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**Building Resilience to Violent Extremism among
Bangladeshi International Short Term Migrant Workers**

Tasneem Siddiqui

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**Report on
Building Resilience to Violent Extremism among
Bangladeshi International Short Term Migrant Workers**

Tasneem Siddiqui



**Submitted to
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)**

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Abbreviations

BMET	Bureau of Manpower Employment and Training
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HSC	Higher Secondary Certificate
ILO	Internal Labour Organization
IMO	Instant Online Messaging Platform
PVE	Preventing violent Extremism
RMMRU	Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Science
SSC	Secondary School Certificate
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UK	United Kingdom
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USD	US Dollar

Glossary of non-English terms

<i>Akama</i>	Job contact
<i>Alem</i>	A Muslim scholar
<i>Bidhormi</i>	Someone of different religious faith
<i>Dalal</i>	Intermediaries who connect the aspirant migrants with Bangladeshi recruiting agencies, intermediaries of destination countries and individual migrants in destination who sell work visas
<i>Dawah centre</i>	A not-for-profit charitable organisation with the primary purpose of delivering the message of Allah to English-speaking non-Muslims globally
<i>Dumba</i>	Fat-tailed sheep
<i>Eidgah</i>	The open-air gathering place for performing the Eid prayer
<i>Hajji</i>	A title which is originally given to a Muslim person who has successfully completed the Hajj to Mecca
<i>Imam</i>	The head of the mosque
<i>Islamic Gazal</i>	A genre of poem, generally short and graceful in form and typically dealing with themes of Islam
<i>Jamaat</i>	The weekly gathering of pious people
<i>Jihadi</i>	An Islamic militant
<i>Kafil</i>	Sponsor
<i>Madrasa</i>	Religious educational institution for Muslims
<i>Mazar</i>	A Muslim shrine or enshrined tomb
<i>Miskin</i>	Beggar
<i>Moulana</i>	A Muslim scholar
<i>Mowajjim</i>	The one who calls for prayer in the mosque
<i>Muktijuddha</i>	The freedom fighters of the liberation war of Bangladesh
<i>Panchayet</i>	A village council
<i>Probashi Jibon</i>	Life of Immigrants
<i>Sahi Hadith</i>	Record of the traditions or sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (SAW)
<i>Sharia law</i>	Laws that are derived from the religious precepts of Islam, particularly the Quran and the Hadith

<i>Shia-Sunni</i>	The two major denominations of Islam
<i>Tablighi Jamaat</i>	A non-political global missionary movement that focuses on urging Muslims to return to Practicing Islam, and particularly in matters of ritual, dress, and personal behavior
<i>Tahajjud Namaz</i>	An optional prayer performed during the night after waking up from sleep
<i>Ummah</i>	The whole community of Muslims bound together by ties of religion
<i>Waj</i>	Islamic sermon

Chapter I

Introduction

Bangladesh participates as a major source country in the international short term contract labour market. The Gulf and other Arab states and Southeast Asian countries are major destinations of Bangladeshi workers. From 1976 to 2017, more than 11 million Bangladeshi workers have migrated mostly to these countries for employment. In Bangladesh, 2 million people join the workforce annually whereas only 200,000 jobs are created in the formal sector. International migration on the other hand creates employment for around 1 million annually. In 2018 they remitted USD 15.53 billion. This is equivalent to 12 percent of country's GDP. The importance of labour migration can hardly be over emphasized. Along with men, since 2003 women are also participating as principal migrants. Labour migration from Bangladesh contributes significantly to the national development. Accordingly successive governments of Bangladesh have created institutions, policies and laws to govern labour migration.

Since the late 1930s, international labour migrants (Indentured labours) have been identified by ILO as the most vulnerable section of the global labour force. The situation of low skilled short term contract labour migrants has not changed much. Along with migrants from others countries, the Bangladeshi migrants experience cheating, fraudulence, inhuman and degrading work conditions, nonpayment of salary and arbitrary dismissal. A recent RMMRU research (2018) finds that 32 percent faced fraudulence and various degrading inhuman behavior while staying in the countries of destination.

Since the terrorist attacks on 9/11, the global community has been experiencing violent extremism of various kinds, including suicide bombing. Capitalising on unresolved political problems in Palestine, Iraq and other parts of the Islamic world these extremist groups propagate violent extremism and recruit foot-soldiers from different parts of the world. Labour migrants who spend large sums of money to pay their migration costs but fail to secure decent jobs may constitute an important target group of these extremists groups for recruitment. There is hardly any systematic research in this area. Recently UNDP (2016) conducted a pilot research on violent

extremism. Being Muslims they are likely to have a feeling of brotherhood with the oppressed Muslims of other parts of the world and thus can be vulnerable to violent extremism, particularly if they are jobless, lowly paid, ill-treated and socially excluded. The UNDP study finds that the extremist groups attempt to gain sympathy through online campaign. It identified that compared to Bangladeshis who live inside the country, those who work in Singapore, Malaysia, Oman, Qatar and Bahrain are 400 percent more exposed to violent extremist contents which are available online. Rise in the mobile based jobs and easy internet access can expand the possibility of using online contents of violence. These connections might catalyze an outcropping a section of Bangladeshi migrant workers to be used as foot soldiers of extremist forces.

In the above context of recent concern on growing violent extremism, Bangladeshi migrant workers are considered as one of the vulnerable groups who may become exposed to violent extremist views. This is a new phenomenon which may adversely affect the wellbeing and security of Bangladeshi workers. It may also negatively affect the foreign labour market of Bangladesh. The Ministry of Expatriates' Welfare and Overseas Employment governs short-term international labour migration. It expressed its concern about vulnerability of migrants in respect to extremism. However, it does not have enough information at its disposal to protect workers in the destination countries. In order to pre-empt such exposure it is important to generate knowledge on current level of exposure if any and the mechanism through which the extremist forces may attempt to make migrants interested to their cause. Systematic, well researched information is a pre-requisite to develop mechanism to counter such interventions.

The proposed research attempts to generate knowledge in this area. The research based information generated by the study would help policy makers to take necessary pre-emptive measures to protect the labour migrants from falling prey to the terrorist groups. It would strengthen RMMRU's institutional capacity to device evidence-based interventions including training, policy advocacy and a PVE informed migration system. It will also help other non-state actors to inform the potential migrants using different methods. Some of the probable avenues could be mass awareness raising campaign, incorporation of preventing violent Extremism (PVE) module in pre-departure trainings organized by government and civil society,

campaign for inclusion of PVE in relevant policies that deals with overseas employment and migration, develop early warning system and so on.

1.1 Objectives

The research plans to follow up on the initial findings of UNDP study (2016) on Bangladeshi migrants. The objective of the inquiry is not to identify vulnerable groups rather it attempts to locate type of intervention used by the extremist and develop mechanism to counter such interventions.

The broader objective of this project is to:

- a) Generate knowledge on current level of exposure of Bangladeshi labour migrants to online or other form of propaganda of extremist groups.
- b) Generate necessary information to help policy makers take necessary pre-emptive measures to protect the labour migrants from falling prey to the terrorist groups.
- c) Enhance RMMRU's understanding on PVE and migrant workers; capacity to make aware migrant workers on dealing with the risk factors of violent extremism, and advocacy for a PVE informed migration system.

The specific objectives are to:

- Understand how exposed are potential male and female migrants are to mobile, internet and social media?
- Find out what form of social media do they embrace once the Bangladeshi workers migrate?
- How do they react if they receive extremist information through social media before they migrated?
- Explore what are the other forms of social interactions which can expose migrants to extremist forces.
- Locate all forms of mechanism through which extremist forces may establish contact with the Bangladeshi migrant workers both male and female.
- Explore under what circumstances the extremist group may gain sympathy of male and female migrants which in the long run would make them vulnerable.
- Find out the role of employment status (regular/irregular) age, gender in respect to vulnerabilities of the migrants to extremist ideology.

- Provide suggestions on how relevant government offices and civil society organizations can inform the aspirant migrant as well as the current migrants about the ulterior motives of terrorists and how the migrants can protect themselves from the actions of the extremist.
- Create information to design PVE inclusive training and awareness programme for migrant works.

The research outcomes will benefit the Bangladeshi migrant workers population who are working in Gulf, other Arab and Southeast Asian countries to become resilient to violent extremist influence. The research will also benefit government and non-government agencies to initiate evidence-based policies and programme.

1.2 Literature Review

Since 9/11 a large pool of literature has emerged that links the role of international migrants in committing violent extremism. This literature falls under the spectrum of non-traditional security. In the post-cold war era, security analysts continuously tried to broaden the security discourse by bringing in non-military concerns. The expanded agenda gives greater coverage to previously neglected sources of conflicts. The process of bringing non-military issues in security discourse is referred to as 'securitization'. Buzan et al. (1998) described 'securitization' as a deliberate action of a purposeful actors who frame new or previously ignored challenges as existential threats to the survival and well-being of people, state and international community. Teitelbaum, Weiner, Cronin, Krebs and Levy (2001) identified migration as a non-traditional security threat and they argued for stopping migration to reduce the scope of terrorism. Buzan and others underscored that migration throws different social challenges; however, migration should not be seen as a security threat. He notes that migration is inevitable; securitization would lead to stigmatizing the whole migrant community and put their human security at risk. In the context of South Asia, Siddiqui (2007) argued for 'de-securitizing' migration and meet the challenges thrown by migration through positive administrative and political will. Integration of new population in destination countries, creating space in destination countries for them to participate socially and culturally, discouraging xenophobia, highlighting the developmental outcome of migration are some of the steps that can resolve the challenges thrown by migration. This research on the vulnerabilities of Bangladeshi

labour migrants to fall prey to extremist forces also appreciates that so far there is hardly any evidence of Bangladeshi labour migrants taking part into violent extremism. As a preventive step it only attempts to understand their vulnerabilities in the countries of destination which may make them target of extremist forces. The literature review in this section mostly covers the one which looks into how the extremist forces recruit their followers. The ultimate goal for developing such understanding is to utilize that knowledge in raising awareness of the migrants to protect themselves against such acts.

World Migration Report 2018 finds that there is wide acknowledgment that radicalization to violent extremism among settled migrants and their descendants is a symptom of social exclusion at different levels including individual, household, group, community, country and global. The overall process results in a continuum of inclusion/exclusion conditions characterized by unequal access to resources, capabilities and rights, which then leads to inequalities. In the cases of Belgium and France, for example, it has been suggested that the political culture, an overly secular culture of governance, has ostracized some minority communities, in particular Muslims of North African lineage. The analysis of World Migration Report is based on experiences of settled migrants and their descendants. It did not look into the experiences of short term contract migrants of Gulf, other Arab and Southeast Asian labour receiving countries. However, social and cultural exclusion is also a major problem in these countries.

Cole et al (2012) developed 8 criteria for identifying people who could be vulnerable to violent extremist groups. These are cultural and religious isolation, isolation from family, risk taking behaviour, sudden change in religious practice, and exposure to violent rhetoric, negative peer influence, isolated peer group and hatred of the others. They however cautioned that presence of any of these behaviours does not mean that they are already susceptible to any external influencers. These criteria are developed to help prevent the scope of radicalization among those who may possess some of these characteristics. Isolation can be countered by creating scope of socializing with diverse range of religious and ethnic groups. Mainstream families have a protective influence over household members. Geographical separation from family due to migration can be countered by regular communication. Studies show that individuals who are knowledgeable about religion do not fall prey to extremist groups. Violent extremist group target those who have limited theological

understanding. Teaching social elements as well as the religious elements of harmony can be a method to address some of these vulnerabilities mentioned by Cole et al (2012).

The Bangladesh Counter Terrorism & Transnational Crime, Dhaka Metropolitan Police¹ has identified six drivers of radicalization in Bangladesh. These are personal factors, group factors, community factors, socio-political factors, ideological factors and contextual factors. Personal factors include frustration, anxiety, humiliation, family problem, severance of relationship, loss of job, identity crisis, desire for revenge, adventure etc. Group factors highlight family connections, peer influence, social networks, fantasy and heroism, concept of *Ummah* and group solidarity etc. Community factors indicate marginalization, alienation, relative deprivation, religious discrimination, perceived persecution of co-religionists, Diaspora relationship with home country, etc. Socio-political factors include collective grievances, political deprivation, geo-political tensions, global politics, external events etc. Ideological factors contain supremacy of one's own religion, finding spiritual comfort, the urge to secure a place in heaven, misinterpretation of holy books, being susceptible to charismatic ideologues, etc. Contextual factors are exposure to twisted history, absence of role model, improper education system, availability of radical materials etc.

Alarid (2016) explored the role of social media and technology in recruitment and radicalization. He shows that violent extremist groups such as Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) have become "increasingly sophisticated at creating dense, global networks of support online". Online has enabled the extremist groups to reach vast audience at a minimum cost, without travel, no logistic and transport support and less fear of detection. Violent extremists target those persons through online media who are sympathetic to their cause, who are sensitive to conditions of inequality, espouse plight of the oppressed or politically frustrated. A person is detected by the extremist groups when they make financial donation, downloads extremist propaganda, enters *Jihadi* chat room or visits radical page on Facebook. The online interventions practiced by the extremist groups include hosting of cyber magazines in several languages, videos of past terrorist attacks, Facebook 'likings', twitting etc.

¹ Interview with Mahfuza Liza Additional Deputy Commissioner (Intelligence Analysis) Counter Terrorism & Transnational Crime, Dhaka Metropolitan Police (Date)

Young and computer savvies are attracted through video games. Along with radicalizing them the extremists also exploit the expertise of those technologically advanced youth in cyber attacks.

A recent UNDP (2016) study finds that compared to Bangladeshis who live in Bangladesh, those who work in Singapore, Malaysia, Oman, Qatar and Bahrain are 400% more exposed to violent extremist contents which are available online. Rising mobile based job and easy internet access can expand the possibility of using online contents of violence. These connections might catalyze an outcropping a section of Bangladeshi migrant workers to be used as foot soldiers of extremist forces.

Through analysing newspaper reports of 112 alleged militants during the period of 2014 and 2015, Riaz (2018) developed a profile of the Bangladeshi violent extremists. Sixty-five percent of the militants belong to the age group of 18 to 30 and another 28 percent 31 to 40. The reports only provided occupations of 65 of those 112 extremists. Riaz shows that they come from relatively better educational backgrounds i.e. students, engineers, businessmen, teachers, *Imam* of mosques IT experts etc. Sixty-one percent of them came from middle class and upper-middle class background, 38 percent were *madrassa* students and manual labourers. All those who have been identified as students have completed at least Grade 12. Some were Bachelors in English, Masters in English and even PhD candidates.

In a subsequent study Riaz and Parvez (2018) again find that the majority of the militants belong to middle and upper middle class, they are educated in good educational institutions within the country as well as in other countries. Among the 38 militants analysed in this study, 21 had external connections. Thirteen of them had some forms of links with Malaysia. Some of them studied or visited the country while others had contacts in Malaysia. The study showed Bangladeshi militants are heavily dependent on the internet for propaganda, communication, recruitment, mobilization, and fundraising. Both the articles demonstrate that none of the violent extremists arrested has ever worked as short term migrants. In fact, no incidents are reported even in newspapers which highlight that migrants became radicalized in the destinations countries and mobilized extremist activities in Bangladesh. However, Malaysia is one of the destinations of Bangladeshi short term labour migrants. Involvement of Bangladeshi students, who studied in Malaysia with violent extremist group, does make the labour migrants vulnerable as well.

Khan (2018) carried out a survey in Maldives. He did not find any linkage of Bangladeshi workers residing in Maldives with the violent extremist forces operational in or outside that country. The study also tried to find out vulnerabilities of Bangladeshi migrants to violent extremist forces in Maldives. The vulnerabilities he identified are mostly related to exploitative work conditions. Many workers are undocumented. Some of them are in severe financial debt. Obtaining valid work permit is a complex process in Maldives, so the labour migrants are forced to live outside the law. There is a lack of knowledge on regulatory processes and documentation processes which makes them vulnerable to exploitation. Low communication and job skills also put the workers in vulnerable situations. Due to high cost of medical treatment and reluctance of the employers providing insurance, one-third workers live and work in unhealthy conditions. Biological needs for sexual activities make the workers prone towards prostitution. Khan identified excessive workloads, lack of access to health services, and lack of time for leisure, isolation are major causes for frustration, grievances, and tendency towards violence. Burial of the undocumented workers is another critical issue. This creates grievance and hopelessness among the workers which can be exploited by the extremist entities.

Khan (2018) further found that 89 percent of the migrants have access to online contents. Eighty-two percent of all the respondents under the research used Facebook, 84 percent used IMO, 26 percent used Viber. YouTube is also used by a section of them. It showed that 85 percent workers used social media to communicate with home and access to information and entertainment. Facebook users were high in percentage terms than other social media. Workers would use 40 percent of their time on online media to communicate with family and friends, 26 percent to access information and entertainment contents, and 20 percent time to gain knowledge on religious information. However, 18 percent participates in group messages through WhatsApp, Viber or IMO to share information relating legal issues, messages or information from the Bangladesh High Commission, passports and so on. He found that although they visited online platforms containing religious narratives, they did not visit extremist propaganda sites. Assessment and Support Implementation of Programmes on the Inclusion and Engagement of Migrants, 2018 however found that extremist narratives as well as sexual contents were circulated

through group messaging. Khan explained that they were unable to identify extremist messages from others. This may put them at risk.

The prime source of religious knowledge among the Bangladeshi migrants in the Maldives is social media (68%). They mostly listen to *waj* available online of Bangladeshi *Moulanas*. These are mostly in Bengali language. Bangladeshis are not exposed to local *Imams* or religious scholars. Long working hours, difference in language and in religious practice do not allow them to use local sources. 87 percent never received any religious education in the Maldives. Eighteen percent have seen Bangladeshi clerics. *Imams* of Bangladeshi origin are not well trained. Therefore, social media is more attractive to them than the *Imams* who are currently residing in Maldives.

Almost one-fourth workers have some of their family members (father, mother, children, siblings, cousins) in Maldives. When disputes arise workers rely on their family, friends and employers. Besides, a section of them also resort to self-reflection and perform religious activities like prayers. Some workers tend to find sports as a medium of releasing stress.

In the context of Bangladesh, Biswas (2017) concentrated on role of community policing as a tool to counter violent extremism in Bangladesh. The Bangladesh police have developed an experimental system of involving local communities to prevent crime and improve security. He finds that although the implementation of the programme is under-resourced and haphazard, the local communities are deeply interested to help the police to counter violent extremism. He also thought that this programme can have great significance if it is reformed. Role of youth in community policing, building trust with the wider community, effective collaborative approach, encouragement of regular action oriented relationship between police and community, learning from the functions of traditional *panchayet* system and training of police as well as community actors on countering violent extremism are important actions in this respect.

1.3 Methodology

A mixed methods approach drawing upon both primary and secondary data will be employed to obtain adequate and in-depth information. In order to achieve the goal of this study, it will follow both qualitative and quantitative approaches. A public health approach will be used in investigating above issues. Instead of inquiring about

the experience of the individual concerned, questions will be framed to receive general observation on experience of migrants. The components of the methodology are briefly described here in sequential order.

Desktop Research: As the study will begin with a conceptualization phase during which a comprehensive literature review was conducted. The first phase involved desktop research to make an inventory of existing documents and information available in the context of Bangladesh as well as on other countries. At a global level a few researches are available which explore involvement of Diaspora in different terrorist actions.

Stakeholder's analysis and Key informant interview: Through a systematic process of analysis relevant stakeholders were identified and their inputs have been incorporated in the research design. The study has treated them as key informants. Interviews have also been taken of those researchers and government functionaries who have authentic knowledge on the issue. List of the interviewees are attached as Annex 1.

Survey of Migrant Households: Currently there exists no information on level of contacts of labour migrants with terrorist groups. Only example is the deportation of a group of Bangladeshi workers from Singapore where the Singaporean Government suspected that these workers were approached by the extremist groups. The other case is the arrest of few other workers in Singapore with similar experience. The concerned authority of Bangladesh have questioned the individuals concerned and concluded that they did not have any link with extremist forces. It is not possible to locate these migrants as their identities were not exposed.

An innovative approach is required to understand how migrants are approached or enticed to visit online terrorist websites. With the support of Swiss Agency of Cooperation (SDC) RMMRU has developed and maintains a panel database of 6000 migrant and non-migrant households covering 20 districts of Bangladesh. These districts are Faridpur, Gazipur, Manikganj, Tangail, Narayanganj, Sunamganj, Chittagong, Munshiganj, Laxmipur, Mymensingh, Comilla, Barisal, Dhaka, Kushtia, Bramanbaria, Shariatpur, Khagrachhari, Satkhira, Rangpur and Chapai Nawabganj.

The research has identified 8 districts² with higher percentage of relatively young returnee male and female migrants. These 8 districts constituted the research locations. In order to understand the extent of use of online material and exposure to extremist propaganda this study designed survey of 250 migrant households. Along with the returnees from panel data set the study also decided to locate some of the current migrants who came to Bangladesh on holidays during the field work. The returnee migrants were separated from current migrants through using SPSS programme. They were further segregated on the basis of age and gender. A semi-structured questionnaire has been prepared and pilot tested.

Once migrants were selected from the panel data set their names and addresses as well as some basic information on the households were entered in the questionnaire. Tracing the households of pre-selected migrants was the first task of the survey. The field team also located households in which migrants had returned on holidays. Altogether 264 households were interviewed during the survey, 241 of them were returnees and 23 of them were current migrants who came on holidays.

In-depth interviews: Based on the findings from quantitative survey, the study interviewed for the second time 38 of these migrants who have heard about extremist groups or those who use different kinds of social media in a major way. From them, 30 case studies have been attached with this report as annex II.

The research deals with aspects of extremism which has security concerns for the migrants. Interviewees might be unwilling to share information on this issue. A strict ethical standard has been maintained. Migrants were assured of their anonymity.

Terminologies used:

Radicalization is a process by which an individual, or group comes to adopt increasingly extreme political, social, or religious ideals and aspirations that reject or undermine the status quo or contemporary ideas and expressions.

Extremism refers to the advocacy of extreme measures or views. It is the belief of people who support or ideologically motivated to use violence for achieving radical ideological, religious or political views.

²Gazipur, Manikganj, Tangail, Cumilla, Chattogram, Barisal, Faridpur and Sunamganj

Violent extremism is “encouraging, condoning, justifying, or supporting the commission of a violent act to achieve political, ideological, religious, social, or economic goals” (US Federal Bureau of Investigation).

1.4 Structure of the report

The report is divided into seven sections including this introductory one. The introductory chapter sets the context of research, spells out the major research objectives, reviews existing literature and designed the methodology of the research. Chapter II gives an overview of labour migration from Bangladesh. Chapter III introduces the socio-economic profile of the households. Chapter IV deals with the issues of social exclusion of the migrants in the countries of destination and their grievances if any. Chapter V analyses use of internet and social media by the migrants when they were at the destination. Chapter VI explores current level of exposure of the migrants to extremist propaganda. The final chapter draws the major conclusions and presents some modest recommendations.

Chapter II

Overview of Labour Migration From Bangladesh

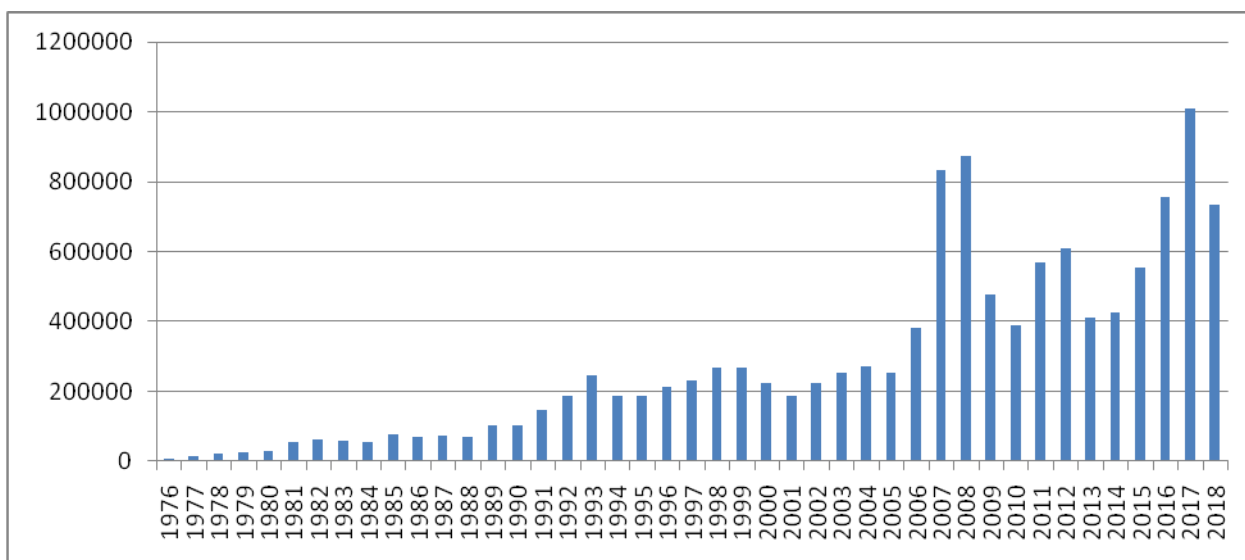
This chapter provides an overview of international short term labour migration from Bangladesh. It begins with presentation of total flow of migrants from the country. It then gives an idea about distribution of male and female migrants. It also throws light on countries of destinations of both male and female workers and their skill composition. The chapter gives an idea of annual flow of remittance to the country from its international migrant workers.

2.1 National Scenario of Labour Migration

Flow: The Bureau of Manpower Employment and Training (BMET)³ data inform that a total of 734,181 Bangladeshi workers migrated to the Gulf, other Arab and South East Asian countries in 2018. In 2017, the number of male and female migrants who went abroad for work was 1,008,525. Compared to 2017, the flow of migration in 2018 has reduced by 27 percent.

Figure 2.1.1: Labour migration from Bangladesh from 1976 to 2018

³BMET is the executing agency of Ministry of Expatriates' Welfare and Overseas Employment. On behalf of the Ministry, it manages short time contract migration from Bangladesh.



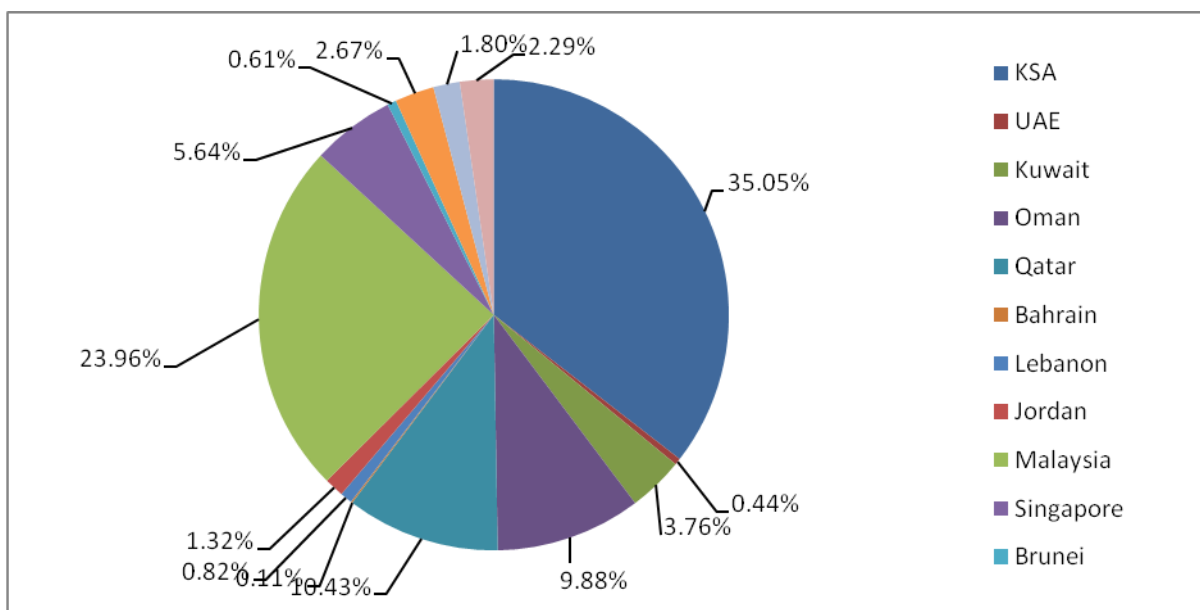
Source: Prepared by RMMRU from BMET Data(RMMRU, 2019)

Figure 2.1.1 shows year wise migration flow from 1976 to 2018. During this period, altogether 12,199,124 Bangladeshis migrated overseas for employment. The figure reflects total stock of migrants; it does not imply that all the 12.2 million Bangladeshis are working abroad currently. Bangladeshis mainly participate in the short-term contract labour market and they have to return upon finishing their contracts. Unfortunately no data is available on current figure of Bangladeshi migrants aboard.

Distribution of Male and Female Migrants: Female migration from Bangladesh has been increasing significantly from 2015. The highest number of female workers migrated in 2017. The total number was 121,925. This is 12 percent of the total migration flow of that year. In 2018, 101,695 females have migrated for work. This is 14 percent of the total flow of migrants of that year.

Countries of Destination: Majority of the Bangladeshi short-term contract workers migrate to the Gulf and other Arab countries. Sixty four percent of the workers who had migrated from Bangladesh in 2018 went to this region. The remaining 35.52 percent went mostly to different Southeast Asian countries.

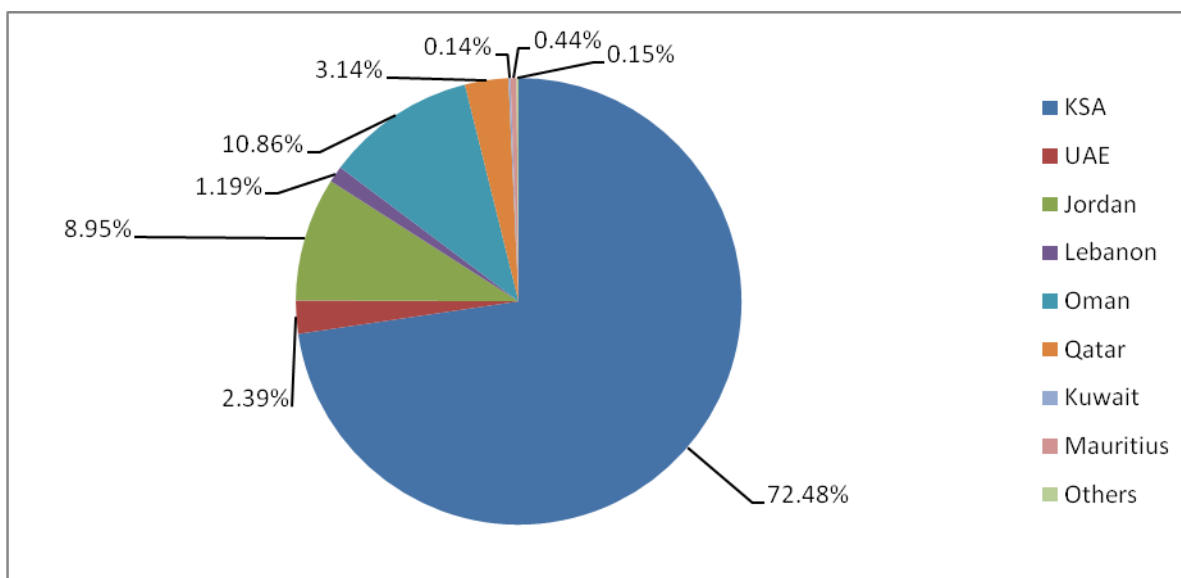
Figure 2.1.2: Destination countries of Bangladeshi migrants in 2018



Source: Prepared by RMMRU from BMET Data (RMMRU, 2019)

In 2018, the highest number of Bangladeshi workers migrated to Saudi Arabia. The figure stood at 257,317, that is about 35.05 percent of the total flow. A total of 175,927 workers migrated to Malaysia. Compared to 2017, it is 76 percent higher. Qatar is the third largest destination country of Bangladesh in 2018. 76,560 workers had migrated to this country that year. Oman, Bahrain, Singapore, Lebanon, Jordan, Kuwait are other important destination for Bangladeshi labour migrants.

