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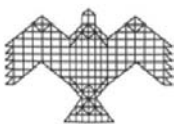
Research Report No. 3

## Breaking Free or Staying Put?

Migration Decisions for Female Students in Central  
Gujarat, India

Molly Fitzpatrick

December 2012



National Institute of Advanced Studies  
Bangalore, India



UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM

Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research  
University of Amsterdam

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This research report is a slightly revised version of the author's Bachelor thesis in Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology, submitted to the College of Social Sciences, University of Amsterdam, in June 2012.

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**Published by:**

National Institute of Advanced Studies (NIAS), Bangalore, and

Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research (AISSR)

**Bibliographic information:**

Fitzpatrick, Molly. 2012. Breaking Free or Staying Put? Migration Decisions for Female Students in Central Gujarat, India. Provincial Globalisation Research Report No.3. Bangalore: National Institute of Advanced Studies and Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research.

## **ABSTRACT**

This research report focuses on the ambivalent perspectives of middle class, female students in Central Gujarat, concerning the possibility of international migration in the near future. I argue that there are many factors that need to be taken into account when answering the question of why people choose to migrate, and that making the decision to go is never easy. The young women in Central Gujarat are all struggling with the prospect of a future abroad. They are clearly torn between two opposing forces. On the one hand they feel the need to break free from the constraints of Indian social control. They see the West as a 'liberal' place where they could fulfill their aspirations for independence. On the other hand they are anxious about leaving their familiar environment, family, and friends. They know that a move abroad would constitute a major social, cultural and economic rupture in their lives.

I argue that this ambivalence between staying and going translates directly into their ambivalent characters. These girls appear to be relatively liberal, freethinking young adults. However, it is important not to overlook that they are continuously trying to live up to their parents' and society's expectations. This should not be seen as conflicting, or internally contradictory. Instead, I will show that this ambivalence is in fact symptomatic of their position as middle class girls living in a middle town.

## **PREFACE**

This research report is a revised draft of my BA thesis based on research that was linked to the Provincial Globalisation research programme. Provincial Globalisation is a collaborative international research programme of the Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research (AISSR), University of Amsterdam, and the National Institute of Advanced Studies (NIAS), Bangalore, India, funded by the Integrated Programme of WOTRO Science for Global Development, the Netherlands (NWO).

First and foremost, I would like to thank Prof. Mario Rutten of the University of Amsterdam for giving me the chance to join this research programme. I am very grateful for the enormous amount of time and energy he has spent guiding me through the entire process of doing anthropological fieldwork and writing this thesis. I would also like to thank the Sardar Patel University (SPU) for all their support; in particular I would like to mention Vice Chancellor Prof. Harish Padh, Mr. Tushar Majmudar, and Mr Varun Patel. Furthermore, Prof. Amrapali Merchant, honorary advisor of the department of social work at SPU, has been an excellent guide to me during my fieldwork in Vallabh Vidyanagar. I would like to thank PhD student Sanderien Verstappen for both her help during preparation beforehand, and for introducing me in the field during my research. I would also like to thank my second reader Dr. Ajay Gandhi, and also Stephanie Lamb, Jeroen van der Heijden and Jacky Bloemraad-De Boer for their critical readings of various drafts. Of course, I would like to thank all of my lovely informants, and, last but not least, Pieter Lagerwaard, Jasne Krooneman and Fieke Jagers for being great friends to me in the field. I enjoyed every minute of our experience in India together.

Molly Fitzpatrick

Amsterdam, June 2012

## INTRODUCTION

At first glance, Naina<sup>1</sup>, a student living in Central Gujarat, India, appears to be your average rebellious young adult. She has a boyfriend of whom her parents do not approve. She has a tattoo that says 'life is beautiful', written in her boyfriend's handwriting, about which her parents are equally unhappy. The conflict between Naina and her parents has become so out of hand that, even if she is in her hometown, she does not often visit them. She talked about her dream to 'escape'; she wishes to migrate to the West so she can marry her boyfriend, the love of her life. Disobeying and evading her parents' authority in this way would undoubtedly enrage them still further. Despite all this, Naina is still pre-occupied with her parents' opinion. She lamented:

My parents don't have confidence in me. This is the biggest problem. They always think I will fail ... they do not believe I can do anything. But I will show them that I can.

She continued that she is, therefore, studying extra hard at university, in order to make an impression. Her ambition is one day to become a teacher in India, and make her parents proud. Naina's case seems internally contradictory. On the one hand she appears to be liberal, rebellious and out-spoken; on the other hand she expresses anxiety about living up to her parents' expectations. It is clear that she is desperate to do what is expected of her. It is unclear, however, as to whether she is living her own life, or is stuck in the structure of social obligations and moral responsibilities. Does she want to 'break free' and migrate to the West or will she 'stay put' and do what is expected of her?

Naina is not the only student in Central Gujarat with ambivalent ideas concerning her future. Especially concerning migration, many students living in this relatively prosperous region expressed seemingly contradictory feelings. Throughout this research report I will aim to explain why the students view their future in this way, and in which way it contradicts previous literature concerning motivations for migration. One of the main ideas I will be discussing is the 'culture of migration' theory, first formulated by Kandel and Massey (2002) but later adopted by many migration theorists. According to this theory young people living in countries of high out-migration will start to perceive a move abroad as normative. Soon, migration will be seen as the only, or main, option to create a (better) future. With a current diaspora of thirty million Indians, constituting the world's second largest after China, it is clear that India can definitely be considered a country marked by high out-migration. Youth living in countries such as India are constantly exposed, both in real life and through the media, to migrants and Westerners with

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<sup>1</sup> All names have been changed in order to ensure my informants' anonymity

more money, independence, and social status than them. In this light, it seems that migration could indeed become a very tempting option for them. However, as Naina's case shows, migration is not the obvious answer for these youths. The question thus arises: to what extent does the culture of migration inform and encourage the views of these female students on the future, and what other factors are important to take into consideration?

