Conceptualizing Diaspora:
Interconnectedness of 'home' and 'host' culture

An exploratory qualitative study on Indian and Bangladeshi diaspora in the Maldives

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Abstract

This research is an exploratory qualitative study based on the broader theme of the 'relationship between diasporic and host culture - cause, process, effects and symbiosis of being and becoming'. The focus of this study has been based on analyzing impact of Indian and Bangladeshi Diaspora in Maldives, to the host population. To this regard, an exploratory study was conducted, taking into account the geographic and demographic distribution across the Maldives, to understand the host population's perception of diaspora and how they perceived and felt the impacts on their lives. The elements that were taken into analysis; social, cultural, religious and economic factors were proved to be equally important in analyzing the impact of diaspora. This analysis resulted in defining diaspora according to the perspective of the host population, providing a new dimension to the diasporic studies. In particular, it was found that there were differences in the host population's receptivity to diasporic cultures in their private and public life. The policy implications of these findings are also explored in this paper.

Introduction

Statement of the Problem

The strategic location of Maldives in the Indian Ocean has endowed the country with a rich history of migratory movement. This has led to the settlement of peoples of various origins. More recently, with the expansion of the Maldivian economy, particularly the construction industry has meant that a significant number of migrants are employed in these sectors. Of these, Indian and Bangladeshi workers constitute the majority of the migrant workers in the country.

Diasporas are not as well established in the Maldives as in other parts of the world. The particular diasporic model that can be seen in the Maldives is that arising from the migration for employment purposes. Though these migrants come to Maldives for employment, the relative size of the islands and the geographic dispersal of the islands mean that these migrants can form community structures comparable to that seen in diasporic communities at large. These migrant networks are also used to recruit other family members, and in this manner, a degree of establishment can be seen.

The primary research problem utilized for this study is to examine how the impacts of the diasporic communities are perceived by the host population. Whilst the bulk of research in to diaspora has focused on the diasporic communities themselves, this research approaches the concept of diaspora from the perspective of the host population.

In this regard, the research problem was framed to examine the particular manner in which the host population interact with various aspects of diasporic communities, including their social, religious and cultural practices. However, given that this study is an exploratory one, this was limited to only examining the host population's perception and does not engage with the deeper questions of how such perceptions form, maintained and is articulated.

Structure of the Study

Although diaspora is an extensively researched subject, very few studies have engaged with exploring this from the perspective of the host community, and the dynamic relation this may

then have on the host culture. Given the nature of the communities in the Maldives, even a small number of migrants can have a significant impact on the diasporic-host relationships.

This paper then seeks to examine diaspora by locating it within the host community. In this manner, it takes as a point of departure how diasporic communities form, the specific relation amongst diaspora and 'home' and seeks to examine how this may then interact with, impact and influence the host culture and community.

The current paper is based on relevant literature, secondary data, and a study conducted amongst locals in regular contact with the diasporic workers. The sample is used to analyze the impact that the host community believes arises out of the presence of the diasporic community.

The methodology utilized in data collection for this study includes a survey, carried out in 5 different atolls; a total of 7 islands in the Maldives. Approximately 100 samples were taken from each of the selected islands; which add up to 728 respondents. The data analysis techniques utilized for this study includes frequency distribution tables and ANOVA analysis. A Man Whitney U test was also carried to test the hypothesis on impact assessments. Since the study is first of its kind in the Maldives, it is an exploratory study.

Following this introduction, the paper will offer a review of relevant literature. The next chapter will discuss the theoretical framework and the conceptual models utilized for the purposes of this study. In the chapter that follows, we will discuss and analyze the findings of the study conducted with regards to diaspora and its impact on the host country. In the concluding chapter, the paper will highlight the manner in which the present study may be built on in the future and the particular policy recommendations that may be adopted to enhance the relationship between the host and diasporic community.

Background to the Study

Given that the study of diaspora is generally seen as an interdisciplinary subject, it is inevitably linked with other subject areas and sectors of any given country. Therefore, it is important to understand the parameters, within which the diasporic communities are settling in host countries in order to identify the main patterns and themes arising from the process.

In this regard, the following chapter will examine the particular setting of Maldives. This may be useful in analyzing how the host community interacts with the diasporic community.

Geography and Environment

Maldives is located in South Asia, situated in a South South-west direction from India and is one of the most disparate countries in the world. A total of 1192 islands make up the country, of which 194 islands are inhabited and a further 998 islands are recorded as uninhabited. The Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) is approximately 859,000 sq km.

Figure 1: Location of the Maldives in South Asia
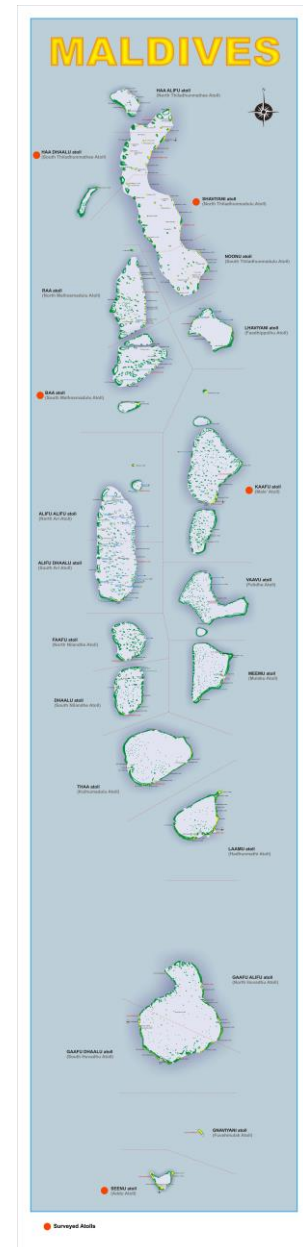
Figure 2: Map of Maldives

Demographics

The population of Maldives is distributed unevenly over 194 islands in 21 administrative areas. The increase in population of the capital Male' has been largely due to the inward migration to Male' from different atolls. There are multiple reasons for this influx of population to Male', most notably it has been estimated it is due to employment opportunities, educational opportunities and health sector, or more precisely due to rural-urban gap in development of Maldives.

A population census conducted in 2012 enumerated 325, 135 people in the entire republic. While this figure may indicate a small nation by world standards, a closer look of the spatial distribution and age distribution of the population reveals some of the acute problems that are faced by developmental planners of the nation.

Table 1: Number of inhabited islands by size of population

Population	<500	500-999	1000-1999	2000-4999	5000-9999	10000+
Number of Inhabited Islands	72	59	47	12	3	1

Source: Department of National Planning/ National Statistical Yearbook, 2012

Table 1 shows the number of inhabited islands by class size of population in 2012. It reveals that of 194 islands, only 16 islands have a population above 2000 and 72 islands have a population less than 500.

Thus far, the investigation of the demography of the Maldives has mainly been on the spatial and geographic distribution and population consolidation in these regions. It is just as important to examine, however briefly, the sex ratio and the nature of growth in population for the primary, middle and secondary age groups.

Table 2: Population by sex and atolls

Atolls	Both Sexes	Males	Female	Atolls	Both Sexes	Males	Female
H.Dh	25,116	12,854	12,262	N	15,815	8,034	7,781
Sh	16,820	8,263	8,197	R	21,678	11,244	10,434
N	15,815	8,034	7,781	B	13,483	6,956	6,527
R	21,678	11,244	10,434	Lh	12,385	6,422	5,963
B	13,483	6,956	6,527	K	180,616	170,143	350,759
Lh	12,385	6,422	5,963	A.A	7,490	3,912	3,578
K	180,616	170,143	350,759	A.Dh	10,180	5,284	4,896
A.A	7,490	3,912	3,578	V	2,425	1,287	1,165
A.Dh	10,180	5,284	4,896	M	7,028	3,607	3,421
H.Dh	25,116	12,854	12,262	F	5,613	2,871	2,742
Sh	16,820	8,263	8,197	Dh	7,259	3,715	3,544
				Th	15,286	7,765	7,521

Source: Department of National Planning/ National Statistical Yearbook, 2012

These figures show that in general, the male population in all the areas is greater than the female population. The sex ratio (males per 100 females) is 103, recorded in 2000 and 2006.

Table 3 below highlights the population by selected age groups which estimate that Maldives acquires a high percentage of people in the working age group.

Table 3: Population by selected age groups

Age groups	Number
Children under 18 years	109,583
Adolescent (10-19)	68,247
Youth (18-34)	117,031
Working Age (15-64)	221,577
Reproductive Age (15-49)	194,4444
Old Age (65+)	15,928
Dependency Ratio	47

Source: data's from 2011, Department of National Planning/ National Statistical Yearbook, 2012

Housing, Consumption of electricity and water

According to the statistics from Department of National Planning, it is estimated that there are 46,194 households in 2006, out of which Male' acquires 14,107 and the rest of the other islands acquires 32,087 households. It is also known from the statistics that out of 46,194 households in the republic, 43,194 households has been classified as collective living quarters.

It is also been estimated that 211,889 (in 000Kwh) electricity is being utilized in Male' in 2011, which is an increase in 9% from 2010. Due to the rural-urban migration and increasing population in Male', the electric consumption has been increasing at a rapid rate since recorded in 2000.

As such billed water consumption in Male' has risen from 1506.5 (in 000 metric tons) in 2004 to 3852 (in 000 metric tons) in 2011. The residential requires 79.9% while commercial requirements cater to 11.7%.

Although most of the researchers ignore the relevance of infrastructure and housing on shaping diasporic living conditions, it is important to understand the context in which the diasporic communities live in. Such conditions have a bearing on the particular interaction between the groups, particularly in an instance where there are asymmetry between the socio-economic status of the communities concerned.

Employment

The local population 15 years of age and over is increasing and statistics shows that it is likely to continue to do so. In addition to the expanding migrants in the workforce, another equally significant factor accounts for human resource consideration. The unemployment rate in Maldives is 11.7% and the country has particularly been affected by the huge migration inflow to during the past years. According to Economic Survey 2007, a total number of 46,058 foreigners work in Maldives in over 16 sectors of economy.

Table 4: Economically active population - 15 years and over (in 000's)

	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
Total 15 years and over	205	104	102
Economically active	129	76	53
Employed	111	70	41
Unemployed	19	6	13
Not economically active	64	21	43
Not stated	13	7	6
LFPR (%)	63	73	52
Unemployment rate	14	8	24

Source: Department of National Planning, 2012

From the above table it can be seen that Maldives has a high unemployment ratio of 12% according to ILO definition of unemployment. Moreover, over 64000 people are also categorized as not-economically active. With this figures in background, it is also important to understand the circular migration perspectives which adds to economically active population. The data from Ministry of Human Resource, Youth and Sports in 2011 indicate that expatriate employment in Maldives amounts to 79,777 in total. With the high unemployment rates in Maldives, this adds up to other challenges which needs to be addressed.

Table 5: Expatriate population by industry and nationality, 2011

	Asia	Africa	Europe	America	Oceania
Agriculture	543	0	0	0	0
Fishing	1101	1	1	0	0
Manufacturing	2561	0	1	1	0
Electricity, gas and Water	104	0	0	0	0
Construction	34209	1	39	5	6
Education	2092	11	8	2	1
Wholesale and Retail trade	2191	0	3	0	0
Hotels and Restuarants	4591	1	3	0	0
Tourism	12359	140	867	51	71
Transport, Storage, Communication	1894	9	34	59	8
Financing, Insurance, Real estate	6670	12	142	25	11
Community, Social work, and personal service	9782	21	96	22	28

Source: Department of National Planning, 2012

From the figures above, it is possible to comprehend that a large number of expatriate workers are employed in construction industry and tourism industry. These two sectors has been rapidly growing and sources a large percentage of the workforce required from abroad.

With this in background, as the focus of the study is primarily based on diasporic communities from India and Bangladesh, the table given below shows the statistics relevant to this analysis.

