not paid salary for months.

- *Sexual harassment*: some of the respondents confided that they were sexually harassed by the ‘baba’. However they had no way to complain to anyone as the ‘madam’ did not do anything or believe it. In fact they are blamed and verbally and physically harassed.
- *No Leave*: When the workers asked for leave, the employers did not allow citing the work they had to complete. Some workers were also not able to go back to India on leave even though they had family emergencies like marriage or even deaths in the family.

In most households, the number of members were large. The typical work that they usually performed they said were cooking, cleaning, washing, taking care of the children and elderly in some households.

A belated but promising ILO convention also called C189 is a convention that was adopted in 2011 and came into force in 2013, sets labour standards particularly for domestic workers. The main aim of this convention is to protect the rights of the domestic workers and ensure smooth and decent working conditions for the workers. It stipulates the ratifying countries to provide proper information on terms and conditions of employment in an appropriate, verifiable and understandable. The information on the contract should include duration of the contract, type of work to be performed, enumeration working hours, annual leave, terms and conditions relating to the termination of contract. This convention however has not been ratified by the countries which have the majority migrant workers in need of such convention like Gulf countries nor the countries which have its migrant’s workers working in thousands overseas and need protection like India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Migrant rights organisation writes,

‘Though laws regulating domestic labour in GCC countries vary, domestic workers generally lack basic labour rights because protective legislation either does not exist or is enforced. With the partial exception of Bahrain, domestic workers are excluded from national labour laws and consequently from regulations relating to maximum working hours, safety conditions mandatory rest periods and minimum periods and other maximum standards. Because most domestic workers live with

*their employers and because their residency status is tied to their employment, workers' mobility and access to redress mechanism is also circumscribed*⁴⁶.

5.12: Negotiating the Workplace

Many women have learnt that migration can bring benefits to her and the family, evident in their ability to earn and provide for their family. Before they migrate women are left at the mercy of the money-lenders, irregular employment, and very low wages if they get work. They have no land, or house or provided for the education of the children. They are aware of the risks involved in migration but with no other option they go to Gulf to work. How well they prepare for migration has brought benefits for the workers, their employers as well as the family workers back home. For instance, one respondent who has worked in a household for 23 years in Qatar relates how it was to be able to work and earn successfully. In her words she narrated,

At first it was hard adjusting there. They don't like spicy food, or eat rice that much. I slowly had to adjust. I have many children to take care of. Slowly madam started to entrust me with all the housework and the other maids there. I became the madam in the kitchen and in charge of other maids. With years and years of experience there I learnt Hindi and Arabic. I helped my relatives to get employment there. Now two of my children are working there I have built my house, sent children to good schools.

Similar story was told by other women returnees including two who were sisters where one stayed for 4 and 6 years in Qatar and had to cancel the plans to go back because one of the sisters met with an accident when they came back to renew their visa and lost the ability to walk. Even though they both stayed at different household both of them have been able to sustain good relationship with the employers and they sent them money even after the sisters could not go back to Gulf to work. Many workers find ways to please the employer to be able to negotiate the work-related problems and survive migration.

⁴⁶ <https://www.migrant-rights.org/statistic/domesticworkers/>. Accessed 20th December 2017.

Being submissive and building trust over a long period of time helped many migrants to maintain a better work environment and sometimes negotiate for better salaries or even ask to go home on a leave. Without this ability any tension with the employers especially the madam spelt trouble and harassment. For some workers having this trust built with the employers bring over other workers to work in the house of the relatives. They also maintain a good relationship after they return home by keep in contact with their employers back in Gulf.

5.13: Those Who Are Left Behind/ Migration and Reorganization of Household

When the women migrate, especially when there are young children to take care of, the extended family plays a very important role as they take over if they have not been doing before. They are also the key supporting roles in all the stages of migration which is from their decision-making process and until they return back.

For those who are left behind, the departure of the mother/sister/have impact depending on the role she plays in the household. The traditional Indian family is patriarchal in nature. The traditional role of the mother is seen as the care-taker and nurturer whereas the role of the father is that of the bread winner. Yet it cannot be said that the husband takes over cooking, cleaning, washing etc. and nurturing in general which the role was previously played by the migrant. Many other close family and older female children are called upon to help. As it was found in other similar studies (Gamburd,2000; Kottegoda 2006) in Sri Lanka, the husband if they are not unemployed before withdraws from the job market and start depending on the wife's remittances. This does not mean that he entirely takes over the role of the traditional 'carer or nurturer' ascribed to mothers. In fact, when the migrants go to the Gulf to earn a living for the family, the responsibility of taking care of the household is shifted on the person who will be the more 'responsible one'. It is usually the next female member, mother of the migrant, sister or aunt who is expected to take care of the children. They at least keep an eye on how the family is run in the absence of the mother.

Whether men or women migrate the impact on the household is significant socially and economically. Most of the time the migrants in return are expected to help financially in

return for taking care of the children. This puts a pressure on the migrants who have to be meagre with her savings as she has to remit sufficiently and regularly. However, it was also found that sometimes these arrangements do not go as planned and the children had to be shifted to other relatives. This causes stress and physiological problems on the children and disputes among the relatives. One such incident was related by a school teacher whose students were stressed and do not perform academically well. In her words she narrated,

The father did not take care of the family. So, when the mother left for Gulf and left the two children with her sister, she mistreated the children and used the money sent on her own children. These led to disputes among them when the mother returned and came to know about it and placed the children with other relatives.

The husband or the father is usually not trusted with the responsibilities, even if they are, they are under the watchful eyes of the female elder. In many cases, even if the family is left at the care of the father, it is usually the eldest daughter who takes on the role of the 'mother', taking care of the younger siblings, cooking, cleaning, and handling domestic issues and decision making. The father is usually not around as men either work outside homes to supplement the family income or are out drinking with friends.

It is not surprising that Gulf migration has economic and social impact. The psychological impact on the family especially on the children is as important. It is because the majority of the migrants have school going children or in their teenage years. The well-being of the family motivates migration for the women in the region. However, the economic advantages that can be accrued by parental Gulf migration cannot possibly fill the emotional needs of the children in the developmental stages of their lives. It is especially very difficult when the mother is not able to even have regular access to telephones to interact with the children. In the KMS(Kerala Migration Survey)2013 it was found that female respondents state negative perceptions of parental migration and even more for maternal than paternal migration (Zachariah and Rajan,2015). In the field work I also observed similar responses when the female children when asked about their mother being absent, they say that they miss and worry about her all the time. The female teenage

children had to take care of their younger siblings even making it difficult to have a regular life like other neighbourhood friends. One child of a returnee explained,

My mother was in Gulf for two years. She went there just after I got married. I even had a child but I could not move to my in-laws' house because I had to take care of my siblings since my father is with his other family and do not even visit. I missed my mother so much because I did not know how to take care of my infant son and could not even talk to my mother. My maternal grandparents are also alive but they are old and cannot do much. Instead I have to take care of my infant son and my siblings as well. I don't want her to go back anymore.

Even though the remittances are not sent to the children directly, the main aim of sending remittances is for the children. Money is remitted to the husband or the female relatives, whoever is taking the role of care giving in the place of the absent mother. These remittances are being used for children's education, like school fees, clothing for school, books, tuition fees etc. beside other things like housing and healthcare. Also, when the mothers come on vacations they bring with them gifts like toys, clothes, cheap jewelries and eatables for the children.

Yet, the visits are very infrequent as many women would rather save money than come home for vacations as the tickets are very expensive or the employer does not allow them to visit for fear that they will not return and do not want to go through the hassle of finding a new maid. The women try to compensate by sending gifts, however the children are not happy and face difficulty growing up or rather have to grow up faster be responsible. In one case, a woman left the children when the youngest was 8 months old and has been staying in Kuwait for 22 years. Her husband could not care for the young child and two older siblings and left the children with the grandparents and live by himself separately.

Due to the scope of the research, school enrolment information could not be collected. However, it cannot be denied that children of the migrants are enrolled in schools as the respondents tried to emphasize how important it was the children to get education so that they get better paying jobs in the state and do not have to resort to go to Gulf as a domestic

worker or other low skilled jobs they require hard labour and less income and also of lower status.

5.14: Saving and Sending Home Money

It is without doubt the economic motivation that drives the women from these regions to migrate to Gulf. However, with the paucity of data it is difficult to give a firm estimate of the total remittance as in the case of other states in India, with the exception of Kerala to some extent who have periodic household surveys undertaken for KMS (Kerala Migration Survey). Even in that case Rajan & Zachariah (2015) says out of the two types of remittances; household remittances and total remittances, KMS at best collect household remittance information and are not equipped to get the information on total remittances. According to them household remittances are those money received directly by the dependents back home and total remittances is inclusive of both household and institutional remittance. Institutional remittances being those remittance sent directly to financial institutions as investment by the migrant.

In the present study, it was found that the income of the migrants is send directly to the dependents for the purpose of household consumption and healthcare. The salary as shown in Appendix I, is not high but is much higher than what they would be paid back home if they manage to work as daily wage earner or the salary of the husband. The money is often remitted through bank transfers to the accounts of the dependents. All the respondents remitted every month unless their salary is held back by the employer for some reason or the other.

The changes that is expected to bring to the family is very high and whether it is men or women migration evidence from the fieldwork show how much the impact on the household is significant socially and economically. The locality from which more migrants are moving showed better housings and conspicuous consumption pattern. Studies have shown how migration can have a tremendous impact on the family and their communities from where the migrations are moving. Zachariah and Rajan (2011a) talks about the socio-economic as well as demographic impact Gulf migration has had on communities and regions from which migrants move. Their relationship with other members of the society

changes as well. However, when the migration does not turn out as hoped, the family is caught in the cycle of debt and impoverishment.

Generally, when they migrate, women pay a large sum of money to the *agents* for visa and work permit generally around 50,000 to 60,000. To do so they borrow money from money-lenders with very high interest rate or from relatives. Hence, the period for remitting money for the family back home does not start immediately as soon as they start working. One respondent in the study said,

I took a loan from my relative at 3 rupees per day because I had to pay 50000 to my agent. It took me 18 months to pay back. Which had increased to 1,20,000. Those days were very hard for me and my family. I had to repay the loan first as the interest kept accumulating.

