

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Migration from one area to another in search of improved livelihood is a key feature of human history. While some regions and sectors fall behind in their capacity to support populations, other move ahead and people migrate to access these emerging opportunities. Migration has become a universal phenomenon in modern times. Due to the expansion of transport and communication, it has become a part of worldwide process of urbanisation and industrialisation. In most countries, it has been observed that industrialisation and economic development has been accompanied by large-scale movements of people from villages to towns, from towns to other towns and from one country to another country.

From the demographic point of view, migration is one of the three basic components of population growth of any area, the other being fertility and mortality. But whereas both fertility and mortality operate within the biological framework, migration does not. It influences size, composition and distribution of population. Migration is most volatile component of population growth and most sensitive to economic, political and cultural factors (Singh, 1998). More importantly, migration influences the social, political and economic life of the people. Indian constitution provides basic freedom to move to any part of the country, right to reside and earn livelihood of their choice. Thus, migrants are not required to register either at the place of origin or at the place of destination. A number of economic, social, cultural and political factors play an important role in the decision to move. The effects of these factors vary over time and place.

Few migrants are wholly voluntary or wholly involuntary. Almost all migration involves some kind of compulsion. At the same time almost all migration involves choices (Van Hear, 1998). In contrast to the conventional migration, the early 20th century witnessed a mass movement of people from the country of origin to different political boundaries. Unlike the voluntary movement of migrants, the primary reason that drive the other cadre is to protect from life threatening factors and hence the movement has been a forcible one. Forced migration refers to the movements of people due to conflicts as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear

disasters, famine, or development projects. It has accompanied persecution, as well as war, throughout human history but has only become a topic of serious study and discussion recently. Forced migration is classified into three types, viz., conflict-induced, development-induced and disaster-induced displacement. Further, forced migrants are classified as refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced persons (IDPs), development displacees, environmental and disaster displacees, smuggled people and trafficked people¹. It is a well-documented phenomenon that the displaced persons are increasing every day of which the two largest displaced persons are IDPs followed by refugees. The forcibly displaced population at the end of 2013 are 51.2 million of which 16.7 million are refugees (UNHCR, 2014).

1.2 Definition of migration and forced migration

Migration has been looked at differently by various experts. Also, the definition has changed over time with the change in its dimension. United Nations (1958) defined migration as “a form of spatial mobility or geographical mobility between one geographical unit and another, generally involving a change in residence from the place of origin or place of departure to the place of destination or place of arrival”. According to Mangalam (1968) “migration is a relative permanent moving away of a collectivity called migrants, from one geographical location to another, preceded by decision-making on the part of the migrants on the basis of a hierarchically ordered set of values or valued ends and resulting in changes in the interactional system of the migrants”. Sidney (1981) defined migration from a demographic point of view and involves three elements: an area of origin which the mover leaves and where he/she is therefore counted as an out-migrant; the area in which the new residence is established – the destination or place of in-migration; and the period over which migration is measured. “Thus a migrant is a person who has changed his residence from one geographically well-defined area to another area with the intention of permanently or semi-permanently settling at the new place” (Premi et al., 1983). Migration is defined as a move from one migration defining area to another, usually crossing administrative

¹ <http://www.forcedmigration.org/about/whatisfm>

boundaries made during a given migration interval and involving a change of residence (UN 1993).

Forced migration though has the elements of migration but its causes are different. The commonly accepted and used definition of forced migration and its types is brought in here². The legal definition of a refugee is enshrined in the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Article 1 of the Convention defines a refugee as a person residing outside his or her country of nationality, who is unable or unwilling to return because of a 'well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a political social group, or political opinion. The thin difference between refugees and asylum seekers is that the latter are people who have moved across an international border in search of protection under the 1951 Refugee Convention, but whose claim for refugee status has not yet been determined. On the other hand, the definition of IDPs states persons who have been forced to flee their homes suddenly or unexpectedly in large numbers, as a result of armed conflict, internal strife, systematic violations of human rights or natural or man-made disasters, and who are within the territory of their own country. While IDPs and refugees share similar circumstances that evacuate them from the origin, IDPs stay within the political boundary, generally within country, and refugees move to different country or political boundaries.

1.3 Data on migration

A recent survey shows that census is the largest source of information on internal migration at the cross-country level. A study shows that 138 countries collected information on internal migration in their censuses compared to 35 through registers and 22 from surveys (Bell, 2003). In India, information on migration has been collected in a number of large-scale and localized sample surveys. Yet the population census has remained the most important source of migration data.

