Challenges of the Divide between Immigration and Emigration Policy: Compulsions of Sovereignty or Crisis of Governance

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International Migrants: Where do they go and from where do they come?

Over the last few decades, international migration has attracted increasing attention in the academia, in policy making, and in the civil society across countries. Individuals, civil society organizations, national governments, and regional and international organizations have been raising concerns about the selectivity, inconsistencies and stability of migration policies demanding better treatment to migrant workers and protection of their rights in the destination countries. Whereas the receiving countries generally focus more on human capital aspects of the immigrants and allow the entry to those whose knowledge and skills are in short supply in their labour markets the source countries of migrants show greater concern regarding the protection of their people in the destination countries.

However, this distinction between the source countries and the receiving countries is fading away these days. While it is true that majority of international migrants have a tendency to go the developed countries of the global north, substantial proportions of them live in developing countries of the global south. In 2005, for example, out of the total 190.6 million international migrants, 115.4 million (60.5 percent) migrants were living in 'more developed regions', the rest 75.2 million (39.5 percent) were living in 'less developed regions' (UNDESA 2006). Further, one-third of all international migrants (33.6 percent) were living in Europe followed by Asia (28 percent) and North America (23 percent). In 2010, Asia became the largest host of international migrants (25.99 percent) followed by Europe (23.44 percent) and North America (23.39 percent) (Table 1). However, international migrants constitute a very small proportion of the total population of Asia (1.4 percent) when compared with Northern America (14.2 percent), Europe (9.5 percent) and Oceania (16.8 percent). International migrants constitute an important segment of the populations in almost every region of the world. Migration has reached to such a stage that almost every country in the world can be called a migrant receiving country today because "virtually all countries host at least some noncitizen residents" (Ruhs and Chang, 2002). However, depending upon the stocks and flows of people entering in or leaving from particular countries, some are primarily known as receiving countries such as the US, the UK, and Australia while some others are recognized as migrant sending countries such as India, Mexico, Bangladesh. The fact is that every country is the source of migrants as well as destination for international migrants. The difference lies in the volumes of stocks and flows of immigrant and emigrant populations belonging to each individual country.

Table 1: Estimated Number of International Migrants by Region, their percentage Distribution and Share in Population, 2010

Region	Number of International Migrants	Percentage Distribution of International Migrants	International migrants as percentage of the population
World	**213,943,812**	**100.00**	**3.1**
Africa	19,263,183	9.00	1.9
Europe	50,146,329	23.44	9.5
Latin America And the Caribbean	7,480,267	3.50	1.3
Northern America	50,042,408	23.39	14.2
Asia	55,598,438	25.99	1.4
Oceania	6,014,693	2.81	16.8
USSR (Former)	25,398,494	11.87	9.0

Source: Trend in International Migrants Stock: The 2008 Revision, United Nations Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

Table 2: Top 20 Countries with Highest Number of International Migrants, 2005

Rank	Countries	Migrants' Stocks (millions)	Percentage of Total Migrants' Population
1	USA	38.4	20.1
2	Russian Federation	12.1	6.3
3	Germany	10.1	5.3
4	Ukraine	6.8	3.6
5	France	6.5	3.4
6	Saudi Arabia	6.4	3.4
7	Canada	6.1	3.2
8	India	5.7	3.0
9	United Kingdom	5.4	2.8
10	Spain	4.8	2.5
11	Australia	4.1	2.2
12	Pakistan	3.3	1.7
13	United Arab Emirates	3.2	1.7
14	China, Hong Kong SAR	3.0	1.6
15	Israel	2.7	1.4
16	Italy	2.5	1.3
17	Kazakhstan	2.4	1.3
18	Côte d'Ivoire	2.2	1.2
19	Jordon	2.2	1.2
20	Japan	2.0	1.0

Source: Trends in the Total Migrant Stock: The 2005 Revision (United Nations, POP/DB/MIG/Rev.2005).