All the other respondents had similar problems at the beginning of their contract where it takes 9 months to 12 months to recover their losses. With the work permit only for two years, after which they had to return to India to renew their visa, the women are left with not much left to support the family. This very often results in repeat migration, as women renew their visa and go back to Gulf, sometimes not to the same employer or even to the same country. Most of the time on the second or third migration the women have more awareness and knowledge about their rights. They have better chance and have more confidence to negotiate for better salary and working conditions with the employer. One such respondent said,

I returned 3 months back and I am planning to go back. But not to the same house. I was negotiating with the maliks to increase my salary we could not come to an agreement. Working as a housemaid with 12000 is okay in a normal household but they had 10 family members.

For some women, due to problems like non-payment of salaries by the employer, disputes with the employer, visa problems, deportation etc., they return home before they can reap the benefits of migration. Thus, they end up incurring more losses and return home with more debts than they had prior to migration. One respondent said,

I paid 40 thousand to my agent. I had borrowed money from a money lender in our locality at 10% interest. I worked in a house for 6 months but the pay was less than I was promised. The agent said that the pay was 10000 but when I went there they paid only 6000. I tried to contact the agent but he said he can't do anything. This lead to misunderstanding with my employer and they send me back as they didn't want to keep me. I returned and have to work here in people houses for 100 rupees a day to repay the loan I took.

The salary paid to the women workers in the GCC countries especially to the domestic help is notoriously very low. For example, the domestic workers in Qatar are paid 30 per cent less than average wage workers and in Kuwait 20 per cent less while in Saudi Arabia, a Sri Lankan domestic worker can earn only 20 per cent of an average private sector minimum wage around 80-100 USD (5500-7000INR approx.)⁴⁷. While interviewing the women returnees and also the dependents of those who are currently working in Gulf, the salary ranged from 7000-15000. Also, many women were not paid as promised they would by their agents before they migrated. While most of the respondents were aware of the amount of money they would get paid, some were not. They also fall prey to the false promise of the agents who arrange their visa. In words of one respondent

The agent said that I would get 12000 per month and the salary will increase after 3 months to 15000. However even after 1 year they only paid 12000 and the work load kept increasing. I tried to negotiate but it's not easy when I do not know the language and I could not talk to the agent also since I was not allowed to use phone except for a weekly call to my family. It was only when I threatened to go back they increased the salary to 15,000.

Their motivation to migrate for the better financial status for the family are not often realised due to their inability to negotiate the different issues they face during the course of migration. However, despite the low salaries, the amount of money they get in the Gulf is better than what they get at home working in rich houses is which is 3000 to 4000 per

⁴⁷ <https://www.migrant-rights.org/statistic/domesticworkers/>

month as domestic workers. The remittances sent home have been found to trigger more migrations in the area as in the case of several villages in both East and West Godavari where many villages have at least one member of the family working in Gulf. For instance, in the village of Videshwaran in East Godavari, the informant who is working in an NGO says that around 80 percent of the household in a village with 300 have a family member either working in the Gulf or have returned.

5.15: Utilization of Money and Consumption

Most often, it is assumed that the money sent from the Gulf migrant workers can bring a drastic change to the family and change their life for the better. The money sent home by the migrants are used for different purposes. Especially for the first- time migrants they sent all the money they earn back to their family monthly or once in two months. The money is sent to the husband but also most often to the female relatives who are taking care of the children in their absence. It is usually with many trails and errors that the migrants learn how and who to remit their savings. One respondent said,

I sent the money at first to my husband but I learned that he has drunk and gambled away the money without using it for the children. Then I decided to send it to my mother.

Sometimes the remittances sent home create tension among the family members. The relatives expect a share of the remittances to be given to them as well for taking up the responsibility in her stead when the migrant is not around. One respondent used to send money to her sister but later learned from the school teacher of her children that the money was not used for her kids and the children's tuition fees were not being paid on time. She had to make arrangements while staying abroad to make new arrangements by sending the money to her mother. Thus, the migrants become more experienced and they take it upon themselves to decide who to send the money to and instructions and how to utilize it.

For the repeat and therefore more experienced migrants, they are able to not only send money but also save money in their own account or buy gold jewelries which they see as

an investment for unforeseen family crisis in the future. However, for many migrants, Gulf migration become the lifeline and total dependency on the monthly/bi monthly remittance was observed. When a respondent could not go back due to health problems, the eldest son had to work as a daily wage earner. Another respondent had to stall the construction of the family home because the husband had used all the money in drinking and loaning money to friends. At the time of fieldwork, she was waiting to borrow from a money lender to get visa to go back to Gulf.

There is little or no investment in the local businesses with the Gulf money in the areas where women were migrating. At the time of the return some of the migrants buy gold as an investment for the future. During the course of the fieldwork I interviewed only one woman who had used the gold bought with money she earned working for 10 years to save the failing cloth business of her husband in Rajahmundry. The major expenditure goes towards buying plot of land for family and constructing house, dowry, education and daily consumption. This was evident in the fieldwork as well where most of the homes of those who have a migrant and are able to manage money efficiently were able to better housing and health care for the family. Many houses who have a migrant working in Gulf have upgraded from one-bedroom thatched roof houses to 2-bedroom cement house. These houses also have other consumer durables like TV, refrigerator, music systems, blenders etc. I also observed that the children who kept following us around the neighbourhood also had better clothing than the other children in the locality and seem to be envied by other kids for their toys.

Another aspect that was relied to me many times by the returnees who had female children of marriageable age was that a large part of the remittances is also spent on marriage of the girl children for dowry which is a very common practice in Coastal Andhra. The girl's family pay around 50 thousand to 1lakh as "*dehej*" to the groom's family. In some areas the dowry was expected around 3-4 lakhs especially when the returnees have done better financially. Being able to pay a huge dowry is a matter of prestige for the bride's family. One respondent said,

I have 3 girls and I have saved 50,000 for the marriage of eldest one. If I hadn't gone to Gulf I wouldn't be able to pay that much. I wouldn't be able to lift my eyes in the society if I can't pay for my daughters' marriage.

Buying land and constructing houses was also found to be one of the main reason which motivate the women to migrate repeatedly. One respondent who was a widow had recently been able to save enough money to buy a piece of land which she showed to us proudly. At the time of my fieldwork, she said that she is going back in the next 3 weeks to earn money to build a house for her family of three. She had taken a loan of 5000 from a money lender and the remaining from the saving she made from her previous job in Kuwait.

5.16: Social Recognition and Stigma

The social stigma attached to Gulf migration returnees is not new to the areas of study. Varghese and Rajan (2011) found that women domestic workers in Kerala face stigmatization when they return home which was very powerful that even close relatives were castigated by their own family including the husband.

The majority of the migrants I observed were either married, divorced or widowed. The general consensus I found among the general public towards migration to the Gulf is that women should not migrate to Gulf if they are young and especially if they are unmarried. This observation showed the behavioural pattern, beliefs and attitudes towards the migrants and the society of how Gulf migration is perceived. Gulf is seen as a place where employment is readily available especially in the domestic sector and the only option to get out of poverty however it is also pictured as place where the employers do not care for the workers, where women get into affairs with the male employers and also exploited sexually. Hence when women return it is often suspected if the money earned is through salary or 'gifts' for sexual favors and affairs with the employers. For this reason, many 'successful' returnee women who have earned financially better than other returnees do not usually talk about their experience in the Gulf of fear of being misunderstood or gossiped about. Such was the case of one returnee who stayed in the Kuwait but did not want to be interviewed because of the fear of being talked about by the neighbours about her big house and business that she has set up after her return after 16 years and my

informant said a lady married her employer and got a large amount of money after their divorce and she returned home with that money. However, this information could not be verified. This kind of hearsay I found out was quite common. Other migrants save enough with salary, meagre expenses and proper management however they are also assumed to have earned money in the same category as people who have acquired money in ways which are not acceptable to the Andhra society. Thus in spite of their years of experience and knowledge of the culture and traditions of the Gulf society, fear of being misjudged stop them from sharing the know-hows of survival to the other aspiring migrants.

The general social perceptions attached to migration to the Gulf was seen in the way the issues were discussed by the migrants and the non-migrants as well. It was found that it was especially hard for the unmarried women migrants as they were unable to get married on their return. In the society where women are socially expected to marry between the ages of 14-15 or earlier, the returnees most often have crossed the “marriageable age”. Even more of a hurdle for them is that despite their more or less financial stability because of their savings from working in the Gulf, the social sensitivities attached to Gulf migration makes it hard for them to get married. It was explained by one respondent;

I went to Kuwait because my parents died and my sister married early at the age of 18. My brother's income as auto rickshaw driver wasn't enough to pay the debt we had when my sister got married. So I decided to go there. I was 22. My brother did not want me to go but I really faced him to let me. I stayed for 2 years and when I returned my relatives did not send me back because they said I will not be able to get married if I go as I will be too old.

Another respondent who had experienced similar problem talked about how women are perceived when they go to the Gulf for work. There have been reports from neighbours that some women who go to Gulf becomes victim of sexual harassment and one returnee who was impregnated and was sent home refused to be interviewed fearing humiliation and stigmatization. Another respondent who reluctantly talked to us had married a rich Arab sponsor and stayed for 15 years and eventually returning with huge wealth and had built a 3-storied building and also owned a petrol pump in the city. These stories are talked

about enthusiastically in the social gatherings and sometimes looked down upon. However, these few cases have given a negative image to returnees and the Gulf society. A returnee who had worked as a nurse- assistant/*Aayah* in a hospital returned after 10 years. She explained,

It is not good to go to Gulf before marriage. I did not get suitors for marriage because I went as a single girl and people here think that those who have gone to Gulf have loose characters. People have this idea that we romance Arabis and so they don't want to marry us or do not want their sons to marry me even though they know I have made enough savings. Luckily my present husband was also working in the Gulf for many years and knew the real situation there. So he agreed to marry me.

While talking about the Yemeni returnees from Saudi Arabia, Colton (1993) talks about male returnees who are enthusiastically welcomed back and expected to be generous. Their reintegration behaviour is symbolised by behaviours such as taking a bride, build a house, buy a land and invest and so on. The women return to Coastal Andhra from the Gulf and they become again part of the society they had been brought up in and where they had left their families behind. Especially for those who have been able to stay and work for a long time they stand out among other locals.

Their mobility and attire 'conspicuously' sets them apart from others in the neighbourhood (Kottegoda, 2006). Their return is a subject of curiosity, unease and envy among the locals. This is because the outcome of the migration motivates more non- migrants to migrate and at the same time if the outcome of migration did not turn out as expected, they are a subject of ridicule and gossip.

