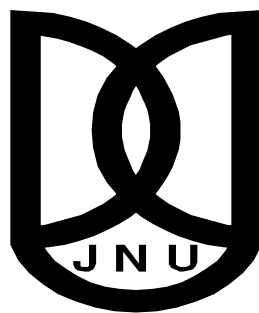


**RETURN MIGRATION AND OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE:
AN ANALYSIS OF INDIAN SKILLED WORKERS'
LIFE-CYCLE ACTIVITY, 2008-2018**

*Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in fulfillment of the
requirement for the award of the degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled "Return Migration and Occupational Choice: An Analysis of Indian Skilled Workers' Life-cycle Activity, 2008-2018" submitted by me for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. This thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	ii
List of Tables	v
List of Abbreviations	vi
Chapter 1: Introduction	
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Statement of the Research Problem	6
1.2 Scope of the Study	7
1.3 Summary of Research Design and Methodology	8
1.4 Outline of the Study	8
Chapter 2: Recent Mobility Trends of International Students from India and China to the United States of America, Australia and the United Kingdom: A Comparative Analysis	
2.0 Introduction	11
2.1 Indian and Chinese students in the USA, Australia and the UK	16
2.2 Indian and Chinese students in the USA, and Australia the UK: A Comparison	21
2.3 Bilateral Mobility of Students between India and China	24
2.4 Summary	25
Chapter 3: Review of the Literature	
3.0 Introduction	26
3.1 Theoretical Propositions for Return migration	26
3.2 Empirical Studies on Return Migration	36
Chapter 4: Research Design	
4.0 Introduction	48
4.1 Mixed Methods Approach	49

4.2	Theoretical and Conceptual framework of the study	53
4.3	Research Methods	59
4.4	Data Analysis Techniques	63
4.5	Summary	65
Chapter 5 : Findings and Analysis		
5.0	Introduction	66
5.1	Quantitative Data Collected from Survey: Findings and Discussion	66
5.2	Qualitative Data Collected from Interviews: Findings and Discussion	91
Chapter 6: Conclusion		134
References		141
Appendices		152

List of Tables

Table 1: Total Outbound Internationally Mobile Tertiary Students Studying Abroad, both sexes (in number)	12
Table 2: Tertiary Level Students from India, both sexes - Top Five Countries of Destination (in number)	13
Table 3: Tertiary level Students from PRC, both sexes- Top Five Countries of Destination (in number)	13
Table 4: Top 5 Places of Origin of International Students in the USA, 2015-16 & 2016-17	16
Table 5: Top 5 Nationalities in Enrollments in all the sectors in Australia, 2015 & 2016	18
Table 6: Indian Students Commencements in Australia, 2014-2017	19
Table 7: Chinese Students Commencements in Australia, 2014-2017	20
Table 8: Top five Non- EU countries of Domicile for Higher Education Students from Country of Origin to the UK, 2011-2016	20
Table 9: Operationalisation of the Constructs and Level of Measurement of the Variables	57
Table 10: Quantitative Data Set Analysed in the Study: The Pre-migration Phase	67
Table 11: Quantitative Data Set Analysed in the Study: The Migration Phase	71
Table 12: Quantitative Data Set Analysed in the Study: The Post-return Phase	74
Table 13: Contingency Table of Nature of Work between the Pre-migration and the Migration Phase	81
Table 14: Contingency Table of Nature of Work between the Migration and Post-return Phase	82
Table 15: Quantitative Data Set Analysed in the Study: Association between Settlement in the Home Country Labour Market with Length of Stay Aboard, Network and Structural Factor	86

List of Abbreviations

CII	Confederation of Indian Industry
CSIR	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research
DRDO	Defence Research and Development Organisation
DBT	Department of Bio- technology
DST	Department of Science and Technology
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MOE	Ministry of Education
MOHFW	Ministry of Health and Family Welfare
MOST	Ministry of Science and Technology
MOIA	Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs
NELM	Neo-Economics of Labor Migration
OCI	Overseas Citizen of India
PRC	People's Republic of China
PDF	Post- Doctoral Fellowship
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OS/ STIO	Outstanding Scientist/ Scientists-Technologists of Indian origin
UN DESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UN	United Nations
UNSECO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.0 Introduction

Globally, there were an estimated 258 million international migrants in 2017 and these international migrants are unevenly distributed across the globe, over half (51 per cent) of all international migrants in the world were living in only ten countries (United Nations, 2017, p. 1). According to the recent International Migration Report-2017, the largest number of migrants resided in the United States of America (USA), which hosted 49.8 million migrants in 2017, or 19 percent of the total international migrants, Saudi Arabia and Germany hosted the second and third largest numbers (12.2 million each), followed by Russian Federation (11.7 million), the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (nearly 8.8 million) and the United Arab Emirates [8.3 million] (United Nations, 2017, p.6).

As per the recent International Migration Report, India is now the country with the largest number of people living outside the country's borders ("diaspora"), followed by Mexico, the Russian Federation and People's Republic of PRC [PRC] (United Nations, 2017, p.10). In 2017, 16.6 million persons from India were living in another country compared to 13.0 million for Mexico, the Russian Federation (10.6 million), PRC (10.0 million), Bangladesh (7.5 million), Syrian Arab Republic (6.9 million), Pakistan (6.0 million) and Ukraine (5.9 million). Out of 16.6 million of its diaspora population, India-born or People of India Origin (PIO) are largely placed in less developed nations with 11.86 million and around 4.7 million are residing in the more developed part of the world in 2017 (United Nations, 2017, p.23).

Since the 1990s, India has been one of the topmost emigration countries in the world of people of all skills level to the rest of the world. With the opening up of its economy, India experienced a large flow of net out-migration of its people to different parts of the world. A large number of major flows of international labour from India since the 1990s can be schematised as follows: First, persons with technical and professional skills migrate to high-income developed and traditionally migrant-receiving countries like USA, UK, and Canada, either as permanent immigrants or to

take up temporary employment (Khadria, 2004). Second, less skilled, unskilled, semi-skilled and professionals migrate as contract workers to the high-income countries in the Gulf [mainly to the Gulf Corporation Countries] (Khadria, Kumar, Sarkar, & Sharma, 2008). Third, professionals, especially young IT professionals, migrate to the newly emerging destinations like Europe (Germany, France, and Belgium), Australasia (Australia and New Zealand) and East Asia [Japan and Singapore] (Sasikumar, 1995).

In recent years, there has been a remarkable shift in the destination countries' immigration policies, whereby the immigration policies has shifted more towards temporary migration than to permanent migration (de Haas, 2011). With this paradigm shift in the immigrant policies' of the destination countries, origin countries' government have apprehended the importance of their human capital resource working or settled abroad and in order to attract them back to their soils home governments have initiated a number of returnee programmes (Hercog, 2008). According to UN-DESA report on International Migration Policies: Government Views and Priorities, "Among 58 countries with available data in 2011, 40 countries had programmes to facilitate the return of migrants to their home countries. Thirty-two out of 40 countries with data in more developed regions had such programmes, compared with 8 out of 18 countries with data in less developed regions" (UNDESA, 2015, p. 6). This is because the return migration is considered as an antidote to the brain drain of the high-skilled workers (Khadria, 1999). Return migration of skilled migrants is mainly an individual choice but at times initiated by the home country's return policies. The circular character of migration, especially among the highly skilled worker, which was earlier seen as brain loss to the origin country now is not seen as a final loss of capital to the origin country as they can be motivated to contribute back through the policy initiatives of the states (Iredale, 2000).

There is no consensus on the definition of the high skilled worker. According to Iredale (2001), "Highly skilled workers are normally defined as "those having a university degree or extensive/equivalent experience in a given field" (p.8). Salt defined the high skilled workers as the "category which is not well defined and varies from one country to another. It includes highly skilled specialists, independent executives and senior managers, specialized technicians or tradespeople, investors,

physicians, business people, 'key workers' and subcontract workers” (Salt, 1997, p. 21).

The high skilled worker’s mobility has increased in the era of globalization due to ease of transportation and telecommunication. Due to high mobility among high skilled migrants, state’s sponsored projects have been designed to reap the benefits of their skills and attract the best and brightest to the country. It is not a new phenomenon, return programmes of expatriates to their country in past has been initiated by the international organizations like UNDP “TOKTEN” in 1977 or IOM’s Engaging diaspora program like Afghanistan’s RETURN OF QUALIFIED AFGHANS in 2001. There have been other successful plans of government assisted return programs of skilled migrants in countries like Taiwan (Cohen, 2013), South Korea(Cohen, 2013; Lucas, 2001), Ireland (Government of Ireland, 2015), and Israel (Cohen, 2013), China (Wang, 2011).

The policies for the return of skilled migrants can be segmented into different forms; it could be diaspora/ centric policies, for short-term visits to the permanent return (Cohen, 2013). According to Saxenian, (2005), Return migration for the skilled worker can be categorized in two other ways i.e. the first form refers to the return of first-generation migrants to their home country and the other type of returnees are later generation diasporic descendants to their home country (as cited in Ho, 2013).

According to the World Bank (2017), India with 0.27 million tertiary educated emigrants, is one of the top ten - emigration countries of tertiary-educated in the year 2017. India is not only the source countries of high skilled workers to the developed countries in the world but in recent years, the reverse brain drain trend can be witnessed of the professionals and entrepreneurs in both the nations. There is no official data to show the number of returnees to India but the media information/ news report can highlight the rising trend of returnees.

According to a report in Press Trust of India (2016) around 175-180 scientists have returned to India in the recent past. Srivastava, (2016) reported that traditionally the presence of family has been the reason of skilled returnee to India but with the rise in the number of fellowships for skilled returnees, the scientists of Indian origin wish

to return to India in large number. Simhan, (2017) reported that typically qualified, young people (between 35-45 years) from the countries like the USA, the UK, Australia, Canada are returning to India due to factors such as the presence of family, lower cost of living and improving the image of India as a country.

The Indian government has always tried to capture the benefits of the remittances and investment potential of its diaspora in past. Till 2000, the policy directed for attracting the skilled overseas Indians were managed by several key ministries, particularly the Ministry of External Affairs through their diaspora/emigration-related services, Ministry of Science and Technology, Ministry of Defence etc. through their recruitment policies (Li, Bakshi, Tan, & Huang, 2018). The more direct involvement in the issues of overseas Indians started since 2000. In August 2000, a High-Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora was formed with a mandate to be more attentive with the concerns of diaspora (Li et al., 2018). The Ministry of External Affairs has been engaged in four forms of services to the overseas Indians as Diaspora services; Emigration services; Financial services; and Management services. The Ministry of External affairs promotes the diaspora services as to keep overseas Indians rooted and attached to India with the initiatives like Pravasi Bharatiya Divas, Pravasi Bhartiya Samman, Know India, Regional Pravasi Bhartiya Divas, Scholarship program for Diaspora Children, Tracing the roots, Mini Pravasi Bhartiya Divas, Overseas Indian Youth Club, PIO/NRI University, Study in India etc. The establishment of India Centre for Migration as a think tank, Indian Community Welfare Fund, Social Security agreements with other countries etc. falls into the emigration-related services of the Ministry. The prominent financial initiatives of Ministry of External Affairs includes the OIFC, a public-private initiative of the Ministry with CII, Global Ink with OIFC and Tata Consultancy Services, Indian Development Foundation of Overseas Indian (IDF- OI).

Returning decision is an individual choice but government supported return programme at times initiates this process. In India, Department of Science and Technology, Department of Biotechnology and Council of Scientific & Industrial Research under Ministry of Science and Technology offer a number of returnees-focused policies in the area of science and technology such as Ramanujan Fellowship , Ramalingaswamy Re-Entry Fellowship , Outstanding Scientist/ Scientists-

Technologists of Indian origin (OS/ STIO), are for those scientist / engineers / technologists who wish to return or have already return to India. INSPIRE of Department of Science and Technology is a comprehensive national plan to promote scientific approach in the country and INSPIRE faculty Scheme is more focused on recruitment of Indians / NRI /PIOs scientists to undertake independent research in India. Department of Health Research under Ministry of Health and Family Welfare and Council of Scientific & Industrial Research under Ministry of Science and Technology offer the policy meant for returnees in the area of health and allied health areas such as The Re-entry scheme for NRI, PIO and OCI in health research. Defence Research and Development Organizations, Ministry of Defence Talent Search scheme for NRI is another career opportunity for NRI in the area of defence and research development in India.(See Appendix-A for detailed features of these fellowships). As on the in the year 2017, 1205 candidates has awarded INSPIRE Faculty award, 455 Ramanujan Fellowship, 267 Ramalingaswami re-entry fellowship and 109 candidates have been awarded Wellcome-DBT India Alliance award¹ⁱ.

One of the most important parameters that have not got its due importance in return migration research is the settlement issues in the post return phase of the returnees to their country of origin. Reintegration issues among returnees can take in many forms such as economic, social reintegration, cultural reintegration (Dumont & Spielvogel, 2008; Mercier, David, Mahia, & De Arce, 2016; Sasikumar & Timothy, 2012a). Literature on return migration has focused on many ways to reintegrate the less and medium-skilled returnees to their home country (Kumar, 2015), but less focus has been given to the problems faced by the highly skilled returnees, may be due to the belief that they are equipped with human, financial and social skills upon their return to their home country . Saxenian (2001, 2005) has talked about the difficulties faced by skilled returnees in her survey of skilled returnees to India, but there is no in-depth study has been found to investigate the labour market outcomes of skilled returnees to India.

However, there are few news reports that discussed the difficulties skilled returnees had to face during their settlement phase in India such as a limited number of job opportunities, the budgetary rigidities in the job and cumbersome bureaucracy,

¹ Compiled from the various years annual reports of Department of Biotechnology and Department of Science and Technology, Ministry of Science and Technology

lack of research funding, weak academia-industry collaboration (Sridhar, 2017; Srivastava, 2016). Sridhar (2017) reported that a number of silicon-valley trained entrepreneurs are returning to India to nurture their startups but have faced difficulties like slow decision making, lack of financial support etc. This gap in the literature provides the rationale for conducting this study on exploring the labour market outcomes of the skilled returnees to India.

1.1 Statement of the Research Problem

Most research on return migration has focused on drivers of return migration ranging from the economics- push and pull factors to sociological - transnational links with the home country and have shown evidence of accumulation of different forms of capital(i.e. human, financial and social capital) by returnees during their stay in the destination country but the development effect of this accumulated capital on the home country has not received due attention in the literature (de Haas & Fokkema, 2010).

One of the most important parameters that have not got its due importance in return migration research is the labour market outcome upon return. People use migration to improve their occupational status, either by obtaining employment if they had no jobs in places of origin or by obtaining better jobs if they already had had previous work experience (Lianos & Pseiridis, 2009). There are relatively few analytic frameworks available to study the interrelationship of return migration and occupational choices. Two issues, in particular, require attention in this regard: the labour market performance of return migrants on the one hand, and the characteristics of businesses created by returnees on the other hand.

Therefore, this study looked at the labour market outcomes upon return in India among skilled returnees. The purpose of the study was to explore different patterns of occupational choices observed upon post return that can be linked to individual, migration and contextual characteristics of skilled returnees to India. The main research questions guiding this study were:

1. What are the socio-economic characteristics of skilled return migrants to India in three phases of migration (pre-migration, during migration and post-return)?

2. What are the major push and pull factors that led to emigration and return migration among skilled personnel to India?
3. What are the labour market outcomes of skilled returnees to India?
 - 3.1 What are the occupational choices made by returnees in the three phases of migration i.e. pre-migration, during migration and post-return phase?
 - 3.2. What are different occupational choices made by returnees in each migration- transition phase, i.e. 1. Occupation before migration and during migration and 2. Occupation during migration and post-return?
 - 3.3 What is the association between settlement in the home country's labour market with the length of stay abroad, accumulated foreign experience, networks in home and host country and government return programmes for skilled returnees?
4. What are the obstacles faced by skilled returnees in the job market in India upon their return?

The extent to which these above research questions were answered by the study is explained in chapter 4 and chapter 5.

1.2 Scope of the Study

The study spanned for the time period of 2008-2018² and focused on the different aspect of labour market outcome in the post return phase of the skilled migrants. The study was conducted in three phases, namely pilot study (March-April, 2018), a data collection period through a survey (May-July, 2018), followed by the data collection through interviews (August-September, 2018), which included a sample of 132 respondents who participated in the survey and 22 respondents were part of the interview schedule. The study was limited in scope in the sense that while including certain aspects, it left out other aspects. The study has focused only on the returnees' occupational choices and their experiences about the labour market

² Year 2008 was chosen as most of the Government of India's return fellowships for skilled returnees started during this period (See Appendix-A for more detail on these fellowships).

conditions in India in the post return phase but could have included the (equally) skilled non-migrants to present a comprehensive picture of the labour market for the skilled personnel in India. We also narrowed down the settlement issues only to the labour market, which limits the multi-facet aspect of reintegration in general and economic reintegration in specific. we excluded any direct analysis of the role of government in helping the returnee to reintegrate after return to the home country, as we were more interested to get an in-depth understanding of experiences of returnees as a whole.

1.3 Summary of Research Design and Methodology

The overall goal of the study is achieved by using the mixed methods following sequential exploratory design. The diverse characteristics of skilled returnees to India, their labour market outcomes in the three migration phase has guided the structure of questionnaire and their experiences about their overall situation in the job market in India after return was seen through the lens of qualitative interviews using narratives of the respondents .

1.4 Outline of the Study

This study explores the socio-economic characteristics of skilled returnee migrants and their labour market outcome in the three phases of migration. In this first chapter, the purpose for the study has been introduced along with objectives of the dissertation in section 1.1, followed by the research questions of the study. The scope of the study is discussed in section (1.2), followed by a brief summary of the methodology used in the collection and analysis of data is discussed in section (1.3). The remaining chapters are discussed as follows:

Chapter 2 provides emigration trends of Indian students to select number of Countries and compared with People's Republic of China (PRC). As discussed above that there is no official data to present the number of returnees to India but India has been one of top-most source country for international students (Tejada & Bhattacharya, 2014b). Mahroum (1999) suggests that foreign students are not, a priori, supposed to settle permanently in the host country, however they have the possibility of not returning to their country of origin, but we argue that there must be a good number of students that return to India after completion of their studies.

Therefore the purpose of this chapter to present the position of India as the largest source of international students in the United States of America (USA), the United Kingdom and Australia, whereby the large outflow of the student from India must accompany the reverse flow of skilled human capital to origin country. This chapter explores the factors such as academic reputation, cost of the study and role of intermediaries in these three destination countries in attracting a large number of international students over a period of time. Section (2.1) discusses a comparison of mobility of international students from India and PRC to these three destination countries in terms of a number of students, the field of study chosen, and section (2.2) compares bilateral mobility of students between India and PRC.

Chapter 3 provides a critical review of the literature and incorporates the theoretical propositions on return migration and empirical studies highlighting the diverse characteristics of the return migration as a process in the literature. Section (3.1) discusses the main theoretical propositions on return migration Section(3.2) of this chapter discusses empirical studies to highlight various reasons for return migration the importance awarded to the high-skilled returnees to the home country and occupational choices of returnees in the origin country.

Chapter 4 presents a brief contextual description of the study, the sampling methods used and the nature of the data was collected and methods used to analysed the data. It emphasizes the benefits and limitations of using the adopted research design to unveil the select migration process in the focus of the study in section (4.1). It then describes the theoretical and conceptual framework adopted in the study in section (4.2), along with describing operationalization of the key variables used in the work, briefly reviewing the measures that have been used in the past researches. The information collected through questionnaire and interview is way forward in many respects, but it also suffers from drawbacks, discussed in the later part of the chapter in section (4.3). Finally, the chapter concludes the way different variables are reconstructed to be used for the analysis.

Chapter 5 is a presentation and discussion of the findings resulting from the data collected through survey and interviews. This chapter offers an interpretation of the findings obtained in the analysis, in accordance with the theoretical framework discussed in section (4.2). The section presents the findings from the data collected

through 132 questionnaires in section (5.1) and section (5.2) reports the theme based narratives derived from the 22 qualitative interviews.

Chapter 6 provides conclusions drawn from the study. The findings are used to answer the research questions articulated in Chapter 1 and to discuss the implications and significance of the study. The chapter concludes with a summary of the study and avenues for further research are suggested.

Chapter 2

Recent Mobility Trends of International Students from India and China to the United States of America, Australia and the United Kingdom: A Comparative Analysis

2.0 Introduction

Recent years have recorded faster growth in the mobility among the international students, making it an imperative part of the global higher education landscape. As per the UNSECO, (2017) data on international education, the total number of mobile tertiary education students was estimated to reach a level of 4.8 million in 2016, which is an increase of nearly 23 percent since 2011. Diverse factors have an impact on the mobility of students ranging from changes in the infrastructure of higher education system, immigration policy in the host country to rising household income in the source countries (Wei, 2013). Traditionally, 90 percent of the international students' mobility was registered in countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) with few main destination countries such as the United States of America (USA), the United Kingdom (UK), Germany, France and Australia (OECD, 2018). Indian and Chinese students have been comprised of a fair share in the total number of mobile tertiary education students. In year 2016, out of the total number of mobile tertiary education students, 17 percent students came from People's Republic of China (PRC) and share of Indian students was 6 percent (see Table 1).

With the opening up of their domestic economy, PRC (Since 1968) and India (Since 1990s) both the countries have experienced mobility of students for higher education abroad. Table 1 shows that over a period of time, there has been a constant large flow of Indian students for the higher education to the rest of the world but in comparison to PRC, the mobility number for Indian student is far less. In 2017, around 2.7 lakh (0.27 million) Indian students were studying abroad in higher education sector, whereas the number of Chinese students who were studying abroad in higher education sector was 8.4 lakh (0.84 million).

Table 1: Total outbound internationally mobile tertiary students studying abroad, all countries, both sexes (number)

Country	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
China	6,56,205	7,01,393	7,19,202	7,68,278	8,18,803	8,47,046	8,47,259
India	2,05,650	1,92,100	1,90,560	2,15,103	2,56,101	2,77,387	2,78,383

Source: UNSECO Institute for Education, Education Indicator (2017). Outbound internationally mobile students by country of origin. Retrieved from <http://data.uis.unesco.org/>

The objective of this chapter is to do comparative analysis of Indian and Chinese students in three traditionally main destination countries i.e. the USA, Australia, and the UK based on the recent available data. The rationale for choosing the USA, Australia, and the UK as destination countries for comparative purposes is that these three countries has not only been traditionally attracting a large flow of Indian and Chinese students, but looking at the Inbound mobility of students from India (Table 2) and PRC (Table 3) , data shows that in the recent times as well the USA, Australia and the UK has remained the main destination countries for the tertiary level students for both the country. The USA has been able to attract the majority pool of Indian students, where this flow of students experienced fall in absolute numbers in year 2013, but since then the numbers are on rise. Australia, on the other hand has experienced a constant growth in absolute number of Indian students since 2011. Whereas, the UK is been experiencing a downfall in number of students from India, since 2013 onwards. In givendata, since 2011, there is a constant rise in number of Chinese students in the USA and Australia and the UK. However, Australia saw a decline in number in 2016.

Table 2: Tertiary level Students from India, both sexes (number) - Top Five Countries of destination (in numbers)

Host Country	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
USA	1,01,909	97,120	92,597	97,613	1,12,713	N.A.
Australia	14,091	11,684	16,150	25,562	36,892	46,316
United Kingdom	38,677	29,713	22,155	19,604	18,177	N.A.
Canada	8,142	9,582	13,626	15,705	16,323	19,905
New Zealand	7,517	7,248	6,845	10,255	15,087	15,016

Source: UNSECO Institute for Education, Education Indicator (2017). Inbound internationally mobile students by country of origin. Retrieved from <http://data.uis.unesco.org/>

Note: N.A. = Not Available

Table 3: Tertiary level Students from PRC, both sexes (number) - Top Five Countries of destination (in numbers)

Host country	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
USA	1,78,889	2,10,452	2,25,474	2,60,914	2,91,063	N.A.
Australia	90,175	87,497	87,980	90,245	1,12,329	97,387
United Kingdom	65,906	76,913	81,776	86,204	91,518	N.A.
Japan	94,382	96,592	89,788	85,226	79,175	N.A.
Republic of Korea	47,477	43,698	38,109	34,145	34,513	N.A.
New Zealand	10,327	11,337	12,219	13,952	15,009	16,626

Source: UNSECO Institute for Education, Education Indicator (2017). Inbound internationally mobile students by country of origin. Retrieved from <http://data.uis.unesco.org/>

Review of the literature shows that the movement of international students to a particular destination country is result of many factors ranging from economic, geographical to cultural etc. factors (OECD, 2017). It would be interesting to explore that what factors makes these three countries' attractive to International students?. Following section³ discusses some of the factors that make these three countries the preferred destinations for the international students.

³ We do not argue that it is the exhaustive list of reasons that attract international students to these three destination countries.

a. Academic Reputation

The academic reputation plays an important role for international students to choose their destination country for study (Wilkins & Huisman, 2015). Apart from being English – speaking countries, the ranking of the USA, the UK and Australian universities make them attractive destination for international students. According to the Times Higher Education World University Rankings-2018, the USA and the UK and Australia is home to the world class universities. 62 USA institutions, 31 UK institutions and 08 Australian institutions made in the top 200 institutions in the Times Higher Education World University Rankings (The Times Higher Education World University Rankings, 2018).

b. Cost of the Study:

Cost of the study or amount of tuition fees charged from international student is one of the determining factor that motivate the students to apply for student to particular destinations and to deter them applying from others (OECD, 2018). Among OECD nations, in the financial year 2015-16, where the USA, the UK and Australia charge higher tuition fees for international students than for domestic students, whereas countries like Germany, France, Italy, Japan, Korea, Mexico, Spain, Switzerland charge same tuition fees for international and domestic students and Finland, Norway charge no fees either of the two students' group (OECD, 2018, pp. 212-222).

The US education is popular destination among International students for higher education, but it comes with a hefty sum of cost. As per the Times Higher Education report (2017), "In the United States, Tuition fees range from \$5,000 to \$50,000 (£3,820-£38,200) per year for undergraduate courses. The average annual cost of tuition fees in the US was estimated at \$33,215 (£25,376) in 2016. Most undergraduate degrees last four years, so, on average, students are graduating with \$132,860 (£101,505) worth of debt (The Times Higher Education, 2017).

As per the Times Higher Education report (2017), "In Australia, average cost of tuition fees for undergraduate programme was \$29,235(in Australian dollars) or £17,152 per year in 2017". Whereas in the United Kingdom , tuition fees vary depending on the home country of the inbound student. As per times higher

education report, for home students, English universities can charge up to a maximum of £9,250 per year for an undergraduate degree. As Cited in the Times Higher Education report, “In 2017, international students paid between £10,000 and £35,000 annually for lecture-based undergraduate degrees in various educational institutions of the UK and for post graduates, there is no upper limit for the tuition fees, but it is certainly higher than the home students” (The Times Higher Education, 2018).

Tuition fees in the USA, Australia and the UK (England) is highest among the OCED countries, but majority of students (at least 75 %) get financial support in the form of public loan, scholarship or grants (OECD, 2018, p. 212). The financial support in different forms make these institutions attractive for the international students (OECD, 2018).

c. Role of the State-Intermediaries Organisations

In particular, the UK government has devoted considerable efforts to developing a market for British higher education in India. UK’s international education agency, the British Council over much of the last decade has organized educational fairs and exhibitions to attract Indian students for higher education in the UK. Role of such intermediaries organisation has spurt more competition in the market of the International students. The involvement of state intermediaries in student recruitment such as the UK’S British Council is not unique, as Australian Education International (AEI) has been playing very prominent role in promoting this sector through organizing exhibitions and fair for the international students. In 2016, Australian government created a new Council for International Education with prime objective to implement the Australia’s National Strategy for International Education 2025 (Ministers for the Department of Education and Training, 2018).

There are widely different definitions of ‘international’ or ‘foreign’ students that are adopted in education systems across the world which made the analysis of comparative mobility of student between countries difficult. With the purpose of maintaining uniformity, we used the terminology adopted by the UNESCO for international student. UNESCO introduced the concept of ‘internationally mobile students’, as “individuals who leave their country or territory of origin and travel to

another for the purpose of studying there” (UNSECO, 2017). We begin by assembling available information to trace the magnitude and the composition of the student flows from India in the three selected countries namely: the USA, Australia and the UK. The data used in the chapter represent each countries’ latest available academic year (i.e. year 2016). While looking at the available data on number of Indian students studying abroad, did a comparison with PRC with respect to these three destination countries. The analyses highlights the differences in the flow of the student, sector or field of study chosen by the students from the two countries and bilateral student mobility between India and PRC.

2.1 Indian and Chinese students in the USA, Australia and the UK

2.1.1 Indian and Chinese Students in the USA

Table 4 shows the top ten leading country of origin of International Students in the USA for fiscal year of 2015 and 2016. In the 2016/17 academic year, 186,267 students from India were studying in the United States (up 12.3% from the previous year). India is the second leading place of origin for students coming to the United States after PRC . India comprising 17.3% of the total international students in the United States, whereas the 32.5 percent of the total international students in the United States originates from PRC(absolute numbers 3, 50,755 in year 2016-17).

Table 4 : Top 5 Places of Origin of International Students in the USA, 2015-16 & 2016-17

Rank	Place of Origin	2015-16	2016-17	% of Total	%Change
	World Total	1,043,839	1,078,822	100.0	3.4
1	PRC	328,547	350,755	32.5	6.8
2	India	165,918	186,267	17.3	12.3
3	South Korea	61,007	58,663	5.4	-3.8
4	Saudi Arabia	61,287	52,611	4.9	-14.2
5	Canada	26,973	27,065	2.5	0.3

Source: Institute of International Education. (2017). "Fact Sheets of India and China 2016/17." Open Doors Report on International Educational Exchange. Retrieved from <http://www.iie.org/opendoors>

The majority of Indian students in the U.S. study at the graduate level and Optional practical training OPT. In 2016/17, their breakdown was: 11.8% (21,977 in absolute number) undergraduate; 56.3% (104,899) graduate students; 1.2% other (=non degree 2,259) ; 30.7% OPT [Optional Practical Training- 57,132] (Institute of International Education, 2017). In the 2016-17, maximum number Indian students are enrolled under Engineering (STEM) courses (36 percent) and the second choice of field of study for Indians students was Math/ Computer Science (35 percent), followed by Business and Management[10.4 percent] (Institute of International Education, 2017).

