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Roots and Routes

Monthly Newsletter of Global Research Forum on Diaspora and Transnationalism



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- **The Encounter of a New (Dis)order: Trump and Immigration Chaos**
- **Punjabi Diaspora's Religious and Political Engagements in Home land: A Critical Assessment**
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Roots and Routes Disseminates the latest information on research and policy developments in Diaspora and Transnationalism

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Editorial Information

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Editor: Arsala Nizami and Monika Bisht

Editorial Board:

**M. Mahalingam, Monika Bisht, Rakesh
Ranjan, Smita Tiwari, Rajiv Mishra,
Rahul Kumar, Diksha Jha, G. Srinivas,
Sadananda Sahoo**

**Email: editor@grfdt.com
Website: www.grfdt.org**

Editors' Message



Greetings from GRFDT!

Happy and prosperous New Year to our readers. The salience of the current issue of the newsletter cannot be overrated as it reflects upon changing immigration policies and its effects, witnessed along the length and breadth of the globe. This issue consists of three articles exploring various underpinnings and contestations of the immigration phenomena and policies attached therewith, and offers a re-examination of its existing contours. Dr. Amba Pandey in her paper '*Migration of Students from India: An overview*' highlights the fact that high magnitude of students' migration from India becomes a major source of capital and brain drain for India. The paper culminates in policy recommendation to not only curtail the flow of students but also transform India into an education hub. Dr. Sadananda Sahoo's paper '*The encounter of a New (Dis)order: Trump and Immigration chaos*' puts emphasis on the US President Trump's policy of placing a ban on immigration. The US is an immigrant nation; therefore, such policies can have adverse effects on the US as also on the global economy. Rahul Kumar Balley's paper '*Punjabi Diaspora's Religious and Political Engagements in Homeland: A Critical Assessment*' asserts that Punjabi diaspora have huge potential to play a constructive role in building up their homeland; however, sectarian based religious and political engagement is a big hurdle to do the needful.

In addition, the present issue also contains a thought provoking interview of Dr. Melissa Tandiwe Myambo conducted by Dr. Rajneesh K Gupta on immigration and diaspora issues.

The current issue of our newsletter contains three comprehensive articles, a book review and an interesting column of interview. The well-researched and thought provoking articles would hopefully drive readers to contemplate constructively on the aforementioned issues and move beyond conventional thinking.

Happy reading!

Arsala

Monika

Migration of Students from India: An Overview

Amba Pande, School of international studies , JNU

India is the world’s second largest student sending country after China with the number of Indian students abroad having increased four times in the last 14 years. Students’ migration of such magnitude has become a major source of capital and brain drain for India while hugely benefitting the economies of the advanced countries. Ninety percent of student movement from India is concentrated in five countries of which the United States is by far the largest recipient, receiving more than half of the expatriate Indian students, followed by Australia and the United Kingdom.

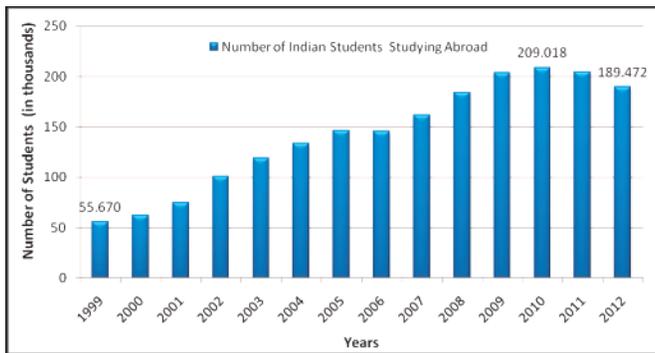


Figure 1. Growth in the Number of Indian Students Studying Abroad: 1999 to 2012 (in thousands).

Source: UIS online database 2014.

Several factors appear to be at work propelling the massive flow of students beyond the Indian borders. These can be largely divided into two broad groups:

International Developments: include factors such as asthetechnological revolution; globalization of education; global demographic trend; and most importantly policy changes to aggressively recruit foreign students who are preferred over the immigration of already skilled labor force because the additional revenue earned in terms of fees that significantly contributes to the cross-subsidization of education of domestic students in the developed countries.

Domestic Conditions: include factors such as widening gap in the demand for and supply of higher education; regulatory framework of the country; rising income levels; availability of education loans, the desire of the Indian middle class to migrate to developed countries; the desperation to gain access to quality education to climb up the socio-ladder.