The recent Gulf women returnees are usually easily recognised by others in the neighbourhood even if they are not acquainted with each other. The landlord of the house where I rented to stay during the course of the field work said that they dress and act differently than the other locals. With this in mind I also observed that the recent returnees dressed and wore different hairstyle and makeup which I found no one else in the neighborhood would dare to do. They wear "*Arabi gold*" jewelries designed more

elaborately than the local made jewelries and make up and the dress materials bought from Gulf during social functions. This is sometimes seen as arrogance and “show off” of wealth and new status by others and also a cause of envy and at the same time a motivation for several other women to migrate as well. They are the topic of discussion among the neighbours who are curious to know what they went through for weeks and how much they have saved. Some even try to borrow money from the returnees which they had never been approached for before migration. One respondent who returned just a few weeks before I met her related how the curiosity of others amuses and sometimes bothers her.

Everyone in my neighbourhood knows where, how and what kinds of problems I faced. Sometimes they even exaggerate things to make the stories interesting. Our society is like this.

It is, according to local informants, not a long-lasting change all of them go back to the way they were before their migration. The perception of home society towards return migrants is important factor that determines the quality of their return life in home society at least for the recent returnees. In the course of the fieldwork I observed that some non-migrants view women returnees as ‘unchaste’ as they have lived away from husband for many years, ‘money hungry’ for leaving children behind in the care of other relatives in search for money and so on. However, they are also seen as with awe as they live more lavishly than their neighbours, having upgraded housing and owning latest gadgets. In social functions they are watched to see how they dress and act. My informant talked to me about a lady who had done very well economically after staying in the Gulf for more than 15 years

Even if she has a lot of money she behaves without any class. She likes to be first in the line for food and grabs anything in sight. Money has not changed her class.

Despite these opinions, the informant who is a returnee herself regretfully talks about her loss she incurred when she went to Gulf to work as domestic help. She feels that if not for her bad luck she would have come back with enough money to look after her grandchildren well.

5.17: Social Problems

Besides the stigmatization that the returnees usually face, in their attempt to earn for their families by going to the Gulf, many social problems seem to have come up like divorce, separation, alcohol addiction, children underperforming at schools and at least that is what the non-migrants feel etc. There were accounts of women returnees who had to divorce as a consequence of going to Gulf. I talked to a local school teacher who explained the nature of problems faced as a result of mother migrating

In our society, it is expected that a mother should stay and take care of the children, help with school works, discipline them, cook for them and so on. Men are not taught to do that. When his wife goes to work, he is lost. He doesn't know what to do. The children are left to do what they want. There two kids in my class age 9 and 10, they come to class without doing their homework. Father doesn't care. He is always just out drinking. They fail in exams. I feel pity for them.

Another family I found out have been living separately for more than 20 years. The husband could not take care of the children and had to give the responsibility to the grandparents. The migrant's sister who is also a returnee explained,

My brother in law is a daily wage earner. When my sister went to Gulf to work, he tried to take care of their children but he eventually gave up and gave the 2 girls to my parents. The eldest daughter was 8 months when my sister went to Gulf. She has still not yet returned.

This particular respondent eagerly showed me the pictures of the family her sister was taking care of in Gulf and the youngest child was the same age her daughter was. She asserted that even though she also went to Gulf in the past she would never live that long away from her children.

There is a large number of female headed household in the state. Andhra Pradesh recorded the highest percentage of married population at 52.9. (Census 2011) in India. The census also showed that the proportion of widow/divorces/separated between male and female population is significantly bigger with male at 2.5 and females at 7.5 in Coastal Andhra. In many cases the women are living apart for minimum of 2 years and sometimes for more than 8 to 9 years. While it cannot be said for certain if migration of women results in

divorces in the areas of study, the strain between husband/wife relationship in some families were found to be due to long absence of wives at home and the added responsibility for the taking care of the household rests on the husband. A similar study on Eritrean domestic workers to Gulf suggest the high rate of divorce attributed to migration of women (Kifleyesus, 2012). Sometimes the women return to find that the husband have extra marital affairs and sometimes the pressure to take care of family proves too much of a responsibility and they eventually divorce.

More often than not, the women are blamed for the cause of divorce with their husbands. Also, as they stay in the Gulf for many years, they are suspected of infidelity by their husbands which led to divorce and break up of family. So, for many women who go to Gulf for earning for the family by taking care of other people's household led to the breakage of her own. This trend has caused concern for some local religious leaders who think that it is because of Gulf migration which lead to divorce of many women migrants from their husbands. One pastor in a village in East Godavari said,

When the wife goes to Gulf, the husbands are left to do whatever they want. With the money they get, they drink and have affairs.

Very often the migrants find themselves in a pressing psychological dilemma to maintain their previously exhibited standards of living leading to many spending more than they can afford to, to sustain the façade of wealth and success (Irudaya & Jolin, 2013). Some of them had conflicts with the family and neighbours as they feel left out from the wealth which they think deserve. One respondent who let the children with her parents say

I am very grateful that my sister looked after my children when I was working. I used to send them money. However, they really did not understand that I have to save money for my daughter's wedding. They wanted to buy some land and asked me for money which I did not give. They did not talk to me for a long time.

SECTION IV

5.18: Personal Networks and Migration

Observed in the field work were many instances where, as some of the migrants move and remit successfully, they also help their and relatives to find jobs in the similar sector. The rate of migration from the region and some pockets is very high, as high as 80 percent, according to unofficial report of my informant and other non- migrants. It can be an exaggeration but there are no official reports to prove otherwise. Yet it was also evident from my observation that there are many migrants working in Gulf or have already returned where in some villages many came forward to inform us that his/her aunt/sister / mother/ neighbour have recently returned or is working there.

In some migration stream, family members and close-knit friends who have prior migration experience often provide the initial contacts and useful information and sometime provide financial assistance for migration related expenditure (Banerjee, 1983; Shah, 2000,). Empirical findings in internal migrants (Banerjee,1983) suggests that the wider the migrant cast the nets for contact the more advantageous it is for the migrants to get information about the labour market and the possibilities of getting employment.

The ultimate reason for the migration is financial needs at home for the migrants in the region. The role of the networks works in many ways and the potential migrants get assistance using these to migrate. The ways these social networks come into play in the migration are

- i. Sending visa/ work permit
- ii. Financial help at home of origin

Sending visa/work permit: In a study on male migrants in the Gulf (Shah 2000), it was found that those who came through recruitment agents were significantly less fortunate in terms of the wages they earned and were less satisfied with the jobs they found in Kuwait and that those who came on a direct visa or through friends were substantially higher than the wages of the ones who came through recruitment agents. He also found that those who came through friends or on a direct visa were significantly more successful in terms of finding a job that fit their expectation, and to be happier with the job. In the case of women migrants from Coastal Andhra to Gulf countries for work, this could not be true in all the cases, in fact the migrants who go through friends were especially more likely to come on

an *Azad* visa, which is illegal, and put themselves at more risk of deportation. Moreover, when the potential sponsor tries to recruit workers through those already working there, they are not likely to offer better salary than what is being paid to the experienced worker unless the potential worker has experience or can be guaranteed for safe working environment because in many cases women are isolated and the affairs of the home is kept private. Nevertheless, a few of the respondents I interviewed were able to get work contract with the help of migrants who are those who are working there already. Some are returnees but have good relationship with the old employers and still kept contact with their old employers. The interviews suggested that for those who were helped by their close mother/sister did not pay money to work in the Gulf or at least not as much as how much they have to pay the recruiting agents. One respondent from a village near Rajahmundry town was working in the Gulf as domestic worker for 15 years and had recently returned at the time of fieldwork, she said,

I helped my two daughters and other relatives to work there. They are now working in my old employers' relatives' homes. It's risky when you go through agents and you do not know what type of employers you will get. You have to pay thousands of rupees. My old employers still call me sometimes to help them find workers and I have recommended some of my relatives.

These stories were not uncommon however, it is also not very widespread. It was not easy for the migrants to send them visas and even if they do, they sometimes take a small percentage of what the local agents' demand which is usually cheaper than recruitment agent's fees. This can sometimes cause a rift between the families as the potential migrants feel that the relatives working there should not ask for money for the visa.

Although it is expensive given that they pay 50-60 thousand rupees many go through recruiting agents who are also part of their wide social network group by virtue of being a village kin/uncle/cousin and therefore trusted by the potential migrants. this trust-based exchange was also found in Bangladesh among the migrants to Gulf from the rural Bangladesh village where the 'dalals' acts local agent knows who to approach with a work visa (Rashid, 2012). As already described in the previous sections, these agents usually

offer a package of handling visas, tickets, government clearance and insurance (*ibid*) and other necessary travel documents. As there are no guarantees despite what is usually promised by these agents on the type of work environment they will be working in, the migrants feel they have been ripped off when the salary is lower or the job is not satisfactory. A few respondents I interviewed, had stayed for a few months and returned because the salary was less and the work load was very heavy. One such respondent from Rajahmundry said,

The agent said that the salary was 12,000 but when I went there the employer only paid 8000 and said that they have never agreed to pay 12,000. I paid extra 2000 to the agent because I thought I was getting a better salary than my neighbour. He really duped me. He is a distant cousin and I trusted him.

Another woman could not go after paying 20,000 in advance because the agent went to Hyderabad and did not come back for almost a year. These types of cases were very common and the respondents are left helpless and in debt.

Financial help at the home of origin: Getting assistance from their social networks, near or distant, can prove to be crucial in their migration process. The risks that is involved in migrating to Gulf countries offer opportunities and yet a very risky and expensive venture. Parents, siblings, cousins who are doing better financially pool in resources to send the migrant to Gulf. Borrowing money from relatives is much less expensive given than if they have to borrow money from the money lenders they have to pay more interest and the debts accumulate overtime if they are not able to repay on time. Relatives can be more accommodating and sometimes do not take the money back if the migrants had incurred heavy losses due to issue at work.

Migration is an option they choose to escape poverty and the hardship they face is not something they want others to face especially their relatives. The use of the networks to migrate by non-migrants has helped in nurturing migration in the areas of study. Even if they do not directly get work contracts, the migrants share their knowledge from their experience hence making migration easier. The respondents in my study themselves relates

how it was difficult when they first migrated but it became easier and smoother after migrating repeatedly.

