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Life and Prospect of Bangladeshi Migrants to  
Italy: the Milano Case.

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# COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT NETWORK



Master in

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## **“Life and Prospect of Bangladeshi Migrants to Italy: the Milano Case”**



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## Abstract

The proposed research aims at understanding some aspects of the migration from Bangladesh to Italy, Milano in particular, by giving voice to the migrants and by discussing their experiences and their perceptions about working and living conditions in Milano, Italy. This research was conducted, as part of my internship of MA programme at Terre des Hommes Italy<sup>1</sup>; one of the objectives of this research is to collect data that could be used by this organization to plan some intervention for the Bangladeshi community in Milano. In this perspective, Bangladeshi migrants' social networks and organizations; on the needs migrants' express and the modalities of their access to different kind of services have been focused. The literature available provided some basic information and update statistical data about the kind and reasons of migration. The field work has been conducted from October to November 2016 in the area of Milano in three main sites: Milano Central Station, Caiazzo area and Via Padova through a qualitative methodology including informal interviews and conversation with 20 old and new migrants, men and women. I interviewed migrants with different migration trajectories and different duration of stay in Italy. Some migrants came directly from Bangladesh with the objective to settle down in Italy or in some others European countries. Others, especially the more recent ones came to Italy from Libya when the living and working conditions there worsened especially after 2009. Among the migrants I interviewed, those who came to Italy from the Middle East had the objective to reach Europe as a final destination. The older migrants are comparatively better in many respects than recent and newly arrived migrants. The older migrants and the migrants with families have future plan to settle down them in some other European countries of England, for two main reasons: better earning opportunities, and educate children in English Medium Education. Migrants associations and the Bangladeshi consulate play a very marginal role in assisting their fellow migrants. Awareness raising activities in the country of origin to make prospective migrants aware of the risks of irregular migration and of the correct procedures to obtain documents for regular migration to Italy and to create safety nets for the migrants in Italy, particularly for the newly arrived ones (decent accommodation management, regular job, action to provide permit of stay as soon as possible) are the suggestions for possible future interventions to promote safe migration.

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## Section One

### Introduction

In this paper I discuss some aspects of the life and prospects of Bangladeshi migrants in Milano Italy. I conducted the fieldwork on which this study is based in October and November 2016 in Milano by using qualitative methods. I interviewed both men and women and both recent and older migrants. One of the objectives of this research is to collect data that could be used by Terre des Hommes Italia to plan some intervention for the Bangladeshi community in Milano. In this perspective, I intended to look at Bangladeshi migrants' social networks and organizations and at the needs migrants' express and the modalities of their access to different kind of services.

Nowadays Italy is one of the major destination country for Bangladeshi migrants. Bangladeshi immigrants living in Italy were around 84,000 in 2009 (Blangiardo, 2009: 35). The number of (regular) Bangladeshi migrants is projected to reach 118,000 in 2015, 158,000 in 2020, and 232,000 in 2030 (Blangiardo, 2009: 49). The immigrants from Bangladesh are now the 10th largest group, with 92,695 regularly present individuals in Italy (2, 1%) [ISTAT, 2012]<sup>2</sup>. Another source says that the current number of Bangladeshi migrants registered in Italy is 118.790 (2, 4%), of them 9.037 (2, 0%) particularly living in the province of Milano ([tuttitalia.it/January 2016](http://tuttitalia.it/January2016))<sup>3</sup>. In addition to regular immigrants, Italy also hosts a large number of irregular immigrants from both European and non-European countries (Russell, 2001).

The main objective of this research is to provide some insights on the condition and aspirations for the future of Bangladeshi migrants in Milano through their own evaluation of their migratory experience and by comparing the experiences of older and more recent migrants.

These are the main research questions I intend to explore:

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<sup>2</sup> ISTAT Demo-Geodemo. Demography in Figures (2012) Foreign citizens. Resident Population by Sex and Citizenship on 31st December 2012 in Italy. Available from: [http://demo.istat.it/str2012/index\\_e.html](http://demo.istat.it/str2012/index_e.html)

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.tuttitalia.it/lombardia/provincia-di-milano/statistiche/cittadini-stranieri/bangladesh/>



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- What are the main motives of migration from Bangladesh to Italy, the conditions under which the decision to migrate has been taken and the main migration channels?
- What are migrants' evaluations and perceptions about their living and working conditions in Milano?
- What kind of needs do migrants express in relation to their present condition and what are their aspirations and plans for the future?

The study is organized as follows:

In section one I introduce the research with the research objectives and the literature on the Bangladeshi migrants in Italy, particularly in Milano; I discuss the methodology. In section two, the decision to migrate and migration trajectories and the routes and channels the migrants use to migrate and the cost of migration are described. In section three, life in Milano: migrants' evaluations and perceptions about their living and working conditions in Milan, in relation to the type of work they do, their living and accommodation conditions, the structure of their households are discussed. In section three I look at the role and services of migrants' associations in Milano to understand the migrant's social networks. In section four, I discuss the Bangladeshi migrant's aspirations and plans for the future and finally I conclude with the main findings and recommendation for future intervention.



## Literature Review

According to the International Migration Report 2015 (United Nations 2016) the number of international migrants worldwide has continued to grow rapidly over the past fifteen years reaching 244 million in 2015, up from 222 million in 2010 and 173 million in 2000. Among the countries with the most pronounced growth in immigrants' number during this period were Italy, Spain, Thailand and the United Arab Emirates.

According to BMET Presently about 7.5million Bangladeshi migrants are working all over the world. Yearly migration from Bangladesh is about 300.00-400.00. In 2010, the migration from Bangladesh was 3,90,702. Bangladeshi workers are mainly engaged in 143 countries of the world but about 90% of the migration takes place in the Middle East and Malaysia. Libya, Qatar Saudi Arabia, UAE, Kuwait, Oman, Malaysia and Singapore are some of the major countries of destination. The official Bangladesh government statistics show that from 1976 to 2014, the country sent more than nine million workers abroad (BMET, 2014a), but this figure is probably much higher since many migrant workers travel through unofficial channels. Migrants' remittances that amounted in 2015, to 25.32 billion dollars, constitute more than 6% of the GDP and contribute significantly to the growth of the economy (WB-KNOMAD 2016). According to the World Bank, in January-March 2015 quarter Bangladesh earned \$ 3771.16 million of remittance, which is 8.49 % higher than the previous year. These remittances have helped Bangladesh's economy maintain its 5.5- 6 % GDP growth.