This paper discusses the future perspectives of twenty students living in the university township of Vallabh Vidyanagar in Central Gujarat. It is the result of a two-month period of intensive qualitative fieldwork amongst the students of the Sardar Patel University (SPU) in Vidyanagar. For this research the main question was: what future perspectives do young women in central Gujarat maintain, and how do these perspectives relate to migration? Future perspectives say a great deal about current conditions. The way the young women talked about their future gave an insight into how they perceive their current position and subsequent opportunities in a developing India. Within the broad subject of future perspectives I focused particularly on dreams of migration, as the research question suggests. Migration is a hot topic amongst the students of Vallabh Vidyanagar. However, as it will become clear, it was also a topic marked by ambivalence and contradiction. I will first outline the necessary theoretical framework. After this I will briefly recount the methodology that was used, and paint a picture of the setting of the research. I will then move on to the main findings. I will show that the girls experience ambivalent feelings concerning a possible move abroad. On the one hand they crave a certain amount of freedom and independence. They are seeking to escape somehow. On the other hand, they are anxious about leaving their families and their secure and familiar surroundings. But will this compel them to stay in India?

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Since the beginning of academic interest in international migration, the question of why people migrate has been a central concern. There is no single coherent theory of how migration begins; yet there are many different theories, each focused on explaining the phenomenon on different levels and from different disciplines. In their article *Theories of International Migration: a Review and Appraisal* (1993), Massey et al give a clear overview of two of the most well known theories: neoclassical economics and the new economics of migration. Neoclassical economics explains how international migration begins by looking at differentials in wage and employment conditions between countries (Massey et al. 1993: 432). On a macro-level this means focusing on differences between countries concerning the supply and demand of labour. On a micro-level, this theory emphasises rational choice and agency. It sees migration simply as an individual decision motivated by a wish to maximise income (ibid.). According to the ‘new economics of migration’, neoclassical economics overlooks the fact that choices to migrate are not always made by the individual. This insightful theory instead highlights the importance of units of related people in the making of migration decisions. Choosing to send one or two members abroad could, for example, be a risk minimising strategy of an entire household (ibid.: 436).

Another popular way of understanding motivations for migration is by looking at so-called ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors. This model analyses migration as a product of unrelated factors in the country of origin that ‘push’ migrants to leave and in the country of destination that ‘pull’ migrants in (Lee 1966). An analysis that essentially uses a push-pull model to analyse international movement is Altbach (1991), who looks at the phenomenon of study abroad. Concerning the decision to migrate he writes: ‘Individuals (and their families) have been affected by such factors as the economic value of a foreign degree, the possibility of migration to another country, a difficult situation at home and many others’ (Altbach 1991:309). His analysis is a good example of a push-pull approach that takes into account both individual and collective aspects. One issue that a push-pull model overlooks, however, is the fact that the factors involved are often related. Some theorists have argued, for example, that migration is a result of the current global economic system. Glick Schiller et al state that both the creation of ‘migrant jobs’ in countries such as the US and the disruption of sectors such agriculture in the global South are products of world capitalism. They write: ‘The economic dislocations in both the Third World and in industrialized nations increased migration’ (Glick Schiller et al 1992:8). Another similar structural approach is world systems theory. This theory argues that migration is produced by the structure of the world market as inherited from the colonial structures of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Massey et al 1993:444). Building on the theories of Wallerstein, it shows that migration runs from periphery to

core along paths of capital investment, and is frequently channelled towards 'global cities' (ibid.: 460).

Though some of these theories do take into account social aspects, their main concern is with economic elements. The culture of migration theory, mentioned in the introduction, is a theory that looks for the answer to why people migrate in cultural and social relations. Kandel and Massey (2002) describe how, in certain communities in Mexico, they have observed a culture of migration wherein migration to the US has become normative (2002: 981). Kandel and Massey write that 'International migration is cultural in the sense that the aspiration to migrate is transmitted across generations and between people through social networks' (ibid.). In other words, people who migrate or aspire to migrate can influence younger generations into framing their future in terms of migration. Over generations, migrating to the West becomes normal and even expected behaviour for people coming of age (ibid.: 982). Ali (2007) who studied migration to the Gulf countries from Hyderabad, India, also observes a culture of migration. He goes one step further than Kandel and Massey in that he describes how not migrating is seen as 'deviant behaviour' in Hyderabad (Ali 2007: 51). He writes that 'migration has become so normatively conditioned, that not going is not a choice' (ibid.: 54).

The culture of migration theory understands out-migration as a culture that spreads through a community, creating networks of migrants, which in turn make further migration easier and, therefore, more likely (Cohen and Serkeci 2011: 116). This fits with the cumulative causation theory of migration. Massey et al explain this as a view that maintains that each act of migration affects the society from which migrants leave, in a way that makes further migration more likely (1993: 451). Some examples Massey et al give of the socioeconomic factors migration can affect are the distribution of income, the distribution of land, the organisation of agriculture, and the social meaning of work (ibid.). According to the similar network theory, it is believed that new migrants will find it easier to migrate through a network of already migrated family and friends (ibid.: 448).

What is important to keep in mind when reviewing these theories is whether the approach is agency or structure oriented. The relationship between the choice-making capacity, or agency, of individuals and the structure that affects this capacity has been one of the main preoccupations of the discipline of anthropology for decades (Eriksen 2001:84). Structure oriented theories are, for example, world systems theory and the culture of migration theory. They see the structure surrounding the agents as the main motivational factor for migration. However, they often overlook the choice-making capacity of individuals. Agency centred theories are for example neo-classical economics and, to a lesser extent, the new economics of migration (focused on collective agency). These theories in turn tend to overlook the fact that the choice-making capacity of agents is often restricted by the structure that surrounds them.

All these theories take into account different aspects and angles when trying to answer the question of why people migrate. Perhaps all of them combined could bring us closest to finding an answer. Indeed, an important point made in the article by Massey et al is that they do not see these theories as inherently contradictory, but are, instead, open to the possibility of several or all of these theories being relevant for different levels or aspects of migration (ibid.: 463). What none of these theories justly problematise, however, is the difficulty of the decision-making process before someone chooses to migrate. The people studied by these theorists are only ever described as migrants or pre-migrants, their identity cannot be seen separately from the fact that they have migrated. Furthermore, it seems as if they were always destined to do so, because of the outside forces that compelled them to move. Migration does not only bring about positive consequences, the negative impact migration can have on someone's life should also be taken into account when pondering the question of why people migrate. Often migration is not a clear-cut decision, but rather a careful deliberation and negotiation concerning the obvious pros and the considerable cons.