Table 6: Expatriate employment (Indian and Bangladeshi by sector)

	India	Bangladesh
Total	18755	45417
Agriculture	96	382
Fishing	146	619
Manufacturing	447	1702
Electricity, gas and Water	17	80
Construction	5269	25629
Education	1881	52
Wholesale and Retail trade	523	1386
Hotels and Restaurants	1090	2885
Tourism	2900	4195
Transport, Storage, Communication	562	797
Financing, Insurance, Real estate	1895	3147
Community, Social work, and personal service	3929	4543

Source: Department of National Planning, 2012

It is shown above that more than 45000 Bangladeshi expatriates and 18000 Indian expatriates are currently based in Maldives. Further analysis of this statistics will be presented in the analytical chapters.

Furthermore, the aggregate statistics from the relevant government authorities also indicate that from the expatriate population in Maldives, 73,629 are male, while female population amounts to 6149 in total in all the sectors of occupation.

Education

The first government school was established in 1927 in Male' and first English medium school was established in 1960. In 1995, primary education was universalized in Maldives, which lead to more students entering secondary education. It has also been identified that 31% of the teachers in Maldives are expatriates; Male' amounting to 24% and other islands amounting to 33%.

Gross Domestic Production

The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Maldives expanded 3.40 percent in 2012 from the previous year. From 1997 until 2012, Maldives GDP annual growth rate averaged 7.3 percent reaching an all-time high of 19.6 percent in December of 2006 and a record low of -8.7 percent in December of 2005.

Social Protection

The figure below shows the types of social protection schemes provided in the Maldives for the Maldivian community. Madhana is a basic health insurance scheme, whereas Madhana Plus includes health insurance from India and Sri Lanka. The other types of social schemes introduced in 2011 are care for single parents and children, welfare assistance, disability allowance and foster parent and children protection schemes. In 2011, this was the first time in Maldives where a mechanism of social protection was implemented.
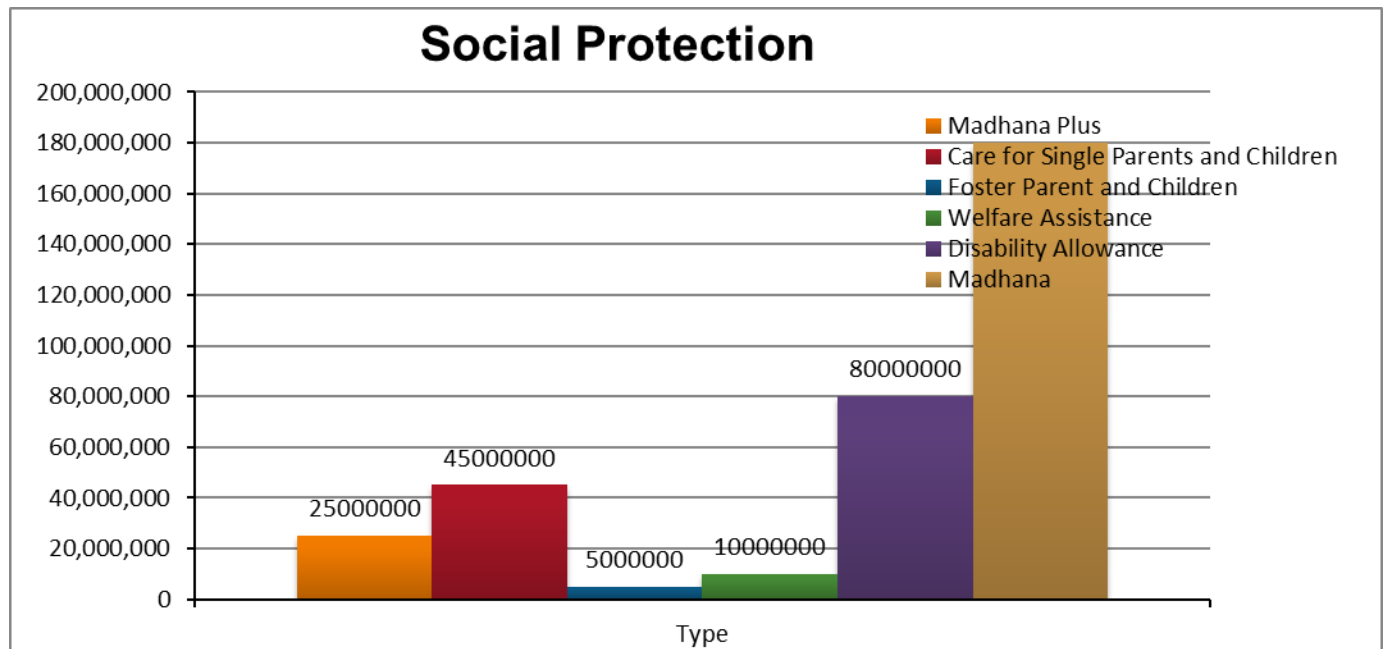
Figure 3: Social protection

Social, Cultural and Religious Perspectives

The most significant aspect in this regard was the advent of Islam in 1500AD, which shaped the cultural practices of Maldives according to Islamic doctrine. Maldives has a unique language, Dhivehi, which is believed to have originated from Sanskrit. Apart from three dialects spoken in the southern atoll, Dhivehi is universally spoken in all the parts of Maldives. The geographical factors in the country have particularly influenced the social and cultural aspects in shaping the Maldivian societies.

The background to the study provided the general framework that needed to be considered for further textual and analytical investigations. The context of the Maldivian environment, together with the main elements of the society was discussed in this chapter.

Literature Review

Diaspora as a separate subject been widely discussed among scholars during the past decade. However, this has unfortunately not led to a common meaning of diaspora, and nor a common modelling or theorizing. Many of the theorists and scholars agree on situation based diaspora modelling which had not led to generalize the comparative dimension. In this dimension, it is also important to note that there has been no relevant or situation based diaspora study done on the Maldives. However, for the purposes of this research and investigation of diaspora in the Maldives, it was important to analyze other studies done on different parts of the world. For analyzing these studies, three dimensions from literature were investigated; (i) different meanings and definitions of diaspora, (ii) different dimensions of diaspora, and (iii) models and theories of diaspora. After analyzing these three dimensions, concentration was focused on finding the strengths and weaknesses of the existing literature. This aspect was particularly important to provide the theoretical framework for the study.

<u>What are the definitions of Diaspora?</u>

Fourteen years ago, writing in the inaugural issue of *Journal of Diaspora*, William Safran observed that most scholarly discussions of ethnicity paid "little if any attention to diaspora" (1991, p.83).

Most early discussions of diaspora were very much concentrated on the concept of 'homeland'. It was commonly attached with Jewish diaspora which no longer fit to other contexts of diaspora apart from the whole idea of dispersion.

Another important question usually asked in diaspora studies is what the difference between diaspora and migration is. According to Butler (2001) human beings have been in perpetual motion since the dawn of time, and Palmer (1999) argues that all of humanity may be considered part of Africa diaspora. If then, if all movements do not result in diaspora, it is important to question what then distinguishes diaspora from other movements, both practically and theoretically. In defining this movement, there are many self-defined diasporas being

proliferated. As Clifford (1994 p.307) states nation states itself are in crisis, as personal allegiances and increasingly defined in terms of tribalistic ethnicities.

Another vital aspect to note when defining diaspora is many of these meanings loose its original term when being applied in other contexts. George Shepperson (1979) noted that African diaspora scholars, because of their focus on Atlantic slave trade, effectively ignored the convention within the Jewish diaspora studies that distinguishes exile from voluntary dispersion.

With the limitations aside, most of the literature of ethnographic source has been particularly useful in diaspora studies in identifying the focused characteristics of diaspora. As Toloyan (1996) clearly identifies that diaspora will have an ethnic identity of 'being' and having a more active 'diasporian' identity which requires active participation in politics of homeland and host-land.

In proposing specific characteristics to define diaspora, William Safran identified 5 characteristics which is deemed important. These include, (i) dispersal to two or more locations, (ii) collective mythology of homeland, (iii) alienation from host-land, (iv) idealization of return to homeland, and (v) & (vi) on-going relationship with homeland. Most of these characteristics were agreed by the scholars of diaspora, which led to development of other definitions from these characteristics. In this regard, Cohen (1997) emphasized on ethno-national consciousness; whether the group not living in its homeland had the option of choosing between return and making a permanent home in diaspora. In this instance, the literature also poses the question of the duration of the diasporic community as they have the intention to return to their homeland.

The more recent literature on diaspora have also defined diaspora as a form of consciousness and a source of cultural reproduction. When we look into the context of the South Asian diaspora, this cultural reproduction and consciousness is largely seen by the kind of different social relationships that the diasporic community maintains, particularly to the connections of history.

Political orientation is also seen as being associated with diasporic communities, such that Armenian organisations in USA, France and Middle East. Joel Kolkin (1997) states that among diasporic communities, a sense of collectivism exists on a worldwide scale that provides their success in new global economies.

In further explaining the connection that the diasporic communities have Arjun Appadurai (1994, pp. 301-2) states that "it is clear that the overseas movement of Indians has been exploited by a variety of interests both within and outside India to create complicated networks of finance and religious identifications, in which the problems of cultural reproduction for Hindus abroad have become tied to the politics of Hindu fundamentalist at home".

This connection is also found in terms of consciousness which is particularly described as dual or paradoxical nature. This consciousness is also formed by experiences in discrimination and exclusion, and positively by identification within as historical heritage or culture.

Another dimension in defining diaspora is the awareness of multi locality in where the diasporic community identifies themselves in relation to being 'here' and 'there'. This concept is discussed by Stuart Hall (1993), and further elaborated by Cohen (1999). Cohen claims that in the age of cyberspace, a diaspora can to some degree, be held together or recreated through the mind, through cultural artefacts and through shared imagination (1999, p.516). Cohen furthermore argues that this identification serves to bridge the gap between local and global.

Apart from the multi locality or cyber age connection, some scholars have argued that diasporic communities are identified through a consciousness in their mind; function of mind. Arjun Appadurai and Carol Brecknendge states that "diaspora always leaves a trace of collective memory about another place and time and create new maps of desire and attachment.

In reference to the question of globalization, an interest in diaspora has been equated with anthropology's now commonplace anti-essentialist, constructivists and processual approach to ethnicity (Baumann & Sunnier, Vertovec, 1999). In this stance, cultural reproduction is largely seen as a consequence of diaspora which are in recent studies referred to as syncretic, cross-over, cut and mix, hybrid or translated. Stuart Hall states that diaspora does not only refer to those scattered tribes but by recognition of a necessary hegemonising form of ethnicity. The production of such hybrid cultural phenomena and new ethnicities is especially to be found among diasporic youth whose primary socialization has taken place with the cross cutting of differing cultural fields.

In defining modern diasporas, Sheffer (1986, p.3) proposed a simple definition – "modern diasporas are ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong cultural sentimental and material links with their countries of origin – their

homelands". In this context there are other questions posed by the literature in defining diaspora, (i) in defining diaspora, who are the actors in diaspora, (ii) in defining diaspora, what function to acquire.

Most literature on diaspora argues that there are three types of actors in diaspora. These are the diaspora group itself, the homeland and the host land (Sheffer, 1986). There is a complex relationship among these actors, differentiated according to level of commitment, self-interest and power.

On most general level, these actions have been discussed in terms of their triangular relationships. But the issue of bifocality have also been raised and pose some intriguing questions regarding the dynamics of relationship (Gilroy 1987; Manekerar 1994; Rouse 1991) in analyzing the function of a diaspora as defining its meaning, the literature focuses on distinguishing between social function of diaspora consciousness to the group itself and its social function to others. Clifford (1994) states that this language of diaspora is increasingly used by people who feel displaced and who maintain to connect with a prior home.

In all of these definitions, it is vital to take into account the important agreements of the definition. In this regard, diaspora studies reflect a sense being part of an ongoing transnational network that includes the diasporic communities to have a sense of belonging to their homeland. Diaspora is also mostly identified on a social concept whether through consciousness of presence in mind. As Benjamin (1968) states "effaced stories are recovered, different features imagined".