The majority of Chinese students in the US study undergraduate level and graduate level. In 2016/17, their breakdown was: 40.7% (142,851 in absolute number) undergraduate; 36.6 % (128,320) graduate students; 5.6 % other(=non degree 19,749);and 17.1 % OPT [Optional Practical Training- 59,835] (Institute of International Education, 2017). In the 2016-17, maximum number Chinese students are enrolled under Business and Management course (23 percent), the second choice of field of study for Chinese students was Engineering (STEM) courses (19 percent) , followed by Math/ Computer Science[16 percent] (Institute of International Education, 2017),

2.1.2 Indian and Chinese Students in Australia

Based on country ranking of Indian migration to Australia in the year 2014, the two most significant categories that constitute the major part of the temporary migration to Australia from India in recent years were temporary skilled migration and International students (Department of Home Affairs, Australian Government, 2014). It was the higher education sector that attracted the highest number of Indian students in Australia (Department of Home Affairs, Australian Government, 2014). If we compare the intake of international students via number of students visa holder or total number of students' enrollments in year 2016. PRC was the top most holder in both parameters and India stood second in year 2016.

The number of student visa holders in Australia on 31 December 2016 was 355,760, an increase of 8.4 per cent compared with 328,130 on 31 December 2015. The top five citizenship countries for Student visa holders in Australia on 31

December 2016 were: Peoples Republic of PRC 70,850 visa holders, an (increase of 6.7 per cent); India 52,380 visa holders (an increase of 7.9 per cent); Nepal 21,360 visa holders (an increase of 23.0 per cent); Vietnam 18,120 visa holders (a decrease of 2.5 per cent) and South Korea 16,140 visa holders (an increase of 5.6 per cent).

Table 5 below shows those top 5 nationalities contributed 51.3% of Australia's (new) enrolments in all sectors in 2016 were PRC, India, Republic of Korea, Thailand and Vietnam (Provider Registration and International Student Management System, 2016). PRC is the largest source of enrollments with 1,96,315 in 2016, and India holds second position with 78,424 enrollments in the same year. In terms of share in the total enrollments, Chinese nationals accounted for 28 percent, whereas Indians nationals share is only 11 percent in the total enrollments in year 2016 (Provider Registration and International Student Management System, 2016). Interestingly, Higher education sector attracts the maximum number of both Indian and Chinese students in Australia. In year 2016, PRC and India accounted for 36.8 % and 14.6 % respectively of enrolments by students in higher education in Australia.

Table 5: Top 5 nationalities in Enrollments in all the sectors in Australia, 2015 & 2016.

Nationality	2015	2016	Growth on 2015 (percent)	Share of all the nationalities (percent)
PRC	1,69,687	1,96,315	15.7	27.5
India	71,992	78,424	8.9	11.0
Republic of Korea	28,610	30,595	6.9	4.3
Thailand	27,765	30,451	9.7	4.3
Vietnam	29,362	29,766	1.4	4.2
Other nationalities	3,15533	3,47,333	10.1	48.7
All nationalities	6,42949	71,2884	10.9	100

Source: Department of Education and Training, (2017a) Retrieved from https://internationaleducation.gov.au/research/International-Student-Data/Documents/MONTHLY%20SUMMARIES/2016/12_December_2016_FullYear-Analysis.pdf

Australia's Department of education and training issues the data on both enrollment and commencements of courses in the country. Based on the absolute number and percentage share in the yearly commencements in different courses, Higher education sector has the maximum number of Indian students and followed by Vocational education training[VET] (Department of Education and Training, Australian Government, 2017). In year 2017, 57 percent of Indian students commenced courses in the higher education section and share of VET was 34 percent in the same year (Department of Education and Training, Australian Government, 2017). Whereas, Chinese students have opted mostly for higher education (which is 52 percentage in 2017) followed by English Language Intensive Course for Overseas Students (ELICOS) (with 23 percentage) in 2017 (Department of Education and Training, Australian Government, 2017).

Table 6: Indian Students Commencements in Australia, 2014-2017

Sector	2014	2015	2016	2017	Percentage share in year 2017
Higher Education	108,479	127,965	152,544	165,558	57
VET	121,046	119,906	116,545	97,348	34
Schools	1,042	1,013	1,041	821	0.3
ELICOS	45,714	40,612	28,394	22,948	8
Non-award	2,273	2,422	1,733	1,814	0.6
Grand Total	278,554	291,918	300,257	288,489	100

Source: Department of Education and Training, Australian Government, (2017a)https://internationaleducation.gov.au/research/International-Student-Data/Pages/InternationalStudentData2016.aspx#Pivot_Table

Table 7: Chinese Students Commencements in Australia, 2014-2017

Sector	2014	2015	2016	2017	Percentage share in year 2017
Higher Education	326,228	350,865	428,158	501,477	52
VET	61,404	63,050	62,908	83,746	9
Schools	34,442	45,670	51,846	59,000	6
ELICOS	153,628	176,196	192,376	215,895	23
Non-award	45,350	58,892	82,792	97,597	10
Grand Total	621,052	694,673	818,080	957,715	100

Source: Department of Education and Training, Australian Government, (2017a) Retrieved from https://internationaleducation.gov.au/research/International-Student-Data/Pages/InternationalStudentData2016.aspx#Pivot_Table

2.1.3 Indian and Chinese Students in the UK

The number of Chinese students in higher education sector is highest since 2011 and exceeds any other nationality; almost one third of non-EU students in the UK is from PRC. This is the only country showing a significant increase in student numbers [14% rise since 2012-13] (Higher Education Student Statistics, 2016). As Table 8 shows that the third largest number of non-EU students in the UK's higher education sector is from India but the number has declined by 26% since 2012-13 (Higher Education Student Statistics, 2016).

Table 8 : Top five Non- EU countries of Domicile for Higher Education Students from Country of Origin to the UK, 2011-2016

Countries	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	%change 2015 -16
PRC	78,715	83,730	87,895	89,540	91,215	95,090	2%
Malaysia	14,545	15,100	16,635	17,060	17,405	16,370	2%
USA	16,335	16,225	16,485	16,865	17,115	17,580	1%
India	29,900	22,375	19,750	18,325	16,745	16,550	-9%
HongKong	11,335	13,065	14,725	16,215	16,745	16,680	3%

Source: Higher Education Student Statistics,(2016), Top ten non-European Union countries of domicile in 2016/17 for HE student enrolments. Retrieved from : <https://www.hesa.ac.uk/data-and-analysis/sfr247/figure-11>

2.2 Indian and Chinese students in the USA, and Australia the UK: A Comparison

According to UNESCO, based on the outbound mobility of tertiary level student data , the USA is the most popular study destination for Indian and Chinese students while the United Kingdom is the third most popular after Australia. This analyses compares the enrollment in the higher educational institutions in the USA, for the latest available data (i.e. year 2016),PRC is the leading country (with the share of 32.5 percent in total number of international students) which is followed by the Indian students (with the share of 17.3) in the USA. However, in terms of growth of number of students in the USA, Indian students' number grew at 12 percent which was far ahead to PRC, which grew only 6.8 percent in the academic year 2016 (as shown in Table 4).

For Australia, we looked at the two indicators for international student population from India and PRC. As per the number of student visa holders, Chinese students are issued more number of students visa than Indian students in Australia, however the Indian student-visa holder's growth rate is higher than its counterpart in the year 2016. Another parameter used to identify the status of Indian and Chinese students is the new enrollments in all educational sectors in Australia. In the terms of share in new enrollments, Chinese students were the largest source of enrollments with a share of 23 percent , whereas the Share of Indian share was 11 percent in the total enrollment in year 2016 (as shown in Table 5). Table 8 shows that the number of Chinese students is highest since 2011 and exceeds any other nationality; almost one third of non-EU students in the UK is from PRC(95,090 in numbers in year 2016). The third largest number of non-EU students in the UK is from India. In the United Kingdom, the growth rate of Chinese students was positive (a rise of 2 percent) in year 2016, Indian students' growth rate experienced fall (a decrease of 9 percent) in year 2016.

One of the probable reason for fall in the number of Indian students to the UK may be emergence of new destination countries in the neighborhood of the UK .European Countries like Germany and France is attracting a good number of International students due to its limited fees for international studies regardless for

their country of origin⁴ . Even though the number of Indian students they attract is relatively less in comparison to the US, the UK and Australia but the rising trend may give rise to competition at the global level in the recent years. As cited in the report by the Times Higher Education (2017), Due to the government funding to the institutions in France, the Tuition fees in France is relatively lower than the rest of the Europe . As Cited in the same report, in 2017, “The average public university in France in 2017 charged €189 (£167) per year for a bachelor’s degree, €259 (£230) for a master’s degree, €393 (£348) for a PhD and €611 (£541) to attend an engineering school” (Times Higher Education, 2017) .

Germany’s 16 states abolished tuition fees for undergraduate students’ at all public universities in 2014. The number of Indian students in Germany has increased three folds since 2010. Indians form the 2nd largest group of international students enrolled at German universities after PRC (DAAD, 2017). In 2017, a total of 15,308 Indian student were enrolled at various German higher education institution, which was 5.8 percent of the total international student population in that year and India stood second in position after PRC , which had 13.2 percent of international student at different German higher education institutions in 2017 (DAAD, 2017). Loss of the UK is somewhat gain to Germany , as other than charging no tuition fees from international students , Germany also offers an 18-month post-study work visa for graduates from outside the European Union whereas the UK has scrapped a similar scheme in 2012 (DAAD, 2017).

The data from UNSECO (2017) on mobility of tertiary level from India to Germany, France and Malaysia shows a constant rise in number of Indian students to these countries in higher education in recent years .We may be able to see the changing mobility patterns for the Indian Students in future due to adoption of new initiatives in higher education sector by these countries such as the increasing use of English as mode of instruction in a range of programme in such non- English

⁴ The majority of bachelor and master degree programme at public universities are generally tuition free. However, Professional courses at public universities charge tuition fee quite lesser than the other countries. From 2017-18, The federal state has started to charging tuition fees (for Bachelor’s, Master’s, Diploma and state examination degree programs) of €1,500 per semester for non-EU citizens. Doctoral candidates will not be subject to fees. (Times Higher Education, 2017)

speaking countries (OECD, 2017). and keeping tuition fees/living cost considerably less in these countries than those in the US, Australia and the UK (OECD,2017).

Globalisation has affected the nature and scope of international education in a great way . Looking from the comparison purposes, there is slightly different picture when it comes to transnational education. Even though the UK is facing stiff fight from its rival English- speaking destination countries and emerging new destination countries in the international education sector, but in the global market, it gaining strength in the transnational education (Wake, 2018). Transnational education (TNE) is a new route of international education which offers new pathways to the students The top five countries for transnational education provision of UK qualifications in 2016-17 were Malaysia(74,180); PRC (70,240); Singapore(48,920); Pakistan (43,870) and Nigeria (32,925) (HEGlobal, 2018).Interestingly, PRC, the top source of international students in the United Kingdom, and ranked second for TNE (70,240), while India is the third biggest source of international students, ranked just 11th with 17,060 TNE students in the UK(HE Global, 2018).

Each Country institution releases the different type of data, for example International Institute of Education (IIE) provides data on the field of the study chosen by international students, Australian Government's Department of Education and Training and the UK's Higher Education Statistics Agency provide data on type of sector in which international students are enrolled or commenced. The comparison is based on the type of data availability in the open form.

STEM and Business Management courses are the popular choices among Indian and Chinese students in the USA. In the USA, in the 2016-17, maximum number Indian students are enrolled under Engineering (STEM) courses (36 percent) and the second choice of field of study chosen by Indians students was Math/ Computer Science (35 percent), followed by Business and Management [10.4 percent](Institute of International Education., 2017). In the 2016-17, maximum number Chinese students are enrolled under Business and Management course (23 percent), the second choice of field of study for Chinese students was Engineering (STEM) courses (19 percent) , followed by Math/ Computer Science [16 percent] (Institute of International Education, 2017)

In Australia, based on both the absolute number and percentage share in the yearly commencements in different course, Higher education sector has the maximum number of Indian students and Vocational education training(VET) second in the position (Department of Education and Training, 2017). In year 2017, 57 percent of Indian students commenced courses in the higher education section and share of VET was 34 percent (Department of Education and Training, 2017). Whereas, Chinese students have opted mostly higher education (which is 52 percentage in 2017) and ELICOS was the second choice among the Chinese students (with 23 percentage) in 2017 (Department of Education and Training, 2017). PRC is the only country showing a significant increase in student numbers [14% rise since 2012-13] in the UK (Higher Education Student Statistics, 2016). As Table 8 shows that the third largest number of non-EU students in the UK's higher education sector is from India but the number has declined by 26% since 2012-13 (Higher Education Student Statistics, 2016).

2.3 Bilateral Mobility of Students between India and China

According to PRC's Ministry of Education, in 2016, a total of 442,773 foreign students from 205 countries and regions studied in institutions of higher education and research institutes, which is an increase of 45,138 from 2015 with a growth of 10 percent (Ministry of Education, 2016). The main source countries were: 70,540 from South Korea, 23,838 from the United States, 23,044 from Thailand, 18,626 from Pakistan, 18,717 from India, 17,971 from Russia, 14,714 from Indonesia, 13,996 from Kazakhstan, 13,595 from Japan (Ministry of Education, 2016). China has been the most prominent source country of international students, but now it is emerging as the destination country for international students as well. If we compare India's position to PRC in terms of the total number of foreign students enrolled in its higher education sector, PRC has far exceeds than India . According to the All India Survey on Higher Education(AISHE) report 2017-18, the total number of foreign students enrolled in higher education in India was 46,144(Department of Higher Education, 2018). Data shows that the highest share of foreign students come from the neighbouring countries of which Nepal is 24.9% of the total, followed by, Afghanistan (9.5%), Sudan (4.8%), Bhutan constitutes (4.3%) and Nigeria (4.0%) (Department of Higher Education, 2018).

If we look at the bilateral mobility of students between two nations, then enrollment of Indian students to PRC's higher education institutions is greater than the mobility of Chinese students to India's higher education institutions. In 2016, 18,717 Indian students enrolled in various Chinese higher education institutions (Ministry of Education, 2016), whereas only 177 (in year 2016) and 345 (in year 2017) Chinese students enrolled in the Indian higher education sector (Department of Higher Education, 2018).

2.4 Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to situate the presence (in terms of flow) of Indian students in the three most preferred destination countries in recent time with a comparison with another popular source country for international students i.e PRC. Comparison between the international student populations of the two countries provides some insight into relative success of the USA, Australia over the United Kingdom in the global education market in recent years. But in the field of transnational education, the United Kingdom higher education institutions are far ahead to Australia and the USA. In the field of international education, where India is still categorised primarily as a sending country, PRC on the other hand is becoming both the destination and origin country of international students.

Chapter 3

Review of the Literature

3.0 Introduction

Our understanding of return migration as a phenomenon is still not very clear, even though it is an integral part of a migration cycle. Return migration got attention of academia in 1960s but the debate around its various propositions in the different theories of migration started only in 1980s. This section is based on review of the literature where various aspects of return migration are discussed in the subsequent sections. Section 3.1 looks at the various theoretical propositions for migration and return migration in general. Section 3.2 definition, types and related propositions to return migration in the literature.

3.1 Theoretical Propositions for Return migration

The migration as a process contains a complex set of factors. Research on migration is therefore highly interdisciplinary in nature: political science, economics, geography, demography, history, psychology, and law are all relevant (Brettell, & Hollifield, 2008). Each discipline looks at the different aspect of migration and within each discipline, there is a multiplicity of approaches. Most disciplinary assessments evaluate migration research as lacking theoretical advancement: while the empirical work is abundant, it is often either disconnected from the theories or used to confirm rather than to test, question or refine the existing theoretical propositions. Migration theories are largely organized on these categories: (a) the origins and continuity of migrant flows, (b) the usage of immigrant labour, and (c) the socio cultural adaption of migrants (Portes, 1985, p.23).

3.1.1 Economic Theories of Migration

The neoclassical approach of migration has its predecessor in the earliest theory of migration: that of Ravenstein's statistical laws of migration (Ravenstein, 1889) , Push-pull model of Lee (1966) and Harris-Todaro model of rural-urban migration (Todaro, 1969). These are general theories that talk about the push and pull factors in migration. During 1960's, neoclassical theory emerged as the dominant

paradigm in economics which was based on the principles of utility maximisation, rationality, wage differentials between regions/ countries, and labor mobility (King, 2012).

As Massey et al. (1993, pp. 18–21) stated the neoclassical theories have both macro and micro as units of analysis. At macro level, migration is an outcome of the unequal spatial distribution of labor vis-à-vis other factors of production, capital in particular. In labor intensive countries (or regions), the wage level is relatively lower than the price of capital, in capital intensive countries, the opposite pertains. The result is that labor moves from low-wage country to the high-wage country.

At the micro level, migration is an outcome of rational decision making of an individual based on cost and benefit analysis with the underlying assumption that he/she has complete information (King, 2012). Based on the human capital approach, the pioneering work was done by Sjaastad, (1962) where he argued that migration is seen as an individual's investment decision to augment the productivity of human capital. He further argued that an individual makes a cost-(both material and psychic) benefit calculation of the expected discounted returns of migration over future time periods, and migration happens only when the expected returns are positive and it leads to accumulation to skills in human capital (Massey et al., 1993)

This cost benefit analysis was later extended to the 'International Immigration Market' by (Borjas, 1989). According to (Borjas, 1989) individuals maximize their utility i.e. they search for the country of residence that maximizes their wellbeing. However, this maximisation process is constrained by the individual's financial resources, immigration regulations imposed by the host countries, and emigration restrictions of the origin countries (Borjas, 1989). In an "Immigration Market", an individual compares various options available to him/her. The information collected in this market place helps individuals to conclude that it is profitable to remain at their birthplace or to move to other country for their well-being (Borjas, 1989, p.461). In the long run, these migratory flows will help in equating wages in developed and underdeveloped countries, leading to economic equilibrium with which migration flow stops.

The neo-economics of labor migration (NELM) approach came into view in the 1980s (Stark, 1996; Stark & Taylor, 1989, 1991). The key argument is that migration decisions are not taken by an individual in isolation, but jointly by family (potential migrant and group of non-migrants). According to the NELM model, migration of a family member does not depend only on wage or income maximization objective but also depends on the income diversification and risk aversion behavior of the family. It is based on risk averse behavior of household⁵ whereby controlling the risk through diversification of income portfolio, via placing best suited member in urban sector (Stark & Levhari, 1982). In the event of adverse income shocks (because in poor countries, there exist varieties of market failure such as failure in labor market, credit and insurance market), households can rely on their migrants for financial support (Massey et al., 1993).

The length of a migration cycle or the number of migration cycles completed by each migrant household member would be calculated with respect to the needs of the household in terms of insurance, purchasing power and savings (Cassarino, 2004). Massey et al. (1993) argued that income is not a homogenous or absolute as in the case of neo classical approach, households have incentives to invest scarce family resources to reduce relative deprivation. In the long run, even if wages have reached at equilibrium, there are other motives to migrate.

3.1.1 (i) Return Migration in the Economic Theories of Migration

Neoclassical framework in migration does not anticipate return, which can happen only when an individual has miscalculated the expected cost of migration or could not reap the benefits of higher returns from destination country, hence return is seen as ‘Failed Strategy’ (Cassarino, 2004). Smoliner, Förschner, Hochgerner, & Nová (2012) argued that in neoclassical approach, return is seen as failed experience abroad which is likely to lead in decline of human capital of the returnee. The major reason for return is imperfect information which led either underestimation of

⁵Castles, (2006) argued that NELM “assumes, that intra-household relationships are harmonious, leading to unanimous collective decision-making. In other words, the family or household is treated as a black box without acknowledging the tensions or conflicts that are contained therein-such as patriarchal practices or inter-sibling rivalry for example-which might lead to ‘distorted’ decision making. Finally, it does not apply to the common situation where the entire household migrates” (p.25).

difficulty at host country (cost of living, housing etc.) or overestimation of individual's saving ability.

In NELM approach, return is a part of the migration cycle as the motive of an individual fulfills, he/ she returns. Return is a “calculated strategy” of both an individual and the household (Smoliner et al., 2012). According to Cassarino (2004), return is natural outcome of successful stay abroad. Migrants move temporarily so that they can remit back, so returning home is a “pre-requisite” as they are “attached to home country”. She criticized both the neoclassical and NELM to be largely based on the theoretical propositions. Be it an individual's decision or family decision for return migration, these theories are based only on the economic factors in their approach. Economic theories of migration are also silent on the relocation of the returnees to the home country or to a new destination country.

3.1.2 The Historical-Structural Theory of Migration

The Historical-Structural theory of migration introduced variety of economic and non-economic factors in the migration process during the 1980s. These theories show the importance of the institutional factors, gender and race in the labour market (Castles, 2006). Two models are discussed under the historical-structural theorization of the causes of the international migration: dual (segmented) labour markets, and world system theory. There are also multidisciplinary approaches to migration, i.e. Migration system approach and Network approach.

Under the dual labour market, Piore (1986) argued that the international labour migration is driven by pull, not push factors. It is the structural demand for cheap and flexible labour that leads to migration. It is due to the dual characteristics of labour market in industrialized countries where exists a primary labour market of well-paid, and secured jobs for local workers and a secondary labour market of low-skill, less-paid, highly insured jobs to carry out production tasks and staff service enterprise. These unpleasant jobs are filled mainly by migrant workers because local workers avoid to undertake these jobs. Migrant workers engage easily in these low-

paid jobs as they don't have bargaining power (especially if they are undocumented) and low wages are better than unemployment anyways.⁶

Massey et al., (1993) argued that the wages difference reflect social status in a dual labour market, so wages at lower level of job- hierarchy do not rise in absolute terms, even if there is an increased supply of immigrants as it would not disturb the wage structure in hierarchy. Wages will only increase proportionally thorough out the structural hierarchy to maintain the social status of worker at different levels of the job hierarchy. In a dual labour market, International labor migration is largely demand-based and is initiated by the recruitment on the part of employers in the developed societies, or by the governments acting on their behalf (Massey et al., 1993).

Dual labour market argument refers mainly to a division of labour market into primary and secondary sector in advanced industrialized country, the analysis is progressed to a subsequent stage by Saskia Sassen's work on *global cities* (2001). The primary engine of growth of global cities in the post-industrial era has been the clustering there of corporate headquarters, financial centers and related producer services (King, 2012). However the income and social structure remains the same as in dual labour market, where the low-end jobs are mainly undertaken by the immigrants from less developed countries.

Another contribution in the structural context of migration theories is by the World System approach, the conceptual framework of the world system theory is coined in the mid-1970s by historian-sociologist, Immanuel Wallerstein. Under this approach, Migration is an outcome of inequality embedded in the capitalist structure of the world system which is divided into the core-periphery areas.⁷ Migration is a natural result of the globalization and market penetration. Capitalist nations enter into the non-capitalist countries for resources with the purpose of profits & wealth and that

⁶Massey et.al. (1993) argued that native female worker and teenagers used to work at the lower level of job hierarchy in the developed countries, but overtime with rise in the formal education, female and teenager's labour force participation in less-paid jobs decreased. This further increased the demand for migrants in less paid jobs in the developed countries.

⁷ The degree of labour value and mechanization of a production process makes it either core or periphery process. So, the processes that require less skilled, more manpower and can be constrained to low income areas are periphery process and those that are more mechanized, require less manpower are core processes (Wallerstein, 1984, p. 6).

leads to out migration from the non-capitalist countries. In the past, it was done by the colonization process, now it done with the help of multi-national corporations and the government.

According to Wallerstein (1984), a world economy is constituted by a chain of networks of interlinked productive process (or called “commodity chains”) which has the capitalist mode of production.⁸ Production of these interlinked commodity chains is based on the “capitalist principle of maximizing capital accumulation”. In the production process, each individual entrepreneur wants to maximize the profit via the expansion of absolute volume of production, the amount produced exceeds the effective demand (because of fixed income distribution in society) leads to stagnation of the economy. In this down turn, production goes down, income gets redistributed (because of class struggle) to lower strata. Each period of stagnation creates pressure on the production process and the social relations underlie them. Various mechanisms are then adopted to renew the production process like “reduction of production cost by further mechanization, or relocating production process in the low wage zones; emphasis on innovation (new core like activities); entry of a new pool of producers who can work at wages below cost of production” (Wallerstein, 1984, p. 16). All these mechanisms further leads to deterioration of position of the labor in hierarchy and forces him/ her to migrate (Wallerstein, 1984, p. 16).

In the world system theory, the division of labor leads to the division of class, with an increasingly locational concentration of various oppressed groups that resulted in movement of people⁹ over time. Wallerstein (1984) argued that ‘the main reasons for these movements were to attain the general objective of human equality (as the capitalist world economy functioning was based on uneven development, unequal exchange and extraction of surplus value)’ [p. 20].

The new approaches of migration are multi-disciplinary in nature, the Migration System approach has its sources from geography, and the Migration

⁸The economy is dominated by those who operate for capital accumulation. The world economy is divided into two class-structure which has three household classification; a) ‘Semi -proletarian’ household who receives wage income below realcost of production; b) proletarian household, receives wage income just equal to real cost of production; c) bourgeois household who seeks to maximize the use of capital. (Wallerstein ,1984, p.19.)

⁹These movement of people is organized in two main forms as the social movement around the class and the National movement around nation” (Mabogunje, 1970, p. 20).

Network theory comes from sociology and anthropology. The systems approach to rural-urban migration first discussed by, Mabogunje (1970) while discussing rural-urban migration in West Africa, he argued that “Within the systems framework, attention is focused not only on the migrant but also on the various institutions (sub-systems) and the social, economic, and other relationships (adjustment mechanisms) which are an integral part of the process of the migrant’s transformation” (p.5). It is the environment which is constantly changing, and these changes affect the operation of the system and encourages the potential migrant to move.

Mabogunje (1970, pp. 3–5)¹⁰ discussed a model on systems approach under which five main elements are required to perpetuate migration those are the environmental setting of home country¹¹ the migrant; the subsystems; Adjustment mechanisms and finally, Feedback (both positive and negative) which either help in expansion or contraction of the system. Under the Systems approach to migration, the role of expectations and aspirations are also important and hereby, it differs from the pull-and-push hypothesis where the emphasis is only at the individual level. Rather than emphasizing why people migrate from particular areas, this theory exerts emphasis on why any person from any village would want to migrate to the city.

3.1.2 (i) Return Migration in the Historical-Structural Theory

According to Cassarino (2004), under the structural approach, return is not only constrained by an individual decision making but also by the changing conditions at origin countries. Return is a contextual process. “Returnees’ success or failure is analyzed in line with the “reality” of the home economy and society. Returnee’s decision depends on individual, social, economic, and institutional factors at origin. Returning decision of a migrant is guided by the availability of expected opportunities in their origin countries but also depends on by the opportunities already offered to them in their respective host countries. According to Gmelch (1980), under

¹⁰According to Mabogunje (1970), “Apart from this spatial (or horizontal) dimension of the movement, there is also a socioeconomic (or vertical) dimension involving a permanent transformation of skills, attitudes, motivations, and behavioral patterns such that a migrant is enabled to break completely with his rural background and become entirely committed to urban existence. A permanence of transfer is thus the essence of the movement” (p.2).

¹¹According to Mabogunje (1970), the economic conditions in home country are related to “wages, prices, consumer preferences, degrees of commercialization and industrial development; Government policies are such as agricultural practices, marketing organization, population movement, etc.; the social welfare development is related to expenditure on education and health etc. and technology includes transportation, communications, mechanization etc” (p.3).

the structural approach, return migration cannot be pre-planned, the structural factors in home country builds the context for it. According to Smoliner et al. (2012) Returnees are seen as source of innovation in terms of financial and human capital but there capacity to innovate not only depends on human skills and financial capital, but also on local power relations, traditions and values in the home countries. They further argued that the impact of returnees depends on time (There is no specific time duration of stay abroad, but short time is less meaningful for returnees as would have acquired no skill, and long stay may decrease the likelihood of return) and space (They can resettle in rural and urban area).

3.1.3 Migration Network Approach

Introduction of the networks further enriched the concept of migration as a multidisciplinary subject. Beginning of 1920's, sociologists emphasised the role of networks in international migration. According to Joaquin (2000), migration networks can be defined as sets of interpersonal relations that link migrants or returned migrants with relatives, friends or fellow countrymen at home. According Boyd and Nowak (2012), there are three main types of a migrant networks: "family and personal networks, labour networks, and illegal migrant networks" (pp.77-83). According to Massey et al. (1993), there exist interpersonal ties among migrants, non-migrants and former migrants both at the origin and destination country. These interpersonal ties reduce the cost of migration, increase expected returns and therefore increase the likelihood of movement of labor. King (2012) argued that the social networks have a positive role to play in the literature that they help migrants to reach a particular destination, where the migrants can get the help regarding housing, job, and other kinds of support like financial assistance is available. Under the networks approach, Migration is self - sustaining process.¹²Networks approach help in resolving the theoretical difference between the initial causes of migration and its perpetuation (King, 2012).Networks exhibits meso-structure that stands between the micro level of individual decision-making and the macro level of structural determinants (Joaquin, 2000).

¹²Network builds along with the migration process, migration is ongoing process till everyone who wants to migrate can migrate without difficulty, and after that the migration starts declining (Joaquin, 2000).

3.1.4 Transnational Theory of Migration

Transnationalism is defined as “the process by which transmigrants, through their daily activities, forge and sustain multi-stranded social, economic, and political relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, and through which they create transnational social fields that cross national borders” (Basch et al., 1994, p.6). Transnational approach talks about the events which are composed of a “growing number of persons who live dual lives: speaking two languages, having homes in two countries, and making a living through continuous regular contact across national borders” (Portes, 1998, p. 218). Activities within the transnational approach comprise of economic, political and social initiatives¹³ and these are not simply related to remittances, investment of immigrants back home or giving expatriates the right to vote.

According to Portes (1998, p. 219) to establish the transnationalism¹⁴ as a phenomenon, at least three conditions are necessary: (a) “the process involves a significant proportion of persons in the relevant universe; (b) the activities of interest are not meeting or exceptional, but possess certain stability and resilience over time; (c) the content of these activities is not captured by some pre-existing concept, making the invention of a new term redundant and the multiplication of activities that require cross-border travel and contacts on a sustained basis”.

