

**Understanding Homeland/s and Identities: A Study of
Barkas in Hyderabad**

A Dissertation Submitted to the University of Hyderabad for the Degree
of

DOCTOR of PHILOSOPHY in SOCIOLOGY

By

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This is to certify that the thesis entitled '**UNDERSTANDING HOMELAND/S AND IDENTITIES: A STUDY OF BARKAS IN HYDERABAD**', submitted to the University of Hyderabad in fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** in Sociology in a bonafide record of original research work which was done by Miss Anushyama Mukherjee during the period of her study in the Department of Sociology, University of Hyderabad, under my supervision and guidance and that the thesis has not been submitted to any other University of Institution for the award of the degree.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis entitled '**UNDERSTANDING HOMELAND/S AND IDENTITIES: A STUDY OF BARKAS IN HYDERABAD**', carried out under the supervision of **Prof. Aparna Rayaprol**, Department of Sociology, University of Hyderabad for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology from University of Hyderabad, is an original work of mine, and to the best of my knowledge no part of this dissertation has been submitted for the award of any research degree or diploma at any University or Institution.

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Acknowledgement

In course of this work I have received support and guidance from several persons. I would be failing in my duties if I miss this opportunity to acknowledge them. I am deeply indebted to my mentor, Prof. Aparna Rayaprol, who has encouraged me, guided me with patience and taught me how to get the academic insight and huge support at every stage in moulding the thesis. It is a privilege to have this opportunity to work under her supervision.

I would like to thank my doctoral committee members Prof. Vinod K. Jairath, Dr. Ajaya K. Sahoo for exhibiting interest, patience and making scholarly interventions in shaping the work.

I express my gratitude to the Head of the Department and all the faculty members and non-teaching staff of the Department of Sociology, University of Hyderabad, for their help and support throughout my work.

I also thank my respondents who have helped in completing the study successfully without whom this work would not have been a reality in the present form. I am indebted to the doctors, shopkeepers and a travel agent who has helped me to get information and sharing their experiences, opinions and ideas during my fieldwork. I am also thankful that many of my respondents have allowed me to use their original names in the thesis. However, there were many who were not comfortable using their original names and therefore fictitious names were also used in the thesis.

Sincere thanks also go to Mr. Ravinder, Manager of the South zone of the Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation (GHMC), Charminar area for giving several documents on the area under study and settlement map of the area under study.

I am thankful to the University of Hyderabad for providing me with all the necessary facilities in abundance. I acknowledge with gratitude the cooperation that I have received from the Indira Gandhi Memorial Library, University of

Hyderabad, who provided me with the library facilities and the required materials needed for this study.

The support and love of my parents and friends have been the constant sources of inspiration. I also thank Niloshree Bhattacharya who has helped me throughout in completing the research.

Hyderabad
Dec 2014

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Chapter 1- Introduction

This study is an attempt to understand the construction of homeland/s and identities in Barkas, an Arabian colony in Hyderabad. Barkas is mainly inhabited by the Hadramis from Yemen. With the end of the Nizam's era in 1956, Hadramis and many Hyderabadis lost their jobs as the Nizam's bodyguards and treasury guards and started migrating to the Gulf countries especially from the 1970s as there was an oil boom. Hadramis first migrated to India around 200 years ago and it is commonly believed by the community that the first group comprised of Sayyids, who were descendants of the family of the Prophet Mohammad (Times of India January 28, 2012). They came to India and became preachers of Sufism mainly to the Hyderabad Muslims at that time. The second group primarily Sunnis, which was bigger came in search of greener pastures and got employment in the armies of native rulers of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. In Hyderabad, some of them rose to become part of the Nizam's nobility whereas others entered into the Nizam's irregular army. After independence of India, those Yemenis who married Hyderabad women or were children of mixed marriages decided to stay back in Hyderabad. When the Hadramis settled in the barracks which eventually came to be known as Barkas, India and Yemen had trade relations. Wood perfumes (Bukhur) and clothes were imported to India especially to South India by the Yemenis. The trade route was mainly through Indian Ocean. Migrants from Yemen were summoned by the Nizam seventh to serve as his personal guards and treasure guards. When they migrated to India, they settled in the outskirts of the city of Hyderabad which is known as Barkas today. At this time, due to trade

relations, many Indians have also migrated to Yemen and settled in groups in various parts in the country. Therefore, commercial relations between India and Yemen resulted in the formation of neighbourhoods based on ethnic and racial identities.

I am trying to look at the movements of people from Hyderabad especially from Barkas to the Gulf countries. In this process of crossing borders, my study is an attempt to understand the concept of homeland for the migrants from Barkas. The homeland gives rise to multiple identities which an individual experiences post migration. Barkas has population which consists of Hadramis and Hyderabadis, however, it cannot be said that there is strict division between Hadramis and Hyderabadis because Hadramis when settled in Barkas, married Hyderabad women. The city of Hyderabad also identifies the area as a Yemeni neighbourhood which most of the times have been mentioned as different from the rest of the city, culturally. Now, in order to understand such complexities in identifying these individuals, my study has attempted to understand how these multiple identities changes post migration to the Gulf countries and how it is affecting the rest of the members of the family. Moreover, it has also looked at how Gulf migration has influenced the migrant families with upward intergenerational social mobility through education, occupation, changes in consumption pattern and marriage ceremonies. Lastly, my study has focused on the culturally exchanged ideas, behaviour, food, dress and language in this continuous process of migration from the Gulf countries. It is well known from various published statistics that Kerala is one of the highest migrant sending regions to the Gulf in India (Rajan 2002, World Bank). Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu stand second and recent studies have indicated the rising

numbers of Gulf migrants are from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar (mainly unskilled labourers). Individuals have been migrating from different districts of Andhra Pradesh including Hyderabad.

Migration to the Gulf Countries from Hyderabad

At this time, from the 1970s, large number of individuals started migrating to the Gulf countries for better economic opportunities. It was push from poverty and unemployment to a pull of economic opportunity. Oil was found in huge quantities in the Gulf countries and therefore infrastructural development in these countries started taking place. As these countries have less man power, the governments of these countries have started hiring labourers from other countries. In India, migrants went in large numbers from Kerala followed by Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. This type of migration was mainly based on contracts for a fixed period of time (will be discussed in detail in the next chapter). A large number of Individuals from the city of Hyderabad who were unemployed or did part time informal jobs readily took up the jobs that were available in the Gulf. In this way, migration to the Gulf from Hyderabad has started taking place. Even today, a large number of unskilled, semi skilled and few skilled individuals migrate to the Gulf for better economic opportunity. In the 1990s with globalisation and liberalisation skilled professionals started migrating to the West till the recent times.

I have focused on this particular area, Barkas, in Hyderabad, as this area has all the characteristic features of Gulf migration and an interesting mixture of population where more than half of the residents still identify themselves as Hadramis even

today. Therefore, these residents have tried to bring back Arabian culture which they believe as their own, post migration to the Gulf. As my study is about an old neighbourhood in Hyderabad, now I will turn to the history of the city in order to understand the present situation in Barkas.

Historical background of Hyderabad

Hyderabad, the capital of Andhra Pradesh was founded in the year 1591 by Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah, the fifth ruler of Qutub Shahi dynasty (Luther 1995). The history of Hyderabad state began with the establishment of the Qutub Shahi dynasty. Quli Qutub Shah seized the reins of power from the Bahamani kingdom in 1512 and established the fortress of Golconda. Declining mansions and palaces were found where several cultural groups had settled down in their respective localities (Mohallas). Mohammed Quli Qutub Shah established the new city of Hyderabad with Charminar at its centre with four roads spreading out in four prime directions. The North-Western quadrant was occupied by the royal palaces and state offices, the North-Eastern was occupied by the nobles, and the Southern quadrant was occupied by Jagirdars and other important officials (Naidu 1990). At this time, Hyderabad's fame, strategic location and Golconda's wealth had attracted the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb who captured Golconda in 1687. Soon after, Asaf Jah-I proclaimed himself as the Nizam and established independent rule of the Deccan. In this way, Hyderabad once again became the major capital city which was ruled by successive Nizams of the Asaf Jahi dynasty until the state was fused into Indian union in 1948. The founders of Hyderabad were the Qutub Shahis, the first of whom were the Bahamanis of Gulbarga. Much later during the Asaf Jahi period, different migrant

groups from other regions in India and also from countries outside India penetrated the city of Hyderabad. These groups consisted of Arabs, the Marwaris, the Marathas, the Bohras, the Kayasthas, the Khattris and the Shia and the Sunni of the Islamic sects. Originally the Arabs and the Marathas were appointed in the Nizam's army. The Bohras and the Marwaris were the business communities who came to Hyderabad from Gujarat and Rajasthan respectively. The Kayasthas and the Khattris came mostly from North India such as Uttar Pradesh and had occupied the important positions in the Nizam's administration. These groups which migrated to Hyderabad had occupied certain areas in the city.

Hyderabad had and still has Shia and Sunnis where majority are Sunni. The Shias came from Persia and occupied highest administrative positions. Sunnis were the lower sect and often did menial jobs. Sunnis were descendants of the Sayeds, Sheikhs, Mughals and Pathans where many came from Northern parts of India such as Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat and Rajasthan. Sunni Muslims generally followed the Hanafi School of Islamic jurisprudence. Islam in Hyderabad has a strong Sufi influence. Scheduled caste and tribe communities settled at the edges of the city. Some of these border settlements were slums such as Pariwada near Puranapool, Methrwadi near Sultan Shahi and Nallapochamma Basti near Darushifa.

Political History of Hyderabad

In 1927, a party called the Majlis-e-Ittehad-ul-Musalmeen (MIM) (the Council of the Union of Muslims') was founded. Bahadur Yar Jung, Jagirdar and a member of the MIM mentioned that 87% of the population was Hindu under a Muslim ruler. At that

time there was a climate of change in all over the country and toward demanded democracy and a responsible government. Hence the control of power was bound to pass from ruling Muslim minority to Hindu majority (Luther 1995: 270-278). By the 1930s a slow yet visible change came over to the city of Hyderabad. Kasim Razvi formed a para-military wing consisting of men and women who were known as Razakars (volunteers). The primary work of the Razakars was to maintain the Muslim power in the state.

In 1942, the Indian army had moved into the state and prepared itself to take-over the administration of the state. In September 1948, the Police Action also known as 'Operation Polo' was a military operation in which the Indian armed force captured the princely state of Hyderabad and ended the rule of the Nizam. The operation took place after Nizam Osman Ali Khan, the Asaf Jah VII decided not to join the princely state of Hyderabad to either India or Pakistan after the partition of India. From the 1950s onwards different kinds of migration started taking place in Hyderabad. First many Shias left for Pakistan given the turmoil in the state. At the same time, different communities migrated to Hyderabad from Northern parts of India and settled in different localities in Hyderabad.

Economic Conditions in newly independent India: A Push Factor

It is important to look at the economic history of India at that time because of the out flow of individuals from the country especially during 1970s. The planning and administration of the economy in the newly independent nation state had its share of teething troubles. The first five year plan (1951-55) called for the planned

development on only a few industries, the ones that private industry had not developed for one reason or another. In the first five year plan the other industries were left to the market. The second five year plan (1956-61), sought to eliminate the importation of consumer goods, particularly luxuries by means of high tariffs and low quotas or banning some items. The large enterprises in seventeen industries were nationalised. Licenses were required for starting new companies, for producing new products or expand product capacities. This is when India got its License Raj, the bureaucratic control over the economy. The Indian government require businesses that get bureaucratic approval for expanding productive capacity and also businesses had to have bureaucratic approval for unemployment of workers and for shutting down. When a business was hopeless then the owner many times disappeared. Many lost jobs at this time. Government planning also involved produces in particular areas mainly economically backward areas such as cheap cloth for the poor. With the Green Revolution, between 1970s and 1989 agricultural production in India grow but the rate of increase was only 2.1 percent per year whereas over the same period of time Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines and Thailand were 3.7%, 4.7%, 3.6% and 4.5% respectively.

The end result is that India in 1988 had the lowest ratio of imports to GDP of any country in Asia and consequently also had a comparable low ration of exports to GDP. It is not impossible to expand exports without having a corresponding expansion in imports but it is as a practical matter which is difficult to do so. Before the last decade, the 1990s, India was probably on the short list of almost every

economist outside of India of the countries with the worst economic systems. There has been some official allegiance to socialism with a goal of achieving it through Stalinist central planning. The result has been some horrible mixture of state capitalism and declining corporatism is usually attributed to incompetence and ineptitude on the part of the bureaucracy. The disappointing economic progress in India upto 1990 cannot be attributed to any shortcoming in talent among the India people or the impediments resulting from Indian cultures. Indians out from under the oppression of the bureaucracy of the India government have succeeded spectacularly in professions and business. Soon after, India cut off the imports which have a protected market to domestic producers. India got domestic production but it was of low quality and obsolete products. The policies stifled economic growth and India with its high level of population and poverty could ill afford low rates of economic growth (Cashin and Sahay 1996 in applet-magic.com).

Post 1990 Scenario

Globalisation is a multi-dimensional process which affects societal structures as a whole. When one looks at the maze of literature on globalisation, one finds the emphasis on integration of social life and inter-linkages. A much earlier interpretation of the process of globalisation with sociological significance was found in McLuhan's (1964) concept of 'global village.' Saskia Sassen (2008) has understood the concept of globalisation by highlighting the formation of the global institutions and processes such as the World Trade Organization, Global Financial Markets, New Cosmopolitanism and the International War Crime Tribunals. The multi-faceted

impact of globalisation is most visible in the formation of new cities, transformation of old cities and growth of what is now called, the global city.

The urban landscape is changing and so are the lives of the people in the cities, with opening up of new opportunities. These global cities according to Sassen (1994) are major international and financial business centres like New York, Tokyo, Frankfurt, Amsterdam, Sydney etc. But alongside the growth of these global cities in the First World, are also cities in the Third World which are included in the geography of networks, like Sao Paulo, Mexico City, Bombay, Buenos Aires, and Seoul. This points to the formation of global integrated economic system, where not only the cities of the First world, but also that of the Third World are included. Urbanisation has reached a new peak in the age of globalisation. Globalisation and Information and Technology Revolution has re-structured the city of Hyderabad and movements of people from one place to another of both skilled and unskilled workers, where Hyderabad is one of the desired destination for many due to its character of becoming a global city. Hyderabad has been given much attention by the media for symbolising an information-based economy which was exporting to global market and drawing on high quality professionals and technology. This thrust towards the software and information system of Andhra Pradesh especially Hyderabad has gained in importance with Chandrababu Naidu coming to power in the state in the 1990s.

In the early 1990s, in Hyderabad, consumer culture in the form of pubs came in most Indian cities. Now, former palaces were turned into marriage halls decorated with lights and with already existing purdah or segregation of sexes during the function. Residents of the city tried to bridge the historical legacy with contemporary

globalisation together through education, books, films and symposia. Citizens of diverse backgrounds worked together to improve the urban condition that made everyday life in the city stressful. Language was very much a matter of argument in the modern city. Urdu was still the language of many streets in localities. Some members of the old city refused to hire workers who cannot follow their directions in Urdu or cannot cook old dishes or cannot greet or serve guests properly.

The city became more of a cosmopolitan area where there were moving people; global actors and capital have entered into the scenario. The suburbs are of growing importance with the spreading of the firms and the residential buildings. As the gated communities have all the facilities of the McLuhan's (1964) 'global village' these buildings are fenced off and are satisfying the needs of the population living inside it. It was also an attraction for many to buy especially the Non Resident Indians and the local neo rich. There are gated communities are often inhabited by reverse migrants from the diaspora. There is continuous restructuring of the urban landscape. In the recent time the old city remained as somewhat the 'other' the term given by Sheela Prasad and Ramachandraiah in their work on the makeover of the city (Prasad and Ramachandraiah 2008). At present, nobody wants to be associated with the old city. As the groups of young IT professionals are floating migrants hence they are not concerned about the city problems such as communal riots and pollution. They feel that it is not their city and they are safe in their isolated and self sufficient life in the Cyberabad, the new city¹. More recently the formation of Telangana as the 29th state

¹ In 1956, Hyderabad state was dissolved and Andhra state was merged with the Telangana region of the state of Hyderabad to form the state of Andhra Pradesh. On 2nd June 2014, Telangana became the 29th state of India consisting of 10 North-Western districts of Andhra Pradesh with Hyderabad as its capital (Wikipedia.org).

of India has an impact on the city of Hyderabad. This is mainly based on cultural identity of the people of Hyderabad. Older parts of Hyderabad did not have much to mention about the formation of Telangana. The formation of the new state, Telangana was mostly based on the identity of the people of that region. Now residents of the old city are most of the times indifferent about the formation of the new state although they were against the formation of Telangana. Many residents of the old city of Hyderabad including Barkas have mentioned that separation based on identity was not required as they wanted Andhra Pradesh to be as one and not divided on the lines of racial or ethnic identity. The residents of Barkas were much happier in the old city in their own ghetto like environment where there was no interference due to the formation of the state. Barkas is almost like a ghetto and has the ingredients of diverse cultures surviving in the midst of change. Sociologists have been preoccupied with such ghettos and it is important to understand the broader theoretical perspectives under which the study has been done.

Theoretical Perspectives

My study is based on the broader understanding of diaspora and migration as it involves movements of people between different countries from Barkas. My study also attempts to understand the question of transnationalism which means reaching beyond or transcending boundaries. This also means that several nations would be involved in the process of global exchange. As Peggy Levitt (2003) notes, ‘transnationalism is the process of migrants remain(ing) strongly connected to their homeland even as they become incorporated into the United States. Migrants use a

variety of transnational political, religious and civic arenas to forge social relationship, earn their livelihoods, and exercise their rights across borders.’ Alejandro Portes (1996: 160) has said that analysing the economic origins of the transnational communities and arguing that the result of an economic project is the transformation of the immigrants into transnational communities, ‘characterised by dense network across space by an increasing number of people who lead dual lives...move easily between cultures, frequently maintain homes in two countries and pursue economic political and cultural interest that require simultaneous presence in both.’ This has proved to be true from the large scale migration flows happened from the city of Hyderabad either to the West or to the Gulf. In both these places, immigrants are living in dual lives and maintaining homes although in the Gulf, immigrants cannot occupy citizenships.

Hyderabadis in the Gulf are mainly the sojourners and not the settlers. Siu (1952) has talked about how a sojourner would cling to the culture of his/her own ethnic group in contrast to the culture of the hostland. A sojourner can be defined as a ‘stranger’ who spends long period of time in the hostland without being assimilated by it. The colonist, foreign trader, the diplomat, foreign student, international journalist, research anthropologist abroad and sorts of migrant groups in different areas of the globe may be considered as sojourners in sociological sense. The sojourner goes through the process of re-adjustment and becomes an agent of cultural diffusion between the two lands. Assimilation according to Park and Burgess (1925) is ‘a process of interpenetration and fusion in which person and group acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons or groups, and by sharing their experience

and history, are incorporated with them in common cultural life'. It means that the sojourner tends to be isolated from the local culture. The characterisation of the sojourner by Simmel (jewishvirtuallibrary.org) is not that of the man 'who comes today and goes tomorrow rather of the man who comes today and stays tomorrow'. There are some essential characteristics which are attached to the sojourner such as job, in group tendency, movement back and forth. The primary focus of any sojourner is to complete a job in the shortest possible time. Sometimes the sojourner may not like his/her job at all but he/she is fighting for social status back at home. Although a sojourner would always want to do a job in the shortest time possible but at the same time he/she is also confused as to stay back or return home. Many a time, they do not come back for a long period of time as they have already made re-adjustments with the new environment. In this way, he/she changes and becomes more isolated. In the hostland, the sojourner becomes isolated and confines his/her work and starts living within the limits of his/her own interest. Therefore, he/she is only a performer to his/her job and is a person only to his/her social circle and/or ethnic group. Within the in group tendency, the sojourner often tends to associate with people of his/her own ethnic group. They also build separate enclaves based on race and culture if the number is more. For example, Little Tokyo, Little Sicily, Greek Town in USA, Bow Barracks in Kolkata, Matunga in Mumbai, Dhaka and Pamposh in Delhi and Barkas in Hyderabad. Similarly, Indian or South Asian enclaves were built in the Gulf countries where a sojourner becomes isolated. But at the same time, sometimes they also tend to mix with the culture of the hostland and would experience it. A sojourner never loses ties with his/her homeland. Movement back and forth of a sojourner is a

common phenomenon. When an individual migrates then he/she wants to complete the job as soon as possible. But when they realise that work would take longer than expected then they wait for the opportunity to come back for home visit. In this process, he/she changes the attitude and social self in the hostland. But again they go back. In a lifetime, they make several trips back and forth to the same country or to different one. Many times sojourners wanted to give up their jobs but they had no alternative option and had to stay back in the hostland.

In past 30 years, studies on diaspora have looked at connections with homeland, economic and social remittances, problems of adjustments and assimilation with the host society, policies in both homelands and hostlands, cultural identity and women's role as transnational players. Large number of individuals from South Asia migrated to Europe, Canada, USA and Australia and parts of South East Asia as skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Indian immigration to South East Asia also consisted of such groups of immigrants as traders, shopkeepers, clerks, salesmen and professionals. Earlier, Indians were taken away as indentured labour to far away parts of the empire in the 19th century where these indentured population of Fiji, Trinidad, Surinam, Malaysia, Mauritius, Sri Lanka and South Africa have become modern in its own ways. In the early part of the 20th century large number of Gujaratis traders left for East Africa. Large scale migration to North America and Europe in the late sixties though the history of migration goes back to the early 20th century in North America and 19th century in Britain. This type of migration was voluntary of the highly educated-professionals and skilled and semi-skilled industrial workers. It is well known from the published data that migration to the Gulf countries from different

parts of the world which was gathered momentum during past 15 years from now. Here, mostly migrants are contract workers and are not allowed to settle down permanently in the hostland. Labour is highly temporary and volume of workforce differed from time to time. Unskilled and semi-skilled workers followed by administrative staff and skilled workers comprise the workforce. There have been different sociological studies on migrant workers and sub cultures, as well as ethnic neighbourhoods.

Neighbourhood Studies

Barkas is a neighbourhood inhabited by Yemenis who were summoned by the Nizam of Hyderabad. Urban theorists such as Robert Park and Ernest Burgess (www.rbtaylor.net and ncbi.nlm.nih.gov) laid the foundation for sociological studies on the city by defining local communities as natural areas that developed as a result of competition between business for land use and between population groups for affordable housing. A neighbourhood according to this view is a sub section of a larger community- a collection of both people and institutions who occupy a spatially defined area influenced by ecological, cultural, and sometimes political forces (Park 1916: 147-154). Suttles (1972) later re-defined this view by recognising that local communities do not form their identities only as a result of free market competition, rather some communities have their identity and boundaries imposed on them by outsiders. Suttles also argued that the local community is best thought of not as a single identity but rather as a hierarchy of progressively more inclusive residential groupings. In this sense, neighbourhoods as ecological units nested within

successively larger communities. During 1990s, a number of scholars moved beyond the traditional fixation on concentrated poverty and began to explicitly theorise and directly measure how neighbourhood social processes bear on the well being of children and adolescents. Unlike the more static features of socio-demographic composition (for example race, class position), social processes or mechanisms provide accounts of how neighbourhoods bring about a change in a given phenomenon of interests (Sorensen 1998: 240). Some of these neighbourhoods become communities.

Imagined Community, Cultural Identity and Hybridity

In order to understand the construction of homeland/s and multiple identities, I have based my analysis on the concepts of Benedict Anderson's (1983) 'imagined community', Stuart Hall's cultural identity and Homi Bhabha's concept of cultural hybridity. Benedict Anderson's (1983) concept of imagined community is significant as he says that communities are to be distinguished by their falsity/genuineness but by the way they are imagined (forumeuropa.net). Imagined community is a term coined by Benedict Anderson. An imagined community is different from an actual community because it is not based on everyday face to face interaction between its members. As Anderson puts it, a nation 'is imagined because the members of even smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion'. Here it also means that they identify as from the same nation having some common interests. In my study, from the imagined community concept, I have used the idea of imagined

homeland that emerges differently for different residents of Barkas depending on age, gender and movements around the world².

Stuart Hall (1996) has dealt with the subject of race and 'black diaspora'- its formation and process of growth and the way it is understood. His understanding of identity has influenced both cultural and diaspora studies in a significant manner. According to him, cultural identity is a 'production' which is never complete, always in process and always constituted within representation. Further he argued that there are two ways of looking at cultural identity- firstly, in terms of one shared culture which is collective and people with same ancestry hold within. Hall's understanding of any diasporic community is interesting as diaspora does not refer to those scattered tribes whose identity can only be secured in relation to some sacred homeland to which they must return at any cost. There is a conception and recognition of an identity that does not die with intersecting with new cultures but is hybrid. Diaspora communities are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew through transformation and difference (Hall 1996). As this new place is created, it gives rise to the desire to return to the homeland where they imagined, narrated and searched for their lost origins. This return need not be actual but imagined as well.

Homi Bhabha's work (1994) on hybrid culture is significant. Bhabha uses hybridity as an in-between term referring to a 'third space' and to ambivalence and mimicry in the context of colonial-cultural interface. In this way diaspora arrives in the new world and reconstructs and reforms the cultural mixing with the hostland and produces a hybrid identity. Hybridity is a cultural effect of globalisation. For example, hybridity

² Hyderabad and Hadrami identities are used on the basis of how an individual has identified himself/herself in the field.

is presented by Kraidy as the 'cultural logic' of globalisation as it 'entails that traces of other cultures exist in every culture, thus offering foreign media and marketers transcultural wedges for forging affective links between their commodities and local communities' (Kraidy 2005). The term hybridity remains contested precisely because it has resisted the appropriations of numerous discourses despite the fact that it is radically malleable. For example, young Muslims in Indonesia are followers of Islam but have synthesised trends from global culture in ways that respect religious tradition. These included drinking non-alcoholic beer, using Quranic apps on their iPhones and buying Halal cosmetics (Furlong). In my study, using Bhabha and others, this mixture of culture is due to historical transformation and mixing of two or more cultures which has happened in Barkas due to mixed marriages for more than four decades and post migration to the Gulf. Closely linked to the concept of hybridity is diaspora.

Definitions of Diaspora

According to William Safran (1991), there are set of characteristics that define a diaspora-

- Dispersal of two or more locations related to an original territory
- The collective mythology of homeland shared by the group and transmitted through generations to come
- They believe that they cannot be accepted fully by the host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it
- Idealisation of return to the homeland

- They believe that they should be collectively committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity
- Ongoing relationship with the homeland.

In Barkas, the group of people who claims themselves as Hadramis even today has been dispersed from their original territory and therefore has a collective myth of their homeland. This differs between generations. Although there is no idealisation of their return to their homeland but through certain everyday life practices, people in Barkas are trying to maintain and restore their cultural identity.

Kim Butler (2001: 200) has identified several types of dispersal and suggested that 'each creates its own ethos of diaspora- the shared memories and myths around which this unique type of imagined community is built'. She identifies six types i.e. (i) captivity which includes enslavement and refers to an involuntary dislocation in which the receiving societies play an active role in preventing return to the homeland, (ii) state-eradication exile during colonialism and conquest, which resulted in the obliteration of entire state or nations, (iii) forced or voluntary exile where diaspora group is expelled from and by the homeland, (iv) emigration which is purely individual initiative, (v) migration in which the diaspora arise out of migratory patterns in which individuals may come and go but institutions and networks become established in the hostland. Institutions and networks that are formed as a result of this type of migration could easily develop into diaspora community with a unique level of continuity with the homeland, in so far as they represent an ethno-nation transcending political boundaries of a nation-state, (vi) imperial diaspora in which diasporas originated as a mode of conquest, in which a powerful homeland sent its

nationals to impose upon subject peoples it political and economic control, and in the process, its culture'. Butler's study is important here because Hadramis who migrated from Yemen to Hyderabad had a mixture of forced and voluntary migration due to poverty and economic crisis in the country. It is important to understand the condition of migration to understand the present situation post migration to the Gulf. Today it is used to describe the population which is considered to be deterritorialised and transnational. It is the group 'which has its origin in a land other than the land in which it currently resides and whose social, economic and political networks cross the borders of nation-states or, indeed, span the globe' (Vertovec 1997: 277).

Steven Vertovec has identified three general meanings of diaspora-

1. Diaspora as a *social form* which referred to the experience of the Jews and their traumatic exile from a historical homeland and their dispersal throughout many lands. This has brought negative connotation to the idea of diaspora where forced movement, victimisation and loss were projected. This form was later applied to American and African diaspora.
2. Diaspora as *consciousness* is found particularly in contemporary transnational communities. It is constituted negatively by experiences of discrimination with a historical heritage (for example Indian civilisation) or with contemporary world cultural or political force (for example Islam). Diaspora in some degree could be recreated through the mind, cultural artifacts and through a shared imagination.

3. Diaspora as a mode of *cultural production* is widely linked to the process of globalisation. Globalisation is seen as a process where the flow of cultural objects, images and meanings resulted in multicolored process of ‘creolisations, negotiations and constant transformations’ (Vertovec 1997: 288).

According to G.Scheffer (2003) (diaspora-centre.org), ‘Modern diasporas are ethnic minority groups or migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin-their homelands.’ Vertovec and Scheffer’s studies are related to the point that the home is imagined and is more because these very set of people were less in number when they came to Hyderabad. It is in the same way that when they migrate to the Gulf countries for several reasons, then the home is constructed and reconstructed through negotiations and transformations.

Pierre Bourdieu’s Social Capital and Field

I have used Pierre Bourdieu’s framework of social class drawing from the concept of ‘field’. The social field is a dynamic arena. It can change its shape, size and character over time. It is a field of struggle as different agents influence and question the pre established rules in the field. Bourdieu’s analysis of field is seen when individuals influence the neighbourhood to acquire certain habits that they bring back from the Gulf and when the acceptance of those ideas, values and practices have given them higher status in the neighbourhood. Bourdieu’s concept of social capital which is a major part of social remittance is of utmost important to understand the kind of

cultural exchanges between Barkas and the Gulf countries. Pierre Bourdieu's concept of social class is useful to understand the problem as how and in what ways the families of the migrants have attained upward social mobility across generations through marriage ceremonies, education, occupation and changes in the consumption pattern in Barkas.

Peggy Levitt's concept of Social Remittance

Lastly, in order to understand remittances between Barkas and the Gulf countries, I have based my analysis on Peggy Levitt's (2001) understanding of the term social remittance, and the connections between Bourdieu's (1983, 1986) social capital and social remittance. Peggy Levitt has used Bourdieu's concept of social capital as one of the types of social remittance. Social capital is used by Bourdieu in order to explain membership in social groups. This is seen in varying degrees such as social, cultural, religious, gender and through networks. Migrants bring a set of social and cultural tools that help their adjustments to their new lives. Peggy Levitt (2001) has coined the term social remittance and described it as ideas, behaviour, identity and social capital that flow from hostland to homeland and vice versa. Social remittance can be linked to the concept of social capital (Bourdieu 1986). Accordingly, social capital size provided to an agency is dependent on the size of network connections that he/she may mobilise effectively and the amount and size of the capital processes by an agency or even a capital which is possessed by a set of agencies he/she has connected with them (which will be further discussed in chapter 5).

Selecting Barkas

There are several homogeneous ethnic communities across the world. Barkas is one of the oldest ethnic communities in Hyderabad where Gulf migration and ethnic identity plays an important role even today.

Eminent scholars like Karen Leonard (2007) have dealt with the issue of homeland in transnational contexts. Her study of Hyderabadis in different countries including the Gulf countries, over a long period of time, shows a sense of community that Hyderabadis experience. Identity becomes a major issue when one deals with the question of homeland. According to Stuart Hall (1996), diapsoric identities are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew through transformation and difference. In this process of migration to the Gulf, concept of homeland or more specifically concept of 'imagined homeland' by Benedict Anderson (1983) becomes important as majority of the migrants from Barkas have identified themselves as Hadramis from Yemen. This gives rise to cultural identity as mentioned by Stuart Hall. Using these major concepts and ideas, my study has focused on the construction of homeland/s post Gulf migration from Barkas and the rise of multiple cultural identities for men and women both as the experiences are different for both.

With this continuous process of migration to the Gulf, my study has focused on the upward social mobility, intergenerationally. An individual migrate to achieve financial upliftment. This area is influenced by the Gulf migration in different ways such as education, marriage ceremonies, residential movement, and changes in the consumption styles.

The third aspect of my study has dealt with the cultural exchanges that take place between Barkas and the Gulf countries. Here, I have used the main theoretical perspective given by Peggy Levitt (2001) who has coined the term 'social remittance'. These are exchanges of ideas, behaviour, culture, values, food, dress and everyday habits between homeland and hostland. This has a direct connection with the area as the Hadramis in Barkas believe that the Arabian culture is superior in nature with its traditional culture which they have lost post migration to India from Yemen.

The main argument that follows throughout the study is the question of identity, as who they are, how they locate themselves in Hyderabad, how people of Hyderabad have looked at them and how they are identified in the Gulf. In this way, construction of homeland/s and identity becomes an important aspect to study in this area. Most importantly, with migration and mobility, the exchanges that took place are an interesting part to study in this area as they identify themselves as Arabs in Hyderabad even today.

Sociological studies on Hyderabad are limited. Works on Hyderabad by eminent scholars like Ratna Naidu, Karen Leonard, Narendra Luther, Vasant K Bawa have explored different aspects of the city historically and sociologically. Ratna Naidu's work focused on the communal culture of the old walled city of Hyderabad and secondly the possibility of the restoration of the walled city to a viable urban form. Therefore, the case study was not of Hyderabad but of its walled city (discussed in detail in chapter 2, Migration). Karen Leonard's recent work on *Locating Home: India's Hyderabadis Abroad* (2007) is on the construction of identity in the diaspora by immigrants from Hyderabad. It is a multi-sited ethnography based on research

done in Pakistan, Britain, Canada, USA and the Gulf countries. Narendra Luther, a historian, narrates the story of the city of Hyderabad and the life of the Nizams. His writings have covered anecdotes from the oldest residents of Hyderabad to the new city of Cyberabad. V K Bawa's work mainly focused on the history of the city of Hyderabad at the time of the Nizam and showed the political, cultural and social life at that time, of the residents of Hyderabad which was related to the Nizam.

Outline of the Chapters

Chapter 2: Migration provides a conceptual understanding of migration including the various types, both internal as well as international and its different aspects in the recent times. Studies by M.S.A Rao and E. Ravenstein have dealt with the various types of migration as well as push and pull factors that influence an individual to migrate. Similarly, in the recent times, globalisation and communication technology has affected extensively the original impetus of individuals to migrate. Migration is no longer seen as a purely economic phenomenon. Linkages between receiving and sending countries are readily established since the time of indenture labour where forced migration with various push and pull factors took place. These linkages have raised several complex questions regarding a migrant's imagination and return to his/her homeland, his/her assimilation with the host society and their contribution to their homeland at the same time.

A significant role has been played by international migration by the process of crossing borders. The emergence of international migration has been seen as a force for social transformation. Any theory of migration must account for it in terms of

race, religion, nationality, a sense of belonging and nostalgia. Nostalgia of the past is very much related to the field of study here as residents have identified them as Hadramis even today. This chapter further discusses the migration phases from the city of Hyderabad to various countries and attempt at understanding the history of Yemen and the ways in which Hadramis have settled in Barkas. In the end, it has dealt with Gulf migration and its recent trends and everyday life in the Gulf in general and in relation to Barkas in particular.

