

## **Chapter 6**

### **Adjustment with the host population**

## 6.1 Introduction

Adjustment is seen as a complex and multi-faceted process. It is one of the important processes that the refugees undergo in the host communities. Barry (1981) points out that the studies on their adjustment process fall into two groups. First, those studies which focus on their mental health, occupational adjustment, language, residence and community patterns, culture and identity problems, health, reactions to stress, relationships with natives, problems of women and children, and various measures of their progress and adjustment. The second set of studies focuses on the programmes such as the mix of services and assistance; which policies and programmes and which agencies provide the most effective aid to the refugees, etc. In the case of the Sri Lankan Tamil refugees, Tamil Nadu is a friendly border as they have their ethnic kins who have similar characteristics such as ethnicity, language, culture, etc. These factors are not a hindrance to their adjustment with the host population.

It is often not possible for immigrants to transfer their occupational status and skills from the country of origin to the host country. This is further critical in the case of forced migrants and refugees. For the latter, getting a job in the host country is challenging due to their identity crisis. Thus, employment among refugees serves not just as a source of income but it is the critical factor that leads them to move into the mainstream of society. It provides contacts within the host country to establish them and restore their sense of self-regard (Barry, 1979). Thus, occupation is one such factor that could be a major hindrance to adjustment in the host country. On the other hand, the employed refugees and forced migrants always feel insufficiency of income in their job (Rogg, 1974; Keller, 1975; DeVoe, 1981; Narzary, 2008).

Besides occupational adjustment, there are other indicators that refugees who tend to adjust in the host country are related to socio-cultural dimensions (Montgomery, 1996). 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 their origin as the most effective factor of cultural adjustment.

Traditional refugees, on the contrary, are culturally and ethnically similar to their host, come from societies whose levels of development are similar, and are likely to be welcomed and assisted by well-established kinfolk who resemble them in language and culture, and can be a cushion to their adjustment (Barry, 1981).

The current study investigates two different adjustment patterns among the refugees, viz., occupational adjustment and socio-cultural adjustment. As a part of occupational adjustment, various questions were put before respondents such as primary occupation in Sri Lanka, primary occupation in Tamil Nadu, average monthly income, mode of searching job, how they learnt the work (in case of different work in Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu). Further, an open-ended question was asked to understand the challenges faced by the refugees in doing new work. To investigate the socio-cultural adjustment, respondents were asked whether they attend festivals and marriages in their locality. In addition to this, a question was asked whether any family member married to the local Tamilian. Further, the respondents were assessed on their language accent, whether purely Tamil accent, purely Sinhala accent or mixture of both. Results of these two types of adjustment are presented in this chapter. It attempts to understand the adjustment pattern among refugees and tests the research hypotheses “**Refugees with longer duration of stay in host country have better adjustment**” and “**Refugees with strong social network have better adjustment**”. Both quantitative and qualitative data have been used.

## **6.2 Occupational adjustment**

All the respondents were asked about their occupation in both Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu. Of them, only 87 respondents were involved in income generation activities in Sri Lanka. The remaining were children, students or housewives who were never involved in any income generation activities there. While 14 per cent of the respondents were agriculturist in Sri Lanka who had their own land, there were none in Tamil Nadu who own land and are involved in agriculture. The government policy does not allow refugees to have a resident status in the host country and thus they cannot buy any asset here. There is a major shift among those who were agricultural labourers in Sri

Lanka when compared with their occupation in Tamil Nadu. While six per cent respondents were into fishing and allied activities in Sri Lanka, none of them was involved in this occupation in Tamil Nadu.

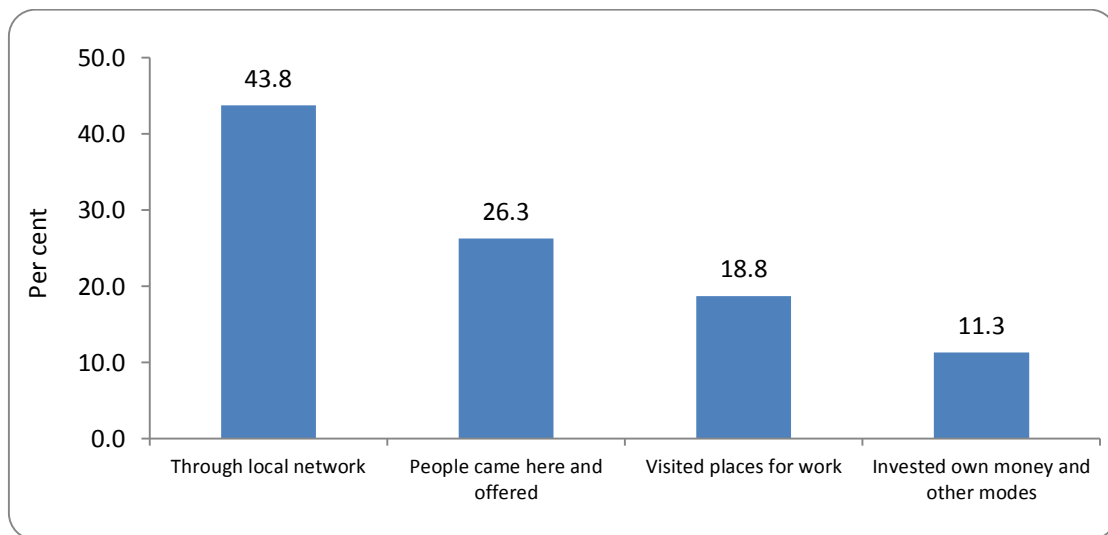
<b>Table 6.1 Percentage distribution of respondents by occupation in Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu</b>		
	<b>Occupation in Sri Lanka</b>	<b>Occupation in Tamil Nadu</b>
Agricultural activities in own land	13.7	-
Painting, moulding, carpentry	-	24.0
Agricultural labour	11.8	4.9
Fishing and allied activities	5.9	-
Business such as textiles, grocery, etc.	3.4	9.8
Teachers	2.9	4.9
Nurses and compounders	2.9	
Drivers	1.5	2.9
Tailors, photographers	2.0	2.9
Security guards	2.0	-
Other labourers	1.5	11.8
Construction workers	-	9.3
Social work	-	3.9
Not working (children)	21.6	-
Not working (students)	16.7	1.0
Not working (housewives)	10.8	18.6
Other work	3.4	2.0
Not working	-	3.9
<b>Total (N)</b>	<b>204</b>	<b>204</b>