Figure 2.1.3: Destination countries of female migrants in 2018

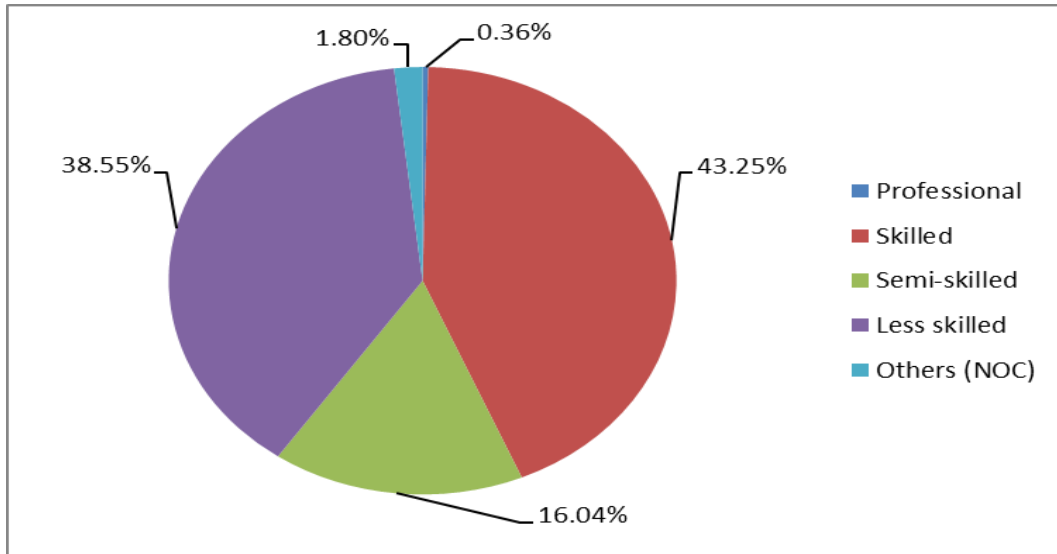


Source: Prepared by RMMRU from BMET Data (RMMRU, 2019)

In 2018, Saudi Arabia is also the largest destination of Bangladeshi female migrants. A total of 73,713 female workers went there in 2018. This is almost 72.48 percent of the total flow of female migrants. Oman is the second largest destination and 11,034 females migrated to Oman. The third largest destination country is Jordan. It accounts for 9,100 female workers. Labour market for Bangladeshi female migrants is more limited. Ninety-two percent of the female workers migrated to these three countries. Other destinations of female workers are Lebanon, Kuwait, UAE and Qatar.

Skill Composition: BMET classified short term migrants workers of Bangladesh into four categories: professional, skilled, semi-skilled and lowly skilled. Doctors, engineers, teachers and nurses are considered as professionals. Manufacturing or garments workers, skilled construction workers, electricians, drivers and domestic workers are considered as skilled. Tailors and masons are considered as semi-skilled. Agricultural labourer, bearer, cleaners, gardeners and security guards are considered as lowly skilled workers. Chart 2.1.3 presents the skill composition of outbound migrant workers in 2018. It shows that proportion of skilled workers remains almost the same in 2018 (43.25%) in comparison to 2017 (43.07%). Sixteen percent of the migrant workers fall under the semi-skilled category and 39 percent of the workers fall under less skilled category. The shares of semi-skilled and less skilled categories also have not changed in a major way from the previous year. Only 0.36 percent of the migrants belong to professional and 1.8 percent of the migrants belong to other categories.

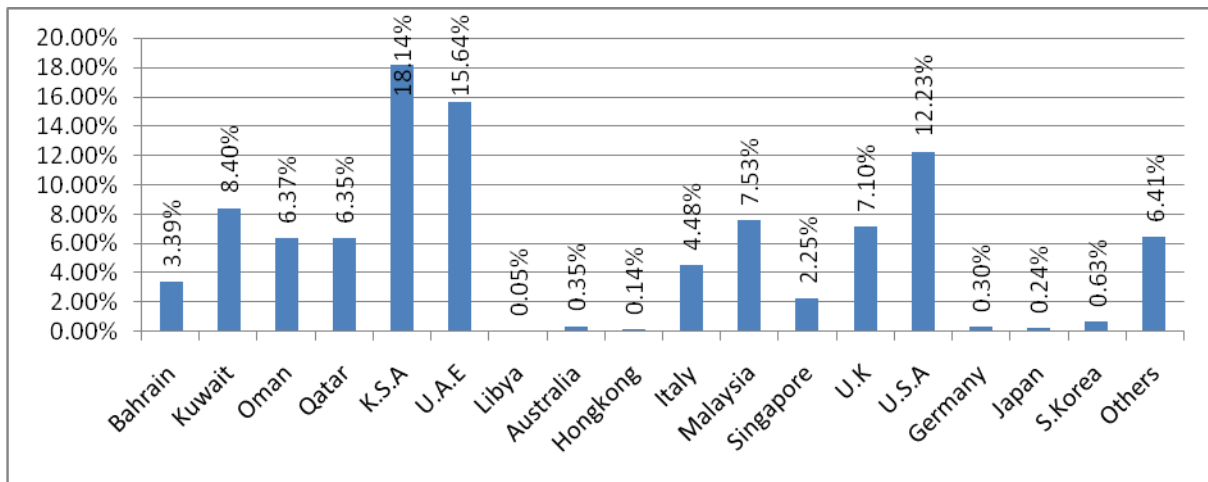
Figure 2.1.4: Skill composition of Bangladeshi migrants in 2018



Source: Prepared by RMMRU from BMET data (RMMRU 2018)

Remittance Flow: According to Bangladesh Bank, the migrants have remitted \$15.54 billion in 2018 that is 14.86 percent higher than 2017 (\$13.53 billion). Generally, migrants can remit regularly from the year following their migration. The scenario was alike in 2018. The recorded increase in remittance of 2018 is actually the result of huge migration from Bangladesh in 2017. Following the trend of the previous year, the highest amount of remittance was sent from Saudi Arabia (18.14%). It is followed by the UAE (15.64%), the USA (12.23%), Kuwait (8.40%), Malaysia (7.53%) and the UK (7.10%).

Figure 2.1.5: Source countries of major remittance flow in 2018



Source: Prepared by RMMRU from BMET Data (RMMRU, 2019)

Bangladesh Bank reported that Islami Bank Bangladesh has collected over 29.68% (US \$3031.61 million) of the total remittances, making it top remittance receiving bank in 2018. Islami Bank is followed by Agrani Bank- US \$1515.05 million (14.92%), Sonali Bank- US \$1137.20 million (11.20%), Dutch-Bangla Bank Limited- US \$936.42 million (9.22%) and Janata Bank-US \$907.06 million (8.93%).

2.2 Importance of labour migration for the national economy

Bangladesh is a small deltaic country of 147,570 km with a population of 165 million. During the initial years of its independence the country was termed as a 'bottomless basket' by its development partners. However, over the last four decades it has been successful in changing its image from 'Test case of development' to one of the new waves economies of the world; or as one of the next 11 countries with potential to become one of the world's largest economies in the 21st century. The country has demonstrated major success in moving social indicators such as reducing maternal death, child mortality, increasing school enrolment of girl children etc. In 2010, World Bank and IMF counted Bangladesh as one of the fastest GDP growth countries of 21st century. It has changed its status from a less developed country to a lower middle income country by 2018. Important driver to positive changes is the vast reservoir of human resources for national and international market.

Experts have also identified 3 main economic sectors that have contributed to such economic and social development of Bangladesh. These are garment manufacturing, services and labour migration (Rahman, 2010). In 2010, flows of incoming remittances were almost 12 times higher than foreign direct investment (FDI) to the country and 6 times higher than total foreign aid received. The remittances sent by the migrants are equivalent to 11 percent of the GDP of the country. As early as mid 1980's steady flow of remittances was identified as the external source of finance that has resolved the long drawn problem of foreign exchange constraints, negative balance of payment and poor supply of national savings (Quibria 1986). For a decade in a row Bangladesh could maintain surplus current account balance mostly due to steady flow of remittances. In 2019, current reserve of the country hovered around USD 31 to 32 billion⁴. More than half of this foreign exchange reserve is derived from migrant's remittances.

⁴ Bangladesh Bank <https://www.bb.org.bd/econdata/intreserve.php> 21 October 2019.

Creation of employment for its working age population is a major task of successive governments. Each year around 1700,000 youth reach their working age. Annually the formal sector can only create 200,000 new jobs within the country. The rest have to find jobs in the informal sector, become self employed, or remain underemployed. In comparison to local level employment opportunities, in 2018 1000,000 jobs are secured through foreign employment (BMET 2019). Therefore, foreign employment has a major role in relieving the pressure to create work at home for working age population (Siddiqui, 2006).

Migration of workers has also created jobs indirectly. A separate ministry, a line agency- Bureau of Manpower Employment and Training (BMET) office, 48 district employment and man power offices and 37 technical training centres are the major public sector agencies whose job is to manage migration. The movement of migrants not only created jobs for line ministries and agencies it accelerated the working areas and size of few other ministries i.e. ministry of civil aviation, customs and immigration department under home ministry. To process recruitment, a powerful private sector has emerged. Currently there are more than 1,200 licensed recruiting agencies and 1000 *Dalals* in Bangladesh (RMMRU 2019). Travel agencies, medical centres, public and private inter-district transport companies all became viable because of migrant customers.

Chapter conclusion

This chapter gives an idea about migration flow from Bangladesh at national level. It also informs about percentage of female migrants. In 2018, more than 700,000 Bangladeshi have migrated to the Gulf, other Arab and South East Asian countries. Eighty-six percent of them are male and 14 percent are female. In 2018, the highest number of Bangladeshi workers migrated to Saudi Arabia (35%). Malaysia received 24 percent of the migrants. Qatar and Singapore each received around 10 percent of the Bangladeshi migrants. Oman, Bahrain, Lebanon, Jordan, Kuwait are other important destination for Bangladeshi labour migrants. Saudi Arabia is also the highest female migrant receiving country of Bangladesh. In 2018, 72 percent of the female workers have gone to that country. Eleven percent of the female migrants went to Oman and nine percent to Jordan. Rest of the female migrants has gone to other labour receiving countries. 43 percent of the migrants are skilled workers.

Sixteen percent of the migrant workers fall under the semi-skilled category and 39 percent of them fall under less skilled category. Only 0.36 percent of the migrants belong to professional and 1.8 percent of the migrants belong to other categories. In 2018, Bangladesh received \$15.54 billion as remittances from the international migrant workers.

Chapter III

The Socio-Economic Profile of the Households

This chapter introduces the male and female migrants who have been interviewed in this study. It gives an idea about the sex of migrants, the age group they belong to, number of their family members, their marital status etc. The chapter also informs on their migration experience. This includes number of times they migrated, country of destination, year of return, place and duration, and nature of work.

Throughout the report the migrants have been divided in two groups. The first group includes those who had migrated and returned in the last three years and those who are currently migrants but came to Bangladesh on holidays during the field work. They have been termed as new returnees. The second group consists of those who had returned after overseas employment more than three years ago. They have been termed as old returnees. However, the study did not interview any migrant who have returned more than ten years ago.

3.1 Sex of the migrants

Altogether 264 male and female migrants have been interviewed. Table 3.1.1 on sex of migrants shows that 80 percent are male and 20 percent female. There is a difference in male and female ratio among new and old returnees. Seventy-five percent of the new migrants interviewed are male and 25 percent are female. Among those who have returned more than three years ago, 89 percent are male and 11 percent are female. This means that compared to before, participation of female migrants has increased. This is inconformity with national data which shows that over the last five years the percentage of female migrant compared to male migrant varied from 19 to 12 percent. (RMMRU, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019)

Table 3.1.1: Sex of migrant by type of returnee

Sex	New returnee and those came on holiday	Old returnee	Total
Male	75.4%	89.4%	79.9%
Female	24.6%	10.6%	20.1%
Third gender	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total no. of cases	179	85	264

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

3.2 Age

Current age: Table 3.2.1 gives an idea of age of the migrants at current and during first migration. Mean current age of all types of the male returnees is 39 and for

female it is 34. The highest current age recorded for male is 70 years and for female it is 50 years. Among the female migrants' the lowest current age 19 and for male it is 20. It is natural that when we divide the migrants on the basis of those who returned within the last three years as well as came on holidays and those who returned before that the minimum age is much lower in case of new returnees. It is 19 in case of new returnees and 26 in case of those who have returned more than three years ago. The mean age of female for new returnees is 33 which is 38 in case of old returnees.

Table 3.2.1: Average current age of migrant by type of returnee and gender

Current age	New returnee and those came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Mean	37	33	36	42	38	41	39	34	38
Maximum	62	50	62	70	50	70	70	50	70
Minimum	20	19	19	26	30	26	20	19	19
Total no. of cases	135	44	179	76	9	85	211	53	264

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

It is also important to note in which group majority of the migrants belong to. Table 3.2.2 shows the age range of the migrants during the survey (Current age). We look into current age of new returnee it shows that the highest percentage of male migrants (24%) belongs to the age group of 26 to 30 and 36-40. Current age of another 22 percent of the male migrants ranges between 31 and 35. In case of female migrants the highest percentage belongs to the age group of 26 to 30 and 41 to 50. Current age of 17 percent of them ranges between 21 and 25. Percentage of male in this age group is very low. It is only 3 percent. This indicates that compared to males, females migrate at a much younger age. It is natural that those who returned more than three years ago belong to older age group.

Table 3.2.2: Range of age of migrant by type of returnee and gender

Current age	New returnee and those came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
<=20	0.70%	2.30%	1.10%	0%	0%	0%	0.50%	1.90%	0.80%

21-25	4.40%	20.50%	8.40%	0%	0%	0%	2.80%	17%	5.70%
26-30	24.40%	22.70%	24%	5.30%	22.20%	7.10%	17.50%	22.60%	18.60%
31-35	21.50%	18.20%	20.70%	30.30%	22.20%	29.40%	24.60%	18.90%	23.50%
36-40	24.40%	13.60%	21.80%	21.10%	22.20%	21.20%	23.20%	15.10%	21.60%
41-50	17%	22.70%	18.40%	23.70%	33.30%	24.70%	19.40%	24.50%	20.50%
50+	7.40%	0%	5.60%	19.70%	0%	17.60%	11.80%	0%	9.50%

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

Age during first migration: Table 3.2.3 shows the average age of the male and female migrants when they first went overseas for work. It shows that average age of both male and female migrants is 27. Nonetheless, age of female migrant could be a little less. As there is restriction on migration of women who are less than 25, some of the under aged women might have given false age.

Table 3.2.3: Average age of migrant during first migration by type and gender

Age during first migration	Duration of return								
	New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Mean	27	28	27	26	25	26	27	27	27
Maximum	52	42	52	48	39	48	52	42	52
Minimum	15	13	13	17	17	17	15	13	13
Total No. of response	135	44	179	76	9	85	211	53	264

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

Table 3.2.4 shows 23 percent of them are below 20 years of age. Another 25 percent belong to age group of 21 to 25. From the literature review it was seen that the terrorist groups target the young. From that perspective almost 50 percent of the migrant force could be targets for such recruitment. However, age is one variable, it has to match with level of education and other forms of vulnerabilities of the migrants.

Table 3.2.4: Range of age of migrants during first migration by type and gender

Age during first migration	Duration of return								
	New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total

<=20	20%	20.50 %	20.10 %	27.60 %	33.30 %	28.20 %	22.70 %	22.60 %	22.70 %
21-25	28.10 %	15.90 %	25.10 %	26.30 %	22.20 %	25.90 %	27.50 %	17%	25.40 %
26-30	22.20 %	27.30 %	23.50 %	21.10 %	22.20 %	21.20 %	21.80 %	26.40 %	22.70 %
31-35	17%	13.60 %	16.20 %	13.20 %	11.10 %	12.90 %	15.60 %	13.20 %	15.20 %
36-40	5.20%	20.50 %	8.90%	6.60%	11.10 %	7.10%	5.70%	18.90 %	8.30%
41-50	6.70%	2.30%	5.60%	5.30%	0%	4.70%	6.20%	1.90%	5.30%
50+	0.70%	0%	0.60%	0%	0%	0%	0.50%	0%	0.40%
Total response	135	44	179	76	9	85	211	53	264

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

3.3 Level of Education

Table 3.3.1 shows that as high as 45 percent of the migrants are not literate. They can only sign their name. Percentage of not educated migrants is much higher in case of female migrants. Sixty-six percent of them are not educated whereas in case of male migrants the figure is 39 percent. Twenty-six percent of the female migrants studied upto class five whereas 38 percent of the male migrants studied up to grade 10. There is no difference in respect to level of education among those who have returned recently with those who have returned three years ago. It is true for both male and female migrants.

It was seen in the literature review that the extremist groups target well educated young male and female. Educational background of the migrants shows that only 3 percent studied up to SSC and another 2 percent up to HSC. Less than 1 percent has degree which is equivalent to bachelor. From the perspective of educational background vulnerability of Bangladeshi migrant workers is low.

Table 3.3.1: Level of education by type and gender

Level of education	New returnee and those came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Illiterate/ can sign	38.5%	65.9%	45.3%	40.8%	66.7%	43.5%	39.3%	66.0%	44.7%

Class 1 - Class 5	14.1%	27.3%	17.3%	17.1%	22.2%	17.6%	15.2%	26.4%	17.4%
Class 6 - Class 10	38.5%	6.8%	30.7%	38.2%	11.1%	35.3%	38.4%	7.5%	32.2%
SSC / Equivalent	4.4%	0.0%	3.4%	2.6%	0.0%	2.4%	3.8%	0.0%	3.0%
HSC / Equivalent	3.0%	0.0%	2.2%	1.3%	0.0%	1.2%	2.4%	0.0%	1.9%
BA / Equivalent	1.5%	0.0%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	.9%	0.0%	.8%
MA / Equivalent	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Diploma	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Others	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total no. of cases	135	44	179	76	9	85	211	53	264

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

3.4 Number of family members

Table 3.4.1 gives an idea about the average household size of the migrants. Household in this research is defined as number of persons eating from the same pot. Household size therefore includes immediate family members, extended family members as well as relatives and domestic workers who share the same meal. It is for this reason family size of the migrant household is quite big. Average family size of the male migrants is 6 and for female migrant it is 5. The highest members of household are experienced by relatively older returnee households. Minimum number of household member is 2. And it is common among both new and old returnees.

Table 3.4.1: Family size by type of returnee and gender

Family Size	New returnee and those came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Mean	6	5	6	6	6	6	6	5	6
Maximum	17	12	17	19	11	19	19	12	19
Minimum	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	2
Total no. cases	135	44	179	76	9	85	211	53	264

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

3.5 Marital status

Table 3.5.1 shows marital status of the returnee migrants. There is not much of a difference in respect to marital status of male and female migrants. Ninety-one percent of both male and female migrants are currently married. However, during first migration only 59 percent of the male migrants and 85 percent of the female migrants were married. This indicates that propensity of married persons migrating is much higher in case of females. Riaz and Parvez's (2018) analysis of the profile of

Bangladeshis who participated in the Holy Artisan Bakery incident show that almost all of them were unmarried. This means 41 percent of the unmarried male migrants (during first migration) and 13 percent of the unmarried female migrants could be more vulnerable to extremist propaganda compared to the married ones.

Table 3.5.1: Marital status by type of returnee and gender

Marital status		New returnee and those came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
During first migration	Unmarried	41.5%	13.6%	34.6%	39.5%	11.1%	36.5%	40.8%	13.2%	35.2%
	Married	58.5%	84.1%	64.8%	60.5%	88.9%	63.5%	59.2%	84.9%	64.4%
	Widow / Widower	0.0%	2.3%	.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.9%	.4%
	Separate / divorced	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	Total no. of cases	135	44	179	76	9	85	211	53	264
Current age	Unmarried	8.9%	2.3%	7.3%	5.3%	0.0%	4.7%	7.6%	1.9%	6.4%
	Married	88.9%	90.9%	89.4%	94.7%	88.9%	94.1%	91.0%	90.6%	90.9%
	Widow / Widower	0.0%	2.3%	.6%	0.0%	11.1%	1.2%	0.0%	3.8%	.8%
	Separate / divorced	2.2%	4.5%	2.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%	3.8%	1.9%
	Total no. of cases	135	44	179	76	9	85	211	53	264

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

3.6 Number of migration experience

Table 3.6.1 shows the total number of migration experience of the migrants. Seventy-one percent of the total migrants migrated only once. Twenty-two percent have second migration experience. Six percent migrated three times. Percentage share of female migrant is higher who has third migration experience. It is mostly true in case of new returnees and those who came on holidays. Female migrants predominantly work as domestic workers. Female participation in multiple migrations may indicate that those who develop good working relationship with their employers can re-migrate with a relative ease compared to others. This may also indicate that compared to male, income need of these female migrants are higher.

Table 3.6.1: Number of migration experience by type and gender

Number of Migration	New returnee and those came on holiday	Old returnee	Total
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	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1	76.3%	59.1%	72.1%	65.8%	88.9%	68.2%	72.5%	64.2%	70.8%
2	18.5%	22.7%	19.6%	30.3%	11.1%	28.2%	22.7%	20.8%	22.3%
3	5.2%	15.9%	7.8%	1.3%	0.0%	1.2%	3.8%	13.2%	5.7%
4	0.0%	2.3%	0.6%	1.3%	0.0%	1.2%	0.5%	1.9%	0.8%
7	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.3%	0.0%	1.2%	0.5%	0.0%	0.4%
Total no. of cases	135	44	179	76	9	85	211	53	264

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

3.7 Country of destination

Table 3.7.1 shows destination countries of new and old returnees. Altogether 16 destination countries have been mentioned by the respondents. These are Saudi Arabia, Oman, UAE, Qatar, Bahrain, Singapore, Malaysia, Libya, Lebanon, Jordan, Maldives, Kuwait, Egypt, Iraq, Sudan and Brunei. Egypt and Sudan are not mainstream destinations of Bangladeshi migrants. It may very well be routes of irregular migration. Iraq and Libya are treated as insecure destinations. However, the percentage share of the migrants who went to these countries is also low.

In cases of both recent and earlier returnees, the highest number of migrants went to Saudi Arabia. This is true for both male and female migrants. Seven percent of the recent female returnees are from UAE whereas 32 percent of the earlier and 19 percent of the recent male returnees are from UAE. The second largest destination of female migrants both recent and old is Lebanon. Qatar and Oman are the other two destinations for both male and female recent and earlier migrants. Among the earlier migrants Qatar was not at all important as destination. In fact, no cases have been found who went to Qatar. Ali Riaz opined that presence of ISIS is low in Saudi Arabia. Strict implementation of *Sharia* law in Saudi Arabia is also a deterrent. Therefore, possibility of direct exposure to extremist violent forces in Saudi Arabia is low.⁵ Of course, the possibility of exposure though social media is there.

Table 3.7.1: Country of destination by type of returnee and gender

⁵ Skype interview with Dr. Ali Riaz 7 March 2019.

Country of destination	New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Bahrain	7.4%	0.0%	5.6%	3.9%	0.0%	3.5%	6.2%	0.0%	4.9%
Brunei	2.2%	0.0%	1.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%	0.0%	1.1%
Egypt	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.3%	0.0%	1.2%	0.5%	0.0%	0.4%
Iraq	0.7%	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	0.4%
Jordan	0.7%	18.2%	5.0%	1.3%	11.1%	2.4%	0.9%	17.0%	4.2%
Lebanon	0.0%	18.2%	4.5%	0.0%	22.2%	2.4%	0.0%	18.9%	3.8%
Libya	0.7%	0.0%	0.6%	1.3%	0.0%	1.2%	0.9%	0.0%	0.8%
Malaysia	8.9%	0.0%	6.7%	5.3%	0.0%	4.7%	7.6%	0.0%	6.1%
Maldives	0.7%	0.0%	0.6%	2.6%	0.0%	2.4%	1.4%	0.0%	1.1%
Oman	14.8%	18.2%	15.6%	10.5%	11.1%	10.6%	13.3%	17.0%	14.0%
Qatar	9.6%	6.8%	8.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	6.2%	5.7%	6.1%
Kuwait	1.5%	0.0%	1.1%	2.6%	0.0%	2.4%	1.9%	0.0%	1.5%
Saudi Arabia	28.1%	31.8%	29.1%	36.8%	44.4%	37.6%	31.3%	34.0%	31.8%
Singapore	4.4%	0.0%	3.4%	2.6%	0.0%	2.4%	3.8%	0.0%	3.0%
Sudan	0.7%	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	0.4%
UAE	19.3%	6.8%	16.2%	31.6%	11.1%	29.4%	23.7%	7.5%	20.5%
Total no. of cases	135	44	179	76	9	85	211	53	264

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

3.8 Number and type of Occupation

Forty-six (17.4% of total) of the migrants are involved in multiple profession (Annex II, Table 3.8.1). Table 3.8.2 shows that they are involved in diverse professions. A large number of professions are related to construction work (31%). This includes labour work (15.2%), plumbing (5%), electrical work (3%), mason (.4%), tiles fitting (2%), painting (3%), carpentering (1%) and welding (2%). Women are predominantly employed as domestic worker (89%). A small number of them also work as cleaners. Men and women combined constitute 6 percent of the respondents who work as cleaners. Five percent male migrants work as drivers. Ten percent works in the services sector that includes shop keeping. Three percent are involved in business. Two percent work as chefs. Less than 1 percent described their job as mechanic. Seven percent work in garments and other manufacturing sector. Besides these, many other professions are mentioned such as sheep rearing, plantation, press machine operator, messenger, lift operator, hawker, agriculture, gardener, caterer, petrol pump attendant etc. A number of them mentioned that they work in outsourcing companies. They do not have any specific job rather their employers make them work in different locations as well as profession. For example, one day

they are involved in cleaning date garden, another day they could be working in a school cleaning toilets and some other day they could be involved in cleaning public parks.

Table 3.8.2 Main occupation by type of returnee and gender

Main occupation	Duration_of_return																	
	New returnee and those who came on holiday						Old returnee						Total					
	Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total		Male		Female		Total	
Plumber	9	6.7%	0	0.0%	9	5.0%	3	4.0%	0	0.0%	3	3.6%	12	5.7%	0	0.0%	12	4.6%
Construction labour	30	22.2%	1	2.3%	31	17.3%	9	12.0%	0	0.0%	9	10.7%	39	18.6%	1	1.9%	40	15.2%
Driver	8	5.9%	0	0.0%	8	4.5%	3	4.0%	0	0.0%	3	3.6%	11	5.2%	0	0.0%	11	4.2%
Domestic work	2	1.5%	41	93.2%	43	24.0%	1	1.3%	6	66.7%	7	8.3%	3	1.4%	47	88.7%	50	19.0%
Electrician	7	5.2%	0	0.0%	7	3.9%	2	2.7%	0	0.0%	2	2.4%	9	4.3%	0	0.0%	9	3.4%
Service	15	11.1%	0	0.0%	15	8.4%	12	16.0%	0	0.0%	12	14.3%	27	12.9%	0	0.0%	27	10.3%
Tilesfilter	5	3.7%	0	0.0%	5	2.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	2.4%	0	0.0%	5	1.9%
Mechanist	1	0.7%	0	0.0%	1	0.6%	1	1.3%	0	0.0%	1	1.2%	2	1.0%	0	0.0%	2	0.8%
Business	4	3.0%	0	0.0%	4	2.2%	3	4.0%	0	0.0%	3	3.6%	7	3.3%	0	0.0%	7	2.7%
Manufacturing and factory worker	11	6.7%	1	2.3%	12	5.6%	9	8.0%	1	11.1%	10	8.3%	20	7.1%	2	3.8%	22	6.5%
Cleaner	9	6.7%	1	2.3%	10	5.6%	5	6.7%	1	11.1%	6	7.1%	14	6.7%	2	3.8%	16	6.1%
Painter	2	1.5%	0	0.0%	2	1.1%	5	6.7%	0	0.0%	5	6.0%	7	3.3%	0	0.0%	7	2.7%
Carpenter	1	0.7%	0	0.0%	1	0.6%	2	2.7%	0	0.0%	2	2.4%	3	1.4%	0	0.0%	3	1.1%
Mason	1	0.7%	0	0.0%	1	0.6%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.5%	0	0.0%	1	0.4%
Caterer	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	1.3%	0	0.0%	1	1.2%	1	0.5%	0	0.0%	1	0.4%
Guard	4	3.0%	0	0.0%	4	2.2%	1	1.3%	0	0.0%	1	1.2%	5	2.4%	0	0.0%	5	1.9%
Tailor	1	0.7%	0	0.0%	1	0.6%	1	1.3%	0	0.0%	1	1.2%	2	1.0%	0	0.0%	2	0.8%
Welding	3	2.2%	0	0.0%	3	1.7%	1	1.3%	0	0.0%	1	1.2%	4	1.9%	0	0.0%	4	1.5%
Chef	4	3.0%	0	0.0%	4	2.2%	1	1.3%	0	0.0%	1	1.2%	5	2.4%	0	0.0%	5	1.9%
Gardener	7	5.2%	0	0.0%	7	3.9%	8	10.7%	0	0.0%	8	9.5%	15	7.1%	0	0.0%	15	5.7%
Farming, sheep rearing, Fishing	4	3.0%	0	0.0%	4	2.2%	3	4.0%	0	0.0%	3	3.6%	7	3.3%	0	0.0%	7	2.7%
Nurse	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	11.1%	1	1.2%	0	0.0%	1	1.9%	1	0.4%
Messenger	2	1.5%	0	0.0%	2	1.1%	1	1.3%	0	0.0%	1	1.2%	3	1.4%	0	0.0%	3	1.1%
Others	5	3.7%	0	0.0%	5	2.8%	3	4.0%	0	0.0%	3	3.6%	8	3.8%	0	0.0%	8	3.0%
Total	135	100.0%	44	100.0%	179	100.0%	75	100.0%	9	100.0%	84	100.0%	210	100.0%	53	100.0%	263	100.0%

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

Chapter Conclusion

This section shows that the percentage of female migrants among the new returnees has almost doubled compared to old returnees. Twenty percent of the migrants were less than twenty years of age when they first migrated. Another 25 percent belonged

to the age group of 21 to 25 years. Compared to those who belong to higher age group young migrants are more vulnerable. Educational status of these migrants is very poor. It was seen extremist groups usually target educated ones. From that perspective migrants with less education are less vulnerable. Even then 5 percent of the migrant who have SSC and above educational background are vulnerable. A majority of the migrants, both male and female (59 percent of male migrants and 85 percent of female migrants), were married when they first migrated. It was seen that foot soldiers of extremist groups are mostly unmarried. Seventeen percent of the migrants pursue multiple jobs. This indicates that their income from the principal occupation is not sufficient. This group of migrants could be more vulnerable compared to those who pursue one profession as dissatisfaction and frustration could be higher among them.

Chapter IV

Social Exclusions and Grievances

In the context of long term settled migrants, World Migration Report (2018) identified social exclusion as an important feature that contributes to radicalization. The report treated unequal access to resources, absence of capabilities and rights as the elements of exclusion. Cole et al (2012) while discussing exclusion highlighted the importance of feeling of isolation. This chapter attempts to understand social existence of the migrants in destination. It probes into physical location of work, level of vulnerability in respect to full time employment, daily work routine and time for leisure, type of treatment received from the local communities, sources of sadness, and capacity to make new friends.

4.1 Physical location of work and level of isolation

Cole et al (2012) defined isolation on the basis of connection with the members of communities of origin. Bangladeshi workers mostly take part in lowly skilled jobs where they hardly interact with the mainstream community. Usually they mix with fellow Bangladeshis and workmates of other countries. Those who are residing in close proximity of cities would have more opportunity to interact with fellow Bangladeshis compared to those who are working in remote areas. Those who work in distant locations are more likely to be isolated. Table 4.1.1 gives an idea about the work location of the migrants. Sixty-two percent of the male workers are employed closed to cities. Thirty-eight percent are located quite far from the city. Distant work areas include desert, agricultural field, plantation and far away areas from main city etc. Bangladeshis who work in desert are involved in taking care of date plantation. They also work as shepherds. In Malaysia, these interviewees work in palm oil and rubber plantation. Both groups of worker are isolated from larger Bangladeshi migrant community.

Sadek Hossain (31) is from Cumilla. He studied up to class 8 and migrated to Oman in 2006. In his words, "I lived in an isolated island of Oman. I used to catch fish in the deep sea. It would take almost two and a half hours from my living place to reach in places where we caught fish. Along with commuting, I would spend 18 hours at work.