Chapter 3: Construction of Homeland/s and Identities, attempts to understand why and how and where migrants from Barkas have constructed their homeland/s and is based on the interviews conducted. The concept of homeland in this neighbourhood is complex as there are two sets of people who construct it differently. It has also explored the complexities of multiple identities across generations. As the concept of home is important for the Hadramis in Barkas, it is interesting to understand if the meaning of home has kept changing post migration to the Gulf across generations. However, the idea of homeland is different for the Hyderabadis. Here the identities such as Hadrami or Hyderabadis are complicated as it is mixed now due to inter-cultural marriages over generations and the emergence of the concept of homeland is changing with generations.

Chapter 4: Social Mobility through Gulf Migration: Changes across Generations deals with intergenerational social mobility experienced by the migrants post Gulf migration from Barkas. When migrants move to different countries – either for occupational purposes or as a part of marriage migration– there is always a tendency to move upward in the socio-economic ladder to improve the quality of life. Therefore

migration and mobility are inter-related. Pitirim Sorokin and Lipset and Bendix have been discussed to explain mobility in the field. I have understood the concept of intergenerational social mobility by using Pierre Bourdieu's framework of social class between three generations such as grandfather/grandmother, father/mother and son/daughter. Therefore, I have tried to explore how far and in what way upward social mobility of present generation has been made possible.

Chapter 5: Flows of Remittances: Economic and Social, has explored multiple social and cultural exchanges that happen as a result of continuous to and fro migration between Barkas and the Gulf countries. With the constant crossing of borders internationally, intergenerational upward social mobility is taking place in Barkas therefore cultural exchanges are also happening at the family level and at the neighbourhood level. First, I have looked at economic remittances from the Gulf. The second section of the chapter deals with how people have adopted certain practices of the Gulf in their everyday lives in Barkas by using Peggy Levitt's concept of social remittances (1998). Men and women migrating to different countries bring back different kinds of ideas that are exchanged between two countries. Some of the exchanges were associations in the Gulf, networks through which business is set up, marriage migration networks, food habits and dressing for men and women both.

Chapter 6: The Conclusion discusses various issues on the construction of homeland/s and multiple identities. It also tries to understand the Hadrami-Hyderabad identity in the field. In order to understand the process of the Gulf migration from Barkas, this study focuses on three aspects- construction of homeland and multiple identities,

influence of Gulf migration through social mobility and flow of social remittances post migration to the Gulf.

Research Problem

As majority of the residents of Barkas identify themselves as Hadramis from Yemen- even today, does migration to the Gulf have any relationship with the concept of homeland? Given this, the main question of this chapter is how and why do different residents of Barkas construct homeland? I have looked at the multiple perceptions of people constructing homeland differently and attempted to explore the relationship between construction of homeland, hostland and multiple identities. In doing this, one is confronted with the issue that there is no single discernable homeland but perhaps the idea of shifting homelands and hostlands for the different generations of people in this study.

Secondly, when migrants move to different countries – either for occupational purposes or as a part of marriage migration– there is always a tendency to move upward in the socio-economic ladder to improve the quality of life. The primary aim among the migrants is to improve their standards of living through education, occupation, changes in consumption patterns and through marriage ceremonies. These changes however did not happen in one generation; rather, the changes in Barkas have happened over a span of three generations. This chapter focuses on the Gulf migration and its impact on the migrants in the form of upward social mobility, across generations. Intergenerational mobility is occurring mostly through educational

opportunities and occupation shifts, giving higher status and prestige post the Gulf migration across all socio-economic classes in Barkas.

Thirdly, my study will explore the multiple social and cultural exchanges that happen as a result of continuous to and fro migration between Barkas and the Gulf. Why do migrants from Barkas adopt practices of the Gulf? In order to understand these practices, I will attempt to link the remittances that are exchanged between countries and the impact they have on Barkas as a neighbourhood.

Methods used in the Study

The study was conducted in Barkas (description of the field site given below) in Hyderabad from May 2011 to March 2012.

Description of the Field Site

Barkas, a neighbourhood in Hyderabad, is inhabited mainly by the Chaush community who were descendants of the Hadrami Arab military men and bodyguards hailing from the Hadramaut region of Yemen. It is also inhabited by some former employees of the Nizam of Hyderabad who are not from Hadramaut. This area used to serve as the Military Barracks of the Nizam of Hyderabad. The word is believed to have been derived from the English word Barracks. The area is also known as little Arabia as even today the area has elements of a typical Arabian colony. Here, every household has at least one member from each generation either returned or working in the Gulf. Barkas is located in the South-East of the main area of Chandrayangutta which was formed in 1880. Data collected by Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation in 2001 showed that the total population of Barkas was 34,288 among

which 17,808 males and 16,480 females. The neighbourhood is surrounded by Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) camp, quarters of CRPF and Kendriya Vidyalaya School. There are seven mosques in the neighbourhood. This area was earlier called Maisaram where Yemeni guards were shifted to decrease distance from King Koti where the Nizam lived. In 1880, land was given for free by the Nizam and barracks were made and the name emerged as Barkas. At that time 1200 Arabs migrated to Hyderabad and mostly were from Yemen. They were recruited in the Nizam's irregular army to guard his treasure and also as personal bodyguards and wore uniform *rumi topi* (cap) with Nizam's emblem and *lungi* (wrapper) with Yemeni print and Yemeni dagger. Recruitment in Nizam's army was also based on relatives' networks. During this period, there was dearth of food and employment in Yemen and it was at the same time that the Nizam of Hyderabad had called a group of Yemenis to serve in his kingdom. Hence these people came to Hyderabad as a result of the push and pull factors of migration.

Earlier the neighbourhood was divided into two parts. One was known as 18/11 and the other was 18/10. Bakoban (respondent) a 70 year old who has worked in a ladies tailoring shop in Dubai for more than 30 years mentioned that Hadramis and former employees of Nizam lived on the side of 18/11 whereas servants, maids and washermen lived on the side of 18/10 in Barkas. However this division is no longer followed and servants live on the edge of the colony. Old style architecture of Barkas is being replaced with huge mansions which are made out of Gulf money. The old houses in Barkas had only the ground floor and thatched houses or asbestos with not more than four rooms along with kitchen and toilet. During day time, men of all ages

were seen on the streets chatting or working in shops. In the evening, very few men were seen on the streets as they consume drugs and alcohol openly on the benches in the local markets after it is closed. Shops close by 8pm and the area become deserted with very little lights from the street lamps. Young men were seen to roam around the area till Chandrayangutta on bikes at night. Many families have complains that their sons and newly married husbands do not come back home at nights and this is a regular phenomenon. Men have justified such acts as visiting Hyderabad from the Gulf and enjoying the holidays. Further it is forbidden to walk inside lanes as thieves come out. Many families do not open doors if it is not a very dear neighbour or a relative.

Today the local market has products from Saudi Arabia brought by migrants and their families. Influence of Gulf was seen in the names of the shops such as Hadrami Harees, a café³, Musqati Dairy, Dubai Shopping, Al-Ain Tailors, Dubai Footwear, Dubai Burqa shop, Oman general Stores, Hadrami shoes, New Saudi Arabian Shawarma Restaurant and Yemeni video library. The names of the shops suggest that the residents of Barkas try to maintain ties with Yemen in various ways with a separate identity of their own. Drinking black tea was supposed to be an Arabian habit according to the residents and it has become a specialty in Barkas. Arabian dishes like Kabsa Laham, Laham Masvi, Tahte as well as Hyderabad Biryani are still the popular dishes that are prepared at home in several occasions.

³ Harees is a morning snack which is a Yemeni dish and it is prepared only in Barkas between 5am to 9am. Not only residents of Barkas enjoy this dish but also people from all over the city of Hyderabad fly down to Barkas to enjoy this snack.

Girls of not more than 12 years were sent to fetch daily items from the local market in Barkas where they were not allowed to interact with any men. Maids wore burqas and ran across the streets while going from one house to another. There is gender segregation in the neighbourhood. No women were seen on the streets even to the nearest shop to buy daily articles. It is not allowed in the neighbourhood for women to step outside their homes. Women were seen to travel in autos which were called from the Barkas auto stop for women to travel to schools, colleges and other places. Since the auto drivers were also from Barkas or the neighbouring area which is known as Salala Barkas hence they too keep an eye on women with the request from the families. There are not many places to hang out in the field such as small tea shops where both young and old men were found chatting. As Barkas is a small neighbourhood, men go out to other shops and chat with the shopkeepers in their free time. Hadrami Harees is the only place where maximum numbers of men were seen in the early morning between 5am to 9am. They were mostly found to discuss about jobs in the Gulf and political situation of Hyderabad.

This area has strong neighbourhood ties where everyone knows each other on a personal level. It can be termed as *Gemeinschaft* where the social relationships are characterised by strong reciprocal bonds of sentiment and kinship within a common tradition. Several committees are present such as Sabib-ul- Khair which helps financing the poor at the time of weddings, Masajid committee which gives financial support at the time of death in the families, Arab Education Board Committee which helps poor with Urdu education, Jamait-ul-Yemenia Bal Hind which was established in 1967 is active for education to Arabs. Football association, youth association and

Shabab association are the recent committees formed. Wrestling or *Pahelwani* is still a common sport among the Hadramis of Barkas. Wrestling takes place every year during winter and many Hyderabadis took part in it.

One Madrassa and one Urdu school named Masha Allah-La Quwwatah Illa Billah is present in the neighbourhood. Five other private schools and two government schools are located for boys and girls separately. There is a government library but there are no books there. The library is only used for reading daily newspaper in Urdu and English. Education is not given importance in this area, especially for women. Reading Quran is considered to be the most important for women. Not only is the level of education low in the area but also the interest to get educated. During the Seventh Nizam's rule, men were recruited in the army at an early age and hence education was not important then. For women it was difficult to travel to other schools as Barkas is far from the main city. However, in the recent times, during the study conducted, it has been seen that in many households women are completing post graduation and nursing degrees from the neighbouring colleges. Since 10 years women have started going to schools and colleges though with a lot of surveillance from the family. However, they are not allowed to work outside the house. Few men have also started migrating to Canada, UK and Australia for education and occupation.

Sampling Techniques

Sampling is a method for collecting information and drawing inferences about a larger population or universe, from the analysis of only part thereof, the sample. Sampling is

the process of selecting a sub-set of people or social phenomenon to be studied from the larger universe to which they belong, which process in the case of probability sample is based on the statistics of probability theory that can be reduced to a simple look-up table to decide how big a sample is needed (Payne et. al 2005).

Purposive sampling and few snowball sampling were the two sampling methods used for the collection of data. Purposive sampling is that method wherein the researcher goes to the field with the purpose to collect the information from people those who were appropriate for the study. Purposive sampling is the method where samples are chosen by intentionally seeking individuals likely to provide greater understanding of the concept of research interest. In other words, it is also deliberate selection of samples that conformed to some pre-defined criteria. Purposive sampling is a sampling whereby a selection of those to be surveyed is made according to a known characteristic (Tim 2001).

Snowballing is a subset of purposive sampling which is achieved by asking a participant to suggest someone else who might be appropriate for the study. Snowballing samples is taken when the selection of additional respondents is based on referrals from the initial respondents or key informants and continuing until no new respondents were recognised. Snowballing starts with a few informants who then pass the researchers on to the other individuals whom they personally know (Payne et. al 2005). In my study, I have used purposive sampling throughout the study based on the objective that they should be gulf migrants. However, majority of the migrant families did not give me the reference to other families and people were unwilling to share

information. There was no reference from one family to the other except for three families in the entire sample size of 43 migrant families.

Selection of Respondents

After a pilot visit and discussion with residents in the field, it was seen that majority from these areas have migrated to the Gulf for either occupation and/or marriage. Migrants who were currently working in the Gulf at the time of the interview as well as migrants those who have returned from the Gulf were taken into account in a given household. The focus was on family interviews and 43 Gulf migrant households from Barkas were chosen.

Profile of Respondents

Out of 196 individuals from 43 households, there are 76 men and 87 women and 33 (5-17 years of age) children who have migrated to the Gulf for various purposes. Women have migrated as a part of marriage migration and/or with families. 48 men have migrated to UAE, six have migrated to Saudi Arabia followed by Qatar (three), Oman (two), Bahrain (two). Two women were married in Yemen. Three men have migrated to Hadramaut for occupational purposes. 17 women have migrated spread in different countries post marriage with their husbands. 14 men, women and children have migrated with their families, there are two men who are searching for jobs in the Gulf at the time of the interview, 54 men, women and children have visited their immediate family members as occasional visitors and 43 men, women and children have never visited the Gulf.

Men for Work	62
Women's Marriage migration	17
Family with man	14
Searching for jobs	2
Occasional visitors	54
Have never gone	43
Total	196

Mostly men have migrated to The United Arab Emirates tops the list with 48 migrants followed by Saudi Arabia (six), Oman (two), Qatar (two) and Bahrain (two) and Yemen (three) making it a total of 63.

Country	Male migrants
UAE	48
Saudi Arabia	6
Oman	2
Qatar	2
Yemen	3
Bahrain	2
Total	63

The education level varied in the field among different generations. My sample has included illiterate as well as few doctors and engineers. However, majority in my sample were found to be intermediate and graduates. Very few educated women were found in the older generation. However, among the present young generation, women are educated and are completing their graduation and post graduation degrees. The migrants were small scale entrepreneurs, school teachers, managers, drivers, chef, waiters, house drivers, bankers, clerks, pharmacist, bus driver, heavy weight crane puller, carpenter, doctor, accountant, mechanic, electrician, tailor, store keeper, and salesman. These are all male dominated occupations as women from this area did not work in the Gulf countries. They mainly stayed at home. However, there were four women who worked outside their homes in Hyderabad as entrepreneurs, primary school teachers, ladies tailors and private tutors.

Interviews

Interview is a social interaction which results in a transfer of information from the interviewee to an interviewer or researcher. It is the conversation between two people where it is initiated by the interviewer for the purpose of obtaining relevant information on the specific context of research objectives of description and explanation. In the present study an interview guide was prepared to facilitate interviewing (which is enclosed in the appendix). My study has followed primarily the method of in depth interviews and situational conversations to gather information. For the household interviews, there was difficulty to bring the immediate family members together all the time therefore I made multiple visits to the families.

However, majority of the families have participated in the interview process whenever they got time. Since migrants and their families travelled to and fro throughout the year and when the entire family migrates and there was no one at home to interview. In other cases, few members were not available at the time of the interview as they are working in the Gulf, therefore going back to the families again and again made the interviews fruitful as there was certain time during the year when maximum migrants visits or holidays. As I was an outsider to the field, many families were interested in sharing information and also participated in casual conversations especially women while cooking or washing clothes. So family interviews and situational conversations took place along with participant observations.

Participant Observation

It is a qualitative method of social investigation whereby the researcher participates in the everyday life of a social setting and records their experiences and observations (Victor Jupp 2009: 214). According to Taylor and Bogdan (1984: 15) ‘participant observation is used here to refer to research that includes social interaction between researcher and the informants in the milieu of the latter, during which data are systematically and unobtrusively controlled’. Participant observation also refers to ‘primary technique for collecting data non-verbal behaviour’ (Srivastava 1994: 110). The participant observer actively participated in all activities that are taking place and shares the situation with the respondents as a visitor, good listener and making notes of everything that is happening or taking place within that observation period, learning from behaviour, non-verbal act, and interpreting group behaviour. I have

participated in the everyday life of the respondents to get in depth information from the field. I have participated in the wedding preparations along with the family members, have helped men to print wedding cards, have gone to receive family members, who were working in the Gulf at the time of the interview, from the airport with the other members of the family, have helped women with cooking as it was the only way to talk to women alone. I have also helped migrants set up internet to chat with their family members in the Gulf, helped migrants fill up college as well as visa forms for higher education and occasional visits to the Gulf. This is how I have participated in their everyday affairs with 43 households for eight months. Making notes was not always possible in the field therefore it was done after coming back to the university immediately.

Self Reflexivity

As a student of sociology, I was trained to understand the importance of field work, methods for collecting data and ethics of a researcher such as how one should approach the field. I have chosen Barkas as field to study because this neighbourhood has residents who still claims themselves as Hadramis even today. I was always interested in studying communities therefore I made an attempt to study this particular area. It is also interesting because of their historical background and they try to preserve the culture of Yemen even in the contemporary times. My first exposure to the field was during the second semester of Ph.D. I was reading the history of Hyderabad and came across the name Barkas, an Arabian colony in Hyderabad. The 'real' entry into the field was in the second semester where I applied qualitative

research methods for my study. Hence striking a rapport in the field became the most important criterion. The field was known as Barkas. It is located in the Chandrayangutta area near Falaknuma Palace. The purpose was to see how Gulf migration has shaped the lives of the migrants from this area. So I decided to choose Barkas. I did not know who live there, what kind of work they do and what language they speak. I was new to the community. I have never been close with Muslims and their ways of living. Barkas was entirely different in its ways of living. Therefore, doing the fieldwork taught me umpteen strategies to get information from the respondents.

2^{1st} April 2011 was the day when I ventured out to the field for the very first time. Fieldwork started from May 2011. Barkas was never a familiar site for me. The route to Barkas was searched online on Google maps and found out that it would be best to travel by local train as it was far from the university. The closest local train station was Falaknuma. It was given after the name of the Falaknuma Palace. It was afternoon when I boarded the train from Lingampally which was closest station from the university, to Barkas. It was one hour and thirty minutes journey to Falaknuma station. It was the last station. After that, there were villages. After reaching Falaknuma station, as per the Google map direction, I had to take a reserved auto to reach Barkas which was ten minutes from the station. It was an afternoon. I approached an auto driver and asked him if he knows where Barkas was. Without taking a minute he said, *'Barkas wohin na jahan se log Dubai jatey hain.'* I was amazed that how they define and locate Barkas in local terms.

While doing field work I thought that I might have problem with the language as most of the residents spoke either in Urdu or Arabic. Since my study consisted of migrants hence I was trying to search for people who have migrated. In no time I came to know that in this neighbourhood every house has atleast one migrant working or have returned from Gulf. Throughout my period of field work, residents have consciously and unconsciously noticed me as I was outsider and a woman without a burqa. The field was quite hostile.

However, no women were seen outside ever in the entire one year and two months of my field work. Hostility began on the first day when men have ignored me to respond to any question that I asked. This reaction and the environment of Barkas, prevailed throughout and made the study lot more challenging. Everytime young population was sitting in a tea stall chatting in almost every hour of the day.

On my first visit, I went to meet a doctor as I thought he might be of some help. Dr. Iftikhar Ahmed, the 56 years old, asked thrice the purpose of my visit. Dr. Ahmed was keen on helping me and said that he could give me some detail of Barkas. He began by saying how Yemenis came to Hyderabad at the time of the Nizam and settled in Barkas and became my key informant. He also talked about how and when Gulf migration started from Barkas. Approximately 200 years ago, the population was only two hundred. He also mentioned that many men have returned as criminals from the Gulf and settled in Barkas. Dr. Ahmed said it in a negative tone that people of Barkas were not interested in education at all. They would prefer migrating to the Gulf for work. Many men started peeping inside the clinic and the doctor said that I should leave as quickly as possible. Interaction with the ladies, I came to know that

talking to women will be the most difficult task as they were monitored all the time. My first official respondent family stressed on the behaviour of men as how they harass women in Barkas if they were seen outside without the company of men. I was accepted in many families and took part in the wedding ceremonies and lived with the families for many days and learned to understand Arabic. The warmth of hospitality needs to be mentioned once they accept you as one of their family members. I have received many gifts from many families which were made in Saudi Arabia or Dubai. I was invited to all the occasions from weddings to regular get togethers and also became a part of many dining out sessions when the migrants came on regular visits. This was one of the advantages of being a woman researcher that the trust was built quickly. However at the same time, I was not allowed to talk for long with other women because I was an outsider. I was not allowed to interview in many homes and the members came out of Barkas to nearby restaurants for the interviews. There were families where after two to three regular visits, I was told politely not to come back as other residents of the neighbourhood questioned my intentions.

In a qualitative research, the researcher is not separate from the study. The issue of the researcher as an outsider or an insider has gained importance in the social sciences because it is often seen that researchers studies group of which they are not a member unlike a researcher who does not belong to the group or community that he/she is a member. For an insider approach, questions were raised about the objectivity and authenticity of the data because perhaps one knows too much or too close to the group. Insider research refers to when researchers conduct research with populations of which they are also members (Kanuha 2000 in wigan-ojs.library.ualberta.ca) so

that the researcher shares an identity, language and experiential base with the study participants (Asselin 2003). As a part of my research, the label of being an outsider did not vanish even after a year. I was accepted as an interviewer while living with them but I was never an insider. Qualitative research no longer allowed me to be an outsider to the experience under study but because of the role as a researcher it did not qualify me as a complete insider. It was also primarily because of my social location and my dressing pattern which made me an outsider to them. It is also true that very few unknown people enters that area and therefore strangers were spotted very easily and thereby followed as to where they were going. I was a part of such conversation many times where strangers were followed in the field till they explained their purpose of the visit. After every interview or after living with families, whenever my identity as a Hindu Brahmin was revealed, many families faced little difficulty to accept me especially concerning food. But when they came to know that I eat non vegetarian food, I was accepted at once. Many families have the pre dominant idea that Hindus mainly eat vegetarian food and that I would not participate in commensality. Eating together with the families made my entry into the families easy in many such cases. It was a struggle for me to convince many families about the purpose of my visit otherwise I was identified as an officer from the income tax department or a journalist from newspapers. Every time I was asked to show my identity card to almost all the families. As majority of the respondents did not know the label Ph.D, men have introduced me to the women as an engineering student who wants to study Barkas. Later on I explained the real purpose. As religion was the dominating factor in the field, after living with many families, I was asked the

question as which religion I like the most? However, my data collection proceeded with much positivity and it was shared among the respondents who understood the purpose of the study.

There were no attempts of harassment although many have tried to discourage me by pointing the negative aspects in the field by giving examples as how young women got molested when they came to campaign about polio vaccination from the nearby government hospital. It was uncomfortable when women in the doctor's clinic did not respond to my general questions about Barkas and ran away as soon as the male members of the family arrived to take them back from the clinic. There was a fear among women to interact, which I felt throughout my fieldwork. Another discomfort was that how men kept staring whenever I went to Barkas, even after a year. Every time it made me realise that some or the other was following me to see to which house I was entering. In the field, there were many times when I was stopped while entering the field by young men for asking the purpose of my daily visit. I had to take different routes everyday to enter the field to avoid such conversations. I was asked to wear a burqa when I wanted to see Barkas from one corner to the other. I was requested to take a view of the area in an autorickshaw where people would not recognise me. In the entire period of the study, I had to cover my hair and my face and wear a salwar kameez which had long sleeves while walking in the neighbourhood as otherwise my respondent families would not welcome me. Dress code became important. Young women were not allowed to talk to me because parents thought that I might influence them for higher studies and working outside. However there were families where young women took information regarding university level education. For the night get

together, I was also given salwar kameez of the style that women in Barkas wore. They were heavily studded with colourful stones and bright colours with colourful scarves to cover the head. Whenever I got an opportunity to stay back in the field, I have lived with unmarried young women of the family in one room. From a broader perspective, studying Barkas was challenging due to the gendered interactions and gendered spaces and shared ideology about what to talk to and what not to talk about. It was not only about gendered spaces but also about surveillance on women. It was not at all enjoyable. Every time I had to find new ways to get information. Whenever any question bothered the migrants, they would discuss it in Arabic for a minute and then reply and I learnt to understand the language. In the end, exit from the field was also not easy as there were families where I still go back and spend time with them because of their hospitality and friendship.

Chapter 2- Migration

Migration can be defined as an act or an instance of moving from one country, region, and or place to settle in another in search of work. When migrants move from one place to another, they clearly make demographic changes which have an impact on both the migrant and the recipient population (Bertanpetit 2002: 96). However, the meaning of migration has changed with the passage of time since the early days of civilisation.

Understanding Migration: An Interdisciplinary Approach

Anthropologists have looked at networks and transnational communities and tried to understand cultures of migration. According to political scientists, people coming from different political backgrounds and ideologies, assemble to settle in one place, and rarely agree on one kind of administrative set up. They not only create problems at the places of destination, but also in their places of origin. Whenever migrants exceed the locals in the hostland in number, the latter feel that their political stability is under threat. This feeling motivates the locals of the hostland to agitate against the migrants, particularly when they feel there is undue interference by the migrants. Historians portrayed the complexities of migrant experiences along with hopes and ambitions. Lastly, demographers have looked at movements of people across boundaries and how such movement affects population dynamics in the homeland and the hostland (Brettell and Hollifield 2000). Hammer et al (1999) have focused on the spatial-economic framework that opens up a detailed analysis of the multi-scale

relational nature of migration decision-making, with what Thomas Faist (1997a) calls as 'crucial meso-level'. This is interposed rationally between micro level individual motives to migrate and the macro scale structural opportunities and constraints which are mainly related to lack of development in different sending and receiving countries (see also Faist 1997b) (www.mah.se).

Broadly, sociologists have dealt with migration problems in a slightly different manner. Whenever people migrate they try to form groups at the place of destination on the basis of their primary identity based on caste, community, neighbourhood and status. While doing so, they face lots of social problems because they belong to different castes, classes, religious communities and family backgrounds. Migrants feel a gap between themselves and the locals of the hostland. It is because migrants are guided by their traditional customs and manners food habits, clothing and religious functions etc. In the beginning they try to maintain their original dress and food habits etc. But when they observe the activities of locals, they feel uncomfortable with the traditional ideas and adopt customs, manners and behaviour of the people of the hostland. Education of the children is a primary goal of migrant communities.

Types of Migration

Historically, internal and overseas migration was associated with widespread military conquest, agricultural colonisation and plantations, expeditions of merchant traders, the religious missionaries, the slave trade and indentured labour. Sociologists have identified four types of migration within a country- rural to rural, rural to urban, urban to rural and finally urban to urban (Rao 1986). Ravenstein has argued that firstly,

most of the migrants move only a short distance. Long distance migration came into being as a special case like specialised jobs, technical education or adventure etc. Secondly, the volume of migration increases with the rate of development of industry and commerce. Thirdly, direction of migration is generally from agricultural to industrial areas. Rural areas having less job opportunities, low per capita income, low standard of living and less developed infrastructure, motivate people to migrate to the industrial areas with better facilities. Fourth, related to the above statement, most long distance migration is to the industrial areas. It is because these areas require highly skilled labourers and professionals who are not locally available. Fifth, migration occurs through a series of stages rather than in one long move and peoples' movements are bilateral and migration differentials (for example gender, social class and age) influence a person's movement. Ravenstein has argued that rural population migrates to a town of rapid growth. Thus, gaps left in the rural areas are filled up by the migrants from more remote areas. Sixth, females are more migratory than males in short distances. Lastly, he has argued that migrants are more likely to have rural than urban origins in most of the developing countries.

There are different types of migrations discussed by William Petersen (1958). The first type was a result of the ecological push which is known as primitive migration. It is the movement of people related to their ability to cope with the natural forces. The second type is forced and impelled migration and it occurs when migrants are forced to leave whereas in the case of impelled, a migrant decides whether he/she wants to leave or not. In this case, migrants move out since the move failed to bring positive changes in their ways of life and their labour can be used in other places in a much

better manner. This happens due to the structures of power and hierarchy. For example, recruitments of coolies during indenture system (which will be dealt with later in the study). This type of movement is not voluntary in nature. The forced movement is also known as displacement. The third is free migration where the will of the migrant is important and is different from the other two types. It has started from overseas migration in the 1840 from Europe. Later on immigrants started making passage for their family and friends. The fourth type is mass migration where migration became a style, an established pattern and collective behaviour. Once it began, the movement kept on increasing.

Definitions and Review of Studies on Migration

Some social scientists have interestingly complicated the definition of migration. The definitions of Zelinsky, Hagerstrand, and Rose are worth mentioning. Hagerstrand (1957) in his study of Swedish migration fields has defined migration as the change in the centre of gravity of an individual's movement pattern. The destination of the movement need not change as a result of the change in the centre of gravity. For example, in local intra-urban move, the terminus of journey to work, recreational and shopping movements remained the same but while in an inter-urban move they are likely to change. For the geographical movement of migration, Arnold Rose (1965) gave a comprehensive definition of migration. According to him, migration does not add to or subtract from the total population of the world but it can have the effect on the total population by involving movement of people from areas where they are likely to reproduce more or vice versa. In other words, this definition has tried to draw

a relation between migration and population. Fortes (1971) in his study of the movements of people in Ghana, has distinguished mobility which was restricted to the movement within boundaries and migration in which people crossed borders. It can be said that this distinction is analytically valid for certain purposes but might pose a problem in the approach especially towards the Indian context. Zelinsky (1971) emphasised the place of residence and distinguished between migration and mobility. These terms encompassed all movements such as those to the purpose of journey to work, of recreation and tourism or of shopping excursions.

Studies of migration are complex because of its extreme diversity, in terms of forms, process, actors, motivation, socio-economic and cultural contexts and so on. Uneven distribution of population and unbalanced utilisation of resources and variation in economic and cultural developments have influenced the movement of individuals from one region to another. Smith (1960) has linked the concept of migration to changes in physical space. He has considered all movements in the physical space with the assumption more or less implicit that a change of domicile was involved. However, he has excluded the movement of nomads and migratory workers for whom there was no long term residence. It is a type of geographical movement. According to Theodore Caplow (1954), migration is a change of residence and need not necessarily involve any change of occupation but is closely associated with occupational shifts of one kind or another. Furthermore, the directions of migration are illustrated by more or less continuous movements from the rural areas to the urban, from areas of stable population to the centres of industrial or commercial opportunities, from densely settled countries to less densely settled countries and also from the centre of the city to

the suburbs. Eisenstadt (1954) has looked at migration as the physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another. According to him, this transition usually involved the abandoning of one social setting and entering into another permanent one. However, his definition has failed to consider the psychology of individuals or groups making plans for migration and return to their places of origin. Sovani (1966) and Saxena (1977) have emphasised the economic condition of a migrant. They are of the view that both rich and poor are prone to migration. The rich migrate willingly for better and more comfortable life while the poor migrate due to economic hardship. In this connection, Gupta (1961) holds the view that a person belonging to the upper stratum of the society has a higher level of education and economic position and therefore has a higher propensity to migrate. Concerning migration distance, Zachariah (1964) has pointed out that short distance migration is common in developing countries whereas Western countries specialise in long distance migration. Similarly, A. R. Desai (1964) has pointed out that urban to urban migration takes longer time than rural to rural migration. Moreover, class and sex structure also determines peoples' movements. The well-to-do people generally prefer to migrate together with family members, while people belonging to the lower economic stratum become unable to meet the normal expenses of non-earning members. Often, men are compelled to migrate without women and they continue to have contact with the homeland, but when their economic condition improves, they bring their families. The circumstances pushing the migrant away from home and toward better opportunities have been called push and pull factors.

Push and Pull Factors of Migration

Studies by Zachariah (1969), Das Gupta and Lashley (1975) have considered that individuals migrate because of the pull factors of the hostland like better employment opportunities, better recreational and housing facilities. The push factors at home are usually poverty, indebtedness, social ostracism and unemployment. Social scientists have argued that this phenomenon has become very significant in the recent times because of globalisation and the Information Technology Revolution during the 1990s. Ernest Ravenstein is one of the earliest migration theorists who wrote 'Laws of Migration' (1889) where he has pointed out that migration is governed by push-pull process i.e. unfavourable conditions in one place which pushes people out and favourable conditions in an external location which pulls them in. However, literature has moved away from simply listing of push and pull factors, the repetitive descriptions of migrant and non-migrant differentials and a pre-occupation with individual decision making. According to Woods (1981), the historical-structural literature had limitations as well. There has been a progress in the last decade and are linked to the larger social processes that were common to historical-structural theory of development and the Marxist political economy approach. Now, there is continuous application of the concepts such as imperialism, reserve army, international division of labour, world labour market and dual labour markets. With this, there is a continuous repetition of the functions of labour migration in the world capitalism development. Therefore, in the contemporary situation, migration is always linked to world capital (Abu-Lughod 1975).

Contemporary views on migration depart from the earlier premises of push-pull theory of migration. Globalisation and communication technology has affected extensively the original impetus of individuals to migrate. Linkages between receiving and sending countries are readily established. In this connection, Karen Leonard (2007) has pointed out that the push factors gave way to pull factors. Finally, the ideas of identity and citizenship are interacted with the ideas of globalisation, transnationalism and comspolitanism in ways that illuminated the contrasting experience of the migrants. Push and pull theory also reflects on the neo classical economics paradigm, based on principles of utility maximisation, rational choice, factor-price differentials between regions and countries and labour mobility. There are differences between voluntary and forced migration, settlers and refugees as well as temporary migrants or sojourners.

Voluntary and Involuntary or Forced Migration

Migration can be both voluntary and involuntary. These are known as migration binaries, dyads or dichotomies. Cohen (1996: xi-xiv) and King (2002: 90-91, 2012). This is a rather problematic dichotomy. All these categorisations between permanent vs. temporary, internal vs. international and regular vs. irregular, break down after a point in practice. Many migrants move both internally and internationally where one type follows the other. For example, intra European Union migration can be classified as both internal and international where movement within EU is internal but movement between France and Italy becomes international. Temporary migration can morph into permanent settlement as migrants who intend to stay for a limited period

of time continuously postpone their return (Castles et al 1984). Irregular migrants can become legalised through special schemes for regularisation such as those periodically implemented by the Southern European countries of Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece (see Fakiolas 2003 for the detailed study of the two main regularisations of 1998 and 2001). Conversely, regular migrants can lapse into irregularity after their permits expire or because of the delay that they face in renewing, for example, contract labourers in the Gulf. Sales (2007) has pointed out that forced and voluntary migration neglects the fact that conflicts can produce economic devastation which forces people to leave their homeland based on race, religion and political belief.

During the indenture labour period forced migration influenced by the inequalities between nations played an important role. People have been displaced from all over the world for economic, social and political reasons, and the Indian indenture system is one such example. Indian indentured emigration began in the nineteenth century to meet the shortage of labour supply caused by the abolition of slavery by the British Empire in 1833. Mauritius was the first colony to import Indian labour from the ports of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay and Kerala, followed by Guiana, Trinidad and Jamaica and small West Indian colonies such as St. Kitts, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Grenada in the 1850s and Fiji in 1879. Many started as temporary sojourners but became permanent settlers leaving their homeland forever. Indenture was known as a new system of slavery but indenture was for a fixed period whereas slavery was permanent (Lal 1998). This indenture system has created a new kind of society in overseas Indian communities. There were some problems in such type of migration.

Low wages was one of the significant problems which further led to poverty or inadequate diet which caused sickness that caused absenteeism which caused further loss of wages and fines and extension of the indenture.

International Migration

Millions of people are seeking work, a new home or simply a safe place to live outside their countries of birth. For many less developed countries, emigration is one aspect of the social crisis which accompanies integration into the world market and modernisation. Population growth and the green revolution in the rural areas led to massive surplus population. People moved to promising cities where employment opportunities were inadequate and social conditions were miserable. The movement took many forms. People migrated as manual workers, highly qualified specialists, entrepreneurs, refugees or family members of previous migrants (search.barnesandnoble.com). As mentioned earlier, migration has been a part of human history from the earliest times. However, international migration has grown in volume and significance since 1945 and particularly since the mid 1980s.

Significant role is played by international migration process including both the waves of emigration and immigration. For an international migration, a border has to be crossed which is of variety and open and closed borders to migration in nature. The emergence of international migration has been seen as a force for social transformation. This very transformation is reshaping the politics and societies around the globe. Growing number of dual nationals in many societies are a harbinger of the future. Countries like US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Argentina are

considered to as 'classical countries of immigration.' A growing number of new immigration countries have emerged. Nearly all of Northern and Western Europe was affected by labour migration between 1945 and the early 1970s. International migration has played an abiding and important role in the processes of socio-economic change. For example, in Latin America and Caribbean, it has shaped basic economic and social structures and has also influenced population dynamics and distribution. Historical processes, magnitude of changes in direction, composition and type of migration since the mid 1950s have been so great that there was an urgent need to try to assess its causes and consequences. The changes mainly stemmed from political and economic forces which gathered strongly after the Second World War.