An article that takes into account both the positive and negative effects of migration is *Middling Migration* (2012), by Rutten and Verstappen. In this paper they show that the motivations for young Gujaratis<sup>2</sup> to migrate can be contradictory. Rutten and Verstappen studied youngsters working and studying in London on temporary visas, such as a student visa. These youngsters are crammed into small houses, work in low-status jobs, and socialise solely with other newly arrived migrants. By contrast, in Gujarat they belong to the middle classes, which means they are relatively well-off and live in large houses. Furthermore, while in India these youngsters will often never have done their own laundry or even made their own bed, when they arrive in London they have to do everything for themselves (2012: 11). Even though they experience this as degrading, one of their primary reasons to go to London was precisely because of their wish for independence, without parental support. (ibid.: 12). Rutten and Verstappen thus argue that, while the youngsters' move to London does involve a big step down on the social ladder, in the context of India, migrating helps them acquire social status and respect. Furthermore, it helps the youngsters to 'grow up' and gain new experiences. Migration can thus be seen as a strategy employed by these middle class families to maintain their status and safeguard their future, spurred on by uncertainty over their social position in present-day India (ibid.: 1), as well as an individual choice in order to increase independence and gain new experiences.

This article does highlight the fact that migration can simultaneously be an individual decision and a collective one. It also takes into account the fact that migration can have many negative consequences. However, it still sees these youngsters as nothing but migrants, whose paths led them inevitably towards migration. It seems that a certain category has been overlooked

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<sup>2</sup> Who were also from same region in central Gujarat as my informants.

when studying the motivations for migration, namely the youngsters, like Naina, who are living in areas of high out-migration and are still deciding what to do with their future. Many scholars have studied middle-class Indian youth, however they tend to describe all the things they struggle with *except* migration. A good example is Jeffrey (2010), who studied the phenomenon of ‘timepass’, or ‘just hanging around’, amongst middle class, unemployed, highly educated young men in Northern India. He describes how young men have constructed a youth culture around ‘timepass’, which they enact by hanging around in tea stalls and on the village square (Jeffrey 2010:477). Because of educational decay and a shortage of jobs, young men are often anxious about having ‘surplus time’ and of being ‘left behind’ (ibid.: 466). Their future is socially and financially uncertain, feeling as if their life is heading nowhere (ibid.: 472). What is striking is that Jeffrey does not see migration as an option for these youths. Unfortunately, this is a common factor in much literature on middle class youth in India (see for example: Netting 2010; Waldrop 2012), and literature on middle class youth in developing countries in general (see for example: Schielke 2008, Lietchy 2002). Furthermore, Jeffrey only focuses on young men. In this paper I would like to interlink the seemingly separate debates on motivations for migration and middle class youth in India. I believe that connecting these two debates could offer a better understanding of the situation that the young women in Vallabh Vidyanagar find themselves in, the future perspectives they maintain, and the difficult decisions they are about to face.

## METHODOLOGY

I stayed in the student township of Vallabh Vidyangar for two months, and conducted research amongst the student population, focusing on girls. I interviewed twenty students in total, all between the ages of 18 and 25. All are from middle class families and could be described as well off, according to Indian standards. Many of them also belonged to high-ranking castes, such as the regionally dominant Patidars and the high-caste Brahmins. The students are all from Gujarat, however only six are originally from Vidyanagar or Anand, the town on which Vidyangar has grown. All live in hostels in Vidyanagar, and travel home to nearby towns to see their families most weekends. I also interviewed four return migrants and a non-resident Indian (NRI) living in Texas, who was visiting her family in Vidyanagar. Furthermore, I have conducted extensive follow-up interviews with ten of my original informants. Consequently, I have centralised seven girls, seeing them on a regular basis. I interviewed many people close to them, such as their parents, siblings, friends and boyfriends. Some of the basic information of all of my twenty informants can be found in Table 1, in the Appendix.

As soon as I arrived at the main building of the Sardar Patel University (SPU), I realised it would be very easy to find informants for my research. There were many groups of young boys and girls walking around the campus, all following me with their eyes. It seemed they were as curious about me as I was about them. I spent most of my time in a small student café near the university, called Biju Ghar. Here I found most of my informants, and I spent time with them in Biju Ghar on a regular basis. When I first met a group of students I would begin with a semi-structured interview, asking them a set of basic questions and writing their answers down. This was an efficient way to break the ice, make my intentions clear, and get the same basic information from each one. In order not to influence their answers, I did not mention the topic of migration initially. Instead, I focused on the students' future plans and perspectives. I began by interviewing both boys and girls; however, I soon decided to switch my focus to girls because I was experiencing problems with gaining access to groups of boys. The girls, on the other hand, completely opened up to me and welcomed me into their lives.

I conducted semi-structured interviews and observations, participating where possible. I have made sure to pay close attention to the interactions between all the agents in my social field, for example how the young women interact with their peers, family members, and (young) returned migrants. I went with three girls, Darshana, Anisha and Mita, to visit their parents' house, in the nearby towns of Nadiad, Bharuch and Vadodara<sup>3</sup> respectively. Seeing how they

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<sup>3</sup> Referred to by its old name 'Baroda' by my informants.

behaved at home and meeting their families became a valuable part of my research. I also tried an alternative method with four girls. First showing them my own as an example, I asked them to draw me their future on a piece of paper. This method worked surprisingly well, and has helped me get a clearer view of how they picture their future. I have maintained a qualitative research methodology throughout, because I wanted to show the complexity and context of this specific case. I therefore used a case study as my research design (see Bryman 2008: 51), focusing on the members of a specific group or community, in this case the female students living in Vallabh Vidyangar.

## SETTING

Vallabh Vidyanagar is a university township that has grown on and into the regional town of Anand, the district capital of Anand district. With a combined population of 250,000, Vidyangar and Anand could be described as forming a typical Indian middle town. What makes this town different from other towns in the region is the presence of the Sardar Patel University (SPU) and its accompanying student population. Anand district is characterised by a very high population density, and is famous for its agricultural prosperity (Rutten 1991: 68). The state of Gujarat is ranked fourth in per capita income out of the major states of India (Hirway and Mahadivya 2004 in Heitmeyer 2010: 36). The historical importance and economic development of Gujarat has been aided by its history of maritime trade (Heitmeyer 2010: 36). With sailors from Gujarat trading all around the Indian Ocean, it is clear that Gujaratis have a long history of mobility. To date, out-migration is very high, especially under members of the regionally dominant Patidar caste, with the surname Patel (Rutten 2007:351). In a selection of Patidar households in six villages surrounding Anand, Rutten found that 85 per cent of households had family members abroad, with an average of 9.4 per household (ibid.: 355). Of the students I focused on, 70 per cent have family abroad.<sup>4</sup>

This high out-migration is consequently visible in the street view and is also recurrent in everyday discourse. The number of billboards lining the streets advertising overseas education, and visa offices, fascinated me on my arrival in the field. It seemed that every second business established along the main roads was a visa agency. Because Vidyangar is a university town and its main inhabitants are students, the primary form of migration is with a student visa. This was therefore what most of the agencies specialised in. Furthermore, no matter where I went it seemed I constantly met and struck up conversations with ‘vacationing’ or return migrants. In the first four days alone, I met as many as eleven migrants in various places such as at a telecommunication store, in a restaurant, or just outside on the street. This was mainly due to the fact that I had come to Gujarat in the so-called ‘NRI season’. This is the season in migrants return to India to enjoy the cool weather and attend weddings.

