

Indian Return Migrants from the UK

Assessing Reintegration Needs

July 2013

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Contents

Abbreviations	3
Acknowledgements	4
1. Executive Summary	5
2. Irregular migrants from India to the UK	9
3. Introduction to the research	11
a. Objectives and expectations from the research	11
4. Methodology	12
5. Profile of returnees	15
a. Personal Profile	15
b. Family Profile	16
6. Migration and Life in UK	22
a. Age at migration	22
b. Reasons for migration	23
c. Year of migration	24
d. Duration of stay	25
7. Nature of Return and Problems at Indian airports	26
a. Year of Return	26
b. Reasons to return	26
c. Nature of return	27
d. Decision to return and reception at the airport	28
e. Type of Problem Faced at Indian airports	28
8. State of Reintegration	30
a. Economic activities after return	30
b. Change in contribution to HH income after return	31
c. Social activities after return	31
d. Skill levels	33
e. Future plans of returnees	34

Contents

9.	Assessing reintegration assistance needs	36
a.	Human capital	36
i.	Working age population	36
ii.	Educational Achievements of the Population	37
iii.	Role of women	38
b.	Household Assets	38
c.	Social Capital	39
d.	Type of venture desired to start	41
e.	Skills desired to be acquired	42
f.	Awareness of Financial Institutions	42
g.	Type of Support Sought	43
10.	Opportunities for Reintegration	44
a.	Opportunities for ventures in agriculture	44
b.	Opportunities for ventures in dairy	45
c.	Other Sources and Skills training Providers	45
11.	Conclusions	46
12.	Recommendations	49

Abbreviations

ATMA	Agricultural Technology Management Agency
CII	Confederation of Indian Industry
FI	Financial Institutions
FICCI	Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
GBP	British Pound
HH	Household
ILO	International Labour Organization
INR	Indian Rupee
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IT/ITES	Information Technology/ Information Technology Enabled Services
ITC	Industrial Training Centres
ITI	Industrial Training Institutes
MES	Modular Employable Skills
NABARD	National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development
PAIC	Punjab Agro-Industries Corporation
PG	Post Graduate
READ	Rights Education and Development Centre
SDIS	Skill Development Initiative Scheme
TN	Tamil Nadu
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

Note:

1 Lakh = 100,000

Acknowledgements

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Ravi Hemadri

<http://www.daji.org.in/>

1. Executive Summary

This report is based on research done in Punjab, Gujarat and Tamil Nadu states to understand the issues around reintegration of Indian returnees from the UK. The data collection was done during March – June 2013.

Objectives

The report aims to provide a clear picture of the challenges and opportunities facing Indian migrants upon their return to India, and lays down recommendations that can form the basis of activities to support reintegration and encourage more voluntary returns.

Methodology

A survey of the returnees and their families' through a closed-ended questionnaire is the main method used to collect data related to reintegration, migration and return. Beginning from some known locations, names and contacts of returnees were gathered and they were interviewed; other respondents were identified through snowball sampling method. Case studies were done to check the validity of data gathered through the survey and collect qualitative information. Informal discussions were organized with members of the returnee families, community and also with returnees unwilling to allow their responses to be recorded on the questionnaire. A total of 51 returnees in Punjab, 12 in Gujarat and 9 in TN were surveyed. Case studies of 14, 6 and 3 respondents respectively in the three states were also done. A total of 84 returnees participated in the study.

Meetings and interviews were held with officials managing development schemes relevant to returnee reintegration. Secondary data was collected through a desktop research and by study of reports and plans of relevant government departments, agencies and banks. The data from survey of returnees in Punjab was entered into statistical analysis software and analysed. A draft report was discussed in a workshop with the participation of field personnel and others associated with the study. The final report has taken into consideration the discussions, suggestions and comments from the participants.

Findings and Conclusions

- ▶ Factors like age, family assets, savings, and motivation, human and social capital determine the reintegration trajectory of the returnees.
- ▶ Returnees are from rural, less educated, middle income, backgrounds. Most returnees have no capital on which to build their economic activities after return. In Punjab 16 returnees have no land and 25 own less than 8 acres (from total of 51) but most of this land is under lease. Even though 76% of returnees have only farming skills, they have no land to make use of their skill.
- ▶ 60% returnees in Punjab are under 40 years of age. In Tamil Nadu and Gujarat the returnees are younger. The present age characteristic of returnees matches

their age at the time of migration. In Punjab a man may migrate irregularly at ages below 20 or above 50 which is not the case with migrants from other states.

- ▶ Even though returnee households have a good average family size of 5 and 36.6% of the population is in working age, the human capital of the households is low on account of low education and skill levels. More women are found to have higher education but their talents are not utilized by the families because of patriarchal values.
- ▶ Fifty respondents in Punjab, 4 in TN and 6 in Gujarat want to either start a new business or are seeking a job. Most preferred is agribusiness followed by dairy, transport and petty business. They have no business skills to start an enterprise. Moreover, they have neither information about nor access to financial and training institutions.
- ▶ Half of those wanting to start a business are also open to take up a job. But they have neither the employable skills nor know where they can acquire such skills.
- ▶ Skill-building is the most sought type of support, followed by support for 'development of proposal' and assistance in getting subsidized credit. Other types of support sought are marketing and networking with FIs.
- ▶ A significant number of returnees were not received by either family members or friends at the airport in India. Case studies show how families are unhappy about return of the migrant and returnees feel cut off from their family and community. Thus social reintegration and regaining social capital is a problem the returnees face.
- ▶ Lack of social capital is also indicated by the data that most of those who have started enterprises are self-motivated.
- ▶ Faced with failure on both economic and social field, many returnees are forced to consider migrating irregularly to other destinations. Out of 23 case study respondents 10 said they would rather try to irregularly migrate again.
- ▶ Returnees can use various development schemes and training resources for starting a business or equipping themselves for a job. The state agriculture department and department of dairy development offer several services for technology transfer, training and subsidies on schemes; most of which are implemented in collaboration with banks who offer credit as well.
- ▶ According different reports there is a requirement for trained manpower in the fields of textiles, auto/auto components, light engineering, construction, retail, and food processing in Punjab. In Tamil Nadu the requirement is in textiles, construction, auto/auto components, light engineering, IT/ITES, and leather industry. Gujarat too has huge labour requirement in critical sectors of growth. These states also offer skill building facilities in both public and private sectors.

- ▶ Returnees, however, lack access to the schemes, and skill building facilities. Moreover, they lack motivation to benefit. There is also an outreach deficit on the delivery side of schemes and programs. The returnees are disadvantaged owing to their absence from current location due to migration and lack the social capital needed to acquire knowledge and gain access.

Recommendations

Following recommendations are made particularly to address the reintegration needs of forced returnees who form an overwhelming majority of the respondents in this study. Successful reintegration of the returnees has the potential of attracting migrants back home.

The key recommendation is to establish an institutional response to the needs of returnees and build services and an atmosphere where migrants could be encouraged to return. Institutional mechanism also has the potential of building community social networks capable of sustaining the gains of reintegration assistance and create awareness against irregular migration.

The response should have a full-spectrum approach: it should span the entire cycle of assistance the returnees require.

Following specific recommendations are made:

1. Reintegration assistance

This should include assisting returnees in key areas of access to development schemes, training, placement and other support mechanisms. Assistance should aim to:

- ▶ Provide information and communication in user-friendly formats to returnees on business and employment opportunities.
- ▶ Counsel to help the returnees come out their state of confusion and strengthen their agency and activate their productive energies for reintegration.
- ▶ Strengthen links between returnees and official development agencies
- ▶ Facilitate access to training centres to equip returnees with employable skills
- ▶ Provide placement service to trained returnees
- ▶ Facilitate access to technical and managerial skills training for those interested in starting their own enterprise.
- ▶ Facilitate access to FIs for access to credit, subsidies and other support services to returnees wanting to start a business.
- ▶ Provide handholding support to address the hindrances and bottlenecks in the way of returnees accessing services. Encourage returnees to apply their creative talents.

Recommendations to strengthen social support necessary for reintegration are:

- ▶ Counsel returnee's family members and facilitate frank discussion on migrants' legal and financial problems and the risks involved in irregular migration.
- ▶ Strategies and activities to strengthen the women's roles in decision making in

the family and community should be part of the social reintegration support

- ▶ Organize community programs and activities for returnees to make new friends and rebuild their social lives
- ▶ Facilitate returnee associations for mutual support and learning.

Activities addressing returnees, members of family and community should also aim at transforming individuals into change agents who can challenge the culture of irregular migration.

2. Encouraging migrants to return

Lack of information resources and notions of likely difficulties in the way of economic reintegration could be reasons for the migrants to stay on in their irregular situation. These should be addressed through:

- ▶ Use of information compendiums generated on the options available to returnees in effective ways.
- ▶ Use of stories of successful reintegration documented in the form of effective communication material
- ▶ Replicable and scalable models of reintegration should be established and communicated to migrants
- ▶ Use of returnee forums as tools for encouraging migrants to return

3. Sustainable Solutions to Irregular Migration

Activities towards sustainable solutions to irregular migration should include:

- ▶ Raising community awareness against irregular migration:
- ▶ Information and communication material such as testimonies of returnees and victims of cheating by agents in audio-visual and cultural formats should be used for mass education
- ▶ Discussion forums should aim at demystifying myths around irregular migration and potentials of gainful employment and business models available in the country
- ▶ Mobilise civil society and opinion makers through contacts, meetings and workshops to campaign against irregular migration
- ▶ Mobilize opinion makers into think tanks that lead the way for finding sustainable solutions to the problems of returnees and irregular migration

Engagement with the community equipped with stories of successful reintegration can also create a spin-off effect of attracting the migrants back home.

4. Research should be an ongoing engagement to better understand reintegration, return and migration processes in different contexts. The present study covers a miniscule population of Indian returnees from the UK, particularly in Tamil Nadu and Gujarat; studies are needed to understand the diversities in reintegration, return and migration and address these. Understanding reintegration opportunities is necessary to better equip the returnees with options.

2. Irregular migrants from India to the UK

Irregular migration is a growing phenomenon globally and is part of the globalization process. Of the estimated 214 million international migrants, 10-15% is estimated to be in an irregular situation (UNDESA 2009, IOM 2010). One-third of the international migrants from India are estimated to be in irregular situation. Many of them are apprehended in foreign countries for status related offences. Indian passport authorities receive nearly 25,000 enquiries annually from India's missions abroad.

Most irregular migration takes place through the network of human smugglers and agents. Migrants and their families pay a heavy fee for getting transported to foreign lands in search of better jobs and opportunities. This migration takes place as a process of continued history of migration. The large Indian community in countries such as the UK, USA, Canada and Australia contributes the pull factor for migration. Expanding social networks, better and cheaper communication, and easy transport in the last two decades have further contributed to increased volume of international migration – both regular and irregular. This volume is projected to increase. By 2040-2050, India together with Mexico and China form the top net emigration countries with many migrants aiming to migrate to three top net immigration countries: the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom¹.

Studies done in 2009 by UNODC² and Institute of Social Sciences, Delhi, found a large volume of irregular migration from Indian airports. The studies that primarily analyse data obtained from law enforcement and emigration authorities find that among all European countries, the UK is the most sought destination. At the national level, the number of Indians deported from all countries was 5424, 7078 and 7261 respectively for 2005, 2006 and 2007. Of these, 300, 378 and 538 deportations respectively were recorded from the UK³. These figures included those staying illegally in foreign countries and those who were denied entry due to a variety of irregularities in their documents. From a total of 43 deportations in 2005 of Indians from the UK, 23 were due to illegal stay in that country.

The state of Punjab stands out as the largest source of irregular migration to the UK. They form the bulk of irregular migrants from all north Indian states. Most migrants within Punjab originate from districts of Jalandhar, Kapurthala, Hoshiarpur and Nawnashahr forming the doaba region. These are the most developed districts in the state, in terms of agriculture. A major reason that gives rise to this migration and sustains it is the large diaspora from this region present in the UK . The bulk of migrants are men in the age range of 21 – 30 years, with women sometimes accompanying their men (mostly with a tourist visa).

¹United Nations: International Migration Report 2009: A Global Assessment.

²Smuggling of Migrants from India to Europe and in particular to UK, 2009

³The Indian Diaspora, however, expected the Indian government to take measures to check illegal immigration: 'Report of the High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora', Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 2001.

In the southern part of the country, it is Tamil Nadu that is a major source of irregular migration. Between June 2006 and July 2007 of deportees from all countries arriving at the Chennai international airport, more than 40% were residents of this state followed by Sri Lankans and residents of Andhra Pradesh. Within Tamil Nadu, significant numbers came from districts of Thanjavur, Pudukottai, Chennai and Namakkal.

UK is the most favoured destination for Indians from both the north and south Indian states. The major pull factors are: the long history of migration to UK, the presence of large Indian diaspora, familiarity with English and the popular belief that it is easy to find a job in the UK.

While international migration from India – both legal and illegal – is a huge phenomenon, return migrants also form significant numbers. According to data made available for this research, 7000 Indians returned to India from the UK in 2012 alone. Various media reports indicate that the irregular migrants are exploited by the members of their own community and live a life of deprivation⁴.

There is a paucity of research on the challenges faced by returnees in the reintegration into their community's social, economic and cultural fabric. ILO Sub-regional Office, New Delhi, has documented some stories of how return migrants, mostly from the Gulf countries, are able to rebuild their lives by using their skills and savings⁵. A large number of youth from Punjab are reported to be languishing in prisons in countries like Ukraine, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Slovakia, Germany, Doha etc⁶.

At present Caritas, India, and their partners address the reintegration needs of returnees from UK registered under some assisted voluntary return program.