² <http://www.forcedmigration.org/about/whatisfm>

Since 1961, data on migration in India have been collected by considering each revenue village or urban settlement as a separate unit. A person is considered as a migrant if birthplace is different from place of enumeration (POE). In 1971 census, an additional question on place of last residence was introduced to collect migration data. Since then, census provides data on migrants based on place of birth (POB) and place of last residence (POLR). If the POB or POLR is different from the POE, a person is defined as a migrant. On the other hand, if the POB and POE is the same, the person is a non-migrant (Bhagat, 2008). Since 1961 census, the duration of residence has been ascertained to provide data on timing of movement. The duration data are published as less than one year, 1-4 years, and 5-9 years, 10-19 years and 20 and above years. A major limitation of migration data is that migrants of all durations are defined as lifetime migrants because the time of their move is not known. They are those who came to the place of enumeration at any point during their lives and have been living there ever since, whether this happened just a week before the census or a few decades ago (Premi, 1990). Intercensal migrants are the migrants who have migrated within the duration of 0-9 years.

In the country, permanent shifts of population and workforce co-exist with the circulatory movement of populations between lagging areas and developed regions and between rural and urban areas, mostly being absorbed in the unorganized sector of the economy. Internal migration is now recognized as an important factor in influencing social and economic development, especially in developing countries. Indian censuses record that in 2001, 309 million persons were migrants based on place of last residence, which constitute about 30% of the total population of the country. This is nearly double the number of internal migrants as recorded in the census of 1971 (159 million). Socio-economic changes in the last three decades have greatly affected the mobility of the population. The causes of people's mobility in the country lie more in the rural areas, in stresses in the origin places, and less in the attractiveness of the urban centres. Nevertheless, migration has played a major role in the expansion of the urban economy, by increasing the labour supply as well as the labour force participation rate in the urban population.

Census do not enumerate refugees and illegal immigrants. However, demographic estimates are used to count them. For instance, due to the population explosion in West Bengal, a state which is subject to illegal immigrants from Bangladesh, indirect estimates are done using decadal census population growth rate to arrive at the number of immigrants who crossed the border illegally. One reason that they are not enumerated in census is because of their voluntary nature. Illegal migrants often are mobile and tend to cross the political boundary beyond the stringent measures to contain them. The refugees also enter the country as illegal migrants. However, they are counted off as illegal migrants once they are given refugee status.

1.4 Origin of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees

India has been in the receiving end offering shelter to refugees from many of its neighbouring countries including Sri Lanka. The United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI) reports that in 2009, India has hosted around 456,000 refugees that include 96,000 Sri Lankan refugees who are mostly Tamils. Like many other countries, multi-ethnic phenomena had led to the rise of ethnic conflict between Sinhalese and Tamil minority group. Disagreement between Sinhalese and Tamil ethnic communities flared up when drawing up Sri Lanka's first post-independence constitution in 1948. Later in 1956, the language policy of Sri Lanka called "Sinhalese Only Act" caused bitter feeling among the Tamils due to which many Tamil civil servants had to resign due to lack of fluency in Sinhala. This resulted in ethnic riot which killed many Tamils, while thousands were assaulted and displaced to the North. Another major strike to the Tamil minorities was in the year 1970. During this time, importing of Tamil media literature from Tamil Nadu and other parts of the world were banned. Further, in the same year, the name of the country was changed from Ceylon to Sri Lanka. Similar discriminatory approach by the local government escalated the rise of militant groups.

In 1983, the ethnic conflict between Tamils and Sri Lankans in its serious discord led to civil and political unrest. After this the Tamil minority group started leaving their country seeking refuge in other countries. The first mass exodus was during 1983-87

where around 134,000 Sri Lankan Tamils arrived in Tamil Nadu. Due to the civil war in 1990, another 122,078 Sri Lankan Tamils came to Tamil Nadu during 1989-91. The third mass exodus started in 1996. During the period 1996-05, more than 22,000 Sri Lankan Tamils came to Tamil Nadu. The fourth mass exodus during 2006-07 recorded influx of another 19,680 Tamils. Besides, these four mass exoduses, the Sri Lankan Tamils came to Tamil Nadu every now and then. It is noteworthy that majority of these people are from marginalised and poor socioeconomic groups. Amid this, 199,546 Tamils who came to Tamil Nadu during the first three influxes were repatriated to Sri Lanka. Though the Sri Lankan Tamils are culturally and ethnically bonded to local Tamil population, as per the Indian constitution they are classified as refugees.

Table 1.1 Phase of influx of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in India		
Phases	Period	Influx
First phase	1983-87	134,053
Second phase	1989-91	122,078
Third phase	1996-05	22,418
Fourth phase	2006 onwards	19,680

Source: An Operation Manual for the Officials Working in Sri Lankan Tamil Refugee Camps, 2007, Department of Rehabilitation, Tamil Nadu.

During 2007, there were about 97,708 refugees reside in Tamil Nadu of which 74,219 refugees reside in about 117 camps (Government of Tamil Nadu, 2007). The Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in Tamil Nadu are broadly categorised into following three divisions.

