GENDERING INTERNATIONAL STUDENT MOBILITY:
AN INDIAN CASE STUDY

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SUMMARY

This thesis explores the dialectical relationship between gender and international student mobility (ISM). The focus is on the experiences of Indian students across three space-time locations: before the students left India; while abroad in Toronto; and their return to New Delhi. The value of this research is two-fold. Firstly, my research helps to fill the lacuna in ISM research that examines the phenomenon through a gender optic. Secondly, there is increasing interest in Canada and other countries – evident in the media and government policy – in international students from India.

The study is located at the nexus of gender and mobility scholarship; it adopts Gendered Geographies of Power as a foundational framework. The research employed a multi-sited, mixed-methods approach to data collection. The data collection in the field sites of Toronto, Canada and New Delhi, India consisted of in-depth semi-structured interviews and participant observations. An online survey was mounted for the duration of the fieldwork to gather data on the broader population of Indian students abroad. The results of this survey provide context for the discussion in three empirical chapters.

The first of the three empirical chapters explores the impact of gender relations in shaping motivations to study abroad. The second chapter examines how relations of power in and across multiple spaces (re)shape the students' performances of gender identities in everyday life in Toronto. The final empirical chapter examines the students' experience of return mobility as they attempt to adapt to a different (but familiar) gender context again.

My research contributes to the growing body of scholarship on ISM as well as that on gender and migration. By employing a gendered perspective, the in-depth interviews as well as ethnographic research reveals the shifting subjectivities of the migrants as they simultaneously negotiate multiple ethnic and kinship interactions in their everyday lived experiences. Secondly, the online survey presents the gendered class configurations of the socio-economic background of the Indian international students. Lastly, the 'return' experiences of the students are differentiated by gender: more women than men found it harder to (re)negotiate their gender-expected performances in New Delhi. Furthermore, the 'return mobility' of men appears to be more permanent than the return mobility of women.

Acknowledgements

I take this opportunity to say thank you to all those who have kept me company before, during and hopefully will continue to accompany me in my future adventures.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my family. As I have moved through the experience of this PhD, they have moved along with me. I am only sad that my grandfather was not able to keep me company on this journey. Sadly, he passed away shortly before I undertook this learning adventure. So first and foremost, a thank you to my grandfather, who instilled in me the love of learning and that I should never hesitate to ask questions. Secondly, I would like to thank my mom and dad for their support, emotional and financial, and for opening the doors for my sense of exploration. And lastly, but most definitely not least, my sister. Her straightforward 'get on with it' attitude has always inspired me. Our bouts of inane chats over BBM, despite our distance, provided the end-of-day mental release. Also a special thanks to my aunts, uncles and cousins in India: the Chawla family and the Nanda family. Without their unquestionable support, the research in Delhi may not have taken shape as it did.

With regard to my research, first and foremost I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all the participants who gave their time and most importantly shared their stories. The biggest thank you to my supervisors, Russell King and Katie Walsh, for their support, discussions and encouragement. I would like to thank Sutama Ghosh for giving me my earliest contacts in Toronto and Priya Deshingkar for playing the same role for my research in Delhi. Thanks also to CERIS, Ontario Metropolis Centre at York University in Toronto, for providing me with a work space and access to University resources during my fieldwork in Autumn/Winter 2010/2011. Thanks also to Fran for keeping me company in Toronto at the start of my fieldwork. My gratitude to my self-proclaimed research assistant in Delhi – Mrs Brah, without her I may not have had any interviews. I would also like to thank all members of the Sussex Centre for Migration Research and in particular Adriana Castaldo, Ann Whitehead, Ron Skeldon and

Table of contents

List of tables and figures

Chapter 1 Introduction

> The writer must fire herself through the text, be the molten stuff that welds together disparate elements. I believe there is always exposure, vulnerability, in the writing process, which is not to say it is either confessional or memoir. Simply, it is real.
>
> Excerpt from *Weight: the myth of Atlas and Heracles* by Jeanette Winterson (2005: 15).

1.1 Opening: specifying the research question(s)

This research will explore the dialectical relationship between gender and international student mobility (ISM), taking India as a case study. Located at the nexus of gender and mobility, my research is based on the idea of the fluid and transforming nature of gender norms and identity. Gender here is understood to be a social construction, its meanings regulated and reproduced through performances which vary across space and time. Mobility draws on the 'new mobilities paradigm' (Urry 2007); at the core of this concept is the recognition and examination of the multiple discourses and meanings associated with the practices, spaces and subjects of (im)mobilities in relation to multiple power relations and social locations such as gender, race and class.

These two ideas – gender and mobility – are brought together within the 'Gendered Geographies of Power' framework (GGP) which shapes the analysis presented throughout this work. The GGP framework, developed by Mahler and Pessar (2001, 2006; see also Pessar and Mahler 2003), is a tool for the analysis of gendered processes of transnational migration, though it need not be limited to this kind of migration. The model draws upon Doreen Massey's notion of power-geometry (Massey 1992, 1994).

The corporeal mobility – migration – of international students does not occur in isolation; it is impacted by other mobilities. As international students become mobile across scales and spaces, they are embedded within different power hierarchies. And, even before the subject moves, mobile objects, mobile ideas, and virtual travel will have already shaped the mobility imagination of the student, and will continue to shape it after the physical, observable movement has been undertaken. Therefore, to understand the gendered mobility of the

international student, it is not enough to study the student experience once the student is at his or her destination. For this project it is important that I examine the mobilities and experiences of the students both in the country of origin and in the country of destination. These two locations provide different gendered contexts and therefore different hegemonic norms of gender. For some of my research participants, i.e. those who have completed their cycle of studies abroad and returned to India, three space-time locations can be studied: the origin country before departure, the period spent studying abroad, and the return and reinsertion back to the home country; each with different gender dynamics.

Examining different space-time locations means that different parts of the mobility experience will be captured. The questions below aim to examine the various space-time locations within which the international student becomes a gendered mobile subject:

- What are the geographical, temporal and educational patterns of the movement of Indian students who are studying or have studied abroad? How are these patterns gendered?

- What are the motivations of the students (and their families) for pursuing higher education abroad? How do gender relations shape these motivations?

- What characterises the experiences of the students abroad? How do students negotiate their everyday lives in the different gender context? What are the issues the students face as a result of the different gender context?

- How do these experiences affect the development of students' gendered identities, both whilst they are still studying abroad, and after they have returned home (for those who have returned)?

These are the fundamental research questions that underpin my thesis. In the rest of this introductory chapter I will first, in section 1.2, discuss the rationale and development of the project over the span of this PhD. Through this discussion the main concepts of the thesis will be introduced in section 1.3.

Section 1.4 summarises the research methods; section 1.5 discusses the contributions of this project to the larger research context; section 1.6 outlines the chapters of this thesis; and the final section, 1.7, briefly problematises the hitherto unquestioned notion of the 'student'.

1.2   Rationale of the project

This project started as an effort to make visible the highly skilled women migrants who were, and still remain, rather invisible within migrant literature (Kofman 2000, 2012). This is surprising given that feminist scholarship over the last 25 years has led to the recognition of the entire migration process as a gendered phenomenon (Donato *et al.* 2006) – meaning that gender relations prior to migration shape migration patterns, who migrates, their motivations, their settlement patterns and experiences; and that migration (re)shapes gender identities, relations and ideologies, and their meaning across multiple scales (Donato *et al.* 2006; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1992; Pessar and Mahler 2003). Hence, I commenced this project with the aim to present the experiences of a group of highly skilled women who moved on their own, as independent migrants and held positions as part of the skilled labour force. A personal motivation for this project was to include the experiences of women such as myself: educated, 'moving' and travelling on their own, who were missing from the wider story arc.

As the research project progressed and took further shape in my mind, I shifted the focus from women who were working to those who were studying. This decision was made for two reasons. Firstly, because students

> are of particular significance as subjects of study by migrationists because they exemplify, on the one hand, the 'opening up' of tendencies of globalisation and the free movement of the best brains in the knowledge-based economy of the developed world; and, on the other, the countervailing trend of closure towards foreigners, stimulated by the often exaggerated spectre of excessive, unwanted and 'illegal' migration. (King, 2010: 1357)

Secondly, it was also a pragmatic choice for data collection. Focusing on international students still maintained my interest in highly skilled women, but now I had access to a more readily contactable yet still diverse sample.

ISM is not a new phenomenon. However, students have never moved in such large numbers before. As of 2010, there were 3.6 million international students enrolled in tertiary education institutions around the world (UIS 2010). Globally, Indian students constitute the second largest national flow after China. Part of the global trend, according to Global Education Digest (GED) 2009, is that men and women are equally represented in this overall global movement. While the 50:50 ratio proposed in GED is broadly representative of the stock of international students from most Western countries, the Indian case shows a very different story. An examination of select sending countries reveals – as one might expect – that the gender ratio of ISM flows has a strong relation to the rate of female participation in tertiary education (UIS 2010). For example, for China, the rate of female participation in tertiary education is 46% (Gallagher *et al.* 2009) and women compose approximately 55% of the internationally mobile student flow from China (UIS 2010). Yet, in India, the second country after China to send most students, there is a strong male bias in the mobility flows and tertiary enrolment ratio: women comprise 39% of the total enrolment of the tertiary institutions and 27%[1] of the international student mobility flow. And yet, there is little to no research that examines student mobility through a gender optic.

Some details are available about Indian students in the countries of destination, according to the host-country statistics. Indian students now represent the largest flow into the US and second largest in the UK (IIE 2009; IIE Network). Canada is a recent destination for Indian students. This is a result of increased efforts from Canadian institutions to actively recruit students from India.

Canada, as a host country, is a relatively new participant in the ISM market; and due to the restrictive policy changes of other countries, such as the UK and Australia, is becoming more attractive to international students. The Canadian Federal and Provincial governments, in collaboration with the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) and the Association of Canadian

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[1] This statistic is calculated by the UIS using data from only five countries: Canada, UK, France, South Africa and Australia. There is paucity in ISM statistics that are disaggregated by gender.

Community Colleges (ACCC), have demonstrated an increasing interest in recruiting international students from India. The ACCC, in partnership with Canadian visa offices in India, developed the Student Partners Programme (SPP) to direct the stream of students from India to various colleges in Canada. Canada's increased interest in India is the result of the latter's growing role in the global economy, as well as the increasing demand from Indians for higher education (Altbach and Knight 2007; Malone 2009; Walton-Roberts 2009). The impact of these efforts in recruitment, through immigration policy changes and marketing campaigns, is visible in the immigration statistics: Indian students entering Canada on an annual basis doubled from 5,726 in 2009 to 11,543 in 2010 (CIC 2010). There is a clear bias towards men in the gender composition of the stream of international students from India to Canada (CIC 2010). The Canadian immigration statistics reveal that women comprise 23% of the flow of international students from India, mirroring the trend presented by the UIS statistics.

1.3   Key concepts

1.3.1   Gender

Another important stage in the evolution of this project was the inclusion of other genders in addition to women. This was a direct consequence of my engagement with the works of Judith Butler (1993, 1999) who problematises the stability of gender and gender identity, including the plurality and flexibility of gender identities. Gender here is understood to be a social construction and to be reproduced through repeated performances. Furthermore, these performances and their meanings vary across time and space. Performances of gender of bodies therefore are measured against meanings associated to that specific time and place. The bodies which match the standard become the *subjects* and those which do not, mutually constitute the *abject* of that space. Butler refers to this as the *matrix of intelligibility*. Therefore as bodies traverse spaces they may encounter different meanings and performances of masculinities and femininities. These ideas are discussed in detail in chapter 2. Butler's conceptualisation of gender gave me the vocabulary to express my thoughts and ideas. The idea then at this point was that other genders (plural is

intentional) would be included; however the reality was that the sample consisted of only women and men.

1.3.2 Mobility

The concept of mobility as deployed in this thesis draws on the pioneering work of John Urry (2007). The 'new mobilities paradigm' includes five interdependent mobilities: corporeal (including 'conventional' migration), physical movement of objects, imaginative travel, virtual travel and communicative travel.   The uniqueness of this approach is that it examines the power geometries between immobilities and mobilities of not only the subjects but also the associated spaces and practices. To understand mobilities, and in this case, the mobilities of the international student subject, one needs to understand the meanings and representations of those mobilities (Cresswell 2006). Chapter 2 presents a wider discussion of mobilities.

1.3.3   Gendered Geographies of Power

Gender and international student migration/mobility are brought together under the framework of Gender Geographies of Power (GGP). GGP comprises four main elements: geographical scale, social location, power-geometry, and mind-works; when used for analysis, these elements overlap. The model draws upon Doreen Massey's (1992, 1994) notion of power-geometry, which will also be further explored in chapter 2.

GGP is constructed on the idea of transnationalism. In the broadest sense, transnational refers to

> sustained linkages and ongoing exchanges among non-state actors based across national borders – businesses, non-government-organizations, and individuals sharing the same interests (by way of criteria such as religious beliefs, common cultural and geographic origins)…The collective attributes of such connections, their processes of formation and maintenance, and their wider implications are referred to broadly as 'transnationalism'. (Vertovec, 2009)

1.4   Summary of research methods

Fieldwork was a fourteen-month intense experience across two field sites. I spent ten months in Toronto, Canada conducting in-depth interviews and ethnographic research by attending student parties, university social and

cultural events, as well as other events that my respondents attended such as cultural events in the city, hanging out in bars/pubs or cafes with them, sightseeing around Toronto and on a few occasions shopping.

The field work in India involved less participant observation due to my hectic interview schedule. There I conducted 43 interviews in 100 days. This left very little time for revisiting my respondents. However, I was living with a family in an area of West Delhi. As a result, on a few of my non-interview days, I would simply stay around the house, go to the nearest shopping centre with my cousins, make trips to the cinema, and occasionally have long chats over tea with the neighbourhood tailor, who was also one of my respondents.

In addition to the qualitative data collection, an online survey was conducted for 13 months parallel to the qualitative data collection. The online survey, based loosely on Findlay and King's (2010) survey designed for UK students studying abroad, is the first survey of Indian students abroad gathering primary data for the purposes of gender analysis.

1.5 Contributions

This study is at the forefront of gender and ISM research both theoretically and empirically. This is the first research project on ISM that foregrounds gender and the power hierarchies which shape gender, gender relations and gender identities. Feminist scholarship has long established the mutually constitutive relationship between gender and migration (Donato *et al.* 2006; Pessar and Mahler 2003; Silvey 2004, 2006). This research advances the now-well-established tradition of 'gendering migration' by locating the discussion under the broader concept of mobility, of which migration is a type. The second contribution of this thesis is its use of the GGP framework. So far, to the best of my knowledge, this framework has not been used to shape an entire study.[2] GGP, in this research, serves more as a foundational framework, which guided the research questions, the data collection and overall analysis. While it did not facilitate in the analysis of every research question, it provided the structure

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[2] Though a partial exception would be Vullnetari and King's study of gendering remittances which mobilises the GGP model for part of its analysis (see Vullnetari and King 2011). My study is the first to apply GGP to student migration.

which guided much of my discussion. Lastly, my thesis draws on and problematises the role of class as it intersects with gender and migration (Batnizsky *et a*l. 2008).

The empirical contribution of this research firstly is the study of Indian students. Indian students have a long history of going abroad for study. However current work is very limited; there are only handful of short studies, and one larger piece of ethnographic work by Baas (2010) on the experiences of Indian students in Australia. My research adds to the milieu of scholarship on Indian students abroad, and locates it specifically within the gendered context in India. It also locates the discussion within the gendered context in Canada. Canada, as an emerging nation of attraction of international students, has also been the focus of only a handful of detailed studies. In particular I refer to work by Waters (2006b) which examines the role of social and cultural capital accumulation for ISM, but this time for Hong Kong students; and Geddie (2011, 2013) which examines the role of social ties in shaping the return/stay decisions of international students. Hence, my study adds both to the literature of Indian students abroad, and to Canada as a country trying to attract international students.

1.6   Outline

Following this introduction, chapter 2 outlines the theoretical underpinnings of this project, and a review of literature on ISM. Chapter 3 presents a discussion of methodology and methods of data collection. Chapter 4 describes the geographical research context of Canada and India, in particular Toronto and Delhi. Chapters 5-7 provide an analysis of the data that was collected. Each chapter engages with a different spatial-temporal location, outlined in more detail below.

Chapter 2 provides a review of relevant theory and literature. The chapter opens with a discussion between the choices of migration vs. mobility. It elaborates on the concepts of gender and mobility as a dual theoretical framework and introduces the GGP model as the analytical scaffold of the thesis. The focus of the GGP discussion is to explain the constitutive blocks of GGP and unpack the concept of power with reference to Doreen Massey's

power-geometry. In addition to theory, this chapter also reviews the growing body of literature on ISM. The literature review is organised into six main sections: motivations and aspirations, experiences of students abroad, identities, the decision to return or stay, the role of class, and globalisation. This section also introduces a brief discussion of the body of work in youth studies.

Chapter 3 presents the general research methodology and the specific methods of data collection. My research design is influenced by feminist theories of knowledge. The feminist approach encourages a critical engagement with power relations that are taken for granted within myriad approaches to knowledge production. Following the discussion of epistemology, this chapter presents the research design, the rationale for the mixed-method data collection and the data collection strategy, and the approaches to the analysis of data. The quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection are discussed separately and in more detail than in the brief outline given in section 1.4 above. The research design included continual reflexivity. Therefore this chapter concludes with a reflection on the challenges I faced during fieldwork as a result of my multiple positionalities.

Chapter 4 provides the context for this thesis in two ways. Firstly it re-presents the cities as gendered cities, and secondly it summarises the results from the online survey. It begins with an overview of the two field sites: Toronto, Canada and New Delhi, India. Following this brief overview, the chapter reinterprets the cities as gendered cities, thereby painting two contrasting portraits of the gender contexts. These are portraits rather than photographs because the flaws and inaccuracies of the gender contexts do not appear to their full extent. This discussion provides a baseline against which to compare the experiences of the respondents that are subsequently presented throughout this thesis. The discussion of the gendered cities draws on the in-depth interviews as well as my ethnographic research. The second part of this chapter presents the data collected through the online survey. This discussion provides a statistical overview of the population of Indian students abroad in the form of the demographic characteristics of the respondents, and the social class of their families. There is very little statistical evidence on Indian students abroad, especially that which is gendered; therefore this data is unique.

Chapter 5 explores the impact of gender relations in framing and creating the narratives of motivations to study abroad. It begins with a presentation of the motivations of students to study abroad drawn from the survey data as well as the in-depth interviews. Following on from this, the focus of the discussion shifts to the narratives of parents and their views on their offspring (son/daughter) studying abroad. The previous two discussions are brought together in my analysis of the negotiations that occur between the parents and the students. This is done through the narratives of four strategically selected students. These narratives reveal the multiple social locations and differential power geometries that exist between the parents and their children. It is a result of the negotiations of these shifting power geometries that the narratives of motivations are created.

Chapter 6 examines how the relations of power in and across multiple spaces (re)shape the students' performances of gender identities in everyday life in Toronto. This chapter utilises the idea of matrix of intelligibility (Butler 1993) to examine how students negotiate the different hegemonic gender discourses they encounter as they move from one space to another. In order to do this, I again begin the discussion by drawing on the survey data on the experiences of students. This is a gateway into a deeper analysis of the experiences of students drawn from the in-depth interviews. The analysis begins with a focus on the geographic scale of the city and divides it into two spaces of interaction – the 'local' and the 'Indian'. The 'local' refers to the use of the term by the respondents to associate the non-Indian, white Canadian. The 'Indian' refers to the large existing Indian community in Toronto. The focus is on shifting performances of gender identity and sexuality. The discussion then moves up the scale to the transnational to reveal the power geometries between the students (who move) and their parents (who do not move).

Chapter 7, the final empirical chapter, examines the students' experience of return mobility, foregrounding the shifts in the gender relations as a result of the study abroad experience. The concepts of homing desire and desiring home (Brah 1996) and the 'stranger' and 'home' as developed by Sara Ahmed (1999, 2000) are used here to provide depth to the analysis. The chapter begins with a critical engagement with the idea of 'home and away' specifically drawing from

the works of Brah (1996) and Ahmed (1999, 2000). The ensuing discussion is divided into two main parts. The first highlights the desire of the respondents to return home to India as a result of their experiences while living abroad. In the second part, the analysis reveals that upon return to India, many respondents experience a disjuncture between their imagined home and the reality of home. This chapter thus highlights the blurring of boundaries between home and away through an examination of gender performance and power relations.

Chapter 8 concludes the thesis by reviewing its key findings, reflecting on strengths and weaknesses, and lastly outlining avenues of future research.

1.7   Problematising the student

A final point before I proceed. Throughout this thesis, I use a few selected terms to refer to those people who chose to participate this study: respondents, participants, subjects, young people and lastly students. While each term is rife with meaning that associates it with a specific history of knowledge production, it is the term 'student' that I want to discuss here briefly. 'Student' is associated with many meanings. Using a tried and tested strategy, I begin with the Oxford English Dictionary:

> Definition of student:
>
> *noun*
>
> a person who is studying at a university or other place of higher education

Applying just that meaning to the term makes it an appropriate choice. However, the use of the word in this thesis also represents a political association. International students, in the wider media and political discourse, have been represented very callously as simply 'cash cows' or as I prefer the term 'cash points'. This is the most clear in the British media. [3] They are also represented as 'those who shall fill the demographic gap' as in the case of the Canadian media. Yet another presentation, referring to US media, is as 'those who shall bring forth increased fortune through innovation'. These

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[3] Elsewhere, in a short self-reflexive narrative essay, I briefly explore the divergent discourses on International Students in the UK and Canadian media. See Milligan *et al.* 2011.

representations are built upon the underlying idea of the 'good' international student. A good international student is one who has been awarded the privilege to enter the 'West' to their own and most importantly the host country's benefit. Cast against this image of the 'good' international student is the scare-mongering image of the bad international student. The bad students are those who 'come to the countries', ignore their visa restrictions, are able to escape the disciplinary and watchful eyes of the border agencies and the educational institutions, and take jobs away from the hard-working citizens of the host country.

It is with these images in mind of the international student, filled with multiple historical/contemporary and cultural/social/geographic meanings, imbued with power relations between and across social and geographic scales, that I move forward to highlight the stories of the students in my study.

Chapter 2 Theory and Literature Review

2.1 Introduction: migration vs. mobility

In current research, the movement of international students is either referred to as migration or as mobility. Identifying the movement of international students as a type of migration arguably represents the group of students who move long distance, for longer periods of time, for instance for full degree programs. Mobility, on the other hand, is used as the preferred classification within the 'European' context, where the movement is for a shorter period, such as for study exchanges including ERASMUS (Findlay *et al.* 2006). The distance travelled is also shorter. These different movements, based on the length of study, have also been classified respectively as degree mobility and credit mobility (King *et al.* 2010). However, other authors use the terms migration and mobility more or less interchangeably to refer to the movement of international students.

In this project, the term mobility is generally preferred and used henceforth. The choice represents more than simple question of a terminology; it is a preferred theoretical framework – referring to the 'mobilities turn' (Cresswell 2006; Sheller and Urry 2006; Urry 2007). Cresswell (2006) presents an analytical distinction between movement and mobility. He argues that as long as movement is merely observable, it is removed from the power structures – it is an 'abstracted mobility'. Urry (2007) furthers the 'mobilities turn' by coining the term 'new mobilities paradigm' and referring to five interdependent movements that produce social life: corporeal travel, physical movements of objects, imaginative travel, virtual travel and communicative travel. Within the new mobilities paradigm, migration is a type of mobility – corporeal mobility. This corporeal mobility makes sense only when we examine the physical movement and understand:

> the meanings that such movements are encoded with, the experience of practicing these movements, and the potential for undertaking these movements. Each of these aspects of mobility - movement, meaning, practice and potential – has histories and geographies of gendered

> difference. Each of these is in some way constructed in gendered way and each, in turn, contributes to the production, reproduction and contestation of gender itself (Cresswell and Uteng 2008: 2)

Gender and mobility are two important concepts that need to be brought together in dialogue, not least because both concepts are infused with meaning and power. Furthermore, gender and migration have a reflexive relationship. This mutually constitutive relationship has been examined by feminists scholars since the 1990s, if not before. The relationship shows that gender relations prior to migration shape migration patterns, who migrates, their motivations and their settlement patterns and experiences (Mahler and Pessar 2001).[4] It also shows the other side of the coin – that migration, especially the migration and settlement experience, play a role in shaping the "social orders, geographies of inequality, spatialised subjectivities and the meanings of difference across scales" (Silvey 2004: 491). The power hierarchies in and across the scales (re)produce different meanings of gender that are imposed upon the body – producing a 'sexed' body.

With this in mind then, the international student is not simply a body without context, and neither is the movement of that body without context. The international student subject is a gendered and sexed body moving through dynamic spaces and places. It is sexually embodied – meaning that "there exist not just *human* [original emphasis] bodies, but rather bodies that are usually either men's bodies or women's bodies" (Gatens 1991 in Johnston and Longhurst 2010). By using the idea of the sexed body, Johnson and Longhurst (2010: 22) encourage the examination of "bodies and places and the complex relationship that exists between bodies and places". And so, the international student body is a body that is embedded within gendered power hierarchies across multiple scales and places; and its movement (whether local, international etc.) is impacted by those power structures. There are multiple power relations that are enacted upon the body; gender is one, and is key for my analysis. Hence, this project frames the international student as a gendered mobile subject.

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[4] For a comprehensive literature review of gender and migration research see Willis and Yeoh (2000a)

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the theoretical and analytical framework of the thesis. In section 2.2 I further develop the theoretical framework of gender and mobility. Section 2.3 explains the framework that will be used for shaping my analysis and interpretation of findings: this is the Gendered Geographies of Power framework. Section 2.4 provides an overview of existing research on ISM. Section 2.5 concludes the chapter.

2.2   Gender and mobility: the theoretical framework

As stated in the introduction, my project is located at the nexus of gender and mobility. Both these terms are heavily laden with meaning and power and so need to be brought into a conversation with each other. This section explains the concepts of gender and mobility as they are used in this thesis.

2.2.1   Gender and place

Feminist scholarship has evolved and indeed transformed since earlier engagement within academia. This has been reflected in the many *conceptualisations of gender.* [5]   One of the conceptualisations has been influenced by post-modern theories, and this approach has had the most impact on my research; it problematises the 'naturalness' of sex and the stability of gender and gender identity.

Judith Butler (1999) has been instrumental in developing this critical notion of gender. She argues that sex is itself gendered. Gender, within this approach, is a 'discursive construction', meaning that discourse and everyday actions construct and maintain gendered identities (McDowell 1999). It is through this discourse that gender characterisations (of being a man and a woman) are mapped onto biological sex (binary division of male and female).

Butler (1999), on gender and gender identity, theorises that "[t]here is no gender identity behind the expression of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results" (Butler 1999: 34).   She furthermore argues that this identity is not stable but fluid, produced

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[5] This discussion is not meant to be thorough or complete. The aim of my discussion in this chapter is to highlight one of the several theorisations of gender that exist as feminist scholarship has grown and transformed. For a review of various feminist theories and conceptualisations of gender see Tong (2009).

and maintained through various discourses and regulatory practices that are culturally intelligible.   She also argues that the discourses of constructing hegemonic masculinities and femininities - gendered identities - are located in specific times and places:

> ...gender ought not to be construed as a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts follow; rather, gender is an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a stylized repetition of acts. The effect of gender is produced through the stylization of the body and, hence, must be understood as the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movements, and styles of various kinds constituted the illusion of an abiding gendered self. (Butler 1999: 191)

Consequently, as places and temporal locations change, as they do through migration, hegemonic norms of gender and identity transform. These transformations are reflected through the shifting inequalities in gender relations at various geographic scales and through our bodily gestures, movements, adornment etc. at an individual level. Through such repeated performances, the 'gendered' identity is constructed. Furthermore, each place itself becomes 'gendered'. Each place comes to be associated with specific gendered performances, that are then associated with the overall performance of the place (Sheller and Urry 2004; Urry 2007).

Gender and place performances become dialectical – in that they (re)construct and represent the other. An often cited example of the dialectic relationship between gender and place is the mapping of masculine and feminine performances on the public/private space binary, wherein the public spaces are for men and private for women. So for instance, this binary is visible on a macro-scale in the city of Toronto, where the residential zones (feminine) are removed from retail/business zones (masculine). This division highlights the underlying assumptions of a heteronormative nuclear family with "permanent nine-to-five employment by a male breadwinner, with a wife who combines housework and childcare in the local neighbourhood" (McDowell 1999:118). This division of public/private regulates specific gender identities and norms which are (re)produced and consumed.

The meanings associated with *place* itself are gendered as it is associated with fixity; the dichotomous category of fixity is fluidity – mobility (Cresswell and

Uteng 2008: 2). In earlier research on migration overall and consequently on international students, the subject of research was assumed to be young and male. Historically, Sheller argues, "...the tropes of home and dwelling are feminised in ways that essentialise gender difference, romanticise a home-bound femininity and often devalue the sedentary spaces and bodies associated with women" (2008: 258). By contrast, discourses of masculinity rely on the mobile subject such as explorers, vagabonds, tourists and others escaping from home – moving to and from places rather than staying in a place.

Massey (1994) critiques the idea of place and the identity of place as bounded, fixed and unproblematic. This idea of place is based on the view of space as stasis. Instead, if space is articulated as dynamic, changing and composed of social relations across and within multiple scales, then place and the identity of place can be viewed as unfixed, contested and multiple.

By articulating space and place as dynamic, I do not intend to attach a masculine identity to it. The purpose of presenting an interpretation of space and place is to highlight the social relations that create spaces and places. As Massey (1994) points out:

> It is a way of thinking in terms of the ever-shifting geometry of social/power relations, and it forces into view the real multiplicities of space-time. It is a view of space opposed to that which sees it as a flat, immobilized surface... (1994: 4).

Hence, as a sexed body moves from and within spaces and places, it encounters the power geometries of social/power relations of those spaces and places.   As an international student moves from one site to another, it is a gendered body that moves. The body is enacted upon by social/power relations in a place. As the body moves, it carries with it those relations that are embodied and therefore performed. However, when the body moves to another place, it encounters different social/power relations, which may impact how the sexed body is represented and made meaningful in the new place.

Here then I purposefully identify a place by its gendered hierarchies of power, bounded by those social relations. This is in an attempt "to stabilise the meaning of particular envelopes of space–time" (Massey 1994: 5), to provide a

context within which to locate the gendered mobile subject: for me the international student.

Before I move on to a discussion of mobility, I present short summaries of some key concepts that will be discussed and utilised throughout this thesis: hegemonic masculinity/femininity and heteronormativity.

Hegemonic masculinity and femininity

The performances of various gender identities, such as masculinities and femininities, are ways of 'living certain relationships' (Connell 1987). According to Connell, theorising masculinities, these are produced through the practices of living the relationships; using Butler's vocabulary, these masculinities are performed. Connell pushes the concept of masculinities further by drawing on Gramsci's idea of hegemony and develops the idea of 'hegemonic masculinity' as the foundation for the relationships among men as well as the wider patriarchal social order:

> 'Hegemonic masculinity' is always constructed in relation to various subordinated masculinities as well as in relation to women. The interplay between different forms of masculinity is an important part of how patriarchal social order works. (1987: 183)

Hence, hegemonic masculinity is constructed in comparison to femininity and other subordinating and marginal masculinities. This is done through and in practices that promote the subordination both of women and of other masculinities. In opposition to hegemonic masculinity, Connell develops the idea of emphasised femininity because "there is no femininity that is hegemonic in the sense that the dominant form of masculinity is hegemonic among men" (1987: 183). Schippers (2007) contests Connell's statement that there is no hegemonic femininity, and builds on Connell's work to present an alternate conceptualisation of hegemonic femininities and masculinities.

Schippers provides the following extended definition of hegemonic masculinity:

> Hegemonic masculinity is the qualities defined as manly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to femininity and that, by doing so, guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women. (Schippers 2007: 94)

Schippers locates femininity more centrally in this discussion than Connell and other have in the past. Drawing on this relocation of femininity, Schippers then suggests hegemonic femininity as:

> Hegemonic femininity consists of the characteristics defined as womanly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to hegemonic masculinity and that, by doing so, guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women. (2007: 94)

Hegemonic masculinities and femininities are cast through the construction of multiple subordinating masculinities and femininities. These are all located within the system of compulsory heterosexuality. Hence, any masculinity/femininity that is not intelligible within the matrix of heterosexuality (Butler 1999) comes to be defined as marginal masculinity or femininity.

Heteronormativity

Adrienne Rich (1980) put forward the concept of 'compulsory heterosexuality' to refer to the system of "institutionalized, normative heterosexuality [that] regulates those kept within its boundaries as well as marginalizing and sanctioning those outside them" (Jackson 2006: 105). Butler (1993, 1999, 2004) and Warner (1991, 1993) draw on Rich's concept to develop the ideas of the heterosexual matrix (Butler 1993, 1999) and heteronormativity (Warner 1991, 1993). According to Butler, the heterosexual matrix "designates that grid of cultural intelligibility through which bodies, genders and desires are naturalized" (Butler 1999: 208 n.6). Other scholars consider compulsory heterosexuality as the forerunner of the notion of heteronormativity. The term heteronormativity is credited to Michael Warner (1991, 1993). Warner builds upon the extensive body of work on sexuality and lesbian/gay politics by feminists such as Gayle Rubin, Adrienne Rich, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Judith Butler and Iris Marion Young among others. In its basic understanding, heteronormativity refer to the normalisation of heterosexual practices and cultures.   Heterosexuality, as a culture, is enshrined in our lives as "elemental form of human association, as the very mode of inter-gender relations, as the indivisible basis of all community and the means of reproduction without which society wouldn't exist" (Warner 1993: xxi). It guides our daily lives and directs our conduct. In this sense, it is a

regulatory and disciplinary practice (Chambers 2007; Wiegman 2006). Heteronormativity, therefore, is a normative principle of heterosexuality against which all bodies and spaces are measured (Weiss 2001); it is not just assumed in our daily lives, but expected.

2.2.2 Mobility

The movements of the human body, and of objects, ideas, and their meanings etc. all encompass the 'new mobilities' turn in social sciences. This paradigm offers a theoretical framework that provides an overarching umbrella for the various practices, spaces and subjects of (im)mobility.

It was mainly Cresswell's and Urry's writings that began the conscious shift and drew general attention to this 'mobilities turn', which emerges out of critiques of the ideas of sedentarism and nomadism (see especially Cresswell 2006; Sheller and Urry 2006; Urry 2007). Sedentarism is based on the assumption of places possessing boundaries and authentic identities; places, regions, nations etc. are considered the foundation of the human experience. Sedentarism is linked to fixity, whereas nomadism is linked to fluidity. So where a place is bounded and identity fixed, ideas of nomadism subvert the fixity, "Nomads characterise societies of de-terroralisation, constituted by lines of flight rather than points or nodes" (Urry 2007: 33). Nomadism has been criticised for its masculinist character. It is often discussed in the context of adventure or excitement, metaphors with positive meanings that are attached to mobile men. By contrast, the mobile women are often linked to subjects with negative meanings such as the prostitute/sex worker (Jokinen and Veijola 1997, cited in Urry 2007: 33-34).

One of the interesting aspects of the mobility turn is that it simultaneously explores (im)mobility. This links to one of Massey's (1994) key points, namely that the mobility of some may mean immobility for others, due to differential power geometries across scales. Cresswell (2006) argues that the act of moving from A to B is not just about the transport, or the period before or after, but also about the period during. It is not just about movement – abstract mobility without the context of power. Mobility is a social construct with diverse experiences and representations (Uteng and Cresswell 2008); it is imbued with

meaning and power which change as socio-temporal contexts change. And it is not just about human – corporeal – mobility; this new approach to mobilities research also recognises the importance of materiality, spatiality and temporality in and across multiple scales: from the body to local levels such as homes, neighbourhood and cities, and up to the national, global and transnational scales (Sheller and Urry 2006; Sheller 2011; Urry 2007). The mobilities turn explores the different scales of these mobilities such as those from one city to another city, commuting from 'home' to 'work', or going to the park; the practice of these mobilities: flying, sitting on a plane, driving, walking, running; the spaces of the mobilities: on roads, air travel (airports), etc.; and the subjects who embody the practices and spaces of these and other mobilities, such as tourists, commuters, walkers, migrant workers, refugees etc. It is also about the representations of the mobilities – through media, communication and transportation technologies. And, at the core of the new mobilities paradigm, is the recognition and examination of the multiple power relations that produce and represent the multiple discourses and practices of (im)mobilities in relation to gender, race, class, and other social locations (Sheller 2011). In this project, gender is given precedence over other social locations, for reasons that will be apparent and justified in the next section.

The discussion above has highlighted the fluid and dynamic nature of the meanings of gender and mobility. Mobility of a person or group may lead to the immobility of another. Gender is one of the relations that lead to differentiated control and access to mobility. And, as one moves she or he has to negotiate different gender performances, thereby creating a new subjectivity. An international student, who is a migrant, becomes a gendered mobile subject within the multiple power hierarchies that are enacted upon him/her across and within multiple social geographic and temporal scales. In the case of my research, these varying spaces and scales include India and Canada, Delhi and Toronto, the university campus, recreational spaces within and outside the university, as well as family and household spaces back in India.

Existing research on mobility and gender has explored various subjects whose corporeal mobilities can be identified as international migration: such as refugees and labour migrants, but not students, a lacuna this research fills by

examining a new mobile subject: international students within and across multiple scales. In order to do this, the Gendered Geographies of Power framework is employed as an analytical tool.

2.3   Gender Geographies of Power: the analytical framework

In 2001, Mahler and Pessar guest-edited a special issue in the journal *Identities* on the theme of 'Transnational Migration and Gender'. In their introduction to the issue, Mahler and Pessar developed and introduced the framework entitled 'Gendered Geographies of Power'. This framework was the culmination of the work on gender and transnational migration done by feminist scholars that preceded the issue and those who contributed to that particular issue.

2.3.1   Background: feminist migration scholarship 'comes of age'

GGP is built upon the foundation laid out by feminist scholars whose work aimed to combat the androcentrism in migration scholarship. In another paper, Pessar and Mahler (2003) provide a short history of feminist scholarship's engagement with mainstream migration research. Till the early 1970s, women were invisible within the mainstream of migration research, peeking through occasionally as accompanying spouses. It was only in the 1980s, as feminism took a stronger foothold in academia, that feminist perspectives started to influence migration research agenda. Works by Donna Gabaccia (1984) on Italian immigrant women, and by Mirjana Morokvasic (1984) on Yugoslav women migrants, are the earliest feminist works which 'brought gender in' to migration research. In the early attempts to include women's voices, gender was reductionistically read as the variable sex. Researchers used the 'add women and stir' recipe as a means to correct the invisibility of women in migration scholarship, or they focused on studies that were entirely on women. So much so, indeed, that it could almost be alleged that migration research revealed a female bias. The imbalance on either gender is problematic because it showed that the researchers read gender as a variable rather than locating gender at the heart of the study of migration. This was somewhat rectified in the 1990s as a result of the shifting conception of gender as a set of social relations. Hondagneu-Sotelo urged that the task for migration scholars should be an "examination of how gender relations facilitate or constrain both women's *and* men's immigration and settlement" (1994: 3).

Progression in gender and migration research mirrored the developments in gender theory. Pessar and Mahler (2003) attribute Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994) as the first to engage with the reconceptualisation of gender and other developments in gender theory. As migration scholarship was reshaped through engagement with gender theory, simultaneously it was being shaped as scholars developed and employed a transnational optic (see Levitt and Jaworksy 2007 for theoretical developments and debates on transnational migration studies). In 2001, when Mahler and Pessar first developed GGP, it was in response to the limited research on transnational migration and gender. In a review of population geography, Boyle (2002) surveyed the emerging research in the fields of gender and transnational migration – referring to it as engendering transnational migration. The review highlighted the research on both the productive and (re)productive spheres such as the role of transnational motherhood (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 1997) and transnational households (Glick Schiller 1997; Willis and Yeoh 2000b). A second focus for this review was the growing body of work on domestic workers.

The transnational and gender optic on migration also led to critiques of migration scholarship concerning the invisibility of highly skilled and educated women (Kofman 2000, 2012). These scholars have worked to develop a research agenda with a focus on gender and skilled migration within the work place and beyond. This research agenda has also influenced my research.

An area of research to which feminist scholarship has made an immense contribution is the work on identity and subjectivity. At the heart of feminist scholarship in migration was the issue of "women's subjugation to structural patriarchal limitations on the self (i.e. identity), but more recently it has also examined the ways that discourses are circulated and transposed into gendered forms of internalized governmentality and biopolitics (i.e. subjectivity)" (Silvey 2004).

In reference to Butler's conceptualisation, gender identity involves a performance that is produced through the body; it is not fixed but varies over place and time. For instance, a man wearing a dhoti and walking down the street may stand out on the streets of England or the US. This is because a

dhoti resembles a skirt, which in these countries is associated with clothing for women. However, in countries such as India, a white dhoti is associated with an upper-class Hindu man constructing a dominant masculinity. The Gandhian stylisation of wearing a dhoti was one way that signified subversion of the rule of British Empire in India (Tarlo 1996). A performance that is representative of masculinity in India is not associated with masculinity in England or the US. However, it is also important to note that wearing a dhoti is not the only representation of masculinity. While during the 1940s giving up European clothing for Indian dress was considered to representative of a good Indian masculinity (especially one associated with Hinduism), current performances of masculinity, especially a young middle-class urban masculinity, includes wearing western-style clothing such as jeans and t-shirts.

The different and shifting gender identity in the above example is clearly visible. What is also then visible is shifting subjectivity. Subjectivity refers to the subjective experience of masculinity and femininity and other identities – experiences of the body. It is how the body is shaped into actualising the desired or expected gendered performance. Silvey (2004) refers to Foucault's (1988, 1991) idea of governmentality through which the gendered norms associated with specific identities are internalised and then produced through the body. Subjectivity then can be examined through the awareness of one's performance, and of how one is expected to perform. It is the awareness of one's subject position within and across multiple scales of power and what being a woman/man means. The focus on subjectivities is relatively new, and thus far has examined the constructions of femininities, though there is now an emerging small body of research that focuses on masculinities as well.

In gender and migration research, these two terms – identities and subjectivities – are often conflated. Current research on identities and subjectivities reveals the diverse representations of femininities and masculinities of migrants across multiple social and geographic scales. More recent work asserts that people's movement across place and space enables shifting and transforming subjectivities (Hibbins 2005; Smith 2012; Walsh 2009; Williams 2005) as a consequence of their everyday lived experiences. Consequently the experiences of different types of migrants in the broad category of 'highly

skilled' have come under the spotlight. Examples include those working in the sex industry (Agustín 2005, 2007), domestic workers (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001; Moukarbel 2009; Parrenas 2001), care workers (Solari 2006), and professionals (Ho 2011; Kofman and Raghuram 2005, 2006; Liu-Farrer 2011; Yeoh and Huang 2011; Yeoh and Willis 2005).

Thus far the emphasis has been on the identities/subjectivities of women within the 'feminised' labour sectors (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2002) or as trailing spouses of professionals. For the embryonic research on men, the focus thus far on masculinities has been on low-skilled labour migrants (Ahmad 2009; Boehm 2008; Malam 2008; Osella and Osella 2000), and on the other end the highly skilled, highly educated professionals (Hibbins 2005; van Hoven and Meijering 2005; Walsh 2009, 2011). Additionally there is research that presents the mobile nature of subjectivity for highly educated migrants who work in low-skilled jobs such as those in the hospitality industry in London (Batnitzky *et al.* 2008). A small but growing body of research also examines the experiences of men in the sex industry (Mai 2009).

Another emerging field is queer migration (Luibheid 2008; Manalansan 2006). The work in this arena examines the impact of transgendered identities and non-normative sexuality as a motivation to move (Howe *et al.* 2008; Mai 2012; Vogel 2009), everyday experiences (Howe *et al.* 2008; Mai 2012), and the idea of returning/coming home (Fortier 2001); while another body of work examines the representation of queer identities/subjectivities in diaspora literature (Griffin 2011; Jazeel 2005; Smith 2012).

Hence, the consequence of feminist scholarship over the last 20 years has been the recognition of the entire migration process as a gendered phenomenon (Donato *et al.* 2006), highlighting the reflexive relationship between gender and migration. This relationship shows that gender relations prior to migration shape migration patterns, who migrates, their motivations and the settlement patterns and experiences (Mahler and Pessar 2001). It also shows the other side of the coin – that migration, especially migration and the ongoing settlement experience, play a role in shaping the "social orders, geographies of inequality,

spatialised subjectivities and the meanings of difference across scales" (Silvey 2004: 491)

2.3.2 The 'GGP' model

Mahler and Pessar explore this reflexive relationship through the framework they call Gendered Geographies of Power (Mahler and Pessar 2001, 2006; Pessar and Mahler 2003). This model, set within a transnational perspective, is based on the premise that gender identity, relations and ideologies are fluid and operate simultaneously on multiple levels during the entire migration process. It is a tool for the analysis of gendered processes of transnational migration, though it need not be limited to this kind of migration. GGP comprises four main elements: geographical scale, social location, power-geometry and imagination or mind work. I take each in turn.

Geographical scale refers to the multiple spatial, social and cultural scales within and across which gender operates. Geographic scale has no single, definitive meaning. It means different things across various social-science disciplines. For instance, in human geography, geographic scale ranges across the human body, family, household, neighbourhood, city, metropolitan area, provinces/states, nation-state, continent and globe (Sheppard and McMaster 2004). It is among and between the multiple scales of body, family, the state etc. that gender norms become embedded and continue to be performed.

The second element is *social location*. As individuals and groups cross international borders they simultaneously occupy multiple and intersecting social locations such as gender, class, race, ethnicity, education etc., and the meaning and relevance of these subjectivities can also transform across space. These social locations influence the types and degrees of agency that people exert. Social location situates the migrants in different hierarchies of power. What the hierarchies are, who controls them and how migrants are located in them varies from place to place and space to space. Ghosh in a self-reflexive narrative (Ghosh and Wang 2003) reveals that before she left for her studies abroad, her place in the family was among the lower rung – in accordance with the patrifocal system. However, upon her return to India for a holiday, she found that everyone paid just a little bit more attention to her; that her social

location had improved. She became aware of this improved status when her family members paid attention to her, sought her out for her advice and asked her about her time abroad. Having gone abroad and returned improved her standing within the gendered family hierarchy.

Power-geometry is the third building block of this framework. It refers to the degree of access and power that migrants have over who initiates the flows and who is impacted by those movements. Power geometry of time-space compression, as explained by Massey (1992, 1994), critiques and advances the concept of time-space compression (Harvey 1994). Briefly, time-space compression refers to the idea of annihilation of space as communication and transportation speed-up. The power-geometry, then, refers to power relations of privilege and domination that shape people's access and ability to participate in a migration stream as initiators of the movement, or simply the passive recipients of the impact of the flow. In my research on Indian International students, the focus on the family means that the discussion will be limited to the power relations within the family, influenced by the social locations that are stretched across places and transform, for instance, by becoming weaker or stronger depending on the impact of the various technologies of communication and transportation.

Massey refers to the concept of power in power-geometry as "a complex web of relations of domination and subordination, of solidarity and cooperation" (1992: 81). She reiterates the notion of power as an entanglement between forms of domination and resistance, in the concluding chapter (Massey 2000) of the book *Entanglements of Power*. Neither Massey nor the creators of GGP clarify what power is, however. Drawing from the above statement, I draw on Foucault's concept of power, and develop it as follows.

The idea of entanglements of power suggests that power is not a *thing*; that power is not solely about domination, with resistance as its counter position. Entanglement of power rejects the domination/resistance dichotomy that is linked to 'orthodox' understandings of power. For Foucault, power is everywhere. Space is imbued with power. He rejects the orthodoxy of power as the domination/resistance binary; that is negative power that aims to oppress by

domination. Instead, Foucault conceptualises power as productive and positive. Domination and resistance are not a binary, but rather mutually constitutive. All social relations are built on the foundation of power, from institutions to power relations, and therefore power is distributed and circulates across all spheres.

> Power is not something that is divided between those who have it and hold it exclusively, and those who do not have it and are subject to it. Power must, I think, be analyzed as something that circulates. (Foucault 2003: 29)

Foucault sees the individual as the subject formed as a consequence of the effects of power. Yet Foucault was critiqued for this idea of society as formed as a "network of omnipresent relations of subjugating power". Marxist critics in particular emphasised that such a conceptualisation of society removed any possibility of freedom from the individual (McNay 1994). In such a presentation, the individual was seen as having little to no agency – to be a docile body that was shaped by others. For Foucault, discipline produced a docile body.

> Discipline 'makes' individuals; it is the specific technique of a power that regards individuals both as objects and instruments of its exercise...The success of disciplinary power derives no doubt from the use of simple instruments; hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and their combination in a procedure that is specific to it, the examination. (Foucault 1995:170)

And building further on the idea of the subject and power relations, the final part of the definition of power is that the exercise of power is a 'conduct of conducts'. Which means that a power acts upon the actions. It is itself an action upon the action of others or self. To quote Foucault again:

> what defines a relationship of power is that it is a mode of action that does not act directly and immediately on others. Instead, it acts upon their actions: an action upon an action, on possible or actual future or present actions. The exercise of power is a 'conduct of conducts'. (Foucault 2000c: 340).

Foucault ties the idea of mutually constitutive and entangled relationships of domination/resistance and the exercise of power as a 'conduct of conducts' to the concept of governmentality. Governmentality is the "contact between the

technologies of domination of others and those of the self" (Foucault 1988:19). In his essay seminar *The Technologies of Self*, Foucault writes:

> ...technologies of power, which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivizing of the subject; ... technologies of the self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality. (Foucault 1988: 19)

This complex and entangled interpretation of power shapes the discussion in this thesis, and I shall return to this conceptualisation at various points in the ensuing chapters.

For now, and to close off this extended discussion of power-geometry, I pick up Massey's (1994) power-geometry of Harvey's (1994) time-space compression. It is a well-known commonplace fact that we can now communicate easily via mobile phone and over the internet, if one can resolve time differences. For instance, telecommuting is now possible and a reality for a growing number of people. In fact during the London Olympics, the London City Council encouraged local residents to work from home rather than travel. This was to ensure that the transportation system would not be overwhelmed. This could be made possible due to improved technology. What does the power-geometry of time-space compression mean for transnational migration?

I am reminded of an American television show, Big Bang Theory (BBT). BBT is a comedy show about a group of friends who work in academia in LA. One character, Raj, is of relevance here. Raj came to the US as an international student from India. In a particular episode, we are shown a communication between Raj and his parents in New Delhi. The topic of conversation is Raj's single status and his lack of enthusiasm in meeting a potential partner whom his parents suggest. Despite the distance between Raj on the west coast of the US and his parents in India (some 13,000 km or 8,000 miles), Raj is coerced into meeting a potential wife. While this is all presented in humorous overtones, it presents succinctly how the advent of technology allowed Raj's parents to exert their power over their only son. There is also the role of socio-economic class. Raj's parents, who are portrayed as part of the upper-class in New Delhi, have

access to computers and a stable internet connection. This level of technology is now accessible to most upper-middle class families, at least in New Delhi. By contrast, I am also reminded of a meeting with Tagore in India. Tagore was the father of one of my acquaintances in Delhi. He had studied in Germany in the late 1960s at a prominent German scientific institution. I am reminded of Tagore at this juncture because in my discussion with him and his wife Ashwini, they laughed about how they would communicate through telegrams and letters that would take weeks if not months to travel. And now, they could simply press a button on their mobile phone to talk to someone in the blink of an eye.

In spite and also because of these social locations and power relations, people are able to access these mobilities, or in other cases are unable to access them but always want to go abroad. Moving forward to GGP's last element – *imagination* or 'mind-works', Appadurai (1990) encourages examining the role of imagination in the decision to undertake migration and maintain transnational relations. Here imagination refers to, among other definitions, "a form of negotiation between sites of agency ('individuals') and globally defined fields of possibility" (1990: 5). It creates new forms of "desire and subjectivity" which exist within the globally defined fields of possibility. Mind-works can work to facilitate the decision to move in spite of the social locations and power relations that may restrict mobility.

Thus far, GGP has been underutilised in transnational gender and migration research. This is the first study on ISM that uses GGP to frame the whole project. There are a couple of studies that use GGP in more than a marginal way. Vullnetari and King (2011) employ GGP for a gendered analysis of remittances from Albania. McIlwane (2008, 2010) use GGP to apply a multi-scalar perspective to examine the identities of Latino masculinities of low-skilled labour migrants in London. My study deploys GGP to a more complete extent, using it throughout the development of this project including the data collection. The strength of the GGP framework, and therefore the appeal of it for my research on Indian students, is that it allows the exploration of gendered power relations in and across multiple scales as well as multiple sites, simultaneously. It recognises the importance of mobility and immobility; and that the power geometry between different mobile and immobile groups significantly shapes

the experience of migrants and mobile people, especially the power relations that stretch between the groups and are maintained through the use of technology. The GGP model also acknowledges the key role of imagination.

2.4 International student migration/mobility

Below is a summary of existing research on ISM. The aim of the discussion is to highlight themes of research and the diversity of methods used. While this field of research is relatively new, this thesis does not provide space for a larger review. For a detailed review of ISM in relation to the UK, see King *et al.*(2010). The discussion below highlights six major themes in ISM research: motivations, experiences, identities, return/stay, class and globalisation. I highlight these six themes as they are the ones which feature prominently in my own empirical analysis of Indian ISM. The literature selected here represents the body of work located mainly across the disciplines of Geography, Sociology and Anthropology, but also references some work by scholars and practitioners in the interdisciplinary field of Higher Education.

2.4.1 Motivations and aspirations

Earlier research on ISM and motivations was limited to quantitative methods with the aim to collect data to understand how universities can shape their marketing strategies as well as the programs offered to attract and retain more international students.

While this trend still remains, other research has developed that foregrounds the student perspective with the aim to understand student mobility across other scales than the university space, and in the larger contexts of social, political and cultural spheres. Findlay *et al.* (2012) argue that student mobility is not "discrete and disconnected from other mobilities"(p. 127), but that it is part of an individual's life-course planning. The plan may be for the individual's life course, but it is often designed in collaboration with the family.

Gender

Feminist research in migration highlights the gendered nature of motivations – meaning how these motivations are shaped within the larger social and structural contexts of "gendered expectations among individuals, families and

institutions" (Curran *et al.* 2006: 211). The 'gendered' power relations that are "embedded in the household, offer men potential access and rights over resources that women do not have" (Curran *et al.* 2006: 202). The inequalities in power relations within a household are a reflection of local-level gender relations.

While the research on ISM published thus far does not engage directly with the gendered power relations in the examination of motivations, certain studies have highlighted some of the gendered determinants. Using a mixed methods approach, Findlay *et al.* explore the determinants that shape students' aspirations to pursue credit or degree mobility outside of the UK. Family social class, indicated from parents' occupation and education, are important predictors in the mobility (Findlay *et al.* 2006); more specifically mothers' education and occupation have a stronger influence on student's mobility, meaning that the more the mother is educated and the higher level of position she holds in her occupation, the more likely it is the student would consider pursuing education abroad.