The Government of India, although a bit late, has awakened to the problem of massive exodus of students. It has been highlighted in the Eleventh Five-Year Plan (2007–2012) and the Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2012–17) which states that: ‘Higher education in India is passing through a phase of unprecedented expansion, marked by an explosion in the volume of students, a substantial expansion in the number of institutions and a quantum jump in the level of public funding’(Government of India, 2012).Of late, some state governments such as Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh,

Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, and Haryana have also got into fray of edu-business. These states are putting efforts toward setting up of ‘Educational Cities’ and ‘Special Education Zones.’ The government has also encouraged Private participation in the education sector in India in a big way.

The private sector, now accounts for over one-third of the overall enrolment in general and about four-fifths of the enrolments in professional education. In the case of engineering colleges and business schools the private sector accounts for about 90 per cent of the seats. In medical education, the proportion of private sector seats has risen to about 55 per cent in 2013. Private deemed universities have grown more than 100 per cent since 2002, though now the government has ceased to accord any institution the status of a deemed university. In addition, private universities established under state (provinces) legislation have witnessed a phenomenal growth from nil to 200 in 2014. During the past decade it appears Indian states have permitted the establishing of some 20 universities per year on an average (See UGC 2015).

The Indian universities are also being encouraged by the government to solicit entry of foreign students. The universities have responded by tailoring their courses to international requirements and appointing agents abroad and publicizing the offers widely in the media (Kaul, 2006). It has resulted in a slow but steady rise in the trickle of foreign students in India with receiving only about 7000 foreign students in 2002 to about 12,000 in 2008.

International students in India: 2000-2011 (numbers)

2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2011
6,988	7,791	8,145	7,738	7,589	11,309	12,374	27,531

Source: MHRD 2014

However, India still has to go a long way in terms of net earnings from the foreign students to be able to cross-subsidize the domestic students. None of the Indian Universities find a place in the top 200 Universities of the world (QS 2012–13), and unless adequate attention is paid on the improvement of the quality of education and infrastructure, it will be difficult to exploit the opportunities that internalization of higher education brings. India has multiple challenges of improving literacy, universalizing access to quality basic and secondary education and at the same time to meet the rising demands for education through appropriate reforms, quality control, and creating opportunities for research, innovation, and entrepreneurship at home. As Pawan Agarwal (2009) argues, ‘the country would not be able to sustain its growth momentum and maintain competitiveness unless problems of higher education are fixed’.

In this regard, the role of India diaspora (which is already active in the education sector) can prove to be extremely significant

There appears to be a complex interplay of factors at the international and domestic levels which have opened the floodgates of the student migration from India. However, a right mix of policies and initiatives can not only curtail the flow of students but also transform India into an education hub attracting foreign students. Opening up of the education sector and thereby making it more competitive had encouraging trends across the world. The new approach towards education has led to a regular review of education policies and revamping of the curricula providing choices and innovative subject combinations. Even if the idea of profit making is contested, cost recovery, without doubt, seems to be a pragmatic approach to improve the quality and keep pace with the growing demands. Higher fees extracted from the foreign students and also making at least better-off domestic students to pay at the market rate has resulted in substantial surplus to cross-subsidize the education of domestic students to a large extent. Entry of foreign institutes, faculty, and students also sets high benchmarks improving the overall quality of education. However, this has to come with strict regulation especially on 'for profit' institutions to ensure that the incoming institutions reinvest all surpluses in the institution and do not repatriate profits, maintain quality and offer adequate facilities. As Nick Clark (2010) states 'The government has to find the right balance between regulating

the sector to ensure unscrupulous providers do not dominate, and deregulation so that foreign universities will actually be interested in the opportunities in India. India has immense potential to tap the trillion dollar industry worldwide given its history, demographic advantage, growing knowledge economy, and rich heritage. It will not be surprising if India emerges as a success story in higher education as it has done in some other sectors such as IT and health. All it calls for is the adoption of an outward-looking approach to expand the education sector.