- i) Camp Refugees – those who live in camps meant for refugees;
- ii) Non-Camp Refugees – those who have personal resources in Tamil Nadu and obtain special provision for accommodation to stay in Tamil Nadu; and
- iii) Special Camp Refugees – those who found to be a part of any militant outfits.

The study was conducted among camp refugees. Details about the camps selected for the study is presented in chapter 2.

1.5 Review of literature

While the subject studied in this thesis is pertaining to migration, it was felt inevitable to review the migration related theories and understand its applicability with forced migrants. Hence, literature on migration and its theories are studied in this thesis.

Further, theories on forced migration is reviewed. In addition, various studies on forced migration in general and refugees in particular has been reviewed. These studies cover issues pertaining to health status, adjustment, adaptation, integration, return and repatriation. This section presents the reviews undertaken for this study.

While migration is as old as humanity itself, theories about migration are fairly new. One of the early writers on modern migration is Ravenstein, who in the 1880s pioneered based on his “Laws of Migration” on empirical migration data. This collection of empirical regularities, for example the fact that most migrants only travel short distances, was far from a complete theory of migration. Early migration models (Zipf, 1946) used the physical concept of gravity and explained migration as a function of the size of the origin and destination population and predicted to be inversely related to distance. In the 1950s migration theory moved from purely mechanical models to more sophisticated theories.

The Harris-Todaro models of the 1970/80s augment these models to account for some empirical observations and to make the models specifically about migration. Other macro-theories included the world systems theory and dual-labour market theory, which consider institutions in more detail. The focus since the 1980s is on more elaborate microeconomic models. These models analyse individual motivations to migrate, but also consider structural community level factors such as poverty.

Theories associated with migration

Migration theories can be classified according to the level they focus on. Micro-level theories focus on individual migration decisions, whereas macro-level theories look at aggregate migration trends and explain these trends with macro-level explanations. The meso-level is in between the micro and macro level, e.g. on the household or community level and can explain both causes and perpetuation of migration. Table 1.3 gives an overview of the theories along the level of analysis. As will become clear later on, some theories fit into several categories.

Table 1.2 Theories of migration defined by level of analysis		
Micro-Level	Meso-Level	Macro-Level
Migration cause: - Individual values/ desires/ Expectancies (e.g. improving survival, wealth etc.)	Migration cause/ perpetuation: - Collectives/ social networks (e.g. social ties)	Migration cause/ perpetuation: - Macro-level opportunity structure (e.g. economic structure – income and employment opportunities differentials)
<i>Main theories:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Lee's push/ pull factors ▪ Neoclassical micro-migration theory ▪ Behavioural models ▪ Theory of social systems 	<i>Main theories:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Social capital theory ▪ Institutional theory ▪ Network theory ▪ Cumulative causation ▪ New Economics of labour migration 	<i>Main theories:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Neoclassical macro-migration theory ▪ Migration as a system ▪ Dual labour market theory ▪ World systems theory ▪ Mobility Transition
<i>Source: Faist (2000) and own elaboration</i>		

Macro-theories of migration

Todaro and Harris (Todaro, 1969 and Harris & Todaro, 1970) augmented this model to account for the significant urban unemployment that was found in many less developed countries. Migration is not completely risk-free, because the migrant does not necessarily get a job upon arrival in the city. Rural-urban migration occurs, as long as the expected real income differential is positive. Migration thus increases if urban wages increase or the urban employment rate increases (*ceteris paribus*).

The dual labour market theory (Priore, 1979) explains migration as the result of a temporary pull factor, namely strong structural labour demand in developed countries. According to this, there is economic dualism on the labour market of developed countries and wages also reflect status and prestige. The world systems theory (Wallerstein 1974), which takes a historical structural approach, stresses the role of disruptions and dislocations in peripheral parts of the world, as a result of colonialism and the capitalist expansion of neoclassical governments and multinationals. It thus takes account of structural factors that other theories neglect.

Another macro-level model explaining rural-urban migration in less developed countries is Mabogunje's (1970) migration as a system model, in which he explains migration as a dynamic spatial process. Aggregate migration flows and interactions are modelled by starting with a pool of rural potential migrants that is affected by various factors in the decision to migrate. Kritz and Zlotnik (1992) have also emphasised the importance of viewing international migration as an interdependent dynamic system, with own but interlinked systems for sending and receiving countries and feedback and adjustment coming from the migration process itself. It can also be linked to the world systems theory, discussed above. In a historical analysis it is important to point out that acquired rights, laws or existing institutions will always influence migration flows, irrespective of economic considerations, like the business cycle (Hollifield, 2000).