Theories of International Migration

Most of the world's developing countries have become diverse and multi-ethnic societies. Several theories have been developed to understand international migration but they too are guided by variants of push-pull theory. There is no single, coherent theory rather only a fragmented set of theories that developed largely in isolation from another.

Firstly, the neoclassical economic theory (Lewis 1954, Ranis and Fei 1961, Harris and Todaro 1969) is the oldest and probably the best known theory which is related to the global supply and demand for labour. It is known that nations with scarce labour supply and high demand will have high wages that pull immigrants from nations with a surplus labour. The reason why individuals respond to structural differences between countries and engage in migration is given by the micro version of the new

classical theory (Todaro 1969, 1976). Migration takes place when individuals want to improve their well being by migrating to place where their labour will be higher paid than in their countries of origin. This showed the flow of investment capital from capital rich to capital poor countries.

The micro level model of individual choice (Sjaastad 1962, Todaro 1969, 1976, 1989, Todaro and Maruszko 1987) has pointed out that individuals migrate because a cost benefit calculation leads them to expect a positive monetary return from their migration. People choose to move to where they can be most productive by using their skills. But before they do so, they have to take care of their investments such as cost of travelling, cost of maintenance while searching for jobs, the effort involved in learning new language and culture and psychological cost of cutting old ties and building new ones.

Secondly, the segmented labour market theory (Piore 1979) has shown that the first world economies are structured so as to require a certain level of immigration. This theory has suggested that the developed economies are dualistic i.e. they have a primary market of secure, well remunerated work and a secondary market of low wage worker. Piore is the most forceful and elegant proponent of this theoretical viewpoint and argued that international migration is caused by a permanent demand for immigrant labour that is inherent to the economic structure of developed nations. According to Piore, immigration is not caused by either push or pull factors, rather from a built-in demand for immigrant labour that stemmed from four fundamental characteristics of industrial societies and their economies. First, structural inflation where wages not only reflected conditions of demand and supply rather they also

conferred to status and prestige and social inequalities that inhered to the jobs. Second, motivational problems where occupational hierarchies are important for the workers as people do not work only for income but also to accumulate social status. However, there is no motivational problem for the lower end workers and there are few avenues for upward mobility. Third, economic dualism where dual labour market came to be characterised as advanced industrial economies because of the inherent duality of labour and capital. There are two methods-capital intensive method which meet the basic demand and labour intensive method that is reserved for the seasonal and fluctuating component. This dualism has created distinctions among workers that further led to bifurcation of the labour force. Fourth, the demography of the labour supply where demand for workers created by the above type. This includes people who are forced to work under unpleasant conditions, lower wages and greater instability and face little chance for advancement. Poor women and teenagers, sometimes child labour, are the two sets of people who fit into this type. In advanced industrialised societies both these sets have shrunk over time. This is because of women's increasing participation in the labour force which transforms from work to career pursued for social status and income that reduces birth rate and extension of formal education for the children. This has led to the demand for immigrant labour force. Piore's argument refers mainly to the Fordist era of mass industrial production and its immediate aftermath. The analysis is further nuanced by Saskia Sassen's work on *Global Cities* (1988, 1991). She finds that the primary engine for the growth of global cities in the post-industrial era has been the clustering of corporate headquarters, financial centres and related producer services, for example, London

and New York. The complexion of the work force has changed to a great extent and there is a great diversity in the working population of the world along with migration. Third, the world-systems theory is built on the works of Wallerstein (1974) but many sociological theorists have linked it to the structure of the world market that has developed and expanded. This has emerged in the wake of dependency theory and built up a more complete and sophisticated historical analysis of the development and expansion of the global capitalist system from the sixteenth century (Portes and Walton 1981, Petras 1981, Castells 1989, Sassen 1988, Morawska 1990). It is driven by neo-colonialism and corporate capitalism of the 1900s. The international population flow at this time is also due to colonial ties between past colonial powers and their former colonies by creating transport and communication infrastructures, administrative links, and linguistic and cultural commonalities (Morawska 2007: 3). Foreign investment that led to economic globalisation is managed from a small number of global cities whose structural characteristics create demand for immigrant labour. Global cities include New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Miami, London, Paris, Frankfurt, Milan and Tokyo and Sydney. Within these global cities, highly educated skilled professionals concentrate, which demands for unskilled workers like waiters, domestic servants and hotel workers. There is a demand for both types of labour in the global market. Contemporary patterns of international migration tend to be from the periphery (Third World) to the core (First World) because factors associated with the industrial development in the First World generated structural economic problems and thus push factors from the Third World. By their nature, historical structural models of migration have a common fundamental flaw. They

regard migrants as 'little more than passive pawns in the play of great powers and world processes presided over by the logic of capital accumulation' (Arango 2004: 27). Dependency and world systems theory offer their own version of historical determinism- 'univocal, reductionist interpretations of history in which all countries pass through.....as if following a grand script' (Arango 2004: 27).

Apart from these theoretical formulations, it can be noted that when there are opportunities for employment at high wage rates within the emigration region, they are not sufficient to check mass departure (Allefresde 1972). In reality, historical, cultural and linguistic aspects are involved in inducing people to emigrate (Cherunilam 1987). These are sometimes the quest for independence, the desire to break away from the traditional constraints for social organisations, conflicts from the community circles, exclusion from the community of origin for one reason or other or a feeling of being isolated. Moreover, development of communication, technology and urban oriented education has brought about changes in the values and attitudes that induce people to migrate. Studies by Brettell and Hollifield (2008) have shown that United States is now in the fourth great wave of immigration. As we approach the end of the millennium, immigrant population stands at 26.3 million, which represents 9.8 of the total population. Almost 14 million children under the age of eighteen who live in the United States are immigrants or have immigrant parents. Western Europe has experienced a similar influx of foreigners that began in the early 1940s. By the 1990s foreign residents were 8.2 percent of the German population, 6.4 percent of the French population, 16.3 percent of the Swiss population and 5.6 percent of the Swedish population. With the abandonment of the 1960s White Australia Policy

barring non European settlers, it has become a multicultural nation (Smolicz 1997). However, with the movement of large number of people throughout the developing world like the refugees in Africa and guest workers in Asia and the Gulf has caused certain type of crisis in the process of migration (Weiner 1995).

Castles and Miller (1995) have pointed out that the last half of the twentieth century has been an age of migration. Migration has been explained in dual terms in earlier theories such as push and pull and voluntary and involuntary. It has also been understood from a structuralist perspective, whereby migration is mapped in dichotomous terms of centre-periphery, industrialised-peasant based, West and North-East and South. However, both the perspectives have limitations since the former has understood it in simplistic terms of an individual's rationally calculated decision while the latter ended in economic determinism. In order to understand the phenomenon in all its complexity, a holistic approach is required. Any theory of migration must account for it in terms of race, religion, nationality, sense of belonging and nostalgia. More significantly, much of the earlier literature on migration has been silent on the issue of gender and thus there is a need to analyse the migration process and women's experiences.

Women and International Migration

Early migration research was often perceived as being mainly male centric movement with the women are either left behind or following their men as dependents. Though it has been seen in various studies that males are more migratory than females (House and Knight 1965), (Schnell and Monmonier 1983), (Paine Suzanne 1974), some

scholars have observed that gender is less important in migration (Richmond 1967), (Clark 1986). From the 1980s there has been an effort particularly by feminist scholars to rectify the omission of including women in the immigrants literature as scholars have come to assert that ‘birds of passage are also women’ (Morokvasic 1984). Gerda Lerner (1979) has suggested that women have been included in history in three different ways- ‘contributions’ history (adding women to the text by examining their contributions in conventionally male domains), ‘women-centred’ history (focusing on women’s unique experiences) and ‘gender-integrated’ history (the synthesis of both male and female experiences). Articles have also been published in issues of *International Migration Review* (1984) and in the volume edited by Simon and Brettell (1986) and the ‘cross-cultural perspectives on women and immigration’ presented by Browner and King (1989) shows that immigrant women’s experiences are unique and different from those of their male counterparts. More recent studies have examined the implications of the intersections between gender and other axes of difference for understanding migration (Kofman et al 2000 in Colorado.edu). It has also developed innovative theoretical approaches for exploring the power relations that are entangled in the changing migratory patterns and processes associated with post 1989 economic globalisation (Nagar et al 2002). According to Rachel Silvey (2004) ‘Feminist geographers have interrogated the political meanings ascribed to migration and their relationships to ‘work’ and place. They have investigated the operations of regimes of power that underwrite the gender divisions of mobility and global labour as these play out in export oriented manufacturing’ (for example Cravey 1998, Wright 1997, Pratt 1997, Momsen 1999,

Law 2000). Feminist scholars have also looked at the gendered and racialised construction of cleaning and caretaking in the context of international reductions in public support for such labour (Katz 2001a, Sassen 2002). They have shown how ascriptions of particular activities such as work, division of labour and the politics of labour market hierarchies are inseparable from the migratory patterns and process socially.

Rayaprol's (1997) work on the Indian immigrants in Pittsburgh has argued that literature on immigrant groups reveals that women have been ignored from many studies and women's experiences have been subsumed under those of men (Jacobson 1979). Similarly, Dumon (1981) has pointed out that these women have been treated as 'migrants' wives' rather than as 'female migrants' and their roles have been changed to those of less important followers. The popular belief is that migration is male dominated and usually women migrants are mostly considered as dependent, passive, tied, or associate movers (Uberoi and Palriwala 2008). However, current estimates of global migration show that women and girls comprised of nearly 49 per cent of global migrants in 2000. There is an overwhelming preponderance of women migrants in specific migration streams such as family members, domestic workers, sex workers and care givers etc (Zlotnik 2003).

Studies have shown that increasing scale of migration have led them to shape a more receptive attitude towards women's migration even among the secular and conservative leadership in traditional societies like the study done in Sri Lanka by Hettige (1992). Women are left behind while men migrate to and from different regions. Leela Gulati (1993) in her work has focused on women migrant households

in Kerala. She has talked about the personal account of such women where each profile began with the absence of a male who has migrated to work in the Gulf countries. The responses varied with age, religion, social and economic, health status of these women. The male departure left responsibilities on females who developed into strong, independent and self reliant characteristics (Appleyard 1984), (Abadan Unat 1986). This is constructed by androcentric accounts about the emergence of independent women who are no longer submissive in their traditional roles and lead to increased rate of separation and divorces (Nermin Abadan Unat 1987). Therefore the women's economic independence is blamed for shaking traditional and hierarchical definitions of the family.

Discrimination of women in general is a universal practice and conditions of migrant female workers are no exception to this. They are concentrated in manual jobs and is estimated that about 20 percent of the work force in the Gulf are of female domestic workers (Brochmann Grete 1990: 22). His study has shown that they earn low wages, have inadequate protection and possibilities for their upward mobility are always questionable. Michele R. Gamburd (2000) in her work on transnationalism and Sri Lanka's migrant housemaids has argued that migrant women often become the sole bread earners for their families. These women migrants support four to five members of their families.

While movements of people across borders have shaped states and societies since time immemorial, what is distinctive in the recent years is their global scope, their centrality to domestic and international politics and economic and social consequences (search.barnesandnoble.com). Before discussing Gulf migration, it is

important to understand the migratory pattern from the city of Hyderabad to different countries as well as to the city of Hyderabad.

Phases of Migration from the City of Hyderabad

The first phase of emigration that took place was due to fear and loss of identity in 1940s. It consisted of largely Muslims who went to Pakistan. Those who migrated faced severe economic problems. Moreover, they also faced the problem of integration and adjustment with the people of the hostland.

Post Independence Scenario and Hyderabad

The 1950s was crucial for the history of Hyderabad. On 26th January 1950, India became a Republic and Hyderabad became one of the states of the new union. The Nizam remained the constitutional head of the State. All the powers were subject to the Constitution of India. In 1953, the Andhra state was formed which comprised of Telugu speaking districts of the Madras state. At this time, the Government of India had constituted a commission to suggest the broad lines for the re-organisation of states on linguistic grounds. The Government decided that the Telugu-speaking districts of Hyderabad should merge with the state of Andhra. Therefore, the name of the new state would be Andhra-Telangana. This hyphenated name was later discarded in favour of compact sounding, Andhra Pradesh in 1956. This has also led people migrating to the city of Hyderabad for better socio-economic status whereas many had migrated to other parts like Karnataka, Maharashtra and Northern regions of the country.

After the partition of India and the annexation of Hyderabad by India, Muslims of the state had lost their privileged status and many chose to migrate to other countries like Pakistan, the Gulf countries, UK, USA and Canada (en.wikipedia.com). Some migrated with their families while many left their families behind in utmost poverty. After the out-migration of the elite Muslims, poor Muslims came to the city from the districts of Andhra Pradesh. The Shias who had held highest positions slowly disappeared from the census of the city. During 1951-61, the Shia population decreased from 22 percent to six percent and in 1981 it was only four percent. Many migrated to Pakistan while others moved to North India especially to Lucknow and other places in Uttar Pradesh. There was negative growth rate due to out-migration rather than a natural increase in population (Naidu 1990: 23). With the flight of the Muslims from the city, there was invasion of Hindus seen in the city. Therefore, a stream of migration started taking place from the city of Hyderabad.

Social and Economic Situation

Like all other feudal cities, Hyderabad's growth was propelled by the constant demand of income from the peasantry by the rulers. They spent huge sums of money on building palaces and making their lives luxurious. The major source of employment was linked to the feudal administration. There were feudal privileges like Jagirs, Mansabs and Inams as well as government and quasi-government posts in the revenue, civil, judicial, municipality, city improvement and education. Amount of commerce and business such as banking and trade was dependent upon the activities of the ruler and its feudal lords.

The police action of 1948 and the subsequent Jagirdari abolition regulation of 1949 dismantled the feudal economic base. Disbanding of the Hyderabad army also contributed to the large scale unemployment. With the democratisation of the government, all those who were in the feudal occupational structure faced the problem of increasing irrelevance in a modernising society. Further, their proficiency in Urdu language turned to their disadvantage when Telugu became the official language of Andhra Pradesh (Naidu 1990: 65).

Business and commerce were affected by the Police Action and the subsequent movement of the population basically because they were in the hands of Hindu business communities, for example, the Charminar area market place. Much of the business that survived in the city was based on cultural and traditional values. However, the city continued to be the centre for traditionally established business for grains, clothes, utensils and so on which is still mostly controlled by the Marwaris. New comers from different parts of the country were termed as non-mulkis (not country men) although Hindustani was used for those who migrated from North India like Rajasthan, Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh. As the years passed these new comers claimed mulki (countrymen) status. Non-mulkis looked down upon the Deccani Urdu and also old fashioned ways of Hyderabadis whereas mulkis valued their Mughlai culture.

Ratna Naidu (1990) has pointed out that the above mentioned economic activity was only a small part whereas the majority of the activity took place in the informal sector. This was evident from the marked increase in transport, household industry which included weaving, making chappals, and printing cloth, the agricultural labourers, the

construction workers, and trade and commerce and finally some percentage of people with employment in the Persian Gulf. Given the low economic activity and scarcity of employment outside it, the phenomenon of unemployment was on the rise. It was seen most among the Muslims and the scheduled caste and tribes. The higher rate of unemployment among the Muslims may be attributed to their past association with the Nizam's administration. These Muslims constituted the majority of the households with most of them being middle level officials and soldiers. Very few Muslims who served in the higher levels of the Nizam's administration stayed in the city after 1951. High unemployment among the Muslims may also be attributed to their higher proportion among the migrants from rural areas since 1961. These rural immigrants usually remained unemployed for a longer period of time before their absorption into the informal sector where they worked as rickshaw pullers, fruit vendors and in other odd jobs. Soon after, individuals have started migrating to the Gulf in the 1970s for different types of occupations, mainly because of the pull factors.

Pull Factors: Oil Boom in the Gulf

The second phase of migration took place with the oil boom in the Gulf from the city of Hyderabad and also its districts. The sudden rise in the international oil prices during the 1970s gave a tremendous boost to the economies of countries like Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait, and United Arab Emirates (UAE) in the Persian Gulf. This initiated massive industrialisation which required large number of unskilled and skilled manpower and therefore had opened up new opportunities. From Hyderabad large numbers of unemployed youth migrated to these countries in the 1970s.

Generally, people with greater qualifications were required for migration to different countries. Semi-skilled and unskilled workers went to the Gulf countries where all sorts of low-tech jobs were available including lift-operators, mechanics, carpenters, cleaners, domestic maids and drivers. In other words, they were absorbed with a low occupational status and high job uncertainty. Given the low levels of occupation, the remittances were not substantial at a national level but surely helped them at the individual mobility level. Such low remittances did not have much impact on the lives of the migrants in changing their socio-economic status. This may also be due to the fact that the income flowing from the Gulf was mostly irregular. There was demand for doctors and engineers as well but they preferred migrating to the West where educational opportunities were greater. With the development in the Gulf, people started moving in large numbers to find various types of jobs. Individuals migrated to Abu Dhabi, Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, Oman and UAE. At this time, unemployment was found everywhere in Hyderabad. It was found to be higher among Muslims, Scheduled Caste and Tribal communities than among the Hindus. One of the reasons could be the effect of the end of the Nizam's administration. Muslims found themselves as not a part of the new administrative system due to a particular kind of qualification and the absence of Urdu language which was the language for administration.

Changing Migratory Patterns

Dominance of mass movements has been replaced by that of individual movements seeking economic settlement or work in foreign lands. A majority of the economic

activity took place in the informal sector in Hyderabad. This gave rise to rural to urban migration of individuals with or without families. As the industrial development started at a rapid rate, slums arose on the vacant lands in and around large cities, along waterfronts, railway tracks, highways and sometimes around graveyards. In the 1990s, in-migration of both skilled professionals and unskilled workers from different parts of the country as well as from different districts of Andhra Pradesh took place. The phenomenon of push and pull factors to and from the city of Hyderabad became significant in the recent times because of globalisation and the Information and Technology Revolution. Hyderabadis are now found in Pakistan, USA, United Kingdom, Australia, Canada and in the Gulf countries. In Barkas, which is known as a Yemeni neighbourhood or an Arabian colony, the majority of the respondents in my study have identified them as Hadramis from Yemen.

Migratory Patterns from Yemen to Hyderabad

Yemen is known as a sending country for labour migration. Large numbers of people have migrated out of Yemen at different time period. With this, labour export became very important for Yemen. R. B Serjeant (1962) has discussed the history of Hadramaut and how it has become an influential town in the southern Yemen. According to him, Hadramaut was the name of the Wadi which was also known as a province which was separated from its coast by an empty and stony plateau. Each of these provinces has its distinct entity where the Wadiya has been a backwater, a reservoir of men and scholars who have excelled in spreading the Shafii school of Islam in the littoral societies on the Indian Ocean. Hadramis have played an important

role in the incense trade and started migrating to Indonesia and Africa from 13th century onwards. In the late 19th and 20th century, many Yemenis have migrated to Asia, Africa, Europe and the United States to escape from the harsh living conditions (as mentioned in a paper submitted to American University in Cairo).

Much of the human migratory flow in the Gulf has been stimulated by economic considerations where the primary motive was to work and earn more wages. For this reason, the oil rich states of the Arabian Peninsula have been the source of income for past 40 years. As the fastest growing economy, Saudi Arabia became the magnet for much of the migration from Yemen. In the 1970s, Saudi had several immigrants from Yemen and it continued till 1980 where 75 percent of the total work forces were from outside the country. At the same time, many Yemenis also migrated to Malaysia, Indonesia and India where they already had their relatives working and settling as diasporic communities. They were the first generation migrants who went out at the time of the Ottoman Empire to the islands of Malaysia, Indonesia and India. Their economic contributions or remittances became a major contribution as the country's economy was highly dependent on the remittances for its development as it fuelled the private and public consumption as well as foreign reserves. In the 1970s, levels of consumption rose as Yemenis started becoming better housed, better clothed and better fed. Control of remittance and money supply became difficult for the government as majority of the remittance came from the migrants, informally. Apart from the financial boon that occurred due to the flow of remittance, another benefit was that the exportation of labour meant exportation of unemployment. However, many Yemenis returned to their homeland in the 1950s and 1960s due to the political

climate in the hostlands. A second group of immigrants returned to Yemen after the bifurcation in 1990. At this time, development started taking place in Yemen and it became a large labour receiving country. Many Yemenis came to India and settled in the Malabar Coast in Kerala and in Barkas in Hyderabad. However, they are spread all over the country in different regions. In Hyderabad, these Yemenis became Nizam's personal bodyguards and treasury guards. Presently, these Yemenis of Barkas have started migrating to the Gulf for marriage and/or occupational purposes (Serjeant 1962).

Gulf Migration- Past and Present

I have focused on Gulf migration from Hyderabad especially from Barkas. Therefore, it is important to understand the relationship of the Gulf with India and the push and pull factors which motivate an individual to migrate. Although India and the Gulf had a long history of trade in the Indian Ocean yet migration of the workers from India started majorly in the 1970s. By 1870s Indian merchants have spread in the Gulf and dominated commercially. It is difficult to say when the trade did begin but it is assumed that it began in the 15th century. Ports became very important for business between the two countries. Ports were the only way to communicate those days especially with the Kutch port and Mandavi (Maharashtra). Most of the businesses were clothes, Kashmiri shawls, silk, cotton yarn, opium, ghee, indigo and sugar. It was mainly the Hindu community that went to the Gulf as traders. Many of them have settled in the Gulf in the same way Hadramis have settled in India almost 200 years

ago. The Kutchis and Sindhis dominated the Gulf with pearl trade by the 1900 (Allen 1981).

History of colonialism stretches around the globe and from the time which includes Hitties, the Incas and the British. European colonialism or imperialism began in the 15th century. It was led by Spanish and Portuguese exploration of America and the coasts of Africa, Gulf and East Africa. The end of the 18th and 19th century saw the first era of de-colonisation when most of the European colonies of America became independent from their respective metropolis. During the 20th century, colonies that lost in World War I were distributed to the mandates. In India, in 1948, the Portuguese set foot in Kerala. Along with them entered the Dutch, English, French, Danish and others. The Kingdoms of India were gradually taken over by the Europeans. In 1612, English landed in Surat (Gujarat). By 19th century they had direct and indirect control over most of India. At this time, many individuals left their homeland and migrated to different countries in search of work and became diaspora.

Historical Background of Migration to the Gulf

The modern Middle East was born in the late 18th century. The first era of the modern Middle East ended with World War I with the demise of the Ottoman Empire with the rise of the Turkish Republic and the division of the spoils of war among the European victors. This ensued the second era which was an age of colonial rule dominated by France and the United Kingdom. These powers carved up the Middle East into the states which are presently known as Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Iraq and Saudi Arabia. It was not that Arab societies have forgotten their past or they have ceded the historical

preservation of their societies to the West (Gupte 2011). The name of the Gulf, historically and internationally known as the Persian Gulf was given after the name of Land of Persia (Iran). It came in the 1960s. Rivalry between Iran and some Arab states along with the emergence of Pan Arabism and Arab nationalism, the name Arabian Gulf became popular and predominant. The Gulf consists of Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates (UAE), Saudi Arabia, Abu Dhabi, Iran and Iraq.

With the development in Saudi Arabia, migrants started flowing in the country for various kinds of work. The wealth of Saudi is enjoyed by others than the Saudis themselves. The Kingdom has become modern day El Dorado with foreign workers flocking from all over the world to make their own fortunes. There were more than two million workers from all over the world in 1989 (Kay 1989: 149). The government has also brought half a million skilled foreigners. It was believed that if they could stay in the desert and end their contract after two years then they would be earning enough to buy themselves a house back at home when they go back. There were many who moved on to new jobs once the old ones were completed but none can stay in the country forever.

Following the oil boom of the mid 1970s, the Middle East has witnessed a massive flow of South Asian workers. Here, the requirement of the unskilled labour is eclipsed by the requirement of skilled labour but for both the groups, spatial segregation is present. These labourers are more on the contract basis. India has experienced a substantial expansion of international migration during the post Second World War period. Migration flows were of different patterns and magnitudes. Two distinct

streams of migration can be identified such as the outflow of skilled manpower to the developed countries and the circulatory flow of less skilled and unskilled manpower to other developing countries and back. Migration of the first type generally takes place from India to European countries and to the United States. Migration of the semi-skilled and unskilled has been mostly to the Arab world which comprises regions of the UAE, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Kuwait, Qatar and Bahrain. In other words, international migration is taking place at a faster pace in the era of globalisation especially from the Third World countries to the First World countries. This is happening at all levels. First, the white collar skilled professionals are migrating in search of better opportunities both in education and jobs. Second, the informal labourers are migrating to serve as nannies, domestic help, taxi drivers, small restaurant owners etc. For example, several women from Sri Lanka and Kerala migrate to the Gulf to work as nannies, nurses and other forms of domestic and care work.

The Gulf region is a part of India's extended neighbourhood with which it had its mercantile interaction over a long period of time. Indian settlements have existed in the Gulf countries for centuries and Indian goods were distributed throughout the region. The trade channel had flourished through the colonial period when the Indian rupee was legal tender till the port of Aden. From the 1970s, the face of the country changed with the oil boom and there were grand developmental plans. South Asians especially Indians are an inextricable part of the local Arab market. Myron Weiner in 1982 wrote about Indians in Persian Gulf, has argued that in the mid 1980s the demand for the unskilled labour declined because of the completion of construction

projects. What was required was skilled labour to maintain what was already built. Therefore, more Indians were found working in banking and service sectors. The need to import foreign labourers was because the natives' skill quality was low and they were not trained in modern industrial economy. Therefore, the locals became the consumers whereas the expatriates were the producers.

The Contemporary Situation

In the wake of major oil price increase in 1973/74 and 1979, the scale and significance of international labour flow was accelerated dramatically. This in turn accelerated the economic growth and development with limited supply of labour because of the small and relatively young population. An additional factor which has contributed to the dependence of the expatriate workers has been the articulation through effective small public sector employment and of state policies towards income distribution, described by Benton (1979) as the 'transformation onto a higher plane through 'modern' means of the Emir's traditional role as dispenser of wealth and assistance.' On the basis of size and composition of migrant worker population in 1975, a World Bank study (Serageldin et al. 1981) projected that there would be 1.27 million Asian workers in the Middle East by 1985. Movements grew rapidly with flows of 0.7 to one million workers per year from 1981-1984. By 1985 there were 3.2 million Asian workers in the Gulf countries of whom over two million were in Saudi Arabia (Castells 1998).

In 1975, 71 percent of labour in the Gulf was from other Arab countries and 20 percent were Asians, the majority of who came from the Indian subcontinent.

However, nationality structure changed rapidly over the years. South Asians had several advantages which made them competitive in the labour market such as they were considered to be cheap, disciplined and hard working. Most of them came either from Muslim countries like Pakistan, Bangladesh or India mostly from Kerala. Besides being skilled, Indians also had the advantage of comparatively higher education (Jain 1993). In the initial years of South Asian migration, most were unskilled labourers from Bangladesh, Pakistan and India. When their contract got over and infrastructure was built then there was need for skilled workers to run the industries. At this time the character of migration changed from unskilled to skilled where one million skilled workers were imported from South Asia to manage and operate the new infrastructure.

By the end of 1970s, problems started emerging among expatriates. There was hostility against employers in the host countries which resulted in riots against bad working conditions and wage discrimination in Bahrain in 1974, in Saudi Arabia in 1976 and in Dubai in 1977. At this time, Indians entered the Arab labour market with a new set of migration package. Under this system, workers came under fixed period of contracts without their families and came for a particular project only. They lived in communal accommodation which was far away from the citizens of the hostland. Package contracts brought labourers from South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines and the Peoples Republic of China. At this time the locals of the Gulf were concerned about the flow of migrant communities and feared that migrants might outnumber locals. Primary migrants consisted of young men but later they started bringing their

families along. South Asians brought families faster whereas East Asians brought very few dependents.

As mentioned in a paper submitted to the La Trobe University it has been seen that the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the Gulf war of 1990-1 led to the forced return of some 450,000 Asians to their countries of origin. After the war there was an increase in the recruitment of the Asian workers partly due to reconstruction needed in Kuwait and due to 'politically unreliable' Palestinians and Yemenis in Saudi Arabia (Abella 1995). At this time, Israel had also started recruiting a large number of migrants from Thailand and the Philippines for agriculture, construction and domestic work. This happened after the security measures blocked the entry of the Palestinians from the West bank and Gaza. The Asian labour-sending countries were allowed through private agencies to organise recruitment (Abella 1995). The Gulf countries are essentially work areas for overseas workers for the limited period and the Arab governments keep social contact between the local Arabs and migrant workers to the minimal level to avoid any new cultural and social influences on the local population.

Gulf Relations- Economic, Political, Legal and Human Rights

Over three million Indians live in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries in the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Oman and Bahrain (www.tribuneindia.com). According to Singh (2005), about 70 percent of the Indians in the Gulf are skilled and semi-skilled workers, about 20 percent have white collared jobs in offices as clerks, accountants and managers with another 10 percent professionals and entrepreneurs. As Gulf countries have both industrial and

commercial activities therefore many Indians have turned entrepreneurs by investing in retail stores, gold and textile, hotels, restaurants, IT companies and joint ventures. Indians are also involved in business ventures in UAE. The Free Zones which is promoted by the Gulf governments have provided an attractive environment for investment with no taxes, no restrictions on foreign investment, and top class infrastructure.

In the year 2003, 4.66 lakh workers immigrated for employment to countries in the Gulf, Malaysia and Singapore. The major component was from Kerala at 92,044 workers, 89,464 from Tamil Nadu, 65,971 from Andhra Pradesh and 37,693 from Rajasthan, according to Labour Ministry statistics (www.unescap.org). Now the significant question is where do they migrate as labour from India? Rajan (2003) indicated that around 95% of the labour outflows have reached the following countries- Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman and Qatar in the Gulf in 1988 and still continued even today. Saudi Arabia led with 65% annual labour outflows from India followed by United Arab Emirates. This is also true for 2002. This revealed that the Gulf countries became an important destination for Indians. Migrants in the United Arab Emirates were 74% (United Nations 2002) where Indians were 33% (Zachariah, Prakash and Rajan 2002). This was also true for Saudi Arabia where 39% of the migrants were from India (for details see, Zachariah, Prakash and Rajan 2002). The table 1 below shows the outflow of labour from India by destination from 1988-2002.

Outflow of Labour by Destination from India, 1988-2002 (Table 1)

Year	Bahrain	Kuwait	Oman	Saudi Arabia	UAE	Others	Total
1988	8219	9653	18696	85289	34029	9348	165234
1989	8520	5679	16574	49710	28189	11786	120458
1990	6782	1077	34267	79473	11962	6300	139861
1991	8630	7044	22333	130928	15446	7121	191502
1992	16458	19782	40900	265180	60493	13971	416784
1993	15622	26981	29056	269639	77066	19974	438338
1994	13806	24324	25142	265875	75762	20476	425385
1995	11235	16439	22338	256782	79674	28866	415334
1996	16647	14580	30113	214068	112644	26162	414214
1997	17944	13170	29994	214420	110945	29951	416424
1998	16997	22462	20774	105239	134740	54952	355164
1999	14905	19149	16101	27160	79269	42968	199552
2000	15909	31082	25155	59722	55099	56215	243182
2001	16382	39751	30985	78048	53673	59825	278664
2002	20807	4859	41209	99453	95034	106301	367663

Source- compiled from various annual reports of the Ministry of Labour, Government of India, 2002.

The Persian Gulf is an important region for India. GCC is India's second largest trading partner second only to America, second largest importer of Indian goods and provides a major part of India's oil and gas imports. It is also the source of a large part of remittances to India. Indians in the Gulf countries are a different category than all other migrants all over the world. They are Indian expatriates with short term work permits. Since the Gulf countries do not allow naturalisation therefore Indians residing in these countries do not have the option to stay on as migrant Indians have in western countries. There is a regular turn over in the Indian population as migrants

return after completion of their contract which is generally from 5-8 years. Many migrants return after three or four terms.

Citizen's Rights and Legal Issues

Majority of the migrants are relatively young males who travel alone. Conditions in the work areas are strict and many live in camps in austere, dormitory style accommodation that is provided by the employers. Unlike the Indians working in other countries, their saving rate is high because there are few avenues to spend the money especially if the immediate family resides in India. The work permit specifies the name of the employer and hence there is no option for change of jobs once reached. Only migrants earning a salary above a prescribed limit are allowed to bring their families. Many migrants enjoy housing or a living allowance paid as a yearly lump-sum, medical care covering accidents at work, 45 days home leave sometimes with a return trip ticket, an insurance of one month's wage for each year of work for the first five years and a half months' wages for the following five years, in the case of termination of contract, a ticket to home irrespective of whether the contract is terminated by the employer or the immigrants except cases involving a criminal act (Dib 1978). Any citizen who leaves his/her country and enters another country for transit then the temporary or permanent residence undergoes a change of status. This is similar to indentured labour in the colonial times which will be discussed as part of the history of diasporic groups.

The laws of the countries of origin no longer apply whereas the laws of the hostland apply for the duration of the migrant's stay. A large number of workers were

segregated in labour camps which were on the outskirts, known as Sonapur, in Dubai. Men shared rooms where there would often be twelve men in one room with common toilets and kitchen. Drainage and sanitation was poor with large pools of stagnant sewage water. However, little has changed over the years with the help of the Human Rights Commission's report on housing facilities of Dubai. Housing though poor and dirty, was often given by the company and so the worker stayed happily without spending on accommodation. Dubai government made it difficult for the bachelors to live in residential areas in villas given by companies and so they were pushed to the outskirts of the city in Sonapur. Not only bachelors, middle class migrant families also share flats to cut down on the accommodation and often lived in gated communities. Without the housing subsidy, many white collar workers would not be able to rent flats in Dubai despite the sharing arrangement. Migrants stayed even with the poorest conditions because they always wanted to remit the money that they were earning for renovation of the houses, for buying property, for private education for their children and to buy a lot of things when they go back home permanently. With the higher market rates, it became difficult for the migrants to find cheap accommodation where also the owner increased rent even after implementation of rent cap to protect tenants. The second category of work was domestic and or sex work. While construction workers made magnificent buildings, it was the maid who made life good inside the home. It is a rare phenomenon that maids have good relations with the employers and yet they bring their next generation girls for same kind of job. Most cases were of exploitation, sexual harassment, forced sex work and horrible conditions as they were the most vulnerable workers in the labour force. Working hours were long without

breaks and they also had to be available all the time to take care of the children and do other household jobs. Work increased during Ramzan when flow of relatives increased in almost every house and the maid would be managing everything single handedly. Maids were mere servants according to the employers and they must show social difference where behavioural changes were seen. Syed Ali's work (2007) shows how maids were seen with their mistresses in malls where they would look after the child by covering themselves fully in abaya, eyes lowering and they would not be talking to anyone, not even with the child even if she/he screamed or started throwing tantrum. They suffer torture, both mental and physical from the employers. Saskia Sassen (1984) in her work on women migration from Third world countries to the First world countries has argued that there has been an increased incorporation of Third world women into wage employment which is a new phenomenon. These migrations are happening both in legal and illegal ways. The labour laws of these countries do not cover the domestic workers or work inside the house. Working inside the house, domestic workers do not enjoy the company of other migrant workers, unlike semi-skilled and skilled workers in the Gulf. A large number of Indians in Kuwait are domestic workers such as cooks, drivers, guards, housemaids and governesses. In 2001, the Indian government has prohibited the emigration of women below the age of thirty years for jobs as housemaids. Women from Philippines and Indonesia now dominate these kinds of jobs but Indian women also manage to escape the government ban by travelling through Nepal or other routes. Sometimes they even manage to migrate by saying that they are visiting their relatives or travelling on vacation.