The major occupations the respondents are into Tamil Nadu are painting, moulding, and carpentry where around one-fourth of them are engaged. They provide seasonal employment which does not provide financial support to the families throughout the year. Also, good numbers of refugees currently rely on textile/grocery shops, construction work and other labour work for their income generation. More female respondents remain unemployed as housewives in Tamil Nadu which could be because of shortfall in the availability of income generation activities. Almost all the respondents who were either children or students in Sri Lanka are occupied into income generation activities in Tamil Nadu. There is hardly anyone who is into highly skilled occupation. Most of them are marginal workers whose work is menial.

One of the comments shared by a refugee who was a fisherman in Sri Lanka and had to work as a painter in Tamil Nadu is given below. He portrays the adjustment he underwent to earn reasonable income and livelihood in India. In another case a fisherman turned painter. There are several refugees who struggle to do new work which is highly demanding and brings low remuneration.

*I am a fisherman. Painting was new to me. I hardly painted even my house in Sri Lanka. When I came here I did not have anything to do. I could not do fishing here. I almost had no livelihood. The only income we had was the fund from the government which is hardly enough to meet our requirements. So, I started searching a job outside the camp area in our locality. I could not go to distant places where I can involve in fishing because we have restrictions in this camp. We have to report weekly to get the incentives. So I had to learn painting (Male, age 38).*

**Figure 6.1 Distribution of respondents by mode of searching job**

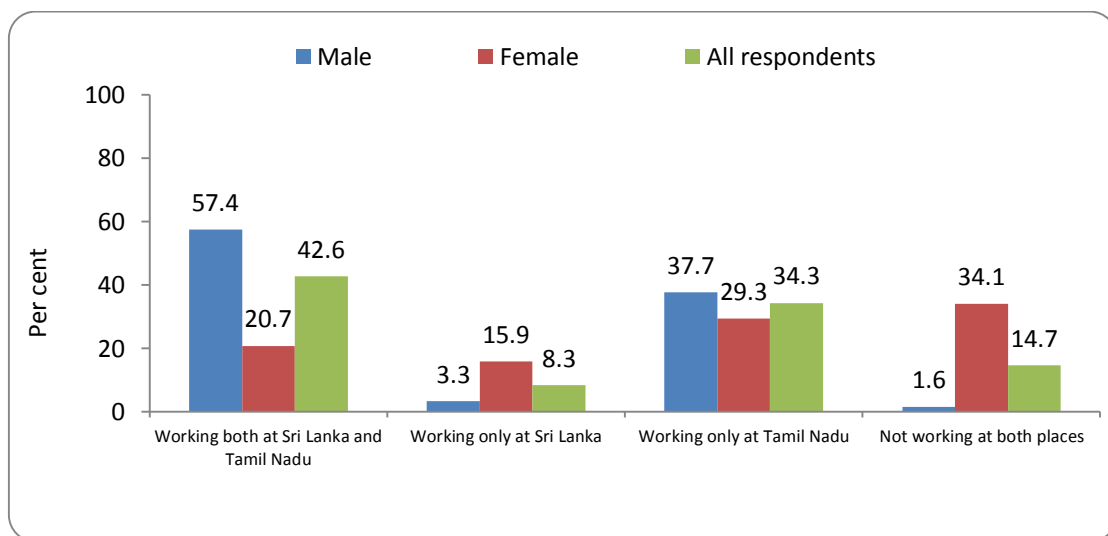


The mode through which refugees search employment has been explored in this study. Result shows that local network acts as a strong mode through which the respondents get employment. In other case, above one-fourth respondents reported that people visited their camp and offered job. This is particularly in the case of women who are

required to work from home such as embroidery and tailoring related jobs. Nearly one-fifth of the respondents have visited various places to find job. Some of them have invested their money to establish petty business like grocery shops, etc. (Figure 6.1).