According to Portes (1999, p.220) “Transnationalism involves individuals, their networks of social relations, their communities, and broader institutionalized structures such as local and national governments, and the multiplication of activities that require cross-border travel and contacts on a sustained basis”.¹⁵ The networks are equally important in transnational approach as resources are moved to and fro with the help of these resource. Robin Cohen (1997, p. 160) describes the network as: “Anywhere within the web of a global diaspora, traders place order with cousins, siblings and kin ‘back home’; nieces and nephews from ‘the old country’ stay with

¹³ These activities are ranged from informal import-export businesses, to the rise of a class of bi-national professionals, to the campaigns of home country politicians among their expatriates, Ngo association for human rights, home civic association established by immigrants, grass root charities in home nation.

¹⁴This terminology is subject to various interpretations and has different typologies. So, all the typologies are not discussed here.

¹⁵ Transnational enterprises did not proliferate among earlier immigrants because the technological conditions of the time did not make communications across national borders rapid or easy.

uncles and aunts while acquiring their education or vocational training; loans are advanced and credit is extended to trusted intimates; and jobs and economically advantageous marriages are found for family members.” Transnational activities are cumulative in character, Alejandro Portes (1999, p. 14) stated ‘while the push factor of these activities may be economic in nature but their initiators can be labeled as encompass political, social, and cultural activities.

3.1.4 (i) Return Migration in Transnational Theory of Migration

In the view of transnationalists, migration is an ongoing process and return is not the end of migration cycle. Return is part of circular system of social and economic relationship based on exchange of information, knowledge. According to Cassarino(2004), returnees prepare themselves for the return process to home through periodical and regular visits to their home countries. They maintain strong links with their home countries by regular visits and periodically send remittances back home. Return takes place once enough resources, whether financial or informational, have been gathered and when conditions at home are viewed as being favorable enough to return. As Portes (1999) argued that transnational mobility allows returnees to be well prepared and organized on their return.

In the transnational approach, an immigrant need not have to abandon their culture and language to adapt other society culture. They have transnational identity, i.e. instead of conflicting identities, they adapt to new identity. In terms of cost and benefit analyses, returnees are seen as successful but the actual impact is seen when the local realities at home (economic, social and political) are adjusted with the expectation and behavior of returnees (Portes, 2008a). In a transnational stance, return refers to the ways in which returnees are successful in adapting themselves to their home environment, at all levels. They know how to take advantage of the “identity attributes” they acquired abroad, with a view to distinguishing themselves from the locals (Portes, 2008b) Returnees may be faced with social pressures or feel marginalized by their own origin society, while at the same time trying to negotiate their places in society.

3.2 Empirical Studies on Return Migration

This part of review of literature is based on a number of empirical studies to analyze the various aspects of return migration. Empirical studies are based on various important themes relevant to study migration as a whole and return migration in particular.

3.2.1 Definition of Return Migration

In today's well connected world, International migration has become reality that touches each part of the globe. The growth in number of international migrants worldwide proves this phenomenon. over the past fifteen years, the number of international migrants has gone up to 258 million in 2017, from 222 million in 2010 and 173 million in 2000 (United Nations, 2017). This growing pace of the movement of people across the international borders, make this phenomenon interesting to research and complex at the same time. A migration cycle of an individual deals with various conceptual themes like permanent versus temporary migration; immigration versus emigration; long term versus short term migration; but one part of the migration cycle that has gained a lot of scholarly attention in recent times is return migration. Therefore, it becomes imperative to understand the various concepts of return migration that are dealt in the literature. The United Nation defines a migrant as "any person that changes his or her country of usual residence" (United Nations 1998, p.6). This a broad definition that describes the movement from one geographic location to other. Interest area of this study is to define return migrant, who can be defined as a person returning to their place of origin after spending a significant period of time in another country(King, 2014). This definition inculcates many complex movement underneath, like return can permanent, temporary or circular in nature (King, 2014).

It is difficult to define return migration in a precise manner as there is a conceptual confusion over the precise definition of return : where some authors treat return an end of the migration cycle (Hercog & Laar, 2013), other believe that migration is an never ending cycle, so temporary or circular return is more apt to be used (Cassarino, 2004). Literature also distinguish return migration from circular migration. Circular migration is defined by a number of frequent temporary stays,

whether in the country of origin or country (or countries) of destination. The 'definition of circular migration' vary greatly, and often fuzzy boundaries exist in the differentiation of circular migration from related concepts such as temporary mobility and transnational migration, but all definitions include a border crossing that is repeated (García, Maria, Parra, & Carolina, 2013).

3.2.2 Characteristics of Return Migration in the Literature

Return migration is one of the important part of the migration cycle, but our knowledge about its various characteristics/features is still limited. Issues attached to return migration are diverse ranging from the analysis push and pull factors for returning decision (de Haas, Fokkema, & Fihri, 2015) socio-cultural and life style factors affecting returnees, and labour-market status and adjustment issues after return (Czaika & Haas, 2014).

Return migration is also important to look upon in detail as it is not only less researched area in the literature of migration studies but with the ongoing shift in the immigration policies of government from permanent to temporary, enhances its relevance in today's time (Dumont & Spielvogel, 2008). As cited in Hercog (2014), The Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM) noted in its report suggests that the growing importance of temporary migration programmes in developed countries and increasing expectations from migrant to play a developmental role in their home countries, makes return migration to important to look upon in policy-making.

Returnees are not important for the state's policies but returnees are also considered to be the source of different forms of capital, namely financial, human, social capital for the home country. International migration offers an opportunity to migrants to get exposed to different lifestyles, working practices, languages, new occupational choices that help in the accumulation of human, financial and social capital during their stay in the destination country (Cobo, Giorguli, & Alba, 2010).

Returnee's migration duration has been analysed on different parameters like some studies divide the migration cycle in stages as pre departure, overseas migration and return migration stage (Sasikumar & Timothy, 2015), while other have divided this cycle based on time span as in short-stayers, medium-stayers, and long-stayers

migrants. (Arif & Irfan, 1997). Return can be physical or virtual (transnational links with the home country) in nature. Literature talks in details about the transnational movement of the immigrants, whereby without returning to the home country physically, they contribute the growth of the home country through their acquired networks, savings etc (Khadria, 2004; AnnaLee Saxenian, 2002a) . Khadria, 2004 discusses in detail the various contribution of Indian diaspora in the field of science and technology in India¹⁶ .

Annalee Saxenian work on Indian and Chinese and Taiwanese' Transnational entrepreneurs focus on the reversing the brain drain through the creation of technical communities in the United States. Transnationals have transferred technology, skills through their transnational networks in their respective home countries(Saxenian, 2002b). Her work has highlighted creation of Indian Diaspora's professional networks like Indus Entrepreneur (TiE) and Silicon Valley Indian Professional Association (SIPA) during 1990s among immigrants in the US, but little evidence of the return of the entrepreneurs (AnnaLee Saxenian, 2002b).

3.2.3 Returnees' Contribution to the Home Country

Literature has dealt with returnees' developmental impact on the home country through various parameters. Most research on return migration has focused on impacts, such as financial and human capital flows into the origin countries (Kumar, Bhattacharya, & Nayek, 2014), while the drivers of return migration and its development effect on the home country has not received due attention in the literature (de Haas et al., 2015). Empirical studies show that returnees gets better equipped with financial, human and social capital during their stay in the destination country and these valuable resources are put into usage upon their return to the home country (Kumar, Bhattacharya, & Nayek, 2014) . Returnees have been contributed in the improving the functioning of markets in the home country. They have helped in setting up new businesses, foster the transfer of technology or adoption of new technologies (Dumont & Spielvogel, 2008).

¹⁶ Author discusses the various contributions of Indian diaspora in diverse fields of S&T like Information Technology and computer Sciences, Chemical Sciences and Engineering, High Energy Physics, Biotechnology and Medical Science and Health. For more detail, refer (Khadria, Case-study of the Indian scientific diaspora, 2004)

In terms of human capital gains, Migration has been seen in the same way as education: both are considered as investment in human agent (Sjaastad, 1962). Case of working professionals abroad and foreign students who return home after studying abroad can be understood in this framework. Migration can augment human capital primarily through two ways: through attaining higher education, majorly among students or through foreign work experience and skills among working migrants.

Studies have shown that differential returns to education and skill in the origin country and destination country is one of the main economic-driver in an individual's migration decision (Dustmann, Fadlon, & Weiss, 2011), but at the same time literature also draws attention to various aspects of integration related issues with the immigrants in the host country. Studies in review of literature have highlighted the diverse nature of problems faced by immigrants in the host country like accreditation to their educational qualification, access to employment, language issues and other ethnic problems in the host country. Study by Arslan, Dumont, & Parsons (2016) show the difficulties encountered by qualified immigrants in all OECD countries widely range from recognition of degree earned in the country of origin, lack of human and social capital skills specific to the host country, adjustment issues in the labour market and to other forms of discrimination. Studies have gone in greater details to highlight the plight of immigrants in the settling down in the destination country. Immigrants have faced both economic and social adjustment issues with respect to the native population. Different statistical measures like average earnings, the employment/population ratio, school achievement, the unemployment rate, fertility rates, voting behavior, home ownership, participation in community organisations *etc.* have been used to highlight the difficulties faced by immigrants in the destination country (Liebig, 2007).

Education mismatch is the most prevalent problem faced by immigrants in the host countries. Various factors that caused this mismatch in the labour market were ranged from human capital gained in the country of origin (include level of schooling and labour market experiences) and the cultural and language dissimilarities in the home and host nations. (Piracha & Vaden, 2010). Other than education mismatch, Language is an important factor for an immigrant's settling down in the host country. Immigrant's Linguistic skills are necessary to make use of their foreign

qualification and experience in the host country(Dumont & Monso, 2007). To overcome this issue, various countries have developed immigrant's integration programme to better equip immigrants in the host country. These programme may equip them with language, networks and understanding of the local labour market functioning. The nature of the integration process differs from country to country and primarily depends on the migration history of the country, the characteristics of arrivals, the existing programmes in place to assist immigrants upon arrival, and the general social and economic conditions in the specific country. For example, since 2003, Austria provides mentorship programmes and language classes to the newly arrived immigrants to overcome obstacles in the labour market (Krause & Liebig, 2011).Similarly, since 2005 Germany's integration programme for the permanent immigrants involve integration courses certified by private or semi-public providers include language training, orientation course about the German history, its culture and political system(Liebig, 2007).

In an effort to adjust in the destination countries, specially in the labour market of the host country, migrants upgrade their skills through various measures such as learning language of the host country, adoption of new working skills or earning educational degree etc((Liebig, 2007; Williams & Baláz, 2008). Eventually, all this add to the human capital of migrant upon return to his/her home country.

Returnees earn advantages in the home country from the amount of financial amount accumulated during their migration stay. As several studies conducted in developing nations have emphasised the role of accumulated savings abroad or remittances sent by migrants have helped them in either starting their own business or arrange independent employment upon their return. Using cross-sectional data from Pakistan, Arif & Irfan (1997) found that, upon return, savings become significant factor in the choice of self-employment over waged employment. Dustmann & Kirchkamp (2002) develop a model where migrants simultaneously decide on the optimal migration duration and their after return activities. They found that among Turkish returnees, more than half of them are economically active and engage in entrepreneurial activities. Wahba & Zenou (2012) show that in Egypt, the overseas experience and accumulated savings positively affect the likelihood of returnees becoming entrepreneur. Using data drawn from the 1988 Labour Force Sample

Survey, they estimated a simple model of the probability that a return migrant is an entrepreneur. Their findings suggest that total savings accumulated overseas and the length of overseas employment positively and significantly affect the probability of becoming an entrepreneur among literate returnees. By contrast, longer periods overseas have no influence on the likelihood of becoming an entrepreneur among illiterate returnees.

In Albania, while studying the occupational choice of return migrants by explicitly differentiating between the propensities of returnees to become self-employed as own account workers (i.e. without having any paid employees) and as entrepreneurs (i.e. owners of larger firms with paid employees), (Borodak & Piracha, 2011) found that entrepreneurship is positively related to secondary and tertiary education levels, proficiency in Italian (i.e. the language of Albania's main trading partner) and targeted accumulated savings from overseas stay increased the odds of being entrepreneur to a wage employee upon return.

In study based on employment decision of return migrants to Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Georgia, Kyrgyz Republic, Romania, and Tajikistan found that the amount of accumulated savings and remittances, prior experience are significant for the choice of self-employment (with or without employees) than a wage employee (Lianos & Pseiridis, 2009). In this study, Multinomial logit model showed that between the comparison of self-employed to employers, the variables that found to be significant for an employer were male gender, remittances and pre-migration experience upon return.

The third form of capital gain earned by returnees during their migration stay is the networks formed by them, is extensively researched in literature. Social networks not only act as bridge among kin and communities in the host country, but also link employers in the receiving nations to migrants (Portes, Guarnizo, & Haller, 2002). Networks at home and abroad has helped returnees to either get the job or setting up business in the home country. (Borodak & Piracha, 2011) analysis of occupational choice within the context of short-term migration for three reference groups (non-working, wage employment, self-employed) for returnees and non-migrants in Moldova found that those migrants with higher proportion of network

abroad are self-employed and non-participants compared to wage employees upon return.

Empirical studies have also shown that networks have not always worked in the favor of returnees in settling down in their desired occupational sector, due to loss of social capital they have end up in different occupation upon return to the home country as well. A study Vreyer, Gubert, & Robilliard (2010) compares occupational choices in different sectors (namely public, private and self-employed) among return migrants in the capital cities of seven West African West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU): Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo from OECD countries and non-migrants found that the probability of working as a wage-earner in the public sector and private sector is actually lower for all return migrants, whereas the probability of being an entrepreneur either in the formal or the informal sector is found to be significantly higher for return migrants from OECD countries. The reason behind this result was relative loss of social capital that migrants incur while they live abroad that led to decline in the chances of getting job in the formal sector and they end up becoming an entrepreneur due to the accumulated capital during their migration stay.

The developmental impact of return migration is in particular likely to differ significantly according to several critical factors including the volume of return migration, the characteristics of return migrants, the reasons for return and the situation prevailing in the home countries. The another stream of debate in literature that talks about the utilization of the above stated earned capital upon return in the home country. Studies show that returnee are better positioned after return than the native people (Dustmann et al., 2011) whereas some studies show that they are not able to use their skills learned during their migration period. They face may adjustment issues upon return to the home labour market (Sasikumar & Timothy, 2012).

Study by David, Nordman, David, & Dauphine (2014), based on the relative comparison of skill usage between 1000 returnees and 1000 potential migrants in Egypt and Tunisia in period of 2006 and 2007, showed that upon return, migrants find better work and foreign work experience was the most important contributor to it. Migrants makeup for their under education by the migration experience upon return ,

more than half of the Egyptian and Tunisia returnees state that their experience abroad helped in the home labour market (David & Nordman, 2014).

Another study by Mercier, David, Mahia, & De Arce, (2016) analyzed the outcome of return by interviewing 410 Ecuadorian return migrants from Spain by looking at the labour market outcome and social-subjective factors in year 2014. These parameter aimed at providing the broad theme of reintegration of return in the home country. Probit-model based results showed that 40 percent of sample found difficulty in finding job in local labour market due to lack of adequacy or lack of preparedness of the return. However, nearly 80% of the sample was satisfied on the return design based on social integration parameter (Mercier, David, Mahia, & De Arce, 2016).

3.2.4 Occupational Choices among Return Migrants

There are various parameters through which return migration outcome can be looked upon like an improvement in social status, shift in occupational status, rise in standard of living etc. This study focus on the labour market outcome on return. It would be stimulating to investigate the return migration's outcome in terms of their occupational choice among returnees. There are relatively few analytic frameworks available to study the interrelationship of return migration and occupational choices. Two issues in particular have received research attention: the labour market performance of return migrants on the one hand, and the characteristics of businesses created by returnees on the other hand (Djamba, Goldstein, & Goldstein, 2017).

People use migration to improve their occupational status, either by obtaining employment if they had no jobs in places of origin, or by obtaining better jobs if they already had previous work experience(Lianos & Pseiridis, 2009) . Literature on the labour market performances upon return of migrants to the home country has various dimensions to discuss, such as there are a number of studies that look into the benefits of foreign experience to returnee migrants in the home country' labour market (McCormick & Wahba, 2001), Cobo et al., (2010) analysed the change in the occupations of migrants in the post return, and whereas studies such as Zweig &

Wang, (2013) look into the role of government assisted recruitment programmes for skilled returnees to understand their labour market performances.

Studies in literature suggest that foreign labor market experience provides migrants with human capital and financial assets that facilitate their reentry at home, often yielding improved occupational circumstances (Masso, Eamets, & Mõtsmees, 2013; McCormick & Wahba, 2001), but studies like Sasikumar & Timothy, (2012a) that their entry to labour market may not be that easy as returnees may face adjustment issues upon return to the home labour market.

The literature on return migration is composed of numerous studies which explore the determinants of occupational choice upon return. These studies use data only on return migrants and analyse the human and financial capital accumulated abroad to move up in the occupational ladder back at home (Gibson & McKenzie, 2011; Wahba, 2015). A number of studies whose focus is to compare return migrants with non-migrants and estimate the impact of past international migration experience on labour market outcomes in source countries (Borodak & Piracha, 2011; Djamba, Glodstein, & Goldstein, 2017)

The other part of literature focused on occupational or labour mobility among returnee migrants. Some studies have only focused on the various occupational choices among returnees upon return, while differentiating between salaried professionals and self-employed (Arif & Irfan, 1997; Piracha & Vaden, 2010), whereas other studies measured the occupational mobility among returnees in comparison to the non-migrants in the home country (Carletto & Kilic, 2011; Cobo et al., 2010)

Occupational mobility after return migration of medium/less skilled Pakistani workers from Middle East has been analysed by Arif & Irfan (1997). The major findings this study show that return migration promotes the occupation mobility, whereby workers with low wages before migration moves to independent jobs upon return, longer stay in the host country led to easier establishment of the business upon return and illiterates become self-employed upon return (Arif & Irfan, 1997).

Czaika & Villares, (2012) focus at the labour market participation (as active, unemployed/inactive) among immigrants returning from the Gulf countries to Kerala.

They found that the length of stay in a Gulf country have a significant effect on changes in occupation of immigrants upon return in 2009. This study show that migrants stay longer abroad if they were unemployed before migrating or have poor prospects of finding employment after return. However, becoming unemployed while abroad significantly reduces the length of stay abroad. Migrants who were self-employed or employed in the public sector before going abroad return earlier than those outside these sectors. Length of stay was also short for those migrants who had intentions of starting or continuing their own business return (Czaika & Varela, 2012). Using multinomial logit model, Borodak & Piracha, (2011) looked at the probability of choosing alternative of being wage, self- employed or non-participant returnee vis-a vis non-migrant. Piracha & Vadean (2010) analyse the impact of return migration on the Albanian economy by analyzing the occupational choice of return migrants while explicitly differentiating between self-employment as either own account work or entrepreneurship.

Occupational mobility can be looked upon in two respect; first focuses on intra-generational or inter-generational. The first looks at the changes in an individual experiences from the beginning of his work history to the current time; the second compares a migrant's occupational achievement to that of his father at a comparable age (Cobo et al., 2010). Masso et al., (2013) looked at the occupational mobility among returnees using online job search portal in Estonia, by analyzing the 261 thousand self-reported resumes or employment histories of such returnees. Occupational mobility in this study is based on the vertical ranking of the 1digit ISCO-88 Occupational code, whereby ranking was calculated through the earning ladder index (which calculates the returns to each occupation based on the wage-regression method).

By using Russian longitudinal monitoring survey between the period 1994 and 1998, (Sabirianova, 2002) constructs an occupational index based on the amount of human capital needed to work in different occupations. Carlrto & Kilic, (2011) looks at the occupational choices according to the three digit codes from the 1988 International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) from the household questionnaire conducted by the Albanian Institute of Statistics and the World Bank, where occupational groups are ranked according to the average level of human

capital necessary to be employed in each of them. The rank for a particular occupational category is constructed by averaging the individual sums of weighted levels of schooling, labour market experience prior to entry to the occupation and their squared terms, where the weights are estimated coefficients of these variables in a wage regression and using an ordered probit model. The degree of occupational mobility is also calculated in this study, which is equal to the occupational ranking in year 2005 minus the initial occupational ranking, where positive (negative) for those that have experienced upward (downward) occupational mobility, or takes a value of zero for individuals that have not changed their occupational group over time.

Another way to calculate occupational change in literature is to compare pre and post migration occupational status through the ISCO codes. Consistent occupational codes allow us to compare occupations across years and to distinguish occupational switches correctly. Cobo, Giorguli, & Alba (2010) examined different labour market trajectories of migrants upon return in their work where they look at a comparative analysis of the labor market trajectories of U.S. migrants upon their return to Costa Rica, Guatemala, Mexico, and Puerto Rico. In this study they looked at the occupations held by returned migrants at two points in time: at an early stage of their work experience and after return migration from the United States in year 2000. They focus on intragenerational mobility, by considering the occupations held by migrant and non-migrant household heads at two points in the life cycle: at ages twenty-five and forty-five, whereby occupational mobility is classified as occupational changes between age twenty-five and forty-five into four categories: upward (into a higher occupational category), downward (into a lower category), no movement (remaining in the same category) for either the initial or final occupation with the use of multinomial logit model .

To analyse the labour market performances of the returnee, it is imperative to understand their route of entry to the labour market of the home country. Return migration largely an individual choice ,but at times it is encouraged or initiated by the home country 'government policies for returning of their nationals (Iredale & Guo, 1999; Dumont & Spielvogel,, 2008). There are a number of studies that look into the role of government in encouraging the return of skilled migrants to their home country (Iredale, 2005; Dumont & Spielvogel, , 2008).

The literature shows a number of successful plans of government assisted return programs of skilled migrants in countries like Taiwan (Cohen, 2013), Ireland (Government of Ireland, 2015), and Israel (Cohen, 2013), China (Wang, 2011). Taiwan government's Hsinchu Science-based Industrial Park (Cohen, 2013), China's 1000 Talent Program (Wang, 2011) are few examples of the successful skilled returnee oriented policies of the respective government's policies. Surveys on return migration highlight that returnee migrants have acquired several skills, such as marketing, managerial/ supervisory and financial management skills, while working abroad (Zachariah and Rajan, 2012 as cited in Sasikumar, 2014). But due to lack of proper reintegration process of these returnees, their potential to contribute to the development to the home country remains dim (Sasikumar, 2014). Khadria, (2001) puts emphasis on the need of diverting non-residents' contributions of money and material in sectors like education and health in order to improve the potential social return from their investment in the home country rather than attracting them into general business and industry, work and living infrastructure development, or other multifarious development target.

Literature on movement of skilled migrants has categorised their channels of migration to understand the factors affecting their movement across the borders, one such study is by Mahroum, (1999) that talks of channels of migration among international migrants (skilled) based on their occupation, where mobility of Managers & Executives is result of the corporate policies of expanding businesses overseas, and they are called as "accidental tourists"; Engineers & Technicians are termed as "economy-class passengers" because their movement is driven by the "best" economic factors which are the result of government's labour, industrial and immigration policies; next category is of Academics and scientists, who are termed as "Pilgrims", as their migration is affected by the bottom-up developments in academia and science, whereby they are attracted to move due to the nature of the work and prestige attached to it¹⁷; entrepreneurs are explorers as they move around the world following favourable credit and governmental policies related to capital etc. and lastly, students are perceived as "passengers" whose moves are result of various "governmental, intergovernmental, and inter-institutional policies" (p. 17)

¹⁷Mahroum (1999) argued that networks play an important role in the movement among the academics and scientists. Accordingly "scientists' networks follow the same structure; a top scientist from Harvard will go only to another top organisation abroad that is operating in the same field" (p.174).

Chapter 4

Research Design

4.0 Introduction

This chapter starts with brief contextual description of the study, the sampling methods used and the nature of the data was collected. It emphasizes the benefits and limitations of using the adopted research design to unveil the select migration process in the focus of the study. It then describes the operationalization of the key variables used in the work, briefly reviewing the measures that has been used in the past researches. The information collected through questionnaire and interview is way forward in many respects, but it also suffers from drawbacks, discussed in the later part of the chapter. Finally, chapter concludes the way different variables are reconstructed to be used for the analysis.

With the purpose of finding accountable answers to the research questions of the study, the suitable research design and methodology was chosen. Research design provides a general framework that provides guidance about facets of the study, while methods involves the steps undertaken to collect data and choice of various instruments and technique to analysis it (Creswall, 2009).

The central premise of this study was to explore the different socio-economic, migration and contextual characteristics of the skilled returnees in the backdrop of their labour market choices after return to India with equally important the real –life issues faced by these returnees in the Indian labour market after their return. This study used a mixed method approach to achieve the research objectives of the study. The purpose of this sequential mixed method study is to explore the socio-economic (which include individual, educational, migration characteristics) of returnees in India along with the labour market outcome upon return using the both quantitative and qualitative data. The diverse characteristics of skilled returnees to India, their labour market outcomes in the three migration phase has guided the structure of

questionnaire¹⁸ and their perceptions about the overall their situation in the job market in India after return was seen through the lens of qualitative interviews¹⁹.

Figure 1 provides the overall view of the research process followed



Figure 1: The research process followed in the study

4.1 Mixed Methods Approach

For many years, there has been a burning debate over the superiority of quantitative and qualitative inquiry paradigm (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Quantitative approach of inquiry based on the positivistic philosophy argues that each social entity should be dealt with objectivity. Whereas the followers of the qualitative paradigm (called as constructivists and interpretivists) oppose the positivism approach, with an argument that the research is value-bound. It is impossible to remove the subjectivity from the subject of inquiry. The two dominant paradigm on the one hand one research argues in favor of “ deep, rich observational data”, on the other side to it is, “ hard, generalizable data”(Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 20).

Between the two extreme pole of research paradigm is the mixed method approach, that covers the mid-point tale of the two extremes. Mixed method has

¹⁸ See Appendix- B for the questionnaire used in the study.

¹⁹ See Appendix- C for the interview schedule followed in the study

developed over time as the third paradigm of research which offers a bridge between quantitative and qualitative research. Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (2004) define, "Mixed methods research as the class of re-search where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study"(p.22). As per Creswall (2009), "the logic of mixed method inquiry incorporates the inductive analysis (finding patterns), deduction (formulation of hypotheses and testing theories) and abduction(making use of best set of reasons to understand one's result)" (pp. 205-206). With a purpose of expansion and strengthening a study conclusion, qualitative and quantitative research data under the mixed method research (Creswall, 2009).

Greene, Caracelli,& Graham (1989) give the five main purposes of undertaking mixed-method approach (as cited in Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004); namely "1. Triangulation (which looks into "convergence, corroboration, correspondence of results from different methods"); 2. Complementarity (which seeks" elaboration, enhancement, illustration, clarification of the results from one method with the results from the other method");3. Development (purpose seeks into "to use the results from one method to help develop or inform the other method, where development is broadly construed to include sampling and implementation, as well as measurement decisions");4. Initiation (seeks the "discovery of paradox and contradiction, new perspectives of frameworks, the recasting of questions or results from one method with questions or results from the other method"; and 5. Expansion (*seeks* to "extend the breadth and range of inquiry by using different methods for different inquiry components)" (pp.5-7).

In addition to the purpose of the study, the theoretical drive is equally important to establish under the mixed method approach. A study of inquiry is usually focused either exploration-and-description or on testing-and-prediction (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). In the first drive, it is inductive approach or qualitative approach, whereas the testing-and-prediction comes under the deductive or quantitative approach. Since, the mixed method is a mix of both the approaches, therefore, it has a "core" component and a "supplement "component. Although this distinguish is useful but has been criticised on the grounds that such a theoretical drive may be applied to a particular research question not to the study as a whole and

it deters the possibility of the equal weightage to both the quantitative and qualitative component, often called as “interactive mixed methods research” (Creswall, 2009). In the view of Creswall (2009) ,it is usually left to the researcher’s desirability to conduct a qualitative, quantitative or interactive study.

Another important part of the mixed method strategy is the timing of conducting two (or more) components of the study (i.e. qualitative or quantitative). Under the Mixed method approach, timing has two aspect: simultaneity and dependence (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Under simultaneity mixed method study, it is imperative to distinguish between the “concurrent” or “sequential” design in the study. In the concurrent study, the two (quantitative and qualitative) component is conducted parallel, whereas in the sequential study, one component follows other (i.e. quantitative component follows qualitative or vice-versa).

A second aspect of timing is dependence, the two research component is independent, if the implementation of one study depends on the outcome of other study. Usually, a researcher has an option of conducting data analysis independently or not. in the view of Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (2004), the simultaneity refers to mainly the collection of data and dependence shows the implementation of one component on the results of other component .Another important feature of mixed method design is the “point of integration”, it would be misleading to use word “mixing” as the two components must integrate at some point in the analysis. There are two possible point of integration in the mixed method design : “the results point of integration and the analytical point of integration”(Creswall, 2009).

Under the results point of integration, the results of two components are added together at some point like joint display of the results from qualitative and quantitative analysis. Under the analytical point of integration, the first stage of qualitative analytical is followed by the analysis of second stage where these qualitative components are quantified. As per Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, (2004), integration is not restricted to only results or analysis part of research , but it can be done at all levels of research such as objectives, questions, theoretical framework, methodology, methods, data analysis and results.

Typology of design provided by Creswall (2009) are commonly used designs in the mixed methods inquiry. These five designs are; 1. “Parallels Design” (under which the quantitative and qualitative components of the research are conducted independently, and their respective results are put together in the overall interpretation); 2. Explanatory sequential design (under this a first phase may be of quantitative data collection and followed by the analysis of qualitative data, which in the end used to explain the quantitative results or vice-versa); 3. Embedded design (primarily a qualitative or quantitative study, component other type is added with the purpose of enhancing the design); 4. Transformative design (this is “a transformative theoretical framework, e. g. feminism or critical race theory, shapes the interaction, priority, timing and mixing of the qualitative and quantitative strand”), and lastly the Multiphase design (it combines more than two phases (may be sequential or concurrent) are combined over a period of time to address the overall objective of the study” (pp. 210-215).

