

**LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES OF SRI LANKAN
REFUGEES IN TAMIL NADU**

*Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Philosophy in Applied Economics of the Jawaharlal Nehru University*

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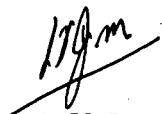
I hereby affirm that the work for this dissertation, '**Livelihood Strategies of Sri Lankan Refugees in Tamil Nadu**', being submitted as part of the requirements of the MPhil Programme in Applied Economics of the Jawaharlal Nehru University, was carried out entirely by myself. I also affirm that it was not part of any other programme of study and has not been submitted to any other University for award of any Degree.


June 2010


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Certified that this study is the bona fide work of Valatheeswaran, carried out under our supervision at the Centre for Development Studies.


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*Dedicated to the Sri Lankan Tamils
who lost their lives in three decades of civil war*

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION
**LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES OF SRI LANKAN REFUGEES IN
TAMIL NADU**

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No continent is immune to the problem of refugee flows across the state borders. According to UNHCR, there were 15.2 million refugees worldwide at the end of 2008. The number of refugees fluctuated over time due to newly arising conflicts, return movements and war. Particularly, Asian countries like Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Iraq, Burma and Nepal have been affected by the refugee problem and among these Sri Lanka remains a country of concern due to large outflow of refugees in recent years. Following the civil war in Sri Lanka, mostly the Sri Lankan Tamils have sought refuge in India since 1983. There are 100,793 Sri Lankan refugees taking shelter in Indian state of Tamil Nadu as of May 2009 reported by Department of Rehabilitation of Tamil Nadu. Further, the lack of bilateral support from the Sri Lankan Government and the ban on the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in India, Sri Lankan refugee's movement has been restricted by the Government of India. They have been kept in camps under twenty-four hour police surveillance, while the living conditions of refugees in these camps remain poor. Given this background, the present study documents the trends of Sri Lankan refugees inflow and outflow in India over the last thirty years and examines the manner in which they have been rehabilitated by both the Government of India and Tamil Nadu. The study assesses the demographic and socio-economic profile of Sri Lankan refugees at selected refugee camps in Tamil Nadu, with special focus on their livelihood options and strategies, using both primary and secondary data. It also examines the pre- and post-migration livelihood conditions of the Sri Lankan refugees, using six in-depth individual interviews. The secondary data was collected from the Department of Rehabilitation of Tamil Nadu. The primary data was collected through a field survey of a sample of 100 households drawn from the Puzhal and Thenpallipattu refugee camps in Tamil Nadu. The total population of the sample households was 432, consisting of 232 males and 200 females. The study used a structured questionnaire based on Department for International Development's sustainable livelihood framework for the field survey.

The major findings of the study are as follows: mass Sri Lankan refugee inflow into India occurred in four phases linked to the four phases of the war between the Sri Lankan army and the LTTE. On their arrival in India, they were accommodated in refugee camps in Tamil Nadu with assistance from the government. These camps suffer from poor infrastructure facilities like shelter, sanitation, water, bathroom facilities, poor quality ration rice, etc. Out of the sample population, 58 per cent are in the labour force. Of this, 34.5 per cent are in the workforce and 24 per cent are unemployed. Painting, loading work, and agriculture-related jobs are the most prevalent occupations among the refugees in both camps. Out of the total households, 68 per cent get their income mainly from casual labour employment and within that, 47 per cent of the households do not have any other regular sources of income except government aid. The Sri Lankan refugees have often adapted various coping strategies in order to meet their children's education, medical expenses, house renovation and life course expenses like marriage. The coping strategies include receiving financial assistance from the Tamil Nadu Government for major medical treatment, relying on social networks abroad for financial assistance, borrowing from moneylenders, migration and investing in their children's education.

Selling items like the rationed rice allotted to them, and valuable assets like jewellery, livestock and sewing machines are the negative coping strategies among the Sri Lankan refugees in the camps in Tamil Nadu.

Key wards: Sri Lanka, Civil War, Refugee, Livelihood.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADRA	Adventist Development and Relief Agency
AIADMK	All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
AMDP	Accelerated Mahaweli Development Programme
CARE	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief
CTC	Ceylon Tamil Congress
DFID	Department for International Development
DMK	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
FP	Federal Party
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
IPKF	Indian Peace Keeping Force
JVP	Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
OfERR	Organization for Eelam Refugee Rehabilitation
SHG	Self Help Group
SLF	Sustainable Livelihood Framework
SLFP	Sri Lankan Freedom Party
TNKC	Tamil Nadu Kamaraj Congress
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNP	United National Party

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Global Refugee Issues

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, over thirty million people were forcibly displaced within and between countries due to conflict and civil war in their home countries (Jacobson, 2005). At present, such forced displacement is a major problem in Africa and South-West Asia due to new conflicts, return movements and the flare up of long-standing violence (De Bruijn, 2009). For these forcibly displaced people, whether Internally Displaced Persons¹ (IDPs) or those who cross the border to become refugees², life is seriously disrupted as they flee from their homes, families and communities, and become cut off from the resources that they are accustomed to. This places them in a particularly vulnerable position. There is little possibility that the IDPs can regenerate their livelihood activities in their home country, such as seeking employment, starting their own business, etc. The refugee situation is one of the most neglected or one of forgotten human sufferings. The refugees live for a significant period of time under appalling conditions in a state of limbo in a country that is not their own. Even if repatriation does occur, many of them are unwilling to return to their home country due to insecurity and persecution (Czaika, 2009). Refugees who are self-settled in their country of asylum, do not register with the local authorities and are thus without legal status. Generally, they do not receive official

¹According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), internally displaced persons are “persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised state border”.

²According to Article 1 A (2) of the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its amended by the 1967 Protocol Act provides that a refugee is a person who “owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.” In order to get refugee status a person is a refugee if he/she must fulfil the criteria set out in the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. The initial requirement is that the refugee be “outside” his or her country of nationality or habitual residence. Secondly, the acts and treatment from which the applicant is seeking refuge must qualify as persecution. Thirdly, the refugee must have a ‘well founded fear of persecution’ because of this must be unable or unwilling to rely on the protection of his/her country of origin. Fourth, the persecution feared must be due to one of, or a combination of the enumerated reasons such as race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group and political opinion (UNHCR, 1979; Hyndman, 1987).

government or international assistance, and rely instead on their own community. They share households or set up temporary accommodation and are provided with shelter and food by their own networks or by community or religious organisations. In this way, they are able to survive and access shelter, land, and employment in the informal sector (Kok, 1989). Hence, they often face numerous problems like discrimination, exploitation, teasing, sexual abuse and crime in their area of residence, working place or street (Fangen, 2006; Amisi, 2006). Further, for those who are settled in refugee camp, livelihood conditions are challenging and they struggle to support themselves with the few available options and resources. The camp refugees mainly depend on local government assistance or an international agency in order to survive in a different environment. The countries of asylum do not freely allow them to work in the labour market and restrict their movement, making their life as refugees in camps very difficult.

By the end of 2008, there were 15.2 million³ refugees worldwide, accounting for roughly 7 per cent of all international migration (UNHCR, 2009). There is no continent protected from the problem of refugee flows across the state border. The Asia and Pacific regions are highly affected by this problem. They accounted for 3.5 million of the world refugees; this means one third of all refugees were residing in these regions with three-quarters of them being Afghans. This is followed by the Middle East and North Africa which hosted 2.3 million refugees, primarily from Iraq. The Africa regions (excluding North Africa) had 2.1 million refugees in 2008, but the percentage of refugee population declined by 7 per cent between the start and end of 2008, primarily due to successful voluntary repatriation operations to Burundi (95,400), South Sudan (90,100), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (54,000) and Angola (13,100). Unfortunately, renewed armed conflict and human rights violations in the Central African Republic, Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Somalia and Sudan had led to refugee outflows of almost 210,000 people, primarily to Kenya (65,000 new arrivals), Uganda (49,500), Cameroon (25,700) and Chad (17,900). Europe hosted 1.6 million of the world refugees while the American region had the smallest share of 803,500 refugees with Colombians constituting the largest number.

³This figure includes 15.2 million refugees, of whom 10.5 million fall under UNHCR's mandate and some 4.7 million Palestinian refugees under the responsibility of the United Nations Relief and Work Agency (UNRWA) for Palestinian refugees in the Near East.

Five countries are considered as receiving the highest number of refugees in the world. They account for almost 47 per cent of all refugees under the UNHCR mandate. Pakistan is a country receiving the greatest number of refugees (1.8 million), virtually all from Afghanistan. There is a decrease of a quarter of a million people over 2007 as a result of the continuing repatriation of Afghans. Next is the Syrian Arab Republic (1.1 million Iraqi refugees), the Islamic Republic of Iran (980,000 refugees, almost all Afghans), Germany (583,000) and Jordan (500,000) respectively. At the same time, looking at the country of origin, Afghanistan has been the leading country of origin of refugees for the past three decades with up to 6.4 million of its citizens having sought international protection. Moreover, one out of four refugees in the world is from Afghanistan and nearly 96 per cent of them were located in Pakistan and the Islamic Republic of Iran. Iraqis are the second largest group, with 1.9 million having sought refuge mainly in neighbouring countries. Afghan and Iraqi refugees account for 45 per cent of all refugees under UNHCR's responsibility worldwide. Other main sources of refugee countries were Somalia (561,000), Sudan (419,000) and Colombia (374,000).

1.2 Refugees in India

In India, the largest migration occurred in 1947 with the Indo-Pakistan partition on the basis of religion. Afterwards, following the communal violence in Pakistan, some 14 million Hindu people were forced to flee the country. They sought refuge in India (Rampton, 2009). In later years, India continued to receive a large number of refugees from neighbouring countries like Sri Lanka, Bhutan, Nepal, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, etc., although India does not have specific legal framework to deal with refugee problems. In addition, India is not a signatory to the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugee or its 1967 Protocol⁴. Under the India's Foreigners

⁴This aims to protect the social and economic rights assigned to refugees by international laws and agreements. According to Article 18 of the 1951 Convention, the Contracting State shall accord to refugees lawfully staying in their territory right to engage on his own account in agriculture, industry, handicrafts and commerce and to establish commercial and industrial companies. Further, the Convention emphasizes that Contracting States give refugees that right to practice a liberal profession (Article 19), right to engage in wage-earning employment (Article 17), right to choose their place of residence to move freely within its territory (Article 26), right to obtain travel documents for the purpose of travel outside their territory (Article 28) and access to legal assistance (Article 16). In addition to these rights, refugees are entitled to humanitarian assistance, protection and advocacy from the international organisations like UNHCR and non-governmental organisations.

Act (1946), 'refugee' is covered under "foreigner"⁵, and the term is used to cover aliens temporarily or permanently residing in the country (Nair, 2007). This places refugees in a broad category along with immigrants and tourists. India's Citizenship Amendment Act, 2003 defined all non-citizens who entered the country without a visa as illegal migrants, with no exception for refugees or asylum seekers⁶. However, India has handled refugees at the political and administrative level. Chimni (1994) noted that India treated refugees differently depending on their nationality. For instance, India has granted rights to the Tibetan refugees to engage in gainful employment, economic activities and even to travel abroad and return to India. Nepali refugees can enter India freely and those with documentation enjoy most of the rights of Indian citizens under the 1950 Peace and Friendship Treaty⁷ between the two countries. However, other refugees do not enjoy these rights in India.

The World Refugee Survey⁸ (2009) noted that nearly 411,000 refugees were residing in India as of December, 2008. The largest group consisted of 120,000 Sri Lankan Tamils living in the southern state of Tamil Nadu. Some 73,000 refugees were living in government-assisted camps, while the remaining refugees were living with their friends and relatives in outside camps in Tamil Nadu. They have been fleeing to India since 1983 due to the prolonged civil war between the Sri Lankan army and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE)⁹. Some 110,000 Tibetan refugees were the second largest group of refugees in India and have been living in the country for over five decades. They are mainly concentrated in Karnataka, Himachal Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, etc. At the beginning of 1959, the Dalai Lama, the spiritual leader of Tibet, fled to India along with 13,000 of his followers following the army attack on

⁵The Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939, the Foreigners Act, 1946, and the Foreigners Order, 1948 are the primary instruments dealing with the treatment of foreigners in India. Article 2 of the 1939 Registration of Foreigners Act defines a foreigner as "a person who is not a citizen of India." Both the Act and the Order affirmatively grant the Indian government powers to restrict the movement of foreigners inside India, to mandate medical examinations, to limit employment opportunities, to control the opportunity to associate and to repatriate the refugees.

⁶Asylum seeker refers to individuals who have sought international protection from UNHCR and whose claims for refugee status have not yet been determined.

⁷It was signed between the Nepal Prime Minister of Mohan Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana and the Indian ambassador to Nepal, Mr. Chandreshwar Prasad Narayan Singh on July 31, 1950. The treaty allows for the free movement of people and goods between the two nations and a close relationship and collaboration on matters of defence and foreign affairs.

⁸It was conducted by the United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI) and was supported by the UNHCR.

⁹It was a Tamil military organisation in Sri Lanka founded under the leadership of Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran on 5 May 1976 to achieve an independent Tamil State in the north-eastern part of Sri Lanka.

Lhasa by the People's Republic of China. A second large wave of refugee influx occurred in 1979 after China relaxed its emigration policy (Kharat, 2003). About 100,000 ethnic Chins from Myanmar have been living in the eastern state of Mizoram and Manipur, including a few hundred in New Delhi. They belong to the Christian religion and speak the Chin language. As the Myanmar military regime had been persecuting them for not adopting the Buddhist religion and Burmese language, the Chin sought refuge in India since 1988 (Bhaumik, 2003). An estimated 30,000 Afghanistan refugees remain in India. They belong to the Hindu and Sikhs communities and are concentrated in Delhi, Faridabad and neighbouring areas. And about 25,000 Bhutanese refugees were residing in the Indian states of West Bengal, Sikkim, and Bihar. They have been fleeing from Bhutan in 1991 due to the ethnic conflict between Bhutan's ruling Buddhist Drupka group and ethnic Bhutanese of Nepali origin. About 25,000 Nepal's refugees reside in India after fleeing from the Maoists now in the Government of Nepal. India also hosts some 600 Somali refugees, who began fleeing from their country after the collapse of the government in 1991, an unknown number of Iraqi and Iranian refugees and about 200 Palestinians from Iraq.

Among the refugees in India, the Sri Lankan Tamil refugees remain a concern because of their large exodus into India in recent years. On their arrival, they were settled in various refugee camps and some of them self-settled among the local population in Tamil Nadu. The Government of Tamil Nadu has provided some relief assistance to the camp refugees in order to meet their basic needs. The non-camp refugees do not get financial assistance from the government because they are mostly businessmen and professionals. The existence of the Sri Lankan refugees in Tamil Nadu was relatively uneventful till the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, former Prime Minister of India in 1991. Since then, Sri Lankan refugees living in Tamil Nadu faced hostility and lost any sympathy and support they had in India. The Government attempted to move the non-camp refugees into camps for the security reasons. The Government of Tamil Nadu consolidated and reduced the number of refugee camps and also cancelled the education facilities that the children of the refugees had enjoyed. The camps in nearby coastal areas were closed down due to security concerns and shifted to isolated interior regions so as to prevent contact amongst the refugees between different camps.

Moreover, due to the lack of bilateral support from the Sri Lankan Government and the ban on the LTTE in India, the movements of the Sri Lankan refugees were restricted by the Government of India. They were kept in camps under twenty-four hour police surveillance. This made it difficult for them to work outside. Even if they were ready to work, the local people were not ready to provide employment to the Sri Lankan refugees because they were apprehensive about their background and felt that they could face problems if they employed them. The Sri Lankan refugee camps were also neglected in later years by both the Government of India and Tamil Nadu. All this made it very difficult for the Sri Lankan refugees to live in these camps. Most of the time, the refugees tried to escape from the camps and seek for a decent living outside. Such attempts got them arrested by the local police and put in jail. There are instances when women preferred to work as prostitutes rather than stay inside the camp in difficult conditions (Dasgupta, 2005).

1.3 Review of Literature

The present section reviews the existing studies on the livelihood conditions of refugees in other countries and that of the Sri Lankan refugees in India. Every refugee population faces different circumstances in their country of asylum. This section specifically intends to review the issues on how refugees make their livelihood when they migrate to other countries; what problems affect their livelihood and the different livelihood strategies they adopt in asylum countries. A study by Stone and De Vriese (2004) have attempted to examine what moves have been taken by UNHCR, the government and other players to develop the livelihood options and security of Congolese refugees in Gabon. The required data is drawn from a series of 148 individual interviews using a structured questionnaire at eight different sites in Gabon. It was found that the Congolese refugees face numerous problems, mainly regarding identity, security and the lack of any real prospect for securing a livelihood for those who may have no option but to remain in Gabon. The Government of Gabon has not taken any steps for the local integration of the refugees due to the paucity of logistical and financial resources. Therefore, the Congolese refugees had been *mainly* depending on micro credit, the technical support programme provided by UNHCR and an Italian non-governmental organisation (NGO). These programmes support the

agricultural activities, education and skill training of the refugees and have improved their working and living conditions and quality of life in Gabon.

The communication ties with relatives and friends living in same area and abroad have helped them to survive in the harsh conditions. Al-Sharmani (2004) made an effort to examine the livelihood strategies of Somali refugees in Cairo. This study used 270 individual questionnaire surveys and 30 in-depth interviews among the Somali refugees in Ard il Liwa and Nasr City in Cairo. The study found that the Somali refugees were unable to work in Cairo, because unemployment and inflation were major problems in Egypt. Therefore, they had to depend on family members and relatives living in the USA, Europe and Saudi Arabia for financial support. The refugees had been receiving remittances every month through a Somali-based transfer system called "hawala". They spent all the remittance on living costs in Cairo. Such costs included rent, food expenses, health, education services, and donations for community charity work. Remittance is not only a form of social security but also serves as a means of investment in business, assistance for education and support or help to rebuild the livelihood of the refugees in Egypt.

Another study by Amisi (2006) attempted to examine the livelihood strategies of Congolese refugees in Durban based on 30 structured and non-structured interviews. His study indicated that Congolese refugees face many problems in their day-to-day life at Durban such as social exclusion, sexual exploitation, low and irregular wages, etc. Moreover, he discovered that their livelihood condition remained poor and vulnerable due to inadequate access to informal employment, social protection, trading license and trading sites in the informal economy in which they were active. Hence, refugees have been forced to rely on social connections in both the formal and informal economy in order to make a living. They also received remittances and constant flows of money from family members and friends in Durban and other countries. In Durban, the Congolese refugees kept in contact with their friends and family members who stayed behind in the Congo and other African countries. These backward and forward linkages allowed money transfers to flow in a triangular fashion between South Africa, the Congo and other countries.

Ajygin (2010) examined the livelihoods strategies and family formation among the Eritrean refugees in Cairo. The data is drawn from 50 individual interviews among the

Eritrean refugees during November-December, 2009. The result of the study shows that 88 per cent of the refugees stayed with community members (including friends, family and strangers) when they initially arrived in Cairo and 64 per cent met their initial expenses with the assistance of community members. The most common means of finding employment is through the Eritrean social network. In addition, they did not like to start separate families. They made the conscious decision to delay family formation due to the difficulty of establishing a solid livelihood in Cairo.

Bloch (2009) attempted to examine the barriers that refugees face in accessing employment in the labour market and their job-seeking strategies using 400 individual interviews among the Somali, Sri Lankan Tamil, Kosovan, Turkish and Iraqi refugees at London, Yorkshire and Humberside. He identified the major barriers to getting employment among refugees who are seeking jobs in the United Kingdom as lack of proficiency in the English language (30 per cent) and lack of work experience (19 per cent). However, the Sri Lankan Tamil, Somali and Iraqi refugees face less problems than Turkish and Kosovan refugees in getting employment because they are more likely to speak English. His study also found that the refugees were unable to get appropriate employment due to the lack of proof of their educational qualifications. As a result, they are concentrated in a limited number of jobs such as working in shops and as cashiers and clerks. Therefore, the refugees have congregated in areas where their communities already exist; their social and personal networks also help them to get employment in the labour market.

Allen (2009) made an attempt to study the impact of co-ethnic social capital on the earning of adult refugees who resettled in Portland, Maine, based on a unique data set between 1998 and 2004. He used multiple regression models to test the effect of access to co-ethnic social capital on the earnings of refugees in their first and most recent years of work. The analysis of the study shows that co-ethnic social capital did not have a statistically significant effect on the first year earnings of female or male refugees because of they were minors when they arrive or lacked education and work experiences. At the same time, access to co-ethnic social capital had a positive effect on the earnings of male refugees and a negative effect on the female refugees in their most recent years of work in Maine because of the community norms and social ties that regulate the behaviour of men and women differently. The study also found that

in most recent year, male refugees who resettled in Portland earned more than male refugees who moved to Portland as secondary migrants. However, this study stressed more on the effect of social capital on refugees earnings in two time periods, but it did not measure the extent to which refugees used co-ethnic social capital to help in the labour market.

Apart from depending on social networks, agricultural activities are the major livelihood option for rural refugees in the asylum country. Hence, the development of rural livelihood depends on the availability and accessibility of land and natural resources. Many refugees do not have rights to use land in the asylum country. However, they still engage in agricultural activities because they hope for a quick return and also because it can play a positive role in alleviating poverty. Stone (2005) conducted individual interviews among 109 rural Mauritanian refugees residing at Northern Senegal to understand their livelihood and coping strategies. He observed that the provision of micro credit and agricultural assistance has had a significant impact on their lives. The refugees engaged in four types of agriculture activities, namely, irrigated crop production mainly rice, water receding crop production, rain-fed crop production and irrigated vegetable production. In addition to engaging in agricultural production, the women also undertook a range of hedging activities, including livestock purchase, tailoring, hairdressing, and the collection of wild fruit and berries. It helped them to improve their income and provided them with the ability to buy things like clothes, beds, jewellery, livestock, medicine, materials needed by school children and cosmetics and thereby improve the quality of family life.

Conway (2004) investigated the refugees livelihood strategies at rural Basse and Bambali refugee camps in Gambia. The required data is collected through interviews and focuses group discussions among men and women separately. His study shows that agricultural activities are the major livelihood options among the refugees at two camps but that production erratic and this makes them more vulnerable. It has led to Sierra Leonean refugees in Basse camp resorting to livelihood strategies like theft, crime and selling of ration food. Similarly, they have been engaged in construction work, poultry farming, sewing, teaching, nursing, petty trade and prostitution prior to leaving Sierra Leone. At the same time, he confirmed that there was no evidence of a

harmful coping mechanism among the Senegal refugees in Bambali refugee camp, and that this was perhaps due to their traditional culture and attitudes. Due to their remoteness, these camps have limited income-generating activities with the help of Gambia Food and Nutrition Association (GFANS). He concluded that the refugees were unable to preserve assets and accumulate savings because of their insufficient resources.

Bolesta (2002) examined the socio-economic condition of the Palestinian refugees in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. His study found that the Palestinian refugees have been treated as “third category citizens”¹⁰ in Lebanon. They have not been granted any rights to work in the labour market and as a result, they struggle to survive in the country. International assistance is also insufficient and although effort is put into securing their basic needs, it does not change their standard of living in a significant way. In Syria, Palestinian refugees have been granted full residency rights with few exception and they can freely access to labour market, childrens education and health care facilities. But they cannot enjoy the same rights in Lebanon. In Jordan, Palestinians refugees are granted Jordanian citizenship, but the economic crisis and widespread poverty do not allow the full enjoyment of all their rights. He also pointed out that in Jordan and Syria, Palestinians are allowed to serve in the army and that some of them have served as generals in both countries, but they cannot do so in Lebanon.

Fangen (2006) attempted to analyse the experiences of humiliation among the Somali refugees in Norway based on 27 interviews with them and a focused group discussion. He observed that the Somali refugees have been humiliated by Norwegians in that they were unfairly denied access to services and face discrimination in the labour market. Somali childrens were teased and bullied at school. The refugees faced stigmatization and racism due to their identity. Likewise, Fozdar and Torezani (2008) analyse the experiences of discrimination among the refugees in the labour market and everyday life in Western Australia based on 150 individual surveys among the refugees from Yugoslavia, the Middle East and Africa. The study revealed that out of total sample, 46.7 per cent of refugees experienced discrimination in the labour

¹⁰The Palestinian Ministry of Interior in Decree No. 319 on the foreigners in Lebanon (in effect from August 1962), relegates Palestinians to citizens of a “third category”, which means foreigners who do not carry documents from their country of asylum.

market due to their accent, followed by factors such as their name, language ability, appearance and religious practices. Moreover, 40.7 per cent of refugees had been treated unpleasantly, while this seems to be a major issue for Africans than other groups. Besides, ex-Yugoslavs refugees faced less discrimination and were more satisfied with living conditions than others, and this indicated that it was because of their physical and cultural similarity to the local inhabitants. The unemployment rate among them was low at 14 per cent compared to 32 per cent for those from the Middle East and 38 for Africans. They conclude that the personal factors, social support and relativity effect soften the negative effect of discrimination on refugee well-being.

A few studies have been carried out in India about the history, nature, dimensions and magnitude of Sri Lankan refugee migration and their living conditions in India. Some of these studies have been reviewed and their main findings are mentioned here. Das (2005) in her book on 'Refugee Management' begins with the history of India's relationship with Sri Lanka since independence and how and when the Tamils migrated to Sri Lanka during earlier periods. While describing the history of Sri Lankan Tamils, she elaborates the historical circumstances that formed the foundation for the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, which led to the influx of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees into Tamil Nadu during 1983-2000. She looked at the history of the mass exodus of refugees in Tamil Nadu and their distribution to the camps. She also explains the socio-economic and cultural life of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in Tamil Nadu dealing with their living conditions in camps. She describes the role of governments and NGOs on refugee welfare. However, there is lacuna of her study regarding the living condition of the refugees in the camps. The study provides macro level information regarding accommodation facilities in the camps and government assistance, etc., but has not looked at the refugees livelihood condition at the household or individual level, their economic status, employment opportunities, asset position, vulnerability conditions and their coping strategies.

Dasgupta (2005) has discussed how long-term camp life is changing the identity of Sri Lankan women refugees in Tamil Nadu. He found that women refugees in the camps have constructed three types of identities over time: the 'ideal women', which refers to those who keep high morale and act as the head of their households due to

the loss of their husband or elder male member in the war; 'the deserters' or women who try to migrate to the Middle East countries for employment, and 'fallen women' which refers to those who take up prostitution for living due to segregated camp life, restriction on movements and lack of job opportunities. These women are condemned for their moral weakness and for their deviation from community ideologies.

1.4 Research Gap

In the international context, many studies have focused on the socio-economic status, vulnerability conditions, livelihood options and strategies of the refugees in the asylum countries. In India, hardly any studies have been done to assess the livelihood conditions of refugees, especially in the context of Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in Tamil Nadu. The existing studies have mainly focused on the history and dimension of Sri Lankan Tamil refugee's migration into India and their living condition in camps in Tamil Nadu based on secondary data. However, those studies have not looked the Sri Lankan camp refugees socio-economic status, availability and accessibility of employment opportunities for them, their asset position, the problems they have faced or are still facing in their day-to-day life or work place and their coping strategies at the household level. Therefore, the present study mainly focuses on examining the socio-economic profile, livelihood options and strategies at household level of the Sri Lankan camp-refugees in selected camps in Tamil Nadu. An attempt has also been made to examine the livelihood strategies among the camp refugees in Tamil Nadu in comparison with their livelihood condition in last place of residence in Sri Lanka (pre-migration) on the basis of data on employment status, level of income, wage level and household asset positions.

1.5 Research Questions

On the basis of the literature review, we are able to identify some of major issues associated with the Sri Lankan refugee's livelihood condition in Tamil Nadu, which has been recently under research in the Indian context.

1. What is the inflow and outflow of Sri Lankan refugees in India since 1983? What help have they received from government agencies, non-governmental organisations and other players to improves the security of their livelihood?