The main destinations for young male workers who migrate with short term labour contracts, are Middle Eastern and South East Asian countries. Short-term migrants from Bangladesh are predominantly men between the ages of 20 and 25. While in the early years there was a majority of skilled and professional workers, today the percentage of unskilled and semiskilled labor, with a low level of education, is higher. These workers migrate mainly through agencies and in response to adverts in the press (Zeitlyn, 2006; Siddqui, 2003). Women also migrate for short-term labour and their number has significantly increased in the last few years: women workers were 0.54 per cent of the total number of Bangladeshi workers who migrated overseas in 2002, by the middle of 2013 the percentage stood at 13 (ILO 2014). Beside these destinations, Southern Europe (Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece) have been a major destination region for both European and non-European migrants starting in the late 1970s and increasing through the 1980s



(King et al., 2000; King, 2001; Anthias and Lazaridis, 2000; Bonifazi et al., 2008). Of these Southern European countries, Italy has recently become particularly attractive for Bangladeshi migrants.

King and Knights (1994) and Knights (1996) have been among the first to explore Bangladeshi emigration to Italy and how it developed, as a *“form of migratory opportunism provoked by the basic push forces back home and by lax entry controls and regularisation drives in Italy”* (King and Knights, 1994:128).

According to Knights, the emergence of a permanent Bangladeshi migrant community in Italy was favoured by Italian legislation. In particular the Martelli Law of 1990 gave rise to three different immigration processes for Bangladeshis: (i) opportunistic migration - Bangladeshis from other countries came to Italy to seize the opportunity of becoming regular migrants and subsequently permanent or renewable-status residents in Italy; (ii) recruitment migration (formal and informal recruitment business); and finally, (iii) family or kinship migration (because of adoption of family reunion policy) (Knights, 1996:109). After 1990, geopolitical changes in different parts of the world affected migration flows from Bangladesh to Italy. In Bangladesh the collapse of General Ershad government in 1990 led to a situation of political and social unrest that incentivised people to migrate and discouraged short term migrants to the Middle East to return. Part of the 2 million workers expelled from Kuwait after the Gulf War also preferred to move on towards Europe rather than returning to Bangladesh. As a consequence of these events the family and adam bepari (*Adam bapari* is a Bengali term widely used by Bangladeshi migrants and local media to describe those people who are familiar with migration procedures and cash in on this familiarity, access or connection for economic advantage)<sup>4</sup> in-movements grew. To a certain extent these movements were interlinked as adam bepari simplifies the process of family reunion (except for wives). Gradually men began to bring their wives. Others, ‘the opportunists’ began to return to Italy from elsewhere in Europe when their asylum permits expired. (Melanie Knights 1996!!; Zeitlyn 2006)

Several older and recent studies discuss the characteristics of Bangladeshi migration to Italy. Yeoh, Graham, and Boyle, (2002) describe migrants as ‘predominantly single and male’ living under “transnationally split” conditions with strong economic and social relations with their family members back home. Del Franco 2010 ‘ and Rahman, 2011’ studies notice that the structure of the extended families holds back home and

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<sup>4</sup> Md Mizanur Rahman and Mohammad Alamgir Kabir, 2012, page no 9





constitutes a security for the staying behind wife and children of the migrant. The migrant places the well-being of the extended family above his own interests (Rahman, 2011) and as soon as he gets a stable position in Italy, he starts the procedures for family reunion. Bangladeshi migration towards Italy and Spain does not seem to have much in common with the oldest flows to the Middle East, the UK and the US (Knights, 1996; De Bryun and Kuddus, 2005; Siddiqui, 2003; Zeitlyn, 2006). Knights (1996:141-143), for example, talks of Bangladeshi male who migrate to Europe as 'well educated risk takers'. According to Zeitlyn Southern Europe destinations attract mostly an emerging middle-class with higher standards and aspirations, not interested in less prestigious and less remunerative older destinations like Saudi Arabia and Malaysia. Zeitlyn, 2006: 30-31 and Del Franco, 2010: 29 's research found that *'the high entry costs make migration to Italy affordable and reasonably safe only for those households who belong to the most affluent socio-economic strata that can fund mobility without incurring too much debt and without selling all their assets'*. Furthermore, as my data also show, while those who migrated to Italy at the end of the eighties and in the nineties have been able to settle down and establish themselves in Italy, more recent migrants, after the 2008's economic crisis have had many more difficulties in terms of obtaining 'permesso di soggiorno' (the permit of stay)' and permanent employment. As my data will show a situation of protracted economic crisis from 2010 onwards has negatively affected recent migrants.

## Research Methodology

This research was conducted, as part of my internship at Terre des Hommes Italia in the context of the MA programme in International Development and Cooperation. This research and my internship in Italy was made easier by my past working experience with Terre des hommes Italia, Bangladesh Office.

I conducted the fieldwork from October to November 2016 in the area of Milano in three main sites: Milano Central Station, Caiazzo area and Via Padova. I used a qualitative methodology and qualitative methods including informal interviews and conversation with 20 old and new migrants, men and women.

I visited two migrants associations: MMC (Milano Muslim Centre) and MBS (Milano Bangla School and Cultural Association) and also the Bangladesh Consulate office in Milano. Most of my data derives from



these sources. My meetings with the associations were undoubtedly facilitated by the fact that I am Bangladeshi; I could easily visit them and contact them by telephone. We talked about the activities and services, that MMC and MBS provide and their role inside the Bangladeshi community in Milano. By talking to the founder and chairman of MMC I collected some information on the experiences and the living and working conditions of old and newly-arrived Bangladeshi migrants in Italy and on the main challenges these associations face. With some of the founders and activists of MBS I also talked about their position in the household and their role in the education and health of children, they talked quite openly, and they were pleased to meet my Italian friend Dr. Nicoletta Del Franco because of her Bangla speaking. My friend came with me to facilitate the meeting as she had previous experiences of research and work in Bangladesh on different issues including migration. The discussion with MBS was very intense and quite interesting. On the other hand I didn't get much information from Bangladesh Consulate office in Milano except the contact number of one community leader.

There are some others Bangladeshi associations called *Somite* (society). Each association is named after the Bangladesh administrative division where the members come from, for example the name of such associations is Dhaka association, Comilla association, Madaripur association and Sylhet association. Among these associations or societies, I talked to the community leader of Madaripur association over telephone. Bangladesh Consulate office in Milano helped me in order to get in contact of this community leader. The stated objective of these kind of associations are to support one of the two major political parties in Bangladesh, the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) and Bangladesh Awami League. Since these associations are only for the political interest that doesn't meet the objectives of my study, I didn't visit them physically.