Under migration studies’ literature, the quantitative , qualitative studies or mixed methods has been used depending on the objective of study. Migration studies based on mobility trends of migrants, remittances, occupational mobility among immigrants are apt examples of the in-depth quantitative studies(Bakker, 2015; Carletto & Kilic, 2011; El-mallakh & Wahba, 2016), whereas integration issues of immigrants/returnees related to their identity, discrimination issues, diaspora networks (transnational links), immigration policy and governance, has been analysed by the qualitative studies (Sabharwal & Varma, 2016; Saxenian, 2000; Williams et al., 2002). There are number of studies which have incorporated both of the two methods to understand the issue better(Iredale & Gao, 2001; Ryan, 2015). The central premise of this study is to explore the different socio-economic, migration and contextual characteristics of the skilled returnees in the backdrop of their labour market choices after return to India but equally important the real –life issues faced by these returnees in the Indian labour market after their return.

Part one is the quantitative study exploring the socio-economic, educational, migration characteristics of returnees in India along with the labour market outcome upon return. Following this micro level study, part 2 analysed with select returnees, using the qualitative method to better understand the dynamics of the life cycle

activities(in particular labour market situation) of skilled returnees to India. The overall goal of the study is to be achieved by using the interactive mixed methods where both the quantitative and qualitative component of the study has equal weightage. Regarding the timing of the data collection, this study has followed sequential exploratory design whereby the one component follows the other. In the first part of the study, quantitative research questions were addressed to explore the various characteristics of the returnees to India. Based on the main patterns derived from the quantitative analysis, the second part of analysis explored the four major themes(i.e. reason of moving abroad and returning to India, benefits of foreign experience in the labour market after return, Post-return Job experience and re-emigration motives) in detailed qualitative analysis using their life-experiences after return to India .

For interviews, we segmented life cycle of the returnee into four important parameters i.e. reason for moving abroad and reason of coming back to India and benefits of foreign experience in the labour market after return , post return returnee's labour market situation in India and re-emigration motives. The real scenario of life – cycle activities of returnees with respect to their occupation choices in India can best be developed only by using both the quantitative and qualitative techniques in the analysis. The overall purpose of this study was achieved using Triangulation, by pooling the information from the quantitative and qualitative data to come up with the accountable answers to research questions. The interpretation of the finding and analysis is done by integrating the results of quantitative and qualitative analysis in chapter 6.

4.2 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework of the Study

Different propositions were used from the different theories of migration to determine the push and pull factors in return migration based on the critical analysis of different theories of return migration by Cassarino (2004).The migration as a process contains a complex set of factors. Research on migration is therefore highly interdisciplinary: political science, economics, geography, demography, history, psychology, and law are all relevant (Brettell & Hollifield, 2008). Each discipline looks at the different aspect of migration and within each discipline, there is a multiplicity of approaches. Most disciplinary assessments evaluate migration research

as lacking theoretical advancement: while the empirical work is abundant, it is often either disconnected from the theories or used to confirm rather than to test, question or refine the existing theoretical propositions.

We have used the framework of the Jean-Cassarino (2004) as the basis of our study. Cassarino (2004) provides an overview about the return migration in detail, combining the contrasting views of the different theories in migration studies. We have used Cassarino's work of theorizing return migration as the basis of our findings and discussion (2004).

Under the Neo classical framework of migration, the key propositions were that 1. Migration of workers is caused by differences in wage rates between regions. According to Cassarino (2004), the neo-classical theory have seen the return migration as a failed strategy , where by one of the motive of the migration was to based on wage differential and expectation of higher income in the receiving country and achieve the permanent residency over a period of time. The major reason for return is imperfect information which led either underestimation of difficulty at host country (cost of living, housing etc.) or overestimation of individual's saving ability, termed return migration as a "failed" strategy.

For NELM approach, the key propositions of this approach were that wage differentials is not the necessary condition for any migration to occur; households may have strong incentives to diversify risks, through migration even in the absence of wage differentials. Cassarino (2004) argues that under NELM framework, the migration is a calculated strategy , where the motive of migration is to provide more liquidity to the home country and in order to do that migrants accumulate saving and send remittances home. Apart from this due to attachment to the home country, the stay in the destination country is temporary in nature.

Cassarino (2004) argues that the missing part in the above theories is the contextual environment of the home county which a returnee has to face on their return. Whether their return is a success or not, that also depends on the macro conditions of the home country .. Returnees' experiences in the home country are not only affected by the skills or capital accumulated by them, but the local reality of the home country have strong bearing on the innovative capacity of the returnee. A

successful settlement of returnee also depends on the time and space. Where if the stay of length is short and settlement is in rural area, then a returnee may find difficulties in the settling down in the home country , whereas in the duration of the stay is long enough and it is in the urban area, then returnee can easily settle upon their return .

Social network approach argued that that migrants maintain the relations with the home by through regular visit to home and maintain link with the home countries while abroad and also keep sending remittances. These links in turn help them on their return to the home country.

Given these basic arguments of major theories of migration: Cassarino (2004) conceptualises the return migration in terms of resource mobilisation and the returnee's Preparedness. For a returnee to be an agent of change in the home country, his preparedness before the return is important. This return preparedness requires time, resource and willingness to return. However there are different degree of a returnee preparedness.

According to Cassarino, resource mobilisation concept draws the insight from the different theories of migration which argue that a returnee contains different forms of capital one is financial capital and other is social capital (in form of contacts, relationship, and acquaintances) and human capital(2004). The resource mobilisation also include the resources embedded with the returnee prior to them leaving their country of origin. Return preparedness depends not only of the willingness of the returnee but the level of preparedness of the returnee as well. It means that returning is an individual choice and should be supported by the sufficient resource and information about the post-return conditions in the home country . Cassarino (2004) argues that return is an individual choice but the process of resource mobilisation requires time. Irrespective of status, labour migrant is stay is optimal will have high level of preparedness than to whom the stay is short. . Return preparedness is not only dependent on the migrant's experience abroad but also their perception about the political, structural changes in the home country and both the pre and post return migration conditions are important for preparedness of returnee migrants. According to Cassarino, there will be high level of preparedness among returnee migrants, who may have own permanent residency in the host country or own a house in the home

country, Migration objective of the returnee is achieved and he has perceived positive changes in the job market or in government at home along with perceived strong political conditions at home generate positivity and he has strong incentive in home lead to return (2004). In terms of resource mobilisation, returnee has saving, networks and gained new knowledge, skills, or higher education in the host country. The average length of stay for high level of prepared returnee is 4-5 years (Cassarino, 2004). Among the low level of preparedness, the migration motive may not be achieved, and return is associated with disappointment and unexpected event at home that shorten the stay abroad, the returnee had few saving and less contacts, with the length of stay between 6 month to 3 years. And post return, he has limited resources to invest in the home country (Cassarino, 2004).

Returnee's settlement issues in the home country can be assessed through his economic, political, social and cultural conditions at home (Diatta & Mbow, 1999; Sasikumar & Timothy, 2012). Given the conceptual framework of Cassarino (2004), for a successful settlement in the home country, a returnee should have high level of preparedness which include 1. Accumulation of human, financial and social capital, 2. Average time spent should be atleast 4 – 5 years 3. Post-return home country economic, political, social and cultural conditions. Using the *ceteris paribus* assumption, our study has focused only on the labour market conditions (under the realm of economic conditions) for the skilled returnees to India to explore the association of their labour market settlement status in the home country in post return with respect 1. resource mobilised abroad 2. Length of stay abroad (two categories : long stay and medium stay abroad) and 3. Post return structural factor in the home country.

Majority of our respondents were the students who went abroad for higher education, therefore there were less traces of financial capital accumulation abroad, and therefore we have tested the association of successful return with two forms of capital i.e. human and social capital. Length of stay abroad is classified into two category conceptualised using Cassarino (2004) as long stay (at least 4- 5 years) and medium stay abroad (between 6 months-3 years). There are many structural factors that can be have association with the post return settlement in the home country, but our study had focused on the government support in ease of entry into the labour

market through Indian government return fellowships and support to entrepreneurs. We have grouped returnees on the basis whether they availed the Indian government return fellowship or other governmental support to enter in the labour market in the post return phase. Table 9 shows the operationalisation of the constructs used in the study with their level of measurement.

Table 9: Operationalisation of the Constructs and Level of Measurement of the Variables

<p>Return Migrant : Adopted from United Nations, (1998) “Any person returning to his/her country of origin (in our case, India), in the time span of the last ten years, and have been staying in India at least for the last six months in continuation(at the time of interview) , after being an international migrant (whether short-term {minimum six months } or long-term {minimum one year}) in another country”. The analysis is limited to those return migrants who are employed at the time of the survey and who reported their occupations. In other words, those were not working or were not looking for a job at the time of the survey were excluded from the analysis.</p>
<p>Age: Number of year since birth</p>
<p>Age at return: Calculated from difference between year of recent return to India and age at birth (self-reported).</p>
<p>Gender: Socially constructed two category of Male and Female, by asking the respondent.</p>
<p>Marital Status: By asking respondents to identify with one of the following categories of marital status as Single, Married and others.</p>
<p>Education before moving abroad: The highest level of qualification attained in formal and tertiary education before moving abroad. Respondents were asked to answer an open ended question and responses were coded into four categories as Senior Secondary level, Bachelors level, Masters level, Doctorate of Philosophy and Post Doctorate in research.</p>

<p>Occupation: By asking respondents to write in their type of participation in the workforce. The responses were coded into the following categories: ‘Professional²⁰’, ‘Self-employed²¹’ and ‘Student’ in the three phase of migration (pre-migration, migration and post-return).</p>
<p>Destination Country:By asking name of the destination country from the first move of emigration, followed by the any further movement to any other country and lastly the recent country of emigration.²²Last destination country are coded as the Classification of countries based on the real income methodology adopted by (World Bank, 2018).</p>
<p>Length of stay abroad: By asking the respondent to write the total stay abroad in number of years. The length of stay is recoded as long stay (more than 4 years) and medium stay abroad (between 6 months-3 years) based on Cassarino, (2004) .</p>
<p>Capital accumulated in the host country: Used multiple scale response, asked respondent to choose from the four type of capital i.e. language learnt , learnt new production technique, learnt management / research technique, building of new networks. A unidimensional scale (simple cumulative index) is produced for each skill type on the number of cases said “yes”.(See Appendix- E1 for the simple cumulative index)</p>
<p>Networks: Respondents were asked the two type of information regarding the networks at host country and home country: Theuseof different type of networks (home/host country) in getting up job or setting up business upon return in India. . A uni-dimensional scale (simple cumulative index) is produced for each network type on the number of cases said “yes”.(See Appendix- E2 for the simple cumulative index)</p>
<p>Reasons of moving abroad and returning to the home country: Based on the review of literature , 10 major push and pull factors’ choices were given to participants to rank on the scale of 1 (being the most important reason) to 10 (as least important reason).</p>

²⁰ Term “Professionals” is used as a generic term for the group of people who must have skill level 3 and 4 as per ISCO-08 classification, which include three major groups of occupations i.e 1. Managers; 2. Professionals and 3. Technicians and Associate Professionals (International Labour Organization, 2012).

²¹ Term “Self-employed” include group of people who hold self-employment job, either as employers (who engage one or more people),and own-account workers [don’t engage people on regular basis](International Labour Organization, 1993)

²² See Appendix- D (D1 & D2) for the destination country.

<p>Choice of remigration: Respondents were asked about their wish of remigration and plausible reasons in an open ended question, transformed into dichotomous categories with nominal level of measurement.</p>
<p>Post return job market situation: Respondent were asked to register their labour market settlement status on a dichotomous level of measurement, with Yes (if they feel that they have successfully settled in the labour market after return to India and No (if they do not feel so).</p>
<p>Route of the return: Route of return is categorised as 1. Return through government's return fellowship; 2. Intra-company transfer; 3. Self-employed; 4. Others</p>

4.3 Research Methods

This section of the chapter presents the characteristics of the population and sample, data collection technique and instruments adopted, procedure followed for the data analysis in the study.

4.3.1 Research Population and Sample

Apart from media's highlighted trends of skilled returnees and numbers provided by the few government's return fellowships, there is no official data to show the accurate number of returnees in India. In the absence of the official data about the population of skilled returnees, we resort to the non-random sample of the returnees based on the referral technique.

4.3.1(i) Sample Features

We have adopted the definition provided by United Nations, (1998) for a returnee migrant, he/she is defined as " Any person returning to his/her country of origin (in our case, India), in the time span of the last ten years, and have been staying in India at least for the last six months in continuation(at the time of interview), after being an international migrant (whether short-term {minimum six months } or long-term {minimum one year}) in another country. The analysis was limited to those return migrants who are employed at the time of the survey and who reported their occupations. In other words, those were not working or were not

looking for a job at the time of the survey were excluded from the analysis. We collected questionnaires from a sample of 132 respondents with majority of male respondents. Average time taken to complete survey was 45 minutes.

15 male and 7 female respondents were interviewed for qualitative part of the study. 12 respondents among these availed the government's recruitment fellowships for their return to India . 19 respondents were from the research and teaching professionals in the higher educational institutions in India, followed by 2 self-employed and one corporate professional. Among the teaching professionals, 13 respondents were from the Sciences field, 4 were from social sciences. Average time spent on the interview was 55 minutes, with a range of 40 to 80 Minutes. 9 interviews were conducted face-to face, 7 were telephonic interviews and 8 through Skype. Among these 22 interviews, we had two (male) respondents who had returned to India in the past and worked under the capacity of scientist in the higher educational institution in India, but re-emigrated to the USA for good after short stint in India . Their interviews were conducted thorough Skype and average time spent was 40 minutes.

4.3.1(ii) Research location

Due to paucity of exact numbers of the returnee's population in India, we did not restrict ourselves to any geographical setting or remained limited to rural-urban divide/ state specific, rather we collected the sample from all the parts of India. Even then the dominance of skilled returnees was evident to the different metropolitan cities in India. (See Appendix-F for details)

4.3.2 Data Collection Technique

We used snow ball sampling technique using the referral method. We searched the higher education institutions and universities websites' faculty directory in India. By going through their available Curriculum-vite on the website of the institution, we screened those faculty who had some form of foreign experience (either work or study). We also compiled the profile list of scientists who were selected under different government return fellowships (such as Ramanujan and Ramaling swamy faculty scheme of DBT, Wellcome-DBT fellows , INSPIRE faculty return scheme of DST, NRI-return scheme of Ministry of Defence) from the various government

reports. India one of the main source country temporary skilled workers to the developed countries , especially to the USA for the intra-company transfers and H1b Visa (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services [USCIS], 2017b). With the purpose of collecting sample from corporate professionals, we contacted the human resources department of companies such as TCS, INFOSYS, WIPRO which are one of the largest employers applying for intra-company transfers(especially in the USA) (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), 2017a). For self-employed sample data collection, we set up the links with institutions working with skilled Indian diaspora such as The Indus Entrepreneur (TiE), Non Resident Keralites Affairs (NORKA). We also contacted different returnees' self-employed groups on different social media platforms such as Facebook and LinkedIn.

In this snowball process of collection of sample, we got two respondents who returned to India in the past but re-emigrated due to labour market settlement issues in India. They are not the part of the qualitative analysis so as to avoid any response bias, but for better understanding, we conducted interview with them, and their experiences has been part of the qualitative findings separately to incorporate the overall picture of the labour market situation.

4.3.2(i) Research Instrument

The study has collected data from the survey and interviews of skilled return migrants to India. Whereby survey data is used to explore the socio-economic characteristics of 132 skilled returnees to India alongside analysing the association between successful return to the home country with factors conceptualised from Cassarino (2004) . We used the interviews to better understand the dynamics of the life cycle activities (in particular labour market situation) of 20 skilled returnees to India.

The quantitative part of study used a three migratory stages structure that build our the questionnaire :

- a. The returnees' characteristics before they first moved abroad;
- b. The returnees' educational and working experience during their stay in abroad;
- c. The returnees' post-return working situation in the country of origin.

Questionnaire is one of the many ways of collecting responses to the research question, directly or indirectly (Gillham, 2008). The benefits of this instrument are low cost in time and money, and ease of getting information from unevenly spread respondents (Gillham, 2008) make it popular to be used in data collection process. Our Questionnaire²³ contains both the open and closed ended questions. Under closed ended questions, we framed nominal type, ranking, and multiple response type questions. Questionnaires were administered in person and through e-mails using online survey conducting tool called survey monkey. While administering the questionnaire we faced issues like less response rate, partially filled questionnaire. We circulated 358 questionnaires in total and got 132 fully completed questionnaires, with a response rate of 36 percent.

After the completion of survey, we contacted the respondents (who completed the survey) for interviews. Out of sample of 132 respondents, 20 agreed to share their experiences through interviews. We collected a sample of 22 interviews which consists of 20 skilled returnees (were residing and working in India at the time of interview) and 2 interviewees returned India to work in the past, but re-emigrated due to obstacles faced in the Indian labour market. Interview was segmented in four major sections: 1. Major reason of moving and coming back to India; 2. Benefits of foreign experiences after return to India 3. Job conditions after return to the home country (such as obstacles faced while settling in the job after return to India , role of networks to get a job after return); 4. their re-emigration motives in the near future.

Semi-structured Interview method was chosen to collect qualitative data because “it allows *both* parties to explore the meaning of the questions and answers involved and Any misunderstandings on the part of the interviewer or the interviewee can be checked immediately in a way that is just not possible when questionnaires are being completed, or tests are being performed” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2017, p. 3). Semi-structured interviews are an excellent way to understand *how* people think and relate to a given topic and allow to gather the perspective not only of today but past events as well (Gillham, 2000). Semi-structured interviews has a closed format to follow, but still ‘remains open in its style’, which allows to collect data in-depth in a phased manner (Gillham, 2000, p. 7).

²³ Questionnaire of the study is attached as Appendix-B

Not all the interviews were recorded, but all the interviews were transcribed manually for creating the main themes of the interviews. We conducted interviews as per the convenient time and place suggested by the interviewees through different modes , like Skype (9 cases), Telephonic (9 cases) and face-to face (4cases). The average length of interviews lasted between 55 minutes to 90 minutes. face to face interviews allowed more in-depth interaction with the respondents, whereas telephonic and Skype interviews provided us greater reach, flexibility than face to face interviews , but loses the quality of face to face interviews as telephonic and Skype interviewing suffered from lack of behavioral and body language analysis (Gillham, 2000, p. 12).

4.4 Data Analysis Techniques

Data collected from the survey was analysed in phase wise manner, whereby the migratory movements of the respondents were divided into three phases of migration: Phase 1 is Pre-migration phase; Phase 2 is the Migration phase; and 3. the Post-return phase.

1. **The Pre-migration Phase:** The pre-migration phase consists of information about the four parameters of an individual status before migration i.e. Demographic and social characteristics of the returnee migrants, level of education before leaving the country of origin , reasons for leaving the country of origin, and occupational situation before migration .
2. **The Migration Phase:** About the period of staying abroad we gathered information about the five parameters of an individual status during their stay in the destination country i.e. Destination country, Length of stay abroad , Education and skills acquired abroad, and occupational situation during migration.
3. **The Post- return Phase:** In the post return phase, there are significant trends that were analysed which are important to understand the motivation that underlie migrants' decision to return to their home country. Some of the issues that were addressed in this context include: 1) Reasons motivating return to home country ; 2) age at return 3) Occupational situation upon return(include occupational status on return, current working profile ; 4) Government assisted recruitment polices; 5) Links with the former immigration country and home country used

- for the getting job; 6) obstacles faced in the job market upon return;
- 7) Intentions about re-migration in future.

After coding and cleaning the data for errors , we run the descriptive analysis of variables using frequency for all type of data. Data findings and analysis is done in two sections of Chapter 5. Section 5.1 discussed and analysed the findings from the 132 questionnaire, whereas the analysis of qualitative findings from 22 interviews is discussed in section 5.2. Under section 5.1, for data having nominal characteristics such as Individual, and migration characteristics of the participants used frequency/percentages for analysis purposes. For data having ordinal level of measurement such as educational characteristics (pre and during migration), ranking data on push and pull factors of emigration and return migration used cumulative percentage, and mean rank. For comparison of the occupational choice among returnees in the three phases of migration i.e. pre-migration, during migration and post return phase, we used a set of cross-tabulations . These cross-tabulations allow the following topics to be analysed comparatively using counts and percentage , to compare the occupation status before migration and during migration and the occupation status during migration and post return phase.

To check association between whether successful settlement in the home country labour market is associated with the length of stay abroad, utility of higher education/foreign experience abroad, networks formed abroad to get job after return in India, networks from home country to get job after return in India and integration programme in labour market by government used cross tabulation with chi-square distribution.

Data collected from 22 interviews of skilled return migrants to India was discussed using thematic analysis through narratives of the respondents' in section 5.2. In the view of Riessman (1993), it is difficult to have a precise definition of narratives. He argued that “narratives are assumed to be like stories about a specific past events, with a common properties”,(p.17). Narratives collected from 20 skilled returnees were analysed using thematic analysis, whereby the focus of analysis was on more on “ what” is being said in the text, rather than “how” it is said (Riessman, 1993). The thematic approach was chosen as a data analysis tool as it is useful for “theorising across a number of cases – finding common thematic elements across

research participants and the events they report” (Riessman, 1993, p.25). We summarised our interviews in the four main themes:

1. Reason of moving abroad and returning to India
2. Benefits of foreign experience after return to India.
2. Post-return job-related experiences in India
3. Re-emigration motive in future.

4.5 Summary

The study has employed the mixed method to understand the skilled return migration and their post-return labour market situation in India. The survey method used to explore the different characteristics of the skilled returnees and understand the association between the successful (post-return) settlement in labor market with respect to length of stay abroad, use of accumulated human and social capital in getting a job after return and ease of entry into labour market through Indian government’s return fellowship. To explore the experiences related to labour market after return, a semi-structured interview schedule was followed.

Chapter 5

Findings and Analysis

5.0 Introduction

Review of literature shows that people use migration to improve their occupational status, either by obtaining employment if they had no jobs in places of origin or by obtaining better jobs if they already had had previous work experience (Lianos & Pseiridis, 2009). This study has looked at the labour market outcomes upon return in India among skilled returnees along with their socio-economic characteristics. We have discussed the empirical analysis that is designed to explore the relative importance of a different set of variables at the emigrate-stay-return trajectory, whereas our key variable of interest is the occupational and labour status of migrants . This chapter discusses the main findings from the data collected from the survey and interviews of skilled return migrants to India. Section(5.1) puts emphasis on the quantitative data collected from the survey of 132 skilled returnees to India and section (5.2) discuss in detail the outcome of the qualitative part of the study conducted using 22 interviews.

5.1 Quantitative data collected from Survey: Findings and Discussion

The characteristics of returnee migrants are diverse in nature in terms of their age at return, networks formed during their stay and their perception about the job experience in India after the return. These diverse characteristics play an important role in shaping their life activity upon return to the home country. We have discussed these characteristics of skilled returnees in the three phases of migration i.e. pre-migration, during migration and post-return phase. This section deals with the major findings of the data collected from a primary survey of 132 returnees, returned to India in the time period of 2008-2018. This section of the study presents the various characteristics of the skilled returnees' workers such as individual factors, factors ranking that led to emigration and returns to India, human and social capital patterns of resource mobilisation, labour market outcomes on return to India. Major outcomes of the study are presented under the three phases of migration of the returnees' i.e. the Pre-migration phase, the Migration phase and the Post-return phase.

5.1.1. The Pre-migration Phase

The pre-migration phase consists of information about the four parameters of an individual status before migration i.e. Demographic and social characteristics of the returnee migrants, level of education before leaving the country of origin, reasons for leaving the country of origin, and occupational situation before migration and the. Table (10) presents the summary of the type of statistic used to obtain the answers to the specific research questions contributing to the pre-migration phase of skilled returnees to India.

Table 10 : Quantitative Data Set Analysed in the Study: The Pre-migration Phase

Instrument	Purpose	Contribution to answering research questions
Frequency/Percentage	To describe the individual characteristics (gender and marital status); Educational characteristics (completed education before migration) of skilled returnees to India.	What are the socio-economic characteristics of return migrants to India?
Mean Rank	To study the ranking of the major the push- pull factors of moving abroad.	What are the major push and pull factors that led to emigration among skilled personnel?
Frequency/Percentage	To explore occupational situation of skilled returnees before migration	What are the occupational choices made by returnees in the pre-migration phase?

Among 132 respondents, 71 per cent were male and 29 per cent were female respondents. Majority of the respondents (83 per cent) were married at the time of survey conducted. Studies in the literature have shown that people use migration to accumulate different forms of capital (Czaika & Villares, 2012; Tejada & Bhattacharya, 2014). With an objective of exploring the before-after difference in the human capital of the returnees, we asked the highest level of qualification attained before migration, using the educational qualification of the respondents as a proxy for the human capital. Survey data shows that 43 per cent of respondents were holding a PhD degree before their first move abroad, followed by the master degree (39 per

cent), 14 per cent respondents had bachelor's degree and 2 per cent each had completed his or her senior secondary degree and post-doctoral research before his or her first migration move. The survey data shows that majority (98 %) of respondents were skilled human capital even before moving to abroad, which shows the character of skilled migration from India in the literature (Khadria et al., 2008; Sabharwal & Varma, 2017).

Review of literature has extensively dealt with the numerous economic, demographic, political social and cultural reasons of emigration among skilled migrants from their country of origin. A number of studies have dealt with different push factors from the home country that led to emigration among skilled people. Few of these push factors from the home country are Poverty, lack of quality higher education (Miller, 2012) discriminatory wages, Job- insecurity, less scope for professional development (Allan M. Williams & Baláz, 2008), Political and economic instability(Mani, 2009) in the home country etc. Studies in the literature related to return migration have fairly dealt with pull factors (from the host country) of migration that attract skilled people to migrate as well. Few of these host country-pull factors are relatively high earning (Miller, 2012), better work opportunities (Abella, 2005), for higher education(Mani, 2009), a higher standard of living (Abella, 2005), family reunification, political freedom(Mani, 2009) etc.in the host country.

In this study, respondents ranked ten major push and pull factors of their reasons for moving abroad, based on factors relevant to the skilled migrants' cohort in the literature. The purpose was to identify respondents' ranking for the major push and pull factors resulted in the migration from the country of origin. We do not claim that these ten factors only draw a complete set of reasons of moving abroad of skilled returnees, but we argue that they provide complementary information about the various dimensions of the reason of moving abroad. Henceforth, These ten major pull and push factors for going abroad were as follows: 1. moved abroad for higher education purpose, 2. to earn higher income abroad than in India, 3. with a purpose to accumulate savings, 4. due to uncertain future in a current job in India, 5. Unavailability of jobs in my area of expertise in India, 6. with a possibilities of putting up own business idea abroad 7. having a strong professional ties aboard that helped in getting job/setting up business, 8. for better professional or research

experience abroad, 9. family and friend settled abroad and lastly, political and economic instability in India.

Ranking of preferences by respondents offered two statistics to compare among the choices of moving abroad i.e. 1. The total sum of the rank²⁴ and 2. the mean rank of the choices made by the respondents. We compared the reasons for moving abroad in two ways: one based on the mean rank score of each reason for moving abroad and other the individual ranking of each reason using frequencies. Based on the mean ranking of the factors, the data shows that the respondents ranked going abroad for higher education purposes as the most important reason with a mean rank of 2.95, followed by the better professional or research experience abroad with a mean of 3.11. The third most important choice of moving abroad was to earn higher income abroad than in India (mean rank = 4.52), and reasons such as Uncertain future in the current job and unavailability of jobs in my area of expertise in India had almost similar mean ranking position of 4th and 5th choice with a mean of 5.15 and 5.25 respectively. Factors such as accumulate high savings abroad (mean rank =5.41), availability of strong professional/personal networks that could have helped in getting the job abroad (mean rank =6.39), and lack of putting up the business idea in India (mean rank =6.77) were among the less preferred choices among the respondents. Factors such as family and friend settled abroad and political/economic instability in India were the least important reasons for moving abroad among respondents with a mean rank of 7.48 and 7.98 respectively.

While comparing the factor of moving abroad individually, we found that around 46 per cent of respondents' first choice to move abroad was to pursue higher education and 20 per cent of respondents have made it their second choice of the reason of moving abroad. Better Professional or research experience abroad been ranked as the second most important reason for moving abroad with 37 percentage and for 31 per cent of respondents it was the topmost reason for moving abroad. Reason to earn a higher income abroad than in India appeared and saving motive in abroad were ranked as the 3rd or 4th choice of respondents of moving abroad. Uncertain future in the current job in India is majorly given fifth and third choice by respondents with a percentage of 21 and 15 respectively. Lack of possibilities of

²⁴ See Appendix- G for the detailed descriptive statistics on reasons for moving abroad.

putting up own business idea in India and strong professional ties abroad that helped in getting job/setting up business are not so preferred reasons of moving abroad as the majority of respondents have ranked these factors lower ranks of as a seventh choice and eighth/ninth choice. Presence of family and friend in abroad and Political or economic instability in India are the least preferred reason for moving abroad among respondents with a rank of 9th or 10th. Survey data based on mean ranking and factor-frequencies show that majority have moved abroad for higher education and better professional/research experience, whereas factors such as networks in the host country, the presence of family/friend abroad, or macro conditions of India don't have much role to play. This result is in conformity to the two most popular route of (skilled) migration from India i.e. education and employment (Mani, 2009; Sabharwal & Varma, 2017).

People use migration to improve their occupational status, either by obtaining employment if they had no jobs in places of origin or by obtaining better jobs if they already had had previous work experience (Lianos & Pseiridis, 2009). Studies in the literature suggest that foreign labour market experience provides migrants with human, financial and social capital that facilitate their reentry at home, often yielding improved occupational circumstances (Borodak & Piracha, 2011; Masso et al., 2013). To situate the labour market outcome of migrants in the pre-migration phase, we asked the nature of their engagement in the workforce in India before their first migration move.

Data before migration shows that 22 per cent were working professionals and 78 per cent were engaged in studies at different levels in India. Among working professionals, the majority (48 per cent) were working as teaching and research faculty in a different higher educational institution in India, followed by around 44 per cent were corporate professionals working in Multinational companies in India, rest 3 per cent each was practicing lawyer and medical doctor.

Summary of Pre- migration Phase

Our sample largely consisted of male respondents and the majority of respondents were married at the time survey conducted. Before the first move of migration, the majority of the respondents were students, followed by working

professionals in the capacity of research /teaching faculty in a higher education institution. For the majority of respondents, the three topmost reason for moving abroad was to get the higher education abroad and better professional or research experience in the host country and earn higher income abroad.