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The Encounter of a New (Dis)order: Trump and Immigration Chaos

Dr. Sadananda Sahoo, School of Interdisciplinary and Transdisciplinary Studies, IGNOU, New Delhi

There has been increasing barriers on human movements in almost all countries across the world. This is the result of partly due to the identity politics that is increasingly visible in almost all countries. Recent times, political leaders in some of the There has been increasing barriers on human movements in almost all countries across the world. Thanks to the identity politics that is increasingly visible in almost all countries. Recent times, political leaders in some of the countries have galvanised the public opinion successfully against the many humanitarian concerns that are carefully nurtured by many UN organisations, enlightened political and industry leader, human right activists etc. Last two decades there has been a growing understanding that migration or human mobility is very crucial for economic growth and global harmony. However, such understanding is no more found in the multicultural spirit of the many countries. Countries such as USA, etc. that are predominantly immigrant society now are in the forefront of anti-immigration campaign. countries have galvanised the public opinion successfully against the many humanitarian concerns that are carefully nurtured by many UN organisations, enlightened political and industry leader, human right activists etc. Last two

decades there has been a growing understanding that migration or human mobility is very crucial for economic growth and global harmony. However, such understanding is no more found in the multicultural spirit of the many countries. Surprisingly, countries such as USA, etc. that are predominantly immigrant society now are in the forefront of anti-immigration campaign.

There has been increasing barriers on human movements in almost all countries across the world. Thanks to the identity politics that is increasingly visible in almost all countries. Recent times, political leaders in some of the countries have galvanised the public opinion successfully against the many humanitarian concerns that are carefully nurtured by many UN organisations, enlightened political and industry leader, human right activists etc.

USA has been one of the largest receivers of immigration since last two centuries so much so that the entire population is the result of immigration. The only natives or indigenous people are American Indians who constitute negligible 0.9 % of the total population. However, history of the making of America is almost forgotten in the present day discourses. Most of the immigrants who settled in America are now considered themselves as native.

As per the record of immigration office, it stood at more than 42.4 million, or 13.3 percent, of the total U.S. This is still very high as compared to many countries. This percentage of population is highly chosen one from across the world who constitute the backbone of American economy.

Though it is completely unthinkable for American to run their economy without immigrant workforce, yet the antagonism towards people from other nations has gradually been cultivated since last three elections. The main reasons were the (a) jobs and (b) security issues. The reasons given were again does not have any solid base. As most of these immigrants forms mostly two categories (1) Entrepreneurs who generate jobs and hence provide jobs for both Americans as well as immigrants, and the next (2) category of workers who do petty jobs that are no more done by Americans. Most of the arguments are related to security challenges by immigrants are rather highly exaggerated. Several studies (OECD: 2014) have shown the immigrant population rather contribute to the social and economic security of the American by contributing taxes and revenues.

On the other hand, immigrants, especially those in H1B's have contributed immensely to the USA's economy. The following table may give some idea about the role played by immigrants in top industries in USA.

Jobs created by Immigrants



Source: www.antolin-davies.com

The above statistics is just a tip of the iceberg and it is to show how important it is for USA to have immigrants to sustain their economy. Several studies have shown that Immigration is an Entrepreneurial Filter that favors those with entrepreneurial talents. The impact of migration is so much positive on development that prompted UN organizations such as UNDP, ILO etc. to advocate development based on managing migration rather than restricting flows. Migration is linked to new ideas, flow of entrepreneurship and promoting prosperity. Evidences show, most of the countries which have been welcoming migrants with cutting edge skills in the last centuries have only benefited the local economy out of this inward flow.

Trump's Immigrant Ban

All across the world, elections and politics are increasingly more about mobilising people on certain emotions rather than basic economic logic. Trump's promise to get rid of immigrants, especially from certain selected Muslim coun-

tries, dual citizens etc. are mostly based on fear of losing jobs and security concerns. However, there has been already concern shown by various corporate leaders. Both Google and Microsoft CEOs Sudar Pichai and Satya Nadella respectively shown concern about the negative impact of Trump's decision on banning refugee and immigrants on their own corporation. Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg has already warned the long term ramifications of the ban on immigration on American economy. Just recently, the Alibaba founder Jack Ma says the US wasted large amount of financial resources on fighting wars rather than productive economy.

The ban on immigration and growing restriction on human movement will certainly create a new kind of (dis)order in the economy, which may be catastrophic if not checked in time.

Impact on India

India is one of the largest suppliers of workers and skilled and semi-skilled workers in the world. Quite often, they are being targeted in many countries such as GCC, USA, Australia etc. Being second class citizen having no political rights they often succumb to all injustices.