There were no weekly holidays. I had to work every day of the month. During lean season from January to June, my employer would not pay enough. Forget about other things, it would be difficult to buy even rice during this period. When you work, you don't feel lonely. But when you are not working, passing time in the island is very difficult". In 2006, Surujjaman went to Brunei at the age of 18. Later, he migrated again to Saudi Arabia. There he worked as a construction worker. His living place as well as, working place was far away from the main city.

Sixty-five percent of the female migrants' work location was closed to the cities. Thirty-five percent of the women are working in distant locations. In case of women however, distance of workplace does not explain isolation. This is because they are mostly homebound workers. They can be staying in the city, still feel isolated. Women domestic workers are usually not allowed to go outside the residence of their employers on their own volition. Other studies (Siddiqui, 2008) have demonstrated homesickness is way more among the female migrants compared to male migrants. Along with other things isolation also contributes to such loneliness. Shilpy, Shirin and Keya worked as domestic workers. All three of them are from Barisal. Shilpy and Shirin migrated to Saudi Arabia and Keya to Oman. All three mentioned that they were confined inside the home. It was not possible for them to make new friends. Shirin stated that her employer would not even let her talk to the neighbours. None of them were allowed to communicate with their family on a regular basis. For those who work as cleaners, it seemed they had the opportunity to mix with others. For example, 36 years old Shefali Begum studied up to class VIII. In 2000, she went to Saudi Arabia for work at the age of 17. In her own words, "I used to work as a cleaner in a hospital of Al-Gazi village far from Jeddah. I used to live in a dormitory and commute there through company bus. Since there were other cleaners staying in the dormitory, I did not feel lonely".

Table 4.1.1: Physical location of work for main occupation by type and gender

Physical location of work	New returnee and those came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
In city	59.3%	69.8%	61.8%	67.1%	44.4%	64.7%	62.1%	65.4%	62.7%
Quite far from city	27.4%	30.2%	28.1%	17.1%	55.6%	21.2%	23.7%	34.6%	25.9%
In desert	7.4%	0.0%	5.6%	9.2%	0.0%	8.2%	8.1%	0.0%	6.5%
In agri field	2.2%	0.0%	1.7%	3.9%	0.0%	3.5%	2.8%	0.0%	2.3%
Plantation (Palm oil or Rubber garden)	.7%	0.0%	.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	.5%	0.0%	.4%

Others	3.0%	0.0%	2.2%	2.6%	0.0%	2.4%	2.8%	0.0%	2.3%
Total no. of cases	135	43	178	76	9	85	211	52	263

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

4.2 Nature of job

Khan (2018) identified exploitative work atmosphere, undocumented status of workers in destination etc make migrants vulnerable. Table 4.2.1 gives an idea about year round employment status of the migrants. It shows that 79 percent of the male migrants have year round employment. The rest 21 percent do not have employment all round the year. Among them, 13 percent of the male workers have been unemployed for three months and 7 percent did not get work for around 6 months of the year. And one percent did not find any job in the destination. Female domestic workers are employed inside the home. Therefore, they have full employment unless they have to return untimely because of ill treatment by employers, homesickness or ill health of the worker. Kamrul Islam is from Barisal and he is 38 years old. He is an example of joblessness in destination. In his own words, “First, I migrated to Qatar and then to UAE. I had to return from UAE in 2019 after being in jail for 11 months. When I first went to UAE, for the first 6 months I did not get any job. During that time, I led a miserable life. I had to borrow from fellow Bangladeshis to survive. I incurred substantial debt during this time. Even when I finally found a job, my employer did not pay me for first few months”. From the perspective of not having employment, 21 percent male workers are very vulnerable and 2 percent of the female workers are vulnerable.

Table 4.2.1: Status of job by type of returnee and gender

Status of job	New returnee and those came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Worked whole year	76.1%	100.0%	82.0%	82.9%	88.9%	83.5%	78.6%	98.1%	82.5%
No work for 3 months	14.2%	0.0%	10.7%	10.5%	0.0%	9.4%	12.9%	0.0%	10.3%
No work for 6 months	8.2%	0.0%	6.2%	5.3%	11.1%	5.9%	7.1%	1.9%	6.1%
Had no work	.7%	0.0%	.6%	1.3%	0.0%	1.2%	1.0%	0.0%	.8%
Returned within 6 months	.7%	0.0%	.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	.5%	0.0%	.4%
Total no. of cases	134	44	178	76	9	85	210	53	263

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

4.3 Working hours and leisure

Table 4.3.1 gives an idea about hours of work, travel, leisure and weekly holidays enjoyed by the migrants. On an average male migrants work for 11 hours and female migrants work for 13 hour. The average time that a male migrant spends to go to their work place is 21 minutes whereas female migrants spend only 3 minutes in this regard. The average time for travel is very low in case of women because domestic workers are homebound. Only those women who work in manufacturing or work as cleaner spend time in travel to workplace. Leisure time is calculated by deducting working hours, time spent in travel to work, food preparation and consumption, shower and sleeping time from 24 hours. During the whole day male migrants on average get 1 hour 18 minutes as leisure time. Female migrants get less than an hour as leisure time. A decent work condition requires that workers will enjoy holiday at least once a week. The interviewee male migrants on an average enjoyed three days holiday in a month. A section of women enjoyed holiday only once in a month. To female workers, holiday meant going to houses of employer’s relatives. Even there they would have to work.

Table 4.3.1: Working hours and leisure time by type of returnee and gender

Working hours and leisure time		New returnee and those came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Hours of work	Mean	11	13	11	11	11	11	11	13	11
	Total no. of cases	135	44	179	76	9	85	211	53	264
Time to go to working place	Mean	21	2	16	22	6	21	21	3	18
	Total no. of cases	135	44	179	76	9	85	211	53	264
Break during work	Mean	63	60	63	70	83	72	66	64	66
	Total no. of cases	135	44	179	76	9	85	211	53	264
Leisure time	Mean	72	46	66	90	28	83	78	43	71
	Total no. of cases	135	44	179	76	9	85	211	53	264
Monthly holiday	Mean	3	1	2	2	1	2	3	1	2
	Total no. of cases	135	44	179	76	9	85	211	53	264

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

Qualitative data reveals what these migrants do during leisure time. Md. Shentu, who is 32 years old from Barisal says, “I used to spend my leisure time by watching Bangla dramas, movies etc.; I would also make phone calls and talk to my family who were residing in Bangladesh. Sometimes, I would chat with my friends at our

residence. I had quite a few Bangladeshi friends with whom I got along well. Besides, I also had a close Omani friend. During holidays, all of us would go out together. I, had rudimentary understanding of Arabic, so sometimes I would listen to religious discussions and *waj* face to face. After going to Oman, I started praying five times a day”. Jewel Bepari from Barisal went to UAE in 2011. He had Indian, Pakistani and Bangladesh friends. He also passed his leisure time with his friend and used to go out together for walks. Along with this, he spent quite some time in internet chatting. In between work, there was an hour break. In his own words, “During break time, we were allowed to use our mobile. After finishing my lunch quickly, I used to communicate with my family. When I came back to my residence at night, I used to watch Bangladeshi dramas, and Hindi and Bangladeshi movies. Religious speakers would come from India, Bangladesh and Pakistan. I, along with my friends, would go and listen to them. Upon their advice I started praying regularly. Earlier, I did not fast regularly during Ramadan. Now, I do”.

4.4 Living arrangements

Table 4.4.1 shows thirty-four percent of the male migrants live in dormitories that they are entitled to under job contract. Twenty-two percent resides in accommodation provided by the outsourcing companies. Twelve percent have self-organized their housing along with their friends and 10 percent have self-organized their housing with their fellow workers. Ten percent resides in employers’ house and another 8 percent stay on their own. Eighty-five percent of the female migrants stay at the employer’s house and another eight percent reside in dormitories that come with their jobs. This group is constituted by those who are mostly working in cleaning companies, garments and other manufacturing factories. Four percent stays in accommodations provided by outsourcing companies.

Table 4.4.1: Living arrangements by type of returnee and gender

Arrangement	New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Alone	9.6%	0.0%	7.3%	5.3%	0.0%	4.7%	8.1%	0.0%	6.4%
Self organised with fellow workers	11.1%	2.3%	8.9%	7.9%	11.1%	8.2%	10.0%	3.8%	8.7%
Self-organized with friends	12.6%	0.0%	9.5%	11.8%	0.0%	10.6%	12.3%	0.0%	9.8%
At employers house	7.4%	93.2%	28.5%	15.8%	44.4%	18.8%	10.4%	84.9%	25.4%

At dormitory that comes with the job	31.9%	4.5%	25.1%	36.8%	22.2%	35.3%	33.6%	7.5%	28.4%
Accommodation organised by outsourcing companies	25.2%	0.0%	19.0%	15.8%	22.2%	16.5%	21.8%	3.8%	18.2%
Others	2.2%	0.0%	1.7%	6.6%	0.0%	5.9%	3.8%	0.0%	3.0%
Total no. of cases	135	44	179	76	9	85	211	53	264

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

Now let us look into few examples of living arrangements. Minhaj Uddin from Tangail district says, “I went to Saudi Arabia in 2001 and started to work in a grocery shop which was located far away from the city of Jeddah. I did not have work for full time there. Later, I moved to the city and got employed as a cleaner. I had work there over the whole year. My work started at 6 o clock in the morning and finished at 12 o clock in the night. I used to live in a dormitory provided by the company. The company car would take me to work”.

Thirty-two years old Masud Rana migrated to Singapore in 2006. He worked as a labourer in a welding company. He used to cut steel and metal rods and sheets with gas. An outsourcing company employed him and the company organised his accommodation. The place where he lived was a dormitory. There were people from different countries who resided in the dormitory.

4.5 Treatment by local communities

Table 4.5.1 shows perception of migrants about the treatment of members of destination of community towards them. There is a major difference between the responses of male and female migrant in respect to treatment received from destination community. Twenty-three percent of the male migrants strongly agrees that destination community treated them with respect, 15 percent agreed and 14 percent somewhat agrees with statement. Twenty-two percent and another 25 percent of the male migrant strongly disagrees and just disagrees with the statement respectively. In case of female migrants however as high as 23 percent strongly agrees that they were treated with respect by the destination community. Eighteen percent agrees with the statement and 4 percent somewhat agrees. In contrast as high as 54 percent of the female migrants strongly disagree and 2 percent just disagrees that they were treated respectfully by the destination community. This finding is extremely significant. In case of both male and female, at least half the

returnee migrants felt that they are not respected by the local community. This reflects that migrants are treated by half the communities as ‘others’. Origin community would like to recognize migrant’s economic entity, but refuse to respect their social entity.

Shefali Begum (36) who worked as a cleaner says, “I have not been ill-treated by the local community of Saudi Arabia. In fact, question of ill-treatment does not arrive as I hardly communicated with the local people. I only communicated with my co-workers and they treated me well”. Saidur Rahman Sarker (34) went to Malaysia after finishing his HSC degree. He used to work in a workshop of a shipping company. He lived in a mess next to his workshop. He opined that he was treated with respect by the locals as well as his job providers. His educational background may have contributed to different type of job and respect from the employer. He, however, qualified his statement by adding, “They always looked down upon me as a person from a poor country. They provided less remuneration to me compared to migrants of other countries for the same work”. Twenty-seven years old Al Amin began his career as a fisherman in Oman. Later, he migrated to Saudi Arabia and worked in a welding factory. Half of the time, he remained unemployed in Saudi Arabia. He says, “Local people were disrespectful towards me. They considered us as persons from country of *Miskins*. After spending a large sum of money, I had to return within a year”. Mustaq (39) of Cumilla and Saiful (30) of Tangail also expressed of facing similar experiences in Malaysia and UAE respectively.

Table 4.5.1: Treatment by local communities by type of returnee and gender

Treated with respect	New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Strongly agree	23.4%	21.2%	23.0%	22.6%	23.5%	22.8%	23.0%	22.5%	22.9%
Agree	16.4%	18.2%	16.8%	13.1%	17.6%	13.9%	15.0%	17.6%	15.6%
Somewhat agree	12.5%	3.0%	10.6%	16.7%	5.9%	14.9%	14.2%	3.9%	12.2%
Disagree	26.6%	3.0%	21.7%	23.8%	0.0%	19.8%	25.4%	2.0%	21.0%
Strongly disagree	21.1%	54.5%	28.0%	23.8%	52.9%	28.7%	22.4%	53.9%	28.2%
Total no. of cases	128	33	161	84	17	101	212	50	262

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

4.6 Treatment by employers

A large number of both male and female migrants have reservation about treatment they received from their employers. Disrespectful treatment was described by the

migrants in terms of experience of derogatory remarks, physical assault etc. Mohammad Al Amin was not treated well by his employer. He says, “Saudi Arabian employer with whom I interacted seemed to be a fraud. He employed me, but would not pay my salary. My *Kafil* took 500 riyals from me to allow me to work outside. I was treated like a dog by the *Kafil*”. At the age of 35, Faruk Ahmed migrated to UAE for the second time. He worked as a mason with a construction firm. He worked for 12 hours a day and enjoyed one day weekly holiday. He states, "My employer did not treat me bad, but would not pay my salary regularly. After 3 months of work, he would give me salary of just 1 month”. Table 4.6.1 shows that 27 percent of the male migrants strongly agreed that their employers had treated them with respect. Ten percent just agreed and fourteen percent somewhat agreed with the statement. Thirty-one percent again strongly disagreed with the statement that they are treated with respect by the employers. Another 18 percent just disagreed with this statement. Forty-six percent of the female migrants strongly agreed that their employers treated them with respect and 15 percent just agreed to the statement. Twenty-four percent of the female migrants strongly disagreed with it and 16 percent just disagreed on this issue. This table shows that around half of both male and female migrant received ill-treatment or derogatory comments from their employers.

Table 4.6.1: Treatment by employers by type and gender

Treated with respect	New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Strongly agree	28.2%	46.9%	31.5%	25.8%	42.9%	30.1%	27.4%	46.0%	31.1%
Agree	8.1%	15.6%	9.4%	14.5%	14.3%	14.5%	10.1%	14.5%	11.0%
Somewhat agree	13.4%	0.0%	11.0%	14.5%	0.0%	10.8%	13.7%	0.0%	11.0%
Disagree	17.4%	12.5%	16.6%	19.4%	19.0%	19.3%	18.1%	15.7%	17.4%
Strongly disagree	32.9%	25.0%	31.5%	25.8%	23.8%	25.3%	30.7%	23.8%	29.5%
Total no. of cases	149	32	181	62	21	83	211	53	264

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

4.7 Degrading treatment and discrimination

Table 4.7.1 looks into the extent of racial discrimination towards the Bangladeshi migrants. It shows that 71 percent of the male migrants strongly agreed, just agreed or somewhat agreed that they were discriminated with other workers for being Bangladeshi. They also felt that they received less benefit compared to migrants from other countries such as India, Pakistan, Nepal, Yemen and Egypt for being a Bangladeshi. Kamrul Islam worked as a plumber in Dubai for 4 years. He says, "In UAE, Nepalese, Indian and Sri Lankan people got more facilities than us". Keramot Ali migrated to Saudi Arabia in 2013 when he was 26 years old. Currently he is on leave and visiting his family in Bangladesh. In Saudi, he works in a mobile shop. He has to work there for 15 hours every day from 8 am to 11 pm. In his words, "I hardly enjoy any weekly holiday as the market is open seven days a week. There are other employees in the shop. I am paid the least". Twenty-nine percent however did not feel discriminated or looked down upon for being a Bangladeshi.

A majority of the female migrants work inside the house. They have less interaction with the larger community of destination. They only get to meet relatives of their employers. Moreover, scope of comparison with workers of other nationals is also limited as there may not be workers from the other countries in the same house. No wonder as high as 51 percent of the female respondents strongly disagree or disagree that they have been treated badly compared to other nationals by the larger community. Nonetheless, 49 percent strongly agrees, just agrees or somewhat agrees that they received less benefit compared to nationals of other countries. Hawa of Gazipur district went to Saudi Arabia in 2017. Although women should be migrating at a zero cost, she had to pay Tk. 30,000 to migrate. After migration, she joined a Saudi family as a house keeper. The female of the household was not happy with her work. She would not allow Hawa to talk with her husband and children. If anything was not up to her, she would physically assault her. She would also assault her if she communicated with her own family members. After nine months, Hawa could not take it anymore. Hawa's husband got in touch with the *Dalal* and requested him to transfer her to another house. It did not happen and the employer sent her back to Bangladesh. She received only four months' salary while leaving her job.

Table 4.7.1: Degrading treatment and discrimination by type and gender

Degrading treatment and discrimination	New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Strongly agree	41.5%	22.7%	36.9%	42.1%	22.2%	40.0%	41.7%	22.6%	37.9%
Agree	22.2%	15.9%	20.7%	23.7%	33.3%	24.7%	22.7%	18.9%	22.0%
Somewhat agree	5.9%	9.1%	6.7%	6.6%	0.0%	5.9%	6.2%	7.5%	6.4%
Disagree	20.0%	27.3%	21.8%	22.4%	44.4%	24.7%	20.9%	30.2%	22.7%
Strongly disagree	10.4%	25.0%	14.0%	5.3%	0.0%	4.7%	8.5%	20.8%	11.0%
Total no. of cases	135	44	179	76	9	85	211	53	264

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

4.8 Psychological state of migrants

Table 4.8.1 looks at the psychological state of the migrants while working in destination. Seventy-four percent of the male migrants felt that they were perceived by the destination community as people from ‘a country of beggars’. Again percentage of female migrants who have not felt this is much higher. Forty-three percent either strongly disagree or just disagree with the statement. This finding is in contradiction with the one on community. In the question of treatment by the local community towards the migrants, a good number of them did not think that they were treated badly, but when they were asked about the mindset that they experienced of the community members or the employers, they did feel that they were seen as inferiors who came from poorer countries.

Table 4.8.1: Psychological state of migrants by type and gender

Low perception about Bangladeshis	New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Strongly agree	39.3%	29.5%	36.9%	31.6%	22.2%	30.6%	36.5%	28.3%	34.8%
Agree	26.7%	13.6%	23.5%	31.6%	66.7%	35.3%	28.4%	22.6%	27.3%
Somewhat agree	8.1%	6.8%	7.8%	11.8%	0.0%	10.6%	9.5%	5.7%	8.7%
Disagree	16.3%	25.0%	18.4%	18.4%	11.1%	17.6%	17.1%	22.6%	18.2%
Strongly Disagree	9.6%	25.0%	13.4%	6.6%	0.0%	5.9%	8.5%	20.8%	11.0%
Total no. of cases	135	44	179	76	9	85	211	53	264

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

4.9 Loneliness in destination

Table 4.9.1 shows that 35 percent of the male migrants strongly agree that they felt very lonely when they were working abroad. Eighteen percent each, either just agreed or somewhat agreed with the statement. Thirty percent of the male migrants either strongly disagreed or just disagreed with the statement that they felt lonely in destination. Female migrants are lonelier compared to male migrants. Altogether 73 percent of the female migrants either strongly agreed, just agreed or somewhat agreed with the statement that they felt very lonely in destination.

Sekandar Pramanik is from Faridpur district. He is 34 years old. In 2017, he went to Saudi Arabia in order to work as a pipe fitter in a gas plant. Currently, He is on holiday and staying in his village. In his words, "Usually, I feel very homesick in Saudi Arabia. I am a happily married man with two children. My wife is a big part of my life. I miss her a lot. I have developed friendship with my workmates with whom I pass time. Besides, I watch Bangla dramas and movies on YouTube, read news of Bangladesh and all over the world in internet. I also talk with my wife in Messenger. Nonetheless, I always feel lonely". Obaidul Begh (29) went to Malaysia in 2018 at the age of 18. He was unmarried when he first migrated. He states, "Initially I missed my parents a lot. Gradually, I learnt how to cope with the feeling of loneliness. Nonetheless, I felt like rushing back to my village when I heard the news of death in my family".

Table 4.9.1: Loneliness in destination by type of returnee and gender

Loneliness in destination	New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Strongly agree	39.6%	45.5%	41.0%	27.6%	55.6%	30.6%	35.2%	47.2%	37.6%
Agree	16.4%	27.3%	19.1%	19.7%	22.2%	20.0%	17.6%	26.4%	19.4%
Somewhat agree	21.6%	11.4%	19.1%	10.5%	11.1%	10.6%	17.6%	11.3%	16.3%
Disagree	17.9%	6.8%	15.2%	31.6%	11.1%	29.4%	22.9%	7.5%	19.8%
Strongly Disagree	4.5%	9.1%	5.6%	10.5%	0.0%	9.4%	6.7%	7.5%	6.8%
Total no. of cases	134	44	178	76	9	85	210	53	263

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

4.10 Mechanism of coping with loneliness

Table 4.10.1 shows that the migrants from Bangladesh use multiple techniques to cope with the loneliness. Sixty-five percent of the male migrants and 51 percent of the female migrants talk with family and close friends over mobile phone or internet.

The reason behind lesser number of women communicating with family at origin is due to the fact that many of these women are not allowed to keep mobile with them. Some of them are given access by the employers only once a month. One of the techniques used by 88 percent of male migrants to cope with loneliness is by spending time with friends. These friends are mostly Bangladeshi workers residing in the destination. But some of them also made friendship with working and living mates. Only 35 percent of the female migrants spend time with friends. As high as 60 percent of the male migrants listen to Bangla *waj* either in their cell phone or by using internet. Twenty-six percent of the women listen to *waj*. Thirty-four percent of the male migrants also entertain themselves by watching Bangla movies, drama, talk-show, through internet as well as cable TVs. Sixty-six percent of the male migrants also visit places with or without friends. Thirty percent of female migrants also visit places. Those who work in manufacturing have the freedom to move on their own whereas, domestic workers hardly go out on their own. They visit places with their employers. In majority time they mostly visit employer's friend and relatives' houses and market places. A small number of male migrants also watch adult movies and go to places where they can spend time with women.

Table 4.10.1: Coping with loneliness by type of returnee and gender

Coping with loneliness	New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Spending time with friends	85.9%	28.6%	72.3%	92.0%	66.7%	89.3%	88.1%	35.3%	77.8%
Chatting with friends through internet	32.6%	2.4%	25.4%	10.7%	0.0%	9.5%	24.8%	2.0%	20.3%
Talking with family and close friends over mobile phone or video call	69.6%	57.1%	66.7%	56.0%	22.2%	52.4%	64.8%	51.0%	62.1%
Watching Bangla dramas, movies etc. through internet	44.4%	16.7%	37.9%	16.0%	22.2%	16.7%	34.3%	17.6%	31.0%
Listening to <i>Waj</i> of Bangladeshi <i>Alems</i>	69.6%	23.8%	58.8%	41.3%	33.3%	40.5%	59.5%	25.5%	52.9%
Watching adult movies on Internet	3.7%	0.0%	2.8%	2.7%	0.0%	2.4%	3.3%	0.0%	2.7%
Going to places for spending time with women	.7%	0.0%	.6%	1.3%	0.0%	1.2%	1.0%	0.0%	.8%
Travel	66.7%	28.6%	57.6%	64.0%	33.3%	60.7%	65.7%	29.4%	58.6%
Others	8.1%	33.3%	14.1%	13.3%	11.1%	13.1%	10.0%	29.4%	13.8%

Total no. of cases	135	42	177	75	9	84	210	51	261
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Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

4.11 Making new friends in destination

Table 4.11.1 gives an idea about new friends that migrants have made in their countries of destination. It shows that 89 percent of the migrants have made new friends abroad. Naturally rate of making new friends is much higher among male migrants compared to female. As high as 97 percent of the male migrants made new friends. Compared to them only 59 percent of female migrants made new friends.

Table 4.11.1: Making new friends in destination by type and gender

Making new friends	New returnee and those came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Yes	95.6%	54.5%	85.5%	98.7%	77.8%	96.5%	96.7%	58.5%	89.0%
No	4.4%	45.5%	14.5%	1.3%	22.2%	3.5%	3.3%	41.5%	11.0%
No. of cases	135	44	179	76	9	85	211	53	264

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

Female migrants mostly work as domestic aides. They are confined inside the residence of their employers. The employers usually do not allow them to go out. Therefore there is little opportunity to make new friends. As mentioned by Rajia Khatun (39) from Mymensingh “I had to work for long hours. I hardly had any time to talk over phone. I never went out on my own. Therefore, there was no way to make new friends”. Sahida Begum (33) is also from Mymensingh. She mentions, “My employer was always suspicious that some other employer will lure me to work in their house. The lady of the house did not even allow me to talk to next door neighbours”.

Both male and female migrants mentioned four places as well as online where they have been introduced with new persons and made friendship with them. These include workplace, residence, market place, mosque and other religious institutions and social media as well. Table 4.11.2 gives separate response for each place. The table shows the places where migrants have made friends. Both men and women made new friend in multiple places. Among the four places used online avenues are the lowest for the both men and women. Only 16 percent of the male migrants made friend in online media. In case of women it only 4 percent. Highest number (88%) of male migrants made friend in the workplace. Only 11 percent of the female migrants

made new friends at the workplace. Forty-eight percent of women made new friends in the residence where they work. These are mostly other domestic workers either from Bangladesh or from other sending countries. Those who are working in the garments or cleaners have made new friends at the workplace.

Seventy-three percent of the male migrants also made friends in residence where they lived. New friends were made also in market places, mosques and other religious institutions. This is mostly true in case of male migrants. However, a small group of women migrants also made friends in market place and mosques.

Table 4.11.2: Places where new friends are made by type and gender

New friend	New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
Workplace									
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Yes	85.9%	4.5%	65.9%	92.1%	44.4%	87.1%	88.2%	11.3%	72.7%
No	14.1%	95.5%	34.1%	7.9%	55.6%	12.9%	11.8%	88.7%	27.3%
no. of cases	135	43	178	76	9	85	211	52	263
Residence									
Yes	75.4%	40.9%	66.9%	74.7%	77.8%	75.0%	75.1%	47.2%	69.5%
No	24.6%	59.1%	33.1%	25.3%	22.2%	25.0%	24.9%	52.8%	30.5%
no. of cases	134	44	178	75	9	84	209	53	262
Market Place									
Yes	44.8%	20.5%	38.8%	50.0%	0.0%	44.6%	46.6%	17.0%	40.6%
No	55.2%	79.5%	61.2%	50.0%	100.0%	55.4%	53.4%	83.0%	59.4%
no. of cases	134	44	178	74	9	83	208	53	261
Mosque and other religious institutions									
Yes	44.8%	9.1%	36.0%	52.0%	0.0%	46.4%	47.4%	7.5%	39.3%
No	55.2%	90.9%	64.0%	48.0%	100.0%	53.6%	52.6%	92.5%	60.7%
o. of cases	134	44	178	75	9	84	209	53	262
Online									
Yes	21.6%	4.5%	17.4%	5.3%	0.0%	4.8%	15.8%	3.8%	13.4%
No	78.4%	95.5%	82.6%	94.7%	100.0%	95.2%	84.2%	96.2%	86.6%
no. of cases	134	44	178	75	9	84	209	53	262

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

4.12 Connection with acquaints of destination upon return

Table 4.12.1 deals with return migrants' current level of connection with acquaints made in destination. It shows that 40 percent of the male migrants strongly agree and 49 percent of them just agree with statement that they still maintain connection with friends made in the country of destination. The percentage of disagreement with statement is much higher in case of female migrants. Altogether 36 percent of the female migrants strongly disagree or disagree to the statement. These acquaints are mostly Bangladeshis. A few of them made friends with migrants of other countries. They rarely had friendship with local people of the destination countries. Md. Syed Ahmed came to Bangladesh on holidays. He is 33 years old. In 2007, he migrated to Oman. He is still working there. He has lots of friends in destination. They are from Egypt, Sudan, India, Pakistan as well as Bangladesh. He says, "Every now and then, I communicate with them over WhatsApp and IMO from here".

Jahanara is from Faridpur. She did not attend school. She can only sign her name. In 2005 she went to Lebanon, then to UAE. Finally after a stint there she moved back to Lebanon where she worked as a domestic worker and cook's help in a hotel. She had Iraqi, Sudani and Lebanese friends. She returned to Bangladesh 2 years ago. In her words, "My brother from Iraq is still working in Lebanon. One incident brought us closer. Once, I fell down from stair case and had to be treated. I had to remain in hospital for a few days. This Iraqi brother not only looked after me, he also paid for my treatment. I am still connected with him. We talk on IMO, WhatsApp and Viber once in a while. We discuss many things. Among other things, he always asks me to pray regularly".

Table 4.12.1: Connection with acquaints of destination upon return by type and gender

Connection	New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Strongly agree	42.2%	27.3%	38.5%	35.5%	33.3%	35.3%	39.8%	28.3%	37.5%
Agree	45.2%	20.5%	39.1%	55.3%	44.4%	54.1%	48.8%	24.5%	43.9%
Somewhat agree	7.4%	13.6%	8.9%	5.3%	0.0%	4.7%	6.6%	11.3%	7.6%
Disagree	4.4%	22.7%	8.9%	3.9%	11.1%	4.7%	4.3%	20.8%	7.6%
Strongly disagree	.7%	15.9%	4.5%	0.0%	11.1%	1.2%	.5%	15.1%	3.4%
Total	135	44	179	76	9	85	211	53	264

4.13 Issues that trigger sadness

Table 4.13.1 attempts to find out the sources that would ignite sadness among the migrants when they are in destination. Seventy-three percent of the male migrants and 83 percent of the female migrants missed their family members while they were working abroad. Fourteen percent of the male migrants and 45 percent of the female migrants felt sad when they were unable to communicate with their families. Compared to male migrants' inability to communicate is much higher in case of female migrants. Rajia mentioned that her employer did not allow her to keep mobile phone. Instead they allowed her to talk with her family for 10 minutes once a month. She said, "My mother-in-law passed away when I was in Oman. I wanted to talk with my family, but my employer did not even allow me to ring them. For a long time, I was so depressed". Thirty-four percent of the male migrants and 26 percent of the female migrants experienced death in immediate or extended families. They felt hopeless as there was no way of saying final goodbye to that person. As high as 20 percent of the male migrants have experienced death of a Bangladeshi migrant when they were staying abroad. This shocked them.

Table 4.13.1: Issues that trigger stress and feeling of helplessness by type and gender

Issues	New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Missing family members	71.1%	81.8%	73.7%	76.0%	88.9%	77.4%	72.9%	83.0%	74.9%
Unable to communicate with family members	16.3%	45.5%	23.5%	9.3%	44.4%	13.1%	13.8%	45.3%	20.2%
Death of any members of the family	33.3%	27.3%	31.8%	36.0%	22.2%	34.5%	34.3%	26.4%	32.7%
Untimely death of a migrant in their destination	18.5%	9.1%	16.2%	22.7%	0.0%	20.2%	20.0%	7.5%	17.5%
Oppression on Muslims around the world	34.1%	18.2%	30.2%	45.3%	22.2%	42.9%	38.1%	18.9%	34.2%
Feeling helpless during unjust treatment or physical assault	31.1%	22.7%	29.1%	26.7%	0.0%	23.8%	29.5%	18.9%	27.4%

at work place									
Feeling helpless during unjust treatment or physical assault at living/other places	6.7%	2.3%	5.6%	6.7%	0.0%	6.0%	6.7%	1.9%	5.7%
Others	9.6%	15.9%	11.2%	9.3%	0.0%	8.3%	9.5%	13.2%	10.3%
Total no. of cases	135	44	179	75	9	84	210	53	263

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

Compared to males, less number of female migrants has heard about untimely death of Bangladeshi workers (7%). Md. Ripon migrated to Bahrain at the age of 26. He describes his sadness by saying, "My father died while I was abroad. I could not see his face for the last time. Even today when I think of it, I feel sad". Mustaq from Cumilla says, "I lost my mother while I was in Malaysia. It hurt me a lot". He describes to another incident of death of his close friend in Malaysia. Thirty percent of the male migrants and 19 percent of the female migrants felt helpless during unjust treatment or physical assault at workplace whereas 7 percent of the male migrants also felt helpless when they experienced unjust treatment and physical assault at the living places, market places or, while traveling. Only 2 percent female mention experience of such situation. When Rajia's employer went out, they would lock her inside the kitchen. She told, "I was so afraid that I will be caught in the fire and will not be able to go out".

Feeling of oppression on Muslims around the world is common point that unites the labour migrant and their employers who are Muslims. While working abroad, as high as 38 percent of the male migrants used to get upset when they heard something of that sort. Nineteen percent of the female workers also felt stressed when they heard similar news. In case of female migrants, in many instances, their employers shared that news with them.