Vidyangar is a small place that not many people outside Gujarat have heard of. However, it boasts one Subway, a Dominos Pizza, a Chocolate Room, and a Café Coffee Day (an American style coffee shop). These establishments are almost exclusively visited by the upper-middle and upper classes, or by return and vacationing migrants. They are places to flaunt wealth, as the prices are astronomical compared to the local cafés and eateries. My informants were divided

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<sup>4</sup> See table 1, in the appendix.

between those who visited these places every now and then and those who had never set foot in the Café Coffee Day or the Chocolate Room. That said, my informants would also not spend time at the street stalls where *chai* and soda is sold, instead they chose for the middle option: Biju Ghar café. Biju Ghar is a small café near a busy intersection with many shops. It is right next door to a chai stand, so there are always people standing in front of the café, in between the many parked scooters and the occasional cow. There are a couple of tables outside on a small terrace. The rest of the tables are inside, though there are wide doors that are always open, which gives the place an outdoor feel. The tables are high and made out of plastic. The chairs are hard and uncomfortable. All the customers are students and most are male, though every now and then a group of girls enters. Some tables are strewn with homework while others are occupied by students with only food and drinks. Almost the entire left wall is covered with the painted menu and it is strict self-service; with the owner sometimes yelling out that an order is up for ages rather than walking the few meters to a table. Biju Ghar has formed the main background for my fieldwork.

## BREAKING FREE

Over there<sup>5</sup>, you have more freedoms. You can wear whatever you want ... go anywhere you want, or shout as loud as you want, like on the street. You can enjoy full of heart.

- Neela (20)

Here everyone is always watching you. (...) But over there it is different; you can do what you want. Here we are so restricted. This is why I want to go abroad.

- Kuldeep (21)

These statements illustrate how many of the youngsters in Vallabh Vidyanagar felt about a future abroad. Migrating was often seen as a way to break free from their current condition. It was a way to gain more freedom and independence. In order to comprehend why migration was often perceived in this way, we need to first understand the condition that these youngsters wish to escape from.

Almost all my main informants hang out at Biju Ghar everyday. They eat their breakfast, lunch and dinner there. Biju Ghar café, like many other public spaces in India, is a very male dominated place. It takes courage for the girls to spend their leisure time in the open at Biju Ghar, because sitting in cafés is not seen as an appropriate way to spend leisure time for young girls in India. Naina confessed: 'my parents do not understand, if they came by here they would scold me for hanging around like this for everybody to see'. This is an illustration of how extensive parental control can be for these girls. Even though they do not live at home, or even in the same city as their families, their freedom is limited from afar and in many different ways. For example, Anisha, who is 20 years old, lives in hostel in Vidyanagar that has a 9 pm curfew. One night we went out for dinner and, as things often do in India, everything ran a little late. When our food had still not arrived by 8.45 pm I could see Anisha was starting to panic. She phoned her mother, explaining that she would miss her curfew. Her mother was suspicious and asked to speak to me to verify Anisha was not behaving inappropriately, then requested that I take Anisha back to the hostel and make our apologies to her Madam. This was not an isolated case. None of the girls were allowed to go home alone after dark. Throughout the day they would receive phone calls from their parents wanting to know where they were and what they

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<sup>5</sup> When Neela and Kuldeep talk about 'over there' they have in mind places like the US, Canada, UK and Australia. These are the countries that receive the most Indian immigrants, therefore they are the most at hand for students who fantasise about the West and possibly migrating there.

were doing. Anisha and Naina even received similar calls from their 'secret' boyfriends.<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, parents go much further than just controlling the whereabouts of their daughters. They scrutinise their every move, so fearful are they as to how it will reflect on themselves and their family. As Dayita illustrates:

The first thing parents say [is] "what will society say?" Everything is always about 'society'. Society will not accept this or that, people will talk, that sort of thing.

For instance, Naina really wanted to learn how to play the guitar:

But my mother said no. I don't understand. Why can't I play the guitar? My parents are so restrictive. I think this really pushes children away from their parents.

Anisha had a similar dream that was also shattered. On her drawing of her future she wrote that her biggest dream was 'to be a good dancer'. She then drew a big cross through this because, as she explained:

My father is a respectable man in our city. He will not allow me to dance because of the way people will be looking at me. He tells me: "you are not a teenager anymore". I have to grow up, and dancing is not a real career.

This further illustrates that, no matter what their dreams for the future are, the girls' lives are to a large extent already planned for them. As soon as they finish their degree, it is expected that they will get married and settle down. Often this will mean an arranged marriage<sup>7</sup>. A way to postpone this is to migrate overseas and continue education there, as further education is almost always encouraged. According to Dayita: 'even the most orthodox parents will let their daughter go abroad if they are going for studies'. Both Ajay and Jahin told me boys often go abroad to work, earn money and then start up a business, either there or back in India. For girls who migrate the emphasis is less on earning money and more on education. It is seen as inappropriate for girls to go abroad alone to pursue a career. Studying abroad can thus be seen as a strategy employed by girls in order to prolong their single life, while not going against their parents' will. Tamika is planning to migrate to Canada in August for her masters' degree. Her case is a perfect illustration of this strategy of avoidance. One afternoon, after a bit of prompting from the group of friends

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<sup>6</sup> For example, Anisha and I were sitting in Biju Ghar one afternoon when her phone rang. After a short conversation she hung up again. When I asked who it was she whispered 'you know who'. She was referring to her boyfriend who is a member of an Other Backward Caste, a young man she really loves but will not be able to marry because her parents will not allow it. When I asked why he called she said that he was checking where she was and making sure she was not behind with her studies.