2. How do the Sri Lankan refugees fare in terms of socio-economic status, accessibility of employment and capital assets within refugee camps of Tamil Nadu?
3. What problems do the Sri Lankan camp-refugees face in their day-to-day life? How do they cope up with emergency situations? What are their most frequent coping strategies and what are the outcomes?
4. Is there any difference in the Sri Lankan refugees' livelihood conditions before migration (in Sri Lanka) and after migration to India?

1.6 Objectives of the Study

Three major objectives of this study are:

1. To document the inflow and outflow of Sri Lankan refugees in India over the last thirty years and to examine the manner in which they have been rehabilitated by both the Governments of India and Tamil Nadu.
2. To assess the demographic and socio-economic profile of Sri Lankan refugees at selected refugee camps in Tamil Nadu with special focus on their livelihood options and strategies.
3. To examine the pre- and post-migration livelihood conditions of the Sri Lankan refugees.

1.7 Data and Methodology Adopted

This study used both primary and secondary data. First, it briefly addressed the issue of population size in Sri Lanka, the inflow and outflow of Sri Lankan refugees in India and government expenditure on Sri Lankan refugees in Tamil Nadu for which it used secondary data from the Census of Population and Housing in Sri Lanka and the Department of Rehabilitation of Tamil Nadu. Further, various recorded, published and unpublished documents have been consulted to understand the different Sri Lankan refugee rehabilitation programmes in Tamil Nadu. Camp profile data was taken from the Organisation for Eelam Refugees Rehabilitation (OfERR). It includes information about location, socio-economic structure, and educational and infrastructure facilities.

To analyse the livelihood condition of Sri Lankan refugees in camps in Tamil Nadu, the study used primary data collected through a field survey conducted in November

2009. The field survey included 100 sample households in two refugee camps out of 115 camps in the state of Tamil Nadu, i.e., Puzhal refugee camp in Thiruvallur district and Thenpallipattu refugee camp in Thiruvannamalai district. Before choose the sample refugee camps, data on district wise refugee population have collected from the Department of Rehabilitation, Government of Tamil Nadu in 2009. We found that these are the districts with the highest refugee population in the State, which accounts for 13 per cent of the total population. In particular, the Thiruvallur district has the second largest refugee population in the State. It held 1646 households that comprised 5387 of refugee population. Puzhal camp is one of the refugee camps with the highest number of refugee residents in Tamil Nadu. It accounts for 408 households with 1283 refugee population. Likewise, the Thiruvannamalai district has 14 refugee camps within the district. It has 1338 households with 4070 of refugee population in the district. Thenpallipattu camp has the second largest refugee population (532 refugees) holding camp in the district. These camps have been in existence for over two decades and the probability of getting appropriate information regarding camp condition, refugees employment status, household income and expenditure, household assets position and problems affecting their livelihood is higher in them. The household characteristic is also very similar in these camps. Further, the police security problem is less in these camps compared with other camps. Therefore, I decided to collect primary data from these camps. Based on that, data was taken from each camp in order to obtain a sample of 30 households (21 per cent) from Thenpallipattu camp out of 145 households and 70 households (17 per cent) from Puzhal camp out of 408 households. A structured questionnaire was used to collect the background information of the refugee households such as socio-economic characteristics, occupational distribution, income and expenditure pattern, assets position, etc.

But, as we know, outsiders are not allowed into the camps. Therefore, I first approached the local government (Department of Rehabilitation, Government of Tamil Nadu) for permission to collect primary data in selected camps and secondary data regarding the profile of the camps and the influx of Sri Lankan refugees to India. Based on my request, they provided only limited secondary data and did not provide permission to conduct the survey in the refugee camps. I then decided to approach the NGOs in Tamil Nadu which are working for the welfare of the Sri Lankan camp refugees. I managed to get in touch with the Organisation for Eelam Refugees

Rehabilitation (OfERR) through the friendship network. In the beginning, they were also not ready to support me; but I clearly explained the importance of my research and the intention of conducting interviews and they finally agreed to my request. Afterwards, OfERR sent me to the selected camps with their worker.

The OfERR worker introduced me to the camp leaders and refugees. He also explained the significance of my study to the refugees. The camp leader and the refugees decided to support me and provide the appropriate information for the study. They were a great help during the field survey. They allowed me to stay with them for two weeks during the field survey. When I was staying at the refugee camp, I used to start the field survey every day early in the morning and in the evening with help of the OfERR worker. I sometime went alone to every household for the survey. The language of the interaction was Tamil. In this way, I managed to collect primary data in selected camps with support of the local NGOs. For analyzing the data, we used simple descriptive statistical methods like percentage and cross tabulation analysis. Moreover, this study also made use of six in-depth individual interviews among Sri Lankan camp-refugees in Tamil Nadu with a view to understanding their livelihood conditions in Sri Lanka before migration and in India after migration.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

The limitations of the study need to be mentioned. The primary data comes from two selected refugee camps in Tamil Nadu. It may not be possible to generalise these findings for overall camp-refugees in Tamil Nadu because their employment status, income and expenditure pattern and household asset position may be different. Secondly, due to the constraints of time and accessibility to the camps, I was compelled to reduce the scope of the survey to a limited set of questions. Thirdly, it was not possible to include primary data regarding socio-economic status of non-camp refugees, employment, asset position and their livelihood condition in Tamil Nadu because they are spread all over the districts of Tamil Nadu. It was difficult to identify them and collect the data within this study period. Most of them have not registered themselves as refugees and would not reveal personal information. Indeed, there is further scope for a detailed analysis of the livelihood strategies of non-camp Sri Lankan refugees in Tamil Nadu.

1.9 Organisation of the Dissertation

This study is divided into seven chapters. The first introductory chapter deals with matters like the global refugee issue, refugees in India, literature review, research gap and objectives of the study, data and methodology adopted and layout of the dissertation. Chapter two deals with the background and root causes of the ethnic conflict between the Tamils and Sinhalese communities in Sri Lanka. It also looks at the inflow and out flow of Sri Lankan refugees in India using secondary data collected from the Department of Rehabilitation of Tamil Nadu. The manner in which the Sri Lankan refugees have been rehabilitated by both the Governments of India and Tamil Nadu as compared to other refugees in India is discussed in Chapter Three. Secondary data was used to show the relief assistance programmes for the Sri Lankan refugees such as monthly cash dole, educational facilities, sanitation, health facilities, etc. The conceptual framework and the profile of study area are discussed in Chapter four. In profile of study area using secondary data, it briefly discusses the location of camp, population size, sex ratio, refugee's educational status, camp infrastructural facilities, etc. Chapter five is devoted to the analysis of primary data collected by a field survey using a structured questionnaire among the refugee household in the two refugee camps in Tamil Nadu. It specifically looks at the socio-economic condition, livelihood options and strategies of the refugee households. Further, a few case studies that were carried out are presented in Chapter six in order to compare their livelihood condition pre- and post-migration. It gives details about their livelihood condition in Sri Lanka, why and how they migrated to India, the rehabilitation efforts of the Indian authorities, livelihood conditions in the camps, employment status and process of entry into the job market, what problems they face in working place and day-by-day life and their different coping strategies. The major findings of the study and its implications for policy formulation are presented in Chapter seven.

Chapter 2

ETHNIC CONFLICT IN SRI LANKA AND REFUGEES INFLOW INTO INDIA

2.1 Introduction

In Sri Lanka, the Sinhalese and Tamils are separated not only by language, culture, and religion but also by their separate habitats in the same geographic space. As a result, polarization becomes even sharper leading to a constant tug-of-war over resources and eventual conflict. There were seven major instances of ethnic violence committed against the Tamils by segments of the Sinhalese population since the independence of Sri Lanka. The most severe of these took place in the years 1958, 1977 and 1983 and led to most of the Sri Lankan Tamils fleeing to India and the Western countries (Tambiah, 1986; Perera, 1992). Given this background, the present chapter is an attempt to understand the root causes of the ethnic conflict between the Tamils and Sinhalese communities in Sri Lanka. It also looks at the trends in the inflow and outflow of Sri Lankan refugees in India between 1983 and September 2009.

2.2 Geography of Sri Lanka

The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka was known as Ceylon before 1972. It comprises of a small island, lying east of the southern tip of the Indian subcontinent. The pear-shaped island has a maximum length of 435 km and a maximum width of 225 km. It has an area of 65,610 sq km and the length of the coastline is 1,340 sq km. The Bay of Bengal lies to its north and east, and the Arabian Sea to its west. The island is separated from the Indian subcontinent by the Gulf of Mannar and Palk Strait in which lies a chain of small islands linking Sri Lanka and India. Mannar, one of Sri Lanka's islands, is only 40 km away from Dhanushkodi in India (Farmer, 2009).

Sri Lanka's society is multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-religious. According to the Census of Population and Housing in Sri Lanka (2001), the Sri Lankan population is divided into six major ethnic groups, namely: Sinhalese, Sri Lankan Tamil, Indian Tamil, Moor, Burgher and Malay. Out of the total population of Sri Lanka which numbers to 16.93 million, the Sinhalese constituting 82 per cent forms the majority.

The Sinhalese claim that they belong to the Aryan race. Their mother tongue is 'Sinhala' language, which has subsequently borrowed both vocabulary and syntax from various South Indian languages. The Sinhalese¹¹ pre-dominate in all parts of the country except the North-eastern provinces. The majority of the Sinhalese are Buddhists by religion. In fact, 76.7 per cent of the total Sinhalese populations are Buddhists and the remaining are Christians.

Table 2.1 Ethnic Composition of Sri Lanka's Population (in per cent)

Year	Sinhalese	Sri Lankan Tamil	Indian Tamil	Sri Lankan Moor	Others
1901	65.36	26.69	-	6.39	1.56
1911	66.13	12.86	12.93	5.70	2.39
1921	67.05	11.50	13.40	5.60	2.46
1946	69.41	11.02	11.73	5.61	2.24
1953	69.36	10.93	12.03	5.73	1.96
1963	71.00	11.01	10.61	5.92	1.46
1971	71.96	11.22	9.26	6.53	1.04
1981	74.00	12.70	5.50	7.00	0.80
2001	82.00	4.30	5.10	7.90	0.70

Source: Census of Population and Housing, Sri Lanka (2001)

Tamils belong to the Dravidian race and they are classified into two ethnic communities - the Sri Lankan Tamils and the Indian Tamils. Sri Lankan Tamils¹² constitute 4.3 per cent of the population. The Census of Population and Housing in Sri Lanka (2001) shows that the Sri Lankan Tamil population is vastly under-reported in the 2001 Census of Sri Lanka. When the census was started in 2001, it could not cover the north-eastern districts because these areas were controlled by the rebels of the LTTE. This resulted in the Census exercise covering only 18 out of the 25 districts of Sri Lanka which led the downsizing of the number of Sri Lankan Tamils in Sri Lankan population since they mostly lived in the north-eastern parts of the country

¹¹The history of the first man in Sri Lanka is still disputed. According to Mahavamsa, one of Sri Lanka's national epics written in the Pali language by Buddhists monks during the sixth century AD, Prince Vijaya landed on the northwest coast of Sri Lanka with 700 men from North India in 500 BC. Legend goes that Vijaya was the grandson of a lion and therefore his people are called Sinhalese which means Vijaya and his people are believed to have been blessed by the Buddha and given the command to introduce his faith in the country.

¹²The Sri Lankan Tamils migrated from South India since the early centuries A.D to the fifteenth century or thereabouts (Tambiah, 1986). De Silva (1981) says that the exact time of the first Tamil settlement in Sri Lanka cannot be perfectly determined. The Aryans probably arrived a few centuries before the Dravidian settlers.

covering the places of Mannar, Vavuniya, Kilinochchi, Jaffna, Mullaitivu, Trincomalee and Batticaloa. Furthermore, most of the Sri Lankan Tamils migrated to Western countries like Canada and France.

The mother tongue of the Tamils is Tamil, which is a Dravidian language. The majority of Tamils are Hindu. They comprise 7.8 per cent of the total population. They too have a Christian minority constituting mainly Roman Catholics. The Tamil fishing communities belong to this minority group. Indian Tamils¹³, on the other hand, comprise 5.1 percent of the total population. They are believed to be the descendents of the South Indian labourers whom the British brought to Sri Lanka from 1825 onwards to work on the coffee and later on tea plantations, which were established in the central highlands around Kandy, Nuwara Eliya, Badulla, Hatton and Matale (Peebles, 1990). Another major ethnic group is the Sri Lankan Moor population, constituting 7.9 per cent. The other ethnic groups¹⁴ constitute 0.7 per cent of the population.

2.3 Political Developments and Ethnic Restlessness

During the 17th and 18th centuries¹⁵, the administration of the north-eastern regions was maintained separately from the rest of the island under the Portuguese and Dutch rule. However, during the British rule, the island administration was unified by bringing together both the Sinhalese and Tamil speaking areas for reasons of administrative convenience. It was continued after the attainment of independence from the British rule on 4th February 1948 (Olsen, 1989; De Silva, 1981). During the early 20th century, the British rulers gradually conceded more autonomy to local political leaders in order to establish a representative government in Sri Lanka. Under the recommendations of the Donoughmore Commission¹⁶, British rulers granted them universal franchise and territorial representation but Tamil leaders opposed both recommendations because during the 1936 election, the Sinhalese captured all seven portfolios of the Board of Ministers. Also, Tamils argued that the Sinhalese as the

¹³A major reason for the reduction of the proportion of the Indian Tamil population in the country is the exodus of Indian Tamil refugees to India since the 1980s (Shastri, 1990).

¹⁴Other ethnic groups comprise the Malays, Burghers, Europeans and Veddhas.

¹⁵Sri Lanka was under Portuguese and Dutch rule from 1505 to 1658 and from 1659 to 1759 respectively. Later, the British held power on the island from 1759 to February 1948.

¹⁶This Commission arrived in Sri Lanka on 13 November, 1927. It consisted of four member British Parliamentarians appointed by the British Government to draft a new constitution in Sri Lanka.

majority would monopolize state power. Consequently, Tamil leaders started organizing protest campaigns requesting the British to allocate the Sinhalese only 50 per cent of seats in the State Council and the rest to the minorities. However, the Soulbury Commission¹⁷ rejected this proposal for balanced representation. The commissioners provided an alternative scheme of representation to give more weight to minorities in the Legislature. As a result, in the 1947 Parliament election, candidates who had the support of the minorities occupied around 30 per cent of the seats. This representation was seriously distorted¹⁸ when the first government of independent Sri Lanka introduced two laws – the Citizenship Act¹⁹, 1948 and India-Pakistan Resident Act, 1949. These laws made the Indian Tamils non-citizens of Sri Lanka. Nearly, one million Indian Tamils were disfranchised under the Act²⁰. At the time, Indian Tamils not only had seven seats in the parliament but were also strongly represented in 20 other constituencies. The Sri Lankan Tamil MPs (Members of Parliament) did not protest against the Act. For instance, Mr. G.G. Ponnambalam, the leader of the Ceylon Tamil Congress (CTC), opposed the first bill but voted for the second bill because of his becoming a member of the United National Party (UNP) cabinet. Perera (1992) note that the CTC MPs considered that it was more important for them to stay in power than to fight for Tamils rights.

2.4 Ethnic Conflict and Language Policy

Sri Lanka was ruled by UNP during 1948-56. In 1952, a leadership struggle within the party resulted in UNP splitting into two groups. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike broke away to establish a new national political party called the Sri Lankan Freedom Party (SLFP). In the general election that followed, the SLFP won only nine Parliament seats while the UNP had 54 seats. After this election, the SLFP found the right base among the Sinhalese, which UNP and other left-wing parties had failed to target. The SLFP successfully mobilised a rural elite composed of the rural farmers of the south,

¹⁷The commission began on July 5, 1944 by the British Government for constitutional reforms in Sri Lanka.

¹⁸De Silva (1992) argued that Sinhalese fears of Tamil domination of the hill country areas and Estate workers as temporary residents with no abiding interest in the island led to a ban on Indian origin Tamils' voting rights as early as 1931. Senanayake and the UNP were further restricting the size of the Indian Tamils political participation by the Citizenship Act.

¹⁹The registration was based on people past residence rather than on the basis of birth or domicile.

²⁰In 1964, an amicable solution was found among the Indian and Sri Lankan governments by Shastri-Srimovo Pact. Under this pact, the Sri Lanka agreed to award citizenship to 3 lakhs and India agreed to grant citizenship to 5.25 lakhs of Indian Tamils living in Sri Lanka (Kulandaswamy, 2000).

the Sinhalese school teachers, village physicians, notaries and village monks. These people thought that the UNP policies were pro-rich and that Tamils had taken more than their share of power during the British Colonial administration²¹. In this situation, the SLFP identified that the language issue was a coherent and easily understandable political slogan. Therefore, the SLFP stood on the single point platform which argued that 'Sinhala' was the only official language of Sri Lanka. Moreover, the party promised to make it so within 24 hours of election into office.

In 1956, SLFP won the general election and they enacted legislation making Sinhala the only official language. This policy was opposed by the Tamil politicians, particularly those belonging to the Federal Party²² (FP) and the leftists. The Tamils feared that this language policy would cause problems in their job performance and hinder prospects of promotion to higher positions. Also, they were convinced that the implementation of the policy would eventually curtail their fundamental rights. When the bill was being debated in Parliament, there was a series of communal riots in Colombo and the eastern provinces. On 5 June 1956, disturbances occurred at Colombo and about 200 Tamils led by 12 members of Parliament staged a silent protest demonstration outside the Parliament building. They were assaulted, even stoned by Sinhalese mobs hired by the Sinhalese politicians. Soon riots spread throughout the city; many Tamils were assaulted and shops belonging to both Sri Lankan and Indian Tamils were looted (Kearney, 1978).

In order to conciliate the Tamils, Bandaranaike attempted to compromise with Tamil leaders. He signed an agreement with Chelvanayakam on 26 July 1957 known as the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact (B-C Pact)²³. But, when terms of the pact were made public, there was a storm of protest, mainly from Sinhala extremists of Bandaranaike's own camp and the UNP, who were in the Opposition. Unfortunately,

²¹During colonial rule, services of the American missionary societies in northern Sri Lanka, large numbers of Tamils had access to education in the English medium. The Buddhist clergy resisted the expansion of missionary activities. As a result, the missionaries could not set up as many schools in the southern areas as they could in the Tamil areas of the north, particularly Jaffna, imparting English education. Consequently, when the State called for employment in the public sector, most of the Tamils were selected from Jaffna districts because of their education in the English medium. Among the Sinhalese, only those who were from the wealthier classes had the opportunity to receive an education in the English medium.

²²It was a political party in northeast region of Sri Lanka based on the Sri Lankan Tamil communities, active from mid 1950s to till 1970s under the leadership of S.J.V.Chelvanayakam.

²³The pact was providing extensive decentralization of administration and devolution of powers to the Tamil areas of the north and east. Most importantly, the pact stipulated that the Tamil should be used as the official language for all administrative work in the Northern and Eastern provinces.

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due to the growing resistance to the pact, Bandaranaike abrogated it in April 1958. The Freedom Party (FP) condemned the surprise abrogation. They organised a series of non-violent anti-government movements in the north and east, which led to the emergence of violent reactions from the Sinhalese against the Tamils. In May-June 1958, there were major anti-Tamil riots throughout the island, particularly in the Sinhalese dominated areas of the South. Almost 100 Tamils died and over 12,000 were rendered homeless (Imtiyaz, 2008). In 1965, the UNP won the general election and it attempted to implement a revised version of the aborted B-C pact of 1956. The new pact was known as Senanayake-Chelvanayagam Pact (1966). It proposed the establishment of district councils and the more extensive use of the Tamil language in the north-eastern provinces. This pact was also not implemented due to the opposition of the SLFP which had the support of the Buddhist priests in the matter (Shastri, 1992).

2.5 Discrimination in Education and Employment

In 1970, the SLFP government introduced a 'standardisation' system in higher education, under which university admission was radically revised. The undergraduate course admission procedure was extremely biased in favour of the majority community, so much so that admission was granted in proportion to the number of students of each language who took the university entrance examination. Obviously, Tamil students were at a disadvantage compared to Sinhalese students²⁴, because the former were a minority. In 1979, standardisation was replaced by a three-tier admission policy based on a national merit quota (30 per cent), regional or district merit quota (55 per cent) and special allocation to thirteen backward districts (15 per cent). These percentages were adjusted in 1988 as 40, 65 and 5 respectively (Matthews, 1995). The three tier granted more weight to backward areas. Therefore, the discrimination against Tamils in higher education led to a remarkable decline in their strength in public sector employment.

The Sri Lankan Tamils held 40 per cent of the jobs in the public sector till 1970. But the proportion declined to 12 per cent by 1980. During 1978-81, only 279 (5.4 per cent) Tamil clerks were selected out of the 4,870 clerks recruited by the central

²⁴Shastri (1990) argued that the percentage of Tamil students in admission to science-related courses went down from 35 per cent in 1974 to 19 per cent in 1975. At the same time, the proportion of Sinhalese students went up from 75 per cent to 86 per cent in 1977 in the same courses.

government and out of 22,399 school teachers recruited during 1977-79, only 6.1 per cent were Tamils (Samarasinghe, 1984). At the same time, Sinhalese participation rose to 85 per cent. This trend was not only due to the reason that Tamils were being discriminated against in public sector employment but also due to a rapid increase in qualified persons among the Sinhalese because of the standardisation system. By the partial delivery of the state and its institutions, Tamils lost their confidence in the state and also thought that they would not obtain justice from the political establishments of the Sinhalese leaders. Such beliefs among the Tamil youth led to the emergence of some violent political movements, particularly the LTTE in 1976, with the aim of creating a separate state (Tamil Eelam) in the Tamil-dominated areas. A notable development out of this movement was a new approach to challenging the Sinhalese-dominated security forces in the Tamil-dominated north-eastern provinces (Kearney, 1985). In August 1977, the clashes that started between the police and Tamil youth groups in Jaffna spread all over the country. This fight resulted in nearly a hundred people dead and around 25,000 people rendered homeless.

2.6 Land Colonisation and Lack of Public Investment in Tamil Areas

The issue of land settlement is another reason for the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. Succeeding governments, with the aim of reducing the population pressure in the southwest region since 1930s, had utilised the state-sponsored colonisation scheme. The government had alienated more than 300,000 acres of land to 67,000 allottees under the colonisation scheme. Most of the land was taken from Gal Oya in the North-eastern province, where an area of irrigation extending more than 120,000 acres was created between 1948 and 1952 and led to increased paddy production in the Dry Zone²⁵. After that, the government had started the settlement programme in the north-eastern province. The government neglected the integration of colonisation schemes with Tamil urban centres. The majority of the Sinhalese settled down under this new scheme. The southwest region was over populated with Sinhalese and they faced high unemployment. Over 165,000 Sinhalese were settled in the north-eastern provinces through colonisation schemes between 1953 and 1981. At the same time, the Tamils strongly resented these colonisation schemes because they considered it a

²⁵The region occupying about 60 percent of the nation and receiving less than 75Cms of rainfall is called the Dry Zone (Mullaitivu, Vavuniya, Mannar, Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa and Moneragala). The Wet Zone refers to the areas receiving rainfall more than 75Cms and is mostly confined to the south-western parts of the island.

deliberate attempt by the government to convert the Tamil majority areas into Sinhalese majority areas, thereby changing the balance of votes and political power in a given district (Olsen, 1989).

In 1977, the Jayewardene government introduced the economic liberalisation policy, which led to the start of the Accelerated Mahaweli Development Programme (AMDP). It was a water resource development plan. Under this programme, four major dams were built on an estimated 390,000 acres of new lands, most of them in the Eastern Province. On the crucial issue of colonisation, the Government allocated the estimated remaining allotments of 101,483 acres through the Accelerated Mahaweli Development Programme to the people. The Sinhalese received 75,504 acres of land, the Sri Lankan Tamils received 12,787, the Moors got 7,509 and the Indian Tamils, 5,683 (Peebles, 1990). The irrigation-based settlements brought major social and political changes in Sri Lanka. At the same time, the interior expanses of the Dry Zone, with high incidences of diseases, lack of water for irrigation and the prevalence of subsistence agriculture carried on at low levels of input and productivity (Shastri, 1990).

Another important reason for the ethnic conflict was the discrimination against Sri Lankan Tamils capital in the industrialisation process. The 1977 liberalisation policy gave the Sinhalese an opportunity to forge links with foreign capital. The Tamils alleged that the investments were unequally distributed between the Sinhalese majority and Sri Lankan Tamil majority districts. For example, the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) was implemented in only two Tamil majority districts and in as many as nine Sinhalese majority districts. This helped the Sinhalese to expand their economic and political base (Panditharatna, 1996).

2.7 Ethnic Riots, 1983

After 1977, the J.R. Jayewardene Government strengthened military force in north-eastern provinces due to increasing Tamil militant violence in the region. On Saturday, July 23, 1983 an army truck was blasted by a landmine at Tinneveli in Jaffna district. This attack carried out by a group of the LTTE, killed 13 soldiers and

led to an ethnic riot in Colombo²⁶. The riot lasted for 72 hours, during which time the Sri Lankan President himself seemed powerless to control the violence. The proximate blast occurred in July 25 and 27, 1983; some of 53 Tamil militants were killed who were at that time in Colombo major prison jail at Welikade. This murder was committed by Sinhalese prisoners in the same jail with the help of the jail guards and prison authorities (Tambiah, 1986; Imtiyaz, 2008). Afterwards, the Sinhalese rebel attacks on Tamils started in Colombo and then spread to other parts of the country such as Gampaha, Kalutara, Kandy, Matale, Nuwara Eliya and Trincomalee. At that time of the violence, Sinhalese rioters used the electoral list to locate Tamils and the insurgents killed Tamils, burning their homes, properties and factories besides pillaging and looting them. The Sinhalese insurgents also raped and killed Tamil women and school girls. However, there were Sinhalese people who, at great risk to their own safety, hid Tamil friends in their houses (NESOHR, 2007; Vije and Suppiah, 2009).

The violence was organised by three leftist parties, namely, the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), the Communist Party and the New Socialist Party (Perera, 1992). Within five days, over 200 Tamils-owned factories and thousands of small shops were destroyed. Further, 25,000 people lost their jobs and a large number was internally displaced in Colombo alone. The government report showed the death toll as 250, but reliable non-government sources estimated it at 2,000 (Suryanarayan, 2003). By the end of the riot, several thousand Tamils were dead and over 100,000 people were placed in Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) camps. Some of them fled to India and a few sought asylums in Western countries. Ross and Samaranayake (1986) argued that the conflict had not only created refugees, but also affected the Sri Lankan economy. Sri Lanka's GNP real growth rate went down to 4.2 per cent after July 1983, but it was 5.1 per cent in 1982. Moreover, it caused dislocation in the wholesale and retail trade, manufacturing industry and housing sector.

Tambiah (1986) says that when the Tamil people stayed in the camps, neither the President nor members of the Cabinet, and not even a single prominent Sinhalese politician visited them to commiserate with them. At the same time, in the Indian

²⁶This ethnic riot was sparked by relatives and friends of the soldiers who had died in the blast, some local Sinhalese rebels and also member of the general public who had gathered at the Borella cemetery in Central Colombo to pay their final respects to the fallen soldiers.

State of Tamil Nadu, various political parties strongly condemned this crisis. In particular, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) party president and its general secretary resigned their membership in the Legislative Assembly against the violence in Sri Lanka²⁷ and the Tamil Nadu Kamaraj Congress (TNKC) party leader, Pala. Nedumaran organised a “Sacrifice March” to Sri Lanka through the Palk Strait with more than 1,000 volunteers to protect the Tamils in Sri Lanka, though the Indian Government prevented them from proceeding at Rameswaram following a request of the Sri Lankan Government (Palanithurai and Mohanasundaram, 1993).

2.8 Overview of Sri Lankan Refugees Inflow in India

As a result of above mentioned reasons civil war started between the Sri Lankan army and the LTTE in mid-1983 which led to Tamils fleeing to India. Thereafter, whenever fight started between the two groups, it led to people largely fleeing to India. It is briefly explained below.