<u>What are the dimensions of Diaspora</u>

After an analysis of different definition of diaspora; we move onto the dimension of diaspora; which came as a result of the most commonly agreed meanings of diaspora. These five dimensions have been borrowed from Butler (2001); (i) reasons for dispersal (ii) relationship with homeland (iii) relationship with hostland (iv) interrelationships within communities of diaspora.

(i) The process of diasporization is the logical starting point for diaspora studies (Butler, 2001). According to the sources of different literature labelling or naming is the initial phase of distinguishing diaspora communities. The most common forces of labelling includes typologies

set based on the perception of the people; such as 'an ethnic of Indian' or Sikh in religion. In distinguishing the types of diasporas, Philip Curtin (1984) employed an approach that hinged on primary activities of diasporic communities. However, in many cases the activity based diaspora is not the reality. To tackle this, Cohen provides a typology which includes victim, labor, trade, imperial and cultural. This typology emphasizes the condition and causes of initial dispersion. However, this typology was difficult to comprehend as most of the diasporic communities were unaware of their cultural origin. Whether these typologies did not confirm the fundamental differences by labelling the ancestry and ideological complexes came to the forefront of the debate of characterizing diaspora. The ideological diaspora in this instance became quite prominent that, Cohen argues that religions can provide additional cement to bind a diasporic consciousness, but they do not constitute Diasporas in and of themselves.

This ideological dimension, however, generated many questions from literature, more importantly, for what extent does this ideology stay within the different types of diasporic groups.

The process of diasporisation is also seen to take different forms. Forced movements, voluntary movements, cumulative individual movements, trade networks are to name a few. Each of these types of diasporic communities tends to develop their own form of consciousness.

Another dimension of initial dispersion stems from the historical circumstance of relocation which lays the sector of society from which diaspora originates, its demographic composition, social realms and political orientations.

(ii) According to Butler, the reason for relocation affects subsequent relationships between diaspora communities and their homelands. The basic foundation of this relationship is based on the collective disaporic identity. The diasporic communities identify themselves as having common identities such as language, religion, food etc. However, what differentiates these identities the most is the characteristic in the host land in constructing a diasporic framework of relationship with homeland; literature questions the means, the extent to which they maintain these connections. Also within the different circumstances in homeland, it is important to question what possible chances there are for return of diasporic community. This return to homeland is mostly associated with the experience in host-land which determines the willingness

to go back. There is also another dimension to this diaspora and homeland relationships; i.e. regarding how the homeland sees the diasporic community.

(iii) Relationship with host-lands

The most important aspect for this study particularly is the relationship with the host-land. The existing literature is very minimal in theorizing this relationship; usually leads to the questions of the extent of intervention of host-land in determining diasporic culture and more importantly what leads to shape different diasporic identities. More importantly, the literature also pose questions on the impacts the host country has because of the diasporic communities.

Another important dimension in diasporic studies is the inter-relationship between diaspora communities. In most situations, it is the inter-relationship between diaspora communities that lead them to stay or leave the host lands. In this perspective, it is group's self-awareness that defines their lifestyle in host lands. A large literature in sociology and economics has identified that migrant network facilitates further migration of people, movement of goods, capital and ideas across borders (Rauch and Casella 1998; Rauch 2003; Gao 2002; Kugler and Rapoport 2007; Docquiere and Lodigiani 2010). As diasporas are also transnational, their transnational characteristics are usually formed from the nature of historical diasporic formation.

These dimensions in diaspora are usually agreed upon by scholars; however, the literature on diaspora lacks the explanation required to study the impact and the extent to which these dimensions are being consolidated in diasporic communities.

The third part of literature focuses on analysing the existing theories and models of diaspora. It would be naïve to assume that an all-encompassing and all explaining meta theory on migration will ever rise. However, there are several theories which have provided outlines of different dimensions.

One such dimension is the equilibrium theory of push-pull model formulated by Ravenstein (1887-1889). Lee (1966) revisited Ravenstein's migration law, and stated that migration decisions are determined by addition and subtraction factors in areas of origin and destination; the push-pull literature identifies economic, environmental, demographic factors which might push migrants out of the country of origin, forcing them to move to other places.

Although push and pull models seems to be significant in diaspora studies, the model has its own limitations. One such limitation is that when the factors are outlines, it does not determine the dominant factors. Another limitation is that most factors seem to be lumped together in an arbitrary manner. This model is also subjected to be lacking heuristic value (McDowell and de Haan 1997; Conitman 1975).

Another equilibrium model is explained by Todaro (1969) and Hams and Todaro (1970). Their neo-classical migration theory explained rural-urban migration in developing countries, which later expanded in international scope Maruszko (1987). This neo-classical theory sees migration as a consequence of geographical differences of labour as opposed to capital.

This theory outlines that laborers move from low-income region to high-income regions. This model also incorporates costs and risks of migration, and translated migration s an investment on human capital in order to explain migration selectivity (Bauer and Zimmerman 1998; Sjaastad 1962).

Zelinsky (1971) also proposed a significant model of mobility transitions known as 'spatio-temporal' model. This model is justified to be integrated demographic transition theory with the notion of spatial diffusion of innovators. Zelinsky (1971) also moved further in explaining that not only demographic factors are important, but the vital transition of demography together with modernization and economic growth are also particularly important in migration studies. According to Zelinksly "there are definite, patterned regularities in the growth of personal mobility through space-time during recent history, and these regularities comprise an essential component of the modernization trend" (Zelinky 1971, pp.220-22).

In this regard, Zelinsky distinguishes five transition levels, (i) the prep-modern traditional society, (ii) the early transitional society, (iii) the late transitional society, (iv) the advanced society and, (v) future, super-advanced society. Zelinsky argued that these transitional phases was linked to distinct forms of mobility, referred to as mobility transition.

The geographer Skeldon (1997), further elaborated Zelinsky's model, which included global regionalization of migratory movements. The following table offers a summary of the conceptual links between spatial and temporal migration models.

Table 7: Conceptual links between spatial and temporal migration models

The temporal dimension			The Spatial dimension	
Demographic and vital transition model **Stages of the demographic transition model**	**Vital transition (Zelinsky)**	**Mobility transition (Zelinsky)**	Regionalisation **World systems theory (Wallerstein)**	**Development tiers (Skeldon)**
High stationary (high fertility and mortality, roughly in balance, little annual increase if any)	**Pre-modern traditional society** (pre-industrial)	Mobility mainly limited to circular migration	**External areas (e.g., many Sub-Sharan Africn countries,parts of central Asia and Latin America Periphery (e.g. Morocco, Egypt, Mexico)**	**Resource niche,** with often weaker forms of migration
Early expanding (rapid decline in mortality due to improvements in food supply, sanitation and health care and education; but no corresponding fas in birth rates	**Early transitional society** (urbanising/industrialising developing country)	All forms of mobility (circular, rural colonisation frontiers, internal rurl-urban, industrial) increase	**Periphery** (e.g. Morocco, Egypt, Mexico)	**Labour frontier,** dominated by emigration (to core) and internal centralization

leading to major population growth)				
Late expanding (major decline in fertility due to access to contraception, economic growth, wage increases, urbanization, increase in the status and education of women, increases in investment in children's education value change and other social changes - population growth begins to level off, significant but decelerating natural increase.	**Late transitional society** (mature industrial country)	International migration decreases, rural-to-urban internal migration stagnates but remains at high levels, circular movements increase and grow in structural complexity, towards the end of phase 'rural exodus' increases	**Semi periphery** (e.g. eastern China, South Africa, eastern Europe, Turkey)	**Expanding core.** co-existence of immigration and emigration and internal centralisation (i.e., urbanisation and rural-to-urban migration)

Low stationary (fertility and mortality stabilized at low levels, slight population increase if ant)	Advanced society (post-industrial society)	Residential mobility, urban-to-urban and circular migration increase, transform tin from emigration to net immigration countries immigration of unskilled and semi-skilled workers	Core Areas (e.g. Western Europe, North America, Japan, NICs)	Old and new core countries characterized by immigration and internal decentralization
Declining? (continuing low fertility and mortality: birth rates drop below replacement level leading to shrinking population)	A future **'superadvanced' society**	**Most internal migration is urban-urban and residential, immigration if laborers continues**	**? (Core)**	**Old/Declining Core**

Source: Adopted from Hein de Gass, International Migration Institute

Apart from the spatio-temporal dimension and the equilibrium theories explaining migration, there are sociological, economic, geographic and inter-disciplinary approaches in explaining migration.

(i)   Sociological theories

First of its kind, the sociological theory of migration is formulated by Stouffer (1940, 1960). His model of intervening opportunity concept outlines that the extent of migration is proportionate to the number of opportunities available from the destination.

This concept of intervening opportunities gave rise to the push-pull model (Lee 1966). For international migration these factors are also divided between hard and soft factors (Oberg 1996). The hard factors consist of harsh circumstances, like humanitarian crisis, armed conflicts and environmental disasters. The soft factors include poverty, social exclusion, and unemployment factors. Once the population flows are determined, large numbers of people love to the receiving countries, further confirming the network hypothesis theories. In modern times, the idea of network is related the theory of transnational social space (Pres 1999; Faist 2000). As defined by Faist, "transnational social space consists of combinations of social and symbolic ties, their contents, positions in network and organisations, and network of organisations that can be found in multiple states. These spaces denote dynamic processes, not static notions of ties and positions (2000).

The sociological approach also elaborates on the concept of social capital. The social capitals are the resources that help a group of people to achieve their goals based on social patterns and symbolic ties associated with networks.

Another sociological model explaining migration is the institutional theory of migration outlined by Massey et al. (1993), concerning both legal and illegal migration. The process of institutionalizing migratory flows tends to be to some extent self-perpetuating, independent from the initially dominant migration factors (Massey et al 1993, p. 451). Massey (1992) also expanded the economic theories of Veblam (1989) and Myrdal (1957) and suggested the theoretical approach of cumulative causation. This theory lay that migration is an evolutionary process that contributed to institutional and socio-economic change at origin and destination, through feedback mechanisms.

(ii)   Economic theories

The current economic theories of migration are divided into two approaches – macro and micro approaches. One of the main macroeconomic theories of neo-classical approach of equilibrium has been discussed in this chapter. Apart from these neoclassical and Keynesian approaches, the other theories include the dual labour markets theory explained by Piore (1979). The dual labour market theory outlines that wages are not only the price for labor, but the employees social and occupational positions also does matter. This theory also outlines that the local population moves to attractive professions while the migrants take up the dirty, dangerous or difficult jobs.

Another approach of macroeconomic stance is the world systems theory formulated by Wallerstein (1974). Wallerstein's argument is that migration is associated with the capitalist system and global markets, in core, semi periphery and peripheral regions.

The world system theory acknowledges material, historical, cultural and linguistic factors, subjected to be an influence of migratory flows. Furthermore, Sjaastad (1962) treats migration as an investment on human capital. The value expectancy theory is comprehensive and outlines economic, social and psychological spheres of life. Another important theory of migration in economic sphere is the new economic theory of migration (Stark and Bloom 1985). This theory suggests that the flow of migration is largely determined by the household rather than the individual themselves.

This finding is correlated with the observations that migratory processes are characterized by family patterns as noted by Mincer (1978) and Castor and Rogers (1983). Another extension of this theory is provided by Duistam (1977), who focused on savings as the major element determining migration.

Both macro and micro approaches in economic spheres help to determine the practicality of the classical and new approaches, at the same time distinguishing the paradigm of decision making by the migrant population.

(iii)   Geographic theories

In the geographical theories of migration, the main argument revolves around the concept of 'distance'. Distance is largely viewed as a factor moderating spatial interactions between regions, which include population flows. In geographical approaches the economic measures as employment or income can be

used as masses, while distance is measured taking transportation time and cost. The mobility transition model by Zelinsky (1971) explained earlier in this chapter is also one of the most significant theories of migration in geographical spheres

(iv) Interdisciplinary theories

Many of the theories of migration revolves around economic and social sphere, however, there are few theories which provides the multi-dimensional scope. The migration systems theory by Kritz (1992) is one such framework, following the work of Mabgunje (1970) and Zlotnik (1998). This theory distinguishes migration systems by sending and receiving countries. In this theory migration is seen as interplay with historical, economic cultural and political dimensions.