Further analysis has been carried out to find the number of respondents working both in Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu, working only in Sri Lanka, working only in Tamil Nadu and not working in both the places (Figure 6.2). More than half of the male respondents (57 per cent) reported working in both Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu. One-fifth of the female respondents reported to be working in both the places. Further, 29 per cent female respondents are working only in Tamil Nadu. This shows that this state has been conducive for women do income generation activities. Also, more male respondents have started generating income in Tamil Nadu. On the other hand, above one-third of female respondents reported that they did not work both in Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu.

**Figure 6.2 Percentage distribution of respondents' work status by sex**

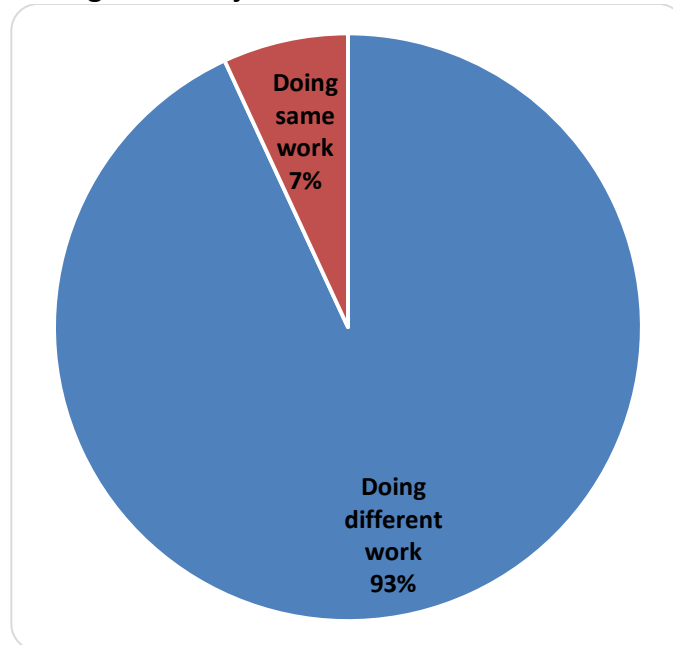


### **Difference in work in Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu**

Among the 87 respondents working both in Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu, further investigation was done to find out whether they were doing the same job or if there is any change in job. Figure 6.3 shows that almost 93 per cent of them were doing different job in Tamil Nadu as compared with their job in Sri Lanka. Various studies show that most of them do not get the same work as they were doing in Sri Lanka. Similar results are seen in the current study. Doing a new work requires new skills to

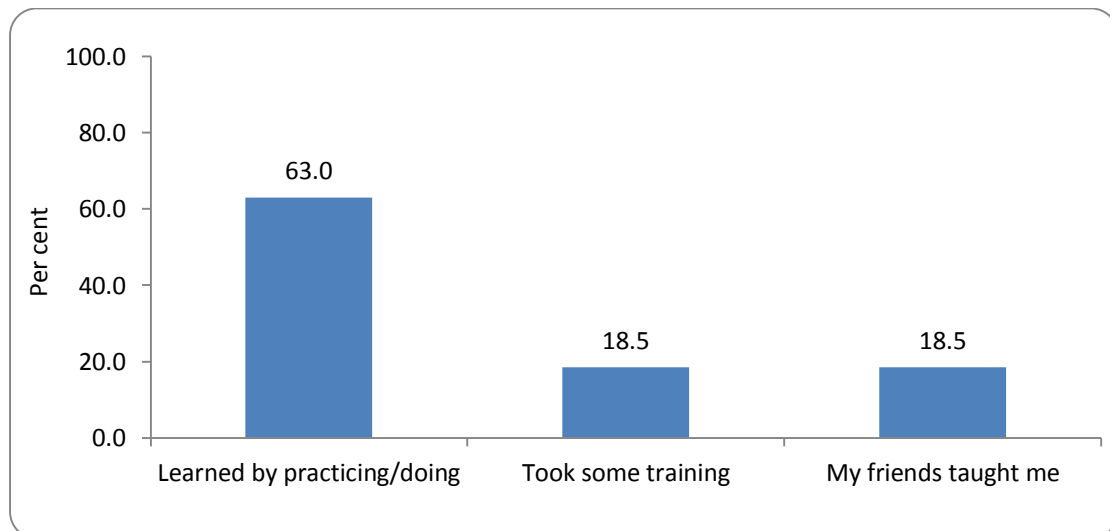
perform the task. Also, the refugees tend to remain unemployed for some period till they get a job in the host country. The following section provides information on skills/trainings undergone and challenges they encountered in doing the new work.

**Figure 6.3 Percentage of respondents who were doing different jobs at Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu**



*Base: 87 respondents.*

**Figure 6.4 Percentage distribution of respondents by skills to perform new job**



Occupation of the respondents shows that most of them are in low profile jobs which do not require high educational qualification. However, doing a new job requires a minimum skill to perform it. To understand about the new job the respondents get in

the host country, they were asked, “How did you learn to do different work here?” Figure 6.4 shows that almost two-thirds of them started did it without formal training in it. The remaining one-third reported some assistance either in the form of training or through friends.

### **Challenges encountered in performing new work**

Various challenges are reported by the respondents to get into a job in Tamil Nadu, irrespective of those who are newly into the job market or those who have been working in Sri Lanka as well. Particularly when the job is menial, it is heavily labour-oriented and often leads to poor health. Some of the anecdotes from qualitative data show the intensity of risk associated with the work done by refugees in host country.