2.8.1 First Phase of Sri Lankan Refugees Influx in India

India received Sri Lankan refugees in four phases. The ethnic violence against the Tamil community in Sri Lanka in July 1983, which led to first Eelam war between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan army, marked the beginning of the first phase of Sri Lankan refugee influx into India on 24 July 1983. This continued until the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord²⁸ in 29 July 1987. During the war, around 134,053 Sri Lankan Tamils arrived in India (see Table 2.2). The Indian Government provided them refuge, although India was not a signatory to the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees or its 1967 Protocol. The Tamil Nadu Government had to welcome the Sri Lankan refugees in the emergency situation and handled this mass refugee's influx and provided for the basic needs of all the refugees. At the same time, following international pressure President Jayewardene and Sri Lankan Tamil leaders started

²⁷See, The Times, London, August 12, 1983.

²⁸It was signed between Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Sri Lankan President J.R. Jayewardene on July 29, 1987 in Colombo. Under this agreement, the Sri Lankan Government agreed to grant official status for the Tamil language, devolution of power to the provinces councils and allow the adjoining north-eastern provinces to form single administrative unit. The accord also demanded that the LTTE surrender their arms to the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF). At the same time, thousands of Indian troops were brought to the north-eastern area under the Accord, where Tamil militants were fighting for an independent state. But due to internal political pressure and its 'peace keeping' nature, the IPKF was unable to defeat the LTTE. By the end of March 1990, the IPKF was called back to India (Pfaffenberger, 1988; Hennayake, 1989; Singer, 1991).

peace talks in 1985 at Thimphu, the capital of Bhutan. However, the talks failed and the war continued. During 1987, severe armed conflicts between the Sri Lankan military forces and the LTTE in Jaffna led to nearly 5525 Tamils fleeing to India. Finally, the Indo-Sri Lankan Peace Accord in July, 1987 resolved the crisis as it led to a fall in the inflow of Sri Lankan refugees to India.

Table 2.2 First Phase of Influx of Sri Lankan Refugees to India from 1985-87

Month	1985		1986		1987		Total	
	Families	Persons	Families	Persons	Families	Persons	Families	Persons
January	*615	1843	142	341	16	36	773	2220
February	2545	10911	150	413	4	7	2699	11331
March	1461	6386	94	253	9	24	1564	6663
April	300	1179	111	285	23	49	434	1513
May	251	813	115	291	69	168	435	1272
June	331	1130	245	586	1477	3510	2053	5226
July	266	747	227	568	603	1712	1096	3027
August	395	1391	164	338	8	16	567	1745
September	550	2034	108	308	2	2	660	2354
October	765	2822	79	236	1	1	845	3059
November	236	822	7	18	0	0	243	840
December	205	615	27	53	0	0	232	668
Total	7920	30,693	1469	3700	2212	5525	11,601	39,918
**Refugees arrived by Air at Chennai and Trichy (Students/Businessmen/Tourists)								94,135
Grand Total								134,053

* This figure is from July 1983 to January 1985

** They had appropriate documents and were treated under the Foreigners Act 1946.

Source: Department of Rehabilitation, Government of Tamil Nadu, (1987)

A Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed between the Sri Lankan Government and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) on August 31, 1987. Under the agreement, UNHCR agreed to provide rehabilitation assistance to refugees as well as to the internally displaced Tamils in different parts of Sri Lanka. Therefore, the Indian Government organised the repatriation of refugees to Sri Lanka when the situation in Sri Lanka improved. Consequently, over 45,281 refugees went to Sri Lanka by government arrangement and 13,516 refugees left for the country on their own arrangements during the period 1983 to 1987 (Dasgupta, 2003). By 1987, nearly 34,429 refugees were admitted in 171 temporary refugee camps set up by the Tamil Nadu Government for refugee accommodation while some

of them took accommodation outside the camp in the state of Tamil Nadu. The Government of Tamil Nadu provided basic necessities to the Sri Lankan refugees who stayed in the camp in Tamil Nadu.

2.8.2 Second Phase of Sri Lankan Refugees Influx in India

In July 1990, around 600 Tamil and Muslim police personnel were massacred by the LTTE, leading to the failure of peace talks between the Premadasa Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE. Moreover, the LTTE took control of significant parts of the north-eastern region, while the IPKF withdrew its troops from Sri Lanka. Therefore, the Sri Lankan government launched an offensive to try to retake the regions which led to the Second Eelam war. Kasynathan, (1993) says that the following major armed conflict between the government forces and the LTTE in Jaffna and Batticaloa district in July 1990, nearly 30,000 people fled into the jungle and 150,000 people moved out of their villages. This caused the second wave of Sri Lankan refugee inflow into India. Over one lakh Sri Lankan refugees reached Rameswaram, a coastal town of Tamil Nadu, from Mannar, Vavuniya, Kilinochchi, Trincomalee and Batticaloa districts. While crossing the border, the Sri Lankan Tamil refugees faced numerous problems with the Indian and Sri Lankan Navy. For example, in October 1990, more than 70 refugees died in two incidents off the Tamil Nadu coast when their boats were turned over by the Indian Navy (Subramanian, 2006). Till June 1990, there were only about 5000 refugees in the camps in Tamil Nadu, but the number increased to 122,078 in next few months. During this period, nearly 65,000 refugees were at the government run camps in 23 districts of Tamil Nadu, except Chennai and the Nilgiris (Subramanian, 2002). Beside them, other non-camp refugees took asylum in various parts of Tamil Nadu.

Table 2.3 Second Phase of Influx of Sri Lankan Refugees to India from 1989-91

Month	1989		1990		1991		Total	
	Families	Persons	Families	Persons	Families	Persons	Families	Persons
January	0	0	14	34	40	129	54	163
February	0	0	189	362	19	65	208	427
March	0	0	180	302	5	27	185	329
April	0	0	339	586	7	18	346	604
May	0	0	126	194	0	0	126	194
June	0	0	94	206	0	0	94	206
July	4	18	12,237	46,197	0	0	12241	46215
August	96	204	10,181	41,958	0	0	10277	42162
September	242	647	9,753	25,719	0	0	9995	26366
October	380	633	811	2078	0	0	1191	2711
November	270	567	413	1129	0	0	683	1696
December	411	822	83	183	0	0	494	1005
Total	1403	2891	34,420	118,948	71	239	35,894	122,078

Source: Department of Rehabilitation, Government of Tamil Nadu (1991)

The arrival of refugees fell sharply starting February 24, 1992 when the ceasefire agreement came into force in Sri Lanka. In particular, the exodus was blocked by India due to the assassination of former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi by a Sri Lankan Tamil suicide bomber in May 1991. This was a major turning point in the history of ethnic conflict. After this bomb blast, Sri Lankan Tamils living in Tamil Nadu faced hostility and they also lost sympathy and support in India. The Tamil Nadu government consolidated and reduced the existing 237 camps to 132 in 1993²⁹, and camps in nearby coastal areas were closed down due to security concerns. The camps were reorganised on a regional basis and the refugees were moved to different camps within the State. Further, the Indian government started the second phase of repatriation from Tamil Nadu in June 1991. Nearly, 54,188 refugees were voluntarily repatriated to Sri Lanka by the Indian government arrangement and around 75,587 refugees were repatriated by own arrangements with valid travel documents until March 1995 (Dasgupta, 2003).

²⁹See, Report on Refugees, Department of Rehabilitation, Government of Tamil Nadu, 1993.

2.8.3 Third Phase of Sri Lankan Refugees Influx in India

In 1994, Chandrika Kumaratunga came to power in Sri Lanka. She took the initial step to set up a peace platform which led to the agreement for a ceasefire between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government in January 1995. But, this broke down after a period of 100 days, which led to the start of the Third Eelam war from the Jaffna peninsula on April 1995. It caused over 668,706 IDPs in Sri Lanka, as against 280,000 refugees outside the country by the end of 1999 (Ahmad, 2004). Moreover, 21,812 refugees had also come to India by December, 2000. This war ended in February 2002 by the ceasefire agreement between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government, effected through Norway government mediation. By this agreement, the inflow of Sri Lankan refugees to India came down; over 250,000 IDPs returned to their home areas and there were several hundred returnees from Tamil Nadu.

Table 2.4 Third Phase of Exodus of Sri Lankan Refugee to India from 1996-2000

Month	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Total Persons
	Persons	Persons	Persons	Persons	Persons	
January	0	259	308	370	92	1029
February	0	210	248	408	181	1047
March	0	174	404	579	257	1414
April	0	263	379	546	198	1386
May	0	618	463	769	288	2138
June	0	493	175	612	200	1480
July	0	311	358	448	138	1255
August	959	456	104	416	45	1980
September	1655	482	442	258	29	2866
October	2258	556	401	379	41	3635
November	1804	294	318	72	46	2534
December	428	156	239	120	105	1048
Total	7104	4272	3839	4977	1620	21812

Source: Department of Rehabilitation, Government of Tamil Nadu (2000)

Meanwhile, the Indian government suspended voluntary repatriation due to the severe armed hostility in north-eastern region of Sri Lanka on 1996. The Indian government did not take any step for the repatriation process until conditions improved. However, some 5,032 refugees went to Sri Lanka from Tamil Nadu by own arrangements with

valid documents³⁰. At the same time, this war had made civilian life difficult in Sri Lanka. Essential services were restricted, and if available, prices were very high. In particular, poverty and insecurity were at their worst in the IDPs camps (Alison, 2004). Moreover, there were large scale cordoning and searching operations, extrajudicial killings, sudden disappearances of the Tamils and torture perpetrated by the Government forces in Sri Lanka. These events had a noticeable effect on Tamil Nadu politicians. In June 2000, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Mr. M. Karunanithi called for a partition of Sri Lanka on the model of the former Czechoslovakia. But India was opposed to this proposal. The Indian Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee said that “it would not tolerate the establishment of separate Tamil State in Sri Lanka, rather a preference for the allocation of greater autonomy to the Tamil areas of the island”. The Indian government also did not like to be directly involved in this crisis (Subramanian, 2000).

2.8.4 The Recent Sri Lankan Refugees Inflow to India

The recent wave of Sri Lankan refugee inflow into India began since the Eelam war IV started in July 2006. De Silva (2009) argued that the armed conflict occurred because of political motivation. In September, 2005 Mr. Mahinda Rajapakse reached an agreement with the JVP party for the forthcoming election. By end of the election, Rajapakse could win very narrowly against Ranil Wickremasinghe, with 50.3 per cent of the vote compared to 48.4 per cent for Ranil. The governing coalition did not have a majority in the legislature without the coalition of the JVP. The JVP used its links with the government to urge an end to the cease fire agreement and to embark on an all-out war with the LTTE. But both the government and the LTTE were ready to continue peace talks, which subsequently took place in Geneva in February 2006.

Meanwhile, the LTTE blocked the water supply at Mavil Aru anicut which affected the livelihood of over 1,500 families in the north-eastern region. The government eventually used force to open the channel, with the Sri Lankan Air force bombing the LTTE camps around Mavil Aru anicut in July 29, 2006. This led to the Eelam war IV (July 2006-May 2009) in Sri Lanka. Afterwards, under pressure from the international community, the LTTE agreed to peace talks and to end the war in early 2008. But the Sri Lankan government was not ready for the peace talks; the government insisted

³⁰See, Government of Tamil Nadu, Public Department, Policy Note, Demand No. 37, 2003.

that the LTTE must disarm before the peace talks and they should surrender to the government forces. But, the LTTE was not ready to leave their weapons leading to continuation of the war. Finally, the war came to an end with the death of the LTTE chief Mr. Vellupillai Prabhakaran on 17 May, 2009. The refugee inflow into India has also come down since then.

**Table 2.5 Fourth Phase of Exodus of Sri Lankan Refugees to India
from 2006 to 2009**

Month	2006	2007	2008	2009	Total Persons
	Persons	Persons	Persons	Persons	
January	304	412	145	135	996
February	193	890	159	166	1408
March	71	524	233	96	924
April	43	339	233	124	729
May	1456	286	556	109	2407
June	1770	279	228	142	2419
July	1822	193	261	93	2369
August	5769	105	115	119	6108
September	3794	159	265	44	4262
October	750	231	199	-	1180
November	364	197	168	-	729
December	319	181	155	-	655
Total	16655	3796	2717	1028	24196

Source: Department of Rehabilitation, Government of Tamil Nadu (2009)

By end of the war, nearly 3 lakhs people were internally displaced and housed in government-run IDPs welfare camps in Sri Lanka. Further, 24,196 refugees fled to India and an unknown number of people fled to Western countries. During the war, the human cost has been enormous. The UN estimates that more than 100,000 people have been killed in the three decade long conflict, including 6,000 in the last five months alone. The military claims to have killed nearly 22,000 of the LTTE cadres and 6,261 security force personnels died during the period 2006 to May 2009. As many as 29,551 soldiers were injured of whom 2,556 were left disabled. However, there is no reliable estimate on the death toll of the LTTE and the civilians (Reddy, 2009). Besides, Sri Lankan Tamils faced several problems in the IDPs camps; in particular, females were sexually abused by their guards who traded sex for food.

Vany Kumar³¹, who was locked up behind barbed wire in the Menik Farm IDPs camp in Vavuniya for four months, revealed that

"Prisoners were punished by being made to kneel for hours in the hot sun, and those suspected of links to the LTTE were taken away and not seen again by their families. Sexual abuse was a common thing that I personally saw. In the visitor area relatives would be the other side of the fence and we would be in the camp. Girls came to wait for their relatives and military officers would come and touch them and some of them were sexually abused by the army. Tamil girls usually don't talk about sexual abuse; they won't open their mouths about it because they know that in the camp if talked anything could happen to them. Therefore, it was quite open and everyone could see the military officers touching the girls. But I heard the officers were giving money or food in return for sex. These people were desperate for everything."

The Sri Lankan government was aware of the accusation of sexual abuse and punishment of prisoners but did not take any action against it till recently. In the meantime, the government has resettled 135,000 IDPs by the end of 2009 in their native places under its 180 days resettlement programme³². However, full resettlement will take place only after clearing the landmines in the north-eastern region. During this resettlement, government provided Rs. 25,000 to each family, along with roofing sheets, kitchen utensils, agricultural implements and dry rations sufficient for six months³³. The Indian government, also concerned about the welfare of Sri Lankan Tamils living in IDPs camps, announced a Rs. 500 crore rehabilitation packages in May, 2009. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh had already announced Rs. 100 crore relief packages for Sri Lankan Tamils, in addition to Rs. 25 crore given by the Tamil Nadu government (Cherian, 2009). However, the Indian government and many countries emphasise that though the people are returning to their home places after the death of the LTTE chief, it is not the only answer to the ethnic conflict and that it call for a political solution. This consists of devolution of power, participation in the election, providing full rights to the Tamil people as citizens of Sri Lanka and maintaining the territorial integrity within the framework which is important for the Sri Lankan constitution. Therefore, the Sri Lankan government has to take action for a permanent political solution to the ethnic conflict which cannot otherwise be stopped.

³¹See, Guardian, London, Sunday, 20 December 2009.

³²See, UNHCR, December 2009.

³³See, News line, Sri Lanka, Wednesday, 29 July, 2009

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter surveyed the root causes of the ethnic conflict between the Sinhalese and Tamils in Sri Lanka based on a literature review. We found that the ethnic conflict emerged because the Sri Lanka government had deliberately discriminated against the Tamils during the post-independence period with regard to their fundamental rights of citizenship, language, education, employment and land settlement. Given the context, a growing ethnic conflict was the main factor for forced migration into India. We specifically examined the trends of Sri Lankan refugee inflow and outflow in India with the help of secondary data. The mass Sri Lankan refugee inflow occurred in India in four phases linked to the four phases of war between the Sri Lankan army and the LTTE. Whenever war started between them it led to Sri Lankan Tamils fleeing to India and other countries. We also noted that Sri Lankan refugees were repatriated to Sri Lanka during 1983-87 and 1991. After that, the Government of India had stopped their repatriation due to the severe fight between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan army in Sri Lanka. Once they were settled in camps in Tamil Nadu, how the Sri Lankan refugees have been rehabilitated by the Government of India and Tamil Nadu and what kinds of relief assistance have been provided to accommodate them in the refugee camps. This issue will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

HUMANITARIAN APPROACH ON REFUGEES IN INDIA

3.1 Introduction

People flee from their home country to other countries to escape persecution, ethnic conflict, war and natural disaster. On their arrival in the country of asylum, they often find it difficult to survive in a different environment. In such circumstances, they mainly depend on assistance from the local government and NGOs. Some studies have noted that the local government provides only very limited relief assistance to refugees to meet their basic needs (Das, 2005). It is very difficult for them to build a decent livelihood with the limited assistance. Some of the refugees do not get even minimum assistance. Given this background, this chapter analyses the manner in which the displaced people and refugees have been rehabilitated by the Government of India when they migrated to India. Section 3.2 gives details about the rehabilitation assistance for displaced people in Jammu and Kashmir and relief assistance for Tibetan refugees in India. In addition, Section 3.3 specifically focuses on relief assistance programmes and expenditure on Sri Lankan refugees in camps in Tamil Nadu. Section 3.4 summarises the findings of the chapter.

3.2 Humanitarian Expenditure on Refugees in India

The Freedom Fighters and Rehabilitation Division of the Ministry of Home Affairs has the responsibility to provide rehabilitation programmes for refugees, displaced people and migrants. The Division mainly provided rehabilitation assistance to migrants from former West and East Pakistan and relief assistance to Tibetan and Sri Lankan refugees who stayed in refugee camps in India.

3.2.1 Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons in Jammu and Kashmir

In the aftermath of the Pakistan-instigated violence in Jammu and Kashmir in 1947, about 32,000 families migrated from Pakistan-occupied Kashmir to the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir. In order to mitigate the hardships of these displaced people, the Government of India had sanctioned some relief packages in 1947-48 and 1960. In order to further address the grievances of these displaced people, the Government of India announced relief packages of Rs. 49 crore in 2000 for granting ex-gratia relief

and some other benefits. It had been decided that an amount of Rs. 25,000 ex-gratia payment to a family with an overall ceiling of Rs.1.5 lakh might be given to the rural settler in lieu of land deficiency. Similarly, instead of providing plots to each family in urban areas, they might be paid an amount of Rs. 2 lakh per family in settlement of their claim. Accordingly, the Indian Government sanctioned an amount of Rs. 49 crore to the State Government of Jammu & Kashmir on December 24, 2008. The Government of Jammu and Kashmir has utilized about Rs.4.23 crore till March, 2009. In addition, the package aimed at facilitating admission of their wards in professional and other educational institutions, bank loans without mortgage for taking up self-employment/business activities, vocational training for youth under the skill development initiative of the Ministry of Labour & Employment and special facilities in terms of admission to the technical institutions approved by the All India Council of Technical Education (AICTE) in various parts of the country.

3.2.2 Relief Assistance to Tibetan Refugees

Tibetan refugees began fleeing to India in the wake of the flight of His Holiness the Dalai Lama from Tibet in 1959. To accommodate and help them, the Government of India had initially set up various transit camps at Missamari (Assam) and Buxa (West Bengal). In these camps they were given free ration, clothing, cooking utensils and medical facilities. However, many Tibetan refugees died in camps due to the sudden change in the climate and the arduous journey across the Himalayas. Hence, the Indian Government resettled them in various parts of India in response to the request made by the Dalai Lama. The total population of Tibetan refugees in India in February, 2008 was 1,10,095. The largest number is found in Karnataka (44,468), followed by Himachal Pradesh (21,980), Arunachal Pradesh (7,530), Uttarakhand (8,545), West Bengal (5,785) and Jammu and Kashmir (6,920) (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2009). Education had been accorded top priority in the Tibetan refugee rehabilitation agenda. The Indian Government provides support for their educational and welfare needs. Accordingly, there are nearly 28,000 Tibetan refugee students studying in 71 schools in India in 2008. They study in both residential and day schools and emphasis is on providing education from the pre-primary to the senior secondary level. These schools emphasised the integration of Tibetan language and culture into the curriculum and their extra-curricular activities.

The majority of Tibetan refugees were farmers and nomads which led to the Government to provide them accommodation, cultivable land, bullocks, agricultural implements, seeds and fertilizer. Facilities had been provided to these refugees to enable them to supplement their income by setting up poultry farms, dairy farms and piggeries. However, the scarcity of land and lack of aptitude in agriculture led the young Tibetan refugees to struggle for survival. As a result, the Government of India accommodated them in other sectors like agro-based industries. The Government started eight industrial projects for them and also helped to co-ordinate these projects. Unfortunately, some of these industries failed due to lack of technical skill, poor management and limited funding.

Additionally, as part of rehabilitation programme, carpet weaving and handicrafts were also earmarked, in which a maximum number of Tibetan refugees were rehabilitated. These are old professions among the Tibetan refugees and many of them still concentrate on the production of carpets and handicrafts. This not only provides economic benefits to the Tibetans but also earns the much needed foreign currency for India. Moreover, the Central Tibetan Relief Committee (CTRC) had been providing training programmes to Tibetan refugees to diversify and encourage the production of a variety of crafts and activities like tailoring, knitting, embroidery and wood-carving. Overall, the Government of India has spent an amount of Rs.18.72 crore up to November 2008 on the various stages on resettlement of Tibetan refugees in India (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2009). The Rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees is almost complete with only two residuary housing schemes at various stages of implementation in the States of Himachal Pradesh and Uttaranchal.

3.3 Sri Lankan Refugees in India

Following the ethnic conflict and continued disturbed conditions in Sri Lanka, a large number of Sri Lankan refugees have been fleeing to India since 1983. They usually land at Dhanushkodi on Pamban Island and are screened by the local Police at Rameswaram to determine whether they have links with the LTTE or smuggling groups³⁴. After enquiry, the revenue officials register their names in the refugees admission register. During the verification, they are checked for possession of

³⁴During the verifications, if the LTTE drop-outs or smugglers came to notice, action is taken to lodge them in the Special Camp to restrict their movement and safeguard the security of State.

identification cards or school records, etc. The Indian authorities will then affix their photographs in the Identity Card. Thereafter, all refugees have been sent to Mandapam transit camp³⁵ in Ramanathapuram district. The Sri Lankan refugees can be classified into three categories in Tamil Nadu such as camp refugees, non-camp refugees and special camp refugees. Camp refugee denotes those who are living in 115 camps spread over 26 districts in Tamil Nadu, and Non-camp refugees indicates those who have been staying at outside the camps (cities, and small towns) with friends, relative's home or rented houses.

According to the Department of Rehabilitation of Tamil Nadu, nearly 100,793 Sri Lankan refugees are residing in Tamil Nadu as of May 2009. Out of them, 73,397 refugees are living in 115 governments run camps³⁶ situated in 26 districts out of 29 districts of Tamil Nadu and most of them in rural areas. Nearly 27,200 non-camp refugees are staying outside the camps with friends and relatives and in rented houses in Tamil Nadu. The non-camp refugees do not receive any assistance from the Tamil Nadu or Indian governments. They are able to maintain themselves with remittances from relatives in abroad or by some means of self-employment (Nirmala, 2007). There are two special camps housing refugees with special security concerns.

The Sri Lankan Tamil refugees mostly stay in Tamil Nadu because ethnic kinship has led to strong support for them in the state. There is also a considerable number of families staying in Karnataka (988 families), Kerala (1,599 families), Andhra Pradesh (1,962 families), Gujarat (1 family), Pondicherry (25 families) and Andaman and Nicobar Islands (64 families). The eastern region of Orissa has a small number of Sri Lankan Tamils refugees (Dept. of Rehabilitation of Tamil Nadu, 2005). Refugees have had strict restrictions on their freedom of movement and were often treated with some degree of suspicion by the Indian government. However, presently this condition has undergone a sea change. Refugees move freely from camps to outside areas, though only some camps in urban areas have police protection. This comes out from the results of a field survey discussed in Chapter five of this study.

³⁵Those who arrive in Tamil Nadu as a refugee stay at this camp for very limited period not exceeding 30 days. After verification of their antecedents they are sent to other normal camps in Tamil Nadu. This camp was earlier used as a transit camp for repatriated Hill country Tamils under the Indo-Sri Lankan agreement of 1964. It now serves as a transit camp for Sri Lankan refugees (Refugees Council, 1999).

³⁶These refugees camps were started in mid 1980s and the special camps started in 1991 following the assassination of former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in Tamil Nadu.

3.3.1 Accommodation Facilities

Sri Lankan refugees have been accommodated in government-owned or rented lands where huts are built for them. Generally, refugees are accommodated in cyclone shelters, government buildings, community halls, public works department buildings and Panchayat Union buildings. Hence, the Tamil Nadu government has started the infrastructure development programme to improve the camp condition. Under the programme, the Tamil Nadu government allocated Rs. 16 crores in 2008-09 for repair work in the huts and provision of basic amenities such as street lights, drinking water facilities, toilet facilities, road facilities, electrification of the huts, etc., and also construction of additional huts in the existing camps. The entire expenditure on refugee relief is initially met by the State Government and thereafter reimbursed by the Government of India. In September, 2007 the European Commission also allocated € 500,000 to improve water, sanitation facilities and shelter in the camps (Kannan, 2007). Every camp has electricity³⁷, water, sanitation and other facilities. NGOs³⁸ also offer services to the camp refugees in Tamil Nadu. NGOs constructed huts, bath-rooms and provide medical camps, etc., in refugee camps.

3.3.2 Relief Assistance to Sri Lankan Refugees

The Tamil Nadu government has been providing cash assistance to camp refugees based on the age criterion of each individual in a family on the date of arrival in India. Since August, 2006, this amount was doubled.

Table 3.1 Monthly Cash Doles Distributed to the Refugee Household (in Rs.)

Member wise Distribution	1983	1990	1996	01.08.06
Single person family/Head of family	110	150	200	400
Each additional member aged 12 years and above	82.50	120	144	288
First child (less than 12 years of age)	55	75	90	180
Each additional child	27.50	37.50	45	90

Source: Government of Tamil Nadu, (2003)

³⁷Since May 2006, the camp has been getting 24 hours electricity facilities with free of cost provided by Tamil Nadu government. It was earlier getting only for 12 hours i.e. from 6.00 P.M to 6.00 A.M

³⁸Organization for Eelam Refugee Rehabilitation (OfERR) and Jesuit Refugees Services have been providing good services to the refugees.

Under this assistance, the head of the family gets Rs. 400, each additional member aged 12 years gets Rs. 288, the first child (less than 12 years of age) gets Rs. 180 and each additional child gets Rs. 90. During 2007-08, Rs. 27 crore was allotted for such assistance, but till March 2008, only Rs. 24.79 crore was spent on it. Under the relief assistance, rice is also supplied to the camp refugees at a subsidised rate of 57 paise per kilogram through the public distribution system. Generally, it has been distributed at the rate of 400 grams per day per adult, above the age of 8 years and 200 grams per day per child, below the age of 8 years. The Tamil Nadu government provided Rs. 11.40 crore in the 2007-08 budget estimate, but it incurred only Rs. 8.32 crore for this purpose. The refugees also receive other essential commodities like sugar, wheat, kerosene, etc., through fair price shops in nearby camps. Further, the Tamil Nadu government supplies clothes to each camp refugee family free of cost every year. During the financial year 2007-08, Rs. 2.59 crore was provided for this purpose. The camp refugees also get five kinds of utensils worth of Rs. 250 once in two years. A sum of Rs. 3.13 crore had been provided by the Tamil Nadu government in its 2007-08 budget estimate for this purpose.