In order to get in touch with Bangladeshi migrants I started by contacting those who work as gadget sellers in the area surrounding Milano Central train station. These contacts also were facilitated by my identity as a Bangladeshi and my availability to talk to them several times while they were standing or sitting somewhere near the station. I had also to bear with frequent interruptions since sometimes, when they found a customer, they would leave for a while. They had also to be careful with the police and run away if they saw a policeman approaching. From these migrants I got information about other Bangladeshi who had migrated earlier and are now working in restaurants, shops, some of them running their own business.



I talked to this group in their working places and even in these cases I had to go several times in order to complete an interview. These frequent visits also allowed the establishment of a good trust relationship especially with some migrants. With others it proved a bit difficult to interact freely because of the way, especially young migrants tended to perceive me. My status as a young girl was the object of much curiosity, they wanted to know first of all whether I was married or not since in case I was single they would probably assume that there was something wrong with me and they would get suspicious. In Bangladesh it would be very odd and unusual for a young woman to freely get around, asking questions and spend time with men, even more if she was unmarried. So, to avoid curiosity and misunderstandings I told them I was married and I did my best to explain them what I was doing and why I was asking them questions. This however was not always enough and in few occasions I was asked out by young migrants who did not completely believe my explanations and probably assumed I was available for a relationship. They were calling me frequently at night and in some cases I had to stop talking to them as I realized that they were too much interested in my personal life than in answering my questions. If I had more time to dedicate to fieldwork I would have probably focused more on women but it was much more convenient to interact with women for any types of discussion. I was invited to visit Konica (one of respondents of this study) and her children at her place of stay. I interviewed Bangladeshi women and men and both old and new migrants. Among 12 male interviewees, 2 came with visa to Italy and 6 migrants are still belonging to irregular status. All 8 interviewed women came to Italy on the occasion of family reunification and all of them are regular migrants.

I talked to women particularly on the issue of their role in the household, children's education and on their perceptions about living in Italy: advantages, difficulties and challenges.



## Section Two

### The decision to migrate and migration trajectories

In this section I look at the circumstances under which the decision to migrate to Italy has been taken, what are the main reasons mentioned by the migrants and what are the routes and channels they use to migrate. As I said above I have interviewed migrants with different migration trajectories and different duration of stay in Italy. Some migrants came directly from Bangladesh with the objective to settle down in Italy or in some others European countries. Others, especially the more recent ones came to Italy from Libya when the living and working conditions there worsened especially after 2009. Among the migrants I interviewed, those who came to Italy from the Middle East had the objective to reach Europe as a final destination. So, they first moved to a nearby transit country with a work visa that is easier to obtain, and then they tried to enter to Italy through land and sea routes. Some of them reported: *In spite of having regular job and other arrangement in Middle Eastern countries like Dubai and Kuwait, we came to Italy to have bigger economic achievement within a very short period of time. But the reality we face is far from our expectations.*

Despite the good working conditions in the Middle East, the migrants decided to come to Europe from Middle Eastern countries mainly because they thought that in Europe their quality of life would be better. Bishara who came from Libya commented on the choice of his migration to Italy: *life in Libya was better because we had regular jobs and other facilities (leave and holidays). However, wars, life insecurity, the lack of a reliable money transfer system are among the reasons that compelled us to leave.*

In terms of socio-economic background my respondents come from joint families of 8/9 members, with only one income earner. With an average monthly income of 8000 taka (around 80 €), this income is not enough for a family to meet all the basic needs of its members in terms of food, dress, health treatment, education and accommodation. Sometimes the eldest person in the family sacrifices his life and education engaging early in income generating activities to maintain the family as well as to take care of younger siblings on their education. Most of the migrants I interviewed regardless their duration of stay in Italy were not highly educated, most of them had up to primary education, few migrants had completed higher secondary and 1 of 12 male migrants completed Bachelor degree in Bangladesh. With these low levels of



education, they were not able to manage a satisfying job to cover their family expenses completely as well as to meet their personal expectations.

The main reason for migration quoted by most of the migrants was the hope to improve economically their life and their families' by finding a well-paid job or establishing a business in Italy.

***Sibli:** we are very poor economically; we are a big family with father, mother, sisters, wife and children. I was not educated enough to get a good job in Dhaka. I planned to run a business but I was not sure how profitable it could have been. I was afraid of investing in a business because I would have had to take loan. Once I got the loan, I thought to go abroad, it would have been safer and more profitable in the future..... Listen to me Sister; in life if you want to gain something, you need to take risk.*

Sibli came to Italy in 2015 through Libya. He is now selling gadgets in the street in the area of Milano Station. Since he had no visa when he migrated to Italy, he is still irregular. It is very difficult for him to earn money, since there are many others irregular migrants (Bangladeshi and other) engaged in the same trade in the area. Also this is an illegal trade and the migrants have to pay attention not to be caught by the police that regularly patrol the area and would seize the goods and sometimes arrest the sellers. Sibli's family (wife and children) are in Bangladesh and he is committed to send money regularly to them but this is not always possible since his earnings are very volatile. He had a lot of aspirations before coming to Italy; he hoped he would earn lot of money and will improve his life as well as the life of other family members in Bangladesh. Sibli is now passing his days in a precarious situation, without a decent accommodation and no money to meet his basic needs. He said, *apa maje maje foler marketer pass diye jai, dam o dekhi, kintu kinte pari na* (sometimes I pass by the fruit market and I check the price of fruit but I cannot afford it). Quoting from Sibli's statement, '*no risk... no gain*', it is clear that Sibli took risk to come Italy, but how much he has been able to gain in terms of economic achievements and improvement of his life and his family's is questionable.

Ten out of twelve male migrants in my study were motivated mainly by economic need. Apart from the economic motivation, there were some other factors which influenced the migrants' decision to leave their home country.



Some migrants left their home due to political instability in Bangladesh. Every time there is a general election, political conflict between the two main parties (Awami League and BNP) increases and the activists belonging to the party that loses the elections are at risk of being arrested and imprisoned. This is what many migrants mentioned as their reason to migrate. Jakir and Mamun are two examples of migrants who were at risk of losing their life if they remained in Bangladesh.

Jakir's case is interesting also because unlike most of the others, he has a degree. He obtained his bachelor degree on computer science from a private university in Bangladesh. After completing his education, he had been working in Bangladesh for few years with a company. He and his family of 11 members (father, mother and 9 brothers and sisters) were quite well-off. His father was the principal of a private college and all the brothers and sisters were well educated and had good jobs. Jakir was the youngest son of the family. Since he was a child, his father wished to send him abroad to have foreign education and to settle abroad. Despite this until 2014 Jakir didn't have any plan to come to Italy. In 2014, due to his political affiliation Jakir felt he was not safe anymore in Bangladesh. He said he was under threat to be killed by the rival party local political leaders. So he went first to India for a few months, then to Pakistan and from Pakistan he finally reached Italy by using different routes of Russia and Libya.