An important study of Indian male students in Australia by Michiel Baas (2006, 2010) highlights the power relations at household and national scale. While their gendered nature is not discussed explicitly, the study highlights the individual's interpretation of the family's expectations from the first/second son and how, in an effort to fulfil these expectations, this motivates the individual. Baas also highlights how the family's expectations from a son shape the family's motivations. The sons are expected to migrate to Australia – for work, education, business networking and acquiring their Permanent Residence (PR) status. This has become a 'rite of passage' for men (Ali 2007). This rite of passage is the key to the performance of current Indian middle-class masculinity.

Another study that employs a partial gendered perspective is by Kim (2011), who examines the social and cultural reasons that lead women from South Korea, Japan and China to pursue higher education abroad. Studying overseas is seen as a 'second chance' for the women to be able to gain employment at the level commensurate with their level of education. Kim (2011) argues that the

inherent gender inequality in these countries suppresses women into low-paid, temporary, part-time work, while it encourages men into the higher positions. There are significant wage differentials between professional men and women in these countries. Kim's research highlights that the women studying and living abroad are influenced by images from the media of the strong, empowered, individual woman who is free from social pressures of the family to get married, settle down; a woman who can get the jobs she has studied for and be happy. Influenced by these images of the 'Western' life, these women choose to leave their respective countries to study abroad, to accumulate social and cultural capital, and achieve social advantage. Kim's study engages with the differential power relations of the societies across different scales, and not just on the family scale.

Social and cultural capital accumulation

In conjunction with the work discussed above, the studies discussed below can be framed within the broader discussion of accumulation of social and cultural capital. While for some students study abroad is a first chance at success by gaining a 'world class' education to gain entry into highly competitive national or global labour markets (Findlay *et al.* 2012), for others it is more like a 'second chance' because of a failure or perceived failure of doing so in their 'home' country (Brooks and Waters 2011).

The majority of the literature on motivations of students from countries of the 'East' points to accessing world-class, 'Western' education as a first chance at success. The 'Western education' system is viewed in high regard in such East Asian countries as China, Hong Kong, South Korea, and South Asian countries such as India and Pakistan. Accessing a Western, world-class education is seen as a way to gain difference from others, accumulate social and cultural capital, and hence reproduce social advantage (Brooks and Waters 2011; Findlay *et al.* 2006, 2011; Waters 2006b). The decision to pursue education abroad is part of a household strategy, especially in the case of Korea (Finch and Kim 2012) and Hong Kong (Waters 2006a, 2006b). Research by Baas (2006, 2011), Brooks and Waters (2011), and Waters (2006a, 2006b) highlights the 'fear factor' (Waters 2006b: 184) - failure within the academic systems of

their respective countries means that students will have diminished opportunities to gain successful employment. Hong Kong, Waters (2006b) describes, has an extremely competitive education system and entrance to universities is dependent on two entrance exams, one at the age of 16 and another at 17 years. To prevent failure in any of these exams, parents move to Canada with their children and enrol the children in secondary schools in Canada so they can then enter the Canadian higher education system. This system is considered less competitive than the one in Hong Kong. This fear of failure drives the students and their families to make strategic choices that lead to pursuing education abroad.

The role of the family is clear in this scenario; another scale that plays a crucial role in this decision is the State. In the case of students from Hong Kong, students have to successfully complete highly competitive standardised testing at national level to gain access to universities. Low marks on these tests could mean access only to 'lower' standard universities or to no universities at all. The state-mandated tests, in conjunction with perceived lack of 'good' state-funded universities leads families to strategise ways for the children of the household to gain access to good higher education.

The motivation of 'world-class' education and employability also appears in bodies of work on UK student abroad (Findlay *et al.* 2012; Brooks and Waters 2009, 2011). Research by Allan Findlay and Russell King examines the aspirations of students who are thinking of pursuing university study abroad, and another group who were studying abroad (Findlay *et al.* 2006, 2010, 2012; King *et al.* 2010, 2011). Their research is based on both large-scale questionnaire surveys of students and prospective students, and on face-to-face interviews with students in a variety of geographical settings. The students, aware of the phenomenon of increasing global mobility, and the wider options for international education, want to pursue education abroad for reasons such as gaining new language skills, new country experience and self-development. However, there are additional, more strategic reasons as well: that of gaining a 'world-class' education and gaining competitive advantage for future employability – as part of the life-course plan.

Brooks and Waters' (2011) research on UK students studying abroad for full degrees employed a qualitative approach, conducting in-depth interviews with 85 respondents. The results highlighted that, for many UK students, universities abroad were seen as a 'second chance' at success in the educational life-course and to be able to reproduce middle-class social advantage. This second chance for undergraduate students refers to accessing 'elite' higher education institutes outside the UK since they were unable (or were afraid that they would be unable) to gain entry the 'elite' UK institutions due to, for instance, low marks in the A level examinations. Here again, the State becomes visible, in that the entrance to universities is dependent on national-level tests. The second chance for post-graduate students relates to success at receiving funding for graduate education, especially since the funding bodies are extremely competitive.

The 'second-chance' syndrome is not limited to 'west-west' student mobility. Baas (2006, 2010), in his work on Indian students in Australia, highlights the narratives of several male respondents who chose Australia as their destination in an attempt to mitigate the failure they faced when they did not gain entrance in their preferred course in India. In some of the cases of these Indian students, the move to Australia was in fact their third or fourth chance at success. These students, after they failed to gain entrance in the highly competitive university system in India, first applied to the US or UK; after the rejection from their first-choice institutions abroad (in some cases it was the failure to secure visas and not the admission), the students applied to Australia.

2.4.2 Experience

The experience of migrants, especially those living and operating within transnational spaces, cannot be generalised for all individuals or communities across social location. The experience of a migrant is informed by multiple social structures and relations simultaneously (Thapan 2005). The hierarchical power relations in each society produce a gendered experience – meaning that how a migrant negotiates everyday life and experiences is shaped according to his/her social location, both in the native and in the host society (Thapan 2005). Both the structural (class, caste, labour market etc.) and cultural (language, religion, 'ways of life' etc.) aspects of both societies are relevant here.

The experiences discussed in the literature focus on students' experiences at the urban scale (Collins 2010a, 2010b) in cities and neighbourhoods as impacted by the community they live within (Collins 2010a, 2010b; Ichimoto 2004; Kim 2011), by friends' networks (Baas 2006, 2010; Collins 2010b; Kim 2011; Waters 2006a, 2006b), and other social and spatial scales in and across which the student lives. These experiences transcend the local social relations and stretch across transnational space. The discussion highlights the relevant translocal geographies (Brickell and Datta 2011) through an examination of everyday transnational lives (Ley 2004) of the student by exploring their lived experiences. These lived experiences are embodied practices. Through the lens of multiple scales, social locations and lived experiences, the existing research can be divided in to the following main themes: racism, isolation, and empowerment.

Racism

Racism is a prominent theme that emerges in the discussion, especially for students from Asian countries. No doubt it is equally, if not actually more relevant in the experiences of African students (Beoku-Betts 2004; Hanassab 2006), but empirical literature from a migration perspective here is very scarce. It often appears in the form of verbal abuse by 'established residents' of the city towards various groups such as those in Collins' (2010a, 2010b) study; in more subtle actions through the expected gendered performances from the 'host society', as in the case of women in the Kim (2011) study; or violent forms of physical assault such as cases of Indian students in Australia (Baas 2010). These experiences are obviously embodied by students and also by the 'established residents' of the host cities/countries; the experiences then cross others scales such as international and global as a result of communication and media.

 Collins (2010b) highlights the unfortunate fact that everyday racism is part of life for the South Korean students in his study. This racism is attributed to the negative images amongst the city of Auckland's residents of 'Asian' students. The South Korean and other students arriving in Auckland have had a large impact on the city – not just by bringing money into the economy, but also

physical impacts. The urban landscape of the centre of Auckland has been changing to accommodate student residences; there are more shops catering to the specific food demands of the Chinese, South Korean, and other student populations. These have been perceived by the established residents of the city as negative. The racism is experienced as verbal assaults made by the 'established' residents of the city. However, in an effort to counter this racism, some South Korean students meet regularly as part of a volunteer group to help clean a part of a the city, by picking up rubbish.

Another side of experiencing racism focuses on women. In research with women from East Asian countries studying in UK, US and Australia, Park (2010), Kim (2011) and Ichimoto (2004) bring to the fore how essentialist ideas of the 'Asian' woman have impacted the lives of the respondents. Most women categorise the behaviour they experience as racism. These women felt that their imaginations of the 'Western' countries did not match with their actual experience. They imagined themselves as free and self-sufficient, able to do what they wanted to without the social pressure of getting married, or not accessing jobs because they were women. However, they felt that they were not fully free because they were being judged by people around them for being 'Asian' women; the people in the areas these women lived in and interacted with expected these women to 'perform' traits associated with 'Asian women' – to be submissive, docile and polite. These women also find that their performances in the jobs that they do are evaluated based on the above-described 'Asian woman' identity, rather than the expected gendered performances of the host place.

The racism that is experienced by international students has become part of global media headlines, as seen in the case of the escalating violent attacks on Indian students in Australia (Baas 2010). The response of the local and national authorities was very dismissive, even after pressure from the 'home' country authorities and an extremely poor image around the global media (Baas 2010). The negative experiences of racism leave the students feeling vulnerable and isolated. This is the next topic discussed below.

Isolation

Returning to the embodied experience, parallel to racism are the experiences of loneliness, isolation and vulnerability of living in a new, unfamiliar environment, with new people. These feelings are linked to the different types of people in their 'host' city/town, the different built environment, the population size, cultural factors and so on.

From the literature, we find that international students generally felt they were never part of the 'host' community. They had very few friends, if at all, who were part of the 'host' community. Respondents in various studies, especially those by Baas (2010), Collins (2010b) and Kim (2011), discussed how they made efforts to befriend 'locals' in their classes. However, they were disappointed with the level of relationships that were developed – referring to the level of connection as superficial – only at university and nothing outside of classes. As a result the international students mostly befriended other international students, and in many cases, mostly with those with whom they shared a cultural, ethnic, or national identity.

While for some students isolation due to racism drove them to look for friends in others from their home country, for others it was the homesickness, or missing parts of their cultural rituals that led them seek out friends and social circles where they could share those rituals. Ghosh, in Ghosh and Wang (2003), mentions how, once in Canada, she started to befriend other 'Indian' people and not just 'Bengalis'. Due to the small Bengali community in Toronto, Ghosh felt she could share common cultural beliefs with other Indians.

The students also felt a sense of isolation living in large 'empty' cities. Students from South Korea, Japan, China and India come from large cities which have dense populations; people are everywhere (Baas 2010; Collins 2010a). Cities in New Zealand and Australia, with less population, more open spaces and a culture of local mobility dependant on private vehicles and a poor public transport system, leave these students feeling isolated. Some universities are located in much smaller towns, and in some cases are actually physically outside of the city/town, in open countryside. Travelling to the university for the first time from the airport was shocking to some students, as they felt separated and removed from the world of constant activity in their respective 'home' cities.

The lack of good public transport means that they tend to stay on or near university campus, which may or may not be in a central part of the city. This leaves them feeling isolated from the rest of the city (Collins 2010a). They feel less secure because of few people on the streets; at night the streets are empty and dark.

Empowerment

While racism and the resulting isolation portrays negative experiences of the students, on a more positive note, the women respondents in studies of Kim (2011) and Ichimoto (2004) share that living on their own improved their self-confidence . They discovered as students lived in the 'host' countries, they took on characteristics of other women around them, and became more assertive; their identities, especially their gender identities, were (re)shaped to fit into the place and the people with whom they were living.

A self-reflexive narrative by Ghosh (Ghosh and Wang 2003) about her experience as an international student in Canada highlights how her native society, Indian middle-class Bengali, impacted her experience in Canada. She writes: "even though we are thousands of miles away from home, 'transported morality' still polices us, shaping 'who we want to be'" (Ghosh and Wang 2003: 275). However, being located in Canada, a different gendered societal context, Ghosh emphasises the freedom she felt, as she was free of the obligations and responsibilities towards others. She begins to live life as an individual, "free from the entangled web of relationships" (Ghosh and Wang 2003: 273). Ghosh, it can be seen, is simultaneously embedded across various geographic scales (Mahler and Pessar 2001, 2006; Pessar and Mahler 2003). However, her experiences, such as building a social network in Canada, were shaped by the felt deprivation of her Bengali 'home' life and the freedom she gained while in Canada. Ghosh's social location in India encouraged her association with Bengali Indians over non-Bengali Indians. However, in Canada, as she is unable to access a network of Bengali Indians, she begins to socialise with non-Bengali Indians. Yet she lives a Bengali life in her home, private life.   Her public life, including socialising with non-Bengali Indians, is in the Canadian society and displays little of her Bengali identity.

The (re)shaping of gendered identities leads to the development of cosmopolitan identities in some, but for others leads to an unsettling of their gendered identities which may be tied to their 'home' countries (Ichimoto 2004). The different identities resulting are discussed in the next subsection.

2.4.3 Identities

Drawing upon Butler's interpretation of gender identity, as discussed earlier, being a woman or man – possessing masculine or feminine characteristics – is a performance of the hegemonic norms in specific societal contexts, which as McDowell (1999: 54-55) summarises, "for the majority of the population, is based on that heterosexual regulatory fiction. Through acts, gestures and clothes we construct or fabricate an identity that is manufactured, manifested and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive beliefs."

Thapan (2005: 55) suggests that the identity of a migrant is inherently fluid. This means that, as migrants shift from one societal context to another, one space to another, they perform their identities in terms of what they seek to present about themselves within the specific societal and situational context. The migrants do this through their gestures, materials etc. Identity then is (re)shaped continually by location and the societal context (McDowell 1999), and its expression can change from one situation to another; even within the same day.

Research on students in various parts of the world has led to a re-emergence of the cosmopolitan identity (Baas 2010; Brooks and Waters 2011; Kim 2011, Rizvi 2005). In contrast to the cosmopolitan identity of transnational migration, there has emerged the discussion on a European identity in relation to the mobility within the EU (Findlay *et al.* 2003, 2006; King and Ruiz-Gelices 2003; Van Mol 2013). Countering the grand narratives of cosmopolitanism and European identity is the discussion on retaining a national/cultural identity (Collins 2010b) or building a hybrid identity (Ghosh and Wang 2003). Lastly, a loss or gap of it all leads to the discussion of the 'ambivalent self' (Ichimoto 2004). My discussion here is limited to the cosmopolitan and hybrid identities.

Cosmopolitan identity

Cosmopolitanism as a philosophy has a long history; it has its roots in Greek philosophy where it referred to 'citizen of the world' (Rizvi 2005). In its current manifestation, cosmopolitanism is broadly understood as being open to new people, places and cultures (Hannerz 1996 in Brooks and Waters 2011) and is linked to a culture of consumption and the global economy (Rizvi 2005).

In research with Australian students, Rizvi suggests that cosmopolitan identities are produced by Australian universities and sold to students as part of the imagery of study abroad experience. Other universities and institutions invested in international education, such as the European Commission, as well as UK universities which try to attract students with claims of "intercultural learning, global outlook and understanding of 'difference' often inculcated by a period of overseas-study" (Brooks and Waters 2011: 15). Brooks and Waters argue that while there has been in increase in theorisation on cosmopolitan identities, and the production of the specific 'cosmopolitan student' by universities and other institutions, there is very little real evidence of the development of cosmopolitan outlooks in students who have studied overseas. For those who do appear to have undergone a change in outlook brought upon by the overseas study period, their outlook represents particular cosmopolitan identities that are based on a consumerist image of the cosmopolitan citizen of the world. Rizvi (2005) argues that the students want to acquire the produced cosmopolitan identity; for some students international education is used to "better position them within the changing structures of the global economy, which increasingly prizes the skills of intercultural experiences and a cosmopolitan outlook" (Rizvi 2009: 260).

Hybrid identity

The idea of identity as a performance through acts, gestures and clothes can be seen in Ghosh's (Ghosh and Wang 2003) narrative, as seen in the previous section, as she tries to reconcile her two identities during her time in Canada and when she returns to India for a sojourn. Ghosh recognises that she has created for herself a hybrid identity in an effort to reconcile the conflict that emerged as a result of the differing gender contexts in India and Canada. She "metamorphosed over time into multiple, hyphenated selves, and the phase of

transition from a single identity to hybrid identity is still continuing" (Ghosh and Wang 2003: 274) – in this case from an Indian identity to an Indo-Canadian identity.

The discussion on identity involves more than the body and family scale. It also explores the role of national institutions such as universities and regional institutions such as the European Union. Two of many other types of identities that are present in the literature have been discussed briefly above: namely the European identity and the cosmopolitan one. My aim here in these admittedly brief notes has been to highlight the different scales that present different perspectives on the type of identities that are formed.

2.4.4 Return/stay

The final segment of my discussion focuses on the students' decision to return to their 'home' country, or stay in the 'host' country, or move to another country for varying reasons. There is only a small body of literature that explores this topic. The discussion below is organised around two main themes: the labour market and family/partners as two of the factors that impact the decision to stay, return or move elsewhere. Additionally, there is a brief discussion on the experiences of return.

Labour Market

The existing research discusses the return of students educated abroad mostly in relation to their labour market participation, which can be at the local, national and global scale. In life-course planning, then, once education is completed (in degree mobility), according to the literature, the next phase is employment – participation in the labour market. Hazen and Alberts (2006) discuss the results of a study of international students in the US. According to their study the most commonly cited reason for stay in the US was 'better job/career opportunities'. Waters and Brooks (2010) and Brooks and Waters (2011) show that, for UK students, getting a degree from an elite university in the US does not necessarily lead to better job opportunities upon their return to the UK. By contrast, the Hong Kong students studying in Canada (Waters 2006) return to Hong Kong for 'good' jobs as they know that their degree from certain institutions will be recognised within specific networks, and the 'Western'

education will give them an advantage in most labour market sectors. Another side of the labour market participation influencing the decision to stay or return is visible in the Baas' (2006, 2010) work with Indian male students. They want to continue to stay in Australia because they find that a job in Australia would allow them to earn enough to pay off loans. And lastly, for women from East Asian countries, some left the countries of origin to be able to secure jobs abroad commensurate with their education, and therefore for them the only viable option is to stay, or move to another country – as long as it was not returning to their 'home' country.

Family/partners

Another factor that impacts the decision to stay or return is friends, partners and family (Geddie 2011, 2013; Hazen and Alberts 2006; Waters and Brooks 2011). The women from Kim's (2011) and Ichimoto's (2004) studies indicate a longing for home, for friends and families. However, they are also aware of the problems that exist for them at 'home' – regarding jobs, social pressure to get married, and giving up their individual identity within the patriarchal structure.

For UK students studying overseas, some decided to 'go native' to stay with their respective partners (Waters and Brooks 2011). Marrying the 'Australian' girl is a fantasy Indian men in Australia foster (Baas 2006): a dream in relation to the ability to stay in Australia.   Tied to this idea is the option of permanent residency. In some countries such as Canada, international students are encouraged to stay on and join the labour market, By contrast, in the UK for instance, the government continually changes policy to police international students as a measure to control immigration; this is to such an extent that applying for a work permit after completion of studies has become an ordeal.

Recent work by Geddie (2013) emphasises how the role of transnational social ties and personal concerns regarding care for ageing parents, dual careers, children's welfare and a work-life balance shape migration and career strategies. Her study focused on a cross-section of students studying in UK and Canada within the STEM (science, technology, engineering, mathematics) disciplines. In similar vein, Mosneaga and Winther (2013) explore the study-to-work transitions of international students in Denmark. Their examination of the

topic links the factors that attract the students to Denmark with their decision to stay. Incorporating personal factors such as quality of life, career trajectories, partners, as well as the influence of uncertainty and unknown futures, Moseanega and Winther (2013) argue that to increase retention of international students within the labour market there needs to be increased cooperation between universities, the business sector and the public authorities. This work is different from the other research due to its focus on the role of institutions across scales.

Reverse culture shock

There is limited research on the experiences of return of international students within a transnational migration perspective. In this brief discussion I draw upon studies in the field of education and psychology to highlight some of the themes. Thus far, most of the research on this topic has been within the field of education. Studies on return students, American (Gaw 2000), Taiwanese and Sri Lankan (Pritchard 2011), refer to the reverse culture shock students experience as they try to re-acclimatise themselves to their 'home' environment of university, friends and family.   Pritchard (2011) points out that the experiences of reverse culture shock are associated with socio-political issues and the tensions between modernism and traditionalism, or individualism and collectivism. Butcher (2002), in a study of East Asians who returned 'home' after a period of study in New Zealand, contextualises their return experience as encountering grief – a longing for belonging. Returnees 'encountered' grief during the renegotiations of relations with families as well as friends, over their own altered views and expectations, and the expectations of the society from them.

2.4.5 Class

Respondents to this study and those which precede it locate international student mobility (ISM) as an endeavour undertaken by the middle classes and elites of a society. However, the concept of class is rarely elaborated in existing studies. This section briefly introduces and problematises class and its relation to student mobility.

Studies on ISM have a tendency to draw upon the Bourdieusian language of 'capital' (King and Raghuram 2013) and thus assume the existence of a capitalist class. A capitalist class "owns and/or control(s) the major means of production, distribution and exchange through their ownership and control of money and other forms of capital" (Sklair 2001: 17). The various forms of capital, to name a few, include financial, political, cultural and knowledge. Class is defined based on Marx's assertion that position within a class hierarchy is determined by the role in the production process.

Waters (2006), drawing on Bourdieu, postulates that ISM facilitates the reproduction of social class through accumulation of social and cultural capital (this was discussed in detail in section 2.4). Accumulation of cultural capital through education, especially higher education, is not limited to ISM. Reay et al. (2005) highlight the influence of social class in access to and degree of choices in higher education enrolment in the UK. The experiences of students from working-class backgrounds, ethnic minorities and mature women reveal the inequalities and hierarchies in higher education. With regard to mobility for education, those from working classes are less likely to move away from their parents. There is a propensity of the British middle class to choose universities from the selection offered in the national market; often these institutions are regarded as elite, and comprise, for want of a better term, the recognised universities. By contrast, those from working-class backgrounds prefer to choose from the regional or local options. The class element here is linked to spatial considerations (Ball *et al.* 1995). The working-class students prefer to stay 'local' to minimise cost and also to stay at places where they are likely to find a student body similar to them. In countries such as India, where 70% of the population lives in rural areas (India Census 2011), and universities are largely located in urban centres, internal mobility is generally a requirement to access higher education. The move out of the parental home to another area is possible only if there are financial resources to support that move (Jeffrey 2005).   Hence, higher education in India is still restricted to the elites, or those with a certain level of wealth (Agarwal 2009).

Social class therefore is influential not only in accessing higher education, but also in the choice of institution. Ball *et al.* (1995) identifies 'circuits of school' for

primary and secondary education where there are three types of school: local, community, comprehensive schools; cosmopolitan, elite maintained schools; and local independent schools. People tend to choose one type and adhere to that type as part of the reproduction of social class. Brooks and Waters (2009) expand this idea from local to the "global circuits of higher education".

However, this construction of class is not always sufficient. Kelly (2012) proposes a typology that presents the complex and overlapping nature of class. This typology does not draw upon any single school of thought; rather it presents four mutually constitutive aspects of class – position, process, performance, and politics.

Within the Indian case, over the past 15 years, literature has come out attempting to theorise the emerging 'new' middle class and the elites. (Fernandes 2006; Nijman 2006; Sridharan 2004). Though no consensus defining and describing the middle class has been reached, it is agreed that the middle class is important and that a 'new' middle class has evolved. Fernandes (2006) critiques the construction of class through income levels and capital accumulation and suggests that a better way of constructing class, in particular the 'new' Indian middle class, is through their performances – their material consumption and embodied performances. The identity distinguished by the middle class is "constructed through identities such as caste, gender or religion" (Fernandes 2006). Thus one interpretation of the Indian middle class, as well as elites, fits into Kelly's typology of class as a performance through cultural consumption and embodiment. These social locations intersect to construct various identities and also simultaneously reproduce unequal power relations that provide variegated access to spatial mobility and educational opportunities.

Class and gender in an Indian context are doubly linked – the status and role of men and women in India are derived largely from their class, as well as their caste, and religion. One presentation of the Indian class 'identity' (especially the middle-class identity), is constructed through the cultural choices of the woman and through the politics of respectability of the private sphere, itself frequently understood as feminised space (Radhakrishnan 2009). The middle class since pre-independence has used gender to determine its cultural and

socio-economic identities (Fernandes 2006). The private sphere and the actions of middle-class girl children and women were used to construct a sense a respectability of the household and community.   Indian women were constructed through normative models of chastity and morality (Fernandes 2006:13). The gendered politics – the issue of constructing the sense of respectability – was further entrenched with the location of women in the private sphere by restricting the spatial mobility of women in the public sphere. For men, spatial mobility is an entitlement, and international spatial mobility a privilege that is afforded those from the middle class (Batnizsky *et al.* 2008; Derné 2008); for women, spatial mobility, except in the context of movement from their natal household to the marital household, is a transition that may be perceived as reducing the respectability of the family. The production of a respectable private sphere, as defined by the respectable 'housewife', was pertinent to the construction of the public identity of the middle class and continues to be so to varying degrees determined by caste, class and religious leanings.

Similar to spatial mobility, men face fewer barriers in accessing education than women. Women's access to education is dependent on the perceived use of education, especially for the middle class (Chanana 2001; Thapan 2009). Parents invest in their children to ensure that the social class of their daughter is maintained, especially after marriage. Education has also been considered as a means for women to gain an advantage in the marriage market (Chanana 2001; Das and Desai 2003; Fernandes 2006; Thapan 2009).

Class-based gender identities are challenged and reinforced in transnational context. Batnizsky *et al.* (2008, 2009) emphasise the importance of a class-based gender analysis and provide a 'spatialised' class analysis through their study on the changing lives of skilled and unskilled migrant labour in West London. The study shows that the formation of middle-class masculine identities within a transnational context is drawn from four categories: the middle-class status of men in the 'home' country; the gendered and class bias in international recruitment for the hospitality industry, class-based motivating factors and lastly the how the experience of the hospitality challenges and reinforces the class-based gender performances expected and experience by these men in India

(Batnizksy *et al.* 2008). Furthermore, the men's willingness/desire to be more flexible in their performances of masculinities (in particular the workplace) is linked to the perceived economic trade-offs (Batnizsky *et al.* 2009). The accumulation of wealth in the UK by working in 'lower-class' or less-masculine jobs is negotiated through the consumption of that wealth in both UK and the 'home' country. However, how are classed gender identities negotiated if there is no immediate monetary benefit – as in the case of the international students.

Class is an important part of the discussion in current ISM literature; however, for the most part, class analysis has been geographically restricted to a local or national scale (Kelly 2012). Just as gender norms differ across time-space, the meaning of class also varies across time-space. The British working-class identity is not the same as the Indian working-class identity – whether it is the position with reference to occupation and income, the process of class, the performance or the politics of working-class location. ISM scholars have not fully engaged with the 'spatiality of class' (Kelly 2012) in a transnational context. How do students reconcile the different meanings of class identity across multiple spaces? thesis will explore the 'spatiality of class' as it intersects with gender, where class is simultaneously a position, and a performance.

2.4.6 Globalisation

Globalisation, as most literature highlights, has yet to gain a single definition; perhaps it will never do. However, there are some commonalities across existing definitions. Time-space compression, introduced earlier, is part of Harvey's (1994) definition of globalisation which constructs materialist models of globalisation. Giddens (1991) too builds on this idea of the annihilation of space and time but constructs a more cultural model. Time-space compression (Harvey) and distanciation (Giddens) refer to the intensity and velocity of connections and reactions that occur across the world. In particular, they draw attention to the increasing strength and speed of those connections and reactions as a result of evolving communication and transportation technologies. These relationships stretch across spaces and scales. While some emphasise the economic processes and agents of globalisation (such as transnational corporations), others critique the solely economic focus and draw attention to political and cultural processes of globalisation (such as television

show franchises like Got Talent or Idol formats). These processes reveal uneven power geometries across and in between spaces and geographic scales. One of the most significant critiques of the processes of globalisation is the increasing economic inequality between the rich and the poor, the growing gap between the privileged and the under-privileged, and increasing social injustice (Barnet et al 2008). The international movement of students obscures the unequal relations of power of people and places – the power-geometry of the relations which on "one hand may benefit some people and places while at the same time disempowering others" (Findlay 2010:162). What remain hidden in most discussions are the global processes that shape student mobility and vice versa. The following provides a broader discussion of globalisation, and the effect of ISM on global elites and higher education.

Global elites

Findlay (2010) extends the notion of class and ISM and introduces the 'return' students as part of the faction of the transnational capitalist class (Sklair 2001). As transnational elites, international students become part of a wider context of globalisation. Upon the students' return to their home countries, they are able to draw upon their social capital to access job and other opportunities (Waters 2006). This, ideally, leads to reproduction and enhancement of the social class of the students and their families. It also leads to accumulation of further social and cultural capitals thereby embedding the students/professionals deeper into the categories of elites in their countries, communities and societies. On a macro level they reproduce the advantages of transnational elites.

Historically, most international students have been part of elite groups. The spatiality and scalar characteristics of the elite groups have varied. For instance, during the colonial era, young men from India of higher classes would gain access to education opportunities in the UK. The aim of 'allowing' Indians access to the British education system was to inculcate in them the British ideology of supporting the British empire in India (Fernandes 2006). In India these young men were likely to belong to the upper caste of the Hindu caste hierarchy. By facilitating a period abroad for studies for Indian youth of higher

classes, the British created a particular elite class in India – which may or may not have been considered elite amongst the British.

In the cold-war era, two axes of power – the US and its allies, and Russia and its allies – encouraged international student mobility to indoctrinate the youth of other sympathetic countries into their respective political and economic ideologies. The Western countries, in particular the US, used ISM as a means of distributing aid to developing countries (Rao 1979) through the use of the language of co-operation, and knowledge and skills transfer Altbach (2004). The students who studied in the developed countries – US, UK and Australia – preached the message of neoliberal ideology in their respective home countries. This was done through the return of scholars to their respective universities, the return of political elites, future business leaders and entrepreneurs – the various factions that constitute the transnational capitalist class (Sklair 2001). This was the 'new neo-colonialisim' (Altbach 2004) where the 'return' students promoted the global control of the US by supporting and implementing politics and policies that brought the 'home' developing country within the relevant 'sphere of influence'. The students, who, once again, were part of the elites of their respective countries, became part of a particular class which gained access to international systems by going abroad; their networks were spread across the world and they were joined by others in the neoliberal ideological camp. The communist countries mirrored this method of distributing aid to 'developing' countries, ensuring that communist ideologies were reproduced and favoured over the western neoliberal ideologies.

Historically this international student group came from the elites; however the stocks and flows of the 21st century are comprised of students from a greater diversity of class positions, identities and politics. Examining the family backgrounds of respondents in the research of Baas (2010) and Rutten and Verstappen (2013), it is clear that class in general and middle class in particular, is a broad category which has its own internal hierarchy. Not all students who study abroad will fully participate in the upper echelons of the transnational corporations. Some may take subordinate, mundane jobs such as the respondents in Baas' (2010) study who worked as sales managers for a local business. While they would still be embedded within the global processes of

finance, politics, technology and ideas, the jobs and daily life of the student turned 'resident' would be marginal to the lives of the jet-setting elites. Conrad and Latham (2005) point to the 'middling' of transnational migrants. Not all transnational migrants – in this case students and their respective families – are or will be part of the transnational elites; they may remain part of the heterogeneous middle-class with a wide array of positions, performances etc.The transnational is also hierarchical. And, as the number of students continues to increase, there is less likelihood that all of them will be part of the transnational elite.

Knowledge economy

International students' mobility has become a recruitment system for countries to gain competitive advantage in strengthening their knowledge economies. A knowledge economy has a strong service sector and is heavily dependent on "knowledge products and highly educated personnel for economic growth" (Altbach and Knight 2007: 290). In order for nation-states to develop a strong knowledge economy, they need to accumulate a large pool of highly educated and skilled individuals. Many countries, such as US, UK, Germany, Australia, and Canada, rely on international students to support their knowledge economy. For example, according to a recent report by the Rockefeller Institute, 70% of the patents applied for in the US were the result of work done by international graduates, especially in the STEM fields (Lane and Kinser 2013). And, as a consequence of these countries all trying to build their large pool of talent, there is now a 'global race for talent'. The knowledge economies of each country are in competition with each other in the 'global market place'. In order to compete, an increasing number of countries rely on students who pay for their own training and stay on in the 'host' country. International students, many of whom are self-funded or work part-time, are a secure revenue stream for higher education institutions which are now facing funding cuts due to the current economic crisis. Secondly, international students, as they are going through the education system, are acculturated into the 'host' society. And lastly, having paid for themselves, they serve the final purpose – joining the labour market pool. The Rockefeller Institute report warns the American HEIs about a future

slump in international student enrolment as other countries join the race, and 'home' countries increase their efforts to retain their talents. As discussed briefly in Chapter 1, Canada has been actively recruiting international students. The main rationale for this pursuit is to secure its position in the global sphere by accumulating a large, highly skilled talent pool which will place Canada in a strong competitive position against other knowledge economies. Even though this interest in strengthening its talent pool is reflected in government policy, it was only through the encouragement of the AUCC and other universities that the Canadian federal and provincial governments followed this strategy. HEIs have played an important role in shaping ISM, and vice versa.

Higher Education

As the flows of students have increased over the past decade, so have the HEIs become globalised and also commodified. The globalisation of HE has been manifested in several forms (Altbach and Knight 2007): offerings of new degree and diploma programmes that attract international students such as business degrees; the opening of university satellite campuses in other countries such as the University of Nottingham's China and Malaysia campuses; the use of English language for teaching even in countries where English is not the first language such as The Netherlands and Germany; increased provision for international staff and student exchanges, and the prerequisite of'international experience' in recruitment to the universities of some countries . The largest growth market for British universities has been in 'satellite campus' services. This 'fordification' or 'Ikea-isation' is encouraging the idea of the 'flat pack' campus (see Elledge 2012). The British government launched a new unit of its business department in early 2012 to support the distribution of these flat-packs which capitalise on the reputation of the 'world-class' British universities and simultaneously attempt to control the flow of student migrants into the UK.

In contrast to the UK, Canadian HEIs (specifically colleges) have worked closely with Citizenship and Immigration Canada to stream the flow of students into Canada and direct students into specific colleges. Some of the colleges are located in remote and peripheral towns where there are HEIs and infrastructures but not enough local or regional enrolment due to an increasingly

ageing population and a diminishing cohort of university-age population. The downscale shift in university-age cohort sizes is of concern to many countries. With the exception of a few countries, Skeldon (2013) asserts that developed countries will see a declining university-age cohort. A diminishing domestic population of university-going youth may not be able to continue to support the HE infrastructure. In order to maintain the tertiary education system as well the competitive advantage amongst the knowledge economies, such countries may have to depend more and more on international students.

It is important to highlight that this discussion has largely involved the developed countries. Globalisation of higher education is an extremely uneven process. The spread of the English language, the bias toward an Anglophone (UK or American) system of education and the dominance of knowledge production in 'western' countries positions 'non-western', non-English speaking countries and their HEIs at a disadvantage. The HEIs in such countries are forced to adapt to the standards which are set by powerful, western institutions.

2.5　Conclusion

This project is located at the nexus of gender and mobility, and aims to examine the geographies of power that construct international students as gendered mobile subject.

The theorisations of both gender and mobility that influence this research are influenced by ideas of fluidity and complexity and emerge out of a critique of fixity, bounded natural identities, and looking at place and space in stasis. And so meanings associated with gender, mobility, place and identity are viewed as dynamic and variable across space and time. The mobility of the international student is also shaped by other mobilities such as those of objects, ideas, virtual travel and communication technology. These interdependent mobilities represent specific meanings which, like gender, vary over space and time, as well as geographic and social scales. Thus, it is within the changing power hierarchies across scale, space and time that the international student subject is located.

Existing research on international students has not yet really engaged with the new mobilities paradigm. While some research has acknowledged and

incorporated some elements of mobilities, mostly the literature uses migration and mobility interchangeably. Even more surprising is the limited body of work that examines gender. Most of the existing literature that has been discussed in this chapter has been arranged around six main themes: motivations and aspirations, experiences, identities, the return/stay decision of students, the role of class-based gender identities, and the relationship between globalisation and ISM. My discussion of literature has highlighted the paucity of gendered analysis. I have also highlighted the multi-scalar analysis that exists in this body of work: from the level of body, home, neighbourhood and city to global and transnational institutions. The research reviewed also reflects interdisciplinarity in methods used for data collection. A final point regards the regional coverage: most studies do not focus on students moving from 'developing' to 'developed' countries. Rather, most existing research focuses on the movement of students from 'East' to 'West' alongside works that examine students moving between 'Western' countries, as well as movement within the EU.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter has five main sections. The first lays out the discussion for a feminist epistemology, in which this project is embedded. While there is no identifiably distinct or single feminist methodology, the feminist approach emphasises the importance of power relations and the role they play in producing knowledge.

The second section presents the research design and the rationale for the data collection strategy. This research was designed to be multi-sited and employed mixed-methods. As already discussed in Chapter 2, the data collection was conducted across two field sites: Toronto, Canada and New Delhi, India; and relied on mixed-methods for data collection: an online survey, in-depth interviews, participant observation, plus ethnographic methods such as recording personal reflections about the field sites in field notes and photographs. Sections 3.4 and 3.5 discuss the quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection, respectively, that were used in this research. The section on qualitative methods is organised by the two sites, and the various methods used in those sites. Section 3.6 presents the analytic approaches taken in relation to the transcripts and reflects on the selection of student voices which are used in the empirical chapters.

The chapter closes with a reflection on the challenges that arose during the fieldwork as a result of the disjuncture between the multiple positionalities within which I, the researcher, located myself, and those in which the respondents located me.

3.2 Feminist approach

My research is located first and foremost within feminist and gender research, and so the research design is influenced by feminist theories of knowledge. There is no single or uniform distinct feminist methodology; however, feminist approaches are distinguished by conceptualising and critiquing the power-relations that are taken-for-granted within the myriad approaches to knowledge production (Harding and Norberg 2005; Ramazanoğlu and Holland 2002).

Harding and Norberg argue that feminist approaches to knowledge production are concerned about

> how to understand the intersectionality of race, class, gender, and other structural features of societies; about inappropriate essentialising of women and men; about phenomena that are both socially constructed and fully 'real'; and about the apparent impossibility of accurate interpretation, translation, and representation among radically different cultures, especially in the glare of today's dangerous media politics (Harding and Norberg 2005: 2011).

Some feminist conceptualisations conceive power and power relations to be male-centred, while other theorisations, such as those resulting from engagement with post-modernist thought, question the underlying premise that makes the feminist approach to knowledge focus on the male power.

This research and its methods are thus influenced by post-modern feminist theorisation of knowledge and power. The post-modernist approach, with its central values of "heterogeneity, multiplicity and difference" (Flax 1990: 188) leads to thinking differently about, among other subjects, knowledge production, power, subjectivity and self, and difference. It allows for a deconstruction of masculine/feminine identities to enable exploration of the "power relations within the binaries, to open ways of thinking and modes of resistance through non-oppositional categories and to recognise the fragility and permeability of socially constituted boundaries" (Ramazanoğlu and Holland 2002: 89). In doing so, there is acknowledgement of situated knowledge – that there is no single truth or view, that knowledge is not separated from the locations where it is produced and the power relations within which it is produced (Haraway 1988; Ramazanoğlu and Holland 2002).

This means that throughout the research process of gathering data/information, analysing and interpreting it there will be continuing "scrutiny of the submerged power relations" (Callaway 1992 quoted in McDowell 1999: 236). In the context of this thesis, the power relations refer to those between the researcher and her 'subjects' or participants, the power relations in the discourse of the 'native' society of the subject, India, and the power relations in the discourses of the society of the researcher, Canada. However, as I shall discuss later, my own ethnic, social and residential positionality is not so clear-cut as indicated here.

This is to build a non-exploitative and collaborative relationship between the researcher and the participants. Intersubjectivity – interconnections and the relationships that may develop between an interviewer and the subject – is seen as a valid part of research and is to be encouraged. As a result, the research is conducted 'with' or 'for' the participants rather than 'about' them (McDowell 1999).

A further point needs to be made about intersectionality. The concept of intersectionality is used to theorise the relationships of power between different social locations: gender, race, sexuality, age, and so on. Recent (re)interpretations of intersectionality draw on post-modernist concepts of identity, and in particular from Butler's idea of gender performativity, discussed at some length in chapter 2. This reconfiguration of intersectionality, according to West and Fenstermaker (1995), envisions intersections of identities "in terms of doing, a more fluid coming together, of contingencies and discontinutities, classes and neutralizations, in which positions, identities and differences are made and unmade, claimed and rejected" (Valentine 2007: 14). The complexity of the intersectionality concept results in the exposition of the experiences of non-privileged/oppressed groups, and "privileged or powerful identities are 'done' and 'undone'" (Valentine 2007: 14).

Additionally, employing reflexivity in research allows the researcher to engage with their own positioning in relation to the world they are researching (Gray 2008). Harding (1987) suggests that the reflexive approach

> ...insists that the inquirer her/himself be placed in the same critical plane as the overt subject matter, thereby recovering the entire research process for scrutiny in the results of research. That is, the class, race, culture, and gender assumptions, beliefs, and behaviours of the researcher her/himself must be placed within the frame of the picture that she/he attempts to paint (1987: 9).

This approach has the advantage of making the researcher visible as a "real, historical individual with concrete, specific desires and interests" (Harding 1987: 9).   It allows me, the researcher, to be aware of the unequal and hierarchical power relationships between the subject and myself and how these power relationships influence the production of knowledge and the process through which it is constructed. Callaway comments that "understanding our own

gendered identities and the coded complexities of our being offer the best resources for gaining insights into the lives of others" (Callaway 1992 quoted in McDowell 1999: 286). Examining the performance of my own gendered identity as it may play out within a Canadian and an Indian context, may lead to insights about how my performance of an identity impacts the performance of identities of the participants (Rose 1997).

In addition to understanding my gendered identity, I needed to be aware of my position and the resulting perspective of research. The different positions that I am assigned by the research participants will lead them to generate specific discourses (Rose 1997); the different positions provide me with different insider and outsider perspectives **(**Ganga and Scott 2006**)**. These in turn can exert a positive or a negative impact on the direction of research and my relationships with the students, as fieldwork is a 'dialogical process' (England 1994) which is shaped by the researcher and the participant. The challenges that emerged as a result of my position will be discussed in the final section of this chapter.

A final point that needs to be made in this discussion of the production of knowledge is that this research will not solely be with or for 'women'. Theorisations by scholars such as Butler (1999) question the viability of 'women' as *the* subject of feminist scholarship. The use of 'women' as the subject of feminist theory, Butler argues, is based on the assumption

> ...that there is some existing identity, understood through the category of woman, who not only initiates feminist interests and goals within discourse, but constitutes the subject for whom political representation is pursued (Butler 1999: 5).

This is problematic as the "very subject of women is no longer understood in stable or abiding terms" (Butler 1999: 5). Following from this criticism of the 'woman subject', this research requires a critical engagement with the idea of gender itself. A pre-conceived notion of gender identity would not benefit this project. Part of the project is to examine how the performance of identity transforms, if it transforms. Therefore it is imperative that the research continually engages with the various discourses of masculinity and femininity within both societies. These notions will be situated within particular

knowledges and places. Consequently, my research will include both men and women as participants.

3.3   Research design: multi-sited and mixed methods

The research design was developed keeping in mind that at the core of this research is a critical engagement with gender and the exploration of power relations in and across geographical scales which influence student mobility. In doing so, my thesis aims to highlight the heterogeneity and multiplicity of motivations and experiences of international students. It will do so in a manner which foregrounds the voice and experience of the student migrant as a complex subject who is embedded within their native and host society and carries with them the values of the home society to the country of destination (Thapan 2005); and, I might add, carries certain new or changed values when the return to the home country occurs.

Thus, the research design employs a multi-sited and mixed-method strategy for data collection. This is done to ensure that data reflects as far as possible the complexities of the subject and the power-relations within which the subject is embedded within and across multiple scales.

3.3.1   Rationale for a multi-sited strategy

The research was conducted at two sites: India and Canada, and more specifically New Delhi and Toronto. A *multi-sited research* strategy (Fitzgerald 2004; Hannerz 2003; Marcus 1995) was believed to be appropriate in order to capture the gender relations and ideologies of both the country of origin and destination, as it examines "the circulation of cultural meanings, objects, and identities in diffuse time-space" (Marcus 1995: 96). I have already discussed the fluidity of the discourses of gender norms and pointed out that these discourses are dependent on time and place. Therefore it is important to understand both the gender relations and ideologies in India and particularly those which have shaped the motivations of the families and the students. And in order to understand how the migrants' experiences have unfolded, it is also imperative to know the gender context of the country of destination, Canada, as it is within this context that the student-migrant has to study and live. Therefore by comparing the 'performances' of the student-migrants across India and

Canada, and at different times of their migration process, the relationship between gender and international student migration will be highlighted (Marcus 1995).

3.3.2 Rationale for the mixed-method approach

The research used both quantitative and qualitative methods (Atkinson *et al.* 2001; Davies 2008). Feminist epistemologies strongly encourage the use of qualitative methods such as ethnographic research, participant observation and in-depth interviews. Quantitative methods are often overlooked due to their perceived association with positivism and the type of knowledge that is simply 'produced' (Ramazanoğlu and Holland 2002). It has been suggested that qualitative methods have been preferred and encouraged as they allow for a less exploitative and more egalitarian relationship between the researcher and the participants than is possible in quantitative methods (Ramazanoğlu and Holland 2002). However, this bias toward qualitative methods, I would argue, does not always serve the desired purpose as an emphasis on qualitative data collection leads to a gap of a understanding of the larger population, which could be gained by using quantitative methods. Ryan and Golden (2006) encourage the use of quantitative methods and suggest that the use of a reflexive approach when using quantitative research methods would "add a depth of understanding about how, where, when and by whom data were collected" (Ryan and Golden 2006: 1198). They argue that reflexivity when using quantitative methods "adds a necessary insight into the complex dynamics that do exist between researchers and participants in quantitative research" (Ryan and Golden 2006: 1194).

And so, an ***online survey*** was chosen as a useful quantitative tool. A survey is an ideal method of data collection when there is little flexibility in the ways the questions can be asked and answered. All the respondents receive the same set of questions asked in the same sequence and the responses are pre-coded. The advantage of this method is large-scale data collection in a format that can then be used to conduct quantitative analysis to provide a picture of the larger population (Davies 2008). My survey was administered using two different interfaces: web and face-to-face. Using alternate modes helped to overcome the difficulties of obtaining response rates as well as providing an opportunity to

confirm the responses. This is an issue when a single method is used. On the other hand, using more than one method may also highlight the problem that answers to any particular question might differ depending on the survey mode. Using the web interface also increases the flexibility with regard both to sample size and to geographical distribution of respondents (Dillman 2007; Heerwegh 2009). Meanwhile, administering the survey face-to-face allows for the researcher to be reflexive about the data gathered (Ryan and Golden 2006). The majority of the questionnaires were completed online. Only a handful of surveys were administered face-to-face – these respondents were also participating in the in-depth interviews and indicated a preference to complete the survey in person rather than online.

In-depth, semi-structured interviews started before the online survey and were conducted throughout the fieldwork in both sites once relationships were built and key informants identified (Davies 2008; Heyl 2001). Semi-structured interviews are conducted with specific questions that direct the participant and the discussion, but they have the flexibility to introduce topics that are not part of the script (Schensul *et al.* 1999). Consequently, the data collected is focused, but also may contain discussions not originally part of the planned agenda (Davies 2008; Heyl 2001). This method facilitates the agency of the respondents, by encouraging the subject to shape the agenda of the research as much as the researcher, within the predefined framework of the overall research project. This participation of the research subject is important if research is to be conducted 'with' or 'for' the participants rather than 'about' them.

Participant observation can be defined as "establishing a place in some natural setting on a relatively long-term basis in order to investigate, experience and represent the social life and social processes that occur in that setting" (Emerson *et al.* 2001: 352). This method facilitated my examination of the experiences of the participants through exposure to and participation in their daily lives and social activities. This helped me to understand the organisation of their lives, how they relate to others and the ways in which they define their social and physical identities (Angrosino 2008; Davies 2008; Emerson *et al.* 2001). Through this method I observed and explored the performances of

gender identity of the participants in the various spaces where they live their lives. An analysis of the observations recorded in my written fieldnotes, and the photographs that I took, in conjunction with the photographs my respondents posted on Facebook, can highlight if and how the participants transform their performances of identity (clothes, bodily gestures, use of language etc.) and how these performances are linked to the gender discourses in India or Canada, specifically within their social groups in the two countries. The use of photographs, especially those on Facebook, was always done with the permission of the respondents.

The written **field notes** are a "form of representation" and provide "descriptive accounts of people, scenes and dialogue, as well as personal experiences and reactions, that is, accounts that minimize explicit theorizing and interpretation" (Emerson *et al.* 2001: 353). Consequently the notes reflect my interpretation and sense-making of the lives of the participants and the particular purposes and commitments of this study.

3.4   Research method: quantitative part

An online survey, entitled Indian International Student Survey (IISS), was mounted to facilitate: a) the collection of data on the socio-economic background and educational profiles of the students and their families, and b) the mapping of mobility patterns from various points of origin in India to Canada and other countries. It was made available online in November 2010, two months after the in-depth interviews started. The survey was administered for 13 months, ending in November 2011.

The survey was hosted on the application platform SurveyGizmo, a web-based application that facilitates the design, hosting, monitoring and reporting of survey results. The respondent's confidentiality was ensured. Participants were not required to give their name and address; this ensured that the survey was conducted anonymously and that data were stored anonymously. The only identifier that SurveyGizmo recorded was the city and country of respondent.

Between November 2010 and November 2011, 157 respondents undertook and completed the surveys. Only 5 questionnaires were administered face-to-face

and were later entered into the database; 152 valid responses were completed online.

Respondents had to fulfil three requirements in order to participate. First, the respondents had to fit into one of the following three broad categories:

1. Be currently studying abroad

2. Have studied abroad in the past, and now be living in India

3. Have studied abroad in the past, and now living outside of India.

The second requirement was their 'Indian' status. A very broad definition of Indian was used – the respondents were asked if they self-identified as Indian, and either held an Indian passport, or had spent a significant time in India before moving abroad for education. This broad definition emerged out of the interviews that I had conducted and the other students I had come across. As I progressed in my fieldwork in Toronto, over many informal chats with students, staff at international student offices and faculty, I started to develop a clearer picture about this group of students.   Some of the students possessed an Indian passport, but had never lived and studied in India. Their parents were expats, living outside of India for work, for instance in the Gulf region. The students themselves only visited India for holidays. A second group had lived and studied in India – till at least the age of 20 – but did not hold Indian nationality. This was because their parents were outside of India either for education or work, when the students were born. As a result some of the students held a passport and had nationality of countries other than India, but they lived in India prior to leaving to pursue higher education abroad. These revelations led me to use a broad definition of 'Indian'.

A third criterion was the type of program – undergraduate, postgraduate, diploma, doctoral – they pursued abroad. The survey's focus was on higher education; therefore anyone who indicated that they were undertaking secondary education was disqualified. In this group, there was also the category of an 'exchange student'. This student does not neatly fit into type of program. The exchange students are part of the credit mobility (King *et al.* 2010*)* group.

Some of the respondents undertook an exchange that lasted for 4 months, and others were in Canada for up to a year.

The respondents, especially those who completed the web survey, were recruited through several networks but the primary method of recruitment/advertising was through email and Facebook. The table below highlights the several successful methods.

Table 3-1: Recruitment methods

Recruitment methods	Responses
University of Sussex international student office	54
SAWNET Mailing list	5
H-Grad mailing list	3
CERIS Mailing list	2
Indian Student Associations (York University, Toronto, University of Toronto, Toronto, Asian Indian Students Abroad, web based, University of Washington)	9
Facebook	22
Snowballing plus – through email and Facebook – respondents' efforts	44
Respondents – in person	5
Website	5
Personal networks	8
Total	157

The survey sample displays spatial and temporal limitations. The survey was not limited to any geographic region or destination country. There was no temporal limitation set.

Upon closing the survey the spatial bias emerged in the regions from which respondents replied; the respondents were living in these countries at the time of the survey. One of the requirements of the qualification clearly led to a strong bias from India – as they identified as being settled in India. That group accounted for approximately 30 per cent of the respondents (see Table 3-2). The other concentrations were in the countries from where respondents replied, meaning that they had studied there in the past and were still living there, or currently studied there. The two main countries were Canada – where I was conducting fieldwork when I started the survey, and the UK – reflecting my second network of friends/universities.

Table 3-2: The top 5 countries of respondents

Country	Female n (%)	Male n (%)	Total n (%)
India	17 (24.3)	29 (33.3)	46 (29.3)
Canada	18 (25.7)	13 (14.9)	31 (19.8)
UK	11 (15.7)	18 (20.7)	29 (18.5)
US	12 (19.2)	5 (7.2)	17 (10.8)
Germany	4 (5.7)	4 (3.5)	7 (4.5)
Total	70 (100)	87 (100)	157 (100)

Source: Author's survey

It is surprising that Australia does not appear on this table. A very low number or respondents were located in Australia and this is surprising since a large percentage of students from India go to Australia for higher education. This re-emphasises that the responses here are neither representative nor generalisable. However, this does not defeat the purpose of the survey – which is to start to build a picture of this group – as currently nothing is known. As the discussion in chapters 5-7 will show, this data gives us interesting insights, especially when combined with the results from in-depth interviews.

There was no time limit set on when the respondents should have studied abroad. By the end of the survey, only 5 respondents studied abroad prior to 2000; 152 respondents undertook study-abroad periods from the year 2000 and after. This also reflects the use of technology such as email and Facebook by the respondents. So while there was no time limit set, the use of email and Facebook almost certainly shaped the sample composition.

The survey data was analysed using two tools: STATA and the SurveyGizmo reporting tool. The reporting tool was ideal to generate quick descriptive statistics based on the questions, as well as filter the responses by gender or age, or similar characteristics. STATA was used to conduct deeper analysis that allowed exploration of relationships between variables, such as those between parents' education and gender of migrant, or migration history of family etc. When the survey was created, the questions and responses were coded. Therefore this saved me the effort of coding everything from the start. However, during analysis, several new variables were created by merging others, and these variables were recoded.

The data collected from the survey helps build a picture of the larger population of international students from India. The data and the associated discussion are presented in chapter 4. It is important to reiterate that this sample, due to my lack of control over response rates and its limited size, will not be statistically representative of the all the students from various parts of India and in various countries of the world

3.5 Research method: qualitative part

The fieldwork took place across two sites and used mixed methods of data collection. The two sites – Toronto, Canada and New Delhi, India – will be discussed in chapter 4 in more detail. The discussion that follows is on the research methods that were used in these cities and the challenges that I faced as a field researcher.

The fieldwork in Toronto lasted for 10 months, during which time I conducted in-depth interviews and had several opportunities for participant observation. Due to the length of time in Toronto, in some cases I interviewed respondents on two or three separate occasions, in addition to spending time with them socially on other occasions.

By contrast, the fieldwork in Delhi was shorter, four months. Even so, I conducted over 40 interviews with two different sample sets. Due to the limited time in Delhi, and the intense interview schedule, I had little very little time and opportunity for participant observation.

The discussion below first discusses the fieldwork in Toronto and then in Delhi.