⁴See for instance: 'Immigration racket will ruin Punjab' at: <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/immigration-racket-will-ruin-punjab/1/148082.html> and 'Door Kinare' at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=onSoNDS4rEQ>

⁵<http://www.pstalker.com/ilo/resources/ReturnMigrantswithoutpics.doc>

⁶Punjab tries image makeover with act against trafficking' at: <http://www.sunday-guardian.com/news/punjab-tries-image-makeover-with-act-against-trafficking>

3. Introduction to the research

a. Objectives and expectations from the research

It is important for the return migrants to reintegrate into their community and start life afresh. Due to personal, familial, social, economic and cultural reasons their reintegration is challenging. However, with increasing economic mobility in India and state support to build livelihoods there are also new opportunities the return migrants can make use of to regain the level of their contribution to family income

The aim of the research is to provide a clear picture of the challenges and opportunities facing Indian migrants upon their return to India, and produce an action plan that sets out activities that might support reintegration and encourage more voluntary returns. It also aimed at identifying the factors responsible for the migration, return and reintegration related processes across different parameters of age, economic backgrounds, region and motivations for migration and return. Furthermore, emphasis was also laid on understanding different kinds of schemes, skills trainings and development programs run by the Indian governments that returnees can make use of for their economic reintegration.

Based on the data and analysis from this research, the aim is to develop an action plan for assisting voluntary and forced returnees to reintegrate back into the economy and community. The aim is to develop a work plan with appropriate strategies, activities, a structure of implementation and modalities and define the tools that need to be developed. During the research process, efforts were made to identify local partners and of interested stakeholders in the three different states where the research was conducted for future work of assisted reintegration. Comparative analysis of returnees with different profiles was also expected to highlight the differences and similarities in the situations of the different categories of returnees and design varied strategies for their reintegration. The fact that the research was conducted in three different states in India – representing three different socio-economic and cultural milieus – also contributed to understanding different dimensions of migration, return and reintegration issues.

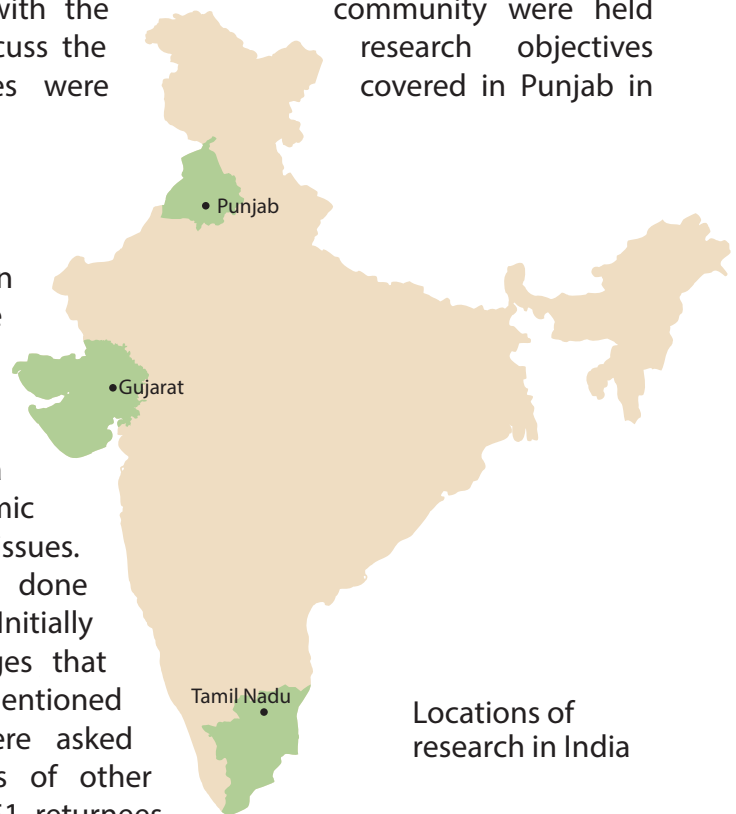
4. Methodology

Data for the research in all the three states was primarily collected by directly interacting, interviewing and holding discussions with the returnees, their families and communities. Officials managing development schemes, providing skill building trainings were interviewed to understand the opportunities for reintegration.

The data supplied by Migration Delivery Officer, British High Commission, New Delhi, and information from existing research reports were used in first phase of research to identify returnee villages and states of Punjab, Gujarat and Tamil Nadu. Since there was no access to the names and addresses of the returnees the reliance was on identifying a key person such as the *sarpanch*⁷ or *lumberdar*⁸ etc in a village and identify the returnees through him or her. Contacts of the enumerators in the local area were also used. Meetings with the community were held in local gurudwaras and schools to discuss the research objectives and expectations. Thus, eight villages were covered in Punjab in the first phase.

i. Survey

The research was first launched in Punjab as it is the state with the maximum number of returnees from the UK. A survey of returnees was undertaken using a closed-ended questionnaire to gather data to assess their social and economic profiles; migration and return related issues. Identification of respondents was done through a snowball methodology⁹. Initially returnees were identified in the villages that were identified through the sources mentioned above. The interviewed returnees were asked to suggest the names and addresses of other returnees they knew. Thus, a total of 51 returnees from 26 villages in the districts of Jalandhar (31 respondents), Hoshiarpur (6 respondents), Ludhiana (6 respondents) and Kapurthala (8 respondents) were interviewed. In Tamil Nadu (total of 9) 7 respondents are from 7 villages in Namakkal district and 2 from Namakkal town while in Gujarat (total of 12) they are from five villages in Bharuch district (9 respondents) and from Surat (one respondent) and Ahmadabad (2 respondents) cities.



Locations of research in India

⁷Elected head of the village panchayat

⁸Traditional village headman in Punjab

⁹Types of Sampling Designs, <http://sociology.about.com/od/Research/a/sampling-designs.htm>

Table 1: Religion-wise break up of respondents

	Sikh	Muslim	Hindu	Total
Punjab	47	0	4	51
Tamil Nadu	0	0	9	9
Gujrat	0	8	4	12

In both Tamil Nadu and Gujarat, several returnees who were identified refused to be interviewed. The data collection teams held informal discussions with some of them, which have been documented. The above data shows returnees who were interviewed using the questionnaire. Thus, other than the returnees interviewed, 22 returnees participated in informal discussions in Tamil Nadu and 15 in Gujarat. No such problem was encountered in Punjab.

ii. Case Studies

The data results from the survey in Punjab were analysed using SPSS. Following the data analysis and workshop with the field enumerators in Punjab, a questionnaire to conduct case studies of selected returnees was developed. The aim of doing case studies was to validate the data obtained, and fill gaps in knowledge generated, through the survey. An area of special focus for case studies was on understanding the role of women in decisions related to migration, return and reintegration. The criteria for selecting returnees for case study included age, economic background of family, economic activities done after return and areas of skills training desired by each of the returnee as recorded in the survey.

The same process was followed in the other two states of Tamil Nadu and Gujarat, except that the tools already developed and used in Punjab were used with small modifications. In Punjab, the tools were tested before being used for data collection.

The data collection work in all states has been done in collaboration with local partners who helped IRR to identify, train and monitor the work of field enumerators. Local coordinators monitored the work of data collection.

The qualitative data was systematized and merged with the data analyzed from survey results to prepare the draft report.

The methodology followed is represented using the process graphic below:



iii. Limitations

This is not a baseline study. The sample for the survey was identified mostly through a snowball method. Due to time and budget constraints, only a small sample size was chosen in the three states. In Tamil Nadu and Gujarat the number is even smaller than Punjab. Thus the data is not representative of the population of return migrants from the UK. The analysis is indicative of the phenomenon of migration, return and reintegration.

In view of the small sample for Tamil Nadu and Gujarat, survey data has been analysed with the use of SPSS only in the case of Punjab. The report, unless there is reference to Tamil Nadu (TN) and Gujarat the analysis, refers to Punjab.

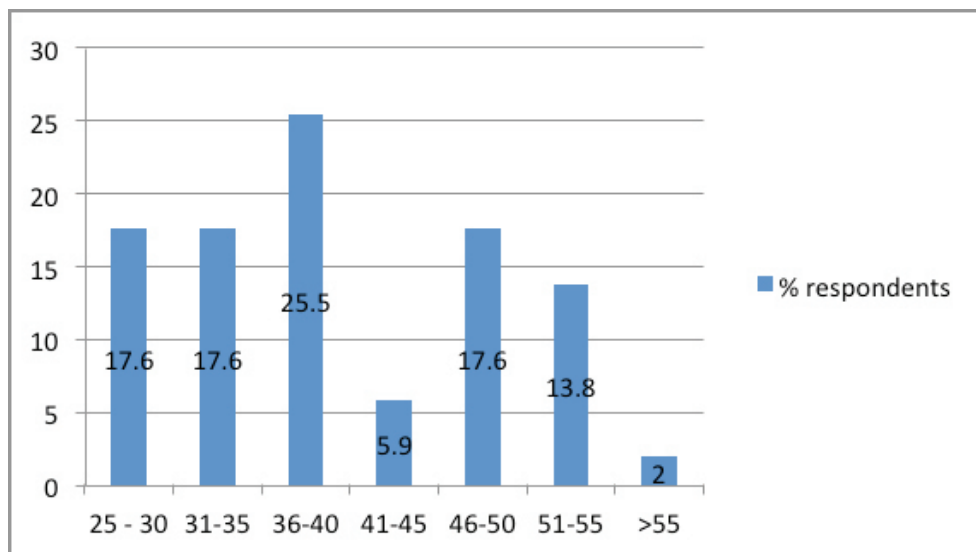
5. Profile of returnees

a. Personal Profile

i. Age, gender and marital status of the respondent

Though there was a substantial number of respondents who were above 46 years of age (33.4%), more than 60% of the respondents were those below 40. The maximum proportion of respondents was in the age group of 36 – 40.

Figure 2: Age of respondents: Punjab



In TN, there is only one respondent of the age 45, while the rest are below 40 years – the youngest being 26 years. In Gujarat, the respondents' ages range from 27 – 48 years.

A majority of the respondents were men with only three women. Of the respondents, 43 were married, while the remaining 8 were single. 18 respondents had no male children, while 27 had no female children.

ii. Primary occupation of the respondent

39 respondents reported farming as their primary occupation and five reported to be unemployed. Other occupations, with 1 as their frequency were artisan, petty trader, businessperson, dairy farmer, fast food business owner, and housewife. However, a number of those reporting farming as occupation have leased out their land and are currently not engaged in any direct economic activity. Thus, the number of those who are currently unemployed and looking for a job is higher than five mentioned above.

In Gujarat, only four out of 12 described their main occupation as farming; four are in private service, one is an auto driver, another is a construction contractor and two are unemployed. In TN, two are engaged in agriculture, six are in petty businesses and one is in transport business.

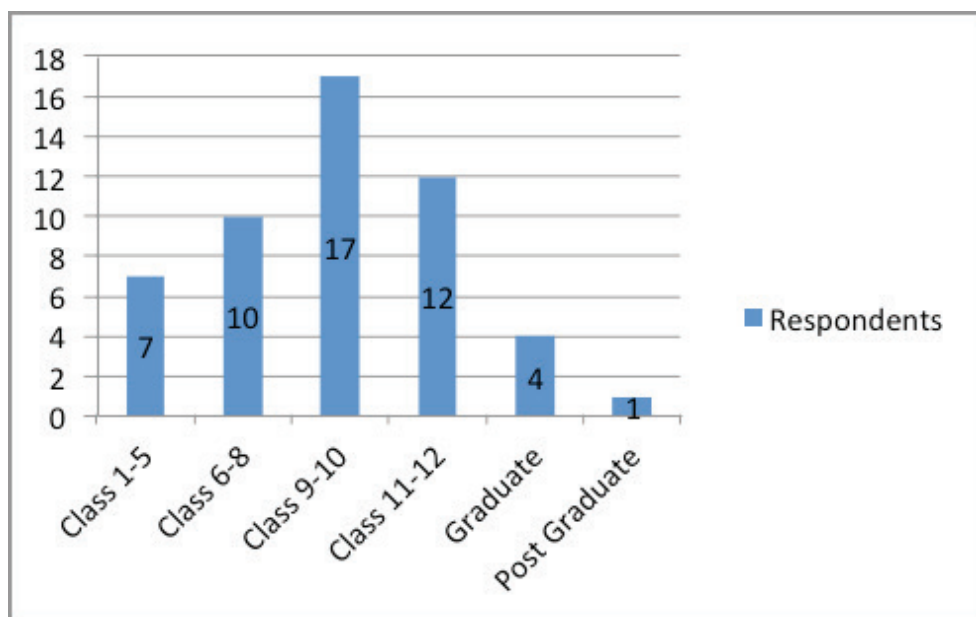
iii. Respondent and head of the household

The position of the respondents within their families shows their importance and status within the family, as well as the responsibility of the family they are expected to bear. In our survey of returnees in Punjab, we found 39 respondents were not the head of the households of their families indicating their younger age and joint nature of their families. This data also matches the marital status of the respondents as mentioned above.

iv. Education levels of respondents

Lower educational levels among the migrant population are a reason for their seeking a better life on foreign soil illegally. In our sample of 51 returnees in Punjab, only four respondents had completed their education up to the graduation level and only one completed PG. A majority (17 respondents) had studied till the class 10th, with 17 having not gone up beyond class 8th. Lower educational levels are a great challenge for reintegration of the returnees.