**Table 3: Tertiary Students studying abroad (2007)**

Country	Students Studying Abroad	Top Five destination countries in		Students from Abroad studying in the Country
		Same Region	**Other Regions**	
United States of America	50,265	Canada (7,935)	United Kingdom (15,956), Germany (3,554), France (3,165), Australia (3,023)	595,874
Canada	43,918	USA (28,905)	United Kingdom (5,010), Australia (4,039), France (1,302), Germany (643)	68,520
United Kingdom	24,115	France (2,595), Ireland (2,282), Germany (2,077),	USA (8,625), Australia (1,687)	351,470
France	54,021	UK (13,068), Belgium (8,949), Germany (5,960), Switzerland (4,876)	USA (6,852)	246,612
Germany	77,534	UK (14,011), Austria (12,386), Netherlands (10,170), Switzerland (8,322)	U.S.A. (8,847)	206,875
Australia	9,968	New Zealand (2,750); Japan (361)	USA (2,859); UK (1,771); Germany (392)	211,526
New Zealand	4,104	Australia (2,008)	USA (859); UK (577); Germany (123); Denmark (85)	33,037
China	421,148	Japan (80,231); Australia (50,418)	USA (98,958); UK (49,594); Germany (23,791)	42,138
India	153,312	Australia (24,523); New Zealand (2,452)	US (23,833); UK (23,833); Germany (3,421)	-
Japan	54,506	Australia (3,249)	US (36,062); UK (5,706); France (2,071); Germany (2,039)	125,877
Republic of Korea	105,327	Australia (5,430); Japan (22,901)	US (63,722); UK (4,311); Germany (3,901)	31,943
Singapore	18,207	Australia (9,429); Malaysia (457)	US (3,787); UK (3,201); Canada (330)	-
Malaysia	46,473	Australia (17,691); Japan (2,052); New Zealand (1,727)	UK (11,811); US (5,398)	24,404

Source: Compiled from UIS (2009).

A large part of the contemporary migration today is intra-regional. A large number of people are migrating from one developing country to another developing country having comparatively better opportunities, primarily within the same region. Though there could be

some variations between the source country and the receiving country in terms of economic development and some other socio-economic factors, the two countries broadly share the characteristics of the global south. For example, there is a lot of migration from Bangladesh to India, the two developing countries in South Asia, despite the fact that both countries belong to the global south and send large number of migrants to the countries of developed global north. It means that both source and destinations of migrants, i.e., hubs as well as hinterlands of international migrants are located within the region (Khadria, 2010). Besides economic or labour migrants, destinations of international students are getting more diverse. Whereas the developed countries of Northern America and Europe still host very large number of students, their relative share has declined significantly in the last decade or so and Asian countries like Japan, China and Malaysia hosting substantial number of international students (Figure 1 and Table 3).

Figure 1: Global Destinations for International Students at the Tertiary Level, 2001 and 2009
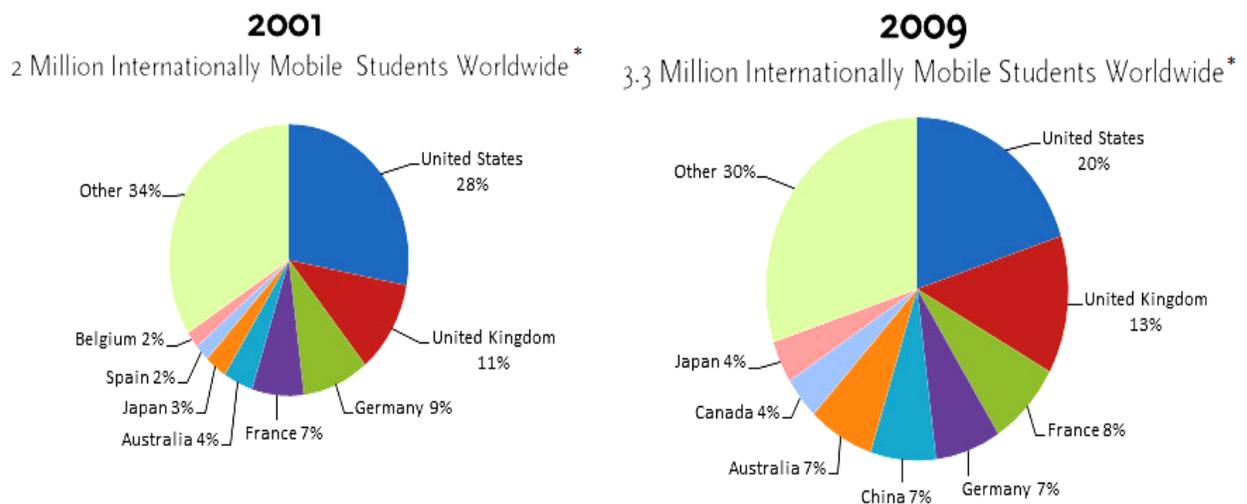
Source: Open Doors 2010, Atlas of International Student Mobility.