Praveena Kodoth and V. J. Varghese in *Economic and Political Weekly*, in their work on domestic maids in Kerala (2012) have pointed out that the state policy on migration and the complications in generating regulatory gaps of three segments such as emigrant nurses, domestic workers and fish processing workers. Radhika Chopra's work on male domestic workers (2003) has dealt with the issue how to assert men and their support which has not been looked at before in any research. She has also talked about an 'alternative' frame in which men's lives and expressions of their experiences were located within different cultural locations. Protection of maids is not covered under UAE's labour law and hence they were subjected to exploitation even if they were hired legally. Sometimes they were not at all paid the salaries unlike the construction workers. Physical abuse and mental torture led to absconding in higher rates. Ironically, the government has looked at these runaway maids as disloyal who were looking for better wages and a threat to the national security. However, there were also cases where the maids ran away after working for a short period of time without informing the employer. Employers who hired maids illegally faced this situation more. Seeing this, Sheikh Mohammad brought contracts for labourers and domestic workers and domestic workers can shift jobs without any obstacle and salaries were also ensured to be paid in every month along with medical insurance. The new contract had provided some changes although nothing was clearly written about working hours or payment for over time. This brought serious rethinking of migrant labour policies in the home countries. For example, Pakistan has stopped sending maids to Dubai for several years. Even after the implementation of the new act, several families still paid the maids much less than the legally required minimum

wage. However, in my study, the focus is not on the domestic maids and male caregivers as they were not found in the sample. But one can draw many parallels in the conditions of work and the levels of exploitation. Earlier there were widespread complaints about mistreatment and underpayment by employers as well as misinterpretation and fraud by recruiting agents. The Arab states do not allow any trade unions and there was considerable hardship for workers who were at odds with their employers or sponsors, especially as employers retained custody of the workers' passports and other legal documents. Many workers did not know the exact terms and conditions of their contracts nor did they have any means of redressal for breach of contract by the employer.

Indians migrated as carpenters, welders, masons, electricians, fitters and helpers and most of them did not understand the terms of work fully. Many of them worked as helpers and cleaners but they were hired as skilled labourers. There were also disputes over the delay of payment of salaries and non-payment for months. It is present even today. Reports of ill treatment and fraud were filed in Indian courts. The Emigration Act of 1983 incorporated the guidelines and provided a regulatory framework with appropriate safeguards for migrant workers. Under the 1983 Act, all recruiting agents had to be registered with the Union Ministry of Labour after presenting satisfactory evidence like bank guarantee of more than three lacs depending on the scales of operation (Ahmed 1986). The security deposit was meant to meet contingencies of the workers if stranded by their employers and for sending back bodies of deceased workers. Working conditions have improved in the last decade with the increasing number of Indians living in the Gulf countries. Widespread publicity and newspaper

reports about ill treatment and fraud by the agents and exploitation have led the local authorities to strengthen the grievance settlement procedures.

The concept of illegal migrant becomes important aspect while looking at the Gulf migration. Saudi Arabia and UAE have a large floating population of illegal migrants. The sea route from the Indian coast to the UAE makes it easy for the transport for the illegal workers to the Gulf on country craft which are also used for smuggling gold, silver and other illegal imports. Some Indians also enter Saudi Arabia as Haj pilgrims and stay back to look for work as illegal migrants. Any workers who have been harassed and left the job before the contract ends become illegal migrants. They manage to find work but live in fear of exposure and exploitation of the employers. They cannot leave the country due to lack of proper documents. Some illegal migrants take to begging or smuggling and petty crime. However, the UAE government has declared a four month long amnesty for illegal immigrants from January 1, 2003 and issued about 24,243 emergency exit certificates to illegal Indian immigrants to let them return home. Indians in the Gulf have often protested at the high airfares charged on the Gulf sector especially about the air fare from the Gulf to Hyderabad, for example, air fare increases at the time of Ramzan.

Indians who are working in the professional and middle income service sector constitute a substantial number of the over three million Indians in the Gulf (www.tribuneindia.com). Now the large Indian community in the Gulf has resulted in the formation of umpteen numbers of associations and clubs. Some of the associations have taken up the cases of Indian workers with local authorities. Since they return

home after their contract term ends, they seek special concessions in customs duties to facilitate their return to India and send home their funds.

Education for children has continued to be a challenge in the Gulf because there are limited opportunities for higher education and therefore the children back to India or the US, UK or Australia. Many of them face problems in getting admission to colleges of their choices because of state government regulations that require three year continuous domicile in the state for admission to the majority of the seats in educational institutions. Recently, state intervened and the All Indian Council for Technical Education (AICTE) issued a notification that one-third of the fifteen percent supernumerary seats in educational institutions offering technical courses would be reserved for NRIs from the Gulf region and would be at par with other Indian students, thereby removing a major cause of complaint among the Gulf migrants.

This type of migration is not one side rather a to and fro movement of individuals from one country to another. A circular pattern is found in this type of migration mainly from Barkas. Circular migration can be defined as a repetition of legal migration by the same person between two or more countries (European Migration Network 2011). As mentioned above, there are different types of migration happening at different levels which includes internal as well international migration. In the contemporary study of migration, individuals who migrate always carry memories with them and the unpacking of these memories has been the preoccupation of diaspora scholars as well. An understanding of complex concepts such as homeland,

emotional bonds with the place of origin and cultural identity and construction of homeland/s by the migrants from Barkas will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Chapter 3- Construction of Multiple Homeland/s and Identities

As we saw in the earlier chapter, Barkas is home for many Yemenis, therefore questions pertaining to the construction and location of homeland/s are crucial in this neighbourhood. Therefore, does migration to the Gulf have any relationship with the concept of homeland? Given this, the main question of this chapter is how and why do different residents of Barkas construct homeland/s? I have looked at the multiple perceptions of people constructing homeland differently and attempted to explore the relationship between construction of homeland, hostland and multiple identities. There is no single discernable homeland but perhaps the idea of shifting homelands and hostlands for the different generations of people in this study.

Interestingly, different generations have varied perceptions about the construction of homeland and identity. When people construct homeland, there is always a connection with the hostland. In the late 19th century, the Nizam employed body guards and treasury guards from Yemen in his administration. Many of them settled in Hyderabad, particularly Barkas and established families there. For the next generation, Barkas was the home and when they came of age, they began to migrate to the Gulf for better opportunities. The construction or location of homeland is also dependent upon the idea of hostland or the place from which the migrant has returned. Therefore in order to understand the conceptualisation of the homeland, the hostland also needs to be understood. Defining or locating homeland and hostland is not easy as there are multiple homelands and hostlands for the residents of Barkas. Yemen is still a homeland for many, whereas the Gulf countries like Saudi Arabia or UAE, is

second home for some, and thirdly Hyderabad is home for many others. The connections between these places are quite strong for the people in my study.

Therefore, binaries like homeland and hostland are rather fluid in nature and malleable. Research on identities and their connections to the homes has been an integral part of diaspora studies. Robin Cohen's study (1995) of identity has examined the formation of British identity with the Celtic fringe, the Dominions, the Commonwealth, the Anglophone America, Europe and the aliens. Cohen has argued that identity is historically constructed in the process of interaction which could sometimes be hostile. Identities become blurred for an individual who is travelling between two societies, two cultures and two different geographical regions. Many a time, the frontiers of identity are fuzzy making it possible for the outsiders to penetrate. These identities are always in the process of change and malleable. There is no fixed identity and therefore it could challenge notions of a singular national identity. In my study, Hadramis construct their identities and it is complicated to understand which identity they are forming. The identity of a Hadrami migrant from Barkas in the Gulf is also undergoing change with his/her assimilation in the Gulf but there is always a connection between Barkas and the Gulf.

Home and Diaspora

For ages, diaspora has a specific connection to the exile of the Jews from their homeland. But now the meanings have changed as migration is both forced and voluntary and so are linked to the concept of homeland. Diasporic communities include expatriates (skilled professionals working outside their country of birth),

expellees (those who are forced to leave their country of birth), political refugees (those who leave their country of birth at the time of war or are unable to stay in their country due to political harassment), alien residents (one who enters a country to settle legally), immigrants (generally manual labour who has moved to another country to earn money) and ethnic and racial minorities (a group of a certain race which is in minority as compared to the larger group). However, in the recent times, voluntary movement of people can no longer be termed as exile. The Hadramis have felt alienated when the era of the Nizam ended in 1956. Many first generation as well as second generation Hadramis of Barkas have idealised Yemen as their original homeland in collective ways and through various associations present in Barkas. Individuals have been migrating to and fro to the Gulf and back either temporarily or permanently. For the return migrants from the Gulf to Barkas, the concept of home has different meanings than for the individuals who are currently in the Gulf countries. The construction of home and identity has also varied intergenerationally as parents and children have different degrees of attachment to the place. Different perceptions of homelands and identities will be analysed based on where one locates homeland and identifies themselves.

Karen I. Leonard (2007) has pointed out that Hyderabad diaspora is a subsection within the context of South Asian diaspora. As residents of Barkas include both Hadramis and Hyderabadis therefore the concept of homeland is mixed and almost plural. Among many self identified Hadramis of the second generation, Yemen was their homeland which they still have in their imagination. Slavoj Zizek (1993) defines the imaginary as the state of 'identification with the image in which we appear

likeable to ourselves, with the image representing “what we would like to be”. The idea of homeland therefore becomes imaginary and a fantasy through which society perceives itself as a homogeneous group (Dan Lainer-Vos 2010). Therefore, this imagination is related to the recollected moment of the ancestors’ migration to another place for reasons which are either voluntary or forced. The concept of homeland is also creating an identity for the migrants who are not staying in one place for a longer period of time. Perceptions and constructions of homeland are traced along with cultural and collective identity among the migrants.

Scholars have discussed how migrants could be either sojourners or settlers (Watson 1977). Normally, people are not settled in the Gulf as they are not allowed to acquire citizenship in many of the countries. Although they stay for many years, they do not live there after the completion of their contract. Households transcend geographical boundaries and peoples’ perceptions as where they belong are becoming more and more complex. Some are of the perception that nowhere is home. Therefore, they have a feeling of sojourn rather than settlement (as discussed in the previous chapter). In this way, even when women visit their families in the Gulf for few days, or men come back for yearly or quarterly visit in India and they became a part of an increasingly Creolized or mixed world (Hannerz 1992) where the lives are no longer determined and bounded by space.

Construction of Multiple Homelands in Barkas

Transnational existence and life in exile, for example in the Jewish diaspora, pave the way for possibly different and inventive conceptualisation of home. Migrants from

Barkas are expatriates as they migrate for a fixed period of time to the Gulf as naturalisation of citizenship is not possible in the Gulf countries. It is a popular belief that migration to the Gulf happens mainly due to economic reasons. In my study, migrants from Barkas, especially the Hadramis have a different notion of migration to the Gulf other than purely economic reasons. As citizenship is not given to any migrant in the Gulf, (as discussed in the previous chapter in the sub section of Gulf migration) hence it is not always true that migrants live secluded lives by ignoring the culture of the Gulf. However, in contrast to the first and/or second generation, who cannot go back to Yemen, it is only through the migration that they are trying to recreate a homeland in Barkas. In peoples' lives and strategies, the distinction between native/migrant, familiar/stranger, here/there are always real. To create a home even when one is far away from it is primarily about finding security and safety and just coping with life. Generally, migrants from Barkas are spread in Bahrain, UAE, Saudi Arabia, Oman and Qatar as well as USA, UK and Australia. There is no one country that they prefer to migrate to and the experiences are quite different in different countries. As we saw in the second chapter, migration to the Gulf countries began in the 1970s but increased in the 1991 post globalisation era with economic liberalisation and the opening up of the global markets that demanded labour from all over the world.

Multiple homelands are created and recreated by the migrants of Barkas based on their collective identity, shared beliefs, social networks and experiences in the Gulf countries. Presently, residents of Barkas migrate voluntarily and are settling into their new homes and finding various ways to assimilate in the new society. These

perceptions do not always vary according to socio-economic status in Barkas. There are multiple constructions of homeland in this neighbourhood as a sense of collective identity, shared memory and shared experiences defines homeland for them. As mentioned in the methodology section of the first chapter, 196 individuals have been interviewed from 43 households in Barkas, there are 76 men and 87 women and 33 children (5-17 years of age) were present. Out of 76 men, 54 have a connect to either Hadramaut or the Gulf as their home. 22 men have underlined the fact that Hyderabad is their home. This group of 22 men is mostly the fourth generation mostly in their twenties. Out of 87 women, 44 have said that Hadramaut as their home, 12 have said that the Gulf is their home whereas 31 have mentioned that Barkas is their home. Out of 33 children, more than 20 have said that the Gulf is their home as in most cases either they were born in the Gulf countries or have completed their schooling in the Gulf countries.

One respondent Mohammad Shamlan, a driver who works for a private household in Sharjah has aptly pointed out,

Home is wherever I am. Home is within me. I carry everyone and everything with me wherever I go.

For many migrants like Shamlan, the differences between homeland and hostland are collapsing and those rigid binaries are no longer present. These migrants are moving beyond the concept of communities. It is now only about the movement of an individual, and ways in which his or her socio-economic background influences their relationship to place.

Hadramaut as the Original Home

First, there are those families who believe that Hadramaut is their original home. These families have a collective memory of their homeland and their descendants have a collective myth and their ancestors had a myth of return unlike the next generations. Ibrahim (1988) has argued about the Palestinians living outside Israel and how they live within the territory of their own people in different countries like Syria, Lebanon and Jordan. They were denied of political rights or well paid jobs in Kuwait but they did not give up their language and culture like other diasporas. They continue to speak their language and follow their religion. Geertz (1986) has pointed out that the past is reconstructed and presented in a hybrid manner which includes multiple cultures and identities. Rayaprol (1997) suggests the homeland that people construct is part real and part imagined. In my study, the homeland that Hadramis of Barkas has created is partly imaginative because many of them have never visited Hadramaut in their lifetime. Hadramis of the first generation came from Yemen. Even the second generation has not visited Yemen in their lifetime except for a few as it was quite expensive to travel. The second and mostly the third generations do not feel the need to visit Yemen as they have no attachment with the place as they were born and raised in Hyderabad. Their parents could not keep in touch with the families who were left behind in Yemen as communication across nations was not easy in those days. With the generations changing, the concept of Yemen as homeland is disappearing. The issue of citizenship is also an important reason as to why first generation did not go back to Yemen. By the time, Hadramis have lost their occupations, they became Indian citizens. Moreover, the economic and political reasons did not give the

Hadramis of Barkas enough opportunities to go back to Yemen, rather they migrated to the Gulf countries for occupational purposes through social networks.

Language as a means to construct Home in Yemen

Barkas, as discussed in chapter one, is known as a Hadrami neighbourhood but it also has a considerable Hyderabad population. As far as maintenance of Hadrami culture through language is concerned, it is hybrid. Homi Bhabha (1994) has argued that hybridity results from various forms of colonisation which historically leads to cultural collision and interchanges. He has mainly talked about cultural hybridity which happens over historical transformation when there is a complicated mixture of two or more cultures.

Language as a marker of identity is important in this neighbourhood as Hadramis of the first generation spoke in Arabic. The second, third and fourth or the present generations have started learning Arabic due to the influence of the Gulf. For example, one of my respondents, Hassan Ali has mentioned that language is important in the UAE as well, as many Arabs spoke in Urdu and English rather than Arabic. However, in the Gulf countries, migrants first have to learn Arabic and the residents prefer speaking in Arabic today than Urdu which was used until about 1956 and the formation of the state of Andhra Pradesh.

Children who are raised in the Gulf, have English medium education, and like other children in the English dominated world, they have started speaking in English even at home. For the Hadrami parents and grandparents, it is important that the child should learn Arabic. Children born in Hadrami families are forgetting Arabic as it is

mixed with Deccani Hindi or Urdu parents are sending small children to Mosques to learn Arabic. Girls attend Arabic classes till the age of 12 years. Therefore, parents in both places are trying to make their children learn Arabic through both formal and informal means.

Local Culture of Barkas as ‘Yemeni Culture’ to recreate a Homeland

‘Diasporas always leave a trail of collective memory of another place and time and create new maps of desire and of attachment’ (Appadurai and Breckenridge 1989: i). Many Hadrami households in Barkas decorate their houses in ways to recreate Hadramaut. Hyderabadis of Barkas who migrate to the Gulf, have two homes. They have started redecorating their homes copying the Hadramis or bringing furniture and electronics from the Gulf and making a symbol of the culture of Barkas. Gender role behavior has also undergone interesting changes. Older members of the neighbourhood recall that during 1970s and 1980s when women went out on the streets, and were seen by a Hadrami man, he would cover his face with the headgear. According to them, this is ‘Yemeni culture’, and while others said was a show of respect to the woman, but not Yemeni culture, but the Hadramis most of the times have stressed it as ‘pure’ Hadrami culture which their ancestors have taught them.

Intergenerational Perceptions

In Barkas, Hadrami migrants and their families at some point still consider Hadramaut as their original homeland. There is both a desperate and a hopeful clinging to the past and homeland. However, it differs within each family and between generations but there are families where people across generations have mentioned that Hadramaut is

their original home. Older generations have drawn this belief and constructed their homeland on the basis of sharing common ancestry and history of their migration to India. In other words, more specifically, for the older Hadrami members of the neighbourhood, the only home is Hadramaut because they share a common history.

Oral History across Generations

Many families, who were Yemenis but are now a mixture of Hyderabad and Yemeni due to mixed marriages, still claim Hadramaut as their homeland. They have a collective memory of the homeland where they have probably never have explored or visited (Safran 1991). It is passed on through oral tradition. Interviews revealed that oral history is important as older members of Barkas translate stories of Yemen that they have heard from their fathers and grandfathers. Ba Osman, a 76 year old respondent, has written a book on Hadramis of Hyderabad after his visit to Yemen in his youth. The name of the book is *Hindustan Mein Arabo ki Amad*. Here Amad means a village in Western Central Yemen. Everyone knows him in the neighbourhood as the writer who knows the history. History is recreated by the older members to remember their past. It is also true that restoration of a collective memory is becoming increasingly difficult to sustain. While interviewing the families, old members felt delighted when asked about Yemen and their migration to India. They were most critical of the journey as they have heard from their parents and grandparents that there was nothing in Yemen and it was economically barren. Shepherding and date cultivation were the only occupations available at that time. There is no archive or account which has been made of that time. Oral narratives are

the only ways of transferring memories from one generation to another and often youngsters have little interest in preserving these.

Nostalgia among the Elderly

There are many families where children are socialised to maintain the culture of Yemen, in Barkas, even today. However, much of the storytelling has changed over time as the older members have only a vague memory of their past. The history of Hadramaut is created and recreated with time and young generations mostly do not hold any memory related to the homeland as there is a nostalgia of the past. They do not know if the past was real or imagined. It is always a story narrated by the older generations. People construct the past and present in their own ways and that becomes hybrid in the present times. This is not unproblematic any longer. Aidan Arrowsmith (2006) has pointed out that nostalgia is experienced through photographs and memories attached to it. With modern technological inventions, people who have been dispersed from their homelands, view the geographical landscape through internet and films as seen in the work of Ranjan Bandopadhyay (2008). In my study, residents of Barkas, watch Yemeni movies and those who went to Yemen for short term visits, have brought back pictures of the city of Sana'a. I have not seen any photographs of Hadramaut in the albums that the respondents kept showing in each family, as very few respondents have visited Hadramaut. Respondents are in touch through internet and television to know about Yemen.

Nostalgia is also created through food in Barkas. Yemeni dishes as well as Arabian dishes are cooked every day. For example, Harees which is an everyday morning

snack is still consumed by the residents in Barkas. As Susan Holak (2013) in her work on the Russian diaspora points out that nostalgia content can be analysed through social connections and community interactions. There are few families where there is still an ongoing relationship with Hadramaut mainly through marriages. Even after mixed marriages, Hadrami families believe that Hadramaut is their original home but going back to Hadramaut is only a myth like in most diasporic communities around the world.

Many older members have stated that they felt like foreigners everywhere. They were made to feel like foreigners when they were in Hyderabad, as well as in the Gulf. However, today they do not feel like foreigners in Hyderabad as they have settled here. Hadramaut is their home in their imagination and a generalised case of homelessness which was experienced by the first and second generation may be changing. Being at home and having a homeland are two different concepts and have its own consequences. Restoring homeland does not mean moving there physically, but it has to do with reclaiming one's past and providing individuals with roots (Carmen 2014). Families still try to maintain ties with Yemen through various ways. For example, Bajaber family's father who is 82 year, was a businessman and his eldest son is a commercial pilot in Saudi Airlines and other sons are established businessmen. His sisters are now married in Yemen to maintain lifelong ties, and the family visits to each other are regular. Home means Yemen ideologically and it is also interesting that they do not want to go back to Yemen even if they say that it is their home mainly due to contemporary political and economic reasons.

Older members of the Hadrami families still consider Hadramaut as their real home as they have heard stories from their ancestors who were the personal guards of the Nizam. The later generations have migrated to the Gulf and made it their home in many cases. Salem Mafoor, a 52 year old respondent who migrated to different countries including Hadramaut has pointed out,

I am a Hadrami by heart. When we discuss among ourselves then we say that what is wrong with us. We have changed. Our culture has got mixed with time in Hyderabad. Nowadays no one knows the real Hadrami culture and do not think about Hadramaut as their home.

This is one of the ways of attaching oneself with the homeland on the basis of regular life and everyday experiences. The meaning of diaspora is quite different from the old meaning where people were dispersed and can only be secured in relation to a particular homeland where they must return. Here, the meaning of diaspora is defined not by purity but by heterogeneity and diversity and by a conception of identity which is lived throughout with hybridity. Therefore there is a difference, a diversity and hybridity that makes the people of Barkas, a diaspora.

Women's Construction of Homeland in Yemen

For women, in Barkas, the idea of homeland is seemingly different than that of men. Certain ways of living in Yemen is an important indicator to the growth and development of the country. These practices are also followed in Barkas, even today. Aharon Gaimani in 2006 has looked at the way the everyday activity was practiced and the issues related to marriage and divorce in a Yemeni society. He has also looked at how Yemenis preserved several marriage and divorce customs based on the ruling of the Talmud and Maimonides that had been abandoned by Jewish communities in

Yemen. Jewish influences were seen in the Yemeni community in terms of marriage customs (muse.jhu.edu). These customs included marriage of minor girls, levirate marriage (*yibum*), polygamy, divorce against wife's will and compelling a husband to divorce a wife who could not bear to live with him (Nitza 2006). According to him, in Yemen, life was organised around the extended family and patrilocality. Married women lived in their father in-law's house and practiced a gendered division of labour in the household. Chores were often overseen by paternal grandmothers and every woman in the extended family knew her duty. This social framework provided the young bride family support to raise the children. According to Sergeant's rather androcentric perspective, it can be said that a Yemenite family is a miniature sanctuary (Gaimani 2006). In the daily life, one would hear of no quarrel of the women in the family on their husbands and children. A Yemeni woman was known as well cultured with confident but had no knowledge and rights with regard to ethical decision and esthetic judgment.

Gulf as the Present Home or Second Home

Many families of both Hadramis and Hyderabadis believe that the Gulf is their present home and sometimes second home although they are aware that they will not be able to live in the Gulf permanently. Therefore, the Gulf is a temporary home for many. For the Hyderabadis of Barkas, there is a constant desire to attach themselves with the local Arabs as many believe that the Gulf is their second home after Barkas. There are reasons as to why many immigrants from Barkas felt Gulf as their second home. For example, the Bakaseer family has mentioned that they prefer to mix with

the local population of Dubai but there is always a boundary. There is a wall in mixing with the local population therefore they also prefer to mix with the Indians or Hyderabadis as it is their own culture. Young population i.e. children of the migrants mentioned that as many of them were born in the Gulf so they call themselves as Arabs. This is because they were raised in the Gulf culture where they interact with the local culture on a daily basis. Omer Abdullah has described it when he lived in Dubai for more than a decade,

I know people who love Dubai and are now used to that comfort level. There are no power cuts, no water problems, if you are earning good then you can afford a maid who is also an immigrant, then there is AC 24 hours, no beggars, no overcrowding and so many more facilities.

Dubai is perceived as having a better lifestyle and represented a 'pure Arab culture'.

Therefore, according to my respondents it was best suited for the construction of homes. Dubai here is just an example. For many, Riyadh or Doha holds the same meaning. Therefore, the Bin Abood family collectively accepted the view that Gulf is their home and if possible they would not like to come back to Hyderabad.

Women's Perceptions

The exigencies of migration have made women re-evaluate perceptions of self and take on roles both social and economic which may have been rejected at home (Buijs 1993: 2). Migration offers women the opportunity to re-define and recreate roles for themselves and complex experiences that can have both positive and negative effects. Most of the time, without extended families and in-laws, they had a greater role in structuring their family to their choice. For women living in Barkas, their roles are

clearly defined and constrained as they concentrated around taking care of the needs of the home and the extended family.

For women, life in the Gulf is different than that in Barkas. Many women, in my study, have pointed out that migrating to the Gulf means freedom of movement and physical security. This is also because there is no joint family present in the Gulf to keep an eye on them as a result of which migration is less and criticisms from the elders and in-laws are very rare. I asked sisters in a Hadrami family about their home, and they jointly responded,

Dubai is home. We are much more comfortable in Dubai. We are so much free there. It is like America. There are very little restrictions on us. Now we both are getting married to Hyderabad men working in Dubai and we will be continuing to live in Dubai. I associate myself more with Dubai than Barkas.

In Barkas, with mixed marriages between Hadramis and Hyderabadis post migration, for women, meaning of homeland kept shifting. In this regard, Fathema, daughter of Mir Ali who was married to her cousin, a Hadrami, is an example of mixed marriage. She has pointed out,

Now we live in Dubai as my husband works there. I am a Hyderabad but now I have to follow the Hadrami culture as I have to see myself as a Hadrami as my in-laws are Hadramis. My mother in-law is my paternal aunt who has married a Hadrami from Barkas. I have also started believing that Dubai is my second home as I live mostly there. I visit India once a year. My social life is associated with Dubai now.

Similarly, Asad's elder brother's wife, Nazia, a 42 year old housewife who has migrated to Doha with her husband three years ago, is a Hyderabad and she craves to return to Hyderabad to her family all the time. In a conversation with her, she mentioned that, for her, Barkas is home as she was born and brought up in Barkas

and wants to be with her relatives. She is not fond of the life in Doha although she has expressed that there is more freedom of movement in Doha than in Barkas. Therefore, for Hyderabad women who are married to Hadramis, have sometimes constructed Hyderabad as their homeland.

According to Leonard (2007), 'Hyderabad women saw the UAE as a middle ground, a place that required neither rigid preservation nor drastic alteration of family and community traditions.' Similarly, women in Barkas saw Dubai as a country for their freedom of movement and dressing. Given the orthodox culture and maintenance of tradition in Barkas, women after migrating either with their husbands or with the families have not been maintaining the same in the Gulf and have termed the Gulf as their home. For example, Tahura, 24 year old youngest daughter in-law of Mir Ali family has pointed out,

Sharai family's daughters who always stay at home wearing burqa even at home do not wear salwar kameez in Dubai. When I went for a vacation to Dubai, I saw them wearing jeans and tops. Heads were covered but that was just for fashion. They have asked me to do the same. I used to wear jeans during my college days but after coming to Barkas after marriage I have given up on these styles of dressing. I have also seen many other women from Barkas in Dubai in skirts and tops even after marriage. It is very common there. Now they have become Dubaiwale and copying the European women who work there.

Tahura was of the opinion that nothing is Hyderabad any longer rather a mixture of Arabia and Hyderabad. This is because migrants are constantly extracting the good from both cultures and reproducing its own. However, the practices change with different countries. If a woman has migrated to any Saudi Arabian country then wearing abaya all the time is a must and is not allowed traveling alone without the company of a man. Here, the situation is similar to that of Barkas. Purdah has always

been an integral part of Muslims all over the world. However, it is true that all Islamic women in burqa/abaya/purdah cannot be referred to as oppressed (Minces 1980). Zuhur (1992) has pointed out that veil is also worn by some Islamic feminists as a means to subvert the patriarchal values that were originally imposed on them. These women too experience certain agency in decision making about the actual use of the veil. Moreover, poor Muslim women cannot remain inside burqa all the time. They might have to go out to work for living. Purdah also divides the house into two parts, *Mardana* (men's quarters) and *Zenana* (women's quarters) with its conditions, activities and influences (Khan 1989). However, women in my study have discussed about veiling as a form of respect to the religion and they do not question the use of it. Faced with isolation and in order to try and achieve some sort of coherence in their surroundings, Barkas women have tried to recreate as much of Barkas as possible in the Gulf. For example, Nauheed, a 52 year old housewife who is living in Jeddah and raised her two daughters has pointed out,

It is like Barkas only. There is no difference. Here also we are not allowed to go out. Laws are strict here. I do not put much pressure on my daughters like people do it in Barkas. We are Hadramis but believe that we are in the similar culture. I have heard stories of Hadrami culture from my mother and I try to follow that. It is now more than a decade and I feel at home here. I meet women from other countries in our neighbourhood and we chat. My daughters have started calling themselves as Arabs as they were brought up here.

There are a third set of women who were married in the Gulf with Arab citizens and their daughters are Arabians by birth. When they come to Barkas for annual visits then these girls experience difficulty in interacting with other women of their mothers' families. Soon they get adjusted to it but the most common problem is the

problem of language as they speak in Arabic and only few women in Barkas could speak in Arabic. Both the mother who was married to an Arab citizen and her daughter construct the Gulf as their home and have no sense of connection to Hyderabad culturally other than a place for annual or once in five year visits.

Home is in Two Lands for Many

Many migrants have stressed that home is in two places i.e. where your home is and where your family is. The home is where your background is and where your ancestors are from. This is also contested because of the complex identities of the residents. Gulf is home for many till the time they are working whereas Hyderabad is also home because it is where their ancestors were born and lived and has memories.

Many also believe that home is where family is. This is one of the reasons why women have changing conception of homeland which is most of the times related to where her family is. For many, home is where the family currently resides as well as where family members had originated from. Many a times, these two places are not the same due to continuous migration to the Gulf countries. For the residents of Barkas, family plays a prominent role for migration as many want their families to migrate with them. Migrants have also pointed out that living with the family in the Gulf is more peaceful than living in Hyderabad. For the children it is alright if they are half-half. They are content with the fact that they have two homes and they can travel from one country to another. Here, the main argument is that migrants felt closer to locals because of language and superior Arab culture, which came out from

the interviews. Noor, a Hyderabad from Barkas who works as a bus driver in Ras al-Khaima and lives with his family has pointed out that,

After working in Dubai for more than two decades, I can say that I have two homes. One is in Barkas and another in Dubai. I will not live there permanently but I prefer to call Dubai as my new home presently. I am much comfortable there than in Barkas.

Gulf Migration means reaching near to the Home (Yemen)

However, there is another trend also where few Hadrami families have stressed that as their ancestors have migrated from Yemen and made Hyderabad their home, now migrating to the Gulf for work and/or for marriage, believe that migrating to the Gulf means reaching near Yemen as both have Arabian culture although it varies on different lines. Responses varied along with different socio-economic class, families, and between generations. One commonality is visible and that is the presence of shared history and identity. Even if the Hadramis have varied responses yet there is one point where they have collectively said that going to the Gulf means reaching near Yemen or mention that Hadramaut is their home even if they have not seen it. Also the migrants construct home in different countries in the Gulf. For some Hadrami families, Dubai or Riyadh is their second home after Yemen whereas for many, Yemen is still their homeland. When migrant families mention that Riyadh or Dubai as their homeland it means that there is an influence of these countries in the lives of the migrants and their families. Although culturally different, the only similarity here is that both the countries are a part of the Arabian Peninsula.

Hyderabad/Barkas as Home

In my study, 22 men of the fourth or young generation have stressed that Hyderabad is their home. Earlier generations may still consider Yemen and Gulf to be their home or second home, whereas for the present generation are born in Barkas, and consider it to be their home. For the Hadrami fourth generation, Hadramaut is only a place in Yemen. They have no intention of constructing Hadramaut as their original home. Many young generation Hyderabadis have also stressed that Hyderabad is their home as there is always a fear of sudden expulsion from the Gulf. Faheem, a 34 year old Air Conditioner mechanic in Riyadh has pointed out,

We cannot obtain citizenship rights, cannot participate in the politics and are restricted from many social benefits which the Arabs get. For me, Hyderabad is my home as I have my own people here who will protect me and my family whenever required

Migrants who believe that Barkas as their home and have migrated with families have close and continuing engagement with their homeland, Barkas. Therefore, there are different ways in which a migrant and his family constructs homeland for variety of reasons. In Dubai, doctors from Barkas are rare. Dr. Bakoban is one of the respondents who migrated to Dubai and lived there for 11 years and practiced in a hospital. He wanted to return and establish his own hospital in Barkas. He was also planning to live in his new house in Banjara Hills which is considered an upper class neighbourhood in Hyderabad. On annual visits to Hyderabad, his children experienced culture shock and had health problems in the initial years from food and air pollution. Dr. Bakoban has pointed out,

We are Hyderabadis for the Arabs. But we are Arabs too. There are few times when they consider us as Arabs. Our ancestors are buried in Hyderabad and Yemen both. There is a constant change in our identity.

Similarly, Awadh's mother who is in her sixties mentioned that,

Children must come back to their homes. Although we consider Yemen to be our home but now it is Hyderabad. Moreover, India is good for education and children are competent here. Later on they can go to any part of the world to work or further study.

Another Hyderabad family of Barkas, has clearly mentioned that Barkas is their home. They are not Hadramis but Hyderabadis. Mixed marriage happened in this family across generations. The primary respondent, Mir Ali married a Hyderabad woman from the city. In this family, daughters were given to Hadramis for marriage in Barkas whereas daughters in-law were from the city of Hyderabad.

Ghouse Qureshi, a house driver in Dammam, has stressed that Barkas is his home even if he travels the entire world. He feels secure in Barkas. He is a Hyderabad and believes that the Gulf is a place for earning money. He has also stressed that there are certain kinds of ideas which should be brought back from the Gulf especially practices concerning women. Ghouse has invested in properties in Hyderabad and he does not want his daughters to migrate to the Gulf. For him, Hyderabad is the home where one should live. However, Ghouse's son in-law works as a driver in Dubai and his daughter is a seasonal migrant.

Similarly, Mafoor's fourth son who is 20 years old and is working as a driver in Hyderabad has pointed out,

We know nothing about Hadramaut. It is only through father that we came to know how Yemen looks like. I also came to know that Hadramis are scattered all over the world and we were homeless people when we left Yemen. I am a Hadrami but I do not know anything about Hadramaut.

Being a Hadrami for the young generation is ambiguous which however does not say anything about the authenticity of their representations. It is different for the Hyderabadis in Barkas as the construction of homeland differs according to their experiences abroad. Home is constructed not as something removed or far away or confined to a particular place but as something which you can carry within you. Therefore, it is about the movement and is malleable as mentioned earlier.

Women's Perceptions

In order to maintain and cope with the change and isolation, many women have attempted to maintain similar roles that they had in Hyderabad. For those who migrated with families during 1980s, had no role model to look up to as they were the first group of migrants from Hyderabad. Omer Abdullah's wife, a 51 year old housewife who has returned from Riyadh after two decades has pointed out,

At first I didn't like it. In those days, there weren't many of our people around. I missed everyone in Barkas. In those days it was harder. I always wanted to come back.

Those who could not afford much luxury in the Gulf probably adjust better with the extra workload because they are used to taking care of themselves and their families without outside support even in Barkas. This support is not always physical support but kin and emotional support. They were surrounded by relatives and visitors all the time in Barkas which is contrasted with loneliness in the Gulf. But this constant imagination of their homeland, Barkas, is done through annual or quarterly visits, frequent telephone calls, writing emails, letters and video chatting.