All the respondents however feel that they do not want their daughters to go there due to the nature of work unless the financial situation at home is very bad. Even if the migration was relatively successful, they feel that working at someone's household for a meagre salary was not something they envision for their daughters. One respondent said,

I went to Gulf to work so that my daughters will get good education and get good jobs or husband who will take care of her. I do not want her to go and work unless there is no other option.

In male migration especially for those in the lower class like construction work, drivers, cooks etc, their social network help migrants in putting up places to stay while on the search for jobs or help when they need it (Shah, 1998). Since the domestic workers are isolated as they live in private homes, as live-in maids, and in many cases no communication⁴⁸ with the outside world since their cell phones which is their mode of communication are either confiscated or restricted if not monitored to be used during specified time only. So even when a relative or someone she knows works in a nearby home, they are not able to access help in times of distress.

5.19: Information Dissemination

With the absence of information dissemination centres in Coastal Andhra, many migrant women make uninformed decisions and are exploited by the so-called agents and the employers. The much-needed role of spreading awareness of such practices are performed by a few returnees voluntarily by educating the intending the migrants on what to expect, what to carry. A respondent who had worked in Kuwait for 6 years and had come back a few months earlier to get her visa renewed said that she has helped a few women by sending visa and at the same time teach them what to expect and what to do in times they get problems.

⁴⁸ <https://www.migrant-rights.org/campaigns/> .Accessed 9th October 2017.

I tell them to get their documents Xeroxed and keep with them, have important phone numbers ready for example Indian embassy, etc.

However, women like them are very few and not able to give information or awareness in a small circle and unorganised that they can reach because of time and financial constraints. If a proper platform is set up, the returnees can share information and know-how with the aspiring migrants and can make informed decisions, know their rights as well as migrate safely.

SECTION V

5.20: Return Migration, Migration Outcomes/Readjustment Patterns of Returnees

Readjustment is primarily the transition from the host culture back into one's home culture where the person experience surrounding after living in a different culture for a significant period of time (Adler 1981: pp—343). 'Readjustment' in the migration literature has been talking about people moving to rich countries with or without the dream of returning to the origin and which gave the option of the migrants to become citizens(Charles L. Thompson& Victoria Christophi 2006; Cerase,1974; Gmelch, & Gmelch, S.B 1995). However, in the case of migrants to the Gulf, the migrants are compelled to return due to the laws that prohibits the naturalization of non-nationals. So the migrants do not necessarily feel the need to integrate into the host society except to adjust to the given work environment to earn a living without becoming a part of the society which already do not give them the freedom to do so. Studies have suggested the gendered differences in the pattern of readjusting back to society (Gmelch and Gmelch, 1995; Reynolds 2008). The severity of problems faced by return migrants are also related to the amount of time they have been away from home and the extent of their success abroad (Gilani, 1983 *cited by* Sekher, 1997). They are however talking about women who return from countries that have provision for permanent settlement. In the case of Gulf women returnees, since they know that they will eventually return, there is not much difficulty. However they do sometimes miss the luxury of the Gulf homes where they worked. Returning to a less luxurious home do not appeal to them even though they love being near the family. Some feel that being near family seem to amplify their problems at home.

Most often the returnees feel that the non-migrants expect too much from them in terms of gifts, or loans etc. If the returnees find economic success in their migration, they are generally looked upon in good acceptance in society. However, the economic success doesn't last for a long period. After they return in order to monetary gains achieved by the returnees, if not properly invested, will only temporarily enhance their prestige and economic power (Weist, 1979). And in order to maintain the lifestyle they remigrate.

In terms of contribution to home society economically it was not evident as the remittances sent is used for family expenditure. However, in terms of sharing experience and knowledge acquired by migration and helping others in migration are quite prevalent.

Occupation after return migration is an important factor which can sustain the migrant and help them not to rely only on migration for survival. However most often returnees are unable to find appropriate jobs, this situation creating tensions mentally and economically especially because the needs of the family do not decrease. Even if major expenses have been met like paying for daughters' dowry, repaying back loans, and sometimes buying land for constructing homes, since they do not make other investment, they hope and try to go back to Gulf to maintain their lifestyle. Sometimes unproductive investments of savings by migrants lead to the economic crisis after return migration.

Non-migrants are often suspicious of returnees and resist innovation brought about by them (Cerase, 1970; Davidson, 1969). It was also found that the economic achievement of return migrants through migration may lead to suspicion to non-migrants. It sometimes creates problems between return migrants and non-migrants in home society. While returnees may be viewed as successful, upwardly mobile individuals, they also become targets of envy (Rhoades, 1978; Gmelch, 1980).

Overall it can be surmised that they do not face many complications readjusting socially when they return from the Gulf to their home. However for some migrants who had generous employers who treated them well, miss the modern luxury cars which took them where ever they need to go. One respondent who returned 5 years back was running a small '*dukan*' where I talked with her. She came for a vacation but could not go back narrated,

I came back for vacation and also my father health was failing. I could not go back because my ticket expired which I regret so much. I could have applied again but who will sponsor me again? The Malik had bought tickets for me to come back but I had lost that chance and as I kept staying here more and more responsibilities came and I couldn't go. I cried for a very long time. It could have been better if I stayed for longer. Even if there is heavy physical work there are all modern facilities, AC, fridge, and oven but here we hardly have fans. And the owners treated me well.

For those who are still involved in the migration as repeat migrants, they are looked up to by the neighbours and relatives as they have hopes to be helped financially. Some hope to be helped to go there themselves and are often asked to help them in their migration processes. They also see the migrants as someone to trust with money. One respondent said,

Before I migrated people did not even lend me money. I worked in the fields so I did not earn enough and people were scared that I might never return the money I borrowed. But now I am coming and going they lend it to me trusting that I will give back the money anyhow or at least help their relatives to get job there. In a way I am more respected. Before I was a widow and many people looked down on me.

5.21: Dependency on Migration

The financial benefit that the Gulf migration provides, the migrants and non-migrant dependents have become dependent on this money observing the trends of repeat migration from the region to the Gulf. For those who have migrated to Gulf once and have been able to remit successfully repeatedly keep on going back many times. Since there are no investments on any business or sustainable investment, the migrants keep on searching for jobs in the Gulf unless their health is not well. They dependents rely heavily on the remittances sent home with no other source of income for many. The women remit the major part of their income to their families back home.

As the labour contract for the workers as specified by the law is for the period of two years after which they have to leave the country and return if they wish to return with a renewed visa. Many respondents in the study informed me that they returned after two years and went back again after getting their visa renewed. They are caught in the migration cycle. The money is spent prioritising loans, then the money is usually spent on household maintenance. Owning a land and family home is also of great importance and matter of prestige. With very low salary, migrating once or twice is not enough to cover the expenses they have incurred at the initial stages of migration by taking loans for migration and other living expenses as already mentioned in previous sections. Hence, they go back on finding the right job again in the Gulf. This cycle of migration continues until they are no longer able to work or some unfortunate incident happens. This is true for every migrant in the study. Some of them stayed as long as 15 years. One respondent ideas reflects those of so many other migrants in the study,

I return not knowing whether I will go back but there is no other way to earn livelihood here. I have to go back. When I first went it was to repay some debts I had, after I finish repaying that, my children education, then I wanted to buy some land, and then I needed money to buy material for constructing house. So as long as I am able to work without getting seriously ill I will keep going there. There is no other way.

They do not always go back to the same household or not even to the same country. Many respondents in the study have worked in more than one country; however, the type of work remained unchanged. They do not learn any new skills but they do learn how to cope with issues more efficiently and even bargain for better work conditions and better salaries from their employers.

5.21: Victims or empowered?

The question whether Gulf returnees are empowered or are victims is asked often because of circumstances under which they migrate and the material/ financial returns they gain from migration. Hugo (2000) notes that whether or not migration lead to empowerment of women depends on the context in which the migration occurs, the type of movement, and

the characteristics of the female migrants. The term 'Gulf -victim' is usually used especially in the media for those who had faced misfortune in different stages of migration from the enormous recruiting fees to illegal recruiting agents to inhuman treatment at the workplace due to overwork and no proper health care. It is without doubt that all the women face these problems at some point of their migration. The psychological impact on the individuals and on the husband and children left behind is not given much importance as much as the tangible outcome of migration in terms of their salary and gift. On return women are also faced with the stigmatization and being seen as 'unchaste' as they work as domestic workers in the private homes of rich Gulf.

I found in my study that some of my respondents feel that by experiencing migration they were able to gain not only monetary but also recognition from others in the society especially those who have gone to Gulf many times and have been able to save enough money to buy land or build a house for the family. Even though they do not completely take over the household responsibility from the husband after they return, by becoming the primary bread-earner, they feel that they are able to make decisions in the family on the utilization of money which they have not experienced before.

5.25: Conclusion

The migrants profile shows the migration of the young married women who go to supplement the income of the family. These decisions are not without risks. It provides a picture of how one ethnic group have more propensities to migrate than the other. There is no special preference for a place or destination to work but the migrants are pulled by the availability of jobs in any parts of Gulf and the economic returns they are promised. The educational background of the migrants is also very low which in turn was found as the reason why they opt for migrating as domestic workers in the Gulf as the work at home demands higher educational qualification. Migration is not just an activity that has to do with economic gains. The individuals involved in this migration and the dependents are very much affected by the social expectations, behaviour and returns. The length of time which the migrants stay had a significant impact on the social and economic life of the migrants as well as their dependents. While the women who have stayed for a longer

duration were able to bring in financial benefits hereby improving the social status of those back home those who stayed for a shorter period did not have that impact. Another aspect of migration from Coastal Andhra to the Gulf as found in the study was the influence of earlier migrants who have stayed for more than ten years in Gulf working. They not only spurred migration by sending visa to their kins back home but their “success” influenced many more women to migrate. These early migrants are also witnesses to the change in migration patterns and trends in the area.