3.5.1 Toronto

The fieldwork in Toronto was conducted from August 2010 to May 2011; 22 students participated in in-depth interviews and several more students became part of the participant observation process due to my access to university spaces. I started my fieldwork by mapping the field site and developing contacts with informants at the universities. The two main methods of data collection employed – in-depth interviews and participant observation – are discussed below.

Respondents

Of the 22 students, 10 men and 12 women were interviewed. Their pseudonyms and brief biographical details are listed in Table A-1 in the thesis appendix. All were current students except one who had completed her studies a month before I interviewed her. The selection criteria of respondents – that the student was enrolled at the university/college during 2010/2011 and the broad definition of Indian – were explained in the previous section.

The respondents were recruited mainly through a snowballing technique*.* The first few respondents were referred through a contact, pseudonym Veena, at the one of the three universities in Toronto. Several years before, she came to Canada as an international student and was now working and settled in Canada. Half of my interview respondents developed out of that network. There were a few respondents whom I met through contacts I developed at conferences, but as it turned out, even those contacts were linked to that network. All these respondents were Master's or doctoral students at the University of Toronto or York University. I was unable to develop contacts at Ryerson University.

Another network of recruitment was the Indian Students Associations at York University, the University of Toronto and other contacts within the administration. I joined their respective Facebook groups so I could be up-to-date on their social events. I attended a few of the events at both universities, and eventually over the months developed a friendly relationship with some of the members of the associations, especially the student association at York University. These contacts were very useful as I was put in touch with undergraduate students. A third network – of friends and family – put me in contact with students pursuing post-graduate diplomas at the Colleges.

The recruitment experience in Toronto was intense and required a lot of waiting. I would ask respondents and others for contact information of potential participants. Before I received the contact information, the potential participants had received some information about the project from the respondents. Once I received the contact information, the communication occurred directly between me and the potential participant. The participants received information from

three sources: a) a previous respondent (or a mutual friend/contact), b) myself or c) the project website. The only time a potential participant was expected to seek out information themselves was through the website. All other times a previous respondent or I initiated communication with the potential participant. From the responses I received, each component was of equal importance in providing information and ensuring the respondent that this was a valid research project and that I did not mean them any ill-intent by gathering information on their experience. Table 3-3 sets out the level of study of the 22 interviewees.

Table 3-3: Levels of Education

Type of program	Male	Female
Undergraduate	1	3
Masters	1	0
Doctoral	4	4
Post-doctoral	0	1
Post-graduate diploma	2	4
Exchange	2	0
Total	10	12

Source: Author's survey

The majority of the respondents followed programs in Social Sciences, such as Politics, or Geography. Other fields of study were Business Administration, Economics, Psychology, Criminology, Biology, Physics, Advertising, Human Resources and Electronics. I recognise that the sample lacks the STEM fields. This was predominantly due to the bias of the networks which I accessed.

 In-depth interviews

I interviewed 18 out of the 22 respondents in public spaces such as the cafés, restaurants or other common spaces near where the students studied or worked. Four interviews took place in a home, out of which three interviews were conducted together, as a group interview, as they were friends. The interviews always took place in the evenings, and mostly on weekdays. In nearly all cases, the interview times and days reflected the university term cycle. I was in Toronto over two university terms: September 2010-December 2010 and January 2011-April 2011. There were hardly any interviews in the first and third months of the term (September and November 2010; and January and

March 2011). Respondents met with me during the second month of the term (October 2010 and February 2011) and the month after the submission of their assessment papers (December 2010, April 2011). For doctoral students, these were the times that they had to mark the essays, or prepare for the students' exams or their own presentations – and so they too were busy.

The interviews themselves took the form of relatively informal and loosely structured conversations rather than formal interviews. Often, I would start the interview by asking the respondents if they had any questions for me. In situations where respondents did ask me a question, I would start the discussion by introducing myself, my experience as an international student and then direct the conversation toward their experiences. This would happen seamlessly, as we would then discuss our experiences. In these cases, there would be few direct questions from me regarding their experience; I would only occasionally have to prompt the respondent to continue talking, or if the discussion was veering too far off the topic, I would bring the discussion back to topic. This allowed the respondent a certain amount of freedom to shape the discussion based on what was relevant in their experience.

In other cases, where the interview would start the 'traditional' way with me asking the starting questions, it would take the respondent a little while to open up and talk about their experience. These interviews required greater participation on my part as I had to continually ask questions to continue the discussion. However, in most cases, after the first 15 minutes, the respondent would 'warm up' (physically as well over a cup of coffee), and then picked up the conversation and spoke of their experiences, shaping their own narrative for the remainder of the session.

Of course, it would be naive of me to say that I did not play some role in shaping the interaction and its contents. My presence there as someone researching the topic creates the boundaries of the narrative; however, the respondents shaped the direction of the discussion, and highlighted the experiences relevant to them over others within those boundaries.

Place of interviews

I wanted to ensure the power relations that existed during the interviews were such that my respondents did not place me in a position of greater power advantage than themselves. One of the ways I tried to maintain balanced relations was by asking them to select a place for interviews. This was to ensure that we met at a place in which they were comfortable. Secondly, I did not want a situation where I picked a place to meet such as an up-market café and the respondents would find it expensive. Most of the time, respondents choose to meet in cafes in and around the university site. A second location of interview was the respondent's homes. I conducted only a handful of interviews in this location type, on all occasions suggested by the respondents.

My office at York University was a third place where I conducted a few interviews. In Toronto, during my fieldwork, I was based at York University as a visiting fellow in CERIS (Centre for Excellence for Research on Immigration and Settlement). Some of my respondents were affiliated with other research centres which had offices on the same floor as CERIS; these research centres shared some common areas with CERIS. One of my respondents was familiar with the space. In the first instance, I did not want to meet with my respondents in this setting, but in some cases, especially with students at York University, I offered my office as a potential meeting space. The one who was familiar with the space chose to meet in the research space near the centres. I conducted at least four interviews in my office, or in the nearby common area. This particular space, which would be empty on most occasions, especially in the evenings, provided them with a sense of privacy, and I found that the interviews which took place at my office had a different quality. The respondents in these interviews were more open about the challenges they had faced since they arrived in Toronto, such as feeling like they needed to suppress their religious or sexual identity. I was surprised at the openness of the respondents when we met at my office. Upon reflection this could be because a greater degree of privacy was afforded in my office space than what was available in the cafés.

Time of interviews

As an issue of principle, I would ask the respondents to select a time, place, and day that was convenient for them. Evening times were usually chosen, and represented the daily schedule of the students. I rarely had interviews with students on the weekends. There were only two exceptions to this. Weekends were when I attended parties/dinners with some of my respondents, or attended other social events of the Indian community that some of my respondents had said they might attend.

The length of the interviews varied. Interview times ranged from 40 minutes to over two hours long, but most were around one hour in length. The interviews were digitally recorded on my mobile phone. Using the mobile phone was ideal as it removed from the scene the formal nature of the interview. I always asked the permission of the respondents before I recorded the interviews. Using the mobile phone also became a point of discussion over which my respondents would start talking. This conversation set an informal tone to the discussion and allowed us to talk about our experiences as international students. A third advantage of the mobile phone was that I was able to take photographs, medium quality, but good enough to document some of the places where I conducted interviews and attended social events with respondents.

Participant observation

The length of fieldwork in Toronto (10 months) gave me several opportunities to interact with my participants and other international students in various contexts and in different places.

Due to my 'legitimate' access to York University, I was able to participate in university life along with the students. So I was able to participate in events of the Indian Student Association at the university. I attended several events: Diwali celebrations, India 20/20 and various movie nights and pub nights. In addition to the events organised by the Indian students' associations at both York University and the University of Toronto, I also attended various seminars and conferences open to post-graduate students. In these conferences I made contacts with other students – some of whom helped me recruit participants,

and others who participated. The respondents and contacts I made at the conferences gave me access to parties and other social events that were outside of the university space. Often these were house parties and, in few instances, I met with groups at pubs. Then there were events such as *Nuit Blanche* in Toronto*,* art installations displayed throughout the city overnight, which gave me the opportunity to walk, talk and hang out with various respondents. Often, the day following each event, I would record my observations in a field diary – sometimes typing it on the computer, other times in a notebook I kept for this purpose. On other occasions, depending on the situation and context, I would use my mobile phone to take photographs; make short notes and email a copy of the notes to myself.   At the end of most months, I also would compose monthly reports. These reports often contained summaries and reflections of participant observations. These reports were discussed with my supervisors via email throughout the fieldwork.

3.5.2 Delhi

The fieldwork in Delhi lasted four months: June to September 2011. I conducted 43 interviews with two samples: people who returned from studying abroad, and families who had their son/daughter studying abroad. The listings of these two sets of interviews are in the two appendix tables, A-2 and A-3. The short time, in conjunction with the large number of interviews, left me little time for participant observation. However, since I was constantly out and about in the city, traversing it using public transportation such as the Metro, and other modes such as rickshaws and auto-rickshaws along with spending time with the family I was living with, I had other opportunities to observe the general 'middle class' lifestyles and consumption practices of my research participants.

Respondents

I conducted 22 interviews with family members (11 with families who had daughters abroad, and 11 with families with sons abroad), and 21 interviews with return students, 11 women, and 10 men. In most cases these were separate interviews, but in a few instances I interviewed returned students together with their families.

The first few respondents were recruited through personal networks, and then through the conventional snowballing technique.   The respondents, especially family members, had lived in Delhi for their entire lives and therefore were located all across the city. Similarly with return students – since they were returning to their family's house, they were spread all across Delhi. As a result I was traversing the entire length and breadth of Delhi. My first interview, with a return student, was in Noida city centre. This is the last stop on the metro line at the east end of Delhi. I say more about the geography of Delhi in the next chapter.

One of the contacts of the family with whom I was staying, Mrs. Brar*,* was very helpful in helping recruit families for interviews. Through her contacts, she helped me complete 7 of the 20 interviews with families. On a few occasions Mrs. Brar accompanied me to the interviews. In these cases, the interview started off a little slow as Mrs. Brar spent some time introducing me and then the respondents asked me a few things about myself and my family before they felt comfortable answering my questions. In these interviews, the format was more informal and at times the discussion veered off topic

The experience of recruiting and interviewing the families was very different from meeting with returnee students. With families, as long as I received their contact information from a 'trusted' source, they were happy to speak to me about their experiences. On most occasions, my 'cold calls' to them resulted in an interview within two days of calling. They only had rudimentary preliminary understanding of the project – only that which I could explain in the brief phone conversation, and then they would also contact their friends who had been interviewed. Each interview was in the format of an extended conversation over tea. The length of interviews with ranged from 45 minutes to 2.5 hours; the average length approximately 75 minutes.

It was different with the students because they wanted more details about the project before they would consider my request for interviews. In all these cases, I had to be 'vouched' for, or introduced by their friends who knew me personally, just as the case of families. However, with students this interaction would take days and in a few cases, it took over a month. The interactions and interviews

with the return students were similar to those with students in Toronto. The average interview length for the student respondents was 45 minutes.

The most significant difference between Toronto and Delhi was the turnaround time – how soon I could organise to meet with the respondents. While in Toronto, I would set the date and time days and weeks in advance, in Delhi, the day was usually set one or two days before, and time was set on the day. Often, I would get calls, or follow-up with calls where the interview would be the next day or even the same day. The immediacy, or rather the 'un-planning' of the interviews, made the fieldwork experience in Delhi more hectic, simply because I did not know what I would be doing during any particular day. There were days when one interview would get cancelled at 9 in the morning, but then another would take place, unplanned, at 11; so I would have to rush out of the house as I had to get places on time. Another difference was that in Toronto, I had time to give to my respondents to reply, and time initially to meet a few of them individually to explain the project to them. Then I asked them to meet with me again for an interview – if they were still interested in participating.   I did not have the luxury of time in Delhi. While in Delhi, I also did not get a chance to attend any events that my respondents attended. However, four months in Delhi, constantly travelling on the metro, and traversing the length and breadth of the city, gave me a great 'feel' for the city and the opportunity to observe life in Delhi. Some of these observations will be discussed in chapter 4.

In-depth interviews

The places and times varied for the interviews depending on the sample – families or return students. All but one interview with the families was conducted in their respective homes. By contrast, only 7 out of the 21 interviews with return students took place at homes; most took place at cafés/bars close to their place of work.

The interviews too were of different quality based on the sample. The interviews with the families were long conversations over tea; I would meet them during day or evening tea times. Only a few respondents required much prompting from me; in most cases I had to only ask a question or two, with brief prompts during the interview. In one interview, I only asked one initial question, and

subsequently made 'agreeing' sounds of 'hmmm', 'okay', 'I see'; besides that, I did not need to ask another question or further prompt responses for the rest of the interview which lasted one and a half hours.

The interviews with the students were all similar in nature to each other, except for three interviews – which stand out. These three interviews were the shortest interviews and I had to continually ask questions. It was in these cases I realised that in my earlier interviews I had relied heavily on the content of the interview to guide my follow-up questions. In these three interviews, the responses were so brief and succinct that there was little I could ask as follow-up. The rest of the 18 interviews followed the trend of interviews with families.

There were several interviews at the end of which the respondents, mostly return students, told me that they really enjoyed the discussion. They found that talking to another person, whom they did not know, was a very therapeutic experience for them; for others, they found the discussion very nostalgic and brought to their mind fond memories of their time abroad, as well as the bad experiences which they had half-forgotten.

Time and place of interviews

In the set of family interviews, most were with the mothers; only two interviews took place where only the father was present; and in the remaining cases, both parents were present. The interviews with mothers or fathers only, took place during the day. The interviews where both parents were present all took place on weekends, or other holidays when they were at home. All the interviews with families, with the exception of one, took place at their respective homes. Some of the interviews with families took place when their son or daughter was present. This meant that my interview with the return student took place together with the parents' interview. I recognise that the son or daughter's freedom to 'speak their mind' might be compromised by the presence of their parents.

The interviews with return students took place at various times and places. Fifteen out of the 21 return students interviewed were working full-time. Therefore these interviews took place after work at a café close to their work

place, or on the weekend at a café. Only six interviews took place at the homes of these return students. In some cases (4), their families were present at home on those occasions.

Participant observation

The fieldwork in Delhi was for four months, which left me very little time to engage with my respondents outside of the context of interviews. However, in two cases, a family, and a returnee respondent, I had several opportunities for interaction. The family lived in the neighbourhood where I was staying, so I had regular contact with them. On many occasions during the four months, I would drop by their house for evening tea. In fact, in this case, the 'official' recorded interview took place as my fieldwork came to close. During the preceding months, we (usually myself and the mother of the family) had several chats over tea about a range of topics often revolving around women's rights, and the role of families in dis-empowering women. We would meet at least once a week for our tea sessions. Because the nature of these talks was informal, I only recorded some of them in my field notes. I used our chats on some occasions to get her insights into some of things that I saw in Delhi.

3.6   Analysis of data

This section offers an overview of the approaches taken to analyse the transcribed interviews and reflects on the selection of student voices represented in my thesis.

3.6.1   Transcriptions

In all, as mentioned earlier, 60 interviews were conducted across two field-sites. The transcription of the 20 interviews in Toronto was an ongoing process during the 10 month data collection period. The 40 interviews in Delhi were transcribed after the completion of fieldwork. The hectic interview schedule in Delhi prevented much ongoing transcription since I transcribed all interviews myself. The transcription of 60 interviews of an average length of one hour amounted to over 1000 printed pages (Arial font, size 11, and single spaced).

3.6.2   Approach to analysis

According to Geertz (1973), data are "our own constructions of other people's constructions". To analyse these layered constructions we need to sort through "the structures of signification … and determine their social ground and import" (Geertz 1973: 9). As researchers, we need to peel back the layers of our construction of the respondent's construction of the event or issue at hand.

The analysis of the interviews was an on-going process throughout the data collection and was done via multiple readings of the transcriptions in conjunction with repeatedly listening to the interviews (Dunne *et al.* 2005; Johnson *et al.* 2004; Riessman 2012). The first reading of interviews, especially the narratives of subjects, provides an initial interpretation of the meanings of actors (Johnson *et al.* 2004; Riessman 2012). This is a reading of the *narratives* of the respondents, rather than their practices. It is about understanding what the respondents say and trying to coax out the lived experiences of the respondents through the recorded speech and the textualisation of those narratives. In addition to 'reading' the interviews, I also drew upon my fieldnotes and thematic reports that I compiled during fieldwork. The thematic reports formed part of the first reading of the interviews. These reports were essential in identifying key themes in relation to the research questions. Even when full transcription of interviews, such as in Delhi, was not possible, the writing of the thematic reports assisted in documenting the interviews, my thoughts and impressions of the interviews, and the emerging themes. These reports, which were also sent to my supervisors as 'reports from the field', contained transcriptions of excerpts of the interviews and my preliminary analysis of the interviews.

The second reading aids in identifying the cultural structures and processes within which the respondents are located. It shifts focus from the body and the individual, to the wider cultural or social processes that shape the language, style and gestures of the respondents, and seeks answer to the question as to "what discourses or narratives actors use to position themselves in making their claim…" (Johnson *et al.* 2004: 229). The process reveals the immediate and other social contexts that influence the respondents' lived experiences and narratives. It is this type of reading that helps to close the gaps between the

narratives of the respondents and their practices. So for instance, one respondent, Prita, speaks of how conservative her family is with regard to the woman's role. Her parents want Prita to be highly educated and also get married, as this is her gender role within their Brahmin community. Within this context, the parents' practice of 'allowing' their daughter to be outside of their community, living and studying in Canada, appears contradictory. However, if we 'zoom out' and look at it in relation to the narratives of other student respondents and parents, the text reveals dominant ways of speaking. The analysis of narratives reveals a reproduction of certain types of language and ideas which are drawn upon by the respondents; this is not because those are necessarily the ideas that they adhere to; but because those are the registers they have access to. The lack of adherence to the 'traditional' patrifocality is clear in the divergent practices.

A third reading, then, was conducted to understand the need for those dominant forms of references. This allows for analysis at a more macro scale – macro to the body and the family. The next level of analysis includes the wider contexts of class, labour market and provisions by the State.

3.6.3 Choosing respondents

In representing ethnographic and interview material, a considerable challenge is the potential reification of certain constructs over others. In this case, in a study of Indian students, their gender roles and the different gender contexts within India and Canada, the challenge for me was to ensure that I did not simply reproduce the construct of the 'victim' subject – especially for women; or present uncritically the 'traditional' Indian family. The interviews, meeting the diverse sample, and working with the transcripts immediately highlighted the complexity and multiplicity of experiences and voices. The interviews and the respondents I chose to portray in this thesis represent those complexities and pluralities that I uncovered during fieldwork. While one respondent may present a narrative that is 'expected' – in that parents were not supportive of their daughter to study – this is juxtaposed with a narrative of parents who were supportive of their daughter to study abroad. The presentation of women's experience is cast against the men's experience – a male, whose parents did not support his desire to study abroad and the 'expected' case of a man whose

family supported him completely and encouraged him to go. This case of men whose mobility was also constrained provides a counter-hegemonic case to the idea that men do not face constraints. In fact it questions the old assumption which underlays most early migration research of a young, single man who moved abroad. Furthermore it questions the assumption that Indian men have the complete support of their parents. The disparate and, at times, juxtaposed social locations of the respondents, both by gender and class, revealed the 'normalcy' of the everyday life while minimising the risk of reifying certain constructions of experiences (Geertz 1973).

Throughout the analysis, I was very aware of my position as an 'interpreter' of my respondents' experiences and that I would only be able to present *my* interpretations of what my informants said and meant. My task at hand was to be continually reflexive of my interpretations, questioning how and why I was constructing and interpreting the data the way I was.. Most importantly, as I examined the students' and parents' narratives, I continually asked myself which context I was using to make their experiences intelligible (Geertz 1973) – theirs or mine. What was helpful in this process was putting the parents' narratives in dialogue with the students' – both those who were abroad and those who had returned. This allowed me to examine how one (student) constructed and represented the other (parent) and vice-versa. This dialogue revealed to me, firstly, the context – the background against which the experiences and discussions of the respondents took place; and secondly, the different repertoire of language the respondents used to construct their parents and others.   Occasionally, throughout the text, I also draw on my own experiences of the spaces in which my respondents lived or spoke of in the interviews. This added a third dimension to the analysis. My narratives made me, the researcher, visible. By including my stories, and how I read and analysed my experiences, I open myself to the same critical examination as my respondents. It brings into question more clearly my own class, race and gender assumptions, and constructions of the culture and contexts I researched (Harding 1997).

3.7 Challenges

Before going on fieldwork I was conscious of the thorny issue of positionality, both how it impacts the researcher-subject relation and its further impact on the data collection. I was aware that I may be seen as possessing an Indian identity, since I was born in India. However I have spent my teenage and adult life in Canada, and my social network is largest in Canada. As a result I may also be viewed as a Canadian. Additionally, while I was conducting research and could be viewed as a researcher, I am also an international student, being based for my Master's and doctorate in the UK. My challenge during research came out of the disjuncture between my identification of my positionality and the one perceived by my respondents. This disjuncture emerged in both field sites.

I had identified myself to be an 'insider' in Toronto because I was knowledgable of Toronto as a field site and my shared experience with my respondents as international students. While my respondents acknowledged these two positional locations, they also identified me as an Indian; a Non-Resident Indian (NRI), part of the diaspora. They expected me to be knowledgeable of the 'Indian culture'. I became aware of this during the interview discussions when they made statements such as "you know how Indian people are", or "you know how Delhi people are", "you know...our culture and heritage...it doesn't allow for these things…you know how it is".

In Delhi, I identified myself as an 'outsider' because I was not very knowledgeable about the current city of New Delhi. I was born in Delhi, but at the age of 13, I migrated with my parents to Canada. The first time I was in Delhi, since I left at the age of 13, was in 2009 for two weeks. My fieldwork trip was the second time I was in Delhi in nearly 18 years. I also was not entirely comfortable with the use of the Hindi language as I only used it to converse with my grandparents in Canada. Here too, I was identified by my respondents as a NRI, but one who was 'returning' to her city of birth. Because of the perceived 'return' aspect, my respondents, especially the respondents amongst family students, assigned to me the identity of an insider. Here too, my respondents assumed that I understood when they used statements such as " you know how Indian people are", or "you know how Delhi people are" and so on. The assumption that I would understand such statements was based on the

experiences of the respondents with other NRIs and their children. In several cases, I was the age of their children. Which led to the questions of my marital status and why was I over 30 and single?

In the interviews with parents, there was definitely a bias of power relations favourable to the parents. Because they identified me as an educated 'Indian woman', there were expectations from me regarding my behaviour, tone and presentation which someone who did not share the Indian ethnicity would not have had to engage. There was an expectation of me to be polite and considerate; to produce a gendered performance, such as not wearing jeans and to wear non-western clothing. The respondents, while of varying social and educational status, expected of me a certain decorum attributed to young, unmarried women. Also, my status of 'still a student', even though at doctoral level, further gave them more power in the interviews. Some of my respondents worked as professors at universities, and therefore another level of power relations developed – one that acknowledged the hierarchy within academia in India. Additionally, the interviews with parents were at their houses, as a guest. Again, because of the imposed identity of 'Indian', my expected behaviour had to match that of Indian young adults. This power relation became visible in a few statements which would come out as I would be leaving, such as "oh you are such a good girl."

In none of my interviews was I considered a figure of authority. In interviews with my student respondents, my status of international student in the UK led my respondents to be able to identify themselves with me. The discussions and interviews we had were along the lines of colleagues or friends. Most of the respondents were the same age group as I. The returnee respondents in Delhi, especially those who had studied in the UK or Canada, would reminisce about their times abroad and we would share our experiences. The nature of the discussion often was two people sharing their stories about their times abroad. Sometimes our discussion would lead to comparisons of my experience to theirs, the good and the bad.

While I was never seen as figure of authority during my interviews with the parents, I was definitely located a level lower in the social hierarchy due to my age, marital status and gender.

Another challenge that I faced was due to my gender. In my discussion regarding dating and marriage in Toronto vs. their respective home cities, women were more open and would freely discuss these issues. In lots of cases, they themselves brought up these topics. Women also brought up the issue of sexuality. However, in interviews with men, they were less eager to discuss dating. While they discussed marriage, albeit in a negative context, the majority of my male respondents were not comfortable discussing the issue of dating and sexuality with me. This asymmetry in the nature of the information conveyed to me according to respondents' gender is something which inevitably affects my research material and the interpretations that I am able to put on it. I will highlight this obviously gendered problem at several points in my ensuing analysis, and come back to it in the concluding chapter.

Chapter 4 Context

4.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the cities, the places within, through and across which the international students as mobile subjects perform and transform their gendered identities. As explained in earlier chapters, this research was conducted across two sites: Toronto and New Delhi. The aim of this chapter is to present a gendered portrait of these cities and open a discussion on where international students are located in Canada. The chapter covers a lot of contextual ground and hence the narrative is not always continuous, as we switch from one context to another.

The chapter proceeds as follows. Section 4.2 discusses the geographic context of the research, by first presenting a background on each city and establishing that both Toronto and New Delhi are cities of migrants. The following section, 4.3, explores how these cities are gendered. As the discussion in chapter 2 highlights, places and people exist not in isolation, but each shapes the other. The built environment in a place influences the way people perform their gendered identities in those specific places (McDowell 1999); and the performance of the identities shapes the places, resulting in "places being 'performed'" (Sheller and Urry 2004: 1). Section 4.4 explains the patrifocal system of family in India. Section 4.5 describes the higher education institutional structure in Canada. Section 4.6 describes the results of my online survey and provides a broad context for the discussion presented in the following chapters. Section 4.7 concludes

In order to give the spatial context to the following discussion, there are four appendix maps, two each of Toronto and New Delhi, in each case a location map and a subway map.

4.2 Cities of migrants

4.2.1 Toronto

Toronto, from its beginnings as the capital of Ontario in 1867 one of the two provinces established by the British as part of the newly established Dominion

of Canada – has been a city of migrants. [6] Long before the British established the urban community in Toronto and pre-dating the European settlements in the 17th Century, the area around Lake Ontario was settled by People of First Nations such as the Iroquois and Mississaugas. Since its establishment as an urban community, migrants have settled and built homes in Toronto, most early migrants being British-born.

Toronto remains a city of migrants today. Prior to the 1970s, the majority of Toronto's migrant population was of European origin. In the 1960s Canadian immigration policy changed from the racist all-white immigration policy to a points-based system that looked at individuals' characteristics. The point-based system was created to encourage skilled migration. In the 1970s, a shift in the migration policies led to a shift in the ethnic-origin composition of Toronto's population.

Toronto is one of the three metropolitan areas in Canada. It took in 70 per cent of the total new immigrants between 2001-2006 (Murdie 2008). It is also at the top of Canada's urban-economic hierarchy, accounting for 11 per cent of Canada's GDP (Rose 1999).

Toronto's population, spatial extent and economic growth have gone hand-in-hand. The current manifestation of Toronto has three interpretations: the Census Metropolitan Area of Toronto (CMA), the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), and the City of Toronto. The City of Toronto, part of the GTA, is a region bounded by the major highways that are the arteries of Toronto. According to the 2006 Census, the population of CMA was 5 million. The City of Toronto's population was 2.5 million; this represents 8 per cent of the total population of Canada. For the boundary of the City of Toronto, see Figure A-1 in the appendix.

Half of the CMA's population was born outside of Canada. Twenty per cent of all international migrants in Canada, and 30 per cent of all recent international migrants, until 2006, arrived and dwell in Toronto. South Asians (people of Indian, Pakistani and Sri Lankan ethnic origin) composed 14 per cent of

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[6] http://www.toronto.ca/culture/history/history-industrializing-city.htm

Toronto's population. In Canada, South Asians are the largest visible minority[7] group, and over half of them live in Toronto. Out of the total South Asian population in CMA, the Indian[8] population stands at 484,655 people; this accounts for 68 per cent of the total South Asian population in CMA and 9.5 per cent of the total CMA's population (Statistics Canada 2006).

4.2.2 Delhi

In 2011, during my fieldwork, Delhi celebrated its centenary year as India's capital city. Delhi has a long and rich history as the capital of several empires – most notably and in recent history the Islamic (Mughal Sultanate) and the British empires. On 12 December 1911, King George V announced the transfer of the seat of Government of India from Calcutta, in the eastern part of current India, to Delhi. Walking around Delhi, it is easy to see the influence of these cultures on the city.

Delhi, like Toronto, is also a city of migrants. In 1947, the city became the sanctuary for the refugees from Pakistan, as a result of the Partition (Lahiri 2011; Times of India 2010). The area I lived in during my fieldwork, and in fact the area I was born in, was one of the 36 rehabilitation colonies that were created for the refugees, as emergency projects in 1947. The flow of refugees at that time changed the demographic make-up of Delhi.

The massive influx of refugees from Pakistan after Partition changed the very fabric of the city's population, giving it a predominantly Punjabi character from the earlier mix of Rajputs, Turks and Hindu Baniyas who had entered the city to serve successive rulers and eventually stayed on.

According to the 2001 census, approximately 6 million of the 13.8 million residents, 46 per cent of the total population of the national capital territory of Delhi, were born elsewhere. Nearly 3 million of these 6 million migrants had lived in Delhi for less than 10 years. The majority of these migrants were and continue to be internal migrants.

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[7] 'Visible minority' is defined by Statistics Canada as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour".
[8] People who were born in India, or have an ethnic background that they self-identify as Indian are recorded as 'East Indian' in the Canadian Census categories.

According to the 2011 Census, over just ten years the population of Delhi has increased by 21 per cent from 13.8 million in 2001 to 16.8 million in 2011. Large areas of Delhi had been settled as slums, by the rural migrants coming in for jobs. However, due to the re-planning and re-allocation of space due to the liberalisation reforms of the 1990s and in particular the 2010 Commonwealth games, the population of the slums were moved.[9] See Figure A-3 for a general map of New Delhi.

4.3   Gendered cities

The focus of discussion in this section is the gendered nature of the cities. I do this by exploring the three aspects of corporeal mobility in relation to the public/private space dichotomy in and across the city: different divisions of the city based on land use; use of public transportation; and the time-defined boundaries of use of public/private spaces. The aim of this discussion is to use "mobility both as an archive and present indicator of discourses, practices, identities, questions, conflicts and contestation to understand its gendered nuances"(Cresswell and Uteng 2008: 1-2). The performances of male, female and other gendered bodies are culturally defined: for instance the male body is seen to be more mobile than the female body. The discussion in this section shows how this still holds true in the case of both these cities; it will also show how, over time, the mobility of the 'male' body can become limited while the female body gains more freedom of mobility. In doing so, my discussion shows the various performances of gender that appear while the bodies are mobile across various social and spatial scales in the cities of Toronto and New Delhi.

The discussion is not exhaustive; it aims to highlight the gendered nature of mobility across a city as people move between the dichotomous spaces of public and private. I recognise the problem of using the binary categories of public/private; these categories carry fixed meanings (Cattan 2008). It is these 'fixed meanings' that I want to engage with and highlight in this section: I use these artificial divisions to exhibit the supposed 'fixed' meanings which shape the mobility by influencing the gendered performances of the subjects.

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[9] This is a sensitive and complex issue. A deeper discussion is beyond the scope of this thesis. For more on this refer to Bhan (2009), Datta (2012) and DuPont (2008, 2011).

4.3.1 Public/private dichotomy

The built environment – such as the layout of the cities, the division of residential and industrial areas, individual homes, transport networks etc. – reflects hegemonic heterosexual gendered assumptions. McDowell (1999), based on her work in Western industrial countries, argues that these assumptions are that of a nuclear household, with "permanent nine-to-five employment by a male breadwinner, with a wife who combines housework and childcare in the local neighbourhood" (1999: 118).

Each city then reflects its unique cultural and social assumptions of gender, and associated hegemonic gender and sexual identities. The built environment represents a masculinist and heterosexist identity. The use of public space is that it is the space for men, where they share ideas, and a space for leisure activities. Women are seen as intruders in this space (Raju and Lahiri-Dutta 2011). Their presence is tolerated if they have a legitimate purpose. The public spaces, such as streets, are seen as 'transit ways' for women to move from one private space to another (Paul 2011; Vishwanath and Mehrotra 2007).

Delhi possesses great economic and cultural diversity. With regard to access to the differentiated spaces in Delhi, gender segregation is very visible. There is an unspoken rule that there will be two queues for each counter – the women's and men's. This was pointed out to me as I waited in a queue to buy my train ticket. The man standing behind me in the queue asked me why was I not in the ladies queue? Vishwanath and Mehrotra (2007: 1545) state:

> Public spaces in Delhi are primarily male dominated spaces. Men can be seen out in most areas and during most times. Women are legitimately allowed to use these spaces when they have a purpose to be there. Thus, if they are on their way to work or study, dropping or picking up children, walking in a park (at certain times), shopping (at certain times), then they are seen as legitimate users of the space. What women do not have is the licence to just be or 'hang around' in public spaces.

4.3.2 Built environment

The public/private space dichotomy is represented materially in the uses of urban space (Booth and Gilroy 1996 in Miranne and Young 2000: 159). The city of Toronto is an extremely segregated city with regard to its land use, and therefore the corresponding population types. Each area has unique zoning

such as commercial, residential, industrial etc. There are very few mixed-use areas in Toronto. Miranne and Young explain this as: "...residential areas are residential, with often even the nearest store outside the immediate neighbourhood. By the same token, public areas exclude housing" (2000: 159). The older part of Toronto, the downtown core, is one of the few areas that has mixed used zoning. This is a reflection, among other things, of the division of space where the private, residential space, is separated from public spaces. Shopping centres are not necessarily located in residential areas. They are located in out-of-the-way spaces. Most food and groceries are purchased from large food retail shops, which are located in commercial/retail zones. These are nowadays marked by large areas of commercial space, removed from residential spaces. The division of residential (private and feminine) and non-residential (public and masculine) spaces becomes more obvious as one moves away from the old core of Toronto, and into the 'inner' suburbs and beyond.

The use of urban space in the city of Delhi is undergoing transformation. Several areas that used to contain housing and shopping areas, street vendors etc., are becoming primarily commercial areas as the spaces are seen as becoming unsafe for the residents. New areas are emerging, as either only residential or only industrial. And other areas – those which are older – continue to be mixed-use. There is a shop to buy bread, milk, daily amenities at the end or corner of every street. The street vendors usually take over the pavements to set up their wares. Then there are the 'door-to-door' vendors who provide easy access for housewives to fresh fruit and vegetables, lentils etc., and to household goods and clothes. One can even get the local hairdresser to come to the house. Every neighbourhood has at least one pharmacy, dairy, sweets shop, tailor, stationary shop, clothing shops, several food stalls and snack stalls. The city of Delhi, or at least the areas I had access to, displayed this mixed use, which represented the economic culture of the women managing the household and so having easy access to all these amenities. There are several small service-oriented businesses that are run in each neighbourhood. But, the growing service-industry sector in Delhi in IT, banking, business processing, and existing spaces such as government offices and other central branches of

businesses, are located in clearly non-residential spaces. These are spaces where one is likely to see more men than women, and a clear lack of children. These areas too have local shops and a large selection of street vendors – but these exist to cater to the predominantly male population working at these businesses. The vendors are open-air tea stalls, or stalls to buy cigarettes, or *Paan*.[10] These are 'clearly' marked public spaces and dominated by men during their working hours, whereas the open-air stalls/markets in mixed residential areas are dominated by women during the day – as they become part of the women's private space. Even in the streets in Delhi – the spaces in front of one's house are at times usurped by household members in winter, to sit outside – the 'private' space becomes entangled with public space.

4.3.3 Public transportation

A person walking on the street is not 'out of place' in downtown Toronto but would be in the suburbs, where most people drive. The issue of women's safety is embedded within the urban planning of Toronto, and its services, for instance the TTC (Toronto Transit Commission) late-night bus services. These buses do not necessarily make the regular stops of the daytime buses. There is plenty of information on the bus that tells women that if it is late at night, they can ask the driver to drop them off to the nearest stop to their house – even if that is not a regular bus stop. It is interesting to note that no signage exists for other genders. This service exists for 'women's safety', but it can be viewed also as an example of the assumption that women are not safe at night, that the public spaces are still not places for women; that they need to get to safety within the private sphere as soon as possible.

One such space, drawing parallels to Toronto's transit gendering, is the Delhi Metro, a recent addition to transportation for the increasing Delhi population (see Figure A-4 for a map of Delhi Metro). The Delhi Metro began its operations in 2002, and in a decade has a daily ridership of 1.8 million. This number is almost double that of the TTC's daily ridership. In October 2010, the Delhi Metro implemented a policy for the safety of women riders. The first car of every train (4 or 6 car trains) is now reserved for women. On the one hand,

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[10] *Paan* is an edible preparation made of Betel leaf and areca nut. It may also contain tobacco.

the Delhi Metro has been viewed as 'emancipatory' for women (Tara 2011), because it facilitates their movement across a larger portion of the city than before; on the other hand, it is imbued with gendered assumptions of use of space, and represents a certain 'giving in' to the reality of aggressive male conduct. The Metro implemented this policy of a women's-only car due to complaints from women that they suffered harassment from men at all times of the day (Tara 2011). By carving out this 'safe' space from men, Tara (2011) refers to this as the private within the public space. Hence, while women are going out into public space, the creation of private female space further ties it to the masculinist public space. Women still are represented here as mere travellers, where their public presence is tolerated until they can get into their own private space. My own experience with the Metro, since that is how I always travelled on fieldwork, reflects this assumption that the Metro is a space not for women. In an effort to get on the train before the doors closed, I ran into a crowded car. I was almost wedged between the door and the crowd. An older gentleman looked at me and commented that there was a women's car in the train. Why wasn't I in that car? By carving out a women's private space, this encounter highlights that women's space is still considered within the private. The boundaries and definition of private may change – but in broad strokes it refers to spaces that men have marked as theirs. This type of acceptance that women need a private space within the public is indicative of the symbolic representation of the gendered use of space (Valentine 1989).

The differential use of the Metro reflects the power relations between the passengers that both women and men have to negotiate on a daily basis through their travels across the city of Delhi. These negotiations, as discussed above, occur between men and women, but they also occur between men and men, as well as across multiple other social locations, such as age, socio-economic class, and performances of 'modernity' by the passengers (Butcher 2011).

4.3.4 Performing masculinity

Masculinity is a performance of a gender identity. However, as introduced in chapter 2, section 2.2, there is no one gender identity, and therefore no single masculinity. Rather, there are masculinities and femininities. The subheading

above refers to performance of *a particular* masculinity. I share below the experience of one of my respondents, Kapil. The experience reveals a performance of one type of masculinity in Delhi, and the performance of another masculinity in Toronto. In each space, he negotiated the norms of masculinity – hegemonic masculinity. He tried to construct a version of masculinity that would fit the norms in the respective spaces.

There is very little work, if any, that explores the vulnerabilities that men face in public spaces, especially in Delhi. One of my male respondents in Toronto, Kapil, aptly described the gendered nature of Delhi, "if you are not a man, you will stand out". He referred to this with regard to his wearing of make-up after his dance recitals. In Toronto, he said that he did not need to remove his make-up or change his hair after he finished his recital and stepped out into the public gaze. He could take the train/bus even with eyeliner on, with a bit of lip gloss etc. However, in Delhi, he would not "dare" to go out of the private space of the performance. He felt he would be noticed and stared at because he would be dressed as something else other than a 'man'.

 In Kapil's experience of Delhi, being a man in the public space is defined by 'othering' any performances of gender identity that is 'not man'. Not looking like a man, in a space dominated by men, forces a particular performance on men that requires them to conform to the hegemonic norm. Kapil's experience in Toronto, of being able to perform his gendered identity without being exposed to the 'gaze', is interesting to note.

4.3.5 Performing femininity

Kapil's experience above of different acceptable performances of masculinities in public spaces in Toronto and Delhi is complemented by my own experience in Toronto and Delhi as I negotiated acceptable feminine performances. My experience during fieldwork highlighted when I failed to conform to the symbolic indicators of accepted access to spaces. After a long day of traversing the city for an interview, I stopped at a bar in the 'queer space' in Toronto. It is a bar I have visited on several occasions, at different times with different people. I had never visited this bar on my own. I spent close to 30 minutes in the bar. During that time, I was constantly aware of the gaze of every person, including the bar

staff. I was a woman (whose sexuality was not immediately identifiable), sitting at the bar (not a table), alone, having a drink. During the 30 minutes, the staff constantly asked me if I was waiting for someone or if I wanted to sit at a table. My presence in this bar was upsetting the expected gender and sexuality performances of this space, especially during the day, around 5pm. Had I chosen to go sit in a café, alone, at the counter, this would not have warranted even a second look. The reaction in Delhi was the same, and definitely more obvious. There were no waiter staff asking me implicitly if I was alone. Just the act of woman entering the bar, alone, at 5 pm, in a space that was predominantly masculine was against the norms. The difference was that while I expected the reaction in Delhi, I was surprised at the reaction in Toronto, in a pub identified as 'queer space'. Had Kapil walked into this pub alone, with his make-up on, and had a drink, this would not have raised an eyebrow; however a woman having a drink alone did.

4.4 Patrifocality

In India, the lives of men and women are embedded within what Mukhopadhyay and Seymour (1994) have conceptualised as the patrifocal family structure and ideology, which gives preference to men over women in nearly all aspects of social and political life. Patrifocality "represent(s) a very prominent and culturally sanctioned system of ideal relationships and beliefs to which most Indians have been exposed and that proves a set of guidelines for social action" (Mukhopadhyay and Seymour 1994: 10). These authors further suggest that at, an individual level, this patrifocal model creates feelings of obligation that shape but do not determine performances – and at a social level, this family structure and ideology dictate the hegemonic norms against which individuals and families can be measured. While this patrifocal family structure and ideology is flexible as a result of the heterogeneity of Indian society, the inherent characteristics of patrifocality are the centrality of men in the society; the importance of the welfare of the family over individual interests; gender-differentiated social roles and authority structures; and control and regulation of sexuality, of women more so than men, to maintain the purity of caste, lineage and family honour, and reproduce class privilege. Class and caste are

entangled with family in the Indian context and play a significant role in shaping the gender norms and expectations.

Patrifocality as a concept is preferred here over 'patriarchy'. Patriarchy often refers to the dominance of men in *all* spheres and settings, whereas patrifocality refers to more than the male dominance in the family hierarchical structure; it also acknowledges the gender differentiated power relations within and across gender and generation within the family. Patrifocality as a structure and ideology of the family is a 'model of good government' (Foucault 1991). Government, according to Foucault, refers to the ways in which the "...conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed" (Foucault 2000b: 341). It is about the "correct manner of managing individuals, goods and wealth within the family (which a good father is expected to do in relation to his wife, children and servants) and of making the family fortunes proper" (Foucault 1991: 92). This links to the idea of power and the exercise of power as a set of actions upon others' actions.

This concept not only highlights power relations within the family, where men control and regulate women and their sexuality (such as husbands over wives and brothers over sisters), but also points to the various hierarchies of power and the associated relations between women of different generations (such as mothers and daughters, mothers and daughters-in-law) and between men (such as fathers and sons). This focus on the centrality of men and the regulation of female sexuality/behaviour encourages the mobility of men over women in the public sphere and also facilitates more and better education of men over women. It is the acceptance and repeated performance of such actions that create the ideals for masculinity and femininity within the Indian context.

Patrifocality configures the differentiated freedom of spatial ***mobility*** of men and women within national and transnational spaces. For Indian men, spatial mobility is an entitlement, and international spatial mobility a privilege that is afforded to middle-class men (Derné 2008). By contrast, this mobility for women, except in the context of movement from their natal household to the marital household, is extremely controlled as it is an action that may be perceived as reducing the respectability of the family (Radhakrishnan 2009).

The production of a respectable private sphere, as defined by the dutiful 'housewife', has been seen to be pertinent to the construction of the public identity of the middle class in India (Fernandes 2006). However, the motivations for mobility may change depending on the household, especially if mobility is seen as a 'livelihood' as opposed to a 'career' strategy. In a study of a Punjabi rural family by Chopra (2005), migration is seen as a strategy to maintain/retain property and thereby maintain caste and class standards. Chopra (2005) discusses the family's expectation of the role of two sons and their middle daughter in maintaining the family property and status. While the elder son is groomed to manage the farm, the daughter is groomed and educated to secure a 'Non-Resident Indian' husband. The family's motivation to have their daughter migrate is based on the expectation that she will facilitate her younger brother's movement, to support the family that has invested in her education at a good school and given her more 'freedom' to maintain an image of the lifestyle necessary to attract a NRI groom. The motivation to have their younger son migrate, the youngest of their children, is based on the expectation that the son, upon migration, will be able to remit money to support the older brother in the maintenance and development of the farm. So by sending their daughter away for 'reputable' education, she is able to fulfil her role in maintaining the family property and status. In this case, the elder son attained a lower level of formal education than the daughter. This was because the family did not see the utility of formal education for the oldest son who was to take over the farm. The discussion below further highlights the role of the family in access to education.

Access to *education*, motivation and aspirations for education, and educational attainment are all closely linked to aspects of patrifocality. The family, rather than the individual, decides who (in a family) pursues education, to which level and where, as in the case described above. Patrifocality generally leads to more boys being educated than girls, especially in a family with brothers and sisters. Chopra (2005) states that "this differentiation appears in some form across all social and income categories". Education for men is a 'given' position, but for women their access to education is dependent on their perceived role in the natal and marital family (Chanana 2001). Thapan (2009),

however, highlights a smaller group of women who are 'educationally advantaged' - "individuals who not only have access to education but also have the privilege of pursuing their educational goals to fruition" (Thapan 2009: 28). But as Chanana (2001) and Thapan (2009) also highlight, women, regardless of their social classes, are groomed for marriage and motherhood. This means that, regardless of their educational and career goals, women are still located within the household first and foremost.

Furthermore, family acts as the site of reproduction of gender role expectations. Young girls in the family are groomed for marriage and motherhood; roles within the private sphere of the house (Donner 2008; Thapan 2009; Waldrop 2012); while young boys are groomed to be heads of household and breadwinners. The sons in the family are expected to get married, have children, and take care, or organise others to care, for ageing parents (Derné 1995, 2008; Osella and Osella 2006). It is the responsibility of the men to perform these functions to ensure the continued welfare of the family.   So while the men may have more freedom than women in accessing education and mobility, they too are bounded by expectations of their gender role in the family and the larger set of family plans (Chopra 2005).

This discussion serves to highlight how gender relations in the patrifocal model of good government of the family produce different education and spatial mobility trajectories for men and women. The ease of mobility and access to education for men explains the dominance of men in international student migration flows. However, the presence of women, however small in number, indicates changes in gender identities, relations, and ideologies within and beyond the family.

4.5 Higher education institutions

Higher education in Canada is available through publicly and privately funded institutions. The international student program stipulates that the students should be enrolled in public funded higher education institutions. There are two

types of post-secondary education institutions in Canada: non-degree granting and degree-granting institutions.[11]

Non-degree granting institutions such as public colleges and institutes provide access to diploma and other professional courses – which provide more hands-on training. However, recently, due to the increased demand for institutions of higher education, some colleges in affiliation with universities are able to grant degrees at undergraduate level. The length of the programs varies from one to three years in the case of some of the degree undergraduate programs. These institutions need not be publicly funded. While several are, there are others which are not.

Degree-granting institutions are universities. They run undergraduate and post-graduate programs, including at doctoral level. Most universities receive subsidies and are publicly funded. They also have a much greater focus on research and on research training than colleges.

There are three public universities in the Greater Toronto Area: the University of Toronto, York University and Ryerson University; and several public funded colleges: George Brown College, Sheridan College, Humber College and Centennial College. See Figure A-1 for the locations of the university campuses.

University of Toronto is the oldest university in Toronto – now 185 years old, it was established in 1827, as Kings' College under King George IV, when Toronto was beginning to be settled by the British. At present, it has three campuses: Downtown Toronto, Scarborough Campus (east side of Toronto) and Mississauga Campus (on the west side of Toronto – on the outskirts of Toronto). The University of Toronto is known for its large research departments and post-graduate programs, as well as undergraduate programs. In 2011, 56,012 Canadian students and 6,398 international students were enrolled in undergraduate and post-graduate programs across the three campuses.

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[11] http://www.cicic.ca/421/an-overview.canada;
http://www.settlement.org/sys/faqs_detail.asp?k=POSTSEC_POSTSEC&faq_id=4001136

Ryerson University has one campus, but it is spread widely throughout downtown Toronto. Ryerson was established in 1945 as a training Institute. Over the years the institution has evolved and in 1971 it was accredited as a degree-granting institution. As of 2011, 28,000 full time Canadian students and 652 international students were enrolled in undergraduate programs at the university.

York University has two campuses: York University Keele Campus, and Glendon Campus. The Keele campus is the main campus for the university and lies on the northern boundary of Toronto. The campus is vast, because of its location. It is self-contained, but also can be isolating if one does not have a car. As of 2011, 48,701 full time Canadian students and 3,108 international students were enrolled in undergraduate and postgraduate programs at the university.

4.6 Indian international student survey

There is very little data on Indian students studying abroad, as I pointed out in chapter 1. This is surprising considering the long history of student moving from India to the UK, during and after the British *Raj*.

Current research that presents data on Indian students is limited to studies where Indian students are part of the wider sample of international students. Thus far, to the best of my knowledge, there are only two studies that present quantitative data specifically on Indian students: one study surveys prospective Indian students; and the second study reviews and summarises myriad data sources, mining for data on Indian students in Europe.

The first study was conducted by a private research firm Academica.ca[12] for the purpose of evaluating the market prospects of Indian students who want to pursue higher education abroad, specifically in Canada. The survey was conducted with over 5000 students in India in their final years of secondary education at private institutions. Of this group, 37% indicated that they do not plan to pursue higher education, 42% said they plan to continue to higher education in India and 21% said they are considering or expecting to study outside of India.

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[12] http://academica.ca/research/recruitment/international-student-prospect-study/India

The second study, by Mkherjee and Chanda (2012), reviews and analyses trends in Indian student mobility into European countries – specifically the UK, Germany and France. While this study is the first comprehensive analysis of specifically Indian student mobility into the EU, it too, like other studies, does not provide a thorough gender analysis. The only reference to gender is a brief discussion on the lack of gender parity. The point raised here refers to HESA 2010/2011 data on Indian students studying in the UK which claim that 50% of all Indian students are women. This is problematic as the Indian students studying in the UK is a group defined by ethnicity that includes Asian/British-Asians, and does not refer to solely international students from India. According to earlier 2008-2009 data by HESA, of the total international student population from India – defined as students domiciled in India, with permanent residence in India, or Indian citizenship – only 25% were women.

With such limited existing statistical research, the online survey in this thesis was designed to gather data to provide an overview of this population of Indian students abroad. Furthermore, the results from other studies, including Mkherjee and Chanda (2012), do not provide a gender breakdown. Consequently, my survey is the first of its kind because it gathers data, rather than presenting statistics compiled from other sources, on only Indian students who have studied abroad; and most importantly the data allows for a gendered analysis which is lacking from other studies.

The survey was hosted for a duration of 13 months, November 2010 – November 2011. A total of 277 respondents took the survey; out of these, 157 fully completed the survey, 91 partially completed the survey, and 29 respondents were disqualified. Chapter 3 set out the qualification criteria. All qualified respondents (N=248) identified themselves amongst one of the three criteria categories: currently studying abroad (CSA), studied abroad and now living abroad (LA), studied abroad and now living in India (LI). Out of the completed sample of n=157,   50% identified themselves as CSA, 20% as LA and the remaining 30% as LI at the time they completed the survey. The gender ratio (M:F) for the respondents was balanced for those in CSA (51:49) and LA (45:47) categories; there was a clear male bias in the sample of the

respondents in the LI category (65:35). The overall sample comprises 87(55%) males and 70(45%) females. Table 4.1 summarises these statistics.

Table 4-1: Status of respondents

	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Currently studying abroad	38	43.7	39	55.7	77	49.0
Completed and living abroad	18	20.7	14	20.0	32	20.4
Completed and living in India	31	35.6	17	24.3	48	30.6
Total	87	100.0	70	100.0	157	100.0

Source: Author's survey

The data gives a broad picture of the students from India who studied abroad since 2000 and after. The year 2000 was not a requirement before the survey started. However, the methods of recruitment – primarily emails, social media – and data harvest through an online survey, collected responses from those who have greater access and use ICTs. Only 6 out the 157 respondents completed their studies prior to 2000 and these responses are included in the analysis.

It is important to emphasise that this survey is not representative. It is an impossible task in a survey of this kind to represent the heterogeneity of the population of India, or even to assess the degree of representativity that is achieved. The diversity of the Indian population becomes visible when the sample's demographics are examined; place of birth and residence, languages spoken, religion and caste, and the countries in which they studied were all identified along a wide spectrum. The respondents' place of birth and last place of residence before leaving to study abroad span all across India: 22 out of the 28 States, and 2 out of the 7 Union Territories appear in the survey responses. At least 20 languages were identified as the first language of communication. Five languages – Hindi, Punjabi, Tamil, Bengali and Marathi – were identified by 65% of the respondents; lesser-known languages spoken in India such as Portuguese and Saurashtra also appeared in survey results. Respondents associated themselves with 10 different religions and 20 castes and sub-castes. There are no emerging gendered trends in the above indicators; however, gendered trends emerge when data on age, level of study and field of study of the respondents is examined.

Below I present the main results of the survey; the focus of the discussion will be on two themes: a) the demographics of the respondents: age, programme of study and discipline; and b) factors that shape the potential to move: parents' socio-economic class and individual and family migration history and the motivations of the individuals. Intertwined with the presentation of the survey data are discussions that contextualise the data within the ISM literature and the Indian context.

4.6.1 Respondent demographics

Age

The mean age of the sample (N=157) is 27 years; the mean age is 24 years for respondents in the CSA category, 28 years for the LA category, and 29 years for the LI category.

Table 4-2: Age of respondents

Age groups	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
<20	7	8.1	5	7.1	12	7.6
21-25	33	37.9	34	48.6	67	42.7
26-30	31	35.6	15	21.4	46	29.3
31-35	8	9.2	7	10.0	15	9.6
36-40	4	4.6	3	4.3	7	4.5
41-45	3	3.5	4	5.7	7	4.5
>45	1	1.2	2	2.9	3	1.9
Total	87	100.0	70	100.0	157	100.0

Source: Author's survey

Table 4-2 shows that 43% of all respondents are between 21-25 years of age, making this the largest age group. The male respondents are spread evenly between two age groups: 21-25 and 26-30 at approximately 38% and 36% each; whereas the majority of the female respondents, just under 50%, are aged between 21-25 years. Women who are part of the ISM flow (current and past) are younger than their male counterparts. This could be a reflection of the changing dynamics of access to higher education in India. Historically, enrolment of women in higher education in India has been very low due to various factors such as the already-noted cultural preferences that place greater value on the education of sons over the daughters. Data from the University Grant Commission of India (UGC) indicates that since the 1960s there has been

a continual increase of women's enrolment in higher education and a particularly significant jump in enrolment since the 1990s. Women represented 41% of total enrolment in 2009 (UGC 2011); 28% of the total enrolment in 2000-2001; and 22% of the total enrolment in 1990-1991. The increase in enrolment in the recent years may be attributed to two factors: firstly, the generation of women before who completed higher education and are now encouraging their daughters to pursue higher education; and secondly, to transforming social and cultural norms which are diminishing (though slowly) gender disparity across various social classes and castes. Thus, while fewer women of an earlier generation may have gone abroad for education, the current growing cohort of women graduating from universities with an undergraduate degree is reflected in the increasing number of women pursuing the next level in higher education abroad. The relationship with parents' education is examined in more detail presently.