*It was difficult as the work is risky. I fell down from a height of 25 feet and was hospitalised. I was in coma for several months and recovered slowly (Male, age 55).*

*I was working in a cement factory. The cement affected my lungs. I developed breathing problem. Currently I am not doing any work because of that reason (Male, age 59).*

*My earlier work was in a chemical factory. I was exposed to chemicals. I found it tough to work. It created problem in my eyes. I always had burning sensation due to formalin. I worked there for three years and was paid only 50 rupees per day. After that I worked as a coolie. We did not have enough money when we came here. Due to poverty, I started looking for jobs. I learned all my work by doing the work. Initially some of my colleagues taught me how to work and later I learned (Female, age 30).*

*I never did painting in Sri Lanka. But to have sufficient income, I had to do some work. So I learned painting as we get offers for it frequently (Male, age 51).*



*People don't give job to Sri Lankan refugees. We routinely have to check-in in the camp and report here at that time. We cannot live or stay outside for job (Male, age 27).*

*We don't have work here. I am now working in a different district. I cannot work there continuously because every week I have to come here for the roll call, if not, my ration will be cut. My family will also be in trouble. My employer doesn't like my coming here every week as this affects his work (Male, age 63).*

The routine government activity also reportedly affected the job done by refugees. For instance, the Government of Tamil Nadu's guideline states that refugees are allowed to get involved in income generation activities outside refugee camps from 6.00 am to 6.00 pm (2007). Where the refugees want to work as drivers, they can request the respective department through camp authorities for a driving license. They are also provided permission to stay out of station when their work requires it. In such cases, they have to visit the refugee camp every month during the disbursement of monetary support. If a refugee defaults in the monthly roll-call, his name will be removed the provision of rations and necessary support discontinued. Such stringent policies are followed by the authorities to stabilize law and order in the camp. This often backfires when refugees cannot come given the nature and demand of the work they are involved in.

The above mentioned findings help in understanding different measures taken by refugees to get adjusted to available economic opportunities here. A longitudinal data would have helped in explaining the process of adjustment better. The data collected in the study is of one time period and has a limitation where it does not explain the process of adjustment. However, some proxy indicators can be used to ascertain the level of adjustment among the refugees. For instance, some studies on refugees highlight income as one of the key determinants of economic adjustment (Finnan, 1981; Montgomery, 1996; Rogg, 1974).

### 6.3 Socio-cultural adjustment

Besides economic adjustment, socio-cultural adjustment contributes to the well-being of refugees in the host country. Some of the key dimensions described in studies on socio-cultural parameters include the participation in festivals and marriages in the locality (Narzary, 2008). In addition, language is another important determinant of adjustment (Barry, 1981; Cliff, 1992; Davie and Koenig, 1949; Dwyer, 2010; Segal and Mayadas, 2005). While the studied population has a unique language as of Tamilians which can cannot be perceived as a barrier to adjustment, during the pilot study it was found that the accent of the refugees had some impact of Sinhala language. Hence, language is also covered under the assessment of socio-cultural adjustment. As recommended by Montgomery (1996), the self-rating scale often has accuracy error and hence in the present study the impact of Sinhala and Tamil has been assessed and rated in a three point scale, viz., purely Sinhalese accent, purely Tamil accent and mixture of both. This section presents some of the pattern and differentials of variables that determine socio-cultural adjustment.

**Figure 6.5 Percentage of respondents by socio-cultural parameters**

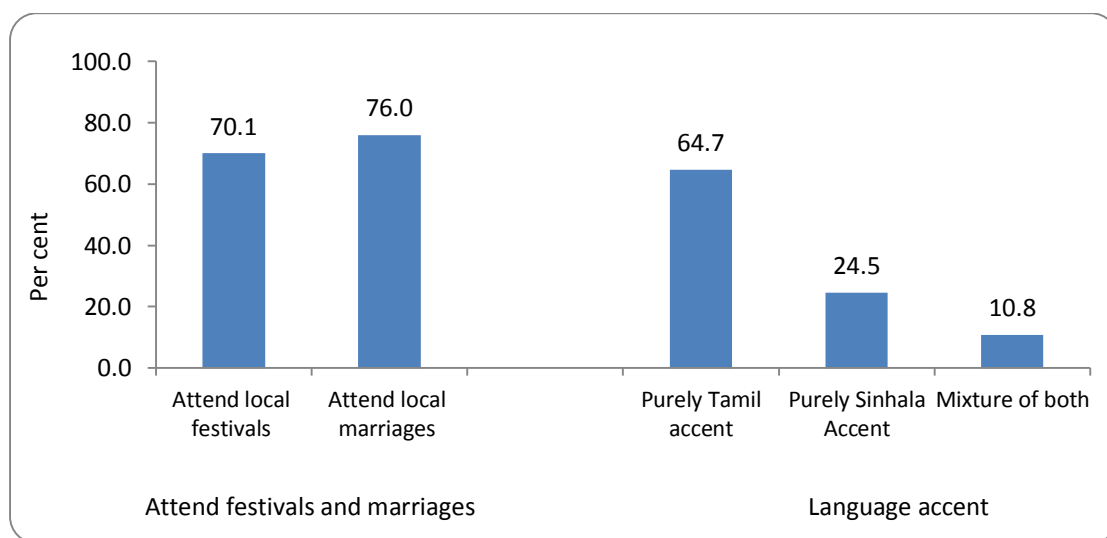


Figure 6.5 shows the percentage of respondents by various socio-cultural variables. Attending marriages and festivals in the locality is pervasive among the refugees. Over three-fourths of the respondents attend marriages in their locality while 70 per cent attend festivals. The assessment of language shows nearly two-thirds of the

respondents predominantly have Tamil accent, while one-fourth of them have Sinhala accent. Just above one-tenth of the respondents have a mixture of both Tamil and Sinhala accent.