Globalisation not only affects the demand for labour or facilitates migrant networks, but also leads to loss of border control. Zolberg (1981) argues that it is not just the economic factors that matter in making the structural setting of migration, for example some of the countries that would be considered peripheral in the world systems theory (the Communist countries) chose to do so due to political reasons and political motives also influence migration flows (e.g. of refugees). The political setting is thus an important structural factor in migration decisions. Zelinsky's hypothesis of mobility transition (1971) argues that migration is part of the economic and social changes inherent in the modernisation process. It is part of the wider range of functionalist theories of social change and development, which try to link theories to past empirical trends.

Micro-theories of migration

Lee (1966) was the first to formulate migration in a push-pull framework on an individual level, looking at both the supply and demand side of migration. Positive and negative factors at the origin and destination push and pull migrants towards (non) migration, hindered by intervening factors, e.g. migration laws and affected by personal factors, e.g. how the migrant perceives the factors. Fischer, Martin and Straubhaar (1997) propose a more advanced version of the model, where the no risk and

asymmetric information assumptions are dropped. Wolpert's stress-threshold model (1965) describes a behavioural model of internal migration, similar to a cost-benefit analysis, but assuming individuals that intend to be rational ex-ante, but are not necessarily so ex-post. Individuals have a threshold level of utility they aspire to. They compare place utilities to this threshold in order to decide whether to migrate or not and to which place.

Another behavioural model, the value-expectancy model (Crawford, 1973) is a cognitive model in which migrants make a conscious decision to migrate based on more than economic considerations. The potential migrant's strength of migration intentions depends on a multiplication of the values of migration outcomes and expectations that migration will actually lead to these outcomes. Complimentary to the dual labour market theory is Hoffmann-Novotny's approach of explaining migrations as a theory of social systems (Hoffmann-Novotny, 1981). According to this theory migration is a result of resolving structural tensions (power questions) and a nominal tensions (prestige questions). Migrants hope to achieve their desired status in the destination country, but often tensions are transformed instead of reduced. How successful they are depends on the global distributions of the different systems (for the different countries) among "status lines". This theory does not exclude economic push factors for migration, but instead places them in a wider context of other societal push factors and also considers what happens to migrants at their destination. The theory broadly makes sense and furthermore includes structural factors, which most micro theories neglect. It is not easy to apply and test it however.

Some of the migration literature includes a seemingly wider decision-making framework, for example Harbison (1981) paper is entitled "Family Structure and Family Strategy in Migration Decision Making". However, the migration decision is still not seen as a strategic family decision; the paper only acknowledges that families can influence the individual migrant's decision, e.g. through the demographic structure. When looking at migration from a gender perspective, family structure can influence the migration decisions of women in particular.

Morokvasic (1984) points out that women migrate not only because of economic motives, but also to get married, due to social constraints, low rights and lack of protection against domestic violence. Sandell (1977) and Mincer (1978) on the other hand view migration as a family decision. The family as a whole migrates if their net gain is positive. Bigsten (1988) also considers migration a household decision in which a family allocates labour to the urban or rural sector depending on the marginal products of combined wages. Taylor (1999) points out that migration networks can be a source of information, thus increasing the certainty about returns in potential migration destinations.

As Massey (1990) argues the factors that influence migration to start could be very different from the conditions that make migration continue, i.e. perpetuate. After an initial phase of pioneer migration, migration becomes more common in the community, with more and more people imitating current migrants and being helped by them until migration becomes self-sustaining. There are different aspects of the perpetuation of migration, including social capital, social networks, migration institutions and cumulative and circular migration and they are discussed below. Thomas Faist, a sociologist, emphasizes the meso-level of migration (1997, 2000). By studying the meso-level, he links the rational individual migration decision models to the structural macro migration models. Social relations and social capital in households, neighbourhoods, communities and more formal organisations help migrants in the migration decision and adaptation process, so they are both a resource and an integrating device.

Social capital can be seen as a resource that is acquired as a result of different kinds of relationship (Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992) in Massey et al., 1998) and can be converted into other types of capital (e.g. borrowing money for migration from your neighbour). The role of social linkages and especially migrant networks on the micro or meso-level is crucial for understanding the patterns and volume of the migration, once it has set off. After a pioneer period, where migrants face many difficulties, the access of their followers to the destination country is easier, as they are better informed through the pioneer migrants. New channels of communication are established and communities of migrants are created in a receiving country (Goss & Lindquist 1995). A final meso-level

theory of migration is cumulative and circular causation (Massey, 1990), which shows how migration becomes more and more common since it has started, by sustaining itself. Past migration alters the context in which current migration decisions are made by changing the socio-economic context and macro environment of migrant households that then affect the migration decisions of future migrants.

