

**‘FAILED EMIGRATION’ FROM PUNJAB: A STUDY OF THE SUCCESS  
AND FAILURE OF ASPIRING MIGRANTS**

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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**DECLARATION**

I declare that the thesis entitled “ ‘Failed Emigration’ from Punjab: A Study of the Success and Failure of Aspiring Migrants” submitted by me for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University, is my bonafide work. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.

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## ABBREVIATIONS USED

USA	United States of America
UK	United Kingdom
UP	Uttar Pradesh
IT	Information and Technology
CRRID	Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development
PTI	Press Trust of India
ET	Economic times
NELM	New Economics of Labour Migration
UN	United Nations
FDI	foreign direct investment
EU	European Union
OSHC	Overseas Student Health Cover
TOEFL iBT	Test of English as a Foreign Language internet-Based test
PTE	Pearson Test of English
CAE	Academic Cambridge English: Advanced
IELTS	International English Language Testing System test
OET	Occupational English Test
CLB	Canadian Language Benchmark
CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada
IEFP	Instituto de Emprego e Formacao Profissional



ASER	Annual Survey of Education Report
P S E B	Punjab Secondary Education Board
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering and Medical
MBA/MCA	Master of Business Administration/ Master of Computer Application
PR	Permanent residence
NOC	National Occupational Classification
SOL	Skilled occupations list
CoE	Confirmation of enrolment
CRICOS	Commonwealth Register of Institutions and courses for Overseas Students
GTE	Genuine temporary entrant

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

### 1.1 Statement of the Problem

Migration has always attracted attention of academics and researchers the world over and across subjects and disciplines (Jansen, 1969). These migration studies have both enriched our understanding of the subject and raised many new issues which force us to review and rethink many aspects of migration by asking thought-provoking questions about them and seek answers to several controversies. Some of these relate to complex questions about definition of migrants, types of migrants, and their number in the world. Questions have also been asked about many fundamental issues such as what initiate migrations, what perpetuate them and why migrations come to end (Massey et al., 1993) throwing the traditional theories of migrations and other research on this subject open to discussion and review. Another important controversial issue, among others, that has come up for discussion in recent years is whether today we live in the ‘age of migration’ (Castles and Miller, 2009) or the age of what has been called ‘forced immobility’ (Malmberg, 1997) or ‘involuntary immobility’ (Carling, 2002). Whatever be the answer to this controversy, it raises an important question that needs to be answered: what help some people to migrate and prevent others from joining this migratory flow and suffer ‘forced immobility’ (Malmberg, 1997) or ‘involuntary immobility’ (Carling, 2002). This controversy forms the basis of this study.

### 1.2 Migration in Human History: The Long View

Christiane Harzig et.al. (2012: 8-52), while considering the long view of migration in human history, observe that “the history of humanity is a history of migration. There was no ‘pre-history’ of unsettled and non-literate peoples followed by the ‘history proper’ of settled empires or nations”. For want of consensus among historians about periodization between macro- and micro- regions, they suggest eight distinct eras of migration over time in order to present their account of this long view of migration in human history. These are –

1. Deep Time: *Homo sapiens* migration out of East Africa across the world about 150,000 to 200,000 years ago.

2. Migrations in the period of early sedentary agriculture, 15,000 – 5000 BP<sup>1</sup>
3. Cities, Civilizations, and Seaborne Migrations, c.5000 BCE to 500 CE
4. Migrations from 500 BCE to 1500 CE
5. Migration, intercultural contact and trade circuits in the world's macro regions, 1400 – 1600
6. Migration dialectics in colonizer and colonised societies 1600 – 1800
7. Nineteenth-century global migration systems
8. Twentieth-century migrations.

While going through the account of the long view of migration in human history, which Harzig et.al. (2012) have given, we find that migration of one type or the other occurred at each stage in the development of *homo sapiens* and almost every day and that human migration as a continuous process is a norm and not an aberration.

### **1.3 Migrations from India including Punjab**

#### **1.3.1 Migrations from India**

Migration thus is not something new for the world and Indians too are not any exception to this migratory instinct. They, too, have ventured across boundaries in fairly good number and are the third largest in numerical strength - after British and Chinese (*IMDS WP-1*). There were varied reasons for which people migrated from India. Historically, they migrated to spread the message of peace and non-violence and spread of Buddhism. Some migrated to British and other colonies to fill the supply gap created by emancipation of slaves (Lal, 2006). Need for labour resulted in substantial migration of labour from India to the plantation colonies in the West Indies, Ceylon, Southeast Asia, Mauritius, Fiji and South Africa. The bulk of these migrants went as indentured labourers (Srivastava and Sasikumar, 2003). Davis (1951) estimated that about 30 million Indians emigrated between 1834 and 1947. The number declined with the ending of indenture in 1921. However, a significant free migration did continue between India and Ceylon, Africa and South East Asia. Most of this migration was of

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<sup>1</sup> Since early movements cannot be dated precisely, scholars use a “Before the Present” (BP) scale, counting from the year 2000 backward. After the more convincing archaeological dating, BP is replaced “Before the Common Era” (BCE) and the “Common Era”.

unskilled labour. Since independence, two distinct types of labour migration have been taking place from India: People with technical skills and professional expertise migrate to countries such as the USA (United States of America), Canada, UK (United Kingdom's) and Australia as permanent migrants. Unskilled and semi-skilled workers migrate to oil exporting countries of the Middle East on temporary contracts (Srivastava and Sasikumar, 2003). At present due to globalization now, new areas of labour demand have emerged in developing countries. Apart from the US, the UK, Canada and Australia people now are also going to Germany, France, Japan, New Zealand, Denmark, Ireland, Korea and Singapore (*IMDS-WP-1*).

### **1.3.2 Emigration from Punjab**

Migration from Punjab is also not a new phenomenon. People from Punjab have been migrating to various parts of the world over a long period of time but, it is said, no definite records are available (Judge, 2012). The British annexed Punjab in 1848, as a consequence of many uprisings against the British. Many rebellious Punjabis, mainly Sikhs, were sent out as political prisoners to faraway lands. However, it is said that regular migration as such of large number of people from Punjab was initiated not by poverty, as occurred in other parts of India, but by the recruitment policy of the British rulers. They considered *Jat Sikhs* as a martial race and recruited them to protect their interests in their colonies abroad. The soldiers thus got marginalized from the village life and moved abroad when released from service (Judge, 2012). Since then, Punjab is one of the States in India that have contributed the most to this community of migrants. It ranked high among the Indian States in terms of migrants abroad (Khadria, 2012).

### **1.4 International Migration: A Complex and Controversial Subject**

Jansen (1969:60), observed migration is an interdisciplinary concept and touches upon the disciplines of both science and social science. Though initially the scope of migration was restricted to subjects like history, geography and economics, now many other disciplines like psychology, literature, culture, law, political science humanities and anthropology have also been included. This wide-ranging interest in this subject has both enriched our knowledge of the subject and also led to our inability

to understanding the full complexity of migration processes resulting in views often diametrically opposed to each other. Some of the main controversies are as follows:

#### **1.4.1 Host society's attitude towards migrants: friends or enemy?**

International migration, King (2012) tells us, now has become more diverse and complex and is playing the important role of shaping and reshaping societies. It is said to be creating sharp division in the receiving societies between those who welcome migrants and their contribution and those who oppose them. People are divided into two opposing extremes. In fact, it is said to create a complex web of winners and losers. One side there are people who are of liberal thought and welcome the emigrants into their society. These people believe that emigrants are economically and culturally rich and beneficial for their society. Migrants also bring sometimes innovative practices into the host society. They provide the much needed cheap labour doing low-level manual work shunned by the natives carried out in the informal sector. Standing (2011) calls them as 'the precariat', and they are large in number (King, 2012). On the other hand, there are those who oppose migrants. They look upon migrants as those who can lower the likelihood of employment or raise the risk of unemployment (Massey, 1993: 436). In the words of King (2012), this group has its own political motivations, always overstates the number of migrants, usually use terms like 'illegal immigrants' and 'bogus asylum seekers' to address them and tend to blame the migrants for all the ills and problems that the host society faces.

#### **1.4.2 Diaspora: Brain drain or brain circulation?**

Diaspora and its role and relationship *vis-à-vis* the home country and the adopted country have also aroused views varying in two extremes – from 'brain-drain' to 'brain-gain' or 'brain sharing and brain circulation in modern globalized world; some sermonizing emigrants to assimilate in the host society while others viewing them as an important link between the home country and the host country (Sahai, 2012). After World War II, a large number of people from developing countries, including India, migrated to the industrial nations of Europe and North America. In contrast to the emigrants of the earlier phase, this phase was dominated by emigration of people having diverse professional specialisation such as medicine, engineering, management,

finance, and others. They were from the middle classes, were the product of premier institutions and possessed better productive and remunerative skills. Such migrations were going on throughout the 1950s and 1960s but it was only in 1970s that it began to ring ‘alarm bells’ and emigrations of such scientists and engineers from India and other developing countries were termed as the problem of ‘brain drain’ of highly qualified persons (Khadria 2012; Khadria 2004; Khadria 2001; Khadria 1999).

### **1.4.3 Some Other Controversial Issues**

Some other controversial issues pertain to: what initiates the process of migration, what perpetuates this process and what brings this to end; migrant’s definition and their types and their impact on statistical count; migrants’ problems before and after migration; contribution of migrants to the sending and the receiving countries; why there is migration for some and not for others; how migrations shape and reshape societies; to what extent migrants should integrate and assimilate into the host society; why some migrants return while others do not and what is returnees’ impact on the home country.

From the above account we find that many issues have been already discussed and debated and many controversies have also arisen. Some of these are: migrant’s definition and their types; the extent to which migrants should assimilate into the host society; is migration a stairway to heaven or leap into hell; and lack of any single, coherent theory of international migration, among others.

### **1.5 Issues for further research**

Although much research has already been done in the field yet there is still much scope for further research on almost all controversial issues on which views expressed are diametrically opposite. The issue of ‘failed migrants’ which this study investigates is also a step in the same direction, more so, because this topic as such has not been widely discussed in the research already done on this subject.

### **1.5.1 Age of Migration or Age of Forced Immobility?**

As we have stated above, migration of humans is not a new discovery today. What is new is the twist this phenomenon has been given in recent times. It is said that today we live in a period during which international migration has accelerated, globalised, feminized, diversified and become increasingly politicized (Castle and Miller, 2009).

Many scholars have argued that movement of people across boundaries is more prevalent today. Urry (2000) argues that the static or 'sedentary' structures that traditionally defined western society – social class, static residence and stable employment – have been replaced by a new defining characteristic, mobility. The volume of movement of people across countries in the world today has prompted Castles and Miller (2009) to say that today we live in the 'Age of Migration'. Cresswell (2006) also says that everybody today is 'on the move'. This is borne out by the latest data of 2015 from the United Nations Population Division that show that, as of 2015, there were 232 million international migrants (about 3.2% of the total population) in the world – that is to say, people residing in a country different from that of their birth (<http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population>). As per King (2012), the number of these migrants is so large that they can form a whole new and big country of their own.

Some other scholars have doubted the veracity of the statement that we now live in the 'age of migration'. They argue that there is a difference between prospective migrants' desire to migrate, and actual migration taking place. They say that the 'age of migration' has been replaced by the 'age of involuntary immobility' (Carling, 2002). Russell King (2012) quotes the statistics of the United Nations Population Division for the year 2010 and says that total world migrants, who move internationally, are only 223 million in number. They represent only a fraction of world population who have chosen to cross boundaries. Is it that many among this vast majority want to move but are prevented from doing so by certain factors? If so, what helps some people to migrate and what prevents others from joining this migratory flow and suffer what Malmberg (1997) calls 'forced immobility' and Carling (2002) calls 'involuntary immobility'. Hence,

these critics of the notion of today being the ‘age of migration’ qualify it with the words: migration for some, but not for others.

According to King (2012:4) this mobility-immobility paradox arises depending on which side of the ‘migration coin’ one looks at. Those who look at the ‘migration side of the coin’ conclude that we live in the age of migration, a period during which international migration has accelerated. Those who look at the ‘immobility’ side find that a very large number of people who want to emigrate fail to do so and hence they tell us that today we live in the age of ‘forced immobility’. This mobility-immobility issue gives rise to the question: what enables some people to migrate and condemn others to suffer this forced immobility.

## **1.6 Objectives of this Study**

People from Punjab have been trying to move abroad even now in large number as is evident from the huge expansion of the migration industry in Punjab in recent years as we explain later in Chapter 2. But we also come across quite often instances reported in the print media, some of which we describe in detail in Chapter 2 of this study, about some people not being allowed to cross the borders for reasons not related to lack of household capability or individual talents traditionally given for failure to move. Prompted by these instances and the ‘mobility-immobility’ controversy, this study has tried to look if this mobility-immobility paradox exists in the case of Punjab or not; whether today these people live in the age of migration or age of forced immobility. The study tries to focus on those people from Punjab who fail rather than those who succeed in moving as has been done in the past and to see what is common among them that leads to ‘failed migrations’. Thus an attempt is made to investigate if the traditional explanation that it is the household capabilities and individual talent that help people to migrate and that lack of these prevents others from moving can be justified and if so to what extent.

There can be many reasons as to why a prospective emigrant might fail to emigrate internationally. These factors have been discussed in chapter 3. Some studies say (even though indirectly) that at macro level one factor that can result in involuntary immobility is when there is active role / regulations / restrictions imposed by the State



governments of both the sending and the destination countries ( Khadria, 2012; Harzig et.al, 2012; Castles, 2009; Kumar, 2006; Fahrmeir et.al, 2003; Carling, 2002; Sassen, 1998). But these studies have not been conducted with specific reference to Punjab. This study analyses if the role of the government of the destination country (with particular reference to Canada and Australia) is the reason for involuntary immobility in case of Punjab. We have also tried to understand the strategies that the aspiring emigrants employ, to succeed in future, in case they fail in their first or second attempt to emigrate to their dream country.

The study also tries to find out why so many people from Punjab, a comparatively prosperous State in India, aspire to move abroad even though Punjab as a state ranks number one, in comparison to other states of India, with respect to certain indicators of development like intensity of cropping, average yield of food grains (kg/hectare), average yield of wheat (Kg/hectare), percentage contribution of rice and wheat to central pool.

### **1.7 Conceptual framework and Research Methodology**

The study uses the conceptual framework given by Carling (2002) to analyse the broad objectives of the study which have been mentioned in the previous paragraph. This specific framework (which has been discussed in detail in chapter 4 was used as this takes aspirations and ability to be two different aspects of the migration process and also underlines different factors affecting them. As this framework states that both macro and micro level factors affect aspirations and ability, this study used a mix of primary and secondary data to analyse the macro and micro level factors affecting aspiration and ability.

To understand the overriding reasons of emigrating at the micro level, i.e. to find out answer to why people of Punjab are emigrating from the state and what were the main reasons for their failure we used questionnaire as a tool, which helped us to have access to first hand information and gave us an in-depth understanding as to why these people wanted to emigrate from Punjab. It also helped us to find out what the main reason was for their failure to emigrate earlier. The questionnaire had both closed ended questions in which the respondent was only required to put a tick mark or rank their

options. Open ended questions were also included in the questionnaire which was filled through face to face interview with the aspiring emigrants from the State of Punjab.

To find out the macro level reasons that may be inspiring a person to emigrate, secondary data from different sources (mentioned in detail in chapter 4) was used to analyze the probable role of education sector, as one of the main push factors operating from the State of Punjab.

### **1.8 Definition of ‘Failed Emigration’<sup>2</sup>**

The term ‘failed emigration’ as used in this study occurs when aspiring emigrants from the State of Punjab, who have the desire to go abroad through legal ways of migration, are not able to do so because they are not able to meet the current immigration policy conditions and their interpretation and implementation by the immigration authorities of their preferred destination countries – in case of this study, Canada and Australia. The term ‘failed migration’ in the sense used here, as far as we know, has not yet been used by the large number of researchers and scholars working on migration.

### **1.9 Rationale of this Study**

Traditionally, studies on migration of people including those from Punjab have taken into consideration only those who have successfully crossed the border. We could not find any study that focused on the immobility-side of this migration coin – in other words on those who aspire to migrate but fail to do so. Hence this study has attempted to look at this side of the migration coin. A further impetus to look into this aspect of migration from Punjab came from the present scenario described above that seems to question the veracity of the statement that lack of individual talent and household capability prevent people from being successful in going across the borders. By focusing on the ‘failed emigrations’ the study attempts to investigate what really prevents some

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<sup>2</sup> The term ‘Failed Migrants’ has been used for ‘returnees’ migrants by some scholars (see Jean-Pierre Cassariono, 2004). This term may also be used to represent those categories of migrant that have already migrated internationally but have returned after some years or even those who are living in miserable conditions in their host countries. Some may even call ‘failed migrants’ as those migrants who cross the border with high aspirations but have to content with low level jobs not usually taken up by natives.

people to cross the borders. Punjab has been facing some social stigmas for a very long time. Movies like *Uda Punjab* have tried to highlight one such problem – the drug problem being faced by the youth, specifically rural youths of Punjab. Similarly, the problem of fake marriages and exploitation of women is not something new for the State. The study of this category of migrants will have an impact not only on the migrants' count but also have implications for other issues raised and discussed in the literature on international migration beside illegal migration (Jordan and Düvell, 2002; Ghosh,1998).

### **1.10 Chapter scheme**

The study has tried to investigate the reasons for the aspirations and failure to emigrate in case of Punjab to two destination countries – Canada and Australia using the Aspiration-Ability conceptual framework given by Carling (2002). The factors affecting aspirations have been studied and analyzed at both the macro and micro levels. Similarly, the ability to emigrate were analyzed at the macro level and with respect to individual level characteristics like age, education qualification, experience and existence of social network in the destination country. The chapterisation is done as given below:

**Chapter 1** is an introduction and an overview of this research study. It begins with the statement of the problem we intend to investigate and study, followed by a brief background literature on why we take it up for study and how we plan to study this topic.

**Chapter 2** gives a historical perspective of international migration in general and also with particular reference to India and the Punjab. We also give in detail the genesis of the problem we take up for study with a detailed justification for investigating why the issue of 'failed emigrants' in general and from Punjab in particular cannot be accounted for by the explanations traditionally given by the research on the subject and hence needs to be further researched.

In **Chapter 3** we give a brief historical perspective of the State regulations controlling the flow of immigrants. We also describe the reasons why states exercise such controls,

what measures they adopt to do so, and why States policies in this respect keep changing frequently. Further we attempt to list some possible reasons for ‘failed emigrations’ and on the basis of these points out the gap in research on this topic justifying the research taken up in this study.

The conceptual framework adopted for this study and its rationale are taken up in the next **Chapter 4**. This Chapter also states the research objectives and research questions. The details of the methodology and tools and procedures for data collection and the limitations of the study are also described.

It is in **Chapter 5** that we describe the findings of our study and an analysis and discussion of our findings vis-à-vis the research objectives of this study. We describe the macro and micro level factors affecting the ‘aspiration’ of the people of Punjab in this Chapter.

Our findings and their analysis and discussion are continued further in the next **Chapter 6** which describes the macro and micro level factors affecting the ‘ability’ of the people of Punjab to emigrate to their dream country. The various current conditions necessary for emigrating to Canada and Australia – the two countries to which the people of Punjab strive to migrate - are studied and an attempt is made to find out which out of the present conditions was most difficult one for the people of Punjab to fulfill thus resulting in failed emigration.

**Chapter 7** is our last and hence the Chapter that concludes this research study. In this Chapter we describe the strategies used by failed emigrants from Punjab. We also describe some social, economic and psychological implications of ‘failed emigrations’ on the people and what their implications may be for policy making for the Centre and State Governments. Finally, the Chapter ends with suggesting scope of further research on this topic keeping in mind the limitations of this study.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

In Chapter 1, we have cited what Harzig et. al. (2012: 8-52), while considering the long view of migration in human history, observe that ‘the history of humanity is a history of migration.’ The roving instinct, it is said, is intrinsic to human nature: the need to search for food, pasture and resources; the desire to travel and explore; but also to conquer and possess (King, 2012: 4). Migration is a complex process and there have been different reasons and types of migrations even in early times. Harzig et.al. (2012:10) suggest aggregating them into six types as already described in Chapter 1. All these six types of migrations have taken place from the early times and might be going on even at present.

#### **2.2 Emigration: Not new for India and Punjab**

##### **2.2.1 Emigration from India**

Migration for India is not something new. Indian history has witnessed perhaps the largest mass migration in human history at the time of its partition. It is said that at this time (from 1947 to 1950) around 12 to 18 million people mostly Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims migrated between India and Pakistan. Since then migration, both at national and international levels, has been an integral part of India. The history of migration from India can be divided into two phases: migration during Colonial Rule and post-independence migration from India.

##### **2.2.1.1 Emigration during colonial rule**

Migration from India has been continuing for the last 175 years which began with the era of British colonial rule. Following the abolition of slavery, colonies like France, Netherlands and Portugal needed manpower urgently to manage their sugar and rubber plantations. This demand pushed by factors like poverty resulted in

temporary migration taking place from India. By 1878 Indian workers were in countries like Mauritius, Guyana, Natal (South Africa), Suriname and Fiji. (Naujoks, 2009). These labour migrants who mainly migrated as indentured labourers were from the present day states of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh (UP), Gujarat and Punjab, mostly hailing from rural India and worked on contractual jobs. Once their contracts were over some of them renewed them and some chose to stay over there permanently.

By the time indenture labour system was abolished in 1916 around 1.5 million Indians had been shipped to colonies like Caribbean, Africa, Asia and Oceania. At the same time migration was also taking place from the states like Tamil Nadu to manage the Tea, coffee and rubber plantations in Sri Lanka, Malaya and Burma. By the end of 1983, 6 million Indian workers had left Indian shores. Approximately 1.5 million were in Sri Lanka, 2 million in Malaya and 2.5 in Burma. (Lal, 2006). Apart from these countries, low skilled Indian workers also settled in countries like Burma, Ceylon and Malaya where new promising business opportunities were emerging (Naujoks, 2009). As per Davis, around 30 million Indians had migrated as labourers to various counties of the world between 1834 and 1947 (Davis, 1951).

During this period, emigration to the United Kingdom and Northern America also started though it was very low. As per Naujoks (2009), between 1820 and 1900 there were only around 700 Indians in the US and this number rose to 8700 in the next 30 years, and they were mostly Punjabi Sikhs who worked in agriculture in California. There were about 100 Indians in Canada in 1904 whose number rose by 5000 in the following 3 years but substantially decreased thereafter because of a restrictive immigration policy of Canada.

#### **2.2.1.2 Post-Independence Emigration**

Since independence two distinct types of labour migration have been taking place from India: People with technical skills and professional expertise migrate to countries such as the USA, Canada, the UK and Australia as permanent migrants (since the early 1950s). Unskilled and semi-skilled workers migrate to oil exporting countries of the Middle East on temporary contracts. (Srivastava and Sasikumar, 2003). Nayar (1994) provides an analysis of the trends in migration flows from India

to three industrialized countries, the USA, Canada and the UK, for the period between 1951 and 1990. He says that the number of Indians in USA and Canada increased rapidly during the 1960s and 1970s. Indians accounted for 3.6% and 6% of the total immigrants USA and Canada during this period. These rates stabilized by the 1980s. The average annual inflow of Indian immigrants to the USA increased from 26,184 persons during the 1980s to 38,330 during the 1990s. In the case of Canada, the average annual inflow of Indian immigrants increased from 7,930 during the 1980s to 13,770 during the 1990s. As per Naujoks (2009), post independence, a lot of Indians migrated from India to UK. Most of them were unskilled and semi skilled workers (mostly male Punjabi Sikhs). They chose Britain because post war they needed low skilled workers, India had post colonial ties with UK and because of UK's commonwealth immigration policy which allowed any citizen of the commonwealth country to live, work, vote and hold public office in the UK. During the 1990s newer destination countries started emerging. This period witnessed significant flow of Indian professionals, especially IT (Information and Technology) professionals, to countries such as Australia, Germany, Japan, and Malaysia (Khadria, 2012; Nayyar, 1994).

Post independence period also witnessed migration of Indians to the Middle East gulf countries. There was a huge demand for foreign labour in gulf countries during 1973–74 and 1979 when the oil price increased. As per Srivastava and Sasikumar (2003) movements into the Gulf were intimately linked to the escalation in oil revenues, the unprecedented rate of investment in domestic industry and infrastructure of the oil states, and the shortage of domestic labour. It is estimated that the number of migrant workers in these countries rose from 800,000 in 1972 to 1.71 million in 1975 and further increased to an estimated 2.82 million by 1980 (Birks and Sinclair, 1980; Demery, 1986).

Today Indians are spread across the various countries of the world. Amongst the various Indian communities settled abroad, we find people from Punjab followed by the people from Gujarat and Kerala are large in numbers (Chanda and Ghosh, 2012). At present Indians rank second – Chinese being the first - in this international migration of human populations (Khadria, et.al. IMDS WP- 1, 2008). There have been four major waves of migrants abroad from India. These are:

- i). Importing of Indians as indentured labour, to work in plantations in British and other colonies in the 1830s.
- ii). Movement of people towards industrial nations of Europe and North America after World War II.
- iii). Requirement of labour for oil extraction and construction boom in 1970s in the Gulf countries.
- iv). Emigration of ‘knowledge workers’ – scientists, Engineers and Software professionals to the west, especially the U.S.

### **2.3 What Initiated Punjabis into Emigration**

Researchers working on migration and international migration from India/Punjab have not attempted any new theory of migration or added anything to the existing economic-based ones although some of the issues on the subject do figure in their discussions and give us an entirely different reason for migration of Punjabis in large numbers during the colonial period.

According to Paramjit S. Judge (2012) international migration of the Punjabis was initiated by the recruitment policy of the British rulers as they considered *Jat Sikhs* of Punjab to be a martial race and recruited them in their army for protecting their interests abroad.

According to Judge (2012: 33), International Migration of the Punjabis dates back to the colonial period. Prior to that, he says, there is no evidence of any migration of the Punjabis. He states that, in other words, they did not have the reputation of being a highly mobile community. Judge further asserts that the process of migration (both internal and international) was triggered by the British rule. The establishment of the British rule in India is also said to have initiated the process of emigration of the Indians from other parts of the country as well. Sharma (1990), for example, points out how the colonial political economy of India led to the emigration of the Indians from some parts of the country as indentured labour to the plantation and economies of the colonial power in different parts of the world. But in his paper, ‘Mapping the Social Background of Punjabi Diaspora’, Paramjit S. Judge (2012)



argues that although the migrations of the Punjabis and also of the Indians from other parts of the country were triggered by the British rule, yet the two processes were caused by two different types of factors.

Judge (2012) agrees that economic perspective is important in explaining international migration and takes note of, as Sharma (1990) has pointed out, how the colonial political economy of the British Empire in India led to the migration of indentured labour to the plantation economies in different parts of the world. But Judge asserts that “this perspective might have been valid in certain respects and contexts, but it does not conclusively explain international migration”.

All the traditional perspectives, Judge (2012) points out, base their explanation of what initiate migration on the economic conditions of the people, communities and societies. But, he asserts, this has not always happened historically and to prove his point he cites the example of the Punjabis. Among the Punjabis the first to migrate to foreign lands in large numbers were Sikhs ex-soldiers of the *Jat* caste. *Jat Sikhs* were hardworking people and had come to acquire lands. Being landowners, they were economically far better than the Punjabis of many other castes. What inspired them to migrate was not their poverty or economic condition as happened in case of the Indians in other parts of country but the recruitment policy of the British rulers.

Punjabi *Jat Sikhs* were yeoman and these independent peasants made the best soldiers. It is said that the army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh predominantly consisted of *Jat Sikhs*. The British annexed Punjab in 1849 and their identification of *Jat Sikhs* as a martial race suitable for recruitment as soldiers led young boys to join their army. After 1857, the Punjabi Sikhs were recruited to the army in large numbers. Recruitment to the army when still in their teens broke these young boys away from their traditional occupation. This introduced them to an entirely different world and also removed them from the centre to the margins of the village society. Having been marginalised within the family and their village society, these *Jat Sikhs* when released from the army became the pioneer migrants.

### **2.3.1 Phases of Punjabi Emigration**

#### **2.3.1.1 Colonial Period**

Judge (2012: 37) describes the emigration of the Punjabis under two main phases, namely colonial and post-colonial period. During the colonial period, the international migration of the Indians was initiated, as stated above, ‘by the way British colonialism established its economic and political hegemony in India’ (ibid: 38). The British capital system, it is pointed out, was imperialist and emerged as a dominant power in the world system of manufacturing and trade. They used the local Indians for the benefit of the capitalist master living in other countries and colonies such as Fiji, Mauritius, West Indies, and Malaya and thus began the story of indentured labour from India recruited through agents and middlemen. These were poor tribal from Chhotanagpur area and also from Bengal and Madras Presidencies. Punjabi Sikhs too migrated as indentured labour to the Caribbean but it is said that they made poor indentured labourers because of their assertive nature and were known as ‘unruly and troublesome’ and they were only a few and hence insignificant in number (Singh, Shubha 2012).

It is said that the first among the Punjabis to cross the borders were the soldiers in the British regiments stationed abroad such as in Hong Kong and Singapore. Those who emigrated in large numbers were the ex-soldiers who went to Southeast Asian countries and took up jobs as watchmen. It is also said that the coronation of Edward VII in 1902 triggered the South Asian immigration to Canada (Buchignani, et. al. 1985). By the end of the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Punjabis had settled in Canada, the U.S. and Australia.

The second wave of the migration of the Punjabis happened to East Africa for the railroad construction and they went there on contract job basis and not as indentured labour. In the 1920s some Punjabis migrated to England, too, although migration to the U.K. was predominantly a post-colonial process. These were largely pedlars and hawkers selling suitcases and clothing from door to door (Lal, 2006).

### **2.3.1.2 Post-colonial Period**

Migration from Punjab to other countries in the post-colonial era, it is said, occurred in the background of two major factors. One, Punjabis now hailed from an independent country and, two World War II had come to end leaving vast destruction and devastation behind in Europe that needed manpower for reconstruction. England needed lot of labour for reconstruction, rebuilding and strengthening the infrastructure. Canada had suffered partition and had undertaken economic expansion programme. The U.S. also opened its doors for refugees. Punjab, too, had suffered a lot due to partition uprooting millions of people. In this changed scenario, we are told, Punjab made the most of the immigration policies of the receiving countries

### **2.3.1.3 Post-Independence Period**

In the post-independence, Punjabis migrated as voluntary migrants without any mediation of army service or recruiting agents for indentured labour. After 1947, the need for visa, passport and so on emerged as preconditions for travelling abroad. A significant number of migrations were based on marriage. There was systematic exodus of skilled labour to a large number of countries. Among these were information technology professionals, doctors, engineers and highly-skilled individuals and their families. There was also a category of people who migrated to the Gulf countries as workers ostensibly for better wages as these countries do not permit migration or citizenship rights. As per Lal, in the 90's, Punjabi was one of the most common language spoken in the U.S. and there were around 50005 Punjabi speaking people in California at that time. (Lal, 2006).

It is pointed out that what is significant about this period is that the content and form of migrants was changing : (1) from rural source to the cities and educated and skilled people; (2) more people were going as students and that too soon after class XII; (3) they were going both for jobs and for further studies intending to study during the day and working part-time after the class; (4) even those who were not well-off financially were also trying to migrate; (5) young girls too were migrating both for jobs and for studies; (6) migration which began as a post-retirement movement had now become a culture; (7) international migration which began as a

deviant behaviour in the agrarian society had now become a cherished dream of most of the Punjabis; (8) the rush for emigration was owing to the improved social and economic conditions of the families of the emigrants and had snowballed into movement (Judge, 2012).

Punjabis today are found all over the world and many are now well-settled in their host countries. There are studies that show that migration is still taking place from the state of Punjab (Sahai, 2012; Chana, 2005). The 64th round of National Sample Survey data (2007-2009) says that the highest number of people emigrate from the state of Punjab. The other states from where high number of people has emigrated in the past are Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat and Goa. According to this survey, the number of out-migrants from Punjab was estimated at 386,423 in the year 2009. Khadria (2012) also observes that Punjab is one of the States in India that have contributed the most to the community of migrants. The state ranks high among the Indian States in terms of migrants abroad. Some studies related to them were presented at the International Conference on Indian Diaspora: Migration and Development, with Focus on the State of Punjab at the Centre for Research in Rural and Industrial Development (CRRID), Chandigarh, India on January 14 – 15, 2008. These are: ‘The Punjabi Diaspora in Scandinavian Countries’ (Jacobson, Kunt A. 2012); ‘Punjabi-Sikh Diaspora: Latin America’ (Kahlon, Swarn Singh, 2012); ‘Punjabi Diaspora in Pacific Region’ (Singh, Shubha, 2012); ‘Sikhs in Malaysia – Then and Now’ (Kaur, Jeswant, 2012). Beside, *Sikhs in Europe: Migration, Identities and Representations* (ed. Kunt, A. Jacobson and Kristina Myrvold, 2011) contains a number of scholarly papers on Sikhs in Northern, Eastern and Southern Europe and in the United Kingdom and Ireland. It is estimated that there are about 1.5 million Punjabis in Europe and North America from Punjab’s Doaba region alone (Chana, 2005). Among these, many now carry on flourishing business and professions and have earned name for them in the host country.