Massey (2002) also provides a synthesising framework; which perceives international migration in post-industrial countries as an outcome of socio-economic development and integration process.

The review of the migration theories in this study leads to the conclusion that many of the theories were context based which did not provide a scientific field for discussion. It is also understood that the theories of migration is becoming more diversified and inter-disciplinary in nature.
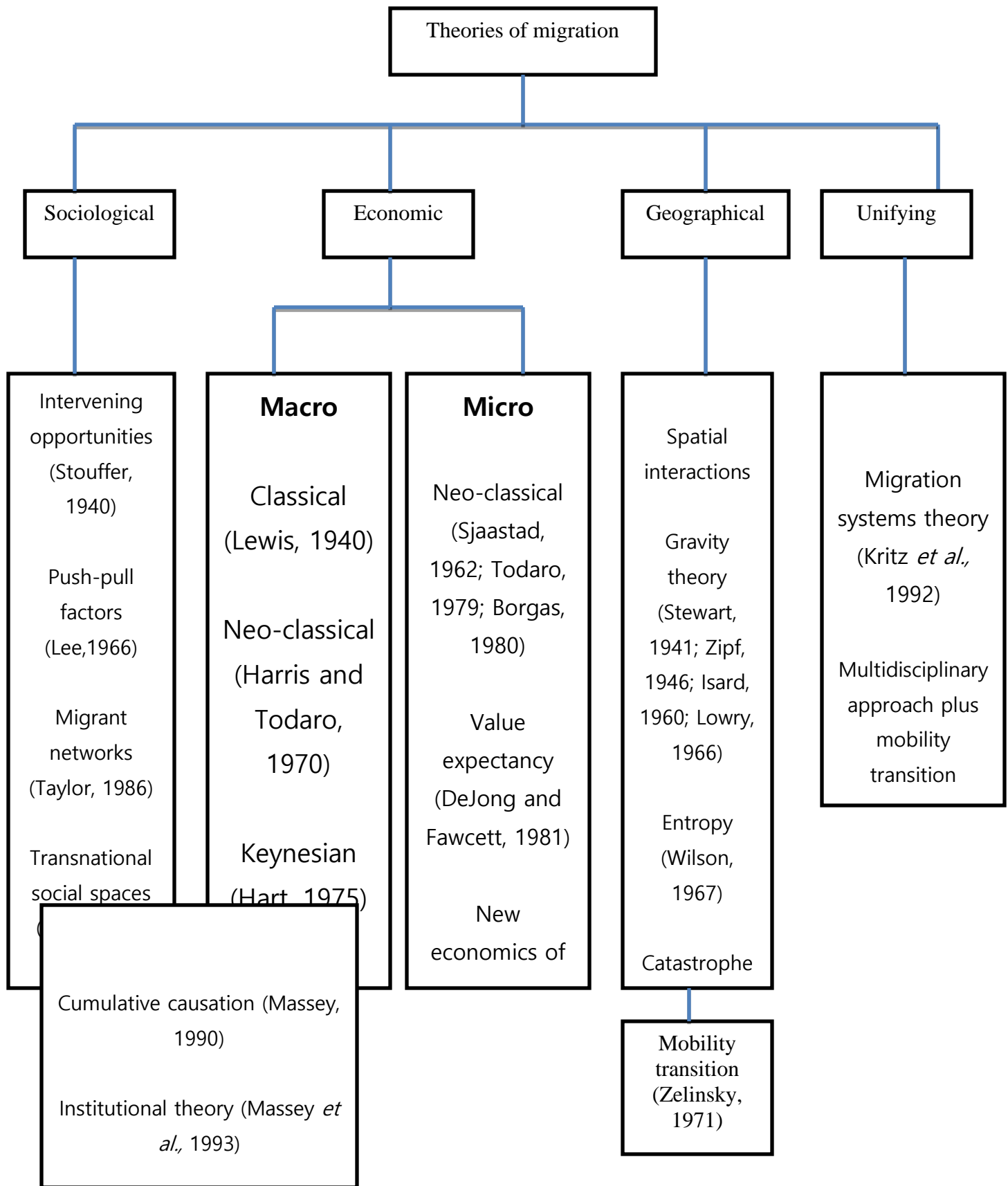
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                          ┌─────────────────────────┐
                          │  Theories of migration  │
                          └─────────────────────────┘
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Sociological	Economic	Geographical	Unifying

Macro / **Micro**

Sociological

Intervening opportunities (Stouffer, 1940)

Push-pull factors (Lee,1966)

Migrant networks (Taylor, 1986)

Transnational social spaces

Macro

Classical (Lewis, 1940)

Neo-classical (Harris and Todaro, 1970)

Keynesian (Hart, 1975)

Micro

Neo-classical (Sjaastad, 1962; Todaro, 1979; Borgas, 1980)

Value expectancy (DeJong and Fawcett, 1981)

New economics of

Cumulative causation (Massey, 1990)

Institutional theory (Massey *et al.,* 1993)

Geographical

Spatial interactions

Gravity theory (Stewart, 1941; Zipf, 1946; Isard, 1960; Lowry, 1966)

Entropy (Wilson, 1967)

Catastrophe

Mobilty transition (Zelinsky, 1971)

Unifying

Migration systems theory (Kritz *et al.,* 1992)

Multidisciplinary approach plus mobility transition

Figure 4: Theories of migration

More importantly, it is also vital to note that most of the theories on migration were concentrated on the reason of migration and the flow of migration in number. Hence, there were a lack of literature in theorizing the outcomes and impacts of these migrant communities. An overall analysis of diaspora literature outlines the gaps in knowledge, more importantly in the areas of predicting the power of diaspora and their role in development of both home and host land.

Conceptual Framework

The theoretical framework of this study is based on the case studies and theories discussed in the first part of this chapter. More importantly, the specific models, theories and concepts relating to the conceptual framework of this study will be discussed in this chapter.

One of the most significant theories of diaspora studies that have been selected for laying out theoretical grounds for this study is the Diaspora Classification Theory by Robbin Cohen (1997). Cohen (1997) in his book 'global diaspora: an introduction' underlines the lack of theorization of diaspora, and hence elaborated on the types of diasporic communities. This classification was important in identifying the characteristics of the diasporic communities in group analysis. Cohen (1997) identified diaspora as a fluid community which are propositioned between states and travelling cultures. His ideology of cultures was important in laying the arguments of the transmission and acceptability of cultural norms in this study.

Throughout Cohen's arguments, what was more prominent is that the ambivalent relationship that many diasporic people have, to both their host country and their homeland. Furthermore, the argument states that home country is often seen as a longines factor whereas the host country is seen as the alienating factor.

Cohen's theory reflected the recent trends in diaspora, including the fluidity of the concept that reflects the social world and the ideological transmissions through globalization. Furthermore, Cohen's arguments that diaspora do not end at the state boundaries but rather, cultures are formed by their contact with host country is particularly relevant to this study.

The emphasis on cultures, informal networks, absorption of ideas and practices lays the foundation of this study, which is reflected from the characteristics identified by Cohen. Cohen's classification of types of diaspora is used in this study as the input of diaspora model, namely victim, labor, imperial, trade and de-territorialized, are seen as the major types of diaspora, which form the starting phase of diaspora process.

Another significant theory, which forms the basis of this study, is the Acculturation theory proposed by John Berry (1997). This theory categorized the retention and rejection of the

diasporic communities. Berry's theoretical model helps to understand the viewpoint of the diasporic community in the process of cultural and psychological change that results in meeting of new cultures. However, the viewpoint from the host community is not discussed in this theory. Berry (1997) provided a theoretical argument based on psychology of group relations. Berry suggested that due to meeting in new cultures, the individual experiences two types of change; behavioral shifts and emotional reactions.
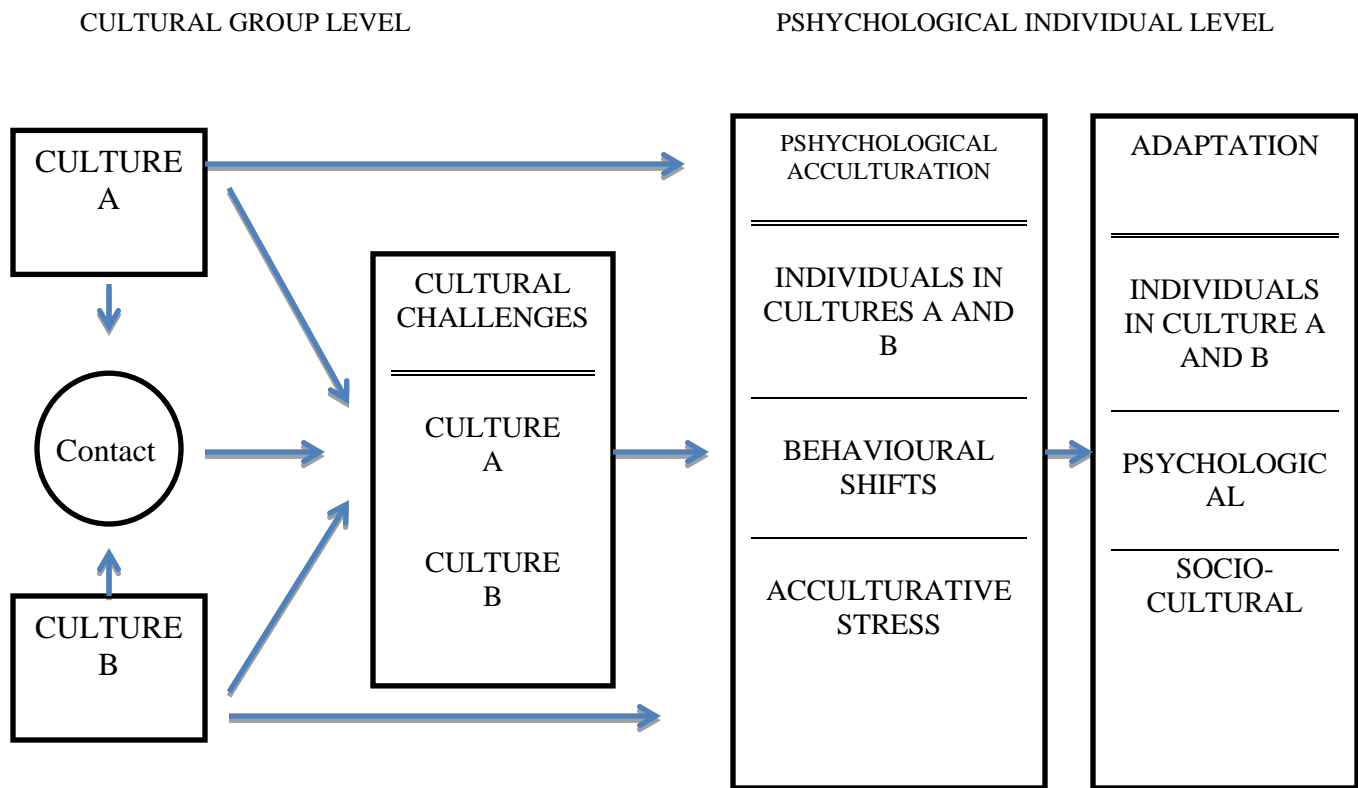
CULTURAL GROUP LEVEL   PSHYCHOLOGICAL INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

Figure 5: A general framework for understanding acculturation, J.W Berry 2005

Another recent model which has emphasized on assimilation was proposed by Gordon in 1997, where he proposed stages of assimilation; (1) Acculturation (2) Structural Assimilation (3)

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Marital Assimilation (4) Identification assimilation (5) Attitude reception assimilation (6) Behaviour reception assimilation and (6) Civic assimilation.