5.1.2. The Migration Phase:

We collected information about the four parameters of an individual status during their stay in the destination country i.e. Destination country, Length of stay abroad, different forms of acquired abroad, and occupational situation during migration. Table (11) presents the summary of the type of statistic used to obtain the answers to the specific research questions contributing to the during migration phase of skilled returnees to India.

Table 11: Quantitative Data Set Analysed in the Study: The Migration Phase

Instrument	Purpose	Contribution to answering research questions
Percentage	To describe the characteristics a. migration characteristics- Destination country, length of stay abroad, network in abroad or home; b. Educational characteristics(education or training undertaken during migration) of skilled returnees to India.	What are the socio-economic characteristics of return migrants to India?
Mean Rank	To explore occupational situation of skilled returnees during their stay in the destination country.	What are the occupational choices made by returnees during their stay in the destination country ?

We asked an open-ended question about the destination country of the respondents in their recent/last emigration move. For analysis purpose, we coded the destination countries based on the classification of countries into four income groups i.e high-income group, upper-middle income, lower-middle income and low-income group suggested by the World Bank (2018).Data shows that mobility of our sample was highest to the high-income countries in the world, where 96 per cent of the

respondents moved to the high-income countries in the globe. Majority of respondents (61 percent) moved to the United States of America, followed by Singapore with 5.3 per cent, 4.5 per cent of respondents moved to the United Kingdom and 3.8 per cent to Germany. This result in conformity of other studies on emigration of the skilled Indians which shows that the most of the Indian students and people with professional expertise migrate to high-income countries (Khadria, 2004; Sasikumar & Thimothy, 2012a; Srivastava & Pandey, 2017).

In the review of literature, there is no clear nomenclature is followed to classify the length of stay in abroad. Empirical studies have derived the length of the stay aboard as per the objectives of their studies. For example, King, Mortimer, & Strachan, (1984) talked about the short-term stay (say less than a year or two) and long-term stay (more than two years) of the migrant to understand the returnee's contribution to the home country. Cassarino (2004) talked about the length of the stay as long (over and above 4- 5 years), medium(6 months to 3 years) and short stay (less than 6 months) in the destination country with respect to level of preparedness of the returnee as high, low and no level of preparedness of the return migrant respectively visa-a vie their length of stay abroad. In our data, the minimum length of stay abroad was one year and the maximum was thirty-seven years with an average stay of 8.36 years. Data based on the Cassarino (2004) level of preparedness shows that 90 per cent of respondents had long stay abroad with a stay over and above 4 years and 10 per cent stayed for medium length in abroad.

Empirical studies show that returnees get better equipped with financial, human and social capital during their stay in the destination. country and these valuable resources are put into usage upon their return to the home country (Kumar, Bhattacharya, & Nayek, 2014). In terms of human capital gains, Migration has been seen in the same way as education: both are considered an investment in the human agent (Sjaastad, 1962). Studies show that during the stay in the host country, migrants invest in skills such as learning language or a particular technology(Miller, 2012) ; migrants gather skilled through on the job training (Williams & Baláz, 2008), and building of new social networks (Saxenian, Motoyama, & Quan, 2002).

We asked respondents about the various forms of capital that they gained during their stay in the destination, for a better understanding of skills addition during the migration phase. Based on responses, we coded the two major forms of capital earned in the destination country i.e. 1. human skills (which included learning of new language, undertaken the vocational course, learning new production technique, learning of new management or research techniques) and 2. The building of new networks in the host country. Based on responses of 125 respondents', we found that the majority (86 per cent) of respondents gained the new research or management techniques a new skill in the host country, followed by the building of the new networks in the host country (45 per cent) , on the job training/vocational course and new language was added as a skill by 26 percent of the respondents and new production technique was acquired by 21 percent of respondent.

The third important parameter about the migration to stay abroad was the labour force participation of the returnees in the destination country. During migration stay, 55 per cent were working professionals and 45 per cent of 132 sample data went abroad for higher studies as students. Among the working professionals, 61 per cent were the post-doctoral researchers, 21 per cent were engaged as teaching faculty in higher education abroad, 10 per cents were IT and Software professionals, and around 3 per cent were working in Administrative management department in Multinational companies. Among students, the majority (81 per cent) were doctoral candidates, and 20 per cent went for a master's degree abroad.

Summary of the Migration Phase

Majority of the respondents moved to the high-income country and stayed for a long period of stay defined by (Cassarino, 2004) with an average length of stay was 8 years. Among those added new form of capital to their kitty, the majority learnt new management and research techniques, followed by the building of new networks in the destination country. Among occupational choices in the destination country, the majority of respondents were working as the post-doctoral fellows in the host country's institutions, followed by the doctoral studies students.

5.1.3. The Post- return Phase

In the post return phase, there are significant trends that can be analysed which are important to understanding the motivation that underlies migrants' decision to return to their home country. Some of the factors that addressed in this section include: 1) Reasons motivating return; 2) age at return 3) Occupational situation upon return (include occupational status on return, current working profile; Government assisted recruitment policies); 4) Links with the former immigration country and home country used for the getting job; 5) obstacles faced in the job market upon return; 6) Intentions about re-migration in future; 7) post return perception of respondents about role of returnee in the job market in India. Table (12) presents the summary of the type of statistic used to obtain the answers to the specific research questions contributing to the post-return phase of skilled returnees to India.

Table 12: Quantitative Data Set Analysed in the Study: The Post-return Phase

Instrument	Purpose	Contribution to answering research questions
Mean age, percentage	To describe the characteristics (a. Individual characteristics- age at return, and migration characteristics- network in abroad or home) of skilled returnees to India.	What are the socio-economic characteristics of return migrants to India?
Mean rank	To study the preference level of returnee migrants about the push-pull factors of return migration to India.	What are the major push and pull factors that led to return migration among skilled personnel to India?
Percentage	To explore the occupational choice in the three post return phase (include area of work and Government assisted recruitment polices' fellows)	What are the occupational choices made by returnees in the post return phase?
Cross tab	To compare the occupational choice among returnees in the three phases of migration i.e. pre-migration, during migration and	What are different occupational choices made by returnees in the each transition phase of migration;

	post return phase.	1. Occupation before migration and during migration 2. Occupation during migration and post return
Percentage	To study job related difficulties faced by returnees upon return to India and their re-emigration motives for future.	What are the obstacles faced by returnees in the job market in India upon return?

Based on the review of the literature, there are various factors that explain reasons for skilled migrants coming back to their country of origin. Various studies have suggested reasons of return migration to home country such as change in the immigration policy of the host country (Kumar, 2008), limits on the professional growth in the host country (Mani, 2009; Sabharwal & Varma, 2017), settlement issues faced into the host country; saved enough money abroad; individuals' preferences for their home country; or better employment opportunity in the home country due to gained foreign experience, favorable home country's government treatment to returnees (Dumont & Spielvogel, 2008).

In this study, respondents ranked ten major push and pull factors of their reasons for returning to India, based on factors relevant to the skilled migrants' cohort in the literature. The purpose was to identify respondents' ranking for the major push and pull factors resulted in the return migration to the home country. We do not claim that these ten factors only draw a complete set of the reason of returning of skilled returnees to their home country, but we argue that they provide complementary information about the various dimensions of the reason of return migration.

Henceforth, these major ten pull and push factors for returning to India were as follows: 1. Program of study/Project/Contract got completed; 2. Higher real earning relative to the cost of living in India, 3. Better work opportunity in the home in the concerned sector; 4. High unemployment rates in the host country; 5. Mismatch in abroad's Job in relation to my skills, 6. enough money to start a business; 7. The optimistic home country economic outlook for business; 8. Change in immigration policy of the destination country; 9. To be united with the family, relatives and friends

and lastly, Indian Government preferential job-related policies for returnee. Ranking of factors by respondents offered two statistics to compare among the choices of returning to India i.e. 1. The total sum of rank²⁵ and 2. mean rank of the choices made by the respondents. We compared the reasons for returning to India in two ways: one based on the mean rank score of each reason for moving abroad and other the individual ranking of each reason using frequencies.

Based on the mean ranking, To be united with the family, relatives and friends (mean rank = 2.70) was the most important reason to return to India. The second most important reason to return to India was finding better work opportunity in the home in the concerned sector with a mean rank of 4.30. Completion of the study course or completion of the project (mean rank= 4.43) and Availability of Indian Government preferential job-related policies for returnee (mean rank = 5.43) were the third and fourth important reason for skilled migrants to return to India. the fifth most important reason is Optimistic home country economic outlook for business or work with a mean rank of 5.48., whereas reasons such as higher real earning relative to cost of living in India (mean rank = 5.72), Mismatch in abroad's Job in relation to my skills (mean rank = 6.81), Change in immigration policy of the destination country (mean rank = 6.83) and Saved enough money to start business (mean rank = 6.92) observed the lower rank by respondents among the reasons for returning to India.

While comparing the factor of returning to India individually, coming back due to the family is the most important reason of returning to India from 48 percentage respondents and around 24 per cent of respondents marked it as the second most important reason to return India. for 18 percentage respondent, the completion Program of study/Project/Contract was a most important reason, whereas around 28 per cent ranked it as their second choice of the reason for returning to India. The presence of Indian Government preferential job-related policies for returnee got mix of ranking where on the one hand, it has been ranked as marked as second and third important choice by the respondents with a percentage of 17 and 14 percentage respectively, on the other hand for about by 24 percentage of respondents it is the least important reason of returning to India.

²⁵ See Appendix- H for the detailed descriptive statistics on reasons for returning to India.

Higher real earning relative to the cost of living in India and Better work opportunity in the home in the concerned sector were 4th among that 15 percentage and 18 percentage respondents respectively. Mismatch in abroad Job in relation to skills and saving enough money was 6 the choice of the majority of participants with a per cent of 17 and 18 respectively. Factors such as Optimistic home country outlook for business(7th Choice of 17 percent respondents) Lack of Job or high unemployment rates in the host country(8th choice of 20 percent respondents) and Return to the home country due to change in the immigration policy(8th choice of 21 percent respondents) were the among the least preferred choices of respondents. Lack of Job or high unemployment rates in the host country recorded the 8th most important choice among respondents with a percentage of 20 per cent, followed by the 5th choice and 4th choice with a percentage of 14 per cent.

Mismatch in abroad Job in relation to skills was the 6th choice of the majority of participants with a per cent of 17, followed as the 9th choice with the percentage of 15 and about 14 per cent respondents marked it as the least important choice to return to India. Saving enough money was marked 6th choice by the respondents with a percentage of 18 and marked about 7th and 8th choice by 16 percentage of respondents. The optimistic home country outlook for business for a return to India was marked as the 7th choice with a 17 per cent of respondents, and followed by 16 per cent as a 6th choice of the respondents. Return to the home country due to a change in the immigration policy was an 8th important choice with a percentage of 21, followed by the 9th choice of respondents with a percentage of 18.

Survey data based on mean ranking and factor's individual frequencies show that the majority have returned to due to the family presence in India, getting work opportunity. This result is in conformity to the two most popular reason for the return of migration to India i.e. family presence and better work job opportunity. Apart from the empirical studies in a review of the literature, News reports on skilled returnee migrants to India report family presence and availability of better work opportunities in India as major reasons of return among skilled migrants (Simhan, 2017; Srivastava, 2016). The presence of Indian Government preferential job-related policies for returnee got mix response based on mean ranking it is one of important reason to return, whereas as in terms of percentage, it is second and third important choice by

the respondents with a percentage of 17 and 14 percentage respectively, but for about 24 percentage of respondents it is the least important reason for returning to India.

In the process of return migration, the age of the returnee at the time of his return plays an important role in assessing his intentions for permanent return and labour force participation. Review of the literature argues that the nature of the migration movement can be affected by the age structure of the migrant. Saxenian (2005) showed that there is a negative correlation between age and intention to return and those who are young (under 35 age) are more likely to return home permanently than others.

Survey data showed that the mean age of the respondents at return was 36 years, with a minimum of 23 years and a maximum of 63 years of age. Age at return is then converted into the category suggested by Pew research Centre (Dimock, 2018), which shows that the age group of 23-37 holds the majority (67 per cent) of respondents, followed by 30 per cent in the age group of 38-53 years of age and 03 percentage of sample was in the age group of 54-63 years of age. It can be argued based on this age-trend that young generation is returning to India, which is conformity to both the result of empirical studies (Sabharwal & Varma, 2017) and media reports (Simhan, 2017; V. Srivastava, 2016) on returning skilled migration to India.

There are different ways in which occupational situation of the returnee migrants has been analysed in the literature. Studies have classified the occupations of returnee migrants based on their activity, qualification, sector and by occupation (Robyn Iredale, 2001). According to Carletto & Kilic, 2011; Sasikumar & Timothy, 2012a), skilled return migrants many times come back to their old positions/functions or may also move into new areas of work either as employed or self-employed.

Return migration largely an individual choice, but at times it is encouraged or initiated by the home country 'government policies for returning of their nationals (Robyn Iredale & Guo, 1999; Dumont & Spielvogel, 2008). There are a number of studies that look into the role of government in encouraging the return of skilled migrants to their home country (Iredale, 2005; OECD, 2008). The labour market outcome after return in our study has been analysed from two perspectives,

1.Route of return to the labour market in India and 2. Occupational status of migrants after return.

1. Route of return to labour market in India (Entry into labour market through the Indian government's return programme or initiated on own): Indian government offers a number fellowships for skilled returnees in the area of science and technology, namely; The Ministry of Science and Technology's Ramanujan Fellowship , Ramalingaswamy Re-Entry Fellowship, INSPIRE faculty scheme, and Wellcome-India Alliance (of DBT); Outstanding Scientist/ Scientists-Technologists of Indian Origin; Ministry of Defence's Talent Search Scheme for NRIs in DRDO, and The Re-entry scheme for NRI, PIO and OCI of Department of Health Research.

Survey data showed that 55 per cent of the respondents' availed the government's recruitment fellowships for skilled returnees. Among 132 respondents, 72 respondents (around 55 per cent) were those who availed the one of the Government of India's return fellowship programme to settle in India. Majority of returnee-fellows (83 per cent) in our dataset availed the Ramalingaswamy fellowship of Department of Biotechnology, followed by Ramanujan fellowship (10 per cent) of Department of Biotechnology, Wellcome-India Fellowship (4 per cent) and NRI-return programme (1 per cent) of Ministry of Defence and INSPIRE Faculty (1 per cent) programme of Ministry of Science and Technology.

2. The occupational status of migrant after return: Our study has looked into occupational status among skilled returnees in two different ways i.e. working as professionals and self-employed. After the return, the data set was divided into two types of working group, one is Professional and other is self-employed. 97 per cent of respondents were working as professional under different occupations and 3 per cent reported themselves as self-employed at the time survey was conducted. Among professionals, the majority (80 per cent) were engaged in research and teaching as faculty in a higher education institution, followed by 10 per cent as corporate professionals working in Multinational companies. Four cases reported themselves as self-employed at the time survey was conducted.

Occupational transition: The re-integration of return migrants has been explored through occupational transition while comparing pre-migration and post-return employment situation of migrants (El-mallakh & Wahba, 2016; Lianos & Pseiridis, 2009). Our key variable of interest is the occupational and labour status of migrants at the emigration-stay-return trajectory of migration. Our study has looked into occupational transition among skilled returnees in four different ways. i.e. one where foreign-educated students seeking employment, change in occupation among working professionals, Intra-company transfers (with no change in occupation) and self-employed after their return to India. It means that, in most of our analysis, we simultaneously study occupational and labour status mobility²⁶. We constructed the occupation category as self-reported by the respondents: just before they left the country of origin (India, in our case) and at the moment they returned to India. We have used contingency table used in a number of studies such as (Higashida, 2008; Piracha & Vadean, 2010) to report the mobility of skilled returnees among different stage of migration. The table (13) reports the cross-tabulation of the nature of work before migration and nature of job during migration. Diagonals in bold shows the percentage of sample data who remained in the same occupation category. Row (percentage) shows the transition from one occupation to other occupation

²⁶ See Appendix-I1 for labour market status of the respondents at the time of their return to India

Table 13 : Contingency Table of the Nature of Work between Pre-migration and the Migration Phase.

		During overseas stay, nature of work							
pre migration, nature of work		Teaching	Finance**	IT& Software^	Admin*	PDF	PHD	Master degree	Total (100 %)
	Students	9, (9 %)	-	-	-	40, (39%)	44, (43%)	10, (10%)	103
	Teaching##	6, (43%)	-	1, (7%)	-	3, (21%)	4, (29 %)	-	14
	IT& software	-	-	6, (86 %)	-	-	-	1, (14%)	7
	Finance**	-	3, (75%)	-	1, (25 %)	-	-	-	4
	Admin*	-	-	-	1, (50 %)	-	1, (50%)	-	2
	Doctor	-	-	-	-	-	1, (100%)	-	1
	Lawyer	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (100%)	1
	Total	15	3	7	2	43	50	12	132

Note: - shows there was no data entry in the cell²⁷.

Majority of the sample was students before migration move, out of this 43 per cent moved abroad to pursue PhD, 39 per cent migrated for post-doctoral research and 10 per cent for master degree in the destination country. Only 9percent of data was engaged as teaching faculty in the destination country. Row percentage data shows that 43 per cent of migrants engaged in teaching occupation before migration remained in the same occupation during their stay abroad. Those who change their

²⁷“*” Administration Services in the Multinational companies; “**” Financial management in the Multinational companies; “^” Information Technology and Software services in the Multinational Companies; “##” Teaching and Research faculty in the higher education institutions.

occupation categories were 21 per cent went for Postdoctoral research and 7 per cent for IT and Software services in multinational companies. 29 per cent went abroad to pursue Doctoral, remained not working during their stay in destination country . 7 cases were working in IT and software-related services before their migration move, out of this majority (86 per cent) moved abroad through intra-company transfer and 14 per cent (1case) moved abroad for master degree education purposes. Out of 4 cases working in finance-related services in multinational companies in India, all moved aboard on Intra company transfer with 75 per cent cases remained in the same finance work, one case (25 per cent) change his work profile to Administrative in the Multinational Companies. 2 cases who were working in administration management in multinational companies, 50 per cent (one case) kept doing the same job abroad and other one case went abroad to pursue PhD. There was the only case of practicing medical doctor and lawyer in our before migration data, these both the cases moved abroad for higher studies in the destination country.

Table 14 : Contingency Table of Nature of Work between the Migration Phase and Post-return to India.

		After return to India, nature of work										
		Teaching	Finance**	IT&Software^	Admin*	PDF	Start-Up	Consultant*** finance	RnD^^	Admin.-Cent govt##	Consultant law#	Total (100 %)
During migration, nature of work	Student (PhD)	43, (86%)	-	-	1, (2%)	2, (4%)	-	-	4, (8%)	-	-	50
	Student (Masters)	6 (50%)	-	-	2 (17%)	-	2, (17%)	1 (8%)	-	-	1 (8%)	2
	PDF	42 (97%)		-	-	-	-	-	-	1, (3%)	-	3
	Teaching##	15 (100 %)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
	IT& Software^	-	-	7, (100%)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
	Finance*		2 (67 %)	-	-	-	-	1 (33 %)	-	-	-	3
	Admin*		-	-	1, (50%)	-	-	1 (50%)	-	-	-	2
Total	106	2	7	4	2	2	3	4	1	1	132	

Note: “-“ shows there was no data entry in the cell²⁸

²⁸ “#” Consultant in legal services with a higher education institution; “##” Administration Services in the Central Governmental Department ; “***” Independent Consultancy(own account worker) in Financial Management; “^^” Research and Development services for a Multinational Company.

The table (14) reports the cross-tabulation of the nature of work before migration and nature of job during migration. Diagonals in bold shows the percentage of sample data who remained in the same occupation category. Row (percentage) shows the transition from one occupation to other occupation. Majority (86 %) of the sample that moved abroad for higher education (for PhD) were working as teaching faculty in the higher education institutions. 8 per cent were working in multinational companies' research and development profile, 4 per cent were engaged in their post-doctoral research and 2 per cent end up working in the administrative management of multinational companies. Almost all (97 per cent) of migrants engaged in post-doctoral research during their migration time were working as teaching faculty in the higher education institutions on their return, except one case who was working in administration management for the central government department.

All the cases who were engaged in the teaching profession during their stay in abroad remained in the same occupation after their return to India. Those who went abroad for their master studies, 50 per cent of such cases engaged themselves in the teaching profession on their return while three cases (18 per cent) end up having their own entrepreneurial activity (two cases had started up business and one case had consultancy in the financial services) and other 17 per cent were working in the administrative management of the multinational companies. One case who completed master degree abroad started working as a consultant (in legal area) for a higher education institution after return. All the cases who were engaged in the IT and software-related services during their stay in abroad remained in the same occupation after their return to India. Three cases who were working in the financial management services for multinational companies in their abroad stay, 67 per cent (2 cases) remained in the same occupation, whereas one case (33 per cent) started their own consultancy in the financial management services after the return to India. 50 per cent cases engaged in administrative services in Multinational Companies in their migration days were working on the same profile after return, whereas one case (50 per cent) started to have their own consultancy in financial services in India after return. Our study shows a mix of occupational transitions: 1. from non-participation before migration to labour force participation after return; 2. change in occupation after return and 3. Intra-company transfers (with no change in occupation). Data also shows the mobility of students to employment is mainly to teaching and research

profession and professionals who move through intra-company transfer, such persons are less likely to change their occupation.

The importance of social network is well established in the literature. Social networks are not only important for migrants in maintaining the links with the friends and relative in the origin country but they also link the migrants to the employers through the referral systems (Portes, 2008a; Saxenian et al., 2002). To understand the role of networks in getting job upon return, we bifurcated networks in two parts one networks created in the immigration country used for getting the job upon return and other is home country's networks used for the getting job after return: 84 per cent of 130 respondents agreed to have used host nation's networks help in getting the job upon return, and 80 per cent of 128 respondents have used home networks to get a job after return to India. The majority (62 per cent) of respondents have used professional ties or alumni association from host nation to get a job after their return to India. Around 40 per cent of them used references from the ex-employee or past employee from the host nation to get a job after their return to India. 23 per cent and 20 per cent have used acquaintance and family ties (family, friend or relative) from the host nation respectively to get a job after their return to India.

The majority (54 per cent) of 106 respondents have used professional ties or alumni association from home nation to get a job after their return to India and Around 31 per cent of 106 respondents used references from the ex-employee or past employee from the home nation to get a job after their return to India. 29 per cent and 24 per cent of 105 respondents have used acquaintance and family ties (family, friend or relative) from the home nation respectively to get a job after their return to India. Our study shows that professional ties have been used relatively more than personal contacts in India to get settled in the labour market after return.

There are different re-integration programmes that are meant for the low skilled and medium-skilled returnees discussed in the literature (Kumar, 2008.; Sasikumar & Timothy, 2012b). A limited number of studies have focused has on the difficulties faced by the skilled returnee after their return to the home country. There are various socio, economic, cultural settlement issues with the return migration (OECD, 2008; Sasikumar & Timothy, 2012b), but our study focused only on exploring the job-related difficulties faced by the returnee in the home country. After

coding the open-ended answers, we found that returnees had listed some of the major obstacles faced after their return in the Indian labour market such as 80% respondents (n=85) faced administrative, bureaucratic, red-tapism issues in jobs, around 57 per cent (n=84) faced difficulty in the form of unfair means to get permanent job and lack of accountability/ professional attitude was a major obstacle of 58 per cent (n=84) . Around 55 per cent of respondents (n=86) registered the lack of network on return to get job and (8 % of n=83) said the non-recognition of foreign degree in India is a problem faced by them, followed by a 5 per cent (n= 83) restriction of upper age limit in getting the job in the government sector.

Return migration is not an end of a migration cycle as it may further lead to re-emigration to the same destination country or the new destination country(OECD, 2008). We asked the possibility of the respondents to further migrate in the near future and the plausible reasons for the same. 45 per cent of 116 respondents reported that they do consider the re-emigration in future, whereas 26 per cent was not sure of the re-emigration move and 29 per cent of respondents had no intention to move again in the near future. Based on the responses of 73 cases, we found that the most likely reason to re-emigrate was better career opportunities(32 per cent), followed by better working conditions (25 %), then around 21 percent(of n=7) on support of government for research and development and better standard of living as a reason of re-emigration . (12 %) cases wished to re-emigrate if they get the permanent job abroad, for around 10 % poor environmental conditions in India may be a reason of moving abroad in future and lastly, only 4 per cent (n=71) stated the family ties aboard may be a reason of re-emigration in future.

Summary of the Post Return Phase

Based on the mean age and mean ranking of the factors of returning to India, our study showed that skilled returnees were young, and their three top most reason of moving abroad was to be united with family, relatives and friends, followed by availability of better work opportunity in the home in the concerned sector and returned due to completion of study or project. Indian government recruitment policies for skilled-returnees is one of popular route-choice among skilled migrant, from which we can argue that such recruitment programmes provide easy access to the labour market. Among professionals, the majority were engaged in the research

and teaching as faculty in a higher education institution, followed by the intra-company transfers. Majority of respondents used their professional ties from the host and home country to get a job after their return to India. Major obstacles reported were administrative, bureaucratic, red-tapism issues in jobs, unfair means to get a permanent job, lack of accountability/ professional attitude and the lack of network on return to get a job.

Given the conceptual framework of (Cassarino, 2004) explained in Chapter 4, for a successful settlement in the home country, we have tested the association between settlement in the home country labour market with length of stay abroad, utility of human capital (foreign education /work experience) and utility of accumulated social capital (networks from host and home country) and post-return structural support (as ease of entry of skilled returnees into labour market through home government’s help).

Table 15: Quantitative Data set Analysed in the Study: Association between Settlement in the Home country’s Labour Market with length of Stay Aboard, Networks and Structural Factor

Instrument	Purpose	Contribution to answering research questions
Crosstab Chi-square	To find the association of successful return in the labour market with the length of stay abroad, accumulated foreign experience, networks in home and host country and government return programme.	Is there an association between successful return in the labour market with the length of stay abroad, accumulated foreign experience, networks in home and host country and government return programme?

1. Association between the success settlement in the labour market and Length of stay abroad

To investigate whether the successful settlement in the home country labour market is associated with the length of stay abroad, a chi-square statistic was used. The table (15.1) shows the Pearson chi-square results and indicates that successful

settlement in the home country labour market are significantly not different on the whether the length of their stay is long or medium. However, the table 15.1 shows (row/column percentage) that almost equal number of people those had long length of stay agreed to have successfully settled in labour market and disagree to successfully settled in the labour market after their return to India.

Table 15.1 : Successful settlement in the Labour market * Length of stay abroad (Cross-tabulation)					
			Cassarino based length		Total
			long length of stay	medium length of stay	
Do you feel you have successfully settled in Home country's labour market?	Yes	Count	44	6	50
		% within Successful settlement in the Labour market	88.0%	12.0%	100.0%
	No	Count	52	4	56
		% within Successful settlement in the Labour market	92.9%	7.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	96	10	106
		% within Successful settlement in the Labour market	90.6%	9.4%	100.0%

Note 1: $X^2 = .729$, $df = 1$, $N = 106$, $p > .05$

2. Association between the success settlement in the labour market and utility of higher education/foreign experience abroad

To investigate whether success settlement in labour market differs the utility of higher education/foreign experience abroad, a chi-square statistic was used. The table shows the Pearson chi-square results and indicates that those with successful and not successful settlement in the labour market are significantly different on whether there is the utility of higher education/foreign experience abroad. Successful settle in the labour market is more likely than expected under the null hypothesis to agree that there is the utility of higher education/foreign experience abroad than not successful. Phi, which indicates the strength of the association between the two variables, is .320 and, thus, the effect size is considered to be medium to large according to (Cohen, 1988). Table 15.2 using column percentages shows that majority (89.5 percent) have

agreed that the foreign experience did help them in getting job or start their entrepreneurial activity after return to India, whereas among those who benefited from the foreign experience there is almost equal number of respondents' who feel that they have successfully settled in labour market to those who don't feel so.

Table 15.2 : Successful settlement in the Labour market * Did foreign experience helped in getting job after return Cross-tabulation					
			Did foreign experience helped in getting job or setting up business in India after your return ?		Total
			Yes	No	
Do you feel you have successfully settled in Home country's labour market?	Yes	Count	49	0	49
		% within Successful settlement in the Labour market	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	No	Count	45	11	56
		% within Successful settlement in the Labour market	80.4%	19.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	94	11	105
		% within Successful settlement in the Labour market	89.5%	10.5%	100.0%

Note 1: $X^2 = 10.751, df = 1, N = 105, p < .05$

Note 2 : ϕ or Cramer's V = .320

3. Association between the success settlement in the labour market and networks formed abroad to get job after return in India

To investigate whether success settlement in labour market differ the on the usage of networks that build overseas used in getting job after return, a chi-square statistic was used. Table 15.3 shows the Pearson chi-square results and indicates that successful settle in the job market or not are significantly not different on whether the use of overseas networks abroad that helped. However, Table 15.3 shows that (using column percent) 83 percent of the respondents have used host country's networks in some form to get job or setting up business in India.

Table 15.3: Successful settlement in the Labour market * Did networks that build during overseas stay helped you in getting the job or setting up business in India on your return? Cross-tabulation					
			Did networks that build during overseas stay helped you in getting the job or setting up business in India on your return?		Total
			Yes	No	
Do you feel you have successfully settled in Home country labour market?	Yes	Count	44	5	49
		% within Successful settlement in the Labour market	89.8%	10.2%	100.0%
	No	Count	43	13	56
		% within Successful settlement in the Labour market	76.8%	23.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	87	18	105
		% within Successful settlement in the Labour market	82.9%	17.1%	100.0%

Note: $\chi^2 = 3.114$, $df = 1$, $N = 105$, $p > .05$

4. Association between the success settlement in the labour market and networks from home country to get job after return in India

To investigate whether success settlement in labour market differ the on the usage of networks that build in home country used in getting job after return, a chi square statistic was used. Table 15.4 shows the Pearson chi-square results and indicates that successful settlement in the job market or not are significantly not different on whether the use of home networks that helped in getting the job after return. Table 15.4 shows that almost 81 percent of respondents have used home country's network to get job or start entrepreneurial activity after their return to India.

Table 15.4 :Successful settlement in the Labour market * Did home networks that helped you in getting the job or setting up business in India on your return? Cross tabulation

			Did home networks that helped you in getting the job or setting up business in India on your return?		Total
			Yes	No	
Do you feel you have successfully settled in Home country labour market?	Yes	Count	40	8	48
		% within Successful settlement in the Labour market	83.3%	16.7%	100.0%
	No	Count	43	12	55
		% within Successful settlement in the Labour market	78.2%	21.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	83	20	103
		% within Successful settlement in the Labour market	80.6%	19.4%	100.0%

Note: $X^2 = .435, df = 1, N = 103, p > .05$

4. Association between the success settlement in the labour market and integration programme in labour market by government.