## **2.4 Current Emigration Scenario in Punjab**

The people of Punjab have high aspirations to migrate to certain countries of the developed world, as indicated by certain facts like existence of large number of agents, middle-men and consultants spread over the State of Punjab and the number of

prospective migrants flocking to them every day. Their desire to emigrate is so high that they have a gurudwara in Jalandhar, called as 'Hawaijahaz' gurudwara, where models of aeroplanes are donated to ensure that their visa is approved. They also have roof top tanks in the shape of aeroplanes. (See Annexure III). At present there are around 240 registered agents in Chandigarh (Punjab) alone who are doing emigration and immigration consultancy business. This number was only 180 in 2012. (Source: <http://chandigarhpolicen.nic.in/pdf/agents.pdf>, updated on 31.08.16). As already stated, there are around 1.5 million Punjabi's spread across the world. Most of these are from the Doaba region of Punjab. Some of them are rich businessmen and from professional background and occupy important positions in the host countries' society. The Doaba region of Punjab represents the traditional source of international migration. It boasts of a strong 'culture of migration' which inculcates an intense propensity to migrate among the youth to supplement their existing income levels (Chana, 2005).

But in reality the picture of migration from Punjab now does not seem as charming as it seems. We find from news paper reports that there are instances to show that a lot of people who legally want to go abroad from Punjab are not able to migrate and thus they contribute towards failed migration. These are not only common people but also well known personalities from different sections of the society. Recently a senior cop from Punjab (Ranbir Singh Khatra, SSP Patiala) was denied visas twice by the Canadian High Commission – first in 2008 and again in 2009 – only because he had served in areas where counter-insurgency operations had been carried out. In 2008, he had applied for a personal visit and in 2009 he had applied for participating in the golf event of the World Police and Fire Games to be held in British Columbia in 2009. According to news report, not only Khatra but many other serving and retired officers of the armed forces and the intelligence agencies were denied visas by the Canadian High Commission citing their involvement in human rights violations (*Press Trust of India*, Patiala: May 28, 2010). According to another news report 20 members out of 31 of Indian Youth Archery Team were denied visas despite Government of India sanction order and the invitation from the U.S. Archery Association to participate in World Youth Archery Championship to be held on 8-14 June 2015 at Yankton, South Dakota. The reason given was that the visa officer was not satisfied with the interviews of the rejected individuals and doubted that they may not come back after the completion of the event (*PTI* June 5, 2015).

Also there are cases where even the visas of the people who had applied under the Federal Skilled Workers were rejected thus resulting in migration failure. One most common reason is change in immigration laws resulting in deletion of ‘back-loggers’ list leading to failed migration of the large number of prospective migrants specifically from Punjab (around 65.000). Prospective migration seekers to Canada when faced with this situation formed ‘back-loggers Association’ to fight their case (*ET Bureau*, Jan. 2013).

These news reports are evidence enough to show, at least in case of Punjab, that there is migration for some and not for others and that the reasons for rejection are not always individual talent or household capability of the applicants as explained in the past – though these may be necessary - but the policies, or the implementation of the policies, of the governments of the receiving countries. Such cases result in migration failure whereby some of the prospective migrants are not able to cross the international borders for reasons other than ‘household capability’. Such instances of rejections of migration-seekers’ applications bring us to one of the controversial issues discussed in the literature on the subject as stated above: Do we live in the age of migration today or the age of forced immobility? These cases have also inspired us to look in detail into the reasons for these ‘failed migrations’.

There have been some studies that do point out (even though indirectly) that the state (governments both of the sending and the destination countries) does play a role in regulating emigration (Khadria, 2012; Harzig et.al, 2012; Kumar, 2006; Castles, 2004; Fahrmeir et. al. 2003; Carling, 2002; Sassen,1998). And one can understand that this intervention of the state results in helping some to migrate and prevent others from crossing the borders resulting in involuntary immobility. But no study has been conducted with specific reference to Punjab to examine if this is true in their case as well and, if so, to what extent. This study analyses if the role of the government of the host/destination country is the reason for ‘mobility-immobility’ in case of people from Punjab as well and if so what is the nature of this intervention and in what sense it impacts them.

## **2.5 International Migration Today: An Interesting but Controversial Subject**

From the present scenario briefly described above, we find that the issue of ‘mobility-immobility’ does arise in the case of people of Punjab as well and that the reasons for ‘forced immobility’ of some people cannot be attributed to reasons traditionally given and remains a controversial point needing further study and investigation. ‘Mobility-immobility’ in fact is not the only issue on which there is controversy. International migration is an interesting subject but it is also replete with numerous controversies.

Though there is nothing new about migration as it has been going on since time immemorial as is evident from the brief account we have given above, yet it has become a controversial and debatable topic in recent times. Initially humans used to migrate to fulfil their basic needs like food and shelter and in search of greener pastures (Urry, 2000), but now the motives and inspirations for migrating have become different and vast as we discuss later in the pages to follow. Earlier the scope of the study of migration was also restricted to certain specific areas like economics and history but now at present it is considered as a multi-disciplinary subject and touches upon varied subjects like psychology, sociology, literature and culture, politics, geography, anthropology, and so on ( Jansen, 1969).

### **2.5.1 Some Controversies Relating to International Migration**

Though these vast areas of studies have helped us to enrich our knowledge about the subject, yet these have also raised some controversial questions pertaining to the subject such as those we have described in Chapter 1 and also the issue of ‘mobility-immobility’ we have hinted above. Some of the other controversies are described below.

#### **2.5.1.1 How to define a migrant and Existence of overlapping categories of migrants**

Migration unfolds in time and space (Malmberg, 1997) and is thus defined against thresholds of distance and time in migration (Cwerner, 2001). Time-wise, the threshold for the statistical recording of migration is usually set at one year in the host

country. But the seasonal migrants, who are very commonly found in agricultural, tourism and construction industry, have been left out of the scope of this time period of one year. Then, there are variations with respect to who is a migrant. In practice, we have migrants who can stay anywhere from one year to ten years, to those who stay permanently at one place. Similarly, a migrant may be a transit migrant who wants to reach his destination country B, but is not able to move on for reasons like spending too much of time moving through, or gets stranded in, one or more intervening countries. As per Suter (2012), countries like Morocco and Turkey have been for a long time functioning as transit countries for emigrants of sub-Saharan, who intend to migrate to European countries. Again, there may be people who may move in parts and make an onward migration whereby they first move to a third country, stay there for some time, and then migrate to their destination country. As per Collyer (2007), emigrants move in parts from West African to Europe as they keep on taking halts in the Sahara and the Mediterranean regions. Another example of onward migration is given by Liempt (2011), who describes how Somalian migrants are able to move successfully to Britain, to join their families and other community members, by taking a halt at Netherlands. (Liempt, 2011).

#### **2.5.1.2 Problem of accounting of illegal migrants**

As per King et al. (2010) this group of illegal migrants is thought to be increasing faster than the rate of growth of legal migration. He cites the main reason of illegal migration in the economic supply-demand mismatch between emigration pressures in the countries of origin with too few opportunities for legal entry in the countries of destination. Similarly, the occurrence of irregular migration is a result of not only the immigration policies, but also their interpretation and implementation by the immigration officials. The governments of many countries try to restrict immigration either by following an exclusionary policy or by making strict visa rules. Thus, they are able to control who, and what type of person, enters their country (Jordan and Düvell, 2002).



### **2.5.1.3 What initiate migration: No one comprehensive theory**

There are different types of migrations and also different reasons for migrations. The various causes of what inspire people to migrate have been embodied by researchers and scholars into ‘theories of migration’ but there is no unanimity among researchers on this issue and hence it is said that international migration is weakly theorized (Arango, 2004). This view is also endorsed by Massey et. al. (1993: 431-466) in their paper “Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal”, (*Population and Development Review, Vol.19, No.3. Sept. 1993, Population Council*). They tell us that during the last 30 years immigration has emerged as a major force in the world. During this period, the volume and direction of migrations have changed and, as a result of migration, most of the world’s developed countries have become diverse, multiethnic societies or are in the process of becoming so. The immigration boom has taken everyone by surprise yet when it comes to international migration, the popular thinking remains mired in nineteenth-century concepts, models, and assumptions. According to the authors, there is at present no single, coherent theory of international migration, only a fragmented set of theories that have developed largely in isolation from one another, sometimes but not always, segmented by disciplinary boundaries.

## **2.6 Some Theories of International Migration**

No comprehensive theory of migration has been proposed and, it is said, given the complexity of the subject, it is impossible to do so, yet attempts have been made to identify factors that initiate migration (Massey et. al. 1993). While giving his personalised view of the various theories of international migration, King (2012) follows the main thrust of the canonical literature which tries to explain and describe the migration which has taken place in the past, particularly from the underdeveloped countries to the more developed countries of the world. Given below is a brief description of these theories that enunciate factors that give people aspiration to migrate.

### 2.6.1 Neo-classical Economics and Push and Pull Theory

Ravenstein (1889, 1885) explained migration through what he called ‘laws of migration’. The ancestral lineage of Ravenstein’s laws combines the theory of individual rational-choice with the developmental inequalities that exist in the structures of rural and urban areas. This forms the basis of push-pull framework that explains factors that trigger a desire to migrate. This model conceives of migration as a set of push factors operating from the country of origin (poverty, unemployment, landlessness, rapid population growth, political repression, low social status) and pull factors operating from the country of destination (better income and job prospects, better education and welfare system, land to settle and farm, pollution free environment, safe and enhanced living conditions, political freedom and so on).

Lee’s (1966) version uses the same model and adds to it some more ‘intervening obstacles’ that too play a vital role in making a decision to go. These could be distance between the two places, total cost incurred to complete the journey, cultural barriers related to the difference in the language of the two countries and the difference in the ways of living between the two countries, political obstacles as for example, borders and immigration restrictions. Personal factors, too, it is said play an important role. An unemployed young, who is single, for example, tends to respond more towards factors that are directly related to better job and income. He will be at the same time less respondent towards the factors related to the education system of his destination country. But for a person who has children, this factor will play a crucial role in deciding whether to migrate or not (King, op.cit.).

During the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, much of the migration thinking was based on the ‘push-pull’ model. The model reflects the neo-classical economic paradigm based on the principles of utility maximisation, rational choice, factor-price differentials between regions and countries, and labour mobility. According to Massey et.al (1998), Neo-classical model works at both the micro and macro level. Macro-economically, desire to migrate results from the uneven spatial distribution of labour *vis-à-vis* other factors of production, above all capital. The result is that workers move from low-wage to high-wage economies.

At the micro-level, migration is the result of decisions made by individual ‘rational actors’ who weigh up the pros and cons of moving relative to staying based on abundant information about the options – cost-benefit calculations.

## **2.6.2 Historical-Structural Models**

These models are loosely-related theoretical models which are based on the thoughts of the Marxist and revolve around how capitalism is interpreted, (under) development, and how the economies of the world are structured. These models say that international migration is caused by the presence of macro structured forces which are historically formed. They argue that ultimately it is the exploitative and dis-equilibrating nature of the economic power of the economy that is shaping global capitalism (Morawska, 2012:55). These three models together directly result in shaping the causes of the historical-structural theory of international migration. These are: (1) Dual and Segmented Labour Markets; (2) Dependency Theory; and (3) World Systems Theory. We give a brief account of these three models in the following pages.

### **2.6.3 Dual and Segmented Labour Markets**

M.J. Piore (1979) argues that international migration is not driven by the pull factors, as is usually claimed by other economists, but they are influenced by the pull factors. He says that main driving force in international migration is the presence of the demand for a particular type of cheap and flexible labour. He further states that advanced industrialised countries are characterised by the presence of dual labour market. One is a primary labour market which offers secured and highly-paid jobs to the native workers. The other is the secondary labour market. The jobs in this market are undertaken by the migrants as they are of low-skill. They are offered comparatively low wages, insecure in nature and are generally unpleasant jobs. These types of jobs are not taken up by the local workers. These secondary markets are usually split into different employment sub-sections as per gender, race or nationality, and thus are called “segmented” labour markets.

#### **2.6.4 Dependency Model**

The concept of dual and segmented labour market is extended to a subsequent stage by Saskia Sassen's work (1998, 1991, and 1988). He argues that the primary engine of growth of global cities in the post-industrial era has been the clustering there of corporate headquarters, financial centres and related producer services. This model says that we find people belonging to very high income and very low income levels in these cities. The people with lower income levels are the immigrants that usually undertake petty jobs (which are not taken up by the people belonging to the higher income groups) and serve the needs of the people of the higher income levels.

Both Piore and Sassen insist on the demand-driven nature of immigration into industrial and post-industrial societies. They also view that such immigration is intrinsic to their continued growth and development. This links directly to the dependency school, an interpretation of migration which is diametrically opposed to the neoclassical paradigm. The neo classical paradigm says that migration tends to correct itself and results in a new equilibrium. At this new point of equilibrium, wages are equal and thus people do not migrate. So they say migration stops at this point. This is opposite to what neo Marxist say about dependency model. They argue that migration is a continuous and ongoing process and results in inequality of wages instead of equalising them (Myrdal, 1957; Petras, 1981).

#### **2.6.5 World Systems Theory**

Basing on the work of Wallerstein (1974), this theory tries to link the origins of international migration not to the existence of dual labour market, but to the structure of the world market that has developed and expanded since the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Morawska, 1990). In this scheme, the penetration of capitalist economic relations into peripheral, non-capitalist societies creates a mobile population that is prone to migrate abroad.

Wallerstein (1974) says that we can classify two types of countries on the basis of their positioning within the global market economy. These are the dominant capitalist powers, which form the core group. Countries like North America, Europe, Japan, Australia and New Zealand come under this category. The second types of

countries are the poor countries, which are dependent on the dominant capitalist powers, through asymmetric ties of trade, capital penetration and migration. The ‘Semi-Periphery’ countries are also covered under the ‘New International Division of Labour (King, 2012).

Driven by a desire for higher profit and greater wealth, owners and managers of capitalist firms enter poor countries on the periphery of the world economy in search of land, raw materials, labour and new consumer markets. Capital penetration into ‘peripheral’ areas dislodges rural labour and traditional employment pattern creating potentially mobile pools of labour available for migration. In the past, this market penetration was assisted by colonial regimes that administered poor regions for the benefit of economic interests in colonizing societies. Today, it is made possible by neo-colonial governments and multinational firms that perpetuate the power of national elites who either participate in the world economy as capitalists themselves, or offer their nation’s resources to global firms on acceptable terms (Massey, et.al.; King, op.cit.).

### **2.6.6 Network Theory**

Migrants’ networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin. They increase the likelihood of international movement because they lower the costs and risks of movement and increase the expected net returns to migration (Massey, et.al. op.cit.) These can be self-feeding (like chain-migration), self-regulating (depending on positive or negative feedback), and self-modifying (shifting to a new destination). These can be considered a social capital stretched across migrant space (King, 2012).

The widespread existence of the migration industry which is said to develop out of migration networks is also an important factor to inspire people to cross the borders. In the words of Stephen Castles (2004), once a migration gets underway, needs arise for a variety of special services. This industry comprises service providers, travel agents, lawyers, labour recruiters, overseas educational advisers and counsellors.

### **2.6.7 The New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM)**

This theory says that family also plays a vital role in deciding whether to migrate or not. This concept of NELM has been used to formulate the theories of migration since the 80's. Its leading exponent has been Oded Stark (Stark, 1991). There are two main innovative aspects of the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM). The first is that, it recognises that the decision to migrate or not is not only restricted to an individual, but it is taken at a household level. The decision to migrate is jointly taken by individuals and the family members and differs from individual to individual. It is further said that this decision can also be taken at the meso scale of extended families and wider communal groups (Massey et al., 1998: 21). Secondly, the decision that a person makes to migrate is not only based on the wage difference and income maximisation concept, but it also takes into consideration the benefit of income diversification and risk aversion. Risk reduction is a common factor influencing the migration decision in case of under-developed countries where the risk of market failures (occurring due to natural calamities like drought and hurricane) cannot be compensated as credit and insurance facilities are absent in these markets. So, individuals and households by jointly deciding to migrate are able to diversify the sources of income for their families and thus are able to control risk to a large extent. Different activities are allotted to different family members - like some stay in the home country, some migrate internally and other migrate internationally to a completely different market. This way market failure at one place does not affect the overall income of the family. Moreover those who migrate internationally are always in a position to enhance the family income by sending a part of their income as remittances which can be either used to meet the day to day expenses or to make investments in house, land or business.

### **2.6.8 Factors Linked to Globalization**

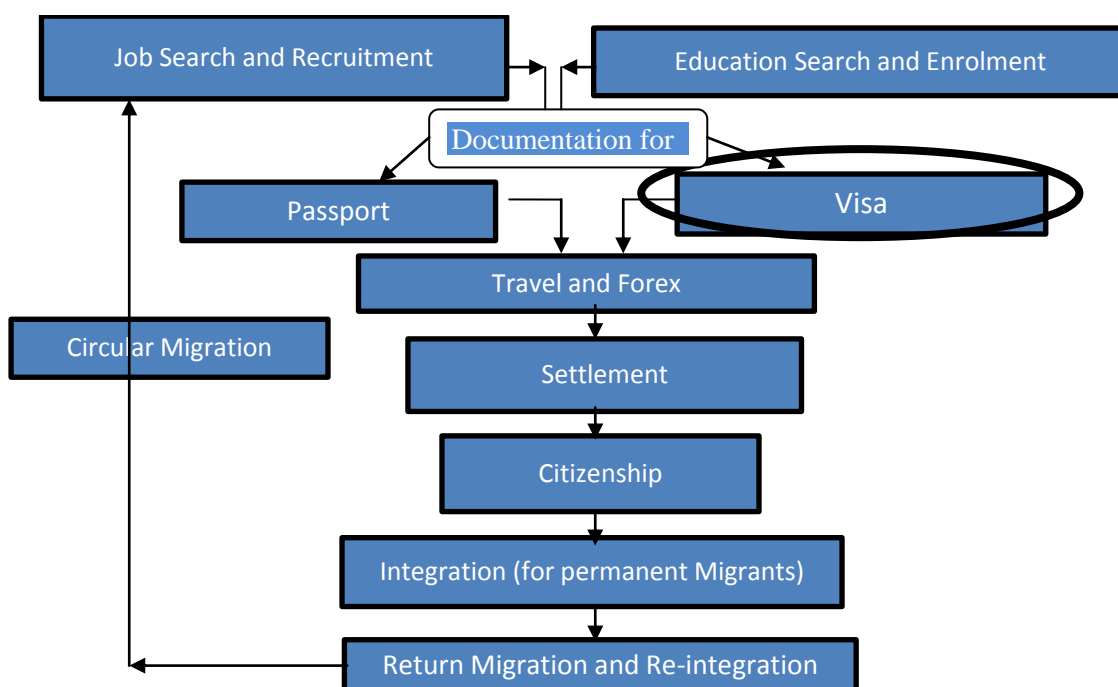
In addition to the factors given in the theories of migration described above, factors linked to globalization are also said to inspire people to move across borders. Globalization is said to create the cultural capital and technical means needed for migration. According to Stephen Castles (2004:862) globalization creates strong

pressures to move. Global media, he says, beam idealized images of First World lifestyles into the poorest villages. Electronic communications facilitate the dissemination of knowledge of migration routes and work opportunities. Availability and accessibility of long-distance travel has also become far cheaper encouraging people to venture across borders.

## 2.7 Undertaking migration formalities: An expensive venture

Once a person is inspired to emigrate, he/she has to undertake a host of pre-migration formalities and complete them successfully (Figure 2.1). Pre-migration problems are the problems that a migrant may face while making arrangements for the pre-migration process. The process basically refers to the preparations that should be done or conditions that should be fulfilled in order to ensure that the migrant gets international migration smoothly and successfully. There are very few studies that address this issue of pre-migration problems. The pre-migration process in general relates to the making of the following decisions before actually migrating:

**Figure 2.1: Figure depicting the Migration Cycle**



Source: As given in India Migration Report, 2012

**2.7.1 Obtaining information about the destination country :** Migrating involves making of many decisions. For this a lot of information is required starting from choice of destination country and locality for accommodation, where to live and ensure there is proximity from the place of employment, means of transport, living conditions in the surroundings and cost of living. Also one has to gather information about the medical facilities and security arrangements in the destination country.

**2.7.2 Doing job search or education search:** People who intend to migrate overseas for better employment opportunities need to gather information regarding job opportunities in the labour markets of their preferred destination countries. This can be done through various sources like newspapers, online advertisements, and personal contacts in host countries and from recruitment agents. Similarly, a person who wants to migrate as a student should have information relating to the courses on offer suitable for their career aspirations, scholarships, duration of the courses, fee structures etc.

**2.7.3 Decision relating to recruitment of agents to facilitate the process of emigration:** In India the job of a recruiting agent is primarily to help in the emigration process and coordinate with the migrant's employers overseas. This usually happens in case of low-skilled and semi- skilled people. (Khadria, 2008). In the pre-migration process an aspiring migrant has to decide whether to recruit an agent or to make these arrangements himself/herself.

**2.7.4 Getting a passport:** A passport is a document that recognises the individual as a citizen of the country granting it. Getting a passport in India is itself a very tedious and cumbersome task and is associated with delays and corruption.



**2.7.5 Getting Visa:** A visa is an endoresment on the passport. It allows the holder to enter the territory of the issuing country. To get visa one has to undergo the process as specified by the government of that country.

**2.7.6 Making Travel and Foreign exchange arrangements:** Migration involves travel and therefore decisions regading air route, the cost of travel, check-in and arrangements of foreign exchange have to be made in advance. Prospective migrants have to make decisions whether to hire middlemen and agents to make such arrangements or to arrange them on their own.

Apart from the above-mentioned arrangements, the intending migrans are requied to go through and meet a host of other terms and conditions prescribed by the proposed destination country government and prevailing at the time of making an application.

## **2.8 What Help People to Emigrate**

### **2.8.1 Push and Pull factors**

The various factors we have given above reveal what give people inspiration for migration. As we can see, views adduced by researchers about what urge or inspire people to migrate have changed from time to time. It is widely acknowledged that migration is a selective process and involves cost and risks. According to some it is usually the bright, the skilled and the enterprising among potential migrants who undertake such moves and risks (Sjaastad, 1962). The various theories of migration based on economics described above attribute successful migration to two sets of factors, namely 'push' and 'pull' factors. Push factor is a function of material circumstances while the pull factor is a matter of individual choice. It is argued that these two sets of factors, that is 'push' and 'pull' factors, work together to produce a process of human migration at all levels.

### **2.8.2 Household capabilities and individual talent**

Some consider the ‘capabilities’ in the household as an essential factor for helping an individual in attaining success (Nayyar, 2002). The mere possibility of being bright or skilled does not ensure international migration, they argue. It should be supported by ‘capabilities’ in the household in the form of physical, financial, human, and social capital as undertaking emigration processes and formalities costs effort and money.

A study was carried out (Singh, Puran 2011) on the successful emigrants from rural Punjab to see if this was true in their case as well. The study comes to the conclusion that it is indeed the capability of the household that gives an individual the desire and also the capability to successfully cross the borders (Singh, Puran, *IMDS WP 33*, 2011).

## **2.9 Conclusion**

In this chapter we have tried to present a brief picture of international migration in general along with brief account of emigration from India and Punjab from the colonial period onward. From the present scenario of emigration from Punjab briefly described, we find that the issue of ‘mobility-immobility’ does arise in the case of people of Punjab as well and that the reasons for ‘forced immobility’ of some people cannot be attributed to reasons traditionally given, viz. household capability and individual talent, and remains a controversial point needing further study and investigation. This chapter also states that the subject of international migration today has become a widely studied subject but this wide-ranging interest in the subject has also given rise to numerous controversies including the controversy of whether today we live in the age of migration or the age of forced mobility.

The chapter also gives a brief description of what are called ‘theories of international migration’ put forth to explain what initiate migration. These theories give us some factors that induce people to aspire to migrate but these do not answer the question: what help some people to migrate and prevent others from moving

abroad. These numerous theories also point out to the fact that there is no one comprehensive theory of migration, as Massey et.al. (1993) point out.

We have also described some of the pre-migration problems that prospective migrants need to overcome and have also briefly mentioned what according to traditional research help people to achieve migration successfully to their desired country, viz. household capacity and individual talent. We have also pointed out that this explanation given in the traditional research fails as is evident from some cases of rejection of visa applications we have described in the case of Punjab.

Among the pre-migration obstacles, one of the problems mentioned above is getting visa which permits a person to enter the host country and which is issued when the applicant satisfactorily meets all the terms and conditions prescribed by the host country government at the time of making an application for visa. It is this obstacle - that is meeting the other terms and conditions prescribed by the host country at the time of making an application for issue of visa, and in which the host country government plays an important and crucial role - which has not received the attention it deserves in the traditional research and we plan to take it up for detailed discussion in the next chapter, titled Role of the State in Regulating Migrations.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **ROLE OF STATE IN REGULATING MIGRATIONS**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

Harzig et.al (2012:26-131) give a brief historical account of state regulations controlling the flow of migrants ever since these came to be devised in the nineteenth century by nations that received large number of immigrants. They point out that the role of the governments is best understood in the modern world (p.127). This does not mean that there were no governments' policies regulating immigrants and emigrants in the past.

#### **3.2 State Control: Not a Recent Policy**

States' role in controlling migrants has a long history and they exercised this control from time to time through varied measures. Harzig et.al (2012) describes how city states, dynastic governments and even classical empires had developed what we would today call their migration policies. Some of the measures they adopted to achieve their objectives are said to be mobilizing huge workforces or seeking slaves on conquered territories, funding merchants, explorers or conquerors to spread their influence beyond the territories they ruled or to capture labour forces, and sending diplomats to secure populations and trade goods. They also built city walls with gates to keep a check on people coming in and going out. Old cities such as Delhi were enclosed within city walls with numerous gates devised to regulate migrants. China's great wall, it is said, was built in an effort to exclude nomadic invaders. In his election campaign for the presidency of the U.S., Donald Trump in 2017 promised to build one between the U.S. and Mexico. States, we are told, have also often banished rebellious minorities: the origin of the Jewish Diaspora with the destruction of the Second Temple provides just one example of such an exodus (ibid. p.127).

Stephen Castles (2004:852-884) in the course of describing factors that make and unmake migration policies also touches upon the role of the state in regulating human mobility. He states that many migration theorists accepted a long-standing orthodoxy that migration was mainly determined by market forces. According to

Borjas (1989) Neo-classical economists, too, argued that this should be so and that state action merely distorted the “migration market” often with negative consequences. In spite of these views, state control of migration has a long history both with regard to emigration and immigration. Potential receiving countries restricted entry, by erecting “protective walls” with “small doors that allow for specific flows” (Zolberg, 1989:405-406).

If we look back in history, we find that potential emigration countries have often tried to prohibit departures. Examples of such prohibitions are cited by many researchers. It is said that Mercantilist European monarchs saw their wealth as consisting mainly of people and forbade departure (Fahrmeir, Faron and Weil, 2003:3). In the 1820s, industrializing Britain banned emigration of skilled workers who were being enticed away by employers from France, Russia, Germany and America (Thompson, 1968:272).

State control has been exercised not only for emigration but also for immigration deciding who to take in and when, and who to keep out and this practice, too, has a long history. It is pointed out that when Soviet Bloc prohibited departure, Western countries switched over to generous asylum policies towards those few who did get out. Once the non-departure regime collapsed, Western countries hastened to establish a non-arrival regime (Keeley, 2001).

Labour recruitment also is not a recent policy. In the ancient world, some of the vanquished warriors and others were often captured and made slaves to serve as cheap labour power for the victor masters. According to Cohen (1987), capitalism has always needed “unfree labour”. Slave trade was part of the colonial political economy to serve the commercial interests of the white masters in their colonies. When slavery was abolished – and it took a long time to end – it was succeeded by indentured labour systems encouraged by the colonial states in which they played a central role. Migration of indentured labour encouraged ‘free immigrants’ for settler colonies to meet the needs of the migrant labour and colonial states played an important part in attracting them. According to Castles (2004) Australian colonial administrations carried out publicity campaigns in Britain, organised and subsidized travel, and provided assistance to migrants upon arrival. Workers were also recruited by main combatant states from their colonies.

The idea of a past era of non-intervention by the state, we mentioned above, was based on the U.S. experience between 1820 and 1914 when the role of the state was to encourage immigration and to screen entrants for disease and criminal records. Although these measures can also be termed as state regulation in controlling migration, the state had comparatively an openness policy towards migrants. But this openness to migration, we are told, was limited by the discriminatory rules against Asians in the 1880s and was finally stopped by the national origins system after World War I. We will discuss these in more detail in the following pages.

Britain, Canada and Australia all introduced rules excluding specific groups in the late nineteenth century – Britain against East European Jews; Australia and Canada against Asians. Thus, according to Castles (2004), the picture of an era of *laissez-faire* in migration that ended with World War I is misleading. “States took an active interest in ‘their’ emigrants and in the immigrants who crossed their borders, and used various means of classifying international migrants as ‘desirable’ or ‘undesirable’” (Fahrmeir et. al. 2003:2).

### **3.2.1 Changing Scenario in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

Migration historians point out that by the nineteenth century, countries receiving large number of foreigners began to question the racial, social and cultural impact of migration and to assert that border control were fundamental dimensions of national sovereignty. Restriction and regulation of migration proliferated in nations receiving large number of immigrants. Nations began to require passports and visas. Restrictions peaked in the aftermath of World War I and after World War II workers found that they could move across borders only on short-term visa. Those who violated immigration laws became the most hated figures in the modern world – the “illegal immigrants”.

Migration also increasingly became the focus of international relations in the world of nation-states. It is said that throughout the nineteenth century the United States repeatedly used diplomatic channel to impress upon the nations of the world to eliminate their laws prohibiting departures. The two world bodies – the new League of Nations in the 1920s and the United Nations in the 1940s – created agencies to

suggest practices to deal with those who became stateless for certain reasons. In 1948, the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed the right of people to leave their home country and to return to it but it created no right to enter the national territory of another country – effectively ending the right to depart at the border fence - and thus leaving sovereign countries free to regulate and restrict entry of foreigners into their territory. Most national states continue to seek unilateral solutions to the “problem” of people mobility. Laws governing entry and the rights of foreigners are, it is pointed out by other academics as well, determined in national capitals, not in bilateral treaties or in the UN headquarters (Sassen, 1998).

### **3.2.2 Migration Policies in the Developed World since Nineteenth Century**

Since the nineteenth century developed countries that received huge number of immigrants framed policies from time to time to regulate and restrict human mobility. A glance at the international migration policies of the developed world of North America, for example, shows the important role host country’s government of the day plays in deciding who to allow in. Their immigration policies since the nineteenth century have been briefly listed under five heads as follows:-

- a) 1776 – 1875: A century of Laissez Faire – largely unregulated so far as the state intervention was concerned.
- b) 1875 – 1920: Half a century of qualitative restrictions
- c) 1920 – 1965: Half a century of quantitative restrictions
- d) 1966 – 2001: Three decades of open-door policy
- e) Migration policy in the decade after 9/11

(Khadria, *India Migration Report 2010-2011*)

In the North America (the US and Canada), for almost a century from 1776 to 1875, human mobility was largely free from government intervention. From 1875 to 1920 many immigration acts were passed to improve the quality of immigrants. In 1875 the US Congress barred the entry of convicts and prostitutes. The immigration Act of 1882 (also called the Chinese exclusion Act 1882) suspended Chinese workers’ entry for ten years and also barred all foreign-born Chinese from acquiring

US citizenship. The immigration Act of 1917 required immigrants to take ‘Literacy Test’ creating a ‘barred zone’ – also called Asia-Pacific triangle to curb immigration from India, parts of China and most other Asian countries. The Act was aimed at reducing the poor quality of immigrants and illiterate workers mainly from Asian countries. Immigrants who were already in the U.S. at the time and failed to meet this requirement were sent back.

The Acts passed from 1920 to 1965 were ostensibly taken up to limit the number of immigrants into the country. The Immigration Act of 1921 – formally introduced in 1924 - enforced a ‘national origin quota’ system based on the national origins of those comprising the U.S. population in 1920. After the Literacy Act of 1917, the population of the Indians in the US had become insignificant. Hence, the Quota Act did not add much to the number of the Indians in the US till 1930s. Barriers on Chinese were lifted in 1943 and the Act of 1946 lifted the restrictions on the Indians as well to improve, it is said, the Indians relationship with US troops in India. Immigration and Nationality Act 1952 fully abolished the national origin quota and gave preference to skilled workers and relations of US citizens and ‘alien’ residents rather than to racial and ethnic ties. Immigration and Nationality Act 1965 – this followed the Civil Rights Act 1964 which ended the overt racial and ethnic discrimination in nation’s internal affairs – shifted the focus from accumulation of human resources to ‘unification’ of families. The Act also gave preference to ‘refugees’. Immigration and Control Act 1986 proposed to impose penalties on US employers who knowingly hired illegal migrants and also sought to provide amnesty for more than two million illegal migrants already living in the U.S. Immigration Act of 1990 laid focus on skilled knowledge workers making a shift from family reunification and also introduced H1B visa for speedy passage of knowledge workers. Migration policy of the U.S. after 9/11 made a shift towards security issues. Tough Acts were passed including creation of Department of Home and Security.