Another important dimension of this intra-regional migration is the parity in terms of skill composition of the migrants. For example, majority of migrants moving from a developing country to another developing country are low or semi-skilled people whereas majority of those moving from a developed country to another developed country belong to the high-skilled category. Much of the south-south migration, therefore, is primarily characterized by the dominance of the unskilled or low-skilled people; and the north-north migration by the dominance of high-skilled people. For example, majority of low or semi-skilled migrants from Bangladesh go to the Middle East countries and India whereas the high skilled migrate to the developed countries like the US (Ray et al. 2007; Khadria 2009). Similarly, majority of low or semi-skilled Indians go to the Gulf countries and high skilled migrants and tertiary students from India prefer go to the countries of global north such as the US, Canada, UK or Australia (Khadria 1999; Rajan 2010). But this is not true in case of developed countries. High skilled migrants from the countries of global north mainly migrate within the region. For example,

people from Western Europe go to the US or Canada and migrants from the US go to UK and other developed countries in Europe and not to developing countries like India or Bangladesh. While the most part of north-north migration is characterized by the movement of skilled people, south-north migration reflects the features of both the high-skilled and the low-skilled. However, large part of this phenomenon depends *inter alia* upon the labour supply in the source countries on the one hand and the manpower requirements in the receiving countries and the consequent fluctuations in their immigration policies on the other hand.

In this context where the flows of migrants are getting more diverse and the distinction between the source countries and the receiving countries is diminishing gradually, present paper highlights that there is a divide in the migration policies of various nation-states. The paper attempts to examine the emigration policies of the major source countries, their handling of emigration related issues, and the protection of migrants in destination countries vis-à-vis their immigration policies, their response to the issues related to immigration and protecting the rights of immigrants in their own countries with specific examples from India, one of the most prominent source country of migrants in the global south and a major destination country for immigrants especially from the neighbouring countries; and the United States, the most prominent destination country in the global north.

Governing International Migration: Contexts, Intents and Concerns

International migrants can be identified as belonging to at least two countries at any given point of time. On the one side, they belong to the countries of origin from where people have moved or want to move and on the other side they are associated with the destination countries where they live or intend to go. In some cases, there can be one more association between these two, i.e., transit country. Whereas the decision to leave or not to leave the country may be, to a large extent, an individual or a family decision, the right to allow (or not to allow) the migrants to enter into their territories solely rests with the receiving nations because international migration is largely governed by national laws (Khadria 2009; Nayyar, 2008). Some nations are liberal in granting permission to the nationals of a particular country to enter in their territories for a certain period of time and granting various rights while some others put barriers (in the form of laws) to streamline the flow of people in their countries. There are, therefore, two aspects of the migration policy – first deals with the citizens' right to leave (or not to leave) the country and the second deals with the mechanism of allowing (or not allowing) people of other countries to enter in their territories and extend certain rights of migrants. The first aspect is related to the emigration policy and the latter is related to the immigration policy. The place and importance given to each of these two aspects in a particular country depends on many factors such as the stocks and flows of migrants leaving from or entering into the country, requirements of 'human capital' or 'people' for fulfilling the manpower shortages in the country, and political atmosphere of the nation towards opening up their borders for external factors.