To investigate whether success settlement in labour market differ the one with return with government return fellowship or not , a chi-square statistic was used. Table (15.5) shows the Pearson chi-square results and indicates that those with successful and not successful settlement in the labour market are significantly different on whether they come with government return programme. Successful settlement in the labour market are more likely than expected under the null hypothesis to take up the government return programme than not successful . Phi, which indicates the strength of the association between the two variables, is .243 and, thus, the effect size is considered to be weak to medium according to (Cohen, 1988). Table 15.5 shows (using row/column percent)that among those who availed any form of the government’s support to enter the labour market ,majority (64 percent) have

said that they have not successfully settled in the home country's labour market after return.

Table 15.5 : Successful settlement in the Labour market * Whether you availed any re-entry fellowship from government of India Cross-tabulation

			Whether you availed any re-entry fellowship/support from government of India?		Total
			Yes	No	
Do you feel you have successfully settled in Home country's labour market?	Yes	Count	20	30	50
		% within Successful settlement in the Labour market	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
	No	Count	36	20	56
		% within Successful settlement in the Labour market	64.3%	35.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	56	50	106
		% within Successful settlement in the Labour market	52.8%	47.2%	100.0%

Note 1: $X^2 = 10.751$, $df = 1$, $N = 106$, $p < .05$

Note 2 : phi (ϕ) or Cramer's V = .243

5.2 Qualitative Data Collected from Interviews: Findings and Discussion

Last section (5.1) dealt with the major findings of the data collected from the primary survey of 132 returnees. In order to complement the quantitative data, we conducted twenty-two interviews to gather the returnees' opinions and attitude about the select parameters of the return migration as a process. A number of studies in the literature have paid off importance to the difficulties faced by skilled immigrants in the destination such as (Li & Teixeira, 2007; Saxenian, 2002a) but there is a limited number of studies like Shima, (2010) that explores the experiences of skilled

returnees. Therefore, the aim of this part of the study has been to understand the difficulties faced by returnees in the job market in India upon return.

Each of the 22 interviews' data was summarized in section 5.2 on the template containing the main areas that had emerged from combining the data from the interviews. These main areas (1. Reasons of moving abroad and returning to India, 2. Benefits of foreign experience upon return to India; 3. Post-return working conditions in India and 4. re-emigration motives in future) indicated the broader themes of the interviews which are analysed in section 5.3.

The summary of each interview interaction is given below. Each case is presented in the given format in Appendix-C with a purpose to narrate the experiences of the returnees in a concise manner. The purpose of this exercise is to get the reader to familiarise with the overall content of the interviews conducted, but these proved useful when interpreting the findings.

Respondent number: 1

Current Work Profile: Associate professor/Principal Scientist (on Contract) in Government run University cum Hospital in the Southern State of India.

Interview Mode and Duration: Telephonic interaction and 55 minutes

Gender: Female

Age: 52

Whether availed the Government of India's return fellowships: Yes

1. **Reason of moving abroad and returning to India:** Main reason for going abroad in the year 1998 for her was for higher education degree in the field of biomedical research, but came back to India when her father passed away in 2008. As per her, there was always a tussle between returning to India and comfortable life for US-born kids in the USA. Finally, she gave up her green card to live with family in India.
2. **Benefits of Foreign experience upon return to India:** She completed her Doctorate of Philosophy and Post-doctoral research in psychiatry from the USA. When asked about the utility of foreign experience after return, she agreed that foreign experience certainly helps in getting a job in India and help

in putting better innovation ideas than home-grown scientists. Postdoctoral training fetched her finally a junior faculty position in the area bio-medical research in one of the central university of the southern part of India.

3. **Job market conditions after return:** When I asked her views about the job conditions in India for a skilled returnee. She was satisfied with the amount of salary and research grant that is offered to fellows. In her opinion, salary and grant amount is good, but the main issue is the job insecurity in her current profile. She has worked for seven years in the current institution, but her position is still temporary. According to her, institutions don't come up with the permanent positions. Other than job insecurity, commercialisation of sciences has the bad impact of the quality of research, especially the basic research. Those scientists who wish to remain in the system, have to follow this commercialisation policy of the government, but it affects the overall quality of research in sciences, says while expressing her disappointment over the deteriorating condition of basic science research in India. According to her, to remain in the system, she is working, but to her believe this work is not the actual work, it is forceful.
4. **Re-emigration motive:** On being asked about the re-emigration motive in future, she firmly said that her choice of return was to be with her family. She said that after spending a fair amount of her career (after return) on the contractual job, she has learnt to troubleshoot tricks to stay at the workplace. Therefore, she has no motive of moving abroad in the near future.

Respondent number 2:

Current Work Profile: Software Corporate Professional in the Northern State of India (High-level management)

Interview Mode and Duration: Face to face interview and 65 minutes

Gender: Male

Age: 47

Whether availed the Government of India's return fellowships: No

1. **Reason of moving abroad and returning to India:** He moved with his doctor parents in 1990s to the USA, and completed his Bachelors and Master

degree in management from the USA. He moved to India in the year 2017 through Intra-company transfer after living in Singapore for 10 years.

2. **Benefits of Foreign experience upon return to India:** On being asked about the benefits of foreign education and experience after return, he replied that, nowadays, a foreign degree does not make much of a difference and a large number of people go abroad to get a degree or work experience and return to India.
3. **Job market conditions after return:** He seemed comfortable working at his current organisation and experienced no difficulty in finding a job as he was returned to India through an intra-company transfer. For him, at the workplace, there is no difference in salary or other perks. There are no remuneration differences between non-migrants and expats, but Indian companies don't wish to spend on a product's research and development. He further extends his reason for the low quality work in India is that there are few companies like GE, CISCO, Wipro which are spending on the intellectual property rights, others are only copying the designs of their competitors. He has been associated with the startups in the past after his return to India. While elaborating the poor investment on research and development in India's software industry, he argued that startup in India is based on the copied technology from other countries. Government is not providing much help to these start-ups, so these are largely dependent on the Venture Capital, but they're also only short-term funds are available to them. Emphasising the role of education and skills for the startup, he said that startup culture in India is very different from the other developed countries like here people only with the bachelor's degree start their own companies that result in early closure of the business.
4. **Re-emigration motive:** On answering the re-emigration motive in future, he firmly said that he does not wish to go back to the USA because being treated like a foreigner in the USA was not satisfactory feeling to live with. At the time of the interview, he had given up his the US citizenship and had applied for Indian citizenship. He was overall content with his working condition in India after return but submitted his disappointment over the administrative slackness of the Indian system in granting the citizenship to non-nationals.

Respondent number 3:

Current Work Profile: Assistant Professor/ Principal investigator (on Contract) in the State university of the Southern State of India.

Interview Mode and Duration: Interview through Skype and 45 minutes

Gender: Male

Age: 42

Whether availed the Government of India's return fellowships: Yes

1. **Reason of moving abroad and returning to India:** He moved to the USA in the year 2005 on H1B visa and pursued PhD and post-doctoral research in chemistry. He spent eight years in the USA and returned to India in the year 2013 due to his ageing parents and their incapability to move with him to a new place and culture.
2. **Benefits of foreign experience and Job condition upon return to India:** He expressed the disappointment while expressing that foreign experience could not help him much in getting a job after return to India. He stated that he found tremendous difficulty in finding a job in India after return, even though he had publications in the best of sci-fi journals. He appeared for two rounds of job interview after his return to India and got cleared them as well, but suddenly position got dissolved. After remaining unemployed for several months, due to a reference from his ex-colleague, he was able to get a job in the interiors of the southern state's university. As per him, the foreign experience was not much help to him in getting the job after his return to India and he also suffered tremendously due to lack of any contacts in India. He then cited examples of people with less experience and publications in less reputed journals got the job as they had contacts in the hiring committees. In his views, funding agency of these (return) fellowships is not at fault(they do not discriminate returnees with the home-grown scientist in terms of dispensing the funds/grants for labs), but the system is corrupt at the institution level, where hierarchy stops the permanent recruitment process. All of the sudden recruitment processes stop with a change in the head of the institution, he adds to it.

On being asked about his re-emigration motive in future, he replied that he doesn't wish to return in the near future and reasons cited were that chances of him getting the permanent job are more at a particular point in time as he is known to the current vice- chancellor of the university. He further argued that he has already spent five years in the current job and meanwhile gave up his green card as well. Moreover, without a green card, it is difficult to work in the USA as people with temporary residence permit find many difficulties at different levels in the USA.

Respondent number 4:

Current work Profile: Principal Scientist in the Government Research Laboratory in the Southern State of India.

Interview Mode and Duration: Telephonic interview and 55 minutes

Gender: Male

Age: 47

Whether availed one of the Government of India's return fellowships: Yes

1. **Reason of moving abroad and returning to India:** He first moved to France in the year 2000 for two years and later to South Korea for 32 months to learn new research techniques and sharpen his skills in the micro and nanotechnology field. He has made two failed return attempts to India in the past, went back to Australia in the year 2005 to avoid the political atmosphere in the scientific community and academia in India.

In his third attempt in the year 2008, he was reluctant to come back but his parents did not want to settle in Australia. And at the same time, the government of India had also launched one of its return fellowship, he found the fellowship as a decent opportunity to come back to India. Hence, there were two major reasons for him coming back to India was his parents' inability to move with him and job opportunity through return fellowship.

2. **Benefits of Foreign experience and Job conditions in India after return:** According to him, he did not face any difficulty in getting a permanent job after his return from Australia due to his vast foreign experience. But argued that there is lack of respect in the system for returnee scientists. He said that returnee scientists are treated only as fellows, not as scientists or professors in

Indian higher education institutions. The problem in higher education institutions is that their mindset is such that they don't regard or show respect to the foreign-trained scientists. He, however, did not experience any discrimination between technical or scientific community; or between home-grown or foreign-trained scientist, but slack behaviour at the level of administration acts as a major hurdle for the returnee scientist. In his views, recruitment policies are sluggish in nature due to the political interference in the process. People who age over 60 years and have political power at the administrative level in the universities are the major culprit of hindering the process of recruitment of young and deserving talent.

3. **Re-emigration motive:** He was not interested to move abroad for the longer stay, but may be willing to move for a short duration if the opportunity would be worth taking.

Respondent number 5:

Current work Profile: Assistant Professor in Private University in the Southern State of India.

Interview Mode and Duration: Skype-interview and 55 minutes

Gender: Female

Age: 25

Whether availed one of the Government of India's return fellowships: No

1. **Reason of moving abroad and returning to India:** She pursued her master's degree in economics and political science from London School of Economics, the UK in 2014. And had all the intentions to stay back in the UK and work for some time before returning to India, but due to a sudden change in the immigration policy of the UK's government led an early return of her to India in 2016.
2. On being asked about the benefits of foreign experience after return in India, She argued that she has for sure an edge over other home-grown academicians, but due to high expectations (being foreign-educated), she at times felt peer pressure at her workplace. However, no discrimination was stated at the level of remuneration or grants by her.

3. **Job market conditions after return:** In the initial period after return, she was unemployed as her one-year master degree from the UK was not acceptable in any of the government-run academic institutions. She finally got the job in a private university in her city of residence. She argued that networks are quite important in India, “only known help known”. She further argued that there is a lack of a platform for information in India for returnees. Lack of recognition of her degree created a lot of troubles for her such as non-ability to appear for UGC- conducted National Eligibility Test for Lectureship in India. Due to this policy-limitation, she may not be able to get a job in state/central universities in future as well. In her views, Government of India has so far only focused on the return of skilled migrants from science and its related fields, whereas there is a good number of social scientists who have been trained in foreign universities and wish to return to India. In her view, Society needs to broaden its vision for the social sciences, only the government may feel the importance of social scientist returnee as well.
4. **Re-emigration motive:** She had a strong desire to migrate in future to pursue her PhD to sharpen her research skills and boost her chances to get a permanent job in the state/central university in India after return.

Respondent number 6:

Current work Profile: Assistant Professor in Private University in the Western State of India.

Interview Mode and Duration: Telephonic interview and 40 minutes

Gender: Female

Age: 36

Whether availed one of the Government of India’s return fellowships: No

1. **Reason of moving abroad and returning to India:** Her only motive of going to the USA in 2006 was to get a higher education degree. There she completed her PhD and Post-doctoral research in the area related to geography. And with the completion of her educational degrees in the USA, return to India was predetermined in 2014.

2. On being asked about the Foreign Experience, she sounded positive about the benefits of foreign education that she gained from abroad. She emphasized that she learnt new teaching methods, advanced analytical skills and multidisciplinary skills from her stay abroad.
3. **Job market conditions after return:** She had no struggle in finding the job as she purposely did not opt for jobs in the central/state universities in India(due to the ad-hoc nature of jobs offered, despite having an offer). She went ahead with a private university with a multidisciplinary centre for teaching. She did not report any type of discrimination faced in her working place. In her view, returnees lack in the network as the government has never felt the need to provide any information portal that could have rendered support to returnees even before coming back to India. She elaborated the plight of returning social scientists, saying that this lack of any return programme for the social scientist, in particular. They have left them on their own after return that acts as a major source of demotivation among skilled returnees to India.
4. **Re-emigration motive:** For her higher education was the only emigrational motive and return was an obvious choice after completion of her studies. Therefore, for her re-emigration will never to an option in near future.

Respondent number 7:

Current work Profile: Associate Professor in a Deemed University in the Western State of India.

Interview Mode and Duration: Telephonic interview and 50 minutes

Gender: Male

Age: 63

Whether availed one of the Government of India's return fellowships: Yes

1. **Reason of moving abroad and returning to India:** In his view, after PhD, it was very important to get an experience of foreign labs with a purpose to sustain in academia for a long term. And he also got fully paid fellowship from Japan to pursue his post-doctoral research in 2008. The return was an obvious choice for him after the completion of studies and also his family was settled in India. Apart from these two reasons, being treated as a foreigner on the foreign land was another important factor that led his return to India in

2017 after three years stay in Sweden for his (second) post-doctoral research in microbiology.

2. **Benefits of foreign experience upon return to India:** During his stay in Japan and Sweden for postdoctoral researches, benefited him in the form of a permanent job after return to India and promotion to the associate professor scale in his job in the year 2017.
3. **Job market conditions after return:** In 2017, he availed the government's return fellowship as both the amount of salary and research grant was good enough to establish the lab. On being asked about his views on the role of networks in getting a job after return , he argued that it's the credentials of a candidate which is more important to get a job rather than networks. He argued that fellowship provides five years to prove one's candidature and to his belief, this time period is good enough to establish one's self after return. According to him, getting a permanent job or not, is a matter of candidature. There is no direct role of networks in getting a job in India. He suggested that apart from the funding from the government's funding agency should be internal funding from the institutions as well. The only major problem that he faced after his return was slow moving procedure at the administrative level. The government should look for young talents, should revise the maximum entry age for returnee's fellowships, in his views.

Respondent number 8:

Current work Profile: Associate Professor in a National Institute of Importance in the Southern State of India.

Interview Mode and Duration: Telephonic interview and 50 minutes

Gender: Female

Age: 39

Whether availed one of the Government of India's return fellowships: Yes

1. **Reason of moving abroad and returning to India:** She moved to the USA in 2002 for her PhD after completing after masters in chemical engineering in India. Later moved to Germany on a work visa in 2011 for 4 years on a work visa. Returning to India was an obvious choice in 2014 as she went abroad just

to improve her skills. In her views, skilled returnees are coming back in huge number due to the availability of work opportunity with the opening up of new higher educational institutions such as Indian Institute of Technology(IITs), Indian Institute of Management (IIMs).

2. **Benefits of Foreign experience upon return to India:** she sounded positive about her stay in abroad and said that her outlook expanded and she got to learn the best of research techniques during her stay in the USA. In her opinion, home-grown academician is equally good but foreign experience gives the initial boost to one's career.
3. **Job market conditions after return:** She faced no problem in getting a job after her return to India. In her opinion, contractual job's issue in the government-run institutions is a hyped proposition and the credentials of the candidate are important to get a job. According to her, in case of returnees, networks have a neutral role to play in a getting a job after their return. She argued that network loss at the professional front is an obvious phenomenon among returnees as they move abroad after the master degree in India. She suggested that the only problem with the current return fellowship programmes of government is that there is no flexibility in the age bracket of returnee fellows. She further elaborates that efficiency of the scholar should not be judged as per his age, but his credentials should be considered. For efficient and quality research work, the auditing of the research grant should be done at all the levels, she added in the end.
4. **Re-emigration motive:** She expressed no intentions of moving abroad as her family was settled in India.

Respondent number 9:

Current work Profile: Senior Scientist in a Medical Research Institute in the Northern State of India.

Interview Mode and Duration: Face to face interview and 80 minutes

Gender: Male

Age: 42

Whether availed one of the Government of India's return fellowships: Yes

1. **Reason of moving abroad and returning to India:** His move to the USA in 2007 was primarily for higher education but motivated by the parents wish. His parents (from a Village in Haryana State) wanted him to have study experience from a foreign university, unlike his two elder brothers who completed their studies in India. Likewise going abroad call was taken by his father, and at the same time, his main reason for coming back was the wish of his father. He cited that his father was not happy with the quality of life and culture in the USA. His father pursed him to come back to India. Other motivation to return to India was his area of expertise (mosquito breeding) which was less researched area in India.
2. **Benefits of Foreign experience upon return to India:** He firmly said that foreign education has created a niche area for him after his return to India as his research area is less explored in India. and having publications in very reputed journals (Science, Cancer Cell, Molecular Cell, NPG Journals) from his work done abroad had added strength to his resume.
3. **Job market conditions after return:** On being asked about his job satisfaction after return to India on a scale of 1 (bad) to 10 (best), he rated his professional life about 3-4, which means below average. As per him, the major problem faced by returnee is the contractual nature of the job offered to them. He argued that the major cause of demotivation among these skilled returnees is not converting their contractual job to permanent one, even after spending prime age of their career in doing the contractual job. He further argued that returnees are forced to change their area of expertise in order to get a permanent position. In Indian recruitment system, there is no concept of lateral entry for experienced returnees. These experienced returnee scientists are forced to work from the entry-level job after their return due to the lack of lateral entry system. Showing his disappointment over the current conditions of skilled returnees, he said that returnee scientist are not treated with respect and dignity at par with their home-grown colleagues.

He firmly stated that networks have important role to play in India is not only getting a job but for promotions as well. Fewer networks limits the ability of returnee scientist to get a job and research grant in India, he further adds . He suggested that

for skilled returnee hiring there should be a committee of young, experts from the specific area to improve the job situations for skilled returnee.

Respondent number 10:

Current work Profile: Senior Researcher at a Deemed University in the Northern State of India.

Interview Mode and Duration: Face to face interview and 45 minutes

Gender: female

Age: 41

Whether availed one of the Government of India's return fellowships: No

1. **Reason of moving abroad and returning to India:** She went for her PhD and post-doctoral studies in chemical research in 2008 to the USA and but returned after her husband got a government job in India in 2014. On the being asked about the benefits of foreign experience, she partly agreed to the opinion that foreign education helps returnees in their job in India. She said that the experience gained abroad has given a positive thinking and additional skills and qualifications the helped her to innovate new ideas at a workplace, but local references over the years had diminished and it takes time and patient to revive networks after return to the home country.
2. **Job market conditions after return:** Professional life has been a mix of bittersweet moments for her after the return. According to her, getting a job in India is very difficult for returnees. The main issue is not the availability if a job, but lobbying restricts their entry to the system. She further added to this, by saying that there are several obstacles here (in India): mainly rampant nepotism, less professional attitude, no clear/ ever-changing policies, no transparency in the hiring process, no accountability once you land a "permanent" job are just some of the disappointing things in professional life. She expressed her disappointment over the maximum age limit restriction in several governmental positions in India. She expressed her opinion, saying that some people are late starters in their career, these age restriction work against the motivation of the job seeker after return to the homeland.

3. **Re-emigration motive:** Answering this question, she said the prime earning member in the family is her husband and it is difficult to leave his government job and re-emigrate in future.

Respondent number 11:

Current work Profile: Assistant Professor at a Central University in the Northern State of India.

Interview Mode and Duration: Face to face interview and 65 minutes

Gender: female

Age: 47

Whether availed one of the Government of India's return fellowships: No

1. **Reason of moving abroad and returning to India** Moving abroad was not a sudden decision for her, she always wanted to undertake higher education from a foreign university. Therefore, after completion of her masters from the central university in India, she went abroad to pursue her PhD in economics in 1999 to the USA for six years. Later moved to Singapore as a teaching faculty in one of prestigious Singapore's national university. Due to health issues of her parent, she had to return to India in 2015 after living for ten years in Singapore.
2. **Benefits of Foreign experience upon return to India:** She positively expressed, saying that foreign education provided rigorous training that was not possible in India. Foreign degree adds to professional status, skills and brings in a new experience in the field, she further adds to it.
3. **Job market conditions after return:** She did not find difficulty in getting a job, but faced issues at administrative level due to lack of proper information about recruitment or promotion rules. She agreed that networks are important in India for survival purposes. She further adds to it, Professionalism and integrity not on par with foreign countries. Foreign degree holders are viewed as a threat to Indian job holders. She suggested that government should introduce returnee programmes for social scientist returnee as well and provide an information portal of various governmental openings before return.

4. **Re-emigration motive:** She may think of moving abroad if the opportunity is highly lucrative in nature. Otherwise, she is happy working here in India.

Respondent number 12:

Current work Profile: Self-employed in the Northern State of India.

Interview Mode and Duration: Telephonic interview and 45 minutes

Gender: female

Age: 56

Whether availed one of the Government of India's return fellowships: No

1. **Reason of moving abroad and returning to India:** She wanted to earn a higher education degree from abroad and earn benefits of currency difference to build corpus funds in India. She moved to the USA in 1992 after her bachelor and completed her PhD and Postdoctoral fellowship in biotechnology. Returning to India happened after her husband got a government job in India in 2008. She emphasized that she always wished to return to India (as in the foreign country, immigrants suffer from identity crisis), but practical reasons uphold her decision to return.
2. **Benefits of Foreign experience upon return to India:** She agreed that the education and work experience gained in the USA did help her on her return to India. But the applicability of skills is limited in India due to extraneous factors. In her view, new ideas are not welcomed in India's working culture of both corporate and academic sector. People are reluctant to adopt new ideas in India, she adds to it.
3. **Job market conditions after return:** She had to struggle to get a job after her return as per her expertise. After working in the industry as a scientist, she moved to academics. but due to lack of networks could not sustain for long there as well. Then she started her own startup in the city of Pune. She narrated that the startup in India is not long lasting in nature. People start these start-up only for immediate benefits that result in early closing down of the startup. Other than this, people with less educational qualifications have their own startup, that affects the sustainability of the project. She suggested that

there should be some curriculum-based teaching made compulsory for these startup entrepreneurs.

4. **Re-emigration motive:** Her two motives for moving abroad i.e. higher education degree and earning money to finance her startup in India were met. For her chances of moving abroad were dim as not only her family is now settled in India, but she is also approaching the retirement age.

Respondent number 13:

Current work Profile: Associate Professor in Private University of Northern State of India.

Interview Mode and Duration: Face to Face interview and 70 minutes

Gender: male

Age: 38

Whether availed one of the Government of India's return fellowships: No

1. **Reason of moving abroad and returning to India:** Primary reason for moving to the USA in 2006 was to pursue higher education in the area of international relation and political and overall improve his experience. He went abroad with a motive to settle down there permanently, but after going to the US, faced hardships of being a foreigner decided to return to India after completion of studies in 2012.
2. **Benefits of Foreign experience upon return to India:** he stated that the foreign experience gives an initial boost to one's career and there are now many good private universities in India that look for foreign educated people to work with them. He got the offer 6 months before the completion of his PhD in the USA.
3. **Job market conditions after return:** he had a job offer even before returning to India. In the case of networks, he himself did not face any difficulties but agreed that his peer has faced difficulties due to lack of contacts in their jobs. He suggested that there should be more incentive based return programme for a social scientist. There should one portal for all recruitment related information for the returnee as well.

4. **Re-emigration:** he has not any plans to re-emigration for long-term, but wish to move only for shorter duration either for engaging in better research activity or for exposure of his children.

Respondent number 14:

Current work Profile: Scientist in Government research lab of the Northern State of India.

Interview Mode and Duration: Telephonic interview and 55 minutes

Gender: female

Age: 37

Whether availed one of the Government of India's return fellowships: Yes

1. **Reason of moving abroad and returning to India** she went the USA in the year 2008 for five years undertake Doctoral and post-doctoral studies in molecular genetics and microbiology and to explore better working opportunities in the United States. But she returned to India in the year 2018 as her family was reluctant to move abroad with her to the USA.
2. **Benefits of Foreign experience upon return to India:** according to her, the foreign experience helped her in getting the expertise of doing independent research. Foreign experience improved analytical skills and practical application of the techniques, she adds.
3. **Job market conditions after return:** She availed the government return fellowship after her return in 2018. Before migration, She was a practising medical doctor but converted her work area to academics with government's research grant. She agreed that to some extent the networks are important as better networking help in knowing the process of execution of things. As per her, government grant was a good start for her but after the getting the grant, fellows are left on own their. She suggested India need more proactive, aggressive and young talent oriented returnee programme. There should fast track recruitment process dedicated to returnees only and the government should focus on non-Indians as well under their return programmes

4. **Re-emigration motive:** She was negative on being asked about her plans to re-emigrate in future. She came to India for her family and going back was seeming difficult in near future.

Respondent number 15:

Current work Profile: Senior Scientist in Government research lab of Northern State of India.

Interview Mode and Duration: Face to face interview and 55 minutes

Gender: Male

Age: 52

Whether availed one of the Government of India's return fellowships: Yes

1. **Reason of moving abroad and returning to India:** He moved to the USA in 1988, after completing his PhD in Biotechnology from India. After staying and working in various universities of the USA for 12 years, he returned to India. Returning to India after living for so long abroad was not an easy call, but ageing parents and his desire to work in the area of sciences in the home country motivated him to come back in the year 2010 on the government of India's return fellowship.
2. On being asked about the importance of foreign degree/experience in your occupation upon return to India, he replied that it always good to gain experience in 2-3 different foreign research institutes to improve both basic and advance research skills that greatly help the home country in grooming the student in advance research and technology. When students are well trained in cutting-edge research-technology and they are more confident to face any kind of challenges and can easily solve our existing problems in the scientific fields. Thus, foreign returning scientists are greatly helping in improving our economy (bringing all their saving back to India) and education, he said.
3. **Job market conditions after return:** He was happy with his job situation after the return to India. He appreciated the efforts of the government in providing the fellowships to skilled returnees on their return. He said that the earlier problem to settle down was fiercer to those who wanted to rerun to motherland due to no support from the government agencies. Nowadays

Indian government offers fellowships like, Ramalingaswamy Fellowship and Ramanujan Fellowship to competitive scientists that greatly helping about 80% foreign return scientists to be settled down easily either in both government and private institutes/Universities. He also highlighted the difficulties that foreign returned scientist have to face due to lack of home networks after their return in getting the job. He said that the Indian jobs are not easily available to foreign-returned, there is always competition with local candidates too and due to natural biases of local faculty towards the local candidates/familiarity with their mentors.

4. **Re-emigration motive:** He was negative when asked about his plans for re-emigration in future. He told that his children have settled now in India, so changing their base to the new country would be a difficult task to perform.

Respondent number 16:

Current work Profile: Entrepreneur of Startup in digital payments in the Northern State of India.

Interview Mode and Duration: Face to face interview and 55 minutes

Gender: Male

Age: 28

Whether availed one of the Government of India's return fellowships: No

1. **Reason of moving abroad and returning to India:** After completing his bachelor studies, moved to the USA for his masters in 2007 and later lived in the United Kingdom for 2 years on a business visa. His migration move was temporary in nature as his purpose to stay abroad was to gain western working experience to improve his entrepreneurial skills.
1. **2 Benefits of Foreign experience upon return to India:** on being asked about the benefits of foreign experience in his entrepreneurial activity, he said that the confidence to start his own work only came after spending time in the USA. The learning time in the USA helped him to move towards the entrepreneurship. He learnt western business models/ practices during his stay in the UK, which he is currently applying to his current venture.

2. **Job market conditions after return:** He did not have to look for the job after return. After her studies from abroad, he started his own venture, which is an extension of his father's business in 2015. While talking about his overall business experience on the Indian soil, he told some of the challenges that he has to face. According to him, the ecosystem for startup in India is still not fully matured. He registered his disappointment to the fact that Indian investors want a quick return, and the business acumen is far behind the western world. Indian investors pose a lot of difficulties for young entrepreneurs. He explained it further by saying that Successful startup founder doesn't wish to mentor the young generation. They don't share the mistakes and lessons learnt with new startup founders. In his views, Startup eco-system in India lack mentorship, new innovative ideas and need more support from the government in terms of funding, tax-rebate etc.
3. **Re-emigration motive:** he had no intention to move permanently to abroad in the near future. He cited two reasons for that one his family is here (in India) and other is his own newly started business venture but was open to moving temporarily to keep learning new and advanced business techniques for his work and networks in future.

Respondent number 17:

Current work Profile: Senior Staff Scientist, deemed university in the Northern State of India.

Interview Mode and Duration: Face to face interview and 40 minutes

Gender: Male

Age: 38

Whether availed one of the Government of India's return fellowships: No

1. **Reason of moving abroad and returning to India:** After completing his bachelor studies in chemical engineering, he went abroad for 6.5 years to pursue his masters and PhD in a related area of chemical engineering in the USA. After completing his studied, he opted to come back to India, as the Not many had worked on the area that he was working on in the USA. It was a

relatively new area (algal biofuels) at the time of his return in 2010 and he wanted to use his research experience in India.