The age group in the cohort 21-25 years, for both men and women, is also indicative of the India's education structure; students start higher education at the age of 18 years and complete their undergraduate programme or other technical school programmes by the age of 21. Most undergraduate programmes are three years in length (UGC 2012) and by the time students complete their first degree, they have completed 15 years of formal education. The large cohort in the age group 21-25 is therefore indicative of the level of study the students have completed before going abroad, and also the level they will pursue while studying abroad. The next section presents the data on level of study.

Level of study

Most of the respondents (45%) were enrolled in Masters' programmes (see Table 4-3). This was the preferred level of study for both men (48%) and women (41%). The second most popular level of study for men was an undergraduate degree (19.5%) and for women a PhD (18.5%).

The preference of a postgraduate programme is also reflected in the US statistics on students from India. Approximately 14% of the students in the US in 2010/2011 were enrolled in undergraduate programmes, 61% were enrolled

in postgraduate programmes (Open Doors 2012). [13] The UK, France and Germany show similar trends (Mkherjee and Chanda 2012). The inclination toward a Master's degree programme over an undergraduate or PhD is shaped by several factors including length of programme and financial circumstances.

Table 4-3: Level of study

Level of Study	Male	%	Female	%	total	%
Undergraduate degree	17	19.5	12	17.1	29	18.5
Masters	42	48.3	29	41.4	71	45.2
PhD	11	12.6	13	18.6	24	15.3
Diploma	2	2.3	2	2.9	4	2.6
Postgraduate diploma	9	10.3	9	12.9	18	11.5
Other	6	6.9	5	7.1	11	7.0
Total	87	100.0	70	100.0	157	100.0

Source: Author's survey

Table 4-4 below shows the duration of Master's and non-Master's programmes. Forty per cent of all the respondents indicated that they undertook a one-year course; 70% of the respondents who enrolled in one-year courses, were enrolled in Master's courses.   The duration of two years also points to a majority (62%) of the students enrolled at Master's level. Periods of less than one year indicate exchange programmes that students undertook as part of their degree programme.

Table 4-4: Duration of level of study

Length of programme	non-Master	%	Master	%	Total	%
<1	7	8.1	2	2.8	9	5.7
1	20	23.3	43	60.6	63	40.1
2	9	10.5	17	23.9	26	16.6
3	12	14.0	3	4.2	15	9.6
4	18	20.9	3	4.2	21	13.4
5	12	14.0	2	2.8	14	8.9
6	6	7.0	1	1.4	7	4.5
>6	2	2.3	0	0.0	2	1.3
Total	86	100.0	71	100.0	157	100.0

Source: Author's survey

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[13] http://www.iie.org/Research-and-Publications/Open-Doors/Data/Fact-Sheets-by-Country/~/media/Files/Corporate/Open-Doors/Fact-Sheets-2011/Country/India%20Fact%20Sheet%20-%20Open%20Doors%202011.ashx

The variance in the length of Master's programmes can be attributed to different countries' education structures. For instance, Master's programmes in Canada usually last for two years, whereas in the UK a Master's degree is normally one year in length.

The second reason for the choice of a Master's programme, and linked to the above discussion of duration, is the financial implication. The cost of education as an international student usually means paying twice if not more than the cost of domestic students. For instance, according to the British Council the annual tuition fee for degree (undergraduate or post-graduate) in arts/social sciences in the UK ranges between £7000-£12,000. The upper range increases to £25,000 for science programmes, and up to £34,000 for MBA.[14] In Canada, a year of tuition for an arts/social science degree is approximately $17,000. Again, this varies, usually increasing for STEM programmes or MBA degrees. The duration of the programme therefore becomes important, since the student would have to pay for one or two years for a Masters degree versus 3-4 years for an undergraduate or PhD programme, a difference which becomes especially significant if the students have no funding. Table 4-5 shows that 62% of the respondents were self-funded or have parental support.

Table 4-5: Means of funding

Finance	n	%
Parental Support	64	40.5
Funding	35	22.2
Self-financing	34	21.5
Bank loan	13	8.2
Other	6	3.8
Employer	5	3.2
Missing	1	0.6
Total	158	100.0

Source: Author's survey

A three-four year undergraduate degree or PhD (in some countries completing PhDs can take up to six years) may not be a financially viable choice. Furthermore, the young age cohort has implications as well. Youth in India,

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[14] http://www.educationuk.org/UK/Article/UK-course-fees-for-international-students

especially around the age of 21-22 years, have little or no assets to their name. They have no credit history or financial resources; they are entirely dependent on their parents for financial resources. Even when they are abroad, unless they work or have funding, these young adults are entirely dependent on their parents to cover their living expenses. A heavy financial burden is placed upon the family when a student goes to study abroad. This, too, among other factors that will be discussed later, shapes the potential to go abroad.

Discipline of study

There was not a significant gendered difference in the level of study; however there is a very strong relationship between gender and discipline of study. Overall, 43% respondents enrolled in STEM programmes. There is clear and statistically significant male bias in STEM courses; of the total students enrolled in STEM programmes, 69% were male and 31% were female. This male bias is not unique to this survey. Enrolment at Indian universities (UGC 2012) as well as globally in STEM courses is dominated by males (UIS 2010).

Table 4-6: Discipline of study

Discipline of study	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Business	21	24.1	15	21.4	36	22.9
STEM	46	52.9	21	30.0	67	42.7
Social Sciences	12	13.8	25	35.7	37	23.6
Media, Film, Literature	1	1.1	7	10.0	8	5.1
Education/Law	6	6.9	2	2.9	8	5.1
Other	1	1.1	0	0.0	1	0.6
Total	87	100.0	70	100.0	157	100.0

Source: Author's survey;

The next popular courses are Social Sciences (24%) and Business (23%). Females comprise approximately 70% of the total respondents enrolled in Social Sciences. The gender composition is reversed for those enrolled in business courses – females make up 40% of this group. However, Business is the only main programme of study in this survey where the gender bias is rather small. In the remaining courses, there is a clear male or female bias.

4.6.2 Factors shaping potential to move

The discussion above has highlighted how age can shape the potential to move. Young people who are moving abroad for higher education, are likely to be of ages 21 and over rather than under, and are likely to undertake Master's programmes.   This section discusses the relationship between parents' social class, the migration history of the individual and his/her family, as well as motivations of the students in going abroad.

Social class of the family

The growing literature on international student mobility shows that it is a family pursuit rather than an individualistic one (Brooks and Waters 2011; Findlay *et al.* 2006). This is especially the case for Asian students, it seems; arguably this can be related to financial considerations combined with the strength of the family. Studies on ERASMUS and UK students studying abroad show that social class (indicated through education and profession) has a strong positive impact on the student's mobility behaviour (Brooks and Waters 2011; Findlay *et al.* 2006; Findlay and King 2010; King *et al.* 2010). Brooks and Waters (2011) further state that studying abroad is an exclusive pursuit for the middle classes and that this exercise can be seen as an instance of enacting and reproducing those specific class relations. In a study of student migrants from Hong Kong in Canada, Waters (2006b, 2008) points out that these students are from relatively affluent families and the parents are highly educated.[15]   Parental education levels were one predictor of student mobility behaviour, which was particularly the case where mothers had completed higher education. The results of my survey mirror the results on the impact of parents' education on ERASMUS/UK student mobility. As in the studies discussed above (Findlay *et al.* 2006), parents' level of education and occupation are used as indicators of social class.

Parents' education

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[15] These students often move with their families, under the 'business' class from Hong Kong to Canada. However, in most cases, the father leaves the family in Canada and returns 'home' to continue working. This sort of an arrangement has come be known as Astronaut households. In other cases, the children are left in Canada alone; this phenomenon has been labelled as 'parachute' or 'satellite' kids. See Waters (2003).

There is a strong and significant relationship between gender and parents' education, especially between the student women and their mothers' education level. Table 4-7 below shows that 54% of male respondents have mothers who are university-educated and 75% have fathers who possess university education; by contrast nearly 80% of the female respondents have mothers who are university-educated and a more or less equal number have fathers who are university-educated.

Table 4-7: Parents' university education

	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Yes, both	45	51.7	51	71.4	96	60.5
Yes, my mother	2	2.3	6	8.6	8	5.1
Yes, my father	20	23.0	5	7.1	25	15.9
Neither of them	20	23.0	8	11.4	28	17.8
Total	87	100.0	70	100.0	157	100.0

Source: Author's survey; chi square test, df(3) and p-value = 0.002 <0.01

The differing status of parental education places males and females in different social locations. Women who move are more likely to have parents who are university-educated than men; and, more specifically, a larger proportion of female respondents have mothers who are university-educated than the proportion of men. Results of a chi-square test run on these data (Table 4-8) reveal that there is a strong association between the women respondents and their mothers' education; the clear inference is that mothers' education can shape the potential of women to move.

Table 4-8: Mother's university education

Education	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
not university educated	40	46.0	13	19.0	53	34.0
university educated	47	54.0	57	81.0	104	66.0
Total	87	100.0	70	100.0	157	100.0

Source: Author's survey; chi square, df(1), p-value=0.0

The data also suggest that men are not put in a position of disadvantage because of their parents' level or lack of higher education. However, women who move abroad for education are able to do so because of their parents' education, especially their mothers'; this affords them an advantage that other

women may not have. These women represent a particularly privileged and 'educationally-advantaged' class (Brooks and Waters 2011; Thapan 2009; Waters 2006b, 2008).

Parents' occupations

Tables 4.9 and 4.10 present mothers' and fathers' occupations. The parental occupations provided by the respondents were grouped in the general categories presented in the tables. There is no significant difference between the proportion of women and men and the breakdown of the father's occupation. However, there is a clear difference between the mother's occupation for male and female respondents.

Table 4-9: Fathers' occupation

Occupation	Male	%	female	%	total	%
professional	53	62.1	41	62.9	94	59.9
business owner	18	21.8	13	17.1	31	19.6
executive	8	5.6	9	8.6	17	10.8
farmer	3	3.5	5	7.1	8	5.1
homemaker	2	2.3	0	0	2	1.3
miscellaneous	3	6.9	2	4.3	5	3.2
total	87	100.0	70	100.0	157	100.0

Source: Author's survey

Table 4-10: Mothers' occupation

Occupation	Male	%	Female	%	total	%
homemaker	56	64.4	30	42.9	86	54.8
professional	28	32.2	33	47.1	61	38.9
business owner	2	2.3	4	5.7	6	3.8
executive	0	0.0	2	2.9	2	1.3
miscellaneous	1	1.1	1	1.4	2	1.3
total	87	100.0	70	100.0	157	100.0

Source: Author's survey

Table 4-9 shows interesting data. I have used the category of homemaker to refer to work that is often done within the household – reproductive labour. This category also appears in the fathers' occupation table, but expectedly there is a much larger percentage of women who are homemakers than men due to the social and cultural norms of Indian society. Nearly 65% of the male

respondents have a mother who is a homemaker; whereas for women this category – at 43% – has the second largest share of respondents, after 'professional', 47%.

Combining the results of Tables 4-7, 4-9 and 4-10 suggests that more female international students come from families of higher social class, where parents are highly educated and work in higher income positions. For women, mother's education and occupation are strong predictors of women's participation in the ISM flow. Their mothers' education places women in a position of advantage, which facilitates their participation in the overseas migration stream.

Migration history

Individual

Data was also collected from the online survey on both internal and international migration of individuals. For UK students, Findlay *et al.* (2010) highlight that there is a positive relationship between previous migration experience and future migration for education. The respondents were asked if they had lived in another part of India (apart from the one where they were born) for 6 months or more; a similar question was asked about living outside of India in an attempt to capture international migration. Table 4-11 below shows that nearly 60% of respondents have moved at least once before they moved for their studies abroad.

Table 4-11: Individuals' migration history

Migration	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
neither	36	41.4	28	40.0	64	40.8
internal	38	43.7	28	40.0	66	42.0
international	7	8.1	4	5.7	11	7.0
both	6	6.9	10	14.3	16	10.2
Total	87	100.0	70	100.0	157	100.0

 Source: Author's survey

In more detail, 42% of the respondents moved internally (in India) from their place of birth at least once before they moved outside of India for their studies. A small number, only 7%, had a history of moving at least once internationally before they undertook their study abroad. While international migration

represented a small sub-group, another group of respondents (10%) took part in both internal and international movements. Hence, a not inconsiderable 17% had experience of international migration before heading off for their international studies.

The male and female results are similar for internal migration: roughly 40% of the respondents, both male and female, have undertaken internal migration. The significant difference in results appears when we examine the responses for both internal and international migration: 7% of the male respondents have undertaken both internal and international migration, but twice as many female respondents, 14%, have undertaken both. However, not too much can be read into this difference because of the relatively small numbers involved.

Family (parents and siblings)

Table 4-12 shows that 66% of the respondents have at least one member of their family who has undertaken migration. Here the category of parents refers to at least one parent who has migrated – for work or study (international); and siblings refers to at least one sibling who has moved internally or internationally for study.

Table 4-12: Parents and siblings' migration history

Migration	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Neither	35	40.2	18	25.7	53	33.8
Parents	9	10.3	13	18.6	22	14.0
Siblings	29	33.3	19	27.1	48	30.6
Both	14	16.1	20	28.6	34	21.7
Total	87	100.0	70	100.0	157	100.0

Source: Author's survey

Approximately 75% of the female respondents have at least one member of their family who has some history of internal or international migration, compared to only 60% of the men. Also, approximately 30% of the female respondents have two or more members (both parents and siblings) of their family who have undertaken migration, compared to only 16% of the men. The studies discussed above on ERASMUS and UK students studying abroad also

show that a family history of mobility has a positive correlation with the decision to apply for study abroad (King *et al.,* 2010).

The final two tables present the data separately for parents' international and internal migration (Table 4-13) and sibling migration (Table 4-14). The results suggest that parents' migration history is a stronger predictor of student international mobility than sibling migration history, and this holds true for both men and women respondents.

Table 4-13: Parents' migration history

Parents' migration	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
No migration	64	73.6	37	52.9	101	64.3
Migration	23	26.4	33	47.1	56	35.7
Total	87	100.0	70	100.0	157	100.0

Source: Author's survey

Table 4-14: Siblings' migration history

Siblings' migration	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
only internal	20	23.0	19	27.1	39	24.8
only international	10	11.5	8	11.4	18	11.5
both	13	14.9	12	17.1	25	15.9
neither	44	50.6	31	44.3	75	47.8
Total	87	100.0	70	100.0	157	100.0

Source: Author's survey

4.7 Conclusion

As a contextual chapter which has laid out a number of contexts – an introduction to the two fieldwork cities and their gendered natures, Indian patrifocality, the Canadian HE system, and some online survey results – this chapter has covered a lot of dispersed material and has a somewhat fragmented structure: an inevitable problem that I highlighted in the introductory paragraph. In conclusion I want to reiterate and stress a few key points, rather than merely attempt to sum up a diverse range of chapter content.

Firstly, this research focuses on middle-class Indians. Whilst this is a very broad category, the students who are the focus of my study are from families who have access to financial instruments such as credit and can show that they have significant savings to provide support to their son/daughter. The majority

of the respondents in the survey indicated that their parents provided some or considerable financial support.

Secondly, there is a bias of the respondents, both in fieldwork and in the survey, due to the places where fieldwork was conducted, and to the distribution of survey respondents (where Australia, known to host many Indian students, was vastly under-represented). The experiences of students in Toronto reveal insights and experiences specific to the culture of the city of Toronto and the spaces within it. Similarly, the interviews in Delhi reveal specific insights that are relevant to the population of Delhi, and to some extent reflects the broader norms of North India. The specificities are not limited to the cities, but also regions – this is of great relevance in the Indian case. Compare the population of the Greater Delhi, 21 million, to that of the country Canada, 30 million. Therefore trying to use the interviews of Delhi respondents to represent all of India would be the equivalent of using the results of a study in Toronto to represent all of North America – Canada, US and Mexico. Cultural differences aside, each country has different migration policies for international students.

Thirdly, this chapter has presented the results of the online survey with the aim of painting in broad brushstrokes, a portrait of the Indian international student. On the one hand, the respondents in the survey highlighted the heterogeneity of the Indian population cross-cutting the geography of the country, multiple languages, religions and castes. On the other hand, there are several characteristics that emerged out of the data such as the dominance of a young age cohort of 21-25 year-olds, a preference of shorter duration courses – those spanning one to two years – such as the Master's degree, and a bias toward STEM courses, especially for men.

As regards factors that shape the potential to move, there was a strong positive relationship between parents' education, occupation and history of migration and women's potential to participate in international mobility. The relationship was the strongest between the mother's education and occupation and women respondents, suggesting that more women than men who go abroad for higher education are likely to have mothers who are university-educated and work outside of the home in occupations that require non-reproductive labour.

In summary, Indian international students, especially young women, come from affluent families who have previous migration experience. Hence, together, women's and men's mobility are shaped differently due to the gendered class differences. This is the broad context within which my discussion in the following chapters will take place.

Chapter 5 Motivations and Gendered Negotiations

5.1 Introduction

The now-established tradition of 'gendering migration' research maintains that gender identity and relations before migrants' departure shape the who, why, where, when and how of moving. In this chapter I begin with looking at 'how' gender relations shape the movement of international students abroad. Along the way the 'why' of this movement will also be covered.

This chapter is an attempt to build an explanatory narrative around the power relations within which the student is embedded. The expected discourse of motivations for international study – education, career, and other parts of life-pathways – remains ever-present. However, as I will show, the students' accounts of motivations hide the gendered relations within the family as well as the gender inequalities that exist across other scales in India, all of which influence the decision to pursue studies abroad.

The new mobilities paradigm encourages an examination of power relations surrounding the (im)mobile individual, i.e. those who move and simultaneously the power relations of those who are left behind or those people who reside in the place of arrival. Following from this, this chapter gives special weight to the voices of the parents – who do not move – to reveal the entangled web of relations of power within which both the parents and their offspring are embedded. The narratives of the parents and students reveal multiple dominant and at times contradicting discourses and practices of (im)mobilities in relation to gender, class, caste, religion, age and other social locations. Moving abroad was negotiated through a set of compromises between the students' and parents' respective desires for moving and remaining in India.

The rest of this chapter is divided into four sections. The next section presents the students' motivations, using data collected from the online survey as well the in-depth interviews with students in Canada. Section 5.3 locates the parents and their views on study-abroad within the context of the patrifocal ideology and

structure of family. Section 5.4 then links the preceding sections and builds the analysis on the negotiations that occur between the parents and students. The narratives of four students are privileged in this discussion since this carefully chosen group presents a biography of the power relations between the students and their parents, their siblings, other family members and other social scales such as caste and religious community. The final section concludes the chapter.

5.2   Students' motivations

This section will summarise the motivations from the survey questionnaire and corroborate them with the results from the in-depth interviews. The survey results suggest three key motivations of education, career and travel/adventure; the interviews confirm and nuance those results. The interviews and the survey revealed concerns with the national-scale structures of Indian higher education and labour markets. Hence, the results will be presented within the context of the Indian higher education system and the labour market. This section will be divided into three parts: the results of the survey, education, and career.

The survey asked the respondents to rank the main determinants of their decision to study outside of India.[16] Table 5.1 presents the survey results disaggregated by gender.

Table 5-1: Determinants in decision making by gender (% data)

	Adventure		Family		World-class university		International career		Living outside India	
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f
very important	47	41	15	13	58	58	58	54	22	17
slightly important	37	43	16	17	24	24	16	20	21	16
not important	13	7	42	30	11	11	21	19	31	40
not applicable	3	9	27	40	7	7	5	7	26	27

Source: Author's survey

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[16] This scale was based on the survey designed and used by Findlay and King (2010)

Table 5-1 shows that the top two 'very important' determinants in the decision to study abroad are attending a world-class university and the desire for an international career: 58% selected 'I was determined to attend a world-class university' as a very important determinant, followed by 'I want an international career and this was the first step towards it', selected by 56% of the respondents.   Family – the desire of parents that their child studies abroad – and permanent migration out of India appear as the least important determinants, selected by 14% and 20% of the respondents, respectively. There was no notable gender difference in the determinants. The top two determinants that shape the potential to move are now discussed further in the Indian context.

5.2.1 World-class university

The idea of the 'world-class university' was discussed in chapter 2. Research by Findlay *et al.* (2012) suggests the importance of education abroad at a world-class university for UK-based students. The reasons for selecting a university outside of India were influenced by the experiences of students in Indian universities, and on a broader level by the education system. To some extent, studying abroad is seen as a way to mitigate the fear of failure (Brooks and Waters 2009a, 2011; Waters 2006b) that emerges out a highly competitive education system, such as the one in India, at least for entry to the top institutions

The Indian higher education system is extremely competitive as a consequence of rising demand for higher education, and limited available spaces at highly regarded institutions of higher education – in particular public universities, medical universities, and the institutes of technology and management. In order to manage the high demands for higher education, the Government has changed the policies and has allowed the establishment of private universities, and campuses built by overseas universities (Agarwal 2009).

The interview respondents revealed their frustrations with the universities in India. A common theme was that Universities did not offer the courses or type of approach that the students wanted to pursue beyond undergraduate level. This was especially the case with the doctoral students. The majority of the

interviewees worked in India before they took up the PhD program in Toronto. Some of the students left their jobs in India to pursue Master's courses in the UK or US, and then chose to come to Canada for a PhD. Some worked in the university environment and others outside. They all wanted to pursue further higher education, and felt that the Indian universities did not offer the courses they wanted to pursue. These students felt disappointed by the approaches of the program – that topics of research focused primarily on their policy application especially in programs such as biology, economics and geography. As one respondent, Tanya, pointed out:

> ...my frustration started with the discipline itself. I was just too irritated with the way we were being taught the kind of things we were being taught. I was just not getting excited enough about things.[...] It is a problem with the way Geography was being taught in India right now.[...] I figured that if I really want to stick around and do what I wanted to do, my option as a career, I have to do my PhD [in geography]. But I will not be in India to do my PhD.

Therefore when Tanya came across a member of faculty at a university in Toronto, she contacted him and then applied for the PhD with his support. His support and approach to work helped her decision to pursue studies in Canada. Tanya's story will be explored in more detail later in this chapter. Overall, there was a feeling of frustration with the Indian university system that was expressed throughout several interviews. This frustration stemmed from the recognition that the universities did not support students' interest in the more theoretical explorations of topics.

A second factor that shaped the choice to pursue education abroad was the constraint put upon students by the institutions based on their previous education. A few of the respondents found out that they could not continue further education in their topic of interest because it was not linked to their undergraduate degree. They could only pursue a masters and then doctoral level course in the field of their undergraduate study. Consequently, one of my respondents, Sneha, could not pursue a PhD in Information Technology (IT) despite spending two decades working in the field. This was because she had an undergraduate and Master's in Chemistry from the reputable Indian Institute of Technology rather than a degree related to IT. She was asked to first undertake a Master's in IT, and then pursue a PhD. She chose to pursue a

Master's in the UK and then a PhD in Canada – the time and ease of application for the UK and Canadian programs and their international reputations were two of the reasons that she chose the universities abroad over India.

The third reason that led to the decision to study abroad is the low opinion of the Indian society and community on those who pursue non-STEM related fields. According to the respondents, pursuing undergraduate degrees in non-STEM courses is frowned upon and disapproved by family and the community at large, especially for men.   This disapproval is so heavily embedded within cultures of certain areas that some high schools (grade 11 and 12) only provide university entrance courses that cater to the IT/sciences or engineering fields. As a result of such streamlining, one respondent, Kapil, had to leave home at the age of 16 to move to New Delhi so he could attend his final two years of secondary education at an institution which offered the non-STEM university entrance courses. However, pursuing a non-STEM program abroad leads to social capital accumulation (Waters 2006b) that makes undertaking a PhD acceptable.

Hence, the idea of a world-class university is linked to dissatisfaction with the Indian education system: the type of training and training methods, and the type of courses available. Students' motivation to study abroad is to fulfil the need for quality education for future prospects, to further training, gain exposure to different methods and study a course/programme that may not be available or accessible in India. The issue of education for better career prospects is discussed further in the next section.

5.2.2 Career

Study abroad is seen to provide skills and cultural capital that enables students to enter international labour markets as well as provide a more competitive stance in 'home' labour markets (Brooks and Waters 2009b). Hence, this venture is an investment by parents and the students in their future, and Table 5-1 reflects this – 56% of all respondents, male and female, identified their interest in pursuing higher education abroad as the first step toward building an international career. As one respondent stated, "studying abroad has many

struggles and hardships but a big time investment for bright future though".
Research by Waters (2006b) on Hong Kong nationals supports the link between
international education and improved labour market outcomes in home
countries.

A factor that shapes the desire to go abroad for international career reasons is
the Indian job market and limited access to it. Approximately 50% of my online
survey respondents have held jobs in the IT industry; others held jobs in
business processing firms linked to banks in Australia, in the medical field and
others in media/communication. One of the reasons these individuals left their
jobs is because they felt there was no room for progression unless they
upgraded their education/skills and also gained international experience. The
respondents referred to their transforming interests as they worked. As they
continued their employment, some going abroad on contracts and others
working in positions of increasing responsibility, all claimed to feel a level of
dissatisfaction from the job, their teams and the institutions. The need to
pursue a career in their chosen field, that differed from their jobs, led them to
look for employment elsewhere. A few recognised that employment outside of
India offered them the opportunity to pursue their interests. However in order to
pursue their careers, they needed more education in an international context.
As one respondent, Tarun, stated:

> I come from an engineering background... I worked in a project at
> [Multinational Corporation] for four years. That's when I met people from
> Europe, Canada and US... they told me that there was a good education
> for me here [in the 'West']. It's not like a lecture-based that happened in
> India, it's more interactive...And then after a time I thought maybe I
> should go for my MBA. At that time I started to look for good schools in
> different parts of the globe. I didn't want to stay in India at that time
> because I wanted to get a global perspective. And how I landed up in
> Canada was I was more involved in CSR – at back home, in corporate
> social responsibility. And also very much involved in non-profit. And
> [names university] has a very high rank in the world for non-profit and
> CSR. Even though I applied to few other schools in US and got
> scholarships from them, since I saw this has a higher rank, I ended up
> over here [Canada].

Tarun, in the first instance, was inspired to study abroad based on the
experiences of his 'foreign' colleagues, and secondly because he wanted to
ensure he has a global perspective in non-profit management. Tarun felt that

this was not something he could learn about in India as the universities did not offer such a programme. This is then linked to the idea of a good university as a means to ensure a successful career progression. Additionally, an international education and work experience would provide these individuals with increased social capital which, according to respondents, would increase their chances of getting access to highly paid, lucrative and interesting jobs in India. This would not be possible if they continued to work in India without upgrading their education/skills.

Lastly, while some of the respondents were able to secure jobs based on their merits and contacts, other respondents felt they were not as successful within the Indian job market. This group is one whose families had financial resources to support higher education, but they and their families lacked the social contacts to compete in the highly competitive job market (Jeffrey 2010). These respondents shared their frustrations with me about their lack of contacts that were needed to secure a job in either the private or public sector. One respondent lamented about her experience in the Indian labour market and disappointment at being unable to return to India to work since:

> I left India in 2000 when I moved to US to pursue my Bachelors. In 2004 I went back for a year to try to work in India because I wanted to test the waters. I was extremely unhappy with the salary and the treatment at workplace or the value my degree / knowledge was given because of my 'arts' background. I moved to Middle East and worked for two years until 2007 which is when I moved back to Canada. I completed my MA (thesis) and worked simultaneously as a consultant for several immigrant servicing agencies and NGOs. Canada has really accepted me for who I am; my skills and expertise have been valued enormously and I have consistently outperformed my expectations academically, work performance wise as well as financially [...] My research focuses extensively on India and I would ideally like to return if possible someday although I am worried about the limited opportunity outside academia my degree may have in India, the kind of respect and treatment I may face in non-academic setting as well as the poor pay in government sectors with my kind of background.

These motivation themes were selected by respondents from a short-list. As shown above, there were no apparent gender differences in the selection of motivations. This was surprising in the first instance as I expected that the strong patrifocal context which constrains women's mobility and access to education would shape these determinants differently. And while on the one

hand the lack of gender significance was unexpected, it also becomes equally interesting when I shift the focus of analysis from seeking gender differences, to examining the lack of differences. In order to do this, the analysis needs to expand from looking at the motivations to the power relations in which the students are embedded which shape the narratives of motivations.

Hence, the investigation continues by exploring the narratives and practices of the parents about their son/daughters' desire to study abroad, starting with the context of patrifocality.

5.3 Parents

As discussed in chapter 4, patrifocality is a model of government for the management of the family – individuals, their wealth, and the collective prosperity of the family (Foucault 1991); it is a way through which the conduct or actions of individuals or of groups is directed toward the welfare and prosperity of the family. Within this model of government, there are expectations from the individuals, which are developed through various forms of the exercise of power; for instance Donner (2008) asserts that "parents try to ensure that their offspring develop a very close attachment and internalise the responsibility they carry as their parents' source of support in old age". These expectations vary by gender of the subjects as they fulfil different roles in the functioning and welfare of the family. The gendered expectations are produced and (re)produced through the government of the actions of the gendered subject by another gendered subject.

In the patrifocal family every member is a gendered member and has a set of expectations and associated performances that they are expected to fulfil. Women in the role of mothers are held responsible for the child-rearing, education and overall well-being of the children and management of the household, whereas men are supposed to provide the financial support for the family. Specific to a patrifocal context, there is also an expectation that the son remains in the natal household, and he along with his wife and children care for ageing parents. These are expectations from parents, sons and daughter-in-laws, in their respective roles once they are married.

However, well before the sons and daughters are married, their actions will have been guided with these roles in mind. Throughout their childhood and youth, the idea is inculcated that sons and daughters are to behave in certain ways to maintain both their own honour and their family's honour – important elements when it comes to marriage age, during the search and negotiations for husband/wife. Young women are guided and trained to be a 'good housewife' and daughter-in-law, and men to become 'good husbands' and sons. The expectations of sons and daughters are explained in more detail later in this chapter.

Parents govern their children then, through gaining obedience through the exercise of power processes such as surveillance and enclosure (Foucault 2000c). Donner (2008), writing on middle-class, educated, Bengali mothers, points out that these mothers "instil a much more compelling sense of duty and moral obligation towards elders in the new generation of children" (2008: 132). Furthermore, these mothers do not emphasise, and actively discourage, the idea of autonomy, individualism and a child's independence. Children are encouraged to build stronger relationships with mothers, and socialise in smaller groups with neighbours and relatives, rather than build their separate peer groups. This is especially the case for young girls, who are "confined to the house as much as possible" (Donner 2008: 133) and are encouraged to spend their time at home when they are not studying, watching TV or speaking on the phone rather than physically leaving the surveillance of the house and neighbourhood to visit a friend. Therefore children are, from a young age, confined within the enclosure of the house and close neighbourhood at home, and at school when away from home, under constant surveillance, their actions always monitored and controlled. This physical closeness to the house and parents is important for the surveillance to ensure that the son and daughter behave in the expected way, as a 'good' son or daughter, and that they are obedient and within control of their parents.

Therefore, a son or daughter moving away from the range of home and neighbourhood is seen by the parents as a potential loss of control. Parents would not be able to survey and therefore control the actions as much as if children were at home. The power-geometry of time-space compression,

though used in the local-global context, is a relevant idea here. As the urban, middle-class youth, who are nowadays growing up in a fully-developed consumer society, venture out farther from home for schooling, social spaces such as shopping malls, or jobs; parents are not able to exert the same level of control over their actions due to the distance. Many times during my interviews with parents I would see or hear them stepping out for a moment to call their son/daughter during the day to check up on them to see if they were at work, or if they were at school. They would also call their friends up to check up on them.

The narratives of parents whom I interviewed reveal their general reluctance to let their children go abroad for education. Such reluctance is a resistance to the loss of control as their son/daughter moves away from home. It is also a fear of the influence of the more permissive and individualistic 'Western' culture. However, as will be shown below, the discourses of partrifocality – of control, surveillance, 'good' boy and girl – are also dominant ways of expressing ideas. The imagination of what the Western culture is and how it may shape the youth will be discussed later. For now, I begin with the narratives of the parents, to be examined within the patrifocal context as well as the discursive registers they use (Johnson *et al.* 2004).

5.3.1 Parents of sons

In an interview with parents Rajesh and Ashwini Chaudhri, Ashwini, the mother, was very clear about her thoughts when her son first suggested that he wanted to go abroad. She said:

> Ashwini: Parent's soul does not allow to send their children abroad....initially we were not interested in letting him go [...] First of all it's shocking, at least to me. Fathers are more broad-minded. I didn't want him to go. I told him [Rajesh] I don't want to send him, you are spoiling him....but he [Rajesh] said 'no let him go, he'll have better future prospects'.
>
> [...]
>
> Ashwini: I was not ready to let him go. He said, let him go. But I said if you let him go, he's not going to come back.
>
> [...]
>
> Ashwini: First of all, if you are a strict parent, do not send your child. Just don't allow them to go at all.

Rajesh: For example, one of our neighbours, their son wants to go, for a long time. He's the only son. They don't even have a daughter. Only have a son. They said, they won't let him go. Period. No further discussion. But he [neighbour's son] seems a bit depressed and unhappy....

Ashwini: Don't say that! No..no..not that...I would say, first of all, don't let your child go. If he's in your control [*bass me hai*] then keep it that way. Because if they leave, they don't come back.[17]

Ashwini: Freedom is there, there is no fear or concern of parents. While here they stay in parent's discipline. When they are there they think...it's a freedom.[18]

Ashwini's anxiety over her son's move abroad for education, when examined through the lens of governmentality, shows her fear of losing control of her son's behaviour. She is concerned that her son would be negatively impacted by the increased 'freedom' that he will experience when is abroad, in the 'West'. Ashwini's knowledge of life in the 'West' is produced through Indian, American and British media; as well as what she has gathered from talking to others in her community whose sons have gone abroad for education. She had little direct experience of life in Western countries. She and her husband, who had not left India until after their son moved, were impacted reactively by the power geometry of time-space compression. Massey would classify Ashwini and Raj as on the "receiving end of time-space compression" (1994: 149) through the mobility of ideas and images across the world via improved technologies. Ashwini and Raj have never been initiators of international movement, unlike their son, who wants to study broad. And neither are they being forced to move due to economic, environmental or political concerns. Yet, their lives are influenced by various time-compressions, by the mobility of goods and images as a result of improved technology, and by increasing availability of higher education in countries outside of India, knowledge of which is more easily accessible due to the Internet. Consequently, the greater access to knowledge,

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[17] The word control was translated from Hindi. The Hindi statement is given in brackets. In order to translate this, to ensure that I did not read or misinterpret the meaning, I played the recording to another Hindi speaker – a parent. Based on the context, the tone, the insistence of the statement, we agreed that the appropriate word was 'control'. The less aggressive interpretation of this word could be "if he 'listens to you'",

[18] The word discipline in this quote was used by the speaker, Ashwini. The interview was conducted in 'Hinglish'. And so mixed in with sentences in Hindi were English words. In this case this was not translated.

specifically about the Western lifestyle impacted the mobility of their son, Karan, who might not have been allowed to go because Ashwini did not want him to be influenced by Western values. Within the governmentality discourse this 'corruption' is likely to happen due to the lack of parental control and oversight. These fears are constructed and propagated as a result of media representations and emerge in the narratives within a discourse of patriarchy and gender relations.

Ashwini's narrative reveals apprehension over her son's departure and more importantly the possibility of non-return. According to the norms of patrifocality, the responsibility of care of ageing parents falls upon the son. Family, in this system, and globally, is the primary source of care (Raghuarm 2012). In the case of Ashwini and Rajesh, and other middle-class families, the role of the son in the family guarantees a support system during old age. However, migration and other factors influence the responsibility of care. These factors include, but are not limited to, lineage, place of residence after marriage, religion, and type of family (nuclear or extended). The role of the son becomes even more important due to a lack of alternate options for care provision. The State in India provides very little as a means of support for its ageing population – especially the middle classes. Hence, the migration of a son means a potential loss of future care. The (re)production of the gender role of the son, as the one responsible for care of parents, then reflects the absence of any other type of care arrangement by the community or the state and impacts on the ability of the son to move.

The narrative of reluctance was constructed due to two distinct yet entangled power relations. Firstly, the power-geometry of time-space compression which leads to the mobility of ideas and further shaped the couple's reluctance over their son. They imagined a future life-course of their son, if he migrated, which did not fit with the values and systems the parents had. Secondly, the power relations between the family and other structures which fail to provide arrangements for care led the parents to reproduce a narrative of gender roles of sons which provides them with a set of arrangements for their care. Yet, despite this initial narrative, their practice was different. As the next quote by Rajesh shows, in spite of the original reluctance, they completely supported

their son through the bureaucratic processes of undertaking international mobility, as well as enrolling in an institution of higher education.

> He went with permission. I got him through all the tests, I got him all certificates. I got him all the paperwork. I got him the financial loans. I did all his formalities. He didn't just go on his own. He went with our consent. And to settle there he took our permission. When he was marriage age, he said, 'Papa, I'll marry whomever you suggest'...He married where we told him to. He is very responsible. [19]

Rajesh continues to use the language of control, consent and permission that is in line with their ideology of adhering to the patrifocality structure, even as his actions reveal that he supports his son's decision to study abroad. The use of the language of permission constructs an image of a 'good son' within the system of patrifocality, while simultaneously constructing a strict but fair parent, in this case a father, who supports his son's desires and wishes.

They supported their son's desires and wishes in the end because they felt that his wishes were in fact in alignment with theirs. They hoped that their son would have the good life which is possible through education, getting a good job, and then getting married. Studying abroad, they felt, provided him with all those opportunities, especially with regard to employment. They felt that if he tried to find a job in India, he may not have been as successful. They spoke of the Indian labour market in which nepotism as a means of securing a job was predominant over meritocracy. While this culture is shifting, there is still a strong sense, expressed by all my respondents, that merit is relevant for only a minority of organisations, and for entry and middle level positions in business processing companies. The higher-up positions were only accessible through personal networks rather than merits. There is a belief that this is different in the labour markets of Western countries. Furthermore, the issue of caste is always present in India, though it is hidden (Jodhka and Newman 2007).

The practices of the parents are somewhat in tension with their narratives and reflect their own sometimes ambiguous lived realities, the national labour market, and the provisions of care which are entangled with the gendered

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[19] The words 'permission' and 'consent' were used by the Rajesh, in English. These were not translated.

relations within a family structure. This creates a particular transnational middle-class subject – one who is simultaneously located within the growing Indian middle class by undertaking mobility and has 'chosen' to live (in this case) in Australia. The choice of mobility is also a performance of middle-class masculinity (Ali 2007; Osella and Osella 2000, 2006).

This outlook and the reluctance of parents to send their sons abroad due to loss of control and fear that they will not return can be traced clearly through the interviews with parents of sons. There is a stronger sense of control that emerges between the relations of parents and sons. Another way of reading Ashwini and Rajesh's, as well as that of other parents' reluctance, is that their narrative, the repertoire of speaking which I have access to for analysis, is a dominant discourse for representation of a particular middle-class identity: one that is entangled with the desire to be a good parent with Indian values while simultaneously performing a liberal, new-India identity (Fernandes 2006). This tension between their narratives and their actual views is visible in their practices[20] such as traversing the necessary bureaucracy that is involved in undertaking the process of mobility, such as presenting financial documents, preparing visa applications, applications for universities etc. The structure of patrifocality gives the parents access to certain discourses that are linked to life-courses and the gender role expectations within those life-courses. For men, as discussed above, the gender role expectation as part of life-course is to get married and take care of parents. For women, the gender role expectation, as part of life-course, is to get married and take care of the marital household, which includes the ageing parents of the husband.

5.3.2 Parents of daughters

However, as the narratives revealed, the parents of daughters do not adhere to the similar dominant discourses of a patrifocal family system and its associated gender divisions, as the parents of sons. The interviews with parents of daughters were very different. Most parents were pleased that their daughters

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[20] Some of the practices that I highlight here were presented through many narratives. The distinction between practices from what they 'speak' is that the latter represents their thoughts and views, while the former, even though derived from their narratives, refers to the actual actions they took – their practices.

had gone abroad, and were not as concerned as the parents of sons that their daughters' attitude would change or that they would be out of their control. Though there was reluctance, parents expressed a great sense of pride that their daughters studied abroad. In most cases, parents supported their daughters' choice to study abroad, in order to build a professional career. This is once again linked to the anxieties of the labour market in India. In the case of men, the anxieties were over the inequalities due to nepotism and caste. For women, the anxieties are increased, as they have to navigate the labour market inequalities that are a result of the more complex intersection of gender, nepotism and caste.

One respondent, Kailash, an outspoken community spokesperson and a social worker, spoke of how initially he was not pleased with his daughter's desire to study outside of India. But then members of his community and his friends approached him jointly to make him realise that he was doing his daughter a disservice. This was a very particular case, where the whole community[21] supported Kailash's daughter's ambition to study abroad. He brought to attention a conversation he had with one of his close friends

> My friend said, Kailash, if you don't let your daughter go, then I say you give me your daughter. I will make sure that my daughter goes to study abroad.

By the time I interviewed Kailash he was excited and pleased that his daughter went to study abroad. He regaled me with her achievements in science competitions she participated in secondary school and university. Most important for him was that his daughter would be able to reach her potential, something he felt she would not have been able to do in India. He had the following to say:

> There [a university in UK], they have funds for the kind of research she is interested in doing. Here, the university just didn't care that she wanted to do the research. And they didn't have money. There they gave her money for a PhD! There are more jobs for her there especially in her field. Also, there she doesn't have to worry about if she can work, or get a job after she marries. Here, you never know what type of family she

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[21] This community lay at the outskirts of Delhi. Seven years ago this was a more rural community. In 2011 it was transforming into an urban area.

> marries into. They might not let her work after marriage. Or if they do, then she might not find a job at the level she wants.

Kailash alludes to the university system in India and its limitations that were discussed earlier in the chapter. He also draws attention to the gender inequalities of the Indian labour market. In professional fields such as engineering and IT, while women have made significant headway in breaking into these industries, their progression is significantly hindered by the gendered inequalities embedded in the system. Research has shown that women in the Indian labour market are often relegated to lower positions and earn significantly less than their male counterparts (Cooke 2010; Gupta and Sharma 2002; Parikh and Sukhatme 2004). This is not specific to India; labour market gender inequalities persist in all countries/societies (Mills 2003). However, they exist at different levels. Parikh and Sukhatme (2004), for instance, highlight instances of Indian engineering firms that have policies against hiring women. Hiring practices of other organisations give preference to men over women based on the assumption that women will discontinue work after they are married or when they have children. This also limits the progression of women within the management hierarchy (Cooke 2010). Parents' concerns underscore the gender inequalities that exist at national level in the labour market. Hence, the motivation to study abroad for a career is also a result of the underlying gender discrimination that women may face if they enter the labour market in India. Parents' awareness of this situation is clearly present in their narratives and there is less tension between their narratives and practices.

Another parent, Kanchan, was also reluctant. Unlike Kailash, Kanchan is still not pleased and shared her displeasure about her daughter, Malini, studying abroad. The story of Kanchan, and her daughter studying abroad, highlights some of the 'traditional' gender expectations that parents have toward their daughters. At first Kanchan did not want to send her Malini to study abroad:

> ...the decision to make your daughter go when she was a marriageable age of 22/23. I had actually started looking for boy, and thinking of getting her settled at that time.

However, with the encouragement of her husband, she changed her mind. The interview with the mother revealed that she supported her daughter's ambition

of pursuing her desire and interest of the course of study, but she also wanted her daughter to pursue the traditional role by making and managing a family and household. This expectation was clear when she said:

> I feel, that no matter what profession you pursue, *you must raise children, and you must manage the household* [*bacche aap ko palne hain aur ghar aap ko chalana hai]*. At the end it all boils down to the home life. In her [Malini] profession, she has the independence of choosing her hours and working, which is very very rare, and now we've now equipped her now.

Kanchan felt she could support Malini's decision to study abroad, and pursue a career because of the type of career her daughter was choosing. She stated that most women in India choose teaching as a career because it provides them with the flexibility they need to have a job and manage the household. They do not choose teaching because they enjoy it. This draws attention to the gendered construction of a work day, one that does not take into consideration a woman's various responsibilities. In light of the inflexibility of other professions, Kanchan felt that Malini's chosen career gave her the flexibility of working within hours which would not require her to sacrifice her 'womanly' duties of raising children and managing a household. She wanted to ensure that her daughter received the training that would enable her to set up her own business in Delhi. This would allow Malini to pursue her passion for the profession and simultaneously successfully fulfil her responsibilities of maintaining a household that a woman is expected to take on when she is married. Kanchan's narrative also reiterated the restrictions young people face with regard to pursuing their interests in an academic setting. Kanchan's daughter was forced to look for universities outside of India for the type of training she wanted because universities and institutes in India did not cater for her interests, as discussed earlier in this chapter.

However, Kanchan was adamant that her daughter should not leave for more than one year, as she was getting older and slowly moving out of a 'marriageable' age range. The idea of a marriageable age within the Indian context is very important when considering the life-course. It is part of the expectations for daughters to leave the natal household by a 'respectable' age to perform the gendered social role of a homemaker. Kanchan's strong

statement that "*you must raise children, and you must manage the household*" clearly situated her position within the patrifocal structure. This goes back to the idea of the patrifocal family; firstly the mother more than the father regulated and controlled their daughters' education and mobility, as well as regulation of sexuality, demonstrating the gender-differentiated power relations. However, it was with the support of the father that Kanchan 'let' her daughter go.

Kanchan's concern with Malini's studying abroad was that her marriage would be delayed. While she did not elaborate more, there were several references to 'Indian values' in the conversation with Kanchan and in other interviews with parents. Kanchan is trying to resolve two contrasting positions: her subject position as a 'good' mother with Indian values who ensures that her daughter is married at an appropriate time is at war with the position of a mother who wants her daughter to have a career she loves, while not sacrificing the 'traditional' values. The parents are concerned about the behaviour of their daughter, and also that she might meet someone else to marry whom they would disapprove of. Vidya, a student respondent, whose story will be explored in more detail later, highlighted the concern that parents have with the idea of daughters studying abroad. She said that it had to do with what they imagine the daughters and the sons would do:

> I think generally that parents are reluctant when girls want to go abroad, because they are scared of the culture, they are scared they will change so much - they are scared, you know, it's the West, people go crazy, they start drinking,...and like they imagine the entire thing in a different way. They tend to think we will be drunk on the weekend - we will just like stop doing - so just move away from Indian culture.

Thus, parents' reluctance to support the son/daughters' aspiration to study abroad is linked to the imagined loss of control due to the distance, and the idea that their son/daughter would be greatly influenced by the Western culture to the extent that they may give up their 'Indian culture and values'. However, their narratives also reflect the registers that parents have access to when expressing themselves in reference to their sons and daughters.

The topic of the 'Western' lifestyle corrupting the son/daughter was intimated throughout all interviews with parents. The lifestyle in the Western countries was imagined rather than experienced, since most of my respondent parents

had never travelled abroad. The parents' impression of the foreign Western culture – the Other – was shaped through media representations and second-hand knowledge from their friends and relatives. There were two main sources of media representation that influenced a particular view of the Western culture that stood contra to the Indian values and identity. American or British television shows and movies are accessible through satellite television packages. During my four months of fieldwork, I noted that various satellite packages televised myriad 'Western' shows such as CSI – an American crime show – all the American and British soaps, news channels such as MSNBC, FOX and BBC, channels targeted to youth such as MTV (US, UK and India) and a large selection of other channels. But the more significant source of media representation of Western culture was through Bollywood movies. [22] In these movies Indians living abroad are shown living in tension with the Western culture, as they constantly negotiate their 'Indian' identity which is in conflict with Western values (Banaji 2012; Uberoi 1998). The images of the non-Indian cultures in these media travel across the world to create a specific Western identity that is dissonant with the Indian cultural values and identity.

Also, from the narratives of the parents, the idea of 'letting' or allowing their son/daughter go emerges. This was present in the language of Rajesh, Ashwini and Kanchan quoted above. Tied to the idea of 'letting' the child go, is consent. The parents *consented* to the son/daughter's movement. There is an expectation that the son or daughter would not have gone abroad, had the parents said no. There is an expectation of obedience from the son/daughter to the parents which is linked to the subject positions of the 'good' son and 'good' daughter. There is a fear of loss of that control due to the relative immobility of the parents and the stretching of power geometries (Massey 1994). While the son/daughter is able to move away from the parents, the parents have differential ability to move compared to their son/daughter. This is based on financial ability, physical ability, visa restrictions, and sometimes health issues.

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[22] During my time in New Delhi in 2011, I watched four Bollywood movies (Delhi Belly, Meri Brother ki Dulhan, Ready, Zindagi na Milegi dobhara), of which three involved stories of Indians living outside of India.

Parents use the narrative of 'allowing their child to go' to retain at least a sense of control of their child's action. However, as the discussion above pointed out, there is an identifiable and recurring mode of speaking that the parents utilise when conversing about the idea of their children leaving, which produces a narrative of reluctance. These specific registers draw upon a language of patrifocality with which the parents are familiar. However, their narratives of reluctance are in tension with the second part of the story. In the second part of the interviews, all respondents construct a narrative of support. This second narrative is one in which, despite their reservations, they support and facilitate the desire of their offspring regardless of the gender differences. This second form of speaking, when examined by shifting the scale from household to national, uncovers gender as well as class inequalities at national level in the labour market, education systems, and in the care provisions of the middle-class ageing population. This support is based on the motivations of further education and career. The discussion of education and career exposed the gendered power relations at the macro-level of labour market and national institutions of higher education.

But how did the narratives of reluctance change to narratives of support? How did the discourse of loss of control and fear of losing their son/daughter to a Western lifestyle shift to one about education and career? The following section presents the interviews of the students to reveal the negotiations that occur between students and their parents. The section also reveals another set of power relations that remain invisible in the narratives of the parents.

5.4 Negotiating (im)mobility

This section links the aspirations of the students with the expectations of the parents to reveal the various degrees and types of negotiations that occur. These negotiations enable the daughters and sons to fulfil the role expected from her parents and the community while simultaneously achieving their individual goals and aspirations. Within the patrifocal family different expectations exist for sons and daughters. Hence, the following discussion is divided by the gendered roles that parents categorise for their children: daughters and sons.

Four interviews are presented as case-studies. The narratives of Vidya and Tanya present very different cases of negotiations between daughters and their parents and other relatives. In several ways Vidya and Tanya are opposites: they live at opposite ends of the country, they come from different caste backgrounds, their parents have contrasting gender expectations, and they are pursuing studies on different sides of the disciplinary spectrum – Vidya is pursuing a degree in Biology and Tanya in Geography.

The narratives presented for sons – Nitin and Mayank – have more in common. Both Nitin and Mayank are from the lower rungs of the middle class, they are both pursuing non-STEM related fields, which is a point of contention between them and their respective parents; both their parents have similar gendered expectations. The differences in their narratives emerge in the negotiations between them and their parents, and also the support they receive from other family members.

These four participants, while they are on one hand are quite disparate from each other, illustrate many of the themes that emerged throughout the research. The various issues and concerns that other male and female respondents raise can be traced through the four narratives, together and individually. Relations between the respondents and their families shape their choices, and how they overcome their social locations in the family, that otherwise restrict their ability to participate in international student mobility. The students' interviews therefore reveal the shifting of the discourse of parents from one that is embedded within the language of patrifocality to one that reveals the gendered inequalities at a national scale. It also reveals implicitly the desire to construct a particular middle-class subject through the narratives of the motivations to study abroad. These negotiations bridge the tension between the parents' narratives of reluctance and support.

5.4.1 Daughters

This section focuses on how young women negotiate with their parents, and specifically on their ability to move for education while they are embedded within multiple hierarchies of power. I foreground the role of the daughter and all the expectations that are attached with that gender role in the family and

community. I then move between the scales to examine gender inequalities in the labour market.

The discussion weaves the issue of class throughout. A key finding of the online survey discussed in chapter 4 is the significant relationship between gender and class. Class is an overall important factor in shaping the mobility of the international students in many other geographical settings too, as we saw in the literature review in chapter 2. Furthering the findings of Findlay *et al.* (2006), my study reveals that mothers play a stronger role in shaping the mobility of women than for men. Moreover, within the middle-class hierarchy, more women as mobile students are likely to belong to the higher echelons of the middle-class than men. Social class in this context was defined as parents' education, occupation and also a history of mobility – internal and international. Hence class plays a significant role.   With this in mind, we proceed with the remaining discussion, in which class intersects different gender role expectations.

There is a an expectation for young women to be married by a certain age: complementary to that role is education which enables women to be successful in finding a partner, and secondary to that is a job or profession (Donner 2008; Osella and Osella 2006; Thapan 2009). The narratives below show how some women may have to constantly negotiate and defend their position with their parents and community to study abroad, whilst other women need little negotiation and receive greater support and encouragement to pursue their studies abroad.

The expectation from daughters in patrifocal families is to get married by a 'good age'. The 'good age' range varied from as early as 21 years – when the daughters and sons would just be completing their undergraduate education – to up to 27 years – an age that would allow the women to build their career trajectory. The age ranges of course are arbitrary and often dependent on the individuals, their parents, social class and social networks. Furthermore, depending on the economic status of the family, professional women may remain unmarried to support their wider family. As an example, a letter to the Letters Column in the conservative women's magazine 'Women's Era' reveals

such a case. A reader, aged 38 years, wrote to a column entitled *Personal Problems*, and revealed the following:

> ....my parents did not try to get me married because I was the only earning member for the family...But now that my two brothers have got good jobs, they want me to get married and have even found a man for me. *(Women's Era* 2011: 33*)*

Then there are other cases, wherein women choose to remain unmarried regardless of the social pressures, or choose to cohabit with their partner without the support of the legal contract. In most cases, further education or career development, beyond the basic undergraduate degree, is seen relative to time of marriage. The narratives below of two women participants reveal two degrees of negotiations that occur surrounding the issue of marriage. In case of Vidya, we will see how she negotiates around the reluctance of her parents by overcoming the issues of costs and delay of her marriage, and also manages to gain some support from her mother to facilitate her study abroad. The second narrative, of Tanya, shows two elements: firstly, the little negotiation that occurred between her parents, relative to Vidya; and secondly how her boyfriend's parents played a role in her mobility abroad.

Vidya

I met Vidya on one late afternoon October 2010; it was the week of Diwali celebrations in Toronto. I was introduced to her through another respondent. Vidya was 25 years old at the time I met her. She was born in Chennai (formerly known as Madras), Tamil Nadu. Tamil Nadu is the most south-easterly state in India and Chennai, the capital city, is the hub of the software industry in India. The predominant language of the state is Tamil. Her father owns a software company, and her mother is a homemaker; both have university education. She has an older sister who is now married. Vidya was brought up to identify herself as a high caste Brahmin. Within Vidya's family's and the caste network, her parents have less conservative leanings, especially when it comes to sending their daughters to study abroad. Her caste, she says, strongly believes in the idea of caste segregation based on the level of 'cleanliness' of the people; they "stick to themselves and they are like typically like you imagine the caste system in India...we are very clean". This attitude of cleanliness and minimising

inter-caste interactions is reminiscent of the nineteenth-century ideology of upper-caste Brahmins who wanted to distance themselves from the perceived unclean lower castes and 'untouchables' (Osella and Osella 2000: 250). Caste, in Vidya's case, is located above class in the social hierarchies of power that shape her and family's position within the community.