However, in the age of globalization, some supra-national organizations and multilateral forums such as the United Nations, the International Organization for Migration (IOM), International Labour Organization (ILO), the Global Forum on Migration and development (GFMD) and Regional Consultative Processes (RCPs) also try to influence the policies of the

national governments. These organizations bring out guidelines, directives and conventions and provide common platform for various stakeholders to share their concerns and act together in a holistic manner considering the interests of the source countries, the receiving countries and the migrants together. Several conventions related to the protection of migrants belonging to different categories have been issued in the last half a century by these international organizations. However, due to the non-binding nature of their recommendations and conventions as well as the requirement of a wider acceptance by the member states to bring these conventions and recommendations into force, sometimes there occurs undue delays and sometimes even non-ratification. International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 18 December 1990, for example, has not been ratified by many nation-states even after 20 years of its adoption. Most importantly, countries such as the United States, the UK, Canada, and India who host substantial migrant populations have not still ratified this convention. National policies and consular practices are therefore more important than the guidelines and conventions of multilateral or supranational organizations in the context of international migration.

Governments usually have a tendency to formulate and restructure their migration policies in accordance with the requirements of their labour market and socio-political situations in their country. Over the last century, migration policies throughout the world, more specifically in the developed receiving countries of Europe and North America, have primarily been formulated and restructured in accordance with the manpower requirements of their economies (Rystard, 1992; Khadria 2002) and sometimes by humanitarian considerations. Presently too, immigration policies in majority of the nations are being formulated and revised mainly in accordance with the requirements of the labour markets and for offsetting the negative consequences of demographic imbalances. Recognizing the need and benefits of international migration several countries are adopting migration policies in accordance with national requirements (UN 2006). Independent Commission on Migration to Germany (2001), for example, stated that "We need immigration to Germany because the population here is getting older; life expectancy is increasing while the number of children born per family remains low and the number of births is decreasing" (as cited in IOM 2003: 239). Germany is not the only country which is increasingly looking for migrants rather this kind of situation is persisting in many countries of Europe, North America and even some countries of Asia. In order to avoid the negative consequences of the age structural transformation (AST) many countries of the OECD are increasingly banking upon the services of immigrants as a short-term strategy.

It is evident from the above discussion that whereas individuals migrate to make their lives better countries need them because they do not want to be left behind because of the lack of 'people' or 'human capital' their economies require. However, despite this interdependence the issue of international migration involves many other intentions and concerns of the sovereign nation-states. Many countries, even despite knowing that the services of migrants are absolutely necessary for their economies, exercise various mechanisms not only to control the inflows but also to induce the return of migrants after a certain period of time. Sometimes, migration policies also include different provisions for the people of different nationalities

which lead to discrimination. Migration policy in many countries of Europe and North America, for example, has been very restrictive and selective for long in the 20th century. These countries are still reluctant to allow the entry of undesired 'aliens' in their territories.

Current Migration Policies: Divide between Immigration and Emigration

Two important kinds of conflicts can be observed in the contemporary migration policies. The first conflict, referred to as the 'dynamic conflict of interests', occurs between the source countries belonging to the developing south and the receiving countries of the developed north (Khadria, 2009). The dynamic conflict of interests arises due to the differing time horizons of the perspectives of the two countries where the countries of the developed north are better equipped to exercise effective control on immigration and safeguard the interests of their people from the undesired influence of migrants. This kind of conflict of interests might have serious repercussions for the employment conditions in the source countries and their education systems as well. The second type of conflict may be observed within the countries of the global north as well as global south. Quite often, countries of origin emphasize on providing better working conditions for their people, employ diplomatic and other political mechanisms to safeguard their interests in the destination countries and strive for the protection of their 'rights', the very same countries show reluctance while providing the same benefits and safeguards to the immigrants in their own countries. Moreover, it is a growing tendency across nations to give preference to the high skilled professionals and raise barriers against low-skilled immigrants. Destination countries also exhibit unsolicited behaviour towards low skilled immigrants particularly belonging to the low income neighbouring countries. This kind of conflict between the immigration policy and emigration policy can be seen in many the world - both in the global north and global south. An overview of the migration policies and the way they are implemented in countries like the United States, UK, Australia, Mexico, India, Bangladesh, would provide evidence of this divide. Here are a few examples to shed further light on this divide.