2. **Benefits of Foreign experience upon return to India:** Foreign experience definitely helped him in his research field. He said that his research field was not explored much in India (in early 2000), therefore going abroad was the only choice for him to improve skills and learn expertise in the area. On his return, the newness of his research field in India fetched him a job even before his return to India.
3. **Job market conditions after return:** He had the job offer before moving to India, but showed his disappointment over the. Bureaucratic delays and inefficiencies in the Indian administrative system. He said the people use lobbying in getting jobs, government-funded projects, and research grants as well. In his view, networks may have had a direct role to play but they have an indirect role in getting things done in India. Expressing his disappointment, he further elaborated by saying that the research environment and work culture are missing in India, even if one's is trying to do new things system.
4. **Re-emigration motive:** on being asked about his future plans for re-emigration, he said that he is reasonably successful in his current job and quite happy with his profile, but was open for good opportunities from abroad as well.

Respondent number 18:

Current work Profile: Assistant professor in private university in the Northern State of India

Interview Mode and Duration: Face to face interview and 55 minutes

Gender: Male

Age: 38

Whether availed one of the Government of India's return fellowships: No

1. **Reason of moving abroad and returning to India:** with the primary motive of higher education, he moved to the USA for PhD in environmental studies, after completing his masters in India in 2006. He had no wishes to settle permanently abroad, so he returned to India in 2012 after PhD completion.

2. **Benefits of Foreign experience upon return to India:** He agreed that foreign experience provided him with much-needed exposure and got to learn new skills, but the applicability/implementation of the new skills is difficult in given conditions at the home ground.
3. **Job market conditions after return:** According to him, Professional life has been a mix of bittersweet moments. He added to it, saying that there are several obstacles at workplace (in India) such as rampant nepotism, less professional attitude, no clear/ ever-changing policies, no transparency in a hiring process, no accountability once you land a "permanent" job were few examples of the disappointed things in the professional life.
He further added that Professionalism and integrity not on par with foreign countries. Foreign degree and experience are viewed as a threat to Indian job holders. In his views, better government mandate/rulings are required for allowing/promoting return of professionals and at the same time, they are not discriminated against for being a returnee.
4. **Re-emigration motive:** He had no intentions of moving abroad in the near future, but asserted that he may go for short-term improvement course as per the need of his academic career.

Respondent number 19:

Current work Profile: Associate professor in a government research institute in the Southern State of India

Interview Mode and Duration: Skype -interview and 65 minutes

Gender: Male

Age: 41

Whether availed one of the Government of India's return fellowships: Yes

1. **Reason of moving abroad and returning to India** The reason cited for moving to the USA in 2005 for him was to undertake PhD Studies in Electrical engineering, and later in 2010 he lived in Netherland as teaching faculty for 3 years in one of the reputed university of Netherland. His return to India in 2014 was motivated to use his expertise back in his home country.

2. **Benefits of Foreign experience upon return to India:** He sounded positive while explaining the benefits of foreign experience to his career. He said that there are two ways through which foreign experience helped him; international level expertise advanced his knowledge of the area and second, in order to get a job in Indian university or research institute, one has to gain any foreign degree
3. **Job market conditions after return:** On being asked about the job conditions for returnees in India, he said that he could never contribute or implement his research ideas to the field as the major obstacle in setting up higher efficiency in jobs is almost always the administration, he says. He elaborated by saying that young returnees wish to bring change old and redundant work practices to new and innovative ideas learnt from the outside world, but the antagonistic response from the Indian administrative system only leads to demotivation among young scientists.
4. **Remigration motive:** He was (at the time of interview) looking for some good working opportunities outside India and the non-support from Indian government towards research and education was a major reason cited for the move.

Respondent number 20:

Current work Profile: Assistant professor in the State University in the Northern State of India

Interview Mode and Duration: Skype -interview and 55 minutes

Gender: Male

Age: 35

Whether availed one of the Government of India's return fellowships: Yes

1. **Reason of moving abroad and returning to India** He cited two main reasons for going abroad for his PhD from the USA in 2009; one for an overall learning experience and two support from his extended family in the USA. Whereas the return to India in 2015 was because of homesickness.
2. **Benefits of Foreign experience upon return to India:** He agreed to the opinion that foreign experience gives an initial boost to one's professional career, but he said that expectations/ acceptance/ threat factor from a

newcomer is also displayed by the institutions experienced as well as faced by the returnees at different levels based upon where they enter/ land.

3. **Job market conditions after return:** on being asked about the job situation for returnees in India, he says that it depends upon the establishment the returnee lands in.. In his viewpoint, Generally, private and Central Government funded Research Institute (IITs., DBT/DST etc) value the skills and experience of a foreign-returned scientist. But in the University setups barring few renowned Universities, others lag behind in the implementation of giving the benefit of experience to the returnee, so ultimately they end up losing them in long run. To improve the position of returnee in India, he suggested that the government may preferentially employ/ recruit the returnees directly in institutes under the central government control.
4. **Remigration motive:** the reason for not looking for foreign jobs was he wanted to be with his family

Respondent 21: (Re-emigrated returnee)

Current work profile: Scientist working in the biomedical research at present in the USA,

Age: 42

Gender: Male

Whether availed one of the Government of India's return fellowships: Yes, at the time of return to India, he was working as a scientist in the state university of the northern state of India.

1. **Reason of moving abroad and returning to India** He migrated to the USA for higher education and better research opportunities in the field of biomedical studies. The return objective in the year 2015 was to disseminate the scientific knowledge earned over a period of time.
2. **Benefits of Foreign experience upon return to India** and job condition: According to him, foreign-educated are highly celebrated on their return to India, but that perception doesn't last for long. He said due to his credentials, he had the offer of two governmental return fellowship immediate at my return. He further argued that the motive of these return fellowship is novel, to provide research opportunities and reverse brain drain but the fellows are left alone after the completion of the fellowship term. There is no lateral entry

for the senior scientist in many research organisation leaving them to work at lower grade after the completion of such fellowships. Lack of permanency in job ruin the career of scientist above the age group of 38 irreversibly. He listed some of the main issues with the working conditions in India were administrative lacklustre attitude, reservation policy in recruitment policies. He criticised the university innovation system in India, that unlike the USA, Indian scientists industries' rely on the scientific research institutes for innovation, they neither relay nor look up to the Universities to come up with the new discoveries. Due to above-mentioned difficulties at work, he returned to the USA in a year and a half after the grant of fellowship.

Respondent 22: (Re-emigrated returnee)

Current work profile: Scientist working in the biotechnology research at present in the USA,

Age: 47

Gender: Male

Whether availed one of the Government of India's return fellowships: Yes, at the time of return to India, he was working as a scientist in the state university of the southern state of India.

1. **Reason of moving abroad and returning to India** He migrated to the USA for higher education and better research opportunities in the field of biotechnology studies after graduating from Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi. He returned to India in 2013 to pursue his career and to be with his family in India.
2. **Benefits of Foreign experience upon return to India** and job condition: He said due to his credentials, he got one of the governmental return fellowship immediate at his return. On being asked about the job conditions for returnees in India, he said that he could never contribute or implement his research ideas to the field as the major obstacle in setting up higher efficiency in jobs is almost always the administration, he says. He further argued that lack of freedom and transparency at the workplace are major hurdles in inventing new ideas in the field of sciences. Dirty politics in the hiring of faculty in the academic institutions further deepen his demotivation with the system. Due to the administration, lacklustre attitude towards basic research in the sciences

led to a waste of all his 10 months struggle and efforts of setting up a research lab and arranging funds for the project. Due to the above difficulties at the workplace, he went back to the USA within a period of 10 months of return to India.

Section 5.3 :

Theme Based Analysis of Interviews: Using Narratives of the Respondents

1. Reasons of moving abroad

Majority (86 percent) of the interviewees went abroad to pursue the higher education and to learn advanced skills in their respective areas of expertise. Along with this primary purpose of getting the higher education abroad, interviewees expressed various forms of post benefits of staying abroad. For example, experience earned in foreign labs will add weightage to their resume upon return, foreign lab experience will increase the chances of getting permanent job upon return to India, lack of high quality training in Indian labs are few of them. Few excerpts from the interviews show the various reasons for moving abroad, apart from the major motive of getting higher educational degrees.

For respondent no.1, lack of good training facilities in the Indian research lab led to her migration for the post doctorate training in the United States. She further explains that *“After my PhD completion(...) to get good training have to go the abroad. Post-doc experience from foreign lab added to my overall understanding of my area, which was not possible in Indian labs”*.

Respondent no. 7 explained, *“research quality in the foreign labs is better (...) but with the chance of getting fully paid higher education motivated me more to move Sweden and Japan for my post-doctoral trainings. He further extend his views that “After PhD, in the field of academia, if wish to sustain for long term, (...) one need the post-doctorate from abroad, I got fully paid fellowship from Japan for post-doc. Plenty of funds and good publications help in job, chance of getting permanent job goes up, so did research in Sweden as well, (...) again fully paid.”*

This result is in conformity to our quantitative data findings that the two most popular route of migration from India i.e. education and employment ((Mani, 2009; Sabharwal & Varma, 2016). However, Around (14 percent) interviewees expressed their motives other than higher education to move abroad, among these the major reasons were the intra-company transfers, parent's pressure (desire), for earning relatively high income from the currency difference between India and the destination country .

“Moved to the US with parents in 70s as kids when there was big movements of doctors and IITans of going abroad. My father was doctor. I did graduation, MBA from there only and (.....) moved to India through Intra company transfer. (.....) Worked here for two years, promoted to Singapore for 10 years lived there got the PR as well. With the death of employer, I had to come back to India through lateral transfer”. said respondent 2

Excerpts from respondent no.9 's interview; *“my parents were from village and we were four brothers and two elders completed their studies from village. My father wanted me to go abroad and do studies (for greater exposure ... in life), I did PhD and post-doc form US. Went due to pressure of parents.”*

One of the respondents (respondent no. 12) moved abroad, to earn the benefits of relative difference in the exchange value of Indian currency and host country's currency. *She explained, “I Went for post doc to USA, to gain experience, (.....) wanted the higher education degree from MIT, but wanted to earn benefit of currency difference as well.”*

2. Reason of Coming back to India

The next section of the interview was focused on the various factors that led to return of the respondents to India. We asked the most important reason or condition that led to their return to India.

About 43 percent of the interviewees came back to India due to various family issues, for instance in most of the cases it was related to the health issues of the either of the parent back in the home country or ageing parents faced adjustment issues to the new country led to the return of interviewees. Few excerpts for such reasons are :

One of the respondent states that after the demise of her father, the feeling of loneliness, emptiness, and homesickness motivated her to be back to India and eventually gave up the permanent residency permit of the US as well.

Respondent 1 elaborates “*(she...) always wanted to come back, but decision to move strongly made when my father died. Thought what I am earning for (...)? My both kids are US born and young kids found difficult to adjust, I believe there is trade off with comfort of foreign land and living with family in home. My friends made excuse that their kids did not adjust in India, so they returned few years later back to US. I believe you can make understand the kids, I gave up green card to live with family*”.

Respondent no. 4 made two unsuccessful attempts to settle in India. Due to the politics in the academia in India, he always avoided his return to India for long time , but due to the unwillingness of ageing parents to move to new country , he came back in 2009.

“ it is my third attempt to come back, in first two times when came back to India – wanted to use my skills, but went back, (......)to avoid the political policies in science and academia. Third attempt: came due to family issues, parents were not wanted to go the Australia. I came with India’s government fellowship”.

For a respondent no. 11, has been doing well in life while working as faculty in the National University of Singapore, but had to come back in 2014 due to the health issues of the parents.

“Lived in Singapore for 10 yrs. (.....) Came back due to health issue of parents”.

Similar experience shared by respondent no. 14, she explained, *“Came due to family reason, and try my expertise as well, and I had to take this government grant (one of return fellowship) as I am geographically bound to Pune, so took grant. Here you cannot set up independent lab(...) need affiliation with institute or university. So I converted from MBBS to Teaching”.*

For a senior scientist, his father urged him to come back due to cultural and lifestyle differences in the two countries. He explained, *“I went abroad due to pressure of parents. I was always indecisive to come back or stay there. (...) Called parents to spend some time with my family in US. My mother got settled easily in US but not father. He said to me, “Tum jail kab chodoge”(when will you leave this jail).* Respondent no. 9

Other than family issue, 13 percent interviewees said their attachment to the home country and treatment as a foreigner in the destination country led to the return to India.

For respondent no. 2 the treatment as being foreigner even after leaving for 20 years in the host country made him to return to his roots.

He explained, *“We get treated as foreigner. (...) I am happy to come back, always wanted to come home, sense of belongingness, treatment as first citizen makes me happy. He added to it, “Singapore is getting closed, along with multiculturalism they prefer more Chinese people or white American. They treat you as foreigner..... I gave up my US citizenship as well, and have applied for Indian citizenship”.*

one of the respondent argues that we (immigrants) always have an issue of identity crisis in the host country or sense of attachment to the home country, but there is always one of other reason that hold us back. In her case, after her husband relocated to India, her decision of going back to India got a boost.

“My family came in three phases .my husband got govt. job, after my daughter joined him in 4-5 months, after her I came back. Most families want to return, but women like to stay back, they like freedom. in US, I was sure that it is not my country and will have identity crisis. But due to practical reasons, not came back, after 10 yrs., I came back to India. I liked this Pune-atmosphere.....it is good, we live in campus, don't have to look kids, neighborhood is helping “. Respondent no. 12)

The same sense of belongingness to the home country was the prime motive of returning to India for respondent no. 13.

“Family were in India. I too had relatives in US as well. But after going to US, it was more evident that I had strong feeling of coming back. I realized it I was away from home only after staying away from it’. Respondent no. 13

The main reason of return to India due to family presence is in conformity to our quantitative findings, where we argued that other than the empirical studies in review of literature, News reports on skilled returnee migrants to India also report family presence as one of the major reasons of return among skilled migrants (Simhan, 2017; Srivastava, 2016).

For four of our interviewees, the return was an obvious choice after completing their higher education abroad, though there are other factors as well that made this obvious decision more firm during their stay in abroad.

“Problem of staying abroad were many, like in foreign (country) , still considered as foreigner, then there are family issue (means they cannot move with me), I got better work opportunity here (...in India) , So return was obvious”. He further explained, “fellowship (... Return fellowship of Indian government) was good, research money was good. This fellowship helped in getting Permanent Job . and also upgraded me to the associate professor level”. Respondent no. 7

For Assistant professor, Going abroad was necessary for the quality training in my subject, but with his own choice came back. The feeling was to serve the country, gave up the green card in the process as well.

“It was necessary for me to undertake training from foreign research lab, but I never had any wish to settle in there, I have always dreamt of using my skills for betterment of sciences in Our land (India),” explained respondent no. 6

One interviewees had the wish to work and stay for long run in the destination country , but change in the immigration policy of the destination country led an early return to India.

“Did MS from LSE in Political science and economics. In my last year of education there was this sudden change in immigration rule in the UK. That (

earlier....) we (immigrants) used to get the job after completing masters degree ,but now they (did..) not renew our visa after master for , I had to return to India” said respondent no. 5

3. Job Experiences after Return to India

Almost each interviewee was positive about the benefits of the foreign experience in the settling down in the home country's labour market upon their return but its applicability depended on various administrative and institutional factors .

“Foreign experience certainly help in getting work and help in putting better innovation ideas than home grown scientist” explained respondent no. 1

“With foreign experience learnt new teaching method, visual conceptualisation, (it ..) improved my analytical skill, learnt multi-disciplinary skills” explained respondent no. 6

“outlook has expanded, applying the best of technique, home grown are good but foreign experience gives the boost” explained respondent no. 8

“Certainly yes, I have learned new techniques, exposed to new skill sets which uplifts my professional experience” said respondent no. 16

“Yes, I have publications now in very reputed journals (Science, Cancer Cell, Molecular Cell, NPG Journals) from my work done abroad, which really adds strength to my CV” said respondent no. 9

Respondent 15 elaborated , *“It always good to gain experience in 2-3 different foreign research institutes to improve both basic and advance research skills that greatly help the home country in grooming the student in advance research and technology”*

Foreign experiences has been found significantly associated with the successful settlement in the home country labour market in our quantitative data analysis, which supports the results of studies like Carletto & Kilic, 2011; Masso, Eamets, & Mõtsmees, 2013) where they found a positive impact of foreign education among returnees 'labour market performances .

However, Cassarino, (2004) argues that in the process of return migration, the “reality” or context plays the important role. Therefore, the applicability of skills and techniques learnt from foreign education or work experience abroad depended on various administrative and institutional factors in the home country . Interviewees registered a number of diverse job-related obstacles in the home country’s job market. We have grouped them theme wise with the purpose of understanding the severity of difficulties faced by returnees.

Among those returnees who have availed the governmental fellowship for their return , (26) percent said that the job insecurity due to ad-hoc nature of the governmental fellowship is the biggest hurdle among others difficulties after return to India.

“Hierarchy stop the process of permanent positions. State universities have this hierarchy problem don’t know about the central university. Government fellowship provides an easy entry but things are different at the grass route level.” Said respondent no. 3

“Salary is good enough, grant is also good to settle the lab. But feeling of job insecurity is there. After Working 7 years for the institiuon,(I..) still have dicey situation, they need only one quick recruitment system to absorb. Have worked over 7 years, judging over 7 years is unfair. Institute mentality is not fair. After 7 years of work, position is still not available, time will not come back for us. And all of sudden will hire young scientist. Problem is not with number of seats but the intension of institution is problem” said respondent no. 20

“I have been supported by government re-entry scheme which helped me to set up my lab and supports my salary. But I feel like a second class citizen since I am not employed. I also could not avail many facilities which the regular faculty can get. For example, not being a regular faculty I cant apply for all grants as the regular faculties can do. If the govt. would make one nation-one policy, that would be more easier and helpful for people like us” said respondent no. 1

I had heard a lot about these fellowship from my colleague, so opted these to return to India(...) . but this contractual kind of job and no scope of permanent job is a bit demotivating(....) said respondent no. 14

“The earlier problem to settle down was fiercer to those who wanted to rerun to motherland due to no support from the government agencies. Nowadays Indian government offers fellowships like, Ramalingaswami Fellowship and Ramanujan Fellowship to competitive scientists that greatly helping about 80% foreign return scientists to be settled down easily either in both government and private institutes/Universities. The Indian jobs are not easily available to foreign-returned, there is always competition with local candidates too and due to natural biases of local faculty towards the local candidates/familiarity with their mentors.” said respondent no. 15

“Mostly admin thinks that the new guys is excited about changing things (towards better work practice) but after highly antagonistic response from any change by the admin, after a few months/years he will give up and become as inefficient as the rest of us. The "admin" in India has to be "shown" what working efficiently means, first hand” said respondent no. 19.

“The government may preferentially employ/ recruit the returnees directly in institutes under the central government control. I would rather say encourage them from the beginning to join their institutes as scientists. Additionally, there must be a certain mechanism to get the experience acquired by the returnee (both Overseas and that acquired after returning to India) counted. Currently, such a mechanism is not existing” said respondent no. 20.

Few respondents argued that people have shifted their area of expertise in order to get the permanent job and avoid the adhocism in the job.

“People do PHD by 28 year of age, then (.....) 5 yrs. of Post doc (.....) and after giving 5 yrs. to contractual job, if we don't get permanent job. That leads to problem. I did not shift my areas of work, but My colleague did switch her area of work from technical expertise to academics for Permanent job. I requested for Permanent job after 5 yrs. of contractual work and one

yr. of extension. But by grace of god, I got regular employment” said respondent no. 9

An interesting observation can be made , returnees who are working in the “GOOD” private or deemed universities have purposely opted to no to go for these governmental fellowship or central/ state universities adhoc positions in order to avoid the associated hurdles and insecurities caused by the temporary nature of these jobs. (13) percent of interviewees said that they purposively did not go for the state or central universities adhoc position, instead they got permanent job in good private and state universities.

“I had no struggle in finding the job. I not opted for central / state university as have seen adhocsim, favoritism there.” said respondent no. 6

“I did by Masters from a central university itself and I have seen adhocsim in college, it was predetermined to me that I will get in the trap of adhocsim after returning . I applied only to the permanent post after coming back, luckily I got it” said respondent no. 11

There are 03 cases who argued that adhocism or favoritism does create few problems in getting the permanent position , rather a candidature with strong credential is important in getting a permanent job.

“Fellowship (government return fellowship) gives opportunity of five yrs., after five yrs. if work is good, u get the permanent position, so (.....) 5 yrs enough to prove urself , with good work and publications and can get permanent job” said respondent no. 7

“I had this job offer even before returning to India that to before 7-8 months of completion of PHD. Our work is evaluation based, feedback what matters, it really doesn't matter from where you have studied. Or work place is output based , output matters to climb the ladder” said respondent no. 13

“From my batch 80 percent got the Permanent position after return (to India), 20 percent got absorbed in private sector. Contractual job issue is the hyped

proposition. (.....) now a days nobody guarantee you a job, I guess it is your credential that you get permanent job”. Said respondent no. 8.

Another issue that was highlighted promptly as a difficulty to the skilled returnees is the lack of standardised recruitment policy . The lack of proper and standardised recruitment policy is reported by 65 percent of respondents during their interviews. Issues such as dissolving of the position, cancellation of seats after the change in the head of institutions, absence of lateral entry for experienced scientists had an negative impact on the motivations of the returnee fellows.

An assistant professor in a State university puts his views that after months of unemployment post return, he cleared the two rounds of interviews but, suddenly the position got cancelled and he was then forced to take up a temporary job in the remote area of Southern India.

“I found difficulty in getting the job. Tried few places, but nowhere was considered after having degree from institiuon like Harvard. And with post doc publications. Appeared for two rounds of interviews, they agreed to offer me the position, but suddenly dissolved the position” said respondent no. 3 .He further elaborates his difficulty, by saying *“ Institute work inefficiently , they call out the limited pool of people , that’s the way they scrutinize people , which (.....) is incorrect. They undertake the interviews, but declared the seats cancelled. You see, In the institutions, Procurement process in done by the directors or the Vice chancellor if the Vice chancellor changes your chances go dim”*.

A Senior Scientist (respondent no. 9) argued that *“the recruitment strategy of the host institiuon is the main issue, after spending years of their (.....scientists) early youth years in getting the higher educational degree, the fellows are not granted the lateral entry as per their experiences but instead offer them the entry level jobs . Such strategy of institutions demotivate the fellows*. He added to it saying, *“Mehanth mein kami nahi hai, maulahl kahrad hai*.

“For university there should be one application for recruitment and it should be fast track like . One stop place. Decision should not by one person, but there should be

joint committee. (like ..No hierarchy) and . Committee should be of equal number of people of equal cadre” said respondent no. 13

One of fellow argue that it is the type of institution as well, which makes a lot of difference in getting the permanent job.

“Depends upon the establishment you are landing in. Generally, private and Central Government funded Research Institute (IITs. IISERS. IISc, DBT/DST/ICAR etc) value it. But in the University setups barring few renowned Universities, others lag behind in the implementation of giving the benefit of experience to the returnee, so ultimately they end up losing them in long run” said respondent no. 20

The fellows who have availed the government return programme and were working at the permanent position argued that the lack of equality at the work place needs to be change to bring positive contribution of the returnees ‘skill.

Senior fellow (respondent no. 4) from the government research lab, puts his views as, *“I had no problem in getting permanent job upon return, problem was in universities (... ..) they don’t consider us as scientist, or professors but only fellow. Mindset need to change at grass root level. Fellow need more respect , recognition. He extends his views saying, “ Universities administration is not good, they need to understand that we are of same caliber as professors, (...) just that we are coming from the different route .In my lab, discrimination is only at admin level, not from the technical or scientific community or between home grown scientist or foreign one”.*

One returnee (respondent no. 9) who was from the early batches of the government return fellowship said that they had to mark their place even after having the same credentials as of their contemporaries. Few excerpts from his interview, *“ I was in 2 or 3 batch of this fellowship , 10 or 15 of us joined . We were treated as JRF. Administration (in the institution) treated us badly. There was no value of fellow. Colleague scientist treat us as fellows not as their contemporaries. Challenge for us after coming to India was to fight for dignity . If regular employees get these fellowship, it is shown as an award.*

He further extends his argument, saying that , *“Work is done on basis of personalized professionalism (doosore ka kaam rok lo). Upliftment ki jage mein downgrade hote hai. Fellowship value is not known to administration in the universities. We (... returnees) are only to complete the curriculum.*

“Professionalism and integrity not on par with foreign countries. Foreign degree and experience is viewed as threat for Indian job holders Better clearer Govt. mandate/rulings is required for allowing/promoting return of professionals and at the same time they are not discriminated against for being a returnee (the prevailing scenario especially in Govt. backed Universities)” said respondent no.3

“Major obstacle in setting up higher efficiency in jobs is almost always the administration. No point in the employee "knowing" how to work more efficiently if he can't implement those practices due to a in-accessible or non-supportive administration. Mostly admin thinks that the new guys is excited about changing things (towards better work practice) but after highly antagonistic response from any change by the admin, after a few months/years he will give up and become as inefficient as the rest of us. The "admin" in India has to be "shown" what working efficiently means, first hand.” said respondent no. 19.

The other set of theme was from the returnees who were working in “GOOD” private/deemed universities at the time of interview were of the opinion that it is not necessary to go for the government assisted recruitment programmes or to wait for central or state universities job opening . Some of good private universities in India, now looks for the best of the minds and provide equivalent or better pay packages as compared to the government employees.

“Private universities now appreciate the talent from abroad, my first choice was consultancy or teaching work in central/state university , but I got from here (.... Current workplace), enjoyed it.....so carry on with it.” said respondent no. 5.

An associate professor working in the “good” private university said, *“Our university is unique (.....) means it more picky in choosing people. They*

“good” private university) hire the best. Our work is evaluation based, feedback what matters here (.....) It really doesn’t matter from where you have studied. Our workplace is output based , output matters” said respondent no. 13

(09) percent of our interviewees were who have started their start ups after the return from abroad. They have shared quite a similar form of experiences that the sudden surge of start up in India is very futile in nature and due to lack of proper training and education about sustaining startups, these start up may end up soon .

“Start up here(in India) is copying the technology. These start up have no government help, and they depend on Venture capital community but that too short term funds. They are not building Indian Intellectual property sector,” said respondent no. 2

He articulates the importance of educational degree requirement to start start-up in India, “ *Kids have stopped going for masters and straight away going for the start up. The requirement of higher education going down among young entrepreneurs and startup culture is going up. For startups, higher education must be compulsory like least learn Artificial intelligence or machine learning”*.

Another women (respondent no. 12) who after working as a scientist in the corporate sector, turned into entrepreneur puts her views about the entrepreneurial conditions in India, as “ *people (meant for start-up entrepreneurs) are not professional, they look for early work result, people are making money at cost of environment , academic situation is low among these entrepreneurs. You believe.....thatI know one of director of start , who is 9th grade passed out only. She further goes on saying, “ Emerging startups are unethical, dummy, , they are colon of other work (.....meant by the foreign technology Start up is bubble . to my believe , entrepreneurship cannot be taught, but there should be curriculum for entrepreneurship skill”*.

Similar views about the start-up eco system was expressed by a young entrepreneur (respondent no. 16) during his interaction. He said, “*Startup eco-system in India is horrible. People do a lot of talking but not much doing. Lack of mentorship from successful startup founders who have done it before. They don’t share the*

mistakes and lessons learnt with upcoming founders. Plus, everybody is unreachable here.”

4. Role of Networks in Getting Job after Return

In review of literature, Social networks has helped the migrants get in touch to the employers through the referral systems (Portes, 2008a; Annalee Saxnian, Motoyama, & Quan, 2002) but migrants ‘home networks tend to decline as the stay in the destination country increase with time(Lin, 2001). 20 percent of our sample agree to the loss of networks (specially on the professional front) upon return in the home country , whereas others tried to maintain the networks through various home country’s professional groups like professional association, ex-colleague etc.

Assistant professor who is currently in a Private university argues that after living abroad for long time, migrants tend to lose the contacts in the home, “ *I have heard lot of people and to some extent believe that , returnees don’t have good grasp of Indian society as they have stayed out. They cut out from the ground realties*” said respondent no. 5

“Return experience has been good so far. Biggest obstacles are building networks at home since I have been away for so long” said. respondent no. 4

(65) percent suggested that role of networks are highly or somewhat required in the getting a job upon return. Whereas, (34) argues that credentials of the individual helps me him in landing up in a good job upon return

“Post doc experience did not help in getting job, poor networks was the problem. I was unemployed upon return I had to get a job in a small place, interiors of a southern state of India . Universities wish to offer fellowship to their know people not to the deserving people. After trying for several times, I got the help from ex- colleague, who knew the higher authorities, and in 2016 got the job.” Said respondent no. 3

A senior researcher(respondent no. 10) emphasized the role of contacts in getting job or any government project upon return . she said, “*Main thing is connection. If know correct people , then only will get govt funded projects. The*

prime difference in work culture of US and here (...means India) ; In US, it is based on your work, interaction with people add to your skills, (.....) here (...means India) ,certain lobbies work to get a job , even to screen in the list of job.

Other instance of importance of networks upon return is discussed by a senior scientist , while interaction, “ *for instance for Funding of conferences, if you belong to certain group. you get the fund for project. Bengali help Bengali, south Indian help south Indian. Credential don't matter, Groupism reduce talent. At institution level, jobs are replaced, due to political indulgence, look for bribe and unfair means*” said. respondent no. 9

Few respondents , though never made use of networks in getting their jobs, but agree that networks are even important to gather correct information about promotions, fund, projects after getting the job.

“Need Networks? , yes to some extent, better networking help in knowing how things work here (administratively in India). Offer (...meant by Job offer) was good and I had compelling reasons to come back India. But once comeback, do your thing on your own. Government grant is a good start , but after getting grant we left on our own. We have left job in abroad, to make in India, but are left alone afterwards.... (...stresses this as..... sad state of affairs for returnees) said respondent no. 14

She further stresses, saying “*Network is yeah, (.....) importantI have returned just an year back, still early to say. Myself Know very few people in system, but network is important to know how to navigate things specially after the fellowship (...meant by the how to apply fund) .”*

“I think it is generally hard to adjust to the Indian system after staying abroad for a long time and I am no exception. I do not have very many professional contacts in India and have to prove myself over and over again. The system can be pretty frustrating at times. I am a relatively new returnee and cannot pin point on how to improve the conditions”. Responded respondent no. 14

“I had a work gap (.....due to birth of baby)....., now don't have reference, so did not even get screened (....in many applied jobs). Here (..in

India)....job is age dependent. After 40 difficult to get job. Some are late started in life . I have spent 5 yr. in Post doc in US , now cannot apply to many jobs. I was allotted for fund for lab setting up in 2013,, I got fund in 2014. In between (.....) I was blank how things happen.Who knows who – work here..... but I feel information in not available, it is only for few people in system.....(those have no reference get no information)” said respondent no. 10 .