Mamun also came to Italy because in Bangladesh he was threatened by members of the rival political party. He was a student of medical college university where he completed his 2nd year. He was not very open to disclose the problem he faced in Bangladesh. He came to Italy with what migrants' call a 'sponsorship visa' in 2008 through his elder sister and her husband who had been living in Italy since long time.

As discussed earlier, the Bangladeshi migrants from Middle East countries to Italy had prior intention to come to Europe, so they were temporary dwellers in these countries. But the intention of Bangladeshi migrants from Libya was different. They said they didn't have any plan to move from Libya where they had regular jobs and they were well paid but it was almost impossible to send remittances to Bangladesh from Libya system in Libya. Moreover they were also afraid for their security do the continuous state of unrest in the country. War, conflict and political instability compelled them to think at alternatives and they thought of Italy as a possible easier and closer destination.



Bokul recounted the circumstances under which he came to Italy: *we were better in Libya than Italy in terms of having a job, income and living standards. The problem was the war; there was no available banking or money transfer system to Bangladesh. Only few banks were opened very early in the morning for 2/3 hours. There were always long lines of around 100 people in front of the bank. Robber used to come and take all our money; they also killed people who tried to negotiate with them. In front of each and every bank, you would find the shed of blood. I was always scared and I thought that if I could not send money to my family in Bangladesh, it was useless for me to stay in Libya. So, I decided to leave Libya to save my life and my family.*

There are three main ways to migrate to Italy: irregular, quota system and family reunification. Most of the Bangladeshi migrants who came to Italy in the 1980s and 1990s were irregular and till today, a large number of new migrants are coming to Italy through irregular channels. Some migrants fly first to a nearby transit country with a visa, for example in the Middle East countries; later they become irregular in an attempt to enter Italy through land and sea routes. Bangladeshi migrants often use two land routes from the transit country. In the first route, potential migrants fly to South-Eastern Europe and then travel overland to Italy. In the second route, potential migrants visit Turkey or North-Eastern European countries and use the area of the former Yugoslavia as an entry point to Italy. Some popular transit countries are Poland, Hungary, Albania, Rumania, Russia, and Turkey, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria, (Mizanur Rahman and Mohammad Alamgir Kabir, 2012).

In my study most of the irregular recent migrants had come from Libya, by the use of sea routes.

Bokul is one of them: *I managed a dalal (middleman) with a group of people who intended to come to Italy from Libya. It was night, around mid-night we went to the sea and we found a boat with many people. We were informed before we were not allowed to bring anything with us, except money. They were entering the people into the boat as like they are putting something into the bag. I was tightly seated with other people. There was not even a little space for a cat. I felt suffocated after half an hour and I was almost crying in thinking how I could wait for 2/3 days more to reach to Italy. We were around 300 people in one boat and there was a woman with us who was pregnant. The boat started moving and we were all praying God to save us. We didn't have any food, not even water to drink. After one night, many people were crying for water but no one gave us any. There were few aged people with us who became ill after not having water*





*and for the suffocating environment inside the boat. They were looking almost dead. I was crying every moment and thought that maybe I would not have been able to meet my child and my family in Bangladesh anymore. I thought that was the last day of my life. The African woman who was pregnant gave birth to a child in the boat. I was very nervous seeing her in such a situation, there was nobody to help her delivering, and I was full of her blood, there was no way to move and ensure her privacy. Another woman in the boat helped her but they could not save the child, she was dead after a few hours. I was nervous, I felt alone, I cried, I felt suffocated, I threw up, but there was no way to get out of that situation. By this time, our boat was near to sink off. A big ship rescued us and we arrived in Italy. When I arrived I was confused, I could not understand what was happening to me, where I was, nothing. I only knew that I was alive that I was given the opportunity of a second life.*

Considering the cases of Jakir, Mamun, Sibli and Bokul, and how and why they decided to move to Italy we may say that this decision always depends on a complex situation and interconnected reasons. It is clear that all of them hoped in a better life outside Bangladesh and this motivation, the capacity to imagine a different life was strong enough to sustain their choice to move despite the awareness. If on one end we might see them as forced to migrate, on the other hand with this decision they express a strong agency. It is also true that the reality of the life in Italy is for most of the more recent migrants far different from what they expected or hoped for and sometime even worse than the situation they left in Bangladesh like in Bokul's case Before coming to Libya he didn't check anything with his friend about the situation in Libya and the possibility of getting a job. He said the middle man was his friend, so he relied on him for everything: contact with the Embassy, visa and ticket etc. He spent 13,000 *euro* to migrate to Libya and Italy. He lost all the money he saved from his business in Bangladesh for his migration. He feels now aimless and hopeless. He doesn't want to return to Bangladesh with empty hands. He is now waiting for the *permesso* (permit of stay) to stay few more years in Italy so that he can earn some money before going back home. Other migrants like Bokul are now in a situation where they cannot go back in Bangladesh because they have to repay the debts and they cannot even manage a decent life where they are.





## Migration channels and costs

Migration costs are quite high. Bokul paid 1, 300, 000 BDT (about 13, 000 € ) to the middleman including the cost to Libya from Bangladesh and the cost from Libya to Italy, Jakir came to Italy through India, Pakistan, Russia and Libya and his total cost was around 1, 300, 000 BDT (13, 000 €), Mamun came directly from Bangladesh with 'a sponsorship' visa but he needed to pay 1, 000,000 BDT (10,000 €), Torik came obtaining an agriculture visa through the middleman whether he had to pay around 1, 500, 000 BDT (15,000 €). The average cost of migration to Italy is about 12,000 €. The average amount is same either they come directly to Italy or via from the Middle East or North African countries. My data are consistent with Rahman and Kabir (2012) study quoted above. There is no fixed cost for migrating from Bangladesh to Italy. The actual amount paid to *dalals* depends on a number of factors: (i) relationship with key *adam bapari* or middleman, (ii) nature of migration (irregular or regular migration), (iii) nature of visa (work visa, student visa, sponsored seasonal worker etc.) and duration of the visa, (iv) year of migration to Italy, and finally (v) nature of work and potential wages in Italy (Md Mizanur Rahman and Mohammad Alamgir Kabir, 2012). The recent migrants I interviewed are mostly irregular migrants with no work contract. In the process of migration, the older migrants who are well settled at destination play the intermediaries role called *adam bapari* or middleman, who has the experience living and working in the abroad of Middle East and Europe. They have international network with different middlemen in the Middle East and other European countries.