This issue was further probed by dividing the migrant community into those who lived in the cities and those who lived in distant areas. It was found that 29 percent of those who stayed in the cities felt strongly about oppression against Muslim brothers. Thirty-nine percent of those who stayed in distant or far away areas felt strongly when they received information on such oppression. (Annex II, table 4.13.2)

More than half of the migrant workers went through different types of stressful situations in the countries of destination. These are accidents, police harassment,

cheating and extortion, health problems, untimely return, gang fight, non-payment of salary, inadequate food, snatching at road as well as residence, physical assault and verbal abuse. As high as one-tenth of the respondents faced different types of accident. Accidents include road accident, accident in workplace (heat stroke, nose bleeding while working, snake bite, desert scorpion attack, kicked by camel and *dumba* in desert, falling from stair case), death of fellow workers and roommates etc. Riaz from Chittagong remembers with great fear how rod got stuck inside his hand when he was working at a construction site. Alim from Gazipur suffered a heat stroke when he was working in vegetable garden. Alamin Sikdar (24) was working as an electrician in Malaysia. He fell down from a ladder while working and broke his leg. He was hospitalized for seven months. The company for which he worked did not have any health insurance in his name. Therefore, he faced hard times in bearing the cost of the treatment. For months, Rahman could not sleep when a few of his friends died in a fatal road accident. The lorry which used to take his friends to work met with a fatal road accident where everyone died. Sixteen of the interviewee migrants experienced arrest, harassment and torture of police. While working in unprotected situation, injuries and health hazards were reported by some. Kashem's finger got permanently damaged for carrying heavy stuff for a long time. Female migrants showed their infected palms that were the result of handling soaps, spices and washing things with bare hand.

One-fifth of the interviewee migrants were cheated either by persons of other countries or by fellow Bangladeshis. One-tenth of the migrants faced extortion. Half the migrants reported that they had experienced misbehavior, physical assault and verbal abuse from their employers. Akhtaruzzaman Mistry (69) is from Chittagong. He stayed abroad for 27 years. He had experienced working under multiple employers. At one stage, he used to work under an outsourcing company. He worked as a cleaner of water tanks. He faced problem with payment and talked loudly with the outsourcing company. Persons in charge of the outsourcing company handed him over to police station. One-third of the interviewee migrants complained about not getting adequate food. Complaints about food came more from the female migrants. One-tenth of the migrants experienced snatching of money, mobile and other stuffs from the road as well as from the dormitory. Nurul Islam Bepari (35) was working as a mason in Maldives. Once, his month's salary was snatched while he

was relaxing in a park. Five workers experienced untimely return by the employer. One of the migrant had to return untimely as war broke down in Libya. Two reported that they experienced gang fight in the area where they stayed.

Chapter conclusion

This chapter provides an opportunity to understand work and living related vulnerabilities of Bangladeshi short term international male and female migrants. Almost 40 percent of the workers are employed in distant areas where they are isolated from larger Bangladeshi migrant community. These groups of workers could be more vulnerable compared to those who work in the city. In case of women however, close proximity to city may not indicate less isolation as women domestic worker are hardly allowed to mix with others. However, women working in the manufacturing sector are less isolated. Leisure time is minimal in case of both male and female migrants. The male migrants on an average enjoyed 1 hour 20 minutes as leisure time and it is even less than an hour for female migrants. Holidays were also less than prescribed in any labour standard. On an average, male migrants enjoyed three days holiday in a month whereas female enjoyed holiday/relaxed time only once in a month. The living arrangement of male and female were also diverse. For 34 percent of the male migrants space in dormitory was provided by the employers. Twenty-four percent of the male migrants had organized their living on their own either with friends, fellow workers or alone. Eighty-five percent of the female migrants resided at the employer's house and 8 percent stayed in dormitory. Interestingly 4 percent of the female workers had organised their stay on their own with fellow workers.

Around half of both male and female migrants perceived that they were not treated with respect by the local community. Again half of the male and female migrants experienced ill treatment by their employers. Seventy-one percent of male migrants and 49 percent of the female felt discriminated by their employers in comparison to other workers. Two-thirds of the male migrants and less than half the female migrants opined that their employers had low esteem about their origin country i.e. Bangladesh. In the life as a migrant, there were many elements to trigger sadness, ranging from death in the family to sickness of left-behind children. However, migrants' experiences demonstrate that they hardly received sympathy and compassion from the employers during such events.

Other vulnerabilities reported by the migrants include accidents in workplace, losing money and valuables in the markets as well as at residences to hooligans. Thirty-eight percent of the male migrants and 19 percent of the female migrants felt strongly when they heard or saw news or videos of unjust treatment or oppression of Muslims of other countries.

Chapter V

Use of cell phone and Social Media

This chapter probes into the extent of use of cell phone and social media by the international labour migrants. It begins with information on access of migrants to cell phones and examines the purpose of using cell phones. The chapter then explores the types of social media accessed by the migrants. It also attempts to find out the purpose of the use of social media. The last section attempts to gauge the level of digital literacy of the migrants. In other words, it tries to have an idea about the level of knowledge of migrant's on safe internet use.

5.1 Possession of cell phone

Table 5.1.1 shows that 88 percent of the male and female migrants possessed mobile phone while they were in destination. The access to mobile phone is however gendered. Ninety-eight percent of the male migrants had access to mobile phones whereas only 52 percent of female migrants owned such phones. Compared to those who have returned three years ago, the recent returnees had higher access. Forty-four percent of the females who returned three or more years ago had mobile access whereas 54 percent of the recent returnee women had such access.

Table 5.1.1: Possession of cell phone by type of returnee and gender

Possessed cell phone	New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Yes	98.2%	53.5%	85.7%	97.4%	44.4%	91.8%	97.9%	51.9%	87.9%
No	1.8%	46.5%	14.3%	2.6%	55.6%	8.2%	2.1%	48.1%	12.1%
Total no. of cases	111	43	154	76	9	85	187	52	239

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

5.2 Purposes for which cell phone is used

Table 5.2.1 gives an idea about the purpose for which the male and female migrants use cell phone. The cell phone is predominantly used for communicating with immediate and extended families who are residing in Bangladesh. Sixty-five percent of the male and 35 percent of the female migrants use cell phones to access

internet. Along with communication with family, entertainment is an important area of use. They also used cell phones for securing information on Bangladesh as well as fulfilling their spiritual needs. They discuss all types of issues with their family and friends back home. Ninety-eight percent of the male migrants who use cell phones talk about education of children and siblings and get updated on health condition of family members particularly of the elderly. Marriage in the family is another important topic for discussion. Eighty-six percent use mobile for providing guidance to family members in respect to financial matters such as cultivation of crop, running of business enterprises and day-to-day use of remittance in household expenditure. Forty-three percent used cell phone to express love and affection to their family members. Forty-seven percent use mobile for providing and receiving mental support during hard times in the family and in the life of the migrants in destination. Women also use cell phone for similar purposes.

Only an insignificant number use cell phones for activities such as online purchase, online banking, online remittance transfer etc. However they do use mobile phones for informing the family when they send remittances. It is through cell phone that they send the code number through which the family approaches bank for receiving remittance. Only one of them used cell phone for sending money to support religious activity in Bangladesh. None of them ever used cell phone to provide subscription fees to any political party or other organized groups of another country.

Table 5.2.1 Purposes of use of cell phone/social media by type and gender

Purpose		New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Family issue	Education, treatment and marriage	97.5%	100.0%	98.1%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	98.4%	100.0%	98.7%
	Economic (Income, expenditure and business)	82.6%	91.4%	84.6%	91.5%	100.0%	92.2%	85.9%	92.7%	87.1%
	Emotional need (Expressing love and affection)	41.3%	42.9%	41.7%	47.9%	66.7%	49.4%	43.8%	46.3%	44.2%
	Counseling during stressful time	43.0%	42.9%	42.9%	53.5%	50.0%	53.2%	46.9%	43.9%	46.4%
	Others	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%	0.0%	1.3%	.5%	0.0%	.4%
	Total no. of cases	121	35	156	71	6	77	192	41	233
Type of work	Online purchase	27.3%	100.0%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	25.0%	100.0%	30.8%
	Online banking	81.8%	100.0%	83.3%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	83.3%	100.0%	84.6%
	Sending remittance	36.4%	100.0%	41.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	100.0%	38.5%

	Total no. of cases	11	1	12	1	0	1	12	1	13
Entertainment	Listening to song	77.8%	0.0%	70.0%	50.0%	100.0%	60.0%	69.2%	50.0%	66.7%
	Watching Bangla/Hindi drama, movie	55.6%	0.0%	50.0%	25.0%	100.0%	40.0%	46.2%	50.0%	46.7%
	Chatting with Bangladeshi friends abroad	11.1%	0.0%	10.0%	50.0%	0.0%	40.0%	23.1%	0.0%	20.0%
	Watching adult video	11.1%	0.0%	10.0%	25.0%	0.0%	20.0%	15.4%	0.0%	13.3%
	Others	11.1%	100.0%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	7.7%	50.0%	13.3%
	Total no. of cases	9	1	10	4	1	5	13	2	15
Sharing information	Listening to Bangladeshi news	42.9%	0.0%	42.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	37.5%	0.0%	37.5%
	Listening to world news	14.3%	0.0%	14.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	12.5%	0.0%	12.5%
	Others	57.1%	0.0%	57.1%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	62.5%	0.0%	62.5%
	Total no. of cases	9	0	7	1	0	1	8	0	8
Religious need	Listening to <i>Waj</i>	95.8%	80.0%	93.1%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	96.7%	80.0%	94.3%
	Watching various religious programme	12.5%	20.0%	13.8%	16.7%	0.0%	16.7%	13.3%	20.0%	14.3%
	Others	8.3%	20.0%	10.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	6.7%	20.0%	8.6%
	Total no. of cases	24	5	29	6	0	6	30	5	35

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

5.3 Use of internet and social media

Table 5.3.1 indicates the level of use of social media by the migrants before they migrated. Only 11 percent of the male migrants and 4 percent of the female migrants had exposure to social media before they migrated. Interestingly, after their migration 55 percent of the male migrants and 30 percent of the female migrants started using social media. This means migration enhances the propensity of using social media by 44 percent of male migrants and 28 percent of female migrants. This also means that use of social media increased 400 times for male and 650 times for female migrants.

Delowar (42) went to Saudi Arabia when he was only 20 years old. He stayed there for 20 years and returned a couple of years ago. In Delowar's own words, "Mobile was not available when I migrated and hence, I did not use mobile just after going to Saudi Arabia. After mobile became common, I bought a sim from a Philippine shop of mobiles. They installed IMO, WhatsApp and Messenger in my mobile and showed me how to use those. There was no wifi where I lived. I could use 10 GB data for 3 months by buying a card of 120/130 riyals. Besides, I worked in the emergency department of my office. The company loaded 200 riyals per month in the office's

mobile. I could use that mobile too to talk to my family. Although I had a SSC degree, due to my age I could not utilize all the options available in the mobile. I just used how much I needed to survive. I missed my family a lot. Earlier, I had to communicate with my family through phone booth. Once, I became acquainted with mobile and internet, I could talk to my family whenever I missed them”.

An important question would be to see if such use of internet and social media is maintained by the returnee migrants as well as those who came on holidays. The same table shows that 43 percent of the male migrants and 23 percent of the female migrants continued to use social media after they came to Bangladesh.

Table 5.3.1: Use of social media before, during and after migration by type and gender

Use of social media		New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Before migration	Yes	15.0%	2.3%	11.9%	2.6%	11.1%	3.5%	10.5%	3.8%	9.2%
	No	85.0%	97.7%	88.1%	97.4%	88.9%	96.5%	89.5%	96.2%	90.8%
	Total no. of cases	133	44	177	76	9	85	209	53	262
During migration	Yes	74.4%	34.1%	64.4%	19.7%	11.1%	18.8%	54.5%	30.2%	49.6%
	No	25.6%	65.9%	35.6%	80.3%	88.9%	81.2%	45.5%	69.8%	50.4%
	Total no. of cases	133	44	177	76	9	85	209	53	262
After return	Yes	53.1%	25.6%	46.2%	26.7%	11.1%	25.0%	43.3%	23.1%	39.2%
	No	46.9%	74.4%	53.8%	73.3%	88.9%	75.0%	56.7%	76.9%	60.8%
	Total no. of cases	128	43	171	75	9	84	203	52	255

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

Thirty-four years old Kamrul Islam from South Nathoi of Barisal had no interest of using social media before going to Qatar. He states “My elder brother helped me to sign up a Facebook account while I was in my country. After going abroad, I purchased a smart phone and started using Facebook and IMO. I had learnt to use social media on my own. In my living place, there was free internet wifi hotspot. Using that, I used to talk with my family over IMO”.

Md. Ripon who is aged 46 is from Gaginda village of Manikganj. He migrated to Bahrain in 1999 when he was 26 years old. According to him, mobile was a costly device at that time. Before migration, he did not use mobile phone let alone internet. While being abroad, he would not talk to his family regularly due to high call rate of phone. Ripon says “After going to Bahrain, I did not have any mobile phone for many

days. Later, I purchased a smart mobile device when those became popular. With the help of my roommates and fellow workers I installed social media apps like IMO, Viber and Facebook in my handset. I could talk at low cost whenever I wished. I could watch my family members through video calling". Ripon also informs that he faced some difficulties while learning internet and social media. His roommates and fellow workers would not give time to teach him on it.

"While I was in my home country, I did not have any smart phone. That's why, I did not have any access to social media" says Masud Rand (32) from Khilgati village of Tangail. He went Singapore when he was 19 years old. He could not use any social media like Facebook, IMO, Viber etc. With the help of his fellow workers and friends from his native village, he learnt how to use social media apps. "I could easily communicate with my left behind family members through IMO and WhatsApp. After returning from the work at night, I used Messenger to call my family members in the home" Masud Rana stated.

Shirajul Islam (39) and Masud Rana are from the same village. Shirajul migrated to Singapore in 1996 and later to UAE. He stated that mobile phone was not available at that time. According to him "I didn't hear about social media before migration. In UAE, I worked in a mobile company named Etisalat. Just after migration, I used to buy recharge card to call my family which was costly. Later, I learnt how to make phone calls using internet from my company".

Md. Al Amin is 27 years old. He is from Cumilla. He states that he has learnt using internet from his elder brother. "My elder brother runs a mobile shop which has internet facilities. Before going abroad, I learnt internet with the help of my brother. After going to Oman, it was easy to use internet and social media to communicate with my family members". Al Amin mentioned.

Mustaq from the same district did not use internet before migration. He says, "I learnt of using internet from a Malaysian female colleague named Wailing. She studied in Australia and knew how to use computer and internet. She helped me to learn using the devices with internet. I purchased two mobiles- one for myself and another for my family. I used to talk with my family daily through internet. It helped me to communicate with my family in low cost".

The cases of female are different from male. Before migration, only 2 percent used internet or smart phone. Shafali Begum (36) is from Gazipur. She went to Saudi Arabia in 2000. She informed that mobile was not a regular thing at that time. She

used to talk with her family from telecom shop. According to her, she still does not know how to use internet and social media.

Thirty-four years old Hisbul Bahar had a regular mobile phone before migration. He stated that “I did not have any smart phone while I was in Bangladesh; that was why I could not use internet. After migration, my nephew who went to Bahrain before me taught me how to use internet”. Bahar mentioned that he spent 1 hour daily using social media. Previously, he used to talk with his family spending a large amount of money. Use of internet had reduced his phone cost.

Delowar is 42 years old. He is from Tangail district. He did not use mobile phone just after going abroad as mobile was not available when he migrated. Later, he purchased a phone and installed social media apps like IMO, WhatsApp, Messenger etc. He informed that mobile seller helped him to learn using social media. He states, “I only used social media to communicate with my left behind family members in home country”.

When we differentiate the interviews among those who live in the city and those who live in distant or remote areas, for example in deserts, plantations, interesting issues emerge. Table 5.3.2 shows that 55 percent of those who live in the city use social media, whereas only 44 percent of those who live in distant areas use social media. This is perhaps due to accessibility. Those who live in the city have accessed to different forms of social media packages. The findings do not support the hypothesis that those who are isolated they use social media more. In case of migrant community the reality is different. In their cases, isolation also means lesser access to social media.

Table 5.3.2: Isolated from larger community and the extent of using social media

Use of social media	In City	Far from City	Total
Yes	54.5%	43.9%	50.6%
No	45.5%	56.1%	49.4%
Total no. of cases	165	98	263

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

Table 5.3.3 shows that among different types of social media IMO is the most popular one (42%). This is followed by YouTube (29%), Facebook (27%) and Messenger (13%), internet browsing in mobile, tablet or laptop (12%), WhatsApp (9%). The use of other media is very low, only a handful of them use Viber (2%). Except IMO the use of social media is very much gendered. A majority of the social

media users are male. In case of IMO however the difference between male and female users is not too big. Forty-four percent of the male migrants use IMO whereas 34 percent of the females use IMO.

Another interesting finding is that compared to those who returned three years ago, the recent returnees use social media more. This is equally true for both male and female migrants. First let us compare the information on recent male migrants with those who have migrated three years ago. It shows 60 percent of the new male migrants use IMO whereas 16 percent of those who migrated three years ago used IMO when they were abroad. Forty-five percent of the new male migrants use YouTube while only 12 percent of the earlier migrants used YouTube. Forty-two percent new migrants have been using Facebook whereas only 8 percent of the earlier migrants used the same. Use of Messenger is more than triple among the new male migrants (21%) compared to the earlier migrants (7%). Only 4% percent of the older male migrants used Whatsapp whereas 13 percent of the new male migrants use Whatsapp. Among the older male migrants 12 percent browsed the internet. In contrast, 17 percent of the new returnee male migrants browse the internet.

Now let us look at the gender difference among new returnee migrants. Forty-five percent of the new migrants use YouTube, for female migrant the user rate is 14 percent. Forty-two percent of the male new migrants use Facebook. In case of new female migrants the user rate is 14 percent. Only 2 percent of the new female migrants use messenger whereas 21 percent of the new male migrants use so. Five percent of the female migrants use WhatsApp, but 13 percent of the new male migrants are using that. There is not a single internet browser among the new female migrants. Vis-à-vis that 17 percent of the new male migrants is exposed to internet browsing. Among the females the highest percentage of use IMO as social media (34%) yet it is only half when it is compared with new male migrants (60%). Another interesting finding is that among the older migrants only 15 percent male and 33 percent women use IMO.

Table 5.3.3: Apps used by migrant by type and gender

Use of social media	New returnee and those came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Cell phone	89.6%	79.5%	87.2%	93.4%	66.7%	90.6%	91.0%	77.4%	88.3%

IMO	60.0%	34.1%	53.6%	15.8%	33.3%	17.6%	44.1%	34.0%	42.0%
Viber	3.7%	0.0%	2.8%	1.3%	0.0%	1.2%	2.8%	0.0%	2.3%
WhatsApp	13.3%	4.5%	11.2%	3.9%	0.0%	3.5%	10.0%	3.8%	8.7%
Messenger	20.7%	2.3%	16.2%	6.6%	11.1%	7.1%	15.6%	3.8%	13.3%
Facebook	42.2%	13.6%	35.2%	7.9%	11.1%	8.2%	29.9%	13.2%	26.5%
YouTube	45.2%	13.6%	37.4%	11.8%	0.0%	10.6%	33.2%	11.3%	28.8%
Internet browsing mobile/tab/laptop	17.0%	0.0%	12.8%	11.8%	0.0%	10.6%	15.2%	0.0%	12.1%
Total no. of cases	135	44	179	76	9	85	211	53	264

Table 5.3.4 further analyses if the use of social media is higher in case of those who possess higher educational background. It shows that the level of use of cell phone is similar among those who have SSC and above degrees and those who do not. Use of IMO is higher among the educated ones. Sixty-seven percent of the first group uses IMO whereas 41 percent of the less educated ones use IMO. Use of WhatsApp is three times higher in case of educated ones and use of messenger is 30 percent higher in case of more educated group. Fifty-three percent of the more educated ones use Facebook whereas 24 percent of the less educated ones use the same. Similarly, 47 percent of the more educated ones use Facebook and 24 percent of the less educated ones do so. Twenty percent of the more educated one browse internet. In case of less educated ones it is eleven percent. (Annex II, Table 5.3.4)

Why IMO?

The user friendliness of IMO is the reason behind its popularity as a social media. It is easily available throughout Bangladesh. Communicating with the family is the main purpose of using IMO. Both male and female migrants use IMO to fulfill their emotional needs to remain connected with their families. IMO connects the migrants with their family members visually. The migrants discuss all types of family matters ranging from education and health of members of households to social occasions of the extended family. Again migrants also advise family members on households' management of finance. A section of migrants used IMO for entertainment as well as for sharing information and group message. Females on the other hand have not used IMO for entertainment or sharing information and group message. Both male and female hardly used IMO for fulfilling spiritual or religious needs.

5.4 Time spent in social media

Table 5.4.1 describes the time spent on social media by those who use them. It shows that on average male returnees used to spend almost 1.5 hours in social media. Female respondents spent a little more than half an hour in social media. Time spent in social media by the returnees has reduced once they came back to Bangladesh.

Table 5.4.1: Spending time in social media by type and gender (by minutes)

Time spent		New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Before migration	Mean	106	30	103	90	60	80	105	45	100
	Maximum	240	30	240	120	60	120	240	60	240
	Minimum	10	30	10	60	60	60	10	30	10
	Total no. cases	20	1	21	2	1	3	22	2	24
During migration	Mean	89	65	86	66	120	69	86	69	84
	Maximum	240	180	240	180	120	180	240	180	240
	Minimum	10	6	6	10	120	10	10	6	6
	Total no. cases	101	15	116	16	1	17	117	16	133
After return	Mean	86	35	78	73	120	76	83	42	78
	Maximum	300	60	300	300	120	300	300	120	300
	Minimum	10	10	10	10	120	10	10	10	10
	Total no. cases	70	12	82	19	1	20	89	13	102

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

Mustaq (39) migrated to Malaysia in 2007. He stayed there for 11 years and returned to Bangladesh in 2018. He worked in a furniture factory. After some years, he became a supervisor. He states, "I hardly knew anything about internet when I first migrated. A colleague taught me how to use internet. I used internet for official use as well as for personal use. From office, I used internet for official works. For personal reasons, I would use internet after coming back to my residence. If I combine official work and personal use, then every day I was at social media for 3 hours".

Md. Nazrul Islam from Barisal is 37 years old. He went to Singapore in 2013. He did not use mobile while he was in Bangladesh. After migration, he learnt how to use internet and social media. In his own words, "I had to learn of using social media as my job required me to use WhatsApp and send pictures to my supervisor

continuously. Therefore, I was in social media all the time. I used to finish my job at 10 o'clock. After that, I had hardly any time to spend on social media. I used to quickly connect with my family during duty period at times when work was not that heavy. Hence, there was no specific time for me to use social media".

Obaidul Begh (29) of Faridpur is a good example. He went to Malaysia when he was only 18 years old and came back to Bangladesh in 2018. In Malaysia, he was working in a printing press. Every day he used to work for 11 hours. He learnt to use internet in Malaysia. In his own words, "By using IMO and WhatsApp, I mostly remained connected with my family. I also used to chat with my friends and acquaintances in Malaysia. I used YouTube a lot to watch Bangladeshi movies and dramas. Every day I would spend at least 30 minutes in social media. I did not hear about any extremist group connecting with my fellow workers who would return soon to Bangladesh after finishing their contract. However, I had received videos of extremist groups in IMO and YouTube. Usually, I put like in such posts and also shared them with my friends. Sometimes, I made comment on them too".

5.5 Level of digital literacy and internet knowledge

This section is not about understanding what the migrants have done as well as when and if they received extremist propaganda on the internet. In fact it pursued to understand the level of knowledge of the migrant community on internet and social media use. Initially the question was framed to assess the migrants' reaction and responses when they came across extremist messages. The response secured was they were never in receipt of any such messages. The whole section of the questionnaire was becoming redundant. Under such circumstances the research team decided to transform the question into hypothetical situation. Accordingly, the questions were raised in hypothetical situation. They were asked if they came across any such extremist propaganda how would they react and what would they have done in their mobile or other social media. Table 5.5.1 shows that 66 percent of the respondents said they are not acquainted with internet browsing therefore this question was not applicable to them. Another 6.4 percent stated that they would not have accessed such sites. Twelve percent stated that they would read the message but would not do anything. Eleven percent stated that if they liked the message they would put a 'like' on it and eight percent stated they would write comment on the

page. Nine percent said if they found the messages worthy then they would share those.

Table 5.5.1: Reaction and responses when migrant received any message that highlights oppression on Muslims

Reaction and response	New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Do not visit	6.7%	4.5%	6.1%	7.9%	0.0%	7.1%	7.1%	3.8%	6.4%
Visit, observe but do not do anything	18.5%	4.5%	15.1%	5.3%	0.0%	4.7%	13.7%	3.8%	11.7%
Put a like	14.8%	6.8%	12.8%	5.3%	11.1%	5.9%	11.4%	7.5%	10.6%
Write comment	13.3%	0.0%	10.1%	1.3%	11.1%	2.4%	9.0%	1.9%	7.6%
Share with friends	13.3%	4.5%	11.2%	3.9%	0.0%	3.5%	10.0%	3.8%	8.7%
Others	3.7%	2.3%	3.4%	5.3%	0.0%	4.7%	4.3%	1.9%	3.8%
Not applicable	54.1%	79.5%	60.3%	77.6%	88.9%	78.8%	62.6%	81.1%	66.3%
Total no. of cases	135	44	179	76	9	85	211	53	264

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

The next issue that was raised with the migrants when a message reaches them through the internet whether they would be able to detect the news is false or genuine. Table 5.5.2 indicates that 151 (57 % of total migrant) migrants responded to this question. 124 (59% of total male) are male and 27 (51% of total female) are female. Sixteen percent strongly agree that they would be able to identify false propaganda. Another 23 percent just agreed and 21 percent somewhat agreed. Almost 40 percent opined that they would not be able to detect such false news from the genuine one.

Md. Sharif (26) candidly stated that “I would say it is near to impossible to detect which news shared in internet is false and which is genuine. Therefore, one should not believe anything if he/she received it through social media. They should only trust news which is telecasted on TV or published in newspaper”. Abdur Rahman (40) of Sunamganj, however, was quite confident and felt that he could separate between false and genuine news. Before sharing anything, he would verify the validity with his friends.

Table 5.5.2: Ability to detect fake and genuine message by type and gender

Ability	New returnee and those who came on holiday	Old returnee	Total
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	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Strongly agree	19.4%	8.3%	17.2%	11.5%	33.3%	13.8%	17.7%	11.1%	16.6%
Agree	27.6%	4.2%	23.0%	26.9%	0.0%	24.1%	27.4%	3.7%	23.2%
Somewhat agree	21.4%	25.0%	22.1%	19.2%	0.0%	17.2%	21.0%	22.2%	21.2%
Disagree	20.4%	8.3%	18.0%	7.7%	0.0%	6.9%	17.7%	7.4%	15.9%
Strongly disagree	11.2%	54.2%	19.7%	34.6%	66.7%	37.9%	16.1%	55.6%	23.2%
Total no. of cases	98	24	122	26	3	29	124	27	151

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

Migrants were inquired if they verify the authenticity of the information provided in Facebook before sharing that news with others. Table 5.5.3 shows 49 percent have responded to this query. Fifty-nine percent opined that they would verify the news before sharing it. Forty-one percent however do not verify the news.

Table 5.5.3: Verify the news before sharing it by type and gender

Verify	New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Yes	65.5%	16.7%	59.6%	52.4%	100.0%	54.5%	63.0%	23.1%	58.7%
No	34.5%	83.3%	40.4%	47.6%	0.0%	45.5%	37.0%	76.9%	41.3%
Total no. of cases	87	12	99	21	1	22	108	13	121

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

Table 5.5.4 throws light on ability of the migrants to verify the genuineness of the news. Hundred and one of the new returnees and only 23 of the older returnees have responded to this question. Twenty-eight percent of both the groups of those who have responded did not know how to verify. Forty percent mentioned that they know how to verify the news available on the website. Another 60 percent stated that they did not. In general female response is low. Even then percentages of those who thought they can detect between false news are higher among men.

Table 5.5.4: Can verify the genuineness of the news by type and gender

Can verify	New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Yes	39.3%	25.0%	37.6%	45.5%	100.0%	47.8%	40.5%	30.8%	39.5%
No	5.6%	8.3%	5.9%	9.1%	0.0%	8.7%	6.3%	7.7%	6.5%
sometimes	28.1%	16.7%	26.7%	22.7%	0.0%	21.7%	27.0%	15.4%	25.8%
Don not know	27.0%	50.0%	29.7%	22.7%	0.0%	21.7%	26.1%	46.2%	28.2%

Total no. of cases	89	12	101	22	1	23	111	13	124
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Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

The migrants were asked what did they think would happen when they posted 'like' on any page in the Facebook. Table 5.5.5 shows 50 percent migrants (132) responded to this question. Twenty-six percent of those who responded stated that they had no idea. Fifty-five percent stated that only they and their friends would be able to see them. Ten percent stated only the migrant him/herself would be able to see that. Two percent stated that they will be able to see advertisement from that page which they have liked. Only 6 percent of these 132 respondents stated that others can take information about him from the like.

Table 5.5.5: Understanding of implication of putting a like in Facebook page by type and gender

What happen when migrant like any Facebook page	New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Only he/she can see	7.7%	38.5%	11.5%	3.7%	0.0%	3.6%	6.8%	35.7%	9.8%
Can see add from the page he/she liked	2.2%	0.0%	1.9%	3.7%	0.0%	3.6%	2.5%	0.0%	2.3%
Only his/her friends in Facebook can watch his/her like	56.0%	46.2%	54.8%	55.6%	100.0%	57.1%	55.9%	50.0%	55.3%
Others can take his/her information	6.6%	0.0%	5.8%	7.4%	0.0%	7.1%	6.8%	0.0%	6.1%
Do not know	27.5%	15.4%	26.0%	29.6%	0.0%	28.6%	28.0%	14.3%	26.5%
Total no. of cases	91	13	104	27	1	28	118	14	132

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

Table 5.5.6 shows their response on the question who would be able to see the public posts of Facebook. Altogether 35 percent have responded. Sixty-five percent of those who responded stated that friends of friend would be able to see those. Two percent thought family members would be able to see them. Thirty-two percent thought that all persons including friends from the friend's list, family members and unknown persons all will be able to see the public post. This shows that only 32 percent of those who responded to this question had knowledge on public posts of Facebook and the rest did not have.

Table 5.5.6: Who can see public posts in Facebook by type and gender

Persons who can see	New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Friends of his/her friend list	65.7%	54.5%	64.1%	71.4%	0.0%	71.4%	66.7%	54.5%	65.2%
Family Members	3.0%	0.0%	2.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.5%	0.0%	2.2%
Unknown persons	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Above all	31.3%	45.5%	33.3%	28.6%	0.0%	28.6%	30.9%	45.5%	32.6%
Total no. of cases	67	11	78	14	0	14	81	11	92

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

The migrants were asked to determine if it is true that when they would post any picture publicly in Facebook their employers will not be able to see that. Hundred and nineteen (45%) have responded to this question. Sixty-six percent of those who responded identified the statement as false and 34 percent thought it to be true. This means that 66 percent of those who have responded had the right knowledge on this.

Table 5.5.7: Can employer see your public post in Facebook by type and gender

True/False statement	New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
True	31.4%	50.0%	33.7%	35.0%	100.0%	38.1%	32.1%	53.8%	34.5%
False	68.6%	50.0%	66.3%	65.0%	0.0%	61.9%	67.9%	46.2%	65.5%
Total no. of cases	86	12	98	20	1	21	106	13	119

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

Chapter conclusion

This chapter gives a detailed idea about exposure of migrant to cell phone and social media. The chapter demonstrates a high level of use of cell phone by the migrants (89%). However access to cell phone is to a great extent determined by the gender of the migrant as well as their period of return. Almost all the male migrants be it recent returnees (98%) or earlier returnees (97%) have access to cell phone whereas only 54 percent of the recent female returnees and 44 percent of the earlier female returnees have access to mobile phone. They mostly use mobile phone to remain connected with the family. Along with emotional exchange, a section of them also use mobile for sending pin number for transfer of remittance through bank.