One way to maintain this purity of caste is through the regulation of women and their sexuality by segregating them and limiting their interactions with non-Brahmins. In an analogous case, Puri (1999) reflects on her experience as a young woman of Punjabi affiliation, growing up in the suburbs of Mumbai, and asserts that the continual regulation and control of women's sexuality is tied to the "importance placed on managing external threats to our bodies and sexualities, as well as on containing our sexual impulses…Our femininity and sexual respectability were not negotiable and were linked to a national cultural tradition countering the pitfalls of modernity and westernization." (1999: x). Control of women's mobility, and their surveillance, to ensure regulation of their sexual respectability and to control with whom they interact to minimise inter-caste interactions, came out clearly in Vidya's interview. According to Vidya this was normal practice. During her earlier education in secondary school, she attended a school that adhered to the Brahmin code of the family. There was an expectation of a Brahmin standard of education, cleanliness and food preparation – vegetarian. At the age of 18, she left her parents' home to move into university residences. She was allowed to live in the university halls because the university adhered to the tenets of the upper-caste Brahmins which her family followed. The university hall of residence practiced adherence to the Brahmin code, were vegetarian, enforced strict segregation of men and women, and a stricter curfew for women than men. By contrast, her sister had to stay at home and commute to her university daily because her university was – using a colloquial term – 'not kosher', or rather 'not Brahmin'.

> ...she went to, so my university was six hours away from home. She studied from home, she commuted every day. And her university, they had residence - like her hostel, was way more...they were not conservative. But my parents didn't want her to be in residence because of that.

Her sister's college halls did not have the same restrictions. The institution of the university hall of residence is a control and surveillance mechanism, to discipline and monitor – the creation of 'docile bodies' (Foucault 1995). While these students were in no way 'docile', there was an expectation, one that was followed by most, to adhere to the strict rules and codes of conduct. Fernandes (2006) highlights this regulation of single women through enclosure, segregation and surveillance in hostels, wherein women follow the formal restrictions of the institution as well as regulate their actions to reflect the set of "informal gendered social codes" (2006: 164).

This segregation by caste also extends through other spheres of everyday life. Vidya, at the age of 21 years, completed her undergraduate degree in Sciences. Shortly after, she started a job at a software company:

> After my final year I got placed in a software company - but my dad was not okay with me working there. Because he's an industrialist [he said] 'you can work with me, you don't have to go anywhere else. I'll pay you the same that they pay you there.' And I was like okay, I'll try. So before joining the software industry I had like two months [when] I tried working with my dad. But I wasn't too happy in the sense that I felt like...I don't know...His place... his office...

Vidya's parents were not opposed to her working, as might be the case in other strict upper-class Brahmin families. However her father did not want her to work in another company, where there would be a risk that she interacts with other people who are not of the same caste or community, and where her actions could not be monitored. Uncertainty over which type of people make up a company points to the underlying class and caste discrimination that has been persistent within the Indian system. While the newer businesses use the language of meritocracy, Vidya's interview hints at what Jodhka and Newman (2007) assert is caste discrimination. Who works for the business is determined by caste, but hidden in the language of 'family' and regional background (Jodhka and Newman 2007).

This need for control and surveillance then translates into the decision on women's mobility and education abroad. In reference to whether women study abroad in her community, she had the following to say:

It's [studying abroad] normally what lots of people do, they do MS [Masters of Science] for the US. That's how lot of people do, that's like the norm. [...] Well not a lot of women do, especially because masters you don't get funding always - guys do take loans, that's okay - as far as I know girls don't - parents are not okay - because again the traditional way of getting them married is and things like that is still prevalent - predominantly - that was there.

[...]

One of the things is that Indian parents think that it's their responsibility to find a guy for their daughters - especially with daughters not with sons - I don't know that much as I don't have a brother. So daughters, they always think it's their responsibility so they don't want them to go abroad - again this mentality of finding their own - someone from your own community, is always there, and they don't want them [other women who go abroad] to find somebody who doesn't speak the same language

[...]

The guy should be a veg[etarian], he should probably be in business...things like that – stereotypes…

Thus it was not surprising when Vidya said that her parents were unhappy about her studying abroad. Through her interview, it became clear that she expected her parents' disapproval regarding her desire to study abroad. She also knew that the financial cost may be used as a reason for her parents to reject her idea, as well as the need to get her married at an appropriate age. Therefore, she pre-empted the objections by securing funding and finding a program that was one year in length.

...so the thing is my parents were not happy when I went to the UK; but they couldn't say no, because I was funded for my program. [...] Yeah they couldn't say anything, because I was funded and it was a year and okay she's gonna come back after a year [...] but ...

As Vidya indicated, studying abroad is not a new idea. People in her community know about it. For certain communities, such as Hyderabadi Muslims, moving abroad is a right of passage for young men (Ali 2007). The issue of financial cost is important to note here since Vidya, at the age of 21 years, having just completed her undergraduate degree, had no personal savings. This is common in families in India where the youth are dependent on parents to cover their costs (Derné 1999). Therefore, the idea that Vidya had financial security that covered her cost of education is indicative of her taking action without the knowledge, guidance or direction of her parents. Such action allowed her to

shift her position in the family hierarchy, as she had managed to ensure financial stability. A similar set of actions were also taken by one of the male respondents, Nitin, to be discussed later.

The idea of the cost for foreign education, and the fact that she would be gone for only one year, combined with the prestige of studying of abroad within this family's network, facilitated Vidya's application to her parents to study abroad. The concern of marriage age was initially mitigated by the length of the course – one year. However, it is still surprising that her father agreed to this considering that he did not even want her to go to a university that did not adhere to 'Brahmin' codes. Even more surprising was that, despite her parents' continual reluctance, after the completion of her one-year UK program, she moved to Canada for a second Master's. However, while Vidya was able to negotiate going for one year to the UK, and then extend it to another year in Canada, she is unsure if she would be able to do a PhD and still push back marriage even further. She recalls her discussion with her mother regarding studying abroad for longer after she had completed half her program in the UK.

> After six months my mom came and stayed with me and she saw how much I was interested in what I was doing and how I was happy by myself and I was being paid for whatever I was doing - and then by that time, I had applied for [names university]....so I applied. By March I got my acceptance at [names university]. And my mom came in July to stay with me - and she was like oh okay how long is that course going to be and all that...and here again I'm in grad school for a masters now....so even now, my parents aren't really okay with the fact that I'm going to do a PhD, they still think it's a Masters. I'm not pursuing it, because it's hard for them to let me be myself for four years. That's what they, even though it's very normal here. Especially because of marriage and things like that. In my community people get married at 24. A lot of my friends who are in India are married or getting married. So it's sort of like...they are like...we should get her married, that sort of thing.

In the discussions, Vidya, in a round-about way, reveals the role of her mother. While her father figured in the discussion as the main person making the decisions, Vidya discusses her mother's role in supporting her further studies, and taking the trouble to visit her in the UK. She also intimates her situation where she was being paid for something she loved to do – especially in the sciences. The economic factor once again appears in the discussion of what is perceived as relevant and important. Vidya was able to mitigate any reluctance

of her parents through securing her own financial stability. Secondly, her financial security was ensured on her own merit rather than relying on nepotism networks. Her financial independence allowed Vidya to shift her position within the family as well as caste hierarchy. She was now not only the daughter, or the future wife, but also a researcher who was financially independent. As the quote above shows, Vidya, with the support of her mother, had been able to negotiate up to two years of study abroad; but now as she encroached closer to the end of the good age range for marriage, her parents are getting anxious about the length of the program and if she would continue her studies. Vidya is finding it harder to be able to continue to negotiate her way to continue her education. She didn't inform them that she would be continuing on to a PhD; through the continuation of her studies, she is trying to push back the idea of marriage for as long as possible. However, marriage by a certain time and control over her conduct had been the driving force for her parents' reluctance. Vidya emphasises her concern regarding the issue of marriage:

> ...because I have been pushing this PhD idea; they are like four more years...I don't know, I don't know, I think they want me to find somebody and then do a PhD maybe.

Tanya

Tanya was in her late 20s when I first met her. Her story shows that less negotiation occurred with her parents when she decided to study abroad. Rather, the concerns that were raised were by her future in-laws. As the following discussion will reveal, there is again the idea of 'imagined' conduct as shaped by the 'West' and how that would impact the behaviour of the women, in this case a daughter-in-law.

Tanya is a PhD student in Toronto. She was born in New Delhi, in North India. Unlike Vidya, there was no mention of caste. Her father is a professor and her mother, university educated to Master's level, is a homemaker. Tanya's family is in the 'lower' range of middle class in comparison to Vidya's family. Tanya was discussed briefly in chapter 4 about her motivations. She wanted to study outside of India because she felt that the Indian education system did not support her interests in the field of her choice. Furthermore, she felt restricted by the academic and research institutions. Hence, she decided to follow the

path of her father – to study abroad. Tanya's family is not a stranger to the idea of study abroad; in the 1970s her father pursued his PhD at one of the colleges of the University of London and her mother and older sister lived in London during that time. In this way, Tanya too fits the majority of the respondents who undertook the survey.

Tanya's case lies at the opposite end of spectrum from Vidya's. Tanya describes her parents as open-minded:

> ... I've had a very very open-minded up-bringing, with never any restrictions. I never had a brother, not even once had my father ever said, we never had a son. He's been very very fair to both me and my sister, giving us as much of freedom as we want. Letting us do whatever we want to do. No restrictions on whether we can talk to boys or not, whether boys could come to our home. Never any restrictions. And I guess, for me, there were none at all because if there were some restrictions in my sister's case, she fought them, and then my parents got okay with it. And so by the time it came to my turn, they had already experienced that and they didn't care about it. So yeah, going for outstation trip with my theatre group, going for trips with my friends in my Master's, there were never any problems with that.

So Tanya recognises the unique situation that her family has afforded her. She reflects on her social circle and extended family:

> Amongst my immediate close set of friends, there was never any restrictions like that. Amongst my whole set of people I'm familiar with, there was that thing. That women have to dress a certain way, they have to get back home at a certain hour. Women have to know cooking; girls who were in eleventh and twelfth were cooking entire meals, because their moms were ill or their brothers were out entire day. [...]Couple of my relatives – my uncle – he's into business, and so they...even the roles are well defined in term of boys and girls, but they assume things: that girls have to be pretty and follow the fashion, boys are ...rich boys are going to drive around the car.

Tanya's family did not adhere to traditional gendered expectations of their community. Neither her nor her sister received house-work training such as cooking, like some of the others she knew. Tanya's parents created an environment for her and her sister in which neither their mobility nor their access to education was limited. Both were encouraged. Education and professional development were given priority over marriage. And therefore when Tanya decided on pursuing a PhD abroad, she was not concerned about her parents saying 'no':

> So even when I decided, I asked my father, well papa what do you think, should I go for a PhD? He said, 'sure if you want to, but I have limited funds'. I said don't worry, I'll go only if I get any funding. Even I don't know if I want to take up loan, who knows how to pay back. And I was scared of the idea of taking so much loan.

Like Vidya, Tanya secured funding, but not as a means of securing her parents' consent. Tanya, as part of the middle class, could have secured a loan with her parents' help. Her family had access to various financial instruments that would have facilitated her mobility. However, Tanya did not want to put that financial pressure on her parents. She had her parents' full support. However, the relations that did need nurturing and negotiating were the ones between her, her boyfriend Mukul, his parents and her parents.

At the time that Tanya finished her applications and received acceptance to her program and funding, she was in a relationship for six years with her boyfriend Mukul. She recalls that time and the upheaval that was caused by Mukul's family:

> When I finally figured out that I am now going to Canada, our plan was that he [Mukul] wanted to come to Canada. He was working for a mid-level start-up company. They were thinking of offices across the world, and because I was in Toronto, and so we thought it would be great if they set up an office there. That didn't work out. So he decided, we won't tell our parents about us, because there was no point in telling them about it right now. We agreed that I would come here [Canada], settle down for a while and then we'll see what needs to be done.

> [...]

> His parents were putting some kind of pressure on him, to get married. So he went to his village, he's from south India, and he told them that here is a girl, and she is leaving for Canada in next three weeks. They got very hyper, and they said no, we have to see her before, because, for all we know he might just be joking with us because he doesn't want us to look for a girl for him. So then he said my parents are going to come meet your parents. I said I haven't even told my parents about you and then to tell them that your parents are going to come and visit us! So, I told my father that his parents are going to come visit us.

> [...]

> So then they met up, and whenever my father-in-law would say what about marriage, my dad would say 'let them decide, I just need six months notice before anything'...My father had no immediate problems...no problems.

Tanya's family may not have had any expectations, but Mukul's family did, which were then imposed upon Tanya and her family. There was urgency that the idea of marriage between the two families should be settled because of the expectations Mukul's family had of their son: to get married. The insistence of the future-in-laws to meet Tanya and her family before she left was a result of Mukul's parents' need to ensure that the girl their son was to marry was acceptable. Secondly, their actions safeguarded against any possibility of their son or Tanya changing her mind as a result of the influence of the imagined 'western culture'.

In this narrative, Tanya did not have to negotiate in her position as a daughter, but rather as a future 'wife'. Furthermore, this was in fact an engagement with the power relations between Mukul and his parents, who wanted to ensure that Mukul fulfilled the expectations of a son.

Another respondent, Anindita, whom I interviewed in India, related a similar story, wherein her boyfriend's parents' expectation of their son impacted her leaving India. Anindita, like Tanya, had to 'promise' marriage to her boyfriend's parents before she left India for a doctoral degree in the US. She related that her boyfriend's parents were concerned that once she went abroad, she would be influenced by 'Western culture' and either find someone else and call off the relationship or simply change her mind. The shifting position from a daughter to a wife and daughter-in-law was at the heart of the negotiations.

5.4.2 Sons

Just as certain expectations of women shape their ability to move, so are the men affected too. The expectation for sons is to get a job and marry so that they can take care of their ageing parents and advance the family and its welfare as part of the patrifocal system (Derné 1995, 2008; Osella and Osella 2006). The first expectation from the son is that of securing a job. This 'valorisation of male earning' (Osella and Osella 2006: 1) cross-cuts regions and communities. The security of a well-paid job is linked to the marriage market; a good job will attract a better pool of potential wives. Sons are expected to be married by a 'suitable age', as with the women, but that age can be slightly older for sons.

The job and marriage are steps in a life-course and part of the process that shapes the young men to fulfil their next responsibility: caring for ageing parents. And with these expectations it becomes clear that while the expectations for women, at least in the urban middle classes, are expanding from only home-maker to include a professional career; the expected role of men in the families remains the same – namely the traditional expectations of taking care of ageing parents, especially if there is only one son. This expectation from parents influences their varying degree of support and the level of negotiation that occurs between sons and parents. Linked to the expectation of care of parents is the issue of marriage, which brings in the wife and daughter-in-law as an important care-giver.

A second point that shapes the reluctance of parents, as discussed in section 5.3, is the degree of control parents want to maintain and be able to exert over their sons. This is threatened if the son leaves for abroad. The threat comes from the 'Western' or 'foreign' culture, which is seen to clash with the Indian values and traditions. Again, this is tied to the 'traditional' expectation of men taking care of their natal household; men feel the obligation to do so, because they feel that their parents have taken care of them (Derné 1995). From the perspective of the parents, especially mothers, who are responsible for child-rearing as part of their gender roles, "parents try to ensure that their offspring develop a very close attachment and internalize the responsibility they carry as their parents' source of support in old age" (Donner 2008: 133).

As in the previous section, interviews with two students in Canada will be privileged: Nitin and Mayank. Nitin's narrative reveals the reluctance of his parents for him to study outside of his natal home. However, the possibility of 'education abroad' allowed him to negotiate his time abroad till he completes his degree; time was given to him by his parents to finish his studies so that he can get a well-paying job and return to his 'previously scheduled program' of marriage and caring for his parents. By contrast, Mayank has the support of his brother and other extended family members to negotiate on his behalf and overcome his parent's reluctance toward him studying abroad.

In comparison to the narratives of the women, the men's narratives tend to be fuller and provide greater insights into the expectations of the parents from their sons and as well the tension that exists between them. And the narratives of the parents about their sons also give a richer and clearer picture of the negotiations that exist than the women's.

Nitin

Nitin's narrative is selected in this discussion over others because it illustrates many of the themes that emerged throughout this research. The various issues and concerns that other male respondents raise pretty much all emerge in the one case of Nitin. Relations between the respondents and their families, as Nitin's story exemplifies, shape their choices, and how they overcome disadvantaged positions in the family, that otherwise would restrict their ability to participate in student mobility abroad.

Nitin is in his late 20s, based in Toronto and pursuing a doctoral degree. He was born in the city of Tirrupur, in South India and identified his family as belonging to the 'lower middle class'. Neither of his parents have university education; his mother is a homemaker, his father travels for work, and he has an older sister who works and lives abroad. Nitin fits the characteristics of the majority of male respondents of the survey; specifically, he is from a lower socio-economic class than the women who participated in the in-depth interviews. At the age of 18, Nitin moved to New Delhi for his undergraduate degree in a Social Sciences discipline. He had arrived in New Delhi to sit for the entrance exams for medical school. He stated that:

> I was in Delhi for an entrance exam. I saw in newspaper that it was time to apply for Delhi University colleges. So I was there, and I had a strong feeling that I was not getting into any of the medical colleges. So I thought better I should apply, so I just applied.

Nitin did not know what he wanted to study at university. All he knew was that his parents expected him to pursue studies to become a doctor, an engineer, or a lawyer. He had few options about what he could do once he completed high school as his life-course was already set by his family. Certain things were expected of him as the only son in the family, such as getting a job, to get married to an acceptable girl, have children, and take care of his parents. Osella

and Osella (2006) point out the importance of men earning, going into an arranged marriage and producing a child as themes that are embedded within the broader social-cultural ideas of Indian family.   Nitin's position as the only male child within the patrifocal Indian family gave him privileged access to education and mobility so that he could fulfil the expectations of his role as the only son and become a doctor – a respectable professional position with which his parents could identify – thus enabling him to take care of his family. However, his position as the only son also placed him at a disadvantage. When Nitin did not get into medical school, he enrolled at Delhi University. His parents were not happy with this, as he explains when he recounts the negotiations between himself and his parents at that time:

> I had to fight it out at home. They [parents] were not very happy with it because first I'm doing a social science, and second I want to do it in Delhi...They said you just want to do a BA degree, you can do that here. Why do you have to go? They can understand for engineering and medicine people moving out, going to some other place and study. They couldn't understand why someone would like to travel to get a BA degree. So I had to convince them.

Nitin did convince them, which he needed to do because he relied on his parents for financial and emotional support. At the age of 18, he, like most other young men and women his age and of his social class, do not have savings, or jobs to support their cost of living. He was dependent upon his parents to pay for his tuition and living expenses. Nitin was in New Delhi for nearly seven years, during which time he completed his BA and went on to a Master's degree.

It was the early 2000s, during the time Nitin was in New Delhi and communication technology was beginning to grow in India. The internet was starting to take hold though computers were not easily accessible in all households. Phone calls within India could be very expensive depending on areas, and mobile phone use was not as widespread as currently is the case in India. Due to the limited access to communication technology and the vast distance between New Delhi and Tirrupur (over 2000 km), Nitin was in limited contact with his parents either over the phone, or in person during visits home. He discussed how conversations with his parents during those times were

stressful, as he felt pressured by his parents to finish university and get a job, so then he could get married.

When Nitin decided to apply for PhD programs outside of India, at first he did not tell his parents. He was afraid that they would not support his decision to study abroad as it meant that he would not settle into his role of the only son in the family and the associated expectations. When Nitin started the search and the application process, he was still dependent on, and 'controlled' by his parents. His parents still had to agree and support his decision, so they could assist with the finances to enable him to leave.

> I told them after [the] second rejection that I'm planning to move abroad and [was] applying [to universities]. [...] The next time, I applied for a place in US. I needed to [write the] GRE, but I didn't have a credit card [to pay, to register online]. My father had a credit card, so I had to inform them. So that's how they came to know the full thing.

Nitin was aware of his financial dependence on his family and felt that they had greater control over his actions. Here, he looked to the experience of his sister. In contrast to Nitin's experience with his parents, his sister faced the disadvantages of being a female child. Nitin says that, had his older sister wanted to move outside of their city for education, she may not have been allowed to do so.

> I don't know whether my parents would have been similarly comfortable in sending my sister to go to [out of state], if she had fought it out at that age. I don't know if they would have allowed it... they would have tried to keep her near.

Her social location as the female child of the family – regardless of age – placed her in a position where her mobility was limited by her family. However, she was able to move out of the lower position in the family hierarchy, that limited her mobility, into an advantageous one – by entering the medical profession. As a health professional she would earn more money if she worked outside of Tirrupur and outside of India. This economic advantage allowed her to transform her 'social location' and gain better access to education and control over her mobility (Chopra 2005).

> They let her [go abroad]. They [parents] knew that if you go abroad, you make more money in the same profession. That's the obvious reason. Families send their daughters. A guaranteed way to get job, so they let

her. The economic factor, which made it more possible. And also in our community marriage-ability is dependent on this. Dowry becomes less, if you have a girl who is earning.

Hence, when Nitin decided to study outside of India, he was determined to gain an economic advantage just as his sister had. He tried three times to secure funding so as not to be dependent on his parents. On the third try, he successfully received full funding for his PhD. Again, however, he felt frustrated by his parents' lack of support to pursue a PhD in social sciences and the pressure for him to get a job:

> Well they are not very eager about my doing PhD at all. So maybe, I don't know. They were happy because I was happy, not because they were happy about it […] They don't see any future (laughs). [...]There is sort of uncertainty in their mind regarding my future.... job, marriage, things like that. So I think they are worried about those things because there is a connection. They see if you have a job, then you can get married and they don't see anything of that happening with me doing a PhD for five years.

This takes us back to the issue to sons expected to take care of parents in their old age. Nitin moving abroad for education, and one in which the parents see an uncertain future. The possibility that Nitin may not secure a job or get married means that there are no guaranteed future arrangements for parents' care. Hence the connection between Nitin's job and marriage can be extended by adding the node of care for parents, as they are all interconnected.

Nitin's funding allowed him to transform his social location. It allowed him to study abroad for a doctoral degree that his parents did not support, because it meant that Nitin would be a student in his late 20s and without a job. In their different ways, Nitin and his sister negotiated their routeways through the hierarchies of power in the family.

Mayank

I met Mayank for the first time in a group setting at an all-night public arts event in Toronto, *Nuit Blanche.* I had interviewed two people who were in the group. Mayank was aware of my research project, and we chatted informally for several hours as the group traversed the downtown core of Toronto, looking at various art exhibits. He was enjoying his time away from India, as it gave him

the opportunity to read and ponder at his leisure, something he felt he was unable to do back home.

Mayank was in his early 20s when he first left India to study abroad. His first stop on the trajectory of international education was an Ivy League university in the North-East United States. He moved there with his then girlfriend. Mayank was born in Mumbai, and comes from a middle-class family. His parents are both mid-range civil servants. Mayank informed me that they could not afford cars and other luxuries when he and his brother were younger. Now their financial situation has improved. He went to a private school, one that his parents could not afford to pay. However, due to his family connections and a scholarship, he attended secondary school with children of the upper echelons of Mumbai society.

For Mayank, like Nitin, the negotiations with his parents regarding education started long before he decided to go abroad. Like Nitin, Mayank too enrolled in a non-engineering program. This was a result of a long-drawn-out negotiation that involved Mayank, his parents, and his uncles.

> My family kind of have a thing that kids have to go into science, so into medicine or engineering so you can kind of get a job. My bother did that. So I finish my 11th and 12th. I wasn't interested in science per se; it was just assumed that I would go into engineering. There was a debate about going into architecture because I was more interested in it. But then we reserved a seat in engineering in case it didn't work, it was always there. So I went for a week to engineering school and it turned out that the stuff I didn't want to read was exactly what they teach. I didn't get that great grades that I could get a free fee seat at the university. So my parents had to pay the tuition but couldn't really handle that kind of loan to pay for engineering. And so I had given my architecture exam and scored really well. I ranked really high and I could get into architecture school and got a free seat. Other family members came and said to [parents] let him go to architecture. He can migrate to Singapore, Hong Kong or Dubai and make good money. So my parents kind of said OK, it worked out.

Already, even before Mayank had started his undergraduate degree, the idea that he was going to live abroad was part of his parent's imagination of what Mayank's life would look like and his role in their lives. After Mayank completed his undergraduate degree he worked for a while, and then decided to apply abroad for further education and future possibility of work. He was dissatisfied with his work and the pay that he received in Mumbai. The low-paying job

meant that he would not be a 'good' package for marriage, as he would not be able to afford the luxuries and amenities that his friends had started consuming, such as expensive cars and large-screen televisions.

Moving abroad for study and work was not a foreign concept for Mayank, as his brother had followed that trajectory to the US.

> My brother migrated when I was in the third year of architecture. He came to the US to do his masters. It seemed like a trend that was there in engineering that everyone finished and ventures to US for masters degree, and kind of got a job there later. But since my work was based in Mumbai, so I just wanted to get a degree in masters in planning, and go back. So I applied, the year I applied I wasn't keen on going, I was like I'll apply 'cause my job wasn't really paying me well. Like a low paying job, so I said I will just apply for it, and if not I will get a research fellowship somewhere. So for some reason I decided to apply for the big schools. I kind of got in. My brother was kind of impressed that I got into Ivy League school. He convinced my mother to say let him go and we will take care of the money. Because the fees were really high. I got some funding, but also had to take a loan from a bank. My brother was supportive and helped with the fees as well.

While Mayank does not explain all the details of the negotiations he went through with his parents, he points out that that there were issues that emerged when he proposed the idea of studying abroad for non-engineering. One of the reasons that his parents weren't too keen to take a loan and support his application was due to this low performance in studies prior to the going abroad; it was this low performance in studies that prevented Mayank in getting into a university for engineering or medicine; and, of course, Mayank's lack of interest in pursuing these fields of study. He states that this mother was not very happy when he first proposed to study abroad, and still wasn't at the time of the interview. However his brother supported his decision to study abroad, and mitigated any objections including the financial ones that Mayank's parents may have had.

 Mayank went to the US for his studies on the east coast, to an Ivy League university. His brother was aware of the very high status of the Ivy League university, and that was the reason he supported Mayank's desire to go abroad. The idea of a world-class university emerges here. Mayank's brother supported his desire to study abroad specifically because of quality of the institution that

Mayank would attend as well as the social and cultural capital that Mayank would accumulate gain due to the name of the institution both in India and in North America (Waters 2006). After completing the program, Mayank worked for a year, but decided shortly after the Master's that he wanted to pursue a PhD. Again, his brother supported his decision to continue his studies abroad, especially when Mayank received full funding for the PhD.

Overall, Mayank represents the case, such as that of Tanya's case too, where the negotiations of power relations and gender expectations are not only between parents and their offspring but also other kinship relations such as siblings, extended family and even potential ones such as future in-laws.

5.5 Conclusion

Hondageneu-Sotelo (1992: 394) writing on the relationship between patriarchal gender relations and migration, stated that "patriarchal authority allows them [men] to act autonomously in planning and carrying out migration". This image of the autonomous male labour-migrant was conventionally cast against the constraints put on women's mobility by patriarchal relations.

More current research (Mahler and Pessar 2001, 2006; Raghuram and Kofman 2004; Silvey 2006; Williams 2005) reveals the different ways that patriarchy shapes migration.   The discussion in this chapter works to some extent to challenge the image of the male migrant who has the privilege to act autonomously, and the image of the woman who has little autonomy in her migration trajectories. Both men and women's planning decisions on migration are not autonomous in these Indian examples. Moving abroad was negotiated between the students' and parents' respective desires for moving and remaining in India. These desires were shaped by both personal relations between and within family members and friends as well as wider structural factors such as the labour market and care regimes.

The existing research on the motivations of international students has framed the role of parents as the supporters and facilitators of study abroad (Baas 2010; Waters 2006). However, as the discussion above shows, parents have divergent and conflicting interests on the migration of their offspring. In particular, the parents of sons were the most reluctant about this movement.

Parents' narratives of reluctance were comprised of their references to the gender roles of sons/daughters within a patrifocal family. In the case of sons, parents were concerned that they might not return. This fear of non-return is tied to the primary role of family as the care provider for older members of the family. The son's role in the patrifocal family, his ascribed gender role, is to ensure that care arrangements are provided for the older members. A movement away of the son makes the future of care uncertain since there are no other arrangements of care. The state does not provide any care provisions for the ageing population, and especially not for the middle classes (Fernandes 2006).   Moreover, it was not only the parents whose reluctance shaped the mobility of respondents. In the cases of Tanya and Anindita, their future in-laws also played a role, extending the relations of power outward beyond the nuclear family.

The narrative of reluctance was shaped in large part around the provisions of care offered by family, and the lack of any other arrangements at national level. Despite this reluctance, this group of parents did eventually support their son/daughter's desire to move abroad, with varying degrees of enthusiasm. The parents' narratives of support were embedded within the discourse of a better life for their children. This imagined life reflected a particular middle-class trajectory of securing a good job in a private business. However, they felt this goal would be harder to achieve within the gender, caste and class inequalities within the labour market. In particular, the parents of girls expressed concern over their daughters' future, that it might be inhibited due to the limited job prospects in their respective fields, limited progression in the business, and lastly the role of future marital family and if they may disallow their daughter from working. The narratives of support of parents of daughters exposed the several layers of practices within Indian society which would prove to be a detriment for their daughter's successful life.   Other members of the family and community exerted their positions of relative power to garner support from the parents to facilitate the mobility of the respondents.

Lastly, the students themselves took steps to shift their social locations to gain their parents' support. Students undertook strategic steps, in particular securing funding to overcome any issues of finance. This not only allayed family

concerns over the cost of the mobility, but also showed to the families that their son/daughter can secure their own financial freedom. Secondly, the students applied to specific sets of universities – world-class universities – with which comes a degree of prestige (Brooks and Waters 2011; Findlay *et al.* 2012; Waters 2006b). The social capital accumulated by the respondents by gaining entrance to a prestigious university shifted their position in the hierarchies of power in the family, thereby transforming the nature of the relations between parents and their student offspring.

The aspirations of the students to pursue education abroad lay at a disjuncture with the parents' expectations. The tension between the parents' narratives of reluctance and those eventually of support was negotiated between parents and students. The size of the gap between the two impacts the degree of negotiation that is required between sons/daughters and parents and other social actors such as siblings and extended family members. Moreover, the negotiations and decisions are shaped as a result of a shifting of gendered and classed social positions: son to son-in-law, or daughter to daughter-in-law; from the student son/daughter to a professional; from one who is financially dependent to financially independent; another position is afforded by becoming internationally mobile. Once men and women complete the negotiations and become mobile, their position shifts again to a more positive, middle-class identity of mobile students and future professionals. These shifts in social positions impact the nature of the power relationships with the parents.

However, it does not mean that, once the young person leaves, the negotiations end. An end of negotiations would indicate an end of the relations. These relations are simply stretched across space and are maintained to different degrees through the technologies of space-time compression such as flights, internet and mobile phones. The examination of these power-geometries between parents and their now overseas-located children is part of the discussion in the following chapter. Chapter 6 explores the experiences of these students once they have reached their 'destination' country.

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Chapter 6: Negotiating Everyday Experiences: becoming (un)intelligible in and across scales and spaces

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the gender performances of international students through their everyday experiences and their various interactions with the members of the 'host' and 'home' community. The interactions across different social relations and at various scales reveal the different power-geometries that the students navigate, resulting in shifting gender identities.

The spaces which the migrants inhabit are multiple. Existing research on international students (Baas 2010; Collins 2008, 2010a, 2010b; Murphy-Lejuene 2002; Kim 2011) has highlighted the myriad social relations that shape the students' everyday experiences. These can be summarised into three main categories: with locals (students and non-students), other international students, and the diaspora. In this chapter I will focus on two of these three interactions: locals and the diaspora. Each set of social relations also form spaces (Massey 1994) of interaction and here I will construct two spaces that emerge out of the social relations engaged in by students in Toronto: relations with White Canadians, and relations with Indian Canadians. I will demonstrate how these spaces of interaction are embedded within the scale of the city. To this I add the transnational scale, and hence I construct one more space of interaction which emerges out of family relations with parents back in India. Each space is imbued with power and contains its own set of hegemonic discursive constructions of gender and regulatory practices that constitute an 'intelligible' gender, gender identity and gender performance. Each social field then has its own 'matrix of intelligibility' (Butler 1993, 1999) that constructs a coherent gender identity discourse, which varies across space and time. Consequently, my analysis in this chapter presents a more dynamic interpretation of students' gendered experiences within and across various

spaces as an "ever-shifting social geometry of power and signification" (Massey 1994: 3).

Gender identity is an effect of power relations, specifically those which are exercised through regulatory and discursive practices. Gender identity is "construed as a relationship among sex, gender, sexual practices and desire" (Butler 1999: 24). The matrix of intelligibility therefore refers to a collection of those discursive practices that create coherent gendered norms. Cast against these gender norms, the person is compared and constituted as a 'subject', and hence made intelligible. For the comparison to work, therefore, there needs to be an 'abject' being – whose gender identity through its constituents makes the being unintelligible and thus incoherent to the existing gender norms. The abject being is rejected by the matrix of intelligibility, but the construction of the 'unintelligible' abject and the intelligible subject is simultaneous and necessary. The abject being and subject are mutually constitutive in the matrix of intelligibility. Butler asserts that the domain of the abject:

> ... provides critical opportunities to expose the limits and regulatory aims of that domain of intelligibility and, hence, to open up within the very terms of that matrix of intelligibility rival and subversive matrices of gender disorder. (Butler 1999: 24)

The idea of intelligible and unintelligible matrices of gender is important here since, as we will see, the international student moves across and through several spaces. The core of my discussion has two elements. Firstly, it is the recognition by the migrants whether the gender norms of the new spaces they inhabit make sense to them; and whether their gendered identity fits into the norms of the spaces. Using Butler's vocabulary, are the migrants' gender performances intelligible in the new spaces they inhabit in Toronto? The second point of examination is the negotiation – accepting or repudiating – of the matrices of gender relations and identity of these spaces. To clarify further, once the migrants recognise whether their gender performance fits or does not fit into the gender norms, how do they proceed? Do they accept the new gender performances and adapt them into their everyday life, or do they reject the norms of the spaces and seek other spaces in which their performances are intelligible?

The analysis below will reveal how, as students move from one space to another, they encounter different discourses of gender created as a result of different social relations. Often these discourses assume heterosexuality. As the students traverse through these spaces, their gender performance, based on certain discourses, may no longer fall within the matrix of intelligibility of the space; or vice versa, meaning that the discourses of gender that are being reproduced by others in the spaces may not be intelligible to the 'newcomers' – the students.

The chapter is organised into five main sections. In section 6.2, I begin by examining the 'education' or 'study' experiences of the students. Section 6.3 moves to an exposition on the city scale that highlights two spaces constructed out of social relations with White Canadians and Indo-Canadians, respectively. The purpose is not to say that these are stable discourses; rather, the aim is to highlight the fluidity of the discourses across spaces, the (un)intelligible nature of these discourses, and how the students negotiate – accept or repudiate – their abject constructions. Section 6.4 reveals the spaces created by the relations between students and parents stretched across the transnational scale. And finally, section 6.5 is my concluding synthesis to the chapter.

6.2   Getting education

The students who attend higher education institutions (HEIs) in Canada are likely to have different experiences dependent on their choice of college or university. Based on my online survey of 157 respondents, Table 6.1 shows the respondents' ranking of how worthwhile they felt their study-abroad experience was in relation to the themes in the left column.

Table 6-1: Satisfaction with the study abroad experience (% data)

Factors[23]	Extremely worthwhile	Worthwhile	Slightly worthwhile	Not at all worthwhile
Enhancement of my academic and professional	68.0	28.1	3.3	0.7

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[23] These factors are drawn from the survey designed by Findlay and King (2010) as part of their study on UK students studying abroad.

knowledge				
Relevance to my general career prospects	58.8	32.0	7.8	1.3
Relevance to my potential for developing an international career	59.5	28.1	7.2	5.2
Foreign language proficiency	28.3	20.4	27.0	24.3
Knowledge and understanding of another country	55.6	35.3	7.2	2.0
Travel/adventure	52.3	29.4	14.4	3.9
Maturity and personal development	69.9	26.1	3.3	0.7
New ways of thinking about my home country	64.1	24.8	7.2	3.9

Source: Author's survey (n=157)

'Maturity and personal development' was selected by 70% of the respondents as the most 'extremely worthwhile' experience of study abroad. Nearly the same amount (68%) of the respondents identified their study experience was 'extremely worthwhile' for the 'enhancement of personal and professional knowledge'. Lastly, 64% of respondents felt that the study-abroad experience was 'extremely worthwhile' since it led them to 'new ways of thinking' about India.

The experiences of respondents in Canada varied by the type of HEI: college or university. College students were less satisfied than university students with the development of academic and professional knowledge, as well as future career prospects, than university-going students. The college-going respondents expressed a general sense of dissatisfaction and disappointment with their programmes. The respondents, most of whom were enrolled in business management programmes, said that they did not receive the full Canadian education experience because their programme was filled with other international students from India. They were disappointed at the absence of 'locals' (read White Canadians) in their programmes. Furthermore they felt that the level of education was too basic in comparison to their education in India, especially in the courses involving mathematics and accounting. But they found that writing reports was harder as they were less familiar with that type of work. Their measure of the level of difficulty of the course was compared to the

degree of difficulty of mathematics, even though they struggled more with the writing element of the course. They felt that this was not beneficial to their career prospects. They felt they had not learned anything new or different. The certificate they would receive at the end of the programme would be a stamp of approval for them that they hope would make entrance into the Canadian labour market easier.

By contrast, the respondents who attended the universities and were enrolled in undergraduate and post-graduate taught courses were more positive about their experiences, especially with regard to learning and teaching methods, as well as their future career prospects. Respondents expressed excitement at the mix of theory and practice that was presented in their courses. Prita, an undergraduate student in economics, had this to say:

> ...The way profs teach here, they don't teach you from text book but more from application. Back in India it's easier, you have a text and you read it. Here, you go to class, and go over the material. Even though it's the same material, it's being taught differently here.

These sentiments were echoed by other respondents in other fields such as Business and Psychology. The students were happy with the group learning methods, as well as the group presentations they were required to do as part of their evaluation. They felt the teaching and learning methods that encouraged them to be creative and required them to develop their presentation skills were extremely useful, not just for the Canadian job market but also for international job markets.

PhD students also expressed an overall positive response to their experience at the universities. In particular they said they liked the structure of the programme. Students who were enrolled in STEM courses that involved lab work expressed a satisfaction with regard to access to the resources. Arpita, one of the three interviewees enrolled in a STEM field, had the following to say:

> The kind of subject that I'm pursuing now, in India there aren't many resources or many labs that deal with it.

Arpita then further stated that what she liked in Canada was that she did not feel the patriarchal gender hierarchy in academia to the same degree as she did in India:

> Well...I can say, faculty interaction – it's a lot more professional here. The system of hierarchy doesn't exist here but it's extremely present in India. You should know your status as a student kind of a thing. You should be, not just respect them, but show that respect. That hierarchy is there, but here it's just...faculty advisor*s* are lot more considerate
>
> [...]
>
> I can say that in India people have their set of opinions in a way. I mean men in general – if you walk into meeting you [women] have to work hard to let your voice heard. You have to be the semi-aggressive woman. It's very hard in a male-dominated meeting anywhere to make a point anywhere in general.

This reflects a general trend of women's experiences in the sciences, not just in India but elsewhere as well (Gupta and Sharma 2002; Parikh and Sukhatme 2004).

One aspect that several PhD students felt strongly about was that when they were away from families and friends in India, they could work more easily on their projects. They felt that, while they missed the emotional support of the family and friends, they were also relieved that they were not expected to attend every event and occasion. As one respondent, Mayank, expressed, 'he was in exile'. He could just take the time to sit back and read as many books as he wanted, and develop his thoughts and ideas without worrying about being interrupted. Arpita too expressed these sentiments:

> …it's actually the time I spend with myself – was less there and more here. So you can actually think about it more, reason it out and you spend time with yourself. That's when you think about many other issues – that's the luxury of thinking.

Overall the experiences of 'education' of the students varied immensely based on the type of HEI they attended. University students (both undergraduate and post-graduate) had a more positive experience of learning, teaching and developing prospects for careers than students who attended college.

Another consequence of the different type of HEI was the type of spaces students accessed. The college students appeared to have engaged with a less heterogeneous population than university students. For international students, HEIs are usually the first point of contact as they arrive in the new country. Either someone from the university came to pick them up, or their initial social

mixing comes from the student association. Regardless, the entry of the student into various spaces starts at their institution of higher education. It is through the university or institute of higher education that students gain access to the different spaces identified above.   Furthermore the university/college impacts which spaces are even accessible, based on the type of people attending the university/college. As college students complained, they did not meet any 'locals' because all the students in their programme were Indian international students.

Through the university/college, depending on the courses, their extra-curricular activities and various other social spaces, international students interact to varying extents with other international students and non-international students. According to the online survey, the majority of the students interact with a mix of students; however the single largest group outside of 'mix' was the group of people from the 'home' country. The term 'home country' was not explained in the survey, and no guidelines were given about determining who is from the home country. Therefore those from 'home' country refers to both international students from India and others who may share the Indian identity.

Table 6-2: Socialisation of Indian international students

	Yes (%)	No (%)
I mainly socialise with people from my host country	34.2	65.8
Most of my friends are from my home country	50.0	50.0
I tend to socialise mainly with other foreign students	38.3	61.7
I socialise with a mix of people.	94.1	5.9

Source: Author's survey

Table 6.2 suggests that 94% of the respondents socialised with a mix of people. A mix of people here is interpreted to mean those from the respondent's home country, other international students and people of the 'host' country. And while an overwhelming majority has shown affiliation with this statement, 50% of the respondents nevertheless identified social interactions with people from India, and thus creating mono-ethnic social relationships.

In the case of the college students I interviewed, since their course was entirely composed of other students from India, their social interactions and the resulting spaces they accessed consequently were 'Indian' spaces comprised of other Indian students, and at times the Indian migrant or diasporic community in Toronto. Often, these interactions with the Indian community were specific to the students' ethnic, religious or regional affiliations. So for instance, students from Gujarat maintained stronger relationships with others from the Gujarat region or those who identified as Gujarati or from Gujarati backgrounds.

By contrast, the students attending universities appeared to have access to multiple spaces, only some of which were 'Indian spaces'. As these students (university and college) traversed these multiple spaces, they encountered different discourses of performances of identities such as that of a student, an Indian, a woman, and a man. Each space which emerged out of social interactions and relations with different groups of people (re)produced what were often heteronormative gendered discourses; some of these discourses were intelligible and others unintelligible to the students. The following discussion focuses on negotiations of (un)intelligible performances of the students in and across multiples scales and spaces.

6.3   Close encounters in the city

'Encounters in the city' refers to the interactions between students and the members of the 'host' community in the Greater Toronto Area. Specifically, the encounters focused on two spaces resulting from interactions with two different groups: White Canadians and Indo-Canadians. Each space possesses its specific 'hegemonic' discourse which constructs gender identity. Such discursive constructions can be seen through the interactions and social relations of the students with others in the two spaces. The gendered identity of the student is judged by those who see themselves as defining and fitting the gender norms within a particular space; and simultaneously the students judge the performances of masculinity and femininity of the new spaces based on the matrix they are familiar with, which may coincide with the spaces or may not. Most often in their interactions with White Canadians and Indo-Canadians, the respondents felt that they did not quite match the expectations of what it meant to be, dress like and act like a man or woman. This was firstly because initially

the students were not aware that there were different gender expectations in each of the spaces. Once they became aware of the different gender norms, they then evaluated their own performances according to the norms of these spaces and adopted or resisted accordingly.

The first question that arises is how do the students become aware of these 'differences' – how they recognise the (un)intelligibility of the discourses; or are they made to realise this? The next question that arises then is how do they negotiate between their coherent or familiar and the incoherent or unfamiliar matrices of intelligibility? The idea of governmentality is once again useful to examine these questions. The narratives and techniques of regulation and discipline, and the technologies of self are examined below to explore how the students transform their positions from abject beings into subjects within certain spaces.

By engaging with these ideas, my focus is not solely on the mobile subject, but also expands to the social relations and emergent spaces that the mobile subject interacts with and within.

6.3.1 Encountering the Other: the White Canadian

'Encounters with the Other' constructs a non-Indian, predominantly white body, an authentic 'Canadian', a 'local' body. In the interviews with the Indian students in Canada, in the first instance, 'White Canadians' were constructed as a homogeneous group. The students met 'White Canadians' within the classroom or other social spaces such as pubs and clubs at the university and elsewhere in the city. Here though, my focus is on showing how the students became aware of their (un)intelligible performances in the 'local' spaces, and also how some 'local' spaces were (un)intelligible to them.

The existing research on international students' experiences with the 'locals' is often referred to in the context of 'lack of interaction'. Who the locals are in this scenario is never explicitly stated; however the implications are often that of a 'white' body. In the works of Collins (2008, 2010a, 2010b), Baas (2010) and Kim (2011), the everyday experiences of the students are constructed in conflict with the 'locals'. The conflict emerges through narratives of racism and other forms of discrimination which are based on the archetypes associated with the

students' race. Kim (2011) discusses the discrimination experienced by her respondents, 'Asian' women. Her respondents shared their experiences of facing sexism and discrimination in London because they did not give the 'expected' gender performance of 'Asian' women – a docile and submissive woman.

Another context of interactions in the 'local' space is as students, predominantly men, working in 'low-skilled' jobs in the 'host' cities. These studies present nuanced and complex portrayals of lives of students as workers at the intersection of class, migrant status and race (Baas 2010; Batnitzky *et al.* 2008). These experiences are often contrasted with positive experiences of the 'West'. The 'West' in these contexts is often presented as the land of freedom, where the youth are free of surveillance of parents and the community (Batnitzky *et al.* 2008; Hansen 2008; Rutten and Verstappen 2013). These are also the imaginaries of the respondents I interviewed, as well as of the parents of the respondents, as presented in the previous chapter.   Furthermore, when these youth are in the 'local' spaces, they are also free of the expectations, especially gendered expectations, linked to their responsibilities to their families.

The space constructed out of the social relations with non-Indians is the least familiar to the respondents. Living in Toronto, at a new university, with a large diversity of people who are not Indians, is a new and unfamiliar experience for many respondents – an experience that most students nevertheless looked forward to.   While some students had studied elsewhere, also outside of India and before they arrived in Canada, the majority of their interactions and social relations were constructed within the Indian context in which they had spent several years, if not their entire life. At the beginning, the participants developed their social relations within the university either in classes or through extracurricular activities such as clubs etc. It is through such activities that they started to meet the 'locals'.

Gender performances

Prita, an undergraduate student from an upper-caste Tamil Brahmin background, sought out the familiar spaces in an unfamiliar environment. Prior to starting the undergraduate programme in Toronto, she had completed one

year at a university in Bangalore. She was knowledgeable of a university setting, and so when she arrived in Toronto she sought out groups similar to the ones she was involved in when she was a student in India. In her case, Prita joined the theatre group. She describes her experience as:

> I really like theatre. So there is a college production theatre company. My first year I worked as a backstage manager for one of their biggest productions here – so I made a lot of friends [...]
>
> I did that in my first year, my second year I joined the Indian student club. In the theatre club all of my friends were from here [non-Indians]. There were no brown people; I was the only brown girl. So it was really hard…this culture...everything is very different – when came my first year, it was different for me. It was really different. I guess the way they [non-Indians] were brought up here was much different from way I was brought up. I was brought up much secluded Indian girl and they were more open and outgoing in that sense. So it was really different in that way... here there are over 19 or 20, they are always going out drinking every other day, and they are partying , and all these things were really new to me when I got here. Not that I didn't see all this back home, but it was more hushed and not as crazy and wild. Small things like that and actually, I didn't really want to get into those things.

While she was familiar and enjoyed the 'theatre' part of the experience, she was uncomfortable with the expectations of performing the dominant femininity in that space. The signifiers of the dominant femininity within the theatre group included, but were not limited to, going out clubbing, drinking alcohol and the norm of having sexual relations before marriage. Prita was uncomfortable with people thinking that she would have sexual relations before marriage. Furthermore, she felt that the people in her theatre group did not understand her choice of deferring sex till after marriage. Her choice of deferring sexual relations till marriage was as unfamiliar to them as their choice to have sex before marriage was to her. Young migrants from more 'sexually' conservative countries have expressed similar dissonance when they were faced with an environment where having multiple sexual partners was not just accepted but also encouraged. In a study of professional Chinese migrants in Australia, one respondent in the study spoke of the peer pressure he felt to have sex with women before marriage. This was seen as a performance of hegemonic masculinity within the Australian culture (Hibbins 2005). Pre-marital sex and having multiple partners is a performance of both masculinity and femininity in this 'Western' space; and the pressure to have sex appears more in narratives

of younger participants than older ones. Prita did not explicitly say that she was uncomfortable with the expectation that people had of having sex. She contrasted her experience with the theatre group – predominantly white/non-Indian – to the Indian group:

> ...so I felt that I need to connect with people, connect with someone. So that's why I joined the [Indian] student club and I made a lot of friends that way. It was not too different for me as we still share the same background so it easier to connect....It's more comfortable with this culture, we are from the same background so they understand the limitation
>
> [...]
>
> I was more comfortable with this crowd and I was not really comfortable with the other in my first year because I didn't really know what was happening. I didn't know other things so it just made it a bit hard.

So while she liked parts of the theatre group, it also led to a dissonance between what she was comfortable with and knew of her gender performance and a performance which was expected amongst the theatre group (non-Indian). She was more comfortable with Indians and specifically with Indian men. She felt that Indian men were familiar with her 'limits', by which she means the degree of participation in sexual relations. I met Prita several times over the ten months that I was in Toronto. In most cases, these interactions were at social events. My observations and discussions with Prita at these occasions, in conjunction with Prita's interview, revealed that she felt that her choice to not pursue sexual relations did not make sense to the members of the theatre group. They were unable to understand why she did not want to have sex. By contrast, her choice made sense to people she met within Indian spaces and in particular the men she encountered in these spaces. Prita's case is a counter-hegemonic narrative of the sexual liberation of migrants when they move to a 'Western' country with its more liberal views on sexuality (Ahmadi 2003). Prita did not find her experience sexually liberating. She felt a specific heterosexual feminine performance was being forced upon her, one that expected her to pursue sexual relations. In response to the pressure to conform to the gender norms and expectations of the 'local' space, Prita chose to leave that space for another one that was more familiar to her, the Indian group.

Another case, Nitasha, mirrors the lacuna between the familiar and unfamiliar gender performances. Nitasha first came to Toronto as a Master's student. During the first few months of her time in Toronto, she altered her material performance to fit the norms and styles of her classmates.

> For the first four months I came here, I didn't wear *Kajal* (kohl). Only because this one time I did, everybody looked me in my Master's class. It hadn't happened before and I don't know what it was but they kept looking me. I don't know what it was, maybe my perfume, or my earrings or I was wearing Indian print. I don't know what it was, but everyone kept looking me. I was so shocked….and I said I don't want to stick out. I know I was sticking out, but I didn't want to stick out anymore. So I stopped doing that [wearing kajal] because I didn't want to stick out. I had to not do certain things. It took me a while, like six months to a year to realise that other people were open to whatever I wanted to do and dress. Now the group I know they don't care. But the group I met when I first came here, I have a feeling… They thought I was weird or something. They did recognise a difference, and the difference somehow mattered. I don't know how.

I spent several months with Nitasha, in interviews, meeting her at various parties, going to pubs and going to shopping centres. She was usually dressed in jeans, a loose t-shirt if she was outside in malls, pubs etc, or wearing a *kurti/pajami* (a tunic-like top and cotton tights) at various parties – hosted by Indian friends. She often accessorised with, what she pointed out one evening, Indian 'ethnic/artisanal' earrings in oxidised silver, a cotton scarf around her neck, and eyeliner surrounding the top and bottom of her eyes. She identified this manner of dressing for her was how she performed her left-wing feminist identity. She explained that this was often the style of dress and make-up for most women of her generation in academia and activists who identified with left-wing politics in her city of Bangalore. Figures A-5 and A-6 in the appendix show examples of the dress and make-up styles discussed above.

However, in Toronto, this same performance was completely unintelligible to her classmates in the masters programme. In the frames of reference of her classmates, her race and gender identity made her political identity invisible to those in her class. To them she was only an Indian woman who dressed in an unfamiliar manner. South Asian styles are now more visually present in American university campuses (Mani 2003); they are also more visible in popular media in North America such as in television shows, both scripted and

reality. In general South Asian styles of clothing, especially signifiers associated with Indian femininity, have gained more exposure in the popular media and overall in the western imaginary (Baas 2010; Durham 2001). However, it is clear through Nitasha's experiences that this imaginary still exoticises and 'others' these racial performances. As Durham (2001) asserts, the Indian woman in the Western media discourse is represented "as the disembodied fetish that supports White female sexuality", while simultaneously sexually objectifying the White woman. Hence, the presence of Nitasha was not only unfamiliar but also a representation of a particular sexuality, constructed as a result of the media: Western media and Bollywood.

The surveilling gaze of Nitasha's classmates made her feel self-conscious. In order to not stick out, and fit in more, she 'disciplined' her body and altered her way of dressing. She stopped adorning her eyes with Kohl and performed a more subdued, less 'Indian' femininity at that time. She felt that she had to reproduce a way of being that fitted in with her classmates. However, as she progressed through her Master's, and then to her PhD, she met more people who were along her political and age spectrum. She re-asserted her 'Indian leftist woman' performance of wearing artisanal jewellery and Kohl because she was more comfortable with presenting that identity, and being acknowledged for it. This was also because she was in more familiar spaces, where her way of dressing like an 'Indian' left-wing feminist was accepted, even if it was not the locally dominant way of presenting a feminine identity. It was also the case that, as a more mature doctoral student, she had more academic status and self-confidence to perform the embodied identity that she preferred, after a longer presence in Canada.

Similar to Nitasha's experience, other women respondents also shared this idea of regulating and adapting their 'Indian' woman's performance and restricting it to private spaces only. Tanya, introduced in the previous chapter, discusses her choice of wearing non-Indian clothing in Toronto:

> I love wearing suits, I love wearing saris. I can't wear that here on a regular basis. I have to wait for occasions when I'm here or I create occasions so I can wear my sari ... The first time that I tried to wear suit. I said to myself let me try it out on a regular basis. Let me try it when I'm

just going out to meet a friend. Lot of people wear it, why can't I wear it. But I'm extremely conscious when I wear it.