**Torik:** *He (adam bapari or middle man) was my neighbour, we knew him and his parents since more than 15 years, we lived in the same area of Dhaka Gazipur. My family treated him as like my uncle. We had a very good relationship with him and his family. He had been living in Italy with his family for many years. When he went back last time in Bangladesh, he proposed me and my family to send me to Italy as, he said: there is a very good opportunity to have work and earn lot of money within a very short time. So, my family was tempted to send me to Italy. I came to Italy in 2001 when I had just completed my secondary education. I came with an agriculture visa paying to the middleman around 1, 500, 000 BDT (15,000 €). When I went to the Embassy, I realized had paid much more than the Embassy required. But at that time, there was no way to get back what I had already paid. I was cheated by the adam bapari. BY living here in Italy, I could realize*



*that I was a fool in Bangladesh because I didn't check anything of what the middleman was telling me like for example what other job I could have found after the seasonal work visa expired.*

*In Sibli's words, I went to Motijheel in Dhaka because I heard that there was a travel agency that sends people to Italy. I went with others prospective migrants from my village. We found in that office many other Bangladeshi people interested in migrating abroad. This travel agency sends people all over the world. We never saw the big boss of this travel agency; we were only in touch with the employees. We asked several times to meet the big boss, but we were not allowed and we could not manage to see him. We gave up, we thought that if we could manage to go anyway to Italy, we would not need to see the boss.*

These stories are common to recent and older migrants. The trust the middlemen or the agency and end up being cheated or not told the complete truth about what would happen to them during the journey or about the country of destination and the actual possibilities of working and living there. The migrants complained about the scarce sources of information in Bangladesh and regretted having lost some profitable activity there to end up in debt and without a job in Italy. Some of them, especially those with a lower level of education, don't even know precisely which country they are sent to. They knew only they are going to *Bidesh* (abroad). *Bidesh* (abroad) seems to be enough to ensure the possibility of making money and improve one's life. The migrants' families in most cases don't know how their relatives live at destination, which occupation they have, where they exactly live. The migrants are afraid that if back home people knew about their real situation, they would lose their prestige. Even when they were talking to me, some of the respondents asked me not to disclose their stories in Bangladesh.

The service of intermediaries or *adam bapari* are sometimes unavoidable in the migration process whether it is regular or irregular both in Bangladesh and Italy. In Italy, they provide services to potential dependent visa or quota visa applicants. In Bangladesh, they also provide services to both groups of visa applicants in the area of passport application, air ticket booking, visa application, and so on. In addition to serving the formal visa applicants, they also serve irregular migrants by running transnational syndicates of irregular migration to Italy (Monzini, 2007; UNODC, 2010). As it discussed earlier, the interviewed irregular migrants were not much interested to express the name and agent of the middlemen. The travel agencies do all of their transaction secretly.



## Section Three

### Life of Bangladeshi Migrants in Milano

In this section I look at migrants' evaluations and perceptions about their living and working conditions in Milan, in relation to the type of work they do, their living and accommodation conditions, the structure of their households. I also discuss the role of migrants' organizations in providing them services and assistance.

If we compare the situation of the more recent migrants and the older once in terms of their level of education and their socioeconomic background it appears clearly that those who had recently arrived in Italy from Libya are less educated and come from households of a lower socioeconomic background than migrants who moved to Italy directly from Bangladesh. As many studies show the latter group comprises people who belong to relatively well-off household in Bangladesh and as Zeitlyn describes them they can be considered as '*well educated risk takers*'. On the contrary the many Bangladeshi who move with short terms contracts to Middle Eastern and South East Asian countries belong to poorer families that would not be able to afford the costs of migrating to Europe (KNIGHTS 1996; 118-119) Zeitlyn, Del Franco). As we have discussed above many of them who had migrated to Libya are now somewhat forced to move to Italy to escape a situation of insecurity and violence. It is this group of migrants that is more vulnerable once arrived in Italy.

In fact, my findings also show that recent migrants' work and living condition in Italy are worse in many respects from those who had migrated to Italy long time back. With regard to economic situation of Italy, Faruk as old migrant commented: *I have been living in Italy since 23 years. When I came, the economic condition of Italy was good and we had a better life. Now, the job market is very competitive because of increased number of people who compete for few jobs. On the other hand, the number of new migrants is increasing day by day. Now the other social benefits for example of high payment, no unemployment benefit etc. are limited.*

Among my respondents, those whose duration of stay in Italy is less than 5 years do not have a regular job and have difficulty in surviving with scarce earning from selling flowers at night in the restaurants or small



gadgets during the day. This situation is due in part to their irregular status or the long time needed to be recognized the refugee status. Older migrants who came to Italy long time back (more than 10 years) are now working regularly and most of them have established their own business shop. After a few difficult years they have been able to settle in Italy and send remittances to their families while the recent ones can hardly manage their own survival an haven't even been to visit their families back home after leaving.

These migrants live either in shelter homes provided under the Italian government programmes for migrants and refugees or with other single male migrants in groups of 10 to 15 people in a rented apartment. Sometimes more than 5 people occupy a room and share with the occupiers of the other rooms the toilet and the kitchen. The monthly rent for each individual is about *120 euro to 150 euro. Another 150 euro is needed for* bills and other utilities and for food. The living costs of the family with children are much higher than the cost of single migrant. Those who are assisted by NGOs and charities have free accommodation and a monthly amount that varies according to the organization that provides the assistance.

*Shishir: we live like animals in Italy. We don't have any leisure, no hope. We are like prisoners. We came to earn money, but I now realize that in life having a family is more important than money. Those who live without a family have to make big sacrifices they have neither good accommodation, nor good job. Moreover, we don't have any kind of recreation. We have been suffering a lot because of the bad economic situation in Italy.*

Bokul has been living in a shelter home for two years with people from Africa, Middle East and Asia. The shelter where he lives is run by a local NGO, funded by Italian government. Bokul doesn't know much about this organization and their activities. Bokul is a cook and when he doesn't sell gadgets in the street, he works as a cook for a group of Bangladeshi who share a flat. Bokul is not happy about the way the staff of the shelter home behaves:

*'There are few Bangladeshi staffs in this shelter home who are assigned to look after us and to take us to the 'questura (Police department)' for all the documents we need. But they don't follow their duties properly; they are always busy with their personal work. They bring girls and women almost every night to their rooms. But we are not allowed to do the same. On the big festivals for example, Christmas, they*



*receive a good amount of fund for organizing dinner, but they don't arrange anything for dinner, rather they personally spend this money'.*

About the living condition in a shared flat, Jakir, Jamal, Sibli, Torik who sell gadgets in the Milano station area said that they had to rent a flat near to the place where they work even though the house rent of the area is comparatively expensive (around 800 to 900 euro). They are aware that the rent is high in relation to the value of the flat but they didn't have any other alternatives, because as newly arrived migrants, they didn't have much information on how to find good and cheap accommodation. As one of them said *'We could now change our residence if we want, but we would have to spend more on transportation costs if we lived far from the station.*

In general, none of the single migrants I interviewed was happy with the condition of their accommodation. They complained that older migrants take advantage of the newcomers by renting out each bedsit for about 150 euro per month.