Only a handful of the migrants were exposed to social media before they migrated. After migrating, use of social media increased by 400 times among the male migrants and 650 times among female migrants. However in percentage share it is still not as high as use of cell phone. Fifty-five percent of the female migrants have been using social media when they were aboard. Among social media IMO (42%) is the most popular. Viber is the least popular one. One-third of the migrants use YouTube, WhatsApp as well as Facebook.

The chapter also demonstrates ability and knowledge of use of digital media. At a general level, knowledge about implications of putting a like or privacy of post is there. A section of the migrants have innovated a way of judging the authenticity of news posted in social media. Before acting on them, they verify the news with friends or they try to find out if newspapers and TV channels have mentioned anything about the news. Of course many of them used some of the social media without adequate knowledge.

Chapter VI

Exposure of Migrants to Extremist Propaganda

This chapter probes into exposure of migrants to extremist propaganda. It also tries to understand if any extremist ever attempted to recruit the labour migrants for working as their foot soldiers.

6.1 Information on attempt of recruitment of Bangladeshi workers

Table 6.1.1 shows if the migrant had come across any information where the extremist groups attempted to engage or lure Bangladeshi migrants to work for them. None of the respondents have heard any such incident. Nine migrants did hear stories or was personally approached by conservative religious groups but not by extremist groups. They experienced *Tablighi Jamaat* preaching among the migrants for attending religious rituals and discussions in the mosque. Two of the migrants were approached by a religion based political party. The political party offered membership to these migrants so that they support that particular party when they return to Bangladesh after finishing their contract.

Table 6.1.1: Information on attempt of recruitment of Bangladeshi workers by extremist groups by type and gender

Information on attempt		New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
	Yes	3.8%	0.0%	2.8%	3.9%	11.1%	4.7%	3.8%	1.9%	3.4%
	No	96.2%	100.0%	97.2%	96.1%	88.9%	95.3%	96.2%	98.1%	96.6%
	Total no. of cases	132	44	176	76	9	85	208	53	261
Place	Work place	50.0%	0.0%	50.0%	100.0%	0.0%	50.0%	66.7%	0.0%	50.0%
	Residence	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	50.0%	0.0%	100.0%	25.0%
	Mosque	25.0%	0.0%	25.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	16.7%	0.0%	12.5%
	Online	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	Others	25.0%	0.0%	25.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	16.7%	0.0%	12.5%
	Total no. of cases	4	0	4	2	2	4	6	2	8

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

Except 1, all of these 9 persons are male. They were mainly approached at their residence. One of them was approached in the mosque. Three of them were working

in Saudi Arabia, 2 in UAE and 1 each in Qatar, Singapore, Malaysia and Bahrain. Two of them can only sign their names, one studied up to class 5, four of them studied up to class 10, and one each had SSC and HSC degrees. There is also no common thread in respect to job as well. They were working at ship, jewelry shop, servicing lift, wallpaper pasting, welder, watch guard, cook, office messenger and cleaner at hospital. Thirty-eight years old Kamrul felt that he was never approached by any member of extremist groups, yet there could be situation where Bangladeshi migrants would get exposed to extremist forces. In his word, “A worker from Bangladesh may be influenced by the workers from other countries like Pakistan, Syria, Iran etc. As these people work together, they can easily build a good relationship among themselves. On the other hand, I do not think that a man can be influenced to do any extremist activity by the internet. Internet is a medium of communicating with one another. We only communicate with known persons in social media. Yet, a person should be conscious for using internet safely”.

Thirty-two years old Masud Rana states, “While I was working in Singapore, I had never heard of any incident where extremist forces had attempted to entice Bangladeshi workers to join their cause. Once, I heard that an organization was offering Muslims to go to Church to invite the Christian people in the way of Islam. For doing this, they would provide 1200 USD”.

Shirajul Islam is 39 years old. He stated that with his Saudi friend Khalid once he went to the *Dawah* centre and had the pleasure of listening to Dr. Zakir Naik’s lecture face to face. His friends from other Middle Eastern countries have encouraged him as well as his Pakistani and Indian friends to go to *Tablig*. This type of people would go out of their way to take them to mosque and request them to pray. From the mosque, he listened to Islamic lectures. He also received religious books from the mosque. Md. Ripon of Shingair states, “I have heard from others that a Bangladeshi who originally worked in Oman was approached by a local group to work with them”. None of these stories are related to mainstream extremist recruitment attempt. This section clearly demonstrates that so far these Bangladeshi migrants have not been approached by any extremist forces.

6.2 Information on attempt of recruitment of migrants of other countries

The study also inquired if they were aware of any incident in which an extremist group had attempted to recruit migrant of other countries to serve its cause. Table

6.2.1 shows that only 2 percent of the migrants heard of such incidents. In number terms, it comes to 5 migrants. Interestingly all 5 migrants who had heard such news are male. Not a single female migrant reported hearing anything of this sort. Review of the educational background of these 5 respondents show that three of them have not attended school. They can only sign their names and the other two studied up to class 5. Countries where they migrated are also diverse. Two of them were in Bahrain, one each in UAE, Saudi Arabia and Malaysia. Table 6.2.1 also shows that 3 of the 5 respondents heard about such incidents at the workplace. One each heard at his residence and in the market place. None of them got to know about such stories through internet. Anowar Hossain of Manikganj has just returned from Saudi Arabia. He mentioned that he heard from his friends that a *Moulana* used to come to the workers' residence for collecting money to be used for *Jihad*. The other incident is about *Shia-Sunni* fight in Pakistan. Twenty-seven year old Mamun Bepari of Barisal has been residing in Bahrain for the last 6 years. He came to Bangladesh on holiday. His Pakistani friend, who is a *Sunni*, told him that he had been approached by some groups to join them to fight the *Shias*. Md. Ripon from Manikganj revealed that, "I heard that a person who is originally from Oman has taken part in different wars including Iraq war. However, I am not sure if that information was false or genuine". The cases that have been presented by the interviewees do not sound like stories of recruitment by violent extremist groups.

Table 6.2.1: Information on attempt of recruitment of workers of other countries by extremist groups by type and gender

Information on attempt		New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
	Yes	3.0%	0.0%	2.3%	2.7%	0.0%	2.4%	2.9%	0.0%	2.3%
	No	97.0%	100.0%	97.7%	97.3%	100.0%	97.6%	97.1%	100.0%	97.7%
	Total no. of cases	132	43	175	75	7	82	207	50	257
Place	Work place	33.3%	0.0%	33.3%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	60.0%	0.0%	60.0%
	Residence	33.3%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	20.0%
	Mosque	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	Online	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	Market place	33.3%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	20.0%
	Total no. of cases	3	0	3	2	0	2	5	0	5

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

6.3 Exposure to extremist propaganda through online media

The migrants were asked whether they came across any message, video or photo depicting atrocities and wrongdoings committed against Muslims in any part of the world. For example Iraq war, Israeli atrocities on the Palestinian people, civil war in Syria or genocide against Rohingyas. Table 6.3.1 shows that fifty-four percent do not use any social media. Thirty-six percent have seen such online messages and materials. Although ten percent use social media they have not come across any extremist campaign.

Table 6.3.1: Exposure to extremist propaganda through online media by type and gender

Exposure	New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Yes	51.9%	11.4%	41.9%	25.0%	11.1%	23.5%	42.2%	11.3%	36.0%
No	12.6%	15.9%	13.4%	3.9%	0.0%	3.5%	9.5%	13.2%	10.2%
Do not use social media	35.6%	72.7%	44.7%	71.1%	88.9%	72.9%	48.3%	75.5%	53.8%
Total no. of cases	135	44	179	76	9	85	211	53	264

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

Majority of those who come across such message received them on Facebook. This is followed by YouTube and IMO. Nargis Akter is 45 years old. She migrated to UAE in 2013 and returned to Bangladesh in 2017. She stated that son of his employer used to show him different videos and pictures of atrocities on Muslims in his laptop. Thirty-seven years old Mozzamel Haque has just returned to Bangladesh. He migrated to UAE when he was only 18 years old. In YouTube, he has seen pictures and videos of genocide on Rohingya community in Myanmar. He also mentioned about the mass grave of Bangladeshi workers in Thailand. He was particularly troubled when he saw fellow Bangladeshis were slaughtered and thrown by those who had taken them with a promise of work in Malaysia.

Information they received on internet was in three languages. These are mostly in Bangla and English and a few in Urdu/Hindi. An analysis of the content of the message shows that majority of the messages they have seen are on Rohingya issues. Some saw vivid description of how Rohingyas were slaughtered by the Myanmar army and the Buddhist clergy. Some mentioned they have seen how the

houses of Rohingyas were burnt. Some had seen videos of Bangladesh Navy guarding our border and not letting the Rohingya refugee enter Bangladesh. This was before government open the border for the refugees. A few termed Burmese atrocities as genocide against Rohingya Muslims.

Mohammad Al Amin migrated twice first to Oman and then to Saudi Arabia. He mentioned watching videos on Israeli atrocities in Gaza on YouTube. It showed how young men and children have been killed by the Israeli army. He has also watched videos on Saudi attack on Yemen. Interviewees saw videos of Muslim massacre in New Zealand mosque. They mentioned the number of persons killed in that incident and also stated that as a Muslim they felt bad those killed were innocent Muslims offering their prayers. Bomb attack on Syrian civilian population was also reported by some. Hear as well they mentioned the issue of death of innocent women and children. Some said they received different videos which show atrocity on Muslim brothers.

These videos or photos have shocked the migrants. A section of them felt sad however and few other felt angry. They wanted untied action against the perpetrators. Thirty-four years old Saidur Rahman is from Faridpur. He migrated to Bahrain when he was 27 years old. During the field work, he came to Bangladesh on holidays. He felt helpless as there was no way of addressing such atrocities. Thirty-two years old Mohammad Abdul Karim returned from UAE last year. He has a migration history of ten years. When he received such information on internet, he used to feel frustrated. He says, "How can anyone watch that our mothers and sisters are being raped and young children are being killed? Being a Muslim, it is hard to digest atrocity against other Muslims". Fifty-three years old Nasir Uddin regrets for not being able to do anything about it. Yousuf (35) from Tangail went to Malaysia in 2004. Seeing the posts on atrocities against Muslims, he wanted to stand beside the oppressed Muslims. Selim Parvej of Tangail is 40 years old and finished his bachelor degree. He feels that Muslims should unite and stand against such atrocities. He also feels betrayed by UN as it has not taken the right stand.

6.4 Invitation from unknown person

The study wanted to explore if the migrants had ever been invited by any unknown person for friendship. Table 6.4.1 shows that thirty-six percent have received friend request from unknown persons. Qualitative data shows that these migrants responded to friend requests immediately if they were known to them. When the friend requests came from unknown persons, then they verified their identities with friends. Some of them have checked the friend list of the unknown person. If they saw common friends, then they would inquire with them and either accept or ignore.

Table 6.4.1: Invitation from unknown person by type and gender

Invitation	New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Yes	51.1%	15.9%	42.5%	22.4%	11.1%	21.2%	40.8%	15.1%	35.6%
No	13.3%	11.4%	12.8%	5.3%	0.0%	4.7%	10.4%	9.4%	10.2%
Do not use social media	35.6%	72.7%	44.7%	72.4%	88.9%	74.1%	48.8%	75.5%	54.2%
Total no. of cases	135	44	179	76	9	85	211	53	264

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

Kamrul Islam is 38 years old. He is from Barisal district. He would not accept friend request from unknown persons. He added only known persons to his friends list. “If the unknown person is added to the list and his intention is evil, I might fall in danger” he mentioned.

Md. Ripon (46) is from Manikganj. He informed that he did receive friend requests from unknown persons in social media. In his words, “While I was working abroad, if I received friend requests from unknown persons, I accepted those whom I liked. If for some reason I did not like them, I used to block them. What’s the use of listing someone as friend when you know you don’t have anything in common rather it may put you in danger”.

Md. Ilius Hossain Talukdar (38) is from Barisal. He went to Oman in 2005 and returned in 2017. In his words, “I learnt to use internet from young boys of my village when I came to Bangladesh on vacation. At the beginning, I used to accept all the friend requests that I got whether it was from someone I knew or not, since I did not realise the risks associated with it. Later from different sources such as family members in Bangladesh and Bangladeshi co-workers, I learnt about the danger of getting friendly with unknown persons. Since then I did not do it anymore as I

realized unknown people can harm me in many ways. They might give me wrong information or commit fraud with me”.

Hisbul Bahar (34) who is from Manikganj came back from Bahrain in 2015. Although he knew that there could be problem if he accepts friend requests from unknown person, he accepted many of them. In his words, “When I got friend requests from unknown persons through social media, I mostly accepted them. Sometimes, I kept them hanging. It is true that if any one of them was a terrorist, then he would harm me. Yet, at that point of time I accepted friend requests from unknown persons thinking that although I did not know them, they might know me”. Shirajul Islam (39) from Tangail also received invitations from the unknown persons. But he declined them due to security reasons.

6.5 Invitation by any closed group

Table 6.5.1 shows that 16 percent of those who used social media received invitation for joining a closed group⁶. Eighty-eight percent of those who received invitations were male and only 12 percent of them were female. In number counts, it turns to about 15 men and 2 women. Some of these respondents received invitations from the group directly and others received messages. When these respondents were pursued through qualitative survey, it was found that these closed groups are among friends just to spend time or group developed for providing instructions of work.

Sixty-four percent of these 17 respondents received information from the groups through text, photo, video etc. They mostly used Bangla. However, work related information or information shared on contemporary issues were in English or Arabic.

Table 6.5.1: Invitation to closed group in Facebook by type and gender

		New returnee and those who came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Received invitation	Yes	16.7%	33.3%	17.8%	5.3%	0.0%	5.0%	14.6%	28.6%	15.5%
	No	83.3%	66.7%	82.2%	94.7%	100.0%	95.0%	85.4%	71.4%	84.5%
	Total no. of cases	84	6	90	19	1	20	103	7	110
Topic of discussion	Work	10.0%	0.0%	8.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	9.1%	0.0%	7.7%
	Politics	10.0%	0.0%	8.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	9.1%	0.0%	7.7%
	Religion	50.0%	0.0%	41.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	45.5%	0.0%	38.5%

⁶Closed groups are more exclusive. Like public groups, everyone can search for and view the name, description and member list of a closed group. But users can't view the group's content until they become a member. To join a closed group you have to be approved by an administrator or invited by a current member.

	Others	30.0%	100.0%	41.7%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	36.4%	100.0%	46.2%
	Total no. of cases	10	2	12	1	0	1	11	2	13
Share of information	Do not do	36.4%	0.0%	30.8%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	41.7%	0.0%	35.7%
	Text	0.0%	50.0%	7.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%	7.1%
	Picture	27.3%	50.0%	30.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	25.0%	50.0%	28.6%
	Video	9.1%	0.0%	7.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	8.3%	0.0%	7.1%
	Many of this	27.3%	0.0%	23.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	25.0%	0.0%	21.4%
	Total no. of cases	11	2	13	1	0	1	12	2	14
Languages used	English	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	Arabic	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	Bangla	54.5%	100.0%	61.5%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	58.3%	100.0%	64.3%
	Different language	45.5%	0.0%	38.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	41.7%	0.0%	35.7%
	Others	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	Total no. of cases	11	2	13	1	0	1	12	2	14

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

Mintu Bepari (30) of Faridpur was a member of a closed group. However, this closed group was created by his Bangladeshi co-workers. Gradually this group developed a membership of around 300 co-workers and their common friends. They used Bangla language. He states, “In our closed group, among other things, videos on atrocities on Rohingyas by the Burmese Government were shared. I sympathized with those posts by liking them. However, I never posted anything myself. I still use IMO and I am connected with some fellow workers who I met in Kuwait through IMO”.

Keramot Ali (32) of Tangail came to village on holidays. He has been living in Saudi Arabia for the last 6 years. He mentions, “I am a member of a closed group. However, this is a closed group of 12 of my friends. We use this closed group as a medium of recreation. We never discuss or share videos on oppression on Muslims or politics. Occasionally, someone may share videos of *waj* in Bangla. I do listen to them. I pray five times a day, but I am not fan of any particular speaker. I like those *waj* which talk about *Sahi Hadith*”.

Forty year old Abdur Rahman worked in Oman for 9 years and returned recently. He says, “I had regularly seen messages and videos that showed oppression on Muslims. These messages were both in Bangla and English. These videos showed how innocent people were suffering. They would request to share those videos. I responded to their request and shared some of those after verifying them. I am capable of understanding if the information shared in social media is genuine or not.

I was invited by a group called *Probashi Jibon* (Immigrants' Life). This group used both English and Bangla language. I was knocked by the group for quite some time. The group expressed that they would like to discuss issues related to religion. However, I was not interested and did not join the group. Nonetheless I used to share videos sent by *Jihadis* through my internet account”.

Chapter conclusion

This chapter particularly probed into experience of migrants about attempt of extremist groups to recruit fellow migrants to serve their purpose. First it probed into the issue if they have any knowledge of any Bangladeshi workers being approached or got recruited by extremist forces. Three percent of the respondents answered in the positive. However the incidents they mentioned are not of recruitment by violent extremist groups. They mentioned incidence of *Tablighi Jamaat* calling them for joining their congregations, or religion based Bangladeshi political party's invitation to take party membership. Two percent of the respondents informed that they have heard some stories about workers of others countries. Two of the six incidents mentioned in this respect are significant. One is that of a religious person gathering subscription for *Jihad* and the other is invitation to fellow countrymen to join *Shia-Sunni* fight in Pakistan. Nonetheless, these incidents also cannot be treated as recruitment attempts for violent extremism.

During migration 55 percent of the male migrants and 30 percent of the female migrants were using social media. Thirty-six percent of the total migrants have seen online propaganda. This could be by extremist forces or conservative groups. These propagandas can also be conducted by human rights activists. Issues they mentioned are Rohingyas genocide, Israeli atrocities on Palestinians, bomb attacks on Syrian civilians etc. Thirty-six percent has received friendship request from unknown persons. However, they responded to friend request if they were known or after verifying with others. Only 6 percent of the respondents had received invitation from close groups. Close groups are of diverse nature. These groups mostly wanted to discuss job. Some close group discussed religion. Only a few mentioned that among other things the group also discussed politics.

Chapter VII

Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

This study attempts to generate knowledge on current level of exposure of Bangladeshi labour migrants to online and other form of propaganda of violent extremist groups. The aim of the research is to help policy makers take necessary pre-emptive measures to protect the labour migrants from falling prey to terrorist groups. The research followed both qualitative and quantitative methods. Along with desktop research, key informant interviews, a survey of returnees (241) as well as current migrants (23) who came on holidays have been conducted. The returnees and the current migrants on holidays were selected from a prior panel dataset of RMMRU. Eight districts with higher percentage of relatively young returnees were selected as research sites. These are Gazipur, Manikganj, Tangail, Cumilla, Chattogram, Barisal, Faridpur and Sunamganj.

The literature review conducted in the introductory chapter revealed that there is hardly any research on exposure of the short term labour migrants of Bangladesh to violent extremist forces. In 2016, UNDP conducted a research which shows that compared to Bangladeshis who live in the country, those who work in Singapore, Malaysia, Oman, Qatar and Bahrain use social media 400 times more and therefore, are more exposed to violent extremist contents which are available online. Khan (2018) concluded that the Bangladeshi short term contract migrants residing in Maldives are not targeted by the extremist forces. He, however, identified certain vulnerabilities of these workers which are mostly related to exploitative work conditions. Excessive workload, lack of access to health services, low communication skill, isolation etc. were identified as major causes for frustration, grievances and tendency towards violence. Khan also found 89 percent of the migrants had access to online contents. Analysis of socio-economic background of the Bangladeshis who took part in the violent extremist action in Dhaka city in 2016 as well as those arrested earlier in 2014 and 2015 (Riaz, 2018; Riaz and Parvez, 2018) demonstrated that majority of the Bangladeshis who participated or apprehended had higher levels of education. They represent middle class and upper middle class and some of them have studied overseas. None of them ever

participated in short term labour migration. Literature review highlight that low skilled short term labour migrants may not be a lucrative target for the extremist forces.

Chapter II of the report provides an overview of international short term migration of Bangladesh. In 2018, 734,181 workers migrated from Bangladesh mostly to 12 to 13 countries. Twelve percent of them were women. Bangladeshi workers mostly participated in lowly skilled work. Women pre-dominantly participate as domestic workers. In 2018, the country received USD 15.54 billion as remittance. Net foreign exchange earning from remittance is almost double than the net earnings from the readymade garment sector of Bangladesh. Remittances sent by the migrants are 12 times higher than the foreign direct investment and 6 times higher than total foreign aid received. No wonder, for decades in a row, Bangladesh could maintain a surplus current account balance. At least half of the current reserve of the country is constituted by migrant remittances. Given the importance of the sector to its national economy, it is extremely important to protect the migrants from all kinds of vulnerabilities including of that to exposure to violent extremism. It is also very much in the interest of Bangladesh to well equip the migrants so that they can clearly distinguish between propaganda and genuine news.

Chapter III provides the socio-economic background of the male and female migrants who were interviewed for this study. Eighty percent of the migrants interviewed were male and 20 percent were female. The average age during first migration of both male and female migrants who returned over the last three years was 27. Thirty-nine percent of the male migrants and 44 percent of the female migrants were illiterate. Only 5 percent of the migrants studied up to SSC and above. Ninety-one percent of both male and female migrants were married. Only 8 percent of the male and 2 percent of the female were unmarried during interview. They had migrated to 16 countries. Around 38 percent of the male migrants and 31 percent of the female migrants went to Saudi Arabia alone. Relatively poor educational background may situate the short term contract migrants outside the radar of violent extremists groups. In that case, 5 percent who had studied up to SSC and above are vulnerable. The overwhelming status of both male and female migrants in the category of “married” also does not match the marital profile of the Bangladeshis who fell prey to terrorist propaganda. Forty-eight percent of the migrants were less than 25 years old when they first migrated. Persons belonging to age group could be more vulnerable compared to those who are aged more than 25. The study is

conscious of the fact that any single characteristic does not create vulnerability. It is the combination of many factors such as social, economic, ideological and personal that constitute a situation of vulnerability.

Chapter IV explores the work and living conditions of the migrants as well as their perceptions of inclusiveness of the societies where they migrated. Study reveals that more than 60 percent of the male migrants were living close to cities where they had access to shop, people etc. The rest of the male migrants, however, lived far away from the cities. They worked in agricultural field, plantation, desert and secluded island. This group of workers is isolated and vulnerable. In case of women, distance or closeness to city do not define isolation. Women domestic workers are hardly allowed to mix with others, therefore, they could be isolated even though they were staying in the middle of the city. Thirty-five percent of the male migrants and 47 percent of the female migrants strongly agreed that they used to feel very lonely in destination. Both men and women migrants missed their home and family members. The nature of job of female domestic workers kept them in relative isolation; most did not have other workmates to interact. Some employers did not even allow them to mix with domestic workers of their neighbours for fear that employees may be lured by the latter. Some female migrants were not allowed to talk regularly with family. Missing family members, inability to communicate with them, death of a family member, feeling of isolation and feeling of hopelessness during ill treatment are some of the areas identified by both male and female migrants as sources of psychological stress in countries of destination. These factors can make the migrants vulnerable.

More than half of the migrants went through other types of stressful situations in their countries of destination. Accident, police harassment and detention, cheating and extortion, health problem, untimely return, gang fight, non-payment of salary, inadequate food, snatching, physical assault and verbal abuse were experienced by these migrants: both male and female. A large number of migrants experienced degrading treatment and discrimination. Seventy-one percent of the male migrants opined that they were being discriminated by the employers for being Bangladeshis. They felt that even Nepalese, Pakistani, Indians and Sri Lankan workers were better treated. Female domestic workers complained less about discrimination. It was seen in the literature review that the feeling of discrimination is an important factor that contributes to create vulnerability.

This chapter also looks into treatments of migrants by the members of local community. Half of both male and female migrants felt that they were treated respectfully by the local community, but the other half did not think so. Seventy-four percent of the male migrants and 57 percent of the female migrants felt that they were perceived by the destination community as people from “a country of beggars”. Thirty-seven percent of the male migrants thought they were treated respectfully by their employers, whereas 49 percent experienced disrespect. Fourteen percent, however, somewhat agreed with the notion. Forty percent of the women expressed their employers did not treat them well, whereas sixty percent felt that the treatment was okay. All these indicate that a section of migrants may suffer from a feeling of alienation and thus be vulnerable.

An important finding of the research is that a majority of both male and female migrants had innovative ways to cope with isolation, loneliness and inhuman treatment. Despite some differences the avenues used by both groups are somewhat similar. Besides, avenues explored are much less for women compared to men. Both men and women coped with loneliness by talking with family and close friends over phone (62%). Eighty-eight percent of the male migrants made new friends and spent time with them. Only 35 percent of the women made new friends and spent time with them. Twenty-nine percent of the women felt good when they went out with their employers. A quarter of the men chatted with friends through internet. Only 2 percent women chatted with friends when they were in destination. Sixty percent of the male migrants listened to *waj*. This was easier for them as 97 percent of them had phones. Twenty-six percent of the women listened to *waj* on cell phone. Thirty-four percent of the male migrants watched Bangla dramas, both Bangla and Hindi movies. Eighteen percent of the women did so. Three percent of male migrants used two more avenues. These are: watching adult movies on internet and going to places for spending time with women.

Chapter V probes into the extent of use of cell phone and social media by male and female international short term labour migrants. The chapter shows male migrants have 46 percent higher access to mobile phones compared to female migrants who migrated from Bangladesh. Ninety-eight percent of the male migrants possessed mobile phones and in case of female migrants the percentage is 52. Fifty-four percent of the male migrants used social media. The number of women who used

social media was also not insignificant. Thirty percent of female migrants used social media.

The pre-dominant purpose of using cell phone and social media is communication with family. It allowed them to be engaged with their family members on various educational, social and economic matters. It also helps their psychological well being. Almost 100 percent of both men and women used mobile phones did so to discuss education, marriage, treatments etc. of family members. Eighty-seven percent would also discuss income, expenditure, business ventures etc. Forty-four percent of those who used cell phone and social media needed that to fulfill emotional needs of expressing love and affection, and forty-six percent used those devices to extend and secure psychological support to and from their family members respectively during hard times. Only 13 migrants, all of whom except 1 were men used social media for online purchase, banking and remittance transfer. Sixty-seven percent of those who used mobile and internet espoused it as a source of entertainment (watching dramas, movies, adult videos and pictures, listening to music, chatting with friends in Bangladesh). A section of them also used them for fulfilling religious needs. Listening to Bangla waj is the most common form of avenue for fulfilling spiritual needs. Only 8 migrants, all of whom are men used social media for sharing information.

A comparison of use of social media before and during migration demonstrates that before migration only 11 percent of male migrants and 4 percent of female migrants had exposure to social media. During their stay abroad, 55 percent of male migrants and 30 percent of female migrants used social media. If we consider only new migrants, then the percentage who use social media is much higher. The use of social media increased 400 times for the male migrants and 650 times for female migrants.

The migrants used multiple apps. A section of them used almost all the apps available. They used IMO, Messenger, Facebook, YouTube, WhatsApp and Viber. Among all these types, IMO is the most popular one (42%). Twenty-nine percent use YouTube, 27 percent use Facebook, 13 percent use Messenger and 9 percent use WhatsApp. Use of Viber is the lowest (2%). The male migrants spent around 1.5 hours on an average per day when they used social media. Female migrants spent less than an hour.

The chapter also tries to understand knowledge of migrants on the use of digital media. At a general level, it was found that knowledge about implications of putting a like or privacy of post is present among majority of the migrants. Fifty-six percent of the male migrants and 50 percent of the female migrants could provide the right answer to the question on who would get to see if the migrants put a like on a message. Forty-one percent of the male migrants and 31 percent of the female migrants verify the genuineness of the news that they receive on social media. Twenty-seven percent of the male migrants and 15 percent of the female migrants sometimes verify the news, whereas 32 percent of the male migrants and 54 percent of the female migrants either do not verify or do not know anything about verification. Sixty-three percent of the male migrants and 23 percent of the female migrants who share news received from internet verify it before sharing. Their method of verification is quite innovative. They try to judge the authenticity of news posted in social media by inquiring about the news with friends and they also verify it by investigating the news is mentioned in newspapers and TV channels. Sixty-three percent of the male migrants and 81 percent of the female migrants did not feel the question to be relevant either as they did not use internet or used internet only for communicating with family. Six percent of them would not visit that site and the rest 27 percent either would visit the site and leave it without doing anything or would put a like or write a comment or would share the message with friends.

Chapter VI tries to locate if the migrants had any information about fellow Bangladeshis or migrant workers of any other countries have received invitation from extremist groups or got involved with extremist groups. Initially during the quantitative survey, around 3 percent of the respondents mentioned that they had heard stories where some Bangladeshi migrants were personally approached by the extremist forces. Another 2 percent had heard about attempts to recruit migrant workers of other countries by extremist forces. However, during qualitative survey when detail interviews were taken of these persons, it was found that these incidents narrate migrants encounter with conservative religious groups but not extremist groups. The stories on Bangladeshi migrants are about: *Tablighi Jamaat* groups preaching among the migrants for attempting religious rituals and discussions at the mosques; religious political parties approaching migrants for memberships. Even these incidents are not particularly situated in one country. They are dispersed among Saudi Arabia, UAE, Qatar, Singapore, Malaysia and Bahrain. There is no

common threat in respect to type of job performed by those who got to hear such information. They represent variety of professions. In case of migrants from other countries, one story is about a *Moulana* who came to workers' residence to collect money to be used in *Jihad*. The second incident is on fight among religious sects *Shia* and *Sunni* in Pakistan and another story narrated by a Bangladeshi migrant is about a migrant from Oman who has taken part in different wars including Iraq war. It seems that at this stage level of exposure to extremist recruiters is very low. The story of collecting money for Jihad is very significant. It is about generating finance. The study also probes into exposure of migrants to online extremist propaganda. Forty-six percent of the migrants use social media. Thirty-six percent of them have received extremist propaganda through online and 10 percent did not. Majority of those messages were received while using Facebook followed by IMO and YouTube. The messages are related to genocide on Rohingya community in Myanmar, Israeli atrocities on Palestine, Saudi attack on Yemen, Muslim massacre in New Zealand mosque etc. These messages, particularly videos and still photos do have an impact on the migrants. Some of them felt helpless, frustrated and few others would like to stand beside the oppressed Muslims. Thirty-six percent of these interviewees received friend requests from unknown persons. Ten percent did not receive any friend request perhaps because they use IMO, YouTube etc. and do not use Facebook. As seen earlier, the rest 54 percent do not use social media. Sixteen percent of those who used social media received invitation for joining a closed group. Eighty-eight percent of those who received invitations in close group were male and only 12 percent of them were female. It was found that these closed groups existed among friends just to spend time or share stories of hardship and happiness in their immigrant life and also for sharing information among friends. A few of them were developed for providing instructions of work at the workplace. The important finding here is that only a handful of migrants are exposed to closed group. Sixty-four percent of these respondents received information from the groups through text, photo, video etc. They mostly used Bangla. However, work related information or information shared on contemporary issues were in English and other languages.

Conclusions

- So far Bangladeshi migrant workers' vulnerability to radicalization in destination countries remains a low level threat as they are not sought after by the terrorist groups. However, their vulnerability could increase as they are exposed to social media.
- Compared to pre-migration situation, male migrants are 400 times more and female migrants are 650 times more exposed to social media after they migrate for work.
- IMO is the highest used avenue of social media followed by Facebook and YouTube. A section of them knew how to participate in a closed group.
- Migrants do have some knowledge on implications of putting like or sharing messages sent by different interest groups, but they do not have any understanding about sophisticated campaign run by violent extremist groups in social media.
- Poor work condition, inhuman and degrading treatment, isolation and restriction imposed upon communication with family do make male and female migrants more vulnerable. Such situation creates space for extremist groups to gain sympathy of migrants.
- From the perspective of age, 7 percent of the migrants who are below the age of 25 are more vulnerable to fall prey to extremism. From the perspective of educational background, 5 percent who possessed SSC and above degree are more of targets of the violent extremists compared to the other migrants with very little education.

Recommendations

Recommendations are provided under three sub-heads. These are steps to be taken during pre departure period, in the countries of destination and upon return of a migrant.

Pre departure phase

- More than 74 percent of the new returnee male migrants use social media. However, they do not have awareness about threat of exposure to extremist

propaganda in the countries of destination. The migrants should be informed about activities of violent extremist groups before they migrate.