<sup>7</sup> Although many marriages are still arranged in Gujarat, it is not as strict as is often thought. The girls sometimes play an active part in the choosing of their partner and are often allowed to meet up with him several times before the wedding. After these meetings both the young man and woman are given a chance to reject the arrangement or accept it.

sitting around her in Biju Ghar, she finally admitted that the reason she wants to go abroad is that her parents wish to arrange her marriage as soon as she completes her bachelors degree. From all of this it becomes clear that the girls' lives in India are in many ways controlled, restricted and pre-defined.

In their paper on international migration from South Asia, Gardner and Osella (2003) add an interesting perspective to the debate concerning why people migrate. They argue that, amongst other things, aspirations towards what is perceived as 'modernity' are often key reasons for migration. They write: 'we believe that ideas, hopes and dreams of something called 'modernity' and 'progress' are continually appealed to in people's economic endeavours, political projects and identity crafting' (Gardner and Osella 2003: x). In other words, the authors perceive a link between aspirations for 'modernity', which is often embedded in a wider notion of progress and mobility, and migration (*ibid.*). This relates to my findings because it was often the idea of 'modernity', strongly linked to the notions of independence and freedom, which motivated the youngsters in their ambitions for migration. As mentioned above, there is a significant presence of migration in these girls' lives. They hear many stories from friends and family about what it is like to live in 'the West', where social and parental restrictions are considerably less. Images of the 'liberal' West and western youth dominate media. Furthermore, from observing the young return migrants around them they also began to link migration to social mobility and status. It is therefore easy to imagine that the girls will put two and two together and start thinking that a move abroad will provide them with much coveted freedom, independence and social mobility.

As the students will often go abroad without friends and family, a move will in fact leave them no choice but to be more independent. This was definitely the case for the Gujarati youngsters studied by Rutten and Verstappen (2012). The youngsters living in London temporarily are described as sometimes feeling a little lost in their new surroundings at first, having to deal with living and working conditions that are below the standards that they were used to in India (*ibid.*: 12-13). However, soon the young migrants felt a considerable amount of pride in the fact that they had learnt how to manage on their own and be independent (*ibid.*: 13). They highlighted the fact that there were many things they could do in London that they could not do in India at their age, such as live on their own, earn their own money, and make their own decisions (*ibid.*: 12).

The girls in Vidyanagar were well aware of the independence that a move abroad would bring. Priya is planning to study in Nottingham, in the UK, because she has a couple of friends who have already migrated there. She told me in regard to her plans: 'it will be good for my development... I want to experience something new, and be independent'. Together with the statements by Neela and Kuldeep, presented at the beginning of this paragraph, this illustrates

that when the girls think of migrating to the West in order to study there, their goal is not to simply 'get out' of India, as the culture of migration suggests. Instead, their objectives are to gain more independence<sup>8</sup> and a better social position upon return. Focusing only on these personal objectives would require a very agency-centred view of migration. If the agency of individuals was not at all curbed by the structure in which they live, all the girls would be packing their bags and heading towards the airport. However, only a few of the girls have actively started planning their move. In fact, Tamika was the only one who had already approached a migration agent. It was clear that the decision was not made yet, and the girls were still struggling with the idea of a future abroad. What was keeping them in India?

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<sup>8</sup> Apart from migration, the girls also had many other strategies to increase their independence in India. Naina's case is a good example of this. Not only does she rebel against her parents by getting a tattoo and hanging out at Biju Ghar, she also told me: 'I think I got a boyfriend because I wanted to be with someone that would share my mentality. I wanted someone to talk to. And I know I can't talk to my parents because they wouldn't understand'. Having a boyfriend that she could share her (liberal) opinions with increased her freedom considerably.

## STAYING PUT

I do not want to break the trust of our parents and relatives... I do not want to live there, like in America and all those places... I do not like that type of freedom, that openness... I like discipline. A family needs rules and discipline.

- Darshana (21)

As this quote illustrates, not every girl in Vidyanagar craved independence from family ties, or a move abroad. In fact, of the twenty students I studied, seven are certain they do not want to go.<sup>9</sup> Darshana told me during a sleepover at her home in Nadiad that her main reason for not wanting to migrate is that she does not want to leave her family. She even said that if she gets a job somewhere else in India she will only go if her family can move with her. Many of the girls who did talk about migration asserted that the hardest part about moving abroad would indeed be leaving behind their families. They were therefore exploring ways to keep in touch with their families as much as possible. Tamika told me: 'I want my father to get a laptop so that we can face chat'. Other girls, like Anisha and Neela, dreamed of eventually realising a way for their families to join them abroad. Not only are the girls anxious about missing their familiar home environment and their families while abroad, some girls also worried about their physical security. One evening Anisha asked me a little hesitantly whether I thought it was a good idea for her to take self-defence classes before she goes to Canada. The fact that she was contemplating this idea shows that she is a little scared to go, which is quite understandable considering some of the stories that are told about Indian girls abroad.

It is often very hard for young migrants to find themselves abroad and all alone, when they are so used to having people around them day and night. Tamika:

I have about four or five friends who are returns. They have just gone [abroad] for their studies and then come back. They have come back because they miss their family and do not want to live alone. Because here we are living in a joint family and not a nuclear family, so we are not used to being alone.... Yes, we have our own individual rooms but we prefer to sleep in the hall together. We are a big joint family, my father has five brothers and they all live with us.

Tamika is referring to common living and sleeping arrangements in Gujarat. Living in a 'joint family' means that the male side of a family live together with their wives and children, while

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<sup>9</sup> See table 1, in the appendix.

women move in with their husbands' family. For Tamika this means that she grew up in a house with her own parents and brothers and sisters as well as five uncles with their wives and children. Tamika has eleven so-called cousin-brothers and sister-brothers; these are the children of her uncles. Because they all live together in one house these cousins are seen as siblings, and are also often referred to as such. Often, even though all family members have their own bedrooms, these are not used in favour of sleeping all together in one room. Some girls showed me pictures of how they slept with cousins, parents, aunts and uncles, all next to each other on the floor in their hallway. Anisha is an only child, and lives only with her parents, however they still all sleep together in one room. The family live on the ground floor of the house, where only one bedroom is located, while the entire first floor of their house is not used at all. When Anisha is home she sleeps with her mother in her parents' bed, while her father sleeps on a mat on the floor next to them. Living in big joint families and never having a moment alone, even at night, seems to be a major feature of these girls' home life. Many already experience their move to a hostel as lonely, even though they still share their rooms with up to three other girls. Partly because of this, a move abroad would mean a big rupture in my informants' lives. It would mean a switch from having so many people who are continuously interfering in their lives around them, to having hardly anyone.