The Sri Lankan refugees face severe health problems due to the type of houses made of iron and asbestos and lack of proper sanitation facilities. The state government provides free medical services in government hospitals and primary health centres situated in nearby camps. The Organisation of Eelam Refugees Rehabilitation (OfERR) also provides medical assistance and counselling to camp refugees. The refugees receive financial assistance for major medical treatment sanctioned from the Sri Lankan Tamil Special Relief Fund on the recommendation of the district collector. The Tamil Nadu Government is implementing an Integrated Child Development Scheme to enhance the nutritional level of children, pregnant women and lactating mother in Tamil Nadu. From April, 2007, it was extended to women and children staying in the refugee camp. The Tamil Nadu government has also extended the Dr.Muthulakshmi Reddy Maternity Assistance Scheme to the pregnant Sri Lankan women refugees in Tamil Nadu. Under this scheme, they get cash assistance of Rs. 1000/- per month for nutritional supplements during the three months before and after delivery. Nearly, 805 pregnant women refugees benefited by this scheme in 2008-09 and 905 in 2007-08.

Sri Lankan refugee students faced several difficulties following the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. Their admission was cancelled in all the schools and reservation was also withdrawn by the Tamil Nadu government in September 1991. The government allowed education only in August 1993, but refugee children were permitted to study up to the 12th standard in schools in Tamil Nadu during 1993-94. They could have restored college admissions again when the OfERR appealed to the state government in May 1996 (Refugee Council, 1999). The refugee students now get free education along with free uniforms, noon meal, bus passes, text-books, note-books and 11th standard students are also given bicycles. The refugee children are allowed to continue their study anywhere in Tamil Nadu with admissible cash dole and other assistance.

Table 3.2 Distribution of Professional Seats for Refugee Students in Tamil Nadu

Courses	Prior to 1996	After 1996
Medical	20	20
Law	5	5
Engineering	20	30
Polytechnic	25	30
Agriculture (B.Sc)	7	7
Veterinary	1	1
ITI	5 % addition to the existing seats in all Government institutions	5 % addition to the existing seats in all Government institutions

Source: Government of Tamil Nadu, (2003).

They have renewed the quota system in higher education since 1996. It includes 20 seats for medical, 30 seats each for engineering and polytechnic and 7 seats for agriculture (see Table 3.2). About 20,849 children benefited from this scheme in 2008. The OfERR helps the refugee students through guidance, admission to school, college and other institutions. Further, it provides English language coaching and financial assistance to meet school or college fees, hostel fees and travelling fees. The Tamil Nadu government allows Sri Lankan refugees to go back to Sri Lanka or any other country. Nearly 106 exit permits were issued to them by district collectors during 2006-07. Furthermore, the Tamil Nadu government started another scheme "Welfare of the Sri Lankan Refugees" in 2006-07 in order to improve their standard of living in Tamil Nadu. Under this scheme, Rs. 42.14 crore has been provided by the

state government in 2006-07. Additionally, the state government has constituted the “Sri Lankan Tamils Relief Fund” to help the war-affected Sri Lankan Tamils. For this fund, the government appealed to people for contributions. Till March 2009, a sum of Rs. 50.84 crore had been mobilised for the fund.

Table 3.3 Expenditure Incurred on Sri Lankan Refugees in Tamil Nadu

Year	Expenditure (in crores)	Year	Expenditure (in crores)
1983-94	0.21	1997-98	21.26
1984-95	1.87	1998-99	25.47
1985-86	3.61	1999-00	24.55
1986-87	3.78	2000-01	-
1987-88	3.78	2001-02	-
1988-89	1.37	2002-03	18.45
1989-90	0.96	2003-04	-
1990-91	22.55	2004-05	27.22
1991-92	23.72	2005-06	22.46
1992-93	20.89	2006-07	39.07
1993-94	18.27	2007-08	42.14
1994-95	17.94	2008-09	44.34
1995-96	16.57	2009-10	55.48
1996-97	20.45	2010-11	-

Source: Various published documents of Department of Rehabilitation,
Government of Tamil Nadu

Overall, a sum of Rs. 500 crore had been spent by the Indian government³⁹ for the Sri Lankan refugee relief programme from July 1983 to March, 2009 (see Table 3.3). Apart from this, four lakh Sri Lankan Tamils were repatriated to India under the Shastri-Srimovo pact in 1995. They have settled in India and are working in tea, rubber, cinchona plantations, co-operative spinning mills, industrial schemes of Repco Bank, agricultural schemes. They can also avail themselves of business and housing loans. They are also involved in self-employment schemes such as dairy farming, cycle rickshaw and match industries. The Government of India closed their rehabilitation assistance since March 1999 (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2004).

³⁹See, Annual Report (2009), Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, p.136.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed how refugees and displaced people were rehabilitated by the Indian Government with special focus on Sri Lankan refugees in the camps in Tamil Nadu. We noted that the Government of India had provided rehabilitation to those who were displaced from Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and settled in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir in 1947. The relief package mainly focused on cash assistance, education facility and vocational training. The Government of India has also been rehabilitating Tibetan refugees in India since 1959. They had been accommodated in various parts of India since their arrival. The majority of Tibetan refugees were farmers, and this led to the Indian Government providing them agricultural land with bullocks, agricultural machinery, seed and fertiliser. Moreover, young Tibetan refugees who could not make a living out of agriculture were provided employment in agro-based industries by the Indian Government. Further, the Central Tibetan Relief Committee had provided employment training programmes to Tibetan refugees to diversify their economic activities in India. The Government's rehabilitation programme for Tibetan refugees and displaced people in Jammu and Kashmir has almost come to an end. The Sri Lankan refugees have been receiving the Indian Government's assistance from 1983 to date. We noted that the government of Tamil Nadu has been providing various kinds of assistance to Sri Lankan refugees residing in camps in Tamil Nadu. This includes basic necessities such as shelter, free electricity, cash dole, subsidised rice, free education and medical facilities. The total expenditure is initially met by the State Government, and thereafter reimbursed by the Government of India. The Indian Government has spent a sum of Rs. 500 crore for Sri Lankan refugee rehabilitation in India up to March 2009. The NGOs are also working for Sri Lankan refugee welfare in Tamil Nadu. They have constructed huts and bathrooms in refugee camps, conducted medical camps and have helped provide educational facilities for the refugee children, etc. This section will serve as a background for a further discussion of the livelihood condition of Sri Lankan refugees in camps in Tamil Nadu, which we take up in chapter five.

Chapter 4

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a discussion of conceptual framework of the study. In order to understand the livelihood condition of Sri Lankan refugees in camps in Tamil Nadu, this study used the Department for International Development's (DFID) sustainable livelihood model as a conceptual framework for the analysis of the study. It is a basic framework for livelihood analysis and helps to understand the livelihood condition of poor people. This is followed by a brief discussion on the profile of study area by secondary data collected from OfERR. It covered the details about location of camp, population size, sex ratio, refugee's employment status, camp infrastructural facilities, etc.

4.2 Sustainable Livelihood Model

While discussing the sustainable livelihood concept, we turn back to the work of Robert Chambers and Gordon R. Conway in 1991. They define it as follows:

“a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, to maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets to provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation. It also contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the long and short term”

This definition of a livelihood can be applied to different hierarchical levels, but Chambers and Conway argued that it is used most commonly at the household level. This study adopts the sustainable livelihood framework (SLF) model developed by the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID). The DFID's definition of sustainable livelihood is a modified version of the original definition by Chambers and Conway. This model looks at the factors that cause poverty, how people access different types of assets (human, social, natural, physical and financial assets) and their ability to put these to productive use. Moreover, it presents a way of assessing how organisations, policies, institutions, and cultural

norms shape people's livelihoods, both by determining who gains access to which type of asset, and what range of livelihood strategies are open and attractive to people.

Development agencies like the Cooperative for Assistance and Relief (CARE) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) also use the sustainable livelihood approach, but they modify it according to their own practical needs. The sustainable livelihood approach is a part of UNDP's overall Sustainable Human Development (SHD) mandate. It includes poverty eradication, employment and sustainable livelihoods, gender, protection and regeneration of the environment and governance. However, it specifically focuses on the importance of technological improvements as a means to help people rise out of poverty. CARE uses household livelihood security as a framework for programme analysis, design, monitoring and evaluation. It particularly emphasizes strengthening of the capability of the poor to enable them to take initiatives to secure their own livelihoods. The approach therefore stresses empowerment as a fundamental dimension. But CARE places less emphasis on its framework and approach on structures, and processes and macro-micro links.

All three agencies, viz., DFID, CARE and UNDP, use the sustainable livelihood approach as a strategy to eliminate poverty. They also use similar definitions of what constitutes sustainable livelihoods. Therefore, it is necessary to examine how the sustainable livelihood approach differs between the three agencies. First, UNDP and CARE use it to facilitate the planning of concrete projects and programmes, but DFID's sustainable livelihood approach is more of a basic framework for analysis than a procedure for programming. Secondly, the transforming processes (organisations, policies, and legislation) impinge upon the livelihood opportunities of the poor people because they are much easier to influence through external donor support. Neither UNDP nor CARE in their respective sustainable livelihood approaches addresses this issue. However, DFID's sustainable livelihood approach puts great emphasis on transforming structures and processes that have the capacity to transform livelihoods, and the way in which they provide better opportunities for the poor. In addition, this model is an instrument to understand the livelihood of the poor people. Therefore, this framework has largely been used in agriculture, poverty reduction and rural livelihood projects, but it has been used very limitedly for the refugee livelihood research. In this study, the model helps to understand the

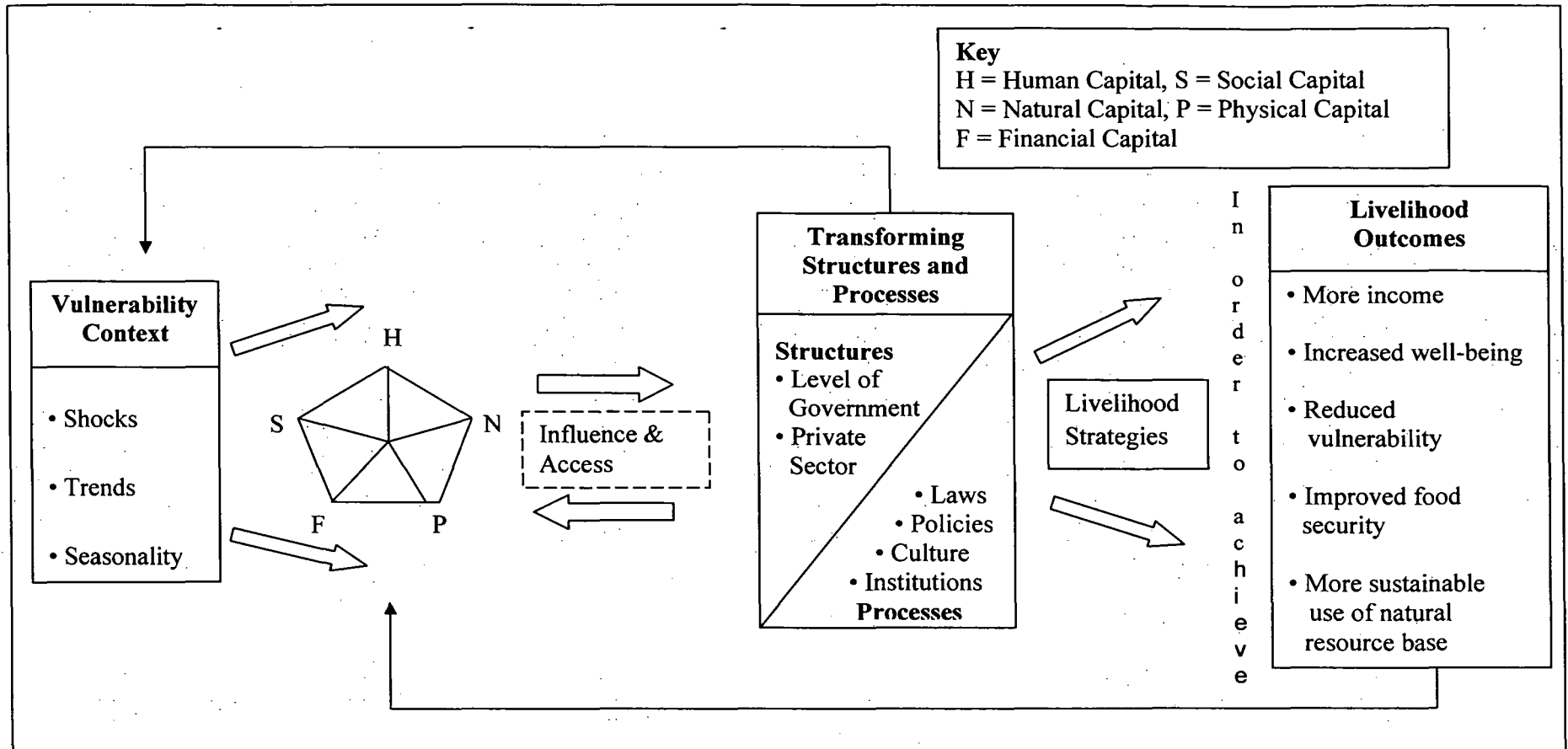
vulnerability of the Sri Lankan camp refugees, accessibility of capital assets, the way in which various institutions influence their livelihood and the kind of livelihood strategies that are open to them to pursue their livelihood outcomes.

4.2.1 Vulnerability Context

The DFID's sustainable livelihood model starts with the vulnerability condition. The vulnerability context frames the external environment in which people exist. In the context of refugees, vulnerability is defined as the lack of ability to cope with stress or shocks, thereby resulting in their livelihood being affected by the events that threaten life and security. Situations of displacement provide many stresses and shocks and hence vulnerability becomes the central issue to be tackled (Schafer, 2002). In general, livelihood and the availability of assets are fundamentally affected by critical trends as well as shocks and seasonality which cause people to become more vulnerable (DFID, 1999). Shocks affecting whole communities include war, civil violence, earthquakes, floods, droughts, famine, etc. Those affecting individuals and households include accidents, ill-health, death of family member or of a valued animal, loss of assets through theft, fire or other disaster and loss of jobs (Chambers and Conway, 1991).

Trends that can affect people's livelihood include population growth, national and international economic trends, natural resources, trends in governance, and technology. Seasonal variations of prices, health or employment opportunities can also have an impact on their livelihoods. However, not all the trends are negative or can cause vulnerability. For instance, economic indicators can move in favourable directions, diseases can be eradicated and new technologies may be very valuable to poor people. In the refugees' perspective, they not only have to cope with the frequent traumatic experience of flight and displacement, but also often end up with only limited resources due to loss of assets and capabilities (De Vriese, 2006). To be precise, the migration of Sri Lankan refugees to an unknown environment with a different social structure can be viewed as shock. Therefore, we investigate as to how Sri Lankan refugees have dealt and coped with these vulnerabilities by looking into their way of life in camps in Tamil Nadu.

Chart 4.1 Sustainable Livelihood Framework



Sources: DFID, (1999)

4.2.2 Capital Assets

The ability of people to escape from poverty is critically dependent upon the basic material, and social, tangible and intangible assets that people have in their possession. Drawing on an economic metaphor such livelihood resources may be seen as the 'capital' base from which different productive streams are derived and from which livelihoods are constructed (Scoones, 1998). DFID distinguishes five categories of capital assets such as natural, social, human, physical and financial assets. Human capital represents the skills, knowledge, ability to work and good health that together enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood objectives. At the household level, human capital is a factor of the amount and quality of labour available; this varies according to household size, skill level, leadership potential, health status, etc. Human capital is also vital in order to make use of any of other four types of assets which lead to the achievement of positive livelihood outcomes.

Social capital consists of membership in formalised groups, networks and connectedness, and relationships of trust, reciprocity and exchange. It can help to increase people's income and rates of saving by improving the efficiency of economic relations. Furthermore, it can help to reduce free rider problems associated with public goods. This means that it can be effective in improving the management of common resources (natural capital) and the maintenance of shared infrastructure (Evans, 1996; Bebbington, 1999). Natural capital indicates the natural resource stocks (soil, water, forest, air quality, erosion protection, biodiversity degree and rate of change, etc.) from which resource flows and services useful for livelihoods are derived. Obviously, it's very important to those who derive all or part of their livelihoods from natural resource based activities such as farming, fishing, gathering and mineral extraction. In general, people cannot survive without the help of key environmental services and food produced from natural capital.

Physical capital comprises the basic infrastructure and producer goods needed to support livelihoods, such as affordable transport, adequate water supply and sanitation, inexpensive energy, and access to communication. The lack of a particular type of infrastructure is considered to be a core dimension of poverty. Therefore, lack of access to services such as water and energy affects human health. The opportunity

costs associated with poor infrastructure can preclude education, access to health services and income generation. Financial capital denotes the financial resources that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives. There are two main sources of financial capital available such as available stocks which comprise cash, bank deposits or liquid assets and second, regular inflows of money consisting of labour income, pensions or other transfers from the state and remittances. In order to make a positive contribution to financial capital, these inflows must be reliable. It is probably the most versatile of the five categories of assets, because it can be converted with varying degrees of ease and also because it can be used for direct achievement of livelihood outcomes.

4.2.3 Transforming Structure and Processes

It indicates the institutions, organisations, policies and legislations that shape people's livelihood. They are all very important as they operate at all levels from the household to the international arena and effectively determine access, terms of exchange between different types of capital and returns to any given livelihood strategy (Shankland, 2000). Structures can be represented as 'hardware' (private and public organisations) that set and implement policy and legislation, deliver services, purchase, trade and perform all manner of other functions that affect livelihoods. These are important because the absence of well-coordinated structures can be a major constraint to sustainable development. This is a main problem in remote rural areas and also confined refugee camps (De Vriese, 2006). Many important organisations (both private and public sector) do not reach these areas, and therefore service is very limited, markets do not function and the overall vulnerability and poverty of people increases. Moreover, when people do not have access to organisations of the state they often have little knowledge of their rights and only a very limited understanding of the way in which government functions. This disenfranchises them and it makes hard for them to exert pressure for change in the processes (policies, legislation, etc.) that affect their livelihoods.

If structure is 'hardware', processes can be considered as 'software'. They determine the way in which structures and individuals operate and interact. There are many types of overlapping and conflicting processes operating at a variety of levels, but important processes for livelihoods. Policies inform the development of new

legislation and provide a framework for the actions of public sector implementing agencies and their sub-contractors. Institutions are defined as 'regularised practices (or patterns of behaviour) structured by rules and norms of society which have persistent and widespread use' (North, 1991; Hodgson, 2006). Institutions may be formal and informal, but they directly affect people livelihood. For example, state policy on social security directly affects livelihood outcomes. Institutions are embedded in and develop out of the culture of communities or larger societies. This culture will often include widely recognised hierarchies of power relations that confer a particular status on people and constrain their behaviour and opportunities according to factors that are essentially out of their control (age, gender, etc.). Processes are important to every aspect of livelihoods because of they provide the incentives that encourage the people to make particular choices. They make possible the transformation of one type of asset into another and also have a strong influence on inter-personal relations.

4.2.4 Livelihood Strategies

Livelihood strategies are defined as "the activities undertaken by households to provide a means of living". A key goal is to ensure household economic and social security and to promote choice, opportunity and diversity. DfID (1999) denotes that "livelihood strategies consist of the range and combination of activities and choices that people make or undertake in order to achieve their livelihood goals". Within the livelihood framework, Scoones (1998) identifies three wider clusters of livelihood strategies such as agricultural intensification or extensification, livelihood diversification that includes both paid employment and rural enterprises, and migration (including income generation and remittances). McDowell and De Haan (1997) confirmed that migration could be seen as one of the important livelihood strategies open to households and that it is often combined with other strategies. Carney (1998) says that livelihood strategies are natural resource based, non natural resource based and migration. At the same time, Ellis (2000) categorises livelihood strategies as natural resource based activities and non natural resource based activities (including remittances and other transfers). Generally, these are the options available for rural people. Either they gain more of their livelihood from agriculture activities through process of intensification/extensification or they diversify to a range of

income earning activities. People can move away and seek a livelihood either temporarily or permanently. Normally, people pursue a combination of strategies together or in sequence. Understanding the diverse and dynamic livelihood strategies is important so that interventions are made appropriate.

4.2.5 Livelihood Outcomes

Livelihood outcomes are the achievements of livelihood strategies such as more income, increased well-being (self-esteem, health status and access to services), reduced vulnerability (better resilience through increase in asset status), improved food security (increase in financial capital in order to buy food) and a more sustainable use of natural resources (Scoones, 1998). Similarly, Ellis (2000) says that, outcomes can also be viewed in terms of income received or consumption achieved by household. In the refugees context, outcomes help to understand the output of the current configuration of factors within the livelihood framework. It demonstrates what motivates stakeholders to act as they do and what their priorities are, how they are likely to respond to new opportunities and also which performance indicators should be used to assess support activity. Livelihood outcomes directly influence the assets and change their level dynamically, offering a new starting point for other strategies and outcomes.

4.3 The Profile of Study Area

This section presents specific characteristics of the study areas (Puzhal and Thenpallipattu refugee camps) that will be important for the latter discussions. The features to be discussed here include the location of camps, history, population size, social and physical infrastructure, culture and finally the economic characteristics.

4.3.1 Puzhal Refugee Camp

This camp is located in Ampathur Taluk in the Thiruvallur district of Tamil Nadu state. It is nearly 51 km north of Chennai city, the capital of Tamil Nadu. This camp has been running since 1990s⁴⁰. According to OfERR, there were 408 households residing at Puzhal refugee camp in 2009. The total population of camp stood at 1,283,

⁴⁰The Tamil Nadu government expanded the refugee camps during 1990s due to high Sri Lankan refugee inflow in to Tamil Nadu by the second Eelam war between Sri Lankan army and LTTE.

comprising 684 (53 per cent) males and 599 (47 per cent) females. Moreover, when we look at the distribution of camp population by age group, the 20-49 age group represented the largest, accounting for 49 per cent of the total population. This was followed by the 6-19 age group which constituted 30 per cent, the 1-5 age group comprising of 11 per cent, and the above 50 age group consisting of 10 per cent of the total population. There were 382 refugee children studying at school and colleges, of whom 48 per cent were males and 52 per cent were females. Originally, 42 per cent of the refugee households came from Trincomalee district of Sri Lanka and followed by Vavuniya (19 per cent), Mullaitivu (18 per cent), Jaffna (16 per cent) and Batticaloa (5 per cent).

The majority of the refugee households was Hindu and constituted 70 per cent of the total population, while the remaining 30 per cent was composed of the Christian community households. There are two temples and three churches in the camp. Widows, physically and mentally disabled persons and chronic patients who constitute 7.2 per cent of the refugees in the camp were among those more vulnerable to the war and displacement. There are some NGOs providing relief assistance to the refugees in camp, i.e., OfERR and Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS). They also organise medical camps and counselling for traumatised refugees. To improve the status of women, 48 women members organised four Self Help Groups (SHGs) in the camp, namely, Udhaya Tharakai, Eela Deepam, Annai Indhra and Alai Osai. All the SHGs were organised by OfERR. Out of total population, 29 per cent of refugees were economically active. Generally, Sri Lankan refugees do not have agricultural land in Tamil Nadu. They are therefore mainly dependent on non-farm activities. Nearly, 75 per cent of the main workers are engaged as porters, painters, masons and in clerical work in the private administration, while the remaining refugees are employed as drivers, tailors, etc.

Most of houses in Puzhal camp are 'Katcha' houses. Seventy three per cent of the houses were constructed using leaves and asbestos sheets, 8 per cent of the houses have used tiles and 19 per cent of the houses have thatched roofs. The state government and NGOs have constructed five bath-rooms and 47 toilets in the camp. In terms of drinking water, the households were mainly dependent on borewell water sources. Five borewells and 20 water taps have been constructed by the Government

of Tamil Nadu. All households had 24 hour electricity supply, but power break were quite frequent. The camp has one telephone booth, but we found that most of the refugees used cell phones. There were a few small shops nearby, such as three small hotels, seven petty shops, five fancy shops, two meat stalls, two tea stalls and one bakery. They sold some basic food items and goods of daily use. Redhills, 2 km away from the camp, had a wholesale market with all kinds of shops and services providers.

Facilities like primary health centre, general hospital, bus stop and railway station are available at distances of 2 km, 16 km, 2 km and 51 km respectively. The camp had one nursery school with 35 refugee students. Primary school education (1-5 standards) is available at Kavankarai, about 2 km away from camp. Secondary school education is available at Redhills. Colleges in Redhills and Chennai were accessible to the refugees. There is a library in the camp to develop the refugee children's educational capability. The state government is providing medical assistance to women refugees in the camp. In this way, 74 women and children benefited under the Integrated Child Development Service scheme and 47 women benefited under the Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy Maternity Assistance Scheme in 2009.

4.3.2 Thenpallipattu Refugee Camp

This camp lies in Thenpallipattu Panchayat of Polur Taluk in Thiruvannamalai district, approximately 26 km north of Thiruvannamalai district. It is also on the state highway between Thiruvannamalai and Polur. This was a comparatively medium-sized camp. This camp started in mid-1980s by the former Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M.G. Ramachandran. It had 145 families, with a total population of 532 consisting of 280 (53 per cent) males and 252 (47 per cent) females in 2009. The refugee between the ages of 20-49 constituted the largest age group, which accounted for 42 per cent of the total camp population. The age group above 50 comprised 33 per cent, the 6-19 age group constituted 17.5 per cent and the 1-5 age group composed 7.5 per cent of the total population. Nearly 76 per cent of the refugee households were Hindu and the remaining 24 per cent were Christians. The camp had a temple for Hindu religious activities. The vast majority of the refugee households came from Vavuniya, which accounted for 86 per cent and 8 per cent from Jaffna, 4 per cent from Mannar, and 2 per cent from Trincomalee.

When we look at refugee health status, 3 per cent of refugees were found to be vulnerable out of the total population. The vulnerable section consisted of widows, physically or mentally disabled persons and chronic patients. However, the state government provides free medical facilities to the refugees and eight women refugees were availing of benefits under the Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy Maternity Assistance Scheme in 2009.

The refugee children are studying at nearby government schools. Nearly 126 students, 51 per cent male and 49 per cent female, were studying in schools and colleges. In general, primary school education is available in government school at Thenpallipattu, 5 km away from the camp, while secondary school education is available in Kalasapakkam government school, 3 km away from the camp. The refugee children went to Thiruvannamalai for higher education. The camp also had a library and reading room. According to OfERR, out of the total population, 32 per cent of the refugees are economically active. Most of the males went outside for employment. They are mainly engaged in construction work, porting, quarry works and agricultural activities. Moreover, many refugees were engaged in the private administrative sector in urban areas.

Thenpallipattu refugee camp consists of both Katcha and Pukka houses. The houses were constructed using stone and asbestos and some of them using tar sheets. The camp had no protected water. Borewells provided the main source of drinking water which was supplied using five hand pumps. Bathroom and toilet facilities are very limited in the camp. There were only five bathrooms and 20 toilets in the camp. Some of them were not functioning and so while the females used the bathrooms, the males had to use open places. Most households had 24-hour electricity supply and the camp also had one solar light. The primary source of basic food supply was that delivered by the Government of Tamil Nadu through the Public Distribution System (PDS).

The camp had two petty shops and one telephone booth. The accessible general hospital and markets are in Kalasapakkam and the fire service in Tiruvannamalai city. Camp residents could use the bus stop at Nadiamangalam or Kalasapakkam. The camp is on the national highway but there is no bus stop near the camp, which makes it difficult to reach the camp at night. The road has no streetlights. There are four SHGs running in the camp, namely, Azhaigal, Mullai, Thenikkal and Malarkal.