India is almost at the top of the list of countries involved in international migration. India is primarily known for the emigration of its people - from low skilled artisans to high skilled graduates to almost every part of the world. India diaspora is the third largest diaspora in the world after the British and the Chinese comprising 20 million people at the end of the 20th century (ICWA, 2001). Indians are living in every part of the world - both developing and developed. India is both a source country and a receiving country. It is a major 'hinterland' for the US, UK and other developed countries for skilled manpower and to the Gulf countries for semi-skilled and low-skilled manpower; it receives large number of migrants from neighbouring countries. According to the Census of India 2001, there were 61,66,930 foreign-born, persons residing in India. Asia is the major source of immigrants in India. More than 95 percent of all immigrants in India have either been born in an Asian country or have come from an Asian country. Bangladesh is the largest source of immigrants to India. Almost 60 percent of the total foreigners in India are from Bangladesh. Next major source-country is Pakistan, with a stock of 9,97,106 immigrants to India, followed by Nepal with 5,96,696 immigrants in India (Census of India, 2001). The other countries of origin with more than 20,000 immigrants in India are Sri Lanka, Myanmar, United Arab Emirates and China.

India usually keeps a close watch on the developments and fluctuations that occur in the migration stances of the developed countries of the global north and raise concerns against those policy developments that might have important bearings on the Indian migrants. Immigration policy changes in the United States, United Kingdom and elsewhere where Indians constitute significant stocks and flows do occur very frequently in the media, business and industry, and at the government establishments. Changes in the H1B visa regimes in the US and visa caps on skilled migrants from non-European countries in the UK can be taken as representative example. India is also quite proactive in protecting Indian migrants living in the Gulf countries. Several agreements have been signed and many more are in the pipeline between India and destination countries regarding the social security benefits and protection of the rights of their citizens in each others' countries.[1] Moreover, the issuing of ECR (emigration check required) passports is a proactive stance taken by the Indian government to safeguard the low skilled people from in the destination countries. However, India lacks a comprehensive policy framework on immigration issues despite being known to receive large number of migrants from various countries. Rather than having a well carved immigration policy, India deals with immigration related issues in a perfunctory manner.[2]

The United States has been regarded as a nation of immigrants. It has been receiving immigrants from around the world. According to the US Census Bureau, in 2007, there were 307 million immigrants in the US, more than half (53.1 percent) were from Latin America followed by Asia and Europe each contributing 27.7 percent and 12.7 percent, respectively. Mexico is the largest source country of immigrants in the US contributing 29.8 percent of all the foreign born population. China, Philippines and India are other important source countries o migrants to the US. There is one common thing in India and the US as far as the issue of immigration in both the countries is concerned. Whereas India receives the largest number of immigrants from Bangladesh the US also receives the largest share of its migrants from Mexico. Mexico-US is the largest corridor in the world. Both Bangladesh and Mexico shares borders with India and the US, respectively, and therefore both countries experience a large part of migration from their neigbours through illegal channels. However, despite that both India is still known as a major emigration country and the US a country of immigrants. They have been following different trajectories to deal with the issue of migration in their territories.

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[1] The Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs has signed Bilateral Social Security Agreements with Belgium, France, Germany, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Hungary, Denmark, The Czech Republic, Republic of Korea and Norway. Bilateral social security agreements aim to protect the interest of expatriate workers and the companies on a reciprocal basis (http.moia.gov.in).