Forced migration and refugees

The migration theories presented above mainly talk about the causes and consequences of movement among general population. These theories, by and large, state the economic motives as a primary cause for migration. They attribute the movement for better socioeconomic status. Though survival is one of the reasons quoted in these theories, it is further linked with poverty and better economic status. Theories associated with forced migrants are individual and family centric and are micro theories where survival is perhaps only motive of the migrants. Also, the very definition of UNHCR highlights that any movement for economic motive should not be considered as refugees. Hence, the general migration theories though cannot be directly associated with forced migration, to some extent they can be associated with the factors of forced migration such as decision making, networking, social capital and ties (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Massey, 1990; Thomas Faist, 1997 & 2000). In particular, Faist (1997) pointed out in his network theory where migrants are interdependent as the effect of one person or group of persons will have impact on another person or group. In addition, Lee's migration theory (1996) can be seen in the context of forced migration where push and pull factors play a role in determining the movement, (re)settlement and repatriation. Fussell (2012) highlights migration networks contribute to understanding the dynamics of differential migration and also help to predict future migration.

Specific literature on challenges encountered by forced migrants and in particular refugees have been reviewed in this study. These studies cover issues of forced migrants across various countries. These issues include health status, social connections, social network, adjustment and adaptation, integration, repatriation and resettlement. Also, inter-linkages of these issues are also reviewed to understand the gaps and scope to carry out the current study. Most of the studies reviewed belong to

the experience of refugees in developed countries. The below section provides the reviews pertaining to forced migration and its related issues.

Health status

Fleeing from one's country to another can involve stressful and challenging processes, which strongly influence the health, well-being and life quality of immigrants who have come to a new country with their desire to have a better and safer life (Beiser & Hou, 2006; Mui & Kang, 2006). They must deal with stressors associated with the processes of adapting to a new environment, which presents a multitude of challenges in their daily lives. Having psycho-social-cultural implications, those adaptation processes appear greatly stressful and demanding for refugees who are considered minor and less established because they do not seem to have established a strong and well organized community support and network of their own within the community in which they have settled.

Refugees usually bring with them considerable human capital, such as education and skills, and most of them are also of working age. However, they lack social capital, or networks, not only within their own ethnic group but more importantly in the wider society, which limits their ability to make use of their human capital. It is through these ties and networks, 'ethnic' as well as 'mainstream', that refugees experience their new social environment; understand it and adjust their attitudes and behaviour (Korac, 2005).

The effects of traumatic experiences on refugees are immeasurable, long lasting, and shattering to both their inner and outer selves (Steel, Silove, et al., 2006). Refugees who have already survived trauma in their country of origin often experience particular difficulties, including feelings of not being safe, during the resettlement period. Dependent upon their employers for economic support, these refugees face threats of withdrawn work contracts, difficult access to legal help due to economic and language barriers, and communication and cultural roadblocks, leading to distrust and fear of the host country's bureaucratic system (McDonald, 2001). Thus, health status and various

other factors associated with host environment would play important role in decision making among refugees about their return.

Social connections and networking

A social network is a set of persons connected together by social relationships. Depending on the focus of a study, the links between these persons may be friendships, kinship relations, work relationships, relationships with neighbours, sexual relationships and so on (Mitchell, 1969; Scott, 1992). Numerous studies have been carried out to find the factors affecting the successful integration of refugees in the host societies. Many consider social connections and networks as critical for refugees to adapt to the life challenges encountered in the host community. The importance of networks to the process of migration and refugee communities has been long recognized in the field of migration studies. These networks are understood as sets of interpersonal ties based on kinship, friendship, and shared national, ethnic, and cultural origin that connect migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas (Massey et al., 1994). As such, they represent an important source of social capital, which refers to an individual's ability to mobilize resources on demand (Portes, 1995), or to a dynamic process that facilitates access to benefits and resources controlled by the dominant group in society (Fernandez-Kelly, 1995) that best suit the goals of specific groups.

Literature on the importance of social networks for the process of migration focuses on three main areas of migration experience. It examines the role of social networks in the migration decision-making process (Hugo, 1981; Ritchey, 1976); in the choice of destination (Massey et al., 1994); and in the adaptation of migrants in host societies (Caces, 1987). Koser (1997) defines these three areas of migration experiences as the three stages of the asylum cycle: pre-flight, flight, and exile. Social capital has been recognized as the networks of social relations that can provide people and groups with the access to resources and support. According to Granovetter (1973), these social relations can be understood as strong ties made up of family and close friends, and weak ties that are comprised of networks of acquaintances (or, using another terminology, *bonding* and *bridging* resources). Most people find themselves part of a dense social group, made up of family and close friends, as well as part of a circle of

acquaintances. Each acquaintance will have his or her unique circle of close family and friends. Granovetter argues that the existence of one's circle of acquaintances (weak ties) is crucial in bridging two or more densely knit groups of close friends and family.