“I think it is generally hard to adjust to the Indian system after staying abroad for a long time and I am no exception. I did not have very many professional contacts in India and have to prove myself over and over again. The system can be pretty frustrating at times. I was new to system and it failed to get me an academic job in India as academic jobs in India as they are not based merit. But my overseas experience helped get an industry job I get a good salary in industry” said respondent no. 12

Few (9 percent) academic returnees respondents argued that the they have not witnessed the direct role of contact of networks in getting the job upon return. rather they emphasised the importance of individual’s credentials that actually helps in getting a job after return.

“No direct role of network , (.....) may be helpful in finding right place to search.” Said Respondent no. 7

“Network paly neutral role. People go away after masters, they don’t have networks.(.....) obviously(.....) No such connection after coming back. I guess it is your credential that you can get permanent job” said respondent no. 8

“I not sure of networks for jobs. I am not part of system very long, but I have seen impact of networks on others, but yes....I had to develop network after job, (like to get promote, to know other administrative things in system)I believe, Access to networks is weak, lot of information is not open or if open to limited people in the system (...you see, be in right group is equally important)” said respondent no. 11.

Quantitative findings has shown that returnees has used the networks(specially professional ties) to get the job after return to India but there was no significant association between the successful settlement in the labour market and home/host country's networks to get a job after return, whereas from qualitative interview showed the mix of responses, where a number of respondents agreed that they had to face difficulties in job market after return due to loss of networks, whereas others have argued that credentials overweigh the need of networks to get into labour market after return.

5. Re-emigration motive :

When asked about the re-emigration motive , none of the interviewees wished to return in the near future. Three interviewees has even gave up their permanent residency permit to be in the India.

Few excerpts from interviews shows different forms of explanation to be staying back, like for Associate professor, working in Government research lab(respondent no. 1) is confident of her work and credentials and argued to survive in the contractual conditions of job as well. On the other hand, other government return fellow argues that the currently chances of getting permanent job is bright for him, so leaving at time may not be a good choice. Attachment to the home country was one of factor of not re-emigrating in future.

“After return to India, there is some excuse to go back . Since we are strong determined to live here and people know who we are, I want to work , I will survive without doing any unfair activity (.....in job)” said respondent no. 1

*“Remigration is no, I am preferred choice for the current Vice Chancellor ,(so you see.....) chances of getting Permanent job is more (....at present). I have spent 5 yrs ,gave up green card as well. Without Green Card, it Is difficult to work in the US. With temporary work permit, it is even more difficult to work there (.....in the USA).”*said respondent no. 3

The feeling of “to be at home”is important to respondent no. 2 working here and he puts his views as, “ No going back that for sure, I am giving up my US citizenship and have applied for Indian citizenshipApplied for OCI in past on wife's

Indian citizenship, administrative beacucray is issue for sure here. The system is slow but No re emigration for sure.....i has been treated as foreigner, (.....)India is different country and standard of living is improving.

*“Remigration no, coming back was an individual choice. I have learnt and spent time what was needed. Now (.....) will stay here Explore, travel all India ...”*said respondent no. 6

For one of the interviewee, migration only for short term period is good enough in future.

“ Very happy to in Indiamay go after couple of years to deepen my research, teach foreign scholars....., or if chance take my children for exposure of culture, context of other countries. My family is here , so any movement will for short period.” said respondent no. 13

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The data produced by the questionnaire and interviews provided a number of interesting characteristics of skilled return migration to India, along with their labour market outcome and difficulties faced in the home country's labour market after return. This section presents the combination of both the quantitative data and qualitative data to answer our research questions discussed in Chapter 1. The questionnaire was designed to explore the various individual, educational and migration characteristics of skilled returnee migrants at different stages along the emigrate-stay-return trajectory, whereas the focus of the interviews was to gather the experiences of the skilled returnees in the home country's labour market after their return to India.

6.1 Who are the Skilled Return Migrants?

This section discusses the principal individual, economic and migration characteristics (age at return, length of stay abroad, route and destination of emigration, capital accumulation during stay, the route to return, and occupational choices) of skilled returning migrants.

6.1.1. Age at Return and Length of Stay Abroad

In the process of return migration, the age of the returnee at time of his return plays an important role in assessing his intentions for permanent return and nature of the labour force participation. Review of the literature argues that the nature of the migration movement can be affected by the age structure of the migrant. Those who are young and at the early stage of their life cycle are more likely to return home (Saxenian, 2005; Mcknezie, 2006 as cited in OCED 2008). Our survey data shows that the mean age of the returning migrants is 36 years, whereby the majority (67 per cent) belonged to the age group of 23-37.

6.1.2. Route and Destination of Out-Migration

Empirical pieces of evidence from the literature shows that India has two popular routes of migration, one is education and other is employment. Data from our survey shows that majority(78 per cent) were students before their first migration move. Among these students' cohort, 43 per cent moved abroad to pursue doctorate studies, and 10 per cent for master's degree in the destination country. Whereas under the most popular route under employment category was postdoctoral research (33 per cent), followed by 11 per cent in teaching in higher education institution abroad and rest moved abroad as intra-company transferees in the field of IT and software, financial and administrative services in Multi National Companies.

Traditionally, 90 per cent of the international students' mobility was registered in countries of the OECD with few main destination countries such as the United States of America (USA), the United Kingdom (UK), Germany, France and Australia((OECD, 2018)). our field survey data shows that 96 per cent of the returning migrants moved to the high-income countries around the world. The majority (61 per cent) of them moved to the United States of America, followed by Singapore with 5.3 per cent, 4.5 per cent of respondents moved to the United Kingdom and 3.8 per cent to Germany. This result in conformity of other studies as well which shows that most of the Indian students and people with professional expertise migrate to high-income countries (Sasikumar & Timothy, 2012a; Srivastava & Pandey, 2017)

6.1.3. Types of Capital Accumulation

Empirical studies show that returnees get better equipped with financial, human and social capital during their stay in the destination. country and these valuable resources are put into usage upon their return to the home country (Kumar, Bhattacharya, & Nayek, 2014). In terms of human capital gains, Migration has been seen in the same way as education: both are considered an investment in the human agent (Sjaastad, 1962). Studies show that during the stay in the host country, migrants invest in skills such as learning language or a particular technology(Miller, 2012) ; migrants gather skills through on the job training (Allan M. Williams & Baláz, 2008), and building of new social networks(Saxenian et al., 2002). Since the majority of our

data were composed of international students we could not trace the investment in financial capital, but survey data shows the returning migrants accumulated human and social capital during their stay abroad. Majority (86 per cent) of respondents gained the new research or management techniques a new skill in the host country, followed by the building of the new networks in the host country (45 per cent) , on the job training/vocational course and new language was added as a skill by 26 per cent of the respondents and new production technique was acquired by 21 per cent of respondent.

6.1.4. Route of Return to India

The policies for the return of skilled migrants can be segmented into different forms; it could be Diaspora-centric policies, for short-term visits to the permanent return to the home country (Cohen, 2013).

The decision to return to the home country is taken as Individual Preference but sometimes this decision is initiated by government programme. other than its Diaspora-centric policies, the Indian government has the recruitment policies for (particularly of scientists and researchers in the field of academics) skilled returning migrants. Indian government offers a number fellowships for skilled returnees in the area of science and technology, namely; The Ministry of Science and Technology's Ramanujan Fellowship , Ramalingaswamy Re-Entry Fellowship, INSPIRE faculty scheme, Energy Bioscience Overseas, and Wellcome-India Alliance (of DBT); Outstanding Scientist/ Scientists-Technologists of Indian Origin; Ministry of Defence's Talent Search Scheme for NRIs in DRDO, and The Re-entry scheme for NRI, PIO and OCI of Department of Health Research.

Our survey data shows that 55 per cent of the respondents' availed one of the above-mentioned government's recruitment fellowships for their return to India. Among these, Majority (83 per cent) of returnee-fellows in our survey dataset availed the Ramalingswami fellowship of Department of Biotechnology, followed by Ramanujan fellowship 10 per cent) of Department of Biotechnology, Wellcome-India Fellowship (4 percent) and NRI-return programme(1 percent) of Ministry of Defence and INSPIRE Faculty programme (1 percent) programme of Ministry of Science and Technology. 34 per cent were working as teaching faculty under various

higher educational institutions. Whereas the rest of the sample was in teaching in various central and state universities, intracompany transfer and startup.

5. Occupational Choices in the Emigrate-Stay-Return Trajectory

People use migration to improve their occupational status, either by obtaining employment if they had no jobs in places of origin or by obtaining better jobs if they already had had previous work experience (Lianos & Pseiridis, 2009). Data from our survey shows that majority(53 percent) went for the higher studies abroad, whereas among working professionals, majority (61percent) were the post-doctoral researcher in the destination country, followed by 21 per cent in teaching faculty in higher education abroad and 13 per cent as intracompany transfers for IT and Software professionals, financial, and Administrative management in MNCs. The majority (80 per cent)of returning migrants were engaged in research and teaching as faculty in higher education institution, followed by intra-company transfer to IT and Software professionals, financial, and Administrative management in MNCs, and 3 per cent of returning migrants reported as self-employed.

6.2 Why Skilled Migrants Return to the Home Country?

International migration theories centered around the push-pull factors argued that migration is a result of the wage differentials between origin and host countries, and migrant's expectation about the relatively higher earnings in the destination country (King, 2012). These theories focused on the economic variables as the main reason for migration, but our study shows that majority of the respondents moved abroad for the purpose of augmentation of their human capital either in form of higher education or work experience. Wage differentials may be a major motivation for the less skilled worker but it does not fully apply to skilled migration. Majority of our academic returnee respondents moved abroad due to the primary purpose of getting the higher education abroad, but they also expressed varies form of post-return benefits of staying abroad such as experience earned in foreign labs will add weight to the resume upon return, foreign lab experience will increase the chances of getting permanent job upon return to India etc. Our study shows that the movement of the managers & executives was primarily due to corporate policies of expansion of

business, can be termed as "accidental tourists" because their mobility is result of the corporate policies of expanding businesses overseas Mahroum (1999).

The neoclassical theory assumes the return migration as an outcome of "failed migration", where these migrants could not get the expected higher wages or miscalculated the cost-benefit of staying abroad. This theory sees the return migration occurred due to the disappointment caused by the migration decision. Such an interpretation could not be applied to our study of skilled returnees, whereby, the majority of them returned not due to disappointment in the destination country. Majority of academic returnees went for higher studies abroad and they returned to India either due to family reason or as an obvious choice of returning to India with the completion of the studies or project. Whereas the return among corporate professionals was a result of the corporate policy, where the return was an obvious choice after the completion of the project in the host country. Therefore, this study does not support the assumption of Neo-classical approach of failed return migration among skilled returnees.

Return migration in our analysis is a mix of an obvious choice among the returnees or initiated by the family member back in their country of origin, which brings in the argument suggested by the NELM approach of migration. Our study shows that majority of the respondents came back to India due to variety of family reasons such as health issues of either of the parents back at home or ageing parents faced adjustment issues in the host country, the unwillingness of parents to move to the new country. Our study also supports the assumption of NELM approach of returning home is a "pre-requisite" as they are "attached to home country. The feeling of loneliness and homesickness in the destination country and objective of contributing to the home country's growth motivated many respondents in our study to come back to India and in the process many of them gave up their permanent residency permits of the other country as well.

Cassarino (2004) criticized both the neoclassical and NELM to be largely based on the theoretical propositions. Be it an individual's decision or family decision for return migration, these theories are based only on the economic factors in their approach. And these economic theories of migration are also silent on the role of non-economic factors that can lead to migration such as networks. Our study does not find

the role of networks for the out-migration but networks have an important role to play in the post return phase. Majority of respondents felt that the networks are highly or somewhat required in the getting a job upon return, whereas having a foreign degree or work experience has made an easy entry to the India job market after return. Our study shows that the importance of networks is not limited to the entry of the job market but are also required to sustain home country's labour market in the longer run. Majority of respondents expressed that the loss of networks in the home country has caused job-related difficulties in the post return phase.

The theorisation of return migrants is incomplete without bringing the macro level arguments about the home country conditions after return. Returning decision is an individual choice but government supported return programme at times initiates this process. Majority of our sample availed the one of the government's return recruitment fellowship to enter the labour market in post return phase. Return migration is a contextual process where its success or failure is often judged in the line with the reality of the home country's situation. Majority of our respondents have agreed on the benefits of having a government return fellowship but the benefits are only limited to the initial (temporary) entry in the home country's labour market. Among those returnees who have availed the governmental fellowship for their return, said that the job insecurity due to ad-hoc nature of the governmental fellowship is the biggest hurdle among others difficulties after return to India.

An interesting observation can be made, returnees who are working in the "GOOD" private or deemed universities have purposely opted to not to go for these governmental fellowship or central/ state universities ad-hoc positions in order to avoid the associated hurdles and insecurities caused by the temporary nature of these jobs. Some the good private universities in India, now look for the best of the minds and provide equivalent or better pay packages as compared to the government employees. Self-employed returnees expressed that due to lack of government support to the startups, startups have short term life in India, having a "bubble-effect" which is not sustainable in long run. Despite having the settlement issues in the labour market, these skilled returnees do not wish to re-emigrate for permanent residency in future, primarily due to attachment to the home country and presence of family in India.

The afore-mentioned theories help to factors that lead to skilled return migration , and help in situating the do the post-decision phase, but do not describe in detail the “home realities that they have to face. Returnees pointed out several challenges they faced at professional levels upon their return. Yet they had no regrets about moving back to India. The study shows the decision to return was attractive and beneficial for returnees.

The Indian government has surely recognized the importance of skilled human capital and has devised measures and programs to attract talent back to India, but these government efforts are only limited to scientific and technical human capital. There is still paucity of return programme focusing talent other than scientific and technical field, such as social sciences and entrepreneurs. Certainly, more needs to be done to have diverse composition of all type of talent returning to India. For academic returnees, there is need to remove administrative burdens and streamline the recruitment programme in institutions and universities, availability of information portals for more successful return. For self-employed returnees, there is need of financial support, advancing the entrepreneurial skills through curriculum based learning.

This work has focused on labour market choices and experiences for the return of high –skilled, the occupational mobility among returnees cannot be dealt in detail as majority of returnees in the sample were first-time entrant into the labour market after their return from abroad, therefore the downward or upward mobility among skilled returnees can be studied in the future research work. This work has focused on the labour market’s experiences of the skilled returnees , we could have included the (equally) skilled non-migrants to present a comprehensive picture of the labour market for the skilled personnel in India. We excluded any direct analysis of the role of (home) government in helping the returnee to settle in the labour market, which can be studied in detail in future course of research. We also narrowed down the settlement issues only to the labour market, which limits the multi-facet aspect of reintegration in general and economic reintegration in specific, which can be studied in the future.

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APPENDICES

Appendix- A

Major Recruitment Programmes for Overseas Indian who wish to return to India

Name of the Scheme; Year of Induction	Sponsoring Ministry	Age and Educational qualifications Eligibility	Duration of term	Benefits offered
INSPIRE Faculty Scheme; 2008	DST, MOST	Upper age limit is 32 years; Ph.D. in area of Science.	Contractual research positions for five years on full time basis.	Consolidated salary and research grant.
Ramanujan Fellowship; 2008	DST, MOST	Upper age limit is 55 years; Ph.D. in area of Science, Engineering, and Medicine.	Contractual research positions for five years on full time basis.	Consolidated salary and a research grant.
Ramalingaswamy Re-entry Fellowship; 2008	DBT, MOST	Upper age limit is 55 years; Ph.D. in Science related area.	Contractual teaching and research positions for five years on full time basis.	Consolidated salary and a research grant.
Outstanding Scientist/ Scientists- Technologists of Indian origin; N.A	CSIR, MOST	Upper age limit is 55 years; Ph.D. in area of Science , Engineering or Health/Medical Sciences.	Contractual positions on full time basis for a period of three to five years	Salary and other benefits as per pay commission.
Talent Search Scheme (NRIs); 2002	Ministry of Defence	Upper age limit is 49 years; ME/ M.Tech/ MS, Ph.D. or Post Doctorate.	Adhoc appointment for a period of one year.	Salary and other benefits as per pay commission.
The Re -entry scheme for NRI, PIO and OCI; N.A.	Ministry of Health and Family Welfare	Upper age limit is 40 years; Ph.D. in Health related area.	Contractual research positions for a period of three years	Consolidated salary and a research grant.

Source: Own compilation from the reports of DBT (2014, 2016a, 2016b), DST (2016), DRDO (2016), MOHFW (2015).

Note: N.A.: not available.

Appendix- B

Questionnaire used in the study

Title of the Study: Return Migration and Occupational Choice: An Analysis of Indian Skilled Workers' Life-cycle Activity, 2008 - 2018

I am Kanika Bakshi, PhD research Scholar from School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. We are carrying out a PhD study based on working professionals or students who have returned to India after staying abroad. Title of my study is "Return Migration and Occupational Choice: An Analysis of Indian Skilled Workers' Life-cycle Activity, 2008 - 2018". Your name has been proposed based on the snowball sampling using the referral method. We will ask a number of questions related to staying in abroad, occupational choices during your stay in abroad and on return. Your input will be kept confidential and will be used for academic purposes only.

Section one: Demographics and Migration- Related Questions

This section belongs to questions related to demographics such as your age, educational qualifications and your history of migration such as destination country, the purpose of visit and factors that lead to a return to India

1. Name of the respondent _____

2. What is your gender? _____

3. Can you tell me about your year of birth, please? _____

4. What is your marital status? Single Married Other

5. Before your move abroad, what was your highest level of educational level attained in India?

6. What is your current city of residence? _____

7. Which year did you first migrate and to which country?

a) Year of migration _____

b) Destination country _____

8. Did you move to another country after your first emigration move?

8a. If you moved to another country after your first emigration move, please state the country's name and length of your stay (both in year and months)

a) Country name 1 and length of stay	
b) Country name 2 and length of stay	
c) Country name 3 and length of stay	
d) Country name 4 and length of stay	

9. In which year did you recently move abroad and to which country?

a) Year of migration to the last/recent migration move	
b) Duration of Stay (in months) to the last /recent migration move	
c) Destination Country's name	

10. Did you obtain any additional academic degree, or certificate, training(on the job training) during your stay aboard?

Yes No

Please specify the name of the degree, certificate or training :

11. From the list below rank the factors that influenced your decision of moving abroad to the last emigration country. (Rank in the order of priority 1st = most important to 10th =least important factor)

Factors that led to move abroad	Ranking of the factors
1. For education purpose	
2. To earn higher income than in India	
3. To accumulate savings	
4. Uncertain future and paid less in India	
5. Unavailability of jobs in my area of expertise in India	
6. Lack of possibilities of putting up own business idea in India	
7. Strong professional ties aboard that helped in getting job/setting up business	
8. Better Professional or research experience abroad	
9. Family and friend settled abroad	
10. Political and economic instability in India	
Any other	

12. Since when did you return to settle in India from your last migration move abroad?

a) Year of return _____

b) Month of return _____

13. From the list below select the factors that influenced your decision of returning to India. (Rank in the order of priority 1st = most important to 10th =least important factor)

Reasons to return to India	Ranking of the factors
1. Program of study/Project/Contract got completed	
2. Higher real earning relative to the cost of living	
3. Better work opportunity in the home in the concerned sector	
4. High unemployment rates in the host country	
5. Mismatch in abroad's Job in relation to my skills	
6. Saved enough money to start business in India	
7. Optimistic home country's economic outlook for business	
8. Change in immigration policy of the destination country	
9. To be united with the family, relatives and friends	
10. Indian Government preferential job/business-related policies	
Any other	

14. What kind of skills did you acquire abroad during your stay? (Tick all that apply)

Skills accumulated abroad	Tick all that apply
a. New Language learnt	
b. Vocational course/training	
c. Learning particular production technology	
d. New management or research techniques	
e. Building of networks for job and business	
Other (please specify)	

Section Two: Occupation-Related Questions

This section enquires about the various occupations held by you in three different points in time. i.e. Occupation before migration, during migration and after your return

15. Before you moved abroad, what was your area/ sector of work?

a) Student ()

b) Professional ()

c) Self-employed ()

Other (please specify) _____

16. Before you move abroad, what was your nature of work? (hint: if you were a student, then specify the area of study, if self-employed then nature of the business and if you were professional, then specify your occupation name and level of professional statuses like entry level, middle management level or high management level).

17. How would you best describe your first area of work during your overseas stay?

a) Student ()

b) Professional ()

c) Self-employed ()

Other (please specify) -----

18. During your overseas stay, what was your nature of work? (hint: if you were a student, then specify the area of study, if self-employed then nature of the business and if you were professional, then specify your occupation name and level of professional statuses like entry level, middle management level or high management level).

19. How would you best describe your last area of work during your overseas stay?

- a) Student ()
- b) Professional ()
- c) Self-employed ()

Other (please specify) -----

20 During your overseas stay, what was your last nature of work? (Hint: if you were a student, then specify the area of study, if self-employed then nature of the business and if you were professional, then specify your occupation name and level of professional statuses like entry level, middle management level or high management level)

21. When you returned to India, what was your occupational status? (Tick all that apply)

- a) Continue with the same or previous employer ()
- b) Found new employer ()
- c) Start own business ()
- d) was unemployed ()
- Other (please specify) ()

22. When you returned, what was your first area of work in India?

- Student ()
- Professional ()
- Self employed ()
- Not Working ()
- Other (please specify) ()

23. After return to India, what was your first nature of work? (Hint :if you were a student, then specify the area of study, if self-employed then nature of the business and if you were professional, then specify your occupation name and level of professional statuses like entry level, middle management level or high management level).

24. Currently, what is your nature of work? (Hint: if you were a student, then specify the area of study, if self-employed then nature of the business and if you were professional, then specify your occupation name and level of professional statuses like entry level, middle management level or high management level)

25. Select those networks that build during overseas stay helped you in getting the job or setting up business in India on your return? (Choose all that applies)

Type of network	Tick all that apply
a) Family members and friends	
b) Professional association or alumni association Acquaintance	
c) Ex-colleague or Past employer	
Other (please specify)	

26. Select those home networks that helped you in getting the job or setting up business in India on your return? (Choose all that applies)

Type of network	Tick all that apply
a) Family members and friends	
b).Professional association or alumni association Acquaintance	
c) Ex-colleague or Past employer	
Other (please specify)	

27. If you are currently working as a self-employed, please share the following details about your nature of project/business?

a) Nature of ownership (Sole or Co-owned)	
b) Amount of capital initially invested (in INR, Annual)	
c) Number of employees	
d) Age of business (in years)	
e) Nature of work done by the firm	
f) Reason for choice of location	
g) Time is taken to start the business after the return	

28. If you are currently working as a self-employed, what are various funding sources for your business? (Tick all that apply)

Source of funding	Tick all that apply
a) Personal saving	
b).Private capital	
c) Funding from Family member or friend	
d) Government sources of fund like investment and subsidies	
e) Loans from Financial market like bank, lending institutions	
Other (pleases pecify)	

29. Do you consider your period spent and skills acquired abroad have helped in getting the job or setting up business on return in India? Please elaborate with a few examples.

30. Do you consider you have settled successfully in the Indian Labour market, after your return?

- a) Yes ()
- b) No ()

31. What form of obstacles did you face on return in getting the job or setting up your business in India? Any recommendation to improve India's conditions for skilled returnees in view of setting up the business or finding a job.

32. Have you ever availed any of Indian Government reintegration programmes while your return to India (meant for the skilled returnees)? If yes, please mention a few examples

33. Do you consider re-emigration in future, say next five years? If yes, what can be plausible reasons for it.

Can you provide a few references who can be part of this study? _____

Can we contact you through e-mail for further correspondence in future? _____

Thank you for taking our survey. If you have any comment or suggestion, feel free to contact at

kmathurjnu@gmail.com.

Interviewer's Note: _____

Appendix – C

Interview Schedule

Template used from interviews
Respondent number:
Current work profile: Interview mode and duration:
Gender:
Age (at the time of interview):
Summary of interviews in the four main categories: 1. Reason of moving abroad and returning to India 2. Benefits of Foreign experience upon return to India 3. After return experiences related to working conditions in India 4. Re-emigration motive in future.

Question 1. When did you go abroad and what was the main reason for going abroad?

Question 2. When did you return to India and what was the main reason for returning to India?

Question 3. Do you consider your period spent and skills/education acquired abroad have helped in getting the job or setting up business on return in India? Please elaborate with a few examples.

Question 4. How has been your working experience in India?

Question 5. Do you consider re-emigration in future, say next five years? If yes, what can be plausible reasons for it?

The following questions were added to keep the interview flowing:

Question 6. How important is the role of networks in India to get a job or start a business?

Question 7. Do you feel that the Government of India has enough programmes/policies to reintegrate skilled returnees?

Question 8. In your viewpoint, what measures should be taken to improve working conditions, especially those who have returned to India?

Question 9. Have you ever felt any discrimination at your workplace for being a foreign education Vis-a-vis non-migrants colleagues?

Appendix- D1

Destination Country of the last/recent migration move (Ques no 9 from the questionnaire)

Destination Country	Frequency	Percentage
USA	80	60.6
CANADA	3	2.3
JAPAN	2	1.5
SINGAPORE	7	5.3
THAILAND	1	.8
GERMANY	5	3.8
SWEDEN	3	2.3
SWITZERLAND	2	1.5
SOUTH KOREA	2	1.5
KUWAIT	3	2.3
PHILLIPINES	1	.8
AUSTRALIA	3	2.3
UNITED KINGDOM	6	4.5
NEHTERLAND	3	2.3
ITALY	3	2.3
UAE	1	.8
FRANCE	1	.8
GREECE	1	.8
SOUTH AFRICA	1	.8
NIGERIA	1	.8
BELGIUM	1	.8
CZECH REPUBLIC	1	.8
ETHOPIA	1	.8
Total	132	100.0

Appendix –D2 (Ques no.8a from the survey)

DID YOU MOVE TO ANOTHER COUNTRY AFTER FIRST MIGRATION?

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
YES	44	33.6
NO	87	66.4
Total	131	100.0

Appendix – E 1

Simple cumulative index for the total number of skills learnt during migration period (derived from ques.no.14 from questionnaire)

Variable	frequency	percentage	Cumulative percentage
learnt all five skills	7	5.6	5.6
learnt any four skills	8	6.4	12.0
learnt any three skills	20	16.0	28.0
learnt any two skills	38	30.4	58.4
learnt any one skills	52	41.6	100.0
Total	125	100.0	

Appendix –E2

Simple cumulative index of home and abroad' networks' in getting job or setting up business in India (Derived from ques.no 25 & 26 from Questionnaire)

Variable	frequency	percentage	Cumulative percentage
Both the home and abroad network helped	97	75.2	75.2
either of one network helped	17	13.2	88.4
none of the network helped	15	11.6	100.0
Total	129	100.0	

Appendix -F

Current residence of the respondents (Ques no.6 from Questionnaire) - Descriptive Statistics

Place of the current residence	frequency	percentage
1. OTHER	16	12.1
2. DELHI	26	19.7
3. KOLKATA	8	6.1
4. NOIDA	6	4.5
5. MUMBAI	2	1.5
6. PUNE	15	11.4
7. BANGALORE	18	13.6
8. BHOPAL	2	1.5
9. GURUGRAM	9	6.8
10. MOHALI-CHANDIGARH	5	3.8
11. THRIVANDRUM	3	2.3
12. HYDERABAD	6	4.5
13. PILANI	4	3.0
14. GOA	3	2.3
15. SONEPAT	2	1.5
16. GANDHINAGAR,GUJARAT	2	1.5
17. BHUBNESHAR	3	2.3
18. KOCHI	1	.8
19. CHENNAI	1	.8
Total	132	100.0

Appendix- G

Reasons for moving abroad(Ques no.11 from Questionnaire): Descriptive Statistics

Reasons for moving abroad	N	Sum Rank	Mean Rank	Std. Deviation
1. For education purpose	132	389	2.95	2.736
2. Better Professional or research experience abroad	132	410	3.11	2.654
3. To earn higher income than in India	132	596	4.52	2.576
4. Uncertain future and paid less in India	132	680	5.15	2.113
5. Unavailability of jobs in my area of expertise in India	132	693	5.25	2.205
6. To accumulate savings	132	714	5.41	2.129
7. Strong professional ties aboard that helped in getting job/setting up business.	132	843	6.39	2.250
8. Lack of possibilities of putting up own business idea in India	132	894	6.77	1.979
9. Family and friend settled abroad-	132	987	7.48	2.584
10. Political and economic instability in India	132	1054	7.98	2.520
Valid N	132			

Appendix- H

Reasons for returning to India (Ques no.12 from Questionnaire): Descriptive Statistics

Reasons for returning to India	N	Sum Rank	Mean Rank	Std. Deviation
1. To be united with the family, relatives and friends	132	356	2.70	2.635
2. Better work opportunity in the home in the concerned sector	132	568	4.30	2.486
3 Program of study/Project/Contract got completed	132	585	4.43	3.047
4. Indian Government preferential job-related policies for returnee	132	717	5.43	3.359
5. Optimistic home country economic outlook for business	132	723	5.48	2.256
6. Higher real earning relative to the cost of living in India	132	755	5.72	2.527
7. High unemployment rates in the host country	132	839	6.36	2.315
8. Mismatch in abroad's Job in relation to my skills	132	899	6.81	2.345
9. Change in immigration policy of the destination country	132	901	6.83	2.375
10. Saved enough money to start business .	132	914	6.92	2.114
Valid N	132			

Appendix- I1

Labour market Status on return to India (Ques no. 21 from Questionnaire) - Descriptive Statistics

Labour market Status on return to India	Frequency	Percent
Other	1	.8
Continue with the same or previous employer	14	10.6
Found new employer	98	74.2
Self -employed	3	2.3
was unemployed	16	12.1
Total	132	100.0

Appendix- I2

Year of return to India(Ques no.12 from Questionnaire) - Descriptive Statistics

Year	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
2008	8	6.1	6.1
2009	7	5.3	11.4
2010	6	4.5	15.9
2011	7	5.3	21.2
2012	10	7.6	28.8
2013	15	11.4	40.2
2014	11	8.3	48.5
2015	14	10.6	59.1
2016	20	15.2	74.2
2017	26	19.7	93.9
2018	8	6.1	100.0
Total	132	100.0	