Gordon's arguments reflected on the American society, where he presented three concepts – melting pot, cultural pluralism and Anglo-conformity. In Gordon's view immigrant groups entering the United States have given up much of their cultural heritage and conformed substantially to an Anglo-Protestant core culture. Gordon identified that this Anglo-conformity has been achieved by the immigrant communities in the United States as a result of substantial acculturation, which passes onto generations. Hence, when it comes to second or third generation, the communities are confirmed into society.

Although this theory helps to understand the process in which the communities integrate into the societies, it lacks the argument where how the non-European and American countries assimilate the diasporic communities into their host countries. More importantly, the eventual integration or progressive inclusion helps to understand the process of diasporic integration, but lacks the arguments in stratification involved in this process. It is generally seen that not all the diasporic communities have the equal chance of integrating into the host land, but are usually selective or 'good' groups.

Both Berry and Gordon's theoretical framework has laid out the foundation of this study based on the diasporic community acculturation, but both the theories lacked the discussion on the perspective and consequence on host communities.

The last stage of the diasporic model is the output segment, where the communities are either accepted or rejected or partially integrated.

According to Roland Bathes (1992), due to hybridity or the mixing of cultures; a new language often evolves or new characteristics often evolves that is neither the one nor the other. On the other hand, Marshal McLuhan (1964) described cultural state as a global village where our senses and customs are based on global consciousness.

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However, in most of the case studies and relevant literature, what we have witnessed is neither a hybrid society nor a global village understanding. Sometimes, the host communities tend to selectively accept characteristics from diasporic communities, usually based on the advantages that they may get in consequence. This selective acceptance is based on the positive aspects of involving diaspora in public sphere, and lacks integration in private spheres.

In the total rejection phase of the model, host communities often rejects the diasporic community based on the characteristics, where they discriminate the identity based on authenticity or originality. This was particularly common in early 1900s, where the identity of the people were the main factor that led to discrimination and inequality. Concepts such as 'genuine Jewish' or process of 'Israelification' are some of the examples. It is important to understand that in the consequence stage social judgments plays a vital role.

Based on the diasporic literature it is evident that only very few studies have been conducted for the purpose of studying the process and impact of diaspora. Hence, as stated in the first part of this study, the conceptual framework for this study has been discussed to understand the process and the consequence of diaspora for the host land.

Input	Process	Output
Input Victim Labour Imperial Trade Deterrioralized	Process Diasporic community acculturation Host community acculturation	Output Total Acceptance Selective Acceptance Total Rejection

Figure 6: Model of diaspora

Input in the conceptual framework refers to the types of diasporic communities entering the host land. The most commonly used means of categorizing the types of diaspora is according to the cause of movement. Earlier models of diaspora focused on assuming the movement of people to

form a homogenous community. However, the contemporary models were based on the ideology that 'people who moved as they did so became homogenized politically'. Cohen outlined a comprehensive model of diaspora, which identified the types of diasporic groups. The conceptual framework for this study elaborated on the 'input' of diaspora based on Cohen's classification. The five major types according to Cohen are; (i) Victim diaspora; Jewish, African, Armenians (ii) Labor diaspora; Indentured Indians (iii) Imperial diaspora; British (iv) Trade diaspora; Lebanese, Chinese and (v) Deterrioralized diaspora; Carribean diaspora, Parsis and Sindhis.

For the purpose of this study, concentration is based onto the second type of diaspora; Labor diaspora. The major reason for Bangladeshi and Indian diasporic communities to settle in Maldives is to seek for labor opportunities. It is also important to understand in here that most occupational studies identify that the level of saving is positively correlated with the choice of self-employment on return. More specifically, this group can be categorized in between circular migration and diaspora. The circular migration refers to the temporary and usually repetitive movement of migrant worker between home and host areas, typically for the purpose of employment. The aspect in which these Bangladeshi and Indian communities fall into the category of diaspora is due to established pattern of mobility and the continuous presence that they leave in the host land.

It is particularly significant that such a study on analyzing the impact on host country provides a definition as seen from the perspective of the host communities. The host communities sees the diasporic communities not as an individual being from that particular homeland, but as a community in which their members have a particular pattern of mobility within their connecting agencies; however, the fact that they leave a constant presence in the host land is what defines them as diaspora. More simplistically, according to the perspectives of the host landers, for them it does not matter whether a particular person stays for a longer period. For the host landers what defines diaspora is that 'any' member of the diasporic community stays in host land for a constant period of time.

The process according to this conceptual framework is defined in two dimensions; (i) the diasporic community acculturation and (ii) host community acculturation. Acculturation in general sense is refers to the process of cultural and psychological change that results from meeting between two cultures. Most of the studies on diaspora has been focused on the diasporic community acculturation process and has neglected the perspective of the host landers. One such

comprehensive model analyzing the diasporic community acculturation process is the four-fold model. The four-fold model categorizes acculturation strategies along two dimensions. The first dimension concerns the retention or rejection of an individual's minority or native culture. The second dimension concerns the adoption or rejection of the dominant group or host culture. From this four acculturation strategies have been emerged. The first acculturation strategy is assimilation and this occur when individuals adopt the cultural norms of a dominant or host culture over their original culture.

The second strategy is separation and this occur when individuals reject the dominant or host culture in favour of preserving their culture of origin. Separation is defined to be often facilitated by immigration to ethnic enclaves. The integration is the third strategy of acculturation. The integration occurs when individuals are able to adopt the cultural norms of the dominant or host culture while maintaining their culture of origin. Integration leads to, and is often synonymous with biculturalism. The fourth acculturation strategy is marginalization; occurs when individuals reject both their culture of origin and the dominant host culture. In the four fold model, it is also important to understand that individual's respective acculturation strategy can differ between their private and public live sphere. Vijver (2004) explains this instance, as an individual may reject their values and norms of the dominant culture in his private life, whereas he might adapt to the dominant culture in public parts of his life. In this process there is both separation and integration taking place.

From the above paragraph, output in diaspora is seen as the by-product of the process of diaspora; 'Diasporic Community Acculturation' and 'Host Community Acculturation'. The output of the Diasporic Community Acculturation process has been described above as the four fold model. The Host Community Acculturation process and output is the focus in this part of the study. The Host Community Acculturation takes place in three dimensions; (i) Total Acceptance (ii) Selective Acceptance, and, (iii) Total Rejection.

Total Acceptance

This dimension of the output is the phase where both host community and the diasporic communities assimilate, integrates to form a hybrid community. The hybridity is the process in which the host landers accepts and negotiates the diasporic cultural and identity differences. However, it is important to note in here that when two cultures are met, there will be a dominant ideology that will continue to under place the following ideology. In some of the cases deculturalization is the result of this hybrid mixture. Deculturalization will strip away the culture of a particular group of people in order to mix and fix the cultural ideological differences. The assimilation comes as the cost of deculturalization. Furthermore, this hybridity softens the boundaries between the diasporic and host communities; however, the process does not always necessarily take place harmoniously through negotiations. Often, these encounters are extremely violent, as the history of colonialism has shown. The people, by their will or force, are led to negotiate their differences and form an acceptable and hospitable culture to both the communities in order to avoid physical confrontation. Hence, this phase of Total Acceptance to create hybridity could be argued to be acceptance by force. Through this total acceptance within their communities, they create a third culture known as the hybrid culture. It is possible that this hybrid culture will consists of equal portions of both the cultures; however, possibility is there to create a dominant ideology within time.
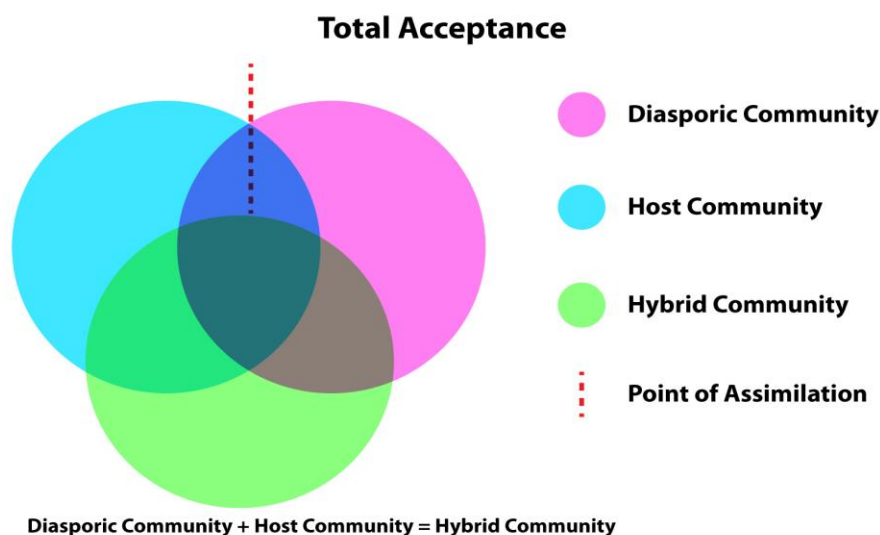

Figure 7: Total acceptance model of diaspora

Selective Acceptance

Selective acceptance is the process in which the host country only accepts some parts of the diasporic cultural identities. Most often in Selective Acceptance the host country has the dominant ideology since the diaspora is seen as the 'foreign' subject. The dominant ideology continues to under place the diasporic ideology. In Selective Acceptance, the diasporic community is required to perform the 'dialogic self' within themselves, as they will need to tackle with the inner dialogues within their communities, at the same time, has close connection with external interactions. In this phase, there are usually no negotiations as such to form a third culture.

Whatever the host community or the dominant ideology wants to incorporate within their lifestyles will be accepted and other characteristics will be rejected. This process of Selective Acceptance as part of the Host Landers Acculturation Process is clearly seen as the opposite of the Diasporic Community Acculturation Model. In Diasporic Community Acculturation model, the diasporic community normally rejects assimilating the private life and accepts assimilation of public life. However, when we see selective acceptance through the perspective of the host landers, they tend to only incorporate such within their private life, whereas most tend to separate the public life. It is also important to note here that few host landers voluntarily do engage with these diasporic communities for fear of being labelled as a part of diasporic community or to be seen as part of the excluded community. Discrimination often takes place in this phase, and is further continued in the total Rejection phase as social exclusion.
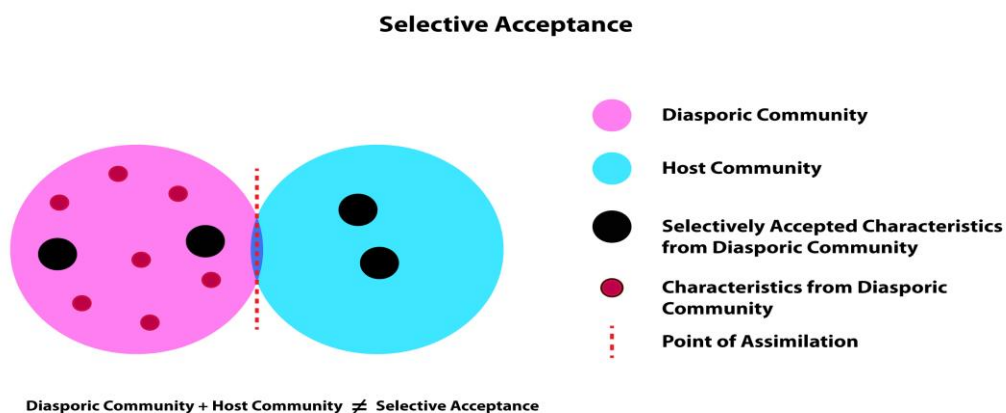