With regards to occupation and working condition of the migrants I interviewed, before migrating 7 were working in different sectors and only 5 were unemployed. Among them 2 migrants got the job after arrival in Italy in a Bangladeshi restaurant by the help of their relatives. And others remained unemployed but they travelled around selling flowers and gadget in the streets. The present occupations of the migrants are hawker (6 migrants), works in alimentary shop (1), self-business (3), works in the restaurant (2). As mentioned earlier, the old migrants whose duration of stay in Italy is more than 10 years are comparatively in better economic conditions because they could manage a regular job as well as to establish own business.

**Torik:** *today I didn't earn a single penny but I need 10 Euro minimum a day to survive. As I am new in this work, I don't know how to convince people to buy because I feel shy. I never did such type of work in my country, even I never thought I would ever be doing such work. It's a kind of begging apa (sister). I have family in Bangladesh, my newly married wife, one sister and my parents. No matter how much I earn daily, I need to send money every month to my family for their expenses. I am worried about my wife, I am not sure she will wait for me until my return to Bangladesh. I am not happy anymore with my life in Italy.*



As it was said earlier, the old migrants are in better conditions because they have regular jobs. Mamun, for example, came to Italy 9 years ago with a 'sponsorship' (as the migrants call it) visa with the help of his elder sister who had been living in Italy for many years. He had a very good job in a company where he earned a good salary with very good conditions, but now the company is closed. Afterwards he has been working in a Bangladeshi restaurant. Although the present job is not as the previous one, Mamun is happy because at least he has a regular contract and salary. He said that I am now waiting for one year more to get the Italian passport, then I have plan to move to Switzerland. The job availability and job condition is much good in Lausanne of Switzerland. For that reason, Mamun is learning French language course. The impression of living in Italy of Mamun is good because he doesn't feel alone as he has brother and sister who have been living in Italy.

Among those I interviewed there are many single men who have recently come and being undocumented cannot return back home to get married. Some married migrants expressed the desire to bring their future family in Italy. Three out of 12 male migrants I interviewed live in Italy with their family whom they managed to take with them after 4/5 years in Italy. Some children were born in Italy.

The children of the migrants I talked to, attend school in Milano. I talked to 8 women in the area of Via Padova and Caiazzo about their role in the household and the education and health status of them and their children. The children of 8 mothers both new and old migrants are attending primary and secondary school in Italy, and one girl completed higher secondary education. The mothers said that the school is very much supportive and helpful to children. The children born in Italy don't face any problem to communicate by Italian language. Some of the women migrants I interviewed expressed satisfaction about their children's education.

Santa, a mother of two children, for example said that her children don't face any problem with the language and can easily communicate in Italian, that all the teachers are very helpful and communicative and Italian children and their parents are too. Her son (4 years old) is attending nursery class and her daughter is in class 3 in two different schools.

*Santa: As their school is far from our house, my husband drops our children to their school by car. Last year, he had some problem with his business so, he could not make them regular to school. As a result, the school*



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*contacted us through an NGO to know whether we have any problem with school. Right now I cannot remember the name of that NGO. But this year we are regular in sending our children to school. This school is not expensive; it costs 20 euro every month only for the lunch, but this cost depends on the type of school. The other pedagogical materials cost is covered by ourselves. But we can manage the education cost of our children.*

I also met a group of 6 women who are involved in MBS (Milano Bangla School). They are weekly providing Bengali language teaching to children of primary school of Bangladeshi origin. One of them, Sabiha, said that she would prefer her 5 year old daughter to be educated in an English medium school in Bangladesh with Bangladeshi culture. Sabiha's daughter is now in Bangladesh. The migrants' actual choices in terms of family reunification vary a lot but most of them expressed the view that they would prefer their children to study in Bangladesh in an English medium school rather than in Italy for two main reasons: because to be able to speak English would be important for their future career and because they would grow up in a Bangladeshi cultural environment.

Maliha, another one, is already trying to look for opportunities to send her daughter to England to study medicine. She said: *many families whose children used to attend our MBS School have moved to England only for their children's education.*

With regard to health treatment in Italy, all interviewed women expressed their satisfaction about the health care service. Comparing the insufficient and inadequate health care system of Bangladesh, Italy is much better with good doctor and hospital services.

Santa's words: *We are more than happy for the health care service in Italy. In addition, being a non-European citizen in Italy, we do not face any discrimination in getting out care as well as urgent services in the hospitals.* Sabiha's experience in this regard: *my husband got a stroke one month ago; he has been now under the treatment of a public hospital. But, I don't need to be there all time because the hospital provides 24 hours services.*





## **Migrants' social networks in Milano**

In this section, I look first at the role and services of migrants' associations in Milano in order to understand what kind of network of support Bangladeshi migrants can count on. I identified two main subjects that have the specific objective of providing some kind of services to the migrants and I talked to their representatives. These are: Bangladesh Cultural and Welfare Association (BCWA) also called Milano Muslim Centre (MMC) and Milano Bangla School (MBS). The main activities of MMC are to provide Muslim Religious and Quran education to 5 to 14 years old children, organise prayer sessions with mothers every Sunday, and Bangla and Arabic language courses to children born in Italy. BCWA through MMC also provide other sorts of social services. The organize Iftar (*Iftar, Arabic word, is the meaning of evening meal when Muslims end their daily Ramadan or fasting at sunset*) parties in the month of Ramadan and collect money during EID festivities to be sent to Bangladesh and distributed among poor people. Moreover, if someone dies in Italy, they arrange to send the dead body to Bangladesh by collecting money among their members. About 500 families, who reside in Milano, are members of MMC. One of the big challenges of MMC is to keep running the prayer activities because the Muslim community are not allowed from the council of Milano to build any Mosque. So, instead of MMC, they put their name as BCWA (Bangladesh Cultural and Welfare Association).