Figure 3: Education levels of respondents: Punjab



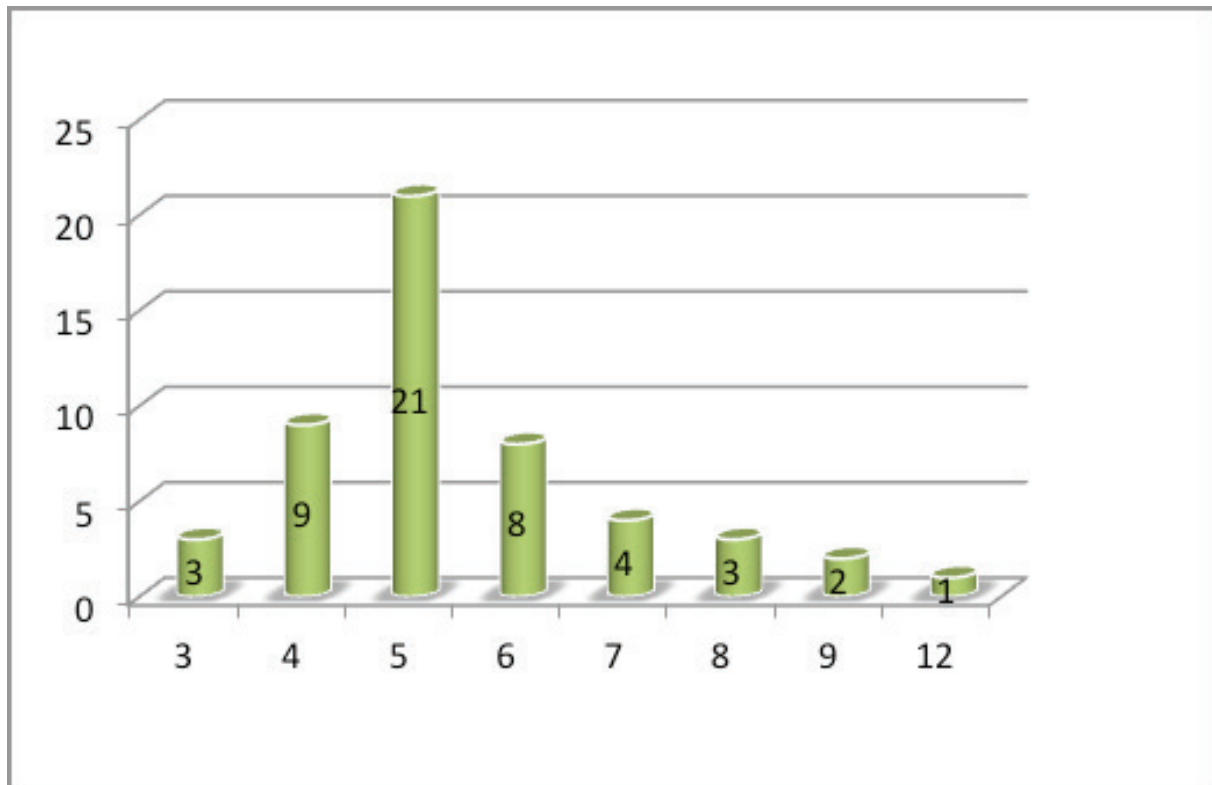
Education levels of returnees are much higher in TN, with six respondents having completed their graduation (two their PG) and three have completed their education up to the 12th class. The same pattern is observed in Gujarat. There are four respondents who have completed their PG and six have studied up to class 12th.

b. Family Profile

i. Family size

Family size is an important measure to assess the human capital of the returnees. 21 HHs reported five members within their families. Only three families had three members. A family size of 4 – 6 makes for good reintegration potential.

Figure 4: Family Size, Punjab



Smaller families – particularly in the context of low educational levels of the population – lack the human capital necessary to facilitate reintegration of the returnee. Larger families put the onus of taking care of the non-working population on the working population. Mean family size is 5.49.

The primary occupations of the male members of these households show the same pattern as that of the respondents themselves, i.e. they are predominantly farmers. 90% of the female members are housewives.

A similar family size pattern is discerned in TN where most families have 4-5 members, whereas some families in Gujarat have more than 8 members.

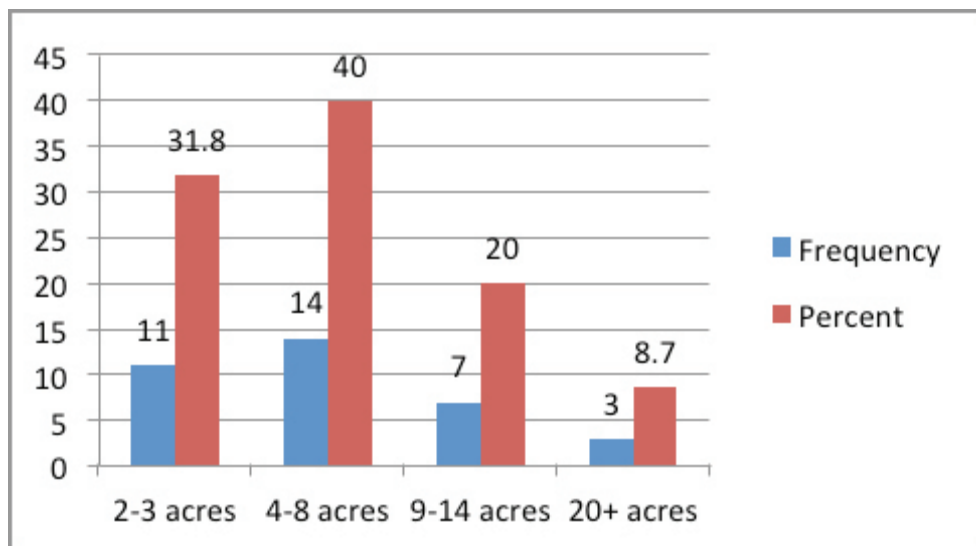
Details of the working age population and how it impacts the reintegration potential of the returnee are discussed separately in the chapter on ‘assessing reintegration potential’.

ii. Housing and Land holding

All the respondents own their houses and pay no house rent. Land ownership in the agriculturally rich Punjab and its culture are important. In a state where not much industrial development has happened, farming is an important source of income, particularly in the rural areas. Out of a sample of 51, 16 (31%) households reported owning no land.

This data quite matches the macro data available for Punjab where there are only 4.57%¹⁰ households without even a homestead. Our data for landless is slightly lower than the macro data which suggests a ratio of 56.89%¹¹ for households without any land except their homestead. This may indicate that it is persons from middle income groups who migrate most.

Figure 5: Landholding (in acres), Punjab



Apart from those who are landless, another 32% (11 households) own less than 3 acres and 40% (14 households) own less than 8 acres. There are only three families who own more than 20 acres, with the largest landholding reported by a returnee who owns 32 acres and has a thriving real estate business and is also the elected sarpanch of his panchayat. All land is irrigated. The average landholding per landed household is 7.54 acres. However, most of the land belonging to returnee families is under lease. It is a normal practice among families to sell/lease out land before sending off a son to migrate.

Only one of the urban households in TN is landless, while the rest have some amount of land with a mix of irrigated and un-irrigated class of land. In Gujarat, six respondents do not own any land while landholding among the others range from 2.5 to 32 acres, with mostly un-irrigated land.

iii. Ownership of Livestock

Together with land holding of the returnee families, it is important to look at animals – particularly cows and buffaloes whose milk is either used for self-consumption or is sold leading to various levels of dairy activity by the returnee’s family. Matching the above figures of families reporting land ownership, 29 households report ownership of animals while 22 don’t own any animals. The latter figure is higher than the figure

¹⁰Vikas Rawal; Ownership Holdings of land in rural India: putting the record Straight: Economic & Political Weekly, March 8, 2008. Accessed at: http://www.agrarianstudies.org/UserFiles/File/Rawal_Ownership_Holdings_of_Land_in_Rural_India.pdf

¹¹ibid

for landless returnee families. This may be due to the fact that the families with smaller landholding have given away their land for farming on lease basis – which is a widespread phenomenon in Punjab. Consequently, they don't have any land to grow fodder for the animals and hence don't own any.

From among those who own animals, following tables show the situation, 12 families own 2 cows and 13 families own 2 buffaloes. However, those who are doing dairy business own more than 5 animals. One family runs a dairy with 28 cows; three

Figure 6: Ownership of cows, Punjab

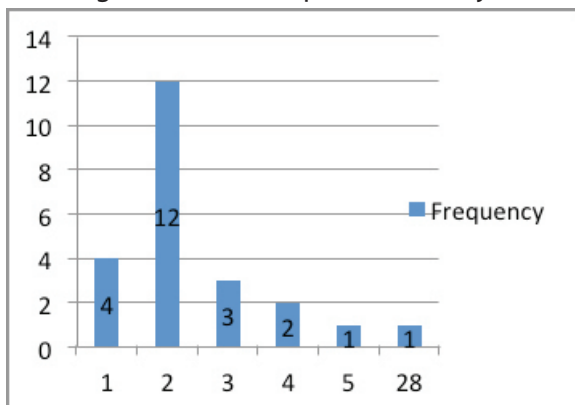
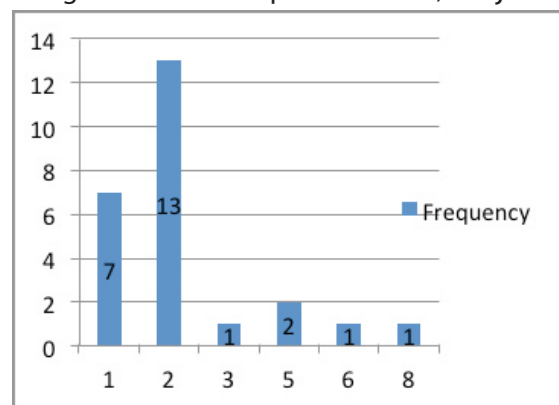
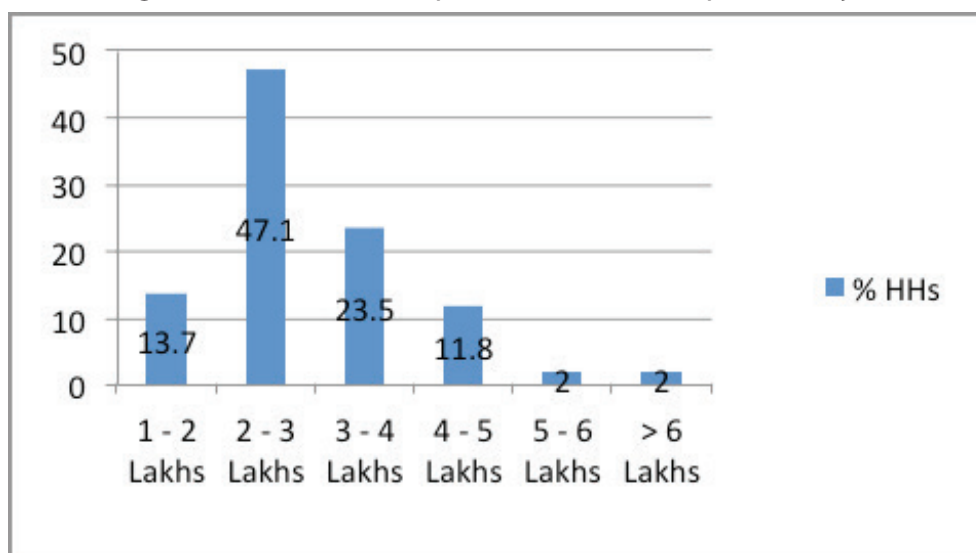


Figure 7: Ownership of buffaloes, Punjab



families run dairies. One family owns 1 goat and another family owns 30 chicken and no families own crossbred cows. In Gujarat, none of the households own any animals and in TN four families own 2 animals each.

Figure 8: Total annual expenditure (in lakh rupees), Punjab



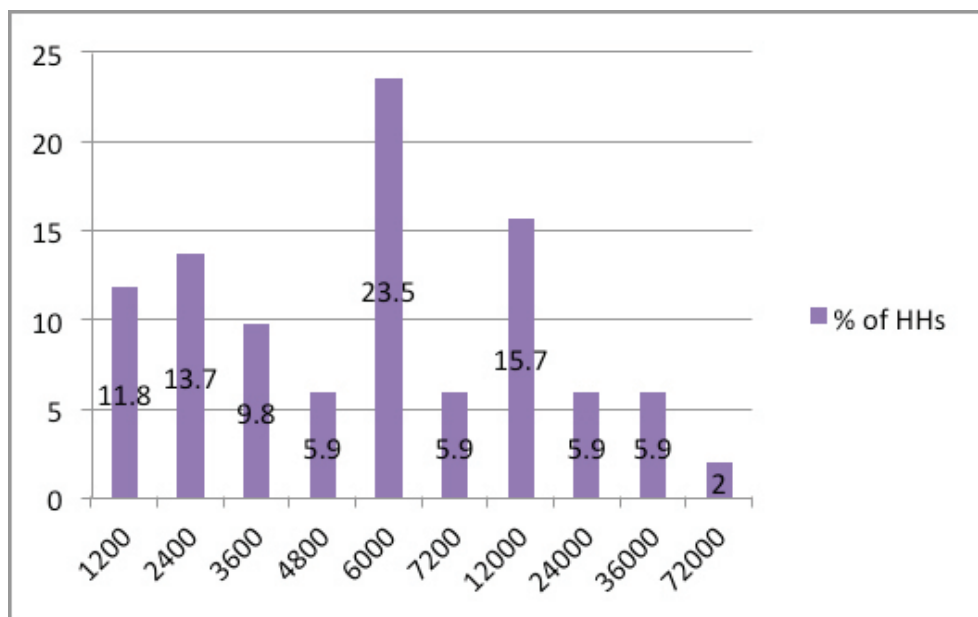
iv. Economic status – expenditure

The respondents were asked to estimate the expenditure on different needs of their household like food, clothing, housing, utilities, and fuel for vehicles, healthcare, education, recreation and gift to relatives. The pattern of expenditures on food and healthcare reported is the same. HHs report a minimum of Rs. 2,400 to 180,000 expenditure on food while on healthcare it is ranged from 0 – 180,000. A majority of households (23.5%) report an annual health expenditure of 12,000. 15 households (29.4%) spend 60,000 annually on food. All the expenditures reported by the households have been put together to calculate the total expenditure as shown in the chart below. 47% of households spend Rs. 200,000 – 300,000 on all the essential requirements as listed in the questionnaire. Average annual expenditure on different heads is as below:

Heads	INR
Food	81,529
Healthcare	28,020
Education	31,847
Total	299,810

Table 2: Average annual expenditure (in rupees), Punjab

Figure 9: Total annual savings (in Rupees), Punjab



v. Savings

Together with the expenditure levels, savings of a family is a good indicator of their economic health. It is found that every family is making a saving either on a monthly or on an annual basis. Most of the reported savings are made in the bank. The average annual savings is Rs 9,765. However, the savings levels are very low.