Nitasha, Tanya and other women respondents alluded to their attempt to discipline their gendered performances to match what they perceived as the 'white' Canadian norms. These women were very conscious of the evaluating gaze of those around them and felt very conspicuous about their mode of dressing. These women, as well as a few men, repeatedly discussed how they did not want to stand out in Toronto. This notion of being aware of their performances as (in)appropriate to the specific spaces lead the men and women to produce multiple subjectivities (Williams 2005, 2008). These subjectivities shift to adapt to the different demands and expectations of gender performances in each space. This group of women self-discipline and adapt to the norms in public spaces in an effort to not attract attention to themselves. Coles and Walsh (2010), in an analysis of British expats in Dubai, point out that these people, especially women, also alter their modes of dressing in public spaces "making concessions to local sensibilities" (2010: 1324), albeit reluctantly. Tanya and Nitasha's respective modes of dressing made them intelligible in the spaces and located them as desirable subject positions within the social relations of white Canadians in the classrooms as well as in the public spaces. In private spaces the British in Walsh's study present their wholly British identities. This practice is mirrored in my participants' everyday lives. In private spaces, both Nitasha and Tanya adorn their body and perform their Indian femininities. In these private spaces, they present a particular sense of self that is associated with their politicised Indian identities (Jazeel 2006). For Nitasha, the sense of self is attached to a 'national' and 'cultural' Indian identity, a feminist identity, and a left-wing Marxist identity. This was also visible at the several social occasions which I attended, as well as family functions such as weddings.

The narrative of Mayank, an interviewee who was introduced in chapter 5, revealed that he had become very aware that his actions in Toronto did not always fit in within the 'Western' and specifically 'White Canadian' narratives of hegemonic masculinity. I met Mayank through Nitasha. They had been going out for a year before I met them. Mayank expressed frustration as he is unable

to assert his masculinity – which was expressed, for him in the Indian context, in ways he made friends and interacted with them. In Mayank's case he feared that his actions may present him as possessing a queer sexuality. In the case of women, their awareness for 'appropriate' performances produced shifting subjectivities; in contrast, Mayank's awareness of the appropriate and expected performances led to his rejection of those spaces. Mayank's narratives and practices reveal a solidification of his 'Indian' masculine subjectivity when he was faced with the dominant masculinity of the space of the 'local'.

Mayank summarised that his life in Toronto was not very different from that in Mumbai. Upon further prompting, he highlighted the fact that he felt that he was unable to express his affection and friendship with his male friends in the same manner as he did in Mumbai. On performing friendship in India he had the following to say:

> I think there is a level of physical contact, but also taking for granted that the other person is not going to be troubled by what we are going to do or say. I've had Muslim friends whom we make fun of being Muslim but they don't really bother themselves with it.

He contrasts what he knows of 'doing' friendship in India to the issues he faces in North America (while living in both US and Canada):

> Here you have to be a lot more careful of that. That you have to be careful of what you say - that you wouldn't call someone fat, or you wouldn't call someone or you don't just kiss people. I was with a friend in [*names an Ivy League university*], both of us were men. If there was a joke that you would laugh, but there was no physical contact or roughhousing. Those kind of things don't really happen. That level of taking for granted - that you have to be careful about what you say or do.

Mayank lamented the loss of the easiness amongst his male friends in Mumbai, wherein he did not have to consider how his actions would be perceived. In Toronto, he feels that he has not been able to build close friendships with other men because of the different ways of 'doing' friendship. In Mumbai, he and his friends were very affectionate with each other, giving each other hugs and roughhousing (rough and disorderly play). This was well within the performances of Indian masculinities (both hegemonic and non-hegemonic). However, in Toronto, the same actions may not be acceptable performances of masculinity amongst 'white' Canadian men.

The dominant reference to friendship – a relational practice – highlights their importance in the men's lives. Chopra (2008) sees friendship networks as one of the several supportive practices that exist amongst men in India. Friendship "is a form of capital that 'grows' into social networks of support" (Chopra 2008: 203). Amongst friends, this is also where masculinities are performed and (re)produced. As Migliaccio (2009) states, men's friendships are a performance of their masculinity, and that 'doing friendship' is a way of 'doing gender'. Therefore in Canada a lack of those of friendship networks and an inability to develop new ones with equally strong bonds does not allow Mayank and other male respondents to perform their masculinity (van Hoven and Meijering 2005).

On the one hand Nitasha and Mayank have rejected the gender norms they encountered in the 'white Canadian' space, and on the other hand they eagerly adapted to the norms of the 'local' space which allowed them to openly perform their heterosexuality – by co-habiting tighter. In the 'local' context this performance of heterosexuality, by living with her boyfriend, fits in with the norms of white Canadians; however in frames of reference of 'Indian' spaces in both Toronto and in India, their co-habitation produced a queer sexuality.

Queer sexualities

Queer here refers to Manalansan's broad conceptualisation "both as an anti-normative signifier as well as a social category produced through the 'intersectionality' of identities, practices, and institutions" (2006: 225).

For example, Nitasha and Mayank met when Nitasha started her PhD, and had been together for over a year when I first met them in 2010. They both felt that they were happy that they could live together and that it was okay to do so in Toronto and amongst their friends. Both of them were sexually active before they came to Canada. They both stated that they would not have been able to live with their chosen partners without marriage in India due to immense pressures from parents, extended family members and the community. Though, as one respondent, Kapil tells, and drawing from my own observations in New Delhi, this is changing at least amongst the middle and upper-middle classes in urban metropolitan cities such as Delhi or Mumbai. Asthana and Oostvogels (2001) assert that the western concepts of sexuality, and a sexual self, does not

make sense in South Asian contexts. Within the patrifocal family framework, strong emphasis is placed on the progression of the family through reproduction. For this reason, the gender role of men and women is associated with being a husband and wife, and father and mother. Moreover, this familial system of thinking does not allow for the development of individual gender and sexual identities. Sexual identity is assumed to be heterosexual, as that is what is needed for reproduction. If two people are living together without being married and do not have children, this does not fit the patrifocal norms of gender roles and identities. In Nitasha and Mayank's case, even though this is a heterosexual relationship, it becomes intelligible only as a queer sexuality as it is outside of the gender norms of the Indian patrifocal system.

In his interactions with white Canadians, Mayank's Indian masculine performances appear as subordinating to the 'Canadian' idea of masculinity; his interviews reveal that he feels that his actions may make him appear acting like a 'gay' man. When in India, Mayank was not as concerned with how his actions may be interpreted and associated with other sexualities, until he encountered non-heterosexuality. A lecturer at university in Mumbai was dating Mayank's friend. When the two told others about their homosexuality, Mayank and his friends started to reinterpret their own actions amongst friends such as roughhousing as possibly signifying queer sexualities.

> I think the moment it became the norm that he was gay, a male...we became more aware of that fact then. There was a sense of bodily contact being awkward between men.
>
> [...]
>
> I think all of us used to hug each other, fooling around in typical way with each other. In that sense, it was kind of a young thing. We weren't really aware or thought that our physical contact might be considered... I don't think any of us had been aware of the physical way that we were. But I think it kind of entered into the fact that certain acts might be gay. It started coming up between people...it was not just that two guys...the idea of gayness became part of the discussion.

His next encounter with non-heteronormative space, he refers to as the second significant difference between his life in Mumbai and abroad. As said in the previous chapter, Mayank, before arriving in Canada, worked for a few months

in the north-west of US. For the six months there, he lived with a lesbian couple. He describes his experience at that time as such:

> In [names university] I didn't have exposure as such gay or lesbian friend. I mean I knew people but there was not exposure as such. In [names American city] it kind of changed. I was always kind of intrigued of knowing stories of people who were gay/lesbian. I never had the courage to ask them about it. I think along the course it gave me a chance to be comfortable about it. I think [living with them] helped me with getting normalised to it, with being fine with the fact.

Mayank's experience introduced him to different sexualities. Mayank eagerly adapted his own understanding of acceptable gender and sexual norms based on his experience of living with a lesbian couple – his matrix of intelligibility now included queer sexualities. Similarly, he was also able to recognise the different masculine performances that were expected of him if he wanted to build friendships in Canada. In this case it is not just Mayank's actions and knowledge of gender performances that are unintelligible in the 'local' spaces, the norms of the local space are unintelligible to Mayank as well. In such cases, no negotiation occurred. Mayank and other male respondents withdrew from the white Canadian unfamiliar spaces to a more familiar and mono-ethnic space of other Indian international students. This mono-ethnic (Indian rather than the specific sub castes or groups) space possessed its own discourses and practices of hegemonic masculinity. By contrast, in woman's cases they were able to negotiate multiple subjectivities and fit in differently into the spaces.

Similar to Mayank's experience of understanding queer sexuality, Arpita and Tarun both highlighted experiences that made them question and reflect on their assumptions of heterosexuality. Arpita is a PhD student in a STEM discipline. She is of Bengali background, from Kolkota, West Bengal, in the eastern part of India. She was unfamiliar with queer sexualities – specifically homosexuality (though she was aware of it). Her introduction to the queer sexual spaces was through her friend in Toronto, Isabella, who first came out to Arpita about her sexuality. Arpita supported Isabella during the time she came out to her parents. She had the following to say about it:

> My closest friend here is a lesbian....I think having a friend who goes through a coming out phase, and specially this friend of mine, I've been through the coming out phase with her, she's still struggling with her mother in a way because she..; her mother is struggling to come to terms with it. She's from a Polish background. Sort of in a way very similar to India. So I can see with her....if things were like that with me...my mom had to deal with it, things would have been difficult.

Tarun's coming 'in' to the alternative sexual spaces was through his previous work experience and group projects he had to do for his coursework. Tarun, introduced first in chapter 5, was a Master's student at the time of the interview. Before arriving in Canada, he had thoroughly researched the field and chose the university based on its high ranking in his field of choice. Tarun reflected upon his experience, as he came to know more about the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Queer (LGBTQ) spaces and issues of the population.

> If you were asking 5-6 years aback, I would have told that I'm agnostic to certain extent [about LGBTQ] but I couldn't have given you a proper comment. Maybe I would have told you that they are not normal; maybe I would have made that statement. But I have worked in HIV/AIDS forum. So have worked with homosexuals and male homosexuals and have very good gay friends too. Maybe that helped me get used to the fact that they are normal or maybe. Then I started reading about them when I started working with them. Some psychologist made an assessment that we are born neutral, it's the surroundings that [shape us]. So maybe we are born at the same level, and maybe if I was born and maybe made to live and grow with gays, maybe I would have told them that I was like them. Maybe I would have felt preferences for men, so it's natural. I've been working with homosexuals for past four or five years, so maybe I don't feel any difference in that, and don't think about this anymore. So I've become very agnostic about this.

In the first instance Tarun, like Arpita, did not know much about queer sexualities. It was only as he started engaging with the issues associated with the LGBTQ community both within and outside Toronto that those spaces became intelligible to him. Tarun's narrative above insinuates a reluctant acceptance of the alternate gender and sexual identities, but nonetheless, he presents himself as an open-minded person who now recognises queer sexualities.   Tarun's growing familiarity and acceptance of the different gendered norms of the spaces in Toronto is also reflected in his attempt to live together with his girlfriend. Though they had been together for several years prior to arriving in Canada, his girlfriend's parents' are not supportive of the relationship largely due to differences in religion. Tarun identifies himself as an

atheist, but his family are practising upper-caste Hindus. Tarun's girlfriend, Amina, is from a Muslim family, and is a practising Muslim. Living in Canada, away from both sets of parents, has allowed them to live together and express their heterosexual relationship in the open, like Nitasha and Mayank. However, his girlfriend's parents are not aware of this arrangement. The role of parents and how those power relations are negotiated across transnational space will be discussed later in this chapter in section 6.4. The negotiations across transnational space raise issues for Tarun and his girlfriend. They have not encountered any strong resistance to their relationship amongst their friends and classmates, both Indian and non-Indians. This points to familiarity of the idea of co-habitation even if it may not be as easily possible within the spaces in India due to the strong community resistance as well as other cultural and religious constraints. It also reveals the sexual liberation of the young middle class – consisting of those who are aware to varying degrees of the elements of their sexuality, and choose to pursue sexual relations or not. The Indian context, as presented in the case of Prita, shows that there are wider spaces of expressing different sexual practices and preferences – including choosing not to have sex, than she found in Canada. This theme is also reflected within the students' encounters with the Indian community in Toronto.

6.3.2 Encounter at the disjuncture: the Indian community in Toronto

Overall, the experience of students from India with the Indian migrant community in Toronto produced narratives of it being 'backward' and 'very conservative'. Existing work on diaspora and communities abroad has already highlighted the tendency of these groups to adhere to an 'older' version of the culture and identity than the one that currently exists in the 'home' country (Rayaprol 2005; Thobani 2005). In this body of literature, especially on South Asian communities, there is a strong sense of a (re)production of an 'ideal' nationalistic identity that is tied to patriarchy, wherein women are expected to continue their orthodox gender role of caring and nurturing, and being the holders of the Indian 'cultural' nation; and men, as preserving the dominant, head of the household role (Radhakrishnan 2009). Brah (1996) refers to this as the desire for homeland; they are trying to preserve the memories of the homeland as it was when the migrants left India (in the 1960s ad 70s). These

ideologies of domination of men over women are reflected in the narratives and discourses of the South Asian diaspora in the US and Britain. Often these bodies of work are looking at second-generation migrants. The discussion here highlights the disjunctures and conjunctures between the gender expectations and identities of the Indian community in Toronto and the international students.

One sentiment that emerged from a majority of the interviews, and including my own experience of living in Toronto, is the hegemony of heteronormative practices and assumptions regarding people, and secondly the 'conservative' nature of the Indian families in Toronto. What this translates to is a frame in which heterosexual gender identities are assumed and the expectation is that men and women get married within a certain time. Furthermore, there are stricter regulations on women's sexuality, and constraints on the mobility of both men and women – especially if they are students, and single. This is in comparison to the families and networks the students know in their respective cities in India. This sentiment was felt across castes and religions.

Mirroring the previous section, the discussion here is divided into two: highlighting the performances of gender construction, and sexuality.

In the narratives discussed below, the respondents were interacting with various generations of Indian migrants in Toronto. The migrant generations ranged from one and a half (referring to those who came to Canada as children or teenagers with their family), second generations (those born in Canada to Indian migrants) and third-generation migrants (whose grandparents migrated to Canada). This is a simplistic representation of the Indian community in Toronto as it does not include people with just one parent or grandparent of Indian ethnicity. The respondents' engagement with members of the Indian community took place on the campus of the university, as well off campus at social and cultural events organised by various Indian organisations. A few respondents had family contacts, but the majority, as discussed in chapter 4, had no previous family contacts before they arrived in Canada for their studies. Therefore the university or college spaces were the spaces where they first met students. Outside of the university spaces, some students, such as my interviewee Kapil, also attended specific 'Indian' club events such as *Besharam* (one without shame). *Besharam*

is a monthly club event that caters to and attracts the young Indian population of Toronto. It usually has a Bollywood theme and with music with a *Bhangra* beat that is associated with the music and culture of the state of Punjab in northern India. Often this particular style of dance, *Bhangra*, has been associated with one of the representations of 'hegemonic' masculine identity in the diaspora. This is often a hyper-masculine identity, associated with the farming community wherein men are hard workers of the land (Gopinath 1995).

In these spaces students met others of their age, and shared some common interests. However, despite having common interests and a common imagined community (Anderson 2006), the students found that the gender and cultural identity of the Indo-Canadian groups was largely unintelligible to them.

Unfamiliar masculinities and femininities

Kapil was a PhD student when I first met him through another respondent. Since the first meeting, we met several more times during his time in Toronto and then once again when I was in Delhi in summer 2011. As of June 2012 Kapil successfully completed his PhD, and was living and working back in India. Kapil was trained in the Indian classical dance, *Kathak*. *Kathak* is not as well-known as *Bharatnatyam*, another Indian classical dance, the imagery of which is often duplicated to represent southern India. Kapil lamented that in India, after his dance performances, he had to make sure that he removed all traces of make-up before he ventured out in public. He expressed that he was glad that in other regions he lived in for education – in Europe and then Canada – he could give a performance and then walk out with make-up on and it would not matter. Despite this statement, in the later months that I was in touch with him, I discovered that Kapil did not find Toronto as liberating a space. My fieldnotes reflect the following:

> We met at a coffee shop near the university and then went to the CN Tower. When I first met him, he had curly hair that was down to his shoulder. The second time I met him, he had his head shaved. Today it's no longer shaved. During our discussion he mentioned that one of the reasons he got a haircut was because he felt it was not acceptable amongst the Indian community. Wavy, messy hair was not in line with the hegemonic masculinity performance of the Indian community in Toronto. Their look was more polished and clean cut. (March 2011)

I was able to get a follow-up comment from Kapil, to clarify his experience. He had the following to say:

> The Indian 'community' in Canada did not quite accept my hair-style despite the fact of me being a *Kathak* dancer or even otherwise. This was very different from Italy where I did meet the same Indian 'community' but they rather appreciated my style.

Kapil's initial hair-style did not fit into the norms of the people of Indian community he met in Toronto. His long wavy hair, in conjunction with the *Kathak dance,* did not fit in with any discourses of masculinity that were known amongst the large Indian community in Toronto. The Indian community in Toronto is predominantly Punjabi, though that is changing as it becomes more diverse in terms of Indian regional origins. In this context, firstly Kapil's preference of *Kathak* dance was not understood; *Bhangra* dance and music, based on the Punjabi folk culture, is the more appropriate dance especially representing Indian masculinity (Gill 2012a, 2012b; Gopinath 1995). *Kathak*, in Kapil's experience in India, has always been associated with femininity as there are very few men who train and perform this type of dance. As a result, his choice of this dance form was not entirely intelligible to those of the Indian community in Toronto.

Secondly, his shoulder-length, unruly hair was taken to be an issue. Gill (2011), in his documentary Roots of Love, on the Sikh youth in India, reveals that Sikh men, when they leave their rural areas to move to urban areas in Punjab, sometimes cut their long hair. This is because they associate short trimmed hair with a transnational masculine migrant identity, one that they hope to achieve. It is this version of masculinity that Kapil encounters and therefore his longer, unruly hair stands out. Kapil was never directly confronted with these disapprovals, but he mentioned, as did Tanya, Nitasha and Mayank above, that he was aware of the surveilling and disapproving gaze of the people of the community. And since he wanted to have continued access to the community, he adapted his hair-style so he would not stick out in the space of the Indian community.

Kapil's experience with the masculine performance is parallel with Shabnam's experience. Shabnam was an undergraduate student at the time of the

interview. She was from Mumbai, and identified as an Indian-Muslim. She too, like Kapil, first met other Indians at the university. However, unlike Kapil, Shabhan was pressured into conforming to the norms of femininity, as expected by the Indian Muslim community in Toronto, by being rejected and marginalised by that community. She described her experience in Toronto as follows:

> I feel people in Mumbai are more balanced. My parents, they are very religious, they pray, they fast regularly, but they also party. They have an amazing social life. They go clubbing but they don't drink. So I tried to adopt that culture here, because that's how I've been brought up - in that environment. I also tried to hold on to my religious beliefs very strongly, and my culture....I would put pictures on Facebook of my clubbing and partying, in skirts and dresses. And that would give people here [Toronto] a shock. The people here said that I was a hypocrite, that I had two sides.

Shabnam's classmates and other members of the Indian-Muslim and Pakistani community who were part of her social network spoke to her directly. They informed Shabnam that her behaviour was unacceptable if she wanted to continue to access their shared spaces. She internalised this discipline and chose to adapt to the norms of the Muslim spaces of the university and those outside of the university.

> I was going to out a lot, and I was drinking a lot for a while, but then I stopped drinking. Then I also stopped clubbing because everyone kept saying that ...

At times, Shabnam also felt discrimination from the different Muslim groups at the university, because of her status as an Indian-Muslim rather than a Pakistani-Muslim; and from yet another group for being an Indian-Muslim rather than Indian-Sikh or Hindu – more familiar categories to the Indo-Canadian community.

Queer sexualities: 'I didn't know how to be gay here'

While some respondents gained familiarity with the queer sexual spaces, others, especially within the interactions with the Indian community, lost their familiar spaces and felt they could not 'be themselves'. One respondent, Sameer, was a PhD student at the time I interviewed him. He came to Canada in the early 2000s for undergraduate studies. He first moved to a small city, outside of Toronto, to attend a reputable university. He moved from Delhi, with

a population at that time of 16 million, to a small city of less than 150,000 people. Sameer was sexually active with other men by the age of 19 and before he arrived in Canada. When he arrived in Canada, he felt uncomfortable expressing his sexuality in such a small town, a town with population that was barely 1% the total population of Delhi. Sameer suppressed his sexuality during his first three years in this small city. He had the following to say:

> The discourse is that you come here and become more sexually liberated and then do whatever, and then you repress yourself when you go back home.
>
> […]
>
> I was sexually active before I came here... I came here I repressed myself more than in India. In India I could hook-up with someone online and meet-up. I would be scared but not so much. But here, in [names city] the Indian community was so small...much much smaller...and the community was very homophobic. I was so scared what if I got caught...I was shit scared that I wouldn't know what to do. And for three years, I repressed myself a lot. I tried to become heterosexual. And tried to do things that were heterosexual like. I would make up these things like I'm interested in the girl....and ask some girls out but never went beyond that. I was just not ready to come out. When I would go back to India for four months, [I would] do all my 'gay stuff' and then come back for eight months here, and do nothing. *I just didn't know how to be gay here* [my emphasis].

Limited, but growing, research on queer sexualities in migration points to greater sexual freedom in the 'Western' countries than in non-Western countries (Ahmadi 2003; Hibbins 2005; Smith 2012). Smith (2012) in his study of South Asian gay men in Australia links the limitations of young gay men in India to express their sexuality to the expectations of marriage, the social stigma of homosexuality and lastly the lack of private space for sexual exploration. By contrast, living in Australia far away from their families, the young men feel relatively more at ease in sexual exploration due to greater access to private domestic spaces. Sameer's case, like Prita's earlier in this chapter, provides a counter-hegemonic narrative on expressions of sexuality in migration.

As mentioned, Sameer was sexually active in Delhi. He used the internet and other technologies to access the queer spaces, and meet other men for sex in safe and private environments. He said that the large population of Delhi lends itself to a sense of anonymity, which was useful for him. However, when he

arrived in the Canadian small town, he decided to 'act heterosexual' to fit in with the Indian community as well as the wider social spaces of this small town. He felt alone in the new place and wanted to have access to spaces where he felt he culturally belonged – with other Indians. However, as he got to know Indian students at the university, he recognised the assumption of heterosexuality within the community due to the use homophobic language.

Sameer was unable to express his masculinity in Canada – a masculinity that, for him, was associated with homosexuality. Firstly, Sameer, also did not know of the gay culture in the town. As he said, he 'did not know how to be gay' in this place. All the practices that Sameer associated with homosexuality, namely having sex with other men, were not easily available to him in this setting. He was not knowledgeable about how to go about finding other gay men. There was a lack of an internet community as well as a large queer space.

Secondly, in the hierarchies of masculinity (Connell 1987), from hegemonic to subordinating to marginal, Sameer was aware of the marginal status of his gender and sexual identity. In order to fit in, he tried to adapt his performances to a less marginal and more intelligible heterosexual masculine performance by dating women. Yet, he was very aware of the facade of the 'heterosexual' man that he was putting up. For three years, Sameer internalised the expected heterosexuality in small-town Canada, but when he was in India, he 'would be gay again'. The discussion in the previous section revealed the continual negotiation of multiple subjectivities of men and women as they traversed different spaces in the city. In Sameer's case, his subjectivities and performance of sexuality shifted with a physical movement from one country to another. As he said, only in India, he was able to fully explore his homosexuality, 'do his gay stuff'. However in the fourth year of his undergraduate degree, he decided to forgo his access to certain space, by accepting his sexuality. He decided:

> Then in fourth year when I was becoming more politically aware and politically mature, I said fuck it, I don't care. I didn't come out, but I started exploring gay life in Canada more so than before. So in my fourth year I started exploring more. And things really started happening when I came to Toronto....but yeah...

By choosing to make himself unintelligible within 'Indian spaces', it meant that he lost access to those spaces. His sexuality made him no longer intelligible within the context of the Indian community of the small city since homosexuality and other queer sexualities were not part of the frame of reference of the Indian and the white Canadian population there. Even now, living in Toronto, Sameer feels he cannot be around most of the his 'friends', the 'corporate' and the business Indian people because he feels they do not accept his sexuality. He is familiar how to be in those spaces with them, but he does not feel that he belongs within them. For this group, Sameer feels, homosexuality will never be okay. His presence disrupts their familiar norms

> I had to consciously try to disassociate myself from that group from [names university], and since then I have tried to get rid of lots of people from my life. As a result I don't have lots of friends. It's been a struggle to negotiate those boundaries. Most Indian spaces, if I want to access them usually would be middle-class corporate spaces. So I just avoid those spaces. Having access to Indian spaces becomes important once in a while. I'm sick and tired of having MBA and engineer friends in my life with whom I try to negotiate and explain my life to them, defend it.

He lamented the loss of access to the Indian space. He says:

> Sometimes, I miss it - the Indian spaces. Especially during special occasions. But I need some kind of space where it's okay to be who I am, and not be judged. And I've had long experience of being judged, and so I've decided to create those spaces. [long pause] I have found those spaces in academia. I hardly go out of these spaces.

Sameer wanted a place to belong, where his sexuality would be accepted. He found such a space in academia. In order to get to this point, he had to traverse through and negotiate several other spaces, build social relationships with others and then let go of those relationships, simultaneously accepting some and rejecting other gender norms. Prita, Nitasha, Mayank, Tarun, Arpita, Shabnam and Kapil – they all experienced multiple versions of being and acting like a man or woman. And they all at some point or another tried to adapt to the norms of each space – to make themselves a subject of the particular matrix of intelligibility of their respective spaces. The respondents continually transformed and shifted their gender identities to meet the expectations of the space and to fit in. Their continual transformations of the performances of gender identity – through length of hair, in practices or non-practices of their

sexuality, through clothing or make-up – reflect a search to find spaces in which they belong. The different gender norms also reflected different class and religious identities which influenced the decisions of the participants over which space to accept or reject, thereby accepting/rejecting specific discursive practices of gender. Throughout the above discussion, the focus was on interactions that took place within the scale of the city of Toronto. The next section examines the influence of familial relationships and the spaces that are constructed through those relations across the transnational scale.

6.4   Close encounters in the Transnational

6.4.1   Parents

The section above explored how encounters between the students, the 'local' other and the Indian-Canadian community shape students' gender-identity performances. In this section we shift the scale to examine the relations and the matrices of intelligibility between the student and his/her parents, and students and their partners in the transnational space. These relations were explored in detail in the previous chapter in the context of surveillance and familiarity. The previous chapter explored negotiations of gendered power relations between the parents and their sons/daughters which shape the narratives of motivations. In this section, we follow that thread of negotiation of gendered power relations and examine how those relations are stretched across the transnational space and have an impact on the experiences of the students while they study and live abroad, and vice versa.

Here I extend the analysis of the power relations between parents and their off-spring from the language of surveillance and familiarity to include the idea of responsibility and care. The topic of care was briefly discussed in the previous chapter. But first, I relocate the gendered kinship relationships between parents and their sons and daughters from the 'governmental' – disciplinary and surveillance – one to that of the matrix of intelligibility. The parents may be familiar with 'Western' culture, or the cultural contexts in which their son/daughter is residing. This familiarity exists due to the stories and representations provided by their son/daughter, their friends and family networks, as well as through media such as Bollywood movies which focus on

lives of Non-Resident Indians (Gill 2012a, 2012b; Uberoi 1998), and the increasing availability of 'Western' shows on satellite and cable televisions. Furthermore, the spread of franchises of shows such as X-Factor, or 'Britain/American/India's Got Talent, Big Brother and variations of such reality television are present on the channels, (re)produce to certain degree the neo-liberal ideologies of middle-class individualised identity and of consumerism. It is these ideas with which the parents are familiar and develop an imaginary of what life is like '*bahar'* (outside of Indian or specific culture, rather than the nation state)

The discussion that follows highlights the impact of the these imaginaries, and how the power-geometries between parents and their son/daughter (re)produce specific regulatory practices as well as practices of self-discipline through the narratives of (un)familiarity, intimacy, and responsibility. These narratives are constructed both by parents as well as the students, both trying to negotiate their different and overlapping frames of references.

Power-geometries of surveillance

Kanchan, who was introduced in the previous chapter, subscribed to a very particular gender identity wherein the woman's role was to manage the household and raise children. To this extent, she wanted her daughter to get married at the earliest. In her case, the social location and expectation of others sharing her social class status led to her daughter completing her undergraduate program. The expectation of Kanchan at that point was to get her daughter married off. However, her daughter, Malini, in an attempt to delay her marriage, and also to secure a career in a field of her choice, decided to study abroad. When I started my interview, Malini and Kanchan took part together. However, after the first half-hour, I was able to interview Malini separately. Some of the negotiations were discussed in the previous chapter. One of the stipulations that Kanchan had for her daughter was the length of the course. The second limitation, or rather the selection criterion, was the travel time to the city. Malini had initially considered Edinburgh as a place; however Kanchan vetoed that choice since she would not be able to reach her daughter in just one flight. The idea of a single flight was important to her:

> Then it was the decision whether to send her to the UK or US. We decided UK and we wanted proper London. We didn't want Edinburgh. The first university she got [accepted to] was Edinburgh. But we were trying for London. The main reason was the one flight from Delhi to London, that's it. My child was nine hours away.......we didn't want her to be that far. We just wanted her to be only one flight away.

As a result of this single nine-hour flight, Malini would visit Delhi every two months, and Kanchan would visit her in London every two months. Malini's visits to Delhi were so often that she felt like she would "go for holiday to England since I spend more time in Delhi". Such little time abroad gave Malini very few opportunities to interact with others in her course or people who lived around her. She built very few social relationships outside of the one she maintained with her friends and family in India. Consequently, migration did not lead to an expansion of her network. Malini did not experience navigating many unfamiliar spaces as other respondents discussed earlier, and other migrants do. According to Blunt and Rose (1994), as migrants move, they are exposed to and navigate many diverse and at time conflicting spaces. As their spaces of interaction and their networks expand, so do their subjectivities. In the case of Williams (2005), Indonesian domestic migrant women had to transform their subjectivities consciously so they could adapt to the expectations of their employers. By contrast, Malini did not have to negotiate different spaces and consequently different gender norms while in the UK. Her strong ties with her family while they were separated, and even stronger relations when they were in the same place, meant that Malini was required simply to meet the expectations of her parents, friends and family in India.

Kanchan could thus ensure that her daughter did not change her mind about marriage, and that she returned to Delhi for marriage after her studies were over. As Kanchan's daughter mentioned, she did not really have lots of friends in the UK, since she (felt she) was in Delhi most of the time.

A slightly different approach to surveillance emerged in the interviews with the Chaudhris; Rajesh and Ashwini were also discussed in the previous chapter. While Rajesh was very proud that his son, Karan, remained obedient to him, and did not 'give up' his Indian values of eating vegetarian, praying, and visiting the temple, he also mentioned that when Karan did think of going against his

Indian values, he would call Rajesh and ask his permission. Rajesh asserted this with pride, that his son was a very good son. However, he then also highlighted that while he trusted his son, he also maintains a close eye on Karan through his son's friends.

> I talk to his friends too. They ask me, 'uncle, why doesn't he eat meat? Let him eat meat!' I ask them what he does, does he eat meat, does he drink. They tell me what he does.

Narratives of responsibility and care

The examination of the technologies of surveillance of the parents is one interpretation. By examining the interviews with the students and their experiences, in conjunction with the in-depth interviews with the parents, narratives of responsibility and care also emerge. The literature on maintaining family and kinship relations across transnational spaces is extensive within the wider migration scholarship. Recent works in the broader field of migration and skilled and unskilled labour migration focuses on transnational parenting (most notably Parreñas 2001a, 2005; Waters 2003, 2006b; Wilding and Baldassar 2009) and care for ageing parents (see for example Baldassar 2007; Baldassar *et al.* 2007; King and Vullnetari 2009; Vullnetari and King 2008; Walsh 2009; Wilding 2006; Wilding and Baldassar 2009). However, the extant literature is much more limited in reference to single, young mobile individuals. It focuses on couples/married professionals, operating with heteronormative frames and negotiating their married life abroad while simultaneously managing relations with parents and relatives who live elsewhere (Radhakrishnan 2009).

The literature on transnational parenting focuses on the parents (mother, father or both) who move and children who are left behind. The case is opposite for international students. It is the parents who are 'left behind' and who are the care-givers and feel that they need to nurture and provide parenting to their children – the migrants. In particular, students who are in their late teens and early 20s are considered by parents as still in need of parenting. Parents expressed this need for care and desire to nurture through the language of surveillance. This frame of reference to surveillance is located within the language of patrifocality. As discussed in chapter 5, the narratives reveal a dominant discourse that is used by parents to express their desire to continue

caring and parenting their children. The strong language of surveillance that emerges in the narratives is offset by their practices of care and concern toward the well-being of their son/daughter. This language hides the feelings of concern, loss and loneliness that 'left-behind' parents experience (Parreñas 2001a).

Kanchan's quote shows a need for surveillance to maintain level of control to ensure her daughter marries; associated with that need is also the idea of responsibility for her daughter's safe and successful future. Kanchan's trips to London revealed to her that her daughter was living on a very restricted budget. Her daughter was saving every penny, eating very basic food and rationing her budget in such a way that she could also save money. Kanchan said she was distraught when she saw the condition of the clothes that Malini wore, and the 'poor' conditions (relative to the large house and the lavish lifestyle in India) in which Malini lived. Kanchan decided to increase the monthly stipend she had set for her daughter to ensure that Malini lived in better conditions that reflected their class status.

The Chaudhris' narratives, despite the language of surveillance they used, reveal the great sense of loss they experienced when Karan left. They were proud of their son, Tarun, for studying abroad, and building a life for himself while also retaining his Indian cultural values by being obedient. However, they also lamented the loss of proximity, the closeness that they had. Several parental respondents shared the same sense of immense loss they felt when their son/daughter first left. The mothers of sons were very open about their sense of loss. They expressed their loss through visible and visual emotional markers such as crying, and loss of appetite. As another respondent, Mrs. Gupta, mentioned:

> I would feel bad. I would cry, when I ate. I would just stop eating part way through. I was not used to it. We had been together since he was born.

And yet another, Jess, said

> I would cry a lot at first. It was really hard to eat. I would be eating a meal and it would just be stuck in my throat, because I wanted to cry. In the beginning it was really hard. There was one less person on the table. One less person to talk to. We were really close.

This loss was expressed more by mothers of sons than by mothers of daughters, and reflects the sense of loneliness expressed by transnational mothers who have to leave their children behind. The fathers of sons expressed feeling a sense of loss, but restrained their expressions. By contrast, the loss of daughters was expressed through restraint by both parents. They said, of course, that it was hard for them; however, they knew since the day their daughter was born that she will have to leave them. This is due to the patrilocal nature of nuptuality in India, where the married couple usually are expected to live with the parents of the son; though within the transnational field there are exceptions to this expectation (Voigt-Graf 2005). The loss of a son to study abroad is not expected or anticipated by the parents.

To some degree the use of technologies such as Skype and inexpensive international calls helped mitigate the sense of loss for the parents. However, it is a different story for the student respondents. Parents use the phone time or Skype chats to ensure the safety and well-being of their children, as well as monitor and direct their behaviour; the students have a different experience of this interaction, even though they recognise the rationale behind their parents' actions.

Nitin, who was introduced in the previous chapter, shared his frustration regarding his conversation with his parents. He found that the conversations with his parents increased his worries and stresses about issues he had not given much thought toward, in particular marriage. His parents are so concerned about Nitin's marriage that it has consumed them and subsumed all other concerns – such as a job. Nitin finds that he is unable to do anything about the situation; and is afraid that he will be unable to please his parents. Furthermore, due to the tension caused by his parents' expectations, Nitin, similar to respondents in Baldassar's study on Italian migrants in Australia, tells very little about his life in Canada to his parents because he feels he'll worry them (Baldassar 2007; Baldassar *et al.* 2007). He finds it hard to explain to his parents his situation. He states that they just do not understand what he's doing and why.

> …they don't have any interaction with anything with social sciences. They don't know what a PhD is. My father has met officers who have

done PhDs, but they are in engineering. But that's a different thing. The primary identity is not because he has a PhD degree, but because he's an engineer.

While Nitin's parents are concerned about his marriage and job; Arpita, also already introduced above, discusses the worry of her mother regarding Arpita living by herself and travelling alone late at night.

...living by yourself, alone like that…they [family in Indian] consider it from a security aspect in a way. [They say] how long can you live alone like that, I don't know how you do it. But I'm fine here . They really don't have an idea of how secure it is to live by yourself here. Well my mother worries about simple things, like, coming back late at night. If I'm coming at 2am, she'd be worried. And...she tends to think as though I was living in India. She'll be like...really you came home at 2am? There are people on the road? What is that? You know this is totally different [here] and much [more] secure. I think it's the point that they are so distant from here, it's hard for them to gauge.

The element of surveillance comes through here; there is also the parental role of care that plays a part in this concern. Arpita acknowledges this concern, especially as a single woman travelling by herself. She contrasts her mobility in the city of Toronto to that in Kolkata. The insecurity of local mobility in Kolkata, especially for girls, is the frame of reference for her mother. Therefore her mother continues to expect similar behaviour within that frame of reference of insecurity of travelling alone late at night. Both Arpita and her mother had to understand and negotiate each other's changing frames of reference.

There is another side to the story of care between Arpita and her mother. Arpita shared with me that while she was in Canada, she discovered she has a serious disease for which she had to undergo surgery. This was a stressful time for both her mother and Arpita since her mother could not come to Canada to take care of Arpita and provide her with emotional support. As a mother, left-behind, this is an emotional and stressful time and the feeling of helplessness is compounded by the relative immobility due to structural power relations such as visa requirements, and financial means. Furthermore, since Arpita moved to Canada, her mother has also developed several health problems. One health-related issue has left her mother with limited visual ability. This is a great stress for Arpita since like her mother before, she too is 'stuck' in Canada and cannot

go to India to support her mother. Her mother lives alone in India and has only her natal family to look after her. Arpita is limited is by her financial means. She is a funded PhD student, but has little savings that would allow her to purchase the expensive ticket to India. Additionally, her return to India for any period would mean that she would have to put her studies on hold, which will have financial implications, as well as longer-term career effects. She also cannot return to India to settle there because she feels there are very few opportunities for her as a woman in the field of science and academia.

Hence, Arpita and her mother, and all the other respondents, are embedded within the ties of family and care which have to be negotiated around other power relations imposed by structures such as the national visa policies, lack of provisions of care, the labour market in India and, lastly, the institutions that fund research at universities.

Nature and strength of relationships

While the above is linked to the responsibility and care discourse, one element is missing, that was shared by most women but only one or two male respondents. It was the nature of the relationship with their parents; how strong the ties were between parents and their children and the nature of those ties. Kapil in one of his interviews raised this point:

> the appropriate term would be accountability, to the parents – like which I increasing felt. Whatever they do in their lives generally, they tell everything to their parents – the guys and the girls. They always have it in their minds usually, that what we are doing, we have to tell it to them and we share and discuss with them, because we still feel close to our parents [even if they are far away]. So they [young people] sleep with someone, they tell it to them [parents]. And they can. Most of the times, even parents find it acceptable.

Kapil's presentation of the relationship between parents and offspring presents another perspective. According to Kapil, sons/daughters are very open with their parents about their boy/girl friends. However the experiences of Tarun and Amina, discussed earlier, show a different case. There are class, religious and regional differences that need to be explored further. Amina comes from a middle-class Muslim family who live in an extremely polarised, with respect to Hindu-Muslim relations, part of India. Even though Amina and her family live in

an urban area, the city is small and not a metropolis. Furthermore, Amina's parents are conservative, practising Muslims. These elements combined make it hard for her to be open with her parents about her and Tarun's relationship. By contrast, Kapil and many of his friends live in and around Delhi, a large metropolis. Their parents are Hindu and identify with liberal values on parenting and relationships. So class, religious and regional differences shape the nature of ties between parents and their offspring.

However, despite Amina's parents' conservative Muslim background, they support her mobility for education and work. By contrast, Kanchan, who lives in Delhi and identifies herself as a Hindu with liberal views, wants her daughter to have a profession but only one that would not interfere with her role in the household as a wife.

Religion

A second point needs to be made about the role of religion in this discussion about students and their parents. Vidya, introduced in chapter 5, is at conflict with her own personal desires. Vidya is a student in a STEM programme. Due to the nature of her work and scientific theories on evolution, Vidya was forced to engage critically between the theories of science and her religious and cultural beliefs of Hinduism and caste. This lead to her admitting to me that she no longer has strong beliefs in the caste system and does not know what to believe about religion. She has not shared these thoughts with her parents as she feels this will hurt them immensely and they would not understand. This would be very shameful for them and for her.

Contrasting Vidya's experience is Shabnam's story which was discussed earlier. While Vidya has stepped away from her strong religious beliefs as a result of her studies and experiences in Canada, Shabnam drew increasingly upon her religious beliefs. Her beliefs became stronger and she regularly attends prayer services at the mosque. Williams' (2005) respondents drew strength from their religious beliefs and this allowed them to navigate their multiple and at times contrasting subjectivities. However, in the case of Vidya, her religious beliefs are a cause of conflict between her and her parents, or will be when she tells them.

One final point before I close this chapter. There is an additional set of relations – that between students and their partners in India and in Canada. This is a very crucial relationship that needs to be examined and which emerged in interviews with some of my respondents. Some of the issues surrounding partners were introduced in Chapter 5. Additionally, Geddie (2011, 2013) explores the importance of relationships between partners and how they play a role in shaping the experiences of students as well as their decisions to stay/return. Due to the limitation of space I am unable to explore this topic in detail here.   I wanted, however, to call attention to this issue and suggest it as a future avenue of research in ISM.

6.5   Conclusion

This chapter has examined the experiences of international students as they navigated their everyday lives in Toronto, Canada. The discussion highlights the shifting gender identities of students as they simultaneously negotiated multiple spaces and the gender norms of the respective spaces.

Using the GGP framework as a guide, two scales were foregrounded in the analysis: city and transnational. Across the two scales, three main spaces of ethnic and kinship encounter were identified: (i) Indian students and White Canadians, (ii) Indian students and Indian-Canadians, and (iii) Indian students and parents in India. Each interactional space, constructed out of the social relations with the respective different groups, carried with it its own set of gender norms – what it means to masculine and feminine. Consequently, each space possessed its own matrix of intelligibility.

The Butlerian concept of matrix of intelligibility was useful in this analysis as it allowed the examination of both differences and similarities between the gender contexts with which the respondents were familiar and those they encountered in Toronto. In order to navigate the various spaces, the respondents revealed their shifting gender performances.

Men highlighted that they were unable to assert their masculinities (particularly Indian masculinities) because they were unable to build similar friendship networks. 'Doing friendship' was a way for men to perform their masculinity. They were unable to 'do friendship' in Canada the same way as they did in

India. Hence they were unable to perform their 'normal' understanding of masculinity. Men tended to avoid spaces where this was the case. Women respondents too discussed that in 'local' spaces, they were unable to assert their female Indian identity that was associated with particular clothing styles. However, instead of withdrawing from all spaces where their Indian feminine performances would not fit, they confined those performances to the private spaces with others of the Indian community. In the 'local' spaces, they still asserted their Indian femininity, but a more subdued performance. Instead of wearing all elements of Indian clothing, the women chose to apply make-up in certain ways and accessorise with Indian artisanal products. The women asserted parts of their Indian identity, and disrupted the norms of the existing spaces, thereby making themselves intelligible in the spaces where they did not initially fit in.

Another theme that emerged was of sexuality. The discourse is, as one of my participants Sameer states, that migrants who come from 'non'-Western countries to 'Western' countries experience sexual liberation. However, in the case of many of my respondents, and in particular Prita and Sameer, this was not the case. While Prita's sexuality and sexual choices were not accepted in the 'local' spaces, Sameer's sexuality was not accepted within the 'Indian' local space. Both felt pressured to present a particular performance of sexuality that matched the norms of the spaces, but one they did not identify. Hence my discussion of these two cases provides an alternative narrative to the migration and sexuality discussion.

All respondents negotiated the power relations of each space differently. Some were able to shift the geometry into their favour, such as when women asserted their Indian identity in 'local' spaces, or when Sameer and Prita rejected the spaces that forced them to perform their different sexualities. On the other hand, many male respondents were unable to negotiate the power relations, and withdrew from many spaces.

The interactions with parents were shaped around the broader concerns of responsibility of parents to their children, as well the responsibility that students felt toward their parents. This discussion highlighted three themes about family

connections maintained across distance.   Firstly the discussion flips the existing scholarship on transnational parenting since the parent is not the migrant in the case of student mobility, but rather the 'child'. The parent in this scenario is the one 'left-behind'. This is also different from the narratives of care of the parents 'left-behind'. This distinguishing element of student mobility is the age of students – especially those in their late teens and early 20s are still considered children and needing care and supervision of the parents. This desire for supervision of children's behaviours and care of them reveals the power-geometries of time-space compression. Parents are able to extend their care across the transnational space through technologies such as non-stop flights, email, cheap phone tariffs and Skype. Secondly, the nature of the relationship between students and parents before they left India and after the move is linked. And lastly, the role of religion is briefly discussed. The experiences of students abroad shape their religious views. While some draw more strongly on their religion, others veer away from it. The latter is a cause of concern for the students, as they feel this will be a significant source of conflict with their parents. The potential reaction of parents is enough to shape the actions and therefore subjectivities of the respondents. The power-geometries between parents and children are constantly negotiated and they too impact the shifting subjectivities of the students.

It is important to recognise that the students are negotiating the different identities across the spaces and scales simultaneously. Hence, as they navigated the 'local' and 'Indian' spaces in Toronto, their experiences and gender identities were also shaped through their transnational interactions with their parents.

Chapter 7 Experiences of Return 'Home': becoming strange in familiar spaces

I had escaped arranged marriage by coming to the United States to do a master's in Computer Sciences at Texas A&M, by conveniently finding a job in Silicon Valley, and then by inventing several excuses to not go to India.

Now, seven years later, I had run out of excuses.

"What are you looking forward to the most?" Nick asked, as we were parked on the 101-South carpool lane on our way to the San Francisco International Airport.

"HAPPINESS," I said without hesitation.

Summer, while I was growing up, was all about mangoes. Ripe, sweet mangoes that dripped juices down your throat, down your neck. The smell of a ripe mango would still evoke my taste buds, my memories, and for a while I would be a child again and it would be a hot summer day in India.

There was more to a mango than taste. My brother Natarajan, whom we all called Nate because it was faster to pronounce, and I, would always fight over the sticky stone at the centre of the mango. If Ma was planning to chop one mango for lunch, the battle for the stone would begin at breakfast. Sucking on the sticky stone while holding it with bare hands was the most pleasurable thing one could do with a mango. Nate and I called the mango stone HAPPINESS.

HAPPINESS was a concept. A feeling. Triumph over a sibling. I had forgotten all about HAPPINESS until Nick's rather pertinent question

"It's like drinking a pint of Guinness in the office after tax season," I said in explanation when he didn't seem to grasp the fundamentals of HAPPINESS.

Nick the accountant nodded his head in total understanding. "But there isn't going to be much HAPPINESS in your trip once you tell the family about the handsome and humble American you're involved with."
[...]
I waved back, the brave soldier that I was, and walked toward the plane that was going to take me home to India, mangoes, and hopefully HAPPINESS.

Excerpt from *The Mango Season* (Amulya Maladi 2003: 4)

7.1 Introduction

Priya, the protagonist of the novel *The Mango Season,* explains what she looks forward to on her first 'return' trip to India in seven years. As she waits at the airport for the flight to take her "home to India", Priya draws upon the sensory memories of taste, smell, and touch of eating a mango with her brother. These memories depict her childhood and create the "mythic place of desire" (Brah 1996). The mythic place of desire, for migrants, is an imagined space that is constituted with the desire for familiarity, for safety and security and creates a mythological Home. The narrative above creates an essentialised and exoticised image of life in India. The protagonist and other characters in the book are archetypes of their respective cultures (South Indian Tamil Brahmin and West Coast US). But through the archetypes, this novel navigates Priya across two overlapping rather than discreet spaces of home and away by shifting and blurring the boundaries of those spaces. The protagonist anguishes over how to be at home in India when she has to explain to her parents that she also has a home in the US with her partner Nick, who is a stranger because he does not have an Indian background. Priya hopes to locate that mythic home upon her return visit to India; though simultaneously she looks forward to the returning to the home that she will have with Nick in the US.

Her return 'home' is part of a continual migration trajectory based on a circulatory model of mobility (Cassarino 2004; Conway and Potter 2009). Earlier studies on return migration assumed migration as a linear process in which returning home was seen as the end of the migration trajectory. However, a transnational conceptualisation of 'return' migration sees return as part of an on-going itinerary; and does not equate it with permanence. There has been limited work on return migration of students, as was pointed out in chapter 2, and very little of it shines any light on the everyday experiences of the student.

To this extent, I refer to the body of work on return migration of young professionals. In the edited book by Conway and Potter (2009), they map out the new directions of return migration research with a focus on the younger generation, professionals, and the highly educated. In some cases this is 'second-generation' return. There is a growing body of research across various ethnic/national groups such as second-generation Greek-Americans (King and

Christou 2011), Italians abroad (Baldassar 2007; Baldassar *et al.* 2007), and Trinidadians (Conway *et al.* 2009).

Particularly the work of Conway *et al.* (2009) is useful as it explores the reasons for return and the experiences of settling back into the life in Trinidad. Many of the 'returnees' were students who were away for many years. Most importantly, the edited collection by Conway and Potter moves away from traditional discourses of return as a final stage of migration cycle. Instead, it reconstructs return migration from a perceived linear model to a circulatory one. As a circulatory model, return is never the final stage bur rather "another stage in a continuing itinerary with further movements ahead, whether unexpected or …eagerly awaited" (Ley and Kobayashi 2009: 121).

Return therefore is no longer constructed as the final resettlement of the migrant back in 'homeland'. Rather, return is re-imagined as movement to another place, albeit a familiar place, where the migrant will nevertheless have to re-adjust to the place of settlement. Furthermore, return is no longer assumed to be only permanent; it can also be for a short break lasting a few weeks to a month, or a longer sojourn, lasting from a few months to a few years. This notion allows us to take into consideration the role of the time in shaping the return experience. The expected length of stay in the origin-country may impact the degree of readjustment the migrant is willing to make (Ley and Kobayashi 2009). Hence we can talk of 'return mobilities'. King and Christou (2011), drawing on their study of second-generation Greek migrants' return to their ancestral homeland, problematise the idea of return migration and suggest the concept of 'return mobilities'. Mobilities, as introduced in chapter 2, encompass more than the corporeal mobility. More importantly, the mobilities concept removes the notion of permanence from the migration and instead associates it with a continual mobile trajectory.

The idea of return for the students whom I interviewed varied. Some respondents envisioned their return to India as permanent. They came back to India after the completion of their studies with the intention to find a job, and build a family in India. For others, return to India was for a short holiday, or it was a longer break before they started travelling again or moved to another part

of the world. There were clear gender differences between the periods of return. Amongst my respondents, men considered return home as permanent, as an end to their migration pathway. Most men whom I interviewed in India thus returned to India with the intention of not leaving again. These men had secured good jobs and over half were already married. However, for most women, return (whether due to completion of studies, job prospects or desire to be closer to parents) was imagined as part of a continual trajectory. They lamented their need to return 'home' and looked forward to ways that would lead them to jobs outside of India. Many did not want to return but had to due to pressure from parents. Several women respondents whom I interviewed did not return to the 'home' that they left. Many who did 'return home' (to their parents' home) were already making plans of moving to the US or elsewhere. And yet for others, especially women who were around ages 23-25 years, this was a temporary return till they moved away to another household upon marriage.

At this juncture, a couple of contextual points need to be made. First, in this discussion the term 'return' inevitably refers to the movement of the student migrants to particular hierarchies of gendered power relations in the family, which intersect with class, caste and religion; as well as a return to other hierarchies of power at that intersect with gender such as the labour market and care regimes. Furthermore, return is not necessarily synonymous with permanent return. When permanent return is discussed in this chapter, this will be specified.

The discussion of respondents' accounts of their desire to, and their experiences of, return to the patrifocal system will be embedded in the critical notion of 'home and away'. Home is a social construct and a place of 'doing family' that is influenced by factors such as class, caste, care regimes and labour market positionalities. Following from Butler's (1993) matrix of intelligibility discussed in chapters 2 and 6, my account here also draws on Brah's (1996) work on the differentiation between the desire for home, and homing desire. Lastly, I look to Ahmed (1999, 2000) and her conceptualisation of 'strange bodies' and encounters within the problematic home/away dichotomy. Through the narratives of returned international students, we see how desire for home – as a mythic place – is created through the strangeness

of experiences while 'away' from 'home'. These experiences create a longing for the familiar and safe space in which they feel 'in place' and in which they belong. Brah (1996) refers to this as the homing desire. However, through experiences of reinhabiting the spaces of home, 'home' and 'away' are often recreated for the return students in various ways. The reconstruction of these spaces transforms the border between the familiar and the strange; it makes the imagined familiar space strange, and the spaces that were once experienced as being unfamiliar and strange are recreated as familiar. The discussion shows how the home/away and familiar/strange categories are continually (re)created so the migrants can live and inhabit spaces by becoming (un)intelligible, even if temporarily. Moreover, it also intimates how the role of gender hierarchies of power across social (family, community) and geographic scales (neighbourhood and national) shapes the everyday return experiences of the former students and consequently influences the decision to stay in, or 'return' from India, the 'return' this time being in the other direction, i.e. the direction of the original migration.

With due consideration to the critiques of home and away, in the following discussion these dichotomous terms are used as aids to facilitate analysis. Section 7.2 critically engages further with these ideas and outlines what the concepts mean in the ensuing discussion. Following the introduction to concepts section 7.3 reveals through the narratives that participants construct home as the site of non-strangeness, in opposition to encountering the strange, unknown, and being unintelligible when they are in the 'away' spaces abroad. Cast against the narratives of 'return' to India will be counter-narratives of desire to stay in Canada or 'abroad'. Section 7.4 then reveals that, as the respondents move across space and time, the memories of home meet the experiences of the present upon return to the imagined home – the known, familiar and un-strange. For some respondents, especially women, these boundaries begin to blur and become confused. Section 7.5 concludes the chapter.

7.2   Where is home? Where is away?

Home is an entangled concept and has multiple constructions (Mallett 2004). In colonial discourses of European travel, 'home' was constructed as the "space of return and of consolidation of the Self enabled by the encounter with the 'Other'"

(Grewal 1996: 6). In works on return migration, 'home' is invoked as *the* site to which the migrants return (Ralph 2009). Early research on return migration imagined home as bounded and fixed, a safe and comfortable space for rest that is untainted by "movement, desire or difference" (Ahmed 1999: 339). In such narratives of home, movement is presumed to be "movement away from home" (Ahmed 1999: 339). Therefore, 'away' is constructed in comparison and in opposition to home, the stable point containing no desire, except to stay put.

Home can be a site that invokes positive feelings of security or of oppression and violence; it is simultaneously familiar and unfamiliar, inclusive and exclusive and possesses its own gendered power geometries (Mallett 2004; Ralph 2009). Brah (1996) challenges the construction of home as a space uncontaminated from desire. Instead, home is reconstructed as the 'mythic place of desire' in reference to the imaginaries. Brah's work blurs the boundary between self and locality and asks the question 'where is home?'. In answer to the question, Brah suggests to differentiate between desiring 'home' and the 'homing' desire. Desire for home is associated with the want for a homeland. Cast against this want for homeland is the homing desire – a desire for space where one feels at home, a space of belonging, a space of safety and security. Home in this context is socially constructed as well as a "site of everyday lived experiences" (Brah 1996: 4). Home is

> …a discourse of locality, the place where feelings of rootedness ensue from the mundane and the unexpected of daily practice. Home here connotes our networks of family, kin, friends, colleagues and various other 'significant others'. It signifies the social and psychic geography of space that is experienced in terms of a neighbourhood or a home town. That is, a community 'imagined' in most part through daily encounter. This 'home' is a place with which we remain intimate even in moments of intense alienation from it. It is a sense of 'feeling at home'. (Brah 1996: 4)

It is this notion of homing desire that is used to examine the respondents' desire to return or stay.