For all the migrants found for the study the primary motivation was for the economic reasons. However, the circumstances under which each migrant had to go were found to be different from each other so were the results. While for the widowed /divorced women went because they had to be the sole bread earners, for the single women they were socially expected to take care of the family and parents. This practice is however not very widespread because of the social restrictions attached to migration to the Gulf before marriage. Migration to the Gulf comes with many risks, from recruiting agents who charge high fees for their services and also from the employers who overwork and very little social protection against harassment. Not all migrants return with success and many are left in a cycle of debt, which also induce more migration to make up for the loss they had incurred. It also do not deter other potential migrants to move. However, some are able to retain good relationship with the employers by maintaining good relationship with their employers making it beneficial for both parties. Whether it is a successful or unsuccessful migration, women who have returned have experienced things that have not been experienced by others and have remained as “the amma who went to Kuwait” which distinguishes her from the others.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Whether as skilled migrants, semi-skilled category or as unskilled workers, women migrating as the sole bread winners of the family, the impact on the economy as well as society is felt widely in many countries. The migration of women from the south Asia along with other Asian countries to the Gulf nations is a theme widely discussed today. Although there is a growing number of literature on women migration to the Gulf countries from India, the academic interest on the heterogeneity of these migrants and the cultural and social context of female migration remains very low.

In this study, I have looked at the way migration is taking place in India with a special focus on women migrant returnees from the Gulf. Their experience of the migration process have an impact on themselves as individuals and also as members of a society. I have studied the ways women in negotiate the migration process from their homes of origin in West Godavari and East Godavari to their work destination in the Gulf countries as well as their readjustment after they return. The study was informed by a qualitative ethnographic research approach in an attempt to elicit the respondents' own interpretations of the social realities confronted and their understanding of their own individual experiences of return migration.

The expected material benefits that the Gulf migration offers outweighs the risks involved in each move for the women studied here. Their move is also informed by social and familial obligations to provide which in turn could potentially convert to increase in their social status and prestige. The social beliefs systems, their perspectives and their experiences of migration to the Gulf further the understanding of the whole system of migration and the forces that play within the system. For the respondents who have never stepped outside their own villages, crossing international borders to provide for the family is found to be a very new experience and the stories are shared among others especially women. They see it both as a 'torturous' in terms of the experience of work load and some

still feel resentment towards individuals who they think have made their journey unbearable, usually the recruiters and the employers. Once outside the social space they are familiar with, some women are left with a sense of freedom from family problems which they feel are magnified when they stay at home and yet at the same time they feel a sense of guilt for not being there for the children physically even though they are able to provide in the material sense.

The *Introduction* section of the thesis discussed the theoretical frameworks which are in relevance with the study of return migration of Coastal Andhra women from the Gulf. The rationale and objectives of the study and the research questions has been highlighted in this section. Also discussed in this section is the description of the field of study and the methodology used for the study.

In the *Chapter I* have attempted to map the patterns of migration from India and particularly from Andhra Pradesh over the different phases of history; the colonial, the post-colonial, and the post-independence period. This chapter draws to attention the long history of migration of Indians to various parts of the world which has now led to the huge populations of Indians consisting of first generation migrants, second generations as well as twice migrants spread across the globe. Their location in the society and the family and the changes that occurs due to migration has also been explored. My study also looks at the ways, gendered policies of the sending and receiving societies shape the patterns and characteristics of the movement such in the case of women migrants.

The *Second Chapter* talks about the Gulf migration from India tracing the historical relations and how it built up to the contemporary migration today. The chapter talks about the changing migration patterns to the Gulf and the characteristics of the migrants themselves. Indians reliance on Gulf migrants especially for states like Kerala is very substantial and the immigration regulations have an impact on the economy of the states. The number of women migrants especially as domestic workers has their largest home origin from Andhra Pradesh particularly from the Coastal areas. This chapter looks at these issues. The section on return migration talks about the question of return migration and how it is seen in the literature. Tracing the return migration in different stages of history

shows that return migration like out migration also had different characteristics and patterns over the period of time.

In *Chapter Three* I have looked at women and international migration and how the recognition of the gendered difference in the migration literature has developed. The feminization of migration that have become very prominent in Asia has been explored, the push and pull factors in female migration have been shown to show that the motivational factors in migration can impact the both male and female migrants differently. This chapter also traces the migration of women from the south Asian region during the colonial and post-colonial period. The migration of indentured labourers to the colonial plantations were marked by servitude-like conditions and women who despite the very low number migrated independently and played the role of reconstitution of Indian society in living in the plantations. The post-colonial showed two distinct categories of women migrants especially the skilled and unskilled migrants and the dominating routes that have emerged, the skilled workers to western countries whereas the unskilled workers migrating majorly towards the Gulf countries.

Chapter 4 discusses how many international level organizations recognizing the need for protection of women migrants have encouraged government of the sending countries to make it safer for their migrants abroad for work as well as protective rights for workers they are employing. Conventions and agreements between several Gulf countries have been highlighted and the chapter has also explored various schemes and policies introduced by the Government of India for migrants especially towards the Gulf migrants.

Chapter 5 of the thesis provides the empirical findings undertaken in Coastal Andhra through personal interviews with the returnees and discuss the issues and experiences during the different phases of migration. The women are from the lower caste groups and mainly consist of Dalit Christians, Muslims and Hindus. However the majority interviewed were Christians and very few Hindus. The educational back ground is very low and some are illiterate. The ages of the migrants are between 22-45 and either married or divorced/separated before migration. Many of them give false age in order to be able to migrate. Economic reasons are the primary motivation behind their migration to the Gulf.

However the intangible benefits like prestige and status that economic status brings by migrating to work, motivate many women to migrate. It was found that the majority of the migrants migrate to work as domestic workers in the private homes.

The study reveals that their decision to migrate are influenced more for familial considerations rather than for personal reasons. The media representations of Gulf also have an effect on how the societal perception of the Gulf is formed and have an influence on how returnees readjust. This perception of Gulf also has an effect on what the marital status of women should be to be accepted to migrate and which is not and the repercussions of going against those rules. The economic impact on the family is seen to be big especially for those who have been migrating and remigrating many times. However, no investment in business ventures were found as the remittances is used for daily consumption and sometimes for buying family land.

Culture of Migration and Social Networks

Social networks that the women use to migrate also induce migration in the region. The information on job prospects in the Gulf are often sent through women already working in the Gulf especially among the close relatives and friends and neighbors. Through the visas sent by those already working abroad it is much cheaper and easier to find jobs than through recruitment agents who operate in the region as domestic help especially in the homes of relatives of the earlier migrants' employers. Social networks also plays an important role in finding 'honest' agents although illegal, who are playing a crucial role in preparing and sending workers to the Gulf. This 'trust-based network' is one of the most important reasons why there is a large migration of women especially in the domestic work category.

The culture of migration in the prevalent in the region have influenced the migration of women in Coastal Andhra as the non-migrants try to emulate the returnee's consumption pattern and their lavish lifestyle. It was noted that the returnees especially the recent ones are easily recognised by many due to their conspicuous dressing and manners. Observing the trends of these movement it was found that even though many have a preconceived notion of Gulf as an amoral and dangerous place for women, many choose it as the only

place of hope to find employment for an uneducated and unemployed woman. Their return observed to see how much wealth they have brought with her.

Migration Dependency

Whether migration is a negative or positive experience, Gulf is seen as the only way out for the women to provide for the family especially due to rampant unemployment and poverty. The salary of the migrants are very low and they use the remittances for household consumption only. However it is seen as much better situation at least monetary wise as they are able to give better housing, education as well as better healthcare facilities for the dependents. Once the remittances is over the women go back again in hopes to earn more. This cycle has led to repeat migration. Moreover there is also no new skills learned even after migrating repeatedly and hence no scope of employment even after return and after gaining monetary benefits up to an extent, they are also not willing to work as domestic workers in homes of others in the region. Repeated migration do not always guarantee better or safer migration. As some conversations suggested, some of them were cheated or harassed repeatedly by several characters at play during their migration period. Yet migration remains an option they turn to if the financial circumstances in the family demands and they go through the same process all over again.

Social Attitudes toward Gulf Migration.

In my study I have shown that not all experiences of the returnees are similar and the circumstances differ from one person to another. The individual experiences reveal the social attitude towards women migrating to the Gulf and Gulf in general.

Some experiences give a sense of empowerment to the women by becoming the bread winner of the family. Yet it can also mean that they have to leave the primary decision-making for care and nurture of the children usually in the hands of the female relatives and many times on the eldest daughter. For some, migration bring more indebtedness economically when the migration is not successful. At times, it has a social and psychological implication on the returnees and those left behind especially on the children.

As mentioned above, individual experiences reveal the social attitudes and realities of the migrant society. This is apparent in the way how single/ unmarried women after migration to Gulf have found that the prospect of finding any family who is willing to marry their son to them is very less. For those who are married, social problems like divorce, husband's addiction to alcohol and children's neglect is usually blamed on the absence of the mother which at times make their re-entry difficult. Despite these in many pockets of Coastal Andhra especially in east and west Godavari, migration to Gulf as low skilled labour is the only way out from poverty and indebtedness.

Victims of the Recruiting System

In the study majority of the women migrate through recruitment agents and their notoriety is especially well known because of their high recruitment fees and their methods of operation. However their role in the migration process of the women is very strong. The government sanctions against these illegal recruit agents have so far failed to stem the growth of this groups of individuals who plays a very big part in the migration of the migrants from these areas.

The inevitability of migration is seen from the volume of migrants from several pockets of India despite restrictions. The Indian government policy which has restricted female migrated based on the age of the migrants do not at all stop women from migrating. Several programs and schemes have been rolled out for the welfare of the most vulnerable Indians working in the Gulf, but the fieldwork showed that the women are unaware of such initiatives. As they are made to work in isolation in the homes of their employers they are not aware of their rights or how to conduct themselves and the rules they have to follow.

Employment in Gulf countries attract many women from the many parts of India like Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, UP and Tamil Nadu. The majority of them being from the lower sections of society and with minimal education qualifications who get trapped into the work they are not well aware of. The tales of success of the earlier migrant attract these women to move and also the attractive promises of the recruiting agents influence their decision. While some are aware of the situation, many go without prior knowledge of the work culture and what is expected of them.

Perhaps the more effective way to enhance the experience of migration is creating programmes which cater towards safer migration. There should be more effective training and mobilisation drive should be conducted. Although the government has started pre departure orientation programmes, reaching into remote areas is not yet been realized. Equipping the workers with more knowledge about the expectation, rules and regulation of the countries where they are migrating, redressal mechanisms available for them and also basic language training prior to migration should be given. Grass root organisations should be set up so that there are support system for the returnees. Additionally, the government should put in place strong and effective system for monitoring recruiting agents operations in the migration prone areas and defaulters should be penalised. Making it a safer place to migrate for employment will help bring some change to the preconceived image that people have of Gulf making it easier for returnees to readjust.