### **Attending festivals in the locality**

Among the different background characteristics, sex, age, type of employment, proficiency in Sinhala and phase of arrival in India have a significant relation with the refugees who attend festivals in their locality (Table 6.2). As compared with females, male respondents are active in attending local festivals. About 84 per cent of the male respondents reported attending local festivals as compared with 50 per cent of female respondents. Older refugees actively attend local festivals as compared with their younger counterparts.

In the case of economic status, respondents who are employed full-time are more active in attending festivals. On the other hand, income does not show much variation. As for the phase of arrival, those who arrived during the first phase are active participants in local festivals. Among the health indicators, feeling of sadness/depression/fear prevent refugees from attending festivals in their locality. Similarly, refugee feeling makes an impact on attending festivals as three-fourths of the respondents without refugee feeling attend local festivals as compared with 63 per cent respondents with it attend the same.

### **Attending marriages in the locality**

Characteristics such as sex, type of employment, proficiency in Sinhala and phase of arrival have statistically significant relationship with refugees who attend marriages in their locality (Table 6.2). As compared with females, males more actively attend this social event. Four-fifths of male respondents reported to have attend marriages in their locality as compared with only 68 per cent females. Type of employment also has a similar pattern. Respondents employed full-time actively attending marriages in their locality. As for the phase of arrival, compared with the recent arrivals and respondents among the first arrivals, those arrived during the second phase are active in attending marriages.

Some variables such as education, marital status, household size, household monthly income, proficiency in Tamil and number of movement as refugee do not show a significant result with these two dependent variables. However, a unique pattern is found in the case of education where less educated respondents actively participate in these events. Proficiency in Sinhala leads to active participation in social events which cannot be explained with other substantiating anecdotes from qualitative data. Feeling of sadness/depression/fear prevent refugees from attending marriages in their locality.

### **Purely Tamil accent**

Sex, age, marital status, household size, proficiency in Tamil and phase of arrival are the characteristics of refugees which show statistically significant relation with those who have pure Tamil accent. Compared with females, male respondents have pure Tamil accent. This could be because they visit various places for work and also interact with the local population. This finding is supported by age data since younger respondents speak pure Tamil as compared with their older counterparts. Above 90 per cent young refugees in the age group of 18-29 years speak with pure Tamil accent as compared with their older counterparts. Respondents with relatively high educational qualifications are better in speaking with pure Tamil accent, followed by those with low education status.

Unmarried respondents are better in speaking Tamil with local accent as compared with their married counterparts. This indicates that their exposure with the local population is greater than the unmarried respondents. Also, the youngsters are more likely to be born or grow up in the host country. This could be another reason why they are better in speaking Tamil with local accent. Duration of stay is another indicator that has a bearing on the accent of the refugees. Of those refugees who arrived during the first phase, four-fifths of them speak with pure Tamil accent as compared with above two-fifths arriving recently.

<b>Table 6.2 Percentage of respondents by socio-cultural adjustment indicators</b>				
	<b>Attend local festivals</b>	<b>Attend local marriages</b>	<b>Pure Tamil accent</b>	<b>Total (N)</b>
<b>Sex</b>	<b>(P = 0.000)</b>	<b>(P = 0.035)</b>	<b>(P = 0.004)</b>	
Males	83.6	81.1	72.1	122
Females	50.0	68.3	53.7	82
<b>Age group</b>	<b>(P = 0.007)</b>	<b>(P = 0.184)</b>	<b>(P = 0.000)</b>	
18-29 years	61.4	68.4	91.2	57
30-49 years	66.3	76.5	52.0	98
50 years and above	87.8	83.7	59.2	49
<b>Education</b>	<b>(P = 0.492)</b>	<b>(P = 0.847)</b>	<b>(P = 0.162)</b>	
No education or <5 years completed	80.0	80.0	70.0	40
5-7 years completed	68.0	78.0	58.0	50
8-11 years completed	66.7	73.3	60.0	75
12 or more years completed	69.2	74.4	76.9	39
<b>Marital status</b>	<b>(P = 0.219)</b>	<b>(P = 0.218)</b>	<b>(P = 0.018)</b>	
Unmarried	84.6	80.8	92.3	26
Currently married	67.7	73.4	62.0	158
Widowed/deserted	70.0	90.0	50.0	20
<b>Household size</b>	<b>(P = 0.204)</b>	<b>(P = 0.758)</b>	<b>(P = 0.033)</b>	
One-three members	76.2	74.6	65.1	63
Four members and above	67.4	76.6	64.5	141
<b>Type of employment</b>	<b>(P = 0.049)</b>	<b>(P = 0.000)</b>	<b>(P = 0.810)</b>	
Full-time	86.4	95.5	66.7	66
Part-time	73.3	66.7	64.4	90
<b>Household monthly income</b>	<b>(P = 0.948)</b>	<b>(P = 0.523)</b>	<b>(P = 0.624)</b>	
Less than Rs.2000	72.2	83.3	61.1	36
Rs.2001 to Rs.4000	69.2	74.4	61.5	78
Rs.4001 and above	70.0	74.4	68.9	90
<b>Speak, read, write Tamil</b>	<b>(P = 0.363)</b>	<b>(P = 0.160)</b>	<b>(P = 0.005)</b>	
No	64.1	84.6	66.7	39
Yes	71.5	73.9	64.2	165
<b>Speak, read, write Sinhala</b>	<b>(P = 0.053)</b>	<b>(P = 0.010)</b>	<b>(P = 0.255)</b>	
No	68.1	73.5	64.3	185
Yes	89.5	100.0	68.4	19
<b>Phase of arrival</b>	<b>(P = 0.005)</b>	<b>(P = 0.005)</b>	<b>(P = 0.000)</b>	
First phase (1983-87)	86.8	73.7	78.9	38
Second phase (1989-91)	71.4	83.9	69.6	112
Third-Fourth phases (1996 onwards)	55.6	61.1	44.4	54
<b>No of moves as refugee</b>	<b>(P = 0.554)</b>	<b>(P = 0.392)</b>	<b>(P = 0.521)</b>	
Single move	69.0	77.4	62.6	155
More than one move	73.5	71.4	71.4	49