This sense of a loss of role when their children had grown up led many women to question about their identity as who were they? What was their role in the hostland? The awareness that they are unlikely to retire in Barkas has led to a renewed sense of loss and longing for homeland. Nazia, a 43 old housewife living in Dammam for nine years has pointed out,

Hyderabad is home. I do not look like Arabs. I do not speak in Arabic. My husband is a Hadrami. I live here because his employers have given him free accommodation with family but I do not like it here. I want to go back to Hyderabad. My husband feels at home in Dammam and told me that life is better there. Here I am alone and I cannot go out alone to any shopping mall or to buy vegetables.

There is always a sense of going back to Hyderabad among many respondents. This view also differs if a Hyderabad woman is married to a Hadrami man. Sometimes she believes that the Gulf as her home whereas many a times it is Hyderabad as she relates to the culture of Hyderabad more than the Gulf. Gulf migration has brought a complexity of defining who they are in the neighbourhood due to mixed marriages and due to the presence of an old migrant community i.e. the Hadramis.

For women in Barkas, most of the times Hyderabad is their home and they try to maintain a connection with their home by eating Hyderabad cuisine and looking for Indian and Hyderabad stores in the Gulf. Papastergiadis (2000: 52) argues that, 'questions of identity are always posed in relation to space' and it transforms and is transformed by the processes and exchanges that take place within it.

Construction of Multiple Homelands Intergenerationally among Men

In my study, for example, Jamal Awadh has mentioned that either good luck or suffering awaited one in the Gulf. There is a mixture of both experiences that is found in Barkas. One of the families like Ramzan's where after Ahmed Ramzan migrated, the entire family has changed socially and economically. Older members of this family considers Hadramaut as their homeland but presently third generation men consider Riyadh as their second home as it is near Hadramaut and there are lots of cultural similarities, as mentioned by the family. Although Ramzan's third son who is 21 year old and is a college student in Hyderabad has stressed on the fact that he is a Hyderabadi and he considers Barkas as his home even if he works or studies outside. The reason for such statement is his social life which is vibrant in Barkas with friends and relatives around. Therefore, the construction of home varies between generations and within families. These differences can be traced with the notion of buying property in Hyderabad or the friends and relatives. This is not only based on migration alone but the life that is lived post migration. Many migrants have mentioned that their lives have completely changed post migration in terms of identity. Sometimes there is confusion in identifying who they are otherwise it is about the emotional connections that they have with Hyderabad where they were born and brought up.

For example, Ahmed Bahraja, a 30 year old migrant in Dammam who is working as a medical instrument salesman in a joint business along with his brother in-law considers Barkas as his home whereas his father Hassan Bahraja who is nearly 80 year old still consider Hadramaut as his homeland. Ahmed Bahraja ate only

Hyderabadi food and prefers to speak in Urdu with fellow Hyderabadi migrants as he considers himself as a Hyderabadi more than a Hadrami in the Gulf. Another respondent, Sayeed Bahraja who is living in Dubai for last 12 years and working as a manager in a company has pointed out,

I am an Indian. I am a Hyderabadi. I work and live in Dubai. I went because there are more economic opportunities in Dubai. My father is also working in Riyadh. He went because he thought Saudi is our next home as we are Hadramis.

As Leonard (2007) has a second generation person who lives abroad with their parents either migrates to USA and UK or comes back to India for higher studies. This second generation person obviously has different views of homeland and his/her neighbourhood. Similarly, in my study, there are many second and third generations who have migrated and are living in the Gulf with their parents either for occupational purposes or studies. This group has a very different view of the homeland and identity from that of their parents. Ahmed Bahraja and Sayeed Bahraja are cousins and they believe Hyderabad as their home whereas older generation in this case imagines Hadramaut as their home.

However, in many households, there are no differences of opinion between generations. Construction of multiple homelands is established on the basis of who the individual is, his/her background, social life and the kind of occupation he/she is doing in the Gulf. The construction also depends on the time period of migration and the length of time that is spent in the Gulf. Therefore, there is no one particular trend that defines the construction of homeland in Barkas rather multiple trends.

Construction of Identities and Imaginary Homelands

Hadramis have an emotional memory of their homeland, Yemen but at the same time, they are comfortable with the present situation in Hyderabad and migration to the Gulf. It is not a forced migration rather a voluntary one. Benedict Anderson's concept of "imagined community" is significant as communities are to be distinguished by their falsity/genuineness but by the way they are imagined. Here, the idea of imagined homeland emerges differently for different residents of Barkas depending on age, gender and movements around the world⁴.

Rayaprol (1997) in her work in the US, has mentioned that the deterritorialised identities of refugees, immigrants and others who were expelled or displaced creates a dissonance with the concept of home. There is a 'generalized condition of homelessness' as pointed out by Said (1979). This homelessness is reconstructed in imaginative ways in the new environment. Here, they experience new culture and has a nostalgia for the past. As Gupta and Ferguson (1992) have pointed out, imagined community assumes a new meaning and life in the immigrant context, 'it becomes most visible how imagined communities come to be attached to imagined places, as displaced peoples cluster around remembered or imagined homelands, places, or communities in a world that seems increasingly to deny such firm territorialised anchors of community for dispersed people. This has long been true of immigrants, who use memory of place and identity, to construct imaginatively their new lived world' (Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 10-11).

⁴ Hyderabad and Hadrami identities are used on the basis of how an individual has identified himself/herself in the field.

Imagining Homeland/s and being a Hadrami-Hyderabadi

It is important to understand that there are no pure Hadramis or Hyderabadis in Barkas. Identifying respondents as a Hadrami or a Hyderabadis is done by how each one of them have identified themselves. Hadramis were present when they migrated to India but with mixed marriages with the Hyderabadis there is no pure Hadrami. It is hybrid and perhaps hyphenated. However, the culture of the neighbourhood is typically known as Hadrami culture, as families and individuals have identified themselves in different ways and therefore I have termed them as Hadrami-Hyderabadis, a hyphenated identity.

There are multiple ways in which homeland/s are created and recreated in Barkas among the residents. The Hadrami identity that is perceived by them is very important. As it is becoming more symbolic and distant, the context of being without a homeland that Hadrami-ness is created. In Barkas, a hybrid Yemeni culture prevailed even among the Hyderabadis living where the presence of Hadramaut is strong even if the person is from a different ethnic background. It is only as Edward Said (1979: 4) has said, 'imaginative geography and history, which helps the mind to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatising the difference between what is close to it and what is far away. It has acquired an imaginative or figurative value we can name and feel.' In Barkas, Hadramis constantly produce and reproduce the images of a Hadrami identity associated with their imagined homeland, Yemen. According to Gillis (1994), new forms of memory appear at times when there is a break with the past. However, in Barkas, Hadramis have always looked to the homeland for the images and meanings that resound with or reaffirm their ideas of how Hadramaut is or

should be which is similar to that Daphne's work on homeland and natives in Canada (1998). Many Hadramis have pointed out that they are neither here nor there which means they cannot culturally identify themselves fully as Indians nor they are Yemenis. Legally they are Indian citizens. There is no legal link with Yemen at present with the Hadramis of Barkas. Only few families have still maintained ties through marriages in the previous generations as mentioned earlier. However, Hadramis in Barkas enjoy all the facilities that an Indian citizen does. The tension comes where issues of their identity is raised.

Identities through an imagined homeland in Barkas are constantly in the process of making and re-making through transformation and difference, they migrated to go back to their roots and to witness their original home. Tayab has pointed out,

When I went to Yemen, I felt like it is my own country. It is very different from Hyderabad but it is my own. But people there treated me badly as if I do not belong there. I also tried to search my relatives but I could not find any. I stayed in caves as my visa expired and then with the help of an Arabian I migrated to Dammam and then to Dubai for work.

Here, illegal migration has happened. Although this is not a regular phenomenon from Barkas but there were few individuals who went to Hadramaut for visiting their homeland, Yemen, illegally and later legally also to the Gulf countries for occupational purpose. These individuals mentioned openly that they have migrated illegally for various reasons. The reception to them in Yemen has been rather cold and unwelcoming.

Self identified Hyderabadis in Barkas have clearly mentioned that either the Gulf is their second home or Hyderabad is their original home. The question of imagined homeland emerges when a Hadrami mentions about Yemen and his/her aspirations of

reaching Yemen even if it is for a temporary visit. This also differs according to generations. Bakoban who worked as a tailor in Dubai for more than 30 years has pointed out,

I went to Hadramaut while working in Dubai. I saved money as I wanted to see my original home. I found out that my relatives are still living in my grandfather's house. Although they did not recognise me yet I showed them pictures of my family and few old pictures of my grandfather. I also took pictures of my ancestral house in Hadramaut. I stayed there for five days and went back to Dubai.

Mostly families have revealed that their identities are now mixed, giving rise to hybrid cultural identities. Although residents call it as 'Yemeni culture' but it is mixed with local Hyderabad culture. Paul Gilroy, Homi Bhabha, Iain Chambers and James Clifford have talked about the hybrid culture and its consequences. For example, Gilroy (1993a: 33) finds it helpful in the field of cultural production where he argues that 'the musical component of hip hop are a hybrid form nurtured by the social relations of the South Bronx where Jamaican sound system culture was transplanted during the 1970s' (hutnyk.files.wordpress.com). Here the author has looked at the 'distinct cultural sensibility that accomplishes the difficult task of being simultaneously both black and English' (www.serpentstail.com). He has showed how the African diaspora which was born out of slavery now has African- American, Caribbean, and Black English elements combined, conflicted and intermingled with each other in ways that challenge the concept of pure, fixed, immobile roots. Stuart Hall (1995: 18) suggested that hybridity transformed the very nature of British life. Similarly, Chambers (1994: 82 in hutnyk.files.wordpress.com) finds talk of tradition displayed by 'traffic' in the 'sights', sounds and languages of hybridity. He unravels

how our sense of place and identity is realised, as we move through myriad languages, worlds and histories. His work is a 'journey into the disturbance and dislocation of culture and identity that faces all of us to explore how migration, marginality and homelessness have disrupted the Western world's faith in linear progress and rational thinking by undermining one's knowledge, culture and identity' (www.enovel.com). Homi Bhabha (1994) (as mentioned in hutnyk.files.wordpress.com) uses hybridity as an in-between term referring to a 'third space' and to ambivalence and mimicry in the context of colonial-cultural interface. In other words, it is how newness enters the world. Clifford (1994: 304-306) uses the term to describe 'a discourse that is travelling or hybridising in new global conditions' and stresses on 'travel trajectories' and 'flows'. In this way diaspora arrives in the new world and reconstructs and reforms the cultural mixing with the hostland and produces a hybrid identity. This mixture of culture as discussed by Homi Bhabha due to historical transformation and mixing of two more cultures (as mentioned earlier) has happened in Barkas due to mixed marriages for more than four decades and post migration to the Gulf. There is no one home and they are travelling from one place to another continuously.

Gilroy's analysis is pertinent to understand for migrants from Barkas are in both places i.e. in India (Barkas), and also in Hadramaut to some extent. If Gilroy's work is to be analysed then it can be said that Barkas has similar features in terms of music. It is because Arabian dance is still a common, regular and a must ritual at the time of the wedding among the Hadramis of Barkas. Now, no one knows the original Hadrami dance in the recent times therefore there is a hybridity present in it. For example, residents perform Arabian dance in marriages which they learn from the

internet for the preservation of a hybrid Arabian culture in the neighbourhood. There has been a dislocation of culture and geography and therefore the first and second generation residents of Barkas have problems of identifying themselves. Lastly, Bhabha and Clifford have talked about the inter mixing of cultures when a migrant enters the new world. In my study, this new world is the Gulf whose culture mixes with his/her own culture and produces a third type. Similarly, in Barkas, migrants learn the culture of the Gulf countries and mix it with the local Hyderabad culture and reproduce it in Barkas. There is an ongoing hybridisation of culture taking place in Barkas.

Construction of Multiple Cultural Identities

Much of the recent work on identity suggests that identity is 'in a constant state of flux and can never, nor will ever, be static' (Kershen 1998: 2). Transnational lives and attachment to new places also affect processes of identification. Meenakshi Thapan (2005) has argued that the ways in which global and local identities are negotiated depends on the class and the location of the migrants. In my study, it is based on the geographical location of the migrants where there is a shared past and the collective identity among the residents of Barkas.

Schulz and Hammer (2003: 56) have argued that, 'if 'transnational' is all about activities and linkages that are cross border then, 'hybridity' in contemporary literature has come to refer to the ways in which processes of identification are affected by meetings and by cross-border activities.' The problem of identity is not just the tension between where you are from and where you are at but it is how

diaspora and homeland relations and identities are mutually constituted (Ang 1993: 13, Gilroy 1991-92). Many migrants have mentioned, Arab culture is superior and they bring back that culture to Hyderabad through food, dressing and language mainly. Ties with the Gulf are also strong through social media. Residents, who have never visited Gulf, know everything about the social life of Gulf through television and internet. There has been a constant debate as how residents of Barkas identify themselves within and outside their locality. There is ambivalence in categorising them as forming one kind of identity. People negotiate different sides of their identities. For the Hadramis, the Hadrami identity neither yielded nor conserved fully rather it is complemented with new experiences, meetings and activities. For many Hadramis, an Arab identity is so important especially post migration that they would identify them as Arabs in Hyderabad.

Moreover, identities shift from sometimes being from Barkas or from Hyderabad or from India. Stuart Hall (1996: 21) explains the multiple complexities of culture among the diaspora communities abroad. As Hall quotes in his essay, 'identity is not as transparent or unproblematic as we think. Perhaps instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, which the new cultural practices then represent, we should think, instead, of identity as a 'production', which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation. This view problematises the very authority and authenticity to which the term, 'cultural identity', lays claim'. Identity is not a complete phenomenon and it keeps changing with variety of circumstances. The question of cultural identity also depends on the time period from where one is locating oneself. In my study, the period is from 1970s to the

present . Therefore, construction of cultural identity will be different for families who have experienced migration in different time periods.

Drawing from Hall (1996) there is a shared culture which is collective, based on shared history and common ancestry. Creation of collective memory was therefore very much a family business. Now, cultural identity in Barkas also belongs to the future as well as to the past as Hall mentioned (1996) of being and becoming. In other words, what these migrants were before and what they have become now. They have undergone constant transformation with time, place and culture. Cultural belonging also means that they are segregated from other groups racially, ethnically and based on a socio-economic class. The community a migrant has established and the racial discrimination outside that community influences return to his/her homeland.

There is a constant force for the people from Barkas to be associated with the Emirati or Dubai culture and with Saudi culture (locally used by the respondents) if it is Saudi Arabia because they consider it is superior to theirs. The whole of question of being an Arab from Barkas (the Hadramis) many a time did not work in the Gulf. This is done to feel attached to the Gulf by the Hadramis. Migrants whose children are in schools in the Gulf, many a time have identified themselves as Arabs as they have assimilated into the Arabian style of living by interacting with other children in schools and leisure activities to appreciate both sides of a potentially dual form of identity. However, the difference from being an expatriate to that of a citizen is so much that immigrants try to identify themselves through various other aspects like skin colour, language, country of origin and where they live in Dubai and where they

spend their leisure time. Here, home means also a sense of belonging. Mir Hassan Ali pointed out about racism in the Gulf,

It is racist, horribly racist. It is the locals along with the whites who discriminates us. In a gathering, we are given separate seats and the whites and locals sat together. Not all locals are like this. They sometimes are accommodative but many times they follow the whites and look down upon us because of our skin colour.

Despite racial discrimination present migrants from Barkas attach themselves to Emiratis and Saudis. Hassan has further mentioned that Dubai is an economic class based society and as the migrants are most of the times working as semi-skilled and as unskilled workers, they were not treated well by the citizens of the Gulf. They were given separate seats on certain occasions which amount to racial segregation.

Cultural Identity and concept of the 'Other'

As these migrants construct their identity differently the complexity of 'other' emerges. In the Gulf they experience racism which is not the case in Hyderabad. Even post migration, Hyderabadis believed that Hadramis have migrated to the Gulf because 'they' belong there. This is done to preserve the culture. Hadramis do not feel that they are a minority in the city of Hyderabad. They have started calling themselves as Hyderabadis to the outside world. As mentioned earlier, identifying themselves as Hadramis is a self proclaimed identity. Ghouse, a 54 year old house driver in Dammam for 32 years has mentioned in a chat with his friends who are Hadramis of Barkas,

My friends migrated because they wanted to be with their people, if not fully. This is the same reason for the marriage migration. I am a Hyderabadi and I

migrated for work. They have also migrated for work but they also want to go to the Gulf because Arabs live there. I call myself as a Hyderabadi in Ras Al-Khaima whereas Bin Osman (friend) calls himself an Arab in Riyadh as he is a Hadrami.

This cannot be simply stated as them and us as it changes with place and people, generally. Identity becomes fluid and othering is common. This difference of them and us happened in more than one direction. Firstly, the difference is between the Hadramis and Hyderabadis in Barkas where the Hyderabadis have termed the Hadramis as 'they'. Next, when a Hyderabadi has migrated to the Gulf and considered Hyderabad as his/her home and the Gulf as the hostland then the concept of 'them' in a different culture and identity comes into play. This happens because the Gulf has more migrants than local citizens therefore being an 'other' is a common phenomenon. Identity is clearly linked to ethnicity which in turn undergoes transformation with migration.

Cultural Identity and Ethnicity

Paul Brass (1991) (as mentioned in www.ignou.ac.in) has defined ethnic groups in three ways- 'in terms of objective attributes, with reference to subjective feelings, and in relation to behaviour'. An objective definition assumes that though there must be some distinguishing cultural feature that separates one ethnic group from another like dress, language, colour, diet or any of them. A subjective definition makes it impossible to answer some of the basic questions that how a group of people arrives at subjective self consciousness in the first place. Behavioural definitions are

somewhat like objective definitions where they believe that an ethnic group separate and specific cultural attributes and behaviour.

Brass observed 'any group of people dissimilar from other peoples in terms of objective cultural criteria and containing within its membership, either in principle or practice, the elements for a complete division of labor and for reproduction forms an ethnic group' (1991: 19) (also see researchjournals.in for further information). De Vos' categorisation is further explicated by Brass in that ethnicity is a sense of identity which consists of 'subjective, symbolic or emblematic use' by 'a group of people of any aspect of culture, in order to differentiate themselves from other groups'(1991: 19). Ethnicity or ethnic identity also involves status recognition either as a superior group or as a group equal to other groups. Muhammad Anwar (2009) in an in-depth study of Pakistanis in Britain, finds that 'the movement of people from one country to another creates new areas of relationships within a new environment. The migrants may have some knowledge about the environment to which they move to, or they may be totally ignorant' (2009). Assimilation, acculturation, integration and adaptation are often used interchangeably but can have a variety of subtle meanings. Therefore, according to Anwar, two types of elements are noticed which are relevant to the analysis of the migrant situation. He says (2009) 'some sociologists maintain that the migrant's previous social groups and cultural norms governing them are threatened if s/he does not re-establish these groups within the new social system'. Anwar further observed that kinship and friends networks and ethnic community relations play an important in the adjustment period of the immigrant. A migrant must look and understand the wider society before culturally assimilate into one group. He

says that ‘in minority-dominant group approach the ideology behind these concepts is seen as the ideology of the dominant group and therefore, any group unabsorbed or not assimilated is considered to upset the equalisation of social relations in the society’ (Anwar 2009).

Sandhya Shukla’s work (2001) on the Indian diaspora in the US and UK has explored the cultural consequences of migration from the Indian context. It is also important to understand where people come from, where they go, and through which route and how they integrate with the host society. For example, many interviews in Barkas have revealed that there were times when a fellow Yemeni migrant from Yemen met with a Hadrami migrant from Barkas in the Gulf and was completely overwhelmed when he heard that there is a colony in Hyderabad where Yemenis continue to live. In this way, Hadrami migrants from Barkas also came to know that there is an Indian neighbourhood in Sana’a where Indians lived for more than 300 years. Therefore, locating oneself in the hostland is important geographically, generationally and conceptually. Shukla’s work has produced a conversation between older and new anthropological work on the subject of diaspora and diversity. ‘Exploring what it means to be an Indian, South Asian, Muslim, Tamil or Indian American cannot be separated from an acknowledgement of the persistence of Indian-ness around the world or the production of subcontinental antagonism in diasporic sites’ (Shukla 2001: 568).

Conclusion

Even in the 21st century, Hadramis of Barkas are trying to maintain the culture of Hadramaut to their full potential. Hadramis believe that they belong to multiple places. Construction of multiple homeland/s and cultural identities varies intergenerationally. Perceptions are dependent upon the connections that they experience in the Gulf and the social circle in both the countries that a migrant interacts with. It keeps changing before and after Gulf migration. Different positions that occur in an individual's life have different meanings and also have narratives of the past. Cultural identity has become more nebulous for the younger generation who had never known about the homeland, Yemen. This new generation is without memories of the homeland, Yemen and the struggle of their ancestors. When they enter the core group of fellow migrants and interact with them, they reveal their original identity as Hadramis from Hyderabad. It is the becoming as of being. This phenomenon is unsettling as it is based on identification of oneself. Hyderabad migrants mentioned that with a good life, good income and good friends, they have started feeling Gulf as their home. On the other hand, there are many who believe that Hyderabad is their only home as they were born in Hyderabad. This could be the Hadrami identity or the Hyderabad identity or Indians in the Gulf. Also, there is a gap between these identities and how one sees it post migration by living outside Hyderabad. Many Hadramis have also termed themselves as Hyderabadis in the Gulf rather than calling themselves as Hadramis from Hyderabad.

As Cohen said, the world is becoming Creolised therefore there is no single/particular identity that defines a migrant or any particular home constructed by them These

identities are always in the process of change and are blurred identities (Cohen 1995). In my study, identity is also in the process of re-definition. It changes post migration, with time and place and with the integration with the hostland, wherever the migrants are locating themselves.

Older members are still trying to identify themselves based on their migration to India (for the Hadramis), marriage, social networks, collective thinking based on age, gender, and kind of occupations in the Gulf. For many, home is in two countries whereas for few working in the Gulf countries mean reaching near Yemen for the similar Arabian culture. Therefore, there are multiple homeland/s and cultural identities that is seen in this chapter which is contextual and keeps shifting with time and especially post migration to the Gulf. The next chapter will focus on the role of social, economic, cultural and symbolic capital using Bourdieu's framework, creating upward social mobility, intergenerationally post migration to the Gulf.

Chapter 4- Social Mobility through Gulf Migration: Changes across Generations

Introduction

When migrants move to different countries – either for occupational purposes or as a part of marriage migration – there is always a tendency to move upward in the socio-economic ladder to improve the quality of life. Similarly in Barkas, after migration to the Gulf, individuals set up or perceive different places as their homeland, and in variety of ways. Thereafter, the primary aim among the migrants is to improve their standards of living through education, occupation, changes in consumption patterns and through marriage ceremonies. These changes however did not happen in one generation; rather, the changes in Barkas have happened over a span of three generations. This chapter focuses on the Gulf migration and its impact on the migrants in the form of upward social mobility, across generations. Intergenerational mobility is occurring mostly through educational opportunities and occupation shifts, giving higher status and prestige post the Gulf migration across all socio-economic classes in Barkas. It has been seen that people are attaining higher status through marriage, through occupation, education, and through changing consumption patterns. However, no single trend is visible as there are mixed occupations, different levels of income within a family⁵, and different levels of occupation. For example, in a family the father is a driver, and while one son is a doctor, the other is a driver. Thus, it is difficult to define them in a single category of a specific class. Thus, a generational

⁵ Monthly or yearly salary is not shown in this study as it was difficult to gather information regarding the same. Migrants were not open about their salaries in the Gulf. Only an estimation of the salary could be understood in the way the houses were renovated, inside decoration, celebration of certain ceremonies and marriages and everyday life of the migrant. This is mainly done through observation throughout in the study.

shift does not always lead to upward mobility. The way changes have occurred in Barkas over the generations has a strong influence of collective identity that the residents have.

Three generations of both men and women (second, third and fourth) have been studied from each family. The first generation was mostly born in Yemen (if they are Hadramis) and others were born in Hyderabad. The second generation which is from the age group from 70 years onwards is born in Hyderabad but has parents born in Yemen and Hyderabad due to the system of mixed marriages. It has been seen that they have mostly migrated in the 1970s, and have been mostly found to have worked as construction labourers, store keepers, carpenters, tailors and mechanics in garages. Remaining individuals are the third generation (45 years onwards) who have migrated in large numbers in the late eighties, and are still working as bank operation managers, chefs, pharmacists, accountants, bus drivers, businessmen, salesmen, waiters, electricians, airline pilots and technicians. The fourth generation (twenties) or the present young generation are those who are born in Hyderabad and are presently studying or working in the Gulf and other countries. They are mostly working as Public Relations officers, school teachers, Emirates Airlines ground staff, MBAs, MCAs and chefs.

There is no denying the fact that urbanisation in Hyderabad is rapidly increasing and thereby it is attracting more and more people to the city. In the same way, large numbers of masses are also migrating from Hyderabad to different countries for different purposes. In my study, individuals by themselves and sometimes along with their families have migrated to different countries in the Gulf for occupational

purposes and for marriages with Arab citizens. Therefore, the central argument is how mobility is taking place intergenerationally through educational and, occupational, changes, consumption patterns and through marriage ceremonies. In order to make sense of the changes that are taking place in Barkas intergenerationally, it is important to understand the sociological theories of social mobility.

Sociological Theories of Mobility

The second half of the 20th century saw sociologists studying stratification and upward mobility within the larger framework of modernization of society. Society, in general consists of strata that place individuals at a particular ladder of prestige and determine their position in their structure of prestige hierarchy. According to Tumin (1970), this refers to stratification which indicates ‘the unequal placement and rewards of members of a society in the various levels of occupations.’ Stratification of a society, as observed by Lipset and Bendix (1967) appears as ‘pyramid or diamond’ bases where most of the population is placed at the bottom and a small number of members occupy the top. The other feature of the process of stratification is the movement of people from one position to another. This is found in modern societies which are comparatively open, and provide greater facilities to their members for improving their positions. According to Lipset and Bendix (1967), ‘It is the process by which individuals move from one position to another in society– positions which by general consent have been given specific hierarchical values.’ The study of social mobility analyses the movement of individuals from a position having a particular rank or prestige to a position having a different rank or prestige of either higher or

lower in order in the social system. Stratification studies have turned its attention to the influence of structural factors on basic stratification processes. One variety of the new structuralism, labour market segmentation theory, emphasises the distinct labour markets which was defined by clusters of job characteristics. Another approach is the industrial segmented theory which posits that segmented industrial orders are composed of groupings of similar industries (Averitt, Beck et al 1978 in Tolbert 1983). Lastly, another perspective has emerged which focuses on the organisation of work in specific firms or workplaces (Baron and Bielby 1985 in Tolbert 1983).

Pitirim Sorokin's pioneering work on social mobility which appeared in 1927 marked the beginning of the systematic study of social mobility. Sorokin (1959: 133) has defined social mobility as 'any transition of an individual or social object or value – anything that has been created or modified by human activity – from one social position to another.' In other words, Sorokin understood mobility as the transition from one social position to another. Similarly, Lipset and Bendix (1959) have referred to social mobility as 'the forces by which the individuals move from one position to another in society positions, which by general consent have been given specific hierarchal value.' Thus, every movement in the social status or social position by individuals of diverse social origins came within the meaning of social mobility and every study of social mobility has involved the assumption of social hierarchy, and hence the criteria may be used to indicate the status level or position in the hierarchy of an individual or of a group.

Sorokin is however criticised on his theory of social stratification which is actually a form of economic stratification, as he has talked primarily about wage differentiation

(Joslyn 1927). The phenomena of occupational stratification and economic stratification are not coincidental. Critics have questioned why occupations with higher degree are rated more than lower grades, and why these high grades of intelligence are occurring rarely than the lower grades. Sorokin's vertical circulation has been criticised as individuals do not move from one social status to another smoothly, but rather in an accidental and haphazard way. Next, Sorokin has tried to build a correlation between social status and intelligence, and argued whether the two are related. Lastly, according to him, social mobility has caused loneliness, mental disease, suicide, skepticism and moral disintegration; but nothing has been said of its reducing poverty or lessening the disparities in economic status by widening the range of competition among individuals⁶.

Bourdieu, Social Class and Intergenerational Mobility in Barkas

I have used Pierre Bourdieu's framework to understand how cultural capital, symbolic capital and economic capital are related to each other, intergenerationally. Cultural capital refers to 'non-financial social assets that promote upward mobility beyond economic means. For example, education, intellect and dressing or physical appearances etc. can be referred to as cultural capital. It was first used by Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron in their work (1973) where they attempted to explain differences in children's outcomes in France in the 1960s. Cultural capital also gives the accumulated knowledge that gives power and status. Symbolic capital is referred

⁶ Studies in India on social mobility by K.G Joshi (1989), Radha Kamal Mukherjee (1937), M.N Srinivas (1952), F.G Bailey (1958), B.S Cohn (1961), Mckim Marriot (1968), Andre Beteille (1971) and Yogendra Singh (1977) are mainly based on caste and class mobility. The important intersection of caste, religion and community in mobility are a major contribution by these scholars.

to as the resources that are available to the person on the basis of his/her honour, prestige or recognition for example, an Olympic medalist' (www.theinternationalman.com). Bourdieu (1986) has defined social capital as 'Social capital is an asset of actual and potential resources which have been joined to each via more or less organised relationships based on mutual familiarity or recognition through providing stable network. Accordingly, social capital size provided to an agency is dependent on the size of the connections of network that he/she may mobilize effectively, and the amount and size of the capital processes by an agency or even a capital which is possessed by a set of agencies he/she has connected with them'.

Bourdieu is an important contemporary figure in the analysis of class structures. Though inspired by Marx in certain aspects, his position was more Weberian. Like Weber, he believed that individuals were positioned in 'social space' with their possessions of variety of forms of capital such as economic capital (goods and money), cultural capital (competence skills and qualifications with cultural and market values), symbolic capital (status) and social capital (useful ties and connections). Bourdieu has argued that class analysis cannot be reduced to economic relations only rather it is also a set of symbolic relations roughly along the lines of status communities as referred to by Weber. Therefore, Bourdieu's framework helps us to understand the relationship between cultural and economic capital in Barkas across generations.

Intergenerational social mobility among the residents of Barkas is analysed by using Bourdieu's framework of social class. Drawing from the concept of 'field' of

Bourdieu, the social field is an important dynamic arena. It can change its shape, size and character over time. It is a field of struggle as different agents influence and question pre-established rules in the field. Bourdieu's analysis of field is seen when individuals influence the neighbourhood to acquire certain habits that they bring back from the Gulf and when the acceptance of those ideas, values and practices have given them higher status in the neighbourhood. This is social capital through collective identity in Barkas.

I have studied intergenerational mobility- grandfather/grandmother, father/mother and son/daughter. Therefore, it was significant to view how far and in what ways the social mobility of the present generation has moved upward or downward compared to that of their parents'. For example, in Barkas, visiting Haj is a form of upward social mobility in terms of social status. Not only it is a show of the status but it is also a form of Islamic identity where Muslims believe that visiting Haj would mean bringing prosperity to their families and at the same time fulfilling their duties as parents. It was also seen that second generation migrants from Barkas accumulate wealth for this purpose other than regular savings. Many respondents have mentioned that they failed to send their parents to Haj due to lack of economic resources. It is also true that the concept of going to Haj has increased in the recent times with much advertisement with the help of the print media and television as live shows are broadcasted through particular channels. Almost 15 years ago, very few attended Haj from Barkas whereas today almost every family has attended it. Out of 43 families, older members of 39 families have attended Haj which is a new phenomenon. The third generation has started going to Haj in the recent time. With the increase in the

Gulf migration from this neighbourhood, visiting Haj has become a common practice now.

In my study, the second generation remained in the city and did part time jobs for survival but few individuals have migrated to the Gulf from 1950s to 1980s and subsequently returned to Barkas. When people from the second generation migrated, they had no native descendants and joined the labour market although there were cases of marriages of women from Barkas with Arab citizens which formed a kind of relationship with the Gulf. Third generation migrants are many times the descendants of the second generation who are working in the Gulf or have returned from the Gulf. Analysis showed that the third generation has the highest earnings compared with the first, second and fourth. They have mainly migrated to the Gulf in large numbers from the 1970s onwards. Khaleed, a 63 year old migrant of the third generation has pointed out,

My father was illiterate. I am a third generation migrant. My grandfather came to Hyderabad when he was four years old with his uncle from Hadramaut. I am a graduate, and working in Riyadh. My children are studying here. I want them to go to London or Australia for higher studies. My generation was lucky enough to get jobs easily. But for the next generation, nothing comes easily. Nowadays people are thinking twice before migrating to the Gulf.

This also happened because when the second and third generation migrated, during that time, there was huge demand for labour from all over the world, especially from South Asia. They were absorbed in large numbers in all kinds of jobs in the development of the Gulf countries. In this process, they have accumulated enough for their next generation and also invested in business and other economic activities. This

has sometimes helped the next generation to continue with the business even if he/she is not a migrant.

Changes through Education across Generations

Krystgyna (1985) found that occupational and social mobility are directly related to educational mobility in Hyderabad. According to him, perceptions of intergenerational mobility sometimes seemed more closely linked to educational mobility than to occupational mobility. An exploration of intergenerational mobility in the Philippines conducted by Jaime (1983) revealed that fathers in the civil services were more likely to have their sons in government jobs as well. Studies have also revealed that the son's occupation and level of education also exercised strong effect in the attainment of government jobs. Results have pointed out that a continuing role of education was a popular vehicle of occupational mobility. In Barkas individuals have moved up the economic ladder intergenerationally with the help of education unlike their previous generation. The Qureshi family jointly supported this view and one of them pointed out,

We could not do much in the Gulf as we were not educated due to several reasons. Our children are not the same. They are acquiring better education than us. Many have migrated to the Gulf with respectable jobs in the present times. Across generations, education has helped in the development of our children and their future.

Rahman (1995) has argued that in the modern industrial society there is a close link between education and occupation. Education enables a person to get better jobs and thus higher status in life. In other words, cultural capital is giving rise to symbolic capital. It generates upward social mobility among individuals as it provides the

necessary qualifications, abilities and skills that are required for various occupations, which are the principle channels of social mobility. Thus, education opens new dimensions for social mobility. Further, the acquisition of education also depends upon the fact about what people think of it and how useful they consider it. For example, in my study, an important feature of the fourth generation i.e. the rising generation respondents' perception about education is that they consider it useful for getting profitable occupations in the Gulf. At the same time, the third generation respondents, who are mainly in their sixties, and have mostly worked as shopkeepers and manual labourers in the Gulf, consider it as useful because it leads to a dignified life.

Second and third generation women in Barkas are mostly uneducated or with minimum education due to early marriage. They are trained in household tasks and raising children where there is a traditional gender division of labour. Here, the culture of domesticity can be seen where women were supposed to possess virtues such as piety, purity, domesticity and submissiveness. It was first practiced in United States and Great Britain among the upper and middle classes (Wright 1987). However, a similar situation is seen in my study among upper middle and middle classes. For example, Sharai's mother who is 63 year old and lives in Dubai with her family has pointed out,

There is no need for women to go to schools and colleges. I am illiterate as my father had no money for my education. My daughters studied till 5th standard and left school. My husband did not want them to study further as they were supposed to be trained in household work. There was no extra money for their education. They have studied Quran at home. They do not understand English.