Finally, this thesis has contributed to the understanding of short term international migration of women from Coastal Andhra. Although many studies have tried to bring gender into the understanding of international migration from India, regional specific study is still lagging behind. Andhra Pradesh especially Coastal areas being the region with the largest migrant sending areas for women, this study sought to understand migration from women's perspective through their experiences. The social and economic undercurrents that come into play with the decision making, their ultimate motivations and also return has been explored in the thesis.

Limitations of the Study

This study is a modest attempt to understand the women returnees and their migration scenario through the experiences of the returnees in coastal Andhra. As already mentioned above, although there are many studies on states like Kerala study on Andhra Pradesh remains largely unexplored. One of the major limitations of the study was the inability to locate respondents as locating returnees in the community at large is time consuming especially because there is no such statistics as to how much are 'returning' back and under which category. Despite staying in the field for weeks at a time, sometimes it was not easy for days to locate respondents who were willing to be interviewed.

Gulf migration while it bring benefit to some migrants, some have experienced the dark side of migration, and hence, due to the nature of the study, returnees were not very responsive as they were suspicious of any questions fearing negative consequences like gossip, or the fear of being reported. Another disadvantage was being an outsider and not speaking native language also was a limitation faced during the study. The use of translator for the interviews despite being very cautious may have led to certain ideas being unexplored more thoroughly due to being words 'lost in translation'. Various themes explored in the study return migration, Gulf migration, and women migration and trying to bring all of them under one framework proved quite a big task.

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Appendix I

Profile of the Respondents

Sl. No	Name*	Age	Destination	Duration Of Stay	Occupation	Salary In Rupees	Religion	Marital Status	District
1	Satyavati	52	Qatar & Kuwait	5 Years	House Maid	6000	Christian	Widow	East Godavari
2	Neelaveni	60	Kuwait	10 Years	Housemaid	4000	Christian	Widow	East Godavari
3	Ganga	42	Kuwait & Doha	12 Years	Housemaid	8000	Christian	Married	East Godavari
4	Laxmi	35	Bahrain	Returned 4 Years Back	Housemaid	4500	Hindu	Married	East Godavari
5	Vijayalaxmi	40	Dubai	6 Years	Housemaid	6000	Christian	Widow	East Godavari
6	KrishanaveNi	44	Kuwait	8 ½ Years	Housemaid	7000	Hindu	Divorced	West Godavari
7	Mani	35	Saudi Arabia	4 Years	House Maid	7000	Christian	Married	East Godavari

8	Kumara	40	Bahrain	6 Years	Housemaid	6000	Christian	Married	West Godavari
9	Mary.R	50	Dubai	4 Years	Housemaid	6000	Christian	Widow	East Godavari
10	Susheela	40	Qatar	10 Years	Housemaid	5000/10000	Christian	Married	East Godavari
11	Satyavati	30	Kuwait	2 Years	Housemaid	6000	Christian	Married	East Godavari
12	Varalaxmi	46	Kuwait&Bahrain	3+2 Years	Housemaid	4000; 4500	Christian	Widow	East Godavari
13	Chittamma	59	Dubai	12 Years	Housemaid	5000	Muslim	Widow	East Godavari
14	Shamala	35	Muscat	8 Years	Housemaid	12000	Christian	Married	East Godavari
15	Nagamani	43	Qatar	9 Years	Housemaid	6000	Christian	Married	East Godavari
16	Jecca Mani	45	Muscat	9 Years	Housemaid	10000	Muslim	Married	East Godavari
17	Pushpa Latha	37	Kuwait	4 Years	Housemaid	15000	Christian	Married	East Godavari
18	Suneetha	22	Muscat	3 Years	Housemaid	5500	Christian	Seperated	East Godavari
19	Leelavathi	35	Qatar	10 Years	Housemaid	7000	Christian	Married	East Godavari

20	Leelavathi	35	Qatar	10 Years	Housemaid	7000	Christian	Married	East Godavari
21	Karuna Kumara	22	Kuwait	2 Years	Housemaid	6000	Christian	Separated	East Godavari
22	Leela	34	Kuwait	2 ½ Years	School	10000	Muslim	Separated	East Godavari
23	Laxmi	44	Muscat	4 Yers	Housemaid	10000	Christian	Married	East Godavari
24	Radha	36	Dubai	6 Years	Housemaid	5500	Christian	Widow	East Godavari
25	Anuradha	33	Kuwait	2 Years	Housemaid	6000	Christian	Widow	East Godavari
26	Sarooja	40	Bahrain	4 Years	Housemaid	4500	Christian	Widow	East Godavari
27	Krishnama	55	Dubai/Kuwait	1 1/2 Years+4	Housemaid	6000/7000	Christian	Widow	East Godavari
28	Nagaveni	48	Qatar	20 Years	Housemaid	6000	Christian	Married	East Godavari
29	Bhavani	40	Dubai	16years	Housemaid	5000	Christian	Divorced	East Godavari
30	Kumara	35	Muscat	3 Years	Housemaid	5000	Christian	Married	East Godavari
31	Mariam	35	Bahrain	4 Years	Housemaid	10000	Christian	Married	East Godavari

32	Krishna Veni	35	Kuwait	6 Years	Housemaid	18000	Christian	Widow	East Godavari
33	Jayabhuni	32	Bahrain	7 Months	Housemaid	-	Muslim	Divorced	East Godavari
34	Shakira Md	45	Doha Qatar	4 Years	Housemaid	7000	Muslim	Married	West Godavari
35	Khurshida	36	Qatar	6 Years	Housemaid	6000	Muslim	Widow	West Godavari
36	Kadeer Bibi	45	Dubai/Muscat /Saudi	11 Years	Housemaid	4000/4500/6000	Christian	Divorced	East Godavari
37	Chachavati	45	Kuwait	3 ½ years	Teacher/Housemaid	4000	Christian	Divorced	East Godavari
38	Prasana	43	Saudi	10 Years	Nurse asst/ayah	5000	Christian	Married	East Godavari
39	Shaheeda)	22	Dubai	2 Years	Housemaid	15000	Muslim	Unmarried	West Godavari
40	Bibi	30	Saudi Arabia	2 Years	Housemaid	12000	Muslim	Married	East Godavari
41	Krishnama	55	Dubai& Kuwait	2+4 Years	Housemaid	5000	Hindu	Widow	Pedapuram
42	Surya Prabha	48	Doha	4 Years	Housemaid	5000	Christian	Widow	East Godavari

43	Asia	40	Qatar	2+2	Housemaid	5000	Muslim	Divorced	West Godavari
44	Pyari	55	Doha	13 Months+23 Years	Housemaid	6000	Muslim	Widow	West Godavari
45	Mary Sulochana	42	Kuwait	----	Housemaid	6000	Christian	Married	East Godavari
46	Mangayam	47	Dubai&Saudi	8+2 Years	Housemaid	-	Hindu	Widow	Navaram
47	Satama	35	Dubai	9 Years	Housemaid	10000	Christian	Widow	East Godavari
48	Anarkali	35	Qatar	3+4 Years	Housemaid	7000/5000	Muslim	Married	West Godavari
49	Vijaya Nirmala	26	Muscat	4 Years	Housemaid	5000	Christian	Married	West Godavari
50	Anand Kumari	40	Bahrain	3 Years	Housemaid	7500	Christian	Married	West Godavari
51	Laxmi	36	Kuwait/Bahrain	8months+2 years	Housemaid	11000	Christian	Married	Ravalapuram
52	Sarla Kumara	34	Bahrain	3 Year	Housemaid	10000-12000	Christian	Married	Ravalapuram

53	Sachavti	35	Kuwait	4 years	Housemaid	20000	Christian	Divorced	West Godavari
54	Anjali	28	Kuwait	4 Years	Housemaid	20000	Christian	Married	East Godavari
55	Durga	-	Muscat	4 Years	Housemaid	10000	Christian	Widow	East Godavari
56	Padma	34	Dubai	Years	Housemaid	12000	Christian	Unmarried	East Godavari
57	Divya	35	Kuwait	7Years	Housemaid	10000	Christian	Married	East Godavari
58	Sarda	40	Kuwait	2Years	Housemaid	9000	Christian		East Godavari
59	Ganga	50	Mus/Bahrain/ Qatar	20 Years	Housemaid	20000	Hindu	Seperated	East Godavari
60	Elizabeth	60	Qatar	25 Years	Dw/Bus Conductor	-	Christian	Married	East Godavari
61	Veni	34	Kuwait	6 Years	Housemaid	12000	Christian	----	East Godavari
62	Nelu	35	Kuwait	5 Years	Housemaid	13000	Christian	-----	East Godavari
63	Bibi	40	Qatar	6 Years	Housemaid	10000	Muslim	Divorce	West Godavari
64	Rani	37	Dubai	8 Years	Housemaid	13000	Christian	-----	East Godavari

65	Sunita	28	Muscat	4 Years	Housemaid	10000	Christian	Divorce	East Godavari
66	Lekha	38	Dubai	5 Years	Housemaid	10000	Christian	----	East Godavari
67	Banu	40	Kuwait	8 Years	Housemaid	10000	Muslim	----	East Godavari
68	Sarita	26	Saudi Arabia	4 Years	Housemaid	12000	Christian	Divorce	West Godavari
69	Vinita	30	Saudi Arabia	6 Years	Housemaid	12000	Christian	Married	West Godavari
70	Begum	28	Kuwait	3 Years	Housemaid	----	Muslim	Divorce	West Godavari

Sl no	Name	Relationship to respondent	Occupation	Place
1	Sriram	Husband	Tailor	East Godavari
2	Razag	Brother	Auto driver	West Godavari
3	Rajamundry	Daughter	Unemployed/married	East Godavari
4	Rajamundhary	Daughter	Student	East Godavari
5	Mariam daughter	Daughter	Sales girl	East Godavari
6	Chinni	Daughter	Student	East Godavari

Dependents of Respondents

**Profile
of**

7	Anitha	School Teacher	Teacher	East Godavari
8	Pastor	Husband	Local pastor	East Godavari
9	Veni	Mother	Unemployed	East Godavari
10	Kishor	Husband	Daily wage laborer	Hyderabad

***pseudonyms are used for each respondents.**

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Address: e	
Street	
District	
City	

العنوان:	
الشارع	
الحي	
المدينة	

Civil Status
Contact Numbers

الاجتماعية: الحالة																			
أرقام الاتصال:																			

Mobile																			
Telephone																			
Email																			

hereinafter called the **Employer** Represented in th Kingdom of Saudi Arabia by Saudi Recruiting Agency:

Name:																			
License no.																			
Telephone																			

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

																				جوال
																				هاتف
إل ك تروني بري د:																				

"حبصا العمل" ويمثله في المملكة العربية السعودية
ويسمى فيما بعد
وكالة الاسد تقدم ال سعودية:

ال اسم:																				
																				رقم ال ترخيص

ال عنوان:																			
																		ال شارع	

Address:	
street	
District	
City	
Contact No.	
E-mail:	

	الحي
	المدينة
	الاتصال
إلكتروني بريد:	

B. Domestic Worker:

ب- العامل المنزلي:

Name	
Position	
Address in India:	
Civil Status	
Contact No.	