All respondents make monthly savings in banks and one respondent also makes a monthly saving of Rs 5000 in the Post Office. None of the respondents make any savings in chit funds.

Savings in chit funds is reported among the respondents in TN. Seven respondents save on a monthly basis – three save in bank as well as chit funds, two only in banks and one each in online investments and in business. In Gujarat, five families are not making any savings while seven are making monthly savings in banks ranging from Rs 5,000 – 40,000.

vi. Household assets:

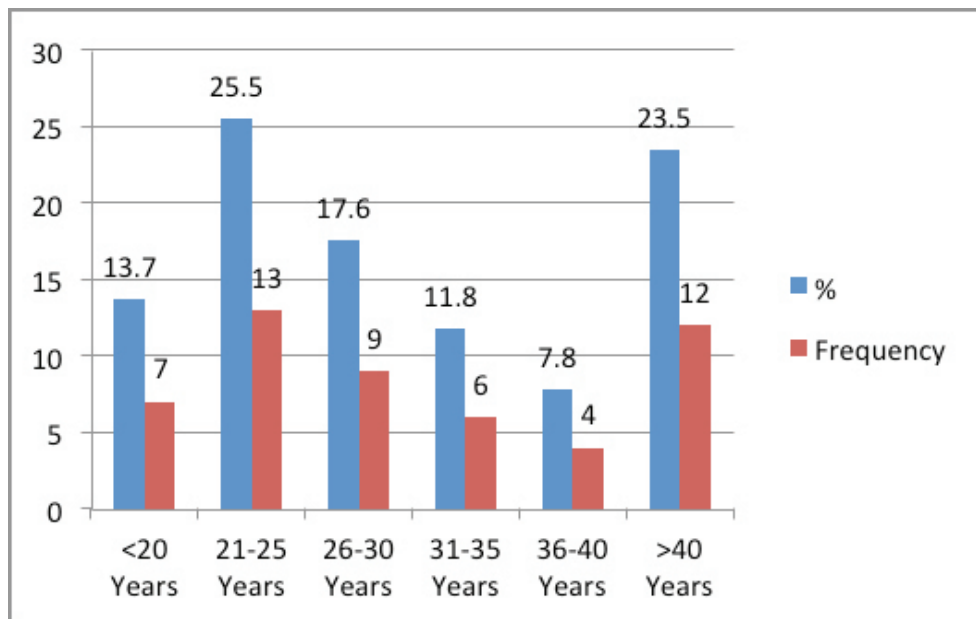
During the survey we asked the respondents about the household items owned by them from a list of 14 items listed in the questionnaire. The items were electric connection, motorised two-wheeler, car/jeep, tractor, thresher, gas connection, black and white TV, colour TV, refrigerator, electric/microwave oven, CD player, telephone, computer, and cell phone. Most families owned electric connection, gas connection, colour TV, refrigerator, telephone and cell phone while only 33 families owned a computer, 31 families owned a car/jeep and 11 owned electric/microwave oven. Average number of assets held per household is 8.96.

6. Migration and Life in UK

a. Age at migration

By and large, migrants leave their countries of origin in younger years which the data from 51 respondents confirms. 35 (68%) respondents migrated before the age of 35. Seven persons migrated before the age of 20. However, what is surprising about the data from Punjab is that there are a significant number of persons who migrate after the age of 40 - one respondent migrated at the age of 53. Seven migrated at ages below 20. Average age at migration is 31 years.

Figure 10: Age at migration (in years), Punjab



In TN, the age of migrants at the time of migration range from 21 – 35 years, with four of them in the 26 – 30 age range. In Gujarat, it ranges from 21 – 44. There is none in both states who migrated at the age of 20 years or below. In the former, there is none who migrated after 40 and in the latter there is only one who migrated at the age of 44.

From our case studies in Punjab, we understand that the younger and less educated take the risk of being at the mercy of agents who take them to different countries before smuggling them into the UK. One respondent said he first traveled to Mexico and then to France, from where he was smuggled into UK. Another was taken to Russia and then spent various lengths of time in different European countries before landing in the UK. (Respondents report their passports were destroyed by the agents). The older migration aspirants seem not to take such risks. They wait till there is an opportunity to get a visa and then overstay in the UK. This could be a reason for persons above 40 migrating particularly from Punjab where international migration is a compelling cultural practice.

b. Reasons for migration

Seeking a better life was the most common reason cited as reason for migration to the UK. Only one respondent reported that he went because it was adventure for him.

In Punjab, PK cycle of migration started due to floods in that state in 1988 when he lost everything from a shop he used to run. He first migrated to Kuwait, where he spent eight years. After returning from there he was with his family for five years before migrating to the UK, where he lived for eight years. After he returned from the UK, he tried unsuccessfully to send his two sons to Australia – they were cheated by the agent and he lost Rs. 1,500,000.

‘Seeking better life’ is the most cited reason for migration in the other two states as well. However, it needs to be understood in a broader sense. Many respondents very clearly migrated to support their families back home, repay the debt they had incurred in trying to set up some business, etc. HM, aged 35, of Gujarat migrated to fund the education of his son but he came back to India six months later when he learnt that his relatives had agreed to support his son. Incidentally, he didn’t like the country because ‘there were no Indian toilets’. Most respondents reported having worked hard when in UK with the aim to earn and save enough money to go back home eventually and start a business. S.C of TN, who migrated in 2002 at the age of 33 and returned in 2009, described life and work in the UK as ‘mission mode’.

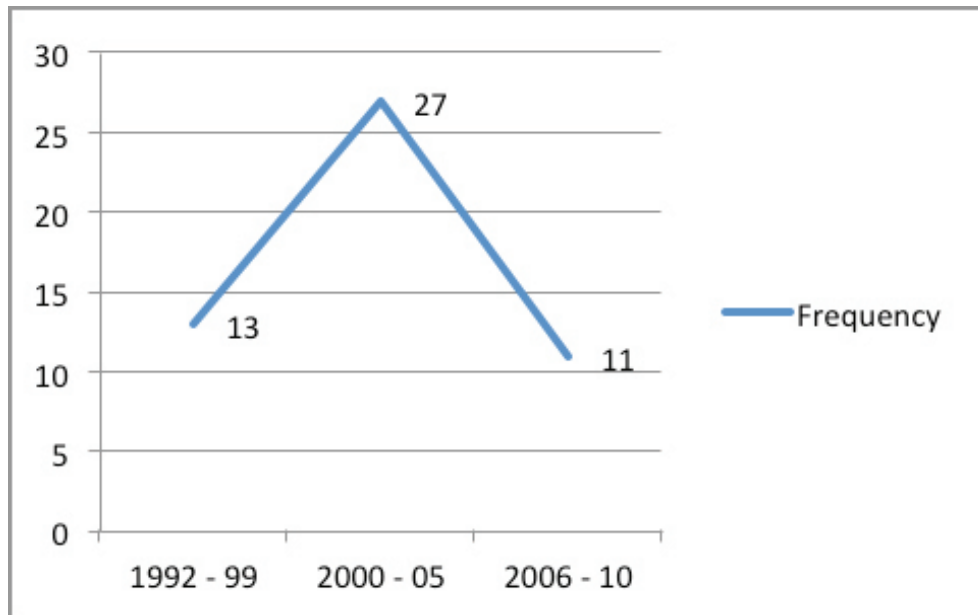
Why is UK the most sought destination of all the countries? In Punjab, it is a part of popular culture to migrate to ‘England’. Added to this, is the resource of large diaspora and strong community networks, familiarity with the English language and the higher exchange rate of the GBP against INR. Latter reasons are most cited by respondents in TN and Gujarat. Their perception is that accommodation and employment can be easily found.

S.C of Tamil Nadu is a Post Graduate in Computer Application. Prior to migration he started different businesses which included-transport, poultry, finance but none of them took off. He was under massive debt due to losses business. He thereafter took a job in Chennai where he was earning around ten thousand per month which was not enough to repay loans and take care of family needs. While staying in Chennai his uncle suggested he should go to UK as he could earn money faster and repay all his debt in less than five to six years. There were other factors too which were considered at the time of migration. Higher exchange rate of pounds against Indian rupee played a decisive factor in migrating to the UK over other countries and secondly, he knew there were more than a thousand people in the UK from district; there was nothing to worry about. He knew he could work for a while and then could come back

c. Year of migration

Our sample is of 51 migrants who had migrated to the UK between the years 1992 – 2010. The following Figure shows that the number of persons who migrated to the UK from Punjab declined after reaching a peak of 7 persons in 2003. 27 persons (53%) migrated during the years 2000 – 2005.

Figure 11: Year of migration



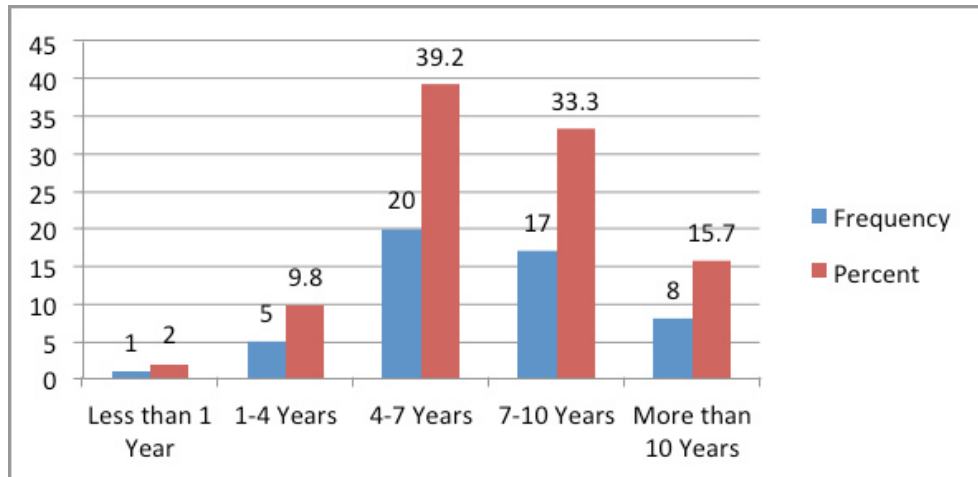
The migration levels seem to have tapered after that if one is to go by this data set. The number was 11 during in the latter five years of 2006 – 2010.

In both TN and Gujarat, respondents migrated all through 2002 – 2009. Thus, there is no specific trend that can be discerned.

d. Duration of stay

A majority of the returnees, forming 88% of the sample, managed to live in the UK for more than four years. Eight of them managed to live for more than ten years while 17 lived for more than seven years. Only five returnees lived for less than four years. The average duration of stay is seven years for returnees from Punjab.

Figure 12: Duration of stay in UK (in years), Punjab



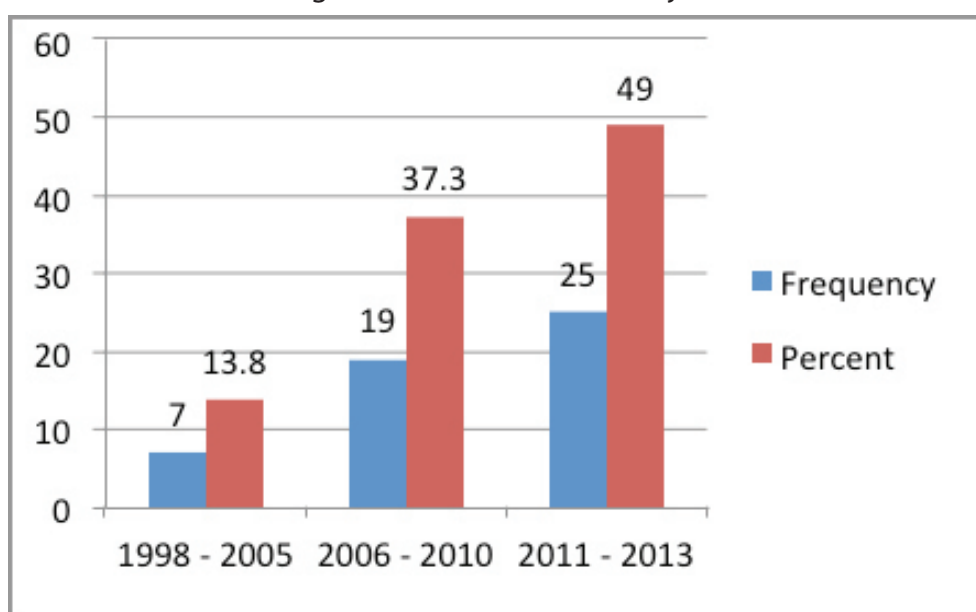
Comparatively, the duration of stay of migrants in the UK is much lesser in the other two states. Only one migrant from TN lived in the UK for seven years; four lived for six years and the rest for less than four years. The average duration of stay in UK for TN migrants is 2.72 years. The same pattern is seen in Gujarat. Only one migrant lived for seven years; the average here is 2.83 years.

7. Nature of Return and Problems at Indian airports

a. Year of Return

The survey sample was able to capture a large number of cases of returnees who had returned after 2011 forming 49% (25 respondents) of the sample. A very small number of them (seven respondents) had returned between the years of 1998 – 2005 while there were 17 (forming 37% of the sample) who had returned between the years of 2006 – 2010.

Figure 13: Year of return, Punjab



For TN returnees, surprisingly, six of the nine returned in 2010, though all had migrated during different years from 2002 - 2008. In Gujarat too, eight of the 12 returned after 2009.