Not just the developed countries of North America but almost all countries of the developed world that attracted large number of immigrants, including Australia, Germany, New Zealand, have resorted to similar policies of regulating and restricting human mobility since the nineteenth century. These instances go to show the importance of the role of the host governments in deciding who to allow in and who to keep out.



### **3.3 Reasons for State Control of Migration**

Regulating human mobility, we are told, has been a particular concern of nation-states for the past 150 years. According to Harzig et.al. (op.cit.) one of the reasons for this concern is anxiety of nation-states to seek to create homogeneous populations to govern. This desire, it is pointed out, is based on the belief that cultural groups – nations – live most peacefully when they are self-governed and occupy their own national territories.

#### **3.3.1 To create homogeneous populations to govern**

This stands in total contrast to the reality today. As Massey et.al. 1993 (op.cit., 431) observe, most of the world's developed countries today have become diverse, multiethnic societies, and those that have not reached this state are moving decisively in that direction. It would not be wrong to say that everywhere in the world today territories are inhabited by people of more than one culture, typically in interaction with each other. When nation states seek to create homogeneous populations to govern, they repeatedly mount campaigns against 'others' – ethnic, religious or racial minorities - as well as against mass migrations. This phenomenon is now labelled "ethnic cleansing". As a result massive 'population transfer' occurs sometime amidst violence. The disintegration of multi-cultured Ottoman Empire in the 1910s into mono-cultural modern nation-states of Turkey and Greece and the Balkan countries is an example of this phenomenon. The creation of Pakistan in 1947 out of the then India is another example.

#### **3.3.2 Globalisation**

Another reason, according to the authors, for regulating human mobility is said to be globalization. States compete for population during periods of globalization. Such desires, it is pointed out, can inhibit as well as encourage migration raising rather than lowering obstacles to be faced by men and women intending to move. For example, many countries such as Russia, China, and various German states, in the nineteenth century sought to prevent the departure of migrants by taxing them or by passing laws making migration a crime or an activity of treachery and disloyalty. At the same time, the new nation-states of the Americas

encouraged immigrants by allowing newly-arrived foreigners to naturalize, i.e. to adopt the respective state's citizenship, with relative ease. Such nations also granted automatic citizenship to the children of foreigners born on their national territories. As rates of international migration rose in the nineteenth century, many countries changed their laws of nationality or citizenship allowing people who left home (and often also their foreign-born descendents) to keep their membership in the country of their birth – a stateside claim to extend its reach beyond its territory. Today countries with large migrant populations seek to maintain contact with their migrants through various state-funded programmes. Meanwhile, nations debate whether dual citizenship poses a threat or an advantage in an increasingly integrated world economy.

### **3.3.3 A Strategy to reduce political tension**

Migration, as we have been emphasizing time and again, is a very complex and complicated process and can have far reaching racial, social, cultural, economic and even political impact both on the sending and the receiving countries and may even change their character. Migrants arouse love-hate feelings among all concerned. State often is under pressure from pro- and anti-migrants forces that have vested interests. King (2012) tells us, how migration has become more diverse and complex and is playing the important role of shaping and reshaping societies and is creating sharp division in the receiving societies between those who welcome migrants and their contribution and those who oppose them. People are divided into two opposing extremes. In fact, it creates a complex web of winners and losers. One side there are people who are of liberal thought and welcome the emigrants into their society. These people believe that emigrants are economically and culturally rich and beneficial for their society. Migrants also bring sometimes innovative practices into the host society. They provide the much needed cheap labour doing low-level manual work shunned by the natives carried out in the informal sector. Standing (2011) calls them as 'the precariat', and they are large in number. (King, 2012: 12). On the other hand, there are those who oppose migrants. They are looked upon as those who can lower the likelihood of employment or raise the risk of unemployment (Massey, 1998: 436). In the words of King (2012), this group has its own political motivations, always overstates the number of migrants, usually use terms like 'illegal immigrants' and

‘bogus asylum seekers’ to address them and tend to blame the migrants for all the ills and problems that the host society faces

This same love-loath attitude towards emigrants dictates the policies of the sending countries. Not only the immigrants receiving country but also the migrants sending country can become structurally dependent on migration. As Castles (2000:860) states many less-developed countries have identified labour export as important in reducing unemployment, improving the balance of payment, securing skills and investment capital, and stimulating development. In some cases, the export of discontent and reduction of political tension also become goals. Migration can become a substitute for development rather than a contribution to it.

Opinions are also divided even on the movement of highly-skilled manpower across countries. Such migrations were going on throughout the 1950s and 1960s but it was only in 1970s that their migration began to ring ‘alarm bells’ and emigrations of highly-skilled engineers and doctors particularly from developing countries were lamented as the problem of ‘brain drain’ (Khadria 2012; Khadria 2004; Khadria 2001; Khadria 1999). Since then the study of migration, including return migration has generated much interest in recent years. The global debate now has shifted from being about the ‘brain drain’ to one of ‘brain gain’ or ‘brain circulation’.

Sanyal (2009) points out that the economic contributions of the Diaspora can be divided into ‘Direct Economic Returns’ and ‘Indirect Economic Returns’. The Direct Economic Returns from the Diaspora communities consist of financial flows in terms of remittances and foreign direct investment (FDI), imports of technology and transfer of technical know-how which help to enhance productivity in their respective home countries. Indirect Economic Returns consist of the benefits to the home country arising from networks formed by its Diaspora. These networks help in building and enhancing the reputation of the institutions in less developed countries which often suffer from ‘reputational barriers in the global arena (Kapur, 2010). While on one hand, the financial flows from Diaspora associations help to strengthen the economic conditions of their native people, on the other hand, increased technology transfer leads to better functioning of enterprises. The overseas Diaspora networks can potentially act as strong ‘intermediaries’ which facilitate the

employment of others from the country of origin in overseas markets. Adebayo (2010) in his paper also says that Diaspora groups contribute phenomenally towards the development of less developed nations primarily through monetary remittances, investments and by building social networks.

While the contribution of the returnees to the development of the home country has still not been proved convincingly (Cassarino, 2004), scholars' attitude and views about the role of Diaspora vis-a-vis the home country and the host country have certainly changed much. Diaspora groups have attracted a lot of attention both at the national and international levels, since they are now large in number and are spread across the various countries of the world. Some of them occupy key and important positions and have the ability to affect decisions and negotiations both at national and international levels (Meyer, 2001).

#### **3.3.4. For Security and Safety**

Security and safety of the country and its people are also behind imposition of state migration policies. Although this concern became more pronounced after September 11, 2001 incident in the U.S., yet this concern has been shown by countries for a long time. Political concern, we are told, about 'unwanted' migration increased in the 1960s in Britain, the 1970s in Western Europe and Australia, and a little later in North America (Castles, 2004: 857-858). He continues that by 1990s, migration control had shifted from a merely domestic issue to become part of 'high politics' – that is, an aspect of "problems affecting relations between states, including questions of war and peace" (Cornelius, Martin and Hollifield, 1994:7). The terrorist attacks, it is said, may have focused public attention on the issue, but the perception of migration as a security issue goes back much further. It is said that through the 1980s and 1990s efforts at migration control became more intense in developed countries. In addition to a range of measures by individual states, attempts were made to create multilateral or supranational regulation systems. The most important were the 1985 Schengen Agreement (implemented in 1995) and the European Unions' (EU) decision on common migration and asylum policies through the 1997 Amsterdam Treaty.(Castles, Loughna and Crawley, 2003; Geddes, 2003)

### **3.4 Reasons for Frequent Changes in State Migration Policy**

From the historical account of state control on regulating migration policy, we find that there have been frequent changes in state policies from time to time. Some researchers have tried to find explanation for these frequent changes in state policies. According to Stephen Castles (2004:852) migration policies often fail to achieve their declared objectives or have unintended consequences and he identifies three sets of important reasons for this: factors arising from the social dynamics of the migratory process; factors linked to globalisation and transnationalism; and factors within political systems.

#### **3.4.1 Factors Related to Social Dynamics of the Migratory Process**

Castles (ibid.) opines that migration policy of a state is shaped by the idea that ‘migration can be turned on and off like a tap by appropriate policy settings’. This prevents the policy makers from seeing migration as a social process propelled by migrants’ household capability, family and community which provides financial and cultural capital, ‘social capital’ like migrants’ network, and chain migration among others. All these factors are summed up in the notion of Migrant Agency: migrants are not passive isolated individuals reacting to market stimuli and bureaucratic rules, but social beings, who are active agents, shaping the migratory process. Migratory movements, it is said, once started, become self-sustaining social processes.

Another factor that they ignore is the role of the Migration Industry comprising travel agents, lawyers, bankers, labour recruiters, brokers, passport and visa facilitators, which is a major and largely legal international business. This kind of migration policy idea also fails to consider ‘structural dependence’ of both the sending and the receiving countries on migrations – a term we have already touched upon and explained above.

#### **3.4.2 Factors Related to Globalization and Transnationalism**

Globalization and factors related to it, it is pointed out, also create strong pressures to move and when not taken into consideration by policy makers can lead to policy failure. Global media, as we have already described in Chapter 2, is said to

beam idealized images of First World lifestyles into the poorest villages. Electronic communications facilitate the dissemination of knowledge of migration routes and work opportunities. In addition, long-distance travel has become far cheaper and more accessible than in the past. Globalization is also said to transform the nature and character of migration. In today's world one can move from one place to another quite frequently resulting in formation of transnational migrant communities who continuously are engaged in migrating from one country to another. The reasons for their migration may be socially, culturally, politically or economically motivated (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt, 1999). State migration policy often ignores these factors linked to migration and transnationalism and thus result in failure. In short, it is said that state migration control efforts still follow a national logic, while many of the forces driving migration follow a transnational logic (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004 and Vertovec, 2004).

### **3.4.3 Factors within the Political System**

State migration policy based on the idea of 'turn on and off' also fails or does not achieve the desired results because the policy makers fail to take into consideration factors within the political system. Some important ones among these are: conflicting interest groups; structural dependence; emergence and existence of democratic principles; human rights and NGO activists; and state's hidden agenda or balancing role.

### **3.5 Possible Reasons for 'Failed Emigrations': Macro and Micro Factors**

We have discussed above the reasons traditionally given for the success and failure of migration aspirants including their household capability and individual talent to meet or fail to meet the conditions imposed by the governments at the time of considering their applications for migration. We find that there can be various reasons for failure of aspiring migrants which prevent them from being successful in their attempt. These can be broadly classified into Macro level reasons and Micro level reasons. At macro level the main reason for the failure of the aspiring migrant can be the presence of the migration policies of the home or the host country. At micro level the reasons for failure can be the absence of capabilities at individual or household level (Singh, Puran IMDS WP-33, 2011).

### 3.5.1 Macro factor: Current Policies of the Government of home/host countries

Globalization is often illustrated in terms of increased flow of money, goods, ideas or cultural values (Bauman, 1998). But the movement of people across national borders remains highly regulated and a point of major contention between many countries. Advanced and industrialized countries spend billions of dollars each year to have control over inflows of people seeking greater economic opportunities (Kumar, 2006). Just like trade is controlled through various policies like tariff, quotas and non-tariff barriers, the movement of people across borders is controlled through certain policies and processes of migration. These policies of the host countries help them to control the quality and quantity of people who are actually entering into their country (Khadria, 2012). These also confer upon the host governments, subject to certain restraints in developed countries, the right to interpret and implement their policies and decide who to take in and who to keep out.

The two most sought after destinations for permanent settlement of people trying to migrate at present from Punjab are Australia and Canada (Australian government, Department of Immigration and Border Protection: *The Hindustan Times*, 15<sup>th</sup> March, 2009). Both these countries have long history of policies they have been using over the years to 'restrict' and 'control' migration which had some direct implications for Indian migrants to these countries (*India Migration Report*, 2010-2011: The Americas, ed. Khadria 2012 (e.g. Immigration Act 1906, Immigration Act 1910, Immigration Act 1952, The points System 1967, Immigration and Refugee Protection Act 2001).

At present the immigration processes of Australia and Canada require an applicant to fulfill certain conditions in order to emigrate successfully. These conditions in brief are as follows: (A detailed discussion on conditions is done in chapter 6)

**Conditions for Emigrating to Australia as a student:** If a person wants to immigrate to Australia as a student then he/she is required to demonstrate and/or declare that they have genuine access to sufficient funds to cover expenses for the first one or two years in Australia. Funds should be sufficient to contribute to the cost of travel, tuition, school costs of any dependents, and living costs. The prospective

student must have health insurance while in Australia which can be provided by obtaining Overseas Student Health Cover (OSHC) which provides medical and hospital insurance. The applicants are also required to provide the results of an English language test taken in any country. The various forms of test can be Test of English as a Foreign Language internet-Based test (TOEFL iBT); Pearson Test of English (PTE); Academic Cambridge English: Advanced (CAE) test (also known as Certificate in Advanced English). Test results from the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) test; and Occupational English Test (OET); taken in any country is also accepted. The TOEFL Paper-Based Test (TOEFL PBT) is accepted in the following countries where IELTS is not available: Belarus, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Kyrgyzstan, Mali, Moldova, Solomon Islands, Suriname, Tajikistan, Tanzania, Uganda and Uzbekistan. (Source: [www.immi.gov.au](http://www.immi.gov.au), accessed on 12.4.2016)

**Conditions for Emigrating to Australia on working visa:** Firstly, he/she should have sufficient ability in the English language to work in Australia (at least at competent level). Secondly, qualifications wise the applicant must have post-secondary qualifications and his skills must be assessed by the relevant assessing authority as suitable for the nominated occupation. (The nominated occupation must be found on the Australian Immigration Skilled Occupations List). Thirdly, it is necessary that the applicant must have been working for 12 out of the last 24 months in his/her nominated occupation (Source: [www.immi.gov.au](http://www.immi.gov.au) , accessed on 12.4.2016)

Similarly, if a person wishes to migrate to Canada as a student or on a working visa then he/she should have fulfilled the following conditions:

**Conditions for Emigrating to Canada as a student:** If a person wishes to migrate to Canada as a student then the following process is required to be completed: Firstly, applicant must have received a letter of admission to an educational institution in Canada. Secondly, he/she should have proof that they have enough money to pay for tuition fees, living expenses and a return transportation for themselves and any family members who come with him/her to Canada. Thirdly, he/she should be a law-abiding citizen with no criminal record and not be a risk to the security of Canada, be in good health and willing to complete a medical examination,



if necessary, and satisfy an immigration officer that he/she will leave Canada after the completion of studies. (*Source: www.unitedkingdom.gc.ca* , accessed on 17.4.2016).

**Conditions for Emigrating to Canada on a working visa:** If a person wishes to visit Canada on a working visa then the following process has to be completed under the Express Entry System which was introduced on 1<sup>st</sup> January 2015. It is an online application system where skilled workers who want to apply to Canada's key economic immigration programs are able to create an online profile and express their interest in coming to Canada permanently. Candidates have to meet the minimum criteria of skilled work experience and language ability: whereby they have to meet the minimum language level of Canadian Language Benchmark (CLB) and take a language test approved by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). (*Source: www.unitedkingdom.gc.ca* , accessed on 17.4.2016).

The sending country too may refuse permission to go abroad on legal, political, economic or other grounds. Harzig et.al (2012) point out how many countries such as Russia, China, and various German states, in the nineteenth century sought to prevent the departure of migrants by taxing them or by passing laws making migration a crime or an activity of treachery and disloyalty.

### **3.5.2 Micro Factor: Individual and Household Capabilities**

Another reason for the failure of the aspiring migrants can be the absence of the factors that help a person to migrate. These have been referred to as capabilities at individual level (Sjaastad, 1962). These capabilities of an individual can be typified by natural talent, skill acquired through training, learning from experience or expertise achieved through education. In the present scenario usually migration is seen as a collective decision of the entire household (NELM Theory) so these capabilities are seen at the household level rather than at individual level Therefore, the drive to migrate by the individual materializes only when it is substantially backed by the household's capability to hedge the risk involved in the migration act and finance its cost (Nayyar, 2008). Household capabilities can be captured in terms of certain tangible and non-tangible components. Tangible components are like land and structures built thereon, machinery required for production, and liquid assets. The non-tangible components include social networks of the household (Singh, Puran 2011). These factors may be absent in the case of prospective migrants from Punjab thus resulting in failed migration.

There are various theories that deal with the concept of migration. These theories work at Micro, Meso and Macro levels. The main theories that work at the micro level are Lee's push and pull factors, Neoclassical micro migration theory (Sjaastad, 1962; Todaro, 1969, 1976, 1989; Todaro and Maruszko, 1987) and Theory of social systems among others as described in Chapter 3. These theories say that the main reasons for migration are individual values/desires or expectancies. The theories that operate at Macro level are Neoclassical Macro migration theory (Todaro, 1976), Dual labour market theory (Piore, 1979), and World systems theory. These theories relate to both the causes and perpetuation of migration process and say that migration is a result of macro level opportunity structures like income and employment opportunities differentials. In between the two are Meso-level theories that say that migration starts and continues due to presence of social networks and social ties. The main theories that support migration at this level are: Institutional theory, Networks theory (Massey and Garcia Espana, 1987) and New Economics of Labour Migration Theory (Stark, 1991). All these theories are broadly based on the Push and Pull framework. This framework conceives of migration as driven by a set of push factors like poverty, unemployment, landlessness, rapid population growth, political repression, low social status, poor marriage prospects and so on. These operate from the region or country of origin. Pull factors operate from the place or country of destination and help to improve income levels, provide better job prospects and education abroad, give land to settle and farm, pollution free environment and safe living conditions, political freedom and so on.

Since research on migration has thrown up so many factors that give people the propensity and capability to migrate, there is a sore need to explore the reasons that limit the migration processes and act as a constraint for aspiring prospective migrants from Punjab.

### **3.6 Gaps in Research**

#### **3.6.1 Distinction between 'Aspiration' and 'Ability' not made**

As discussed above, most of the theories of migration talk about factors that initiate migration. However, in practice this is just the beginning of what is called as the migration process. The actual migration of the prospective migrants does not

happen at this point of time. It happens only when a person is actually able to cross an international border. The present theories of migration only talk about what factors urge people to aspire to cross international border. In migration there is a difference between aspiring to migrate, starting the migration process and the actual migration taking place and there are very few studies that recognise and address this difference. Carling (2002) and Haas (2014) recognise this difference and call them as the aspiration or desire to migrate and the ability or capability to migrate. The migration theories only address the essential conditions that are required for aspiring to migrate. Some others (Khadria, 2008) have also discussed the problems aspiring migrants have to face in completing the migration process some of which we have described above. But for actual migration to take place there are certain sufficient conditions that need to be fulfilled, one of which is the actual grant of a visa by the host country government, and these are not touched upon by the international migration theories discussed above.

### **3.6.2 Role of Host Country's Policies not fully recognised**

From the review of literature we have given above, we find that the traditional research on international migration has used the term 'failed migrants' to describe certain categories of migrants but has not explicitly touched upon the issue of 'failed migration' in the sense in which we use the term in this study. However, the migration theories based on 'push' and 'pull' factors of difference in wages and unemployment, we have described above, do list the factors that give people the desire and also the power to successfully cross the borders. These theories attribute success or failure to such factors as intelligence of the individuals, household capability among other factors. In other words, these imply that lack or insufficiency of these factors would result in 'failed migration'. These factors we feel may be responsible to some extent but these do not account for the whole truth. In other words, these may be necessary but are not sufficient conditions to account for success or failure of international migration. The major shortcoming of these findings is that they completely ignore the role of the government of the receiving country.

Surprisingly, of all the models which have been discussed above, none of them recognises that the state policies and their implementation can change the pattern of migration flows. According to King (2012), the role of the state has

drastically increased recently and this fact is also acknowledged in the the *political economy* approach given below.

As King (2012) observes the immigration policies of the receiving states (or blocks, as for example, European Union) are known to have been affecting the number and geographical patterns, etc. of international migration flows through various means such as fixing a quota, controlling the admission system and the number of days for which a person stays in their country, deciding to whom to give the work permit and citizenship rights etc. However, we must emphasize that the role of governments – both the sending country government and the receiving country government – in regulating international migration is not a recent phenomenon but goes back in time as we describe in the following pages.

We have already cited some instances from Punjab in Chapter 2 hinting at the important role that governments have played in controlling and regulating international migration from time to time. No country is expected to have ‘open-door’ policy on immigration in the modern world. All States have always laid down certain eligibility conditions ever since they started intervening in this process (Khadria, 2012). But the role of host countries’ governments and their institutions has not been given in the literature on the subject the importance it merits even when some have talked of politicization of international migration process (Castle and Miller, 2009). Some have written about the role of the governments of the receiving countries in initiating the process of migration, continuing it and putting it to end and also in deciding who should be allowed in and who must be kept out. Judge (2012, op.cit.) argues how colonial government’s policy of recruiting *Jat Sikhs* considering them as belonging to martial race initiated the process of migration from Punjab. The restrictions placed by various countries on the quantity, quality and type of migrants to be allowed in, have been described by some researchers (Khadria, 2012). The role of the governments has also been hinted by others as well. King (2012) arguing his point why there is migration for some and not for others states:

*Fine if you are white, from a wealthy country in Europe, North America or elsewhere in the developed world, or if you have money to invest or valuable skills to deploy. But if you are from a poor country in Africa, Latin America or part of Asia: forget it.*

Another study highlights that, the government on their offices, military at their headquarters and big influential companies in their boardrooms take important decisions related to migration, thus controlling the quality and quantity of people who enter into their country. Thus migration is produced and patterned by state policies (Sassen, 1998). Massey et. al. (1993) also emphasize that given the size and scale of contemporary migration flows and given the potential for misunderstanding and conflict inherent in the emergence of diverse, multi-ethnic societies around the world, political decisions about international migrations will be among the most important made over the next two decades.

Even the ‘Political Economy Approach’ to immigration described above emphasizes the important role of the host countries in regulating migrants. King (2012) argues that even as per the *political economy* approach, at present the role of the state has drastically and explicitly increased in shaping our society. But not much attention has been paid, in the existing theories, to the role of the State in shaping and reshaping migration flows.

According to King (2012), in the latest version of historical-structural macro-models, the immigration policies of the receiving states (or blocks, as for example, European Union) are known to have been affecting the number and geographical patterns, etc. of international migration flows through various means such as fixing a quota, controlling the admission system and the number of days for which a person stays in their country, deciding to whom to give the work permit and citizenship rights etc. In spite of so much importance given to the role of host countries’ policies in the literature on the subject, the impact of the policies of the host countries in deciding success or failure in international migration among people from Punjab, as far as we are aware of, has not been investigated.

### **3.6.3 The Issue of Failed Migration has been ignored**

The Central and the State governments have given adequate attention to the post-migration problems and that, too, of the well-settled and influential Non-Resident Indians (NRI) group from India and from Punjab. But those struggling to go abroad for better prospects from the country including Punjab have received little attention from both the authorities and the researchers. Thus the concept of ‘failed

migration’ and aspiring migrants and their problems remain neglected and have not been touched upon in the research studies.

Traditionally, studies on migration of people including those from Punjab have taken into consideration only those who have successfully crossed the border. We could not find any study that focused on the immobility-side of this migration coin – in other words on those who aspire to migrate but fail to do so. Hence this study has attempted to look at this side of the migration coin.

#### **3.6.4 Lack of Statistical Data Relating to Failed Migrations**

Not only the pre-migration problems of young men and women who are struggling to land in their dream country today have escaped serious attention of the researchers and authorities but also there is absence of any data relating to their number with any official or non-official body.

### **3.7 Conclusion**

In this chapter we have attempted to show that state policy in regulating migration has had a long history and hence its existence in present time does not surprise us. What surprises us rather is the near absence of this factor in the traditional research on the subject. We have tried to show that States have always tried to control migrations through one measure or the other and for a variety of reasons. Even when state migration policies do not achieve the intended results as is evident from the frequent changes these have to undergo, there is no doubt that states exercise and will continue to exercise control over migrants even in the future as well. Hence successful migration through legal process will certainly depend upon meeting the eligibility conditions of the host state migration policy and its interpretation and implementation in practice at the time of making application for migration. Inability to meet this condition will result in ‘failed emigration’.

A look at the past research on this issue reveals that it has not paid much attention to this factor while explaining what enables some to migrate and prevents others from crossing the borders. Hence, this study attempts to investigate the extent to which role of the state leads to failed emigration in the case of people from the state of Punjab.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK, RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

In this chapter we intend to discuss the conceptual framework, research objectives, and the methodology followed to study the concept of aspirations and failure of prospective emigrants from the state of Punjab. We have also tried to give the rationale behind choosing this particular framework and research method.

#### **4.2 Rationale for the Conceptual Framework**

The very thought of migration makes us believe that people are moving from one place to another either for monetary or non-monetary benefits. If we talk about a “globalised” and “liberalized” world today we are made to accept the fact that in today’s world there is not only free movement both of goods and services but also of people both at national and international levels. A lot of studies have been undertaken to analyze the various aspects of migration which are related to: why people decide to migrate; who are the people who actually migrate, where do they migrate to and their life in their destination country once they migrate, and so on. Theories like the Network Theory, New Economics of labour migration theory etc also talk about why people might want to migrate to another country. Though these studies and theories give an in-depth analysis of various questions related to why a person wants to emigrate, an important question which is very much related to migration but is largely ignored in the literature is why some people are not able to emigrate despite the presence of the desire to emigrate. Migration does not happen suddenly. It is a well-thought of process which starts with a desire or wish to emigrate and ends with the actual crossing of the border, thus resulting in actual emigration taking place.

Very less attention has been given to the difference between desire or wish to migrate and actual migration taking place. Thus there can be some people who want to migrate but are not able to do so (because of certain reasons). This contrast between ‘desire’ to migrate and ‘ability’ to emigrate was found to be missing or ignored in the migration studies in general and from the state of Punjab in particular. This contrast between ‘aspiration’ and ‘ability’ to emigrate has been the main focus of this study.

As per Carling (2002) there are three kinds of migrants: voluntary non-migrants (people who do not want to or wish to migrate), migrants (people who actually migrate), and involuntary non-migrants (people who want to migrate but are not able to do so). Thus, he clearly distinguishes between aspiration to migrate and ability to migrate. Though there were other conceptual frameworks available which were related to the process of migration, the framework given by Carling was chosen as it clearly distinguishes between aspirations and the ability to emigrate and matches with the objectives of this study which also sees aspirations and ability as two separate entities in the migration process.

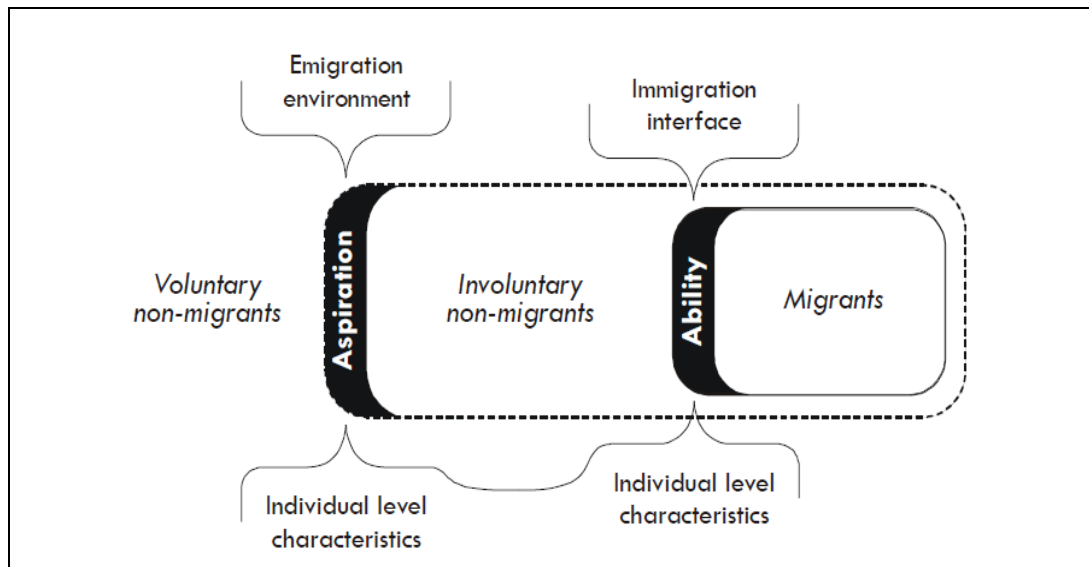
This involuntary immobility concept though has gained importance recently it is not a new phenomenon. Some studies have talked about how migrants from their country have faced the problem of emigration and how it is still difficult for the people to emigrate to Europe (Carling, 2002). According to Solomon (1996) migration became difficult for the people of South Africa as many countries tightened their political barriers in the late 1970s and 1980s. Macpherson (1990) also describes how in the Pacific Island economies such as Samoa, labour migration became a ‘stolen dream’ for youth who were unable to migrate when Australia and New Zealand tightened immigration policies. Another aspect of migration that has not gained much importance is the presence of demand of migrants in the destination country. As per Straubhaar (1993), “It is the demand for foreign people and immigration laws that decide whether and which part of migration potential becomes effective” (Straubhaar, 1993: 13). But this study focuses on only the first part that is ‘involuntary immobility’.



### 4.3 Conceptual Framework

The framework for the study is based on the Aspiration-Ability model which is given by Carling (2002) as follows:-

**Figure 4.1: Figure showing the Aspiration- Ability framework**



Source: Carling (2002)

This model is explained with the help of a diagram as given above (figure-4.1). In this figure he distinguishes between aspiration to migrate and the ability to do so and thus categorizes migrants into three types. First are the voluntary non-migrants. They are the people who do not have any aspiration to migrate and thus prefer to remain in their own country. Second category of people is the involuntary non-migrants. These are the aspiring migrants who have the aspiration to migrate but are not able to do so for certain reason. Third are the people who have the desire to migrate and are able to migrate after completing all the migration formalities properly. These are called migrants according to Carling (2002).

### **4.3.1 Aspiration to Emigrate**

The emigration environment of the host country and the individual level characteristics inspire a person to emigrate at the macro and micro levels respectively. The emigration environment comprises of the social, economic and the political environment of the country. Factors like social discrimination, unsatisfactory working conditions, inaccessibility to proper education, health management, lack of pure drinking water and so on, are covered under social conditions and unemployment, under-employment, low income and the like, come under the economic factors. Political unrest in the home country or the region, racial discrimination may be covered under political environment. In practice though it is difficult and impossible to separate these factors from each other, an attempt in this study has been made to understand how the first two factors (economic and social) affect the migration aspirations of the people. Out of the above mentioned factors, the effect of unsatisfactory working conditions, inaccessibility to proper education, and health management are considered under social factors while unemployment, underemployment and low income have been covered under the economic factors in this study.

At micro level also there are different factors that inspire a person to emigrate. These can be broadly classified into economic and social factors, though again in practice they cannot be separated from each other. These factors act differently depending on the economic and social conditions of the host country. These factors can be age, gender, social status, educational attainment and personality traits of the aspiring migrant and the existence of family migration history, social network in the destination countries. Apart from personality traits the effect of all other factors mentioned above have been analyzed in this study.

### **4.3.2. Ability to Emigrate**

The ability to migrate is also affected by certain factors both at micro and macro level. At macro level the emigration interface affects the ability to emigrate which is a result of different restrictive emigration policies of the destination country and covers the various modes of entry into a country. Similarly, the current emigration policy and its implementation affect the ability to migrate. At individual level characters like age, gender, educational level of the aspiring migrant and the existence of family

history of migration and social networks affects the ability to migrate. The role of household also cannot be ignored in this process. In this study the role played by individual level factors (like age, gender, educational level, existence of family history of migration of the aspiring migrant and social networks in the destination) and macro level factors (like nature of current emigration policy of the destination country) have been studied.

#### **4.4 Objectives of the Study and Research Questions of the Study**

The study primarily looks at the issue of failed emigration from the state of Punjab. The objectives of the study are thus based to achieve this end.

**4.4.1 Objective 1:** Firstly the study looked at the profile of the aspiring migration applicants who want to move internationally but are unable to do so. The profile of the aspiring prospective migrants was seen with respect to their income level, educational qualification, and employment status, presence of social networks in their destination country, their age and gender.

**Research Question:** What are the common characteristics with respect to economic, social or educational background of the aspiring migrants who are not able to migrate?