	الاسم
	الوظيفة
بالهند العنوان:	
	الحالة الاجتماعية
	الاتصال

Passport No.																				
Place of Issue																				
Date of Issue																				

next of kin																				
Relationship																				
Contact No.																				
Address:																				

Details of Bank account held in India																				

																					رقم الجواز
																				مكان الاصدار	
																				تاريخ الاصدار	

																				اسم احد الاقرباء
																				الصلة
																				الاتصال
																				العنوان:

تفاصيل الحساب البنكي في الهند																				

Name of Bank	
Account No.	
Address:	

herein after called **DS W** Represented in India by Indian Recruitment Agency if used by DSW:

Name:									
License no.									

Address:	
street	

	رقم الحساب
العنوان:	

"العامل" ويمثله في الهند وكالة التوظيف الهندية اذا
ويسمى فيما بعد
العامل قبل من اسد تخدم:

الاسم:									
									رقم الترخيص

العنوان:	
	الشارع

District	
City	
Contact No.	
E-mail:	

	الحي
	المدينة
	الاتصال
إلكتروني بريد:	

The employer and the DSW hereby voluntarily bind themselves to the following terms and conditions:

1. Site of Employment:

In case of any change in the site of employment the Saudi recruitment agency shall inform the same to the Embassy of India.

قام الطرفان بالا تزام بال بنود والشروط التالية:
وبعد التراضي

1- موقع العمل:

موقع العمل يجب على وكالة الاسد تقديم ال سعودية ت بل يغ
في حال تغيير
إلى السفارة الهندية.
ذلك

2. Contract Duration: The contract shall be valid for a period of two years commencing from the date of arrival of the DSW in KSA. The monthly wages shall be calculated for payment from such date.

يسري العقد لمدة ت ينسن ت بدأ من تاريخ وصول العامل ال سعودية. و يبدأ حساب ال راتب ال شهري **2- مدة العقد:** المنزلي إلى المملكة العربية
من ذلك التاريخ.

3. In accordance with the regulations prevailing in both countries, the DSW and the employer agree on a monthly salary of SR

ال سارية في ال بلدين معا ات فق العامل المنزلي و صاحب قدره ريال سعودي. **3-** ط بقا لقوانين العمل على راتب شهري

<p>4. The employer shall help the DSW to open a bank account in KSA subject to applicable SAMA rules. The wages shall be deposited regularly at the end of every month in the said account. The passbook or deposit slip or their equivalent shall be given to the DSW and remain in her/his custody. The employer shall help the DSW to remit her/his salary through proper banking channels.</p>	<p>العمل مساعدة العامل المنزلي في فتح حساب بنكي في لوائح السارية لمؤسسة النقد العربي 4- على صاحب في نهاية كل شهر في المملكة العربية السعودية وفقاً أو ما يعادلها السعودي. ويتم إيداع الأجر شهرياً بانتظام بالحدس المذكور. ويسلم دفتر الشيكات أو قسيمة الإيداع المنزلي ويظل بحوزته 4/ بحوزتها. وعلى صاحب العمل في تحويل راتبه/ راتبها عبر القنوات إلى العامل مساعدة العامل المنزلي المصرفية المناسبة.</p>
<p>5. DSW shall be provided with continuous rest of at least eight (8) hours per day. The working hours of the DSW shall be in accordance with the applicable local labor law.</p>	<p>المنزلي راحة متواصلة لا تقل عن 8 ساعات في اليوم. العامل المنزلي بحسب انظمة العمل المطبقة 5- حتمي العامل وتكون ساعات عمل اي لحم .</p>
<p>6. DSW shall be entitled to one day rest per week.</p>	<p>6- يستحق العامل المنزلي راحة يوم واحد في الأسبوع.</p>
<p>7. The employer shall pay for the transportation of the DSW from the point of origin in India to the site of employment and back to such point of origin in India upon expiry of the contract. He shall ensure that DSW is repatriated in time.</p>	<p>صاحب العمل دفع تكاليف نقل العامل المنزلي من الموقع إلى موقع العمل وإعادته لنفس الموقع الأصلي في 7- على وعلى صاحب العمل ضمان إعادة العامل إلى الأصلي في الهند موطنه في الوقت المحدد.</p>
<p>8. The employer shall provide DSW suitable and sanitary living quarters as well as adequate food. In case the DSW so desires the employer shall pay a mutually agreed amount in lieu of food.</p>	<p>العمل وتوفير السكن المناسب والصحي للعامل المنزلي العمل أن يدفع مبالغاً تتفقاً به على 8- على صاحب والطعام الكافي. وعلى صاحب معاً دلاً عن الطعام إذا رغب العامل المنزلي في ذلك. الأطراف</p>
<p>9. For medical reasons, the DSW shall be allowed to rest and shall continue to receive her/his regular salary. The employer shall bear all expenses incurred in such medical treatment.</p>	<p>صاحب العمل تكاليف العلاجية للعامل/العاملات المنزلية 4/لها بالراحة وتستمر في تقاضي راتبها 9- يتحمل لأسباب طبية ويمنح النظامي.</p>

<p>10. The DSW is entitled to:</p> <p>(i) paid vacation of 15 days at the end of one year of service.</p> <p>(ii) paid vacation leave of thirty (30) days on completion of two years of service with a round trip economy class ticket to India. Where the DSW had availed leave under sub clause(i) above this period of 30 days shall be reduced to 15 days.</p>	<p>11- ي س تحقق مل العا المنزلي:</p> <p>إجازة مدفوعة الأجر مدتها 11 يومًا عند نهاية كل سنة خدمة. مدفوعة الأجر مدتها 33 يومًا عند إكمال سنتين من الخدمة (1) إلى الهند بالدرجة الأولى السياحية وعودة. وإذا (2) إجازة مع تذكر سفر بالطائرة المنزلي بالإجازة طبقاً لفقرة (1) أعلاه تخفيض مدة الـ 33 تمتع العامل يوماً إلى 11 يوماً.</p>
<p>11. In case of death during employment, the employer shall transport the mortal remains and personal belongings of DSW to her/his kin in India as soon as legally possible. In case the repatriation of remains is not possible, appropriate funeral may be arranged by employer after obtaining the approval of embassy of India.</p> <p>In such cases the employer shall within 15 days of the death of DSW pay to the next of kin or embassy of India:</p> <p>(i) all legal dues (ii) end of service benefit and (iii) applicable compensation in accordance with applicable regulations.</p>	<p>حال الوفاة أثناء العمل يجب على صاحب العمل نقل جثمان المنزلية وممتلكاته/متعلقاتها الشخصية إلى الـ 11- في قانونياً. وإذا تعذر إعادة الجثمان العامل المنزلي/العائلة العمل بعد الحصول على أقربائه في الهند بأسرع وقت ممكن العمل يجوز تشييده بصورة مناسبة بواسطة صاحب السفارة الهندية. وفي مثل هذه الحالات يجب على صاحب موافقة الأقرباء بين العامل المنزلي أو لسفارة الهندية خلال 11 أن يدفع إلى أقرب يومان فاقو العامل المنزلي ما يلي: كل المسدّدات القانونية (2) مكافأة نهاية الخدمة (3) (1) التعويض الساري طبقاً لقوانين السارية.</p>

<p>12. (i) The parties to this contract shall endeavor to resolve dispute, if any, arising out of this contract amicably through the Ministry of labor.</p> <p>However if the same cannot be resolved as above, the contracting parties may refer the dispute to the appropriate Saudi authorities for conciliation and/or resolution.</p> <p>(ii) Both parties shall continue to fulfill their contractual obligations notwithstanding the fact that a dispute has arisen or that the process of conciliation has been initiated.</p>	<p>على طرفي هذا العقد السعي لحل النزاع (إن وجد) الناشئ عن عبر وزارة العمل. وإذا تعذر حل النزاع بالطريقة 12-1) النزاع لسلطات السعودية لصلح العقد بصورة ودية أعلاه يجوز لطرفي المتعاقدين إحالة و/أو البت فيه.</p> <p>الطرفين معاً لا ستمرار في تنفيذ التزاماتهم التعاقدية 2) على على الرغم من حدوث النزاع أو البدء في عملية الصلح.</p>
<p>13. In case of unauthorized absence of the DSW from the site of employment, the employer shall inform the competent Saudi authority and the Saudi recruiting agency. Such agency shall be responsible for informing the aforementioned absence to embassy of India.</p>	<p>في حال غياب العامل المنزلي بدون إذن من موقع العمل يجب إبلاغ السلطة السعودية المختصة ووكالة الا ستقدام 13- مسئولة عن تبليغ الغياب الأذف الذكر على صاحب العمل السعودية. وتكون وكالة الا ستقدام إلى السفارة الهندية.</p> <p>المنزلي عن غيابه / غيابها الم تعتمد م موقع العمل إلى وإلى السفارة الهندية حال الأمر إلى السلطة وإذا أبلغ العامل السلطة السعودية المختصة</p>
<p>However if the DSW has reported her/his willful absence from the site of employment to the competent Saudi authority and the embassy of India, the matter shall be referred to the competent authority for conciliation and or resolution as provided for in clause 12 hereinabove.</p>	<p>و/أو البت فيه حسب ما هو منصوص عليه في البند 12 المختصة لصلح أعلاه.</p>

14. Termination of Contract

(i) The employer may terminate the contract by serving upon DSW a written notice. Such termination shall be effected only on the expiry of a period of 30 days from the date of service of the notice on DSW. The DSW shall be paid the wages for this period of 30 days. However if the termination is intended with immediate effect the notice shall state the same and shall be accompanied by wages of two months.