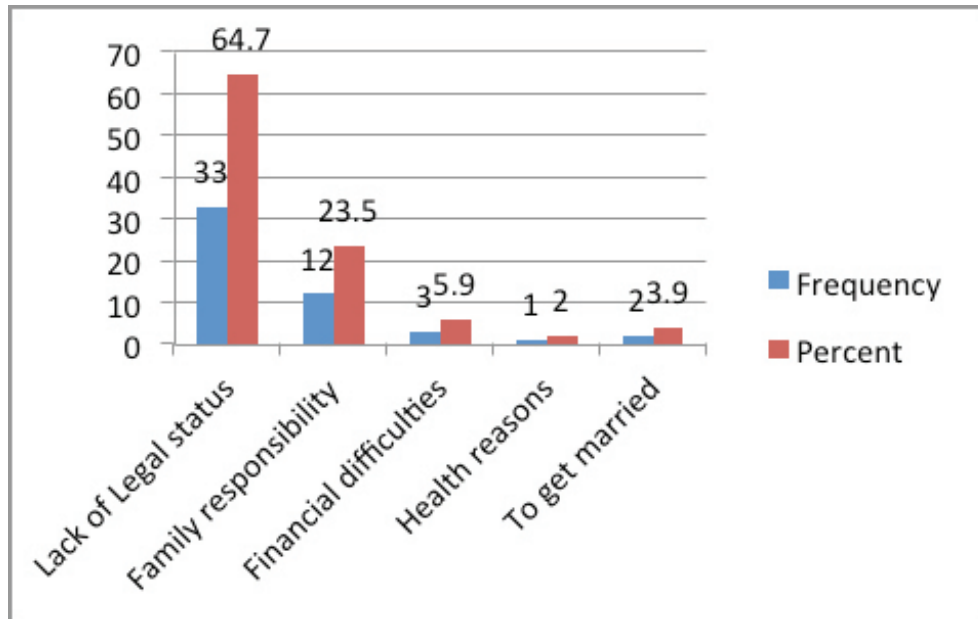
This pattern of return of migrants could be due to the fact that many migrants were promoted to return recently or due to the methodology of the research where reliance of identifying returnees was on the snowball technique. It is possible that informants were aware of those who had returned recently.

b. Reasons to return

The lack of legal status or a work permit in the UK is the most cited reason for the migrants to decide to return, followed by family responsibilities in India and financial difficulties in the UK. 33 (64%) migrants surveyed admitted having had to decide to return due to issues related to their legal status in the UK. 12 respondents (23%) returned due to family responsibilities back home. One of the questions asked in the questionnaire was whether the respondent returned due to threat of deportation. However, none of the respondents cited this as the reason. Two respondents returned to get married and one returned as he was facing health problems.

Six among the nine respondents in TN said they returned to take care of family responsibilities; two for reasons of financial difficulties in the UK and one to start a business back home; none for reasons of lack a legal status or threat of deportation. Seven Gujarat migrants returned due to lack of legal status while three returned to take care of family. Two migrants returned due to financial problems in UK.

Figure 14: Reasons to return, Punjab

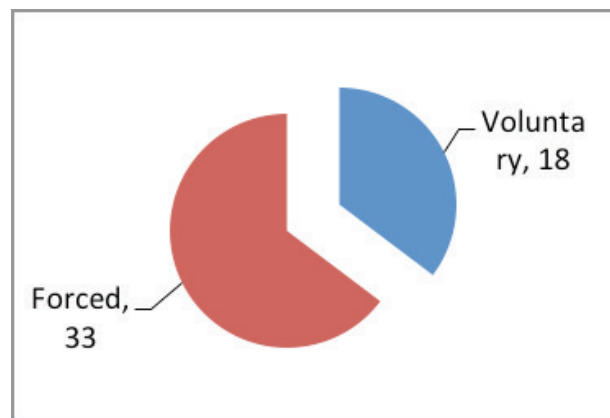


From the case studies in Punjab we understand that the financial difficulties for migrants started around 2009 – 10 due to the changes in legal provisions on immigration in the UK and students willing to work for fewer wage.

c. Nature of return

A majority of the respondents said they were forced to return. This was quite contrary to the surveyors’ apprehensions that the respondents may hide this fact. 33 of the 51 respondents admitted they were forced to return, while 18 said they returned voluntarily. All respondents from TN said they returned voluntarily; and in Gujarat only one said he was forced to return.

Figure 15: Nature of return, Punjab



However, voluntary does not mean they came back as a part of any assistance package. We asked the respondents if they had received any assistance to return. Only four respondents confirmed they had received assistance; two received air tickets for the return journey while two others reported having received monetary assistance of 250 and 345 GBP. One respondent in

Gujarat said he received assistance of 250 GBP and air ticket to return. No support or facilities were provided on return by the Indian Government to any of the respondents.

d. Decision to return and reception at the airport

Most of the respondents said they kept in touch with their families back in India during their stay in the UK. 49 of the 51 respondents also kept their families informed of their decision to return. Only 2 respondents never informed their families of the decision to return. However, when it comes to reception at the airport in India, 13 respondents were received neither by members of their families nor by any friends. Seven respondents were received by friends and the rest 31 were received by members of the family.

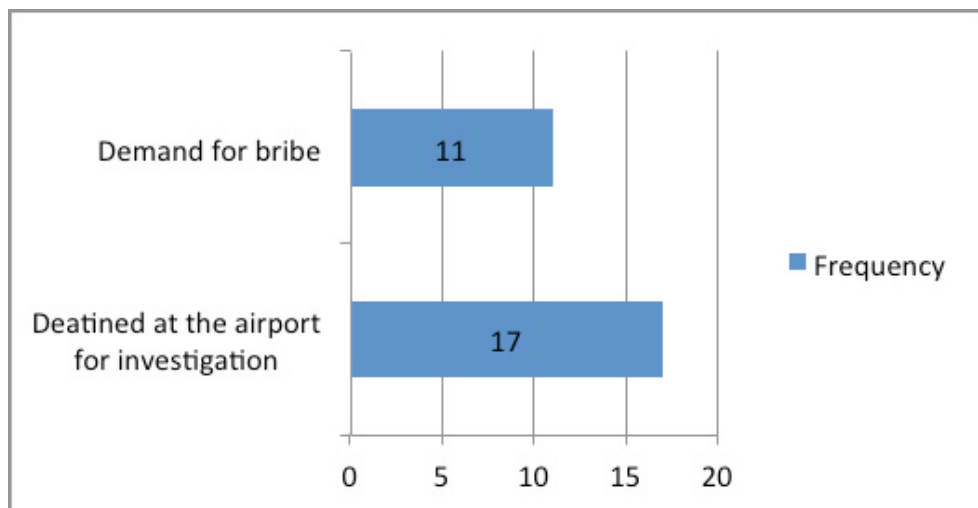
Case studies in Punjab show that the members of migrants’ families, except in some cases, are generally not happy with the migrant’s decision to return. In one case the migrant did not even inform his family about his return. This may explain the fact that 13 respondents were not received by anyone when they landed in India.

Eight returnees in TN were received by family members and one by a friend. The same in Gujarat; one was received by friends while the rest by members of their families.

e. Type of Problem Faced at Indian airports

A total of 28 respondents reported having faced difficulties when they landed at an Indian airport back from the UK. As the Figure below shows, 17 persons were detained for investigation and bribes were demanded from 11 returnees.

Figure 16: Problems faced at Indian airports, Punjab



We also asked the respondents about their views to promote safe return. Only 10 respondents had a view on this as mentioned in the table below:

Table 3: Views to promote safe return, Punjab

Suggestions by Returnees	Frequency
Check on harassment of returnees by Indian Authorities	3
Indian authorities need to be cooperative	2
Indian government should provide some help to their returnee citizens	2
There needs to corrective mechanism to check on bribe. There are no problems in UK	2
There should be separate counseling cell to facilitate and promote safe return	1
Total	10

8. State of Reintegration

a. Economic activities after return

We asked the respondents about the economic activities they started/pursued after return; specifically we asked whether they continued in the traditional occupation of their families maintaining the earlier levels or they expanded the existing levels or started a new enterprise altogether. Only 13 of the 51 respondents had positive response to this question. 38 had continued in the same level of family occupation. Those who expanded or started a new enterprise, the different fields of economic activity, operational costs and other indicators are as shown in the table below with the names of the respondents. Only eight respondents' families owned enterprises before their return.

Table 4: Financial performance of enterprises of returnees, Punjab

Enterprise Type	Name of Respondent	Operation Cost	Gross Revenue	Net Income
Agricultural Products	KS	25,000	1,00,000	75,000
	SK	25,000	40,000	15,000
	OS	30,000	50,000	20,000
Building Materials + Agricultural Products	GS	30,000	40,000	10,000
Dairy	AK	6,000	10,000	4,000
	GS	20,000	50,000	30,000
Dairy + Agricultural Products	PS	60,000	1,00,000	40,000
Earthmover	PS	40,000	2,00,000	1,60,000
General Store and Tyre Service	NS	40,000	60,000	20,000
Poultry	MS	15,000	50,000	35,000
Property Dealing	MS	20,000	50,000	30,000
Property Dealing + Agricultural Products	RS	25,000	1,50,000	1,25,000
Welding	MS	16,000	20,000	4,000

An interesting feature of this data is that all the entrepreneurs started their venture with their own investment ranging from Rs 50,000 (purchase of land) to 10,000,000 (earth moving business). Average investment in dairy was Rs 1,50,000 and in agribusiness 200,000.

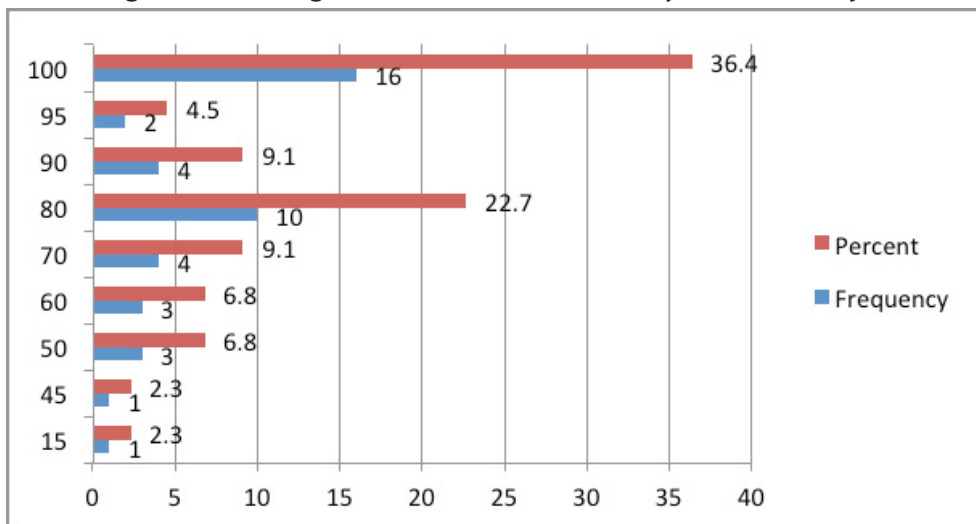
TN returnees appear to have better integrated into the local economy. Two of them report to have started private financial service (money lending) and 2 others started marketing/advertising service; one started an herbal medicine enterprise while one took up transport business and one expanded existing agriculture. Two persons are yet to decide what they want to do.

Six returnees in Gujarat had their families running some kind of enterprise before their return. None of them started any enterprise on their own after return. One returnee continued with the auto driving profession he was doing earlier. Except for him, all others report their enterprise viable.

b. Change in contribution to HH income after return

Most migrants who earn a decent income while in the UK and send their remittances to their families find that once they return, they find themselves contributing less to the family income. However, two respondents said there was no change in their contribution while five claimed it had actually increased after their return. 44 out of 51 reported decrease ranging from 15% to 100%. The percentage decrease reported as shown in Figure below. The maximum of returnees numbering 16 (36%) reported a 100% decrease, followed by 10 (22%) reporting 80% decrease.

Figure 17: Change in Contribution to Family income, Punjab



The average decrease in income contribution is 82.3%. However, only 6 households report having taken a loan for household purposes.

Matching with the above mentioned performance of the TN returnees, all of them report an increase in their contribution ranging from 25 – 100% to family income after return. In Gujarat, except for one who reports no change, others report a decrease ranging from 50 – 100%. A factor which is cited as responsible for the contribution not decreasing is that the money the migrant used to spend in the UK on rent, food, etc. is not incurred any more after return.

c. Social activities after return

We asked the case study respondents in Punjab about their thoughts on the first day of their return and their activities since.

Below are some of the responses:

K.S, Dhanal Kala, Jalandhar, Punjab. He migrated to UK at the age of 26 in 2002 and stayed there for nine years.

... He said he felt happy on the first day of his return. He was happy to be back with his family and his village. But soon, he felt bored and did not know what to do and where to start work from. He also seemed to have sense of failure as he could not get permanent status. Family income has also decreased post his return causing him anxiety. He liked the arrangement of sending money from UK to his family and knowing his family was doing well and happy.

D, from Vagra village in Bharuch district, of Gujarat migrated at the age of 38 to UK in 2004 with his cousin Ilesh and returned after six years.

After return D found a change in attitude of community for people who return. Earlier when a migrant returned, other people would go and meet him but now no one cares. He found returnees have to go out and meet people.

O.S, Kudowal village, Punjab. He migrated at the age of 25 in December 2002 and stayed for seven years.

On the first day of return, the respondent did not feel good. It took him a month's time to get back to employment and adjust to life back in India. ... most of his friend have migrated abroad and he has to make new friends, with whom he sometime plays volleyball in the evening. ...

P.K, Dhaliwal Village, Punjab. It has been two years since he has returned to India. He went to UK in 2002 at the age of 40, and stayed for eight years.

On the first day of return, the respondent felt as if everything had changed and he could barely recognize anything. He felt a sense of disbelief, but at the same time was happy to be back with the family. ... he planned to send his two sons to Australia for exploring job opportunities and paid around Rs 15 lakh to an agent too. But soon he realized he was duped and lost the money...

S.S, Bhandal Bhutta village, Punjab. He went to United Kingdom (UK) in the year 1990 and stayed for eleven years till 2001 when he was deported back to India

On his first day of return, the respondent felt everything has changed and there have also been some development ...all of his friends had migrated and settled abroad, he had to begin with making new friends ...does not feel too happy about meeting people; .. he likes the idea of being at home..