**4.4.2 Objective 2:** Secondly, the study tried to find out the factors that are operating both at the macro and micro levels inspiring the people of Punjab to emigrate to Canada and/or Australia

**Research Question:** What are the push factors (operating from the state of Punjab) and pull factors (operating from the destination country) that are inspiring people from Punjab to emigrate to their destination country?

**4.4.3 Objective 3:** The study looks into the reasons for the immobility or failure of the aspiring emigrants from the state of Punjab

**Research Question:** What are the factors that are operating at the macro level affecting the ability of the aspirants to emigrate?

**Research Question:** How do micro level characteristics like age, gender, educational qualification, experience and so on affect the ability to emigrate?

**Research Question:** What can be the probable implications of failed emigration on the state of Punjab as a whole?

**4.4.4 Objective 4:** To study the strategies, if any, the prospective aspiring migrants use to complete the migration process and to make sure that they succeed in their attempt to emigrate to their dream country.

**Research Question:** What are the strategies the prospective aspiring emigrants use to complete the migration process and to ensure their success?

## **4.5 Research Methodology**

Most of the studies on migration from Punjab are based on secondary data sets or characterised by data collected which is either quantitative or qualitative in nature. Given the complexity of exploring the reasons of migration and failed migration of the aspiring migrants, it essentially called for qualitative inquiry which details prospective emigrants own perspective and personal accounts of the reasons of migrating. But because of lack of data on the failed migration from the state of Punjab, the study was also quantitative in nature. The process of data collection for the study was primarily based on fieldwork for the better understanding of the area under research and as required by the objectives.

#### **4.5.1 Source of Primary Data**

Questionnaire, Interviews and participant observation were the main research tools used in the study. A questionnaire is a research tool which is widely used in research when answers are required to some systematically compiled and organised questions. It is preferred when reliable and factual information is required from respondents on various topics, who are widely spread in a vast area. Under this method the respondents either fill the questionnaire themselves or give relevant answers which can be filled by the interviewer. In the study relevant data was collected through both open ended and closed ended questions. There were - questions in the questionnaire which were designed using simple English language. Most of the closed ended questions were of the 'Yes' or 'No' type whereas a few of them had the check option from a list of suggested responses. Some questions required ranking of the given choices. The questionnaire also had some open ended questions for deeper understanding and to let the respondent express their views and ideas freely and fully. For analysing the questions of the questionnaire, the percentage value of each and every option was also calculated and interpreted. Some of the responses like age of the respondents and individual districts to which they belong were combined into groups for convenience and analyses purpose.

#### **4.5.2 Pilot Study**

Before the final survey of the study was undertaken, a pilot survey was conducted in which 30 prospective respondents from Punjab were contacted. The responses and feedbacks from these respondents helped in making certain changes in the final questionnaire whereby irrelevant questions were deleted and some additional relevant questions were added. The reconstructed questionnaire (given in annexure I) was then used for final survey.

#### **4.5.3 Sources of Secondary Data**

Apart from primary source, data was also collected and analysed from some secondary sources as well. These included the data available in the reports, surveys and the official documents of both the Indian and Punjab government. Secondary data

was also taken from published working papers and studies which have been conducted in the past by various eminent scholars and published in journals, books, magazines and newspapers. Data was also taken from various official websites of the different departments of the Punjab government [www.esopb.gov.in](http://www.esopb.gov.in); Statistical Abstract of Punjab, 2014; Punjab at a Glance District Wise, 2014; Punjab Atlas India, 2012; Gender Statistics of Punjab, 2012.

#### **4.5.4 Description of the Field and Selection Criteria**

The study collected the information regarding the profile of the applicants and their aspirations by talking to them, through discussion and interviews and questionnaire at the career guidance centres where they come to seek guidance for migrating to their dream country. Similarly, the respondents were contacted at places of various agents and middle-men where the young men and women register themselves to seek their services for completing the various steps in the process of applying for migration. They were also contacted at the various coaching centres where they come for language proficiency classes. To know about the strategies used by the aspirants to migrate successfully, we elicited this information from the aspirants themselves and also by contacting the various agents and middle-men that helped these aspiring migrants in completing the formalities required for migration.

The respondents were contacted at the various (IELTS exams) test centres in Punjab where they come to appear for language tests, particularly interviews, over a period of time. These centres are situated in various cities of Punjab which are located in the three regions of Punjab (*Malwa, Majha* and *Doaba*). A detailed information about Punjab and its map, showing the various districts and regions is given in Annexure II-A. Centres located in two cities (Ludhiana and Bhatinda) of the Malwa region were taken up as this is a large region and covers almost half of the state. From the *Majha* region the centre located at Amritsar was considered for sample collection. And from the *Doaba* region the centre located in Jalandhar was selected for data collection. Contacting them at these interview centres was very convenient as interview is of only about 15 to 20 minutes but candidates turn up at the centre about 30 to 40 minutes before time and so they had adequate time to answer our queries.

These locations were selected in such a way so as to take care of heterogeneity in the sample. Heterogeneity is in the form of various regions of Punjab they come from, their age, gender, family background, courses they have studied, their level of education, their working experience (if any), and where they want to emigrate to. The sample size of the present study was 103. The respondents included both the migrants who want to go abroad as students and also those who want to go on a working visa.

An attempt has also been made in this study to understand the functioning of the whole process of emigration to the two top most preferred destination countries of the aspiring migrants from Punjab. These are Canada and Australia. The idea was to understand how (by taking advantage of the failure of the aspiring migrants) a whole informal, uncontrolled and unregulated industry is working in this process of emigration for a fee. For this purpose interviews were taken from travel agents in Punjab who are providing emigration services to people for emigration to these two countries. Similarly, the various strategies the failed emigrants adopt to ensure that they are able to migrate to their dream country in future were studied by talking to them through interviews and through questionnaire.

#### **4.6 Limitations of the study**

The present study has certain limitations and constraints. Though there are various other states in India from where migration takes place and many people from these states may not be able to migrate successfully to their destination country, we in this study have analysed failed emigration only from the state of Punjab. Similarly, the concept of failed emigration has been studied with respect to only two destination countries - Canada and Australia, though there are many other destination countries for the aspiring emigrants from Punjab. Though there are various factors that can affect aspiration and ability to emigrate both at macro and micro levels, but only the effect of a few factors has been seen in this study. The sample size of this study was restricted to 103 respondents and this sample was not collected from all 22 districts of Punjab, but from a few randomly selected districts present in the three regions of Punjab.

## **4.7 Conclusion**

In this chapter we have presented the conceptual framework used in this study, the rationale for choosing this framework and the objectives of this study. We have also listed the research questions and the research methods and tools used to carry out this study. We have also briefly mentioned the limitations of this study. We now intend to present a detailed analysis and discussion of the major findings in the next two chapters.



## CHAPTER 5

### FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION: MACRO AND MICRO LEVEL FACTORS AFFECTING ASPIRATION TO EMIGRATE IN THE STATE OF PUNJAB

#### 5.1 Introduction

In this chapter a detailed analysis and discussions are attempted related to the findings of the study as per the objectives. The first objective of the study was to look at the overriding factors that cause the migrants to aspire from the state of Punjab to move internationally as the first step of the migration process is the presence of a desire to emigrate. As per Carling (2002), results of a survey (reproduced in table 5.1.) which he conducted in various countries showed that many people expressed their wish to migrate irrespective of the fact whether it was fulfilled or not.

**Table 5.1: Table showing percentage of respondents reporting that they wish or intend to emigrate**

Countries	% of Positive answers	Key word in question	Year	Source
Cape Verde	61	Wish	1997-98	IEFP ( 1997-98)
Morocco	72	Wish	1998	Migration News Sheet 9/98
Morocco	23	Intend	1997	European Commission (2000)
Egypt	15	Intend	1997	European Commission (2000)
Turkey	27	Intend	1996	European Commission (2000)
Ghana	46	Intend	1997	European commission (2000)

Source: As given in Carling (2002)

There can be many reasons as to why a person has a desire to emigrate. The theories of migration discussed earlier in chapter 2 talked at large about the reasons as to why some people choose to emigrate and others might choose to stay. These micro level factors indicate existence of wage differences across

countries and risk aversion, among others. Apart from certain individual level factors, there can be certain macro level factors that can act as an inspiration to emigrate and have been broadly classified under the 'push and pull' factors. These individual level and macro level factors affecting aspiration to emigrate have been discussed and analysed in this chapter.

The findings and analysis have been done according to the conceptual framework given by Carling (2002) wherein he says that the aspiration to emigrate is affected by certain macro level factors and individual level characteristics. Though as per the conceptual framework at macro level the economic, social and political environment of the home country cause a person to aspire to migrate yet, in this study, the effect of only some factors operating in the economic and social environment have been studied and analysed. The political environment was not investigated. Similarly, there are individual level characteristics like gender, age, educational qualification, social status, and personality traits of the aspiring migrants and the existence of family migration history, social network in the destination countries that inspire a person to emigrate. But, in this study, the effect of only some of the above mentioned factors that were examined (macro and micro) have been discussed in the following paragraphs.

## **5.2 Macro level factors that can affect aspiration to emigrate in case of Punjab**

Punjab is considered to be a prosperous state. As per Census of India, 2001, Punjab is one of a preferred destination state in which a lot of people from other states prefer to migrate. In 2001 States from where sizeable number of in-migrants came to Punjab were: Uttar Pradesh (0.24 million); Haryana (0.11 million) and Bihar (0.14 million). Most of them come to this state for their livelihood as indicated by these figures of census 2001. The percentage of male in-migrants, from Uttar Pradesh who cited 'Work/Employment' as the main reason for migration was 72.1% and from Bihar 82.2% of male in-migrants cited 'Work/Employment' as the main reason for their migration.

([http://censusindia.gov.in/Data\\_Products/Data\\_Highlights/Data\\_Highlights\\_link/data\\_highlights\\_D1D2D3.pdf](http://censusindia.gov.in/Data_Products/Data_Highlights/Data_Highlights_link/data_highlights_D1D2D3.pdf), Accessed on 23.09.2016).

Punjab is also doing well in certain important sectors (both social and economic) of the economy as can be inferred from Table 5.2 which shows the position of Punjab (in comparison to 20 other states of India) in terms of certain economic and social indicators of development.

**Table 5.2: Table showing the position of Punjab as per certain important Indicators of Development**

Indicators of development in various sectors	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Total Population (in thousands)																				
Percentage of urban Population as a percentage of total population																				
Sex Ratio																				
<b>Education sector</b>																				
Literacy Rate (total)																				
Literacy Rate (Female)																				
No. of primary schools/lakh population (as on 31.9.2011)																				
No. of middle schools/lakh population																				



Health Sector																				
Infant Mortality Rate																				
Birth Rate																				
Death Rate																				
Per capita net State Domestic Product																				
Per capita net State domestic product (at current prices)																				
Per capita net state domestic product (At const prices- 2004- 05)																				
% of Population below poverty line																				
Certain social indicators																				
% of electrified villages to total inhabited villages																				
No. of scheduled commercial banks/lakh population																				
Human development index 2007-08																				

Source: Compiled from various sources

Though the position of Punjab in agricultural and health sectors can be said to be satisfactory, its position as per some important indicators in the education sector - like number of primary and secondary schools ( 14<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> position) and teacher-pupil ratio at primary level (12<sup>th</sup> position) - is lower. Hence performance of this sector was done in detail.

### 5.2.1 Performance of Punjab in Education Sector

At macro level, the effect of only the education sector of Punjab was done though there are other important factors too affecting aspirations at macro level. Analysis of education sector was done in terms of the quantity and quality of education. Quantity of education was judged by the literacy level and quality was judged on the basis of the dropout rates and pupil-teacher ratio.

**Table 5.3: Table showing sex wise literacy rates in Punjab for the year 2001 and 2011**

Year	Total population	Literates			Literacy rates		
		Males	Females	Total	Males	females	Total
2001	24358999	8442493	6314677	14757170	75.63	63.55	69.95
2011	27743338	10436056	8271081	18707137	80.4	70.7	75.8

Source: Statistical abstract of Punjab, 2014

A look at the education statistics of Punjab with respect to these indicators reveals that the literacy rate in Punjab has seen upward trend and is 75.84 per cent as per 2011 population census. Of that, male literacy stands at 80.44 per cent while female literacy is at 70.73 per cent. In 2001, literacy rate in Punjab stood at 69.65 per cent of which male and female literates were 75.23 per cent and 63.36 per cent, respectively. In actual numbers, total literates in Punjab stand at 18,707,137 of which males were 10,436,056 and females were 8,271,081 (Table

5.3). To get a better understanding, the study did an in-depth analysis as per the rural and urban divide and at the districts level of Punjab<sup>4</sup>.

**Table 5.4: Table showing Rural –Urban Literacy Rates in Punjab for the year**

**2013**

<b>Description</b>	<b>Rural</b>	<b>Urban</b>
Population (%)	62.52 %	37.48 %
Average Literacy	71.42 %	83.18 %
Male Literacy	76.62 %	86.67 %
Female Literacy	58.99 %	68.29 %

Source: Statistical abstract of Punjab, 2014

Though the literacy rates are high in case of Punjab as a whole, yet when we analyse the literacy rate for the rural and urban population (table 5.4), we find that out of total population of Punjab, only 10,399,146 people (37.48%) live in urban regions. Average literacy rate in Punjab for urban regions was higher (83.18%) as compared to literacy rates in rural area (71.42%). While the male and female literacy rate in urban areas was (86.67% and 68.29% respectively), it was (76.62% and 58.99% respectively) in rural areas of Punjab. These figures show that the literacy rate of both male and female in rural areas is low as compared to the literacy rate in urban areas of Punjab.

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<sup>4</sup> The reason for doing analysis of literacy rates as per rural-urban divide was that majority of our respondents were from those districts of Punjab that have a high per cent of rural population as

a proportion of total population. So we were interested in seeing if rural-urban divide existed in terms of access to education.

**Table 5.5: Table showing district wise males and females literacy rates in Punjab**

Districts of Punjab	Male Literacy Rates		Female literacy Rates		Total literacy rates	
	2001	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011
Hoshiarpur	79.8	84.6	67.1	74.8	73.8	79.9
Rupnagar	82.7	87.5	68.7	76.4	76.1	82.2
Jalandhar	82.5	86.1	73.1	78.5	78.0	82.5
Ludhiana	80.3	86.0	71.9	77.9	76.5	82.2
Gurdaspur	79.8	84.6	67.1	74.8	73.8	79.9
Fatehgarh Sahib	78.3	83.3	68.3	74.8	73.6	79.4
Kapurthala	79.0	83.2	68.3	74.6	73.9	79.1
Patiala	75.4	80.2	62.6	69.8	69.3	75.3
Amritsar	75.1	80.1	65.2	72.0	70.4	76.3
Moga	68.0	74.4	58.5	66.5	63.5	70.7
Faridkot	68.1	74.6	55.0	63.9	62.0	69.6
Bathinda	67.8	73.8	53.7	61.9	61.2	68.3
Firozpur	68.7	75.4	51.7	61.7	60.7	68.9
Sangur	66.0	73.2	53.0	62.2	59.9	68.0
Muktsar	65.4	71.8	50.3	59.2	58.2	65.8
Mansa	58.9	67.3	45.2	55.7	52.4	61.8
SBS nagar	82.9	85.4	69.5	73.9	76.4	79.8
Taran Tarn	66.7	73.2	52.3	61.9	59.9	67.8
SAS nagar	83.8	87.9	72.1	79.2	78.4	83.8
Barnala	65.4	76.1	54.4	63.6	60.3	67.8
<b>PUNJAB</b>	<b>75.2</b>	<b>80.4</b>	<b>63.4</b>	<b>70.7</b>	<b>69.7</b>	<b>75.8</b>

Note : The districts shaded in yellow colour were the districts to which majority of our respondents belonged and red highlighted figures show that literacy rate are lower in these districts as compared to the overall literacy rate of Punjab

Source: Statistical abstract of Punjab, 2014



Uneven literacy rates were found not only in rural–urban divide, but also at districts levels in Punjab. When we see the district wise distribution of the literacy rates of males and females of Punjab (table 5.5), we find that four out of six districts (Barnala, Moga, Faridkot and Sangrur ) from where maximum number of respondents expressed their desire to emigrate were having a low literacy rate both for male and female in comparison to the literacy rate of Punjab highlighting the fact that literacy rates are low in districts from where maximum respondents considered in this study came. This rural-urban and district level divide can be due to the fact that majority of the respondents who wanted to emigrate had little or limited access to educational facilities in terms of the number of schools and higher educational institutions offering professional courses.

This divide between rural and urban areas of Punjab in terms of limited access to schools and professional educational institutions is further seen from table 5.6 which shows districts wise the number of villages with primary and middle schools and district wise the number of recognized colleges for different courses for the year 2013-14.

**Table 5.6: Table showing districts wise the number of schools and educational Institutions in Punjab for the year 2000-01 and 2012-13**

Districts of Punjab	Higher and Senior Secondary Schools		Middle schools		Pre-Primary and Primary schools		Arts, Science, comm & Home Sc colleges		Teacher training colleges (B.Ed)		Engineering Technology, Architecture and Medical colleges	
	2000-01	2012-13	2000-01	2012-13	2000-01	2012-13	2000-01	2012-13	2000-01	2012-13	2000-01	2012-13
Hoshiarpur	225	598	186	393	1259	1358	17	20	1	7	8	21
Jalandhar	312	719	198	413	914	1152	20	23	2	9	13	32
Ludhiana	377	1194	209	571	571	1197	30	34	6	17	14	35

Gurdaspur	292	537	251	409	1736	1226	16	17	1	17	12	34
Fatehgarh Sahib	78	189	66	181	405	478	3	6	Nil	7	2	9
Kapurthala	123	329	112	199	485	578	17	19	2	8	9	14
Patiala	231	640	167	355	947	1089	12	11	1	13	12	30
Amritsar	371	662	270	522	1461	1028	20	13	2	8	16	28
Moga	149	314	79	168	357	392	7	10	2	11	3	32
Faridkot	77	167	96	123	226	280	2	3	1	3	8	16
Bathinda	175	377	112	182	470	433	9	12	Nil	9	4	39
Firozpur	207	280	228	161	1060	665	11	7	2	9	7	25
Sangur	264	528	180	279	817	738	13	15	Nil	19	10	30
Muktsar	127	255	85	145	358	381	7	8	1	8	4	23
Mansa	74	241	88	113	289	320	4	4	Nil	4	4	23
SBS nagar	108	238	91	154	425	460	7	8	1	6	4	7
Barnala	NA	205	NA	71	NA	199	NA	3	NA	4	NA	11
<b>Punjab</b>	<b>3388</b>	<b>8810</b>	<b>2534</b>	<b>5569</b>	<b>13078</b>	<b>14634</b>	<b>204</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>187</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>514</b>

Source: www.esopb.gov.in (Punjab at a glance district wise, 2014); NA- Not Available

The picture of the education sector at higher levels is no different. The district wise distribution of some popular courses being offered by recognised colleges is given in table 5.6 which shows that though the number of institutes/colleges offering commerce, Arts and Home Science are present in all the districts of Punjab, the number of colleges offering professional courses like medical, engineering, teaching still remains low in majority of the districts of Punjab (with only five or seven of them being present in these districts). Most of these professional colleges are still found in the urban districts of Punjab (Ludhiana, Patiala and Amritsar). Though the number of these institutes has increased, this increase has been because of the opening up of private universities or institutions. But the quality of education in these institutes is still a matter of concern. The lack of adequate number of primary and secondary schools in Punjab is further evidenced by the fact that Punjab's position, in terms of the number of primary and middle schools / lakh of population is not that good in comparison to the other states of India (14<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> position).

The quality of education, which is usually measured by teacher-pupil ratio, also needs improvement in the state. The teacher pupil ratio (12<sup>th</sup> position) also does not give a very good picture of the quality of education at school level, particularly primary level. A detailed district wise data of the Pupil-teacher ratio and the dropout rates is given in table 5.7.

**Table 5.7: Table showing district wise teacher-pupil ratio at various school-levels in Punjab**

Districts of Punjab	Pupil teacher ratio at primary level	Dropout Rate Primary school level	Pupil teacher ratio at Middle school level	Dropout Rate Middle school level	Pupil teacher ratio at High school level
Hoshiarpur	42	2.72	26	1.69	21
Rupnagar	26	1.32	28	0.3	36
Jalandhar	40	2.11	41	1.37	46
Ludhiana	41	0.39	30	1.37	32
Gurdaspur	23	0.28	25	0.71	38
Fatehgarh Sahib	31	2.8	14	1.61	19
Kapurthala	36	2.85	29	1.68	46
Patiala	39	4.85	33	4.83	33
Amritsar	45	0.82	26	1.71	44
Moga	36	2.04	31	1.23	29
Faridkot	26	2.29	29	3.63	29
Bathinda	31	2.9	27	1.46	48
Firozpur	38	2.47	26	1.65	44
Sangur	46	2.32	31	1.49	37
Muktsar	32	4.06	28	1.73	26
Mansa	35	5.71	32	1.86	43
SBS nagar	38	1.96	32	1.77	31
Taran Tarn	45	2.51	32	1.71	38
Barnala	41	2.98	33	3.09	40
<b>PUNJAB</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>2.1</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>0.94</b>	<b>34</b>

Source: Punjab at a glance district wise, 2014

Again we found that the districts from where high number of respondents wanted to emigrate (highlighted with yellow colour) have either a high pupil teacher ratio or a high dropout rate (highlighted in red colour) indicating that quality of education can be a major reason why many of them want to leave their studies midway here and go abroad or want to pursue further studies in a foreign country.

The low quality of education in Punjab can further be judged from the following news reports:

As per a newspaper report (<http://archive.indianexpress.com/news/aser-report-shows-punjab-slipping-in-school-education/1061731/>, accessed on 9.02.2016), the Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) 2012 showed Punjab slipping in school education. It said that Punjab has lost students to private schools, and has shown only a marginal improvement in reducing the number of "out of school" children and the standard of reading Punjabi, English and solving basic math sums is back to where it all began in 2009. It also said that only 40 per cent of the students who were in class III could read a standard II text book in Punjabi. In standard II only 16.5 per cent could read their class text book. The report further points out that while the standard of learning in government school consistently improved since 2009, in 2012 it slumped. It said that the percentage of children in class III who could read a Class I level Punjabi text book in government schools was as low as 42 per cent in 2009. It increased to over 50 per cent in 2010 and to 58 per cent in 2011. However in 2012 it is back to a little over 50 per cent. Compared to government schools, private schools have 70 per cent children in class III being able to read a class I text book. (*ASER report shows Punjab slipping in school education*). (Chandigarh, *Indian Express*, Sat Jan 19 2013).

This lack of good quality of school education is also reiterated in an article of Punjab Heritage and Education Foundation which quotes Prof. Gurbax Singh Shergill, Former Principal Khalsa College, Amritsar and Chairman P.S.E.B

*“It is a well known fact that teaching and learning levels in Government, affiliated and aided schools in Punjab have come*

*down to a level that majority of students are unable to compete even for police and army recruitment. Rural students are unable to get not more than 2 to 3% seats in top level, State / National level institutes, against their number being 60 to 65% of the total student population. Most of the aspiring intelligent students from the rural areas have to go to big cities for getting coaching where they have to pay 1.5 to 2 lakh for their coaching and boarding expenses. Only 4 to 5% of these students are successful in their efforts. Majority of them return back after wasting their time and money. At present there is no proper facility for guidance and coaching in rural towns”(www.phefonline.com, accessed on 11.02.2016).*

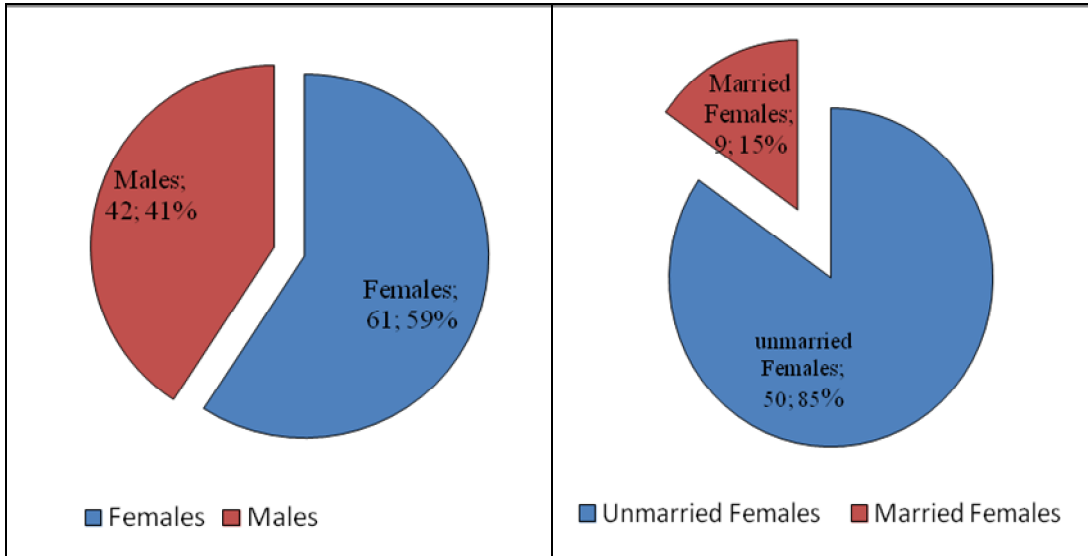
(phef is Punjab Heritage and Education Foundation which was organized and registered by combining the Quality Education Foundation and Heritage part of Environment and Heritage Society in 2001)

### **5.3 Micro Level Factors affecting aspiration to emigrate and reasons for Migrating**

The effect of various micro level factors (that can affect the aspiration to migrate) like age, gender, social status and educational attainment of the aspiring migrant and the existence of family migration history, social network in the destination countries was seen and analyzed in the following paragraphs.

**1) Effect of gender of the prospective emigrants on aspiration to migrate:** Out of 103 migrants, who wished to migrate from Punjab, 42 (41%) were males and 61 (59%) were found to be female (figure 5.1). This shows that the desire to emigrate is dominated not by males only but is sought more intensely by females also. Among the 61 females who wanted to migrate 9 females (15%) were married. This finding contradicts Carling’s findings who says that aspirations are high among the males as compared to females (Carling, 2002, p 30)

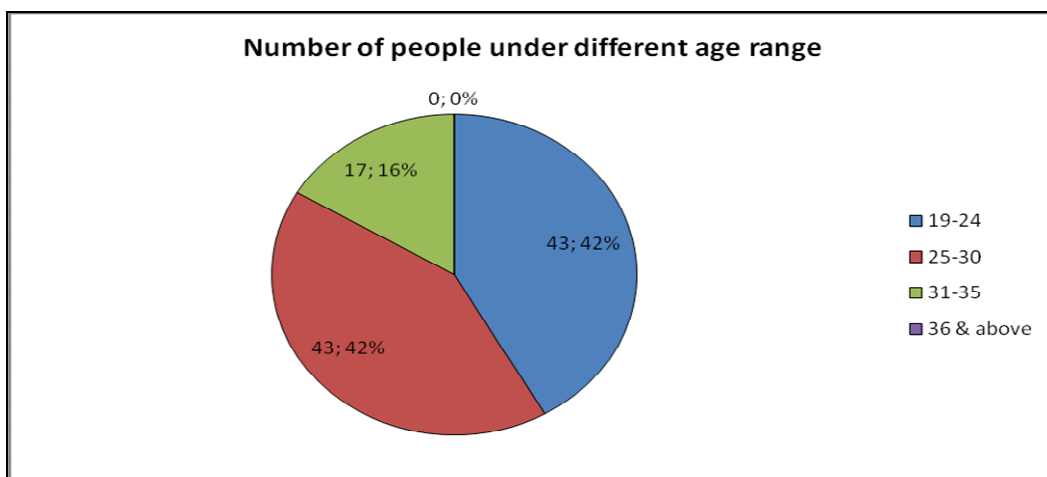
**Figure 5.1:** Figure shows the number and percentage of male and female aspiring respondents, who aspire to emigrate and percentage and number of married and unmarried female respondents



**Conclusion:** It was found that the desire to migrate is equally high among men and women of Punjab

**2) Age of the aspiring migrants:** All of the 103 aspiring migrants from Punjab were below 35 years of age. The number of aspiring migrants who were 19-24 years was 43 (42%) and 43 migrants (42%) were between 25-30 years of age. Only 17 (16%) who wanted to emigrate were between the age of 31 to 35.

**Figure 5.2:** Figure shows the number and percentage of aspiring respondents as per different age range

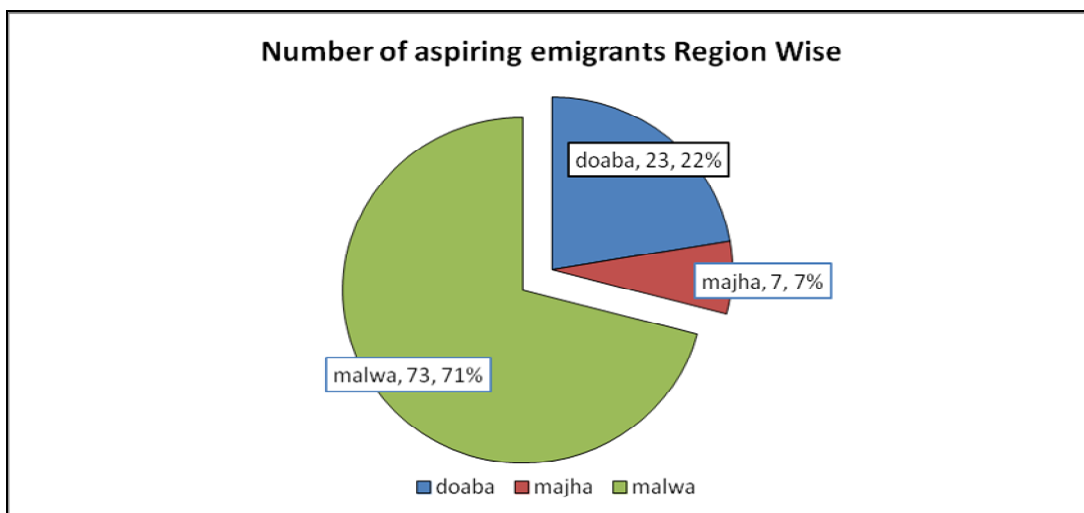


This clearly highlights that it is the young youth of Punjab who wants to leave Punjab and go abroad and the older generation is happy living in, or do not aspire to leave, Punjab. It was noted that boys and girls as young as 19 years of age, some of them still in their first or second year of graduation have a dream of going abroad and were ready to leave their studies here to fulfil this dream. This finding was also contradictory to Carling's (2002) findings, which states that aspiration among youth is low.

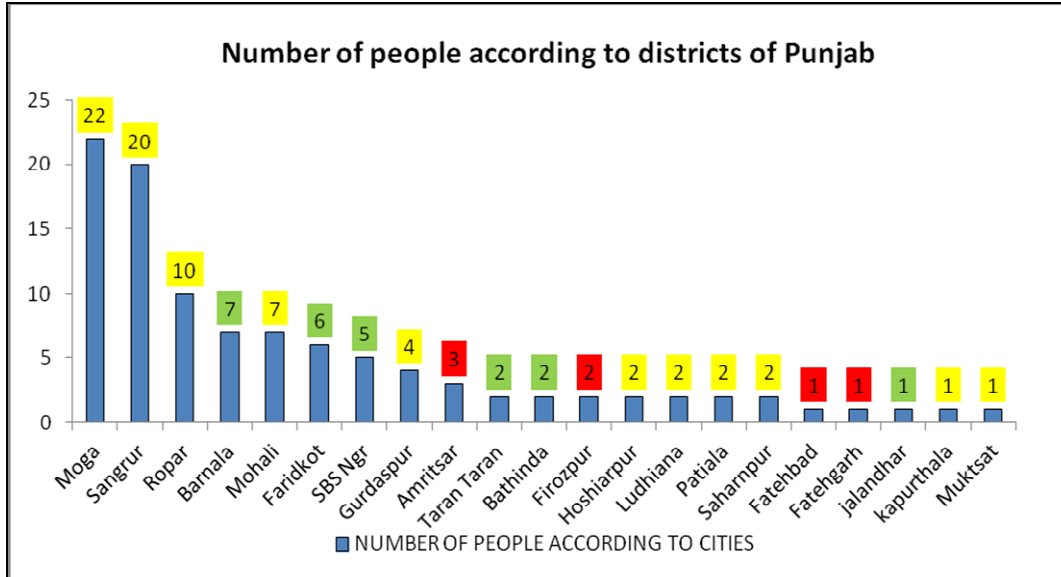
**Conclusion: Effect of age of aspiring migrant on desire to emigrate:** It can be said that the desire to migrate does exist among the youths of Punjab whereas it is not there among elders and people above 40 years of age.