In such case the employer shall also pay for the expenses incurred on obtaining exit papers and air ticket to India to effect the departure.

(ii) The employee may also terminate the contract by giving a written notice of 30 days to the employer and shall pay the employer an amount equivalent to one month wage before departure. However, if the employee terminates the contract with immediate effect, he/she shall pay an amount equivalent to two months wage before departure.

The employer on payment of the amount

mentioned here in above shall immediately provide necessary papers to effect exit of DSW from Saudi Arabia.

14- إنهاء العقد:

يجوز لصاحب العمل إنهاء عقد العمل بإعطاء العامل المنزلي بذلك. ويُسري هذا الإنهاء فقط بعد انقضاء مدة 33 يوماً (وما من) إلى العامل المنزلي. ويجب أن تدفع للعامل إشعار خطياً أجورها عن مدة الـ 33 يوماً. ولما هذه لـكن تاريخ تقديم الإشعار على ذلك في الإشعار المنزلي/العاملة المنزلية أجوره/على صاحب إذا كان الإنهاء مع الانفاذ الفوري يجب أن صني إلى وأن يكون مصحوباً بأجور شهريين. وفي هذه الحالة يجب دفع نفقات الحصول على أوراق الخروج وتذكرة السفر والعمل أيضاً

الهندل تنفيذ المغادرة.

للموظف أيضاً إنهاء العقد بإعطاء صاحب العمل إشعاراً وأن يدفع لصاحب العمل مبلغاً يعادل راتب شهر (2) (يوز) الموظف العقد مع الانفاذ الفوري يجب خطياً مدته 33 يوماً قبل المغادرة. وعلى صاحب واحد قبل المغادرة. لـكن إذا أنهى الأور الالزمة عليه/عليها دفع مبلغ يعادل أجر شهريين العمل عند دفع المبلغ المنصوص عليه أعلاه تقديم

خروج العامل المنزلي من المملكة العربية السعودية.

فورا تنفيذ

15.General Provisions:

a) The Saudi Recruitment Agency shall be responsible for informing the departure and arrival plan of the DSW in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the employer.

b) The employer and her/his family members, and the DSW shall treat one another with respect and dignity.

c) The DSW shall work solely for the employer and his immediate household.

15- أحكام عامة:

الاستقدام السعودية مسؤولة عن إبلاغ صاحب العمل
أ- تكون وكالة

وصول العامل المنزلي في المملكة العربية السعودية.
وأف راد أسرته والعامل المنزلي يعاملان بمعضهما بموعد مغادرة
ب- على صاحب العمل

ال بعض ب احترام وكرامة.

العامل المنزلي العمل في قطرة على صاحب العمل وأف راد أسرته
ج- على

مباشرة.

<p>d) The employer shall not deduct any amount from the regular salary of the DSW. However deductions may be made for the recovery of any advance payment made to DSW or on the orders of a competent authority. Such deductions must be reflected in the DSW's pay slip.</p> <p>e) The employer shall pay the cost of the DSW's residence permit (iqama), exit/re-entry visa, and final exit visa, including the renewals and penalties resulting from delays.</p> <p>f) The passport and work permit (iqama) of the DSW shall remain in her/his possession.</p> <p>g) The DSW shall be allowed to freely communicate with her/his family and the Indian Embassy/ Consulate on her/his personal expenses.</p> <p>h) The employer shall explain to the members of her/his household the provisions of this contract and ensure that these are observed.</p>	<p>على صاحب العمل عدم دسم أي مبلغ من راتب العامل المنزلي ولا كن يجوز عمل دسومات لا سد تردد أي مبلغ تم دفعه معه مقدما - أو بناء على أوامر سلطة مخدصة. و يجب إيدراز هذه الامعتاد. إلى العامل المنزلي في ك شف راتب العامل المنزلي / العاملة المنزلية. الا سد تقطاعات</p> <p>صاحب العمل دفع تكلفة تصريح إقامة العامل المنزلي / الخروج والعودة / الخروج نهائيا بما في ذلك هـ على العاملة المنزلية وتأسديرة التجديدات والمعقوبات الناتجة عن التأخير.</p> <p>بقي جواز سفر وإقامة العامل المنزلي / العاملة المنزلية و- يجب أن بوزته/ بوزتهها.</p> <p>السماح للعامل المنزلي/ العاملة المنزلية بحرية الاتصال ز- يجب والاتصال بالسفارة/ القنصلية الهندية على نفقتهم/ بأف رادأسرته/أسرتهها نفقتهاالشخصية.</p> <p>على صاحب العمل أن يشرح لأف رادأسرته نصوص هذا العقد احترامهم له. ح- و ضمان</p>
<p>16. Any provision of this Standard Employment Contract may be altered, amended or substituted through the Saudi-Indian Joint Committee.</p>	<p>وأ ت عدیل أو اسد تبدال أي نص في عقد العمل النموذجي -الهندية امشد تركة. 16- يجوز تغيير هذا من خلال اللجنة السعودية</p>

<p>17. The DSW shall be repatriated at the employer's expense in the event of war, civil disturbance or major natural calamity, or in case the DSW suffers from serious illness or work injury medically proven to render her/him incapable of completing the contract. The DSW shall be paid the wages due till the date of departure from KSA.</p>	<p>- في حالة نشوب حرب او اضطرابات مدنية او وقوع كوارث تعرض العامل/العاملة المنزلية لمرض خطير او لاصابة 17 يبطا عدم القدرة معها على اكمال العقد يقوم ببيعها او المنزلية على حسابها. ويجب ان اثناء العمل والتي ثبتت المسدقة حتى صاحب العمل بتحويل العامل/العاملة يدفع له لعمال المنزلي / العاملة المنزلية واثباتها تاريخ المغادرة من المملكة العربية السعودية.</p>
<p>18. If on the expiry of the contract, the DSW desires to return to India, the employer shall present the bank statement or pay slip of the DSW to Saudi Recruitment Agency. The employer and the DSW shall then sign a final settlement. Such bank statement or proof of settlement may be submitted as evidence in India and in the KSA.</p>	<p>رغب العامل المنزلي / العاملة المنزلية في العودة إلى الهند عقدها يجب على صاحب العمل تقديم كشف بنكي أو 18- إذا المنزلي / العاملة المنزلية إلى وكالة بانتهاء عقده/ والعمال المنزلي / العاملة قسمة لدفع الخاصة بالعمال ذلك الكشف الا ستقدم السعودية. وعلى صاحب العمل بعد ذلك التوقيع على تسوية نهائية. ويجوز تقديم في الهند وفي لكة الامم العربية السعودية. المنزلية ال بنكي أو اثبات الدفع كدليل</p>
<p>19. This contract may be renewed for a period of another two years with the mutual consent of the DSW and the employer. On such renewal the DSW shall be paid an additional sum equivalent to one month salary. A copy of the renewed contract shall be submitted to the Indian Embassy by the employer or Saudi Recruitment Agency.</p>	<p>تجديد هذا العقد لفترة أخرى مدتها سنتان بموافقة العامل وصاحب العمل معا. وب تجديد هذا العقد عقدي 19- يجوز إضافة ياي عادل راتب شهر واحد. المنزلي / العاملة المنزلية بواسطة صاحب لعمال المنزلي / العاملة المنزلية مبلغا ويجب تقديم نسخة من العقد المجدد إلى السفارة الهندية ال عمل أو وكالة الا ستقدم السعودية.</p>

<p>20. This employment contract will be the only valid contract. Any subsequent contract entered into between the employer and the employee in substitution of this contract shall not be valid.</p>	<p>20- يكون عقد العمل هذا هو العقد الوحيد الساري. وأي عقد تال يتم الدخول فيه بين صاحب العمل والموظف بدلا عن هذا العقد لا يكون ساريا.</p>
<p>21. Notwithstanding any provision in the applicable regulations of Kingdom of Saudi Arabia related to the domestic service workers, the provisions of this contract shall remain effective.</p>	<p>21- تظل أحكام هذا العقد نافذة على الرغم من أي نص في قوانين المملكة العربية السعودية السارية يتعلق بعمال الخدمة المنزلية.</p>
<p>22. The contract shall be written in Arabic and English languages, both languages being equally authentic.</p>	<p>22- يُكتب هذا العقد باللغة العربية واللغة الإنجليزية وكلا النصين متساويان في الحجية.</p>

Signatures

<p>Domestic Service Worker عامل منزلي / عاملة منزلية</p>	<p>Indian Recruitment Agency وكالة الاستقدام الهندية</p>	<p>Saudi Recruitment Agency وكالة الاستقدام السعودية</p>	<p>Employer صاحب العمل</p>

Appendix III

Interview Schedule

Personal Details

- Name:
- Caste:
- Education:
- Marital status:
- Number of children if married:
- Country to which you migrated:
- Return year:
- Duration of stay:
- Salary:
- Number of times migrated to Gulf/any ECR country:

Prior to Migration

- What were the main reasons for migrating to the Gulf?
- Whose decision was it to migrate?
- How did you come to know about the job prospects in the Gulf?
- In what ways did the agents help you?
- Who helped you in finding the agent?
- How did you information about Gulf, their religion, culture and rules before you migrated?
- Were you aware of any government schemes and help facilities in times of distress?
- Did you have any relative already working there?
- How much did you spend to go to the Gulf?
- How was the money arranged?
- How long did it take for you to repay the loan?

Working in Gulf

- How was your stay in the Gulf?
- What were the expectations and reality?
- What kind of challenges did you face in your work place?
- Did you get help from anyone there?
- How often did you communicate with your family back home?
- How many times did you come for vacation?
- What kinds of gifts did you bring when you came for vacation?
- Did you have interacting with any other migrants?
- Who made the decisions on how to use money?
- What was your spouse's role when you were working in Gulf?
- How did you send the money? How often did you send it?
- Who was the money sent to?
- How much money were you able to save for yourself?
- How was the money used?

Return

- What was the reason for return?
- Whose decision was it to return?
- Did you help any other women relatives/neighbours to migrate?
- Personally, have you benefitted by migration?
- Have your expectations reached by migration?
- Would you recommend your daughter/sister to migrate?
- Do you have any plans to back?