G.S, Jamsher Khas village in Punjab. He migrated at the age of 25 in 2008 and was deported in 2009.

...on return, he reached village at mid night. He avoided going home by staying in a friend's house. He went home in the morning but didn't feel good...

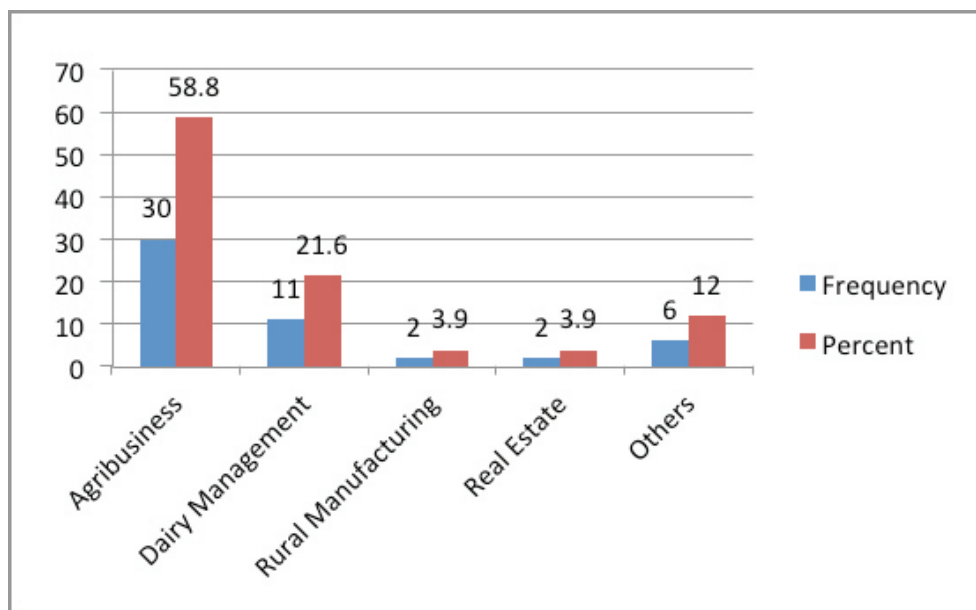
H.S, Dhaliwal, Punjab migrated to UK in 2002 at the age of 23 and was forced to return in 2005

He was not happy to return but family was happy because they got their son back... but after some time he felt his family was not happy about his return

d. Skill levels

Due to the traditional occupations of the families of returnees as well as due to the new enterprises some of them started after return, the returnees have acquired skills on their own. Only in one case where a returnee runs a car repair shop, he was formally trained. As seen from the Figure below a majority of returnees have agribusiness skills followed by dairy management and marketing skills. However, agriculture is viewed by many as a low-profit and even a loss making venture. Furthermore, a number of respondents who report agriculture as their only skill are actually not engaged in cultivation; they have leased out their land to others.

Figure 18: Skill levels, Punjab



Other skills returnees have reported are in the field of food business, building material business, car repair, construction work, poultry, and earth moving business.

Existing skills reported in TN are: marketing, advertising, financial services, agriculture and transport while in Gujarat four persons report having no skills listed in the questionnaire. Those with skills mentioned agribusiness, building construction, computer designing, driving and car repair.

e. Future plans of returnees

Case study respondents were asked to describe their plans in the next one year and what possibilities of economic reintegration they see on a five year term.

Following are some of the responses:

Respondents: O.S and his mother, Kudowal village, Punjab

At present, the respondent has not given any thought to future plan or business. He feels there is no profitable business in his village. He has been considering going abroad again along with his wife. However, if he gets a good job or is able to start a profitable business in the village then he would not want to go

Respondents: P.K and S.K (wife), Dhaliwal village, Punjab

At present, the respondent has not given a thought to any business plans as he feels there is no financial support and feels too old to do running around for the same. But he is open to the idea of exploring new ideas and opportunities. He believes that for starting a new business one requires more innovative thinking than before, as petty shop and general stores are no longer a profitable business venture in his village.....

Respondents: G.S, Jamsher khas village, Punjab

Respondent does not want to expand agriculture business because it is not profitable and he does not have much land. He wants to do dairy business if he gets any financial helps. He also ready for training in dairy business or take up a job.

Respondents: K, 38, and K, 33, village Vaguram Patti, Tamil Nadu

After coming back from UK both of them have money and do not need to take loan for household purposes. They have no plan or idea for future but are open to idea of exploring business opportunities. They feel area around their village is not profitable and conducive for doing agriculture as there is no irrigation facility – there is reliance on monsoon. Most people sow banana or maze. For cultivating one acre of banana one need to make investment of over one lac for a period of three to six months and there is no guarantee of return....

Respondent: M, 27 years, Deora village, Gujarat

Mubarak eventually wants to settle down in UK and has been planning to apply again for travelling. He thinks it may be possible to marry someone from his community and settle there. While working in UK he has been able to save around eight thousand pounds, which he plans to use for funding his next trip....

Respondent: Mr K.S, Dhanal Kala village, Punjab

Respondent does not want to expand agricultural business as there is no profit and it is labour intensive work; he would rather want to start a welding and manufacturing business, though he has not thought about the initial investment and plan. He has been also thinking about migrating again to some other country for children's education and better future. He said he cannot go to UK for six years but would try to go to Canada as his in laws are settled there. This time he would also like to take his family but if it does not work out then will go by himself. Respondent feels his son should study but would want him to eventually go abroad as there is no opportunity in India. But if he can run a profitable business in India he may not go abroad...

Respondents: N.K and P.K (father), Dhaliwal village, Punjab

Respondent does not want to migrate again. He wants to expand the fast food business he started after returning from UK in village. If possible he wants to open a fast food shop in a city if someone helps him financially up to Rupees 150,000. He is ready for any type of training that will help him to expand his business.

Respondent: S.S, Bhandal Bhutta village, Punjab

Respondent does not want to expand or do anything in agriculture. He has thought about starting a car service station on highway. According to him the initial investment could be anything between 10-15laks. He requires support in procuring finances, which he thinks at this time can be taken from bank and from his relatives. He is planning to start his business in another couple of years....

Respondent: H.S, village Dhaliwal, Punjab

Respondent feels there is no profit in the agriculture; he rather wants expand into dairy business. He wants to earn more from dairy business but wants financial help and training. He does not want to go abroad and have not applied for new passport yet....

9. Assessing reintegration assistance needs

Assessing the needs of the returnees for better reintegration into their community and local economy is one of the main objectives of this research. In chapters above, we have discussed the personal and family profiles of the returnees, their asset holding, the skills they have and the economic activities they have been engaged in since they returned.

Continuing with the same line of interview, we asked the respondents what new skills they would like to acquire in order to improve their economic status and what type of enterprise they would like to start where these skills could be of use. We also collected data on the knowledge of the respondents with regard to financial institutions. This data set will facilitate an analysis of the reintegration needs of the returnees in the context of the type of enterprise they want to start.

However, before proceeding to analyze this set of data, it is important to understand the human and social capital the returnees have.

a. Human capital

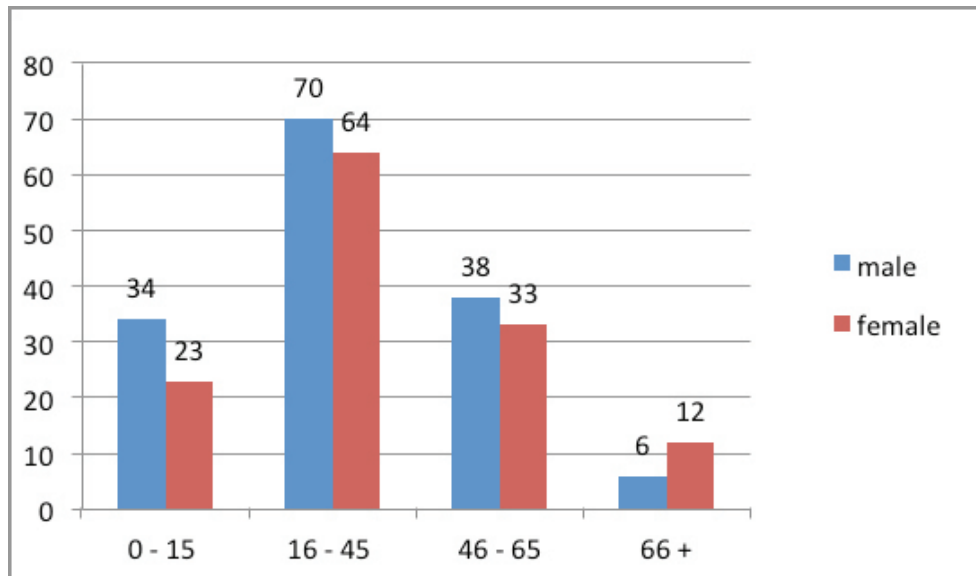
Human capital is complex interplay of different capacities of a family. These capacities can be identified as: education, skills, knowledge, health and other capacities of members of the family that affect the prospect of a returnee for reintegration. Higher levels of human capital are an advantage for the returnee while lower human capital in the family decreases his capacity to rebuild his social and economic life. We will examine different aspect of human capital relevant to assessing the reintegration needs of returnees.

By analyzing these different aspects, we will be able to understand the role of human capital and other factors in the process of reintegration of the returnee and develop some directions for interventions to improve the prospects for better reintegration. We will also identify factors that may hinder the reintegration process and force the returnee to migrate irregularly again.

i. Working age population

The total population has an overwhelming ratio of those in the working age groups. These are persons in families who are between the ages of 16 and 65 years. This part of the population is the productive part. Persons below the age of 15 years and above 66 years are considered the dependent population.

Figure 19: Working age population, Punjab



In our sample, there are 205 persons in the working age group and 75 in the dependent age group. We use the concept of ‘age dependency ratio’ to understand the extent of burden on the working age group. Dependency ratio¹² is calculated as below:

Equation 1: Dependency Ratio

$$(Total) \text{ Dependency ratio} = \frac{(number \ of \ people \ aged \ 0 - 14 \ and \ those \ aged \ 65 \ and \ over)}{number \ of \ people \ aged \ 15 - 64} \times 100$$

Thus in our sample the dependency ratio is 36.6%¹³, which indicates the robust nature of family size that makes the population well suited to support reintegration. Also, the average number of persons¹⁴ in the working age group per household is 2.11 males and 1.9 females, which indicate the strength of the families to support reintegration. Referring to the sub-section on family size (Figure 4) 38 (74%) households have a family size of 4 – 6 members, which again indicates their good position to support reintegration.

ii. Educational Achievements of the Population

For the reintegration of returnees, the education resource available within the family is as important as the family size. As the Figure below shows, among the 51 families of the respondents there are 129 males and 123 females (excluding children below 5 years of age). Interestingly, while fewer women are educated in the primary and secondary classes than men, their numbers in the category of graduates and post-graduates is much higher. Men have better achievements in the primary and secondary classes while women in higher studies. There is none among men who is non-literate, while there are seven women in this category

¹²Sourced from: The World Bank at <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.DPND.OL>

¹³World Bank reported age dependency ratio of 53% for 2012 for India. Source: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.DPND>. Also, Punjab, Gujarat and TN, would add less working age population in future than the poorer states of India. Source: Skilling India The Billion People Challenge: A report by CRISIL Centre for Economic Research

¹⁴Calculated as the total number of persons in the working age group in the population divided by the number of households surveyed.

Figure 20: Educational Achievements of the population - males, Punjab

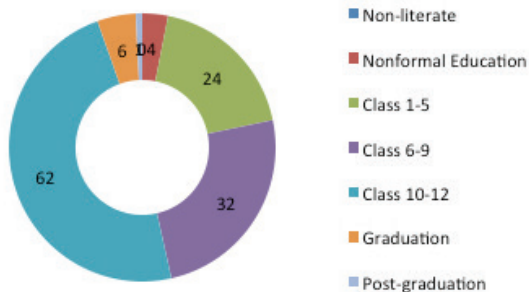
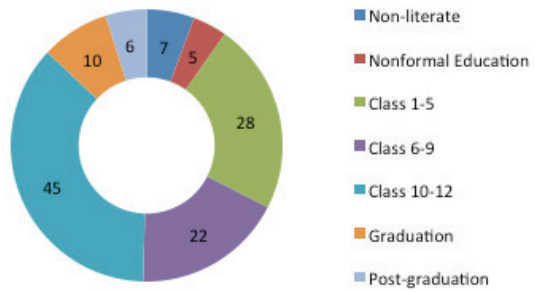


Figure 21: Educational Achievements of the population - females, Punjab



Note: Children below 5 years have been excluded as they do not go to school

There are six men who have completed their graduation while the number of women with same achievement is 10; and there is only one man with a post-graduation while there are six women.

In TN, the levels of educational achievements by members of returnees' families are higher, with a number of them having completed graduation and PG.

iii. Role of women

In Punjab, women generally play an insignificant role in the decision making process in the family; the same is true of migration, return and reintegration related processes of the returnees. Some of them support migration of their family's men as an avenue for earning an income. Only in some cases, especially in cases where the migrant is not married, members of the family, particularly mothers, want their sons to come back.

In the reintegration process, our case studies show women play an insignificant role. Most decisions of the family, including reintegration, are made by men. This is unfortunate considering the higher education resources women have, as the Figure above shows.

b. Household Assets

Land is the basic asset in Punjab. In our sample of 51 respondents, 16 households are without any land and another 11 hold less than 3 acres. This low asset ownership among more than half the number of households in the form of land is a drawback for the returnees' prospects for reintegration (refer to Figure 5).

Similarly, very low savings are reported. An overwhelming majority of households (47) report annual savings of less than Rs 25,000. Going by an assumption that at least 10% of the family income is saved makes their total income less than 300,000 per year [refer to Figure 9].

However, it appears the savings reported by respondents may be misleading because 20 households report an annual expenditure in excess of 300,000 [refer to Figure 8].

Looking at the ownership of household items [refer to section 5 (vi)] since most families own electric connection, gas connection, colour TV, refrigerator, telephone and cell phone, nothing conclusive can be said about the economic condition of the returnee households.