In this case, the male members of this family are working in the government of UAE and consider themselves as upper middle income class, but do not give enough importance to education for women. There are few families who still believe that education is not for women and these women after completing their 5th standard start taking Quran lessons and help their mothers and grandmothers at home. Although this is even present among the fourth or the present generation as well yet it varies according to families. It can be said that the social status of the family has remained the same whereas the economic status has moved upward. Therefore, along with cultural capital, economic capital did not give rise to symbolic capital across generations through education. On the contrary, in many families, the fourth generation women are more educated as compared to their mothers and grandmothers and are trained in using latest technological gadgets and computer applications. Women of the fourth generation are completing their Master degrees and diploma in computer sciences and teenagers are studying in English medium schools, although in small numbers. This also differs in every socio-economic class. Not every upper middle or middle classes with upward economic mobility is acquiring education for women. There are few families in different classes who expect their women to acquire education. In Barkas, the main aim of any woman is to look after the family by performing various roles such as that of a daughter, wife and mother and grandmother. Gender roles seem to be changing yet the ideology of patriarchy continues to persist. Changes across generations are observable but very slow. Exposure and contact with the outer world is made through television and internet and meeting friends in schools and colleges and mixing with fellow migrant women from

the Gulf. The older generations are also learning how to use computers, do video chatting and how to read emails and use facebook on gadgets sent by male migrants from the Gulf.

Omer Ali, a 29 year old Air Conditioner repair mechanic in Dubai, pointed out,

My grandfather was the Nizam's personal bodyguard and so we settled in Barkas. My father was an uneducated fruit seller. None of his brothers and sisters is educated. We were very poor. But my father came in touch with an educated man in the city and understood the importance of education. Therefore, I along with my two brothers and three sisters were sent to school. I have studied till SSC. I am helping my younger siblings financially. My younger brother is working in Sharjah as a manager in a company. Others are in college. It was because of my father that people in the locality now respect us.

Hassan Ali, a 31 year old Public Relations Officer, with the UAE government, from the same family, pointed out,

My grandfather was a Hyderabadi and worked for the Nizam as the Nizam was my father's distant maternal uncle. My father studied till primary as there was no importance for education at that time. He also worked for the Nizam and migrated to Dubai and returned permanently after twenty years. When my father went to Dubai, he met many migrants from different countries and understood the importance of education and used to pressurise us to pursue higher studies. I completed graduation and migrated to Dubai, and I am presently working with the UAE government which is very difficult to obtain. My brother has completed his higher studies from Australia.

Similarly, Azmy's mother pointed out,

My son Javed is an MBA and is working as a manager in Riyadh. My daughter Nauheed is a graduate and she will also work in India. I was not allowed to go to school so I wanted my children to study. There was no importance of education in Barkas before but now people are going abroad and learning different things and so they want to be educated. All of them in this locality wanted higher status and so they started going to the Gulf as that was the only place for migration with low education. However the system of getting jobs with low education has changed and now Arabians needed men and women with good educational qualification.

Many families have pointed out that the fourth generation women have stopped following rules and regulations that are given to them by the families. Young men now decide about their places of work i.e. where they want to work. It is not always to the Gulf; presently few have also migrated to London, Australia and Singapore. Many men have pointed out that they do not want to work and want to study further. Many women have pointed out that they do not want to get married or stay at home after their intermediate; rather they want to obtain university degrees. This did not happen in their previous generation where there were more pressures of all kinds and so individuals were given no choice to decide about their lives. Therefore, an increase in cultural capital is seen in the neighbourhood across generations. As there is a notion of collective identity present in Barkas, therefore perceptions and views do not differ much. One of the reasons is the exposure post Gulf migration in different ways. Mafoor's third son's wife has pointed out,

I am a Hadrami. My father in-law came back from Hadramaut after two decades as he wanted to work there. He lived with his relatives there. Now he wants us to follow all the culture and everyday practices that are practiced in Hadramaut. I am educated and I want to work even if it is from home. But he does not allow me to do that.

Similarly, Hussain, a 29 year old respondent of Mir Ali family has pointed out,

Our generation has changed. This is partly due to migration from our neighbourhood. When I went to Australia, everything was new to me. We have improved a lot socially from our previous generation. Previously women were not allowed to go to colleges but now the number has increased. Young generation is not listening to the old rules.

There are families who have migrated with low paid jobs but have greater awareness and give higher value on the education of their families. Similarly, there are families where individuals have achieved more but have experienced low cultural and

symbolic capital. One such example is that of the Mir Ali family where men of the family have migrated and have respected jobs but the family in Barkas has remained the same. Here economic capital is not related to cultural or symbolic capital. This is partly because of their ignorance and mainly because they were busy accumulating wealth, and believed that in the past, education was not given importance by the residents of Barkas. However, Tipu Bakoban, a 52 year old migrant who is working in Dubai as a salesman for last five years and has travelled to almost the entire Gulf has pointed out,

I have purchased land and have also built this house. A Gulf migrant would first build his house and spend on construction. My daughter completed her Post Graduation. Television, AC and other electronics from the Gulf were brought every year for my family and also as gifts in weddings of close relatives. As a middle class man, I have used the money that any normal individual would do.

The Bakoban family has improved economically but the status of the family remained the same in the neighbourhood as Bakoban's father was also a store keeper in Riyadh for more than two decades.

Similarly, Abu Saleh who is working as room service person in a hotel in Dubai has pointed out,

I have saved a lot to give good life to my family. I had done everything possible and now they have meals at least three times a day and wear new clothes on occasions, which was not there in my father's era as he did not earn much. I could do very little though. My children are studying in government schools as education is important.

Different economic classes have moved up or remained the same in the ladder. What changed is the perception towards their children's education. People in Barkas have started to believe that acquiring education, especially higher education would give

them higher status in the neighbourhood. It is seen that cultural capital (education) in Barkas has given rise to upward economic mobility in many families, intergenerationally.

Changes through Occupation across Generations

In my study, mostly occupational mobility has given rise to economic mobility for the migrants and their families. Rahman (1995) mentioned that from 1960 to 1980 more than hundred studies were conducted to highlight different aspects of social and occupational mobility in different settings. These studies were done in India and abroad and most of them pointed out towards pattern and degree of occupational and social mobility that took place in a particular section of people at a particular period of time. He further adds that in the beginning there was a problem in measuring occupational mobility and so some studies were done on the procedure and technique of the measurement of occupational mobility. Some of them have graded occupations as high and low according to the prestige score.

In my study, for example, Abdul Rahim's brother, a 29 year old respondent, a businessman in Dubai, has pointed out,

It is six years now I went to Dubai with the help of a friend. I had given up on education. Kuwait used to be the best place for money, now it is Saudi. But I went to Dubai as I knew people there. I wanted to establish my own business as it means freedom. Employees in the Gulf get problems in working for long hours and getting less paid. Sometimes they also worked in Arab's home doing their cooking and cleaning. I started out as a salesman and made contacts. With the help of an Arabian as the main owner, I opened my own business of garments, electronics and imitation ornaments, chappals, shoes, burqas, everything in one shop. This has brought prosperity to my family and presently they are living with me in Dubai.

For Abdul Rahim, economic capital is the sole important factor and it is also seen that his family has gained importance in the neighbourhood, as he has become a successful businessman in a short period of time without proper education. The above example also reveals that social networks are strong in the neighbourhood through which many families have attained intergenerational occupational mobility.

Occupational mobility has led to economic mobility in many cases in Barkas. There are few examples of upward occupational mobility, in my study, that have brought changes in the class structure. Here is the simple case of how economic capital is the cause of symbolic capital and how the family is accepted in the neighbourhood given the history of Barkas. For example, a 66 year old respondent from the Mokbel family pointed out,

After Muthanna got job in Dubai we became respectable in the neighbourhood. We were poor when Muthanna was a kid. With much difficulty, he completed his studies and migrated. Presently, we have few acres of land and are planning to buy an apartment in the nearby area.

There are families where the son has followed his father's occupation and there was no occupational mobility but there was intergenerational upward economic mobility.

Barzaik family's son, Ali, a 45 year old real estate businessman has pointed out,

I used to travel to Thailand, Dubai, Egypt and Jordan with my father as he was a real estate businessman. I took care of the business after he passed away. My younger brothers are in college and university and they are waiting for their jobs in Dubai and Canada.

Similarly, Mohammad Qadri, a 63 year old migrant in Al-Ain near Bahrain has pointed out,

I have been working in a restaurant as a chef for more than two decades. I want my son to do the same and he has therefore obtained his hospitality management degree from Australia and soon he will join me in Al-Ain. This brings prosperity to the family as our situation has improved from the time I started working in Al-Ain.

However there are several families who have not followed their father's occupation and an intergenerational upward occupational mobility which led to upward intergenerational economic mobility was observed. These are aspirations which have happened to many migrants when they migrated to the Gulf with their parents, and at a later stage got absorbed in the jobs in the Gulf. Mehsin Sharai, a 31 old respondent from the Sharai family has pointed out,

I did not want to become a bus driver in Dubai like my father. I wanted to do a respectable job. I have not studied much but I have tried a lot to get a respectable job in Dubai. At last, I got an appointment with Emirates Airlines. After I got the job, air tickets were given for free for my wife and child at an interval of three months. Economically we have improved a lot than before when my father worked as a bus driver. Presently, my entire family lives with us in Dubai.

The way intergenerational upward economic mobility is experienced across generations in Barkas is something widely seen in my study. For example, the neighbourhood is restructured with recently built big mansions, although some are still living in thatched mud house. Therefore, the prosperity is all very new. It should also be noted that this upward economic mobility is not uniform. It cannot be said that lower income group such as driver, carpenter, tailor, bus driver and hotel room service etc is experiencing faster upward economic mobility than middle income group such as accountant, personal business, government employee and teacher. This is a complex phenomenon. There are families where father and son both worked as driver

but father worked in Hyderabad and son migrated to Dubai. Here, only the income has increased but the status has remained the same. This is best understood when occupations of two or more generations are analysed.

Bengtson (1975) has studied intergenerational transmission of occupational stratum across three generations of family spanning almost sixty years. In my study, it has been seen that opportunities have increased i.e. in the recent times non-manual jobs have become more available than in the previous generation. An example of this was of Ahmed Juman's father, a 70 year old, from Barkas who had described his situations after his sons returned from Gulf after long period of time.

My original house was a mud house. My eldest son works as an engineer and second son is a businessman in partnership with a local Arab in Dubai. Both of them have migrated long time ago. After few years, they wanted to build a new house. With their savings they constructed a huge and magnificent house by replacing the old mud house. My son is now an upper middle class man. His children are acquiring English medium education. His friends circle has also changed. Now he only interacts with people from posh areas of Hyderabad.

This kind of upward intergenerational economic mobility has happened in the neighbourhood with the shift in occupation. Here, the field i.e. Barkas has remained the same and individuals as agents are changing the field with the construction of building; they are buying more and more properties and changing the social look of the neighbourhood with their ideas, habits and practices. Now this cultural capital has given rise to symbolic capital. Older members of many families have stressed that his/her grandchildren (both boys and girls) are educated, and doing respectable jobs in the Gulf. In the above example, Juman, worked as a mechanic in Dubai and his eldest son is an engineer and second son has his own business. Juman also mentioned that he

took loans for his children's education and explained how they became engineers and graduates.

Majority of the families have accepted the view that the third generation and fourth generation are more advanced than the second generation residents of Barkas. Historically, in Barkas, when Hadrami bodyguards and treasure guards of the Nizam lost their jobs, they started selling fruits in their neighbouring areas. It is because *Anjeer* and *Jamun* (figs and berries) were commonly cultivated in Barkas. The second generation migrants, who are now the older members of the neighbourhood, began their lives by selling the same fruits. Eventually migration to the Gulf countries helped them attain upward mobility. Third and fourth generations are more or less dependent on the social networks of the relatives to migrate to the Gulf. For example, in my study, Noor Farooqudin, a 40 year old respondent who works as a bus driver for a government school for girls' in Ras Al-Khaima for more than 15 years has pointed out,

My grandfather lost his job as a treasure guard and became a fruit seller. My father was a physical education teacher in the oldest Urdu school in Barkas. We were seven brothers and three sisters including me. My father migrated to Dubai with the help of my aunt who was married to an Arab citizen. My father worked in a chemist shop at the beginning of his career which was in the late 1980s. I migrated following him after completing my intermediate. I did not want to study. My Arab uncle helped me to get a job and I worked as a school bus driver. I also have a side business of garments with an Arab citizen. Now, I own two houses in Hyderabad. I have few acres of land and few other investments in Hyderabad.

Here, there is not much change in the occupation between the father and the son. Both of them worked in the same level but the son has improved faster with the help of his networks abroad. Therefore, there is an increase in the son's income that made the

family move upward economically, but the social status remained the same as per the occupation one is doing in the Gulf. Low income families have a tough time with the changes happening around them as their condition of poverty which is commonly referred to as no progress. Therefore, many a times they have remained static in economic mobility intergenerationally. Their houses barely have furniture; the only wall decoration was the picture of Haj as termed by the respondents and some old illustrated calendars and pictures. Men own a simple shirt and Yemeni printed *lungis* and pair of suit for the same purpose to show a rise of status for special occasions. In these families, new clothes are rarely bought and many times women's and children's clothes are stitched at home. These families also rely heavily on money lenders of the old city of Hyderabad to facilitate their migration process. In these families, the majority of their income goes in repaying the loans and meet social obligations and basic needs. They have very little to invest in major enterprises. It is well known that any migrant first renovates his/her house with the money that they remit. Migrants also purchase property outside their neighbourhoods and have invested in other parts of the city in order to live in better areas with all the modern urban facilities like condominiums, open parks, malls and global food joints. Another way of consumption is the performance of the weddings and the expenditure involved in it. This also shows the status of an individual in his/her neighbourhood.

Changes through Marriage Migration and Wedding Ceremonies

Marriage migration has always been an important phenomenon in Barkas. There are several reasons for this. It is always related to socio-economic class. Performing

traditional rituals and marrying someone from upper middle class background is also a rise in the status for the woman and her family. Therefore, it is important to look at marriage migration and how it is a form of upward intergenerational social mobility in Barkas. Migration, especially voluntary migration is typically motivated by the desire for upward social mobility and better economic opportunity. In many societies marriage continues to be central to material ties and the desire for a better life.

When the Hadramis settled in barracks, they married Hyderabad women who lived along side with them as it was a neighbourhood where former employees of the Nizam also lived. Few Hadramis migrated with their families whereas many brought their families from Hadramaut at a later stage. Sister exchanges and daughter exchanges between families are predominant, even today. Hadrami men marry women from Charminar areas and many Hadrami women are also marrying in Charminar, Malakpet, Huppuguda, Chandrayangutta, Kacheguda and King Koti in Hyderabad. Apart from marriages within Barkas or within the city of Hyderabad, there have been marriages which took place between the Gulf and Barkas. Women from Barkas were in much demand by Arab men during 1960s This was a form of upward social mobility across generations for the woman and a possibility of upward economic mobility for the family. This is because of payment of lump-sum bride price and employment for the male members in the Gulf. This is not only done to remain close to the Gulf, but also to maintain identity of who they are originally. Marriages in Barkas also took place between Barkas and Hadramaut and Sana'a (capital of Yemen). This is one of the ways to maintain ties with their original homeland, Yemen. So there is a shift in the identity through changes in the marriage

pattern. For example, in my study, Mir Ifitkar Ali, a 73 year respondent from the Mir Ali family has pointed out,

My father worked for the Nizam. We had a huge family. As my father was the only earning member so we did not get adequate education. My sisters were given in marriage to Arabians and also to Hadramis in Barkas. Hadrami and non Hadrami marriages happened in large numbers in Barkas. My youngest sister was married to an Arab citizen in Dubai. Marrying an Arab brought financial stability in our family.

There are stories of women being trafficked across international borders for marriage and/or sex work, or young women who use the proceeds of their dowries to finance emigration such as women from Barkas those who migrate to the Gulf as wives of Arabians. Similarly stories of several grooms who enjoy a few night's intimacy with the bride and vanish with bride's jewelry or whose love lasts as long as it takes to ensure a permanent residency in desired destination, of visa and immigration rackets involving fake marriages and so on. Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie R Hochschild in their work (2003) on global maids, nannies and other exploited female migrants have pointed out the missing links of multiple movements of women across the globe. Each year, there are millions who leave Mexico, Sri Lanka and the Philippines and other Third World countries to work in the homes, nurses and brothels of the first world. These women often leave their families behind. As a result, the deficit in the rich country is fulfilled whereas there is a dearth of care giving back in their homelands. This mass scale movement of women is also happening from Barkas but as wives mostly. In my study, women respondents have migrated as a part of family migration and/or as a part of marriage migration. I have not found any women who are working in the Gulf from Barkas, in my sample.

Bourdieu's economic capital played an important role in the process of marriage. Male members of a bride's family are most of the time dependent on the brothers in-law, who are Arab citizens or from Barkas or from the city but engaged in a highly paid job, business, or employment abroad. When the male members of the families first migrate, they are given separate houses by the brothers-in-law, if Arabian. After recruitment, they continue staying in the same house and invite the rest of the family members from Barkas. If the brother in-law is from Barkas or from the city then male member(s) from the bride's family stayed with them until they find a suitable job for themselves. Therefore, an upward intergenerational social mobility across generations and across gender is present in the neighbourhood.

The major goal of those in Barkas with least wealth and prestige is to see their sons and daughters getting married. Among many families, arranging a marriage is also a symbol of upward mobility through expenditure. Although marriages mostly take place within families between cousins yet there are few families who demand for brides from other parts of the city. Nowadays, families consider merits and discuss about priorities such as Gulf employed which is in huge number in Barkas, graduate bride, non-working mother and they try their best to find such suitable matches. Cultural capital played an important role in the decision to marry and not only the economic capital of the bride's family or groom's occupation in the Gulf. In case of marriages between cousins, money and material objects rotate within the family, while marriages outside the family hold importance in the present times. The Mubarak family narrated the story of wedding of their youngest daughter who was just married and was waiting for her visa to migrate to Oman following her husband.

Fathema Begum, the bride's mother has pointed out the expenditure and work of a wedding,

My daughter is a graduate and knows computer. We were looking for a groom working in the Gulf. I have lived in Qatar for many years and so I know that life is much better outside Barkas. My son in-law who is also from Barkas, though not related to us, demanded two lakhs cash and an apartment in Banjara hills. We could not afford the apartment. My husband took loan and my son who is working in Dubai paid the rest of the amount. It is a sign of prestige. If we fail to pay the amount then it is a shame for the family.

In Barkas, as in other migrant communities, following authentic rituals in a Hadrami wedding is also a symbol of upward social mobility. In weddings in Barkas, Arabian dance is a must if it is a Hadrami family. It is must for the young generation to know the steps thoroughly, and they practice it before the weddings. Many families have stopped doing it as the previous generations are unaware of it. In that case, the young generation learns the dance through internet. It is believed by them that in this way they are preserving their Hadrami culture. This is not related to one particular class but most families perform this custom with the help of their neighbours to learn the dance forms, and make costumes, jewelry, headgear and knives for men for the dance. Kavita Ramdya's work (2010) on weddings among the Indian-Americans shows that weddings in USA were performed in two ways – both in the Indian traditional style as well as the western style, especially among the second generation Indian-American Hindus. Similarly, in Barkas, weddings were many times designed after weddings in the Gulf with lavish food items in the menu and gorgeous decorations. However, there are few cases where the wedding has taken place in the Gulf. In these types of weddings, residents of Barkas do not generally follow the traditional procedure;

instead, they adapt modern western styles of decorations and cuisine. A large function hall is booked where men and women participate unlike in Barkas. Buffet dinner is served and a DJ plays the music overnight. These kinds of weddings are discussed in Barkas as a show of upward economic mobility. Many older members have sometimes rejected these kinds of weddings. Not everyone can however afford such weddings; they are only done when the groom is from Hyderabad or specifically from Barkas and is well settled in the Gulf. Relatives and family members were less seen in these weddings, as fellow migrants and their families and local Arabians with their families were the main guests.

The style and scale of this wedding was more prestigious than other weddings that I have attended in Barkas. It happened in a marriage function hall in Chandrayangutta. Although the family was a little worried about how to repay the loans for wedding celebrations yet it was done in a lavish scale. Like in many Muslim weddings, separate seating arrangements were made for men and women. A woman photographer was also appointed in the women's section as men were not allowed inside. The reception started around 9pm and women as guests arrived in burqa and each one of them carried a small bag. After entering the women's section, they took off the burqa and there was a show of jewelry, make up and sarees. Women, as guests, discussed at length about richness and beauty of the wedding *lehenga* of the bride and gold, asking from where it was purchased and how much it had cost. Male guests, generally wore white shirt, cap and Hadrami printed *lungi* (wrapper). No women entered the men's section to congratulate the groom. The groom stood on the stage and male guests congratulated him and went straight into the dining section. Men use

weddings as networking sites as they discuss about their son's job opportunities in the Gulf and finding a match for their daughters. Common wedding conversations were, 'Do you see that man? He is working in Dubai in one of the oil companies. He is rich now. He is from our Barkas', 'Did you hear that the groom's cousin is also taking his wife to Riyadh soon?' are common. For the family, it is a show of moving up the social ladder if they invite the local leaders in the wedding as VIP guests. This is a lower income group family but they have imitated the higher income group in weddings. They took loans for the occasion so that they could maintain high social and economic status in the neighbourhood. This scale was not present in the second generation where weddings took place inside the house with few guests. This phenomenon has increased among the third and fourth generations with the increase in the migration process.

Marriage is one of the major mobility strategies in the study despite the high risks involved. Majority of the families claimed that the boy will be higher than the girl in education, age, height and salary (if both are working). Women who worked outside before marriage have stopped working post marriage as it was the wish of the husband. Therefore, there is a perpetuation of traditional gender roles. A minimum amount of Meher (money) is given to the bride from the groom's side and it was kept in her name.

There is no justification of marriage with superior families even if it is within immediate relatives. Here, everybody fully understands that to give your daughter in marriage to those above in social status means full success in the marriage stakes. It also shows that the girl and her family are acceptable partners for valued superiors

and that the family did the best thing for their daughter and for the advancement for the family. Anees Abdullah's wife, a 25 year old has pointed out,

Anees was much in demand as a bachelor as he was doing a respectable job in Dubai. After our marriage, I came to know that many of his relatives approached his mother for their daughters' marriage with Anees. It is very common in Barkas. My parents visit Dubai once a year to meet Anees. We sponsor their visa and air tickets.

There are also cases of negative or downward mobility present because of the belief system in the neighbourhood as shown in the examples. It is important to look at how with the changing status and upward mobility post the Gulf migration, the consumption pattern of an individual or the family has transformed or remained the same than that of their parents or grandparents' generation.

Changes in the Consumption Pattern

The study also analyses the changes in the consumption patterns intergenerationally among families in Barkas post migration among different socio-economic classes. Due to economic liberalisation and globalisation the urban landscape has transformed rapidly. Consequently there has been a marked change in the lifestyle of the urban population. David Harvey (1989) has analysed how a population organises itself adapting to a changed environment. Cities are developing fast and consequently the development of an urban consciousness needs to be understood which is shaped by individualism, family, community, state, consumerism and above all a culture of consumption in the cities. According to Arnould and Thompson (2005) in the journal of Business and Industrial Marketing, the past 20 years of consumer research have

produced a collection of research addressing the socio-cultural, experiential, symbolic and ideological aspects of consumption. The consumption of market made commodities and the symbols associated with it are central to consumer culture though the maintenance and reproduction of this system is largely dependent upon the personal choice of the people in the private sphere of their everyday lives (Holt 2002). It is practiced according to consumers' social situations, roles and relationships. Further consumer culture also describes as a densely woven network of global connections and extensions through which local cultures are interpenetrated by the forces of transnational capital and the global mediascape (Appadurai 1990; Slater 1997; Wilk 1995). Is there a relationship between the lifestyle and consumption habit of the migrants and the transformation of the Barkas area? Have the movements of these people affecting their everyday lives and changes at the family level across generations? Are the lifestyle and consumption habits of the migrants significantly different from non-migrants? These are some questions that are explored in this study.

Different Patterns of Consumption

Patterns of consumption differed according to the change in socio-economic classes and generations post migration in Barkas. Among the interviewed families where migrants are working as drivers, tailors, bus drivers, carpenters and mechanics have a very different pattern of consumption as compared to families where members are working as bank operation managers, in GCC, as doctors, business people and as computer technologists. These families have sometimes moved away from the traditional dressing, food and everyday life practices. In my study, a major part of the

income of all the classes present in Barkas goes for marriage, construction of homes, buying land and remaining for the education of the children. Change is more commonly seen among the third and fourth generations. Various types of upward intergenerational social and economic mobility were seen with the changes in the consumption patterns with different ways to engage in the process. Upper middle class and middle class families in the neighbourhood acquired many luxury items such as LCD television, four to five expensive bikes and a car and expensive clothing. Osella and Osella in their work (2000) have pointed that this conform to Appadurai's (1986) characterisation of 'luxury goods: restricted; complexity of acquisition; capacity to signify complex social messages; requiring specialised knowledge; a high degree of linkage to body, person and personality'.

Upward Social Mobility through Acquisition of Property

In Barkas, previously many families could not build two or three storey building although land was available. Post migration, after saving, they have purchased lands inside Barkas and built their second house keeping their old traditional thatched mud house alive where many times older generations resided. Many Gulf migrants in Barkas who are bankers, doctors and engineers have also copied the European style of living as inspired by the European migrants in the Gulf. The Gulf remained the main reference group for ideas about consumption while family members of those who have also migrated to USA, UK and Australia talk about their living conditions and work environment there.

Residential Mobility

There are many families where cultural capital is important in order to achieve economic capital. This in turn gives rise to symbolic capital in the neighbourhood. This is found more among the third and the fourth generations. In the context of intergenerational mobility, this is an important dimension when individuals move out of their homes or old localities and construct new homes in the same city which can be termed as change of residence. Change of residence is again a symbol of upward mobility in the neighbourhood and of status. It is also away from the orthodox and restrictive culture of the neighbourhood.

The city of Hyderabad is marked by a complex and rapidly changing urban landscape. Factors such as economic restructuring, government policies, international and internal migration and the intra-urban movement of people have been prominent in shaping the landscape (Randall 2007). The urban landscape is changing and so are the lives of the people in the cities, with the opening up of new opportunities. Urbanisation has reached a new peak in the age of globalisation. There has been a dramatic shift of the fulcrum of urban population away from Europe and North America to the developing regions of the world. Several large cities located in different parts of the world are undergoing huge transformations in their urbanscape. In India, Mumbai is considered to be a global city with Hyderabad and Bangalore following. and massive restructuring has taken place in these and also other cities in the past two decades.

Urban restructuring and moving out from one's original residence is characterised by upcoming residential and business areas, emergence of technological and

informational nodes, displacement of the poor from the old industrial areas, land use change from old industries to real estate, business and commercial entertainment plazas, construction of barricaded parks by private agencies, reduction of public open space, increased personalised transport infrastructure etc (Banerjee-Guha 2002). Certain areas in the city are being upgraded with all infrastructural facilities which are creating pockets within urban areas that resemble cities of the developed countries. In Hyderabad, certain pockets like Banjara Hills, Mehdiapatnam and Tolichowki have emerged with all the urban facilities like malls, global food joints, open public spaces, gated apartments, etc. This is giving rise to intra-urban movements of people from one part of the city to another. Intra-urban movement of people means moving from one household to another due to either social cohesion or social isolation. Those who have negative feelings about their households are likely to move away more than those who are content and satisfied with their homes and neighbourhoods.

Intergenerationally, changes through residential movements gave rise to a change in the physical look of Barkas. Old buildings have disappeared and have been replaced by huge, magnificent and colourful buildings. Many old generation migrants have expressed the missing fruit gardens from their houses. These very fruit gardens were occupations for their previous generation. Land price in Barkas has increased double the amount in last ten years due to increase in the Gulf migration. Land that was available in Barkas before are now bought by residents post migration with accumulation of money and an upward economic mobility, intergenerationally. Upward intergenerational social mobility has also made few migrants to move out of Barkas and buy apartments and personal bungalows in other parts of the city such as

Banjara Hills, Mehdiapatnam and Tolichowki as mentioned above. Historically, Barkas had mainly lower and lower middle class families where majority was absorbed in the informal sector in the Gulf. In the contemporary times, they have become economically well-off. For example, in Barkas, Tahura, a 24 year old respondent from the Mir Ali family has pointed out,

I was born and brought up in Banjara Hills. I was married in Barkas. After coming here, I came to know that this neighbourhood is not a healthy place for our children as neighbours are not much educated and parents are not concerned about their children's well being like city people do. Also this neighbourhood does not have any facility that is present in the city. This is why I and my husband have jointly decided to move back to Banjara Hills.

Abood and his wife readily put forward their argument when asked about changing residence. He pointed out,

After living in Dammam for 16 years I have realised that I cannot live in Barkas due to the orthodox mentality of the residents. My wife also did not want to stay here. Barkas has an effect of the city of Hyderabad where the culture is orthodox and we believe in traditions, but Hadramis have made it an extreme place for the maintenance of such culture. I am also a Hadrami but I do not follow all the culture that was there in Yemen once upon a time. This is why I have purchased an apartment in Tolichowki. I stay in both the places when I come for visits.

There are few families who have shown such attitudes towards changing residence. However, majority of the families have mentioned about their fondness for their neighbourhood and how they love to live in Barkas, especially when they come for yearly visits. They were against the opinion of changing their residence and moving out to the city. They enjoyed the company of their friends and relatives in Barkas. Many women who married their cousins were of the opinion that since they live near their own houses therefore they do not want to leave the neighbourhood and live alone

in the city. They enjoy being in the company of their family and other women of the family.

Now, there is another side of bringing in luxury goods in the neighbourhood. According to the oral stories and observations, it is seen that several families using luxury goods and fashionable mobile phones feel that it is a show of status. This flow has increased in the recent times with the migration of the third generation. Majority of the families have expressed their views about the same which differed generation wise. The second generation is not supportive of the fact that money should be spent on purchasing items that is not necessary in their daily lives. On the other hand, the third and fourth generations believe in welcoming new opportunities. The increasing importance of consumption is also linked to both migration and economic liberalisation. Bringing gold from the Gulf countries has become popular in Barkas. Women who did not wear gold before have started showing it off in various occasions. Migrants also purchase gold biscuits from the Gulf as an asset and later made jewelry at the time of the marriages for their daughters. It is difficult to say that the gold stays with the woman as people in Barkas practice patriarchy and may be kept by the husband. However, gold bought from the Gulf is also used for business as they sell it in the old city. This is one of the causes that such items and goods are brought to the neighbourhood in the recent times. Mubarak's wife has pointed out,

Twenty years ago when my husband migrated we did not have enough Gold. Nowadays people from our locality have started purchasing gold as a show of rise in their status. It is not a very old phenomenon. It has started may be six to eight years ago. Now gold is brought from Dubai or Oman to where ever one is migrating.

Now, there are families in Barkas where migrants and their male family members are working as cab drivers, tailors and waiters in restaurants in the Gulf. Given their income, they are not in a position to acquire such luxurious items unless they have rich relatives in the Gulf. Therefore, these families with low income do participate in the process on a smaller scale, and often in different areas from others and they generally do not communicate with many members in the neighbourhood.

Similarly, it is seen that for the last 10 years, goods and luxury items have started flowing in the local market in Barkas which are brought by the migrants as a part of their side business. Small businesses set up by return migrants belong either to those who have profited from the first wave of migration in the 1970s, when there were many opportunities and wages were good and there were possibilities of high accumulation, or to those who migrated as high skilled professionals. In this regard, Bakoban, a 43 year old doctor has pointed out,

My father migrated and worked in a chemist shop in Dubai. I passed my MBBS and migrated to Dubai when he was still working. I worked as a doctor for eleven years and came back and now I have a hospital of my own. Initial investment for the hospital was given by father as he saved a lot while working during the 1970s and 1980s.

Similarly, Makdoom Abdullah has pointed out,

I have migrated in the 1980s and worked as car mechanic for eleven years in Dubai. At that time, we had only one motive and that is to save for the future. Today, migrants spend on expensive items for no reason. My sons have also started doing. I saved so that my first son can start garments business in Dubai and in Chandrayangutta with the help of my friend with whom I worked in Dubai for many years. It is a show of prestige and status now that my son is a businessman and my daughter is a school teacher. He has renovated the house with marble floor by cutting down the Anjeer fruit garden.

Makdoom took pride in saving activities. Here, the social status has also changed along with the occupations. Here, economic capital is related to symbolic capital and he also stressed that his daughter is a school teacher which means cultural capital is also seen. This was a stage of initial strategy and after capital accumulation he has progressed through his children and keeping up with levels and styles of consumption alongside those whose status and prestige he aspires i.e. the upper middle classes in the neighbourhood.

Changes in the Consumption Patterns through Dress

Women wore colourful salwar kameez with bright colourful scarves to cover their head and changing fabrics and colours were the fashion trends. However, women were also consumers of electronic items like expensive mobile phones, laptops, tablets and ipods. Previously, men wore Yemeni printed *lungi* which is now changed to the Gulf imported lacoste t-shirt, be it authentic or duplicate. In weddings, women wore expensive sarees with jewelry from the Gulf, from head to toe as a sign of upward mobility. Men wore both traditional expensive Yemeni printed *lungis* with white shirt and cap as well as western outfits. These were brought by the migrants and their families before the wedding. Ramzan's daughter, a 17 year old respondent has pointed out,

Most of our dress and jewelry is bought from the Gulf. From my friends and relatives I came to know that the entire Barkas now lives in Dubai. If we buy anything from Saudi or UAE then we claim higher prestige among our relatives who are not only from Barkas but are also from the city. Even though it is common now, yet there are families who try to show off more with expensive dresses and jewelry in weddings and other gatherings.

Now, not all women and men dress similarly. This varies according to the occupations in India or in the Gulf. This also differs across generations. The second generation migrants were not much bothered about how they looked like whereas the third and fourth generations are very selective of the dress, perfumes, jewelry that they wear. In several gatherings and weddings, it was observed that many women wore shiny sarees and blouses and cheap imitation jewelry whereas men wore shirts and pants or *lungis* and white shirts. Groups were created by these women according to their dressing, make up, jewelry and their family members' occupations, based on class and generations. Previously migrants could not afford gold jewelry due to low levels of income in many families. However, majority of the families who have not migrated with the individual migrant also has clear idea of the range of goods and products available in the Gulf. Now, the residents prefer an imported face cream which is a sign of prestige rather than any local brand. Women have mentioned that post Gulf migration, with the improvement of their status they visit these shopping malls, multiplexes for movies and eating out on a regular basis. Many women have also mentioned that they wait for the day when they go out with their family and friends.

In an informal conversation with a travel agent in Barkas, I found out that men of the young generation who are migrants, do not follow many customs that were practiced in Barkas as a part of Hadrami culture but a hybrid form of both Hyderabad as well as Yemeni culture. According to the agent, older generations failed to train the young ones especially once they migrate. They have stopped wearing *lungis* and moved to western style of dressing with baggies and hip hop style t-shirts to keep up with the

times. This same phenomenon was seen in many families where the family members have referred to this change as the influence of European migrants in the Gulf.

Food, Visiting Malls and Consumption

While conducting interviews, it has been seen that few families have moved away from eating traditional dishes in their everyday lives as well as during festivals and occasions. This is due to migration to the Gulf as well as to other countries. It is not only confined to eating habits but also certain other aspects such as buying land, decorating houses, and providing household members with goods and services. Mobility trajectories are clearly related with life-cycles as people's spending pattern changes over time. In my study, it is seen that young migrants spend cash on short-lived and personal pleasures of fashion and cinema, newly married young couples who has migrated for few years are seen to be buying domestic and luxury goods whereas migrants who have migrated for a long time is seen to be channeling wealth into future investment in housing and children. For example, in my study, a migrant driver working in Dubai spent on eating out and cinema theatre with his friends when he came for yearly visits. According to Osella and Osella (2000: 63) in their work, they pointed out, 'consumption is an important arena for capital conversion and prestige: as the range and cost of goods available to villagers continues to increase, this role can only grow'.