Further, OfERR, Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) and Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA) are the three NGOs working in the camp to develop the refugees livelihood, children's education, health and so on.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter specifically described the DFID's sustainable livelihood framework for the analysis of the study. This framework facilitates detailed understanding of people's vulnerability conditions, availability and accessibility of household assets, and how institutions, policies, and legislation influence people's livelihood, while combining and using assets. It also looks at what type of livelihood strategies are open to poor people in pursuit of beneficial livelihood outcomes that meet their own livelihood objectives. Further, it presented the profile of the study area. It consists of the location of the camp, population size, educational status, religion, employment status and infrastructure facilities in two camps. A detailed discussion of the survey results is presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

SRI LANKAN REFUGEES LIVELIHOOD OPTIONS AND STRATEGIES: A MICRO LEVEL ASSESSMENT

5.1 Introduction

Following the ethnic violence and prolonged disturbances in Sri Lanka, a large number of refugees fled to India after July 1983. On their arrival, they were settled in the various refugee camps in Tamil Nadu. The Government of Tamil Nadu has been providing relief assistance to meet their basic needs. Making use of secondary data available from the Government of Tamil Nadu, we discussed these matters in chapter two and three. In this chapter, we analyse some primary data, collected through a field survey at two refugee camps in Tamil Nadu. This chapter help us to understand the socio-economic profile of the Sri Lankan refugees, their income and asset position, strategies they pursue to earns a living and problems that affect their livelihood. Section 5.2 provides a brief description of the refugee household's socio-economic characteristics, employment status, occupational structure, monthly income and expenditure. In Section 5.3, we examine the role of capital assets in the life of the Sri Lankan refugees in Tamil Nadu. In addition, Section 5.4 gives details about the refugees vulnerability conditions such as trends, shocks and seasonality. Section 5.5 identifies the coping strategies, or in other words, the methods and techniques of survival they adopted during a crisis in the camp. Section 5.6 summarises the findings of the chapter.

5.2 Socio-economic Profile of Sample Households

This study covered 70 households from Puzhal camp and 30 households from Thenpallipattu camp, which means that a total of 100 sample households were studied. The total population in the sample household came to 432, consisting of 232 (54 per cent) males and 200 (46 per cent) females.

Table 5.1 Distribution of Sample Population by Sex, 2009

Camps	Male	Female	Total
Puzhal	157 (68.0)	146 (73.0)	303 (70.0)
Thenpallipattu	75 (32.0)	54 (27.0)	129 (30.0)
Total	232 (100.0)	200 (100.0)	432 (100.0)

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages

Source: Field Survey

Table 5.2 Distribution of Household by Place of Origin in Sri Lanka, 2009

Origin	Puzhal	Thenpallipattu	Total
Jaffna	10 (14.0)	5 (17.0)	15
Mannar	0	3 (10.0)	3
Mullaitivu	6 (9.0)	0	6
Trincomalee	44 (63.0)	0	44
Vavuniya	10 (14.0)	22 (73.0)	32
Total	70 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	100

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages

Source: Field Survey

Within the sample household, 44 per cent of the households came from Trincomalee district of Sri Lanka, followed by 32 per cent from Vavuniya district and 15 per cent from Jaffna district. Similarly, when we look at the concentration of refugees in the camp, 63 per cent of the households were from Trincomalee district in Puzhal while in Thenpallipattu camp, 73 per cent of the households were from Vavuniya district. As a large number of Sri Lankan refugees fled to India during mid-1980s, they were kept for one month at Mandapam refugee camp in Ramanathapuram district of Tamil Nadu state. Later, the local authorities classified them according to the district in which they had resided in Sri Lanka and sent them to different camps in various parts of Tamil Nadu. Subsequently, whenever Sri Lankan refugees came to India, they were sent to the camps according to the district they hailed from in Sri Lanka.

The distribution of refugee household by religion shows that 78 per cent of households in the sample were Hindu and 22 per cent Christian. In Puzhal, 73 per cent of the households were Hindu and the remaining 27 per cent were Christian, while the relative proportions were 90 per cent Hindu and 10 per cent Christian in Thenpallipattu. Among them, 79 per cent of the refugee household had migrated in the 1990s and the remaining 18 and 3 per cent of the households migrated in 2006 and

2008 respectively. Nearly, 90 per cent of the households came by boat and rest of the households arrived by air. Looking at the reasons for migration, persecution is seen to be main factor responsible for 81 per cent of the refugee migration to India. Other reasons that contributed to the Sri Lankan refugee migration to India are separation from family (15 per cent) and educational opportunities (4 per cent).

Table 5.3 Distribution of Population by Age Group

Age Group	Puzhal	Thenpallipattu	Total
0-4	8 (2.6)	4 (3.1)	12 (2.8)
5-14	43 (14.2)	15 (11.6)	58 (13.4)
15-24	102 (33.7)	46 (35.7)	148 (34.3)
25-34	34 (11.2)	15 (11.6)	49 (11.3)
35-44	42 (14.0)	19 (14.7)	61 (14.1)
45-59	67 (22.0)	28 (21.7)	95 (22.0)
60+	7 (2.3)	2 (1.6)	9 (2.1)
Total	303 (100.0)	129 (100.0)	432 (100.0)

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages

Source: Field Survey

The average age of refugee population is 29 years in the sample, with a maximum age of 69 years and a minimum age of one year. The distribution of refugee population by age group reveals that 34 per cent of the refugees in the sample are young and fall in the 15-24 age group. Similarly, refugees in the same age group in Puzhal and Thenpallipattu camps form 34 per cent and 36 per cent respectively. In the sample, 22 per cent of the refugees are in the 45-59 age group, which is the working age group of the population.

Table 5.4 Distribution of Marital Status among the Refugees

Marital Status	Puzhal			Thenpallipattu		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Unmarried	93 (59.0)	70 (48.0)	163 (54.0)	47 (63.0)	25 (46.0)	72 (55.8)
Married	60 (38.0)	67 (46.0)	127 (42.0)	27 (36.0)	28 (52.0)	55 (42.6)
Widowed	4 (3.0)	9 (6.0)	13 (4.0)	1 (1.0)	1 (2.0)	2 (1.6)
Total	157 (100.0)	146 (100.0)	303 (100.0)	75 (100.0)	54 (100.0)	129 (100.0)

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages

Source: Field Survey

Looking at the marital status of the refugee population in the sample, it is found that about 54 per cent and 56 per cent are unmarried in the Puzhal and Thenpallipattu camps respectively. Similarly, 42 per cent are married in both the camps and 4 per cent are widows. More males are unmarried than females in both the camps. Due to social norms, more female get married earlier than males. Parents choose the marriage partner for their son or daughter from within the camp or from another camp where they have relatives or friends. When a boy or girl is ready for marriage, parents discuss the matter with their relatives and friends who help in getting the boy or girl to meet each other and in arranging the marriage.

Table 5.5 Distribution of Population by Employment Status

Present Employment Status	Puzhal	Thenpallipattu	Total
Self Employed	6 (2.0)	6 (4.6)	12 (2.8)
Regular Salary employment	17 (5.6)	10 (8.0)	27 (6.2)
Casual Wage Labour	76 (25.0)	34 (26.3)	110 (25.5)
Unemployed	75 (24.8)	28 (21.7)	103 (23.8)
Students	118 (39.0)	47 (36.4)	165 (38.2)
Others*	11 (3.6)	4 (3.0)	15 (3.5)
Total	303 (100.0)	129 (100.0)	432 (100.0)

*Childrens (less than age of 5) and elder people

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages

Source: Field Survey

Table 5.5 shows that the distribution of the refugee population by employment status. It is found that out of the total population, 58 per cent are in the labour force⁴¹. Of this, 34.5 per cent are in workforce and 24 per cent are unemployed or on the lookout for work. At the camp level, the Thenpallipattu refugees have a higher workforce participation rate (39 per cent) than the Puzhal refugees (33 per cent). In the workforce, 85 per cent are men and the remaining 15 per cent are women. Nearly 23 per cent and 20 per cent of females in the sample are unemployed in the Puzhal and Thenpallipattu camps respectively. They do not seek employment outside the camp due to lack of employment opportunities. Workers with a regular salary are higher in Thenpallipattu (8 per cent) than in Puzhal (5.6 per cent), perhaps because they are more educated and have found employment in urban areas.

⁴¹ It consists of the self-employed, regular salary employee and casual wage labour.

Table 5.6 Distribution of Population According to Main Occupation

Occupation	Puzhal	Thenpallipattu	Total
Painter	19 (19.2)	17 (34.0)	36 (24.2)
Mason	6 (6.1)	1 (2.0)	7(5.0)
Mechanic	1 (1.0)	1 (2.0)	2(1.3)
Quarry works	9 (9.1)	2 (4.0)	11(7.4)
Load man	31 (31.3)	2 (4.0)	33(22.0)
Driver	3 (3.0)	5 (10.0)	8(5.4)
Tailor	3 (3.0)	4 (8.0)	7(4.7)
Retailer	3 (3.0)	2 (4.0)	5(3.3)
Nursing	3 (3.0)	0	3(2.0)
Agricultural Activities	8 (8.1)	7 (14.0)	15(10.0)
Watch man	2 (2.0)	2 (4.0)	4(2.7)
Clerk	9 (9.1)	6 (12.0)	15(10.0)
Teacher	2 (2.0)	1 (2.0)	3(2.0)
Total	99 (100.0)	50 (100.0)	149 (100.0)

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages

Source: Field Survey

Sri Lankan refugees are generally able to obtain only casual labour jobs, which means that they are recruited on a daily basis and paid daily. Such jobs are available in construction, agriculture and in stone quarries. Table 5.6 clearly shows that the main occupation of males in majority of households is as painters (24 per cent). This is followed by loading work, which accounts for about 22 per cent of the workforce. The rest are occupied as retailers, drivers, tailors, nurses, etc. In Puzhal camp, more than 30 per cent of refugees were engaged as loaders and 19 per cent as painters, while 34 per cent are in painter jobs at Thenpallipattu, 14 per cent in agriculture (digging wells, digging holes to make pipe lines) and 12 per cent engaged as clerks in the private sector. In general, the economic activities of Sri Lankan refugees vary according to the constraints and opportunities that refugees face at a specific time. They do whatever is necessary to establish their livelihoods and increase their resilience to shocks and the new social environment they live in. Hence, their income earning activities mainly depend on social networks and ties with the refugee community and the local people of Tamil Nadu.

Table 5.7 Distribution of Total Monthly Household Income

Household Monthly Income	Puzhal	Thenpallipattu	Total
501-1000	2 (2.8)	0	2
1001-2000	7 (10.0)	0	7
2001-3000	18 (25.7)	5 (16.7)	23
3001-4000	21 (30.0)	6 (20.0)	27
4001-5000	10 (14.3)	9 (30.0)	19
5001-6000	6 (8.6)	8 (26.7)	14
6001-7000	6 (8.6)	2 (6.6)	8
Total	70 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	100

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages

Source: Field Survey

Regarding household income, the Sri Lankan camp refugees monthly household income does not come solely from employment. Government cash dole and remittances play an equally crucial role in shaping their household income. This is discussed separately in the section which discusses financial assets. The average monthly household income of the sample is Rs. 3770 with a minimum of Rs. 688 and maximum of Rs. 6900. At the camp level, the Thenpallipattu refugee households have a greater concentration of higher income groups, with 30 per cent of the households having an average monthly income of Rs. 4400, followed by 27 per cent with Rs. 5460. But most of the Puzhal refugee households are in the lower income groups, with 30 per cent of household having an average monthly income of Rs. 3470. This is lower than the average household monthly income of the sample. The reason for the low income level of the Puzhal refugees is that 70 per cent households derive their income from casual labour employment as they do not get regular employment in the labour market.

Table 5.8 Distribution of Household by Monthly Consumption Expenditure

HH monthly Expenditure	Puzhal	Thenpallipattu	Total
501-1000	7 (10)	0	7
1001-1500	4 (5.7)	1 (3.3)	5
1501-2000	14 (20.0)	8 (26.7)	22
2001-2500	21 (30.0)	7 (23.3)	28
2501-3000	15 (21.4)	6 (20.0)	21
3001-3500	5 (7.1)	5 (16.7)	10
3501-4000	4 (5.7)	3 (10.0)	7
Total	70 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	100

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages

Source: Field Survey

The household monthly consumption expenditure⁴² can be considered an aggregate measure of household welfare and represents the livelihood outcome of a household. It is the sum of total monetary values of consumption of various items, namely, food, clothing, firewood, household renovation, transport, childrens education, medical expenses, debt repayment and life course expenditure. According to the sample, the mean monthly household consumption expenditure is Rs. 2300. The average monthly household consumption expenditure is higher in Puzhal than in Thenpallipattu camp. Nearly 30 per cent households spend Rs. 2261 per month and 21 per cent spend Rs. 2672. At the same time, 27 per cent (the highest proportion) of the households in Thenpallipattu have an average monthly expenditure of Rs. 1786, the reason being that the limited government assistance (ration rice, sugar, wheat and kerosene) does not fulfil the Puzhal refugees basic needs due to their larger household size. Moreover, they do not use the rationed rice due to its poor quality. They sell it outside at the rate of Rs. 5 and buy rice at Rs. 23 in the market. However, over 60 per cent of households in Thenpallipattu use rationed rice. Thus, the Puzhal refugees buy rice, vegetables and kitchen provisions at a higher price in the market. Most of the refugees in the Thenpallipattu camp have a rural background, and the price of consumer items (rice, vegetables, etc.) is low here compared to Puzhal. Secondly, the expenditure on transport is very high in both camps. The refugees spend from Rs.15 to Rs. 20 every day for transport when they go to work as casual labourers in urban areas. The other

⁴²According to the method, the expenditure incurred by household on domestic consumption during the reference period of 30 days is considered monthly household consumer expenditure.

major items of monthly household expenditure in both the camps include children's education, medical expenses and repayment of debts.

5.3 Selected Livelihood Assets

According to the livelihood approach, people need a range of livelihood assets to achieve positive livelihood outcome. The various groups of assets help to yield various livelihood outcomes that people seek. The framework identifies five types of capital assets (human, social, natural, physical and financial assets) upon which livelihoods are built. Based on that, we discuss below the availability and accessibility of capital assets and how they help refugees in their struggle for livelihood.

5.3.1 Human Capital

In the livelihood framework, human capital is taken as a livelihood asset or as a means of achieving positive livelihood outcomes. It helps to attain higher incomes and to diversify income sources and employment. As measures of human capital, factors such as refugee household size, number of earning members, educational status and health status are discussed below. The asset distribution gives an idea about a household's quantitative and qualitative potential.

Table 5.9 Distribution of Households Differing in Size

Household Size	Puzhal	Thenpallipattu	Total
2	6 (9.0)	2 (7.0)	8
3	12 (17.0)	9 (30.0)	21
4	21 (30.0)	6 (20.0)	27
5	18 (26.0)	7 (23.0)	25
6	10 (14.0)	4 (13.3)	14
7	3 (4.0)	1 (3.3)	4
8	0	1(3.3)	1
Total	70 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	100

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages

Source: Field Survey

Table 5.9 shows the distribution of household size in the sample. The average household size is four, with a maximum of eight and a minimum of two members. Thirty per cent of households in Puzhal camp have four members and 26 per cent of the households have five members. At the same time, 30 per cent of households have

three members and 23 per cent comprise five members in Thenpallipattu. The household size is very important because it has significant impact on its monthly income and expenditure. For instance, 21 per cent of the households have three members in the sample and their average household monthly income is Rs. 2947, while the average monthly household consumption expenditure is Rs. 1740. At the same time, for 14 per cent of the six member households, the average monthly income is Rs. 4590 and their average monthly household expenditure is Rs. 2807.

Table 5.10 Distribution of Refugee Population by Educational Status

Educational Status	Puzhal	Thenpallipattu	Total
Illiterate	9 (3.0)	0	9 (2.1)
Primary School	65 (21.5)	26 (20.2)	91 (21.1)
Secondary School	113 (37.3)	41 (32.0)	154 (35.6)
Higher Secondary School	61 (20.1)	35 (27.0)	96 (22.2)
Under Graduate	38 (12.5)	11 (8.5)	49 (11.3)
Post Graduate	1 (0.3)	2 (1.5)	3 (0.7)
Technical Education (ITI)	7 (2.3)	10 (7.8)	17 (4.0)
Others*	9 (3.0)	4 (3.0)	13 (3.0)
Total	303 (100.0)	129 (100.0)	432 (100.0)

*Childrens (1-5 age groups)

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages

Source: Field Survey

Education is an important human asset because it can increase the alternatives for income generation and to earn better income through regular salaried jobs. Nearly 36 per cent of refugees in the sample completed secondary school education (see Table 5.10). In Puzhal, 37 per cent of the refugees completed secondary education and more than 20 per cent completed primary education and another 20 per cent completed higher secondary school education. At the same time, in Thenpallipattu, 32 per cent of refugees completed secondary education. Interestingly, the number of persons who completed technical education is lower in Puzhal than in Thenpallipattu. Technical education helps them to get the employment in urban areas. The educational status is higher for males (51 per cent) than females (44 per cent). At present, out of the total refugee population, nearly 165 (38 per cent) refugee students consisting of 91 males (55 per cent) and 74 females (45 per cent) are studying government and private schools and colleges close to the camps or nearby towns (Chennai, Vellore and Thiruvannamalai). Two nursery schools operate in each refugee camp. Trained

teachers and educated refugee youths are working in the school to ensure that the refugee children get a strong foundation for their future education. According to OfERR, Thenpallipattu refugee camp has a 100 per cent literacy rate among the camps in the state. The students of this camp have improved their skills through enrolling in the students' learning centre and evening classes, and participating in activities like library maintenance and play groups. After their education, many have found employment in private companies, while others have joined OfERR to share their expertise and experience with the refugee community.

Table 5.11 Distribution of Household with Earning Members

Earning Member	Puzhal	Thenpallipattu	Total
No Earning Member	1 (1.4)	0	1
One	44 (63.0)	13 (43.0)	57
Two	22 (31.4)	14 (47.0)	36
Three	1(1.4)	3 (10.0)	4
Four	2(2.8)	0	2
Total	70 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	100

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages

Source: Field Survey

The earning strength is another important human asset of a household. Table 5.11 shows that there are 57 per cent households with only one earning member in the sample. When we look at the camp level, 63 per cent households have only one earning member in Puzhal camp. This is because only the male head of the household takes responsibility to go to work while the females do not go out to work due to lack of employment opportunities. The Puzhal refugees are mostly concentrated in casual labour employment as they do not get regular employment. Therefore, they mainly depend on government cash doles. In Thenpallipattu, 47 per cent of households have two earning members. This is higher than in Puzhal because both males and females go to work in Thenpallipattu. Generally, females have opportunities to work in quarries and agriculture, while young educated female refugees work in the private sector.

Table 5.12 Distribution of Refugee by Health Status

Health Problem	Puzhal			Thenpallipattu		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Affected	31 (20.0)	46 (31.5)	77 (25.0)	22 (29.0)	31 (57.0)	53 (41.0)
Not Affected	126 (80.0)	100 (68.5)	226 (75.0)	53 (71.0)	23 (43.0)	76 (59.0)
Total	157 (100.0)	146 (100.0)	303 (100.0)	75 (100.0)	54 (100.0)	129 (100.0)

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages

Source: Field Survey

Health status is very important because it can directly affect people's livelihood. We asked household members if they have had any serious health problem during the six months prior to the survey. We found that 41 per cent and 25 per cent of refugees had health problems in Thenpallipattu and Puzhal camp respectively (see Table 5.12). This is because sanitation is a major problem in both the camps. The government has constructed bathrooms and toilets but some of them are damaged and unusable. Therefore, people have been forced to use open spaces in the vicinity of the camp. As a result, communicable diseases prevail in both camps. The incidence of diarrhoea and typhoid among children is high in the camps. This can be attributed to the infected drinking water as 40 per cent households use water that has not been boiled. In the case of adults, chronic diseases are widespread in both the camps, including skin-related problems, small pox, jaundice, blood pressure and thyroid problems.

5.3.2 Social Capital

In the sustainable livelihood framework, social capital is taken to mean the social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objectives. The Sri Lankan refugees who fled to India have been residing here for over thirty years. The government provides a cash dole; but it is not sufficient to meet their basic need which has led to the refugees expanding their networks, connectivity, formalised groups and relationships of trust and reciprocity. This inter-related network helps them to achieve their livelihood outcome.

Table 5.13 Distribution of Household Member Participation in Formalised Groups

Member in any Organisation	Puzhal	Thenpallipattu	Total
Member	34 (49.0)	11 (37.0)	45
Not Member	36 (51.0)	19 (63.0)	55
Total	70 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	100

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages

Source: Field Survey

Table 5.13 shows the distribution of household members participating in formalised groups. It is found that about 45 per cent of household members have been participants of at least one formalised institution. Self Help Groups (SHGs), in particular, play a major role and account for 91 per cent of the camp refugee population, while the remaining 9 per cent participate in NGOs. OfERR has organised the SHGs among the camp women refugees. It consists of 12-15 members with the purpose of working together to improve their lives. Every Sunday, the women meet and each one contributes Rs.10 of her earnings. OfERR provides training in record-keeping and accounts management to help the women pool their resources efficiently. Savings gradually build up and the group deposits the money in a bank. Due to the SHGs, refugees are now less reliant on unscrupulous moneylenders and can avoid the dangers of rising debt to some extent. They also find that they have greater economic independence and can begin to make choices about their future livelihood. Likewise, Sri Lankan refugees undergo great suffering in camp life due to the war, loss of their family members, close relatives and displacement. Therefore, OfERR has been providing counselling programmes with the help of other NGOs since 1988, which led to reduction in the number of refugee suicides and increased capacity of the refugees to cope with different situations. OfERR's also provides medical and health care programmes to enable them to lead a socially and economically productive life. Special attention is paid to mothers and children.

Field surveys also revealed that social networks do play a crucial role in the Sri Lankan refugee's life in both camps. Due to limited government assistance, refugees have been forced to rely on social connections in the informal economy in order to make a living. The camp-refugees have good connections with outsiders (local Tamil people) and non-camp refugees. These people help refugees to get employment in the

labour market. The educated young refugees get guidance from OfERR regarding to availability and accessibility of private sector employment. Similarly, camp refugees also have connection with the organisation of Sri Lankan doctors now living in the UK. They provide training to refugees as health workers, which include examinations and the award of certificates. The training focuses on primary health care including preventative measures, nutrition, child and maternal care. Furthermore, refugee medical students, whose education is supported by OfERR, visit the camps to treat chronically ill-patients. They are all playing a major role in helping the Sri Lankan refugees to maintain their health status.

The camp-refugees borrow from moneylenders, relatives and friends and mortgage their jewels, and sell livestock in the event of an emergency. We can say that the availability of such loans and trade activities are strongly dependent on social relations between both sides. Moreover, refugees have adopted inter-household economic and social networks in the camp. They exchange products of daily use with their neighbouring household and lend and borrow money from them. These networks, based on solidarity, provide a safety net built on mutual aid and help in coping with limited income generating opportunities and social insecurity. All this contributes to economic survival and securing livelihoods.

5.3.3 Natural Capital

It can be defined as the stock of natural resources and environmental assets, including water, soil, air, flora, minerals and other natural resources. Accessibility to natural resources is very important to those who derive all or part of their livelihood from natural resource based activities (farming, fishing and mineral extraction). However, availability and accessibility of natural resource based activities are very limited for Sri Lankan refugees in Tamil Nadu. This is mostly because the government does not allow them access to natural resources like land, or forest resources. Refugees cannot legally own land and have no right to own land or houses, but they can own cattle and purchase items for domestic use in order to sell them within the camps. According to the field survey, natural resources are very limited in both the camps. Some of the refugees have been involved in agricultural activities with neighbouring village people in the Thenpallipattu camp. Refugees do not have any land in both the camps. Regarding forest resources, Puzhal camp has no forest nearby, but Thenpallipattu

camp has a small forest area close to the camp. Refugees use some of its resources such as fire-wood and timber for construction. They use the land to graze their cattle and for burial of the dead.

Table 5.14 Distribution of Households by type of Water Facility

Source of Water	Puzhal	Thenpallipattu	Total
Hand Pipe	57 (81.4)	28 (93.3)	85
Other Source	13 (18.6)	2 (6.7)	15
Total	70 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	100

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages
Source: Field Survey

Table 5.14 gives information on drinking water sources. It is found that 81 per cent of the Puzhal households and 93 per cent of households in Thenpallipattu use hand pump water for the drinking purposes. Other 19 per cent households get water from water vendors in Puzhal and 7 per cent of households use well water in Thenpallipattu. In summer, the Thenpallipattu refugees cycle for several miles to fetch water for their needs.

5.3.4 Physical Capital

Physical capital comprises the basic infrastructure and producer goods necessary to support people's livelihood. The important components of infrastructure are usually essential for sustainable livelihood such as affordable transport, secured shelter and buildings, clean affordable energy and access to information. The lack of proper shelter is one of the major problems in both the camps. It is clear that nearly 77 per cent of households have Katcha houses and 23 per cent live in Pucca houses in Puzhal camp. At the same time, in Thenpallipattu camp, 37 per cent of the houses are Katcha and 63 per cent are Pucca.

Table 5.15 Distribution of Households by type of Material used for Wall

Types of wall	Puzhal	Thenpallipattu	Total
Mud	25 (36.0)	10 (33.0)	35
Leaves	19 (27.0)	0	19
Bricks	26 (37.0)	20 (67.0)	46
Total	70 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	100

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages
Source: Field Survey

Table 5.16 Distribution of Households by type of Roof

Roof	Puzhal	Thenpallipattu	Total
Leaves	29 (41.0)	1 (3.0)	30
Asbestos	7 (10.0)	1 (3.0)	8
Cement Concrete	21 (30.0)	5 (17.0)	26
Iron sheet	4 (6.0)	17 (57.0)	21
Tiles	9 (13.0)	6 (20.0)	15
Total	70 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	100

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages
Source: Field Survey

Table 5.15 shows that 46 per cent of houses have bricks walls; but the government had constructed them more than ten years ago as temporary housing. These houses are in a poor condition in both the camps. The shelters which are usually made of leaves, asbestos sheets, cement concrete and iron sheets, with a door and small windows, have very little living space inside. Table 5.16 shows that 41 per cent of household roofs are made of leaves in Puzhal camp. In Thenpallipattu, 57 per cent of the houses in the sample have roofs built using iron sheets. This makes the inside of shelter extremely hot. High temperature in the summer and heavy rains during the monsoons make life in the shelter very harsh and difficult.

Table 5.17 Distribution of Households by availability of Cooking Facility

Sources of Cooking	Puzhal	Thenpallipattu	Total
Fire wood	27 (39.0)	14 (47.0)	41
Kerosene	38 (54.0)	12 (40.0)	50
Gas	3 (4.0)	1 (3.0)	4
Agricultural crop waste	2 (3.0)	3 (10.0)	5
Total	70 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	100

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages
Source: Field Survey

Table 4.17 shows the distribution of households by availability of cooking facility. It is found that about 50 per cent of the household use kerosene for cooking purposes. The state government is providing kerosene to refugee household at a subsidised rate (10 litre=Rs.90) through ration shops. Households also use firewood, gas and agricultural waste. We have seen that some households use electricity for cooking purposes but they are not ready to reveal their information because the state

government provides electricity only for lighting purposes. They fear that if they reveal that information, they may lose the electricity supply in their homes. In our sample, 100 per cent of households use electricity for lighting purposes.

Table 5.18 Distribution of Households by Type of Toilet

Source of Toilet	Puzhal	Thenpallipattu	Total
Community toilet	56 (80.0)	5 (17.0)	61
Open air	14 (20.0)	25 (83.0)	39
Total	70 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	100

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages

Source: Field Survey

Table 5.18 shows that 61 per cent of sample households use community toilets and the remaining 39 per cent use open places. Generally, the availability of toilet is very limited in both camps. In Puzhal camp, 80 per cent of households use community toilets because they cannot build a separate toilet within the narrow house plot and because using open places is also very difficult. At the same time, 83 per cent of households use open places for toilet purposes in Thenpallipattu. Community toilets are mostly used by females rather than males in Thenpallipattu due to lack of toilet facility.

Availability of transport facilities is very much important to meet livelihood. Availability of transport facility is very different in both the camps. Puzhal camp is more easily accessible than Thenpallipattu camp because it has frequent transport facility from Chennai Paris bus stand. It is a little difficult to go to Thenpallipattu camp because public and private transports do not stop at Thenpallipattu camp. They stop only at Kalasapakkam which is 3 km away from the camp. After that, one has to take a 'shared-auto' to go to Thenpallipattu camp. Lack of proper transport makes things very difficult during emergencies and when the camp residents return from their work place to the camp at night. Some local public transport is available directly from Thiruvannamalai to Thenpallipattu camp; but it is not frequent.