Savings acquired from remittances sent by the migrants during the stay in the UK was not disclosed by the respondents. However, going by informal discussions with the families and community of the returnees, a migrant may be remitting anywhere between Rs 25,000 – 50,000 per month to his family during his work in the UK. Unfortunately, in Punjab most families invest this remittance into building better, and sometimes lavish, houses. Yet, it can be safely assumed that more the number of years spent by a migrant in the UK, the higher the savings of the family and that the returnee is better placed to start a new enterprise.

D and his wife from Vagra village, Bharuch, Gujarat, who migrated to UK in 2004 and worked there for six years, sent back 25,00,000 INR to his family. Dharmendra worked in a shop earning 150 pounds a week initially and 300 in the third year. His wife worked as a maid on weekly basis doing household chores.

c. Social Capital

Social capital refers to the products and resources created by positive engagement of individuals and their families with community networks. Going by the studies on Punjabi culture, the people of the region have strong bonding, leading to higher levels of social capital. Also documented in our own study are instances of how migrants are helped by the members of the diaspora and community networks and religious institutions when they arrive in the UK. Undoubtedly, community networks play a crucial role in supporting migrants.

However, the question is: what levels and kind of social capital exist when a migrant returns?

The answer to this question is mixed. In general, migrants returning from foreign destinations are generally looked down upon by the community. Members of migrants' families, with a few exceptions are not happy with the migrant's return. Case studies mentioned in section 8 (c) amply show how returnees find themselves coping with reintegration on their own.

What role do human capital, assets, and social capital play in the reintegration process? To answer this question we look at the profiles of the returnees who have been able to start a new enterprise or expanded the existing family occupations. The table below lists the main aspects discussed above.

Table 5: Factors influencing enterprise of returnees, Punjab

	Respondent	Type of enterprise	Age	Education	Source of motivation to start enterprise	Working age members	Non-working age members	Land holding in acres	Year of return	Number of years in the UK
1	KS	Agricultural Products	34	10 th class	Self	5	4	7	2011	6
2	SS		54	5 th class	Advised by friend	4	3	7	2012	10
3	OS		35	Post graduate	Self	3	4	21	2012	7
4	GS	Building Materials + Agricultural Products	35	12 th class	Self	3	2	6	2009	1
5	AK	Dairy	28	12 th class	Self	5	3	0	2011	2
6	GS		32	10 th class	self	3	0	5	2011	5
7	PS	Dairy + Agricultural Products	40	5 th class	self	2	1	12	1998	4
8	PS	Earthmover	34	5 th class	Self	4	4	5	2008	5
9	PS	General Store and Tyre Service	55	5 th class	Self	10	2	0	2010	7
10	MS	Poultry	47	10 th class	Self	4	0	3	2012	6
11	MS	Property Dealing	40	10 th class	Advised by relative	4	5	3	2002	3
12	RS	Property Dealing + Agricultural Products	50	10 th class	Advised by relative	4	0	32	2004	12
13	MS	Welding	57	5 th class	Self	4	2	3	2008	3

From the data above, it is clear that there are two respondents without any land holding who have started a new enterprise. Ashok Kumar lived for two years in the UK and started a dairy business when he came back. His family has five persons in the working age. The other respondent without land, Nirmal Singh has three grown up sons who run a tire repair shop. He started a general store when he came back from UK after seven years. Herein, family size provided an advantage to the returnee despite his older age than Ashok Kumar.

Three more respondents who report to having started their own business own only 3 acres of land, but have the advantage of better family size. In only the case of Manvir Singh, his family has more dependents than persons in the working age; the family has 3 acres of land and he worked in the UK for three years. He started a real estate business after return.

In TN, three of the returnees were advised by friends and relatives to start new enterprises, while six were self-motivated.

The above data amply shows that age, education, family assets and family size are critical factors that influence returnees' potential for an enduring reintegration.

From the above table, it is also evident that most returnees depend on their own motivation to start an enterprise. Only three respondents in the above table have been

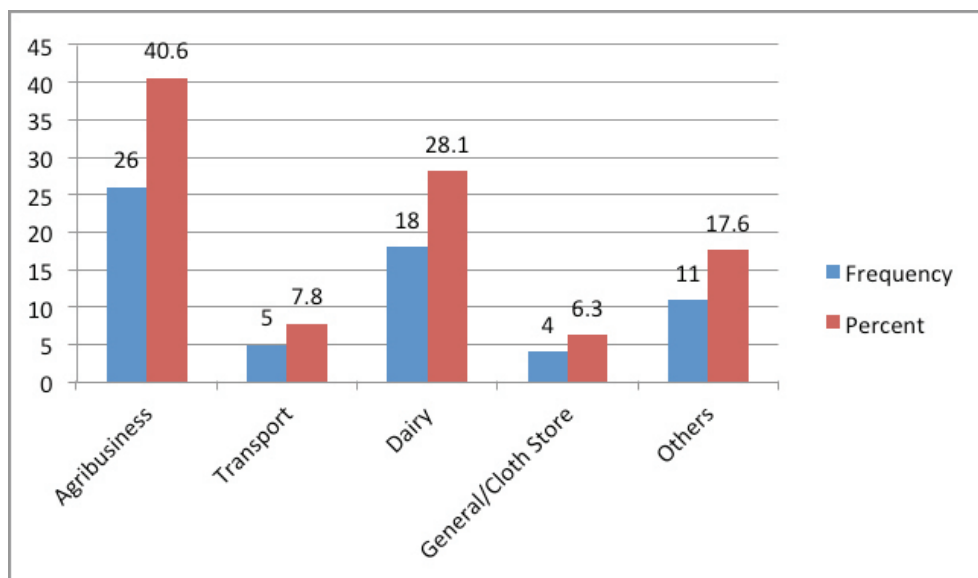
advised by friends and relatives about new enterprise, showing lower levels of social capital of the returnees.

All the respondents got no institutional support of any kind whatsoever. However, they said their enterprises were viable and sustainable and that they operated in the local market.

d. Type of venture desired to start

Though many returnees have not been able to start a venture of their own till now, the reason is that there is no source that can guide and handhold them through the process. Most of those who did not start any enterprise and even those who did

Figure 22: Type of venture to start/expand enterprise, Punjab



would like to start one or expand the existing one.

50 respondents said they would like to either expand their current enterprise or start a new one. Some respondents have mentioned more than one area in which they would like to start or expand their businesses and that is why the total frequency in the Figure above is more than 51. Only one respondent said he was not interested in starting a new enterprise.

The most preferred option is agribusiness with 40% (26) of the returnees opting for it. The next most preferred is dairy business followed by transport, and general store. Others with a frequency of 1 each include: poultry, manufacturing, scrap metal trading, building material, construction, earthmoving, fast food, hotel management, property broking, marriage garden and rural manufacturing.

In TN, two returnees who run an informal money lending business want to explore other enterprises. These men, who returned in 2010, don't see their present investment as a viable and sustainable economic activity. Five returnees do not want to expand their existing businesses while four (including the two mentioned above) want to.

The options they have will need to be looked at in the larger context of the overall prospects for each industry in terms of the investments needed, marketing, etc. and the government support programs the returnees can benefit from.

e. Skills desired to be acquired

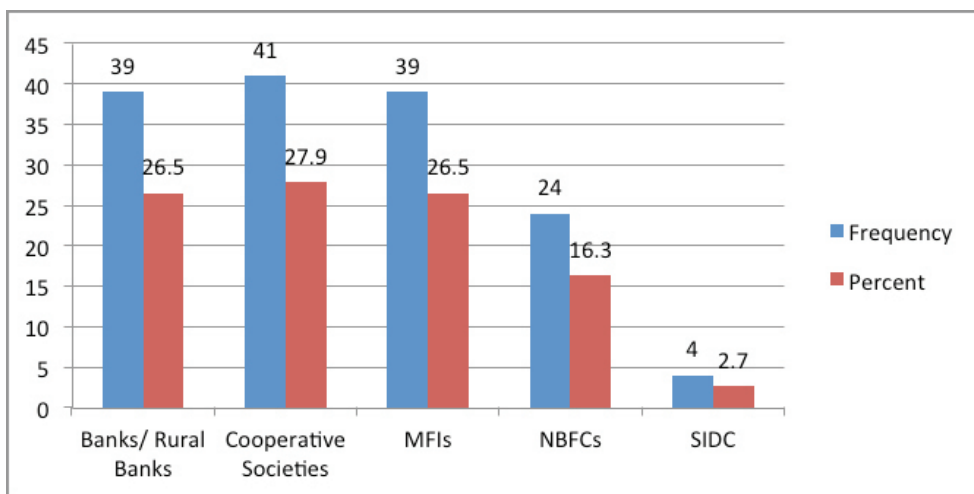
We asked the respondents to choose from a list of skills they would like to acquire in order to increase their incomes. The choices made by the respondents match the kind of venture/s they want to start. Agribusiness skills are the most sought, followed by dairy skills. Most of the respondents are also open to acquiring skills for doing jobs and want to be assisted in finding jobs.

In Gujarat, the returnees want to acquire skills in the area of computers, driving, building construction management, transport, car repair, etc. They see job opportunities if they have these skills.

f. Awareness of Financial Institutions

Seven respondents were not aware of any Financial Institutions (FI). Some of the rest have said that they are aware of more than one FI and so the total frequency is more

Figure 23: Awareness of Financial Institutions, Punjab



than the 44 who have said that they are aware of FIs in the Figure below.

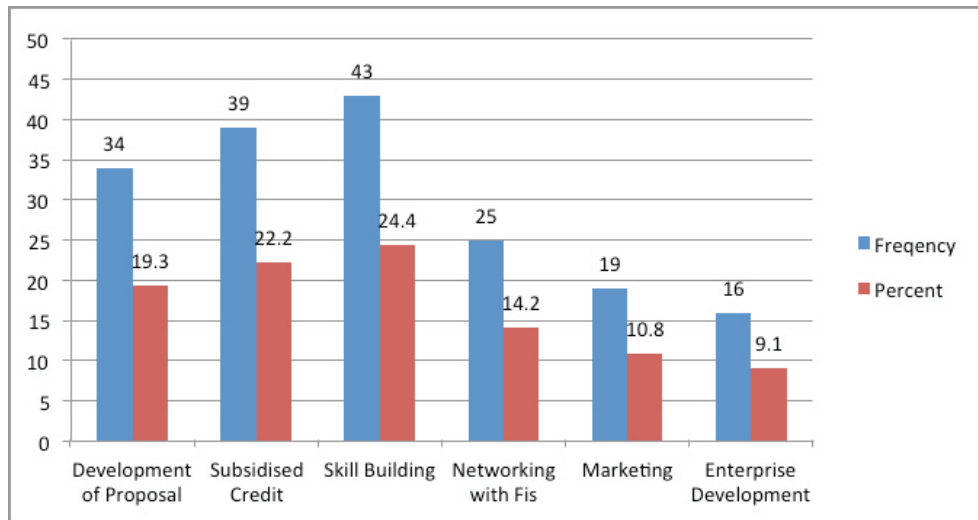
While the respondents are aware of the more traditional FIs, awareness of the State Industrial Development Corporation and others that are a part of the state department of Industry and Commerce is weak. The Punjab Agro-Industries Corporation (PAIC), for instance, is completely unknown to the respondents.

Among returnees of Gujarat, awareness levels are low while in TN there are high levels of awareness of FIs.

g. Type of Support Sought

It is clear from this study that many returnees have not been able to build on their

Figure 24: Type of support sought, Punjab



family occupations or start a new enterprise for lack of information and assistance. We asked the respondents what kind of support they needed to start a new enterprise or expand their existing venture. This, again, was a multiple choice question where the respondents could choose from a list of needs likely to arise. As evident from the Figure above that type of support that do not involve finance related needs have been cited most. From out of total frequency of 176, only 39 relate to getting subsidized credit. This clearly shows that returnees are in a position to invest their own savings to start new ventures of their choice.

The needs cited by the respondents are most in the areas of development of proposals, skill building, marketing, networking with FIs, and enterprise development.

10. Opportunities for Reintegration

Reintegration into the community and local economy is a challenging process for a returnee for a variety of reasons. A migrant usually opts for irregular migration despite the uncertainties and risks it involves because he is unable to find a job or start a business that satisfies his need to earn an income. Once he comes back, he is in a worse situation, having lost touch with the realities and the opportunities that may be there. Moreover, his social capital has weakened.

As we have seen in the survey, eight of the returnees' families had an enterprise even before the migrant returned. Only five were able to start a new one from the scratch. Many have had the desire to start a business of their own but have not been able to do so, mainly for reasons of lack of information and support.

As a part of this research, systematic efforts have been made to put together data available for different schemes and development programs the returnees could benefit from. Two areas have mainly been chosen for this: agribusiness and dairy entrepreneurship. This part of the research has been done only for Punjab.

The research was done through:

- ▶ Data collection from internet sources, published reports, plans etc
- ▶ Interviews with officials in the department of agriculture, dairy development, NABARD, and UCO Bank which is the lead bank in Jalandhar district.

Following is a brief account of the results of the research:

a. Opportunities for ventures in agriculture

The state agriculture department is the main agency that provides support in this area. It works mainly in the areas of: information and training; plant protection; organizing inputs; hydrology; and engineering. A major initiative is the Agricultural Technology Management Agency (ATMA) which is responsible for technology transfer through information and extension services. Major crops that are propagated for higher returns are: basmati rice, oilseed crops, cotton, maize and pulses.

Various activities are undertaken by ATMA, such as setting up of farmer information and advisory networks at the block levels, creating a technology team, preparing plans through farmers' committees, organizing exposure visits, and providing demonstration and training for new crops. ATMA brings together the departments of agriculture, horticulture, dairy, animal husbandry and fisheries.

However, as is the experience with many other development programs in other states of India, funds released for a significant number of programs remain unutilized. The website of Punjab government's department of agriculture clearly shows the position of financial utilization¹⁵.