[2] For example, India in an arbitrary move limited the number of skilled migrants coming to India. The circular issued by India's Home Ministry says "Foreign nationals being sponsored for an employment visa in any sector should draw a salary in excess of $25,000 per annum. However, this condition of annual floor limit on income will not apply to ethnic cooks, language teachers (other than English), staff working for the embassy/high commission concerned in India." This move was specifically targeted to curb the entry of Chinese engineers who are assumed to be taking up jobs meant to be filled by the native people. Source: http://inchincloser.com/2010/10/21/new-delhi-restricts-employment-visas-for-chinese-engineers/, last accessed on April 12, 2011.

India's migration is very much ad hoc on the issue of immigration the US has a well articulated immigration policy that has been streamlining the flows of immigrants in the US throughout the last century.

People from certain parts of the world, mainly from Asia, were prohibited to enter in the US at different points of time – sometimes by putting barriers in terms of human capital variables such as 'literacy test' or sometimes in the name of 'national origin quota'. This practice was stopped in the latter half of the 20th century and migrants were selected on the basis of skills rather than the national origin. However, in the last decade, immigration policy of the US is changing so fast that it has really become to keep track of it. People belonging to certain regions (and religions also) are being discriminated in the US openly. The US migration policy is still very selective and favours the entry of high-skilled people only. Mr. Barack Obama himself admitted that while the US provides opportunities for a large number of students to study engineering, computer science and several other courses in its universities from around the world, the US immigration laws discourage "them from using those skills to start a business or power a new industry right here in the United States." He advocated that "we should make it easier for the best and the brightest to come to start businesses and develop products and create jobs" (Hindustan Times, July 3, 2010). There is an obvious antagonism in the US migration policy. Whereas the US wants 'best and the brightest' to come to the US, it does not provide stability to its immigration laws. Moreover, recent policy changes in the US, which target the migrants to cover the costs of so many schemes and programmes in the US from the migrants, are restrictive and unwelcome steps. Similarly, migration policy in other developed countries like Canada, UK and Australia also follow the same principles.

Besides facing policy restrictions, immigrants have to prove their metal in the local communities also. They are considered the most vulnerable people. Unemployment rates have been reported to be very high among the immigrants in many countries. During the recent economic crises immigrants were the first lot of people to be axed out from the employment. For example, in the US immigrants have been hit somewhat harder by the current recession than have native-born Americans. Immigrants now have significantly higher unemployment than natives (Camarota and Jensenius, 2009). India receives its people back from almost every part of the world – Gulf countries, Europe and the Americas. In some countries migrants are treated as second grade citizens and suspected as criminals. Criminalization of migration is an issue of concern not only in Asia (e.g., India) but it is a very big issue in many Latin American countries. Migrants are treated like criminals; face ethnic and racial discrimination; subjected to multiple scrutiny and public apathy. Majority of migrants, especially temporary migrants, are also not covered under social security system in many countries. Migrants face the music of erratic attitude of consulate people at the visa window and at the arrival points in the destination countries (Khadria, 2009). There is not much difference between the countries of north and the countries of south when it comes to the governance of immigration. The second conflict, therefore, is related to the crises of governance of international migration within the same country.

In the present context, immigration policies are being reshaped by three important factors (i) the demographic imbalances and consequent labour shortages, (ii) pressure of

increasing internationalization and competition for superiority in the global market, and (iii) security concerns to safeguard the interests of their local citizens from undesirable immigrants and terrorist activities. The receiving countries are now focusing on skilled migrants, favouring their temporary stay. For example, France is aiming at recruiting more skilled workers whereas curtailing the family reunion category (Murphy, 2006). A lot of discussion is going on to project temporary migration as beneficial to both the country of origin and the destination country. This is in contradiction to the perception that perpetuated throughout the latter half of the 20th century where emigration, particularly of the high-skilled people, was considered as 'erosion' of national human resources to other countries (Khadria, 2009). Migrants are now being perceived as 'global citizens'. The reality, however, is that migrants are more often required in time of labour shortages and can be said good bye as and when the shortages are over. The recent economic crisis is a case in point. Migrants were the first who had to face the axe/burnt of unemployment and repatriation.