Figure 8: Selective acceptance model of diaspora

Total Rejection

According to the perspective of the host landers in the process and output, this phase is outlined as Total Rejection phase. This is the phase in which none of the characteristics or identities of diasporic culture is accepted or acknowledged. This leads to deculturation, where the members of the host community fail to acknowledge the existence of the diasporic culture and hence continue to be as a dominant culture. This often leads to social exclusion of diasporic communities as the diasporic communities will be systematically blocked from rights, opportunities and resources within the host communities.
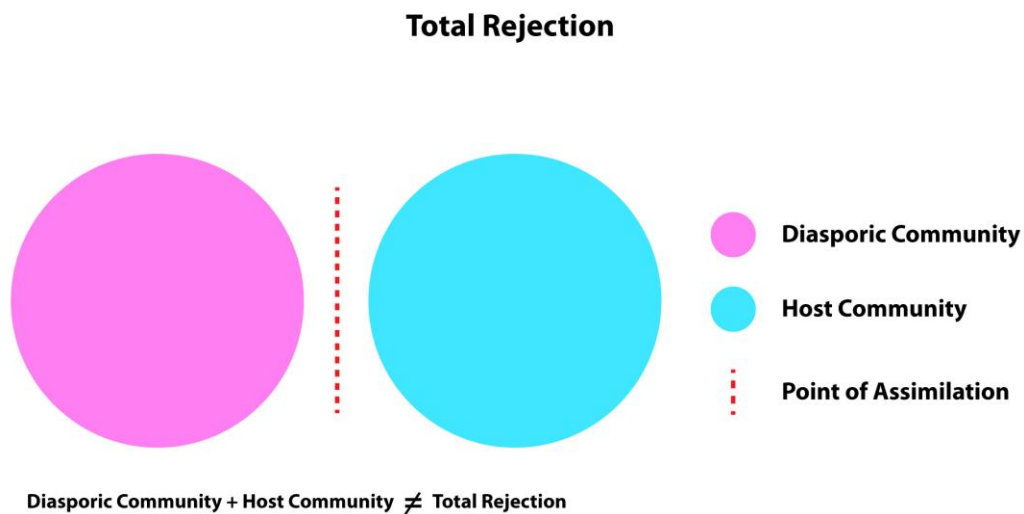
Total Rejection

Diasporic Community + Host Community ≠ Total Rejection

Figure 9: Total rejection model of diaspora

Having outlined the theoretical framework and conceptual framework in addition to a literature review, the following chapters will focus on the findings and analysis gleaned from a public perception survey. A public perception study was conducted on 5 islands, with a total of 728 participants. The questionnaire was designed to glean information regarding their perception of the impact of Indian and Bangladeshi diaspora in the Maldives. In this regard, participants were asked to respond to questions that covered social, economic and religious and cultural aspects. An analysis of the findings is presented in the following chapter.

Analysis

Social Impacts of Diaspora on Host-land

For the purpose of these study social impacts on diaspora is analyzed in three dimensions; (i) the impact of social gatherings and marriage (ii) impact of Crime (iii) impact of food, language and lifestyle. More specifically, several social remittances are discussed and analyzed in this chapter to understand how the host culture perceives the diasporic social identities and how these identities are affecting the host communities.

Social remittances in this paper is defined as the ideas, practices, mind sets, world views, values and attitudes, norms of behavior and social capital (knowledge and experience) that diaspora mediates and transfers from diasporic community to host community. The transfers of these social remittances are taken in two ways; the informal pathways and formal pathways. The informal pathway is referred to transmission of social identity through letters, telephone calls, emails and internet chat and videos. The formal pathways of these remittances include using their own ties, contacts and social affiliations, meet and enter face to face talks with people from their homeland.

Another significant modality through which the social remittances are transferred is through informal networks and agencies within their communities. These agents and network members are usually in the network for a longer period in the host land, and they helps to bring members of their family and friends from homeland to host land. This informal network helps to maintain the constant presence of diasporic identities in the hostland. It is important to note that in here, social remittances could be described both in public self and in private self. Public self refers on how the individuals present themselves in public spheres, while private self refers to how they perceive themselves with no engagement of society.

Given the background in how social remittances are transferred from home land to host land, the study will now focus on the impacts of these transferred remittances. Furthermore, it is also important to note that most of the diasporic studies ignore the relevance of social remittances affecting the hostland. The concept of 'impact' revolves usually around economic dimensions, which is usually the focus of the government. The investments in capital and return on

investments and the gross domestic production through goods and services are what is usually being considered in impact. However, what's more often felt within the public is the social remittances which are being neglected in policy formulations.

(i) Impact of Social gatherings

In an interview with more than 700 participants from all around the Maldives, a survey was carried out to understand the public perception of the diasporic communities and to understand how they felt the impact of diaspora on themselves.

It is a common pattern in Maldives, particularly in the capital, Male', that there are specific places in which the diasporic communities gather in public. Usually, the gatherings are on Friday's (the official public holiday) and none of the Maldivians would opt to stay or gather in these specific places. Out of all the respondents in the survey, 78.57 percent believed that social gathering from the diasporic communities in this particularly places should not be allowed and that they are taking the public spaces which actually belongs to host communities.

(ii) Reduced domestic spending

Another major concern regarding rampant diasporic communities is that a vast portion of money that they earned are by local employment, but are not spent on the host country. Therefore, this reduce in social spending has a negative impact on the economy. The majority of the diasporic community is paid less in salary and they usually remit more than half of their earnings to their families abroad. Thus, it does not circulate in the host country, which might eventually not lead to the mutual benefit of developing the host country, both economically and socially. Due to this, the public perception is that these diasporic communities are the people who rip the money off from the country.

(iii) Language Barriers

The basic problem of the diasporic communities is the language problem. Most of the diasporic communities in Maldives do not speak either in Dhivehi (local language) or in English (second language). There are many problems arising within the diasporic communities due to the language barriers. The diasporic communities and the host communities usually lack communication between them due to this barrier, which further adds to misunderstandings and confrontations.

The research's conducted in other parts of the world also identified language barrier as one of the factors affecting the diasporic communities' health. Most often, they cannot understand what doctors say, and they are unaccompanied by a host lander. Also, they cannot usually read the prescriptions which leads to poor health conditions. The language barrier is also seen as a separating factor between diasporic and host communities. On the social side, the diasporic communities are more visibly seen as foreigners due to lack of speaking skills than they are easily discriminated by the host landers.

Apart from the difficulties that the diasporic group is faced by, another important question in language barrier is the impact this language barrier has on host communities identities. Out of 728 participants in the survey, 513 participants believed that the usage of local language by the diasporic communities poses challenges in keeping the local identity. Usually due to the language barriers, those diasporic communities who stay in Maldives for longer period of time, tend to start speaking in local language. However, for the easy use of local language, when the diasporic communities speak they tend avoid the language structure, the pronunciation and usually mix up the similar words. However, what is more significant is that when the diasporic communities tend to follow this pattern, the host landers started having the mirror effect to language, where they also use the unstructured, but easy usage of language. Hence, it is evident that high percentage of public respondents believed in the impact of language usage is affecting the host community.

(iv) Clothing and Lifestyle

Another dimension to consider in social remittances are clothing and lifestyle of the diasporic communities to analyze whether this has an impact on host community. As discussed in the theoretical chapters, the diasporic communities usually tend to assimilate their identities with host landers through public self, whereas the host landers assimilate in private self. As such, the study has also discussed the language as a mean of assimilation of the diasporic community, but impacting host landers. Another such dimension is clothing where the diasporic communities tend to assimilate, but the public perception is that this has not led to change in clothing within the host landers. As the host country is usually seen as the more dominant culture, consisting of identities, the host culture rarely reflects the home countries identities, unless otherwise accepted by the host landers. The ANOVA test on the responses were carried out, which showed that distribution of the analysis of impact on clothing were not same across the categories, with a

significance level of 0.546; retained the null hypothesis that public perception is that clothing did not have a lasting impact on the host landers. As these public identities are seen more as a separating factor between the diasporic and host community; anyone can easily differentiate between the diasporic community and host community. However, there is a recent trend that the diasporic community assimilating the clothing style of the host community. This assimilation could be subjected to increase the acceptability within the host community.

To analyze the lifestyle dimension, it is important to note that in Maldives; usually people are categorized low class and high class based on occupational status, which is consequently affecting the occupational income. Usually, the blue collar workers among the diasporic communities are engaged in work for longer period of time, and mostly get only one off day per week. Hence, the lifestyle in public sphere of blue collar workers are limited to be seen only during weekends; explained in social gatherings. Furthermore, it is important to note in here that no blue collar workers will be seen in restaurants or hotels where the locals gather. The white collar workers also tend to work in long and odd hours, however given that they are usually well paid, they could afford to gather in restaurants where most of the locals gather. However, this is also seen very rarely.

Another dimension which would add to lifestyle is the housing conditions of the diasporic communities. The majority of the diasporic population live in very poor housing conditions. There had been some cases reported to police, where social workers are forced to sleep on the balconies or on roof tops of the apartments. It is seen that the housing conditions that diasporic communities live are usually unhygienic and lacks proper ventilation. The housing is usually one room, shared by more than 10 to 15 workers, sleeping in shift hours. The living expenses in Maldives, particularly in Male' is comparatively high and it is difficult for the blue collar workers with less than $200 salary to live on a single accommodation.

There are also several cases reported where there are no proper working conditions for the diasporic communities. The salaries are usually paid late and are sometimes not given as agreed.

Maldives, currently do not have a minimum wage requirement, hence, wage is determined by market forces. Usually a blue collar worker is paid less than $20O, and hence, they are often required to perform part time jobs; municipal services such as throwing garbage, cleaning motor bicycles and cleaning houses. The current regulations in the Maldives, restricts the diasporic

community being involved in such part time activities. However, with the lower wages the diasporic communities cannot afford to live only with the fulltime job, and the locals also engage them in such activities because the labour is available at low cost.

(v)   Crime

Another dimension that needs to be analysed on the impact of diaspora on host culture is the factor of criminal activities. There are two perspective in involvement of crime; the effect of host landers involvement in crime on diasporic community and vice versa. Maldives is currently undergoing a very unstable social environment due to high unemployment rates, ineffective law enforcement policies and political unsettlements. A frequency test was carried out based on the public perception survey and most of the respondents did not believe that diaspora is the result of the criminal activities being taken place in the host land. To further investigate this, a textual analysis were carried out based on the media reporting's between the year of 2007 and 2013. Some notable cases published in Haveeru Daily (local newspaper); published an article about a Bangladeshi worker being tied to a tree upside-down for three days as a means of physical abuse.

Another case was published in 2012, where a Bangladeshi worker was locked inside a room for three days without fulfilment of any basic needs. In 2013, Haveeru Daily also published an article about a Bangladeshi women being subjected to sexual abuse for a long period of time, and eventually needed serious medical care. Another pattern in criminal activities usually targeted at diasporic communities is robbery. There are cases published in the media, where doctors and teachers of the diasporic communities were particularly targeted.

After analyzing the host community's involvement of crime to impact diasporic communities, the analysis will then focus on the involvement of criminal activities of the diasporic communities affecting the host community. Usually the trends in criminal activities associated with the diasporic communities are published in the media; falling into three categories. The first is involvement of diasporic communities in prostitution. Most often these involvements are backed by agents of host land, who facilitate the diasporic community to involve in prostitution. The second type of criminal activities associated by diaspora is use of alcohol which is prohibited in Maldives. It is seen from the published articles in the news that, over 5 cases were reported during the first quarter of 2013 about use of alcohol by the diasporic community in Maldives. The third type of criminal activity is the involvement of diasporic community in child

abuse cases reported. There are more than 6 published cases of child abuse by the diasporic community during the first quarter of 2013.

This poses a serious question of the psycho-social status of the diasporic communities living in the Maldives, which further needs to be investigated. Also, it is important to note in here that the reason why Maldivians do not see diaspora as a cause of increasing criminal activities, may be due to already existing high involvement of Maldivians in criminal activities.

(vi) Marriage

Marriage is another social dimension that needs to be analysed when discussing the impact of diaspora on the host land. Between 1997 and 2001, there have been 647 marriages between Maldivians and foreigners. In the first quarter of 2012, 101 marriages have taken places with Maldivians to the foreigners. As this is an aggregate statistic from the Civil Court of Maldives, there are no published individual statistics to find the Bangladeshi and Indian marriages to the Maldivians. Out of the 101 marriage, 85 marriages took place outside of Maldives and 16 marriages took place in Maldives.