Kushal, a young man with a BA in communications from SPU, migrated to London after he completed his degree to attain a post-graduate degree in Business. He returned after only twenty-eight days because he was feeling homesick. His story illustrates how alienating migration can be. He recounts:

I missed my family members and friends too much. I was crying all the time. I didn't know London at all.... Here in India I know so many people. Everyone knows me, and the support is better.... Like financial support, and support in business, here everyone helps everyone.

It is easy to imagine that arriving in London can be very lonely for someone who is used to being surrounded by people. During his time abroad Kushal therefore spent much time phoning home. He admitted 'In twenty-eight days I spent seven or eight hundred pounds on my phone bill'. He also did not like any of the food in London. 'All I did was eat wafers', he recounted. He arrived back in India eight kilograms lighter because of this un-nutritious diet. Certainly not all the girls expected migration to be as trying as Kushal had experienced it. However, they did of course know that a move abroad would involve a certain amount of homesickness. This in turn was one of the factors that made it hard for them to leave.

This is in line with what Rutten and Verstappen found when studying young temporal migrants in London. In their study, they elegantly highlighted that migrating can have negative

consequences for youth as it often means they will go down in social status (Rutten and Verstappen 2012: 7). The authors also emphasised that a move abroad would constitute a major change in the lives of these youths, as they would consequently find themselves far away from everything that they know and love. These are all undeniably negative aspects of migration. However, Rutten and Verstappen do not discuss the many positive aspects that are, in some cases, keeping youth in India and in other cases making the decision to leave very hard for them. I would like to add to their analysis in this respect. The context in which the youth have grown up should be taken into account in order to truly understand the ambivalent and seemingly contradicting feelings that the youth expressed, concerning a possible future abroad.

Mita told me one afternoon that her main goal for the future is to be the perfect woman. This rather surprised me because many of her friends referred to her as a 'tomboy'. When I asked her what she meant, Mita said:

That means a good daughter, a good student, a good worker, everything. I mean it is important that you fulfil your duties towards your family, towards society and towards your own ambitions.

I have observed that all the girls struggle, in their own way, with this juggling act between their parents' and society's expectations, and their own dreams. Familial ties are extremely important to these girls. Mita explained that in conflicts between parents and daughters she had observed that even in a severe conflict, the daughter would drop whatever she was fighting for because of the 'emotional attachment' she felt with her parents. When talking about marriage, some girls claimed that they would prefer an arranged marriage because their parents know them best. Darshana's mother had to escape her arranged marriage because her husband and family in law were abusive and would not allow her to work. Fortunately, she was taken back in by her own family, who then helped her to raise Darshana. Despite all this Darshana still wants an arranged marriage. She told me she is confident that her mother and (maternal) uncles will make sure that she marries into a good family. 'I would like to make my arranged a love [marriage]', she told me with a smile.

It is important to take into account that it is not only the 'emotional attachment' these girls have with their family that makes it difficult for them to make the decision to leave. If one searched across the globe, it is likely that one would find many young adults who have great difficulty leaving their familiar environment. For these girls in particular, there is an added complication in the fact that they are entirely dependent on the social security that their families offer, both in India and, to a large extent, abroad. It is, therefore, almost impossible for them to operate on their own, as they depend entirely on their family for money, resources and, most importantly, their social network. For girls like Naina, whose parents do not support her dream

of going abroad, the risk of losing their social security could be a major consideration in their deliberations.

In this regard, it was not surprising that many girls actively dreamed of a future in India. Many felt an obligation to stay in India so they could give back to their families in some way. For instance, Samhita, a young physics student with no plans to go abroad, told me:

My parents have done so much for me. I want to be able to take care of them in the future. That is why I want to make a lot of money and make them happy.

Others expressed a wish to contribute to the social and cultural development of the Sub-Continent. For example, Mita's ambition is to go into politics. There are many things she wants to change and improve in India. Even though she might want to go abroad for a few years, Mita sees her future in India. She confidently stated:

I want to live in India. I love the specific culture and all the traditions. I am proud to be an Indian.

Another example is Naina, who is very unhappy with the current education system. She feels there should be more room for discussion in the classroom. That is why she aspires to stay in India and be a teacher.

These examples illustrate that the ambitions of the youngsters do not only lie in the West, and migration is not an obvious next step for them. In line with Rutten and Verstappen, I have emphasised that a move abroad will constitute a social, cultural and economical rupture in the girls' lives. Furthermore, I would like to add to their findings and show that the very close relationships the girls maintain with their families could make it very hard for them to leave India. Nonetheless, as recounted above, the discourse these youths maintain on 'the West' is centralised around 'freedom' and 'independence'. I argued that the girls' lives in India are very much restricted and controlled at their age. A way to escape this could be migration to the 'liberal' West. This seems quite confusing and contradictory. I will now show that this is not necessarily the case.

## AMBIVALENCE

Mita is a feisty and out-spoken genetics student. Many of the other girls refer to her as a ‘tomboy’ because she excels at sports and has a casual, sporty look. She spends time in Biju Ghar in mixed groups of boys and girls. I observed a constant banter between her and the owner Anil, during which they make cheeky remarks and jokes at each other’s expense. Furthermore, she has the very bold ambition to go into politics and address issues such as ‘caste-ism’ and rural superstitions. For a girl of her age, class and caste<sup>10</sup>, such a career aspiration is almost unheard of. I joined her on a trip to her hometown, Vadodara. There she showed me whole different side of her personality. As it turns out she is very close to her parents and especially her father. Her father told me he is very proud of her. He showed me the business card of his company that he had named ‘Mita’, after his favourite daughter. Furthermore, even though her mother never finished high school, she is still interested in what Mita is learning during her bachelors degree. Mita tells me with a big smile:

If I go to the library she wants to know what I am learning about. I sometimes explain to her in her language, Gujarati.

What is interesting is that Mita distinguishes between her own language and that of her mother. In Vidyangar Mita predominantly spoke English and Hindi, while at home she had to translate what she had learnt at university into her mother tongue, Gujarati, which she had now come to associate with her parents and family life. Mita thus showed me two seemingly contrasting sides of her personality. On one hand she is a sporty, loud-mouthed and ambitious student, speaking fluent English and Hindi. On the other hand she is a loving, understanding and well-behaved daughter, translating ‘back’ to Gujarati for her parents’ benefit. This shows she is skilfully managing the expectations of her parents and society in day-to-day life, while also maintaining her own ambitions and dreams. She is living up to her own definition of the ‘perfect woman’.