Ahmed (1999, 2000) follows Brah and extends the idea of home and away in relation to the migrants and asks 'how do bodies reinhabit space?' Ahmed (1999) challenges the home/away dichotomy by arguing that staying at home and leaving are not two diverging trajectories:

'homes' always involve encounters between those who stay, those who arrive and those who leave…There is movement and dislocation within the very forming of homes as complex and contingent spaces of inhabitance (Ahmed 1999: 340).

This not only further diminishes the border between self and home space, it also diffuses and confuses the boundaries between home and away. Furthermore, Ahmed suggests that it is not only about the subject inhabiting a constructed space. Rather, the "subject and space leak into each other, inhabit each other" (Ahmed 1999: 341).

I extend this discussion of the home, away and return migration by drawing on Butler's (1993) idea of the matrix of intelligibility, as discussed earlier. The subject becomes intelligible only through a simultaneous construction of the 'domain of the abject beings'. Ahmed (2000), drawing from Butler (1993) and the idea of the 'domain of the abject', draws this subject – the one who is intelligible only because there are others who are excluded – into the discussion of home and away:

> *This* [original emphasis] subject is precisely the subject who determines the formation of home – the space one inhabits as liveable – and whose access to subjectivity is determined through being at home – the centre from which other beings are expelled.
>
> [...]
>
> [A]bject bodies are precisely the bodies that are not inhabited, are not liveable as such, or indeed, are not at home. (Ahmed 2000: 52)

This abject body is referred to by Ahmed as the stranger, the body that cannot be assimilated, or is only temporarily assimilated within the matrix. Therefore the strange body becomes temporarily intelligible. Ahmed (2000: 51) sees the strange bodies functioning as the

> border that defines both the space in to which the familiar body – the body which is unmarked by strangeness as its mark of privilege – cannot cross, and the space in which such a body constitutes itself as (at) home.

And so, strange bodies exist in a space which is outside of the 'home' space within which the familiar body exists; and it is recognised at the intersection of other forms of power relations which produce different social locations. Hence, for the subject to be intelligible there needs to be an exclusionary matrix; and

similarly for the familiar – home – to exist, there needs to be the domain of strange – away.

In this discussion I use the dualistic idea of 'strange' and 'familiar' in reference to both the student migrant bodies and the spaces they inhabit. The following section starts by taking home and away as discrete spaces in order to highlight how the strange and familiar characteristics of both spaces are intertwined.

7.3   Living 'away'

The desire to return home emerged in the narratives of both students abroad as well as parent respondents in Delhi. Home, for my respondents, had two broad meanings. Home as the mythic site of desire (Brah 1996) is drawn from the memories of a stable point that is constant and familiar. Home was also envisioned in the present and future temporal locations as a site of evolving and maturing relationships. This discussion highlights the role of time in the construction of home, and how gendered expectations shape the construction of home. This section, then, mirrors structural elements of chapter 5, in that it weaves together the experiences of men and women, but cast in their gendered roles of sons, husbands or boyfriends. Similarly, women are cast in their gendered roles of daughters, girlfriends and wives.   Lastly, a discussion of parents is presented to reveal their desire for the return of their son/daughter.

7.3.1   Sons, boyfriends and husbands: (not) out-of-place

In the first instance the idea of home is anchored to the memories of the physical house, as well as those of the everyday sounds, smells and routines, like Priya's reflections in *The Mango Season* which opened this chapter. These memories of the past create a longing to reinhabit those spaces. This space is seen as stable because the memories of relationships – with parents, other family members and friends – are located in the past. The student interviewees imagined that things remained constant with parents while they were away.

Home was constructed in opposition to feeling out-of-place in Toronto in their encounters with the unfamiliar. The respondents in Toronto, especially men, spoke of home as the space in which they were not out-of-place. Nitin said the following:

> I don't want to stay here. I want to go back after I finish…I feel out of place here. I don't get the jokes, I don't get their references. And they don't get my references. For example, I can't use references to cricket as examples in my teaching. They just won't get it. And, I just don't get baseball. Also, I can't talk to them about my parents and marriage. They won't get it. They will ask questions about everything. But then I can talk to my Indian friends and they understand. I don't have to explain to them everything. We share the same culture and family concerns.

Nitin's desire to go back to India – home – was linked to the idea of feeling in-place which takes shape as a result of the everyday experiences as Nitin lived 'away' in Toronto, where he felt out-of-place. He was unfamiliar with his surroundings after four years of living in Toronto. He said that he had not ventured further than the downtown core unless he had to. He feels he does not know how to communicate with others in Toronto. Talking, and other performances of communication, were strange and unfamiliar to Nitin. As the quote above shows, he did not want to live in such an environment and wanted to be at home – India – where he would not feel out-of-place

Nitin envisioned India as a familiar space where he could make friends easily and knew how to relate to others. His experience in Toronto left Nitin feeling isolated in the unfamiliar surroundings because he has been unable to make many friends since he was unsure of how to approach and relate to people. His circle of close friends in Toronto was very limited. Similar to Mayank, discussed in last chapter, Nitin too found it difficult to navigate the different masculine norms. He felt that conversation and topics that would have allowed him to develop a social network in India failed to give him access to social networks in Toronto. And like Mayank, he has been unable to deal with the lack of physical intimacy that exists amongst men who come from strong traditions of homosociality. As discussed in chapter 6, Mayank and Nitin are unable to negotiate the different ways of 'doing friendship' between Canada and India. Hence, they and other male participants desire a return to familiar spaces and practices in India, to 'intelligible matrices' within which they can perform their masculinity.

What stands out here in the narrative of Nitin is that he desired a return to his family and friends. But the problem lies in that when he refers to his friends, he refers to his university friends; while some still reside in Delhi where he initially

went to university, others have moved to other cities in India or to other countries. One of my other interviews, whom Nitin did not meet, was in the same cohort as Nitin at university in Delhi. Furthermore, Nitin's parents, whom he also includes in reference to home, live in the southern part of India. And so for Nitin, his friends and parents live at opposite ends of the country. Where and what, then, is home?

This desire to be in (not) strange and familiar spaces emerges more in the narratives of men than women. In fact, the narratives of women revealed an absence of the idea of return 'home' as a construction opposite to the 'strange' experiences of living 'away'. True, there were instances when some women respondents craved some aspects of their life in India, such as having open air markets, or a more interactive audience in the cinemas when watching a Bollywood movie. But overall women respondents did not share explicitly the desire for a (not) strange space as a result of their everyday experiences in Toronto. Their narratives revealed a desire for home so they could be closer to their ageing parents, or start new relationships such as with current or future partners. The section below discusses this particular articulation of home.

Yet, there is another narrative that emerges amongst men. There are other factors that overwhelm the desire to return to India. Tarun, introduced first in chapter 4, speaks of the limitations on his developing friendship networks in Toronto. He sees himself easily adaptable to different cultures, but he had encountered similar tensions as Mayank and Nitin. However, he is also not keen to return as he feels he would not be able to live with his girlfriend in India. Tarun is from a Hindu background, and his girlfriend, Amina, from a Muslim family.

> She [Amina] comes from a city in Gujarat that is an extremely polarised community due to Hindu and Muslim tensions. Her family is Muslim. Her brothers and sister have seen violence against Muslims on the hands of Hindus. Amina has witnessed rapes of Muslim women by Hindu men. Her family's house was broken into and trashed by Hindus in the past. So her family has extremely negative views about Hindus, especially Hindu men. So I think, that's why they are not very supportive of our relationship. Her parents are opposed to our relationship. My parents are fine with it, but her parents really don't like it....Marriage with her is impossible if we go back to India. Her family, even the ones in Canada,

they don't support it because of religious differences. Her sister and brother left India to get away from the violence against Muslims in India.

Tarun's reluctance to return to India and preference to stay in Canada until the next opportunity to move elsewhere is linked to his desire to build a life with his girlfriend Amina. Amina is currently working in Canada as a highly skilled professional in an engineering firm. She secured her employment on her merit, and joined Tarun in Canada. They've been living together in Canada. This is not a life Tarun feels he could have in India due to the lack of support, and the open opposition of Amina's parents. This opposition is a reflection of the ongoing Hindu-Muslim conflict in India. The history of this conflict predates the separation of India and Pakistan in 1947. There is an embedded distrust that Tarun intimates exists in Amina's family against Hindu men due to their past experiences. If they lived in India, Tarun and Amina would not only have to face the constant disapproval of her parents, but also of the wider society. The imagination of what daily life would be like in India for the two of them together does not present a very positive picture. In addition to any discrimination and persecution they may face from Amina's family, they would also face discrimination from the wider community. Tarun reflects on the troublesome experience of securing a house to rent in India.

> When she [Amina] was in Mumbai, she looked to rent a house. But she had a really hard time because no one wanted to rent to a single woman....When I and my brother tried to find a place in Bangalore, we had trouble finding a place. Sometime people wouldn't rent to us because we were bachelors. Then sometimes it was a issue that we ate meat, or they didn't like our religion or caste. So if she [Amina] and I tried to find a house in India, unless we were married we may not be able to find a place to rent.

Their cohabitation and non-married status would cause a problem. Furthermore, their mixed religion status would also raise issues with a task as simple as letting a house. Tarun and Amina would be faced with navigating multiple inequalities which would be exacerbated by their gender, religion and marital status.

Hence, while Tarun may not feel completely at home in Toronto, his homing desire shapes his decision to not return to India. He imagines what his life would be like in India with his Muslim partner. He does not feel that they would

have a safe, secure and easy life in India. Whereas in Toronto, despite any issues they are facing, they can live their life together without the fear of persecution from Amina's parents or the wider community. In this case, personal circumstances and role of religion shape the decision to stay (Geddie 2013).

Amina's parents are unaware that she and Tarun live together. They feel that the physical distance between daughter and parents has weakened some of the power relations between them. Despite this 'weakening' of power relations and shift in power-geometries, Amina feels the stress of her shifting relationship with her parents due to their opposition of her and Tarun's relationship. She too desires to be home, closer to her parents, but also prefers to build a life in Canada with Tarun where she would not have to suffer constant persecution due to their religious differences. In the case of Tarun and Amina, their homing desire – for a safe place to build their life together, actually led them away from their homeland.

7.3.2 Daughters, girlfriends and wives: (in) place

Women's narratives did not reveal the same desire to return to India as men's. Or rather, it should be said that their desire to return to India was expressed differently. Their desire to return to India, 'home', was articulated within the frameworks of family relations, as well as the everyday rhythm of the life there. Women desired to return to be closer to their parents. This was especially relevant for women who were in their late 20s, early 30s, and their parents lived by themselves with no other sibling to care for them. This desire to be closer to parents is discussed more in the following section.

Most women, in fact, were reluctant to return to India. The two recurring motives for not returning were the fear that they would not be able to secure a satisfactory job and the 'freedom' they feel in Toronto. Both motives provide insights across different scales.

The first refers implicitly to gender inequalities on the job market. This mirrors the findings from Kim (2011) and Ichimoto (2004). Arpita's case has been discussed in the previous chapter. She works within a science field and fears

that if she were to return to India she would be held back on her research path because the field is dominated by men, and women face too many obstacles.

Another three respondents, two of whom were studying nursing and another who completed a program in physiotherapy, also preferred to stay in Canada because they felt that women in their professions do not receive any respect for their hard work. The narratives of nursing students were very strong in expressing their dissatisfaction with the treatment of nurses in India and their low pay. In Toronto, they feel they will get greater respect, as well as better wages. Furthermore, there are better working conditions in Canada for nursing. While in India, each nurse was responsible for the care of 60-70 patients, in Canada one nurse may be responsible for only 30 patients. For these nursing students from India, this is a significant improvement, and they are eager to work in this environment. It is ironic then, that according to the nursing unions in Canada, a 30 patients to 1 nurse ratio is not effective for patient care or for the well-being of the nurses. In a 2012 report published by the Canadian Federation of Nurses' Union, it was revealed that nurses in Canada were leaving for greener pastures in the US due to better pay, better working conditions and better patient ratios (CFNU 2012).

The gender inequalities of the Indian labour market emerge continually in the narratives of women, both in Canada and India, as well as in the interviews with parents of daughters.

The second reason to stay 'abroad' is the sense of freedom they feel. This freedom has less to do with the surveillance of parents and refers more directly to the lack of the disciplinary gaze. Women repeatedly said:

> What I love about Toronto is no one cares. They don't make critical comments about you.

Another said:

> If they don't know you, they don't care about you. They won't just stare at you. People in India, if they think you look strange, or doing something different, they will stare. Just stare.

A third respondent said:

> Men, in India, especially in Delhi. They just stare. I mean it's very uncomfortable. They will just stare and follow you with their eyes. I did not feel safe in Delhi.

The freedom afforded by the nonchalant attitude of the people in Toronto provides women with a comfortable and relatively safe space. The reasons to return are related to family and are not associated to their gender identity. However the reasons to stay reflect their preoccupation with having a life in which their gender and their gendered role expectations did not hinder their professional and personal ambitions. Furthermore, their ability to adapt and negotiate the multiple gender identities and subjectivities provides them with more positive experiences than the men.

7.3.3 Closer to parents

In another set of narratives, the desire to return home was linked to inhabiting (not) strange places in new ways. This idea of home was based in the present and future imagined home rather than the past. The respondents, in this case both parents and the student, articulated this desire for familiar spaces conscious of the passing of time; which means they acknowledged that a return would not be to the same place as the one the student migrant left.

The desire for spatial proximity was shared by both parents and their offspring, but came across more strongly in the narratives of the parents than in the interviews with students. Specifically, the parents with sons abroad expressed a strong sense of loss and longed for their return. Incongruent to the parents' expectation that their sons return to them, more student women than men discussed their wish to be closer to their parents. The young women spoke of their worry and a sense of responsibility toward ageing parents living by themselves without the support of a younger generation. Existing research on return migration points to the desire of migrants to be closer to ageing parents and other kin (Baldassar 2007; Connell 2009; Conway *et al.* 2009; Ní Laoire 2007). However, only some of the above research includes the narratives of the non-migrant kin themselves. Here I first present the desire of the parents for the return of their son/daughter, and then discuss the narratives of the students about their desire to be closer to their parents.

My discussion in chapter 5 presented the accounts of two sets of parents – Kanchan (mother) and the Chaudhris (mother and father). They both expected their respective daughter and son to return to India. This desire was linked to the idea that, upon the return of the children, the families can then move forward on the expected and familiar trajectory.

In case of families with sons, the expectation of the return of the son is tied to the roles and responsibilities of taking care of the family. It is tied also to the performance of a successful masculinity which is linked to having a good job and earning money (Osella and Osella 2006). This facilitates acquiring a good 'wife' and secures the continuation of the patrilineal family. This can be seen in the quote below from my interview with the Gupta family. Both parents were present during this interview which lasted for nearly four hours. The mother, Sunita, expressed a desire for the return of her son:

> We want him to settle here. Our daughters are settled in their homes and we have only one son. If we had two sons, then one at home and another living outside [*bahar*] would be fine. But we have only one. So we prefer that he comes back here, and gets married. That way we'll have a daughter come in live with us. This will keep us busy. He'll have a wife, we can have a time pass. [24] She'll take us out to shops and other places and we'll take her out. They'll have kids. So we will be busy. Otherwise it can get boring. (translated from Hindi/English)

The narratives reveal the desire for an expected life trajectory. This expected life trajectory was one of the factors that led to the hesitancy of parents about their son/daughter studying abroad (chapter 5). The departure of their children was an unexpected interruption in the known life-course as imagined by the parents. The son would get a job and get married, there would be grandchildren and a bustling home. This is also associated with arrangements of care of ageing parents. As discussed in chapter 5, family is the primary site of care provisions, especially for ageing family members. Within the patrifocal family, responsibility of this care falls to the son. The gender division in the family appears in the care provisions. While the son is responsible for the care, it is often women, the son's wife, who provides the actual care. Hence, the desire

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[24] This is a vernacular, said in English, to express passing time doing some activity to curtail boredom and keep busy.

for parents to ensure that the son is married and that a family member, rather than a stranger, provides care. This also points to the failure of the State in providing options for care for the ageing population (Raghuram 2012). Moving away was therefore outside of the norms with which the parents were familiar. Therefore the return of the son is imagined to be a return to the familiar life-course and the expected arrangements of care. The son returning to the parents' home is a signal that life can continue in a relatively expected fashion – back on track.

The narratives of the parents of daughters reveals a less 'dire' need for the return of their daughters. The parents of daughters, within the patrifocal structure, expect their daughters to leave home anyway upon marriage. They are more prepared than parents of sons to live separately from their children. Deepika, a respondent in Delhi who lived away from her parents since the age of 18 years, said that her reason for return was her parents' desire to spend time with her. She returned to Delhi in 2010, approximately 15 months before I interviewed her in August 2011. She had been away for over seven years. During that time away from Delhi, she received her undergraduate degree elsewhere in India, a Master's degree from the UK, and worked in Singapore and Dubai. She said the following:

> My parents wanted me to be home for a bit. So that's why I'm at home now…In a way I was away for a very long time: seven years moving around including my undergraduate. So they [parents] were like, come home, stay home for a bit. It wasn't like come back and get married. They were like you are going to get married, you are not going to live here. So might as well spend some time now.

The desire of her parents for her return is clear in that quote above. Other parents who had daughters studying abroad expressed similar sentiments and in similar language. Parents utilised the available dominant forms to express their expectations of their daughters. These dominant forms drew on the language of patrifocality, where the daughters would not live with them forever, and hence the parents did not have any expectations of care from them. In fact the unmarried daughters, especially those of marriage age within the natal household, are seen as strange bodies. Daughters, within this patrifocal system, therefore become intelligible once they are located outside of their parents'

home, their natal home. Parents are less likely to imagine their daughter in the natal home with any degree of permanency, than the parents of a son. With this in mind, it makes sense then that the parents are more accepting of their daughters settling abroad, because the presence of the daughter in the natal household is not part of the expected household. The adult woman migrant then becomes a subject, locatable in the matrix only when she is away from her parents' home. In the case of women respondents, they too are aware that their parents' home, where their past memories are located, is not the space which they will inhabit permanently. And so, we can see that the boundaries of home and away start to fade.   A woman's return to the mythic place of desire, the site of the memories of smell, taste and touch, positions her as unintelligible within the matrix. In the natal 'home' the women subject starts to shift into the domain of abject. The narratives of the parents often lead to this interpretation. However, in practice sometimes the story is different.

Ashwini and Rajesh, who were introduced in chapter 5, refer to their expectations of their son using a language of patrifocality. However, they also go on to say that their since their son is away, their daughter takes care of them – referring to a more neo-local family structure of care (Raghuram 2012). The daughter lives close to Ashwini and Rajesh. Ashwini, in a passing comment, referred to the role that her married daughter feels she is playing in the lives of Ashwini and Rajesh:

She says, Papa, Mummy. I'm your son now and he's your daughter.

The transference of the gendered responsibility of care, yet still within the dominant language of patrifocality, is visible in the above brief quote.

And so for parents, a desire for their son/daughters, especially their sons, to return is linked to the desire to continue a life trajectory that they imagine had been put on pause due to the study-abroad period which includes the expected provisions of care for the parents. However, for the parents of daughters, the absence of the daughter from that natal household is part of the expected life-course within the patrifocal structure. The women respondents were more keen to return to a changed 'home' than the men. The men imagined return as return

to what they left behind. Whereas, for women, their idea of return was a return to new circumstances and their new role in the parent/child relationship.

Overall, while gender and gender roles present an initial point of entry for analysis, this discussion has uncovered other characteristics of gender differentiations – namely the manner in which friendships are maintained, ability to relate to new and unfamiliar circumstances, and adaptability. Men and women both missed home and desired that home. However, what is considered is 'missing' home is differentiated along gender lines. Men revealed a desire for familiarity with regards to how they made friends due to their inability to relate with others in Toronto. This narrative appeared to strongly influence the desire of men to return. By contrast, women's narratives revealed they did miss elements of home, especially those that related to family interactions during festival times. They missed the liveliness and dynamic nature of life in India. However, this did not play a significant role in their desire to return. For those women who wanted to return, the narratives were shaped around a sense of responsibility to ageing parents, and a desire to build a life with a new partner. On the other side of the coin, women's aspirations of career were first and foremost in their decision to stay in Canada.

7.4   Return to the mythic place of desire

An examination of the present and absent narratives of the experiences of students reveals the gender differences in the reinhabitation of the spaces imagined as home. In similar vein to interviews in Canada, the respondents in Delhi presented their experiences by comparing their everyday lives in Delhi to their everyday lives while studying abroad in cities across the US, UK and Canada.

Research on international students, especially within the field of education, discusses the varying degrees of culture shock students experience upon return. This reverse culture shock is the result of the students' longing for belonging and the failure to attain the level of belonging in relation to their transformed positions which are in tension with the expectations of the site of return (Butcher 2002; Pritchard 2011).

Here I examine the desire to belong – homing desire – through a gendered perspective. The women's interviews highlighted three aspects of their everyday experiences upon return: negotiations with parents, safe mobility in public spaces, and surveillance in social space. The three elements weave together the experiences of both public and private spaces. The men's experiences discussed here are derived from their narratives as well as my observations during my four months of fieldwork. The narratives highlight their daily experiences in public spaces only such as the modes of transportation and their ability to perform conspicuous consumption through activities like eating out in restaurants. My observations add another layer of experiences of return that the men do not articulate in the interviews; my observations reveal that men, like women, also have to negotiate with their families, but in a different way.

7.4.1 Negotiating with family

As discussed in chapter 5, in order to go abroad, students negotiated their mobility away from home with their parents to varying degrees. Similarly, on return trips (short or long sojourns, or permanent stays), the students experienced a need for renegotiation to be able to reinhabit the home spaces. This step of renegotiation was unexpected. Ralph (2009), in his study of return of first-generation Irish migrants, points to the surprises and the ambivalent reactions of return migrants when they realised that they would have to make changes to fit into the daily lives in their return sites. Raghuram (2012) points out that migration of one or more people changes ways of 'doing' family. 'Doing family', drawing from the concept of 'doing gender' (West and Zimmerman 1987), can mean several things. I draw upon Nelson (2006) to conceptualise "doing family, like doing gender, involves construction and achievement rather than the enactment of a 'naturally' existing set of interpersonal arrangements…this work becomes especially when the family one is creating does not fit the normative model" (Nelson 2006: 782). Hence the impact of distance between members of a family changes how family and family relations are enacted, as they are stretched across different places (Raghuram 2012). As the participants' experiences will reveal below, they all had to (re) negotiate with their families and thus involve themselves in changing ways of 'doing family'.

Once the excitement of 'return' had settled and daily life was stabilised, the participants, and especially the women, experienced constraints set on their mobility within the parameters of their parents and family members. Their interviews revealed that they could not do the things they had become used to doing while living away. Vani, aged 23 years, who undertook a one-year Master's program at a university in London, lamented that she could not go out at night to the corner shop to buy chocolate:

> When I was in London, if I wanted chocolate in the middle of the night, I'd just put a jacket on and walk down to the shop. I can't do that here.

In London Vani had to walk only three minutes to the nearest Newsagent to buy chocolate, regardless of the time. Living outside of Delhi, on her own, changed Vani's way of doing activities such as going shopping. Vani's ways of using space and being in specific spaces changed. In Delhi, if she wanted to buy chocolate at night, she would have to call her driver to drive to the nearest shop, a 10 minute drive. Vani lived in a gated community in South Delhi, an affluent part of New Delhi. Furthermore, she had to let her parents know before leaving or asking her driver to go. In addition to the distance of the house to a shop, Vani would not have been allowed to go out late at night because a curfew was set by her parents.

> I have a curfew here. I have to ask permission to go outside. Even for getting a bar of chocolate. I can't do that here [in comparison to London].

The curfew and the resulting constraint on her mobility in the evening can be read as parents' control over the daughter, as is expected within the patrifocal family structure. However, it is also reflective of the perceived insecurities with regard to women travelling alone late at night in New Delhi. The home space is constructed as a safe and secure space for women in opposition to the spaces outside of the border of home which are unsecure. Vani's constrained mobility outside of the house can be seen through the concept of geographies of fear (Pain 1997;Valentine 1989), which argues that women's inhibited use of public space is a reflection of patriarchy mapped onto space. The perceived fear of the outside of the home spaces, of the 'away' spaces, is also encouraged through actions of parents who limit their daughter's mobility. The use of the public space is discussed in more detail in the next section.

Vani, who spent only one year on her own outside of Delhi, had knowledge of the norms of her parents' house and reluctantly attempts to integrate herself into those parameters. She accepts these norms because she feels it is her responsibility to her parents, and simultaneously, it is also her parents' responsibility for her well-being. But she points out that she accepts her parents' expectation of her behaviour, rather than negotiate because she is not in a position to do so.

> I don't mind it. It's reasonable, because they are responsible for me. I don't have a job, and they paid for it all. Unlike in US, if you have a job, pay for own university, etc…so they make their own decisions.

Vani's sense of responsibility to her parents and her social location – linked to her age, her unemployment and her strong financial dependency on her parents – leaves her with very little room to negotiate. This also hints towards differentiated class structures and the privileges provided by socio-economic class. Vani, as mentioned already, is from an upper-class, wealthy family. While abroad, she did not feel the need to work and earn money to support herself, as the respondents in Baas' (2010) study. Vani's return to India after completing her studies, but without securing a job, was not perceived as a result of 'failed' migratory journey (Baas 2010; Batnizsky *et al.* 2008; Cassarino 2004). Instead, her return was considered to be a success since she returned after 'successfully' completing her education from a 'world-class' university. Following from Batnizsky *et al.* (2008) and Baas (2010), this particular construction of a 'successful' migrant is located at the intersection of gender and class. Vani's parents' stable financial situation meant that a loan was not required. Her parents valued her experience of studying abroad for the social and cultural capital it accumulated (Brooks and Waters 2011; Waters 2006b) and actively discouraged her from working part-time. According to Vani, this was because they wanted her to focus on her education and not be distracted by part-time work. Vani's awareness of these factors allows her to accept her parents' expectations of her and the limitations on her mobility; and fall back into 'doing family' as it was before she left to study abroad.

Neha, aged 23 years, is another female interviewee who studied in London. Like Vani, she too comes from a very affluent family and lives in another gated

community in South Delhi. Neha and Vani, though they have never met, they and their parents have overlapping social networks. Unlike Vani, who returned when her program completed, Neha stayed in London for several months. She interned at a marketing firm; during this time she applied for jobs in multinational firms in London and in Delhi. She received a job offer from the Delhi branch and therefore decided to return. Neha reflected upon her experience of applying from London, while she was still studying. She felt that if she applied after she finished her studies and from India, she would have faced problems because of gendered hiring practices. However, applying from London allowed her to overcome those inequalities, her physical location provided her with social and cultural capital (Waters and Brooks 2011) that gave her access to the company. Upon her return, she too felt that her parents' expectation of her behaviour did not match her own expectations. She felt that while she had grown and matured emotionally during her time abroad, her family in Delhi had stayed the same. Here I expand on an earlier quote by Neha.

> Initially it was a little bit difficult. They knew about how I lived in London. I had really prepared them. But then, actually, there comes a time, when they see how independently I was living. I think when I came back here, the basic setup, was sort of stuck on how it was when I left one and a half years back. I had changed, and nothing else had changed. So initially it was bit difficult for me, because suddenly from somewhere I had stopped asking for permission, not really asking for permission anymore. But I still had to inform them where I was going.

For Neha, return home was envisioned as a space in which she would fit right in just as she did before she left. It was not until she returned and tried to settle in again that she realised, according to her account, that she no longer completely fitted in the daily family life. In her narrative, she constructs her home as a place where she can no longer fully feel as 'liveable' as she did before she left. And so, her familiar space becomes unfamiliar and strange. In doing so, her narrative locates her parents within the unknown and unintelligible matrix. But Neha, like Vani, recognised that she had to learn to inhabit this space. However, unlike Vani, Neha engaged with the border of familiar and strange to negotiate with her parents and change the family's expectations of her as well how the everyday lives were lived.

> Initially it took me a bit of time to get used it for the first month. So then I realised that I need to get back into this phase of life. And it worked well because my parents adjusted a little bit and I adjusted a little bit so there was a bridge.

It was not just Neha who felt as if she was dealing with unfamiliar spaces. In the account of her mother, Supriya also expressed that she was surprised to see the new Neha – one who was assertive, confident and independent. She and her husband had expected that Neha would be more mature after the experience abroad, but not to this extent. They were especially proud that she had secured a job on her own merit.

Through this period of renegotiation both Neha and her parents had an opportunity to reacquaint with each other. Consequently they created a new set of norms which both Neha and her parents could inhabit – creating a new domain in which they were both mutually intelligible; thus creating a new way of 'doing family'. Neha felt that she and her parents had achieved a good balance between the degree of freedom that she wanted and that which her parents could understand in the context which they were familiar with. The effect of Neha's re-inhabiting 'home' was the transformation of the 'home' space as demonstrated in the changes of her parents' expectation of when and how Neha should spend her time outside of the home. Furthermore, following Ahmed (1999), the home space also inhabited the subject Neha, because *being-at-home* led to changes in Neha so she could fit better within that space. As Ahmed asserts, "being-at-home suggests that the subject and space leak into each other, *inhabit each other*" (1999: 341, emphasis in original). Hence, the space that became strange and unfamiliar for Neha upon her return, was made anew and less strange through negotiations.

Another example of the type of negotiation that takes place within the family is Pooja. Pooja also studied in the UK. She is older than Neha and Vani. She too decided to return to India because she was unable to find a long-term job. When she returned to India, she started her own business of home decor accessories.

While her parents live outside of Delhi, her extended family lives in Delhi. Like Deepika, discussed earlier, Pooja too has lived outside of her natal home during

most of her education and work experience. In light of this mobility, Pooja's return home was a sign to her family that a young woman in her mid-20s should not be living within her natal household. Her return to the place she imagined as her home triggered the family to see Pooja as a strange body within that home, within the patrifocal matrix. Furthermore, according to the norms of her parents' and family's social network, a single woman in her mid-20s was a rare state of affairs. Her family, as a result of her unmarried status, stood out amongst their community. To her family, Pooja's marital status of single constructed her as a strange body. To rectify this, her grandparents undertook the responsibility of searching for a marriage partner for her. Pooja was amenable to this decision; however she had to negotiate with the grandparents about meeting and choosing her future partner.

> I had to fight my way through it – about meeting the guy. There are generation gaps that need to be met. I still respect them, and their thinking. But I have to fight my side too.

Pooja and her grandparents' norms and expectations of search for a marriage partner varied. Pooja points to the generational gap in her quote. Her grandparents could not understand why Pooja wanted to play an active role finding a partner in the institution of arranged marriage. For them, this a responsibility for 'elders of the family' – parents and grandparents. Pooja had not expected that she would have to explain to her grandparents her desire to play an active role in the search for her partner. Her stand on becoming an active participant in the search meant that her actions did not fit into what was known and expected of the marriage process.

However, as Netting (2010) shows, the contemporary youth of the upper middle classes in India are playing an active role in their partner selection, combining the systems of arranged and love marriage. The evolving marital ideoscapes (Netting 2010) are emerging from the 'clash' between the Western media ideas of romantic love and the 'Indian' patrifocal values as well as the evolving narrative of responsibilities of both young men and women toward their families. The current India gives a greater voice to the youth in their families.   As Pooja says regarding her stand on active participation in partner selection, "I've kept

my grandparents happy, I've kept my parents happy, and I've kept myself happy".

She felt that she was able to navigate and negotiate the differences well. Once again, this is similar to Neha, wherein the boundaries of home and away as linked to familiar/strangeness become blurred within the spaces of the 'home'. The home which can appear familiar becomes strange because of the experiences of the time 'away'. This makes the away seem closer to home, as there are familiar sites and sounds that the subjects wish to reinhabit, than the ones that they inhabited upon return.

Men's negotiations with the families took on a different nature. Only one of my respondents in his interview expressed his frustration with living with his parents again. Ketan, who returned in 2010 from a year abroad in the UK said:

> It's different you know. There I didn't have to ask permission. I just went out. Friends would plan, and you would just go and see how the night goes. Here, they [parents] ask you where are you going? Why? For how long? When are you coming back? So many questions!

Ketan's nostalgia for a return to the way of doing and living in UK was evident in his interview. In this case, his experience was very similar to Vani's. Ketan too felt he did not have much room to negotiate with his family.

A second respondent, Billu, who spent several years abroad first across two countries in South East Asia and then to Canada, revealed another side of the return experience – that of marriage. On one of the return trips to India, Billu got married to his long-time girlfriend. At that time he was studying in Canada. Soon after the wedding, he left for Canada. His wife moved in with his parents and lived with them for another year before he returned to India to settle. Billu's plan was to secure a work permit or permanent residency in Canada and then his wife could join him. However, that did not work out. His wife was unable to get a visa to Canada. Consequently, Billu returned to Delhi. He expressed disappointment that he and his wife could not settle in Canada, but he was equally happy to have returned to India. For him, life in India was good.

> It was very easy to settle down here. I'm home. It was hard at the beginning when I didn't have a job. I had to start from beginning. At first my studies and work experience abroad did not help me. But then it was

okay. And I was living with family – parents, and my wife. It wasn't different at all. I went there. I came back. It's been good for me….But I want to settle in Canada. I want my wife and me to build a life in Canada. It's nicer and life's easier there.

Billu's return to home was to a familiar space. He knew how to live with his parents. He did not discuss much about any readjustments he had to make living with his wife. His narrative suggested that there were no new circumstances to which he had to adapt. This could be due to his reluctance to share detailed information of his life with me. Our interview was conducted at one of his friends' house. Later, his friends gave me more background information on him. While they had not been present at the interview, they indicated that Billu's life after return to India was not very easy. There were continuous tensions in the house because Billu did not support his wife against his parents. His friends, in particular his friend's wife Rekha, informed me that Billu's wife was responsible for all household chores and caring for his parents, in addition to her full-time job; and that he and his parents were not supportive of her suggestion to get a maid to help out with household chores, even though that was the norm amongst Billu's contemporaries.

Only when I had the secondary information from Rekha, was I able to make sense of Billu's comment about returning to Canada. Billu sought to escape the tension that was building between his wife and parents. He also could not move out with just his wife due to social norms. In his particular class and regional community, a son living with parents was the accepted and expected norm. Not doing so was an indication that all was not well with the family. Therefore, to maintain family reputation, Billu was not able to leave his parents' house. Billu's comment about returning to Canada with his wife is based on an imagination of a future life and a place where both he and his wife belong, free of stress and the tension that exist between his parents and his wife, and consequently between him and his family members.

7.4.2 Encounters in public space

One experience that none of the female respondents were happy about was their limited mobility in the public spaces and in particular their limited

opportunities to walk in the city of New Delhi. All respondents, to varying degrees, spoke of how much they missed walking.

Pooja had this to say:

> London's my second home. Give me a ticket to London and I'll run there right now. I really miss it. I miss walking. I miss my winter. I miss wearing my coat and going for a walk.

Neha said the following:

> Certain things you can't really do here. Such as: you can't walk on the road. Which I miss. And you can't be out to late at night. So certain things we had to make compromise with.

Walking, in these narratives and those of other women, is constructed as the ability to navigate and be in public spaces safely, free from the fear of violence. As pointed out before, Valentine (1989) argues that women's inhibited use of public space is a reflection of patriarchy mapped onto space. The degree of inhibition is guided by temporal elements such as not travelling alone at night, and spatial elements such as not going down small alleyways. Women develop strategies of safe mobility for areas they are familiar with.

Travelling alone in a new unfamiliar contexts, 'away' from 'home', is often constructed as unsafe (Wilson and Little 2008). Home is constructed as a safe and secure space, and outside the home is the insecure space. This opposition has gendered implications, especially in the patrifocal structure of parts of the Indian society. The insecurity of the outside space is associated with encounters of strangers in public space and in most cases these strangers are constructed as possessing masculine qualities (Valentine 1989). The perceived fear of the strangers leads to women's mobility being limited to familiar areas. Reiterating what was discussed in chapter 4, women in public spaces are often located as transiting through public spaces to get to more secure private spaces.

However, in the narratives of the women I interviewed, it was the opposite. Participants such as Pooja and Neha preferred navigating the public spaces in Toronto and London – constructed as not home – to those in Delhi – home. As Vani mentioned, popping down to the corner shop for chocolate in the middle of

the night; or in Pooja's story, her taking a taxi across London at 4 am completely drunk: these are things they both felt they could no longer do in Delhi. There were other factors that prevented Pooja and Vani from doing so. Vani's case has already been discussed, and Pooja will be discussed further below. However, they both (and other interviews) allude to their inability to walk safely in Delhi because of fear of violence. In spaces of public transportation such as buses and metro, the respondents referred to personal stories of experiencing harassment, as well images presented in media. They in fact expected and feared such encounters, and took steps to avoid them in an effort to have a degree of control over their safety.

In the context of the women's return to reinhabitating these spaces, the women respondents struggle to make these norms intelligible to themselves once again. These women lived in these specific patriarchal contexts and navigated the public spaces before they left 'home' and went 'away'.

So the women were aware of these norms and how to 'perform' in these spaces. However, after their time abroad, a return to these spaces has become harder. They are unsure of how to re-engage with these spaces with the same degree of comfort as they used to. They recognise that their desire to go for walks at different times of the day and night, or move through public space as they used to in Toronto or London, is not feasible in Delhi as women. They need to adapt their actions of everyday life in Delhi, just as they needed to adapt their actions and performances to make themselves intelligible in Toronto and London – as discussed in the previous chapter.

By contrast, a positive strand of narrativisation for men was their ability to move more easily and freely in Delhi. This is clearly in contrast to the women's experience, who felt their mobility constrained. Interviews with Ketan, Amitav, Vidit and Billu (all men) revealed that they were all happy to be back in Delhi. They particularly enjoyed that had their own vehicles, usually a motorbike. They all missed the freedom that is afforded by a personal vehicle, and valued the excitement of riding a motorcycle. In the case of Ketan, being able to ride his motorbike on the streets of Delhi was an important part of his life in Delhi, as a Delhi-ite.

> I can drive my bike here. Just like the rest of the people in Delhi. I know how to navigate the traffic on Delhi streets, just like others who live in Delhi.

Mellström (2004) argues that the use of motorcycles, along with other technologies, is an important facet in the performance of masculinity. The interviews with men point to this performance – the use of a personal vehicle that enables them to move freely across the city, outside and away from the 'home'. Additionally, the motorcycle is also a sign of consumption tied to the middle classes. This performance of a middle class masculinity is discussed more in section 7.4.4.

7.4.3 Surveillance in social spaces

The final point to discuss about experiences of women is negotiating the social spaces, specifically those such as clubs and bars. Women lamented the loss of freedom to just be themselves and act as they wanted to without being judged. As Pooja said:

> You can't get drunk here as much as you can drunk there (in UK). If you come home staggering, they will say what is wrong with you?? I never had my limits to drinking there. I'll always have limits to drinking here. People judge you here. They do! They judge you here! They criticise you…Why do you drink? You've done so many shots, so many drinks. Why are you staying out late? Girls don't do that. And this not my parents. But others. People around.

The respondents felt that they were forced to act in a particular way that was expected of young single women of their class and fit within the Indian norms. It is important to reiterate that most of my women respondents (both in Canada and India) identified their families as upper-middle-class and above. They felt that they could not act as they did when they lived in outside of Delhi. Excessive drinking at parties is an unacceptable quality in the discourses of the new Indian woman. This reference to the new Indian woman assumes a woman who is highly educated and comes from the middle class and above, an educated family.   While she is expected to be highly educated, and modernised, she must also maintain a sense of decorum. She must only adapt to those Western values that allow her to maintain her respectability (Radhakrishan 2009).   Their drinking, smoking and dancing do not fit into the hegemonic construction of femininity, and more specifically an urban middle-class femininity. The image of

drinking associated with the lower classes and removed from respectable middle class Indian femininity has been attributed to the Sankritisation[25] of the upper middle classes in India during the Colonial era (Benegal 2005). Therefore, some of my female respondents appeared to no longer fit into the norm of respectable femininity associated with the middle-classes (Radhakrishnan 2009).

Men's narratives also revealed similar experiences of disciplining the self to fit the Indian norms. As one respondent, Amitav, said:

> It's a tug of war. I like the craziness there [Australia]. But when I'm here, I like it here too. Their culture is crazy, but it's just freedom there. The culture there is about having fun. Drink like crazy and have fun. I don't drink but I like being around the craziness. That party culture is not here. Here if you go out to party, you have to think about constantly, if someone sees you who you know. What they will think. Maybe they will make a big deal out of it. My friends here, they are born and brought up in Indian culture, and they think that Australians are crazy. They don't like that craziness.

In addition to being judged on their performance of hegemonic masculinity and femininity, the respondents also pointed to the fear that any poor impression that they might make on the observers – others who occupy the space – may impact the family reputation.

The participants were concerned that if they acted in any way that was considered inappropriate by the others occupying the space – such as women drinking too much – the observers would report their behaviour back to their parents. The fear that their actions would be reported back to their parents is a form of disciplining the actions of the people. If the observers report back to the parents, this is seen as if parents, through this medium, are being reprimanded for allowing their son/daughter to act this way. So the discipline is not just for men/women who did not act appropriately, but also for the parents for their failure to properly socialise their son/daughter.

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[25] Sanskritisation refers to the upward social and caste mobility of low castes by adopting the Brahminic way of life by incorporating, as much as possible, the customs, rites and beliefs of the Brahmins. The term was coined by M.N.Srinivas, a sociologist, in his study of the Coorgs community in South India.

In this case, while the students wanted to party like they did while outside of India, and even if their parents knew of their actions, the role of the scrutinising gaze of the community stopped them from doing so. The reputation of the family is dependant then on the community's opinion of the family. Therefore any action that may be perceived or judged negatively by the community would impact the family honour. This fear of dishonouring the family encouraged the respondents to match the normative expectations.

7.4.4 Negotiating consumption

Consumption is one means of asserting masculinity for young Indian men, through which they express a specifically urban class-based gender identity (Batnizsky *et al.* 2008; Jeffrey and Young 2012; Nisbett 2007). Tied to the migration of young men is the idea of a successful project. In his study of Indian men and women studying in Australia, Baas (2010) presents how acquiring PR is a measure of success of the migration project. This idea of success for Indian students, especially men, is tied to their ability to pay off their loan. The participants in the study by Batnizsky *et al. (*2008*)* exhibited their success through purchase of consumer goods such as iPods and iPads. During my time in India, I observed that several respondents carried models of smart phones that were available only outside of India. These forms of consumption allow the men to assert a particular masculinity that is tied to a class identity.

Such a performance of masculinity is also present in the narratives of my participants. While the men did not raise any issues of reinhabiting the spaces of home, public space and social spaces, they did take issue with the limited accessibility to high-end products such as certain models of phones. Several men also pointed out that they were unable to find good restaurants that served good 'international' food such as Chinese or Italian. Eating out is not an activity that is accessible to everyone in India, and is therefore a sign of social and economic class. Eating out at restaurants that serve 'international' cuisine adds another layer of class performance – one that indicates experiences of past mobility. These are all forms of consumption and are signifiers of a successful migrant masculine performance (Batnizsky *et al.* 2008*)*.

Consumption as a mark of masculinity was so strong that it also appeared in the narratives of the parents. The parents spoke of the experiences of the returns of their son. In these narratives they often spoke of things they did. So for instance, the Chaudhris spoke of their son taking them out for dinner, and also convincing them to buy a bigger television for the flat.

> On one of his visits, he came home and said, Papa, let's go. Let's go get a big screen TV. What's this small TV you still watch? You should get a big one. So we did. He paid for some of it. It was really nice. Then next time he came, he said, Papa, why are you driving this old car? You should sell this, and lease a new one.

Jeth, a father, spoke of his son enjoying photography. His son had purchased an expensive camera and brought it to India.

> He loves photography. So when he comes for visits, he brings his camera. He says you can't buy such cameras in India. He bought it in the US.

Parents' references to their son purchasing something for the household were of equal importance in performing masculinity, and specifically a successful migrant masculinity.

Some parents raised issue with the increased spending of their sons, especially with regard to their use of credit cards to pay for purchases. But overall, all parents shared with me how proud they were that their sons bought them gifts. Such actions were considered performances of a good son, one who takes care of his parents and family. For parents such a performance of masculinity is a sign that their son is a good man and will take care of his parents. The male respondents did not however locate their performance of masculinity, through consumption, within the household. In all the interviews with men, the discussion focused on consumption practices which took place outside of the private domestic space.

Overall, the narratives of the women revealed a greater struggle to fit back into spaces of home. The disjuncture that appeared through comparison of daily life 'away' and at 'home' led many respondents, in particular women, to desire to return to 'abroad'; like Pooja, above, who refers to London as her second home. Similarly, Vani and Neha also mention that if they have the chance to work in

the UK they would take it up immediately. In the case of Deepika, this urge to return to 'away' was so strong that she was applying for a second masters in the US. She was looking forward to moving again. Her additional motivation for the move was to be closer to her boyfriend whom she met while on a project in Western India. By contrast, men's narratives did not reveal a desire to return abroad. While they all longed for some aspects of their lives when they lived abroad, most did not have a desire to live in those spaces – to build homes and families there. They appeared to be content living with their parents and partners, though this narrative absence in the interviews with men could be more an indicator of the impact of my position as a researcher than their experiences. The men may not have felt comfortable speaking to me. Moreover, the absence of a narrative theme can also be read as a performance of particular masculinity in and of itself. Their lack of culture shock, their ease of settling back into the daily live, their strong relations and renewed commitment to the family can be read as markers associated with an Indian masculinity – one that is embedded within the family relations.

Home and away are always constructed in opposition, with home referring to familiarity and security, while away refers to strangeness. The narratives of women revealed that their return to home, the familiar space, did not remain familiar. In their day-to-day experiences of living with parents, when navigating life outside of the home and social spaces, they constantly felt out of place. They constantly compared their experiences in Delhi to those in cities that were considered away. They experienced a disjuncture between their imagination and life before they left 'home' and when they returned 'home'. They realised that this was not the 'home' they imagined. In fact, the experiences of 'home' were not familiar, not what they expected. These were strange. In discussions with the daughters' parents, the return students were represented as strange bodies; bodies that no longer fit in as before. With regard to mobility in public spaces, if 'home' is to be tied to safety, security and familiarity, the female respondents reminisced about the sense of safety and security about travelling in London and Toronto. The 'away' in this case, was more secure and familiar than the 'home' site. These women were not as comfortable navigating the

public spaces in Delhi as they were in London or Toronto. Hence, the border between home and away becomes complex, especially for the women.

7.5 Conclusion

The literature on return migration often highlights the adaptation that return migrants must make in order to resettle into the 'home' spaces. This chapter aimed to move forward from this point by showing the gendered differences of experiences of reinhabiting spaces. The discussion started by looking at how migrants' desire for home was created in contrast to their experiences abroad, which left them feeling out-of-place. On the other side of the migration process, the parents of migrants, in India, had a desire for the return of their offspring so they could continue with their expected life trajectories. The desire for return 'home' is tied to the idea of 'home' (Brah 1996) as the familiar and known place but only through comparison of the 'away' spaces. Following Butler (1993) and Ahmed (1999), home and away are created simultaneously for either one of the spaces to be intelligible and for them to be liveable.

The second part of the chapter highlighted the gendered experiences of the return migrants. In doing so, the discussion tried to locate the respondents in the known and familiar spaces of 'home'. However, as the accounts of the interviewees revealed, most experienced various degrees of unintelligibility in the imagined home spaces, resulting in the experience of 'reverse culture shock'.

Women's narratives were more revealing about their gender situations and the disjuncture between the intelligible and unintelligible performances within the patrifocal matrix. Their experiences revealed a greater consciousness of adapting and acting in a way that was acceptable within the various spaces, than men's experiences. The narratives of the respondents therefore locate their performances within the 'stereotype spaces' – women within private spaces and men within public spaces. However, through these 'traditional' constructions of women at home and men outside of the home we can also see that the women's experiences focus on the home space. This is because this is the space in which they were no longer entirely intelligible. They were the strange bodies in these spaces. They had to continually renegotiate with their

parents, with their communities, and the public spaces as well. The women's experiences reveal their struggle to remain intelligible in these once-familiar spaces. While the most women adapted to the multiple demands of gender performances while they lived abroad, they had more problems negotiating the performances expected of them in India. Their experiences of renegotiating their subject positions, those of daughter first and foremost, made them more reluctant to adapt. It is these experiences of struggle, feeling (not)in-place, that shape the experiences of women and, in a few cases, leads them to seek out opportunities that would take them abroad, to spaces in which they would less out-of-place, less strange.

By contrast, the focus on men's narratives shows that there may not be a need to renegotiate the home spaces. More easily than women, men can resettle into these spaces. This also reflects the less flexible gender performances that men performed while abroad. The men chose to reject the dominant masculine performances in Canada and the US and retained their sense of masculinity as located within the Indian context. Surprisingly, the men's narratives did not reveal their interactions with their friends. This was surprising since that is the one element they felt they missed the most (as recounted in chapter 6). By holding on to an Indian masculinity, they did not need to (re)negotiate as much upon their return. They are still intelligible and known bodies within these spaces; and more importantly, they continue to perform the same identities as they did before they left. The women have taken on other subject positions while abroad: such as the 'independent' woman (Ichimoto 2004; Kim 2011).

After an examination of all the narratives, two elements emerge. Firstly, the impact of class as it intersects with gender clearly comes out in the discussion above. The privileges of class in conjunction with gender provide men and women with the ability to be more mobile. Their prior experience with mobility makes them more mobile and comfortable to take on any future migratory trajectories. The second element mirrors the findings of de Bree *et al.* (2010) that there is a relationship between the agency that the return migrants are able to exert and their ability to associate it with a strong sense of home. For all my respondents, those who returned and wanted to continue to live in India – they were living their lives in a manner that they had a degree of control over their

own everyday life decisions. Their control on their actions and decision-making was a result of their improved financial position due to better jobs, or their changed marital status – from single to married. Whether they were in negotiations with their families, communities, or macro-scales such as labour markets, these factors allowed the respondents to renegotiate and shift the power-geometry between themselves and their parents/community in their own favour. In most cases, the narratives of women revealed their awareness of their diminished agency, that they had less control over their actions and access to spaces when they returned to Delhi than when they were abroad.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This thesis has examined the mutually constitutive relationship between gender and mobility with specific reference to the mobility (corporeal and other) of international students from India. The Gendered Geographies of Power (GGP) framework was used to examine the multiple power dynamics within which the international student is embedded. The respondents were located in two cities: Toronto and Delhi; and at the micro-level the social scales of the body, the family and the community were prioritised. Gender was the main social location, but class also intersected with gender and was therefore part of the discussion. Doreen Massey's concept of power-geometry – "the complex web of relations of domination and subordination" (Massey 1992) – is at the core of GGP and my thesis. These power relations were examined through the gender, gender relations and gender performances of the students, and others with whom they interacted. To this extent, three space-time locations were used to focus the analysis: India before departure, the period spent studying abroad with specific reference to Toronto, and the return and reinsertion back to the patrifocal context in New Delhi; each with different gender dynamics. The preceding chapters have examined each of these locations individually. In this concluding chapter I draw upon these earlier discussions and locate the key findings of my study in the five broad research contexts which are integral to my thesis: ISM, Indian migration, methodology, gender and migration, and class, gender and migration. Throughout this account I will also weave comments on what I see as the limitations of the research. And lastly, I suggest some avenues of future research.

8.2 ISM

Firstly, there is a significant gap in research on ISM which looks at the phenomenon through a gender lens. In a recent guest editorial by King and Raghuram (2013), written as an introduction to a special issue of the journal *Population, Space and Place* on ISM, these two authors map out avenues of further research. In particular, they make a "plea for gendered analysis". First and foremost, then, this research answers that call.

This is a first research project on student mobility that foregrounds gender rather than allocating it to the margins. The online survey revealed that the international student subject is located at the intersection of gender and class. A greater proportion of women came from affluent and educated parental backgrounds than the proportion of men. Men who are mobile reflect a greater diversity in parental socio-economic background; women's socio-economic background is less heterogeneous.

The gendered findings are discussed in more detail in section 8.5. In this section I focus on the contributions that my research makes to the field of ISM, specifically on the motivations, experiences and return/stay decisions of international students. These different aspects of the mobility process are influenced by class, labour market, HE institutions and care regimes within families.

8.2.1 Motivations

The results of my research on the motivations of students to study abroad mirror the findings of existing ISM research. Specifically the survey results reflect the findings of the Findlay and King (2010) study of the motivations of UK students to study overseas: 'world-class' university, career and travel/adventure. For many of my participants, pursuing further higher education at a 'world-class' university (Findlay *et al.* 2012) abroad was a result of the structural barriers of the Indian HE institutions. For some these institutions failed to provide the types of programme that were of interest to the students, and in other cases it was the out-dated pedagogical methods that the students rejected, such as Tanya. And yet, for others such as Prita, Mayank, Nitin and Vidya, admission to a 'world-class' university was an avenue to social and cultural capital accumulation (Waters 2006b) which allowed students to shift their social locations within their families, and at the same time allowed their families to preserve or enhance their social position within Indian society.

The limitations of the Indian labour market also influenced the decision to study abroad. In the case of women, the perceived gender inequality of the labour market (Cooke 2010; Gupta and Sharma 2002; Parikh and Sukhatme 2004) was an influential factor for both the students and their parents. A second labour

market barrier that the students and parents hoped to overcome was nepotism and caste discrimination in the hiring process (Jodhka and Newman 2007).

Overall, these findings follow Waters' (2006) and Baas' (2010) studies, in that both students and parents are motivated by social and cultural capital accumulation in response to the structural limitations of the 'local' HE system and labour market.

8.2.2 Experiences

Firstly, I highlight the 'education' experiences of students. The students who attended universities had a different experience of learning than those who attended colleges. Overall, university-going students were more satisfied with their learning experience than students who attended colleges. The (dis)satisfaction emerged through comparisons with Indian HE institutions and the learning experiences of those institutions. University students enjoyed the different learning methods; they found them more practical and challenging. By contrast, college-going students felt that their studies were 'too easy' compared to Indian standards. However a greater level of dissatisfaction of college students was due to the 'limited' interactions they had with the 'local' students.

Moving now outside of the academic arena, the everyday experiences of Indian students were examined across three spaces: 'White' Canadian, Indian Canadian and parents in India. These three spaces were across the city scale and the transnational scale. Most studies thus far have examined the experiences of students within the city scale (Brooks and Waters 2011; Collins 2010b; Waters 2003), or national scale (Findlay and King 2010, Findlay *et al.* 2012; King *et al.* 2011). Just a few works explore the students' experience within the transnational scale such as Waters and Leung's research on the educational experiences of students studying on 'international' campuses (2013); and Baas (2010) examines the impact of parents in India on the students' experiences in Australia. In these cases, the power-geometries across the national and transnational scales are negotiated to varying degrees and differentially impact the students' experience. My study adds to this body of literature.