With reference to the Civil Court in Maldives, the current trend in marriage between locals and foreigners falls into two categories; (i) elderly Maldivian men marrying with young Indian women or girls (ii) young Maldivian girls marrying with young Bangladeshi men. The trend and pattern of this marriage types are interesting, and the reason for this pattern needs to be further investigated, as this would be the starting point of long term diasporic settlement in Maldives.

Furthermore, what is more alarming is that out of 101 marriages, 20 are divorced by the end of first quarter of 2013. At the same time it is also important to note that 67.44% of the respondents to the current study believed that diaspora-host marriage should be allowed.

(vii) Food

The public perception is that the diasporic food cultures do not have a significant impact on the host community. An ANOVA test was carried out to investigate the significance level of this impact; and at 0.057 level of significance the null hypothesis was retained, proving the public perception that food cultures do not have a lasting impact on host culture. The food the host community consumes is very similar to the diasporic communities, resulting in fewer challenges in assimilation.

(viii)Discrimination and future of diaspora

The last part of the social impact analysis is concentrated on the discriminating factors, which adds to level of acceptability of diasporic community from the host community.

Table 8: Perception of host population on social dimensions of impact

Categories of Social Dimensions	Number of Respondents Agreed	%of Respondents Agreed
Diasporic Communities Take advantage of opportunities that host landers should get	494	67.85
Diasporic Communities brings more advantages than disadvantages	448	61.5
Diasporic Communities should get equal benefits	314	43.13
Diasporic Communities should get equal treatment	202	27.74
Diasporic Communities should be provided with basic needs	637	87.5
Host landers satisfaction of Diasporic Social workers	103	14.14
Host landers opinion on long term settlement	238	32.69

Survey questions posed to participants- Social Dimension, 2013

From the public perception survey, it is known that a large number of participants responded identified that there is an unequal distribution of resource or engagement of diaspora in the host community. However, out of 728 respondents, 494 believed that diasporic communities are ripping off the benefits which otherwise should be given to the host landers. Moreover, 61% of

the respondents believed that diasporic communities pose more threat to the host community, rather than being involved in beneficial activities in the host communities. Also, it is seen from the table that only 27.74 % of the respondents believed in equal treatment of the diasporic community to that of host landers. In addition to this, 13% of the respondents only believed that diasporic community should be given the opportunity in civic engagement activities.

What is notable is that although the host landers do not want to give same benefits that they get to the diasporic community, what is promising is that over 87.5% of the respondents believed that diasporic groups should be provided with basic needs, which includes proper working conditions, a minimum wage and better housing conditions.

As we have seen in chapter one, there is a huge inflow of migrants settling down as social workers and child caretakers in the Maldives. Public perception was asked in how satisfied they are about the behavior of the diasporic workers while taking care of their children. Out of all the respondents, only 14% believed that they are satisfied with the way that the care takers are performing their job.

What could be comprehended from the above analysis is that there are impacts of diasporic communities, posing to host communities. Furthermore, this study of impacts; shows the xenophobic mentality that some of the host landers possess, and many at the stage are unwilling to accept diaspora as part of the host community. It is important to note in here that, 83.9% of the respondents believed that the diasporic community is affecting local community negatively. With this in background, it is important to question the future direction of the diasporic communities. As Maldives is a small country, lacking of human and economic capital, requires the diasporic communities contribution. Currently, the public perception is that they do not want the diasporic community to live in Maldives for longer period of time; over 71% of the respondents believed that the diasporic communities should only live in Maldives for employment purposes and should not be settle down in Maldives for living purposes. However, with time, and with awareness programmes and integrating strategies to involve diasporic communities in developmental planning, the host landers may be willing to accept the diasporic communities as part of the society.

Economic Impact of Diaspora on Host-land

Beine (2011) notes that the "migrants generate significant externalities on the natives through capital and labor markets and as well as public finance channels". It may then be a useful endeavor to attempt to identify how this is seen from the perspective of the host community.

The study categorized the perceived impact based on social, economic and religious and cultural aspects. In terms of economic aspects, the following major themes were identified from the survey.

(i)   Diaspora employed in white collar work is generally accepted.

The survey revealed that the host community was in general more accommodating of Indian and Bangladeshi diaspora employed as teachers or doctors. The low level of human resource development in the country, coupled with the lack of trained professionals in these fields may be directly related to the readiness of the host community to be more accepting of diaspora employed in these professions. For instance 88.46 % of those questioned believed that diaspora should be allowed to work as doctors and teachers.

In this regard, the host community evaluates the individuals based on a perceived utility that they provide to the host community, and are willing to accept the particular individual insofar as they provide sufficient benefits, and fill in the gaps in terms of knowledge and skill in the society. The selective nature of this acceptance has already been engaged with in the preceding chapter.

(ii)   Diaspora employed in the blue collar work and domestic work are less accepted

The survey also analyzed the public perception in terms of their acceptability of Indian and Bangladeshi diaspora employed as blue collar workers and domestic workers.

A stark contrast was identified in terms of the public's acceptance of such workers and those employed in the white collar work. For instance 55.76 percent of respondents believed that the diaspora should not be allowed to work in the agriculture and fishing industry. Similarly, 44.23 percent were not amenable to diaspora working as domestic help. It is interesting to note that the majority of the construction workers in the country herald from the diaspora in question. In this

manner, these individuals contribute to fill in a significant resource deficiency in the country. However, given that the respondents in this survey were generally less accepting of the diaspora working in these industries indicate a certain perception in terms of evaluating the individual members of the diaspora based on their occupation.

In a similar manner, 322 of participants of the survey responded that they were less amenable to diasporic workers employed as domestic help and child caretakers. This is in line with the analysis presented previously whereby only 246 of the responded believed that they were satisfied with the way that the care takers were performing their job.

The survey then indicates that the occupation itself is a determinant of the extent that a particular diasporic worker will be accepted in the host community. Occupations where the host community feels that the diasporic worker is bringing in much needed talents were more readily accepted than those where the worker may be easily replaced.

It is also important to examine and take into account the particular employment environment in which the diasporic communities work in the country. Whilst the majority of the white collar workers, working as either doctors or teacher, are strictly regulated by the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Education, the blue collar workers are generally employed in the private sector, brought in through a quota system provided by the government to each company applying for such a permit. As such, whilst a degree of professionalism in maintained in recruiting and employing white collar workers, the same is not true of blue collar worker. The result of this is that a market of illegal trafficking whereby low-wage workers are lured to the country by agents under the guise of 'legitimate' companies is prevalent. In many cases the passports of such workers are with-held by the employers, forcing the workers to live illegally in the country. An association is then created whereby the host community judge most of the diasporic workers employed in sectors such as construction to be illegal immigrants. This can be seen in some of the conversations between locals and diasporic workers whereby diasporic workers are often threatened that they will be reported to the authorities, even though the particular local in question may not have any knowledge of the legal status of the worker.

It is also important to note that the Maldivian community is largely society oriented, and as such, this may also impact the level of acceptance of a particular profession. In this regard, whilst doctors and teachers may be seen as vital to the society, the role of construction workers for instance may not be so readily seen. This can then contribute to the level of acceptance of certain professions of diasporic workers whilst rejecting others. This may be particularly important for policy makers as they design and implement policy formulations that deal with diasporic workers and their relationship with the host community.

Although there seem to be a particular bias in assessing the diasporic worker based on their occupation, it is also important to note that over 89% of the respondents that participated in this study agreed that all diasporic workers should be provided with proper working conditions and a minimum wage. This then indicates that there is a level of acceptability of diasporic workers as constituting a part of the local community. As such given that a majority of respondents see that rights guaranteed to them as workers should also extent to the diasporic workers indicate that the host community is willing to accept their rights in spite of the particular perceptions that they may have of the occupations they are involved in. The following table summarizes the respondent's perception in regard to the economic dimensions of impact as it relates to diasporic communities.

Table 9: Perception of host population on economic dimensions of impact

Categories in Economic Dimensions	Number of Participants Agreed	% of participants Agreed
Diaspora working as doctors	448	61.53
Diaspora working as teachers	582	79.94
Diaspora working on agriculture and fisheries sector	322	44.23
Diaspora working as social workers	406	55.76
Diaspora working in Construction sector	541	74.31

Cultural and religious Impact of Diaspora on Host-land

The survey also attempted to identify the perception of the host community in terms of cultural and religious impact of the diasporic community in the country. In terms of religion, the overwhelming proportion of the participants in the survey responded that they would not be amenable to allowing the practice of other religions by diasporic workers in the country. Where the particular diasporic worker was a Muslim, respondents indicated that it was acceptable that they practice the religion in the country. It is also interesting to note that there are no segregation in mosques, and both the host community and the diasporic community feel comfortable practising the religion together. This then indicates that religion form a significant bond and play an important role in bridging the host and diasporic community. Given that the Muslim doctrine encourages viewing fellow Muslims as brothers and sisters, religion constitutes as a factor that operates over and beyond other factors when it comes to determining the relationship between host and diasporic communities.

While the Muslim diasporic community may not have an issue in practicing their religion in the country, the same cannot be said of others of other religions. This is also enforced by the public authorities insofar as arrests have been made of diasporic workers attempting to practice their religion in the country. As with religion as an aspect creating a particular bond between the host community and the Muslim diasporic community, it also acts as a barrier in the acceptability of others.

In terms of culture, a total of 87 respondents out of 728 noted that they would be amenable to diasporic workers staging their own cultural events for themselves. This resonates with the cultural event initiatives organised by the Indian Cultural Centre which receive interest from both the host and diasporic community. The Centre organises events that explore the Hindi language and poetry, in addition to allowing participants to experience classical dances such as Kathak and traditional Indian drumming, Tabla. In this manner, the Centre operates as an important node for host community and diasporic community.

Whilst the respondents in the study were amenable to diasporic communities practicing their culture in the country, they were less inclined to agree with setting up of specialized programs on

the media targeted to such workers. For instance, 72.11% of respondents disagree with the proposal of producing and broadcasting special programmes for the diasporic community. This finding resonates with the earlier assertion made in the article that one of the most important determinants of acceptability of the activities of the diasporic community is contingent upon whether that activity is a public or private one. Given that media such as television is an inherently private experience, engaged with the family members, the dedicated diasporic media may interfere with this experience. As such, participants may be more reluctant to agree to bring in such media into their homes.

Findings and Conclusion

Based on the analysis, the specific findings of this study are given below;

1. The host landers have resistance to fully integrate with the diasporic community in the dimensions of culture and religion. Since, Maldives is a 100% Muslim country, with current trend of increasing extremism, it is found that the public is not willing to accept a turn towards a multiculturalist and a secularist society

2. From the analysis it is also found that the public opinion is that they believe some of the benefits that they should get in the society is being taken by the diasporic communities in Maldives. Specifically, employment opportunities, the social space in the society and the money that is not being invested in the Maldives.

3. Another important dimension that was explored in the study was that, Maldives belongs to the category of 'Selective Acceptance' in the process of integrating diaspora. This is where only some aspects of the diasporic community are allowed to integrate, while other selective elements are ignored. It is important to note that the host community usually tend to mingle with diasporic community in the private self.

This means that Maldivians do not generally have a negative attitude towards having an Indian or Bangladeshi worker at their workspace, or it does not matter to them to have a neighbor who belongs to the diasporic community, so long as they are not seen together in public space.

However, within the social stances; the Maldivians generally tend to neglect the diasporic communities. The host landers do not like to attend to their social gatherings, cultural performances or places where they dine; more specifically to be seen in social space with the diasporic community. More importantly, this integration is seen as accepting the elements that the host landers feel are not affecting to their direct lives.

4. The study also explored the economic dimension of impact of diaspora on host land; which was separated into two further factors; acceptance of white-collar workers and blue-collar workers. In general, Maldivians tend to accept diasporic communities in employment sectors that are usually ignored by the Maldivians; such as domestic workers and manual labourers. Also, the host landers were willing to accept the white collar workers; teachers and doctors more than the

blue collar workers. Also, there was maked resistance to accept diasporic communities in fishing and in agricultural sectors as these sectors were traditionally felt as belonging to Maldivians.