- BMET as well as some of the civil society organisations run pre-departure training. A module should be prepared and added in the existing pre-departure training of these organisations. The module should treat male and female migrants differently as the extremist groups would access and try to gain sympathy of the male and female workers through using different techniques. Among other things, the module should have specific strategy to promote tolerance to other religion and inter faith information. Migrants going to non-Muslim countries need a special awareness on the issues of diversity and acceptance of differences. Specific techniques should be taught on how to identify and avoid radicalizing literature or materials.
- The pre-departure module should also inform the migrants about the indicators of radicalization so that they can detect if any group or persons attempt to radicalize them.
- Government and civil society organizations also run pre-decision trainings, court yard meeting etc. Information kit has to be prepared to inform potential migrants about the threat of violent extremism in the countries of destination.
- Information kit prepared for pre-decision phase should allow discussion on the negative effects of radicalization on the family members of those who have been radicalized as well as those who have been victim of terrorist attacks. An information toolkit be may be prepared for the left-behind families of migrants about the dangers of radicalization and their role in communicating with their migrant members and inform ways/means of preventing it.
- The Canadian Royal Mounted Police (RCMP) and the CTTC of Bangladesh have developed some information kits, some of which may be used to create awareness among the migrant workers.
- Information kits should have some visuals and info-graphics about what are the indicators of radicalization, how do terrorist recruiters radicalize people, what narratives they use, and what is the best way of avoiding radical persons.

Interventions in the countries of destination

- There is hardly any knowledge on scope of exposure to radicalization in the countries of destination. In order to design targeted programmes at destination countries, country specific thorough research is required to identify different push and pull factors responsible for radicalization in the specific country and the probable way out. Such researches can be under joint initiatives of Bangladesh and its labour receiving countries. The recommendations of the research have to be implemented systematically in different destination countries.
- During bilateral and multi-lateral negotiations importance of inclusive cultural practices and decent work conditions should be highlighted. It should bring to the notice of receiving countries that absence of decent work condition would help the extremist groups lure migrants to take part in violent extremist acts.
- In order to remain connected with the Bangladeshi migrants, the Embassy should be inclusive to labour migrants when they celebrate national days. While celebrating those days the embassy should make the migrants aware about the needs of remaining vigilant against attempt of violent extremists to recruit foot soldiers from among the migrants. The embassy should also encourage different hometown associations of Bangladeshis who are working in different parts of destination countries to engage migrants in creative socio-cultural activities.
- Social media can be an important instrument of the extremist groups. So far migrants have not been their target does not mean that in future they will not be. Therefore it is important to inform the migrants about online radicalisation. They need to be informed that the extremist forces not only target to recruit them as foot soldiers they may also ask for subscription. The migrants should be taught how to detect fake news. They must be trained how to report such things to the law enforcement agencies of the destination countries.
- The Labour and Welfare Wing of the embassy should be trained to provide support to the migrants in detecting and avoiding violent extremist groups.

Upon return

- Till date, the government, civil society or private sector do not have any effective reintegration programme for the returnee migrants. New returnees face problem in linking with local job markets. They require access to different business advisory services. Some of them may require access to credit. A section of migrants face social problems such as domestic quarrel due to misuse of remittance or incompatibility with spouse or other family members etc. In the absence of formal reintegration support, some of them may feel left out and frustrated. Effective reintegration programme would not only allow a migrant to resettle after return, but also reduces scope of vulnerability to violent extremist propaganda.

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List of Key Informant Interviewees:

Ms. Mahfuza Liza, Additional Deputy Commissioner at Counter Terrorism and Transnational Crime, Dhaka Metropolitan Police, Interview through questionnaire, 11.09.2019.

Dr. Ali Riaz, Professor, Department of Politics and Government, Illinois State University (ISU), Interview in Skype, 07.03.2019.

Dr. Niloy Biswas, Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka, Interview through questionnaire, 06.07.2019.

Dr. Lailufar Yasmin, Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka, Face to face interview, 16.07.2019.

Dr. Ali Ashraf, Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, University of Dhaka, Face to face interview, 09.07.2019.

Dr. Sahab Anam Khan, Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, Jahangirnagar University, Closed door presentation followed by In-depth interview, 24.12.2018.

Annex-I

Qualitative Interviews

Interview 1.

I am Mohammad Al Amin. I am 27 years old. There are 4 members in my family. I studied up to class 5. In 2010, I went to Oman and later I moved to Saudi Arabia in 2017. I have returned to Bangladesh in 2018. Currently, I am trying to go to Qatar. When I was at Oman, I used to catch fishes in the sea. Besides, I worked as a cleaner and did embroidering too. In Saudi Arabia, I used to make grills in a workshop near the city. Before doing this, I worked as a driver in Saudi. In abroad I did not have any work for about half a year. When I had no work, I did various short-term works and looked for better works. I was at psychological stress as my employer did not pay me regularly. The current citizens of Saudi Arabia are fraud. They trick us. They do not pay us after work. They do not even pick up the phone when we call them. The decrease of the rate of Akama was so depressing. The employers made the rule themselves that we have to pay them 500 riyals for working outside. They behaved like dogs. The local people used to treat us miserably. They looked down upon me as I was a Bangladeshi and disrespected me. They thought of me as a citizen from a poor country. They called Pakistanis as Sheikh and Bangladeshis as *Miskin*. I had to work for 15 hours per day. There was a break of 30 minutes during work. I had 4 days off a month. I used to stay in the place organized by the outsourcing company.

My elder brother Sumon (35) had a shop of mobiles. I learnt how to use internet from him before going abroad. After going there, I could load data in my mobile after my roommates showed me how to buy data for couple of times. There I could buy 10 GB data for 3 months by 150 riyals. Later I also showed other newcomers how to use internet. Using internet was not allowed in the workplace when there was workload. We had to use internet during the lunch time and also after returning to home finishing work. I used social media for 1 hour per day before going to the abroad and 5 to 10 minutes per day at the abroad. Currently I am using it for 10 to 15 minutes per day. When I was at Saudi Arabia, I missed my family very often. I felt so lonely. I inquired about my family and financial issues through my mobile and IMO. Besides, I listened to music and watched movies and dramas in YouTube. When I felt lonely, I listened to Waj of Bangladeshi and foreigner Alems. Mosty I listened to Waj of Omid

Hamza and Azahari. My Islamic knowledge had increased by it. I could know more about Kaba and Macca. I was not taking part in Hazz although I was so close to Kaba. After listening to Waj, I did Omra Hazz twice. I prayed for 5 times and fasted regularly. I did these following the local people there. I was acquainted with many people there. I made many new Indian, Pakistani, Mudani and Yemeni friends in my workplace and market. I talked with them about work. No religious topic was discussed among us.

I may face troubles if I mistakenly like or share Jehadi posts in the internet. They may know my information. Once my email account was hacked after I clicked in a link by mistake. I could not open my email anymore. I could easily find out whether a news found in online true or fake. I only liked the page "News 24" in facebook. I verify a news myself before sharing it. I ensure the credibility of a news by discussing it while hanging out with my friends. I saw messages containing links of attack on Palestine, Saudi's attack on Yemen and war of Hanafi-Sunni. These messages were in Bengali. I also found videos on Israeli atrocities in Gaza where I watched young men and children are being killed by the Israeli army. I felt so sad watching these videos. I do not accept friend requests of unknown people in social media. It's because I want to keep relationship only with the people who I know. The unknown people want to go into a new relationship after talking only once or twice. It wastes too much time. If I get invitation to join in a closed group, I remove it. I never joined in such groups, because boys and girls talk in group message in IMO and share videos which waste time. I can do a lot of things during that time.

I have encountered financial problem after returning to my country. At present, I am unemployed. I have taken a loan from BRAC. I still have contact through IMO with my Indian and Bengali friends who I met at the abroad. I still remember how I roamed around the streets of Saudi. I do not think that the Bangladeshi migrant workers have any possibility of being terrorists. Maybe the probability is 1 in thousand or not even that. In that case, we have to be careful ourselves so that the internet may not play any role. We have to understand what is safe and what is risky for us. How can my parents monitor what I do outside my house? Similarly, I do think that the government can stop us from doing anything wrong at the abroad by taking any step.

Interview 2.

I am Kamrul Islam. I am 38 years old. I studied up to S.S.C. There are 5 members in my family. I migrated to Qatar in 2011. Then I went to UAE. I returned from my last migrated country in 2019. I worked as an electrician in Qatar. After going to Dubai, I was jobless for around 6 months. During that time, I led a miserable life. I had to borrow from fellow Bangladeshis to survive. I fell into debt. I could not communicate with my left behind family in Bangladesh. Then I started working as a plumber. In the meantime, I did not get salary of 2 months. I worked almost 15 hours a day. There were 4 days off in a month. In Dubai, Bangladeshi workers would get less facility than workers from other countries like Nepal, India and Sri Lanka.

Once, one of my Bangladeshi friends cooked duckling. We were having it together. There was a Pakistani who was a listed criminal. We did not know this information. Unfortunately, the local police arrested us along with him. We had to stay in the prison for 11 months for that person. After being arrested, Bangladesh embassy did not advocate for us.

When I was in my country, my elder brother helped me to sign up a Facebook account. However, I had no interest of using internet. After 2nd time migration, I purchased a smart phone. In my living room, there was free wifi. I learnt using internet myself. No one helped to learn it. I used IMO and Facebook to communicate with my family and friends. It allowed me to make communication with my dear ones with low cost. It saved my money. I could not use phone during working hours. Using phones was restricted by the employers. I made friendship with some Indian people. We used to talk on our daily activities. We would not talk on religious issues. I used to listen recitation of Quran and religious sermons on YouTube. Sometimes, I would go to mosque for listening Khutba. From there, I learnt how to pray properly.

I understand propaganda and false news are spread over social media. However, I haven't received any extremist propaganda in my mobile. If I browse extremist websites by mistake, I may face in danger. But I don't know what sorts of problems may occur. I used to discuss any suspicious news or content shared in the social media with my friends or fellow workers. Some of my friends would identify it as fake. Usually, I do not accept any invitation from the unknown persons. Because, unknown persons may cause danger. Sometimes, friends would share some videos regarding

atrocities on Rohingyas, violence on women etc. They would send those in my inbox. I cannot verify the authenticity of the videos that I watched. I believe the majority of those videos are not true. May be one out of ten news spread online is true. The language of the videos was English. I could not make out what they were saying, but I could guess something. As a Muslim, I pray to Allah so that He saves all human.

A Bangladeshi worker may potentially be a foot soldier of extremist forces. A worker from Bangladesh may be influenced by the workers from other countries like Pakistan, Syria, Iran etc. As these people work together, they can easily build a good relationship among themselves. On the other hand, I do not think that a man can be influenced to do any extremist activity by the internet. Internet is a medium of communicating with one another. We only communicate with known persons in social media. Yet, a person should be conscious for using internet safely. I think Bangladesh embassy in abroad is like a guardian. They should look after the workers in the abroad. Moreover, the government can form a team who will research on possible dangers of the migrant workers and find out the solutions.

Interview 3.

I am Mustaq. I am 39 years old. There are 15 members in my family. I passed SSC and did not continue then. I went to Malaysia in 2007. I had BMET smart card and mobile at the time of migration. In Malaysia, I worked as a supervisor at a furniture factory in the city. At that time, there was no work in the factory for 3 months. When I worked there, the local people and my employer treated me well. They did not see me as a citizen of a poor country, although they gave me less opportunities and benefits. There I lived alone. It took 2 minutes to reach my workplace from home. I worked for 8 hours per day. I had a break of one and a half hours during work and 4 day offs in a month.

I did not use internet before migration since it was not available in the country back then. After going to Malaysia, I learnt how to use internet for the first time from my Malaysian female colleague named Wailing (20-25 years old). She studied in Australia. She learnt to use computer and internet from there. At first, I had problem in learning as I did not understand English writing. Then I realized how much demand English has. I felt sad whenever I remembered my children. I could not talk

to my family just after arriving to Malaysia as there was no mobile in my house. Later I sent mobile to my home and started talking regularly. I asked about my family matters like education, health, marriage and financial issues like earning, expenditure, business etc. through my mobile and IMO. However, the use of mobile was restricted during duty time and if we used it for anything except official works, they fined us 100 Tk. During office time, I could use my mobile as well as office's Wireless to make calls for official work. I used mobile after every 2 hours in the break of 15 minutes. Also I could use mobile for personal reason after returning to my residence. If I combine official work and personal use, then every day I was at social media for 3 hours. After returning to my country, I use it for 5 hours per day.

My mother died when I was at Malaysia. Also one of my migrant friends there died. These matters hurt me most. When I felt lonely, I used to hang out with my friends and chat with them using WhatsApp, Messenger and Facebook. I watched dramas, movies, songs, world news and Waj of Bangladeshi and foreigner Alems in YouTube. Mijanur Rahman Azahari is from my village. I liked to listen to Waj of Azahari and another Alem from Kuakata. I listened to them regularly. I did not pray before, but after listening to their Waj, I started praying 5 times in a day. I had learnt the rules of prayer and the duties to my parents from Waj. I went outside with my friends in weekends. I had new Australian friends in my workplace, living space and market. I used to talk with them about business. I took online services of bank to send money to my country. I was defrauded by the local people of Malaysia once. Besides, Passport Office took more money from me in the embassy. I had a bike accident in Malaysia.

I have no idea about the misuse of social media by the terrorist groups. Is there time for searching these issues in the abroad? In Malaysia, I returned to my room at 12 am. Then I used Facebook for 10 to 15 minutes to talk with my family. I could go to sleep at 2 am after completing my tasks. So, I did not have any time to watch their propaganda. Still now I do not get any free time for myself after giving time to my family. I can differentiate between real and fake news in online. It is easy to understand by reading the content. For example, the issue that Priya Saha talked against the country has been published in BBC. Also, I have seen the video, hence it is real. The fake ones seem like rumors. They are posted from unknown sites. I have received messages about Rohingya issue in Facebook. They were in Bengali language. I felt sad and disheartened watching these videos. Some Malaysian came

to collect donations for Rohingyas. I donated cloths and money. In Malaysia, people shared videos of rapes publicly. I did not like it and hence I never shared or liked these. However, I did not fear that the terrorist groups would steal my personal information if I liked their posts since I did not share any private matters in social media. In every 2 weeks, I and my colleagues got messages of winning lottery in our mobiles. It would tell us to collect 2 lacs Tk. after paying 2 to 4 thousands Tk. We ignored them as we knew they were fake. I did not accept the friend requests from unknown people in social media. I accepted friend requests only from my villagers and Australian dealers. It is because I did not want to keep unknown people in my friend list. I have received invitations to join closed groups, but I did not accept them. I have returned to my country in 2018. Since then I am having financial problems. At present, I do business and earn 20 thousands TK. per month. I still have contact with my foreigner friends who I met in Malaysia via IMO and Messenger. I want to migrate again.

I do not believe that Bangladeshi migrant workers have any possibility of being terrorists, especially in Malaysia. Everyone has gone there in search of work. After going there, they find out that Malaysians get 1500 riyals for the same work that pays Bangladeshis 500 riyals. It makes them depressed and changes their outlook. They want to work more and earn more. They do not have any desire to go into other directions. Moreover, they do not get much time to use internet. There are 7 to 8 lacs Bangladeshi workers in Malaysia of whom most are illegal. I went to the Bangladesh High Commission for renewing my passport for four times. I could not do it and hence I returned to Bangladesh. I did not want to go to the prison of Malaysia as their prison was a hell of a place. If Bangladesh embassy helped me, I could work there till now. So the government should solve these urgent problems first. Then they should look into the matter of Bangladeshi migrants getting involved in terrorism.

Interview 4.

My name is Hisbul Bahar (34). My family consists of 4 members. I have studies up to class 5. I migrated to Bahrain in 2012. There I had BMET smart card and mobile. In Bahrain, I worked as a plumber, painter and electrician at an area which was a bit far from the city. I organized a place with my colleagues to stay from where it took 30 minutes to reach my workplace. There I had work whole year. I worked for 10 hours per day. However, I got a break of 1 hour during my work and weekly holidays of 4

days per month. I could enjoy 2 hours of leisure period for myself after completing my daily routine which included job, travelling, preparing food, shower and sleep. My employer and colleagues behaved well with me although they belittled me for being Bangladeshi. They considered me as a citizen from an underdeveloped country. I was never tricked by the local people of Bahrain. But a Bengali took 73 thousands Tk. from me and never returned.

I did not use internet before going to the abroad since I did not have a smart phone. My nephew (32/33 years old) had been living in Bahrain before my migration. After I went there, he showed me how to use internet. I could talk unlimitedly for 28 days by paying 620 riyals. I could use mobile during my work too. There was no restriction. I used social media for 1 hour per day while I was at Bahrain. Currently I use it for 30 minutes daily. Once, my ID was hacked after I chatted with an unknown person in Messenger. I had to fix it from a computer shop. It was very hurtful to not being able to receive affections from the close ones in abroad. When I was at Bahrain, my grandfather died. Also, body of a Nepalese migrant was found in a deep refrigerator. These two incidents hurt me most. I met with new people from India and Pakistan in my workplace, market and mosque. We talked about political issues such as Shia people do not have guns, but Pakistani polices have. We did not talk about religious topics. When I felt lonely, I hung out with my friends. I went outside with them in holidays. I asked whereabouts of my family members through Skype, Viber and IMO. I listened to music and watched movies and Waj in YouTube. My faith in Allah has increased after migration. In Jamat, we were invited to go to the way of Islam. There were a Bengali Mowajjim and 3 Bengali cleaners in the mosque. I learnt more about the life style that was described in Hadith from them.

I do not know much regarding the misuse of social media by the terrorist groups. Those who are good will use it for good purposes and those who are bad will use it for bad purposes. If I like or comment on a bad post, my friends will see it and think bad of me. When I was at the abroad, I did not get any terrorist message in my mobile. I could find out whether a news is real or fake in online. I made sure if the news is correct before sharing it. Youngsters sing songs in YouTube and also make videos. I also see news of cutting children's throat in YouTube. Since I do not see these in real life, I do not believe them. Whenever I feel doubt, I share it with my friends. They also do not believe any news unless they see it by their own eyes. No

one ever demanded money from me in online. However, I sent money to my wife and younger nephew through internet.

The videos of attack on Rohingyas, Syria war and famine went viral on Facebook and YouTube. I felt bad watching these videos. I had desire to take part in the war and wished if Bangladeshi government would help them, I could return to my country from Bahrain to fight for the Rohingyas. When I get friend requests from unknown people in social media, I mostly accept them and sometimes keep them hanging. I know that if I become friend with a terrorist in social media, he may harm me. Yet I accept friend requests from unknown people thinking that although I do not know them, they may know me. I have received an invitation from a closed group in IMO. The group invited me personally. It had 150 members. Girls and boys gossiped in the group. The torture that was happening on Muslims all around the world was not discussed in the group. I have come back to my country in 2015. Since then I am in financial trouble. Currently I am collecting money in Shanchoyi to earn 6 thousands TK. per month. I am also connected to Asha loan. I do not have any connection with the friends that I met in Bahrain. I remember the earnings that I did there. I have a desire to migrate again.

There may have possibility of Bangladeshi migrant workers being terrorists, I do not know. I see much news in TV. It may happen. I think doing such things may become easier using internet. So before migration, people should know precisely how to use internet safely. Actually government can do many things if they want. Not just in that case, but also in many other cases. I am son of a Muktijuddha, but I have not received any benefit from the government. The government should build many more garment factories. Hence, the work opportunities will increase and everyone will not run for a chance to go to the abroad. Therefore, they will not fall in the risk of getting involved in terrorism.

Interview 5.

I am Md. Ripon. I am 46 years old. I used to do different types of works while I was in Bangladesh. After my marriage, I decided to migrate. Then I went to Bahrain at the age of 26. In 2018, I permanently returned from Bahrain. After going there, I got work in the city area. I worked as a lift operator in a building. I used to drive a car during

my free time. I worked daily 8 hours. In the meantime, I had a break of 1 hour. I was allowed 4 days off in a month.

I migrated in 1999. At that time, mobile was a very costly device. Purchasing a phone was out of my mind. I did not have any mobile phone till 6 years of my migration. I felt bad for my left behind family. Sometimes, I communicated with my family over phone from a telecom shop. It costed high although talking duration was less. My father died when I was in abroad. I could not see his face for the last time due to staying far away. I was feeling very sad. Afterwards, I purchased a mobile phone. I requested my roommates and colleagues to install necessary apps for communicating with friends and family. That's when I learnt using internet and social media. Initially, I faced troubles while using mobile phone and would go to the people who knew it. Sometimes, they did not give any time to teach me on gadget. Later, I made no more mistake in using mobile and internet. I could see all my family members over IMO. I could talk whenever I liked. I did not have any tension of mobile balance. However, there was restriction over phone during working hours. I could use mobile phone during break hour.

I used to pass my leisure time watching Bangla drama, movie and listening to Waj. I acquired a good amount of knowledge on prayer by listening to Waj. I knew Islamic customs and life histories of prophets. I liked to listen more about them in Waj. From Waj, I learnt to tell truth in our daily life. The rest things are not possible to obey in day to day life. For example, I cannot pray five times a day.

While residing in Bahrain, I used to chat with Filipino girls over internet. I communicated with them in English. It helped me to develop my skill on English language. Also, I had lots of friends from different countries. They were from Pakistan, India, Nepal, Syria etc. I would talk with them on various issues such as family matters. I would maintain good relationship with them. Even I would exchange money with them. We would borrow and lend money from each other if necessary. We would also discuss on religious issues such as how to pray and fast properly. I would invite other people to come in local mosque for listening sermons and Islamic lectures.

I had fallen in danger for many times in abroad. Once, I scuffled with a fellow worker. Then, a Mowajjim settled up the matter. I think I got justice. During staying in the

Bahrain, I got an accident. I fell down from a shelf and broke my leg. I had to stay in bed for a long time. Beside this, I faced snatching. 3/4 people snatched away money and mobile phone from me. Once, I got a call from an unknown person. The person told me to come to a place. I decided not to go there as I did not know the person. On another occasion, I got a call from a Pakistani. The man informed me that I had won a lottery of 4 lacs Tk. But I was sure that I never purchase any lottery. Hence, I scolded the man and disconnected the line.

I don't know what the intentions of the extremist forces are in internet and how they recruit a foot soldier. If I found any extremist propaganda during migration, I wouldn't visit their sites. I just skipped them. I thought that if I visited their sites, they could be able to identify my locations and my details. As we use profile pictures in Facebook and IMO, they might use my picture in fulfilling evil intentions. I heard of one Bangladeshi working in Oman who was proposed by a local party to work with them. I heard of another incident where one man who was of Omani origin had been involved in different wars including Iraq war. But I was not sure about the truth of the news as I did not see them myself.

I watched videos of torturing Muslims over IMO and Facebook. There were videos showing torture on Rohingyas and Syrian people by Israeli army. I felt bad for them. The languages were in Bangla and English. These videos were shared by friends who were in my friend list in social media. I could verify them whether they were true or fake. Sometimes, I guessed all the videos were true at first view. But if I noticed closely what was actually happening in the videos, I could find them as fake. Once, I heard that Saydee's face had appeared in the moon. This incident erupted riot in some parts of Bangladesh. Sometimes, I got friend requests from the unknown persons, but I did not accept all of them. I only accepted those whom I liked. If for some reason I did not like them, I blocked them. I mostly accepted those who were known to me. What's the use of listing someone as friend when you know you don't have anything is common rather it may put me into danger? I had been invited to closed group. But I found it irritating as there were too much posts appeared in that group.

If I express my views on the statement that Bangladeshi people in abroad have possibility to be foot soldiers, I would say everything has good and evil sides. People

should choose wisely what is better for them. In fact, I think it is the sense of people by which they should differentiate the good from the evil. Last but not the least, a man should be a good soul. As there are always good and evil things existing together over the internet, people should choose the good one. It is necessary to learn good things. Moreover, I would say people in abroad work hard. After returning from a long working hour, they don't get much time to explore internet. I would suggest that the Bangladesh embassy in the destination country should take care of the Bangladeshi people who are residing there. They should also observe what they are doing. Embassy can record all the data of the migrants so that it can monitor them easily. Embassy can train them so that Migrant workers do not involve in any evil doing.

Interview 6.

I am Masud Rana (32). I live in Khilgati village under Kalihati upazilla. I passed SSC. There are 7 members in my family. In 2006, I migrated to Singapore at the age of 19 and returned to Bangladesh when I was 31. First, I worked as a cleaner in the road. Later, I started working as a labour in a welding workshop. I used to cut metal and steel using gas. I had to work daily 11 hours. I enjoyed break of 45 minutes during my work. I did not have any weekend. My salary was very poor. Moreover, I did not get my salary regularly. They provided salary after three-four months. Nonetheless, they involved me in various works. Once, a Singaporean woman contracted with me to work and promised to give USD 500. But after three days, she fired me from the work without showing any reason.

In Singapore, I lived in a place arranged by the outsourcing company. There lived people from other countries too. Sometimes, People from Tamil region of India came into that place and threaten us for money. I had to pass nights in my working place for many days. I had an accident during work. A rod fell down and penetrated in my left hand. I was hospitalized for a long period. During that time, my company bore my treatment cost and insurance company provided some little portion of money. The local people of considered us as citizens of a poor country.

I missed my family members while I was in abroad. I wished to talk with my parents. But I could not do so all the time. There lived one of nephews. He was my cousin's son. He died there at very early age. For that reason, I became mentally upset. I did not have a smart phone when I was in country. So I could not use social media. After going to abroad, I purchased a mobile phone. My Bangladeshi friends and fellow workers helped me to learn using smart phone and internet. I used to communicate with my family members over IMO and WhatsApp. Sometimes, I would face troubles during using internet. Then I would seek help from my roommates and other fellow workers. They always helped me. My company restricted upon using mobile phone during working hours. After returning from work and finishing my meal at night, I used to browse Facebook and other social media. I would watch Bangla drama, movie in YouTube. I had some friends in there who were from Bangladesh and India. I had been introduced with them in my workplace, living place and market. I had some online friends too. In abroad, I would be very happy seeing my native people as I would be able to talk with them in Bangla. I would discuss with them on various issues. We would discuss on the torture happening on Muslims around the world. I would receive messages of protests against tortures on Muslims as well as atrocities on Rohingyas and people of Palestine. Those messages were in both Bangla and English language. It hurt me a lot to watch them. However, there were both type of news- true and false. We should verify them. I would do so.

In Singapore, people of Tablighi Jamaat used to invite us to come in Mosque where they discussed on various Islamic issues. They taught us about the Hadith on daily life. I learnt many religious things from them. I did not listen to Waj in my mobile. I would listen it live. If I faced problem in understanding any religious issue, I took help from the Imam and Mowajjim. A political party from Bangladesh tried to recruit us in their team. But I did not go as I had a realization that Tablighi Jamaat was the right way. Currently, I am involved in Tablighi Jamaat.

I have not heard any news regarding the recruitment of Bangladeshi people to extremist forces. Once, I heard that an organization was offering Muslim people to go to Church to invite the Christian people in the way of Islam. For doing this, they would provide 1200 USD. Sometimes, I found some similar advertisements, but I did not respond to them. I skipped them always. If anyone browses any extremist website, he may fall in danger. It has possibility of stealing personal data. I got a

message twice that I won lottery of 2 Million Tk. They wanted to know my Master card number. I made it out that it was totally trying to cheat me. I received many friend requests from unknown persons, but I accepted after verifying their IDs. If I would see any political news or any other propagandas in their timeline, I rejected them straight.

I don't think that Bangladeshi migrant workers have the possibility to be foot soldiers of the extremist forces in destination. Because, people work hard in the abroad. They don't have much time to think of such issues. However, internet may have an influence nowadays. In this case, the person who are using internet should be more conscious. If anyone is involved in extremist forces, it can damage our country's image.

Interview 7.

I am Delowar (42). My educational qualification is passing SSC. There are 5 members in my family. I migrated to Saudi Arabia in 1997 for the first time and then returned to Bangladesh in 2017. I worked as a labor in a city of Saudi. I had my own business too. I had work whole year. I worked for 2 hours per day. I had 5 to 6 hours of break during my work. I had 8 days off in a month. I needed only 5 minutes to go to the workplace from my dormitory. I could enjoy 5 to 6 hours of leisure period for myself after completing all tasks like work, travel, cooking, bath and sleep.

Mobile was not available back then when I migrated and hence I did not use mobile just after going to Saudi Arabia. After mobile became available, I bought a sim from a Philippine shop of mobiles. They installed IMO, WhatsApp and Messenger in my mobile and showed me how to use these. There was no Wi-Fi there. I could use 10 GB data for 3 months by buying a card of 120/130 riyals. Besides, I worked in the emergency department of my office. The company loaded 200 riyals per month in the office's mobile. I could use that mobile too to talk to my family. As I had less education, I could not look for all the options in the mobile. I just used how much I needed to survive. I missed my family a lot. I could talk to them immediately whenever I missed them. I made some Arabic and Bangladeshi new friends in Saudi. I asked their well-beings. When there was no work, I listened to Waj and news in Facebook and also chatted with my friends. We discussed about prayers and what things are accepted and what are prohibited in Islam. In Saudi, I went to Islamic

Research Centre. I learnt the right way to follow my religion and how to achieve Jannatul Kafi from there. Saudi is the country of our prophets. The people of that country are more expert regarding religion. We follow Islam by listening from others, but they follow the exact rules. I learnt the proper way of following the religion from their Waj. I am keeping beards now. But my family members do not like it.

I have never received any terrorist posts in my mobile. I am not interested to use social media. I live a very normal life. I do not think about such things. That's why I do not know these things. I have no experience of all these. I do not think about what may happen to me if I go to the sites of terrorists. Once my Facebook was blocked after there was a call from an unknown number. I had to go to the operator to fix it. I do not believe the information that are shared in social media. I only trust the news telecasted in TV. I do not accept friend request from unknown people in social media. Is there any necessity to keep them in my friend list! Imam used to talk about the wars in Iraq, Palestine, Jordan and Saudi border during Khutba at mosque and prayed for them. I prayed with everyone for the victims' relief too.

I do not think that Bangladeshi migrant workers have any possibility of getting involved in terrorism. They migrate with the dream of bringing financial progress. They do not think of going into any other direction. Moreover, they have lack of knowledge in these topics. They do not have the education that is needed to get involved in terrorism by using internet. Well, it is true that those who drink alcohol, take drug or involve in illegal relationship with women, look for these things after going to the abroad as well. Similarly, if anyone is interested to join the extremist groups, he will go to the abroad for fulfilling that desire. So the government should enquiry why an aspirant migrant is willing to migrate and what work he will do in the abroad before sending him. Also, to make sure of the safe internet use in the abroad, the computer training should be mandatory for labors, engineers, doctors and all who want to migrate.

Interview 8.

I am Md. Ilius Hossain Talukdar. At present, I am 38 years old. I went to the school up to class 8. There are 6 members in my family. I went to Oman in 2005. I worked as a constructor at a city of Oman. I had work whole year. I had to work for 8 hours per day. I had a break of 1 and a half hours during this work period. There was 4 days of weekly holidays per month. They promised me to pay 300 riyals as monthly

salary, but they confirmed only 100 riyals after I went there. I did not want to go to work as they did not even pay me that amount of money properly. They used to rebuke me for that. The employer threatened to beat me if I did not work. After tolerating much torture, I returned to my country in 2017.

I learnt how to use internet from the young boys of my village when I came to Bangladesh on vacation. A boy who went with me to Oman could use internet. He showed me how to load MB in the mobile. We were not allowed to use mobile during work. However, we could make emergency calls. I could see my close ones through IMO and WhatsApp whenever I wanted. I could talk with them by spending only some money. After returning to my room from work at the end of day, I watched Bangla and Hindi dramas and movies. I also watched Waj and news. In Oman, I had Bangladeshi, Indian and Omani friends. I met them in my workplace. We had conversation about our family matters and work. We encouraged each other to pray. I passed my weekends by hanging out with friends, video chatting with my family and listening to Waj. Generally, I did not listen to Waj much. Mostly I prayed and fasted. Whenever I was called to attend Waj at the mosque, I skipped as I did not feel like it. When I was at the abroad, I used to like and share if I received any extremist posts. I made sure that the post which I was sharing was accurate. There was always a written content with a video. I could understand the accuracy of the post by reading the content. If I was still suspicious, I discussed with my friends. Everything has both the positive and negative sides. Similarly, internet has some negative sides. But only those who have no morality use internet for negative purposes. I watched the videos of torture on Muslims of Myanmar in Facebook. I felt that a human should not torture another human in such way! I have never heard that some terrorist group was trying to enroll any Bangladeshi migrant in their group. Well, I have seen in the TV that some people go to ISIS, but I have never heard any such thing in reality. If I go to the terrorism sites in internet mistakenly, I could face many problems. They may collect my personal information and use them to blackmail me. It can be life-threatening for me. At the beginning, I used to accept all the friend requests that I got whether it was from someone I knew or not since I did not realize the risks associated with it. Later, from different sources such as family members in Bangladesh and Bangladeshi co-workers I learnt about the danger of getting friendly with unknown persons. Since then I did not do it anymore as I realized unknown people can harm me in many ways. They might give me wrong information or commit fraud with me. After coming

back to Bangladesh, I had monetary problem. Currently, I am driving car. I suffered physically since I had an accident. Now I am earning 6 to 7 thousands Tk. per month by driving. Although I do miss my friends at Oman, I do not want to go to the abroad ever again.