**3) Regions of Punjab to which aspiring migrants belong to:** Punjab is divided in three regions: Malwa, Majha and Doaba regions. Out of these three regions most of the migrations in the past took place from Doaba region. But the study found that maximum number of people who wanted to migrate were from Malwa region (73, 71%), followed by Doaba (23, 22%) and Majha (7, 7%) region. (Figure 5.3)

**Figure 5.3: Figure showing the number and percentage of aspiring respondents from the various regions of Punjab**



**Figure 5.4: Figure showing the number of respondents (district wise) who aspire to emigrate**



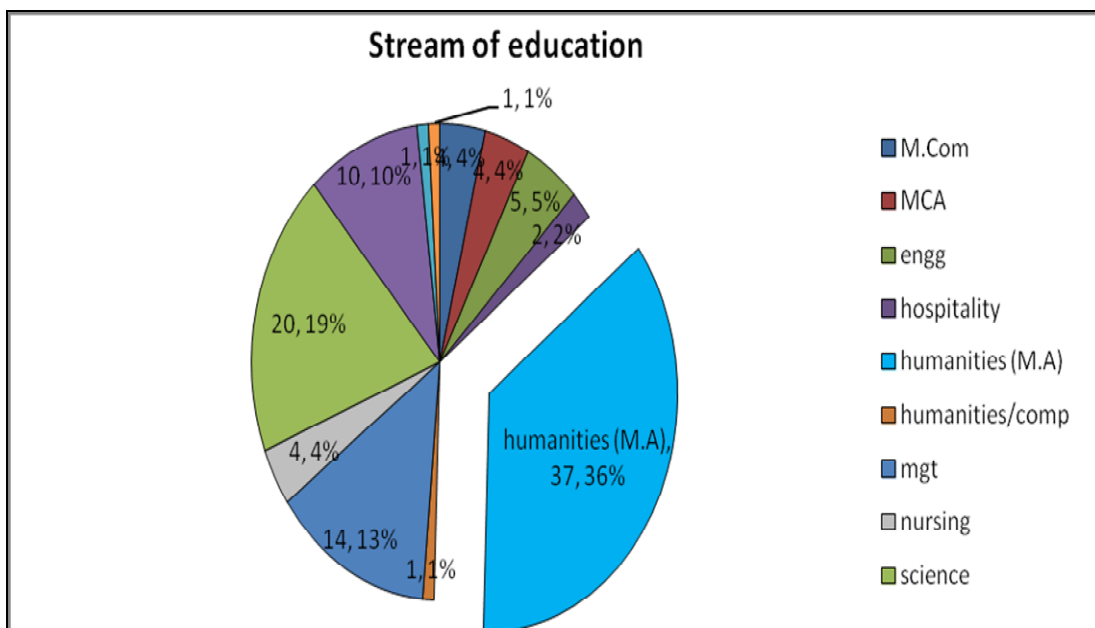
If we see the district wise bifurcation of the number of people who want to emigrate (Figure 5.4), again Moga district has the highest number (22) followed by Sangrur (20) and Ropar (10). All these districts fall in the Malwa region (highlighted in yellow) of Punjab. The district with the highest number of people who want to emigrate from Doaba region (highlighted in red) is Amritsar (3) followed by Ferozpur (2) and Fatehbad (1). Another interesting fact is that districts with highest number of desiring emigrants (Moga, Sangrur and Ropar ) are having high rural population as a percentage of total population. As per Statistical Atlas of Punjab, 2012, around 65-80 % of population of these districts is rural population (Annexure II- B). In the past though Doaba region has been known to have the highest number of emigrants from Punjab, the desire to migrate is no longer restricted to this region and at present people from all over Punjab want to go abroad.

**Conclusion: Effect of the place of residence on desire to emigrate:** Past history of a place/ region may not affect a person’s desire to emigrate and people from all over Punjab want to go abroad. People are more eager to migrate from the districts of Punjab that have higher rural population as compared to the districts having higher urban population.



4) **Stream of education:** It is usually said that there is demand for people from Science, Technology, Engineering and Math (STEM) courses in Canada and Australia and they are accused of being part of the brain drain from India. On analyzing the courses of the aspiring migrants, it was found that majority of them belonged to the science group (20) and those who had done B.Tech and M. Tech from Punjab (10) (Figure 5.5). A lot of them had done management course like MBA (12) and had taken humanities in school (35). Many of them had also had computers background with MCA/BCA (4), Engineering (5), Hospitality (2) and nursing (4) who instead of migrating to gulf region preferred Canada, Australia and New Zealand. So no systematic pattern was seen with respect to the course background of the aspiring emigrant.

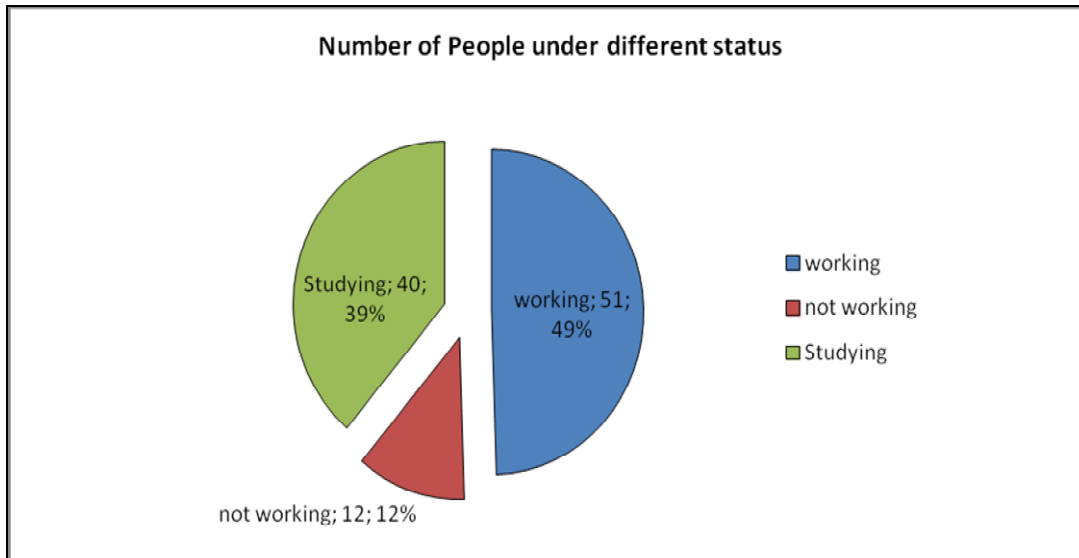
**Figure 5.5: Figure showing the percentage and number of respondents who aspire to emigrate as per different streams of education**



**Conclusion:** No systematic trend was found as to who is more desirous to migrate to a foreign country. People from all backgrounds – science, commerce, humanities, engineering and health were found to want to move out of Punjab and go the developed west.

5) **Current Profession/ Position of the aspiring migrant:** No systematic pattern was seen with respect to the current status of the aspiring emigrants. The current status of the respondents was categorized into currently working (51, 50%), not working (12, 12%) and studying (40, 39%). (Figure 5.6)

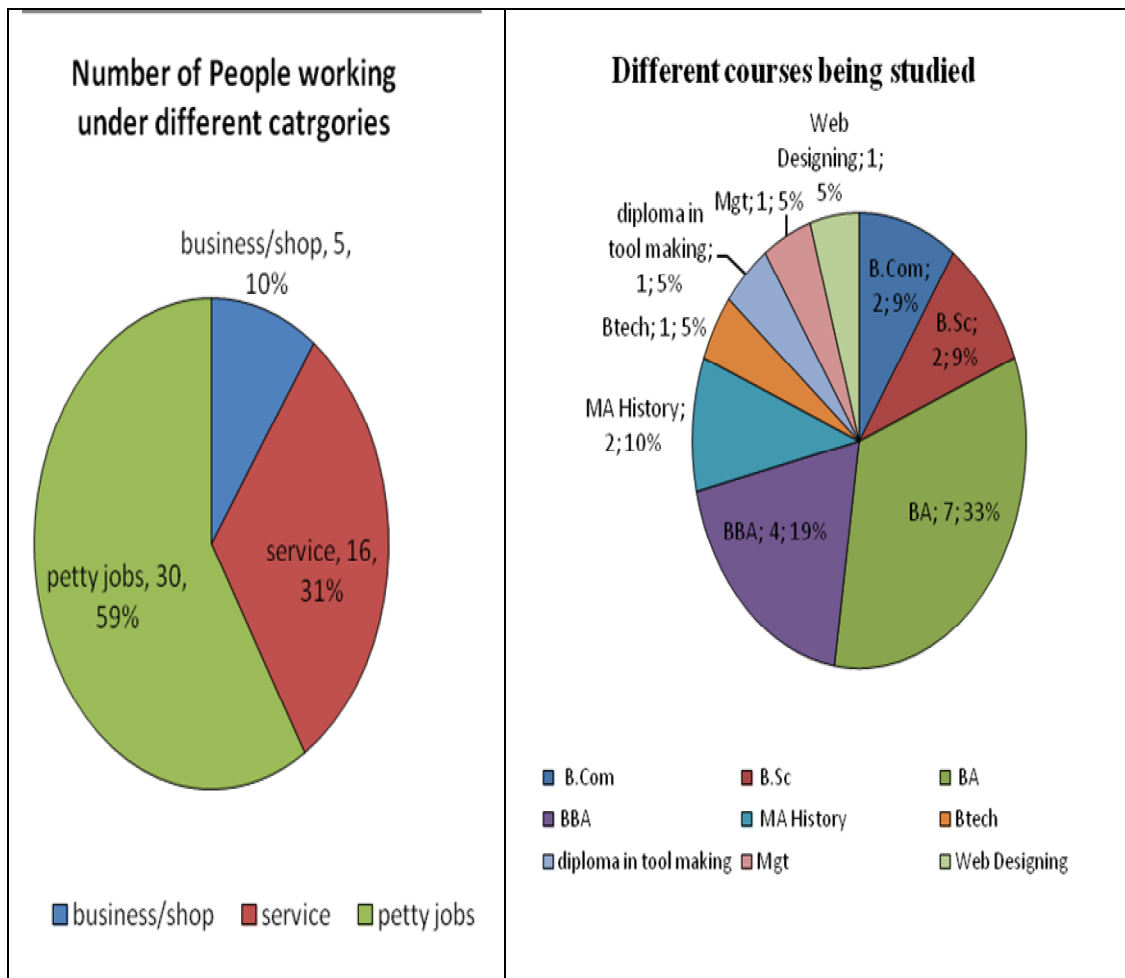
**Figure 5.6: Figure showing the percentage and number of aspiring emigrants as per their current status of working or not working or studying**



Those found to be working (49%) were engaged in professions like service - 16 (31%), own business or shop-5 (10%) and petty jobs -30 (59 %). Respondents under service category were mostly working as teachers (10), nurses (5) and drivers (1). Most of them had petty or part time jobs working as waiter in a restaurant, compounder at a clinic or receptionist. Only 10% of them had their own shop or were running their own business. (Figure 5.7)

A lot of respondents (39%) who were currently studying and still doing under graduate courses like B.Com, BBA or B.Sc, Diploma in hotel management and computer science were found to be ready to leave their studies and go abroad for further studies or work. A few of them (12%) were unemployed. Most of these unemployed had a diploma/certificate in courses like Computer, hospitality, management and theatre. Some had also done courses like MBA and M.A. (Punjabi) and M. A. (History). (Figure 5.7)

**Figure 5.7: Figure showing the percentage and number of aspiring emigrants working under different categories and the different courses pursued by them**



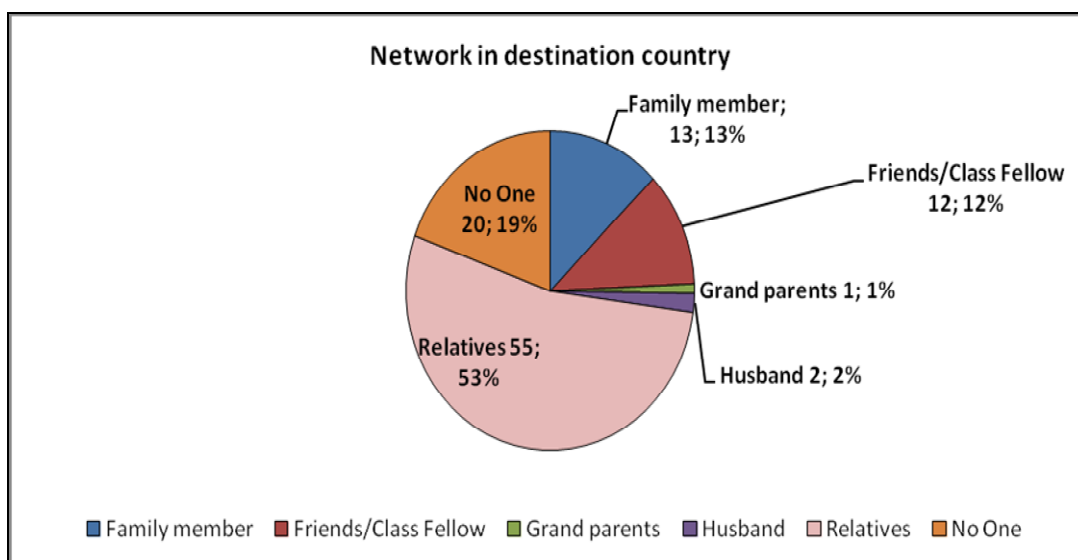
**Conclusion:** Aspiration to emigrate existed both in case of those who were working and those who were studying currently in Punjab. This is somewhat contradictory to what Carling (2002) says that aspiration to emigrate is low among the employed aspirants. Our study did not find any particular pattern with respect to employment status of the aspiring emigrants.

**6) Role of Networks in affecting aspirations:** Theories of migration and studies say that networks are an important part of the migration process and play a vital role in inspiring the prospective emigrants. In our study, though 55(53%) respondents had some relatives in their destination country, 20(19%) of them did not have any connections or relatives in their dream country. For them actual

presence of a known person has been replaced by virtual presence in the form of internet, media and newspapers (Figure 5.8). The definition of relatives was also considered to be very wide and different in case of Punjab. Even people belonging to the same village and town were considered to be as relatives by the people of Punjab, despite the absence of any blood relationship. The close relatives included elder/younger brothers or sisters staying in destination country.

**Conclusion:** For the people of Punjab, both the definition of relatives and networks has changed over time.

**Figure 5.8: Figure showing the various known persons in the destination country acting as network**

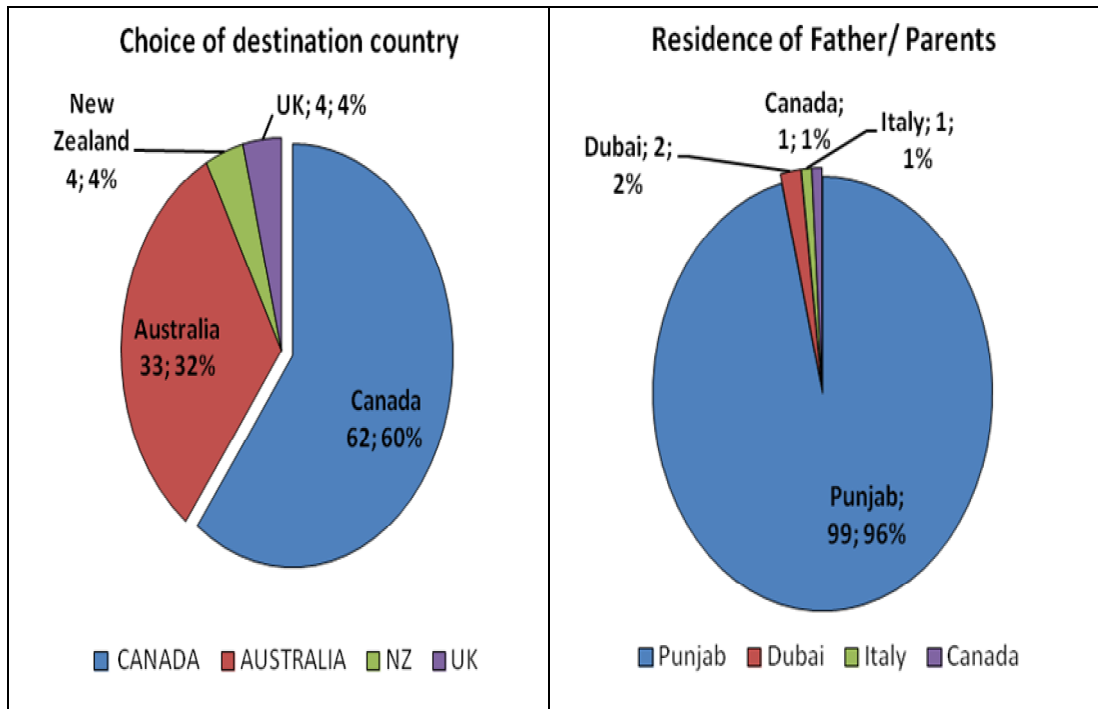


#### 5.4 Other characteristics of the aspiring emigrant and their families, affecting aspiration to emigrate

**1) Choice of the destination country and Residence of Father/parents:** With the exception of a few (4), most of the aspiring migrants had both their parents in Punjab 99%. Still they wanted to migrate to a foreign country leaving their parents behind (Figure 5.9). What is interesting is that out of our sample of 103, three migrants had their parents in a foreign country which was different from the choice of their destination country. Two had their father in Dubai but they

themselves wanted to go to Canada and one had his parents in Italy but he sought to go to Australia showing that the desire to move to a foreign country in the developed West is much stronger than the desire to be with the parents and that the destination country is not automatically the one where they have their parents/family.

**Figure 5.9: Figure showing the Choice of destination country and place of residence of parents of the aspiring emigrants**

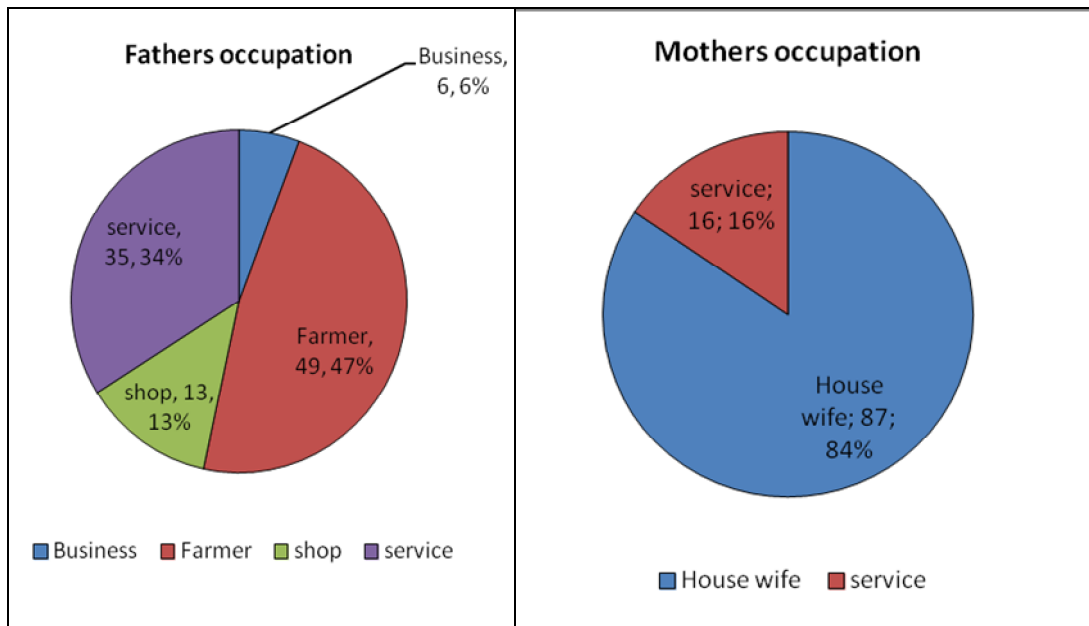


**Conclusion:** Aspiring emigrants from Punjab do not make the decision to migrate or not to migrate on the basis of the presence of a family member in a foreign country if they are not living in the developed west. And this also applies to the choice of their destination country.

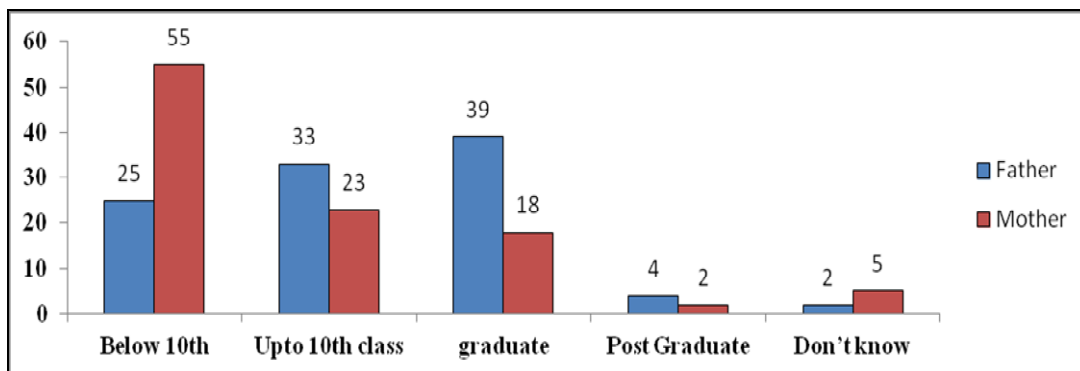
2) **Occupation and educational level of parents:** Majority of the respondents of Punjab (49, 47%) stated farmer as the profession of their fathers and the mothers of most of them were housewives (87, 84%). Only 15 respondents had their mothers working/ retired from service (both government and private). The size of the farm land showed variations in the form of small, medium and large land holdings. The fact that fathers of majority of the respondents were farmers shows that there are families in Punjab who are still engaged directly or indirectly in

agriculture and making their livelihood out of it and that Punjab is by and large an agricultural state. (Figure 5.10) The other occupations stated by various respondents were service - Government and Private Company – (35 respondents); 12 had their fathers running small shops and fathers of 5 respondents were into business of their own.

**Figure 5.10: Figure showing the occupation of the parents of the aspiring emigrants**



**Figure 5.11: Figure showing the educational level of the parents of the aspiring emigrants**



Most of the respondents had parents who had not even studied up to 10<sup>th</sup> class (father - 25, and mother - 55). Very few had their parents as graduates and

Post graduates (Graduate: Father -39, mother -18 and Post graduate: father - 4, mother - 2). (Figure 5.11)

**Conclusion: Effect of the occupation and educational level of parents on the desire to emigrate:** There was little variation with respect to the occupation of parents of the migrants desiring to emigrate as most of them had their fathers engaged in agricultural activities and mothers as housewives. Most of the respondents' parents were not even 10<sup>th</sup> pass with very few parents having a post graduate degree.

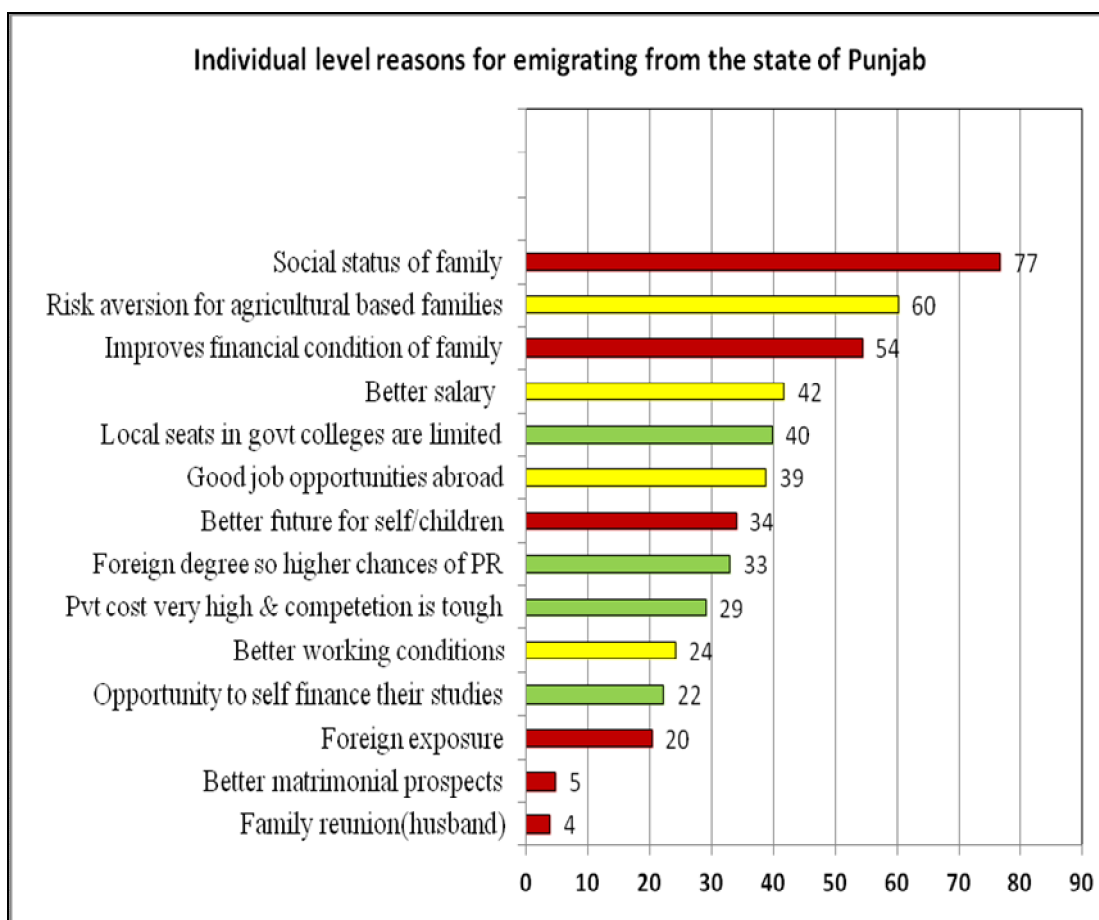
### **5.5 Reasons for emigrating, as given by the aspiring emigrants from Punjab**

The various theories of migration talk about a lot of reasons because of which a person may decide to emigrate. These have been broadly classified into various 'push and pull' factors working both at the home country and the host country level. Though theoretically these individual level reasons can be categorized into economic and social reasons to migrate, practically it was not possible to segregate them into water tight compartments. As our two respondents could be divided into those going for work and those going for studies, the study has tried to divide the reasons accordingly. Some reasons have been taken to be as common for both the categories.

There were various reasons for migrating as stated by our respondents. The reasons given by the respondents have been given in figure 5.12. It was found that going to a foreign country, specifically Canada, was considered to be a status symbol by most of the respondents. It is considered to be a 'culture' which almost everyone in Punjab wants to follow by sending one or more of their family members to Canada or some preferred countries of the west. Reasons like enhancement of social status of the family, improving financial condition of the family, attaining foreign exposure and better matrimonial prospects (shaded as maroon) were common to both those who were going for jobs and for studies. Reasons like risk aversion for agricultural based families, better salary and better working condition (shaded in yellow) were the reasons mainly given by those who were already working in Punjab but were either getting low salary or were facing a mismatch between their education and job profile. The reason for migrating

stated by most of those already working were low salary, unsatisfactory working conditions, irregular employment, mismatch between their qualification and the job currently being done by them. A few of those who were working specially as teachers and nurses felt that they were being underpaid or were not happy with their working conditions. Others were engaged in petty jobs like running a shop or working as a driver and thus wanted to go abroad to earn better salary. Out of those who were not working included married men whose wives wanted to go abroad and earn instead. Some reasons like limited seats in government colleges, prestige attached to a foreign degree, high competition and high cost of private education at home (shaded in green) were given by those who were emigrating for studies.

**Figure 5.12: Figure showing the various reasons given by aspiring emigrants for emigrating from Punjab**





The study also categorised **reasons for migration as per gender**. Though most of the married women had their husbands in the destination country thus making family union as one of the reasons for migrating, some had their husbands in Punjab either not working or doing petty jobs. Hence, these females wanted to go abroad and work and earn for the family highlighting the social stigma present in Punjab where females are considered as a ladder to migrate to a foreign country. A few of them even said that they wanted to migrate “for better future of their children” and ensure that their children have access to better facilities like education, health, safety and social security which they were not currently getting in Punjab. The other reasons that were given extensively by females for migrating included better matrimonial prospects or reunion with husband. The main reason cited by males was to have a better economic condition by earning more; they felt that better employment opportunities existed abroad.

**Some of the reasons are supported by the existing theories of migration.** Going abroad was also considered to be a means of risk aversion, as stated by ‘New Economics of Labour Migration’ theory which says that migration is used as a means of risk aversion when market fails to compensate for certain losses occurring due to natural phenomenon like drought or hurricane. As stated earlier most of our respondents wanted to migrate to Canada, some to Australia and a few to New Zealand. It was found that most of their destination countries were from “developed world” particularly Canada and Australia. It was found that though most of them choose their destination country where they had a friend, relative or family member, as stated by the network theory, there were some cases where the aspiring migrant did not wish to migrate to the country where they had their friends or relatives. The reason for choosing a different destination country was related to their purpose of migrating – to get a permanent residence (PR) in the developed world - thus showing that though networks play an important role in making a choice of destination country, in case of Punjab it is not the sole criteria.

## 5.6 Conclusion

The performance of Punjab in certain critical areas of development like agriculture, health and education and employment is much better than the performance of some other states of India. Though it is doing excellent in the agriculture sector, this sector is not preferred by the educated youth of Punjab for working and thus they prefer to go abroad and work there. It was found that unemployment is not a serious problem in Punjab, but the working conditions, and the mismatch between job and salary being offered and the qualification of the respondents can be one of the reasons for desire to emigrate. In education sector though at macro level Punjab has been able to attain high literacy levels and reduce dropout rates, disparities were seen among rural and urban districts of Punjab with respect to the number of schools in villages, literacy rates of both male and female, Pupil-teacher ratio and number of recognised colleges offering popular courses. This can be a probable reason to explain why students from Punjab are ready to leave their studies locally and go abroad and study.

An in-depth analysis and cross questioning with the respondents revealed that the real reason for migrating was to ultimately get a permanent residence (PR) status in their destination country. Many people do go to other countries like the gulf, for some time, where they earn money, but they desire to ultimately want to migrate to their dream country for PR.

An analysis of the ability and the factors affecting it are discussed in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION: MACRO AND MICRO LEVEL FACTORS AFFECTING ABILITY TO EMIGRATE IN THE STATE OF PUNJAB**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

In this chapter a detailed analysis and discussion will be done with respect to another objective of the study which is related to the ability of aspiring emigrants from Punjab to cross the international borders of Canada and Australia successfully through legal means. To enter into any country a person needs a visa which is issued by the host country only if the current immigration conditions of that country are met. If these conditions are not met by the aspiring emigrant he/she may not get visa and thus fail in his/her attempt to emigrate. To see if non- fulfillment of the current conditions results in failed emigration from the state of Punjab, we will first analyze the present ways of entering into Canada and Australia and the conditions that emigrants need to fulfill if they want to immigrate to these countries. Then we will analyze how far these conditions affect their ability to emigrate. To see if the current conditions are affecting the ability to emigrate or if there are other factors affecting emigration, the aspiration-ability conceptual framework given by Carling (2002), which has been discussed earlier in Chapter 4, will be used. With the help of this model we will find out what factors, both at macro and micro levels, may be affecting ability to emigrate for the people of Punjab.

#### **6.2 Types of visas used as a mode of entry**

There can be many ways through which an aspiring emigrant may legally be able to enter Canada and Australia. We have discussed in detail only the types of visas which are most commonly used by the people of Punjab to enter in these two countries and the conditions that they need to meet under these types of visas.

### **6.2.1 Emigration to Canada**

An emigrant has the option of using any of the following visas if they want to enter Canada. They can apply to visit, study, and work in Canada or they can apply for a refugee protection there (<http://www.cic.gc.ca>). Apart from the above mentioned visas, Canada started Express Entry System with effect from 1<sup>st</sup> January, 2015 which provides a faster and easier way to skilled workers who want to permanently settle in Canada. The study found that the aspiring emigrants from Punjab most commonly use the work or study visa to emigrate or enter through express entry system for skilled workers. Each of these visas and their conditions are discussed in detail later in this chapter.

### **6.2.2 Emigration to Australia**

If a person wants to emigrate to Australia they have the option of visiting under the holiday or vacation visa, student visa, work visa, business activity visa, permanent residence (PR) visa or Partner or spouse visa (where a person can migrate to Australia as partner or spouse) or medical treatment visa (<https://www.border.gov.au> ). It was found that out of these visas aspiring emigrants from Punjab usually go under the work or student visa, the conditions of both have been discussed in detail later in this chapter.

## **6.3 Conceptual framework for testing Ability**

As stated earlier, the conceptual framework given by Carling (2002) has been used to understand ability in the migration process. This framework says that the ability to emigrate is affected by certain macro and micro level factors. At macro level the various emigration policies of the destination country and their implementation affects the ability to emigrate. At individual level certain characteristics like age, gender, educational level of the aspiring migrant and the existence of family history of migration and social networks affect the ability to migrate. The role of household capabilities also cannot be ignored in this process.