Mita’s story differs a lot from that of Naina, recounted in the introduction. From the perspective of their daughters, Mita’s parents seem to be moving with the times a little more, while Naina’s parents are a little stricter and more preoccupied with tradition. Both cases, however, do clearly illustrate the ambivalent nature of the girls’ characters. On the one hand they could be described as rebellious, while on the other they are also very well behaved. These characteristics seem contradictory, however as the cases illustrate they are certainly not mutually exclusive. Furthermore, the ambivalence in their characters relates directly to their future perspectives. Neither Mita nor Naina have made up their mind about whether they want to

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<sup>10</sup> Mita is a Rajput. Rajputs have a long history of being the ‘warrior’ caste in Guajrat (Shah 1998:109).

migrate. Naina and Mita are not unique cases amongst their immediate friends. As illustrated above, almost all the girls I talked to expressed ambivalent feelings concerning whether to break free or stay put, even those who had made their decision. Essential to understanding both their seemingly contradictory characters and ambivalent future perspectives is the fact that these girls spend time at a place like Biju Ghar.

In order to understand why, I would like to return to Jeffrey's article on 'timepass' (2010). According to the girls in Vidyanagar, hanging out at Biju Ghar was also a form of 'timepass'. In fact the word featured strongly in their discourse, and they used it to refer to many different activities, from the sending of mass text messages, to having a boyfriend. Jeffrey argued that the young unemployed men in Northern India were preoccupied with 'timepass' because they saw no future for themselves. By contrast, 'timepass' was not a way for these girls to express their defeat in their pursuit of a better future. In fact, I would argue that they have a very positive view of their future. Instead, 'timepass' at places like Biju Ghar is a novelty activity for them. The fact that they have the time and 'luxury' to hang around and be bored shows that these women are breaking free from traditional gender roles where women are expected to occupy themselves only with household duties and stay at home all day. Moreover, the fact that they do not hang out at 'low market' street stands or 'up market' places like the Café Coffee Day but instead choose Biju Ghar is symptomatic of both their position as middle-class Indians and as inhabitants of a middle town. They do not belong to the rural poor or to the urban rich. Instead these students and their families occupy a middle ground where they manage to live comfortably without too much strife, but still need to work hard to maintain this position. 'Timepass' at places like Biju Ghar is used to create a distinction between them and lower-class girls who have less time or opportunity to 'just hang about'. It is a way to re-state their middle class position.

These girls belong to a generation of young women who are for the first time enjoying almost complete gender equality when it comes to education. They are not only pursuing higher education in order to increase their chances for an advantageous marriage, as was previously often the case. Instead, they see higher education in India and abroad as their first step towards the careers they plan to pursue, with many of them wishing to get jobs in research labs or as teachers. This stands in stark contrast with the generation of women before them, of which most are housewives. Re-connecting this to the issue of migration, it seems that these girls have more chances to go abroad than their mothers. However, I would argue that these girls are struggling with the decision to migrate precisely because of the middle position they occupy. Lower-classes will often have less opportunity to migrate, while upper classes are far more mobile and do not face as much strife abroad. These middle class girls do have the opportunity to go, but it may come at a price: they know that they will go down in status when abroad, and will have to face many challenges alone.

## CONCLUSION

Though there is much literature on the many social, cultural, economical and political factors that motivate people to migrate, these theories often leave no room for the deliberation and doubt that almost always accompanies migration decisions. In much migration literature it appears as if migrants have followed a straight, uncomplicated, and even inevitable path towards migration. In general, I believe that the act of migration is taken too lightly, and in some cases has become dehumanised. Migration is described as just another global flow, much like the flow of commodities or money. The migrants' mobility is taken for granted because, in our 'globalised' world, a ten-hour flight in place of a month long sea journey does, indeed, seem like less of an undertaking. I have found that for the young women of Vallabh Vidyangar making the decision to migrate was not at all easy. As described throughout this paper, it was an issue marked by ambivalence. Therefore I argue that, in contradiction to the way it seems in much migration literature, making the decision to migrate can be very difficult, and should not be underestimated.

Furthermore, even though this research report has focused predominantly on future perspectives in relation to migration, I have observed that the question of whether to go abroad is definitely not the only thing the students struggle with. These girls should not be seen as pre-migrants, as migration is but one of many options for their future. Fortunately, there does exist much literature on middle class youth in India that highlights the diversity of issues they are faced with. Regrettably, migration is often neglected as one of them. Therefore, while acknowledging the wide scope of issues facing middle class girls in India and without reducing their identity to pre-migrants, this paper has aimed to explore migration decisions from the perspectives of those making them.

My informants saw migration as a possible way of realising their aspirations for 'modernity', independence, and social mobility. It was a way for them to escape restrictive Indian social control. At the same time, however, the girls expressed many anxieties about leaving their beloved India. They highlighted that the close ties they maintain with their families were a positive aspect that would make it very hard for them to leave. Some, like Darshana, had therefore made the decision to stay in India, despite the trend of migration that surrounds them. A few, like Tamika, were actively planning their move and thinking of ways to keep in touch with their families while abroad. Most of the girls, however, had not made a decision yet and were constantly deliberating and contemplating their choices. These girls, of whom Mita and Naina are the most striking examples, were constantly trying to accommodate not only their own hopes and dreams, but also the expectations and wishes of their parents, relatives and society. Of the thirteen girls I studied, seven were contemplating and deliberating over plans to go abroad for

studies<sup>11</sup>. Their idea was to return after they had completed their degrees. Studying abroad is such a popular option because it is one way for the girls to fulfil their own hopes and dreams of independence and freedom, while at the same time living up to their parents' expectations, who were almost always supportive of educational endeavours. The continuous juggling act between expectations and ambitions, dreams and responsibility, was in turn reflected in the ambivalent characters of the girls. Such ambivalence is symptomatic of the fact that these girls belong to the middle class, live in a middle town and spend time at Biju Ghar. They used 'timepass' at Biju Ghar as a way to distinguish themselves from the lower class, thereby reinstating their membership to a middle category. This category is somewhere in-between the traditional rural girl and the 'Westernised' city girl, they are not completely 'liberalised', neither do they remain entirely 'traditional'.