Once the process starts targeting immigrants, the situation may be out of control. Indians and Chinese workers have been reference point in past political campaign during Obama during last election too. Trump has just accentuated the already hidden fear in a more provoking manner. Indians who form a sizable portion of the immigrants and highly successful entrepreneurs in the USA will certainly find it difficult to cope up in the hostile social, cultural and political environment. As the goal post shifts in future, there is no end to the levelling and profiling of the immigrants. India should certainly take the scenario and act in a more pragmatic manner to

absorb the future shock. It's time to prepare better institutions and environment back home to retain the entrepreneurial talent with dignity. The crisis after crisis starting from Gulf, Australia to America must be taken as a lesson. Most American believe that the jobs are going out depends on one sided perception of the nature of industry. Though these jobs are going offshore due to the following reasons that add only to the efficiency of the USA economy.

Cheap labour, Higher level of service with lower cost, focus on core business leaving the operational details to be managed by external experts, access to the world class capabilities, freeing financial and human resources for other projects, secure resources not available within the country etc. One of the leading areas of business in India has been BPO sector in the last two decades owing to its large pool of English-speaking graduates, which is about 25 million now. Trumps attempt may subvert the already established link and derail the industry.

One of the Trump's slogan during election campaign was "Buy American and Hire American". Though it is much early to predict what will happen to the Indian IT and ITeS industries, surely there is a cloud of uncertainty as these industries are mostly depended on US market. Buying American and hiring American will drastically raise the cost for Indian outsourcers, thus impacting their margins and overall

Number of U.S. Jobs Moving Offshore

Job category	2000	2005	2010	2015
Management	0	37,477	117,835	288,281
Business	10,787	61,252	161,722	348,028
Computer	27,171	108,991	276,954	472,632
Architecture	3,498	32,302	83,237	184,347
Life sciences	0	3,677	14,478	36,770
Legal	1,793	14,220	34,673	74,642
Art, design	818	5,576	13,846	29,639
Sales	4,619	29,064	97,321	226,564
Office	53,987	295,034	791,034	1,659,310
Total	102,674	587,592	1,591,101	3,320,213

TAKEN FROM: U.S. Department of Labor and Forrester Research, Inc. All numbers are rounded.

profit. The consequences of Trump's policy has already felt as top 5 Indian IT Firms Lose 50,000 Crores in Market Value (Indian Express, January 31, 2017)
The ban on immigration will certainly give a big shock not

only to the domestic economy but to the global economy as a whole. The success of American entrepreneurship is an outcome of many conditions such as multicultural composition, high skills, youth population, openness to ideas from across the world. The growth of Silicon Valley and other modern entrepreneurial hubs can proudly boast their multicultural environment created by immigrant population. The ban on immigration will certainly hamper the growth in a big way. Many countries such as India, Africa and Asian countries, which have seizable outsourcing industry, will be affected by the policy.

Conclusion

It sounds the world is inviting an imminent chaotic situation, rather than solving or managing the issue that is in the interest of humanity. In a globalised world, no country can think only from the point of their narrow interest. Trump's arrival into the American politics will certainly create more uncertainty, confusion and fear within and outside America.

I thank Dr. Mahalingam, Vijay Soni, Rahul Kumar and Monika for their input. The views expressed in the article are of authors.
Contact email to the author: sadanandajp@gmail.com

Punjabi Diaspora's Religious and Political Engagements in Homeland: A Critical Assessment

Rahul Kumar Balley, PhD scholar, Centre for the Study of Social Systems, School of Social Sciences, JNU

Overview of Punjabi Migration

Since 19th century Punjabis have been migrating to different parts of the world p owing to push factor and partly due to pull factor. During the First World War, Punjab province become the principal recruiting ground for the Indian Army. By the end of the century Punjab formed 50% strength of the Indian Army, and out of this component Sikhs constituted about 25 percent (Singh & Tatla,2006:33). During British rule, Sikhs craftsmen were recruited to work in the East African colonies, Modern Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania are living examples of their contribution.

The first wave of migration began between the 1860s & 1890s when the favoured position of Sikhs in the Indian Army attracted them to foreign lands(Singh & Tatla,2006:15).