### **6.3.1 Ability to meet the various conditions of Canada**

In our study a total of 103 people had aspiration to emigrate to their destination country. Out of these 103 people 89 had failed to emigrate (55 out of 62 to Canada and 34 out of 41 to Australia), as they were not able to fulfill one or the other condition of emigration. So in the next section we will see the various conditions specified under various types of visas that need to be fulfilled to be able to emigrate successfully to Canada and Australia. Then we attempt to analyze which condition is the most difficult for the people of Punjab to fulfill, thus resulting in failed emigration.

### **6.4 Conditions specified under different types of visas for emigrating to Canada and Ability of the aspiring emigrants from Punjab to meet these conditions**

As stated earlier if an individual from Punjab wants to immigrate to Canada, he usually applies under the student visa, work visa or express entry system. All these three categories have certain conditions that need to be fulfilled for getting a visa.

**6.4.1 Federal Skilled Traders Program (work visa):** This type of programme is used for the people who want to emigrate on the basis of being qualified in a particular skilled trade and want to become permanent residents of the country. The aspiring emigrants of Punjab usually apply under the federal skill trader visa (discussed above). It was found that these emigrants were able to meet all the conditions, excepting the one related to the language ability in English. They could meet other conditions either directly or they had the option of an alternative visa under which they could apply or had a 'way out' to fulfill these conditions. To be eligible to apply under this category, the minimum conditions that need to be fulfilled are as follows:

**1) Work experience:** The aspiring emigrant must have a minimum of two years full-time work experience or part time work experience for a minimum of 30 hours/week spread over a period of two years in the specified skilled trade in India.

**Ability to meet this condition:** Most of our failed emigrants either had work experience in their specified skill or had the option of getting it arranged in the form

of a fake employment certificate by paying money to agents. Those who did not have work experience had the option of applying under the student visa (discussed later).

**2) Job requirements as per the National Occupational Classification (NOC) or a certificate of Qualification:** Canada has a national occupational classification system through which the government of Canada classifies different jobs and occupations. The classification under this system is done on the basis of the type of skill work and job duties a person does. For emigration purpose the list is divided into five levels. These levels are further subdivided into various parts: major and minor groups. **Level Skill Type 0** (zero) includes management jobs which cover people working as restaurant managers, mine managers, shore captains (fishing). **Skill Level A** includes professional jobs and people usually need a degree from a university for these jobs. Occupations covered under this are doctors, dentists, architects etc. **Skill Level B** has technical jobs and skilled trades. People usually need a college diploma or to train as an apprentice to do these jobs. Most of the people of Punjab are covered under this or next category and this covers professions like chefs, electricians, plumbers. **Skill Level C** has intermediate jobs under it. These jobs usually need high school and/or job-specific training. Long-haul truck drivers, butchers, food and beverage servers are covered under this level. Last level is **Skill Level D**, including labour jobs. On-the-job training is usually given to people under this category. The experience of an aspiring emigrant should be in one of the skills specified in the NOC. The whole NOC list can be assessed at [www.cic.gc.ca/english/immigrate/skilled/noc.asp](http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/immigrate/skilled/noc.asp)

**Ability to meet this condition:** Most of the failed emigrants were covered under the skill level B or skill C of the NOC list and thus were able to fulfill this condition directly.

**3) Full time employment offer in Canada or certificate of qualification in skilled trade:** To be able to emigrate under this category an emigrant should have an offer letter where his employer (Canadian) has agreed to employ them for a minimum period of one year in case of full time work (i.e. 30 hours of work per week). In case they do not have an offer letter they should have a qualification certificate in trade which is issued by a Canadian provincial or territorial authority.

**Ability to meet this condition:** It was found that to fulfill this condition, aspiring emigrants had the option of getting a fake certificate, the cost of which was around Canadian \$2000 to \$2500. The other strategy which was used by them was that they undertook a short course from a private institution in India so that they were able to get the required qualification certificate.

**4) Meet the specified level of language ability either in English or French language** by taking a language test which is approved by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). This level has to be achieved in four modules - speaking, reading, writing and listening. For speaking and listening modules the specified Canadian Language Benchmark (CLB) is 5 and for reading and writing CLB 4 has to be scored. The results of the test should not be more than two years old when applying for permanent residence.

**Ability to meet this condition:** This condition was most difficult to fulfill for emigrants of Punjab as they were neither able to achieve the required score in the language ability exam nor could they get a fake certificate for the same by giving money, thus resulting in failed emigration to Canada

**6.4.2 Federal skilled Workers (Express Entry System):** The express entry system is comparatively new and was introduced from 1<sup>st</sup> January, 2015. Under this system people who apply for entry into Canada are given certain points on the basis of their qualification, experience and certain other parameters. To be able to migrate to Canada the applicant should have a minimum of 67 points out of hundred. Those who score less than 67 cannot emigrate. It was found that they find it difficult to attain the minimum level of language ability score although they meet the other conditions either directly or use money to fulfill them.

The CIC under this system accesses the application based on six factors of selection which are as follows-

**1) Educational Level:** Different points are assigned for different educational levels of the aspiring emigrants. A maximum of 25 points can be scored under this category. The different slabs for different educational qualifications are as follows:

**Table: 6.1: Table showing different points for different levels of educational qualification under Express Entry System of Canada**

Educational Qualification	Maximum 25 points
1) University degree at the Doctoral (PhD) level or equal degree	25 points
2) University degree at the Master's level or equal degree	23 points
3) Two or more Canadian post-secondary degrees or diplomas or equal where at least one must be for a program of at least three years	22 points
4) Canadian post-secondary degree or diploma for a program of three years or longer, or Equivalent	21 points
5) Canadian post-secondary degree or diploma for a two-year program, or equal	19 points
6) Canadian post-secondary degree or diploma for a one-year program, or equal	15 points
7) Canadian high school diploma, or equal	5 points

**Source:** <http://www.cic.gc.ca>

**Ability to meet this condition:** As all of our respondents had finished their school level studies (table 6.2), they were able to meet the minimum requirement condition of education.



**Table 6.2: Table showing the Educational Qualification of the various Failed Emigrants to Canada**

Qualification of respondents	No. of respondents	Qualification of Respondents	No. of respondents
M.Com	1	Humanities + Computer	1
Engineering	2	Management	11
Hospitality sector	2	Nursing	4
Humanities (M.A)	20	Science	6
MCA	1	B tech/ M tech	5
Theatre	2		

As per the qualification of our respondents most of them fell in the category 3, 4, 5 or 6 and thus were able to score 22, 21, 19 or 15 points for education.

**2) Years of Work Experience:** An aspiring emigrant gets a maximum of 15 points if he/she has a full-time or part-time work experience in any of the areas which are specified under the NOC list. The more the number of years of experience, the higher are the points given. A person having no experience is not given any points. The points under this criterion are based on the number of years of experience that an aspiring emigrant has and are as follows:

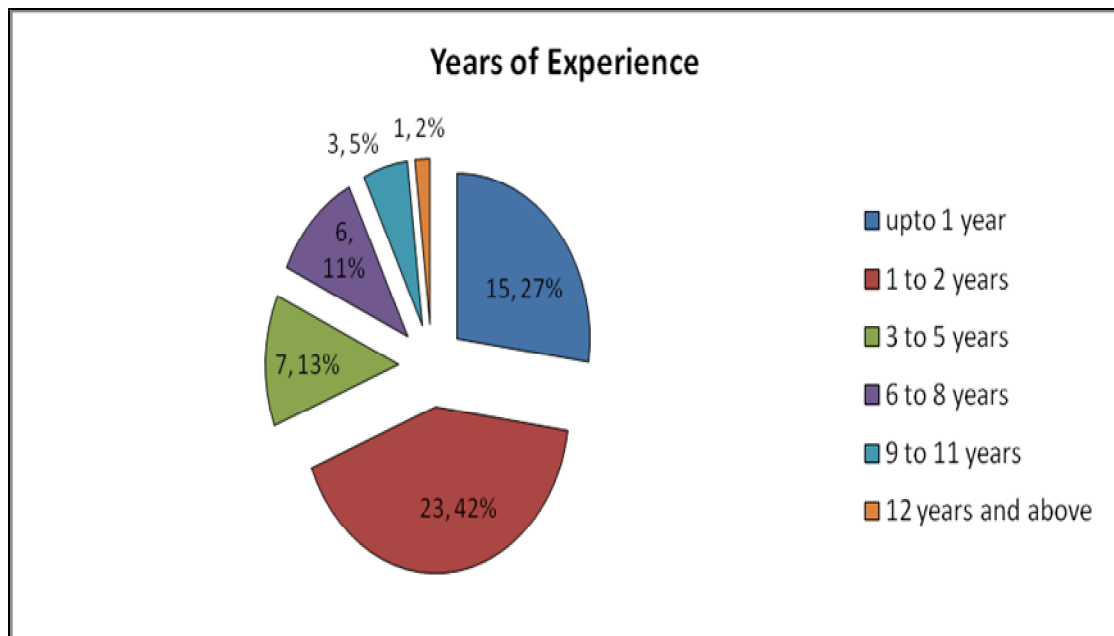
**Table 6.3: Table showing different points for different years of experience under Express Entry System of Canada**

Years of Experience	Points
1 years	9
2-3 years	11
4-5 years	13
6 or more years	15

Source: <http://www.cic.gc.ca>

**Ability to meet this condition:** Most of the failed emigrants were able to meet this condition directly as majority of them had one to two years of experience (42%). Some of them (13%) had 3 to 5 years of experience. Only 2% of the failed emigrants had many years of experience. A huge number of failed respondents 15 (27%) had less than one year of work experience, and thus were not meeting this condition directly under the express entry system. But then these emigrants had the option of applying under the student visa and thus were able to avoid this condition indirectly.

**Figure: 6.1: Figure showing the number of years of experience of the various failed emigrants to Canada**



**4) Age of the Aspiring emigrant:** The applicants get points as per their current age (at the time of applying). Very young (below 18 years) and very old people (above 46 years) are not given any points and thus are indirectly discouraged to apply. The points given to different ages are as follows:

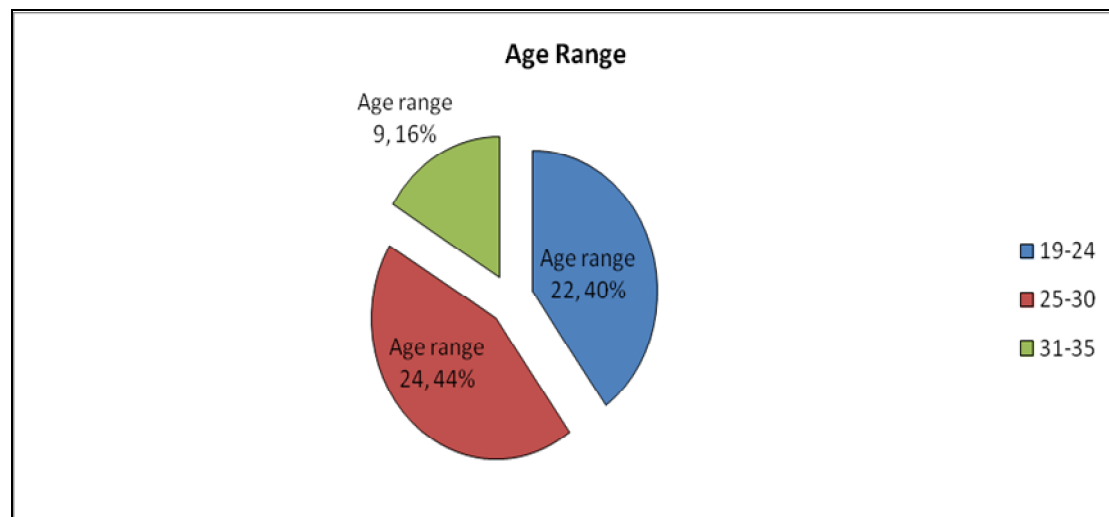
**Table 6.4: Table showing different points for different age groups under Express Entry System of Canada**

Age (in years)	Points	Age (in years)	Points
Under 18	0	41	6
18-35	12	42	5
36	11	43	4
37	10	44	3
38	9	45	2
39	8	46	1
40	7	47 and older	0

Source: <http://www.cic.gc.ca>

**Ability to meet this condition:** All the failed emigrants were above 18 years of age and below 35 years in age.

**Figure: 6.2: Figure showing the different age categories of the failed emigrants to Canada**



So they were able to meet this condition directly and got 11 or 12 points under the age ability condition.

**5) Employment Offer:** Points are also given if an emigrant has a job offer from a Canadian employer. The offer has to be permanent and full time and related to skill

levels O or A or B of the occupation mentioned under the NOC list. In such a case 10 points are given to the prospective emigrant.

**Ability to meet this condition:** As already mentioned almost all of the failed emigrants were covered under skill level B or C of the NOC and thus could meet this criterion directly. Those who were not covered under the required level of skill had the option of getting a fake certificate of employment (by giving a very high bribe) and thus had a way out to fulfill this condition. They also had the option of applying as a student emigrant.

**6) Adaptability Points:** A maximum of 10 points are given if the aspiring emigrants or their common law partner/spouse fulfill certain conditions which are as follows:

**Table: 6.5: Table showing different points for different factors of Adaptability under Express Entry System of Canada**

<b>Adaptability</b>	<b>Max 10 points</b>
<b>1) Spouse or partner's language level:</b> If the aspiring emigrants spouse or common-law partner has a language level in either English or French at CLB 4 level or higher in all four language abilities (speaking, listening, reading and writing), they get 5 points	5
<b>2) Past study in Canada</b> In case the emigrant has undertaken a Canadian secondary or post secondary program of two years.	5
<b>3) Spouse or partner's past study in Canada</b> In case the emigrant's spouse or common-law partner has finished at least two academic years of full-time study (in a program at least two years long) at a secondary or post-secondary school in Canada.	5
<b>4) Past work in Canada</b> In case the emigrant has at least for one year done full-time work in Canada in a occupation listed in Skill Type O or Skill Levels A or B of the National Occupational Classification (NOC), he/she gets 10 points.	10
<b>5) Spouse or common-law partner's past work in Canada</b> In case the emigrant's spouse / partner did at least one year of full-time work in Canada on a valid work permit or while authorized to work in Canada, 5 points are given	5

<p><b>6) Relatives in Canada</b></p> <p>In case the emigrant or spouse or common-law partner, have a relative they earn 5 points. These relatives can be a parent, grandparent, child, grandchild, child of a parent (sibling), child of a grandparent (aunt or uncle), or grandchild of a parent (niece or nephew), who is living in Canada, 18 years or older and a Canadian citizen or permanent resident.</p>	5
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Source: <http://www.cic.gc.ca>

**Ability to meet this condition:** Most of the respondents under this ability condition were found to fall in category 6 - where they or their spouse had a relative in Canada and thus they were able to score points under this factor. A new trend which has come up due to the presence of this criterion is the rise in the number of ‘contract marriages’, that is there is demand for spouse/ partner who has cleared the language ability criteria and contractual marriages are shown to be real to earn points under this category.

**7) English and/or French language skills:** This criterion fetches a maximum of 28 points if a person is able to communicate in English and/or French and is able to score the minimum points, in a language test which is taken from an agency approved by CIC. Points are given after testing the speaking, listening, reading and writing abilities. A person needs a minimum CLB of 7 to clear this ability. There are different minimum points for all the four modules of language and these points are as follows:

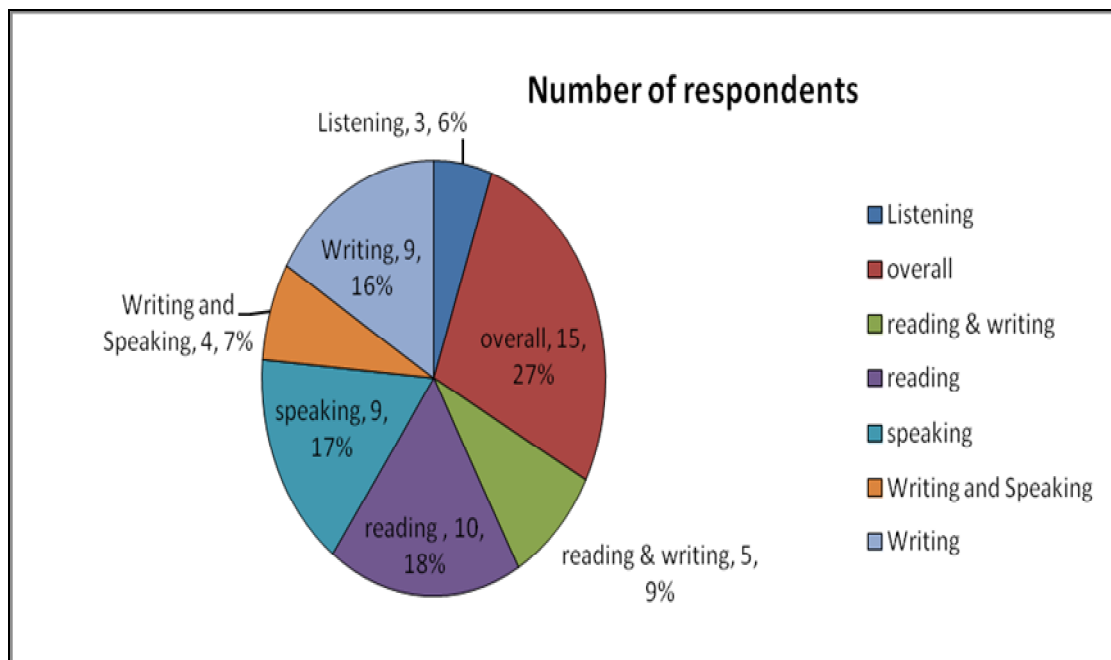
**Table 6.6: Table showing different points for different levels of Proficiency in English Language under Express Entry System of Canada**

Official Language	Score Points			
	Speaking	Listening	Reading	Writing
CLB level 9 or higher	6	6	6	6
CLB level 8	5	5	5	5
CLB level 7	4	4	4	4
Below CLB level 7	Not eligible to apply			

Source: <http://www.cic.gc.ca>

**Ability to meet this condition:** This criterion was considered to be the most difficult for the failed emigrants as they were neither able to fulfill this condition directly by getting the minimum score in language test nor had they any means of surpassing this condition.

**Figure: 6.3: Figure showing the different categories of English language proficiency test in which the emigrants to Canada failed**



So, this was found to be the most difficult condition which they had to fulfill in order to emigrate. It was found that majority of them 38 (43%) were not able to clear this test overall and failed in all the modules of testing (Figure 6.3). A lot of them 13 (14%) failed only in reading and 14 (16%) failed only in writing module.

### 6.4.3 Student visa (to Canada)

The aspiring emigrants from Punjab also had the option of migrating to Canada as a student on student visa. It was found that a lot of people who are not able to meet the emigration conditions under skilled workers and skilled traders program, apply under the student visa in order to emigrate to Canada. As a travel agent put it, at

present more people apply as students as compared to other types of visas. But in order to be able to emigrate under this category they have to fulfill certain conditions which are as follows:

**1) Proof of letter of acceptance:** If a person is going abroad for further studies, he/she has to provide a letter of acceptance (in original), issued by the school/college/university where they intend to study.

**Ability to meet this condition:** This condition is not difficult for aspiring emigrants to fulfill as they attach the letter of acceptance with their application.

**2) Identity proof:** Under this, the applicant has to provide a valid passport or necessary travel documents and two passport size photographs of themselves and their family members (in case they are accompanying them).

**Ability to meet this condition:** This condition is also easily met as they have a valid passport and are able to give the necessary documents.

**3) Financial capability:** This condition requires a person to show his financial ability to support himself and his family members (in case they are accompanying him/her to Canada). Presence of sufficient funds can be shown by any one of the following statement of Canadian bank account where sufficient money has been transferred, proof of student loan taken from bank, last four years bank statement, a bank draft issued in foreign currency of the required amount, a letter from person or institution (Indian or Canadian ) sponsoring the tuition fees. At present the minimum amount of funds that an applicant needs to show to be able to emigrate is as follows:

**Table 6.7: Table showing the amount of funds needed to meet Financial Ability Condition of Canada**

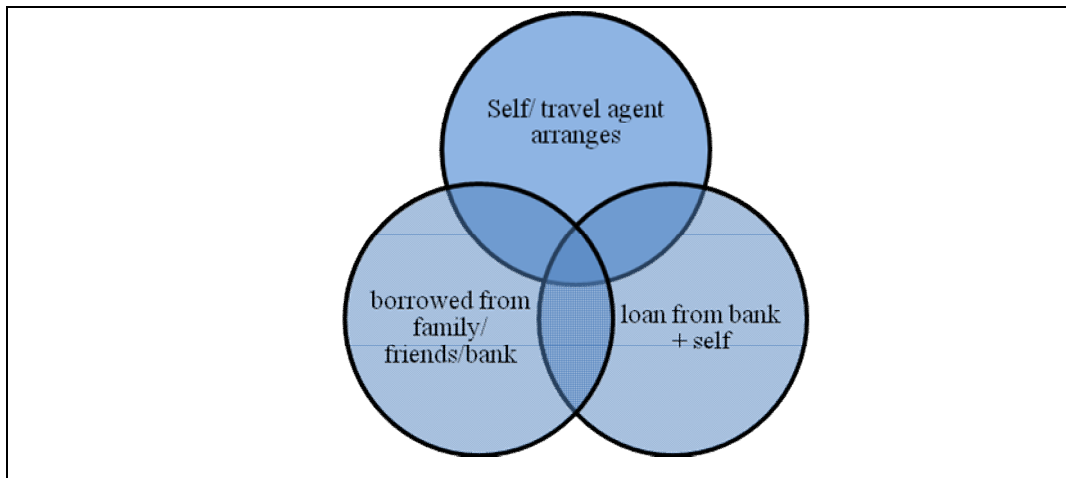
<b>Number of persons</b>	<b>Canada except Quebec (Amount in \$)</b>	<b>Quebec (Amount in \$)</b>
Single student	Tuition fees +\$10,000 for 1 year (or \$833 per month)	Tuition fees + \$11,000 for 1 year (or \$917 per month)
+ one family member	\$4,000 for 1 year (or \$333 per month)	<b>For a person 18 years of age or older :</b> \$5,100 more for 1 year (or \$425 per month) <b>For a person under 18 years of age:</b> \$3,800 more for 1 year(or \$317 per month)
+ each additional family member	\$3,000 for a 12-month period per dependent child of any age (or \$255 per month)	<b>For a person 18 years of age or older :</b> \$5,125 more for 1 year (or \$427 per month) <b>For a person under 18 years of age:</b> \$1,903 more for 1 year (or \$159 per month)

Source: <http://www.cic.gc.ca>

**Ability to meet this condition:** It was found that this condition was not at all difficult for the aspiring emigrants from Punjab because of the presence of a number of agents, who got the required money arranged from banks or financial institutions for a fee. As already stated, most of the emigrants had ancestral agricultural land against which they were able to get loan from the banks. Some others had relatives and friends in Canada who were ready to sponsor their emigration. The various sources of the funds were as follows:

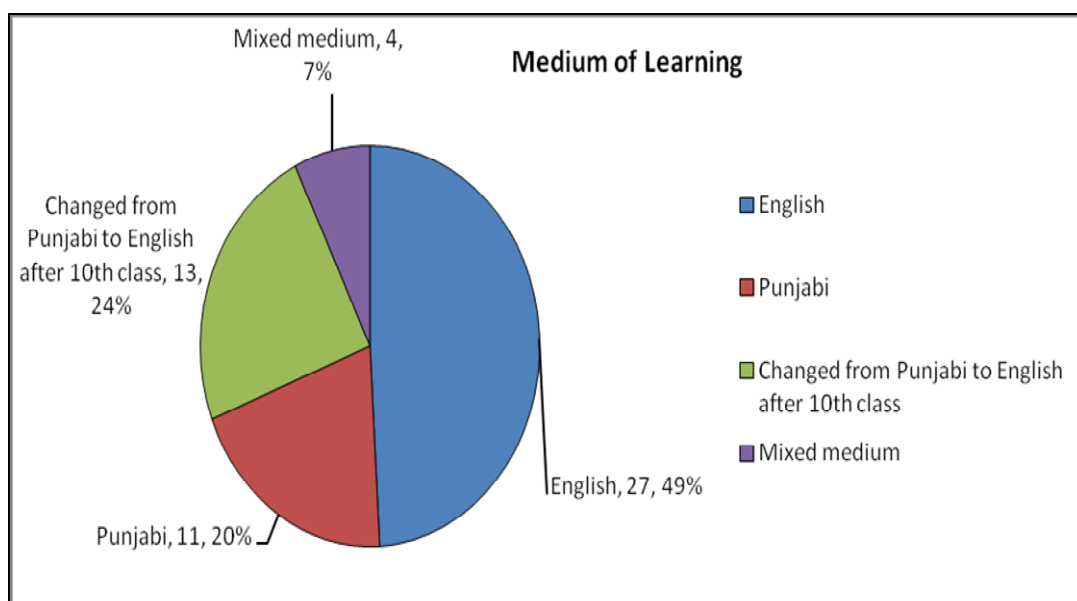


**Figure: 6.4: Figure showing the different sources from where financial assistance is taken**



4) **Proof of language proficiency test-** Under this condition the applicant has to give a certificate of proof of having obtained the specified level of language proficiency in English language, in the four modules of listening, speaking, writing and reading. It was found that the aspiring emigrants were not able to fulfill this condition of clearing the four modules, despite the fact that most of them either had taken English as a medium of instruction right at school level or had shifted to English medium later in their studies. (Figure 6.5)

**Figure: 6.5: Figure showing the medium of learning of the failed emigrants to Canada**



Some of the failed emigrants had a mix of Punjabi and English as their medium of instruction. A sample of the test paper is given as annexure IV

### **6.5 Conditions specified under different types of visas for emigrating to Australia and Ability of the aspiring emigrants from Punjab to meet these conditions**

Apart from Canada, Australia is turning out to be another highly preferred destination for the people of Punjab. As per an Australian newspaper - *Indian Herald* dated July 23, 2012, there has been a 'Rise of Indians in Australia'. It says Punjabi is the fastest growing language in Australia and Hinduism is the fastest growing religion. As per the census figures released by the *Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011*, Sikhism is among the top 20 religions practiced in the country. It says while there were only 23,164 Punjabi speakers in Australia in 2006, the number of people stating Punjabi as their mother language increased to 71,230 in 2011. This number has grown by 207% over five years. Punjabi is now listed among the top 20 languages spoken in Australia (coming in at number 13), as 0.3% of the Australian population speaks this language. As per Australian government, Department of Immigration and Border Protection, Indian students are an important part of Australia's international student sector, making up 10% in 2012-13. Internationally Australia ranks 3rd (behind The United States of America and United Kingdom) as a destination for Indians studying abroad, accounting for 6% of all its international students in 2011.

If an individual from Punjab wants to immigrate to Australia, he has the option of applying under the student visa, temporary work (skilled) visa and skilled independent visa. He also has the option of applying using skill select method, whereby people who are interested in migrating to Australia submit an expression of interest (EOI) via skill select. If the applicant's skills and qualifications meet the requirements of the Australian government, they may be nominated by a state or territory level government or may be nominated by an Australian employer. Aspiring emigrants from Punjab usually apply either under the student visa or under the skilled independent visa. These two categories have certain conditions that need to be fulfilled for getting a visa.

**6.5.1 Skilled independent visa (subclass 189):** If a person is not nominated by his or her employer or not sponsored by a family member or nominated by a state or territory government, he has the option of applying under this type of visa. This visa allows a person to work and live permanently in Australia. The conditions that need to be fulfilled under this visa are as follows:

**1) Occupation of the applicant should be featuring in the skilled occupations list (SOL):** Under this condition the aspiring emigrants to Australia should have the relevant experience in an occupation that is listed under the skilled occupation list of Australia. Australian government keeps on modifying this list from time to time and it was last modified in 2016 when some existing categories were removed from the list and a few new ones were added. This list is available on their official emigration website.

**Ability to meet this condition:** The broad categories of this list are quite similar to the NOC list of Canada and so the occupation of most of the aspiring emigrants to Australia was covered under this list. Those whose experience and occupation did not match with the occupations mentioned in the SOL, had the option of applying as a student.

**2) A suitable certificate of skills assessment for related occupation:** The aspirant emigrant under this condition needs to obtain a certificate from Australian government stating that he/she has experience in the same occupation as is mentioned in the SOL list and he/she is eligible to work in Australia.

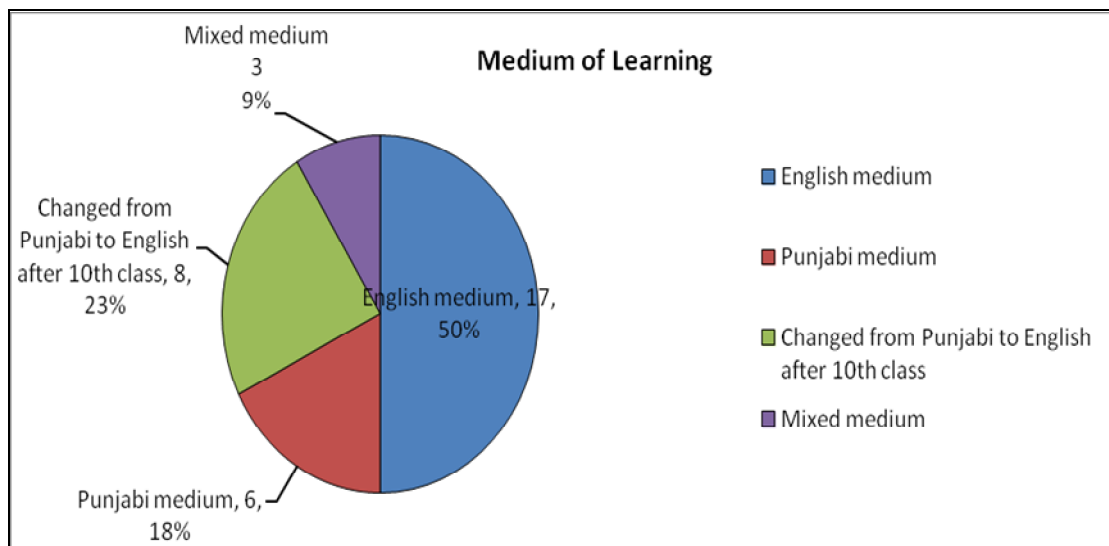
**Ability to meet this condition:** It was found that the prospective emigrants either had the relevant certificate or had the option of getting a fake certificate for a price.

**3) Proficiency in English:** The aspiring emigrants were required to have achieved a score of at least 6 in each of the four test components (speaking, reading, listening and writing) if they wanted to migrate to Australia. This score had to be obtained either by undertaking an International English Language Testing System (IELTS) test the results of which should not be more than three years old from the date of the visa application or they should have **achieved a score of at least 'B' in each of the four**

**test components of an Occupational English Test (OET)** that has been undertaken in the three years immediately prior to lodging the visa application.

**Ability to meet this condition:** As per our respondents this was the most difficult condition for them to fulfill as they neither had the ability to meet this condition directly by getting the required score of 6 or level B, nor could they use money and fame to get this condition fulfilled. Many of them/the failed migrants failed either in one of the four modules or were unable to obtain the required score overall in all the modules (Figure 6.5)

**Figure 6.6 Figure showing the medium of instruction of the failed emigrants to Australia**



**6.5.2 Students visa (to Australia):** An aspiring emigrant from Punjab who wants to emigrate from India to Australia also has the option of applying and migrating as a student to this country. However to be able to do so, she/he needs to fulfill certain conditions specified by their government. These conditions are as follows:

1) **Confirmation of enrolment:** If a person needs to emigrate as a student to Australia he needs to give a confirmation of enrolment (CoE), issued by the Australian government, for the required course of study along with the letter of offer from the educational institution in which he has enrolled. The course of study to which enrolled should have been registered on the Commonwealth Register of Institutions and Courses Overseas Students (CRICOS).

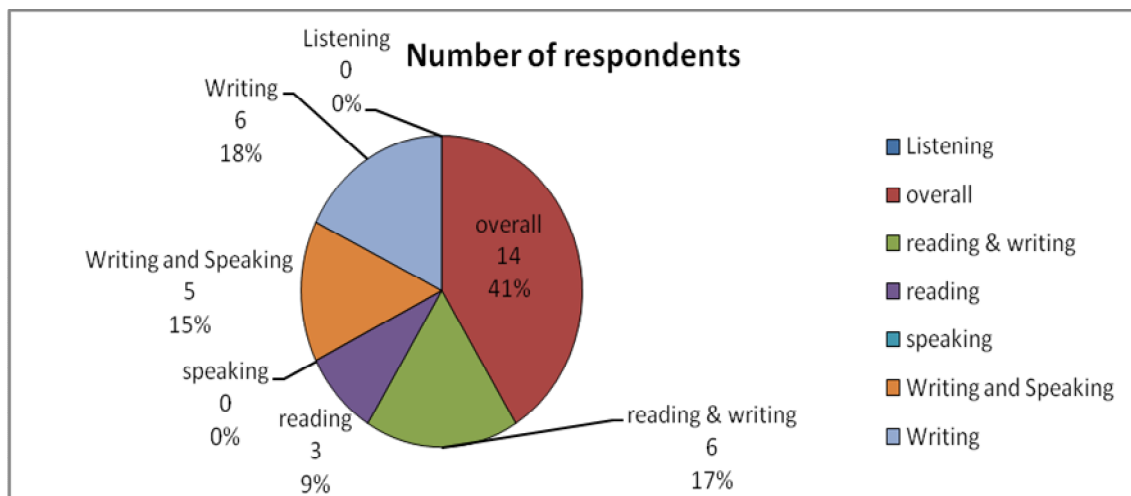
**Ability to meet this requirement:** We found that meeting this requirement was not difficult for the prospective emigrants from Punjab as they attach a copy of the letter of confirmation of enrolment along with the application for visa.