In many countries, refugee and migrants' associations are regarded as important for maintaining links with the native culture as well as for 'voicing' the needs and interests of specific groups within the multicultural milieu of receiving societies (Eastmond, 1998). The former process and the establishment of 'ethnic networks' in receiving societies are considered as essential at the early stages of settlement, They provide refugees with emotional support, and a sense of roots and continuity (Eastmond,1998; Bloch 2002). Networking and communication with friends and relatives in Sri Lanka about the prevailing safety had helped the refugees to decide their return (Giammatteo, 2009). Thus it is necessary to review critically the relation between social network and social connections the refugees have in the host country and in the country of origin with their return outcome.

Communication and family reunification

Communication is one of the basic necessities where human beings express their feelings with one another. The migrants often face challenges with regard to communication when they move to a place which is socio-culturally different. In particular, the refugees are more likely to face challenges related to communication due to the very fact that they are often estranged from the host community and are bound to live within a restricted boundary. Various studies highlight communication as strong factor that determine the adaptation of migrants and refugees in host society. Study conducted by Wai et al (2011) finds that competence in host country language is one of the important factors lead to adaptation. Also, communication acts as a viable solution for the migrants who are stressed due to loneliness and difficulties. Through communication relationships and interpersonal networks, immigrants seek help for loneliness, stress and the difficulties that they encounter (Fogel 1993; Jou & Fukada 1995). Interpersonal networks are also helpful in finding additional contacts (Jou & Fukada 1995). These contacts often tend to expand ones network within refugee circle as well as outside refugee circle.

As a matter of fact, by situation, refugees forcefully leave their origin without their belongings and immovable / non-liquid assets and to the extreme even their blood relations. Most of these forceful migrants loose contacts with one another even within the country where they are in host. Social support to these protracted refugees is mainly within the refugee circle, with whom they build network with one another in the host. Various human rights instruments explicitly recognise the importance of family. These instruments highlight the prominence of family and the importance of marriage and union. The article 12 of The Refugee Convention (1951) states the importance of family relationship among refugees and urges the states to work towards bringing the refugee families together. The Convention states “the personal status of a refugee shall be governed by the law of the country of his domicile or, if he has no domicile, by the law of the country of his residence; and rights previously acquired by a refugee and dependent on personal status, more particularly rights attaching to marriage, shall be respected by a Contracting State, subject to compliance, if this be necessary, with the formalities required by the law of that State, provided that the right in question is one which would have been recognized by the law of that State had he not become a refugee.”

Understanding the importance of family support at exile and foreign land, the UNHCR has formulated guidelines on reunification of refugee families. This guideline suggests the governments to take the necessary measures for the protection of the refugee’s family with a view to ensuring that the unity of the refugee's family is maintained (UNHCR, 1983).

Protection of refugees under the Constitution of India

Besides the international instruments, at the country level, India has a dedicated department for rehabilitation that deals with the relief and rehabilitation of repatriates from Burma, Vietnam and Sri Lanka and provision of relief assistance to Sri Lanka refugees. While India is not a signatory of 1951 Refugee Convention not to its 1967 Protocol on the Status of Refugees, it adopts ad-hoc measures to address the protection and welfare of the refugees. Thus in the absence of statutory framework,

India relies on Foreigner Act 1946 to govern the entry, stay and exist of foreigners in India, including refugees. Since the entry and regulation of aliens falls under the union list the central government is empowered to govern the refugees (Bhairav, 2004). The Indian Constitution also protects rights of the refugees in many terms. For instance, article 20 deals with Ex post facto law, right against double jeopardy and right against self-incrimination; article 22 of the Constitution deals with right against arrest and detention; article 51(c) of the Indian Constitution provides that the state shall endeavour to foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another. All these protects the refugees in many ways.

Resettlement

Refugee settlements can be understood in terms of the triangular relationships of what the refugee left, what developed and how they view their situations (Keller, 1975). For instance, the repatriation of Sri Lankan refugees who arrived in India during 1983-87 was widely criticised as it was political decision and not based on ground realities. Also, certain refugees were forced to return reluctantly because of the condition of their camps (Sukumaran et al., 1992). Recent experience has demonstrated that refugee frequently go back to homeland even which are not fully at peace (e.g. Honduras refugees, South East African refugees) may be due to induced general deterioration of conditions in the host country of asylum, declining support or reduction in international assistance. However, it is also noted that repatriation movements often represents the outcome of a careful decision making process, whereby individuals, households and communities weigh up the relative benefits of moving or staying back (UNHCR, 2000).

Other study shows that displaced populations plan their return or reintegration once they have reached a place of security. The recent observation of UNHCR on the Mozambique repatriation reveals that 'during their time in exile, the refugees made careful plans to minimize the difficulties they would encounter and the risk they would have to take when they finally return to their homeland. Hence, as the conflict within their homeland subsided refugees who were living in camps made extra effort to accumulate some capital, whether by trade, casual labour or by saving and selling some of their rations (UNHCR, 2000).