The first wave of migration began between the 1860s & 1890s when the favoured position of Sikhs in the Indian Army attracted them to foreign lands(Singh & Tatla,2006:15). This can be termed as the push factor to migrate. The second wave of migration began in 20th century to the developed countries in search for better economic opportunities or to join families. This pull factor in gaining living standard of life plays a significant role in attracting

migrants from Punjab. The Emigration from Punjab was not indentured labour but Free. The Punjabis never worked like a slave. Studies observe that the Punjabis believe in dignity of labour. To them no profession or work is ignoble & they are not afraid to put their hand to any type of work or vocation required by the exigencies of life. Adaptability to changing times & situations is one of their greatest virtues and this has stood them in good stead in all adverse circumstances. According to an estimated figure, there are approximately 24 million Sikhs in the world; thus, the formation of Punjabi Diaspora. The concept of diaspora, according to (Avtar Brah,1996:193) inscribes a homing desire. The homing desire of the Sikh diaspora can be seen in the variety of linkages that exists between diaspora Sikhs & the 'ancestral homeland'.

Religious Engagements

Sikh is a homogenous but a distinctive community. There are many divisions into sub-castes. There are clear divisions among Sikhs of upper castes called Jats and the lower, inequality ridden, oppressed class of untouchables among them and among the Hindus. The Jat Sikhs constitute the majority and own over ninety five percent of agricultural land in the state.

Punjabi Diaspora has been actively engaged in homeland in funding the religious institutions. Jat Sikhs have been supporting financially in the establishment of Sikh temples (Gurudwara) in homeland. Similarly, Ravidassis, Ambedkarites/Buddhists, Radhasoamis, Namdharis, Narankaris extend financial support to their sects or groups in building temples. More trusts and charities are on the rise in the state of Punjab because of huge financial contributions by Punjabi Diaspora to these bodies. All religious sects or groups are deeply segregated. Ideological differences among these religious sects or groups are predictable. It is generally done to assert separate caste identity in the face of prevailing caste system among the Sikhs. Despite Sikh Gurus teachings against caste and inequality, caste discrimination is practised amongst Sikhs. According to Vivek Kumar (2004:114-116) when migrants migrate, they do not migrate only as biological souls, they migrate with social-cultural baggage. Caste has been a part of their cultural baggage and has been taken into Diaspora. Punjabi Diaspora is no exception.

On 24 May 2009, chief priest Ramanand, a follower of Guru Ravidass Dera Sach Khand (at Ballan near Jalandhar) was shot dead in Rudolphshim Vienna by six Sikhs attackers who were later arrested by the commandos of the Austrian police. Some argued that killing took place because of Ramanand's soaring popularity among the Dalits. The Vienna bloodshed ignited communal fire resulting into huge loss of life and property particularly in Jalandhar district. Voluntary cash donations to the Sikh temples from abroad are huge hence fight among the various stakeholders in Sikh temple is quite predominant. Abel Chikanda (2006:90-91) states that a great amount of diasporic donations are also aimed at religious places of worship. Functions and conferences would be hosted where people belonging to the same caste would network & exchange ideas. Sikhs diaspora normally prefer to conduct business with people of their own caste, rather than people of other castes. Hence, caste and casteism remain evident in the Indian Diaspora. According to a media report, a gruesome fight between two Sikh factional groups in Golden temple occurred which left at 10 injured. The social and religious segregation among various castes and sub-castes has pushed the state to the back foot resulting into perpetual social disturbance. After such gruesome incidents, the social standings of the Jat Sikhs at large suffered and people branded them a violent community. Dhesi (2009:219-35) critiques the diaspora's role in Punjab's rural development, argues that diaspora interventions often ignore cultural sensitivities and may give "further impetus to caste-based political and social divides by institutionalizing communalism."

Political Engagements

Several studies suggest that political interests and activities within Indian Diaspora is certainly not a new phenomena. Sikh NRIs as well as the Sikhs of Punjab believe that it is their destiny to rule in their homeland. At every *Ardas* (supplication), the recital by the congregation of *Raj Karega Khalsa* (the Khalsa shall Rule) echoes and resonates within the four walls of every gurudwara in the world. This belief is

an affirmation of their faith in the words of their last Guru. It could be a wishful thinking.