Regarding the fact that whether Bangladeshi migrant workers have the possibility to become terrorists or not, I would say that only those who do not have morality will get involved to those things. Those who have went to work at the abroad will work there. In this case, internet may play a major role. The extremist groups may use internet to spread misinformation to attract general public. To prevent it, the government should track what people are doing in internet by using digital technology. Also the Bangladeshi embassies in the destination countries should regularly monitor what the Bangladeshi migrants are doing in the abroad.

Interview 9.

I am Mamun Bepari. I am 27 years old. There are 5 members in my family. I have studied up to class 7. I went to Bahrain in 2013. Now I have come to my country in vacation. The first obstacle that I faced after going to Bahrain is the language barrier. At the beginning, I had to work outside of the company for 1 month. My employer sent me to work for another company and received my salary from that company. Those who work at the outside do not receive any payment from the employer most of the time. I worked as a master chef at a restaurant within the city for few months. Before migration, I did a computer course for 1 month at Gouronodi upazilla. At present, I teach spoken and computer skills in a government institute in Bahrain. I have works whole year. I work 9 hours in a day. Within this period, I have a break of 2 hours. I have 4 days of weekly holidays per month. After work, traveling, cooking, shower and sleeping, I have 10 to 20 minutes of free time for myself.

In the abroad, I miss my family and the nature of my country very much. Social media contribute a lot to keep connection between me and my country. I can inquiry about family matters through mobile, IMO and WhatsApp. As I have unlimited wifi in Bahrain, I can use internet there whenever I want. If I would call by mobile directly, I had to spend 2 to 4 thousands Tk. per month. Now I get 450 free minutes for 1 month by 1200 Tk. Using mobile during duty is not allowed. I have to switch off my mobile when I was at duty. I have many well-wishers in Bahrain. I made new Arabic, Turkish, Jordanese, Pakistani and Egyptian friends in my living place, workplace,

market and online. We talk about work, hadith and our cultures. I reduce my loneliness by going outside and talking with friends and video chatting with my family. Once I lost my sense in a salon. Another time, one of my friends fell on the ground and died while talking with his family over phone. This incident hurt me a lot. Besides, I feel sad when I see the tortures on Muslims all over the world, fire over Shia-Sunni conflict, burning tires, blocked roads etc. I heard from my Pakistani friend who is a Sunni that he had been approached by some groups to join them to fight the Shias in Shia-Sunni war. I have learnt new things about prayer from my Bengali and Jordanese friends. I have known from them that the Milad that we arrange at the 3rd or 41th day after the death of someone is not right. Instead of this, they perform the prayer of Sodkaye Jariya by building deep tube-wells. The government of Bahrain donates regularly to the mosques and madrasas. I listen to Waj of Tarek Monowar and Azahari in YouTube. I like their Waj. They make my mind soft and grow moralities in me. I have taken the lesson of protecting myself from lust and aggression from their Waj.

Our company had 3 cars. A Bengali took a car with verbal permission. Then he neither returned the car, nor paid any money. Another Bengali Mowajjim cut an Arabic Imam into pieces. After these incidents have occurred, visa money has been off now. That's why I cannot bring anyone from my country anymore. Also, I have found my luggage being cut in Bangladesh airport.

If I got any terrorist post in my mobile while I was at Bahrain, I shared it with my friends. I have heard that cyber-crimes happen in Bangladesh. Some harass people using fake IDs and do many illegal things. If I go to the sites of terrorists by mistake, they will know my personal information and current location. They may make damages using these. I can identify whether an information is true or not in online. I can do it by reading the replies in the comment section. I have liked the Facebook pages of RTV and NTV. I watch their news. I have got online messages asking for my credit card number and money. I never replied to these messages. I have seen messages about the genocide over Muslims on Facebook and YouTube. The messages were in Bengali language. I felt sad watching them and wanted to protest. I had tears in my eyes when I read the news of death of Aiub Bacchu. I do not accept the friend requests from unknown people in social media because it makes misunderstanding with others. I have received invitation to join a closed group. There are more than 100 members in that group. Friends make fun in that group. Also, they

talk about what is happening in the country. Everyone shares his/her happiness and sadness with each other. Sometimes, they talk about religious matters.

In my opinion, it is not possible to get involved in the terrorist works while living in the dormitory of the company since the company always controls migrant workers and checks where they are going and what they are doing. But if the company that takes the migrant sends him to work in a different company, then there may create the opportunity to go into different direction. To ensure the safe use of internet for the migrant workers at abroad, the personal security of the accounts has to be increased so that no account will be hacked. Whenever a fake ID is detected, it has to be blocked immediately. To prevent Bangladeshi migrant workers from joining the terrorist groups, the government should check in which visas they are going before sending them to the abroad. They should be informed clearly about the possible dangers that they may face outside of the country. Besides, dalal promise the aspirant migrants of a salary of 50 to 60 thousands before sending them. But they get works of fewer salaries after going to the abroad. These fraudulences should be stopped by the government too.

Interview 10.

My name is Md. Selim Mia (46). There are 4 members in my family. I went to the school up to class 5. I went to Malaysia in 2007. I had BMET smart card and mobile in the destination country. There I worked at a plastic factory locating a little far from the city. I had works the whole year. I used to work for 8 hours per day and within that time I had a break of 45 minutes. I had weekends of 4 days per month. I could not enjoy any free time after finishing my work, travel, meals, shower and sleep. My employer and colleagues respected me in the workplace. They never belittled or ignored me as a Bangladeshi. However, they considered me as a citizen of a poor country.

I did not use internet before going to the abroad as internet was not available back then. After I went to Malaysia, the use of internet was still rare. Later when IMO became popular, I saw my roommates and colleagues were talking in IMO. Then I bought a smart phone and started talking in IMO. At the beginning, it seemed problematic as I could not understand every function. My friends showed me how to use it properly. However, since operating IMO is much easy, I learned it quickly.

Before using IMO, I used to talk with my family once in a while through mobile as it would cost so much money. But after I started using apps, I could talk with them everyday. I could talk as long as I wanted by the money that I loaded in my mobile at the beginning of a month. The workload in the factory was huge. We were not allowed to use mobile during work. If the manager found us using mobile, he rebuked us. Hence, I used to go to the factory keeping my mobile in a box in my room. While I was at Malaysia, I used social media for 1 hour per day. After returning to Bangladesh, I have not used it so far. It was so hard not being able to meet with the close ones while I was at the abroad. Besides, one of my colleagues died when I was at Malaysia. This incident hurt me a lot. There I made new Indian, Nepalese and Indo-Chinese friends at my workplace, living place, market and mosque. I asked their whereabouts. We also discussed about prayers. When I felt lonely, I used to spend time by talking and chatting with my friends and also went outside to walk with them during holidays to reduce my loneliness. I learnt more about prayer from Imam of the mosque and my colleagues. In our country, sometimes Waj videos of 3 or 4 minutes length are uploaded in some Facebook pages. Although I could not manage to watch them always, I watched them sometimes. I liked everything that was lectured in Waj although it was not possible to follow everything in day-to-day life. For example, the Islamic scholars in Waj tell us to pray 5 times a day which I cannot obey regularly.

If I got any terrorist propaganda in my mobile while I was at the abroad, I entered into the link to see it and came back doing nothing. I do not have any idea about the misuse of social media by the terrorist groups. I never heard that any such group was trying to enroll any Bangladeshi in their group while I was at Malaysia. I could not always detect fake and real information in online. I did not verify any news before sharing them. I did not have time to do so. No one has ever demanded money from me in online. I watched videos of bombing on Palestine by the Israeli force in Facebook. All including women and children are victim of their torture. I felt so bad watching those videos. These messages used to come in my timeline and also sometimes my friends sent me in IMO. Sometimes I get friend requests from unknown people in Facebook, but I do not accept them. I think it is better not to be friend with someone whom I do not know. Me and my colleagues had a closed group in IMO. We did not keep any unknown people in that group. We discussed about work there. There was no discussion regarding the injustice on Muslims in that

group. The group had most possibly 25/26 members. I returned to Bangladesh in 2018. I have been suffering from poverty after coming back. Now I am unemployed. I do not have any connection with the friends that I met in Malaysia. I do not want to migrate again.

Interview 11.

I am Sadek Hossain. My age is 31 years. There are 5 members in my family. I studied up to class 8. I went to Oman in 2006. I had my BMET smart card and mobile during migration. I lived in an isolated Island of Oman. I used to catch fish in the deep sea. We traveled through boat. It would take almost two and a half hours from my living place to reach in places where we caught fish. Along with commuting I would spend 18 hours at work. There were no weekly holidays. Every day of the month I had to work. From January to till June fishing was not possible. My employer would not pay enough during this season. Forget about other things, it would be difficult to buy rice during this period. When you work, you don't feel lonely. When you are not working, passing time in the island was very difficult. I got a break of 30 minutes during work. When I worked there, the local people and my employer treated me respectfully, although they thought of me as someone who came from a poor country. They gave me less benefits and opportunities as a Bangladeshi. The police sent me to prison although my visa was not expired yet.

Before going to the abroad, I learnt how to use internet from the fellow boys of my village. After going to Oman, my Bengali colleague showed me how to buy internet in the mobile. I did not face any difficulty while learning; it was easy to understand. I always had MB in my mobile in Oman. If I made phone call to my home directly via mobile, it costed too much money. On the other hand, it was so cheap if I talked to my home through internet. I did not have any restriction on using internet in my workplace. I could use it whenever I wanted. When I was residing in Oman, I used internet 1 and half an hour per day. After coming back to Bangladesh, I am using it for same period of time. I felt sad living without my family in the abroad. While I was there, my father died. I could not come to Bangladesh to see him for the last time. In Oman, one of my colleagues died after falling into the sea while fishing. These incidents hurt me most. I used to inquiry about family matters like education, health and marriage of the family members as well as economic matters like income, expenditure, business of the family through IMO and Messenger. I used to talk

affectionately with my family and gave courage during their hard times. I made new Bangladeshi friends in my workplace. I talked with them about work. When I felt lonely, I generally talked with my friends, chatted in internet and also went outside with them for a walk. Besides, I listened to songs as well as Waj of Bangladeshi and foreigner *Alems* and also watched movies and dramas in YouTube. Listening to Waj of Zakir Nayek and Ajahari, I learned about rules of worldly life. There are many fraud Alems who talk about Mazar. This is Fraudulence which is prohibited in Islam. I have known this from Waj. I learned the correct rules of prayers and fasting from a Bangladeshi Imam in Oman.

If I got any terrorist propaganda in my mobile while I was at abroad, I avoided entering into the site. Because, if I go to the sites of terrorists by mistake, they may spread wrong and confusing information using my name and photos. I never heard any event where a terrorist group was trying to enroll Bangladeshis or foreigners into their group. In Oman, I used to live in an island locating 35 km far from the land into the sea. There was no time for doing things like that after work. I did not hear anything like this when I visited city too. I saw messages attaching various links of the genocide on Muslims of Myanmar in Facebook. The messages were in Bengali language. Most of them seemed fake. Previous videos of old incidents were uploaded as new ones. I saw many news of fighting and cutting people with sharp objects in Arabic channels. Later, I discovered those videos were being uploaded in internet claiming them as tortures on Rohingyas. Observing those, I could understand how fake news were made. Actually, 60% of the news that we see in internet are fake. If I receive a friend request from an unknown person in social media, I accept it only if I have mutual friends with him/her. It's because unknown people share wrong and false news in timeline. Moreover, they persuade me to share those news. I have received invitation to join closed groups, but I do not accept them. I have returned to Bangladesh in 2010. Currently, I am suffering from poverty as I am still unemployed. I am, somehow, managing the day to day cost of my family by the small amount of money that I got by selling my land. At present, I am member of madrasa, Eidgah and club of my area. I still contact with my friends who I met in Oman during migration through IMO. I am eager to migrate again although I do not have any way to do so.

In my view, there is no possibility of Bangladeshi migrant workers turning into terrorists. Everyone is busy with their work there. Those who aim to be terrorists will

go there to fulfill that goal. And those who go for work will work. They do not go to any other direction. To use internet safely, people have to understand which information found in internet are correct and which ones are fake. They have to resist themselves from sharing news that are against the government and the country. If any Bangladeshi does anything that goes against the country in the abroad, the government should bring back him/her immediately to Bangladesh with the support of the government of the destination country. That's how the involvement of any Bangladeshi in any extremist work will be prevented.

Interview 12.

I am Md. Sharif. I am 26 years old. There are 7 members in my family. After passing HSC, I went to Saudi Arabia in 2016. I had BMET smart card and mobile with me during migration. I used to work as a day laborer as well as a construction worker at a city of Saudi. During that time, I did not have any work in the company for half of the year. That's why, I had to work for others outside of my company. They took me to work promising good work, but later they would give different kind of work. It took 20 to 25 minutes to reach my workplace from my dormitory. I worked for 12 hours a day. During work, I got a break of half an hour or one hour. I did not have any weekly holiday. My employers did not behave with me respectfully. They saw me as someone who came from a poor country and provided me fewer benefits than citizens of other countries in work.

I learnt to use internet from one of my friends before migration. Nothing can be understood easily at the first time we use it. Similarly, I had some troubles at the beginning, but gradually I learnt it. In Saudi, my roommates used to load MB in my mobile at first and later I could do it myself. I missed my family a lot at the beginning. I could see the faces of my parents daily by video calling through IMO and Viber. It was less costly. If there was no internet, I could make phone call to my home only once in a month. I had to switch off my mobile during work. I could use social media 1 to 2 hours per day while I was in Saudi. After returning to my country, I use it for 3 hours now.

I had a car accident in Saudi. My colleague died in that accident. This incident hurt me a lot. Besides, I had fights with the supervisor of the company for salary. I felt helpless as I was not able to do anything. There I made Bangladeshi new friends at my workplace, living place, market and mosque. Manik was my best friend among

them. I used to share my sorrows with them. We discussed about payers too. I did not pray regularly when I was in Bangladesh, but I prayed five times a day at abroad. When I felt lonely, I hangout with my friends and chatted in the internet. I watched dramas, movies, adult videos and DJ songs in YouTube. Sometimes, I listened to Waj too in YouTube. Listening to them, I knew how to lead my life as a Muslim. I learnt the right way of praying and fasting. I knew the way of gaining heaven after death.

I do not know much about the misuses of social media by the extremist groups. There might be some. There can be many dangers if I visit the terrorist sites by mistake. They will know much information about me. They will know where I am now and what I do. Everyone knows more or less about those risks. I never heard of any event where a terrorist group tried to recruit a Bangladeshi or a foreigner. It is not easy to differentiate between real and fake news in online. I would say it is near to impossible to detect which news shared in internet is false and which is genuine. Hence, I do not trust any news if it is shared only in Facebook and YouTube. I believe the news only after I watch it in TV and newspaper. For example- I am watching news everywhere online that say the government is cutting heads of children to build Padma Bridge. I know those news are hoax as they are not broadcasted on TV. No one ever asked for money from me in internet. However, if my friends needed money urgently, I would send them money through online. Similarly, they would send me too when I needed money. Many pages in Facebook and YouTube wrote posts about the tortures on Rohingyas. It was painful to tolerate after watching those posts. I did not have strength. If I had, I would struggle for them. I do not accept friend requests from unknown persons. It is because, if unknown people are in my friend list, there can be many problems. They can put me in danger after knowing my whereabouts. I have faced economic problems after returning to my country in 2018. Currently, I earn 15 thousands TK. per month doing business. I do not have any connection with the ones who I met in Saudi anymore. I do not want to go to the abroad again.

There might be a little chance of Bangladeshi migrant workers of being terrorists. *Dalals* can be behind it. I do not know actually. The government and educated people should come forward to make sure that Bangladeshi migrant workers can use internet safely after going to the abroad. The government can do a lot of things if

they want. To remove any chance of migrants getting involved in terrorist works, the government should work accordingly with the suggestions of the experts.

Interview 13.

I am Suruzzaman (30). I studied up to SSC. At present, there are 5 members in my family including my wife. In 2006, I went to Saudi Arabia to work at the age of 18. During that time, I did not have BMET smart card or mobile. Later, I went to Brunei. I used to work as a construction worker at little far from the city in Brunei. In abroad, I did not have any work for about half a year. During that period, I had to live with hardship. I had to work for 10 hours per day. There was a lunch break of 1 hour. I had 4 weekly holidays in a month. I did not have any leisure time after I finished my job and day to day works.

I did not buy mobile before migration as I did not have any money to buy it. After going to the abroad, I remembered my family a lot. Hence, I saved some money and bought a mobile. My Bangladeshi colleagues who are the same age as me showed me how to use internet. Using internet was not allowed in the workplace. After returning to home at the night, I talked with my family through IMO. Talking in IMO is so cheap! Direct phone calls cost a lot. When I was at that abroad, my aunt died. I was so sad for not being able to see him for the last time. The local people of Brunei made fun of Bangladeshis calling poor. It made me upset. I made many new friends who were from Egypt, Indonesia and Philippine in Brunei. I talked with them about work and our families. When I felt lonely, I talked with my friends, chatted in online and also went outside with them at holidays. Besides, I listened to music and watched movies, dramas and Waj in YouTube. I liked every Waj. I mainly listened to them for passing time. Not that those Waj helped me in my daily life. But there was an Egyptian Hajji who told us to pray regularly. This was the reason why I prayed more after migration.

I have no knowledge of how the terrorist groups use social media for wrong purposes. There might be some misuses. I do not know as I never received any terrorist propaganda. I may face many troubles if I mistakenly visit terrorist sites in the internet. They may download my images and using those images, they may spread wrong information about me. That's why, none should put a like or share in anything without being sure. When I was at abroad, I could easily find out the authenticity of a news in online. I could verify whether a news found in online true or

fake by watching the content. Now I see news of cutting throats all over the Facebook. Of-course all of them are not real. I never received any messages asking for money in online. I watched videos of wars and fights in YouTube. They were in Bangla and Arabic language. I took them as prank videos. I did not pay much attention to those as most of them were fake. I felt bad watching those which I could verify as real. Sometimes, I got friend requests from unknown people. I accepted only those profiles which I could recognize. I only accepted the people from my village whom I knew. If I accepted people who I did not know, they would make unexpected troubles. I have returned to Bangladesh in 2019 and started working as a farmer. Sometimes, I talk with my friends whom I met in Brunei over phone. I wish to migrate again someday.

I do not know much of the possibility that the Bangladeshi migrant workers may get connected with the terrorist groups. But they do not have time to think about such things as they keep so busy with work at abroad. Educated people can understand better what steps should be taken to keep Bangladeshi migrant workers away from terrorist works in abroad. What can I say! The government should play a major role in this case. They should sit with the experts and research about the necessary initiatives that should be made.

Interview 14.

I am Jahanara. Currently, I am 35 years old. I did not attend school, but I can sign my name. My family consists of 5 members. I have been migrating from 2005. So far, I went to the abroad 3 times. Last time, I went to Lebanon. I have returned to Bangladesh in 2017. After going to Lebanon, I started working at a home. I used to cook there. Besides, I washed dishes and cleaned floor in a hotel. I had to work from 8 am to 3 pm and had a break of 1 hour from 12 pm to 1 pm. I had to work even during holidays. I used to live with my colleagues.

I had suffered a lot for problem of meals after going there. They did not provide us food regularly. I went to the abroad taking loan of huge money. I could not return immediately as I had burden of paying that loan. The employers misbehaved with me whenever I asked for my salary. In fact, I was involved in a fight with a guy from Sudan once.

I listened to Waj and talked with my friends during my leisure period. I made new Bangladeshi friends. I also got close to a person from Iraq with whom I established a brother-sister relationship. We discussed about many things. I could know much about my religion from him. I started praying and fasting after migration. I prayed Tahajjud Namaz too. I regularly talked with my Iraqi brother about prayers and Quran over phone. We asked to each other if we prayed that day. Once I fell down from stare cases and had to be treated. I had to remain hospitalized for a few days. This Iraqi brother not only looked after me, he also paid for my treatment. I am still connected with him. We talk on IMO, WhatsApp and Viber once in a while. Among other things he always preaches to me that I should pray regularly. I still talk with him sometimes after returning to Bangladesh.

Interview 15.

My name is Mahbub Alam Babu. I am 26 years old. My family consists of 6 members. I did not go to school, but I can sign. I migrated to Bahrain in 2010. I worked at a studio in a city of Bahrain. There I had work whole year. I worked for 10 hours per day. However, I got a break of 1 hour during my work and weekly holidays of 4 days per month. I could enjoy 3 hours of leisure period for myself after completing my daily routine which included job, travelling, preparing food, shower and sleep. I used to live in a place which I organized myself.

My uncle used to live in Bahrain before I migrated there. He taught me how to use internet when he came to Bangladesh in vacation. After I went to Bahrain, my uncle showed me how to buy MB in mobile. I felt sad while staying at the abroad without my parents. I could enquiry about everyone in the family easily through IMO. I could watch what they were doing in the house. I could use mobile anytime. There was no restriction from my employer. I knew many people in Bahrain. I had new Bangladeshi friends in my workplace, loving place, market, mosques and also in online. Among them, Sharif was my closest friend. I talked with my friends about work. Besides, we discussed about Rohingya issue and Muslim countries. To remove my loneliness, I generally talked with my friends or went outside with them in holidays as well as made video calls to my family members. Besides, I listened to music and watched dramas, movies, news and Waj in YouTube. Listening to Waj, I learnt many things about my religion. I knew more about prayers and fasting.

I have watched the misuses of social media by the terrorist groups in TV and newspaper, although I did not hear anything in real life. If I got any terrorist propaganda in my mobile when I was at the abroad, I used to see it and sometimes put a like to it. Most of the time, I just existed the site doing nothing. It's because, if I did something mistakenly in their sites, they might know my personal information and current location. They might spread wrong information about me in online. I could make an idea whether a news shared online was real or fake. Fake news can be identified just by watching the content. Yet, if I could not verify it, I would share it with my friends to be hundred percent sure. None ever asked for money from me in online. My friends used to share news of Rohingya issue and Muslim countries in Facebook. As a Muslim, I felt bad naturally watching those news. There's being oppression on Muslim Ummah all over the world of which we can do nothing. When I get friend requests from unknown people in social media, I accept very few of them. There's no need to keep them in my friend list as most of those accounts turn to be fake. One of my friends in Facebook added me in a closed group. The group had 150 members. In that group, friends talk about their personal things. Sometimes, they discuss about religion too. I have come back to my country in 2015. Currently I have a mobile shop. I earn 10 thousands TK. per month. I can manage with this amount of money. There is no financial problem. I still have connection with the friends that I met in Bahrain through IMO. I have a desire to migrate again.

In my opinion, there may have possibility of Bangladeshi migrant workers being terrorists. Although I have never heard anything in real life, I see such news in TV and internet so often. There might a role of internet behind it. Anything is possible through internet! To ensure the safe use of internet by the Bangladeshi migrant workers, the government should remove all the risky websites. Hence, they will not be able to enter such websites. A unity should be built among Bangladeshi migrants to reduce any possibility of them being engaged in terrorist work. In Bahrain, Bangladeshi migrants debated among themselves regarding Bangladeshi politics. They made groups among them. The government should prevent those.

Interview 16.

I am Shefali Begum (36). I went to the school up to class 8. There are 4 members in my family. In 2000, I went to Al Gachi in Saudi Arabia for work at the age of 17

leaving my husband in Bangladesh. In Saudi, I neither had any mobile nor BMET smart card. I worked as a cleaner at a hospital locating in a village far from the city. I had work whole year. In Saudi, I lived in the dormitory of my workplace and went to the hospital by company's bus. Since there were other cleaners staying in the dormitory, I did not feel isolated. I had to work at the hospital for 8 hours daily from 6 in the morning till 2 in the noon. I had a break of 2 hours during this work period. There were 4 days of weekly holidays per month. I got 2 hours of free time for myself after completing my daily routine that included my work at the hospital, travelling, cooking, shower and sleep. While residing in Saudi, my employer and local people used to behave with me respectfully. I did not face any fraudulence or mistreatment from the local people. However, the Filipino boss used to rebuke me with anger for doing anything wrong at the beginning of my work. Although they did not provide me less opportunity than others for being a Bangladesh, they considered me as a citizen from a poor nation. I have not been ill-treated by the local community of Saudi Arabia. In fact, question of ill-treatment does not arrive as I hardly communicated with local people. I only communicated with my co-workers. They treated me well.

I missed my husband and other family members so much while living in Saudi. I felt so lonely. I went to the abroad many years ago. During that time, mobile was not a regular thing. None of us girls living in the dormitory had mobile. We used to send letters to our families. At duration of several months, we went to the market to use the phone booth to talk with our family members. I do not understand anything about internet. Still now, I do not use Facebook, IMO or anything else. I had known people in Saudi. I made new Bangladeshi friends at the dormitory and hospital. I used to cope up with my loneliness by talking with my friends, watching Bangla dramas and movies in television and also by praying and fasting. I talked about family matters with my friends. After migration, my knowledge on religion had changed. I was inspired observing my Indian Muslim roommates. They talked about various Hadiths and the holy Quran and advised us to follow the rules of Islam more. I had known about prayers and fasting more appropriately from them. However, there was no opportunity like this in the hospital.

I have returned to Bangladesh in 2008. Currently, I earn 4000-5000 Tk. monthly by sewing cloths. I need all the money that I earn to manage my family. My children are little. I cannot save any money for their future. I do not have any connection with the friends whom I met in Saudi. Sometimes, I remember my Bengali roommates with

whom I shared my happiness and sadness and lived together. I do not want to migrate again leaving my husband and little children.

When I lived in the abroad, there was nothing like extremists or terrorists. We, the girls, used to live within ourselves separately from others. We never got involved in anything like this. Such things may occur now in the abroad. I cannot tell for sure. The government should teach people properly about the bad effects of terrorism. Before sending them to the abroad, they must be taught how to use internet properly so that they will not do anything wrong at the abroad.

Interview 17.

I am Md. Nazrul Islam. I am 37 years old. My home is at Nursing Hall Potti in Gouro Nodi Upazilla. My family consists of 9 members. I did not continue my study after passing SSC. I migrated to Singapore for the purpose of working in 2013. They did not give me the work that they promised me before migration. I used to work as a cleaner in the city of Singapore. Besides, I had to do works like gardening, painting and plumbing. I had works whole year. I worked 9 to 16 hours in a day. Within this period, I had a break of 1 hour for lunch. I had 1 day off in a week. At the end of the day, I could afford 1 hour of free time for myself after finishing the daily routine.

I did not use mobile before migration since I did not need to use it. Moreover, mobile was not so available back then. After going to the abroad, I learnt how to use internet from my colleagues and friends. Everyone faces some difficulties at the beginning while learning a new thing. Whenever I had trouble understanding something in the internet, my friends, supervisor and even my boss showed me how to do it. In my workplace, I had to send pictures continuously to my boss through WhatsApp. That's why, I did not have any restriction on using mobile in the workplace. Rather, my boss inspired me to use internet. When I was in Singapore, I felt sad for living away from my wife and children. I used to finish my job at 10 o'clock. After that I had hardly any time to spend on social media. I used to quickly connect with my family during duty period at times when work was not that heavy. Hence, there was no specific time for me to use social media. Nonetheless, I could keep contact with many of my relatives and friends living in Bangladesh as well as other countries too.

I had Bangladeshi, Indian, Malaysian and Indonesian friends while living in Singapore. I had met them in my living place, workplace and market. I had also acquainted with some of them when I went to the mosque for prayer. We talked

mostly about work. In monthly vacations, I used to go to short trips and programs with my friends. In the mosque, we had discussion on religion too. In my workplace, my Bangladeshi colleagues used to pray regularly. Watching them, I was interested for starting prayers. During my leisure period, I used to listen to news and Waj in Facebook. However, I had to work till 10 pm and hence I could not manage much time to listen to those. At Sunday, I used to listen to Khutba at the end of the prayer in the mosque. Many unknown things could be learnt in Khutba. From Khutba, I knew about Hanafi Majahar. In Bangladesh, we pray 20 raqats of Tarabi during Ramadan while Shia followers pray only 8 raqats. We keep beards while Shia followers do not.

I do not have much idea about how the terrorist groups misuse social media. Sometimes, I saw my friends' IDs getting hacked. Also, I saw dirty pictures showing up in my timeline. I got calls from unknown numbers in IMO. I do not know any more than that. If I got any terrorist propaganda in my mobile while I was residing in Singapore, I used to put a "like" in it, commented and shared it with my friends. If I go to the online sites of terrorists by mistake, it can cause harm to my country. Because, those groups work against humanity. They may steal important and confidential information of my country and use them for their own benefit. I never heard anything about any extremist group trying to enroll a Bangladeshi. Most of the news that I see in internet are made for fun. The pages share fake news all the time. Whenever I get a new information in internet, I verify it first by comparing it with TV news. Sometimes, I get friend requests from unknown people in Facebook. At the beginning, I used to accept everyone as I did not know the possible risks. But now, I accept requests from only those who I can identify by watching their profile pictures. I do not accept unknown people's requests anymore, because they use other's pictures as their own. Also, they upload dirty pictures. I saw videos of attacks on Rohingyas and other fights in my timeline. I felt so bad watching them and talked with my friends about those videos. While I was at Singapore, we had a closed group in Facebook including all of my colleagues, supervisor and boss. There were 10 members in that group. We mainly talked about work. After returning to Bangladesh in 2018, I have been working in the agricultural land and farm as a farmer. I earn 10 thousands TK. per month. I can manage my family somehow with this amount of money. I am an editor in the mosque of our village. I do works that involve writing

anything. My friends who I met in the abroad still communicate with me. I want to migrate again in future.

In my opinion, there is no possibility of Bangladeshi migrant workers getting involved in the terrorist works in Singapore. If there was, we would learn about it. I was there for many years, but I never heard anything like this. However, I cannot tell for sure about other countries. Almost all of the workers who go to the abroad do not have sufficient knowledge about using internet. Hence, it is necessary to train them well by the experts about different software before sending them to the abroad so that they can use internet safely while working at abroad. The Bangladesh embassy should arrange a seminar to make people understand that we are normal population of a poor nation. We should not do anything that may go against our country while staying at abroad. They should inform to the migrants, “You have gone to work. You should do it properly. Work and send remittance to the country. Do not get involved in any wrong doings”.

Interview 18.

My name is Saiful Islam. I am 30 years old. There are 6 members in my family. I went to the school up to class 8. On December of 2010, I went to Dubai. I had BMET smart card and mobile during migration. I worked as a cleaner at the airport of Dubai. I had works the whole year. I used to live in the dormitory that came with my work locating beside the airport. I used to work for 9 hours per day from 6 am to 5 pm and within that time I had a break of 2 hours from 12 pm to 2 pm. I had weekends of 4 days per month. My employer and local people behaved well with me when I was working at the abroad although they considered me as someone who came from a poor country. They used to tell “All Bengalis Fakir”. They provided me less benefits and opportunities as a Bangladeshi from the citizens of other nations. I had very less salary. That’s why, I ran from the company. Then the police caught me. I had to stay at the jail for 2 days. I had to pay my own money to get outside from the jail.

Before going to the abroad, I had a very normal mobile phone. I used that mobile only to make calls. I did not have any interest to use social media. After going to Dubai, I learnt to use internet from my Bengali roommates. I did not face any problem while learning although sometimes I could not understand everything. It was not allowed to use mobile during work although the rule was not applicable to all of

us. My boss used to talk to me over phone to give instructions of work. I could talk to my family whenever I wanted. There was no trouble. While I was at Dubai, I used social media for 2 hours per day. After returning to Bangladesh, I am using it for the same period of time.