Table 5.19 Distribution of Household by Access to Information

Access to Information	Puzhal	Thenpallipattu	Total
Television	42 (60.0)	15 (50.0)	57
Radio	12 (17.0)	4 (13.0)	16
Reading News Paper	14 (20.0)	8 (27.0)	22
News Paper Readers	2 (3.0)	3 (10.0)	5
Total	70 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	100

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages

Source: Field Survey

Availability of information status on political and economical issues can serve as an indicator of the availability of infrastructure facilities. We asked the refugees as to how they get information related to political and economic issues. About 57 per cent of the refugee households in both camps get most of the information by watching television more than listening to the radio and reading newspapers (see Table 5.19). Further, it is interesting to observe that while the women are more interested in getting news by watching television compared to other options, the men read the newspapers because they do not find time to watch television at home and are always going out to find employment.

5.3.5 Financial Capital

This denotes the availability of stock and flows of regular financial resources that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives. In this manner, we have analysed the information below related to the refugee household's asset position, government cash dole, source of cash income and labour income. This provides sufficient information to understand the effect of the availability of financial assets on the refugees livelihood.

Table 5.20 Distribution of Households by Availability of Assets

Asset Position	Puzhal		Thenpallipattu		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Television	60 (86)	10 (14)	24 (80)	6 (20)	84	16
Radio/VCR/DVD	39 (56)	31 (44)	10 (33)	20 (67)	49	51
Cycle	38 (54)	32 (46)	21 (70)	9 (30)	59	41
Bike	7 (10)	63 (90)	3 (10)	27 (90)	10	90
Mobile Phone	60 (86)	10 (14)	20 (67)	10 (33)	80	20
Cable connection	47 (67)	23 (33)	19 (63)	11 (37)	66	34
Watch	65 (93)	5 (7)	29 (97)	1 (3)	94	6
Sewing machine	29 (41)	41 (59)	14 (47)	16 (53)	43	57
Fan	66 (94)	4 (6)	29 (97)	1 (3)	95	5
Livestock	31 (44)	39 (56)	16 (53)	14 (47)	47	53
Self Savings	27 (39)	43 (61)	9 (30)	21 (70)	36	64
Bank Deposit	9 (13)	61 (87)	6 (20)	24 (80)	15	85
Jewellery	61 (87)	9 (13)	22 (73)	8 (27)	83	17

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages

Source: Field Survey

The availability of stock means existence of assets both in form of money (cash or savings) and as livestock, jewellery, etc. We have asked whether or not refugee household saved any money and have assets during the last six months. We found that more than 90 per cent of the households possess fans and watches in the sample (see Table 5.20). The high density of fans in the two camps can be explained by the hot climate in summer. More than 80 per cent of refugee households have television sets, mobile phones and jewellery. During the crisis, refugees sold their televisions and mobile phones and often mortgaged their jewels to make ends meet. We also found that only 47 per cent of the households have livestock such as cows, goats and poultry. Livestock is a very essential livelihood option in the rural area. The Puzhal camp refugees keep only hens because they do not have enough space near the camp to graze cows or goats because it is located near an urban area. However, the Thenpallipattu refugees rear cows, goats and poultry as there is agricultural land and forest available for the purpose close to the camp. Refugees use the land to graze their cattle. In Thenpallipattu, the refugees also sell their livestock and milk. Another important asset is bank deposits. Only 15 per cent of the households said that they have bank accounts. The Tamil Nadu Government granted them permission to open

bank accounts at the Bank of Ceylon branch in Chennai on 25th February 2008. The Government provided the facility to encourage savings and protect the earnings of refugees who are either employed or working with SHGs. The focus is also to explore options for transferring their savings to Sri Lanka with minimum inconvenience and financial implications for the refugees when they eventually return to Sri Lanka.

Table 5.21 Distribution of Households by Monthly Government Aid

Household Monthly Income by Cash Dole (in Rs.)	Puzhal	Thenpallipattu	Total
501-1000	20 (28.5)	11 (37.0)	31
1001-1500	27 (38.5)	10 (33.0)	37
1501-2000	21 (30.0)	8 (27.0)	29
2001-2500	2 (3.0)	1 (3.0)	3
Total	70 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	100

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages
Source: Field Survey

The government cash dole is regular flow of income to the refugee household. The amount of dole depends on the household size. Household having two and three members get an average cash dole of Rs. 688 and Rs. 945 respectively. Households with four members get Rs. 1233, households with five to six members get Rs. 1588 and those with more than seven get Rs. 1883. The household size plays crucial role in determining the amount of cash dole. In the sample, the average monthly household income by cash dole is Rs. 1287 with a minimum of Rs. 688 and a maximum of Rs. 2416. Table 5.21 shows that for 38 per cent of Puzhal households, the average monthly cash dole is Rs. 1287 while 37 per cent of the Thenpallipattu households receive Rs. 904. This clearly shows that Puzhal refugees are getting a higher cash dole than Thenpallipattu because their average household size is larger.

Table 5.22 Distribution of Household by Income Source

Number of Income Source	Puzhal	Thenpallipattu	Total
Two	57 (81.4)	24 (80.0)	81
Three	13 (18.6)	6 (20.0)	19
Total	70 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	100

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages
Source: Field Survey

Though government cash dole is essential for all refugee households, it is not sufficient to meet their basic needs. They therefore diversify their income sources. Table 5.22 shows that the distribution of households by number of sources of income. We found that 81 per cent of households in Puzhal camp have two sources of cash income which is accounted for by government cash dole and labour income, while 19 per cent have three sources, namely, remittance, government cash dole and labour income. In Thenpallipattu, 80 per cent households have two cash income sources and 20 per cent households have three.

Table 5.23 Distribution of Households by Monthly Income from Employment

Household Monthly Income (in Rs.)	Puzhal	Thenpallipattu	Total
< 500	3 (4.3)	0	3
501-1000	8 (11.4)	1 (3.3)	9
1001-1500	14 (20.0)	3 (10.0)	17
1501-2000	15 (21.4)	3 (10.0)	18
2001-2500	4 (5.7)	3 (10.0)	7
2501-3000	9 (13.0)	4 (13.0)	13
3001-3500	5 (7.0)	3 (10.0)	8
3501-4000	5 (7.0)	7 (23.3)	12
4001-4500	2 (3.0)	4 (13.3)	6
4501-5000	4 (5.7)	2(6.7)	6
5001-5500	1 (1.4)	0	1
Total	70 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	100

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages

Source: Field Survey

We also asked about household monthly income excluding government assistance during last six months. We found that the average household monthly income is Rs. 2520 in the sample without government assistance. It is derived from employment. At the same time, average household monthly income is Rs. 3770 with government assistance. Therefore, government assistance plays a major role in their household income. At the camp level, Thenpallipattu household monthly income is higher than that of the Puzhal households. Table 5.23 shows that for 23 per cent of the households, average monthly income is Rs. 3750 in Thenpallipattu camp, while for 21 per cent of the households, average monthly earning is Rs. 1866 in Puzhal camp. The reason is that over 25 per cent of workforce concentrates in casual labour employment

in both the camps. However, the availability of employment is higher for the Thenpallipattu than the Puzhal camp refugees in the labour market. Moreover, young and educated Thenpallipattu refugees mostly work in private sector at Thiruvannamalai, Vellore and Chennai. However, Puzhal refugees mostly depend on unskilled labour employment (porter, painter, quarry worker) as they do not get regular employment in the labour market. Another reason is that 63 per cent of the households depend on only one earning member in Puzhal, while 47 per cent of the households have two earning members in Thenpallipattu.

5.4 Vulnerability Perspective

This section presents the environment in which the Sri Lankan camp refugees reside in Tamil Nadu. The livelihood approach reveals that critical trends, shocks and seasonality fundamentally affect people's livelihood and availability of assets. We look at how these factors affect the refugees livelihood in Tamil Nadu and the problems they faced or are still facing in the camp and outside, while pursuing their livelihood. Given this background, some of the major issues are discussed below.

5.4.1 Trends

We asked the refugees as to how the local environment had changed since their arrival to the camp. In both the camps, about 60 per cent of household reported that the situation had become worse due to increasing population pressure. Puzhal camp, particularly, is heavily populated and the total area of the camp is very small. Besides, refugee household have also increased in terms of household members. In the long-run, this implies an ever growing pressure not only on natural resources but also on other assets such as education, health facilities and local job markets.

The dynamics of political change in Tamil Nadu governance have significant impact on Sri Lankan refugees livelihood. For instance, Tamil Nadu's DMK government issued an order allowing the admission to schools and colleges and reserving seats for refugee children in 1989. But the student admission and reservation seats were suspended⁴³ by Tamil Nadu's new AIADMK government in September 1991, perhaps

⁴³In May 1996, OfERR submitted a petition to the Tamil Nadu Government for the restoration of college admission. Following the representation made by OfERR, the government allowed the refugee students to study in school and colleges. The state was ruled by DMK party in 1996.

a sequel to the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. Following that, they got little assistance till May 2006. After that, the new DMK government has started various welfare programmes to improve the refugees living conditions in Tamil Nadu such as double cash dole, infrastructure development programmes, nutritional programme, medical insurance, etc. It looks as though, whenever the ruling political party changes in the state, it has a significant impact on welfare programmes for the Sri Lankan refugees.

5.4.2 Shocks from Calamities

Shock is the key element that adds to the vulnerability of people. It occurs when any sudden event has a significant impact on people's livelihood. Such events as accidents and the death of a family member or valued animal, health problems, natural disasters belong to this sense. We asked whether households faced any shock during the last six months prior to the survey. Nearly 32 per cent of households faced health problems in both the camps. The main reason is lack of sanitation. Waste water from houses is always flowing inside the camps. The septic tank is also not kept clean, with the result that there is a terrible stench in the camp with the sewage overflow. The streets are always muddy. These are ample reasons for the spread of communicable diseases in the camps. Secondly, hospital facilities are located far away from camps. The Government and NGOs have been conducting medical camps but this is not sufficient to solve the problem. Thirdly, Sri Lankan refugees face discrimination in government hospitals and they do not get proper medical assistance when they go to a free medical service centre. Therefore, the refugees go to private hospitals and households spend around Rs. 500 per month on medical expenses. The majority of the households are able to pay this money from their own savings, regular cash income or borrowings. This means that health issues seriously deplete their financial assets.

Exploitation is a major problem in the refugee camp. Refugees are exploited by people within their own community and also by the Village Administrative Officer (VAO). Nagarethinam is a refugee in Thenpallipattu camp and a heart patient. She wants to get admitted in the government hospital and get treatment under the Kalaignar Kappittu Thittam (Kalaignar Insurance Scheme). It is a free medical insurance scheme. She has to get a camp residence certificate from the VAO if she wants to use that scheme. It has to be obtained through the camp leader. When her husband approached the camp leader, he asked to be paid Rs.500 to issue the

certificate from the VAO. The camp leader said that “this money is not only for me and I have to give some money to the VAO when I ask for the certificate”. But Nagarethinam’s husband could not pay the money because he had already spent more than Rs. 50,000 for his wife medical expenses and also because he did not have any work. Nagarethinam is still at the camp and the family does not know us to what will happen to her. Further, moneylenders also exploit the refugees in both the camps. Refugees borrow money from the moneylenders at an interest rate of 8 per cent per annum. If the refugees are not able to repay the money, the moneylender comes to their home and rebukes them. Sometimes, the moneylender takes away their possessions like utensils, jewellery, etc.

Apart from this, some of the refugees often get employment in an area far away from the camp and are compelled to stay in that area for several days. If they cannot come to get their cash dole on the day it is given, then they will not be able to claim it on another day. Nearly all the refugees depend on cash dole. So when they lose their cash dole, they are forced to borrow money from moneylenders or others. This makes them more vulnerable. In both the camps, a quarter of the refugees are engaged in casual jobs such as construction work, quarry work and as drivers. They do not have any job security at their place of work. In particular, those employed in quarries are not provided with protective gear and many refugees have suffered injuries. Refugees could not get any compensation for accidents and deaths that occurred at the work place. For example, Kannadasan (44) was living in Mandapam camp and died of an electric shock while at work on 6 June, 2006⁴⁴. However, no compensation was paid to his family and the camp authorities also never took any action on the matter.

5.4.3 Seasonality

Lack of infrastructural facilities is the major problem in both camps. In particular, more than 70 per cent and 37 per cent of the houses are Katcha type in Puzhal and Thenpallipattu respectively. They are built of leaves and wood. The houses were damaged due to the heavy rain one month prior to the survey. The refugees have to spend at least Rs. 15,000 for house renovation but they do not have that money. Therefore, they have to borrow from money lenders, relatives and friends. Both

⁴⁴ See, Tamil Nadu and Pondicherry PUCL report on “Conditions in Sri Lankan Tamil Refugee Camps”, 18 June 2006.

camps do not have proper toilet facilities. Even the few toilets that exist are damaged and not repaired. Men and women have to go to the nearby forest for toilet purposes. Since such a practice is non-existent in Sri Lankan culture. Women, in particular, face a big problem and are harassed by outsiders.

Finding employment is also a major problem for the refugees living in the camps. Only a few refugees were able to find employment in the labour market and it is harder for women than for men. We asked which months of the year are the most difficult ones to get employment. In both camps, 62 per cent of households said that employment opportunities were very limited during the rainy seasons. This is because casual labour jobs such as construction and quarry work will come to a halt in rainy seasons. This is one of the biggest problems for the casual labourers who have to mortgage their jewellery to make ends meet. Often they cannot repay their debts and this causes them to lose their assets.

5.5 Coping Strategies

It is important to understand the efforts that Sri Lankan refugees are making to pursue their livelihood in the refugee camps and the manner in which, the households deploy their capital assets and use their capabilities in order to cope up with emergency conditions. Given this background, this section addresses the issue of the livelihood strategies of the Sri Lankan refugees in the camp.

5.5.1 Assistance from Government

Following the ethnic conflict, Sri Lankan refugees have been fleeing into India for safety and to protect any remaining assets. In general, upon settlement in their asylum country, many refugees find it difficult to build up a decent livelihood and yearn for a better life elsewhere. In the case of Sri Lankan refugees, Government of Tamil Nadu has provided various kinds of relief assistance to meet their basic needs in the camp. This study found that, entire households received a monthly government cash dole during last six months prior to the survey. Within the total households, 47 per cent strongly depend on the government cash dole to meet their basic needs because they do not have any other regular income source. Also, only one person works as a casual labourer in those households but there is no guarantee that he/she will get regular employment in labour market. Moreover, Sri Lankan refugees obtain financial

assistance for major medical treatment sanctioned from the Sri Lankan Tamil Special Relief Fund scheme. Three women in Puzhal camp and one woman in Thenpallipattu camp benefited from this programme during last six months. Apart from this, nearly 25 children and seven lactating mothers benefitted under the Integrated Child Development Scheme, while three pregnant women benefited under the Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy Maternity Assistance Scheme in the sample.

5.5.2 Relying on Social Networks

There are studies showing that communication and ties with relatives and friends living abroad have helped refugees to survive the harsh condition in their asylum country (Horst, 2001; Al-Sharmani, 2004). Assistance from family members and friends abroad include financial resources, such as remittances as well as the social capital that comes with refugee networks which increase information flows and trade. The study shows that, of the total households, 19 per cent have received remittances and goods during the last six months. The majority of remittances come from their family members and relatives in Sri Lanka, UK, France, and Canada. Remittances are not only considered a form of social security but also serve as investment in business and education and hence help in rebuilding livelihoods. According to the field survey, refugee households receive remittances to cover expenses for serious illnesses, life course events, children's education and repayment of debt. The households receive remittances occasionally as direct transfers through bank accounts. Most of the households in both camps, receive remittances but they are not ready to reveal information about the matter. Sukanya (32), a women refugee says, "If government comes to know about our economic status, then it would not provide any assistance". Therefore, most of the households are not ready to provide full information about their economic status.

Apart from social networks abroad, Sri Lankan refugees have social connectedness with NGOs in Tamil Nadu. It helps them to access higher education in Tamil Nadu. Jeevaranjani (20) is a refugee in Thenpallipattu refugee camp. She migrated to India with her family in 1996 when she was five years old. She joined the Government school at Mandapam with proof of camp residence documents. After five months, her family came to Thenpallipattu camp. She then continued her studies in the government school at Kalasapakkam. After the 12th standard, she did not know how to

access higher education. But she had contacts with OfERR during her school days. OfERR motivated her to attend a regional meeting organised by its education committee, where advice and counselling is given on how to select a suitable course and college. This counselling session helped her go in for higher studies. She is presently studying as an under-graduate in Chennai. After getting into college, she was requested to attend an interview conducted by the OfERR to provide it information about her family's financial background. Generally, most refugee families do not have the resources to meet higher education expenses. OfERR assesses the level of assistance they require and makes arrangements to provide help, with priority given to the most disadvantaged students. Jeevaranjani also gets some financial assistance now.

OfERR also encourages and provides grants to the SHGs to start businesses in the refugee camps. Accordingly, Puzhal women SHG members started the community canteen in camp and OfERR helped them to do so effectively with its marketing training. The canteen provides nutritious food to the community at low-cost. Apart from this, the SHGs use their funds to improve the living conditions of the camp. The refugee community approached the government offices to ensure the provision of basic amenities, especially the vital supply of good quality ration materials, water and sanitation facilities. But no action was taken. Therefore, the SHGs have diverted their savings to repair the school buildings, bathrooms and medical treatment for sick patients.

5.5.3 Labour Migration

Refugees not only want to migrate in order to get out of their harsh environment, but also because they anticipate opportunities and better living conditions elsewhere. We also found that 65 per cent of households in the sample reported that their household members had migrated to urban areas mainly for employment during the last six months. Generally, men are free to go wherever they want to but women are subject to restrictions by their husband and other male household members. In Thenpallipattu, educated young refugees are working in the private sector in Chennai and Vellore. They stay in urban areas and return to camp once a month to get the government cash assistance. Those who are engaged in the construction sector migrate to urban areas for the employment and stay for one or two weeks in the workplace to save their

income. Otherwise, they would have to spend more money on transport and other expenses. It has significantly reduced their household expenditure also. Puzhal refugees stayed outside for employment purposes with the permission of the local authority. Moreover, four households reported that their female members migrated to Western countries for employment and later came back to India as refugees. Generally, Sri Lankan refugees have relatives and friends in France, Canada, etc. They send them work visas. NGOs also help them to go abroad. These refugee emigrants send remittances to their home in Tamil Nadu. So, migration has led to increase in the income and well-being of the Sri Lankan refugee households.

5.5.4 Investing in Children's Education

A society's economic growth and prosperity is closely linked to the quality of education and training. It should not be seen as ancillary but vital and no less important than the provision of food and health care. Kaiser (2001) conducted research among the Sierra Leone and Liberian refugees in Guinea. He found that providing education and training as anti-conflict strategies, and as the principal means of making capital out of their exile and perceives that education as a key factor to eradicate poverty. This study found that, presently, there are 165 refugee students studying at government and private schools and colleges near the camp.

Table 5.24 Distribution of Households by Proportion of Students

Student Status	Puzhal	Thenpallipattu	Total
One	29 (41.4)	8 (26.7)	37
Two	19 (27.0)	4 (13.3)	23
Three	10 (14.3)	7 (23.3)	17
Four	4 (5.7)	1 (3.3)	5
Five	1 (1.4)	0	1
Six	0	1 (3.3)	1
Others*	7 (10.0)	9 (30.0)	16
Total	70 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	100

*There is no student in these households

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages

Source: Field Survey

Table 5.24 show that, at the household level, there is at least one student in 37 per cent of households, followed by 23 per cent of households with two students each.

The field survey shows that Puzhal refugee students are mostly studying in private schools and colleges in Chennai and some of them are staying in hostels for which their parents spend at least Rs. 1000 per month as tuition and hostel fees for each child. The reason that the households invest in the education of their children is that this can enhance the alternatives for income generation and help them find better income sources through regular salaried jobs or start a self-employed business. Moreover, a women refugee said, "When we go back to Sri Lanka, we cannot carry anything except our education". So the refugees send their children to good schools. The Thenpallipattu refugee children mostly study in government schools and colleges in Kalasapakkam, Thiruvannamalai and Vellore. They get free education and other government benefits. Therefore, providing education and training are the key components to promote their livelihood. It is important for young people to develop the practical, intellectual and social skills that will serve them throughout their lives.

5.5.5 Negative Coping Strategies

Studies on refugee livelihood observe that negative coping strategies become more frequent when there are only a few options available to survive in the host county (Cavaglieri, 2005; Conway, 2004). Those studies found that the refugees are forced to sell off vital assets such as jewellery, livestock, etc. Many resort to crime and violence when they are unable to repay the debt, and others reduce the intake of food and sell ration food in order to cover their other needs. Other negative coping strategies range from illegal collection of natural resources such as firewood, theft of crops, cattle and other assets, to selling sexual services as a means of making a living. In this study, 16 per cent of households reported that they are not using ration rice due to its poor quality and sell it to outsiders in order to buy rice in the market. Besides, 22 per cent of households sold their livestock during the last six months in order to meet their children's education and health expenses. In addition, selling television sets, mobile phones, sewing machines and cycles were also major coping strategies during the crisis in both camps.

Table 5.25 Distribution of Household by Different Coping Strategies

Coping Strategies	Puzhal	Thenpallipattu	Total
Own saving	10 (14.3)	11 (36.7)	21
Debt from relatives/friends	15 (21.4)	4 (13.3)	19
Mortgage	21 (30.0)	5 (16.7)	26
Debt from moneylenders	24 (34.3)	10 (33.3)	34
Total	70 (100.0)	30 (100.0)	100

Note: Figures in parenthesis are percentages

Source: Field Survey

Apart from the above-mentioned aspects, we also asked about how they coped with crises during the last six months prior to the survey. Up to 34 per cent of the households stated that they borrowed from moneylenders at high interest rate (see Table 5.25). They borrowed mostly for their children's marriage expenses, health and household renovation expenses, etc. For instance, Valli (65) is a widow staying in Puzhal camp with her daughter and widowed daughter-in-law. Her house was damaged by the heavy rain one month before the survey. She wanted to repair the house and needed at least Rs. 20,000. But she did not have that money. Her daughter was also earning only a small salary in the private medical centre. So she borrowed from the moneylender on the condition of regular payment and interest rate. Besides, 26 per cent of households mortgage their jewels in the local mortgage shops and bank. The rate of interest is less in banks compared to the rate charged by moneylenders. Borrowing from relatives and friends and managing with savings are the other coping strategies among the Sri Lankan refugees in the camps.

5.6 Summary and Conclusions

This chapter analysed the scenario of the Sri Lankan camp refugee's livelihood options and strategies in Tamil Nadu using primary data collected from the Puzhal and Thenpallipattu refugee camps. It found that 35 per cent of refugees are economically active and engaged in the informal economy including casual labour and regular salary employment. The workforce participation rate is high among the Thenpallipattu refugees because of their technical skill and education, while the Puzhal camp refugees mostly engaged in unskilled employment. Unemployment is a major problem among the refugees in both the camps. The women do not get employment in the labour market and few of them work in stone quarries and private

companies. Painting, loading work, and agriculture-related jobs are the most prevalent occupations among the refugees in both camps. The average household monthly income is Rs. 2520 without government assistance and Rs. 3770 with government assistance. The average monthly household consumption expenditure is Rs. 2300. The households mostly spend on food, children's education, transport and health. Out of total households, 68 per cent of the households mainly get their income from casual labour employment and within that, 47 per cent of the households have only one earning member and the other members are dependents. Further, these households do not have any other regular income sources except government aid and reported that their earning member faced high risks of unemployment during the last six month due to lack employment opportunities in the labour market. They also face unemployment problems during the rainy seasons. Further, when their earning member gets sick, the whole family struggles to survive. Therefore, these households strongly depend on the government assistance rather than on other sources.

An average household consists of four members, but there is considerable variation in household size among the camps. Thirty per cent of Puzhal households have four members while 30 per cent of the households in Thenpallipattu constitute three members, which lead the Puzhal households to receive higher income compared to the Thenpallipattu households. Nearly 36 per cent of refugees have completed secondary education in the sample but that does not help them to get employment. At the same time, those who have technical skill and education have found employment in the private sector. Social networks also play a key role in helping the refugees to find employment in the labour market. Over 45 per cent of households are members of the SHGs and NGOs. The NGOs have constructed huts and bathrooms in two camps and also provide counselling and medical camps. Moreover, they help the refugee childrens to get education in school and colleges. Natural assets are very limited in both camps. They do not have forest resources, but the Thenpallipattu camp has a little waste land near the camp. They use that land for grazing their cattle. Most of the households have hand pumped pipe water for drinking purposes. Lack of infrastructure facility is a major problem in both camps. The houses were constructed more than a decade ago and are now damaged. Bathrooms and toilet facilities are very limited in both camps and some of them are not usable. Nearly 32 household members faced problems of ill-health during the last six months but they do not get

proper treatment in the government hospitals. Lack of proper care in the government hospital, discrimination and corruption are other problems that they face in their day-to-day life.

The Sri Lankan refugees have often adapted various coping strategies in order to survive during the crisis. The government cash dole is limited but it is a major and regular income source for most households to meet basic needs. Likewise, refugees receive financial assistance from the state government for major medical treatment and to enhance the nutritional level of children, pregnant women and lactating mothers. Apart from the government assistance, refugees rely on social networks abroad for financial assistance such as remittances and for other goods. The refugees maintain contact with the local NGOs that help them access educational opportunities. The NGOs also provide financial aid to refugee students. Similarly, the SHGs divert their funds to improve the camps infrastructural facilities like repair of school buildings, common bathrooms, etc. Migration and investing in their children's education are also livelihood strategies adopted by the camp refugees in order to gain employment, higher income and well-being. The Sri Lankan refugees have some negative coping strategies in order to survive in the camp. This consists of selling ration rice, valuable assets like jewellery, livestock and sewing machines, etc. Besides, they also borrow the money from moneylenders, relatives and friends in order to meet their children's education, medical expenses, household renovation and life course expenses.

Chapter 6

CASE STUDIES ON SRI LANKAN REFUGEES

6.1 Introduction

From the primary data, we analysed the various aspects of the refugee households – socio-economic condition, employment status, income and expenditure pattern, capital asset position, problems affecting livelihood and coping strategies in camps. However, the primary data was not able to capture all the nuances of their various experiences regarding access to employment, capital assets, etc. Therefore, a greater in-depth study of individual cases is necessary as it could throw light on their struggle for existence along with their livelihood options in Sri Lanka before migration and as refugees in India after migration. The case studies are important to emphasise the human tragedy behind the numbers we have compiled. So we decided to meet some of the refugees who were willing to reveal their life story, why and how they had migrated, their migration experience en route to India, the history of their employment status and their livelihood conditions in Sri Lanka before migration and in India after migration. We have also enquired about their present status regarding activities they generally undertake and its nature, the process of entry into the job market and their attempts to start their own business, their experiences of humiliation in camp, work place, school and street and other relevant factors. Emphasis has been given to understand the livelihood conditions of the Sri Lankan refugees before and after migration. Further, it specifically focused how they have been struggling in order to earn a living and to survive in the camps as refugees. We also probed into issues such as their feelings after migration and their expectations from the host government, NGOs and international agencies.

We selected six refugees from different professions who migrated at different periods of time. In May 2010, we once again visited the two camps which we had selected for the field survey. Four refugees were selected from Puzhal and two refugees from Thenpallipattu camp. We used interview schedules to collect the information from selected refugees. From occupational status point of view, we chose one social worker and one casual labour from Thenpallipattu camp. In case of Puzhal camp, we considered one student, one regular salary employee, one self-employed person and

one widow. Thus, we tried to capture different profiles of occupational and social behaviour of refugees in the camps. Further, the selected persons were those who had migrated at different time periods as part of different waves of migration from Sri Lanka. These six refugees also had different economic backgrounds in Sri Lanka. The names of the respondents have been changed in accordance with their request. The description of the reasons and nature of migration along with their socio-economic status and livelihood condition before and after migration are given in the following section.