Mozambique refugees prefer to repatriate in stages, the most vulnerable person to move out at last stage, so that they could best utilize the available services that are available in the camp and benefit the repatriation schemes. And also those who had managed to find some kind of employment in their asylum country also tended to delay their return, thereby maximizing the amount of cash they had at their disposal when they finally take up permanent residence at their own country. Such process is confirmed even among Afghanistan, Cambodian, Chad, Eritrea and Sudanese refugees and can be taken as universal phenomena (UNHCR, 2000).

Harvey (2006) in his study on Croatia and Bosnia IDPs' returning to native place found that factors common to both these IDPs include high level of destruction of housing and infrastructure, problem of overcrowding in urban areas, individual resistance related to the illegal issue of use of assets of displaced persons, enmity towards member of other ethnic groups as an individual psychological response to a variety of circumstances and experiences, loss of municipal and personal records, dysfunctional state structure, gaps in the rule of law and lack of economic opportunity or prospects for minorities in return areas. However, Black and Gent (2006) argues that post conflict return is a highly politically charged process in a number of context, both for returning and those who did not migrate or flee, leading many observers to question the notion of an unproblematic return home. They further note, especially doubt remains both about the conditions and voluntariness of return, the ability of individuals return to reintegrate in their home countries and regions and the wider sustainability of the return process.

Adjustment, assimilation and integration

According to UNHCR, local integration is a complex and gradual process which comprises distinct but related legal, economic, social and cultural dimensions and imposes considerable demands on both the individual and the receiving society. Finding a home in the country of asylum and integrating into the local community could offer a durable solution to the plight of refugees and the opportunity of starting a new life. Families in which members were left behind in war zones, camps or unsafe

environments often experienced adjustment and attachment difficulties when reunited (Burke 1980).

Adjustment of refugees in host environment is onto various aspects such as social, cultural, occupation, language, etc. The study by Ali et al (2006) indicates that the cultural adjustment process is affected by different factors such as language, tolerance of host society, satisfaction, different occupational opportunities, social support, length of residence and finally the degree of orientation toward origin as the most effective factor of cultural adjustment. Employment is considered as critical factor in moving the refugee into the mainstream of society. It provides contacts with the host population including employer and colleagues, besides restoring self-regard (Barry, 1979). In case of Sri Lankan refugees, it would be critical to look into the employment related adjustment aspect. However, social and cultural aspects cannot be completely disregarded given their culturally and socially close to the host community.

Expectations of the refugees may be even higher in those host communities where they have comparable background (Hansen, 1982). As set out in international refugee conventions, local integration refers to the granting of full and permanent asylum, membership and residency status, by the host government. It takes places through a process of legal, economic, social and cultural incorporation of refugees, culminating in the offer of citizenship (Kibreab, 1989). Valatheeswaran and Rajan (2011) found that the Sri Lankan Tamil refugees do get assistance from the state government. However, integrating the refugees into the local society could be a durable solutions for their future. While India cannot afford providing citizenship to the refugees, integration in the host count not be a viable study on this subject. Though refugees are adjusted economically and socio-culturally, they cannot possess or buy any assets in the host. Hence, it is felt critical to understand their intention to return to origin.

According to Gutlove and Thompson (2004) post-conflict social reorganisation encompasses social, physical and political reconstruction. Social reconstruction entails rebuilding the human interactions that allow a society to function. Psychosocial healing is a process to promote psychological and social health of individuals, families and

community groups. Repatriation has been a voluntary process where the refugees themselves chose to move to their country of origin. The Sudanese refugees feel that repatriation process should be refugee driven rather than one that is driven by the imperatives of humanitarian programming (Lucy, 2010). The study also reveals that humanitarian bodies should spend considerable time in the country so as to ensure the sustenance and stable reintegration of the refugees. Conditions in both host and origin countries impact the decision making of the refugees and would lead to reintegration and return (Helen and Giorgia, 2006). Research with refugees who had gone 'home' highlighted the complexity of their experience, characterized by economic, psychological and social difficulties (Bascom 2005; Eastmond and O' jendal 1999; Ghanem 2003; Majodina 1995).

1.6 Need for the study

Voluntary repatriation, resettlement and local integration are the durable solutions for refugees as recommended by UNHCR. Studies relating to forced migrants including refugees globally and in India are abundant. However, studies on post conflict measures are scarce. In particular, studies linking factors such as adjustment, health status, social capital and the factors influence their decision to return to the country of origin where conflict has been halted. For instance, normalcy declared in Sri Lanka in the mid 2009 after the extinct of militant group. It has initiated talks about repatriation of Sri Lankan refugees.