2) **The genuine temporary entrant (GTE) requirement:** This requirement needs to be fulfilled by all the aspiring emigrants who apply under the student visa. Under this condition an applicant is interviewed by a visa assessing officer where they need to satisfy the officer that they will stay in Australia temporarily and will return to their home country once the studies are completed.

**Ability to meet this condition:** It was found that most of the applicants were not able to meet this condition (as told by travel agent who forwards applications of the aspiring emigrants to Australia) as they are not able to give any satisfactory answer with respect to their intentions of settlement in Australia.

3) **Proof of English language skills:** To be able to migrate successfully to Australia, an aspiring emigrant needs to have a required level of proficiency in English language. This condition is met if the prospective emigrant gets an overall score of 5.5 and also in each of the four individual modules. Certificate of this test has to be attached with the application for visa.

**Figure 6.7: Figure showing the different modules of English language proficiency test in which the prospective emigrants to Australia failed**



**Ability to meet this condition:** It was found that the people/the failed migrants of Punjab, who wanted to migrate to Australia, found it most difficult to fulfill this condition. They failed to achieve the required scores either individually in reading, writing, listening or speaking or failed to obtain the required score overall. This was despite the fact that a lot of them were either from English medium background or had switched from Punjabi medium to English medium at school level and also attended the coaching and training given by a coaching centre. A large number of such institutes have sprung up all over the state.

**4) Evidence of Financial capacity:** To be eligible under this condition an aspiring emigrant has to show his capability to pay his course fees, and travel and living costs for himself and any family members coming to Australia and staying with him. At present the living cost is as under:

**Table: 6.8: Table showing the amount required to financial ability condition of Australia**

Living Cost for 12 months (in AUD)	Student guardian or	Partner or spouse	Child
	AUD 19,830	AUD 6,940	AUD 2,970

Source: [www.border.gov.au](http://www.border.gov.au)

**Ability to meet this condition:** It was found that most of the prospective emigrants were able to meet this condition easily due to the presence of loan lending institutions and agents who are involved in this travel business and do this for a fee. It was found that most of them borrowed the required money from banks, lending institutions and family and friends. Some of them made the arrangement for the money by selling a part or whole of their agricultural land.

**5) Have adequate health insurance:** Everyone who wants to migrate to/live in Australia for study or work need to have a health insurance cover as per this condition. This health cover can be obtained either by obtaining Overseas Student Health Cover (OSHC) which provides medical and hospital insurance or through personal contacts.

**Ability to meet this condition:** It was found that this condition was not at all difficult to fulfill for the people of Punjab, as arrangement for a health cover is made by the travel agent for a consideration, with the help of whom these people try to emigrate.

**6) Good character of the emigrant:** This condition lays down that anyone who wishes to migrate into Australia will be assessed for his character and should not have been involved in any illegal activities in the past.

**Ability to meet this condition:** It was found that all the failed emigrants were able to meet this condition.

**6.5.3 Australia’s point system of emigration:** Just like Canada, Australia too has a points system if a person wants to come to their country for permanent settlement. To be eligible to immigrate into Australia an aspiring emigrant needs a minimum of 60 points in total which are given on different factors like Education level, age, work experience of the prospective emigrant. There are different slabs for different levels of these factors. But it was found that very few emigrants from the state of Punjab apply under this type of visa. The categorization of various factors and the points for these factors are as follows:

**1) Age:** A maximum of 30 points can be obtained under this factor. People below 18 years and above 49 years are not given any points. Thus people below 18 and above 49 years of age are discouraged from entering this country. The points for different slabs of age are shown in table 6.9 given below.

**Table: 6.9: Table showing different points for different Age Groups under Australia Points system**

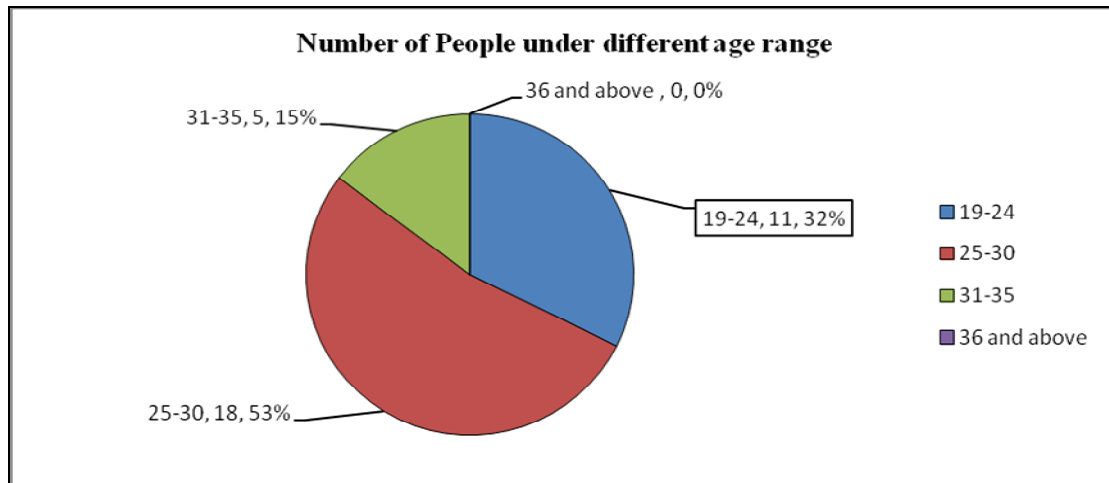
Age (In years)	Points
18 to 24	25
25 to 32	30
33 to 39	25
40 to 44	15
45 to 49	0

Source: [www.border.gov.au](http://www.border.gov.au)

**Ability to meet this condition:** As all our failed emigrants to Australia were between 19 years and 35 years of age, they were able to meet the age requirement. A total of 34

emigrants to Australia were found to have failed to migrate. The division of total failed emigrants according to age factor is given in figure 6.8. Majority of the failed emigrants fall in the age category of 25 to 30 years old.

**Figure 6.8: Figure showing the different age groups to which the failed emigrants to Australia belonged to**



**2) Work experience:** Points are also given - up to a maximum of 15 points - for the number of years for which the prospective emigrant has experience of working. This experience should be in the occupation which happens to feature in the skilled occupation list of Australia. The different slabs for work experience are as follows:

**Table: 6.10: Table showing different points for different Age Groups under Australia Points system**

Years of Experience (Overseas)	Points	Years of Experience (Australian)	Points
Between 3 to 5 years	5	Between 1 to 3 years	5
Between 5 to 8 years	10	Between 3 to 5 years	10
Between 8 to 10 years	15	Between 5 to 8 years	15
		Between 8 to 10 years	20

Source: [www.border.gov.au](http://www.border.gov.au)



**Ability to meet this condition:** It was found that most of the failed emigrants had work experience under the category overseas and thus were able to earn some points under this category. Those who had zero years of experience of working or had experience of working for less than three years had the option of applying under the student visa.

3) **Points for educational qualification:** Points are also given as per the educational qualification of the aspiring emigrant. Different points are given for various levels of qualifications. A maximum of 20 points can be obtained under this factor. The different levels of qualifications and their points are as follows:

**Table 6.11: Table showing different points for different levels of educational qualification**

<b>Educational Qualification</b>	<b>Points</b>
Doctorate degree from an Australian institute or an equivalent recognized standard	20 points
A Bachelors degree with Honours from an Australian recognized standards	15 points
Diploma completed in Australia, trade qualification completed in Australia, or qualification or award of recognized standard	10 points
Diplomas or trade qualifications awarded by an Australian educational institution and meet Australian Study Requirement	5 points

Source: [www.border.gov.au](http://www.border.gov.au)

**Ability to meet this condition:** As most of the failed emigrants had Bachelors degree or Diploma from Punjab they were able to meet this condition of having the required educational qualification. But they were not able to score more than 10 or 15 points under this factor.

4) **Proficiency in English Language:** An aspiring emigrant has to obtain the required minimum level of score in English language test taken - either IELTS or OET (Occupational English Test) - in order to get points under this factor. A minimum of 6

points is needed to qualify this condition although up to 20 points can be obtained under this head. The points at different score levels are as follows:

**Table 6.12: Table showing different points for different levels of English language proficiency under points system of Australia**

Score in English Language	Level of English	Points
IELTS - 6 or OET - C	Competent English	0 points
IELTS - 7 or OET - B	Proficiency English	10 points
IELTS - 8 or OET - A	Superior English	20 points

Source: [www.border.gov.in](http://www.border.gov.in)

**Ability to meet this condition:** It was found that this was the most difficult condition for the aspiring emigrants from Punjab to fulfill. The failed emigrants were not able to score even the minimum required level (band score 6) in their IELTS examination despite the fact that a lot of them had English as the medium of instruction at school level (Figure 6.7). It was thus the non-fulfillment of this condition that was found to result in failed emigration from the state of Punjab. As this condition of language ability is present in all types of visas through which they can go, they could neither bypass this condition nor could they use money or influence to fulfill it.

**5) Miscellaneous factors:** There were some other miscellaneous factors for which an aspiring emigrant may get points. Applicants get a maximum of 5 points for these factors. These various factors are as follows:

**Table 6.13: Table showing the points given for miscellaneous factors under points system of Australia**

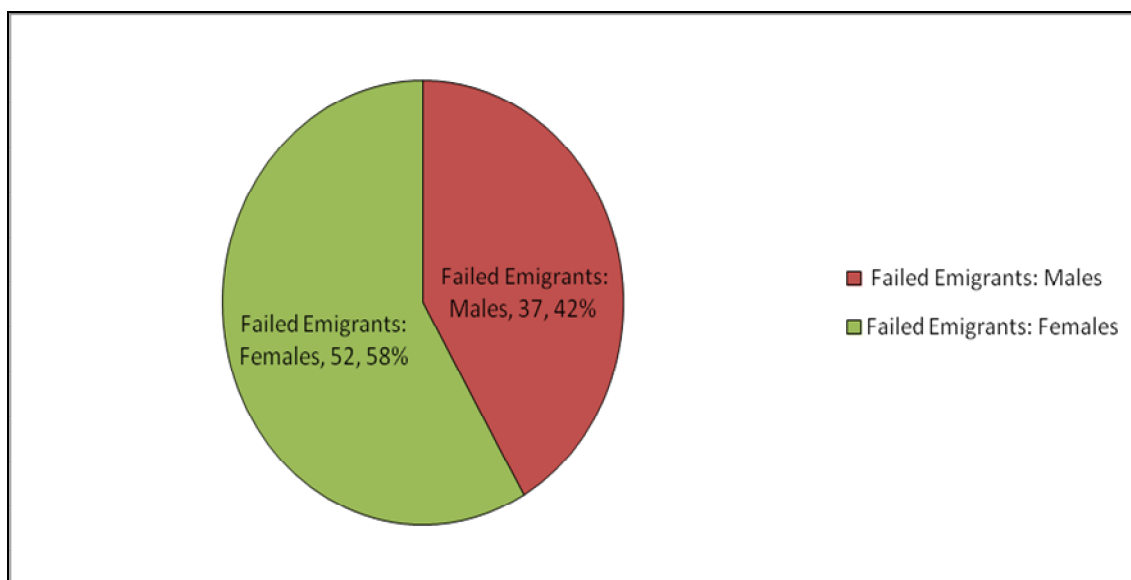
Credentialed community language qualifications	5 points
Study in regional Australia or metropolitan area (excluding distance education)	5 points
Partner skill qualifications	5 points
Professional Year completion, for a period of at least 12 months	5 points

Source: [www.border.gov.in](http://www.border.gov.in)

### 6.6 Miscellaneous factors and their effect on ability to emigrate

**1) Gender of failed emigrants:** Out of 89 failed migrants from Punjab, 37 (42%) were males and 52 (58%) were found to be female (Figure 6.9). The high percent of females, who failed to emigrate, shows that comparatively it is not easier for females to migrate, as claimed by Carling (2002, p.30). This study did not find any systematic trend with respect to gender and ability to emigrate.

**Figure 6.9: Figure showing Gender of the failed emigrants to Australia**



**2) Regions of Punjab to which failed emigrants belong:** Punjab is divided in three regions - *Malwa, Majha and Doaba* region. Though the *Doaba* region in the past has been known to have the highest number of migrants from Punjab it was found that even the people from *Doaba* region failed to emigrate. Thus failed emigration was found to occur from all the three regions of Punjab. Past history of a place/region was not seen to have any relationship with the ability to migrate successfully.

**3) Residence of Father/parents:** Though a few failed emigrants (4) had their parents / father in a foreign country, yet they were not able to emigrate to their destination country. One of the failed emigrants had her parents in Canada where she wanted to migrate but was not able to do so. This highlights the fact the ability to migrate is not affected by the presence of immediate family members or networks in the desired destination.

**4) Occupation and educational level of parents:** No systematic pattern was seen with respect to the educational qualification and or occupation of the fathers of failed emigrants as their parents were from different occupational backgrounds like government service, own business, private service and so on. Similarly, no definite pattern was seen with respect to educational background of the parents, as failed emigrants' parents were a mix of those who were matric pass, graduate and post graduate. This shows that the ability to emigrate is not affected by the education level or occupation of the parents.

**5) Stream of education:** People from STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Medical) courses are usually accused of being part of the brain drain from developing countries such as India. On analyzing the courses of the failed emigrants it was found that majority of them belonged to the science group (20) and some had done B. Tech. and M. Tech. from Punjab (10). A lot of them had done management course like MBA (12) and had taken humanities in school (32). Many of them had also had computers background with MCA/BCA degrees (4), Engineering (5), Hospitality (2) and nursing (4). No trend was found as to who is not able to migrate to Canada or Australia. People from all backgrounds – science, commerce, humanities, engineering and health were found to be “failed” emigrants. Even people from STEM courses background were not able to emigrate showing that course studied does not affect ability to emigrate.

## **6.7 Conclusion**

In this chapter we have tried to analyze how far the current immigration policies of Canada and Australia are responsible for creating failed emigration from the state of Punjab. For this purpose, the various current conditions necessary for emigrating to Canada and Australia were studied and an effort was made to find out which out of the present conditions was most difficult one for the people of Punjab to fulfill thus resulting in failed emigration.

## **CHAPTER 7**

# **STRATEGIES USED BY FAILED EMIGRANTS, IMPLICATIONS OF FAILED EMIGRATIONS, POLICY IMPLICATIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS**

### **7.1 Introduction**

In the last chapter we tried to look into the probable reasons for failed emigration from the state of Punjab to two destination countries – Canada and Australia. We found that for most of the conditions specified by the emigration department of the destination country, the people of Punjab either had an option of forgoing that particular condition or had a ‘way out’ to fulfill that condition. As our last objective is to find out the strategies used by failed emigrants to ensure success in migrating to their destination country in future, we have tried to find out in this chapter the various strategies these people from Punjab adopt to make sure that they are successful in migrating to their destination country in their subsequent attempt(s).

It seems failed emigration has so far not been considered to be an important aspect of migration as it has not attracted much attention in either literature or research on the subject. Yet it can have some significantly serious consequences on the economic and social aspects of the lives of those who fail to migrate to their dream country. Hence, in the following pages we have also tried to find out how failed emigration attempts of people from Punjab are affecting their lives economically, socially and psychologically.

The conclusions of the various objectives of the study have also been discussed and we have made an attempt to give some policy implications for helping the people of Punjab to succeed in their attempts to migrate successfully and legally to their dream country and contribute to the prosperity of the land of their ancestors

in particular and the country in general as non-resident Indians as their predecessors have been doing. (Saxena, 2005; Singh, Gurmail, 2007; Dusenbury, 2009; Verma, 2010; Singh, Dahan 2012; Kumar, 2012)

## **7.2: Strategies used by the prospective emigrants to complete the migration process and to ensure their success in emigrating to their destination country**

It is said that where there is law, there will be law breakers. We found that various strategies have been used in the past and are also currently being used by the aspiring emigrants from Punjab to ensure that they are able to migrate to their destination country as early as possible and without facing many problems. Some of these strategies were very specific and related to fulfilling the condition of English language proficiency through IELTS. Others were some general strategies that they followed to ensure successful emigration.

**7.2.1: General strategies:** The various strategies that have been used for ages and are also being used today to ensure successful emigration are as follows:

**1) Obtaining Fake employment certificate in Punjab or from Canada:** One of the conditions of working in Canada, under skilled traders system requires the applicant to obtain a certificate of employment either from an employer in Canada or a certificate of working in Punjab from an Indian employer. It was found that this condition could be very easily fulfilled by giving bribe to people who had this business of making fake employment certificates. It was found that these people charged anything between INR 3000 to INR 5000 per certificate per person.

**2) Applying under student visa / skilled trader visa:** It was found that most of the aspiring emigrants from Punjab applied under the student visa as this type of visa had the least difficult conditions which they could fulfill with least efforts. It was found that even though a lot of them were currently working in Punjab, they preferred to apply under the student visa to enter into their destination country and then plan to extend their stay under some rule or the other. It was found that their

initial primary objective was just to enter into their dream country and then think of finding ways and means of extending their stay there with the ultimate aim of getting Permanent Residency (PR).

**3) Faking contract marriages:** A very prominent and widely used way of entering into Canada and Australia is through contract marriages. This strategy is more specifically used in case of Canadian emigration as it gives extra points to the applicant if the spouse is IELTS cleared or compliant. Thus advertisements like wanted “**IELTS-cleared girls for marriage, 6 to 8 bands**” are very commonly found in the matrimonial columns of newspapers in Punjab. These people emigrate on the basis of these marriages. These can be ‘fake or contract’ marriages in which case the spouse is ‘abandoned’ once the couple reaches their destination country successfully.

**4) Hiring of agents:** It was found that most of the aspiring emigrants take the help of a travel agent in order to manage the emigration process to their destination country. These agents charge anything between INR 5,000 to INR 1, 50,000 per person and manage “everything” on their behalf right from getting the required information of the destination country to forwarding their visa application to the emigration center. They also offer services like making applications for English language proficiency test, giving tuitions for IELTS examination preparation, getting the required amount of loan arranged from different sources, and other related services. It was also found that failed emigrants in their anxiety to succeed appear at the examination repeatedly and also keep on changing their travel agents, service providers, coaching institutions, and prefer to take the services of those located in big cities like Chandigarh, Ludhiana, Amritsar and Jalandhar. They were found even to change the test giving agency (the British Council or IDP Australia) and also the test modules (General Training or Academic).

**5) Resorting to illegal emigration:** This is also one of the ways through which a failed emigrant may choose to enter his destination country. In the past this method might have been used as a last resort and at great personal risk as was evident from



the Malta boat tragedy, which happened in 1960, in which around 600 people died when the boat, in which they were being illegally smuggled, capsized. Around 150 of those killed were from the state of Punjab (Malhotra and Malhotra, 2012).

**7.2.2: Strategies related to meeting English language proficiency:** As stated earlier failed emigrants found fulfilling the English language proficiency condition as the most difficult one and so a lot of their strategies are aimed at meeting this condition successfully. Some of these are as follows:

**1) Changing test centers/coaching institutes:** A lot of failed emigrants who are not able to meet the required level of proficiency in English language join coaching centers and institutes, which help them by giving coaching in English language. It was found that a lot of them keep on changing their coaching institutes and specifically move from rural to urban/cities to take this coaching. Many of them who are from the rural districts of Punjab move to bigger cities as paying guests to prepare for the test.

**2) Changing test giving organizations:** There are currently two organizations, British Council (BC) and Integrated Development Program (IDP) Australia, who give language proficiency test – IELTS - and whose tests scores are accepted, among others, by Canadian and Australian governments. It was found that the failed emigrants keep on changing these test-taking organizations to try their luck.

**3) Changing test center:** IELTS has its various test centers spread across India. Punjab itself has more than a dozen test centers located in different cities. It was found that failed emigrants keep on changing their tests centers from one city to another. Some of our respondents had previously taken their test from Centers located even in Delhi and the National Capital Region (NCR).

**4) Sending dummy candidates:** Currently a biometric system is used for entry into the examination center because we learnt that on an earlier occasion aspiring emigrants/ failed emigrants/ travel agents had started sending dummy candidates for taking up the language proficiency examination in return for a handsome consideration. But this strategy does not work very successfully anymore, though some attempts are still made, as the test giving agencies have resorted to biometric system to thwart such attempts.

**Conclusions:** A lot of strategies have been used in the past and are being currently used to migrate to the developed world. Some of these are in general related to various conditions that keep on changing from time to time. Others are related to the condition of language proficiency that an aspiring emigrant needs to fulfill. It was found that even though failed emigrants have been using these strategies over the years, they have not been successful in emigrating.

### **7.3: Implications of Failed Emigrations**

Though very little attention has been given to the concept of ‘failed emigration’ in literature and research, we found that it can have some serious implications on the social and economic lives of not only the failed emigrants and their family members but also for the state. Some of these implications are as follows:

**1) Draining of financial resources:** It was found that failed emigrants spend lot of money, sometimes in *lacs of INRs*, in order to make necessary preparations for emigrating. Many of them come to cities to take specialized coaching for IELTS and stay in paying guest accommodation (PG). A huge amount of money is doled out to coaching institutes, travel agents and migration advisers who charge anything between INR 5000/- to INR 150000/- per person. Money is also spent in completing passport formalities and seeking information and taking admission in foreign universities in their dream country. In the process they raise loans at high rate of

interests which they are not able to repay. It was found many of them sell part of their lands thus resulting in small land holding and poor productivity.

**2) Exploitation by unscrupulous agents and middlemen:** It is quite common in Punjab that failed emigrants fall victims to unscrupulous agents and middlemen who cheat and exploit them and try to send them illegally. Human trafficking and illegal emigration may occur to send them to their destination country. In this process these people often lose not just their money but sometimes even their lives as happened in Malta Boat Tragedy of 1996 in which about 300 young people died out of which 150 were from Punjab. As per Malhotra (2012), about 5000 persons try to emigrate illegally every year from Punjab.

**3) Cases of deserted brides and exploitation of women:** Many a times women married to NRIs remain abandoned along with their child/children as they fail to migrate because they are not able to meet the conditions specified by their destination country. In Punjab there have been numerous cases of problems arising from NRI marriages which range from abandoned wives/spouses, custody of children, dowry demands, forced marriages, and exploitation of young girls to benefit the male members in the family (Shukla, 2012). This often leads to prolonged legal battles resulting in psychological and emotional distress and misery to the failed emigrants and their families.

**4) Problem of drug addiction:** The problem of drugs is not something new for the state of Punjab and movies like *Udta Punjab*, which was released in 2016, have been highlighting this problem. The youth of Punjab is known to be addicted to drugs. The governments of the state have been for a long time trying to deal with this problem of the state. It was found that continuous failure to migrate to their dream country also results in stress and anxiety among the young aspiring emigrants and so many of them take to drugs and heroine to relieve this stress.

**5) Fleecing by mushrooming migration industry:** It was found that because of the presence of high aspirations among the people of Punjab to migrate to a foreign country, a whole migration industry has sprung up in the state of Punjab. This industry involves different agents like travel agents; coaching institutes, educational advisors that exist at every corner of the state, each one claiming to be the best and guaranteeing assured visa to countries like Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and U.K. ( Annexure V ). The government neither has any control over the fees that is charged by these travel agents and coaching institutes nor has it any control over the quality of education being given in the name of coaching/test preparation by these institutes. It was found that in Punjab, this industry is totally an unregulated industry making huge profits out of failed emigration.

## **7.4: Policy Implications**

### **7.4.1 Introduction**

Indian Diaspora is now estimated to be around 25 million which, as Sahai (2013: 50) says, forms around 14 per cent of global migrant population and is scattered all around the globe. It is only in recent years that the Central and the State governments in India have realized the importance of these so-called NRIs as a significant link between the host country and the home country and the contribution they can make to the growth and development of their home country, the State, the family, the community and their ancestral village back in India and have made a number of decisions to woo them and thus strengthen the bond further (Kapur, 2003; Kapur 2010, and MOAI 2012).

### **7.4.2. Measures already taken or proposed to be taken by the Central and the State governments to connect with the Indian Diaspora**

The pro-active attempt to connect effectively with the Indian Diaspora was made by organising the first conference for the Indian Diaspora on 9-11 January 2003; 9 January was chosen to celebrate *Pravasi Bharatiya Divas* (PBD) - Diaspora Day - to commemorate the return of Mahatma Gandhi to India from South Africa as a 'Pravasi' (Diaspora). Since then PBD is celebrated every year on these dates

alternating between the Centre and a State Capital and each PBD is devoted to a particular theme (Dahan, 2012). India also created in 2004 an independent Ministry called Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs with a cabinet rank Minister in-charge of this Ministry to oversee the issues relating to Indian Diaspora. (MOIA, 2006). Corresponding to the MOIA at the Centre, the State governments have also created an institutionalised structure to connect with the Diaspora from their State and dealing with their specific issues.

Some of the Punjab State government initiatives taken or proposed are Punjab Ministry of NRIs Affairs, Department of NRIs Affairs with the Chief Minister as Minister-in-charge. An NRI Sammelan (conference) is held in conjunction with PBD; NRI Sabha at Jalandhar (an all-Punjab Diaspora organisation); setting up of an investment cell at State level to facilitate investment opportunities in infrastructure development (airports, roads), social sector (education, health, water-resource development), rural development and urban housing; assurance of security for investment; enhancement of government share for NRI-supported development projects from 50 to 75 per cent; '*Mera Pind*' scheme (adopting a village for development) called CD 2.35; single-window contact between NRI and state government; NRI Facilitation Bureau in Punjab Bhawan, New Delhi; Fast Track Revenue Courts; NRI Police Stations; NRI Cell at Director General of Police office at Chandigarh. (Saroya, 2012)

#### **7.4.3. What can be done by the government to help Aspiring Emigrants from Punjab**

Though the government has taken many steps to connect and ensure well being of the Diaspora, very few measures have been taken towards addressing the problems of the aspiring emigrants and those struggling to go abroad. It is felt that though the following policy implications may not be able to affect the aspirations of the emigrants from Punjab, will definitely help the aspiring emigrants in meeting the current emigration policies more effectively thus improving their ability to emigrate to their dream country.

**1) Improving Quality of Education particularly School Education in Rural**

**Punjab:** Our findings reveal that one of the factors that inspire people from Punjab to go abroad both for further studies at undergraduate and postgraduate levels is the poor quality of education in the state particularly in the state schools in the rural areas. Unlike other factors this factor gives them both the inspiration to move and also blunts their ability to go across the borders. Hence, improving the quality of education will encourage people to stay back and also give those who still want to move the ability to successfully meet one of the most stringent immigration conditions imposed by host countries today.

**2) Emphasizing Teaching Communication Skills in English:**

Our study reveals that of all the documentations and conditions needed to meet the immigration policy, the one that proves to be the most difficult is a certain level of proficiency in English that the destination countries demand from the prospective migrants. While all other documents and conditions can be arranged with money through agents and middlemen in the migration industry, the test for a certificate in English Language Proficiency has to be undertaken by the candidate himself or herself without which visa for migration for further studies or job is not given under the conditions prevalent today. There is very little scope for using any strategy to bypass this language test condition. School education, especially in government schools in rural Punjab, must therefore teach communication skills both in speech and in writing in English. Oral communication skills in English are neither taught nor tested at present.

**3) Strengthening English Language Teaching in Globalised World:**

It is important to strengthen the teaching of English language for two reasons. One, English is one of the world languages and is used not just in the two countries Punjabis wish to migrate to. Proficiency in this language will be required for study and work in these countries. Proficiency in this language is also necessary for international trade in goods and services in this globalised world. Two, English also happens to be an associate official language according to the Constitution of India and is a link language for inter-state communication. English happens to be a

language of business and commerce within the country, a language of technical and professional education in India and a language of opportunities. It proves a great asset in the hands of people including professionals who want to move for study or for work abroad or even in other parts within India for better opportunities since willingness to be mobile is a ladder to achieve heights in this great global village.

**4) Focusing on Skills Development along with the Content Teaching:** Several aspiring candidates expressed their wish to migrate as they felt that education in the state laid emphasis on ‘theory’ and not on ‘practice’. What they meant was that while there was emphasis on content learning there was no focus on developing of practical skills as, for example, communication skills, social and inter-personal skills, management skills, analytical and problem-solving skills, and such other skills so very necessary at the work place without which professional and technical skills will be useless. Hence, we feel that curriculum should be devised to lay emphasis not just on content but also skills as well at all levels of education.

Of late there has been much talk and emphasis on skill-development in India. The scheme was launched in July 1915 with a corpus of INR 3,000 crores and aims at training 2.4 million youth in the first phase. The views regarding imparting communication and other skills we have mentioned above, required by workers at the work place as expressed by some of our aspiring migrants, can be kept in mind by the authorities responsible for imparting vocational and other technical skills. Other institutions imparting tertiary education may also want to keep these in mind while framing their curriculum.

**5) Imparting education through various modes:** Many aspirants who were seeking to migrate abroad for higher education expressed their appreciation of the way education at tertiary level was imparted abroad not just through lecture mode but through a variety of ways such as debates, group discussions, case studies, class presentations, book reviews, project participation and writing critical articles, among

others. We feel that methods of teaching at tertiary level, in particular, needs to be made learner- and learning-centered rather than teacher dominated as at present.

**6) Developing Infra-structure and Regulating Working Conditions in Unorganized Private Sector:** An important finding of our study is that almost all prospective migrants from Punjab who are already working in the state are eager to migrate to the developed West for more satisfactory jobs. Their dissatisfaction, particularly of those in the unorganized private sector, with their existing jobs in the state arises from low salary and inadequate compensation, unsatisfactory working conditions, exploitation of employees, un-regulated working hours, mismatch between qualification and job profile, and lack of employees welfare schemes such as medical benefits, annual leave, insurance and housing and so on. The long working hours severely disturb the family and work life balance and lead to physical, mental and emotional stress. Developing rural Punjab, creating enough jobs and regulating working conditions in the unorganized private sector can go a long way in retaining this manpower within the state.

**7) Presence of regulatory authority for different agents of migration:** As it was found that a whole unregulated informal industry exists in the ‘business’ of emigration in Punjab, we need some strict rules and regulations regarding the functioning of various travel agents and coaching institutes under the strict vigilance of a central/state ministry in addition to the Directorate of Emigrants Protection India already has under the Ministry of Labour and Employment. This will regulate not only the high prices that are being charged by them but also the quality of education being imparted by them.

State government, too, has already taken, or proposes to take, many steps to protect the interests of NRIs from Punjab considering the important role they play in the development of their home country. We feel that the state government can also protect the interests of those wishing to emigrate. One of these can be to set up teaching centers in various cities in Punjab to guide, coach and train, particularly those from rural areas, to meet the conditions imposed by destination countries – specifically relating to English Language proficiency. Regional Institute of English,



Punjab and university/college departments of English can be involved in this venture on the pattern of institutes in India set up to prepare SC/ST candidates for Civil Services Examinations.

## **7.5: Objective-wise Discussion**

### **7.5.1 Introduction**

In the following pages we intend to describe and discuss our findings vis-à-vis the main objectives we set out with in this study as a prelude to arriving at the conclusions of this study and making suggestions for further research on this topic.

**7.5.1.1 First Objective: The first objective of the study was to find out why so many people of Punjab want to emigrate** despite the fact that Punjab is a prosperous state and a preferred destination for internal migration from other states in India. Though many factors, both at the macro and micro levels, can affect the aspiration to emigrate, we found that in the case of Punjab it was a combination of macro and micro level factors that were inspiring the emigrants to migrate, specifically to two destination countries - Canada and Australia.

At macro level the performance of Punjab, in certain important sectors, was much better than the performance of some other states of India. Punjab is a leading producer of certain agricultural products like wheat and rice and thus is rightly called an agricultural state and one of the grain bowls of India. When we analyzed its performance in the education sector, we found that the overall performance of Punjab was satisfactory with respect to the literacy rates, both for males and females. But when these literacy rates of both males and females were seen on the basis of rural and urban districts of Punjab, we found that disparities existed within these districts with respect to access to education (in terms of the number of schools), quality of education (in terms of the pupil-teacher ratio) and number of colleges offering professional and technical courses. And this limited access to education and low quality of education we conclude might be the reasons that are inspiring the people of Punjab to emigrate.