Second generation is not too fond of eating out or giving up the traditional way of dressing. One way of moving away from the above is by purchasing houses and apartments in other parts of the city. The other way is changing food habits. Ramzan's

eldest son who is 26 year, married and has a son and studying and working in London has pointed out,

When I come back from London in Eid, I do not eat at home. I take my siblings and my wife outside and break the fast sometimes in McDonalds or Pizza hut. Only on the last Friday before Eid I would eat with my family. I am not the only one who is doing it. I have friends in Barkas who are also doing the same. Our previous generation does not approve of this. In most cases, women stay at home and follow the practices with fathers and mothers and men prefer to eat out.

There will always be two sides of participating in the consumption process. One is eating habits i.e. spices and dishes cooked in Arabian style coming from the Gulf due to the continuous engagement with it. Second, is again changing of the food habit i.e. eager to eat pizza or burgers. At the same time, families pursue class mobility through employment, marriage and consumption. Both this processes show a higher status in the neighbourhood. Areas in Hyderabad like Mehdiapatnam, Tolichowki, Banjara Hills and Jubilee Hills are flooded with shopping malls and strip malls which makes these areas self sufficient. Here development is all very new. People from old city of Hyderabad are moving to these parts of the city with modern facilities. Migrants from Barkas, although less in number, have also moved to these parts of the city by acquiring property such as land or apartments. Most of these apartments run on rent in the absence of the migrant. This is one of the ways of earning while working in the Gulf. Migrants have also started visiting shopping malls for purchasing everyday materials. People from Barkas travel to Banjara Hills and Koti to shop their daily items and they enjoy the day as 'shopping day'.

Three Cases of Intergenerational Social Mobility

Three examples of intergenerational upward social mobility are used to understand the kinds of changes that are taking place in the field due to the Gulf migration. For example, the case of the Ba Osman family, the 72 year old father gave me their family history and the history of migration to the Gulf from Barkas. They are a well known family in Barkas and four members were present at the time of the interview. Ba Osman left Barkas when he was 23 years old and migrated to Hadramaut with a friend in search of his original homeland. He came back and got married and left again for occupational purposes to the Gulf. Further, he went to Riyadh, Jeddah and Dubai and returned to Barkas at the age of 65 years and was an active member of the Jamait-ul-Yemenia Bal Hind which was established in 1967 for Arab education in Barkas. He has performed marriages of his two daughters lavishly and his son is running a chemist shop along with a clinic in their house. The house was a modest mud house with a thatched roof and small rooms with no grand decorations unlike many other houses in the neighbourhood. Ba Osman began by saying that most houses in Barkas were mud houses and the huge buildings were recently made, especially post migration. He also wrote a book in Arabic about the history of Barkas. However, it never got published. According to him, his ancestors migrated from Yemen and served the Nizam as personal guards. At that time, Barkas was a forest area and there was a huge pond at the back side of the area where Yemeni guards left their horses for food and water. People from the city would never come to Barkas as Yemenis were also known as a group of fearless people without education and so they might harm the city's population. Hadramis were not trusted by the people of the city at that time.

These bodyguards were poor and they had built their houses with the minimum wages they received from the Nizam's administration. The respondent said that by the end of the Nizam's era, Barkas became a place where murder, dacoity, rape and illegal activities started taking place and continued even today. Ba Osman has pointed out that he along with other members opened the Arab education board so that the young generation could get education and become busy so that they do not indulge in any criminal activities. However, his wife mentioned that the crime rates are still the same, and rather increasing now as people have lot of money.

Ba Osman has pointed out that he was a graduate and was admitted to the first Muslim college in the city of Hyderabad. Ba Osman's wife mentioned that he taught her how to read and write in English as she studied till primary level in Urdu. She also mentioned that Ba Osman used to give lessons in English to many in the neighbourhood almost 30 years ago. When he migrated, he was among few who migrated from the neighbourhood and it was not a common phenomenon unlike the present times. Ba Osman is a wealthy man now with acres of paddy fields. In those days, land was available cheaply and eventually with his savings, he began purchasing land in the nearby areas and invested in paddy cultivation. According to him, his European boss advised him to invest in paddy business. He did not renovate his house but bought another house in the nearby area for his son. His eldest daughter is a dentist and is in Riyadh after marriage. Ba Osman had worked with the Europeans in Riyadh and Jeddah in the 1970s when he migrated from Hadramaut to Riyadh. He began following them in the way they spoke English. Here, Ba Osman has tried to raise his economic capital as well as his cultural capital through acquiring English

speaking. Osman's son said that it was forest all around and they would never go where the land was purchased but nowadays it has developed and people are constructing houses. Land prices have also gone high with the increase in the number of families and individuals migrating to the Gulf. He never got involved in politics and always supported the progress comes with proper education. In this way, this family has moved up the social ladder. Ba Osman has cultural as well as economic capital and is a contributor for the neighbourhood and for this reason he is a popular figure in Barkas.

The second case was the Ramzan family which has experienced upward intergenerational social mobility through economic capital. Ahmed Ramzan is a 59 year old respondent, a pharmacist at the beginning of his career and now working in GCC tender department in Riyadh for the last 31 years. His children were born in Hyderabad but brought up in Riyadh. Presently half family has come back for children's education, and Ahmed would also be retiring in the coming two years (2014). Ahmed Ramzan studied till intermediate while selling fruits as a part time business which was started by his father after his grandfather lost his job as a bodyguard. Ramzan was married at an early age and his wife has studied till SSC and is a housewife. He has four sons and a daughter. The two elder sons are in London and Australia respectively, studying and working to support their education. The third son is in college and the fourth son is in school. His daughter was completing her intermediate at the time of the interview. After eating *Tahri* (Arabian Biryani) for lunch, he began by saying that Ahmed belonged to a poor family and was looking for employment in Hyderabad after passing his college. At that time his school friend

from Barkas went to Riyadh and worked as a bank operation manager. With the help of this friend he got employed as a pharmacist. Using various networks, he got employment with Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) as a clerk. Therefore, social capital became important along with economic capital. It has been almost three decades that he was working in the same company. Like many other respondent families, he has an old mud house with thatched roof and beside it he has built his own house which is a four storey building. It has marbled floor with glass doors in each room decorated with colourful curtains. The house was furnished and the seating room has the same kind of arrangement like that of any other house in Barkas.

Ramzan's wife mentioned 23 years ago, he was the first person from Barkas who took his wife on the bike to the theatre. According to her, it was a sign of upward social mobility. This is because women were not allowed to go out of their houses alone at that time which is still prevalent but in lesser scale. Moreover, she also mentioned that they will support their daughter's higher education if she wanted to pursue it in the future. Ramzan bought few acres of land and three apartments in the city and after his death it will go to his sons. His daughter will get a portion of the few acres that he has purchased. They are a well known family in Barkas because Ramzan had a respectable job in Riyadh. Moreover, his sons are also studying and working abroad. Both the daughters-in-law were housewives and have studied till graduation. They believe that marrying outside Barkas is also symbol of attaining higher social status as people from outside will come and bring new ideas for a better living. It is believed by the family that higher social status comes through education and progress in the

present times. Previously it was based on the kind of jobs individuals had in the Gulf and the culture they were bringing back to Barkas. Ramzan has mentioned that,

I have given my children the culture that we are proud of. It is a mixture of Hadrami and Hyderabad culture. But Hyderabadis in Barkas follow us. This is the present culture of Barkas. My children are also trained in Saudi culture as they have lived in Saudi for many years.

Ramzan's family has experienced upward intergenerational social mobility in the neighbourhood and is known by others presently which was absent before when his father was a fruit seller. He pointed out that those who migrated in the first wave in the 1970s were given much respect. He followed them in 1980s and achieved the same status among his relatives, friends and in the locality. In Ramzan's family, there is the presence of social capital, economic capital and cultural capital through which this family has achieved symbolic capital.

The third case, the family of Omer Abdullah Bin Osman who was a return migrant with his sons and daughters living in Riyadh, Jeddah and Dubai respectively, has mentioned about upward social mobility experienced, across generations. Omer Bin Osman has opened a two wheeler shop in the nearby area after retiring from Riyadh after 25 years. He wanted to come back and settle in Barkas. Osman's wife studied till primary level and is a mother of five children and a housewife. I was invited to the main house where a night party was taking place. There was no division between male and female seating spaces unlike many other houses in Barkas. Few women however preferred sitting in a separate room away from men so that they could discuss matters about jewelry, dresses and about women who have migrated to the Gulf. Although this is a rare phenomenon that there are no private spaces for women,

one can say that with the accumulation of cultural capital post the Gulf migration gender segregation was somewhat fading. One such example was the Bin Osman family. According to Omer and his wife, these particular night get togethers with their relatives and friends is a show of their status which he has acquired after working in Riyadh for more than two decades. He worked as a Banker in Riyadh for almost three decades. Neighbours expect these parties as well even if they are migrants. These kinds of parties take place in Barkas almost every fortnight with families whereas every night after around 8pm men meet for drinking and smoking where discussions about issues in the Gulf become important. Omer's house was also built new but lacked contemporary style and decorations. The family wanted to build their house following Saudi Arabian architectural style. However, it did not happen. Omer's original house was beside his new house where his parents lived with his eldest sister who was abandoned after marriage by her Arabian husband. LCD TV, video, stereo, fridge freezer and expensive ornaments in the glass display cases were kept in the sitting room. He made a separate room for his children's study which he named it as computer room where a flat screen computer and many books were present. The house was richly furnished with rich carpets and blankets and sofas. It was a three storey building. All this made the family proud of their higher status in the neighbourhood and also among their relatives and friends. Omer's wife was also proud of her children's educational achievements as her eldest son works as a laboratory technician in Jeddah and her daughters are graduates although they do not work outside the home. The Bin Osman family has experienced upward social mobility post the Gulf migration and half of the family has returned to Barkas

whereas the present generation has migrated to the Gulf for work and marriage. All the cases we have looked at in this chapter have migrants who have returned to Barkas after successful accumulation of capital in the Gulf. However, every class or the income group has not experienced upward social mobility with the rise in their income or for migration to the Gulf. There are cases where the entire family has migrated and absorbed into formal sector but their social status has remained the same. Reconstruction of the old building, giving education and maintaining a lavish lifestyle are the indicators of attaining upward social mobility for the residents of Barkas.

Conclusion

On analysis of intergenerational social mobility across generations, change and stability in the patterns of mobility were found. Moreover, presence of symbolic capital was seen through marriage ceremonies, eating habits, fashion etc across generations. Upward mobility by each successive generation was looked at through social, economic and occupational mobility connecting with three generations such as grandfather's followed by father's occupation and lastly their sons and daughters' occupation and their social standing in the neighbourhood before and after migration to the Gulf. It can be concluded that each generation has achieved more than their previous generation among the lower income group. Middle income group has mixed occupations across generations. Each generation of children was seen to be benefitting or at least affected by and from the large and diverse changes in the occupational structure in the Gulf with the turn of the century. Sometimes, this gave rise to status

and economic mobility for the next generations which also differ according to socio-economic class. Not all middle class or upper middle class families in Barkas give equal importance to education and not all are socially aware of the outside world; rather it is mixed on shared beliefs and ideas that migrants are bringing back from the Gulf as a part of cultural exchange. The next chapter will deal with these cultural exchanges or social remittances that are exchanged and brought back from the Gulf to Barkas or vice versa.

Chapter 5- Flows of Remittances: Economic and Social

Introduction

This chapter will explore the multiple social and cultural exchanges that happen as a result of continuous to and fro migration between Barkas and the Gulf. Why do migrants from Barkas adopt practices of the Gulf? In order to understand these practices, I will attempt to link the remittances that are exchanged between countries and the impact they have on Barkas as a neighbourhood. With the increase of population movements, migration has become one of the key global challenges in the North-South dialogue. Migration has been long recognised as an important factor of global development, both in terms of the migrants' contribution to the economic and social development of the host countries and their financial and social remittances to the home countries (North-South Centre of the Council of Europe and www.diaspora-centre.org). The Gulf region is the third most important migration region in the world. It has also embraced top remittance sending countries both economically and culturally in the recent times. Historically the demand for foreign labour was met from other Arabian countries but it has been steadily replaced by workers from South Asia.

I have looked at how people have come to adopt certain practices of the Gulf in their everyday lives in Barkas. While people in Barkas are adopting certain practices, in the Gulf too, some aspects of Hyderabad or Barkas culture are being practiced. However, the focus here is on what they bring back in Barkas. Arabian culture is considered to be superior, by many migrants. However, as different people are going to different

countries, they are bringing back different ideas, different practices. What is emerging is not a homogenous Arabian culture but a hybrid culture consisting of elements from different countries in the Gulf, along with mixed culture in Barkas. The commonality here is the notion of a collective identity. However, members of the same family prefer to go in the same country through social networks and tend to emulate the practices of that particular country.

Following from the discussions in the previous chapters about history and social life of the Gulf countries as well as Yemen, it is understood that there is a mixture of culture taking place in Barkas, a kind of hybridisation. Again this mix of culture is being produced in the Gulf countries which the migrant takes back with him/her. For example, according to many respondents, Dubai is more cosmopolitan according to women, gives scope for more independence, while Saudi Arabia does not. The ideas and practices about the ways of everyday life are all rooted in the social contexts which translate into interesting variations among different countries. These ideas and practices are imbibed by the migrants to be subsequently adopted by their families and neighbourhood. A re-assertion of Yemeni culture happens in Barkas, often becoming more orthodox, though not always. This is happening due to the Gulf migration. When migrants from Barkas meet fellow migrants from Yemen in the Gulf, they are interested to know about the social and cultural life in Yemen and thereby try to incorporate those changes in Barkas. Not everyone from Barkas who have migrated to the Gulf are doing it, this is mainly done by those who still consider Yemen to be their home. This is passed orally from one migrant to the other in the

Gulf. Before discussing social remittances, it is important to understand the economic remittances to Barkas post migration to the Gulf.

Understanding Economic Remittances

International migration is one of the most important factors affecting economic relations between developed and developing countries today. In 2002, the United Nations report estimated that about 175 million people which was roughly 3 percent of the world population were living and working outside their country of birth (World Bank 2003; Adams Jr 2003; Global Development Finance 2004; Kuptsch and Martin 2004; Reserve Bank of India 2004; World Bank 2004). Remittance both social and economic has a considerable impact on the living standards of people in the developing countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Gulf. However, remittance flows and expenditure patterns are not only determined by the economic condition in the hostland and homeland but also by patterns of social grouping followed by the migrants, the authority structure of family, religion and local culture (Kurien 2008, Osaki 1999, Semyonov and Gorodzeisky 2005). The dictionary meaning of remittance is a sum of money or a quantity of articles which is being sent from one place or person to another (Shorter Oxford English Dictionary 1964). In most empirical and analytical studies remittances have been defined as personal income transfers that were associated directly with migration. Remittances also flow from centre to periphery i.e. mainly from First world to Third world countries (Wallerstein 1974). Piotrowski (2006) suggested that one of the reasons why migrants also remitted was in order to affirm their formal membership in the homeland. When

migrants visit their homes in villages, they carry with them information about employment opportunities, hence, remittance has served to retain and reinforce status and networks in their homeland (Lipton 1980).

Over the last few decades, different forms of remittance transfers have been identified in various studies but economic remittances have been found to be the most dominant in the literature. Economic remittances have been generally referred to cash flows from migrant's destination country to their homeland. Two forms of economic remittances are broadly transferred which are in cash and in kind (goods brought by the migrants). Macro economic variables look at the GPA and the total remittances of migrants. Micro economic variables of remittances look at the level of family and community. Social remittances have been used in various ways according to the educational qualification and occupation of the migrant in the hostland⁷. Remittance is well divided into social, economic and political. In the balance of payment statistics, remittance can be defined as the credits of account of private transfer payments. These aggregates have included grants that have constituted a very small proportion of the total. Growth began in the 1970s with the rise of the oil price in the Gulf and it had steadily fallen in the 1980s and finally became stagnant in the mid 1980s. Now, it is clear from the above that this is associated with the inflow of remittances to India by the workers in the Gulf. Since the 1980s a growing body of literature has already been established which seeks to understand how immigrants sent money home and to describe their patterns of remittance behaviour, i.e. who sends what and how much to

⁷ In this chapter, homeland means Barkas (Hyderabad) and hostland means the Gulf countries without getting into the complexities of the meanings of the terms.

whom, how often, using what channels, and how the money is spent by the members in the family at home (Jha, Sugiyarto and Silva 2010).

Remittance Sending Countries

During the economic crisis of the 1990s, many Asian migrants in countries including USA and Europe suffered. Dubai as the second largest emirate of the UAE, encountered a serious economic downturn which was marked by a critical weakening of the construction sector where majority of the workers were from Asia. In addition to UAE as a country, the region is also an important place in terms of the world migration and remittances to Asia. In fact, several countries from the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) ranked among the top ten at the level of remittances that are sent abroad. However, the leader as far as remittance sending to Asian countries is considered has always been Saudi Arabia which ranks second to US and accounted for US\$16 billion remittances in 2008 which was sent back to different countries. This showed that Saudi Arabia played a role of an important region for sending remittances to Asian countries (for example Philippines).

Flow of Indian immigrants to GCC countries clearly showed that UAE was the most sorted out and sought after destination for Indian workers. It was estimated by Rajamony in 2009 that about 1.2 to 1.5 million Indian migrants lived in UAE especially in Dubai. But the Indian migrant flows have reduced since 2009. Outward remittances constituted a significant phenomenon in the GCC countries because of two reasons. First, the percentage of total expatriate population and second are the restrictions imposed on immigrants. Despite an increasing domestic labour force, they

continued to rely heavily on expatriates. A noteworthy share of GCC workers are Asian migrants (Kapiszewski 2006). This made remittance to Asia very complicated vis-a-vis economic conditions in these countries. In the same way, these countries of origin are also dependent on the oil price which is the main export and principal source of income (Sikha Jha 2010).

Though remittances have been a constant part of emigration from India since early 20th century, it is only recently that there has been a greater attention to social remittances. In terms of social remittances, India can be referred to as the world leader in remittances received. Remittance flows has been growing considerably for last four years with an average of 29% per year (Jha, Sugiyarto and Silva 2010). This is because a number of Indians migrate to USA as skilled migrants identifying them as NRIs during 1990s. A parallel stream of migration is to the Gulf countries. However, recently a significantly higher rate of interest offered by Indian banks like many other countries with zero interest rates might have attracted large amount of NRI deposits. Another reason is the flexible exchange rate after liberalisation of the economy in 1991 which makes large deposits in Indian banks and the policies for such interest rates by Reserve Bank of India (Reserve Bank of India 2006).

Types of Remittances- An overview

An interesting category of remittance, which is popular among the migrants of Afghanistan, Palestine and Myanmar is *refugee remittances* (Isotalo 2009). It is mainly those migrants who had migrated without proper legal channels to different countries for occupational purpose and thus have sent money back home through

improper channels. For instance, refugees mostly went to the Great Britain ever since the 1960s or even prior to that. The case of Pakistanis in Bristol was considered as a significant example to understand the phenomenon. At that time, Britain was looking for cheap labour to man the industries where the wages were far too low to attract the British people. Cheap labour from India and Pakistan migrated in large numbers and often without proper legal channels of migration thus creating a refugee diaspora. These migrants have maintained constant link with their homes and have sent economic remittances (Jeffery 1976, 2:3). Another form of remittance is the *family and collective remittances* (Goldring 2004). *Family remittance* is referred to as the remittance transfer from an individual migrant to their families back home. In the study, many respondents expressed their sense of responsibility towards their parents. For example, Ali (respondent) described his own situation where he had been the sponsor for his three younger brothers who migrated to the Gulf and Australia for work and study while Ali was working in Gulf. *Collective remittance* is when money is collected in groups for the wellbeing of the community or group in the homeland. Collective remittances are exchanged by individuals in their role as organisational members and are used in organisational settings such as hometown associations, church groups or political parties. In some cases, as in large parts of Africa, membership of ethnically based home place associations in cities and towns are compulsory for migrants (for example, Little 1965, Gugler 1971 cited in Standing 1984). Similarly, many communities are built in Barkas based on collective remittances which help the poor with money at the time of health crisis and marriage of the daughters.

Measuring the flow of Economic Remittances

Remittances included different kinds of money that flow from migrants to their families. These included regular amounts of money that were important for the family budget, money sent for investment like purchase of land, building or reconstruction of house, community development like building of a mosque, repayment of family debt, and gift money for family celebrations. Remittances were unlike the market flows of money as they were not sensitive to or affected by the rate of interest thus being comparatively stable (Reserve Bank of India 2004).

The official data on remittances did not include the large unaccounted for and informal transfer of money, jewelry, clothes or other consumer goods that were carried in person for friends or for family. This also excluded money that flowed through informal and illegal channels like hawala. In some countries these informal remittances were as much as fifty percent of the total remittances (World Bank 2003). However, strict restrictions had been imposed since September 11 2001 as these were leading to anti social groups. These checks and levies were especially strong in Mexico and Pakistan (World Bank 2003). The use of internet has also made it easier to transfer money. In many cases, post offices have given way to banks and subsequently to online transfers for sending money home (Chand 2003, 2004).

It should also be noted that figures of remittances varied according to the methods used by the organisations for measuring. For example, reporting of remittances to India in 2003 differed between World Bank (\$ US 8.4 billion) and Reserve Bank of India (\$ US 15.2 billion) (Singh 1994, 1996, 2009). However both sources have agreed on the economic impact of remittances in their contribution to the balance of

payments. United States and the Gulf are the two most important sources of remittances to India due to continuing importance of these regions as a source of employment for Indians (Table 1).

Year	Africa	America	Asia	Europe	International Institutions	Total \$ US Million
1997-98	2.3	37.1	31.3	26.0	3.3	11,875
1998-99	1.7	36.7	37.1	23.6	0.9	10,341
1999-00	1.0	45.5	31.9	20.6	1.0	12,290
2000-01	1.3	44.9	34.3	19.0	0.5	12,873
2001-02	4.5	48.2	23.0	23.2	1.1	12,192
2002-03	0.6	51.1	22.0	25.8	0.5	15,174

Source- Reserve Bank of India, 2004, pp- 140.

In 2010-2011 the figure was 55.62 billion, and in 2011-2012 it was 66.13 billion, followed by 70 billion in 2012 (Economic Times, 2014) from all over the world, especially after the annual Pravasi Bharatiya Divas celebrated in India.

It has been mentioned above that the literature has always highlighted the economic aspect of remittances (Singh 1994, 1996, 2009). According to the World Bank in 2003, India had received the second highest remittances at \$ US 8.4 billion which was second only to Mexico at \$ US 13.2 billion (Global Development Finance 2004) (Table 2).

All Developing Countries in (\$ US billions)	93.0
Mexico	13.2
India	8.4
Philippines	8.0
Pakistan	4.2
Bangladesh	3.2
Egypt, Arab Rep. of	2.9
Thailand	2.8
Columbia	2.5
China	2.4

Source- Global development Finance, 2004

There are other factors that influence remittances such as the nature of migration which is either temporary or permanent. Temporary migrants tend to remit large sums of money as their sole purpose is to make money. Moreover second generation migrants remit most actively. However, if the family has migrated along then stable remittances do not take place and only gift money, money for development, investment and charities are sent back. (Ballard 2003). It was also important to look at the economic situation of the host country. Remittances changed according to the demand of labour. Certain shifts were witnessed in the demand which have led to a decrease of remittances in the Gulf in the 1980s in favour of Europe and the United States (Reserve Bank of India 2004).

Economic Impact of Remittances on the Home Countries

At a macro level, remittances gave a country large stable flow of money and contributed to the foreign exchange balances as well as the gross domestic product. At the individual level, it helped reduce poverty and improved standard of living of the families together with the status in their community. The situation is similar for all the countries in the world which send their labour forces outside the boundaries. One such example is the study done by Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2004) in their study about women from Mexico, Sri Lanka, Philippines and other Third World Countries who migrate to work in different First World countries as maids, nannies, nurses and brothels. Therefore, there is a broad scale transfer of women from the Third World to the First World and hence a huge amount of remittance goes back to these countries where the families of these women migrants are left behind. This is the impact of economic remittance in the time of globalisation where movement of an individual is no longer restricted to one particular country. These women move between different countries sometimes for betterment from one occupation to another.

Migrant remittance and philanthropic transfers amount to US\$338 billion a year globally which is twice the amount of official development (World Bank 2009). International aid agencies and governments are hard at work in scheming the policies to tap into and purposefully channelise these resources (Wilmaladharma et al 2004). Against this background, it is not surprising to note that many scholars and policy makers consider remittances to be the next development solution (Orozco 2002; Ratha 2005). The official value of remittance from the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) in 2007 had surpassed US\$37 billion which had placed the Gulf in the position of one of

the most active remitting regions in the world. Remittance outflow from Saudi Arabia in 2009 was US\$26 billion thereby placing it second in the world in terms of amount of remittances after United States. Kuwait and Oman had been ranked ninth and thirteenth with US\$10 and US\$5 billion respectively. These remittances became more noteworthy when they were viewed in relation to comparative accounts (Naufal 2011). Most of the times, remittances were not regularly recorded and were difficult to estimate.

Standing (1984) has pointed out that by no means all the remittances are personal and private transfers. When a migrant left his/her homeland then he/she was either financed by the family, relatives or they took loan. The system of sponsoring migrants continued even after the migrant reached hostland and it continued till the migrant found a job. Here, money was flowing from homeland to hostland to meet new migrant's expenses and it was soon reversed as the migrant started sending money back home from his/her salary as a economic remittance. Sometimes goods and gifts are also sent back home. Now, this sending money from hostland to homeland also depended on the type of migration i.e. permanent, temporary or seasonal. In seasonal or temporary migration, remittances come more from hostland (Gulf) to homeland (Barkas, Hyderabad). In most cases of permanent migration, family members have often followed the migrant after a certain interval, leaving no place to remit the money since the entire family has migrated with the individual.

'Remittances remain the second-largest financial flow to developing countries after direct foreign investment, more than double the size of net official finance' (Global Development Finance 2004:169). Dunn (2004) noted that remittances were greater

than the combined money given by international foundations, non-government organisations and corporate philanthropy. She mentioned, ‘remittances and HTA (Home Town Associations) donations both seek to correct inequities not resolved by the market of the government’ (Dunn 2004:2).

Economic Remittances and the Asian Situation

Asian countries are well known for labor exporting. In a total of six main countries there are more than one hundred of the citizens living abroad. These migrants have usually maintained ties with their homeland and also sent remittances back to their countries. One of the principal consequences for developing countries in the ongoing global turmoil is the substantial downtrend of such flow of remittances. According to Jha, Sugiyarto and Vargas- Silva (2010), in 1997 Asian financial crisis had resulted in a ten percent increase in the poverty rates in the Republic of Korea (Korea) and eight percent in Indonesia. This meant that it almost took a decade for poverty headcounts to take recourse to their pre-crisis levels (World Bank 2009). Therefore with the slowdown of the economic growth there was a slowdown in the remittances as well.

The fall in employment and economic slowdown in major industrial economies like the Gulf and Russian Federation tempered the global demand for foreign workers and transmitted the infection through a down trend of remittance flows to developing countries. Therefore, at that time, migrants faced high level of discrimination and hostility as they were perceived to have deprived local workers of their jobs. Their problems were compounded by the tightening of immigration rules in some

destination countries in response to increased unemployment due to a global economic crisis (OECD 2009).

The remittances that were sent by the migrants were not only important for their families but also to the country's balance of payments. In many countries remittances represented a significant proportion of their gross domestic product as well as foreign exchange earnings. In 1999, according to Rajan (2003) India ranked as number one in terms of the volume of remittances with US\$ 11 billion and contributed to 2.6 percent of the GDP. In terms of GDP, Philippines led first among Asian countries (8.8 percent) followed by Sri Lanka in Asia. Similarly, one fifth of the GDP came from remittances for Yemen and Jordan (Table 3).

Top 20 developing countries in the world in remittances, 1999

Rank	Country	Remittances (US\$ in million)	Percentage of GDP
1	India	11,097	2.6
2	Philippines	7,016	8.9
3	Mexico	6,649	1.7
4	Turkey	4,529	2.3
5	Egypt	3,196	4.0
6	Morocco	1,918	5.5
7	Bangladesh	1,803	4.1
8	Pakistan	1,707	2.7
9	Dominican Republic	1,613	11.0
10	Thailand	1,460	1.1
11	Jordan	1,460	21.2

12	El Salvador	1,379	12.3
13	Nigeria	1,292	3.5
14	Yemen	1,202	24.5
15	Brazil	1,192	0.2
16	Indonesia	1,109	0.8
17	Ecuador	1,084	5.8
18	Sri Lanka	1,056	6.9
19	Tunisia	761	4.0
20	Peru	712	1.2

Source- International Monetary Fund Balance of Payments Statistics and World Development Report of World Bank.

Major Trends in Remittances from Asia

While calculating the usage of remittances, it was seen that there were flaws as sometimes the central banks merged remittances and compensation into one category whereas these were in fact separate and two distinct compartments. It is a well known fact that worldwide remittance transfer has increased in the recent times and Asia is at the centre of that acceleration with three, out of the four main remittance recipients in the world located in the region. Official estimates of remittances to developing countries has been increasing steadily over the last two decades which shot up from about US\$ 9 billion in 1988 to US\$ 169 billion in 2008. The only discernable period of sluggish growth was during 1997-1998 - the Asian financial crisis. Nonetheless, remittances were quickly recovered and returned to their path of long term growth in one year (Jha 2010).

Several reasons were put forward for such a steady flow of remittances over a long period of time. Firstly migration flows were consistently high. Second, recent drive in

the growth of remittance can be partially credited to the increased use of official channels for sending money abroad and to the improved ability of central banks to record these flows of remittances. Earlier, central banks were paying less attention to remittance flows as it was believed that these flows were not significant enough for the investment in the homeland by the migrants.

The way money is sent back home has also changed over a period of time. This can be regarded as the response to a decrease in the cost of remitting through formal channels where large sum of remittances are sent through wire transfers and these are easily recorded by central banks. Reduction in the cost was brought about by an increased efficiency and a larger network of formal channels. In the past, official channels for remitting had failed to meet the needs of many households due to the strong presence of informal ones (Jha 2010, Barua et al 2007). It was well known that unofficial channels always had an expansive access, enabling it to reach the remotest of areas of the homeland whereas official channels were mostly concentrated in the large metropolitans. Given the new trend of the banks it is seen that the growth of remittance captured the market of private banks and they reached the homes in the remote areas giving many options for personal loans and saving accounts at a lower rates so that migrants from lower income can afford to take loans.

India and Economic Remittances

‘On the national level, there is substantial evidence that remittances are an increasingly important and a relatively stable source of external finance that often plays a critical role in social insurance in countries afflicted by economic and political

crisis' (Kapoor 2003 in www.unrisd.org). Remittances have proved to be more stable, therefore a more reliable source of foreign currency than any other capital flows to developing countries such as FDI and development aid. Since large remittances are sent through informal channels the actual importance is even higher than the published official figures. For instance, in Somalia, remittances are more important for livelihood and survival than development funds (Gundel 2002 in www.unrisd.org).

India not only stood as the largest remittance receiving country but also world leader in remittance received. Remittance flow was high from 1990s which was due to large scale migration to the USA in the mid 1990s that filled positions in the technology sector. Other possibilities for such high remittance receipt was the existence of NRI deposits' accounts as funds from where money was withdrawn in India and in turn was counted as remittances (Reserve Bank of India 2006a). Finally another reason included the change in the exchange rate policy which was made more flexible (Reserve Bank of India 2006b) (Jha 2010). It is known that remittance transfers require foreign exchange transaction (for example from US dollar to Indian rupees) and a flexible exchange rate decreases the incentive of remitting through informal channels where migrants obtain a 'premium' exchange rate.

Table 4 showed trends of remittances for last thirty years for India. According to the World Bank estimate, the remittances have steadily grown from US\$80 million in 1970, to 2.79 billion in 1980, 3.4 billion in 1991 and about 12 billion in 2000. Indian economy benefitted directly from the liberalization of the foreign exchange regime

since 1991. According to Kannan and Hari (2002) this ‘windfall’ gain varied from nearly Rs. 0.5 million in 1991-92 to 3.34 billion in 1999-2000 (Table 4).

Trends of Remittances to India, 1970-2000

Year	Remittances in billion US\$	Gross National product (GNP)	Percentages of remittances to GNP
1970	0.08	57.31	0.14
1980	2.79	172.67	1.61
1985	2.22	212.75	1.04
1986	2.34	227.05	1.03
1987	2.72	254.47	1.07
1988	2.23	281.10	0.79
1989	2.19	277.94	0.79
1990	1.67	312.13	0.53
1991	3.42	247.43	1.38
1992	2.51	239.76	1.05
1993	4.45	270.02	1.65
1994	7.53	317.47	2.37
1995	7.18	349.19	2.06
1996	11.71	379.95	3.08
1997	11.71	404.34	2.90
1998	9.34	415.51	2.26
1999	11.50	444.16	2.59
2000	11.59	470.48	2.46

Source- World Bank, Annual publications of Global Development Finance, 2002.

Examples of Remittances in Kerala and Punjab

Punjab and Kerala among others are the two regions from where individuals have moved out in large numbers and since time immemorial. Therefore it is important to look at how migrants from these two regions have sent back money in the form of remittances. In the transnational context, the concept of remittances was born when a village migrant sent back money to support her/his family. Slowly and gradually, remittances and information from abroad started changing the lives of people in the village. Kerala and Punjab are the two regions from where large numbers of individuals have migrated to different countries and eventually became an indispensable part of the Indian diaspora. Migration surveys have suggested that after about three of one person absence in Punjab, migrants have started sending money back home and remittances did not decline over time (Oberai and Singh 1980). On the other hand, an earlier study of Bombay suggested that those who were absent for more than twenty years have continued sending remittances (Prabhu 1956). A survey in Delhi showed no evidence of decline in remittances over time in the city (Banerjee 1981). This process grew as the migrant's financial positions experienced improvement. Helweg in his study in Punjab stressed on the non-economic aspect of remittances for the Punjabi Jat saying- '...recipient parents could hold their heads up high because they had raised a good son who looked after them in their old age. This contributed to the *izzat* (honour) of the kin group. The family whose emigrant son did not send support felt ashamed because they raised an ungrateful child who did not appreciate the sacrifices his parents had made for his welfare' (Helweg 1983:437). Paramjit Judge (1994) in his ethnographic work of a single Sikh immigrant who

arrived in Canada in the mid 1950s has revealed much of the collective experience of the migrants while articulating the voice of a Sikh male mill worker.

Similarly in the case of Kerala which has the highest number of migrants to the Gulf countries from India have also used economic remittances in various ways. In Kerala, immigrant households received remittances in the form of both cash and kind. According to a survey by Centre for Development Studies in 2002 headed by Kannan and Hari, 80 percent of the households received cash remittances and 50 percent have received several items in kind such as ornaments, jewelry, clothing, electric and electronic gadgets such as televisions, radio and music systems etc. The consequences of such remittances back to Kerala became a part of the Gulf country- although not politically and geographically but socially, culturally and economically. Men are mostly fond of electronic gadgets and are consuming in large numbers. With the flow of the economic capital, cultural capital also began to circulate beyond boundaries. Not only are material things being exchanged between the two countries but also ideas, values and everyday culture. Whatever happens in the Gulf has serious repercussions in Kerala and vice versa. One of the outlets of expenditure of an emigrant's savings was made for the improvement of her/his house especially the renovation to make it more luxurious, in Kerala. Conspicuous consumption is a hallmark of an emigrant from Kerala. Emigrants become accustomed to use many durable consumer goods while abroad. Since many of these goods were unavailable in the homeland they tend to bring some of them along when they came for visits or permanently. Rajan's (2002) analysis has pointed out that longer the duration of emigration, higher is the proportion of households that possess cars, televisions, and

telephones. One major motive behind Kerala's migration to the Gulf is to improve economic conditions. Comparison between occupational composition of a migrant prior to and post the movement indicated that there was considerable upward social mobility that was made possible because of migration.