Being developing country India has limitations to accommodate refugees from different parts of the world and thus cannot afford to provide citizenship to Sri Lankan Tamil refugees despite of their ethnic ties with India. So this acts as a push factor in the host country. On the other hand, the Sri Lankan government has ensured sustained peace for refugees and displaced. Humanitarian agencies are also taking proactive measures in resettlement process and ensuring peace. These all acts as a pull factors in the origin. Given this situation where the protracted refugees are in indifference between choosing their origin and host, it is essential to study the factors which affect their decision to return. Also, these people are expected to have well integrated with the

host population which is identical in terms of culture, language, etc., it would be an opportunity to study their decision to return. Further, social relations in the host acts as a social capital in feeling the belongingness of the refugees in the host.

Studies show that when refugees settle in host, they keep a close watch on the conditions in the origin and a conducive environment if they have intention to return. Also, those with adequate wealth and family members left behind in the origin would more likely to look for such opportunity to return. Given the adverse experience they had during their first phase return and the dejection caused of it would influence their decision to return. An economic theory states that demand is only effective when the consumer is willing and has ability to acquire. Similarly, mere investigation onto the intention to return is meaningless unless the time is ripe and conducive for refugees to return. Given the experience the refugees have in the past, their decision towards return will also be rational and mindful of the situation in the origin. Thus, the study is aimed to investigate the aspects that influence the decision on return.

1.7 Objectives

1. To examine the socioeconomic relationship between individuals within the refugee population itself, and the socioeconomic relationships between the refugees and the surrounding host population;
2. To investigate the family reunification among refugees with their social connections;
3. To examine the health status among refugees;
4. To understand the adjustment pattern among refugees;
5. To examine the factors determining intention to return to origin and stay back in the host.

1.8 Hypothesis

- Refugees with longer duration of stay in host country have better social network.
- Refugees with more number of movements have better social network.
- Refugees with better social network would have good health status.
- Refugees with longer duration of stay in the host country have better adjustment.

- Refugees with strong social network have better adjustment.
- Refugees with better adjustment with host population have lower intention to return.

1.9 Organisation of the thesis

In this thesis, the Sri Lankan Tamil refugees are termed in different connotations such as refugees, respondents and Sri Lankan Tamils. The reason being, given their ethnic relation with the host country population, terming them always as refugees gives a sense of insensitivity. The chapters of the thesis is segregated into eight parts as given below.

Chapter 1

This chapter introduces the concept of forced migration, refugees and its definition. It gives the readers an understanding about the origin of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees. Further, this chapter provides literature citing the general theories of migration, and reviewing the theories of migration and its application on forced migration. After the review, the chapter sites various studies and experiences on health status, adjustment, assimilation, social connection and network, repatriation, both at international level and at national level followed need for the study, objectives and hypotheses with a summary of chapters.

Chapter 2

The second chapter is devoted to methodology. Research design, studies area, sampling design, sample size, selection of respondents, techniques of data collection and type of tools are presented in this. It also portrays the field experience and approvals obtained for the study. The chapter also illustrates the field experience of researcher during data collection. Further, the chapter talks about data entry and processing, analysis and statistical techniques applied, and indices used in the thesis.

Chapter 3

This chapter presents about the global Tamil diaspora and the Tamil population in Sri Lanka, their origin. Further, the chapter presents the study results and about the profile of refugee camps which were selected for interview. Within the profile of refugee camps, various infrastructures about the camps has been discussed. Based on the information on infrastructure, a camp infrastructure index is generated based on which all the selected camps are ranked. After looking into the profile of refugee camps, the chapter presents background of the study population (refugees) including details about place of origin, year of arrival and re-arrival, and demographic characteristics such as family size, age, sex, marital status, occupation, and language proficiency.

Chapter 4

This chapter is on social connections and network among the refugees. As part of this chapter, three network dimensions of social connection are presented. It further presents social network index and tests two hypothesis - refugees with longer duration of stay in host country have better social network and refugees with more number of movements have better social network.

Chapter 5

Family reunification and health status among refugees is presented in this chapter. In particular, this chapter presents the results on disconnection with loved ones, attempt to re-establish connections with the loved ones, resettlement and health status. Results from both quantitative and qualitative data is used for analysis. This chapter tests a hypothesis that refugees with better social network would have good health status.

Chapter 6

Adjustment with host population is investigated in this chapter. Two dimensions such as occupational adjustment and socio-cultural adjustment is analysed in this chapter. An adjustment index is developed for finding its association with other determinants such as social network, health status and phase of arrival. This chapter tests two hypothesis refugees with longer duration of stay in the host country have better adjustment and refugees with strong social network have better adjustment.

Chapter 7

In this chapter, analyses has been carried out to examine the determinants that decide on the intention to return to Sri Lanka. Also, it provides reasoning from the qualitative data on intention to return or stay back in Tamil Nadu. Hypothesis tested in this chapter is refugees with better adjustment with host population have lower intention towards repatriation.

Chapter 8

This is the last chapter that summarises and concludes the study. It discusses how refugees can be utilised as a resource if they opt to stay back in the country.