*Note: Figures in parenthesis represent the significance test from Chi-Square.*

<b>Table 6.2 Continued</b>				
	<b>Attend local festivals</b>	<b>Attend local marriages</b>	<b>Pure Tamil accent</b>	<b>Total (N)</b>
<b>Feeling of sad/depressed/fear</b>	<b>(P = 0.012)</b>	<b>(P = 0.000)</b>	<b>(P = 0.014)</b>	
No	73.8	81	65.5	168
Yes	52.8	52.8	61.1	36
<b>Feeling uncertain about future</b>	<b>(P = 0.199)</b>	<b>(P = 0.205)</b>	<b>(P = 0.001)</b>	
No	76.8	82.1	75	56
Yes	67.6	73.6	60.8	148
<b>Refugee feeling</b>	<b>(P = 0.039)</b>	<b>(P = 0.201)</b>	<b>(P = 0.103)</b>	
No	75.9	79.3	69	116
Yes	62.5	71.6	59.1	88
<b>Family member married native person</b>	<b>(P = 0.334)</b>	<b>(P = 0.839)</b>	<b>(P = 0.229)</b>	
No	68.8	75.7	65.3	173
Yes	77.4	77.4	61.3	31
<b>All respondents</b>	70.1	76.0	64.7	204

*Note: Figures in parenthesis represent the significance test from Chi-Square.*

#### **6.4 Refugee adjustment index**

In social sciences variables with common feature when separately analysed show different directions by population sub-group. This is more complex in studies of human behaviour. A similar situation is found in SNI used in the earlier chapter. Hence, it becomes inevitable to develop an indicator that would help to look into the inter-connections of different variables into one unique variable. Hence, a composite indicator is generated to understand the relative adjustment levels of respondents and its attribute on various background characteristics. Refugee Adjustment Index (RAI) is a composite measure of four variables of socio-cultural and occupational adjustment among the refugees. Details about these variables are given in chapter 2, section 2.5.3. The indicator value ranges from 1 to 22 where the value close to '1' is relatively poor adjustment while the value close to '22' denotes better adjustment.

Table 6.3 gives the mean RAI score over different background and confounding variables. As compared with female refugees, male refugees have better adjustment. Age, education and marital status show a marked difference in representing adjustment among the refugees. Younger refugees have better adjustment as compared with their

older counterparts. Respondents with relatively high education have better mean score of adjustment as compared with those with lower education. Unmarried respondents too have better mean score of adjustment as compared with their married counterparts. Further, those who are married and living with spouses have relatively better mean score of adjustment as compared with those who are widowed/deserted. Household size makes only a minor impact on adjustment among the refugees.

In the case of economic status variables, refugees who are employed full-time have better mean score of adjustment as compared with their counterparts who are employed part-time. While the individual adjustment variables fail to show a unique pattern in adjustment levels with language proficiency, this composite index show a unique pattern. Proficiency in Tamil leads to better mean score of adjustment in the host country among the refugees. On the other hand, the respondents with proficiency in Sinhala are in a challenging position as compared with those who are relatively poor in Sinhala.

Those refugees who arrived during first phase and those of them who have moved more than once as refugees are better in adjustment as compared with their other counterparts. In health variables, no marked difference can be seen in the adjustment mean score. A minor difference is observed among the refugees who have a feeling of uncertain future. A marked difference in mean score of adjustment can be found among the refugees whose family members are married to Indian citizens.