The ethnic and kinship encounters considerably shaped the experiences of the students. In particular, as the students navigated these multiple spaces simultaneously, they encountered (un)familiar norms of gender performances. The participants of my study negotiated the different norms of each space and revealed shifting subjectivities. This is a significant contribution of my thesis to the field of ISM and is discussed in more detail in section 8.5, under the theme of gender and migration.

8.2.3 Return/stay

There has been limited work on the 'return' experiences of international students. What there is can be divided into three parts. Firstly, there is a body of research that examines the decision to return/stay, regardless of the actual practice. Alberts and Hazen (2005) and Hazen and Alberts (2006) examine this decision for students studying in the US. The second aspect is to examine the 'stay' experiences of students; and the third part examines the 'return' experiences. Geddie (2011, 2013), Mosneaga (2012) and Mosneaga and Winther (2013) examine the stay decisions and experiences of students through different perspectives and examining different locations and scales. The third part of the limited research field is the return experience. Baláž and Williams (2004) examine the return experiences of Slovak students who studied in the UK. Waters and Brooks (2009) examine the three elements together in their study of UK students abroad.   My study examined the return/stay decisions of students in Canada, and the return experiences of the students in India.

In doing so, following Geddie's (2013) research on international students in Toronto, my participants' reasons to stay/return were greatly influenced by social relations. In particular, they expressed a desire to return to India to be closer to family and parents. In my study, I have privileged relations with parents over relations with past, current or future partners or spouses; and this is a partial 'gap' in my analysis that I flagged up earlier. However, where my study makes additional contributions is through the examination of the parental view, in particular the desire of parents for their sons to return 'home'. Furthermore, I explored the gendered differences in how students expressed their desire to 'return home'. Most men expressed a desire to return home, to feel 'in place', due to their feeling 'out-of-place' during their time abroad,

wherein they had a harder time fitting in to the different gender contexts. Again, these differences are discussed in more detail in section 8.5. My contribution to the discussion of stay/return links the decision to the experiences of the students while they are abroad, as well as the social ties which are stretched across the transnational scale. This finding has implications for the government of Canada, which wants to retain its international student population.

My study has also focused on the 'spatialities of migration' (Raghuram 2013). A direction of future research, following Raghuram (2013), is to extend the analysis of ISM from the 'spatialities of migration' to the 'spatialities of knowledge'. According to Raghuram (2013), the acquisition of knowledge makes the mobility of students unique. Therefore it is important to examine knowledge acquisition and knowledge production. In particular, Raghuram encourages the analysis of the different forms of power involved in the production and acquisition of knowledge. To this extent, I would propose focusing on certain types of knowledge for which there is increasing demand – specific degrees that students seek out, for instance medicine or business management. There is an increasing demand for these and other programs. An examination of these specific knowledge fields from a migration perspective would shed new light on the ISM field.

8.3   Indian migration

Globally, the Indian diaspora is second only to the Chinese diaspora. This thesis puts front and centre the experiences of the Indian students studying abroad. Indian students have a long history of mobility for education, and demand to study abroad is increasing. In a recent analysis of Indian students studying within the EU between 2000-2009, the number of students increased from 3348 to 51,556; of these students 75% go to the UK (Mkherjee and Chanda 2012). My research thus becomes the second major study after Baas (2006, 2010) that examines the experiences of Indian students abroad. In light of the continually increasing flow of Indian students, it is important to understand the experiences of these students in order to grasp the future likely mobility trends of this group.

In most studies on student mobility the role of parents is assumed to be supportive. In Waters' (2006b) work on Hong Kong students in Canada, parents initiate and encourage their children to study in Canada even if their offspring do not desire to do so. However, in my study, I reveal an initial narrative of reluctance from the parents. Parents' reluctance is expressed through a discourse of gendered role expectation within a patrifocal system. In particular the reluctance of the parents of sons is tied to the future care arrangements of the family members. Traditionally, sons are expected to care for parents. The movement of the son away from home produces uncertainty for the parents as they are unsure of the return of their offspring. Hence, the son moving away means a possible loss of care provisions. This reluctance is negotiated between the parents and the son through a narrative of the future life-course of the offspring. Tied to the future life-course of the son/daughter is the performance of a middle-class identity (Fernandes 2006). I follow Brooks and Waters (2011) and assert that studying abroad is a pursuit for the Indian middle-classes; this practice can be seen as reproducing those specific class positions and relations. Associated with the specific class relations are specific gender performances. As Ali (2007) highlights, for young men, going abroad is almost a rite of passage to manhood. Batnitzky *et al.* (2008) present the other side of the coin and show that living abroad, even if working in feminine sectors, allows Indian men to construct and perform a particular masculine identity that reproduces the specific masculine class performances.

Often women are missed in this mobile middle-class narrative. They tend to appear as the holders of the 'pure' Indian identity within the language of respectable femininity (Radhakrishnan 2009). However, as the discussion in this thesis has revealed, the idea of a respectable femininity is insufficient to represent the heterogeneous experiences of mobile middle-class women. In fact the language of patrifocality was also insufficient to understand the mobility project of the Indian international students. It was only through an intersectional examination of gender, sexuality, class and to a lesser extent race/ethnicity, that the experiences of both men and women could be fully portrayed. Hence, this research has benefitted immensely from the intersectionality approach, which

allowed me to explore how the power-geometry of multiple positions, identities and relations were made and unmade, and claimed and rejected.

A limitation of this study on Indian students is the absence of a deeper analysis of race. Other studies of international students, especially those who arrive in 'Western' countries from Asian countries (Baas 2010; Collins 2010a, 2010b; Kim 2011), discuss racism as part of the everyday experiences of students. I acknowledge that this is lacking from my thesis. I do not deny that my respondents experienced racism, however in order to fully engage with such issues I would have to conduct another layer of analysis for all the discussions. This would then become a very different project. Therefore a future avenue of research on Indian students is to locate the study at the intersection of gender and race.

Another future avenue of research is student mobility within Asia. Some of my respondents studied in Singapore for a year; another studied in South Korea. Anecdotal evidence during the fieldwork in Delhi highlighted that Indian students were going to China for medical degrees. More students were seeking out universities in South East Asia because they felt they could still get a good education and be closer to their parents, and the financial burden was usually less. What is the impact on the students' choices within this growing and ever more globalised educational market? How are the experiences of the students who go abroad to other Asian countries different from those who travel to 'Western' countries? These are further questions that could profitably be considered in a next step of my analysis.

8.4 Methodology

My research has made significant contributions to the field of ISM as well as gender and migration scholarship by conducting mixed-method and multi-sited research.

8.4.1 Mixed methods

I employed mixed-methods for data collection: specifically an online survey and face-to-face in-depth interviews. Thus far, only Findlay and King's research programme on UK students abroad has combined these methods in such a way (2011).

The online survey contributes to satisfying the need for better statistics on ISM, globally and on specific groups. There is also a need for these statistics to facilitate gendered analysis – which very few statistics on ISM support. This thesis has presented concrete statistics on the population of Indian students abroad, albeit a small sample of the population. Furthermore, this data was disaggregated by gender.

My additional contribution is the use of ethnography. To date, Murphy-Lejeune's (2002) and Baas' (2010) work are the only two significant bodies of research which employed ethnography. During my 10 months of ethnographic research in Canada, I was able to observe systematically the performances of gender identity. The ability to conduct these observations, and spend more time with my respondents in Canada, allowed for rich data collection which could not be fully replicated in New Delhi. Ideally, more time spent in this latter city would have enabled me to deepen my ethnographic observations there, but this would have pushed my fieldwork time beyond the scale of a PhD project.

8.4.2 Multi-sited

Multi-sited research captures the fluidity and dynamic nature of cultural meanings and identities across multiple time-spaces (Marcus 1995). Hence, it was important to examine multi-sited gender contexts in order to capture the transformations of gender identity.

Most studies on ISM examine at least two sites. For instance, Findlay and King's (2010) programme of research examined the mobility of UK students in multiple 'host' countries: USA, Ireland, Australia, France, Germany and the Czech Republic; as well as gathering data on prospective students in the UK. Waters (2006b) studied Hong Kong students in Canada, as well as carrying out interviews with 'return' students in Hong Kong. Murphy-Lejeune's (2002) work on European student mobility examines multiple destination sites within the EU. My research follows in these footsteps but combines the multi-sited approach with the dual focus on gender and migration, which thus far has not employed a multi-sited strategy. In order to capture the fluid nature of gender identity, as advanced by Butler (1993, 1999), it is important to examine the gender

identities in multiple spaces and times. My research did so by examining three space-times.

Hence this research is not only multi-sited but also multi-temporal. The bodies of work discussed in the paragraph above examined different time-spaces. Findlay and King (2010) surveyed respondents before they left (potential migrants) and while they studied abroad. Waters (2006b) interviewed students while they studied in Canada and then upon their return to Hong Kong. As highlighted above, thus far a single study has examined either one or two time locations simultaneously; in this study I examined three: before leaving, while studying abroad, and return. I did not, however, interview students before they left. Rather, I drew on my participants' memories of their time and thoughts before they left India. I extrapolate from the data I collected after the students left. This remains a weakness of this study and also of other studies on ISM.

There needs to be research on the students before they go abroad to fully understand the power relations across multiple scales which facilitate or prevent the mobility for education. King *et al.* (2011) is the only study thus far that interviewed potential internationally mobile students. Interviewing the students before they leave would provide richer data and better understanding of the power relations and should be part of a future agenda of research on ISM.

8.5 Gender and migration

The broad theme of this thesis is the exposition of the relationship between gender and mobility, based on the idea that gender relations prior to moving shape who moves, their motivations, the settlement patterns and experiences; and that mobility – corporeal and other forms of mobility – (re)shapes gender identity, relations and ideologies and their meaning across multiple scales and spaces. Below is a discussion of key findings to show this relationship.

8.5.1 Shifting gendered subjectivities

The students' lives in Toronto were shaped by their interactions with people in Toronto, as well as their interactions with their parents in India. The students have to navigate multiple spaces that are constructed out of multiple relations. As the students traversed these spaces, they encountered different gender norms. Gender differences emerged in the ways men and women adapted to

the (un)familiar gender norms. These gender norms – matrices of intelligibility – comprised different ideas of sexuality and of masculine and feminine performances.

The experiences of shifting femininities of my participants are similar to the results of Williams (2005, 2008) study on Indonesian domestic workers. The women in Williams' study negotiated different subjectivities within their 'work' space and 'non-work' space. When at work, these women displayed an image that matched the expectations of their employers. However, outside of that space, these women drew on practices which they associated with 'home' – such as going to religious services. As women move from one space to another they perform different femininities to those which are coherent and expected in specific spaces. My study pushes the idea of shifting femininities further. For instance, my respondents Tanya and Nitasha chose to perform their 'Indian' femininities in non-Indian spaces as well as Indian. As women navigated the different social relations, they were able to adapt to the different gender norms in the each space, whilst simultaneously asserting their own 'Indian' femininity. Their ability to insert their own norms into the existing matrices disrupted the dominant discourses. Women in my study were able to shift their subjectivities to various degrees in order to deal with new ways of doing friendship while 'abroad' and doing family abroad.

Men's experiences were more or less the opposite to those of women. The men, for the most part, had a more difficult time in dealing with the different gendered norms. In particular men found it harder to assert their masculinities specifically in the ways of 'doing friendship'. This was especially problematic because friendship networks also act as support systems (Chopra 2008) for men and as spaces where they assert and form their masculine subjectivities (Migliaccio 2009). An absence of this space in which they could assert their specific masculinities made it more difficult for men to adapt to the different gendered norms and expectations. This is also reflected in the studies of van Hoven and Meijering (2005) on Indian men in Germany and Hibbins (2005) on Chinese men in Australia, who also find it harder to adapt to the different social norms. Men's narratives and practices revealed their preference to retain their masculinity as it was expressed in India. Unlike women, men were not so

successful at asserting their masculine performances in most spaces. Women had a greater control over which gender performance to assert in which spaces. Women respondents therefore appeared to possess a greater sense of agency than men in Canada.

These different experiences and shifting subjectivities are not solely tied to the gender performances, but emerge through an intersection of class, religion and sexuality. Men and women try to assert specific gender performances that reflect the norms of not only the spaces in which they interact while abroad, but also the spaces in which they interacted while they were in India, their transnational interactions with parents, as well as the spaces they may interact in future. These spaces are not limited to ethnicity and kinship relations as discussed in chapter 6; but include the different social class backgrounds of the respondents. It is linked to their religious identity – such as Shabnam and Vidya. Shabnam became a more devout Muslim woman by giving up drinking and 'partying' due to the expectations of the Indian Muslim community in Toronto. Shabnam, like the participants in Williams' study (2005, 2008), found solace in her religious beliefs which helped her adapt to the changes that were brought about as a result of migration. On the other hand Vidya started to question her religious beliefs due to her studies as well as others around her. Until she left India, she had never questioned her identity as an upper-caste Brahmin woman.

Sexuality was also an important factor in shifting subjectivity. In the cases of Prita and Sameer, their sexuality and choice to have or not have sexual relations led them to reject certain spaces and accept others. These two cases also present an alternative narrative to the conventional discussion which often presents migration experiences to 'Western' countries as more sexually liberating (Ahmadi 2003; Smith 2012).

The main weakness I see in relation to gendered subjectivities is the limited sample composition and size. The project evolved from a study of women to other genders. However, the study was limited to women and men. It does not include people, for instance, who identify themselves as transgendered. This was due to the limitation of time as part of a PhD process and the limitation of

my networks. Furthermore, my sample is predominantly heterosexual (only two identified themselves as non-heterosexual respondents). In a research on gender identities, a sample that largely identifies as heterosexuals provides a limited analysis. A final issue that I faced – inevitably so – is the nature of my own gendered positionality within my research design and objectives. I alluded to this problem earlier in the thesis, and it is only fair that I raise it again here, since it implies an asymmetrical access to the more sensitive parts of my participants' lives and narratives.

8.5.2 Gender and return migration

The return to India reveals another shift in gender subjectivities. Most men felt that they settled back easily into life at home, returning to the *status quo ante*. Things were as before for most men. Women's experiences were the opposite. Most women found it really hard to adjust upon return. This is the opposite situation to when they were students abroad. Women, upon return, felt constrained in their ability to make decisions. Studies on gendered return migration experiences have shown similar results especially when the return is to a stricter and stronger patriarchal gender context. Phillips and Potter's (2005) work on 'return' of first and second generation 'Bajan-Brits' to Barbados reflects the constraints women feel upon their return.

Few men in my study compared their everyday experience in Delhi to that of living abroad. My male respondents' comparison was nearly always with their life before they went to study abroad. By contrast, women compared their lives in Delhi upon return to their lives while they studied abroad. While men desired to return to relations and behaviours before they left India, women desired to return to a life before they returned 'home'. The constraint on the decision making in India was cast against the fewer constraints over their everyday lives while they lived away. Hence, women felt very unsettled, and did not know to behave in Delhi. Some were able to exercise agency, negotiate with their parents, and gain control over their decision making; however for other women, they did not feel they could do so.

Many women found it harder to negotiate the different gendered norms they were expected to perform in India. Consequently, their narratives revealed their

desire to leave India and go abroad where they felt more 'in-place'; more at home. Hence, for women, 'return' home is likely to be part of a continual migration trajectory. The idea of 'return' as permanent fails here. Instead, the idea of mobility is more apt to refer to not just the physical movement of the migrants but also their desire for 'movement' to spaces in which they feel more 'in-place'. This draws on the idea of 'home' as a homing desire (Brah 1996).

Thus mobility as a concept is ideal for the study of international students. Applying the concept of return mobilities (King and Christou 2011) opens up avenues of analysis that acknowledge the fluidity and future trajectories of movers. Return mobility does not presume permanent 'resettlement'. Furthermore, mobility is also associated with an examination of power relations, for instance between the movers and non-movers. Return mobility therefore encourages us to expand the research to include not only those who have returned, but also to those who did not move in the first place. This acknowledges that the lives of those 'left-behind' were not locked or stagnant for the period the student was away. As in this study, parents and families continued to live their lives; some student respondents failed to recognise this reality.

The key conclusion, therefore, is that return mobility and experiences, as demonstrated in chapter 7, are also strongly gendered. This is a crucial point that needs further exploration both in ISM research as well as in general migration and mobility research.

8.5.3 GGP

GGP is the guiding framework of this thesis. This framework ties in two strands – gender and mobility. This study has been a concrete example of how this framework can be used to develop a research project and structure the analysis. The overlapping constitutive blocks of geographic and social scale, social location, power-geometry and imagination, produce a more complex analysis of student mobility. However, this framework has its limitations. Firstly, it locates power-geometry at its core, but does not elaborate on what it means by power. For this reason, I drew on Foucault to elaborate on the nature and dynamics of power. Secondly, the breadth of the framework does not facilitate

in-depth analysis. It simply provides a frame within which the researcher/writer has to use additional concepts for thorough analysis. This is evidenced by my use of different concepts for each discussion – namely the matrix of intelligibility (Butler 1993) and the stranger (Ahmed 2000, cf. also Murphy-Lejeune 2002).

Student respondents spoke about their parents' reluctant support to their desire to study abroad. Students were able to overcome the reluctance by securing financial means to fund their studies. Securing a way to fund overseas education is an example of the shift of social location within the hierarchies of power of the family. Other respondents shifted to an improved social location through gaining admission to a 'world-class' university. The shift in social location revealed the various actions the students undertook to ensure that they could pursue their desire to study abroad. These practices reveal the students exercising varying degrees of agency. Some respondents did not need to negotiate much since their parents were broadly supportive of study abroad. However, for others, where parents were more reluctant, the respondents took steps to counter parents' reluctance. Their actions, such as securing funding, or gaining admission to a good university, are practices of students taking steps toward making their own decisions. Moreover, the negotiations and decisions are shaped as a result of a shifting of gendered and classed social positions. Once men and women become mobile, their position shifts again to a more positive, middle-class identity of mobile students and future professionals. These shifts in social positions impact the nature of the power relationships with the parents.

And hence, an examination of power relations at the site before departure reveals how gender and class shape the motivations to move.

Once the students move, these relationships, in particular power relations between students and their parents, stretch across countries. As students try to settle into a new place, and negotiate the new gendered norms of the new site, they are simultaneously managing the relationship with parents and their expectations. Putting the men's and women's experiences in conversation with each other has revealed the different gendered experiences of everyday lives of students while they live and study abroad. Consequently, I identified three

spaces (though there are many more) which the students navigate and simultaneously negotiate the different norms and expectations of each space. In each space, women were able to shift the power-geometries so they had a greater degree of freedom when traversing the multiple spaces. Men's experiences also revealed various degrees to which men negotiated – accepted or rejected – the different gender norms in and across the scales and spaces they encountered. The narratives and practices of everyday life of men showed the hardships they encountered in trying to perform their masculinities. They were able to partially assert their masculinities; they felt their 'Indian' masculinities would be perceived as subordinate to the hegemonic masculinity discourses in Toronto.

Shifting subjectivities constitute a reflection of the continual negotiation of power relations within each space and the consequent shifting power-geometries. This theme of changing subjectivities as a mirror for transforming power-relations is consistent within the narratives and everyday practices of women and men. These subjectivities continue to shift upon their return to India as they try and negotiate another gender context, though this one with greater constraints than the one they left in Canada.

8.6   Class, gender and ISM

Thus far gender has been central to the analysis of migration and ISM. In this section I want to draw together the findings by locating class at the heart of the discussion.

Following Waters (2006), class reproduction takes place once the students are able to 'cash in' their acquired cultural capital for a job upon return to the 'home' country. The narratives of women, and those of the parents with daughters abroad, reflected a great deal of uncertainty about their future, especially with regard to their professional careers. This was shaped by women's gendered role expectation within their families and also the gender barriers in the labour market. The uncertainty lies in how effectively the women are able to use the capital afforded to them by studying abroad. Similarly, men too faced barriers in their ability to fully utilise their capital. Narratives of parents revealed that if their son/daughter returns to India they would still have to face structural barriers to

labour markets based on religion, caste and class. Hence, in this case, the reproduction of social class through capital accumulation can occur only within the confines of those specific social classes as they intersect with gender, caste and class expectations. This reproduction of social class is harder for women than men due to the barriers which may limit the degree to which the accumulated capital can actually be used.   Mirroring the findings of Holloway *et al.* (2012), accumulating cultural capital is not sufficient to overcome the structural barriers of gender, religion, caste and class. This means that only those already located amongst the higher echelons and elites of the Indian society will have access to the transnational elites' networks. Only they will be likely to reproduce the advantages of the transnational elites. Most of the students may use their accumulated capital to reproduce the social class advantages similar to that of their parents, but not more.

For the most part, as the discussion in my thesis showed, the majority of the respondents came from middle-class families – both a class position and a class performance through consumption and embodiment. The 'new' Indian middleclass is a very complex 'class'. It is a heterogeneous structure, and involves performances across a wide spectrum of consumption habits and embodiments. Even within the same class position, such as the families of Malini and Neha, upper-middle-class families, there are different expectations from their daughters. While Malini is expected to return to India to continue on her life-course of marriage, for Neha, there is no such expectation. Rather, she is encouraged to pursue her career goals. The story is similar for men. The Guptas, a middle-class family, want their son to return to India for marriage. This is juxtaposed with the Choudhary (Ashwini and Rajesh) family who now prefer their son to stay and work abroad. The thesis therefore has highlighted the wide spectrum of the Indian middle-class positions and performances (Fernandes 2006; Kelly 2012). The internationally mobile Indian students largely constitute a transnational middle class; with only a minority who could be identified as the transnational 'elites'. Therefore there is a need to 'middle' (Conrad and Latham 2005) ISM as it intersects with other social locations such as gender in this case. From the supply-side perspective of the HEIs, a growing number of students are enrolled in 'non-world class' institutions. The non-elites

are more likely to enrol in these 'middle' institutions instead of the institutions which are part of the elite 'global circuit of higher education'. Moving forward there is a need to examine the role of non-'world-class' HEIs – the second and third tier institutions.

The third and final point I want to make here is the need to account for the impact of spatial (Kelly 2012) and, I would add, temporal elements on the (re)production of the multiple dimensions of class in a transnational context. If we engage with a more fluid nature of class – as an identity to be performed, it becomes apparent that, as students negotiate multiple social relations across multiple places and spaces simultaneously, they are not just negotiating different gender role expectations; they are negotiating and performing different classed gender identities. This study extends the work of Batnizsky *et al.* (2008, 2009) outside of the workplace, and into HEIs, and other spaces accessed by students. Furthermore, it presents the various performances of class-based gender identities beyond the 'economic' position and performance.   In many ways, paralleling the experiences of Indian men in Batnizsky *et al.* (2008) study*,* the Indian students felt they were living with significantly fewer amenities in Canada than they enjoyed in India – notably personal vehicles, home delivery of the smallest goods, and the size of their living spaces. While in India, most students had access to a domestic worker – maid – at home to do all the household tasks such as cooking, cleaning and routine laundry. In Canada all students had to take care of their household chores themselves. Doing household chores does not fit into the class position and performance of the Indian middle class. Doing the tasks themselves may have led to a membership to lower class positions. However, in Canada, *not* doing the chores prevents the students' admission into the local student middle classes. The students are no longer 'middle-class' (or elites) in their position in Canada, especially if one examines the individual's occupational standing; however through the performance of daily chores of cooking, cleaning and laundry (learning to use the laundry machine) the students choose to perform a middle-class identity – specifically a Canadian middle-class student identity. Parents compared their middle-class lives in India to those of their children abroad; they lamented about their son/daughter having to do all the household chores in addition to their

studies, thus indicating a perceived drop in social class status of their children. Hence, as the social relations stretched between the parents and children, different understandings and experiences of the class positionalities and identities had to be negotiated as they intersected with gender.

8.7　A final word

My thesis has launched a new research pathway into the complex intersections of gender and international student mobility/migration. It has obvious significance for the Canadian and Indian governments. The wider implications for the Canadian government lie in the direction of policy toward international students and the impact on the domestic demographic 'gap' and labour market shortages in key skilled sectors of the economy. For the Indian context, there are implications for the Indian Higher Education system; the deficiencies of this system appeared to be a key determinant for outward student mobility. These policy implications lie outside the scope of this thesis as I have framed it; however, this discussion could be the subject of further detailed analysis.

Other paths of future research build on the methodological strengths of my project. There is a need for better statistics and more ethnographic research. The online survey 'captured' Indian students who were, or had been, in several countries. More in-depth interviews and ethnographic research in other countries would provide a complementary and instructive comparative context to the Canadian case. The obvious countries for comparison would be the USA, Australia and UK. Of equal importance are other emerging regions for Indian international student mobility, specifically Asia and the EU. As alluded to earlier in this chapter, Asian countries such as Singapore and China are attracting Indian students in growing numbers. Similarly, non-English speaking EU countries are also showing interest in attracting Indian students, as evidenced by Mkherjee and Chanda's (2012) study as part of the CARIM-India project (which is co-financed by the European Union) at the European University Institute in Florence.   Another way to build a comparative research project would be to 'capture' the experiences of international students from other nationalities in Canada; so as to set the Indian experiences alongside other national/regional groups. For instance, Asian students – those from China, India and the Republic of Korea – comprise over 40% of the total of foreign students

in Canada in 2011 (CIC 2011). Other national/regional groups to include in this comparison could be Latin America, Africa and the Middle East; these world regions do not show up as major suppliers of students in the Canadian statistics but nevertheless there are students from these areas whose gendered experiences would be relevant to study in comparative dimensions. These proposals are steering toward the development of a large-scale internationally comparative project with multiple research teams – the kind of projects which are carried out for other types of migrants. ISM thus remains a wide-open field for future research.

Appendix

Appendix A-1 Interview schedule for Students in Toronto, Canada

Questions (Prompts)

Demographic

1. Could you tell me a little about yourself (place of birth, place of education, family background, religion etc.)

Reasons to study abroad

2. When did you decide to study outside of India?
3. Why did you decide to study abroad?
    a. Why did you choose Canada? (program of study, level of study, length of time in Canada)
    b. Did you study elsewhere outside of India before you came to Canada?

Role of family/friends

4. What did your parents think about your study abroad?
5. Did your friends or family play a role in your decision to study abroad?

Experience in Canada

6. So, how has your experience been in Canada?
7. Is your life very different in Canada than in India? (on a day to day basis)
    a. How?
    b. What was it like when you first came to Toronto?
    c. Are things different now?
    d. Alternate phrasing : is there anything you miss about _____ (city) ?
    e. How do you like living in Toronto?
    f. What do you do in Toronto that is different from your daily life in _____ (city) and vice versa?
    g. What do you do in Toronto that is same as in India.
    h. Do you have any friends/family who lived in Toronto before you arrived?

Appendix A-2 Interview schedule for Parents in New Delhi, India

Questions (Prompts)

Demographic

1. Could you tell me a little about yourself, your family (place of birth, place of education, parents background, religion etc.)

Reasons to study abroad, role of parents

2. What did you think when you and your son/daughter first discussed studying abroad?

3. What were the reasons for your son/daughter to study abroad

Experience of parents 'left-behind'

4. What was it like for you after your son/daughter left India.

5. Do you studying abroad has been a good decision – now that you think back about it?

Return

6. Would you like your son/daughter to come back to India? Why? Why not?

Appendix A-3 Interview schedule for return students in New Delhi, India

Questions (Prompts)

Demographic

1. Could you tell me a little about yourself, your family (place of birth, place of education, family background, religion etc.)?

Reasons to study abroad

2. Why did you decide to study abroad?

Role of family/friends

3. What did your parents think about your study abroad?

Experience of study abroad

4. So, how was your experience when studying abroad in _____ (country/city)?

Decision to Return

5. So when did you return to India – right after you completed your studies? Why?

Experience of return

6. What have you been doing since your move back to Delhi?

7. How is your in life compared to when you were abroad? (on a day to day basis)

    a. Alternate prompts: What was it like when you first returned to Delhi? Are things different now?

    b. Is there anything you miss about _____ (city/country study abroad?

    c. What do you do in Delhi that is different from your daily life in _____ (city abroad) and vice versa?

    d. What do you do in Delhi that is same as when you were studying abroad?

8. How do your parents/ family members feel about your return?

Appendix A-4 On-line Survey Questionnaire

The following survey was conducted online using SurveyGizmo (See page 53, section 3.4 for a discussion of quantitative research methods). The layout of the questionnaire below presents the 'flow' of the questions the respondent would receive based on their answer to Q1 in Section A.

Flow of questions for students studying abroad at the time of survey: Sections B (B.1. and B.2.), D, E and F.

Flow of questions for students *not* studying abroad at the time of survey: Sections C (C.1., C.2. and C.3.), D, E and F.

Indian International Students Survey

Introduction

Indian International Students (IIS) survey is part of a PhD research project on Indian students studying abroad. The research project is being carried out by Gunjan Sondhi. For more information about this study please visit the IIS website.

The objective of this survey is to determine the gendered trends and patterns of the migration flows of students from India. The research includes current and past international students enrolled in full degree/diploma programs or are in exchange programs. The survey takes 12-15 minutes to complete.

In order to participate in this study, please read and accept the confidentiality statement below.

Confidentiality Statement

Your confidentiality is ensured. The online questionnaire will not ask for your full name or address. The questionnaire responses will be used to summarise trends and patterns. It will not be used on an individual basis. The data will be stored in a safe location to ensure confidentiality and anonymity. The analysis of the results will be included in the dissertation and academic articles. The dissertation will be made available through the University of Sussex Library.

Termination of Participation

Your participation is voluntary. You may decide to stop being a part of the research study at any time without explanation.

Risks

There are no known risks for you in this study.

For further information about the study please visit IIS website or email G(dot)Sondhi(at)sussex.ac.uk

Do you accept the confidentiality statement above and would like to participate in the Indian International Students survey?*

[ ] Yes, I accept the confidentiality statement above and would like to participate in the Indian International Students survey.

Section A. Current Status

1) What is your current status?*
( ) Left India to study abroad, and currently studying abroad
( ) Left India to study abroad, and currently living abroad (no longer studying)
( ) Left India to study abroad, and currently living in India
( ) You identify yourself as an Indian, and currently studying abroad
( ) You identify yourself as an Indian, studied abroad in the past, and are currently living abroad (no longer studying)
( ) You identify yourself as an Indian, studied abroad in the past, and are currently living in your usual country of residence
( ) If other, please specify: _____
( ) None of the above

Section B: If the answer to Section A, Q1 was '…currently studying abroad

B.1. Demographic

1) Your current course of study*
( ) Undergraduate degree (e.g. Bachelor)
( ) Masters degree (e.g. MA, Mphil, MEng, MSc)
( ) Doctoral degree (e.g. PhD)
( ) Post Doctoral
( ) Diploma, technical qualification
( ) Postgraduate diploma
( ) High school
( ) If other, please specify: _____

2) Usual country of residence*
( ) India
( ) If other, please specify: _____

3) Nationality*
( ) Indian
( ) If other, please specify: _____

4) Gender*
( ) Male
( ) Female

5) Age (in years)*
_____

6) What is your mother tongue?
_____

7) What is your place of birth?*
City/town/village: _____
State: _____
Country: _____

8) Religion

_____

9) Caste

_____

10) Marital Status*
( ) Single
( ) In a relationship
( ) Co-habitating
( ) Engaged
( ) Married
( ) Divorced
( ) Widowed
( ) If other, please specify: _____

B.2. Life at Present

11) In which country are you currently studying?*
_____

12) What did you do during the six month before you started your studies?*
[ ] Study
[ ] Work
[ ] At home
[ ] Volunteer
[ ] If other, please specify

13) Where did you live during the six months before you started your studies?*
( ) In the country you are in now
( ) In India, please specify city and state (Format: City, State): _____
( ) Elsewhere, please specify country: _____

How long did you live in the country where you are now studying before entering university/college?
( ) less than six months
( ) six months or longer

14) Have you lived in any other part of India (apart from the one you were born) for six months or longer prior to your current studies?*
( ) Yes
( ) No

Which were the main cities and states and why did you live there?
(Format: City, State)
City and State 1: _____
Reason: _____
City and State 2: _____

Reason: _____

15) Have you lived in any other country (apart from the one you are studying in) outside India for six months or longer prior to your current studies?*
( ) Yes
( ) No

Which were the main countries other than India and why did you live there?
Country 1: _____
Reason: _____
Country 2: _____
Reason: _____

16) If you have not previously lived in the country where you are now studying, what were your previous connections with the country?*
( ) No previous connections
( ) My family have lived here or have relatives living here
( ) If other, please specify (e.g. vacation, work experience): _____

17) Name the university at which you are currently studying*
_____

18) What is the duration of your period of study?*
(Format: mm/yyyy OR yyyy only)
Start date: _____
End date: _____

19) What is the main discipline you are studying?*
_____

20) Do you have a part-time job?*
( ) None
( ) Fewer than 8 hours a week
( ) 8 to 18 hours a week
( ) More than 18 hours a week

21) How are you financing your studies? (Please tick one of more boxes)*
[ ] Self-financing
[ ] Parental support
[ ] Bank loan
[ ] Employer
[ ] Funding, Grant or bursary
[ ] If other, please specify

22) Where do you live at present?
( ) University/college dorms
( ) Private rental
( ) With Relatives
( ) Own a property
( ) If other, please specify: _____

Before moving into the current place of residence, did you live in the university/college residences?
( ) Yes
( ) No

Section C. If the answer to Section A, Q1 was *not* '…currently studying abroad'

C.1. Demographic

1) Your course of study when abroad*
This and following questions in this section are regarding the first time you left India to study abroad.
( ) Undergraduate degree (e.g. Bachelor)
( ) Postgraduate taught course (e.g. MA, MEng)
( ) Postgraduate research (e.g. PhD)
( ) Post Doctoral
( ) Diploma, technical qualification
( ) Postgraduate diploma
( ) High school
( ) If other, please specify: _____

2) Usual country of residence*
( ) India
( ) If other, please specify: _____

3) Nationality*
( ) Indian
( ) If other, please specify: _____

4) Gender*
( ) Male
( ) Female

5) Age (in years)*
_____

6) What is your mother tongue?
_____

7) What is your place of birth?*
City/town/village: _____
State: _____
Country: _____

8) Religion
_____

9) Caste
_____

10) Marital Status*
( ) Single
( ) In a relationship
( ) Co-habitating
( ) Engaged

( ) Married
( ) Divorced
( ) Widowed
( ) If other, please specify: _____

Section C.2. Life while studying abroad

The questions below are regarding the first time you left India to study abroad.

11) In which country did you study the first time you studied abroad?*
_____

12) What did you do during the six month before you started your studies?*
[ ] Study
[ ] Work
[ ] At home
[ ] Volunteer
[ ] If other, please specify

13) Where did you live during the six months before you started your studies?*
( ) In the country you are in now
( ) In India, please specify city state (Format: City, State): _____
( ) Elsewhere, please specify country: _____

How long did you live in the country where you studied before entering university/college?
( ) less than six months
( ) six months or longer

14) Have you lived in any other part of India (apart from the one you were born) for six months or longer prior to your current studies?*
( ) Yes
( ) No

Which were the main cities and states and why did you live there?
(Format: City, State)
City and State 1: _____
Reason: _____
City and State 2: _____
Reason: _____

15) Had you lived in any other country (apart from the one you studied in) outside India for six months or longer prior to your studies?*
( ) Yes
( ) No

Which were the main countries other than India and why did you live there?
Country 1: _____
Reason: _____
Country 2: _____
Reason: _____

16) If you have not previously lived in the country where you studied, what were your previous connections with the country?*
( ) No previous connections

( ) My family have lived here or have relatives living here
( ) If other, please specify (e.g. vacation, work experience): _____

17) Name the university at which you studied*

_____

18) What was the duration of your period of study?*
(Format: mm/yyyy OR yyyy only)
Start date: _____
End date: _____

19) What was the main discipline you were studying?*

_____

20) Did you have a part-time job?*
( ) None
( ) Fewer than 8 hours a week
( ) 8 to 18 hours a week
( ) More than 18 hours a week

21) How did you finance your studies? (Please tick one or more boxes)*
[ ] Self-financing
[ ] Parental support
[ ] Bank loan
[ ] Employer
[ ] Funding, Grant or bursary
[ ] If other, please specify

22) Where did you live? (Check one or more boxes)
[ ] University/college dorms
[ ] Private rental
[ ] With Relatives
[ ] Own a property
[ ] If other, please specify

23) What was your marital status during this time?
( ) Single
( ) In a relationship
( ) Co-habitating
( ) Engaged
( ) Married
( ) Divorced
( ) Widowed
( ) If other, please specify: _____

Section C.3. Life at present

24) Where do you currently live?*
( ) India
( ) In another country, please specify: _____

25) What are you currently doing?*
( ) Studying
( ) If other, please specify: _____

( ) Working

What is your occupation?
_____

Section D. Family Information (for all respondents)

1) What is your parents' nationality?*
Mother: _____
Father: _____

2) Have either of your parents lived outside India for six months or longer?*
( ) Yes
( ) No

Which country did they live in last?
Mother: _____
Father: _____

3) Do your parents have university-level education?*
( ) Yes, both
( ) Yes, my mother
( ) Yes, my father
( ) Neither of them

4) Did your parents study outside of India?*
( ) Yes, both
( ) Yes, my mother
( ) Yes, my father
( ) Neither of them

5) Please name your parents' occupation.*
Please be as specific as possible. For example: homemaker,engineer, teacher,
lecturer, business owner, customer service representative, sales agent, marketing etc.
Mother: _____
Father: _____

6) Do you have any brothers or sisters?*
( ) Yes
( ) No

Please give the number of brothers or sisters you have.
(if you have none, please leave field empty)
Sisters: _____
Brothers: _____

Have any of them studied outside the 'home' city, but in India? If so, how many?
Sisters: _____
Brothers: _____
Have any of them studied outside of India? If so, how many?
Sisters: _____
Brothers: _____

Section E. Decision to Study outside India (for all respondents)

1) What were the main determinants of your decision to study outside India? (Select one in each row)*

	Very important	Slightly important	Not important	Not applicable
I saw study outside India as an opportunity for a unique adventure	( )	( )	( )	( )
My family was very keen for me to study in a particular country	( )	( )	( )	( )
I was determined to attend a world-class university	( )	( )	( )	( )
I want an international career and this was the first step towards it	( )	( )	( )	( )
I saw study outside India as the first step towards living outside India after graduation	( )	( )	( )	( )

2) Please use the space below to give more details regarding your decision to study abroad.

——————————————————————-

3) Who decided that you should study abroad? (Check one or more boxes)*
[ ] Myself
[ ] My parents
[ ] My siblings
[ ] Friends
[ ] If other, please specify

4) How did you find information on study abroad?*
[ ] Myself
[ ] Parents
[ ] Siblings
[ ] Friends
[ ] Consultants
[ ] Relatives
[ ] If other, please specify

Section F. Experience Outside India (for all respondents)

1) Other than your family, state the number of friends in India you contacted last week by email or on the web?*

————————————————————————————

2) Do you agree with the following statements concerning social aspects of your period outside India?*

	Yes	No
I mainly socialise with people from my host country	( )	( )
Most of my friends are from my home country	*( )	( )
I tend to socialise mainly with other foreign students	( )	( )
I socialise with a mix of people.	( )	( )

3) From your point of view now, to what extent do you consider your period of study outside India worthwhile with regards to the following? (Tick one box in each row)*

	Extremely worthwhile	Worthwhile	Slightly worthwhile	Not at all worthwhile
Enhancement of my academic and professional knowledge	( )	( )	( )	( )
Relevance to my general career prospects	( )	( )	( )	( )
Relevance to my potential for developing an international career	( )	( )	( )	( )
Foreign language proficiency	( )	( )	( )	( )
Knowledge and understanding of another country	( )	( )	( )	( )
Travel/adventure	( )	( )	( )	( )
Maturity and personal development	( )	( )	( )	( )
New ways of thinking about my home country	( )	( )	( )	( )

Optional
If you would like to know the results of this study, or would like to participate in other ways, please provide your email address.

If you like, please use this space to provide more details of your study abroad period and/or general comments and feedback about this study. Also, if you have not lived in India and have completed this survey, please provide us some details regarding your circumstances.

Thank You!
Thank you for completing the survey. If you have any questions or comments, please use the [form here](#) to contact us.

Table A-1 Student Participants in Toronto, Canada

	Name	Institution	Degree	Gender	Age group	Marital status	Religion	Caste/etc.	State	2nd Interview
1	Tanya	University	PhD	F	late 20s	married	none		Delhi	x
2	Tarun	University	MBA	M	late 20s	relationship	Hindu		Orissa	x
3	Arpita	University	PhD	F	early 30s	single	Hindu		West Bengal	x
4	Nitin	University	PhD	M	early 30s	single	Christian		Kerala	x
5	Kapil	University	PhD	M	late 20s	single	Hindu		UP	x
6	Mayank	University	PhD	M	early 30s	relationship	Hindu	Marwari	Maharashtra	
7	Nitasha	University	PhD	F	early 30s	relationship	Brahmin Hindu		Karnataka	
8	Sameer	University	PhD	M	late 20s	single	none		Delhi	x
9	Vidya	University	MSc	F	mid 20s	single	Brahmin Hindu	Upper caste	Tamil Nadu	x
10	Sneha	University	PhD	F	over 40	married	Hindu		Maharashtra	
11	Pradeep	University	PhD	M	early 20s	single	Hindu, vegetarian		Delhi	
12	Madhur	University	PhD	M	mid 20s	single	Hindu		Orissa	x
13	Prita	University	UG	F	early 20s	single	Brahmin Hindu	Upper caste	Karnataka	x
14	Ridhima	University	UG	F	early 20s	single	Hindu		Expat	
15	Manav	University	UG	M	under 20	single	Hindu		Maharashtra	
16	Shabnam	University	UG	F	early 20s	single	Muslim	Sunni	Maharashtra	
17	Yash	College	PG	M	mid 20s	single	Hindu		Punjab	x
18	Pooja	College	PG	F	early 20s	single	Hindu		Karnataka	x
19	Roshini	College	PG	F	late 20s	single	Sikh		Punjab	
20	Rishi	College	PG	M	mid 20s	single	Sikh		Punjab	
21	Amrita	College	PG	F	mid 20s	single	Sikh		Punjab	
22	Anupa	College	PG	F	mid 20s	single	Sikh		Punjab	

Table A-2 Student Participants in New Delhi, India

	Name	Gender	Country	Degree
1	Gul	F	France	exchange (mba)
2	Sahil	M	Canada	post grad diploma
3	Anindita	F	US	PhD
4	Amitav	M	Canada	Masters
5	Ketan	M	US	PhD
6	Mohit	M	UK	PhD
7	Sharan	M	France	Masters
8	Harish	M	Australia	Masters
9	Shivani	F	UK	Masters
10	Parul	F	UK	Masters
11	Rahul	M	Singapore	Masters
12	Versha	M	Singapore	
13	Anuj	M	UK	Masters
14	Vani	F	UK	Masters
15	Rekha	F	UK	Masters
16	neha	F	UK	Masters
17	deepika	F	UK	Masters
18	Shivi	F	UK	Masters
19	pooja	F	UK	Masters
20	Vidit	M	UK	Masters

Table A-3 Parent Participants in New Delhi, India

	Parent name	Son/daughter	Country
1	Jess	Son	Canada
2	Jeth	Son	US
3	Harpreet	Both	UK
4	Ashwini and Rajesh Chaudhris	Son	UK
5	Gupta	Son	Australia
6	Arora	Daughter	UK
7	Kohli	Both	UK
8	Suri	Daughter	Canada
9	Singh	Son	US
10	chopra	Son	US
11	Ahuja	Son	UK
12	Sethi	Daughter	UK
13	Ahuja	Son	Australia
14	Sahani	Son	Australia
15	Poply	Daughter	UK
16	Bakshi	Daughter	UK
17	Kanchan Kapoor	Daughter	UK
18	Gulati	Son	UK
19	Singh	Daughter	US
20	Sarkar	Daughter	UK
21	Nidhi	Daughter	UK
22	Shikha	Daughter	UK

Figure A-1 City of Toronto and the Universities in the city
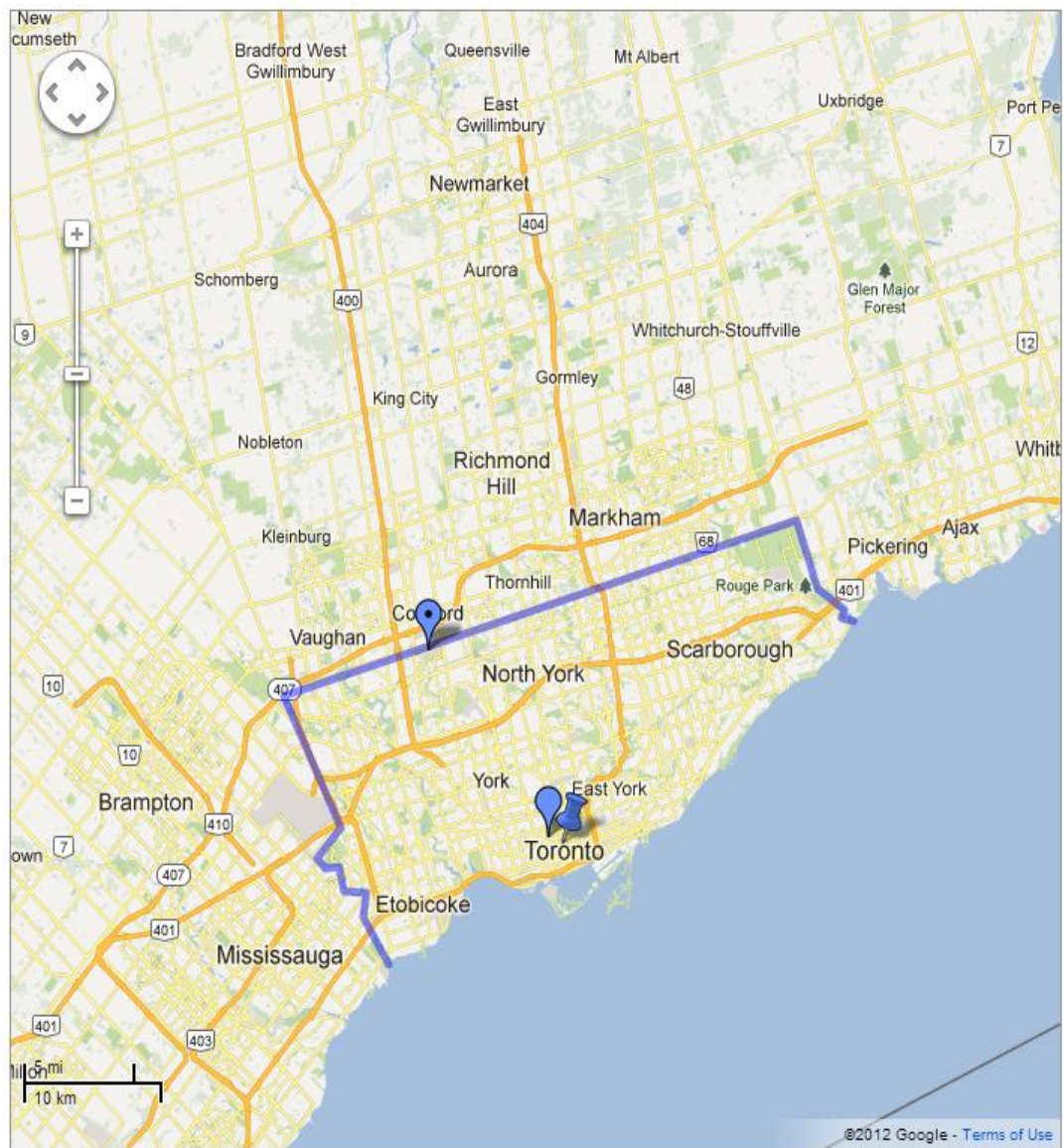
📌 Ryerson University

📍 University of Toronto (St George Campus)

📍 York University (Keele Campus)

／ City of Toronto boundary

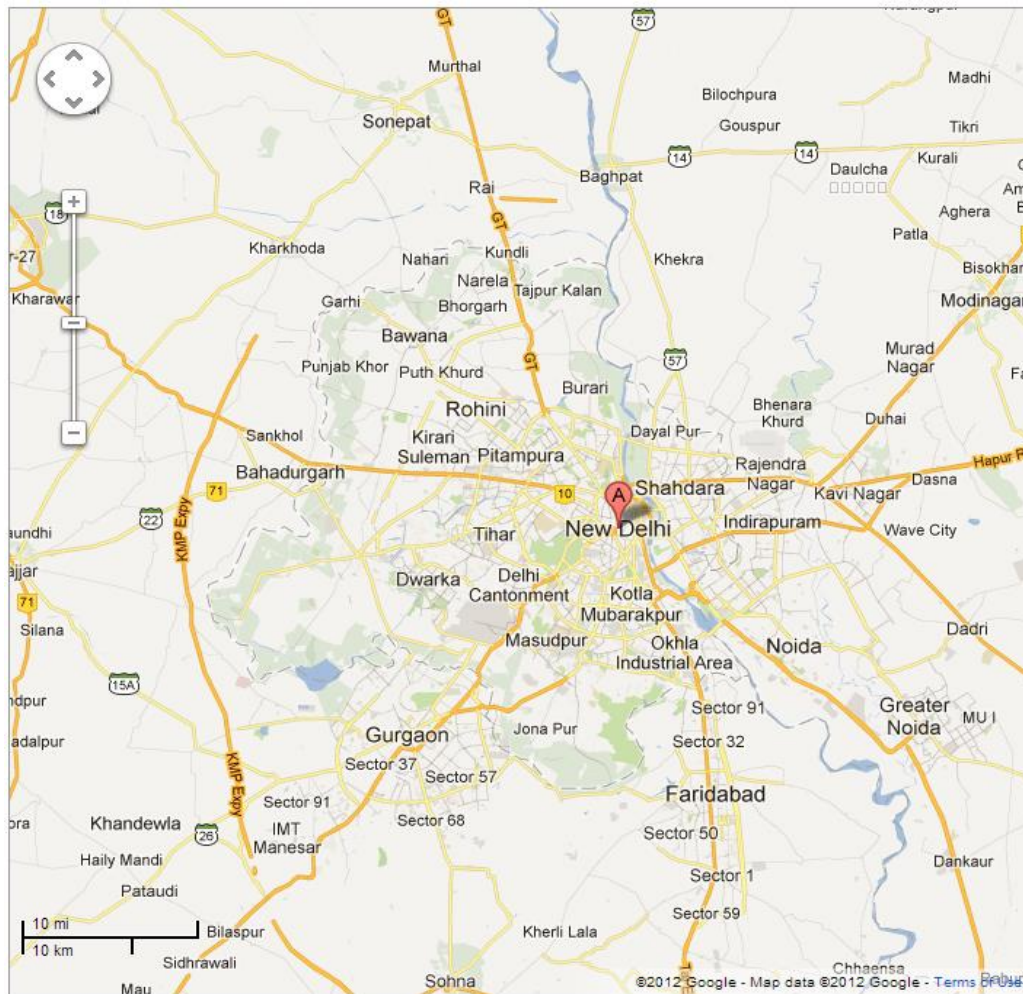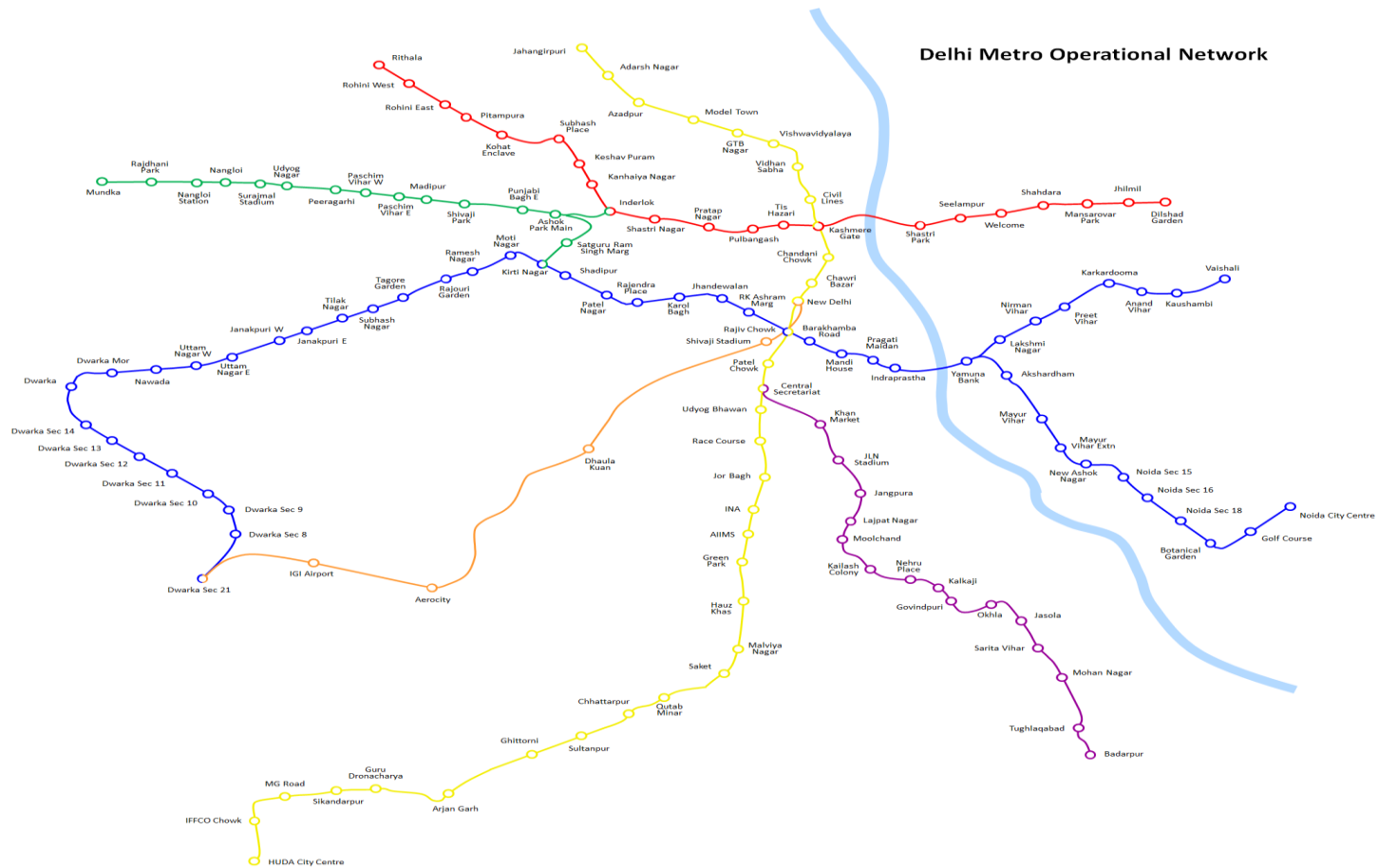**Figure A-2 Toronto Subway Map**

Source: Map image taken from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:TTCsubwayRTmap-2007.svg

Figure A-3 City of New Delhi

Figure A-4 City of New Delhi subway map

Delhi Metro Operational Network

Source: Map image taken from http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/0/0e/Delhi_Metro_operational_network.png

Figure A-5 Make-up and clothing style

Nitasha's make-up and clothing style resembles the style in the image
Source: screen capture of the Managing Editor of Tehelka, an independent news magazine in India.

Figure A-6 Make-up and clothing style

Source: Image courtsey of FabIndia (FabIndia.com)

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