Returning to the theoretical discussion of why people migrate, there are many factors that need to be taken into account when trying to find an answer to this oft-posed question. Importantly, a structure-centred approach, like the culture of migration theory, cannot account for a full understanding of the future perspectives of these female students. The agency of individuals also needs to be taken into account in order to understand why these girls are still struggling with their future. Ali argued that in Hyderabad making the decision not to go was seen as deviant behaviour, because the culture of migration had made moving abroad normative (2007: 51). In Vidyanagar I never heard such extreme opinions, however it was clear that migration was a significant trend. The students are all undoubtedly affected by the constant presence of migrants and images of the West in their lives. This 'culture of migration' can be seen as a structure that both frames and influences the decision-making process that the youngsters are going through. However, I have seen that within this structure, these youngsters did each make a choice to follow the trend of migration or opt for a different path. I believe that culture can be seen as a consensus to which people - perhaps unknowingly - adhere, but which can also be rejected and not just simply followed blindly. I have found that, even though it does constitute a very tempting option, migration is not always the most obvious next step for the girls, especially since there are many reasons for the girls to stay in India. The close familial ties that the girls maintain can be seen as a positive factor that keeps the girls in India. Together with other factors, these close ties are influencing some of the girls to make the decision not to go. Therefore, I am critical of the culture of migration theory. In my opinion it maintains an essentialised view of culture, and overlooks the agency of individuals. It is clear that the girls in Vidyanagar have much more agency than the generations of women before them. The most evident enactment of this was through 'timepass' in Biju Ghar. Hanging about in a male-dominated public place was a way to display their relative freedoms vis-à-vis the lower-classes

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<sup>11</sup> See table 1, in the appendix.

and previous generations of Indian women. Furthermore, the fact that they even dream of a future abroad illustrates their newly found agency clearly.

It is also impossible to gain a full understanding of the situation of these girls if agency is centralised and structure is underestimated. This becomes clear from the fact that the girls have grown up in a society in which it is difficult for them to live for themselves and make their own decisions without the interference of their parents and relatives. Therefore, it is extremely important to take into account the context in which people live in order to understand why they choose certain paths. These girls are not unrestricted agents when it comes to the choices they make. No one can know what the future will bring, or whether these girls will break free or stay put. Nevertheless, in this paper I have shown that, in order to understand the girls and their struggle with the future, both individual agency and a structure of constraining and enabling social, political, economic and cultural forces should be taken into account.

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Appendix: Table 1. Basic Information Informants								
Name	Age	Sex	Caste	Course	Family Abroad?	Want to go?	Where?	Purpose?
Jahin	22	M	Patidar	MA Physics, SPU	Uncle in UK	Yes	UK	Study and settle
Kuldeep	21	M	Patidar	BCA, Gujarat Uni.	Brother and Sister in USA	Yes	USA (New York)	Study and settle
Akhil	20	M	Sindhi	BCA, Gujarat Uni.	No	No		
Naveen	24	M	Patidar	BA Medicine, SPU	Sister in Texas, USA	Yes	USA (Florida)	Only study
Kiran	22	M	Patidar	BA Food&Tech., ADID	Uncle in UK, Grandparents US	Part-time	UK (London)	Set up business
Samhita	20	F	Brahmin	MA Physics, SPU	No	No		
Padmal	20	F	Jain	MA Physics, SPU	Cousin-brother in France	No		
Naina	22	F	Brahmin	MA Bioinformatics, SPU	No	Yes	Australia or Europe	Study/Marriage
Ajay	21	M	OBC	MA Indust. Chemistry, SPU	No	Maybe	Australia (Sydney)	Only study
Dayita	20	F	Brahmin	BA Genetics, SPU	Cousins in USA and UK	Yes	Don't know yet	Only study
Varsha	21	F	Patidar	MA Physics, SPU	Uncles in USA and Australia	No		
Mita	20	F	Rajput	BA Genetics, SPU	Uncle in USA	Maybe	Australia (Sydney)	Only study
Tamika	22	F	Patidar	BA Environ. Science, SPU	Relatives in Canada, USA, UK	Yes	Canada (Toronto)	Only study
Darshana	21	F	Brahmin	BA Genetics, SPU	Uncle in Canada	No		
Anisha	20	F	Vaishnu	BA Genetics, SPU	Uncle in Canada	Yes	Canada	Only study
Suresh	19	M	Patidar	BA Genetics, SPU	Cousin-brother in London	No		
Suchi	22	F	Patidar	BA Genetics, SPU	Uncle in Chicago, USA	No		
Neela	20	F	Brahmin	BA Genetics, SPU	No	Yes	USA (New Jersey)	Join boyfriend
Parvati	22	F	Brahmin	MA Microbiology, SPU	No	Yes	Australia (Sydney)	Arranged marriage
Priya	19	F	Kyastha	BA Biotechnology, SPU	Cousins in USA, uncle in Oman	Yes	UK (Nottingham)	Only study

OBC = Other Backward Caste

# ABOUT THE PROVINCIAL GLOBALISATION PROGRAMME

The Provincial Globalisation research programme ('ProGlo') explores transnational connections between Overseas Indians and their home regions, especially the effects of 'reverse flows' of resources, including remittances, philanthropy, investments, and knowledge.

The programme consists of five independent but interlinked research projects (three PhD and two postdoctoral) located in three states of India – Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Gujarat. The research documents a broad range of resource transfers by migrants, including economic resources (such as household remittances, investments in land), social remittances (including flows of ideas, support for NGOs), and cultural flows (such as religious donations), and their influence at the regional level.

The PhD projects are intensive studies of three selected regions – Anand District in Gujarat, Guntur District in Andhra Pradesh, and Dakshina Kannada District in Karnataka – focusing on the effects of resource transfers by migrants in the key provincial towns and their rural hinterlands. The two post-doctoral projects provide macro- and meso-level mappings of transnational linkages and flows at the regional, state, and national levels. By tracing these transnational networks and the modalities and destinations of resource transfers comparatively across three regions, the research programme provides insights into the economic, social, political, and cultural consequences of Overseas Indians' engagements with India.

*'ProGlo' is a five-year collaborative research programme of the Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research (AISSR), University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands, and the National Institute of Advanced Studies (NIAS), Bangalore, India, funded by the WOTRO Science for Global Development programme of the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO), the Netherlands, initiated in 2010.*

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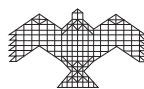
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