### **Association of background and confounding variables on adjustment**

Three models have been tested using binary logistic regression shown in Table 6.4 to find the association of background variables and other confounding variables on adjustment level of refugees in the host country. RAI has been used as a dependent variable. It being a continuous variable has been made into a dichotomous variable where '0' is relatively low adjustment, while '1' is high adjustment level. The first model includes individual background characteristics to see its association on the dependent variable without any impact of confounding variables in the equation. The second model attempts to assess the association of confounding variables such as the phase of

arrival, sadness/depression/fear, feeling about uncertain future, refugee feeling, family members married to Indian citizens and social network where the background variables are not included to avoid their impact on confounding variables.

<b>Table 6.3 Mean Refugee Adjustment Index by background characteristics of respondents</b>				
	<b>Mean (SD)</b>	<b>Lower limit</b>	<b>Upper limit</b>	<b>Total (N)</b>
<b>Sex</b>				
Males	8.57 (0.35)	8.214	9.722	122
Females	6.39 (0.37)	5.812	7.388	82
<b>Age group</b>				
18-29 years	10.18 (0.59)	9.460	11.978	57
30-49 years	6.83 (0.26)	6.483	7.668	98
50 years and above	6.55 (0.52)	5.639	7.867	49
<b>Education</b>				
No education or <5 years complete	6.96 (0.50)	6.153	8.357	40
5-7 years completed	6.20 (0.35)	5.560	7.080	50
8-11 years completed	7.60 (0.38)	7.057	8.732	75
12 or more years completed	10.56 (0.80)	9.526	12.885	39
<b>Marital status</b>				
Unmarried	11.08 (0.98)	9.526	13.704	26
Currently married	7.50 (0.26)	7.230	8.384	158
Widowed/deserted	4.89 (0.49)	3.918	6.062	20
<b>Household size</b>				
One-three members	7.38 (0.59)	6.433	8.957	63
Four members and above	7.84 (0.28)	7.550	8.769	141
<b>Type of employment</b>				
Fulltime	9.63 (0.55)	8.935	11.322	66
Part-time	7.33 (0.34)	6.879	8.361	90
<b>Speak, read, write Tamil</b>				
No	6.56 (0.44)	5.838	7.787	39
Yes	7.97 (0.31)	7.637	8.964	165
<b>Speak, read, write Sinhala</b>				
No	7.76 (0.28)	7.474	8.701	185
Yes	7.11 (0.66)	5.870	8.772	19
<b>Phase of arrival</b>				
First phase (1983-87)	8.31 (0.76)	7.038	10.267	38
Second phase (1989-91)	7.51 (0.36)	6.985	8.542	112
Third-Fourth phases (1996 onwards)	7.65 (0.39)	7.198	8.987	54
<b>No of moves as refugee</b>				
Single move	7.44 (0.26)	7.174	8.309	155
More than one move	8.52 (0.73)	7.326	10.441	49

*Figures in parenthesis represent Standard Deviation of respective mean.*



<b>Table 6.3 Continued</b>				
	<b>Mean (SD)</b>	<b>Lower limit</b>	<b>Upper limit</b>	<b>Total (N)</b>
<b>Feeling of sadness/depressed/fear</b>				
No	7.76 (0.29)	7.183	8.332	168
Yes	7.42 (0.64)	6.162	8.671	36
<b>Feeling uncertain about future</b>				
No	8.65 (0.43)	7.812	9.496	56
Yes	7.34 (0.32)	6.700	7.971	148
<b>Refugee feeling</b>				
No	7.91 (0.35)	7.225	8.588	116
Yes	7.42 (0.41)	6.613	8.230	88
<b>Family members married native persons</b>				
No	7.42 (0.24)	6.954	7.890	173
Yes	9.24 (1.10)	7.061	11.410	31
<b>All respondents</b>	<b>7.70 (0.26)</b>	<b>7.176</b>	<b>8.219</b>	<b>204</b>
<i>Figures in parenthesis represent Standard Deviation of respective mean.</i>				

Findings from first model show that without the impact of confounding variables, sex and age are the two variables that are significantly associated with adjustment level. As compared with male respondents, female respondents have low adjustment levels in the host country. As for age, older refugees have low adjustment levels as compared with their younger counterparts. These results are similar to those of the earlier analysis. Findings from the second model show that without the impact of background variables, the phase of arrival, feeling of uncertain future and social network are the variables that have a significant association with adjustment level among the refugees. In contrast to the findings shown in the earlier sections, the adjustment levels of those who arrived in the second phase are low as compared with those who arrived in the recent phases. Those refugees who feel that their future is uncertain are less likely to have better adjustment levels in the host country. Respondents with strong social network are likely to have better adjustment levels and the result has been found significant.

The third model considers individual background variables as well as confounding variables in the analysis. All the variables have the same pattern and trend as in the

earlier models. However, there are cases where the significance levels vary from the earlier model.

The background variables of age and sex have similar effect as in the first model. However, marital status is a new variable that shows the same trend as in the first model but has significance in this model. As compared with unmarried refugees, the adjustment level of widowed/deserted refugees is low. Among the confounding variables, the phase of arrival shows the same pattern as in the first model. Those refugees who arrived in the second phase are less likely to have adjustment in the host population as compared with the recent arrivals. **This result leads to the rejection of hypothesis that refugees with longer duration of stay in the host country have better adjustment.** Those who have felt sadness/depressed/fear and those who have felt uncertain about the future in the recent past are likely to have poor adjustment levels in the host country. While the result of those refugees who have felt uncertain about the future is significant in the second model, it is not significant in the third model. On the other hand, refugee feeling is significantly associated with the adjustment levels of respondents. As compared with the respondents who do not have the refugee feeling, those with the latter are less likely to have adjustment in the host country.