In a globalised world, the internet has enabled the migrants to have quick access to all the national and international news, therefore, can communicate swiftly to the people remain in the homeland and influence their voting behaviour. Involvement of Punjabi Diaspora in the homeland politics is quite evident. Gurharpal Singh (1999:293-307) has argued that at least in the politics of the Sikh diaspora since 1984 the wind has been blowing from India and Punjab. Internationally dispersed groups mobilise and undertake a range of electoral & non-electoral political activities. The migrants give financial and other support to the political parties back in India. The political parties attract Punjabis to come back to the homeland and fight election on their tickets. The Shiromni Akali Dal (SAG), predominantly run by the upper caste Sikhs, has been inviting Punjabi NRIs to support the party during the elections. In past elections, some of NRI candidates from both the Congress and the SAD won the elections. NRI Punjabis have been seeking tickets to contest the elections, have contributed to election funds & participated in election campaigns. Recently, the NRI supporters from Canada unleashed a "Chalo Punjab: campaign to bolster support for Aam Admi Party (AAP). Similarly, the Dalits extend financial and other support to the Republican Party of India (RPI) and the Bhujan Samaj Party (BSP). From Doaba region in Punjab, almost every family has its members living outside India. NRIs can request relatives, friends in campaigning to vote for a particular candidate or political party. People living abroad can vote as per their choice to any candidate or party by using E-ballot procedure from outside India. The impact of remittances in domestic politics of Punjab is quite visible.

According to media reports, a new upcoming political party in Punjab have been wooing NRI Punjabis for donations. Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) Punjabi want good governance in Punjab. They want better protection of their interest when it comes to land property, false FIRs, and general litigation (*Economic Times*, 2016). Corruption and red tapism is quite prevalent in the state of Punjab. NRI Punjabis wants to get rid of these hurdles in exchange for their votes.

Conclusion

Punjabi diaspora having huge social and economic capital can play a very constructive role in building up the homeland but it is not happening due to sectarian religious and political engagements. Caste is one of the major factor creating hurdles in the path of an egalitarian development in the state of Punjab. Once economically prospered Punjab is now under debt. Peace and harmony is disturbed. There is an urgency to relook at the current scenario. Every diasporic community must play a catalyst role in social and religious cohesion in order to save Punjab from further communal divide. Punjabi Diaspora particularly the Sikhs need to go back to the teachings of their Gurus which prohibits idolatry, hypocrisy, caste-exclusiveness, the concremation of widows and the immurement of women.

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Interview

All countries benefit from migration. Xenophobic attitude that is emerging in many parts of the globe is dangerous: Dr. Melissa Tandiwe Myambo

The middle class across the globe have similar life style across the urban scape be it in Mumbai, Durban or New York, says **Dr. Melissa Tandiwe Myambo** to **Dr. Rajneesh K Gupta** in an Interview.

Dr. Rajneesh K Gupta (RKG): you have been travelling in many countries. While comparing different countries engaging their diasporas, do you think Indian government is late comer in engaging Diaspora?

Dr. Melissa Tandiwe Myambo (MTM): I think Indian Government is very forward and aggressive in engaging Diaspora. Though African government started it early, yet they have not carry forward the policies. Indian and Chinese government have carried their Diaspora policy consistently and forward. All countries benefit from migration. Unfortunately, with Donald Trump in the scene, there is Xenphobia which is very dangerous. The US economy cannot function without Mexicans, same with India without Bangladeshi migrants. We must look forward.

RKG: What impact reverse migration can bring to the motherland? They are also creating certain problem of adjustment back home. What solution do you recommend?

MTM: Migrants who are coming from more developed countries to less developed countries is very small. Although they are very small, they are very important. Returned migrants need to adjust with the mother country, but we are already in a globalised world. People in the

mother country have also changed over the time. We have seen massive change in urban scape with the globalisation. The middle class across the globe have similar life style across the urban scape be it in Mumbai, Durban or New York. They can have *Starbuck coffee* and other life style needs everywhere in the world. These return migrants usually prefer urban areas.

RKG: You have travelled three parts of world: Africa, America and Asia. What is the policy of the Government towards the migrants and the attitude of local people? Which continent is more forward?

MTM: I don't dare to do that comparison. Many governments are proactive in influencing local people positively. Sometimes they prefer populism and nativism that often create problem. Government should educate the native people on this issue. This is up to the Government to speak in favour or against. Few incidents of African students have been killed. Within India, Africans suffers a great deal of racism. Unfortunately, Indians are very coloured conscious, the darker one being the worst. This is peculiar. We cannot have this in 21st century...

You can view the entire discussion on our channel at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SnGI6yJXIVU>