Options for Bridging the Divide: Comprehensive 'Migration Policy' in Place of 'Immigration' or 'Emigration' Policy

It is true that the urge to migrate is related to the men's insatiable thrust to improve their life chances. However, it is also true at the same time that people are not always pushed by the opportunity-deficient home economies; many times they are pulled by the forces active in receiving countries. People have the tendency of moving towards the places where they perceive employment opportunities and flee from the places of economic distress. Receiving countries have hardly allowed or facilitated the entry of immigrants into their territories without a selfish cause simply because "there is no international obligation for any nation to allow others to enter to work or to permanently settle within its geographical borders" (Briggs, 1996). Nonetheless, migration will continue and along with the individuals, nation-states would also be requiring it to continue due to various reasons such as to avoid the fear of slowing economic growth due to labour shortages in certain employment sectors, ageing of population, growing competition for highly-skilled human resources from developing countries, and to control/minimise unauthorised migration, specifically by regularising their status and providing safe passage to certain specific set of people whose contribution is required in the country.

However, it needs to recognized, especially by the policy makers in every country, that migrants are not mere economic agents. They are human beings. Therefore, while deciding about the numbers and other qualifications of migrants, as most of the countries especially in the global north are doing, they should be extended certain rights in the destination country. Presently, rights of migrants differ both within and across countries. Different countries have different 'bundles of rights' for similar kind of migrants (Ruhs and Chang, 2002). Every individual entering into the country should be ensured to have minimum at least a minimum 'bundle of rights' necessary to live in the country with dignity and peace of mind while maintaining one's own individual or preferred national identity if not equivalent to the 'bundle of rights' bestowed upon the native citizens. Besides putting an 'expiry date' on every regulation and legislation, no policy instruments should be implemented with an earlier date, as has been happening in case of the UK.

Migrants are not second class citizens. It you want their services you should be able to provide them the kind of rights an individual can expect in lieu of being an man and his contribution. It is true that migrants have been contributed in the development of their destination societies in terms of economic development as well as in terms of cultural diversity. In fact, migrants have become transnational or global citizens and needs to be governed by multinational laws rather than unitary country laws. Ratification of the UN Convention and follow up of the guidelines of other institutions in the most important work that each and every country in the world should do as soon as possible.[3] Governments have to establish that migrants are treated with human dignity and if somebody wants to stay in the destination country should be provided full protection and all the kinds of social security benefits. Nation-states can also bring legislations to promote inter country agreements providing that the partner states will take care of the migrants in each others' country. Signing of several multilateral or bilateral agreements by India with other countries in the Gulf or in Europe is a welcome step in this direction. Consular offices need to be given clear directions to follow the 'best practices' and to avoid the 'bad practices'.

Concluding Remarks

The paper examined emigration or immigration policies of the major countries involved in international migration, with specific reference to India, one of the most prominent source country of migrants to the developed countries of global north and a major destination country for immigrants from the neighbouring countries, and the United States, the most prominent destination country in the developed global north. The paper envisages that nation-states should give equal importance to both immigration and emigration and should reframe comprehensive migration policy in place of immigration policy or emigration policy. Introspection based on 'adversary analysis' is essential to deal with the existing dichotomies and conflicts between within the countries as well as between the countries. Countries of the global north as well as global south, especially the source-cum-receiving countries, need to show more maturity while treating with the nationals of other countries before criticizing them and negotiating with them for the protection of their people living in other countries.

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[3] Only 43 countries have ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families. The signatories are mostly labour sending countries with a large number of workers living abroad. Notably, no country in the Middle East, which hosts a sizeable number of foreign workers, signed the treaty so far (The Philippine Star, October 27, 2010).

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