MBS (Milano Bangla School) is another initiative taken by two Bangladeshi women (Ms. Maliha and Ms. Sabiha) in via Padova. This school was established about 2 years ago with the vision to keep Bengali language tradition and to introduce the culture of Bangladesh to the new generation of children who have been growing up in Italy. The main objective of MBS is to provide Bangla language education to children along with extra-curricular activities of dancing, singing, recitation, and drawings etc. The school is open for 2 to 3 hours every Saturday. The MBS began their activities with 60 children but right now they have 23 children because a large number of Bangladeshi families migrated to England. Sabiha commented on this issue: *every year many Bangladeshi families are moving from Italy to England, we don't know the exact statistics of them. But this year we realized that because a larger number of families from our school went to England, and those remaining are planning to move in the near future.*





Bangladeshi parents prefer English medium education, that's why they plan to migrate to England for the education of their children. The founder and all the teachers of this school are women who are working voluntarily. They are happy for the activities of this school, and they want to keep and extend the functions of this school in the future. These women are proud of the work they are doing and they proudly said that their husbands have no objections to them doing voluntary work. Maliha also sits and run a coffee shop. She and the others can move around freely and are active in trying to fundraise for their school. They seem to have a big role in the Bangladeshi community in Milano and certainly a public one. Also Sabiha has a Master degree in music and she sings on different festivals and occasions through her network with many Bangladeshi small associations in the province of Milano. Kajol, another young woman who has been living in Italy with her husband and children said: *In Italy, we don't have any relatives from in-laws family with us who would check and me and what I do. I don't have any restriction I am happy with my life in Italy. In addition, our life, women's life is much safer in Italy, there are quite less chances to be abused and raped. I don't know how much me and my husband will benefit from living here but our children will grow up in a nice and safe environment. Moreover, I don't feel alone now, because I got in touch with this group of women whether I have a good time and I feel enthusiastic in doing things with them.*

I contacted the Consulate General of Bangladesh (BCG) in Milano because I hoped they would be in possess of updated statistics on Bangladeshi migrants and they would let me know what kind of services they provide to the Bangladeshi community in Italy. When I visited the office I was told to write them an email and explain my questions. So I did and afterwards I got a reply where they told me that they do not have any updated statistics and that they deal only with passport and visa related issues. Jakir and Sibli, two migrants, commented that Bangladesh Consulate has never helped them and sometime they don't even listen to them. Jakir: *I don't go to Bangladesh consulate office unless I have very crucial matter. If we have any problems with other nationals, they don't come to help us. I don't like their attitude and behaviour. They don't treat us as like human being.*

Most of the migrants interviewed in this study feel disappointed that the BCG doesn't take their concerns seriously. In addition, the migrants didn't know of any other organization they could turn to for help.



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On the other hand the migrants I interviewed said that they feel they can count on a network of fellow Bangladeshi migrants. Bokul for example: *last month the police took all my goods and money twice. I got frustrated and lost my drive to buy and sell the goods again; moreover, I didn't have the money to buy them. My friend (Bangladeshi migrant) gave me money to start my work again.*

Sumon who has been living in Italy for long time runs its own shop and sells to other Bangladeshi different gadgets and mobile phone accessories at whole sale prices. Most of those who sell these gadgets near the central station buy their products from him. He is popular among the migrants because whenever someone loses their goods to the police or has any liquidity problems, he gives them the products for free and accepts to be paid later on. The migrants also appreciate his and his wife attitude and feel they can count on their support. The migrants I interviewed also expressed great appreciation of the attitude and behaviour of Italian people towards them. The said Italians are kind hearted and available to help. Finally it must be said that the longer a migrant had been living in Italy, the more is his social network developed.



## Section Four

### Aspiration and Plans for the future

In this section I discuss Bangladeshi migrant's aspirations and plans for the future. These of course depend also on their evaluation of their migratory experience so far and on their perception of the advantages and disadvantages of living in Italy. Among the old migrants who live with family, they wish to settle their children in England to study them in English Medium, on the other hand, the single migrants who have the Italian passport are looking for the opportunity to move to others European countries, for example Switzerland. The common perception is that in the UK they would get more facilities, the education system works better and it would be an advantage for their children to get fluent in English. The newly arrived migrants would like to stay in Italy at least until they repay the debts they made to fund their migration and until they can save some money to be able to return to Bangladesh and start a business.

Maliha for example said: *my daughter grew up in Italy; she completed her higher secondary education from Italy. She would like to study Medicine now. We are looking for a course in England. If possible, we will send her there. That's what she wants too.*

Santa: *we are fine in Italy as we have a good business and both of our children are going to school in Italy. We have the plan but we didn't take any final decision yet to send our children to England.*

Shahed, is a successful businessman who has been living in Italy for more than 19 years. After came to Italy, Shahed brought his full family of wife, three younger brothers and other cousins as well; his three children have born in Italy. He has now Italian passport and he wishes to settle him and his family in England near future, already he has obtained all the required docs living in England. He said, as the economic condition of Italy is bad, that for reason, I am planning to go England as an alternative solution, but it will take time to be settled in there.

Mamun commented, *I had a very good job in the company of Italy, I was well paid. As the company is now closed, I have been working in this Bangladeshi restaurant. I already contacted some of my friends in*



*Switzerland to work in Lausanne because they have good working conditions and salary. So I am now learning French to move there.*

Faruk is now about 50 years old, he is now settled in Milano after changes many places from Rome to Milano. He has been working in an Alimentary shop with a Bangladeshi owner. He said: *my sister, my life experience is big; I have been in Italy for many years. I changed many places from Rome to Milano, Milano to Rome, but nothing have worked out. Changing or migrating from one country to another doesn't bring any good result because you have to start from the beginning. To live in Italy is not bad, because the Italian people are very gentle and kind in nature. I don't know yet whether I will be back to Bangladesh. Right now, I have planned to get married again. My younger sister lives in America, so if there is any opportunity for me, I may move to America.*

## **Conclusion and Implication of the study for future interventions**

This study intended to explore the life and prospects of Bangladeshi migrants in Milano by focusing on their motivations for migrating, their living and working conditions in Milano, their support networks and their plans for the future. Twenty men and women migrants have been interviewed in the course of two months some of whom had migrated from Bangladesh to Italy more than 10 years back and some more recently. I chose to take into consideration a relatively small group of migrants. I wanted to know more about people's perceptions and lives and overcome the shortcomings of quantitative research who might tell us a lot about numbers but much less on the meaning people gives to their life choices. I then chose to have conversations with men and women and gather data by spending time with my respondents and giving them the possibility to make their voices heard.