At individual level, the people of Punjab consider emigration as a means to improve social and economic conditions of their own as well as of their families and the community at large. It was found that their aspiration to emigrate was highly associated with social status in their town/ village/ community. It is considered a sense of pride for the whole family if one of the members of the family is able to emigrate to Canada, U.K. or Australia.

Though parents of most of the respondents were still engaged in agriculture, our respondents preferred to sell their land holding or a part thereof and emigrate abroad. Some of the reasons they cited were uneconomic holding, mechanization of farming, farming can be managed by elderly parents or just one male member staying behind in the family, availability of cheap seasonal migrant labour from other states of India as the reasons for their decision to aspire to migrate.

Many aspiring candidates who sought to migrate for higher studies opined that higher studies in India were beyond their means: seats in government institutions were limited, competition was tough, particularly for candidates from rural areas in Punjab and those who had studied from regional medium schools, and education in private institutes was expensive and imposed a heavy financial burden on their parents limited means. Higher education abroad, particularly in private institutes, was easily accessible to them and did not impose any financial burden on their parents as, while studying full time during the day, they could get part time paid employment which was easily available. This helped them finance themselves and their education abroad besides getting a foreign qualification and exposure as a 'plus point' in securing a job and permanent residency (PR) in that country or even if they have to return to their own country

Many of them said that emigration also benefitted them via remittances and thus helped them in improving the financial condition of their families left behind. Lack of satisfactory employment or under-employment was another major reason for migrating as many of our respondents found there was a mismatch between their job and salary being offered. Some of them were not satisfied with their present working

environment. Some were found to be lured by western lifestyle seen on television or narrated by their friends and acquaintances, those who had already migrated. **So the reasons for emigrating were found to be a mix of social, economic and working environment, working at individual level.**

#### **7.5.1.2 Second Objective: The second objective of the study was to find out the main reasons for failure of the aspiring emigrants to destination countries like Canada and Australia.**

Traditionally, urge to migrate and achieve successful emigration to the desired country have been attributed, among others, to ‘push and pull’ factors and to personal qualities and ‘household capabilities’ of the aspirants. In other words, lack of these attributes would result in failure to emigrate. But our study showed that these were essential but not sufficient conditions for successful emigration and hence inadequacy or want of these could not be the factors causing failed emigration. We also felt that these traditional explanations did not make distinction between ‘aspiration’ and ‘ability’ to migrate.

In order to understand the probable reasons for the failure of the aspiring emigrants to Canada and Australia, the Aspiration-Ability concept given by Carling (2002) was taken. This model talks about both macro and micro level factors affecting ability to emigrate. It was found that in case of Canada and Australia, both macro and micro level factors were affecting the ability to emigrate.

The most important macro level factor affecting the ability to emigrate was the current conditions laid down under the emigration policies of these governments. In case of Punjab, non-fulfillment of these conditions was found to result in failed emigration to these two countries. At micro level, factors like age of the aspiring emigrant, their educational qualification, work experience and ability to communicate effectively in the official language of the country were important. In fact, in case of these countries the macro level factor - emigration policy of the destination country was made up of the micro level characteristics like age, education qualification, years of work experience and so on. Thus macro level

factors together with the individual level characteristics are affecting the ability to emigrate.

Among the present conditions, the most difficult one to attain was the ability to have the required level of proficiency in English language despite the fact that most of the failed emigrants had English as the medium of instruction at school level. The inability to meet this condition despite having English as the medium of instruction, raises questions regarding the quality of education these people are receiving, specifically in the rural areas. **So it was found that low quality of education in Punjab, more specifically in the rural areas, was acting both as a reason to emigrate and also a reason for the failure of the aspiring emigrants from Punjab.**

No systematic pattern was found with respect to ability to emigrate and factors like gender of the aspiring emigrant, their profession, presence of family history of emigration, educational qualification and profession of their parents. Though presence of networks in the destination country, which have become easy, inexpensive and fast with the modern means of communication, helped the aspiring emigrants in obtaining vital information about the destination country, yet its presence did not ensure successful emigration to their dream country.

**7.5.1.3 Third Objective: The third objective of the study was to find out the strategies being used by the failed emigrants to ensure they succeed in migrating to their destination country.**

It was found that formulating of strategies was not something new for the aspiring emigrants of Punjab. All the emigration conditions, except the one (related to meeting the English language proficiency level) could be met through either giving bribes or by hiring travel agent and foreign education advisers. Thus, strategies were mainly related to ways of clearing the language proficiency test. Strategies like changing centers for taking examination, taking special coaching classes to improve language proficiency, changing the travel agents and applying under the student's visa were very common.

It was further observed that these strategies have been, to some extent, responsible for mushrooming of coaching institutes and travel agents across the length and breadth of Punjab. Absence of any control by the government on their number and the amount of fees being charged by these agents and institutes were adding to the miseries of the failed emigrants. Strategies like fake marriages and demand for IELTS compliant girls have further led to exploitation of women in Punjab.

## **7.6 Conclusion**

Emigration is not something new for the people of Punjab. Initially, as already described in Chapter 2 of this study, the emigration from Punjab took place because of the recruitment policy of the British government who considered the *Jat Sikhs* of Punjab to be a martial race and recruited them in their army to protect their interests in their colonies abroad. Some of these army men after retirement decided to stay in the country where they served. Some others migrated as they found foreign lands to be more lucrative and full of opportunities. Migration from Punjab also started because of the railway construction in England and other countries of the world. Today Punjabi Diaspora is found in almost every country of the world.

The people of Punjab harbour even at present a high aspiration to migrate to a foreign country, particularly to the countries of the developed west. Their most preferred destinations are United Kingdom's (UK), Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. There can be many economic and social factors, working both at macro and micro level that give them the urge to aspire as emigrants to cross the borders. In the case of Punjab, it was found that, at individual level, it was a combination of educational, social and economic factors that were inspiring people from Punjab to migrate as emigrants. But beneath all these reasons, we found that the real reason for migration was the desire to obtain a permanent residency (PR) in one of these countries.

It was found that emigrating to Canada Australia, New Zealand or UK was considered to be a status symbol and a means of pride for the people of Punjab. They are ready to part with money and family back home to move to their dream country. Almost every one of our respondents had a 'known' relative, friend, or an acquaintance from their village abroad and thus was acting as a 'network' in the destination country. Those who did not have a known person living in their desired destination had collected information through internet and travel agents and by attending the various jobs and education 'fairs' organized by foreign universities and their agents in the state from time to time. The demonstration effect of those already abroad works as a strong incentive to aspire to move to these countries. The presence of *Gurudwaras* in these countries, which are always available for help and shelter to members of the community, also reduces their risk factor.

At macro level, too, though there are several factors that can inspire a person to emigrate, in the case of Punjab a prominent factor can be the lack of access to quality education and the inadequacy of government recognized professional institutes, which is acting as a reason to move abroad for further studies. Another factor because of which youngsters want to move out of Punjab was the mismatch between their skills and qualifications and the jobs they were doing.

We found that not everyone who aspires to migrate to these countries was able to cross the borders successfully. Thus there were instances of failed emigration occurring in the state of Punjab. It was found that the existing theories of migration failed to address this distinction between aspiration and ability in one single framework. Out of many reasons, one of the probable reasons traditionally given for failing to emigrate is related to the individual ability and household capabilities of the aspiring emigrant to meet the current conditions of emigration laid down by their destination country and their interpretation and implementation by the immigration authorities at the ground level. In the case of Punjab, one strong reason for the failure to emigrate to Canada and Australia was that the aspiring emigrants were not able to fulfill the condition of English language proficiency despite the fact that they had English as the medium of instruction at school level. This condition of language

proficiency is a pre-requisite for applying for all types of visas through which they were eligible to emigrate. Since they were not able to fulfill this condition, they failed to emigrate legally. Hence, this emigration policy relating to English language proficiency of the destination countries was found to be the main cause of the failed migration in Punjab. Though the failed emigrants could use money, bribe or power to fulfill other conditions related to financial capacity and work experience, they could not use these means to meet this condition because of stringent measures adopted by the test-giving agencies. It can be said that low quality of education was thus acting both as a push and stop factor for the people of Punjab.

The people of Punjab have been using various strategies to try to migrate successfully to their destination country. Some of these strategies have given rise to social, economic and psychological evils like exploitation of women and fake marriages. Another social evil that has emerged because of failed emigration is the exploitation of the aspiring emigrants at the hands of travel agents and middlemen involved in helping aspirants to complete the emigration process. Failed emigration leaves the aspirants and their families economically poor and psychologically devastated.

## **7.7 Scope for Further Research**

### **Introduction**

Need for further research also arises out of the limitations of this study. Some of these limitations which have been discussed in detail in chapter 4 are small sample size of the study; study restricted only to the state of Punjab in India. It is felt that further studies can be undertaken in the following areas of migration or failed migration.

**1. Annunciation of a theory of International Migration:** While carrying out this study and analyzing and interpreting our findings, we found that there are many issues on which there is no unanimity among the researchers and scholars. Some of these are bound to remain controversial as multiple discourses and differences of views are the norm for research and development. But one topic that needs attention

is the annunciation of a theory of International Migration. At present, as Massey et. al. (1993) put it there is no single, coherent theory of international migration.

**2. National level analysis and study of failed emigration:** There are many more states in India, apart from Punjab, from where emigration takes place not only to the developed countries of the west but also to the gulf region (to countries like Dubai, U.A.E.) There is a need to study if the concept of failed emigration occurs for emigrants from these regions and if so, what are the probable reasons for such failure occurring from these areas.

**3. Scope for including other destination countries:** Only two destination countries viz. Canada and Australia were studied in this work. Further research work can be done to find out if failed emigration happens while emigrating to other countries of the world or not and the probable reasons for the failure. Both the emigration and the immigration policies of these destination countries can be studied and analysed to understand the role of the government in shaping migration.

**4. Scope of including other crucial sectors of the economy to understand the reason for aspiration to emigrate:** In this study only the education sector of Punjab was studied and analysed in detail to find the probable reason to emigrate from the state of Punjab. There can be many more other factors and much more important sectors of Punjab's economy that can inspire a person to emigrate. These sectors and factors can be explored in detail in further research.

**5. Increasing the sample size:** Since there have not been many studies on failed emigration, both at state level and national level, a similar study can be conducted on a large scale with a larger sample size in order to generalize the findings of the research.



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**Annexure- I: Questionnaire for the Aspiring and Failed Emigrants from the state of Punjab**

*This questionnaire is part of Ph.D. research of Ms Sarika Khurana. She is a student of Zakir Husain Center for Educational Studies (ZHCES), School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi, India, working under the supervision of Prof B.Khadria, Professor of Economics, JNU. The information give by you will be solely used for research purpose, to understand emigration process and failed emigration from the state of Punjab. The information provided by you will be kept confidential and your identity will not be revealed. Thank you for being part of this research programme and participating.*

**SECTION 1: Personal Information (Please tick the correct option)**

S.No.	Questions	Options	Skip to Question
101	Full name :		
102	Address	Village: District: Tehsil: City:	
103	Date of Birth (DD/MM/YY) :		
104	Gender	Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/>	
105	Are you married	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	
106	What is your Educational Qualification	10 <sup>th</sup> pass- <input type="checkbox"/>	Pls. specify the stream of education and course pursued
		12 <sup>th</sup> pass- <input type="checkbox"/>	
		Graduate <input type="checkbox"/>	
		Post graduate (P.G) <input type="checkbox"/>	
		Doing 10 <sup>th</sup> <input type="checkbox"/>	
		Doing 12 <sup>th</sup> - <input type="checkbox"/>	
		Doing graduation- <input type="checkbox"/>	
Doing P.G.- <input type="checkbox"/>			

107	Have you done any vocational or technical course? Please Specify.		
108	Are you currently living with your family?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q 110
		No <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q 109
109	Where are you staying right now?	Hostel <input type="checkbox"/> Room on rent <input type="checkbox"/> With friends/ relatives <input type="checkbox"/>	
110	Is your father working at present?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q 111
		No <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q 112
111	What is his profession?	Govt. Service <input type="checkbox"/> Pvt. Service <input type="checkbox"/> Farmer <input type="checkbox"/> Business/Shop <input type="checkbox"/> Any other Pls. specify _____	Go to Q 114
112	Has he retired from work?	Yes	Go to Q-113
113	What was his profession?	Govt. Service <input type="checkbox"/> Pvt. Service <input type="checkbox"/> Farmer <input type="checkbox"/> Business <input type="checkbox"/> Any other Pls. specify _____	
114	What is the Educational Qualification of your father?		

115	Is your mother working or a housewife?	Working <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q-116
		Housewife <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q-117
116	What is her profession?	Govt. Service <input type="checkbox"/> Pvt. Service <input type="checkbox"/> Business <input type="checkbox"/> Any other Pls. specify _____	
117	What is the educational Qualification of your Mother?		
118	Do you/ your parents own any agricultural land	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q 119
		No <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q 120
119	What is the approximate size of the land holding	Less than 2 Kila <input type="checkbox"/> 2-4 Kila <input type="checkbox"/> 4-6 Kila <input type="checkbox"/> More than 6 Kila <input type="checkbox"/>	

**SECTION 2: Information about Current Job/ current course of study and the Reasons for emigrating to a foreign country**

120	Are you currently employed/ working?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q-121
		No <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Go to Q 134</b>
121	How long have you been working here?	Less than 1 year <input type="checkbox"/> 1-3 yrs <input type="checkbox"/> 3-5 yrs <input type="checkbox"/> More than 5 years <input type="checkbox"/>	Please specify the number of years

122	What is the nature of your job?	Engineer <input type="checkbox"/> Management <input type="checkbox"/> Teacher <input type="checkbox"/> Doctor <input type="checkbox"/> Nurse <input type="checkbox"/> Compounder <input type="checkbox"/> Any other please specify _____ _____	
123	Are you satisfied are you with your current job?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q 125
		No <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q 124
124	Why are you not satisfied with the current job?	Low Salary <input type="checkbox"/> Unsatisfactory working conditions <input type="checkbox"/> Job is not as per your qualification <input type="checkbox"/> Another other Pls. Specify _____	
125	What is your present level of income ( per month approximately)	Below Rs .10000 p.m. <input type="checkbox"/> Rs 10000-15000 p.m. <input type="checkbox"/> Rs 15000-20000 p.m. <input type="checkbox"/> Rs 20000-25000 p.m. <input type="checkbox"/> Above Rs 25000 p.m. <input type="checkbox"/>	
126	How satisfied are you with your current level of income?	Highly satisfied <input type="checkbox"/> Fairly satisfied <input type="checkbox"/> Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied <input type="checkbox"/> Fairly dissatisfied <input type="checkbox"/> Highly dissatisfied <input type="checkbox"/>	
127	Which is your destination country?	Australia <input type="checkbox"/> Canada <input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand <input type="checkbox"/> Any other please specify _____	

128	Why do you want to go abroad?	To do further studies <input type="checkbox"/> To Work there <input type="checkbox"/> To Study and do part time job <input type="checkbox"/> Any other please specify_____	
129	Under which category of visa are you going abroad and why did you choose that particular type of visa?	Working Visa <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q 130
		Student Visa <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q 132
		Any other pls. Specify_____	
130	Why don't you want to work in India?		
131	What is the main reason for migrating to a foreign country? Pls. rank them in order of importance on a scale of 1 to 10	Family reunion ----- Better matrimonial prospects ----- Foreign exposure ----- Better working conditions ----- Better future for self/children ----- Good job opportunities abroad----- Better salary ----- Improves financial condition of Family ----- Risk aversion for agricultural based families ----- Social status of family -----	
132	Why don't you want to Study in India?		
133	What is the main reason for migrating to a foreign country? Pls. rank them in order of importance on a scale of 1 to 12	Family reunion ----- Better matrimonial prospects----- Foreign exposure ----- Better future for self/children----- Good job opportunities abroad----- Improves financial condition of	



		family ----- Opportunity to self finance their studies ---- Local Pvt. cost very high & competition is tough ----- Foreign degree so higher chances of PR ----- Local seats in govt. colleges are limited ---- Risk aversion for agricultural based families ----- Social status of family -----	
134	Are you currently studying?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q-135
		No <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q-140 and 143
135	Which course are you studying currently?		
136	What is the main stream of you education?		
137	Which is your destination country?	Australia <input type="checkbox"/> Canada <input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand <input type="checkbox"/> Any other please specify_____	
138	Why do you want to go abroad?	To do further studies <input type="checkbox"/> To Work there <input type="checkbox"/> To Study and do part time job <input type="checkbox"/> Any other please specify_____	
139	Under which category of visa are you going abroad and	Working Visa <input type="checkbox"/> Student Visa <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q 140

	why did you choose that particular type of visa?	Any other pls. Specify _____	Go to Q 142
140	What is the main reason for migrating to a foreign country? Pls. rank them in order of importance on a scale of 1 to 10	Family reunion ----- Better matrimonial prospects----- Foreign exposure ----- Better working conditions ----- Better future for self/children----- Good job opportunities abroad----- Better salary ----- Improves financial condition of Family ----- Risk aversion for agricultural based families ----- Social status of family -----	
141	Why don't you want to Work in India?		
142	Why don't you want to Study in India?		
143	What is the main reason for migrating to a foreign country? Pls. rank them in order of importance on a scale of 1 to 12	Family reunion ----- Better matrimonial prospects----- Foreign exposure ----- Better future for self/children----- Good job opportunities abroad ---- Improves financial condition of Family ---- Opportunity to self finance their studies ---- Local Pvt. cost very high & competition is tough ----- Foreign degree so higher chances of PR ---- Local seats in govt. colleges are limited ----- Risk aversion for agricultural Based families ----- Social status of family -----	

**SECTION 3: Section on choice of destination country and role of networks in emigration**

144	If for some reason you are not able to go to this particular country, will you still try to go to any other country abroad?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	
145	Which country would you like to go in this case?	Canada <input type="checkbox"/> Australia <input type="checkbox"/> New Zealand <input type="checkbox"/> Any other pls. specify _____	
146	Please rank these three countries in the order of preference of going? Write 1,2,3 in front of them.	Canada ---- Australia ---- New Zealand ----	
147	Why do you want to go to your destination country?	Presence of relatives/ friends <input type="checkbox"/> Suggested by relative/ friends <input type="checkbox"/> It offers the best studying options <input type="checkbox"/> For better employment options <input type="checkbox"/> Someone known has gone there <input type="checkbox"/> Plan to take PR status in this country in future <input type="checkbox"/>	
148	Do you have any friends/ relatives in a foreign country?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q-149 Go to Q- 152
149	They are in which country?		
150	Are you going to the same country?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q- 152
151	Why are you not going to the country where you have you friends/ relatives?		

152	You learnt about an opportunity in your destination country through	Friends/relatives <input type="checkbox"/> Internet <input type="checkbox"/> An agent <input type="checkbox"/> Any other, please specify _____	
-----	---	---	--

**Section 4: Information about failed emigration and strategies used to ensure success in future**

153	Have you earlier ever earlier tried to migrate to a foreign country but were not successful in emigrating?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q 154
		No <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to the end of Questionnaire
154	Which country did you try to emigrate?	Pls. Specify _____ _____	
155	Why do you think you failed to emigrate to this country?	Pls. Specify _____ _____ _____	
156	Are you aware that these certain conditions you need to fulfill in order to migrate to your destination country? Please Write Y or N in front of them	Proof of Financial Ability -- Health Insurance in foreign country - Certificate of English language Test Score --	
157	Were you able to fulfill these conditions while trying to emigrate earlier?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q-161
		No <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q-158

158	Which specific condition/conditions were you not able to fulfill?	Pls. Specify _____ _____	
159	Did you get the required level of proficiency in English language test?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	Got to Q- 161
		No <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q-160
160	Which medium of instruction was followed in your educational institute?	English <input type="checkbox"/> Punjabi <input type="checkbox"/> Mix medium <input type="checkbox"/> I changed my medium from Punjabi to English when in school <input type="checkbox"/>	
161	You failed to get the required score in which module of the test?	Pls Specify _____ _____	Go to Q- 163
162	Then why were you not able to migrate successfully to your destination country?		
163	Have you hired an agent to assist you in making necessary arrangements regarding emigration?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	
		No <input type="checkbox"/>	
164	Have you made arrangements for funds required for going abroad	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q 165
		No <input type="checkbox"/>	
165	How did you make financial arrangements?		
166	Have you changed the travel agent from whom you take services? If so why did you change him?		

167	Have you taken any special training/ coaching in order to qualify for the English Language test?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	
168	What was the approximate cost you incurred to take this training?	(Please specify in Rs) _____ _____	
169	What was the approximate cost that the travel agent charged from you or you had to incur in making necessary arrangements for the travel?		

**Thank you for your patience and inflicting your valuable time in filling this questionnaire and helping me in conducting my research properly.**

Annexure II-A

Map A.2.1: Map of Punjab District and Region Wise



Source: Statistical Atlas of Punjab, 2012 ([www.pbplanning.gov.in](http://www.pbplanning.gov.in))

The whole of Punjab is divided into three regions- Malwa, Majha and Doaba region.

**Malwa** is a region of Punjab south to river Sutlej. The Malwa area makes up majority of the Punjab region consisting 14 districts. Cities such as Ludhiana, Rupnagar, Patiala, Sangrur, Bathinda, Mansa, Firozpur, Fazilka, Rajpura, Moga and Ajitgarh are located in the Malwa region. Malwa is also famous for cotton farming.

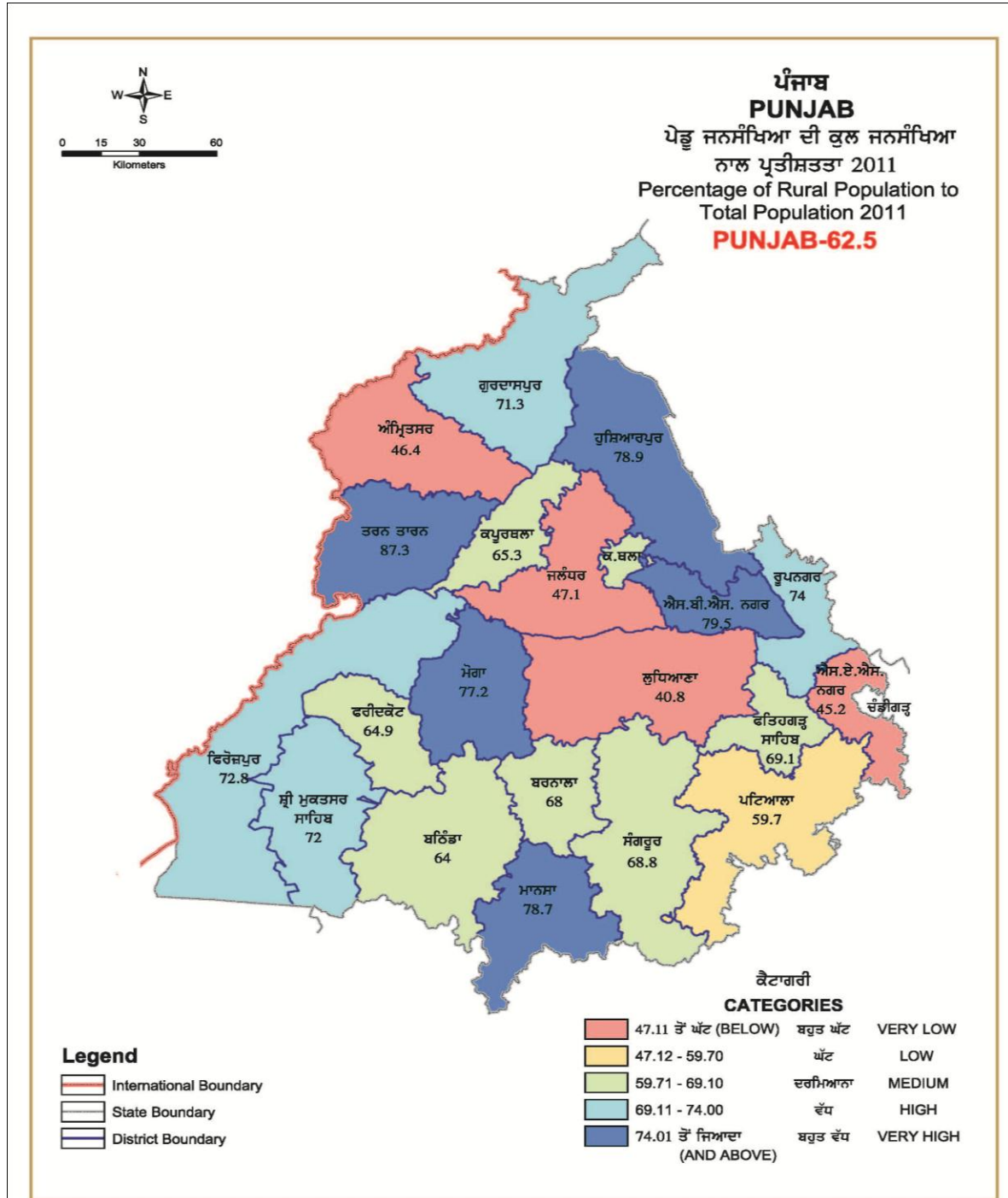
**Majha** is a historical region of the Indian Punjab comprising the modern districts of Amritsar, Pathankot, Gurdaspur and Tarn Taran. It lies between rivers Ravi, Beas and the Sutlej. This region is called the heartland of Punjab and is celebrated as being the 'Cradle of Sikhism'

**Doaba** is the region of Indian Punjab between the rivers Beas and Sutlej. The name "Doaba" literally translates to "land between two rivers" ("Do" two, "Ab" river; Punjabi). It is one of the most fertile regions of the world and was the centre of the Green Revolution in India. To this day, it remains one of the largest per capita producers of wheat in the world. The cities in Doaba are Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, Rupnagar, Nawanshahr and Kapurthala.



Annexure II-B

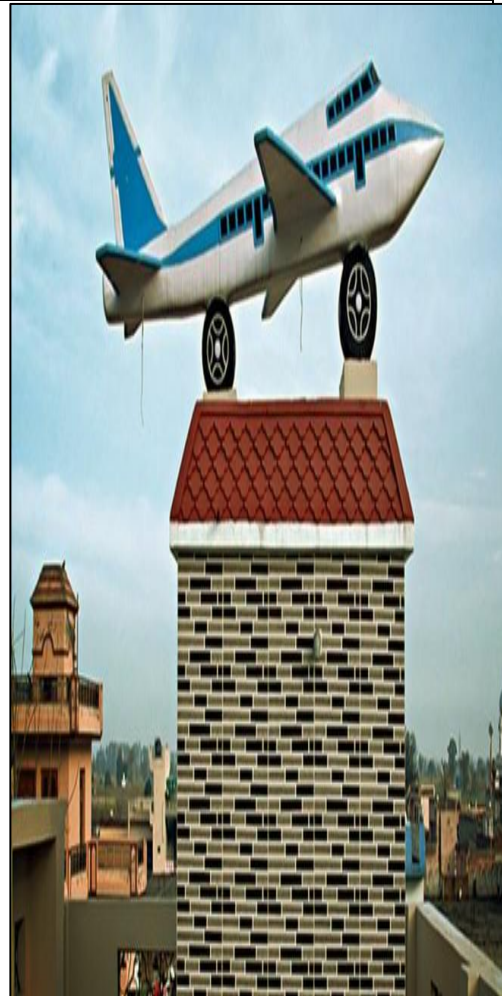
Map A.2. 2: Different districts of Punjab according to the percentage of rural population to total population, 2011.



Source: Statistical Atlas of Punjab, 2012 ([www.pbplanning.gov.in](http://www.pbplanning.gov.in))

### Annexure III

**Image A.3: Image of a Gurudwara in Jalandhar where models of Aeroplanes are presented as offerings and water tank on roof top in the shape of Aeroplane**



There is a Gurudwara in Jalandhar (Shaheed Baba Nihal Singh Gurudwara), popularly known as 'Hawaijahaj' (Aeroplane) Gurudwara. In this Gurudwara plastic models of aero-planes are offered to ensure speedy and successful emigration. These plastic models are kept there for some time and then are distributed among poor children as toys.

Water tanks on the roof top in the shape of Aero-planes is a very common site in Punjab, and is usually considered to be an indication that either a family member is living abroad or is desirable to emigrate to their dream country.

## **Annexure IV: Some Sections of the Sample question paper of IELTS - Reading Module only**

### **Section 1, questions 1–14**

This is the first section of the IELTS General Training Reading test. It contains two pieces of writing. Read each piece and answer the questions.

#### **Questions 1–8**

Read the following text and answer questions 1-8.

#### **Emergency procedures**

Revised July 2011

This applies to all persons on the school campus

In cases of emergency (e.g. fire), find the nearest teacher who will: send a messenger at full speed to the Office or inform the Office via phone ext. 99.

#### **Procedure for evacuation**

1. Warning of an emergency evacuation will be marked by a number of short bell rings. (In the event of a power failure, this may be a hand-held bell or siren.)
2. All class work will cease immediately.
3. Students will leave their bags, books and other possessions where they are.
4. Teachers will take the class rolls.
5. Classes will vacate the premises using the nearest staircase. If these stairs are inaccessible, use the nearest alternative staircase. Do not use the lifts. Do not run.
6. Each class, under the teacher's supervision, will move in a brisk, orderly fashion to the paved quadrangle area adjacent to the car park.
7. All support staff will do the same.

8. The Marshalling Supervisor, Ms Randall, will be wearing a red cap and she will be waiting there with the master timetable and staff list in her possession.

9. Students assemble in the quad with their teacher at the time of evacuation. The teacher will do a head count and check the roll.

10. Each teacher sends a student to the Supervisor to report whether all students have been accounted for. After checking, students will sit down (in the event of rain or wet pavement they may remain standing).

11. The Supervisor will inform the Office when all staff and students have been accounted for.

12. All students, teaching staff and support personnel remain in the evacuation area until the All Clear signal is given.

13. The All Clear will be a long bell ring or three blasts on the siren.

14. Students will return to class in an orderly manner under teacher guidance.

15. In the event of an emergency occurring during lunch or breaks, students are to assemble in their home-room groups in the quad and await their home-room teacher.

### Questions 1-8

Complete the sentences below.

Choose no more than three words from the text for each answer.

Questions
1) In an emergency, a teacher will either phone the office or .....
2) The signal for evacuation will normally be several .....
3) If possible, students should leave the building by the .....
4) They then walk quickly to the .....
5) ..... will join the teachers and students in the quad.
6) Each class teacher will count up his or her students and mark .....
7) After the ....., everyone may return to class.

8) If there is an emergency at lunchtime, students gather in the quad in ..... and wait for their teacher.

### **Questions 9-14**

Read the text below and answer questions 9–14.

### **Community Education**

Short Courses: Business

#### **Business Basics**

Gain foundation knowledge for employment in an accounts position with bookkeeping and business basics through to intermediate level; suitable for anyone requiring knowledge from the ground up.

Code B/ED011

16th or 24th April 9am–4pm

Cost \$420

#### **Bookkeeping**

This course will provide students with a comprehensive understanding of bookkeeping and a great deal of hands-on experience.

Code B/ED020

19th April 9am–2.30pm (one session only so advance bookings essential)

Cost \$250

#### **New Enterprise Module**

Understand company structures, tax rates, deductions, employer obligations, profit and loss statements, GST and budgeting for tax.

Code B/ED030

15th or 27th May 6pm–9pm

Cost \$105

#### **Social Networking – the Latest Marketing Tool**

This broad overview gives you the opportunity to analyse what web technologies are available and how they can benefit your organisation.

Code B/ED033

1st or 8th or 15th June 6pm–9pm

Cost \$95

Communication

Take the fear out of talking to large gatherings of people. Gain the public-speaking experience that will empower you with better communication skills and confidence.

Code B/ED401

12th or 13th or 14th July 6pm–9pm

Cost \$90

### Questions 9-14

Do the following statements agree with the information given in the text?

Answer True, False or not given to questions 9–14.

True	if the statement agrees with the information
False	if the statement contradicts the information
Not given	if there is no information on this

<b>Questions</b>
9) Business Basics is appropriate for beginners.
10) Bookkeeping has no practical component.
11) Bookkeeping is intended for advanced students only.
12) The New Enterprise Module can help your business become more profitable.
13) Social Networking focuses on a specific website to help your business succeed.
14) The Communication class involves speaking in front of an audience

An aspiring emigrant to Canada and Australia has to undertake an English Language Proficiency test (IELTS) and score minimum required level in order to emigrate successfully. Produced here is only one section of, one of the four test modules, which the aspiring emigrant should undertake. The rest of the sample question paper can be accessed from the following address:

[www.studyabroad.careers360.com/ielts-sample-paper](http://www.studyabroad.careers360.com/ielts-sample-paper) (accessed on 27.04.2017)

## Annexure V

Image A4: Images of Boards and Hoardings outside office of travel agents



Boards and hoardings like these are very common in Punjab. We could find such ‘shops’ of travel agents almost in every block, each one claiming itself to be the best. Most of these travel agents had their ‘own business’ of providing coaching for IELTS or had some further contacts with some coaching institute.