6.2 Kayalvizhi: Social Worker

Kayalvizhi is a social worker, currently staying in the Thenpallipattu camp in Thiruvannamalai district. She is one of the most empowered women in the refugee community – fearless, confident and an inspiration to other refugees. She had been a nursery school teacher and resided with her parents and two brothers in Velanai village, Vavuniya district of Sri Lanka. Her family had made its livelihood mainly from agriculture, with the work being done by her parents. They had a pucca house and owned ten acres of paddy fields and dry farm land. Following the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka in 1983, the civil war was severe between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan army in north-eastern regions of Sri Lanka, especially in Vavuniya district. During the war, her village was surrounded by the Sri Lankan army and looted. Many innocent civilians were killed, with the army particularly targeting young Tamil boys and girls because they were believed to be LTTE rebels. Young Kayalvizhi, who was 25 years old, could not leave her house because she feared the army and the Sinhalese insurgents or the LTTE. She could not continue in her job because of the war. Her family then decided to migrate to India rather than stay back and face the fear of death every day.

In July 1989, Kayalvizhi, her parents, brothers and relatives started moving from her home village of Velanai to the main Jaffna peninsula. In Jaffna, they hid in the house of a Tamil family because they could not get a boat to migrate to India. Also, there were a large number of refugees all waiting on the coast for a boat and desperately waiting to flee to India. When a boat came into sight everyone would run to catch it. Kayalvizhi's parents were old. It took them one month to catch a boat. Her family migrated to India in a boat in August 1989 along with 30 people. The boat service was

run by Tamils. Her boat journey started early in the morning at 3'o clock. She paid Rs. 500 as fee for the journey, the amount that her family got for selling their agricultural land. The price they got was low because when they left home place, they were forced to sell their property to meet their future expenses. After a difficult five-hour boat journey, they arrived in a Muslim village called Thondi, which is one of the coastal towns in Ramanathapuram district of Tamil Nadu state. The Thondi town people were kind and generous and provided them with food and clothes. They then went to Mandapam refugee camp and registered themselves. The local authorities issued them a family card after verification that included providing a family photo, names of the family members, their age, relationship, gender, date of arrival in India, location of arrival, education status as well as their address in Sri Lanka. Sri Lankan refugees have also individual identity cards that carry their name and address, which are useful when authorities verify identification outside of the camp. They spent two days in Mandapam refugee camp and were then sent to Uchapatti refugee camp in Madurai district where they stayed for ten years.

The Government of Tamil Nadu provided food and shelter to all the refugees who were in the camp at that time. The refugee houses were cyclone tents. After settling in the camp, her family was mainly dependant on government assistance to meet their basic needs because Kayalvizhi could not get work in the unfamiliar labour market. Her brothers were children and studied in the nearby government school with government assistance. In later years, their association with the local people helped her father to get some agriculture-related work like digging wells, digging soil in the paddy fields working in coconut plantations, etc. With jobs of this nature and the monthly government cash dole, her family managed to survive in Uchapatti camp. However, they did not own any assets while residing in Uchapatti camp.

On August 2001, her family and 40 others were sent to Thenpallipattu refugee camp in Thiruvannamalai district in a lorry. After the household settled itself in Thenpallipattu camp, her brothers lost interest studying continuing their studies. They started to work in construction sector as a painter and contributed to household expenditure. Her father did agriculture-related work when it was available. In these circumstances (and at the time of our survey), her family manages to get an income of Rs. 4000 per month, including the government cash dole. Her house has iron sheet roofing and the

walls are built of brick. They have an electricity connection and a television set. Her household does not have any livestock (they had livestock in Sri Lanka). Her brother owns a bicycle and she has a two-wheeler, a bank account and a mobile phone. Her family is not receiving any remittance from abroad. Her family is willing to go back to Sri Lanka because they feel that adapting to refugee life is very difficult. They also want to salvage their own land in Sri Lanka.

Meanwhile, she has established contact with the local NGO and functions as head of the women empowerment unit. She was getting some grants to working with the NGO. She is now more than 40 years old and did not marry. She has dedicated her life for the improvement of the status of her community. She understands the problem of the refugees, and has been engaged in social service, helping her fellow refugees by providing their children with tuitions and training on educational subjects, computers, etc. Moreover, she has given women empowerment training to 1500 women and helped to build more than 500 self-help groups in all the refugee camps in Tamil Nadu. Her main ambition is to transform the entire refugee community into resource persons and prepare them to rebuild their homeland.

6.3 Ramkumar: Casual Labourer

There were large numbers of families affected by the prolonged civil war in Sri Lanka since 1983. Ramkumar's family is one in this list. His house was in Utharasankulam village in Mannar district in Sri Lanka. His family comprised his father, mother, two brothers and a sister. They had about twenty acres of agricultural land in Sri Lanka and his father cultivated crops like paddy, other grains, pulses, vegetable and fruits. They also had two bullocks, a cow and few goats, but had to sell these off at a low price at the time of their migration. Their life had been insecure in Sri Lanka. The army used come to his village to arrest the people who had links with the LTTE during the first civil war. Sometimes, the army arrested innocent civilians and took them to the army quarters. After that, nobody knew what became of them. Likewise, one of Ramkumar's elder brothers was arrested by the army while he was working in the paddy field. His parents went to the army quarters to rescue their son. But they got no response from the army. Three days later, they found their son's dead body in a nearby village. They could not register a complaint at the army headquarters because they knew nothing would happen. Another brother was forcefully recruited by the LTTE in

1989. However, they managed to 'get him back' after paying a sum of Rs. 50,000 to the LTTE. Unfortunately, this brother was also arrested within few days by the army as he had been a recruit in the LTTE. The army put him in jail.

In May 1990, a severe fight broke out between the army and the LTTE close to Ramkumar's village. At the time, his parents had gone out, and only he and his sister were at home. His house was bombed during an air attack by the army. Fortunately, they escaped with minor injuries. At the end of fight, many people had lost their houses and had fled to safer places. While fleeing from his home, his sister wrote a letter and pasted it on the wall to inform their parents where they were going. Ramkumar, his sister and some of the people from his village (a group totalling around 300) came to Erikalampatti, one of the coastal villages of Mannar district where refugees took the boat to migrate to India. They resided in Erikalampatti for ten days to get a boat. At the same time, the LTTE had banned the boat service to India. However, Ramkumar managed to get onto a boat and he travelled to India along with 40 people. He was 23 years old at the time. He paid Rs. 3000 for the journey. The boat journey was very frightening and he thought that he would die mid sea because the boatman landed on a small island in the ocean. The area was very muddy and they could hardly walk on the land. The refugees thought that no one would come to their rescue. However, the Indian coast guard met them the next day and brought them to Rameswaram. They were put up in a big marriage hall in Rameswaram and provided food and dry clothes. After the official verification, the local authorities immediately sent them to Perumalpuram refugee camp in Thirunelveli district.

Ramkumar lived in Perumalpuram camp for about 12 years before he came to Thenpallipattu camp. He had a hut-like house and no electricity. Ramkumar engaged in casual labour, working as painter, porter, agricultural labourer, etc. He never faced any discrimination in the work place; rather, the local people helped him to get employment in labour market. Besides, he got his sister married and he too got married to a girl of his choice from among the refugees in the same camp. He came to Thenpallipattu camp with his wife in 2002. He got a government-built hut in Thenpallipattu camp. The government provided monthly cash assistance, rationed rice, wheat, kerosene, etc. But it was not sufficient to make a decent livelihood. Therefore, he did porter jobs in the vegetable market along with his neighbours. His wife also

worked in agriculture when jobs were available. With their savings, they were soon able to build a new house in the camp. His house has a tiled roof and cement-plastered floor and walls. The house has an electrical connection and he owns a radio, a colour television set, a mobile phone and a refrigerator. The total monthly earning income of his family comes to only about Rs. 2000.

Ramkumar has two children - a daughter studying in class X and a son in class VIII at the St. Anthony's Matriculation Higher Secondary School, Puzhal. Because the school fees are high, they are planning to send the children to a government school. Ramkumar has not yet been able to get regular employment and does not have any regular financial resources except the government cash assistance. However, some of the families in this camp are receiving remittances from abroad. They manage to meet their expenses with help of remittances. Ramkumar family is not willing to go back to Sri Lanka as they do not want to disrupt their children's education. They like India for the liberty and freedom it provides.

6.4 Kamalakkannan: Self-Employed

Kamalakkannan owns a tailoring shop in Puzhal refugee camp in Thiruvallur district. His shop is in front of the Puzhal camp. He was engaged in many casual labour jobs before setting up a tailoring shop. His wife did not go to work because she did not get casual labour jobs close to the camp. He has a son and a daughter. The elder son is studying in class IV and his daughter in class II at the government school in Kavankarai (Puzhal). At the time of joining the school, they submitted their birth certificates and camp residence certificates. Both documents were obtained from the local Panchayat (government) office. Sri Lankan refugees can also obtain a marriage certificate from the Panchayat office and this is essential for parents who want to obtain a Sri Lankan citizenship certificate for their child. This Sri Lankan citizenship certificate can be obtained from the Sri Lankan Embassy in Chennai.

Kamalakkannan lived with his parents, and his younger siblings – a sister and a brother – in Achuveli village of Yalpanam region in Sri Lanka. Their main livelihood option was fishing. His father had two fishing boats. Before displacement, his father earned about Rs. 6,000 a month from fishing. His father's hard work got them a new house with an electricity connection. They also owned a television set, a motor cycle, jewellery, livestock, etc. So they were reasonably well off before they migrated to

India. In August 1996, there was a third civil war between the army and the LTTE in the Jaffna peninsula. His parents were killed when their house was bombed. At the time, Kamalakkannan had gone out to work and his brother and sister were in school. They returned to find their parents dead and their home destroyed. Grief stricken, the children did not know where to go and what to do next. Some of the villagers suggested that they go to a relative's house in Mallawi village in Vanni region. Kamalakkannan agreed and sold the fishing boat and jewellery to a Muslim family before leaving the village.

Kamalakkannan had migrated to Mallawi village along with his brother and sister. They stayed for a month in their relative's home. Kamalakkannan later decided to migrate to India because he did not want to stay in his relative's home permanently. In September, 1996 Kamalakkannan and his siblings came to Pesalai village in Mannar district to get a boat. They got a fishing boat after waiting for five days and paid Rs. 5,000 per person for the journey. They travelled along with 30 people in a boat. They landed at a coastal area in Dhanushkodi in Rameswaram on October 3, 1996. The local police took them in a lorry to Rameswaram. After verification, they were sent to Mandapam refugee camp. He stayed there for three years along with his sister and brother. At the time, they depended solely on government assistance. However, Kamalakkannan used to escape from the camp and seek employment in nearby urban areas like Uchipuzhi, Mandapam and Rameswaram. But he was not able to obtain employment in unfamiliar environment. The local people were also not ready to employ him because he was a Sri Lankan refugee.

In May 2000, the Mandapam camp authorities sent his family to Puzhal camp by train. They got a house with an asbestos sheet roof, brick walls and cement-plastered floor. After settling in the camp, Kamalakkannan used to go for porter and construction work with permission from the camp security authorities. However, he could not get regular employment in the local labour market. He got married to a camp refugee like himself and then decided to look for a permanent job. He joined a tailoring shop in Kavankarai town near the camp and worked there for five years. In April 2008, he started his own tailoring shop in the camp with an investment of Rs. 30,000. Apart from other things, he bought a new sewing machine and other tools with the money.

He has not received any assistance from the government, NGOs, and relatives to start his business. When he started his tailoring business, he only got work from the camp-refugees, but this was not sufficient to sustain his business. With the help of a friend who was a local resident, he entered into an agreement with a local textile shop owner. According to the agreement the owner would supply him with cloth to stitch clothes for sale in the shop. He earns at least Rs. 200 a day from this arrangement. He also gets other regular employment. He now has three sewing machines and has a paid helper. He has bought a pressure cooker, a television set (with cable connection), a radio, fan, etc. He also owns a bike, a refrigerator and a mobile phone. Meanwhile, his brother escaped from the camp and went back to Sri Lanka by boat from Rameswaram. His brother did not like the camp environment and the restrictions on movement in the camp. His sister got married in 2008 and now lives with her husband at the Gummidipoondi refugee camp in same district.

He does not want to go back to Sri Lanka. He likes India and wants to live here along with his wife and children who were born in India. He still remembers his violent past and tries to erase the memories by keeping busy with his work. He hardly visits a relative's house and spends most of his time looking after his business. He hopes for a better life for his family and himself.

6.5 Tamilselvam: Regular Salary Employed

Tamilselvam was working as a sales officer in a textile mill near Kandy in 1983 when ethnic violence erupted in the country. He was living with his wife and two sons in Kandy district. He had a well-structured house with an electricity connection. He also owned consumer durable goods like a motorcycle, a television set and jewellery, and had a bank account. But everything was looted by the Sinhalese rebels when his family fled their home after ethnic violence. In August 1983, he heard the news about Tamil mill workers being attacked by their Sinhalese colleagues; he then went into hiding with his wife and two young sons. He had experienced similar danger in 1977. However, he had been protected by Sinhalese friends, but this time the Sinhalese who were helping Tamils, were also attacked by the Sinhalese rebels. Therefore, he escaped from Kandy and migrated to Kalladi village of Puttalam district. He hid with his family in the house of a Sinhalese friend house. After a month, the ethnic conflict died down and he then went to Pesalai in Mannar district in order to go to India. He

got a boat after waiting for ten days and travelled to India with 20 people. They paid Rs. 500 each for the journey. They arrived in Dhanushkodi in October 1983 and settled in a relative house at Ramanathapuram town. In fact, his father migrated to Sri Lanka before fifty years ago from Ramanathapuram district. His father had ten acres of land in India, but sold it to relatives when he migrated to Sri Lanka.

On his settlement in Ramanathapuram, Tamilselvam could not bring himself to work in casual labour jobs because he had enjoyed a high social status in Sri Lanka. However, he had to educate his children and manage his household expenses. As a result, he took up a clerical job in an Ice Company with the help of relatives. His children attended Syed Ammal Higher Secondary School in Ramanathapuram. In 1991, the Government of Tamil Nadu announced that all non-camp refugees should register in the nearby police station or Taluk office after the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi. He then registered in the local police station. They sent his family to Mandapam refugee camp where he lived for five years. He had lost his job due to the local government's restrictions on movement for security reasons. Their children discontinued their education in Syed Ammal School and joined the government higher secondary school in Mandapam. They studied up to standard VII in this school.

After five years, in mid-1996, Tamilselvam's family was sent to the Puzhal refugee camp due to a high influx of refugees from Sri Lanka. With the help of a Christian priest in Puzhal, he got a job as a salesman in a private textile shop. His children continued their education in the government school near the camp. Meanwhile, his wife gained a degree through a distance education programme of Madras University and now works as a primary school teacher in the camp.

His older son has completed an engineering course and is working in a private company in Chennai. He comes to the camp only at the end of every month to get his cash dole. His younger son is studying for his Masters degree in Madras University. They have also bought a new house outside the camp because his elder son is getting married soon. The house has concrete roof, bricks wall and cement-plastered floor. He has three bank accounts, a bike, a bicycle, a mobile phone, a colour television set and refrigerator. His household income ranges from Rs. 8000-9000 per month. He is happy that his family is economically much better off in India. He is not willing to go back to Sri Lanka because he does not like to put his children in trouble again. He

experienced many difficulties in Sri Lanka and does not want his children to go face similar problems.

6.6 Ramesh: Student

Ramesh grew up in the coastal village of Viswamadu in Mullaitivu district, Sri Lanka. He was studying in the X standard and his sister in the VII standard in the government school in Viswamadu at the time of migration. His father and mother were agricultural labourers. However, they had a grocery shop in their village which his mother maintained. They also owned five acres of paddy land and one acre of dry land. Before displacement, his household monthly income was Rs. 4,000 per month. At the beginning of the fourth civil war in Sri Lanka in 2006, everything changed in his village. The children were forcefully recruited by the LTTE. They ordered that, in every family, one person should enlist to fight in the civil war. The LTTE would not recruit those who got married. Therefore, some parents arranged to get their children married before the age of twenty. They then sent them to India or other countries where their relatives and friends were settled. The LTTE came to Ramesh's village and forcefully recruited some of his friends. Meanwhile, the army conducted searches to find people who were suspected to have links with the LTTE. If the army arrested anyone, they were killed immediately. Ramesh and his sister slept in tunnels during many nights to escape from the LTTE and the army.

In April 2006, four school students were shot by the army while he and his sister returning from the school. His parents then decided to send them to India rather than send to the school in Sri Lanka. They thought that their children would get a good education and also be secure in India. His father collected all the educational certificates of his children. At 2 a.m. on May 28, 2006, his father put his wife, son and daughter on a boat to India along with 35 people from Kiramam village of Mannar district. He paid Rs. 13,000 per person for the journey. After four gruelling hours, they reached Arichal Munai, a place in Mandapam in Tamil Nadu. After police verification, they received family identity cards and individual identity cards because they already had their school certificates. The local authorities immediately sent them along with 70 refugees to Puzhal refugee camp. Ramesh's family was given a hut in Puzhal camp but it had no electricity connection. After settling down, Ramesh and his sister did not know where to join school. They then managed to contact their uncle, who had

migrated in 1990s. He helped them to get admission in the Government Higher Secondary School, Puzhal. Ramesh got admission in the X standard and his sister joined the VII standard.

When he was studying in the X standard, he received financial assistance of Rs. 2000 per annum for extra tuition fees from OfERR. He had received Rs. 3000 when he was in the XII standard. However, these grants were not sufficient to buy notebooks, uniforms, etc. He also had to help his mother and worked in daily wage jobs as cleaner in a wine shop, construction worker and painter during holidays to supplement his income. He did not receive any financial assistance from the local government. However, he received free uniforms, noon meal, bus pass, text books, note books and also a bicycle when he was in the XI standard. After passing X and XII standards from that school, his teachers suggested that he join Loyola Collage in Chennai. He joined the B.Sc Mathematics course in that college and is presently a second year student.

Ramesh has a katcha-type house made of leaves and a mud-plastered floor. His fathers used to send them money to meet household and education expenses, but this is not regular. They do not have rich furnishings or valuable consumer durable goods like a television set, jewellery, fans, etc. However, he has a bicycle which takes care of conveyance expenditure. The local government has provided a sewing machine but they do not use it. The monthly income of his household comes to around Rs. 2000, including the government cash assistance and the earnings from his mother's construction work. He does not have any relatives abroad to depend on for monetary assistance for household expenses and also his higher education. Therefore, he hopes to return to Sri Lanka after the completion of his degree course and sister's school education.

6.7 Rasamma: Widow

Rasamma is a woman refugee from Vankalai village, which is a coastal area of Mannar district. She is a widow and belongs to the Christian community. Her husband was a fisherman. They owned a fishing boat. Her husband died at the age of 45 under suspicious circumstances. In July, 1990 there was continued fighting between the Sri Lankan armed force and the LTTE in the north-eastern regions. At that time, Rasamma's husband had gone out to sea for fishing. He did not return home even after

a week. She became very anxious and began searching for him in many places and asked many people about her husband, but could not find him. After two days, his dead body was found on shore. His boat was also found in a damaged condition.

Rasamma had four children and the youngest one was two years old at the time of her husband's death. She became unable to maintain her family. She had her in-laws, but did not like to be a burden for them. She was worried about educating her children. She used to sell fish in the market but her business was dull and did not provide sufficient income to support her family and meet the educational expenditure of her children. Besides, their life in the village was always threatened by the army and the LTTE. She then decided to migrate to India.

She migrated to Pesalai village in Mannar district along with her childrens, brother-in-law and his parents, wife and children at the beginning of 1990. They stayed in Pesalai for a month. Afterwards, they migrated once again to Kiramam village in same district, which is the place where the boat service to go to India started. The place was very crowded with prospective refugees and it took them one month to get a boat. They started their boat journey at 11 PM from Kiramam village with 45 people, but only ten people landed in Rameswaram one morning at 3 a.m in February 1991. Actually, their boat was capsized in mid-sea due to overcrowding. Two of Rasamma's sons died in this accident, Only Rasamma, her other two sons and a few people survived as they held on to the boat for more than 30 minutes in mid-sea. They were rescued by another boatman who was behind them. Two days after the official verification was completed in Mandapam refugee camp, they were sent to Kandiyapuram refugee camp in Sivakasi Taluk, Virudhunagar district. This camp was in a public works department building. It did not have independent houses and all the families stayed together. Bathroom and toilet facilities were virtually non-existent. Both male and females used open places for toilet purposes. They stayed in this camp for ten years. Her children were educated in the Government Higher Secondary School in Sivakasi. She used to go to work in a fireworks company.

Rasamma family were sent to Puzhal camp in 2001. She struggled here to manage household expenses and to get employment in the local labour market. The government supplied a monthly cash dole, rationed rice, wheat and kerosene, which they found insufficient. However, Ramachandran, a mason and refugee in same camp

took her along whenever he went for construction work in nearby urban areas. Her elder son is now working in an electrical shop in Kavankarai town in Puzhal, and her younger son is studying in the XII standard in the government school in Puzhal. Her household income ranges between Rs. 1500-2000 per month. She has a hut with an electricity connection. Her house is sparsely furnished. Her younger son owns a bicycle. Presently, her elder son who is over 25 and wants to settle down but does not have a regular source of income, apart from limited government cash assistance. Rasamma still feels that it was the ethnic conflict which led to civil war, that made her life miserable. She is not able to see the brighter side of life because she has already crossed fifty. Her husband died about twenty years ago and since then her life has been rudderless.

6.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, we tried to capture the Sri Lankan refugee's livelihood options, reasons for their migration, nature of migration and their struggle for existence during the pre- and post-migration periods through case studies of six Sri Lankan refugees from selected camps. The selected refugees of these case studies actually represent a social worker, a casual labourer, a self-employed person, a regular salary employee, a student and a widow who have migrated to India after 1983 due to civil war in Sri Lanka. They had different livelihood options and also migrated in different waves at various points of time. Kayalvizhi, a school teacher in Vavuniya district, migrated to India during the first civil war in Sri Lanka. Kamalakkannan belonged to Yalpanam and his household had derived their livelihood mainly from fishing. He migrated to India in 1996. Again, Tamilselvam, a sales officer in a textile mill in Kandy came to India when the ethnic conflict started in Sri Lanka in 1983. Ramesh, who belonged to an agriculture-based family, migrated from Sri Lanka at the beginning of 4th civil war in 2006.

The refugees come from different economic backgrounds and they had different livelihood options before migrating to India as refugees. But after settlement in camps, they struggled to build a decent livelihood in camps. At the same time, some of them have succeeded in their camp lives with limited livelihood options and resources like Kayalvizhi from Thenpallipattu camp, and Kamalakkannan and Tamilselvam from Puzhal camp. For instance, Kamalakkannan started working as a casual labourer at the

beginning of his camp life. Hard work has made him the owner of the tailoring shop and he even provides employment to a fellow refugee. Some are still struggling in order to make a decent livelihood in the camps. Persons like Ramkumar and Rasamma mainly depend on government assistance. Ramkumar came from an agricultural family. His household had twenty acres of agricultural land and his father cultivated that land. They never used rationed rice when they were in Sri Lanka, but in India, his main food is now rationed rice. Due to lack of regular casual labour jobs in the local labour market, he is struggling to manage his household expenses.

Besides, students like Ramesh are facing problems to continue their studies in India due to insufficient financial resources. Nevertheless, most of the Sri Lankan refugees are happy to live in India after their miserable existence in Sri Lanka. These refugees hope that the local government will help them through more rehabilitation programmes like loans for house construction, starting a business and the education of their children.

Chapter 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Overview

There is no continent protected from the problem of refugee flow across countries. At the end of 2008, there were around 15.2 million refugees worldwide. The Asia and Pacific regions are, in particular, severely affected by this problem. These regions also possess roughly 34 per cent of world refugee population. At the global level, mainly five countries receiving refugees from neighbouring countries such as Pakistan, Syria, Iran, Germany and Jordan. At the same time, Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, Sudan and Colombia are also generating refugees because of conflict and civil war. On fleeing from their home country to another country as refugees, they find it difficult to exist in a different environment. Moreover, asylum countries do not allow them to move freely and access the labour market, education and health care. In this case, the camp-refugees face more serious problems than non-camp refugees in their asylum countries.

Refugees flow is not a new phenomenon in India. Since Independence, India has been receiving a large number of refugees from almost all neighbouring countries, like for instance, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Tibet, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, etc. even though India does not have refugee law/policy to deal with their problems and is not a signatory member to the 1951 United Nations Conventions Relating to the Status of Refugee or its 1967 Protocol. In India, the manner in which refugees are treated depends on their nationality. Some refugees have been enjoying most of the rights of Indian citizens like Nepal and Tibetan refugees. According to the World Refugee Survey, almost 411,000 refugees resided in India till 2008. Most of them migrated from Sri Lanka followed by Tibet, Myanmar, etc. However, the refugees from Sri Lanka are in India due to their exodus since 1983. They were neglected by both the Governments of India and Tamil Nadu in later years after the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi by suspected LTTE cadre and the lack of bilateral relations between Government of India and Sri Lanka. It was for these reasons that the Government of Tamil Nadu also cancelled the educational facilities for their children, reduced the number of camps and shifted them to isolated areas, and restricted their movement

outside the camps. All of this led to great difficulties for them to survive in the camps. It put them in a very vulnerable position.

The Sri Lankan refugee flow continues and its intensity has been varying over time in India conforming to the four phases of civil war between Sri Lankan armed forces and the LTTE. The civil war started primarily due to the ethnic conflict between the Tamils and Sinhalese communities in Sri Lanka. The ethnic conflict occurred in Sri Lanka for several reasons. Firstly, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka government had enacted 'Sinhala' as the only official language in Sri Lanka in 1956. But the Tamil politicians were opposed to this policy because they feared that it would affect their employment performance and promotion to higher positions. Secondly, the Sri Lankan government introduced a 'standardisation system' in higher education in 1970 which led to the Tamil students being discriminated against as regards admission into higher education. It was also a barrier to employment opportunities for Tamil youth in public sector. Besides, Sinhalese students could hold better jobs than Tamil students in the public sector employment due to the language policy. Thirdly, the Sinhalese settled in Tamil-dominated areas under the state-sponsored colonisation scheme during 1953-81. Fourth, discrimination of public investment in Tamil dominated areas in the industrialisation process. All this led to the Tamils losing their confidence in the state and they started a violent political movement, namely the LTTE, in 1976 with the aim of creating a separate state (Tamil Eelam) in the north-eastern region.

The LTTE conducted many violent attacks in Sri Lanka. It started violence against the Tamils all over the island. Many people were killed and nearly one lakh people were internally displaced. The ethnic violence against the Tamils was the main reason for the first civil war (Eelam war) that emerged between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan armed forces in Jaffna district. Afterwards, civil wars occurred at four phases in Sri Lanka linked to political motives. Tamils began to migrate internally and to other countries like India, France, UK, Australia and Canada.

7.2 Major Findings

(1) The secondary data based on the Department of Rehabilitation of Tamil Nadu shows that India had received almost 134,053 refugees from Sri Lanka during 1985-87 after the first civil war. The civil war ended in Sri Lanka in July 1987 with the

Indo-Sri Lankan Peace Accord. The Sri Lankan refugee influx came down in India. Meanwhile, around 45,281 refugees were repatriated by the Government of India and 13,516 refugees went back to Sri Lanka by their own arrangement during 1985-87. The remaining 34,429 refugees were settled in 171 temporary refugee camps and some of them settled outside the camp in Tamil Nadu in 1987.