By analysing the motives migrants report for their migration it emerges clearly that the need to improve their life conditions from the economic point of view is the main driving force behind the choice of boys and young men. My findings are consistent with what emerges from other studies about the aspirations of young Bangladeshi men who see Europe and Italy as offering the opportunity of employment and income and in general better living and working conditions than other destinations. Bangladeshi people also



migrate to Middle Eastern and South East Asian countries with short term work contracts. The costs of this kind of migration are much lower and those who can afford it come from lower socio-economic backgrounds; however, earnings are lower and increasingly migration to Europe is perceived to offer more advantages in terms of a stable political situation, personal security and law and order. In fact some of the migrants I interviewed moved to Italy for political reasons and others reached Italy from Libya to escape war and in search of a better quality of life. The opportunity of family reunification is another reason why Europe is preferred to other destinations.

In fact all the women I met except a student came to Italy through family reunification procedures. Six out of the twelve male migrants I interviewed are irregular; these are those who have recently migrated either from Libya or directly from Bangladesh. Middlemen play and played a vital role in the migration process. Migrants are easily cheated since they do not know about the procedures for regular migration. Some of them had been promised a job at destination and in general none of them expected to end up in harsh living conditions and to have to spend their days in front of Milano central station selling gadgets. It is not surprising that the recent migrants interviewed are not happy at all with their living and working conditions. Single young men live in crowded flats and have to pay high rents, to older migrants who take advantage of the newcomers by renting out accommodation at high cost in relation to the value of the flat. As undocumented or irregular migrants (without permit of stay), cannot have a regular work contract the only option for recently arrived young men is to sell gadgets in the streets and flowers in the restaurants at night. This implies having to deal with frequent police raids and risking the daily earnings. Even more difficult in this situation is to send remittances to members of the family left behind, which is one of the main objectives of Bangladeshi migrants. The situation is of course quite different for older migrants who after a few difficult years, have been able to settle down in Italy and send remittances to their families or reunite with their wives and children and establish in some cases their own business.

Migrants associations and the Bangladeshi consulate play a very marginal role in assisting their fellow migrants. I found only one organization run by women that tries to offer some substantial help to Bangladeshi families and children by organizing Bengali language classes for children and by being de facto a centre for aggregation and socialization for adults as well.



Both older and more recent migrants see their future outside Italy in some ways. Older migrants are inclined to send their children either back home for studying or to the UK as they consider English medium education much more valuable. This is consistent also with the fact that according to my respondents, whole families have moved to England after obtaining the Italian citizenship. The common perception is that in the UK they would get more facilities, the education system works better and it would be an advantage for their children to get fluent in English. The newly arrived migrants would like to stay in Italy at least until they repay the debts they made to fund their migration and until they can save some money to be able to return to Bangladesh and start a business.

Some suggestions for possible future interventions to promote safe migration can be drawn from the findings discussed so far.

**First of all**, it emerges clearly the need of planning training courses, awareness raising activities in the country of origin to make prospective migrants aware of the risks of irregular migration and of the correct procedures to obtain documents for regular migration to Italy. Training courses about rules and regulations, social norms and actual possibilities of employment in the countries of destination would also be essential.

**Secondly**, it is essential to create safety nets for the migrants in Italy, particularly for the newly arrived ones (decent accommodation management, regular job, action to provide permit of stay as soon as possible). The establishment of migrant organizations or NGOs should be facilitated to provide appropriate information on health care system, cheap and decent accommodation, and linkage the migrants to necessary social networks. Further research on transnational syndicate of middleman to stop the irregular migration is one of the recommendations of the study.



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## Appendix: the list of the interviewee migrants

Sl No.	Name, Age, Sex, marital status	Education	Home district in BD	Duration of stay in Italy	Entry Status to Italy	Types of migration	Present Occupation	Remark
1.	Jakir, 29, Male, Unmarried	Bachelor in Computer Science	Vanga, Faridpur	3 years	Via Russia and Libya	Irregular	Hawker (sells goods to the street)	
2.	Sibli, 35, Male, Married	Class 3, primary education	Madaripur	1 year and half	Via Libya	Irregular	Hawker (sells goods to the street)	
3.	Mamun, 29, Male, Unmarried	completed 2 <sup>nd</sup> year of Honours	Chandpur, Camilla	9 years	Direct	Regular/Sponsorship visa	Works in a BD restaurant	
4.	Faruk, 50, Male, Married	HSC	Feni, Noakhali	23 years	Via Kuwait	Regular	Works in a Alimentary/grocery shop	
5.	Torik, 26, Male, Married	Class 10, secondary education	Gazipur Dhaka	6 years	Direct	Expired the Agriculture visa	Hawker (sells goods to the street)	
6.	Shishir, 34, Male, Married	Class 10, secondary	Shylet	1 year	Via England	Regular	Works in an Italian Restaurant	
7.	Jamal, 38, Male, Married	Class 4, primary education	Madaripur	18 years	Via Russia, Turkey, Greece	Regular	Alimentary business	





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8.	Bokul, 34, Male, Married	Class 5, Primary education	Noriya, Soriyatpur	2 years	Via Libya	Irregular	Hawker (sells goods to the street)	
9.	Sumon, 45, Male, Married	SSC	Madaripur	19 years	Via Greece	Regular	Business of gadget shop	
10.	Manik, 30, Male, Married	Class 4, Primary education	Madaripur	3 years	Via Libya	Irregular	Hawker (sells goods to the street)	
11.	Bishara, 28, Male, Married	Class 5, Primary education	Madaripur	2 years	Via Libya	Irregular	Hawker (sells goods to the street)	
12.	Shahed, 37, Male, Married	Class 5, primary education	Madaripur	20 years	Via Russia, Turkey	Regular	Alimentary business	
13.	Sabiha, Female, Married	Masters in Music	Dhaka	3 years	Direct	Family reunificati on	Teacher and secretary of Bangla language teaching School	
14.	Maliha, Female, Married	BA (Bachelor of Arts)	Sylhet	15 years	Direct	Family reunificati on	Founder of Bangla language teaching School	
15.	Moli, Female, Student	Master in Business studies	Dhaka	1 year	Direct	student visa	Teacher of Bangla language teaching School	
16.	Kajol, Female,	HSC	Madaripur	3 years	Direct	Family reunificati	Teacher of Bangla language	



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	Married					on	teaching School	
17.	Jorina, Female, Married		Madaripur	1 year and half	Direct	Family reunificati on	Teacher of Bangla language teaching School	
18.	Santa, Female, Married	BA (Bachelor of Arts)	Madaripur	10 years	Direct	Family reunificati on	Helps to husband business (gadget shop)	
19.	Sonia, Female, Married	HSC (higher secondary)	Thakurga	16 years	Direct	Student visa	Housewife	
20.	Konica, Female, Married	Class 10, secondary education	Madaripur	8	Direct	Family reunificati on	Helps to husband business (Alimentary shop)	



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