I used to remember a lot to my parents and my brother while residing in the abroad. I felt sad living far away from them. I got vacations to visit my country after 1 and a half hours. Whenever I thought of my family, I could not concentrate on work. Then, I would inquiry about my family through IMO and Messenger to make myself calm. One of my Indian colleagues who was the same age as my father died suddenly. This incident hurt me a lot. There I made new Bangladeshi, Filipino and Nigerian friends at the airport and the dormitory. I used to share my depression with them such as I got small amount of salary and I missed my family a lot. Also, I shared how much I felt sorry about the tortures on Rohingyas with my friends. When I felt lonely, I used to spend time by talking and chatting with my friends and also went outside to walk with them. Besides, I used to watch movies and dramas and listened to music, news and Waj in YouTube. I listened to Waj live while I was at abroad. In Dubai, the company had Bangladeshi Alems to teach us Kayeda. They told us about Hadith and Kalam. I tried to follow those as much as I could.

I do not know anything regarding the misuse of social media by the terrorist groups. If I got any terrorist propaganda in my mobile while I was at the abroad, I usually liked it, commented on it and also shared it. There might be risks involved, but we never faced any danger. I never heard that any terrorist group was trying to enroll a Bangladeshi or a foreigner in their group while I was at Dubai. Before sharing or giving like to any news, we should verify it. But, I could not always detect fake and real news in online. I tried to understand whether an online information was true or not by connecting it to the reality. I watched videos of massacres and murders of Rohingyas in Facebook. The language of those videos was Bangla. I felt so bad watching them. No one forced me to watch those videos. Others used to share them in their timelines and that's how I found them. Earlier, I used to accept friend requests from unknown people in social media. Now, I understand that it is not good to be friend with someone whom you do not know or cannot understand what he/she is thinking. To continue relationship with someone, you have to know him/her well. At present, I make friends in social media with only my actual friends in real life and my fellow villagers. I was never a member of any closed group. I returned to Bangladesh

in 2016. Currently, I am working in print. My monthly income is 10 thousands TK. This amount of money is enough for me as I have not married yet. I still have connections with my Nigerian and Filipino friends through Messenger and IMO. I wish to go to another country again.

I do not think that Bangladeshi migrant workers can do terrorist attacks. In the abroad, one cannot afford to waste time surfing internet when they come home after working the whole day. Therefore, I do not think that migrant workers may get involved in terrorist works through internet. However, some may go into the wrong direction. We cannot expect from everyone to do the right thing. It depends on people themselves. In this case, government should do the right things. Government knows better about what to do.

Interview 19.

I am Minhaj Uddin. My age is 36 years. There are 4 members in my family. My educational background is SSC. I went to Jeddah of Saudi Arabia in 2001 for work at the age of 18. I did not have BMET smart card during migration. I used to work at a variety store locating a little far from the main city of Jeddah. Later, I worked as a cleaner at an office in the city. There I got works over the whole year. The company's car used to take me to the office from my dormitory. I had to work from 6 in the morning till 12 in the night for 16hours daily. I got a break of 1 hour during that period for having lunch. I had 4 days of weekly holidays in a month. If I had a bit delay in completing my work, the Tamil Indians used to curse me. They misbehaved with me a lot. As far I know, many Sudanese and Yemeni people used to disrespect Bengalis although I never experienced it. At that time, my mother died. The company did not allow me any leave to come to Bangladesh to see her for the last time.

Before going to the abroad, I did not purchase mobile phone as I was not interested to use social media. I bought a smart phone 3/4 years after I went to the abroad. I learnt how to use internet from my Bangladeshi friend who worked in mobile shop. I did not have any restriction on using internet in my workplace. I could easily contact with my family through IMO. However, I had to pass most of my time in a day doing duty and hence I did not even get the chance of feeling lonely. I felt pity for myself as I had very low communication with my family because of the pressure of work. I made new Bangladeshi and Indian friends there. I talked with them about my village

and my family. We talked more about business. We also discussed about prayers. I generally talked with my friends, chatted in internet and also went outside with them for a walk when I felt lonely. Besides, I listened to songs as well as Waj of Bangladeshi and foreigner *Alems* and also watched movies and dramas in YouTube. I learnt many things about Islam from the Bangladeshi Imam in Saudi. I acquired new knowledge about Hadith and prayer which I tried to apply in my life as much as I could. In Saudi, the shops and market were closed during prayers. The Saudi government used to distribute various books about religion among people in the mosque.

The terrorist groups may misuse the internet in different ways. Many of my friends got unexpected videos. If I got any terrorist propaganda in my mobile while I was at abroad, I used to watch them. Since I never felt that those were important, I just ignored those and left the site. Well, sometimes I did share those videos with my friends. I never felt that sharing those posts could be dangerous. When I was residing in abroad, I could not verify the authenticity of online news easily. After working the whole day, I would watch them if I could manage some time. I used to be too tired to verify information shared in those messages. None has ever asked for money from me using internet. I was not regular in Facebook. I watched videos on the massacres on Muslims and torture on people in Facebook and TV news. Sometimes, I received messages saying "Genocide happening in our country". Those messages and videos made me sad. Sometimes, I talked with my friends about them. I received friend requests from people I did not know in Facebook sometimes. I did not accept their friend requests. Since I use Facebook for very less time, I always do what I am interested to do in the Facebook. If I accept people without verifying their identities, suddenly I may fall in danger. One of my friends from my area sent me an invitation to join a closed group. He did not force me to join the group. I liked the idea of the group and hence joined it myself. There were 12 to 15 members in the group. All of them were from my area. We discussed about the current affairs as well as prayers in that group. They used to share pictures, videos and writings regarding the atrocities on Muslim all over the world. I did not share much. I have returned to Bangladesh in 2018. Currently, I am doing agricultural work here. I earn about 30 to 40 thousands TK. per month. My family is doing well with that money. I still have contact with my friends from Jeddah through IMO. I am eager to migrate again.

In my view, it is not possible for Bangladeshi migrant workers to get engaged in terrorist works. But the fact is that people can use internet for good purpose as they can use it for wrong purpose too if they want to. Who knows what intention they may have! To be safe while using internet in the abroad, people have to use internet carefully. The government must keep an eye on the migrants who are frequently travelling to ensure that they do not get involved with any extremist force. The government has to dig more to verify their information to be 100% sure of their non-involvement in any such actions.

Interview 20.

I am Md. Sentu. My age is 35. My family consists of 8 members. I did not attend school, but I can sign my name. In 2016, I went to Oman for work. During migration, I had both BMET smart card and mobile. I used to fit tiles in buildings at a city of Oman. Also, I used to do electric works. In abroad, I had works during the whole year. I had to work for 12 hours in a day. I got a break of 1 and a half hours during my work time. I had 4 weekly days off in a month. In Oman, my Indian colleague fled stealing my salary of 6 months.

I did not possess a mobile before going to abroad. After going to abroad, I bought a small set of mobile. I used to talk with my family by loading money in that mobile. I did not have a smart phone back then; neither do I have one now. Since I never felt interested in using social media, I never used Facebook or even internet in general. When I was at Oman, I felt so bad whenever I thought of my family. I used to talk with my wife and other family members by making audio calls directly through mobile. I did not face any trouble in talking with my family as my workplace did not have any restriction on using mobile. After finishing my work, I returned to my living place and talked to my family over phone. Besides, I used to watch dramas, movies and news in the television. I developed good friendship with several Bangladeshis and one Omani in my living place. We discussed about problems in workplace as well as in receiving salary. Whenever I felt lonely, I hung out with my friends and sometimes went outside with them. I used to go for prayer in the mosques with my friends. Then, we used to talk about how to pray and follow the rules of religion. I learnt Arabic by listening to the local people there. It helped me in learning more

about my religion. I used to listen to Waj of Alems live. I knew new things about Islam listening to those Waj. Now, I pray 5 times a day by the wish of Allah.

I have no idea about the wrong doings of extremist groups using internet. I never heard anything about any terrorist group trying to take a Bangladeshi or a foreigner in their group while I was at Oman. I never got any terrorist propaganda in my mobile. I watched news only in TV channels. I could not inquiry about the credibility of those news with my friends as I was too busy to hang out with them much. I might know all these things if I had a big mobile. No one has ever asked for money from me in my mobile. I came back to Bangladesh in 2018. At present, I am driving an auto. I earn 20 thousands TK. monthly. I do not face any problem in managing my family with what I earn. Currently, I am with an NGO. I still have contact with my Omani friend. I do not want to go to abroad for work again.

I do not think that the Bangladeshi migrant workers have any possibility of being terrorists. In abroad, they work the whole day and get the payment at the end of the day. Then, they return to the dormitory with the payment and try to save the money. It is difficult to maintain their living cost in abroad with that small amount of money, let alone save and send money to the family in Bangladesh. Therefore, all of them think of the ways to save money continuously. They do not have any time to think about anything else for work pressure.

I do not understand anything about internet as I do not use it. Those who use it should be careful not to fall prey of any extremist group in the internet. There are some migrants who do not have the ability to know what is right and what is wrong. The government should make them aware.

Interview 21.

I am Md. Jewel Bepari. I am 28 years old. There are 7 members in my family. I went to school up to class 5. I migrated to Dubai in 2011. I did not have BMET smart card at the time of migration. In Dubai city, I worked as an electrician. Besides, I worked as a fire fighter. I was offered works the whole year. I used to live in the place arranged by the company. It took 1 hour to reach my workplace from there. I worked for 10 hours per day. I could not manage any leisure period. I had a break of 1 hour during work for lunch. However, they gave us a break of 3 hours during summer. I was allowed 4 days of weekly holidays in a month. Once, I wounded my hand while working. When I worked at abroad, the local people saw me as a citizen of a poor

country. They gave me less opportunities and benefits as a Bangladeshi and ignored me too.

Before my migration, internet was not much available in Bangladesh. Besides, I did not have any smart phone. That's why, I did not use internet before going to abroad. After going to Dubai, one of roommates brought Wi-Fi line in our room of the mess. Then, all of my roommates started using internet with Wi-Fi. Seeing this, I bought a big mobile. One of my friends from Faridpur helped me to open my ID in Facebook. Then, day by day I learnt how to use it myself. I faced no problem in learning. Later, I, myself helped others who could not use internet to open their IDs in Facebook. It is normal that everyone will not know everything. We were not allowed to bring mobile in work sites although the employer permitted us to use mobile at the break of 1 hour during work. After finishing my lunch I used to communicate with my family."When I was at Dubai, I used social media for 3/4 hours per day. After returning to Bangladesh, I use it for 2/3 hours daily.

I missed my family a lot while I was at abroad. I felt so lonely without them. I used to inquiry about them through IMO. During my migration, my uncle and cousin died in Bangladesh. It gave me a lot of pain. I had Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani new friends in Dubai. I used to talk about work and income with them. We talked about prayers too. When I felt lonely, I used to talk to my friends, chatted with them in online and also went for walk with them. Besides, I used to watch Bangladeshi dramas and Hindi and Bangladeshi movies in YouTube. Moreover, Religious speakers would come from India, Bangladesh and Pakistan. I, along with my friends would go and listen to them. Upon their advice I started praying regularly. Earlier, I did not fast regularly during Ramadan. Now, I do. I watched news and Waj. I could not learn much from these Waj. I just knew about some wrong doings. I learnt how to stay in the right direction. I tried to use that knowledge a bit in my day to day life and also tried to lead my life according to the rules of Islam. I got inspired seeing my Bangladeshi colleagues and started praying and fasting.

Many people are misusing social media, not just the extremist groups. Some open fake accounts and talk with people hiding their identity. I did not see it, but I heard about it. When I was residing at abroad, I got extremist propaganda in my mobile. Most of the time, I watched them and left without doing anything. Sometimes, if I liked the content, I put a like in it, commented or shared it. I never had any problem for doing so. I could easily differentiate between real and fake news in online. I did

not need to discuss with anyone to confirm the authenticity of the information. Just by watching the video or reading the message, I could tell whether it was fake or real. I just developed an idea of how fake contents looked. I never heard anything about a Bangladeshi or a foreigner being enrolled in a terrorist group while I was at Dubai. My friends sometimes discussed about those things. However, they suggested me to verify everything online before believing it as anyone could find anything in Facebook. I never received any message online asking for money. I watched messages about wars, fights and bloods in my timeline of Facebook. There were some messages requesting to join them in their movement or share the news to spread it among others etc. Maximum of those messages were in Bengali language while some of them were in English. No one asked me to watch those videos. The videos were in my timeline and that's how I got to watch them. I felt sad watching the fights. However, most of them were fake. It was not easy to find those who sent these messages. They created fake accounts to do those misdeeds and hence even their posts could not be found later after a certain period of time. That's why, I did not share much. You can find everything in Facebook. Therefore, it is essential to verify and confirm their credibility before sharing them. I did not accept the friend requests from unknown people in social media. I kept them in my list of followers. I did not add them as many of them were fake accounts. If you start talking with them, they will go to wrong direction. By this, they might put me in danger. I had never been in a closed group. I have returned to my country in 2018. I have not got any work till now. I have no income now. I still talk with my Bangladeshi colleagues who I met in Dubai over phone. I will migrate to Dubai within 2/1 month again.

I do not believe that Bangladeshi migrant workers have any possibility of being terrorists. Everything goes according to strict rules in the abroad. There is CC TV camera everywhere. If someone does something, it goes public. However, the Bengalis do not follow rules. They sometimes do wrong things with the help of their friends without even realizing. They may go to the bad direction by talking with such friends over phone. However, the Bengalis mostly fall prey of the Dalals. To use internet safely in abroad, Bangladeshi migrant workers should not put a like in any terrorist propaganda and also should not share them. They should only share good things related to Quran and Hadith. Everyone should verify information before sharing them. Moreover, the government should keep an eye on the Bangladeshi

migrants. If they stay in the close monitoring of the government, they will think twice before doing anything absurd as they will get caught easily.

Interview 22.

I am Md. Bellal Molla (30). I studied up to class 8. There are 6 members in my family. In 2012, I went to Oman where I worked as a house servant in the desert at the beginning. Then, I caught fishes in the sea for a while. Later, I did the job of fitting tiles in the wall of houses at the city. During my migration, I had BMET smart card. In Oman, I used to live in the camp of the company. I worked from 6 am to 6 pm for 12 hours in a day. There was a lunch break of 1 hour. I had 4 weekly holidays in a month. I did not have any work for 2 months in Oman. Also, I did not receive salary of 6 months. The employer used to rebuke me in Arabic language and also beat me. Mostly, I suffered for food. They provided me a single meal in 3 days. Whenever I went to ask for food, the Omani employer beat me with cane sticks, thick ropes and pipes. He beat the other servants in the house too. During that time, we felt so helpless as we could not do anything. After 2 years when the validity of my Akama ended, the employer took away my passport. I went to the agency to inquiry how to return to Bangladesh, but they did not pay any attention to me. They told me to go to the police station or prison as well as to show them voucher. I was at the jail for 2 months during that time.

I had a normal local mobile before going to abroad. I did not have any interest in using internet back then as I did not have money. Before migration, I heard that the employers did not allow us to use phone and kept the mobile if anyone brought it. Hence, I went to abroad without any mobile. For 3 or 4 months, I talked with my family through direct audio calls by the normal phones of my friends. After 2 years of migration, I bought a smart phone. Then, I learnt how to use internet from one of my friends. The office from where I went to fit tiles around the city had Indian and Canadian bosses. I had good understanding with them. They did not impose any restriction in using mobile. If my IMO got blocked, a Pakistani sir helped me to fix it. I used to talk with my family through IMO and WhatsApp. When I was at abroad, my sister-in-law died. I felt bad for not being able to come to see her. I was the only Bengali in my workplace. I had very few friends. I made some Bengali, Indian and Pakistani friends in the mosque. When I felt lonely, I talked with my friends and also went outside with them at holidays. Besides, I watched movies, dramas and Waj in

YouTube. As a Muslim, I liked to listen to Islamic Gazal and recitation from Quran more. I used to listen to Khutba about prayers in the mosque. A Pakistani foreman of the camp used to talk with us about prayers. After coming back to Bangladesh, I pray 5 times a day now. I have sent my children to study in Madrasa.

I do not have much knowledge of how the terrorist groups use social media for wrong purposes. Most of my time passed by working. I did not have time, energy or interest to use internet. I did not use Facebook or wifi line much. Someone may face danger if he/she mistakenly visit terrorist sites in the internet. There are some contents in the internet which create confusion. It is better to avoid them. I believe that people will receive the consequence of their deeds. I never heard of any incident where a terrorist group tried to enroll a Bangladeshi or a foreigner in their group while I was working in abroad. During migration, I used to watch many Bangla and English videos in IMO and Facebook timeline. Also my friends used to show me. The videos were about atrocities on Rohingyas, murder and abuse of little children and cutting throats. I felt bad watching those videos as I never supported any injustice. Yet, I did not share them since I did not see them with my own eyes. When I was at abroad, I could not easily find out the authenticity of a news in online. It is not possible to verify something without seeing it with own eyes and be 100% sure. I used to live from hand to mouth in Oman. So, of course, no one whom I knew sent me any message asking for money. However, sometimes I did receive messages in my mobile saying that they would send me 20 lacs TK. if I sent them 20 thousands Tk. I never believed those. Sometimes, I got friend requests from unknown people in Facebook. I did not accept them. I did not have anything to be afraid to accept them. I rejected them only because I was not regular in Facebook. I mostly used IMO to talk to my family. None had ever invited me to join a closed group. I have returned to Bangladesh in 2016. Immediately after returning, I fell in trouble as I could not pay back the money that I borrowed to pay my cost of migration before going to abroad. I have contacted with BRAC and *Podokkhep*. *Podokkhep* has given me a van. Now, I earn 10 thousands TK. monthly by driving the van. I have no more connection with my friends whom I met in Oman since I no longer use internet. I tried to migrate again, but could not get a visa. There are lots of fraudulence.

I do not think that the Bangladeshi migrant workers may get connected with the terrorist groups. Internet can be beneficial to some people while it can be a bad influence for some others at the same time. Nonetheless, it can play both good and

bad roles for the same person simultaneously. More often, people do the bad thing first while using internet. If internet is banned as a solution, it may be good for some, but it will affect lives of many people. Hence, banning internet cannot be a solution to prohibit Bangladeshi migrant workers from involving any extremist works. It totally depends on people themselves. I do not know what the government can do to solve it.

Interview 23.

I am Shirajul Islam (39). Currently, there are 5 members including my wife in my family. After passing HSC, I went to abroad in 1996 for the first time. I stayed to Singapore, Abu Dhabi and Dubai for the purpose of work. I came back to Bangladesh in 2018 for good. I used to work as a cleaner in a movie theater in a city of Singapore. At Dubai city, I used to work as a house keeper in a house. Besides, I used to clean the houses of Arabians. I worked for 8 hours a day. During work, I got a break of 10 to 15 minutes for taking meal. I had weekly holidays of 4 days. My salary was very less. Also, I did not have sufficient food. I was diagnosed with stones in my kidney while I was at abroad. At that time, my office bore the cost of treatment. I migrated in 1996. Mobile was not available at that time. I did not even hear the names of social media back then. I worked for Etisalat company which was a mobile company for few years in abroad. At that time, I bought a mobile phone and started using company's Wi-Fi. Besides, I used to buy cards using money from my salary. I learnt to use internet myself. Since Etisalat company was a mobile company, I did not face any problem in learning. However, the employers did not permit us officially to browse mobile during work. I used to miss my country a lot. We, migrants from different districts, lived together with harmony. However, once a Bengali pushed another Bengali from Chittagong from the 3rd floor because of 4 onions. He dies on the spot. On another occasion, I had a quarrel with someone from Noakhali about room.

There I had friends from different countries like India, Philippine and Pakistan. I went outside to wander around with them during holidays. We discussed about wars of Palestine and Syria. Besides, we talked about family matters and prayers. When I ate with my Arabian friends, I learnt how to pray properly from them. I, still, talk with my Saudi Arabian friend named Khalid through IMO and mobile. When I was at abroad, I listened to Waj of renowned Alems regularly. Listening to Waj, I tried to

follow the right path in my life. I listened to lecture of Dr. Jakir Nayek live once in Dawah center with Khalid. The local colleagues tried to bring Bengalis, Pakistanis and Indians in *Tabligh*. Also, people of *Tabligh* used to come to take everyone to the mosque. They advised us to pray regularly and lectured on various religious issues. Islamic books were distributed among us from the mosque. When I talked with my guardians over phone, they used to tell me not to go to the functions of girls and also not to waste money.

I received terrorist propaganda sometimes in Facebook, but I never visited those sites. I did not have the ability to verify whether the messages that I received were true or fake. I watched videos on atrocities on Muslim Ummah all over the world, attacks on Rohingyas and torture on Bengalis by the foreigners in Facebook. These videos were in Bengali. When I watched them, they made me very angry. I felt sad as a Muslim. I used to discuss with my friends about the videos. I used to put likes on the videos and also shared them. I do not think that there can be any danger if I mistakenly put like or share any post of the terrorist groups in the internet. Sometimes, I received friend requests from unknown people in my Facebook. I did not accept them. It is because, if I accept people without knowing them previously, it may cause me harm. Once, I got a message in my mobile saying that I won a lottery of 5 lacs TK. from my company. That's why, I have to pay fee. Later, when I asked others after going to work, I was informed that the company did not arrange any lottery.

According to me, there is a chance of Bangladeshi migrant workers getting involved in terrorist activities. Because, just like people get better by living with good company, they can get worse by the bad influence of their surroundings. This is normal. Nowadays, you can see both good and bad contents in the internet. To use internet safely after going to abroad, it is important to verify information after watching something online. They have to understand whether the message is good or bad for them. To eradicate any chance of migrants getting involved in terrorist works, the government should take proper steps. The government can do lots of things if they wish.

Interview 24.

I am Yousuf. I am 35 years old. In 2004, I went to Malaysia for work at the age of 20. In Malaysia, I worked at Life Sause company and also at Pizza Cooking section of

KFC. Before that, I worked at a garden of palm trees. There I took care of the trees. I got work right after going to Malaysia, but I did not receive salary for 3 years. They only paid me for 3 meals a day. Right after I reached to Malaysia, they sent me to a garden of Palm trees. I worked under an Indian agent. He used to transfer me to a different garden before the end of every month and hence I could not get my salary. Also, he used to misbehave with me if my salary was less. I could not afford to send money to my family. I was sold to somewhere else by the agency although I had a contract. I informed the embassy, but they did not pay any attention to me. Later, I escaped from there to come back to my country.

I could not contact with my family much. But whenever I got a chance, I hid in the garden to make call to my family. The Chinese and Indians of Tamil region used to torture us more. They used to snatch our money by beating us in the street. Though some of the local people treated us well, some of them behaved very miserably with us. My employers' behavior with me was so terrible in every place where I worked. In Malaysia, they torture a lot. There we do not even have the value of a dog. They used to say, "Bengalis are so fool".

Every day I used to start work at 8 in the morning and continued working till 6 in the evening. During that period, I had a break of 40 minutes. I had a weekly holiday. There was a huge hall room where I had to sleep alone in the night. In fact, this was my living place. Sometimes, I talked with my family and friends through video call. But, it depended on the electricity. I could not talk for long time in the mobile. I watched Bangla movies sometimes. There I made some Indian, Malaysian and Bangladeshi friends. We talked about family matters. Also, we discussed about prayers and the fact that this life is for few days while the life after the death is permanent. I had learnt some religious facts from the mobile. I had problem in understanding their language in Malaysia. I could not understand what they were saying. I might understand about half of their talking and did not get the rest. I faced major obstacles because of language barrier.

Once, when I visited the market, I heard that a meeting of the extremists had taken place in a hostel where Bangladeshis used to live. They proposed the Bangladeshis to work for them. I used to receive some terrorist propaganda as in my mobile. I shared those with my friends. I could not identify whether an information is true or not in online. Sometimes, I watched videos about torture on Muslims in Facebook. In those videos, I watched dead bodies floating in the river or resting in the agricultural

land and also Rohingya people getting snatched. Watching these videos, I felt that I would go to war for these poor Muslim brothers if I could. I shared those videos with everyone. I was a member of a closed group, but later I left the group.

Interview 25.

I am Anowar Hossain. I am 39 years old. There are 7 members in my family. I do not have academic education, but I can sign my name. Till now, I have migrated twice. At first, I migrated to Oman in 2004. Later, I went to Saudi Arabia from there. I returned to Bangladesh in 2019. After going to Saudi, I started working as a hawker in the city. I used to sell scrub. I did not have any financial problem. Since it was my business, I could send the whole profit to my family after keeping some for me. There was no fixed time of my work. Usually, I stayed outside for 8 hours a day. Since I did hawking, the more time I stayed outside, the more I had chance of selling my products.

I migrated to Dubai in 2012. I did not have BMET smart card at the time of migration. In Dubai city, I worked as an electrician. Besides, I worked as a fire fighter. I was offered works the whole year. I used to live in the place arranged by the company. It took 1 hour to reach my workplace from there. I worked for 10 hours per day. I could not manage any leisure period. I had a break of 1 hour during work for lunch. However, they gave us a break of 3 hours during summer. I was allowed 4 days of weekly holidays in a month. Once, I wounded my hand while working. When I worked at abroad, the local people saw me as a citizen of a poor country. They gave me less opportunities and benefits as a Bangladeshi and ignored me too.

Before my migration, internet was not much available in Bangladesh. Besides, I did not have any smart phone. That's why, I did not use internet before going to abroad. After going to Dubai, one of roommates brought Wi-Fi line in our room of the mess. Then, all of my roommates started using internet with Wi-Fi. Seeing this, I bought a big mobile. One of my friends from Faridpur helped me to open my ID in Facebook. Then, day by day I learnt how to use it myself. I faced no problem in learning. Later, I, myself helped others who could not use internet to open their IDs in Facebook. It is normal that everyone will not know everything. We were not allowed to bring mobile in work sites although the employer permitted us to use mobile at the break of 1 hour during work. When I was at Dubai, I used social media for 3/4 hours per day. After returning to Bangladesh, I use it for 2/3 hours daily.

I missed my family a lot while I was at abroad. I felt so lonely without them. I used to inquiry about them through IMO. During my migration, my uncle and cousin died in Bangladesh. It gave me a lot of pain. I had Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani new friends in Dubai. I used to talk about work and income with them. We talked about prayers too. When I felt lonely, I used to talk to my friends, chatted with them in online and also went for walk with them. Besides, I used to watch dramas and movies in YouTube. Moreover, I watched news and Waj of Bangladeshi and foreigner Alems in Facebook. I could not learn much from these Waj. I just knew about some wrong doings. I learnt how to stay in the right direction. I tried to use that knowledge a bit in my day to day life and also tried to lead my life according to the rules of Islam. I got inspired seeing my Bangladeshi colleagues and started praying and fasting.

Many people are misusing social media, not just the extremist groups. Some open fake accounts and talk with people hiding their identity. I did not see it, but I heard about it. When I was residing at abroad, I got extremist propaganda in my mobile. Most of the time, I watched them and left without doing anything. Sometimes, if I liked the content, I put a like in it, commented or shared it. I never had any problem for doing so. I could easily differentiate between real and fake news in online. I did not need to discuss with anyone to confirm the authenticity of the information. Just by watching the video or reading the message, I could tell whether it was fake or real. I just developed an idea of how fake contents looked. I never heard anything about a Bangladeshi or a foreigner being enrolled in a terrorist group while I was at Dubai. My friends sometimes discussed about those things. However, they suggested me to verify everything online before believing it as anyone could find anything in Facebook. I never received any message online asking for money. I watched messages about wars, fights and bloods in my timeline of Facebook. There were some messages requesting to join them in their movement or share the news to spread it among others etc. Maximum of those messages were in Bengali language while some of them were in English. No one asked me to watch those videos. The videos were in my timeline and that's how I got to watch them. I felt sad watching the fights. However, most of them were fake. It was not easy to find those who sent these messages. They created fake accounts to do those misdeeds and hence even their posts could not be found later after a certain period of time. That's why, I did not share much. You can find everything in Facebook. Therefore, it is

essential to verify and confirm their credibility before sharing them. I did not accept the friend requests from unknown people in social media. I kept them in my list of followers. I did not add them as many of them were fake accounts. If you start talking with them, they will go to wrong direction. By this, they might put me in danger. I had never been in a closed group. I have returned to my country in 2018. I have not got any work till now. I have no income now. I still talk with my Bangladeshi colleagues who I met in Dubai over phone. I will migrate to Dubai within 2/1 month again.

I do not believe that Bangladeshi migrant workers have any possibility of being terrorists. Everything goes according to strict rules in the abroad. There is CC TV camera everywhere. If someone does something, it goes public. However, the Bengalis do not follow rules. They sometimes do wrong things with the help of their friends without even realizing. They may go to the bad direction by talking with such friends over phone. However, the Bengalis mostly fall prey of the Dalals. To use internet safely in abroad, Bangladeshi migrant workers should not put a like in any terrorist propaganda and also should not share them. They should only share good things related to Quran and Hadith. Everyone should verify information before sharing them. Moreover, the government should keep an eye on the Bangladeshi migrants. If they stay in the close monitoring of the government, they will think twice before doing anything absurd as they will get caught easily.

I used to live in harmony with my friends in Saudi. I had friends from many countries. Some of them were from Bangladesh, while others were from Pakistan and Sudan. I met them in the street, living place and market. I also made some friends in the internet. I mainly talked with them about work. We asked each other about how our work were going.

Once, I heard that a Bangladesh *Moulana* came to collect money from everyone in the workers' residence. He collected that money to use in Jihad. Sometimes, I received extremist propaganda in my mobile. I used to enter those sites, but would leave them without doing anything. I was not sure about the credibility of the information that I saw online. I could not detect which one was fake and which one was true. Very often, I watched videos about the massacres on Rohingyas in Facebook. Besides, I watched videos of shooting on the people of Palestine by the Israeli force. They made me very sad. Sometimes, I receive friend requests from people whom I do not know, but I never accept them.

Annex-II

Table 3.8.1: Physical location of second occupation by type and gender

Location	New returnee and those came on holiday			Old returnee			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
In city	60.0%	0.0%	57.7%	55.6%	0.0%	50.0%	58.1%	0.0%	54.3%
Far from city	20.0%	100.0%	23.1%	33.3%	100.0%	40.0%	25.6%	100.0%	30.4%
In desert	12.0%	0.0%	11.5%	5.6%	0.0%	5.0%	9.3%	0.0%	8.7%
In agri field	4.0%	0.0%	3.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.3%	0.0%	2.2%
Plantation (Pamoi or Rubber garden)	4.0%	0.0%	3.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.3%	0.0%	2.2%
Others	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.6%	0.0%	5.0%	2.3%	0.0%	2.2%
Total no. of cases	25	1	26	18	2	20	43	3	46

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

Table 4.13.2: Strong feeling about oppression of Muslim by distance from the city

Strong feelings	In city		Far from city		Total	
Yes	48	29.1%	38	38.8%	86	32.7%
No	117	70.9%	60	61.2%	177	67.3%
Total	165	100.0%	98	100.0%	263	100.0%

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019

Table 5.3.4: Apps used by level of education

Use of social media		Education under SSC		SSC and above	
Cell phone	Yes	221	89.5%	12	85.7%
	No	26	10.5%	2	14.3%
	Total	247	100.0%	14	100.0%
IMO	Yes	101	40.6%	10	66.7%
	No	148	59.4%	5	33.3%
	Total	249	100.0%	15	100.0%
Viber	Yes	5	2.0%	1	6.7%
	No	244	98.0%	14	93.3%
	Total	249	100.0%	15	100.0%
WhatsApp	Yes	17	6.8%	3	20.0%
	No	232	93.2%	12	80.0%
	Total	249	100.0%	15	100.0%
Messenger	Yes	29	11.6%	6	40.0%
	No	220	88.4%	9	60.0%
	Total	249	100.0%	15	100.0%

Face book	Yes	60	24.1%	8	53.3%
	No	189	75.9%	7	46.7%
	Total	249	100.0%	15	100.0%
YouTube	Yes	60	24.1%	7	46.7%
	No	189	75.9%	8	53.3%
	Total	249	100.0%	15	100.0%
Internet browsing mobile / tab / laptop	Yes	28	11.2%	3	20.0%
	No	221	88.8%	12	80.0%
	Total	249	100.0%	15	100.0%

Source: RMMRU returnee migrant survey on exposure to extremism 2019