Two variables that show difference in the third model are family members married to Indian citizens and social network. The latter is pertaining to one of the research hypothesis. The respondents have better adjustment if their family members are married to the Indian citizens. The adjustment levels of the respondents are two times higher when their family members are married to native persons. Strength of social network gives an edge to adjustment levels of respondents in both the models. **However in the third model, the result is statistically insignificant so as to conclude the research hypothesis that refugees with strong social network have better adjustment.**

Table 6.4 Results of binary logistic regression						
Dependent variable "Refugee Adjustment Index" Low adjustment = 0; High adjustment = 1	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.
<b>Sex:</b> Males	1.000				1.000	
Females	0.298 <sup>b</sup>	0.111			0.226 <sup>a</sup>	0.094
<b>Age group:</b> 18-29 years	1.000				1.000	
30-49 years	0.317 <sup>b</sup>	0.130			0.384 <sup>c</sup>	0.195
50 years and above	0.233 <sup>b</sup>	0.114			0.240 <sup>c</sup>	0.142
<b>Household members:</b> One-three members	1.000				1.000	
Four-five members	1.390	0.568			1.354	0.617
Six members and above	0.748	0.397			0.607	0.352
<b>Marital status:</b> Unmarried	1.000				1.000	
Currently married	0.532	0.292			0.454	0.269
Widowed/deserted	0.266	0.259			0.132 <sup>c</sup>	0.138
<b>Phase of arrival:</b> Third-Fourth phases (1996 onwards)			1.000		1.000	
Second phase (1989-91)			0.531 <sup>c</sup>	0.194	0.344 <sup>c</sup>	0.159
First phase (1983-87)			0.551	0.256	0.585	0.322
<b>Sadness/depression/fear:</b> No			1.000		1.000	
Yes			1.311	0.556	0.651	0.337
<b>Feeling uncertain about future:</b> No			1.000		1.000	
Yes			0.361 <sup>b</sup>	0.122	0.619	0.250
<b>Refugee feeling:</b> No			1.000		1.000	
Yes			0.748	0.244	0.523 <sup>c</sup>	0.202
<b>Family members married native person:</b> No			1.000		1.000	
Yes			1.328	0.566	2.723 <sup>c</sup>	1.449
<b>Social network index:</b> Weak network			1.000		1.000	
Strong network			2.042 <sup>c</sup>	0.639	1.712	0.622

Model 1 includes background variables such as age, sex, household size and marital status.  
Model 2 includes confounding variables such as phase of arrival, mental and social health and social network index.  
Model 3 includes both background and confounding variables.  
<sup>a</sup> Significance at 99%; <sup>b</sup> Significance at 95%; <sup>c</sup> Significance at 90%

## 6.5 Pathway of integration through marriage in host community

Integration within host country population has been recommended by UNHCR as one of the durable solutions for refugees. However, this process takes a significant time and factors into account. There are three types of integration pointed out in the pool of refugee literature, viz., economic integration, social integration and legal integration. There are few studies that talk about inter-marriage or marriage with host population as a social integration process that the refugees experience in the host country (Ager and Strang, 2004; Crisp, 2004). The objective of the current study is not towards assessing or measuring the integration. However, from the in-depth interviews and during quantitative data collection, the respondents opined about inter-marriages with local population and their satisfaction towards such marriages as a solution to their refugee problem. According to the Citizenship Act (1955), a person can be granted citizenship if the person is married to a citizen of India and is ordinarily resident of India for seven years before making application for registration. However, this Act has clauses for illegal migrants.

In the current study, a good proportion of respondents (15 per cent) reported that their family members married native Tamilians who are citizens of India. Specific indicators of these 31 respondents show that around 22 years back these respondents had come to India for the first time. Further, it is a minimum of 15 years and maximum of 24 years. They have come to India mostly during the first and second phases of arrival. Their mean score in social network index and adjustment index are inclined towards strong social network and high adjustment levels. Overall, the sub-groups of refugees whose family members are associated with Indian citizens have conducive indicators towards integration. The qualitative findings from those respondents reveal their expectation of becoming citizens of India wherein marrying Indian citizens has been perceived as one of the solutions for their refugee status.

*Our children are here. They are married to the local people here...*

*So I want to live here (Female, age 53).*

*My son is getting married to an Indian girl. I feel that he will be united with the local people here. I feel that if not my generation, my son's generation will have a relief from the name "refugee" (Female, age 48).*

*... My brother-in-law married an Indian girl. We hope that he will become an Indian citizen (Female, age 35).*

*We can manage here as all of us have grown here. Our daughter is also married here and she is happy (Female, age 46).*

From these results, a pathway of social integration could be seen like arrival and stay in the host country for many years; establishing social connections and network in the host country; exposure of children or family members to the host country's social platforms like education, employment, etc.; and marriage of children or family members with the natives. A major limitation to this pathway of integration through inter-marriage is that it is silent about legality of such marriages and their registration under the law. It is only a hypothetical pathway which is not recognized under the legal framework of the soil.