5. The research also found out that the host landers were willing to accept the expatriates for the purpose work, but not to long-term settlement. Hence, there is resistance from the host community to accept them as part of the Maldivian society.

6. Based on the analysis, it is also comprehended that the public believes that they discriminate diasporic communities by name-calling, ill treatment and improper housing and working conditions. However, it is also evident that many of them believed that government should have proper mechanisms to ensure that their human rights and basic needs need to be protected. Specifically, with the ban of Bangladeshi government allowing expatriates to Maldives until the Maldivian government is able to secure the human rights of expatriates.

7. The host landers also felt that there were many specific aspects affecting to the lives of the host landers due to the diasporic communities interaction. Out of 728 respondents, 611 respondents agreed to this statement. Many were resistant to allow host-diasporic marriages in the society and generally have the attitude of believing that the diasporic groups need to assimilate themselves to the host culture because host culture is the dominant culture.

The present study has attempted to explore a relatively new field of research – that of diaspora in the Maldives. As such, there are no significant academic source that can be utilized for the purposes of this study. Given this, an exploratory public perception survey, complemented by secondary data, including analysis of media texts, served to identify how host cultures interact with the diasporic communities. Whilst very few research focus on the issue of diaspora from the perspective of the host country, it is hoped that the present study allows this and adds to the body of literature regarding this matter. Any subsequent study on the issue of diaspora in the Maldives should essentially go beyond an exploratory study and attempt to examine the specificities involved. In this regard, it may be interesting to examine the interaction between the public and the private, juxtaposed with the diasporic and host community. In addition, the changes to food and marriage relationships can also be an interesting area to build upon from the present study.

The present study asserted that and presented a model of interaction between the host and diasporic culture. This model asserts that host and diasporic culture do not occur in isolation, nor does their particular interaction happen in a symmetric manner. Rather, particular aspects of the

other culture are adopted whilst aspects that challenge one's particular culture are rejected. These challenges may be rooted in religious association and other social factors.

In this manner, both the host community and diasporic community display a particular agentival capacity in terms of accepting and rejecting various aspects of culture

Limitations and further research agenda

Given the lack of research into diaspora in the Maldives, the current study was conducted as an exploratory research into this area. As such, the findings of this study are limited insofar as it does not engage with the deeper questions of how the relationship between host and diasporic communities in the Maldives are constructed, maintained and articulated. Whilst this study found that specific aspects of diasporic communities are accepted by the host population, with marked differences in the receptivity to such in the private and public life, further research into this are may be useful to identify the specific mechanisms involved.

Policy Recommendations

It is important to note that diaspora do not simply imply the movement of people, but also movement of cultures within themselves. Successful assimilation to the host country requires the migrants to interact with the new society, while keeping the culture of origin alive to create a positive environment for the multicultural identity to form (Guraizo et al, 2003, Faist and Gerres, 2003). There is vast literature discussing policy recommendations that nurture and the benefits and mitigate the negative effects of the diaspora. From the analysis presented in the above chapters, there are specific policy recommendations that would be useful to consider engaging the diaspora in both social and economic development of the host country. More importantly, since the analysis showed that the public perception towards diaspora is negative, there needs to be more comprehensive policy frameworks to increase the acceptability of diasporic communities from host communities. It has come to the point that question is no longer about whether to have diaspora, but rather how to manage diasporic communities positively. As such some of the policy recommendations are;

National level policy directions

- Diaspora communities need to be incorporated in development strategies. These areas of cooperation may include the drivers of migration in source countries, networks that moves people abroad, and integrating legal diaspora into their destination countries.
- While many developing countries such as Maldives have large stock of immigrants, very few have policies on how to deal with immigration. It is also important to note in here that the developing countries are currently calling to attract highly skilled migrant works, discouraging irregular migration, and reports of growing xenophobia (Lucas, 2006). This trend in inflow of migration is affecting the trend in diasporic communities as well.
- The policies needs to be more comprehensive and needs to cover more than 'who is allowed into the country'. Currently, the immigration policies in Maldives lacks comprehensiveness and have no general framework towards migrants or the diasporic communities. Apart from the concerned governmental departments, other relevant authorities also need to revise their policy framework to integrate the diasporic communities in Maldives, whom we cannot afford to neglect in development.

- In order to establish a comprehensive policy framework, there needs to be a feedback mechanism incorporated into the policies. More importantly, to ensure this there needs to be an active consular.

Incorporating integration strategies

- It is also important to develop educational policies to reflect in investing in skills that are needed within the country as well as in global markets. In this way, the countries could avoid to increase in number of diasporic groups entering into the host country for only the reasons necessary to facilitate in economy.

- The fundamental integration strategies needs to be focused on 'becoming' rather than 'being'. More importantly, it is important to understand that assimilation of diasporic communities alone will not be enough to integrate them into society. The diaspora should not be seen merely as the passive recipient and objects of predominant host culture. They should be seen as part of the contributors to social and economic development of the country. Also, there needs to be a sustainable engagement policy and practice framework to ensure the implementation.

- It is important that the diasporic groups to be integrated in the society in a manner that they are not the disadvantaged or neglected part of the community. In order to diasporic community to engage fully in the host community's development, it is vital for them to have access to resources.

- Maldives currently needs to develop the conditions of economic integration, ensuring working conditions and compensations. Currently, Maldives do not have a minimum wage requirement and in many fields lack the comprehensive framework for working conditions.

Recruitment and inflow of diaspora

- To tackle the issue of recruitment companies and agencies it is important to make possible migrants aware and facilitate the entrance into host countries through safe and legal channels through better monitoring and recruitment processes.

Flow of information and facilitating research

- Statistics of migration and remittances are often poor in quality in developing countries. In this stance, there are no formal aggregate or individual data is available from the official authorizes in Maldives. It is estimated that only very few statistics only measure migration flows and even scarcer when it comes to transit, circular and irregular migration (World Bank, 2011). It is important to make these statistics and information available to the general public, to increase the awareness and more importantly to increase the flow of information within the academicians, so that proper analysis and suggestion will be built into research activities.

- It is very important to focus on research on diaspora at local level at this stage, because this is the starting phase of diaspora establishment in Maldives. This would help to understand the 'specific' challenges faced by both diasporic community and host community.

Regional policies to facilitate integration

- Another important policy recommendation is 'The international Remittance Agenda' (Ratha, 2007). This agenda could be translated to a regional framework. The SAARC countries could itself have an remittance agenda within the SAARC countries to monitor, analyse and project remittances. Also, this agenda could improve retail payment systems through use of better technologies and regulatory mechanisms. Another advantage which would add to this agenda is that it would help to link remittances to financial access at the households and furthermore, could help to leverage remittances for capital marker access at institutional levels. The overall objective of this remittance agenda can leverage remittance flows for development by making them cheaper, safer and more productive for both home landers and host landers.

- It will also be helpful for SAARC countries to have a bilateral coordination that will help to protect the rights of the diasporic communities; so that the mechanism for ensuring the safety, security and legality of these groups are ensured. While the countries have an obligation to protect the diasporic community's human rights, the diaspora also have to abide laws and regulations in the host country. But, it is important to understand in here that the diaspora can abide by the rules and regulations only when the rules and regulations and translated into themes in which they are familiar and understandable to them.

- Wide recognition needs to be applied to human rights approach in diaspora; regionally. And for this to take place effectively, the regional corporations such as SAARC can have a mechanism to ensure best practice with a regional database with up-to date information on diaspora statistics, polices, programmes and guidelines.

Awareness

- The divergent sets of societal expectations and resulting psychological pressure often leads to marginalization of diaspora in host country. For this, the government of host country needs to implement integration policies through active participation from the host communities.

- Awareness needs to be demonstrated in the host community, with integration of intercultural

- It is also important to understand diaspora in terms of human dimensions rather than focusing solely on economic dimensions of diaspora. The culture, language, society and public health factors needs to be added to the analysis of diaspora studies.

- It also necessary to dispel the myth that for every migrant that has access to economic opportunity, a citizen is denied a job or the opportunity to establish a business. For this to effectively takes place in awareness, the media needs to play a vital role. Currently, the media is usually targeting towards the negativity of having diasporic communities in Maldives. This flow of idea needs to be eradicated.

- In Maldives, since integration policies have not been yet implemented, it is important to raise public awareness at this stage. Most often, the host communities make the integration strategies without consultation from the diasporic communities. This leads the framework to be biased, lacking practicality in implementation. Hence, it is important to have dialogues within both communities before action is being put into place.

Stakeholder and civil society participation

- There needs to be local and national civil society organizations that needs to work in collaboration with government authorities to direct strategies and programs to contribute to social cohesion.

- More importantly, there also needs to be a mutually beneficial coordination between the diasporic community and the host community; specifically an independent platform needs

to be provided for open discussions of challenges and opportunities, both from diasporic and host community.

- There also needs to be cultural events that enhance to increase participation from both the diasporic community and the host community. This would help to maintain a more tolerable environment, hence leading to accept the differences within both communities.

- To further implement integration strategies effectively, there needs to be stakeholder mobilization, including government officials, diaspora spokes persons and non-governmental public sector engagements. The partnership needs to be promoted at all levels within the community to integrate diaspora into developmental planning.

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Appendix A
Questionnaire used in the Survey

<u>Translation of the Questionnaire used in the Survey</u>

ID:

Name:

Age:

Sex:

Birthdate:

Residential Island:

Permanent Island:

Answer the statements given below with 'Yes' or 'No'

1. I would not mind if Indian and Bangladeshi expatriates celebrate their cultural days in Maldives

2. I would not mind if Indian and Bangladeshi expatriates practice their religion in privately

3. I would not mind if they have social gatherings in the society

4. I would not mind to eat in a restaurant where they dine

5. I would not mind to go to a stage show hosted by Indian and Bangladeshi migrant workers

6. I believe they are ripping off the benefits which otherwise we would be getting

7. I do not have any hesitancy in being married to an Indian or Bangladeshi expatriate

8. I would like to have Indian or Bangladeshi doctors in Maldives

9. I believe Indian and Bangladeshi expatriates brings more threat than good to the community

10. I believe equal opportunities at work should be provided to Bangladeshi and Indian expatriates

11. I would like to have Indian or Bangladeshi teachers in Maldives

12. I would not mind to have a Bangladeshi or Indian expatriate in fishing industry and Agriculture Industry

13. I would not mind to have a Bangladeshi or Indian expatriate as a house maid

14. I would like to have Indian or Bangladeshi expatriates in construction industry

15. I believe Bangladeshi and Indian emigrant workers should settle down in Maldives for long term

16. I believe Bangladeshi and Indian emigrant workers should be in Maldives for work purposes only

17. I believe we should give voting rights and citizenship to Indian and Bangladeshi diaspora in Maldives

18. I would not mind to have Indian or Bangladeshi expatriate in my working environment

19. I believe Indian and Bangladeshi expatriates are treated fairly in Maldives

20. I believe we discriminate Indian and Bangladeshi migrant workers (name calling, poor accommodation, low wages)

21. I believe Indian and Bangladeshi expatriates should be provided with appropriate accommodation, medical and insurance facilities as equal to Maldivians

22. I would not mind to sit next to them in a queue

23. I would not mind to eat Indian or Bangladeshi food

24. I believe Indian and Bangladeshi emigrant workers are not part of our society

25. I believe our linguistic aspects are eroding because of Bangladeshi and Indian migrant workers

26. I believe our societal aspects are eroding because of Bangladeshi and Indian migrant workers

27. I believe they are the reason for increase in crime rates in Maldives

28. I believe the way that Indian and Bangladeshi Social Workers raise our kids are beneficial to society.

29. I believe it is all right to have Indian and Bangladeshi Television and radio channels in Maldives

30. I believe it is all right for Indian and Bangladeshi Communities to bring their families to Maldives and settle down