¹⁵<http://agripb.gov.in/home.php?page=schem>

b. Opportunities for ventures in dairy

Currently, the Department of Dairy Development in Punjab implements a major program – Dairy Entrepreneurship Development Schemes – with fund supply that comes from NABARD. The department provides information and training support. The subsidy in most schemes is limited to 25% of the project cost and is conditional on taking loan from the lead bank in the district.

The department facilitates the training of interested persons in the age group of 18 – 50 years at the Regional Dairy Training Centre, Phagwara, Punjab. Subsidy and loans are given for various dairy related activities like construction of cattle shed, establishment of small dairy units, purchase of animals, purchase of dairy processing units, and purchase of milking machine, etc. Farmers, individual entrepreneurs, NGOs, and companies are eligible for benefit.

c. Other Sources and Skills training Providers

Agencies such as the National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC), Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) and the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) have done detailed state-wise and sector-wise studies on labour requirement and skill gap analysis. Accordingly in Punjab there is a requirement for trained manpower in the fields of textiles, auto/auto Components, light engineering, construction, retail, and food processing. In Tamil Nadu the requirement is in textiles, construction, auto/auto components, light engineering, IT/ITES, and leather industry. Gujarat also has huge labour requirement in critical sectors of growth. These states have government- run Industrial Training Institutes (ITI) and Industrial Training Centres (ITC) in the private sector catering to training needs. Vocational Training Providers at the district level train interested persons under Skill Development Initiative Scheme (SDIS) using under the Modular Employable Skills (MES) formats. Skills in the field of auto repair, fabrication, electrical wiring, garment manufacturing, hotel management etc are provided.

11. Conclusions

Patterns of reintegration of returnees vary across geographical locations, age, and duration in the UK, family's human and social capital and assets. Returnees depend on their self-initiative in the absence of social capital and institutional support that can guide them in reintegration.

State of reintegration

- ▶ Returnees make choices for economic reintegration based on existing family occupations, assets, and their own knowledge. Since many migrants' families sell or give away their land on lease before the migration, there is no capital for the returnee to start a new enterprise after return.
- ▶ Returnees show different tendencies to save money and invest the same after return for a sustained new enterprise. In Punjab the study finds that less than 25% of the returnees run enterprises while the proportion in Tamil Nadu is greater. The Gujarat returnees also manage better at economic reintegration.
- ▶ In Punjab only seven returnees have not experienced any decrease since their return in the contribution they make to family income. 44 returnees experience decrease ranging from 15 – 100%. This means that some of those who are running enterprises mentioned above, also experience decrease in their contribution. Similar is the experience of returnees in Gujarat. Tamil Nadu returnees present a completely different picture where none have experienced decrease in their contribution to family income. A reason for this difference is the better educational standards among TN returnees. This state and Punjab also present cultural contrasts. Building bigger and lavish houses out of remittances is a part of culture in Punjab while that is not the culture in TN where saving and investment are valued more.
- ▶ Low educational and skill levels contribute to the lack resources for gainful reintegration. A majority of returnees have only skills in agriculture followed by some who have dairying skills in Punjab. Returnees in TN have a diverse set of skills while in Gujarat some have no skills for getting jobs or taking up new enterprises. Higher educational levels in TN contribute to the diverse set of skills among returnees.
- ▶ Returnees in Punjab face serious problems of social reintegration. Family members of many returnees are often unhappy with return is indicated by the fact that many returnees were not received by a member of the family nor friends. Lack of social support is also borne out by the case studies of the returnees. Breakdown of communication between a returnee and his family is one reason for this situation as family members are unaware of the hardships faced by migrants. Returnees usually hide the reality by presenting a favorable picture of their lives in foreign lands. Returnees in TN and Gujarat were received by either family members or friends.

- ▶ Upon return the migrants find themselves uprooted from their origins and suffer a sense of loss of friends. Added to this is the stigma of 'failure' which results in low self-esteem among the returnees which in turn affects not only their ability to rebuild social relations but also their motivation to seek economic alternatives.
- ▶ Lack of gainful economic reintegration leading to sustained low income levels and poor social reintegration are major factors pushing the returnees to repeat irregular migration to a different foreign destination.

Reintegration Assistance Needs

- ▶ Expanding markets and development programs offered by different agencies present opportunities, however, the problem of lack of access to information and training results in capacity deficit among returnees. Returnees also lack in motivation to benefit.
- ▶ Needs lie in the area of information, education, capacity building, and changes to attitudes and beliefs.
- ▶ A majority of the returnees desire to start new enterprises in agribusiness, dairy, transport and petty shops. However, their knowledge levels regarding FIs and development schemes of the government are low.
- ▶ Half of those wanting to start a business are also open to taking up jobs but they neither have employable skills nor know where to acquire skills.
- ▶ Returnees' choices for support include skill building, networking with FIs, marketing and development of proposals.
- ▶ There is also a need to strengthen the process of social reintegration. Support of family members, finding new friends and community support are essential for reintegration.

Opportunities for reintegration

- ▶ Development schemes and support services are offered by public and private agencies and banks. In agriculture the focus is on new technologies for higher yields, crop diversity and high-value crops. In the field of dairy the services are towards small dairy farms and local processing of milk.
- ▶ Public and private institutions provide technical training and entrepreneurship development; subsidies are also given for projects.
- ▶ Lack of information with the beneficiaries and lack of pro-active outreach on the part of implementers, many of these programs meet partial success. The returnees are doubly disadvantaged because of their remoteness from these developments which happen in their absence and their limited human and social

capital. None of the respondents in this study has benefited from the schemes and training facilities.

Migration and Return

The three pockets where the present study is done represent the hotspots of irregular migration in India. Among these Punjab's doaba region stands out – irregular migration here is of epidemic proportions. There is hardly any village without connections to foreign lands. In other two pockets studied, the situation is not as adverse but a significant volume of migrants originate from here too. Data indicate that:

- ▶ Factors leading to high migration from these areas are: history of migration, diaspora, familiarity with English language, high currency exchange rates, and a belief that it is easy to find a job in the UK.
- ▶ Though most respondents of the study had migrated between the ages of 20 – 30, the age at migration spreads across all ages in Punjab. Migration happens at ages below 20 and above 50. This is not the case in the other two pockets where mostly persons in their prime ages migrate. The widespread culture of irregular migration in Punjab and its social acceptance as a means of earning money quickly, is a factor responsible for very young migrants giving up their education and opting to migrate.
- ▶ The major reason for migration across all pockets and age groups is 'seeking better life'. Migrants regularly send back money to their families and are happy that their families are well. A number of families invest the money in new ventures or save till the migrant returns to do so. In Punjab the trend is for families to use the money for house construction or simply for upkeep of the family. Some migrants have fixed targets of earning money either to meet their debt obligations or for investment. They opt to come back once the target is reached. Yet, what compels them to return is the lack of legal status in the UK.
- ▶ A majority of the migrants from Punjab were forced to return while all except one from Gujarat returned voluntarily; all migrants from TN returned voluntarily. It is possible that migrants from Punjab hope to achieve some kind of legal recognition or want to stay on in UK as far as possible. Others migrate with fixed targets or return before the expiry of visa in order to be able to migrate again.
- ▶ Only four returnees in Punjab and one in Gujarat received any assistance to return. This indicates a deficit in reaching out to the migrants and attitudinal problems among the migrants who think they would rather work hard and earn money than accept assistance while in the UK.

12. Recommendations

Following recommendations takes into consideration that those who returned as a part of some voluntary assistance program are being assisted post-return by Caritas and partners. These recommendations are made keeping in mind the forced returnees who form an overwhelming majority of the respondents in this study.

The problems of economic reintegration faced by returnees exist in the larger national context of unemployment that the less educated among the Indian population face. These are the people who have received very little education and have no employable or entrepreneurship skills. The migrants and returnees are a part of this huge mass of Indians. The country faces a big challenge of building the skills of this large section of people in the working age.

India has good development support schemes but it falls short of implementing them. Government programs suffer from key ingredients for successful implementation: user's access to information and efficient delivery mechanisms. Lack of these ingredients combined with user's attitudinal cause lack of motivation among users. Thus despite substantial amount of funds and infrastructure being available, many programs and schemes remain at best partially successful. They also suffer from bottlenecks and lengthy procedures difficult for an ordinary person to negotiate.

Irregular migration thrives in the absence of access to gainful alternatives for people with low educational and skill levels. Migrants living in the UK continue to remain there despite odds for the same reason. A returnee lives in penury or decides to migrate to another foreign destination for the same reason.

It is therefore imperative to have in place systems of assisting returnees in the process of their reintegration. Following specific recommendations are relevant:

- ▶ Assisting returnees in accessing the development schemes, training and other support mechanisms is necessary for a satisfactory reintegration. Assistance should aim to:
 - ▶▶ Provide information and communication in user-friendly formats to address the primary lacuna in the implementation of development schemes. An initiative of this sort can go a long way in assisting the returnees in making informed choices for their future;
 - ▶▶ Counsel the returnee to address the social void where he finds no one that talk to him and advise him on a way forward. Counseling on a one-on-one basis and in groups will help the returnees to come out their state of confusion and strengthen their agency to activate their productive energies.
 - ▶▶ Strengthen links between returnees and official agencies and specific scheme managers for firsthand information, interaction and building mutual trust. These agencies are equipped to not only provide support, information and training but also in marketing saleable produce.

- ▶▶ Facilitate links to training centres that provide training in skills that are useful for employment in specific sectors. For those interested in launching their own ventures provide training in the area of chosen field, entrepreneurship and risk management skills. Creation of linkages between the returnees and the training facilities available in the state/ country in a must for the returnees to take advantage of the schemes offered by the government, non-government and corporate entities.
- ▶▶ Facilitate links between the returnees wanting to start a business and FIs for access to credit subsidies and other support services.
- ▶▶ Provide handholding support to address the hindrances and bottlenecks in the way of returnees accessing services. Encourage returnees to apply their creative talents.

Only such a full-spectrum support mechanism that does not end with information and training but also provides handholding can result in successful reintegration.

- ▶ Counseling members of returnee family and community support to returnees for reintegration

It is understood that adequate support of the family and community is necessary for the success of economic initiatives of the returnees. Information, training and motivational support can be provided by an external agency; social support can come only from the family and the community. Such support can motivate the returnee to overcome the stigma of failure and strengthen his self-esteem. Evidence from the study shows that this aspect is not only lacking but there is an absence of social mechanisms to assist returnees to normalize their social lives. It is recommended that:

- ▶▶ Members of the family are provided counseling and frank discussion is facilitated on migrants' problems related to legal and financial issues.
 - ▶▶ Community programs and activities are held where returnees can make new friends and rebuild their social lives.
 - ▶▶ Returnee forums for exchange of ideas and experiences should be organized for facilitating mutual support and learning.
- ▶ Promoting return of migrants to India

Lack of information resources and misplaced notions of likely difficulties in the way of economic reintegration could be a reason for the migrants to stay on in their irregular situation. Activities and products of the reintegration assistance programs should be used to promote migrants to return. Specific mechanisms can be:

- ▶▶ Information compendiums generated on the options available to returnees should be used in effective ways to promote migrants to return.

- ▶▶ Successful reintegration stories should be documented in the form of effective communication material for use to promote migrants to return
- ▶▶ Replicable and scalable models of reintegration should be established and used to educate the migrants
- ▶▶ Returnee forums should serve as tools for promoting migrants to return
- ▶ Strengthening women's roles in decision making in the family and community

Women generally lack participation in family and community decisions in India. However as far as migration and return related decisions are concerned, multiple voices from women are heard. Mothers of younger migrants generally want their sons to come back while other members of the family are often unhappy with migrants' return. One reason for this situation is lack of information and appreciation of the legal, financial and survival problems migrants face. Any initiative for promoting returnee reintegration and promoting return should engage with women, educate them and strengthen their voices.

Sustainable Solutions to Irregular Migration

Some of the recommendations described above can achieve immediate goals of facilitating reintegration and return of migrants. These initiatives should also achieve sustainable solutions by aiming at transforming the returnees and other stakeholders into change agents who can challenge the culture of irregular migration in the society. However, initiatives that specifically address the culture of irregular migration, education and skill-building are the required for sustained change.

These should be:

- ▶ Raising community awareness against irregular migration:
 - ▶▶ Information and communication material such as films and testimonies of returnees and victims of cheating by agents should be used for mass education
 - ▶▶ Discussion forums should aim at demystifying myths around irregular migration and potentials of gainful employment and business models available in the country

Engagement with the community equipped with stories of successful reintegration can also create a spin-off effect of attracting the migrants back home.

- ▶ Mobilise civil society and opinion makers
 - ▶▶ Civil society should be mobilized through contacts, meetings and workshops to campaign against irregular migration

- ▶▶ Opinion makers should be mobilized into think tanks that lead the way for finding sustainable solutions to the problems of returnees and irregular migration

- ▶ Research should be an ongoing engagement to better understand the circumstances under which reintegration, return and migration take place. The present study covers a miniscule population of Indian returnees from the UK, particularly in Tamil Nadu and Gujarat; studies are needed to understand the diverse circumstances around reintegration, return and migration. Understanding reintegration opportunities is also necessary to better equip the returnees with options.

The Development And Justice Initiative (DAJI) is an organisation in India working for the rights, access to justice and public services of refugees, displaced populations, migrant workers and the stateless in India. In the last seven years of its existence it has worked with more than 12,000 Rohingya refugees to strengthen their protection. It works with India's international migrant workers and returnees and assists them in safe migration, return and reintegration.

DAJI is working with persons left out of the National Register of Citizens (NRC) in Assam state of India. These individuals and families may be denied citizenship and be rendered stateless.

In its work, DAJI engages in research, community mobilisation, training, advocacy and networking. It works in partnership with national, regional and international networks. DAJI is an organisational member of Asia Pacific Refugee Rights Network (APRRN), Statelessness Network Asia Pacific (SNAP) and International Detention Coalition (IDC). It works in partnership with Netherlands based Institute on Statelessness and Inclusion (ISI) and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), India.

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