(2) The second wave of Sri Lankan refugee influx started in 1989 with the second civil war between the army and the LTTE due to the failure of the peace talks between the Premadasa Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE. It led to 122,078 refugees seeking refuge in India. The refugee influx fell sharply in India on February 1991 after the ceasefire agreement between both sides. Besides, the Government of India banned the Sri Lankan refugee influx into India following the assassination of the former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi by a suspected Sri Lankan Tamil suicide bomber. The Indian government also repatriated around 54,188 refugees to Sri Lanka and 75,587 refugees migrated again to Sri Lanka on their own arrangements.

(3) India had received nearly 21,812 Sri Lankan refugees during 1996-2000 by the third phase of civil war in Sri Lanka. This war occurred after the breakdown of the 100 day ceasefire agreement between the Sri Lankan Government and the LTTE. However, it ended in February 2002 by the mediation of the Norway Government. The Government of India did not repatriate refugees to Sri Lanka due to the severe war in north-eastern region during 1996-2000.

(4) The fourth phase of the civil war occurred in Sri Lanka during 2006-09 due to political motivation. Over three lakh people were internally displaced and 24,196 people migrated to India during the fourth phase of civil war. Afterwards, Mahinda Rajapakse Sri Lankan Government resettled around 135,000 internally displaced people in their native places under the 180 day resettlement programme in December 2009. However, there were more than one lakh people in IDPs camps in Sri Lanka in March 2010.

(5) There were 100,793 Sri Lankan refugees living in Indian state of Tamil Nadu at the end of May 2009. Out of them, 73,397 refugees reside in 115 refugee camps situated in the 26 districts of Tamil Nadu. Further, 27,200 refugees stay outside the camp with relatives, friends and in rented houses in Tamil Nadu.

(6) A significant number of refugee families are also living in other Indian states such as Karnataka (988 families), Kerala (1,599 families), Andhra Pradesh (1,962 families), Gujarat (1 family), Pondicherry (25 families) and Andaman and Nicobar Islands (64 families). There are also a small number of Sri Lankan Tamils refugee families in the eastern region of Orissa.

(7) The non-camp refugees do not receive any assistance from the government, NGOs and international agencies. As they depend mostly on remittances from their relative/friends abroad or on self-employment. But the camp refugees mainly depend on Government assistance in order to survive in the camps. The Government of Tamil Nadu has been providing various relief assistance programmes to Sri Lankan refugees residing in camps. It includes shelter with free electricity connection, bathroom, toilet facilities, monthly cash dole, and subsidized rationed rice, sugar, wheat and kerosene. Camp-refugees have also been receiving clothes, utensils, free medical services in government hospitals, free education along with free uniform, noon meal, bus pass and textbooks. The XI standard students are also given a bicycle.

(8) The Tamil Nadu Government provides financial assistance to refugees under the Sri Lankan Tamil Special Relief Fund for major medical treatment and has implemented the Integrated Child Development Scheme to improve the nutritional status of refugee children, pregnant women and lactating mother in the camps. The pregnant women refugees also receive Rs. 1,000 three months before and after delivery under the Dr.Muthulakshmi Reddy Maternity Assistance Scheme. Up to 805 women pregnant refugees benefited under this scheme in 2008-09. Overall, nearly Rs. 500 crore had been spent by the Indian government for this relief assistance during July 1983-March 2009. Initially, this expenditure was met by the Tamil Nadu Government and thereafter reimbursed by the Government of India.

(9) The local NGOs have been providing services to camp-refugees in Tamil Nadu. They constructed toilets and bathrooms in camps and provided medical services and financial assistance to refugee children to meet their school/college tuition fees and hostel fees. The UNHCR does not provide any relief assistance to Sri Lankan refugees in Tamil Nadu. They only take responsibility for travel expenses if Sri Lankan refugees wish to go back to Sri Lanka.

(10) The DFID's sustainable livelihood model is a conceptual framework for the analysis of the study. It helps to understand the Sri Lankan refugee's vulnerable condition in camps, availability and accessibility of capital assets, the way in which various institutions influence their livelihood, different kinds of coping strategies to deal with problems and the outcome from their livelihood activities in camps.

(11) This study comprised 100 refugee households, which consist of 70 households from Puzhal refugee camp in Thiruvallur district and 30 households from Thenpallipattu refugee camp in Thiruvannamalai district. The total population in two camps is 432, consisting of 232 males and 200 females. Of the sample households, forty-four per cent migrated from Trincomalee district, 32 per cent from Vavuniya district and 15 per cent from Jaffna district. Further, 63 per cent of the households came from Trincomalee district in Puzhal camp and 73 per cent from Vavuniya district in Thenpallipattu camp. Moreover, 78 per cent of the households in the sample were Hindu and 22 per cent were Christian.

(12) Looking at the stream of migration in the sample it is found that 79 per cent of households had migrated in 1990s and 18 per cent households migrated in 2006. Almost 90 per cent of the households migrated by boat and the remaining households arrived by air. Most of the refugee households migrated to India due to persecution, which accounts for 81 per cent, followed by separation from family members (15 per cent) and educational opportunities (4 per cent).

(13) The average age of the sample refugee population is 29 years with a maximum age of 69 years and minimum of one year. Nearly, 34 per cent of the refugees fall in the 15-24 age group in the sample. Further, the distribution of marital status among the refugees shows that 54 per cent were unmarried, 42 were married and 4 per cent were widows.

(14) Our investigation revealed that 58 per cent refugees in the sample were in labour force. Of this, 34 per cent were in workforce and 24 per cent were unemployed. Further, 26 per cent are engaged in casual labour jobs, 6 per cent work as regular salary employees and 3 per cent are self-employed. While 38 per cent are students, the workforce participation rate is higher for Thenpallipattu (39 per cent) than for the Puzhal camp refugees (33 per cent). Likewise, more males (85 per cent) are engaged

in the workforce as compared to females (15 per cent). Nearly 20 per cent of woman refugees in the sample are unemployed. Due to the difficulty to get casual labour jobs, they do not seek employment in local labour market.

(15) The study also observed that 24 per cent of the refugees do painter jobs in the construction sector. This is followed by those in loading work (22 per cent), in agricultural work (10 per cent), digging wells, digging holes to make pipe lines and clerical jobs in the private sector (10 per cent). Among the Puzhal camp refugees, 31 per cent and 19 per cent are engaged in loading work and in painter jobs respectively. As much as 34 per cent of the refugees are working as painters in Thenpallipattu and 14 per cent are engaged in agriculture-related works, 12 per cent in clerical jobs and 10 per cent work as drivers.

(16) The monthly household income of the refugees comprised income from employment activities, government monthly cash dole and remittances. The average monthly household income is Rs. 3770 with a maximum of Rs. 6900 and a minimum of Rs. 680. At the camp level, the study found that for 30 per cent of the Thenpallipattu refugee households, the average monthly earning is Rs. 4400 followed by 27 per cent of the households with Rs. 5460. In Puzhal, most of the households are in the lower income group, which means that almost 30 per cent of households have an average monthly income of Rs. 3740. They mainly depend on the casual labour jobs as it is difficult for them to get regular employment in the labour market.

(17) The average household monthly consumption expenditure is Rs. 2300 in the sample. The Puzhal refugee households have a higher monthly expenditure than Thenpallipattu at the camp level, which means that for 30 per cent of the Puzhal households, monthly expenditure is Rs. 2260 while 27 per cent of the Thenpallipattu households spend only Rs. 1786 per month. Their major expenditure covers food, transport, childrens' education, medical expenses and repayment of debts.

(18) The study identified the availability and accessibility of various kinds of capital assets among the refugee households in both camps. Regarding human capital, we took four indicators such as household size, number of earning members, educational status and health status. It shows that the average household size is four with a maximum of 8 and a minimum of two members in the sample. In the sample, nearly

30 per cent of households have four members in the Puzhal households but 30 per cent of the Thenpallipattu households have only three members. When we look at their educational status, 37 per cent and 32 per cent of refugees completed secondary school education in Puzhal and Thenpallipattu camps respectively. Among them, males (51 per cent) are more educated than females (44 per cent). Furthermore, in Puzhal, 63 per cent of households have only one earning member but nearly 47 per cent of Thenpallipattu households have two earning members.

(19) Up to 41 per cent the Thenpallipattu refugees and 25 per cent of the Puzhal refugees were affected by disease during last six months. Due to poor infrastructural facilities (houses made of iron and asbestos sheet, lack of toilet facilities, poor bathing facilities and unsafe drinking water), communicable diseases such as diarrhoea, typhoid among children, and small pox, jaundice and thyroid problems among adults were widespread in both the camps.

(20) Social capital plays a major role in the livelihood of the Sri Lankan camp-refugees. It was found that 45 per cent of household members were participants in at least one of the formalised groups like the SHGs and the NGOs. The SHGs are more widespread among the woman refugees in camps. It has made them self reliant. Through the NGOs, refugees receive medical assistance, counselling and cash assistance for children's education, etc. Refugees have social contacts with the local Tamil people, non-camp refugees, relatives and friends in other countries. It helps them to get employment in the local labour market and also to make a decent livelihood in the camps. The refugees have also developed inter-household socio-economic networks. They provide safety and mutual assistance with limited resources in the camps.

(21) Availability and accessibility of natural capital is very limited for the Sri Lankan refugees in Tamil Nadu. They cannot legally buy land and houses in India because they do not have the right to own property. In the sample, we found that none of the households owned land or houses. Apart from this, Thenpallipattu camp refugees use forest resources such as firewood and timber for house construction. Puzhal camp does not have a forest near the camp. Further, hand pump water is used for drinking purposes by nearly 81 per cent and 93 per cent of the Puzhal and Thenpallipattu households respectively.

(22) The physical capital assets are in a very poor condition in both the camps. In Puzhal, 77 per cent of household have katcha houses and 23 per cent have pucca houses, while in Thenpallipattu, 37 per cent and 63 per cent of houses are katcha and pucca houses respectively. These houses were constructed ten years ago and made of leaves, asbestos sheets, cement concrete and iron sheets. There are now in a damaged condition.

(23) The study also found that 50 per cent of household in the sample use kerosene for cooking purposes. Nearly 80 per cent of the Puzhal households use community toilets while 83 per cent of the Thenpallipattu households use open places for toilet purposes. Transport facility is frequently available to Puzhal camp. Thenpallipattu camp also has public and private transport facility but they do not stop at the camp. This puts the camp residents in difficulty during emergencies. As for the level of general awareness among the refugees, it was found that 57 per cent of households acquire the information by watching television rather than listening to the radio or reading newspapers.

(24) As measures of the refugee household's financial capital asset position, the study used four indicators such as availability of asset position, government cash dole, source of cash income and labour income. The study found that more than 90 per cent of the sample households possess fans and watches for the last six months prior to the survey. Over 80 per cent of the households have television sets, mobile phones and jewellery. Moreover, 47 per cent of the household have livestock such as cows, goats and poultry and the proportion is higher among the Thenpallipattu households (53 per cent) than the Puzhal households (44 per cent). However, only 15 per cent of the household have bank accounts.

(25) The average monthly household cash dole of the government is Rs. 1287 with a minimum of Rs. 688 and a maximum of Rs. 2416. Up to 38 per cent of Puzhal households receive Rs. 1287 per month as cash dole. At the same time, 37 per cent of the Thenpallipattu refugee household gets a cash dole of Rs. 904 per month. In the sample, almost 47 per cent of households depend mainly on the government cash dole in order to meet their regular household consumption expenses because they do not have any other regular source of income. The study also reveals that 80 per cent of the

households in the sample have two income sources, namely, labour income and cash dole.

(26) Our investigation also revealed that average household monthly income is Rs. 2520 (mainly from employment) without government cash dole and Rs. 3770 with government cash dole. At the camp level, for 23 per cent of the Thenpallipattu refugee households, the average monthly income is Rs. 3750, while in Puzhal, for 21 per cent of the households, the average monthly earning is Rs. 1866.

(27) We found that the lack of infrastructural facilities (proper shelter, bathrooms, etc) is a major problem in both the camps. Moreover, almost 32 per cent of the household members faced health problems during the six month prior to the survey; but they did not receive proper treatment in the nearby government hospitals because of the lack of facilities in the government hospital. Further, discrimination, exploitation, job insecurity and lack of compensation in the event of death/accidents at the working place are other problems that they face in everyday life.

(28) Refugees have adopted various kinds coping strategies in order to survive in the camps. They include taking cash assistance from state government for major medical treatment and the improvement of health status of children, pregnant woman and lactating mothers. Besides, they maintain social contacts with their friends and relatives locally and abroad to get employment, and assistance in the form of finance and goods. The refugees have contacts with NGOs which provide help like counselling, financial assistance for children's education, construction of bathrooms and toilets in camps and so on. The refugees also have SHGs; they use their savings for camp infrastructure development.

(29) Apart from above-mentioned, migration and investment in children's education are major livelihood strategies among the refugees in camps. This will make better employment and income in the future. The refugees often adopted some negative coping strategies such as selling rationed rice, jewellery, livestock, mobile phone, motor cycle, sewing machine, etc. They also borrow money from moneylenders, relatives and friends in same camp or other camps with or without interest rate when faced with high expenses for children's education, medical expenses, housing reconstruction and life course events like marriages and festivals.

(30) From the case studies, we found that refugees came from different socio-economic backgrounds. Earlier, they had mainly derived their livelihood from agriculture and fishing activities (as in the case of Ramkumar and Kamalakkannan). Some of them like Kayalvizhi and Tamilselvam were working as government servants and in private sector. They had agricultural land, well constructed houses with electricity connection, livestock, jewellery, motor cycle, television, fishing boat, etc. They could have made a decent living in Sri Lanka with these household assets and their economic activities before migration.

(31) After migration into India, their socio-economic conditions and livelihood options changed. For instance, Kayalvizhi had worked as a teacher in a government school in Sri Lanka before migration, but she is now a social worker in India. Most of the refugees (as in the case of Ramkumar and Rasamma) are struggling to survive in the camps. Ramkumar possessed some assets in India, but Rasamma does not have even basic livelihood assets to survive in the camp. They had various assets and livelihood options in Sri Lanka before migration. Some refugees (like Kamalakkannan and Tamilselvam) have succeeded in camp life in India by putting in hard work. These cases are all some examples to show the contrast in their livelihood conditions before migration from Sri Lanka and in India after migration.

7.3 Policy Implications

India has been receiving large number of refugees from neighbouring countries since Independence. At present, more than four lakh refugees are residing in camps and outside camps in India. It is important to note that the Indian Government has not signed the 1951 United Nations Convention Related to the Status of Refugee and its 1967 Protocol, which has been signed by more than 100 countries in the world. Signing this Convention would only strengthen India's position in the community of nations, when it comes to dealing with the problem of refugees. Ideally, the government should evolve a national policy/framework and a legal regime to facilitate a humanitarian approach to the refugees who comes in. In the case of Sri Lankan refugees in Tamil Nadu, we have observed how the government has tried to mitigate their problems even in the absence of a legal framework that emerges from this study. Some policy recommendations are given below:

(1) Sri Lankan refugees migrated to India to protect their life and remaining assets but this exodus has had a significant impact on the social and political milieu in India and given rise to security problems in the country, especially in Tamil Nadu. Therefore, all camp and non-camp refugees should be registered and issued family cards. Further, the civil war is over in Sri Lanka and resettlement programmes are taking place at present. The Indian government should start repatriation for those who wish to go back to Sri Lanka. The Governments of India and Sri Lanka should make arrangements for the refugees to rebuild their livelihood in Sri Lanka like providing cash assistance to start self-business, to buy agricultural machinery, fishing boats, etc. Most importantly, they should treat Sri Lankan citizens as those with equal rights for employment and income like the Indian citizens. Apart from that, those who are married to Indian citizens and who wish to stay in India, should be accorded Indian citizenship and integrated legally in their area of settlement.

(2) Regarding to the government relief assistance, it is to be appreciated that the monthly cash dole for refugees was doubled since 2006 and ration rice is given to them at the rate of 57 paise per kg. The cash dole should be given to the family member or head of the household if the refugee cannot come to the camp to get cash dole on the day of issue. Rationed rice should be good quality and the quantity of sugar and kerosene should be based on the household size. It was noted that the refugees do not receive proper medical care in government hospitals and that they are discriminated against by the authorities. Refugees are also exploited by camp leaders and camp administrators when they have to get certain certificates that would enable them to get government assistance. So the local government should make arrangements to monitor this.

(3) Lack of infrastructural facility is a major problem in refugee camps. The houses have not been repaired for more than a decade. The roofing should be replaced and the construction of pucca houses started for those who want to stay in the camp. In addition, an adequate number of bathrooms and toilets should be constructed in camps, and the existing damaged toilets should be repaired by fixing doors, extending proper water facilities and cleaning septic tanks. Roads and street lighting should be given priority.

(4) The Government of Tamil Nadu does not recognise the Sri Lankan woman refugees SHGs operations in camps. This should be given recognition by the state government and all assistance should be offered to SHGs in camps. Refugee students do not receive any cash assistance for their education. The government should provide them scholarships.

(5) Refugees face a serious unemployment problem in the camps. The local government and private companies would provide employment opportunities to them based on their qualifications so that they can get a regular source of income. Alternatively, the government and NGOs should explore the creation of income generating activities such as agarbatti making and processing of food items. This would make them less reliant on the government. The government should also monitor the security of people at the work place and provide compensation in the event of death/accident occurring at the work place.

(6) The nationalised banks would offer loan facilities to the refugees and encourage them to start small businesses, for those who wish to stay in India. At present, moneylenders provide loans to the refugees at high interest rates. Appropriate action should be taken to control moneylenders' activities in the camps. There are some obstacles for help through voluntary organisations. These should be removed and such organisations should be allowed to function easily to help the refugees.

(7) The UNHCR can play a more pro-active role for improving the Sri Lankan refugee's livelihood conditions in the camps in Tamil Nadu. They need to go well beyond their current responsibility to provide travel assistance for refugees going back to Sri Lanka.

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Appendix A
Survey Questionnaire

Serial Number	
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Livelihood Strategies of Sri Lankan Refugees in Tamil Nadu

This study is conducted for as part of my M.Phil Degree Programme in Centre for Development Studies affiliated to Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. All information given below will be kept as confidential

Block 1. Identification and Interview Particulars

Place of Refugee Camp	
Name of Respondent	
Name of Interviewer	
Language of Interview	
Date of Interview	

Block 2. Profile of Refugee Household including Employment History

Sl. No	1 Name	2 Relation to head of HH	3 Age	4	5 Marital Status	6 Education status	7 Residence (use code)	8 Present employment status (Use code)	9 Industry (Use code)	10 Primary Occupation (Use code)
1										
2										
3										
4										
5										
6										
7										
8										
9										
10										

Column 2 - Relationship to Head: Head-1, Partner/Spouse-2, Daughter-3, Son-4, Sister-5, Brother-6, Daughter-in-Law-7, Son-in-Law-8, Grandchild-9, Mother-10, Father-11, Mother-in-Law-12, Father-in-Law-13, Grandparent-14, Other Relatives-15, Adopted/Foster/Step Child-16, Non relatives – 17.

Column 4 - Sex: Male –1, Female -2

Column 5 - Marital Status: Never married – 1, Married-2, Widowed-3, Divorced-4, Separated-5

Column 6 - Education: Illiterate-1, Primary -2, Secondary-3, Higher -4, UG -5, PG -6, Technical Education (ITI)-7, others-8.

Column 7-Residence: Domestic camp-1, Outside camp in same districts-2, Outside camp in other districts-3, Foreign country-4, other-5.

Column 8-Present Employment Status: Self Employed –1, Regular Salaried Employment –2, Casual Wage Labour –3, Unemployed – 4, Student-5, Others – 6.

Column 9- Industry: Agriculture-1, Mining and Quarrying-2, Manufacturing-3, Construction-4, Whole sale and retail trade-5, Hotel and Restaurant-6, Transport, Storage and Communication-7, Education-8, Health, Social and Community work-9, Private Administration-10, Others Services-11,

Column 10- Occupation: Painter-1, Mason-2, Electrician-3, Mechanic-4, Quarry Works-5, Porter-6, Driver-7, Tailor-8, Retailer-9, Nursing-10, Agriculture activities-11, Watchman-12, Clerk-13, Teacher-14, Fishing-15, Others-16.

Block 3. General Particulars

3.1	When did you come to India? (in years)	
3.2	How did you enter India? (boat-1, flight-2, others-3)	
3.3	Why did you migrate to India? (Persecution-1, Separation from family-2, Educational opportunities-3, Medical facilities-4, Economic opportunities-5, others-6)	
3.4	Have you ever changed your place of residence since you came to India? Yes-1, No-2	
3.5	If yes, how many times have you changed? (in numbers)	
3.6	Are you satisfied with the present accommodation? (Yes-1, No-2)	
3.7	If No, what is the reason? Unhygienic housing facilities-1, No bathroom facilities-2, No medical facilities-3, Difficult to get empt-4, lack of transport facilities-5, others-6,	
3.8	Religion (Hindu-1, Christian-2, Muslim-3,Others-4)	
3.9	Type of dwelling unit (katcha-1, pucca-2, others-3)	
3.10	Type of material used for housing (Mud and other similar materials -1, Brick - 2, Stone - 3, Wood - 4, Others - 5)	
3.11	Electrified (Yes -1, No -2)	
3.12	If No, what is the source of lighting? Kerosene-1, gas-2, others-3	
3.13	Major source of fuels used for cooking (Fuel wood - 1, Kerosene - 2, electricity - 3, gas-4, agricultural crop waste-5, Others - 6)	
3.14	Do you have running water facilities? Yes-1, No-2	
3.15	If No, where do you get water? Water ventor-1, water taken from other places-2, others-3	
3.16	What kind of toilet facility do members of your HHs usually use? Independent-1, Community-2, Open air-3	
Block 4. Do you own any of the following Assets? Yes-1, No-2		
4.1	Television	
4.2	Radio/VCR /DVD / MP3 player	
4.3	Cycle	
4.4	Bike / Scooter for own use	
4.5	Mobile phone	
4.6	Cable connection (like Sun Direct, DTH)	
4.7	Watch	
4.8	Sewing machine	
4.9	fan	
4.10	Personal Computer / Laptop	
4.11	Taxi / Auto Rickshaw	
4.12	Livestock (Goat/Cow/chicken)	
4.13	Self Savings	
4.14	bank account/post office account	
4.15	Jewellery	
4.16. Monthly Household expenditure and other Disbursements (in Rs.)		
4.16.1	Food	

4.16.2	water	
4.16.3	Clothing	
4.16.4	Electricity	
4.16.5	Firewood	
4.16.6	House Renovation	
4.16.7	Children's Education	
4.16.8	Transport and Communication	
4.16.9	Medical Expenses	
4.16.10	Savings	
4.16.11	Business investments	
4.16.12	Repayment of debts incurred by the household	
4.16.13	For important life course events (marriage, etc)	
4.16.14	If any others, Specify.....	
Block 5. Remittance and Utilisation		
5.1	Do you receive remittance from abroad? (Yes-1, No-2)	
5.2	Who is sending the remittance to you? (Family member-1, relatives-2, friends-3, others-4)	
5.3	From which country you are getting remittance? (Sri Lanka-1, Malaysia-2, Singapore-3, Dubai-4. Kuwait-5, Australia-6, Others-7)	
5.4	How much remittance do you receive during the last 6 months? In Rs.	
5.5.1	Main utilization of remittance: indicate order of Most important as 1 and the least important as 6 :	
5.5.1.1	Household expenses	
5.5.1.2	Education	
5.5.1.3	Medical Expenses	
5.5.1.4	Savings for the future	
5.5.1.5	Business Investments	
5.5.1.6	Repayment of debt occurred by Household	
5.6	What is the mode of remittances received by the households? Bank Drafts-1, Bank Cheques-2, Money Orders-3, Direct Transfer to bank account-4, Western Union/Money gram-5, Other methods-6.	
5.7	Do you receive remittance regularly? (every six month-3, every 6 months-2, irregular-3)	
5.8	Who controls remittance income when it arrives? (Head of the male HH - 1, Head of the female HH-2, other male member-3, others-4)	
Block 6. Natural and Social Assets Position among the refugees Household		
6.1	Do you use forest resource? Yes-1, No-2	
6.2	How do you use forest resource? Fuelwood-1, using wood for house construction -2, others-3	
6.3	Is any member your household a member in any organisation? (Yes-1, No-2)	
6.4	If yes, what is the type of institution? NGOs-1, Women organization-2, Self help group-3, church based organisation-4, other-5	
6.5	What type of benefits do these institutions provide? (water supply-1, loan-	

	2, employment-3, education-4, madical5, helping migration-6,technical training-7, others-8)	
6.6	Do you have relation with any political party? (yes-1, No-2) Which party?	
6.7	Can you access administrative services? Yes/No	
6.8	Do the female members of your HH migrate for work? (yes-1, No-2)	
6.9	If yes, where do they migrate? Internal-1 international-2	
6.10	Where do you get information related to political and economic issues? (TV-1, Radio-2, reading news paper-3, information from news paper reader-4, others-5)	
6.11	Do you think live peaceful condition in the camp? Yes-1/No-2	
6.12	If No, what is the problem? No unity in the camp-1, pressure from outside-2, others-3	
Block 7. Vulnerability Context		
7.1	Do you face unemployment problem during last six month? Yes-1, No-2	
7.2	Which month do you encounter high unemployment problem? Specify particular month.	
7.3	How do you cope up with this situation? (Adjusting meals-1, own saving-2, Govt/NGOs assistance-3,mortgage-4, temporary migration -5, debt from relatives/friends-6, getting unconditional support from relatives-7, others-8)	
7.4	When do you or any of your household members fall ill during last six month? Specify particular month.	
7.5	Have you faced any shock since last six months? (Serious disease-1, accident/death of the HH member-2, Damaged house-3, Drought-4, Market fluctuation-5, other-6)	
7.6	Do you have affected by market price fluctuation? Yes-1, No-2	
Block 8. Adaptation and Coping Mechanism		
8.1	Have you had to borrow money during last 6 months? (yes-1, No-2)	
8.2	What is the purpose of borrowing? (Business Activities-1, Routine Household Expenses-2, Education-3, Medical Expenses-4, Life Course Expenses-5, other purposes-6)	
8.3	How much have you borrowed? (Rs.)	
8.4	Which is the source? (Government-1, NGOs-2, Professional Money Lenders-3, Relatives/Friends-4, shop keepers-5, commercial banks-6, other sources-7)	
8.5	What is the condition of getting loan? (regular payment with interest-1, regular payment without interest-2, irregular payment -2, free-3, other-4)	

Appendix. B Interview Schedule

Sample Questionnaire for Interview conducted at the Refugee Camps in Tamil Nadu

Schedule No:.....

1. Identification

Name of Respondent:
Place of Camp:
Taluk:
District:
Name of Interviewer:
Language of Interview:
Date of Interview:

2. Present profile of refugee

Sl. No	Basic Particulars	
2.1	Name	
2.2	Age (in completed Years)	
2.3	Sex (Male-1, Female-2)	
2.4	Religion (Hindu – 1, Christian – 2, Muslim – 3, Buddhist– 4, Others – 5)	
2.5	General education status (Illiterate – 1, Primary School Education -2, Secondary School Education -3, Higher Education- 4, UG-5, PG-6, Technical Education-7, Others-8)	
2.6	Skills if any (describe)	
2.7	Marital status (never married – 1, currently married – 2, divorced – 3, widowed – 4, separated – 5)	
2.8	Number of children (Male and Female separately)	Male: Female:
2.9	Household size	

5. How were you rehabilitated by the local authorities when you first come to India as a refugee and what kind of facilities were you provided with in the camp?
6. How did you enter the labour market or start self-employment after you arrived in India?
7. What kind of job did you first take up?
8. How do you earn your livelihood now?
9. Was it easy to adapt to the new environment as a refugee?
10. Did you face any discrimination in the work place or on the streets?
11. What is your expectation from the Government, NGOs and international agencies?
12. What are your future plans?