However, one must be cautious about the fact that remittances did not always eradicate poverty and brought about development rather is related to migration selectivity. Because of the costs and risks associated with migration, it is argued that the poorest do not migrate the most and certainly not internationally. The main beneficiaries of remittances are lower and middle income countries which receive nearly half of all the remittances worldwide (Kapur and Mc Hale 2003 as mentioned in www.unrisd.org). The share of remittances to GDP tends to be high in many emigration countries such as Morocco, Somalia, Philippines and also the island economies like Caribbean, the Pacific or the Atlantic (Kapur 2003: 10). In other poor countries such as Somalia, the official figure of remittances is unavailable but likely to be very high relative to GDP. International migrations have reduced poverty either directly or indirectly. Adams and Page (2005) surveyed 71 developing countries and concluded that international migration and remittances have reduced the level, depth and severity of poverty in the developing world. For instance, they found that Egyptian and Ghanaian survey data indicated that migration enabled poor people to move out of poverty. This has led to upward social mobility and consequently new life styles for the migrant families (as discussed in the previous chapter).

Consequences of Economic Remittances

It was well understood that socio- economic and demographic factors have led to migration which in turn has led to the flow of remittances. A major consequence of migration is the reduction in unemployment. As a result of migration, number of unemployed people has declined by 32 percent and the unemployment rate has declined from 14 to 11 percent. The Kerala Employment Exchange reported unemployment level of 0.37 millions in 1998. Male unemployment was 0.65 million and female was 0.62 million. Female unemployment rate was 23 percent compared with a rate of only 7.5 percent among males. Reduction of unemployment was larger among those with less than secondary school education (37 percent) compared to those with secondary school education or a degree (30 percent) (Rajan 2002). The jobs that opened up as a consequence of the remittances are primarily in the construction industry, education, hospitality and health sectors as well as service industry and small scale business. There was always a one sided focus on remittances and their direct economic relation for the nation's economy. Less attention has been paid to non financial relations or results of remittances, such as social structures and ethnic hierarchies in migrant communities and countries.

Education

Migrants also invest in the future generations through education, health care and purchase of house and land outside Barkas.. Donations to the IITs and IIMs by the alumni associations are one of the consequences of economic remittance. Not only IITs and IIMs but also a growing number of International Schools around the city of

Hyderabad is a mark of huge amount of economic remittances that are sent by Indians abroad. Presently, residents of Barkas are acquiring formal education, although less, as a sign of prestige. Many families have mentioned about their children's educational status to prove their family status in the neighbourhood. This is also present among the lower income groups who want their children to acquire education for better occupation. Acquiring foreign education has also increased in Barkas as the younger generation is migrating to different Western countries for higher education. Children are going to private English medium schools because of constant flow of remittances back to the homeland. Few middle and upper middle class migrant families are investing in their children's education after coming back from the Gulf.

Health Care

In the recent years, Indian diaspora's philanthropic engagement with India has been growing gradually. This is because of the success of the Indians abroad especially in the United States. There are cases of Indian diaspora's contribution to the health care. Some of the contributions include free service by returnee doctors of various kinds of diseases. There are several individuals that come in the news regularly covering the NRI doctors for the free services given. One such institution is L.V Prasad Eye Institute in Hyderabad. It was set up as a non-profit trust in October 1986 by an NRI, Gullapalli N. Rao, then an Ophthalmologist in Rochester, New York. The institute is supported by NRIs in diverse ways including entire planning and development, collaborative support in teaching and research and significant monetary help to create world class infrastructure. Another such example is the Apollo hospital in Hyderabad

which provides services by the NRI doctors. Apollo hospital also has separate sections for the Gulf migrants inside the campus. Some of the successful NRI ventures in Hyderabad include, Apollo Hospital Groups, LV Prasad Eye Institute, The Usha Mullapudi Cardiac Centre, Indo-American Cancer Institute, Biki Cancer Hospital, Medicity Hospital, Yashoda Superspeciality Hospital, and so many other small-scale private hospitals. Most of these hospitals attract international patients too by providing quality healthcare comparable to international standard (Thesis submitted by Sadananda Sahoo in 2004).

Travel Agencies

One cannot deny the role played by travels agents in facilitating the migration process starting from getting a passport to booking flight tickets. It has increased in large numbers in Hyderabad in recent times due to movement of individuals between nations. Due to such large scale migration, business in the city of Hyderabad has flourished. Presently travel agents are spread in every corner of the city with maximum facilities so that the migrant do not face any kind of crisis in the process of application. Sometimes these agencies also have networks abroad and they help individuals to acquire jobs through them. In these cases, they merely acted as middle men. Migrants feel safe with these agents. However, there are umpteen numbers of cases where travel agents cheat individuals in the process of migration mainly first time migrants. They also act as money lenders sometimes. Therefore, business has increased due to constant flow of remittances back to the homeland and that facilitate the migration for the next person. It is a constant process. Travel agents play multiple

roles such as money lenders, middle men in helping an individual to get job and also facilitate the migration process.

Gender and Economic Remittances

Gender blindness in many studies is also a major subject of criticism in so much as the household approaches advocated by NELM (New Economics of Labour Migration) represents households as 'monolithic, internally altruistic units making unanimous decisions to the advantage of the whole group.' Feminist researchers have argued that this generalisation supported intra-household power inequalities and ruled out both individual decision making and the influence of non-household members (Rodenberg 1997: 4-5). Gender inequality has affected remittances, its usage and its significant allocation simultaneously putting forward the question as to whether remittance automatically enabled people to challenge established gender roles. Instances from Kerala and Barkas bring out the complexities of gender and economic remittances and the roles associated with it.

When one discusses about migration in any society, one frequently conjures up an image of large amount of remittances, magnificent palatial houses, and huge amounts of bank deposits and so on. Very few actually think about the role of women or simply those women who are left behind. In Barkas women migrate either with the entire family or with husbands. In my study, most women were married before migration to the Gulf. As men migrate more first, women are more affected after separation from their husbands as they take care of the household single handedly, many a times. Even in the wealthy families in Barkas, women do not enjoy economic

control and are suppressed by their mothers in-law in most cases. At the same time, young housewives or elderly mothers-in-law who have migrated with the families are financially dependent on the family.

As there are more individual male migrants from Kerala economic activities are also considerably less among females than males. The differential among the migrants was 45.3 percent before migration but was as much as 76.3 percent after returning to Kerala. Thus it can be said that emigration has tended to increase labour force participation among females. (Rajan 2003). Praveena Kodoth and V.J Varghese in their work on migrant women, domestic workers and state policy in Kerala (2010) have argued that state and social regulations create serious consequences for the prospects of Indian women domestic workers in the Gulf. Up until the 1970s domestic workers were mainly from India, Philippines and Indonesia. Filipina women earn more in the Gulf than Indian women workers given their higher educational qualifications which are required for the service of maids. Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2004) have studied how Fillipina, Mexican, Sri Lankan and women from other Third World Countries are migrating to the First World countries to work as nannies, domestic maids, nurses and care givers of all types. Their movements are not given importance in many studies on migration, but they are key players in the international migration as a large number of remittances come from women migrants. But recently in the Gulf countries, Filipinas are replaced by Indonesians in the middle and upper income households and Ethiopians are replacing Indians in the lower income households. It is thus almost the call of duty for the Indian state to take necessary steps and protect these migrants from harassment through social protection cover. In

Kerala, in 2008 and 2009, there was a wide range of advertisements on TV about the age of prohibition of domestic workers but little has changed. The State has discounted the struggle that these labourers encounter in the hostland and the price they pay for better lives.

Almost all women in my study have stressed on the fact that economic benefits is one of the major gains from their husband's migration. This has upgraded the status of the woman in the family with greater financial responsibilities as this was dependent on the kind of occupation pursued by the husband in the Gulf. From the economic point of view there is definite gain from the migration. But there is also pain and sacrifices. The most visible economic benefit is the self confidence and the ability to get things done in a man's world. Loneliness, mental stress and hard work are present and are not independent of making choices within and outside households. The mobile phones and internet have made distances shorter for communication.

Apart from remitting money, certain social and cultural practices are constantly being exchanged and bringing back Arabian culture is a common phenomenon now in Barkas.

Social Remittances, Social Capital and the Public Spheres

As connections between sending and receiving countries have strengthened and became more widespread, a transnational public sphere emerged (Soysal 1997). Peggy Levitt (1998) has mentioned the definition of public sphere by Jurgen Habermas' (1984) and argued, 'the public sphere is a space where citizens came together to debate their common affairs, contest meanings and negotiate claims.'

Habermas gave a historical-sociological account of creation, flourishing and demise of the ‘bourgeois’ public sphere which was based on rational critical debate and discussions. Habermas further argues that ‘due to specific historical circumstances a new civil society has emerged in the eighteenth century. This was driven by a need of an open commercial arena where news and matters of common interest would be freely and openly discussed, for example, in coffee house discussions in Britain. These discussions were accompanied by growing literacy levels, accessibility to literature and new kinds of journalism’ (medlibrary.org). Habermas has also argued that transnational collectivity is possible if there is link between homeland and hostland. If a migrant completely assimilates in the hostland, then a transnational public sphere is not possible as there is no exchange of ideas, behaviour and culture at a macro level. Peggy Levitt has related the concept of public sphere to the context of social remittance at a micro level, where migrants are the important players in the process of exchange.

Social Capital as a form of Social Remittance

The concept of social capital came to light following the studies of Jane Jacobson (1961), Pierre Bourdieu (1983) James Coleman (1988), Robert Putnam (1993-2000) and Smith (2007). Bourdieu (1986) has defined social capital as ‘an asset of actual and potential resources which have been joined to each via more or less organised relationships based on mutual familiarity or recognition. Accordingly, social capital size provided to an agency is dependent to the size of connections network that he/she may mobilise effectively and amount and size of the capital processes by an agency or

even a capital which is possessed by a set of agencies he/she has connected with them'. Socially the feeling of a need to transfer the experience is necessary for a human being and this state appears when mutual trust based interactions are connected between individuals. This can be seen as a form of social remittance which is happening at a community level.

Bourdieu in his theory of practice 'dissolves oppositions that have defined perennial lines of debate in social sciences' between subjectivist and objectivist, material and symbolic, interpretation and explanation, synchrony and diachrony and micro and macro levels of analysis' (Wacquant 2006: 4) (Clark 2011). In his theory of practice, he builds on the concepts of habitus, field and capital to illustrate the dialectical relationship between structuralist and constructivist approaches. 'Habitus designates the system of durable and transposable dispositions through which we perceive, judge and act in the world' (Wacquant 2006: 6). It implies the unconsciously acquired habits and the internalization of social conditions in which one is located. Bourdieu explains that it is both 'structured' and 'structuring' as it is the 'product of structure, producer of practice, and reproducer of structure' (ibid: 7). The concept of habitus illustrates the circular relation between structure and agency, of how choices, perceptions, interpretations and consequently actions are associated with the habitual internalisation of social structures and how these perceptions and actions shape social structures. The concept of habitus is similar to the idea of framing as both attempt to understand the process of construction of reality and social action. According to Crossley (2002), the concept of habitus provides a 'unified theory of agency' (ibid: 175). Thus the concept of habitus allows one to explain how people belonging to

different social categories have different experiences of the social world and consequently form and interpret frames differently.

According to Bourdieu, field is a structural space of positions where agents have positions within the field based on the endowment of capital (Waquant 2006: 7). Every field has its own rules, a pre-established set of norms, meaning and power for example the political field, the religious field, the media field and so on. A field is dynamic as it can take up different shapes, sizes and characters over time. It is a field of struggle as different agents influence and question the pre-established set of rules in the field. Bourdieu uses the metaphor of 'games' and 'markets' to illustrate the concept of field. The members of a field have to play different games in different fields keeping in mind the different rules that govern each of the fields. Thus one can conceive of agents playing different games in different fields. Also, the concept of field is a fluid concept, as it can be applied to a specific field and a collection of fields consisting of many smaller (in degree) fields.

Bourdieu's concept of field, habitus and capital are internally linked. The positions that members within a field have are linked to the capital that members possess. For Bourdieu, 'capital is any resource effective in a given social arena that enables one to appropriate the specific profits arising out of participation and contest in it' (Bourdieu 1986: 76). Bourdieu lists out four kinds of capital- economic, social, cultural and symbolic. Economic capital refers to the wealth and financial resources, social capital implies the networks, cultural capital means the skills and competences imbibed as a result of one's belonging to a certain group, and symbolic capital indicates the status and recognition that one has in a field. It is the combination of volume and

composition of different forms of capital that determine the position of an individual in a field. Also, endowment of capital indicates the social location of an individual which affects the habitus of an individual.

Peggy Levitt has used Bourdieu's concept of social capital as one of the types of social remittance. Social capital is used by Bourdieu in order to explain membership in social groups. This is seen in varying degrees such as social, cultural, religious, gender and through networks. Migrants bring a set of social and cultural tools that help their adjustments to their new lives. Most of the interviews in Barkas showed changing attitudes and outlook in several ways. For example, Mohammad Bajaber (respondent) mentioned that he attended his child's parent-teacher meeting in school in Doha unlike his father. These are the new attitudes/manners that they learn and also want people around them to follow. Bajaber pointed out that his attitude changed due to Gulf migration as he has witnessed the outside world. He also believed that his neighbours and relatives should also follow the same. By this, he meant a collective phenomenon. Therefore, this kind of exchange is not based at an individual level rather an individual's contribution to his/her neighbourhood, relatives or friends as a whole, in groups. Studies of evolutionary institutional change have suggested that there are useful mechanisms to understand how resources transform into social remittances. According to Foner (1994), a similar process occurred in social remittance. Migrants interacted in varying degrees in the host societies and adapted to various ways of behaviour and attitudes which they brought back with them to their homeland.

In a similar way Coleman and Putnam have also presented views on social capital and family relationships and how cultural remittances flowed in the space. For Coleman, social capital is within the family. Kawachi (2012) has defined Coleman's definition of social capital as, 'not a single entity but a variety of entities having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure.' In other words, he stressed on the importance of closure of social networks for the creation and maintenance of social capital that built strong networks among the migrants. Zontini (2007) has defined Putnam's (1993) understanding of social capital and said that Putnam was more interested in the impact of social capital on democracy and economic prosperity. Putnam viewed social capital as a public good that was generated in the community and not in the families. He defined social capital as, 'features of social organisations, such as networks, norms and trust that facilitate action and cooperation for mutual benefit' (Zontini 2007).

While Putnam and Coleman's work have both been influential in understanding the concept of social capital, at the same time they have also emphasised on the concepts of family, community and civic participation. Many writers have criticised their work on grounds of being 'ethnocentric' and 'gender blind' (Innerarity 2003; Morrow 1999) as they have overlooked the complexities of gender and race and how they have affected the formation of networks and social relations. In this study it is seen how a migrant creates trust and network across geographical boundaries and nation states (see also Levitt 2001; Bryceson and Vuerola 2002). There are multiple practices with the kin, obligations and responsibilities that operate within family networks, like

providing monetary loans and small favours, making telephone calls to family members to give support, advice or just to check up on them, organising meals together especially married women with children and family celebrations like Ramzaan, birthdays, eating together on Fridays and regular visits and hosting relatives for overseas employment or education. Families and migrants both spent considerable time to this irrespective of the geographical distance.

Social Remittances

One of the important contributions to the field of sociology is the coining of the term social remittance by Peggy Levitt (1998). Peggy Levitt in her work on *The Transnational Villagers* (1998) has explored the familial, religious and political connections between workers of Miraflores, a town in the Dominican Republic and Jamaica plain which is a neighbourhood in Boston and examines the ways these ties transform lives in both homeland and hostland. Her work is based on an in-depth ethnography in Boston and gives a detailed account of transnational migration transforms family and work life and the challenges that the migrants face in terms of race and gender as well as the lives of those who stay behind in the process of migration. She has argued that assimilation and transnational lives are not incompatible in this era of globalisation and constant movement of people (wcfia.harvard.edu).

Migrant remittances help in supplementing the domestic incomes of millions of poor families across the world. In 2002 the flow of international remittances to the developing countries stood \$72 billion (Ratha 2003). Now, while the economic

conception of remittances continued to dominate research, the term 'remittance' has been expanded to embrace the non-economic dimension, since the 1990s. Peggy Levitt (2001) coined the term social remittance and described it as ideas, behaviour, identity and social capital that flow from hostland to homeland and vice versa.

There are three types of social remittances i.e. normative structures, systems of practice and social capital. Normative structure includes norms of behaviour, notions about family responsibilities, principles of neighborliness, community participation and aspirations for upward social mobility. Gender, class, race and identity played an important role in defining the normative structure of social remittances. Systems of practice are the actions created by the normative structures. This includes how individuals delegate household tasks and their participation in political and civic groups. They also include organisational practices such as recruiting and socialising with new members, goal setting and strategising, establishing leadership roles and forming interagency ties. Drawing from Levitt's (1998), idea about normative structures, it is possible to highlight the instances of how exchanges are happening such as writing letters by the Polish immigrants to their non-immigrant family members at home (Thomas and Znackieki 1927) or how the return migrants to the West Indies are taking back ideologies that they develop from the Black Power movement in the United States (Patterson 1998). In other words, when one goes back to the homeland, he/she brings certain types of new skills and aptitudes, attitudinal and ideological changes and it has effects between the migrant and his/her family and the community he/she lives in. Secondly, the systems of practice which is guided by the normative structures in both cultures are also transmitted.

Social remittance can be linked to the concept of social capital (Bourdieu 1986). Accordingly, social capital size provided to an agency is dependent on the size of network connections that he/she may mobilise effectively and the amount and size of the capital processes by an agency or even a capital which is possessed by a set of agencies he/she has connected with them. Moreover, Levitt has mentioned that the more dense and tightly connected the link, the more efficient is the flow of social remittances. Another explanation of social capital includes the social and political environment that enabled norms to develop and shape social structure. This view includes formal institutions and structures such as the government, political parties, legal and civil liberties movements. The focus on institutions draws on North (1990) and Oslon (1982) who have argued that such institutions have an important effect on the rate and pattern of economic development. In other words, it is also crucial to consider the social remittances that migrants sent back to their homeland.

Social remittance is important for several reasons. Firstly, it plays an important role in the transnational collective identity by building communities and exchanging certain ideas across scapes, values and norms collectively irrespective of class or background (Appadurai 1996). Secondly, it brings the social impacts of migration to the forefront. Lastly, it is a potential community development aid. In this chapter, the focus is on the non-economic aspects of migration from a perceived hostland (the gulf) to a perceived homeland (Barkas). The demographic characteristics of the homeland (family members, households and dependents) and the changing geographic and socio-economic contexts of local and regional economies have influenced the distribution of patterns, remittances investment and propensity for circulation and return migration

for return migrants or for emigration. Vinay Lal shows in his study of reverse migrants to Delhi, (2008, 3), 'these returnees, however, are also an avidly consuming class, and they set standards of emulation for Indians outside their gated communities'. The new cities are influenced by the wealth of the population that has come back after living abroad for some years and make concrete changes to the landscape. Barkas, which is indeed the hub of many adaptations, might be termed as one type of transnational collectivity drawing from scholars such as Soysal, Levitt and Habermas. In my study there are clear indications of a transnational public sphere. In Barkas, when a migrant moves with or without his/her family to the Gulf, then the migrant and/or the family has a constant connection and exchange different types of ideas and behaviour with their relatives and friends back home. Here a migrant and non-migrant come together and discuss some aspects of their lives. This is done through collective identity where majority of the residents follow the culture that is brought back by the migrant. It has been mentioned earlier that few everyday life practices get prominence and adapted in the process. This is mainly done in the weddings and occasional get togethers in Barkas. It is precisely because every member of the neighbourhood has some kind of tie or affiliation with the Gulf which could be one of the following— occupation, marriage or kin. In such cases both the migrant and non-migrant have a sense of belongingness to a group that pans out into two settings. Given the context, here I have focused on different types of social remittances that the migrants bring back to their families or friends, that is, from the Gulf countries to Barkas.

What is exchanged and how?

Given the description and history of Barkas, it is clear that social relations clearly affected economic transfers (Cohen 2004; Portes et al 2002). Migrants always strategically decided on those connections which were to be emphasised and the ones which were to be ignored based on their assumptions about the future needs. Prema Kurien (2008) has observed striking differences in how economic remittances were used in three Indian villages in the state of Kerala. Migrants from the Muslim village had distributed their remittance to a large circle of community members. Hindus on the other hand, spent much on life cycle rituals and Christians had supported their families which included saving for dowry and education. Other than spending on social activities, migrants have also remitted consumer goods such as televisions, air conditioners, music systems, mobile phones, gold, computers which led to conspicuous consumption adding to more luxurious lifestyle and consumption pattern in their homelands. Clearly, there is upward social mobility in the community.

Social Consequences of Remittances

Social remittance gets exchanged when a migrant comes back on holidays or permanently. The migrant frequently influences through the ideas and social values that they have brought along which in most cases are accepted by the family members and friends because of the higher social status, knowledge and networks abroad. This is particularly so if the migrant is an older community member. It can also be attributed to the notion of collective identity in the neighbourhood. Many a time, families or neighbourhood were pressurised to listen to the messenger. This happens

when the receiver is socially and economically dependent on the migrant who brings back certain norms, values and ideas with them. It is also true that some follow them because they want to be remittance transmitters especially the older members of the family or the community.

Social remittance is also a consequence of a migrant's or his/her family's gender, class, and life cycle position. Individuals with more access to resources, with increased earning could accept or reject remittances independently without any compulsion. This is even more complicated for women. In Barkas, younger women with education have the tendency to reject certain types of remittances whereas married are obliged to accept them. For example, Bahraja's youngest daughter, Mona Hassan, a twenty five year old, has started her own garments business in the house just opposite to hers so that she did not have to go out to the city. However, her sister in-law was not allowed to look after the business. It was a joint venture that included the mother and the unmarried daughter of that family. The daughter in-law's ideas for the improvement of the business were always rejected due to perpetuation of traditional patriarchal mindset prevailing in the household. Residents of Barkas either working in the Gulf or those who have returned from the Gulf have exchanged certain ideologies at home, socially. Ahmed Bahraja, a 31 year old migrant working in Dammam for four years has pointed out,

When I go home or speak to my family on the phone, I tell them everything about my life in Dammam. What the laws and rules are like here. What is prohibited here. I personally feel that my family or my locality at large should behave the way people behave in Saudi Arabia. There is no problem in following them. In fact it will bring more the family closer. Hyderabad is my home and people should opt for betterment from all aspects. After my first visit, I came back home post a gap of two years. When I was travelling back home, I

saw the streets were so unclean and people were not bothered about it. In Saudi, especially in Dammam everything is so clean and less polluted. I asked my father to take steps to clean our locality or atleast our backyard. Here, people throw garbage on the streets. I believe tourists will get bad impression when they see this mess. These and many more good habits that I have acquired after migrating are what I would want to show people back home.

The migrant may talk of different kinds of ideas and practices, encouraging the community members to pursue whatever are possible in their locality and in their families. In this way, the city gets a face lift where migrants are concerned about the outer look of the city or their neighbourhood. Similarly, Abu Saleh who works as a room service person in Dubai has pointed out about his daughter's education emphasising that he aspired her to acquire higher studies. Majority of the migration remittances were used for renovation of the houses, buying property outside Barkas, purchasing land and education of the next generation- invested with the hope of future economic security. These networks of education and family investment have produced social capital on which a migrant's families are dependent. Further, with the changing consumption pattern, they were becoming more individualistic and trying to be more cosmopolitan rather than being caught up in the old ways of everyday lives. An example of this was one of the Bajaber family who had described his own situation after his sons returned from the Gulf after a long period of time. This was how the remittances were used by the Bajaber family who is now an upper middle class, having risen from an originally middle class one.

My eldest son works as a commercial pilot in Emirates airlines and second son is a partner with a local Arab in an optometry shop in Dubai. Both of them have migrated long time ago. When they came back, they wanted to build a new house. At that time, land was available for cheap in Mehdipatnam. Two of my sons lived in Mehdipatnam as they believed that they would spend all their

savings on constructing a huge and magnificent house. Two of my younger sons who are also in Gulf did not earn as much as the elder ones and so they stayed in Barkas. We have improved our condition after my eldest son got employed. This is how my sons used the money they sent. The house that my eldest and second son built in Mehdipatnam was a replica of a house in Dubai. His children were acquiring English medium education in Riyadh.

Socially, both these families have tried to give equal importance to the education of their children. The eldest son's children studied in Riyadh's international school whereas those who lived in Barkas were studying in private schools in the city. Moreover, eating habits, buying everyday commodities or visiting places have also changed post migration.

A lower class family's narrative was also an important aspect in the study of social remittances. Abu Saleh, a 36 year old, working as room service person in a hotel in Dubai has pointed out,

I have saved a lot to give good life to my family. I had done everything possible and now they at least receive three square meals and wear new clothes on occasions which were not there in my father's era as he did not earn much. I could do very little though.

Social Networks

The particularities of religious, linguistic, residential, occupational, education and marriage networks based in Barkas have strongly influenced the maintenance of social networks and the formation of new configurations of these networks abroad. It is important to understand the types of networks that help one to migrate and what is being brought back by the migrant. One of the central aspects of the formation of networks for migration is family. It is done in several ways- such as paying visits, spending vacations, sending letters, phone calls, attending weddings and funerals and

internet video chatting and social media. Migrants sometimes take their families with them they can afford visits. Many families in Barkas now meet regularly in the Gulf (if in the same country) more than they met in Barkas. The global networks which link migrants to the Gulf are quite normal in Barkas. Barkas is known as the *Dubaiwala* neighbourhood by the local people. When a male migrant visits his neighbourhood after a regular interval, then he experiences the changes in that neighbourhood. Many have mentioned that the fastest and the most perceptible change that they have encountered is the construction of new houses having given away to the old mud and thatched houses.

Various studies have shown that immigrants in most cases have depended on networks and ties in order to sustain their transnational activities (Portes et al 1999; Vertovec 1999; Goulborne 2002). They made sense of their experiences through the baggage that they brought with them. To elaborate, sometimes ideas that are brought by the migrants to the host societies remain unchallenged whereas in other cases new ideas and culture that a migrant adopts replaces the existing ones. Here, a new system of interaction of ideas and cultural patterns is created when they come in contact with other migrants or locals in the Gulf. For example, this type of interaction and blending of new ideas sometimes proved to be helpful for the migrants for setting up of business activities and international networks in the hostland. This is easier for the migrants who have more money, for whom it is relatively simpler to set up international networks abroad. More contact with the host society would mean greater exposure to its different features, more reflection on existing practices, and a greater potential for incorporating new routines. Moreover, when most of the co-workers in

the hostland are from similar background then they try to interact and socialise. Migrants from the professional class have maintained good relationships with the citizens of the Gulf as well as migrants from his/her homelands. There were few migrants who maintained contacts only with migrants from their own region or religion and that gave them social security in the hostland. It is a debatable aspect as to how a migrant selects his/her group after migration. Migrants from Barkas have always tried to maintain contacts with the local citizens of the Gulf as they felt closer to them culturally.

However, migrants also interacted with fellow migrants who were Muslims or South Asians or from same region i.e. Hyderabad. These created small networks among the migrants with whom they prefer to interact. However, there are few cases where a migrant is open to new ideas and practices and observe the world around them by listening to how others are interpreting the world around as well as through visual media like television and newspapers. Networks of marriage, of employment, of politics and of religion are equally important. These networks are so strong among the migrants that there have been only very few occasions when the local authorities were approached when migrants face crisis in the hostland. They prefer to deal with the problems by using their personal networks such as friends, relatives or kin who have strong influence in the hostland.

The other side of it is the networks for obtaining employment in the hostland. Drawing from Guarnizo (1994), migrants have used these networks to develop entrepreneurship in the homeland as well as hostland. This is best understood by first analysing marriage migration from Barkas which is of momentous significance. Also,

following close is the analysis of how men who had migrated in the 1970s and 1980s have proved to be useful networks for others from this neighbourhood.

Marriage networks from Barkas are most of the time dependent on the brothers in-law of the groom, who are Arabians, for employment abroad. When the male members of the families first migrate, they are given separate houses or live with their sisters and aunties till they find a suitable job to reduce their struggle. After recruitment, they continue staying in the same house or are given separate apartments by their brothers in-law or uncles, who are Arab citizens, and invite the rest of the family members to migrate. Here, the kinds of jobs are not only based on qualification but also through kin and relative networks. Even now, many young men are waiting for their turn to work in the Gulf with the help of their relatives or friends. There are few families in Barkas where the families receive monthly fixed amount from the women of the family, who are married to Arab citizens of the Gulf, and the male members of that family in Barkas are unemployed. However, in my study, the case of Abdul Rahim, businessman from Barkas showed clearly how marriage migration has helped in shaping business network abroad,

I started my business with the help of my aunt who was married to a local Arab. Aunt helped abba as well to obtain employment in a chemist shop in Dubai. He worked in Dubai for twenty five years and then I migrated as I wanted to establish network abroad and Dubai was a known place for us. My partners encouraged me to open the same business in Barkas. All this happened with the help of my aunt to whom I will always remain grateful.

Similarly, Ali Bin Barzaik mentioned how he built his family business using social networks,

I used to travel with Abba to different countries and was attracted to the quality of life and the better economic opportunity. I always wanted to set up business abroad like Abba's friends. Hence I started the business of real estate of buying and selling land in Dubai with the help of local Arabs who were my father's friends. Without strong network it was difficult to get into the business of real estate. I also get buyers from India. In this way, I am familiar with the culture of Dubai.

These respondents are bringing back business to their homeland through social networks. Ahmed Khatija is another example who has migrated with his father almost four decades ago and at the time of the interview he was 56 years old. Presently his entire family is spread in Dubai, Ras Al-Khaima and Sharjah. Ahmed's father's sister was married to an Arab citizen in Dubai. Khatija's father went to Dubai to work as a bus driver in the early 1970s. After that Khatija migrated on completion of his intermediate education. Ahmed's mother and sisters also migrated after a period of time and his sisters are married to Arab citizens.

My aunts and sisters are in Dubai and they are very rich so I could afford to bring my family along. I live in a house given by my sister's husband who is rich and owned acres of land in Dubai. My brother in-law has helped me to get the present job otherwise I was unemployed and have now opened a small garments shop where I am a partner. When I came to Dubai, Abba was struggling a lot. I am the only son among five sisters. Three of them were married off at the age of fifteen in Dubai as we were very poor and our survival was very tough.

Other than marriage migration as a form of obtaining employment in the Gulf, men who migrated from Barkas individually and are presently working in the Gulf also help their relatives in a similar manner but not to the extent of living together until the member finds a suitable job. The extension of help is limited to information shared when there is any vacancy. There are very few cases where family members from the wife's side stayed with them till they got jobs. Sometimes, younger brothers in-law

join the business with the sister's husband. This is the case when both are from Barkas and there is no connection of marriages with the Arab citizens. For example, Ahmed Bahraja, a 30 year old sales manager has pointed out,

My brother in-law is my cousin from Barkas. One day my brother in-law who runs a medical instrument business with a local Arab in Dammam asked me to join as a salesman. Since then I am working in Dammam.

This gives rise to broader context of social network of friends and relatives with the help of whom an individual migrates for work in the Gulf.

Cultural Capital and Remittances

Cultural capital refers to non-financial social assets that promote upward mobility beyond economic means, for example, education, cultural activities and dressing or physical appearances. It was first used by Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron in their work (1973) where they have attempted to explain differences in children's outcomes in France in the 1960s. Cultural capital is the accumulated knowledge that gives power and status in the society. Migration research has distinguished between a migrant's assimilation and social mobility in a hostland and the continuing engagement with the homeland (Bean and Stevens 2003; kasinitz et al. 2008). Culture permeates all aspects of the development projects. Migrants carry ideas, practices and narratives which enable mobility and different forms of memberships and belonging. Culture has a strong influence on how the development goals are established, how the policies are put in place to achieve them and how successfully they are met. (Rao and Woolcock 2007).

Peggy Levitt has argued that cultural remittances represented people's emotional attachment and the way in which migrants abroad have utilised their family links to

maintain cultural connections in their homeland (Levitt 2001; Bruman 2002). An interesting type of cultural remittance became evident when a Hadrami migrated from his ancestral homeland in Yemen to his present homeland i.e. Hyderabad. Here the respondent has migrated to Yemen first and then to Dubai for occupational purpose. Salem Bin-Omer Bin-Mafoor has remitted the culture of Yemen to his family which he thought is his own culture given the cultural history of Barkas.

I was in Hadramaut for 10 years in my teenage days. From there I fled to Jeddah and from there to Dubai. I always cherished the memories of Hadramaut as it was my home although none of my family members ever visited Yemen. My father took me to Hadramaut for work. I never went to school. I have never stayed in Barkas for long. I used to come for short trips. When I came for holidays, I always wanted my family and the neighbourhood to follow the tradition and everyday life that is practiced in Hadramaut or even in Jeddah. Apart from material goods, I used to bring back those cultural practices with me and used to narrate stories to my family. Sometimes they followed and most of the times they did not. But I tried to instill a few habits in them like women should not quarrel with men in the family which is the foremost custom of any Hadrami family. When my sons got married, I tried to channelise the same habits into their wives. Over the years, I have succeeded in regularising my family in the way a Hadrami lives in Yemen. My neighbourhood is somewhat influenced by my family's practices and some of them have started following it.

On analysis, certain habits and practices are readily accepted in the neighbourhood as the Hadramis belief that Yemen is their original homeland is strong. Another form of cultural remittance, according to Levitt (1998), is the formation of 'cross pollination which produced hybrid forms.' Homi Bhabha (1994) has tried to problematise cultural identity, which came from Edward Said's concept of orientalism. Here, Bhabha has focused on how newness entered the world which dealt with cultural and linguistic translation. Bhabha has tried to locate the culture in a marginal and unhomely atmosphere in the hostland. Individuals experienced varied forms of culture

in the Gulf and brought back few along with them. *Dress* is an example of this phenomenon in Barkas, as women while going outside their homes mostly wear burqas. They continued to dress up this way with little modifications by exchanging salwar kurta for jeans and long sleeved shirt at home- a change imbibed especially by young women. Some of them wear jeans and shirts when they are in the hostland. Men wear long robes with the traditional Arabian headgear which is typical style of dressing in the Arabian Peninsula. Locals quickly adapt these styles when migrants come for visits in Barkas. Notwithstanding the similarities between the cultures of the Barkas and the Gulf, there are crucial differences being expanded or hybridised.

As far as UAE is concerned, many respondent families have revealed that it is like their second home because they can communicate easily as Urdu and Hindi are commonly spoken languages. Neha Vora (2008) has mentioned that many scholars of migration have noted how consumption of the Gulf culture in the form of commodities and remittances is changing the social status and family relationships in India such as Kurien 2002, Nambiar 1995, Osella and Osella 2001, Sekher 1997. There are super markets that cater to the need of the diaspora population in almost every country. This shows that how the local is produced in the global cultural context. Migrants from Barkas are buying food items from the Indian grocery stores in the Gulf and at the same time they are bringing back the Arabian cuisines with them in the form of food habits by using Arabian spices. There are stores in Hyderabad that sell food items of the Gulf. Barkas also has stores that sell food items of the Gulf. In my study, Abdul Rahima, a 31 year old respondent, a businessman in Dubai for more than six years has revealed that he has started keeping Hyderabad

food items for the Hyderabadis population in Dubai. His store in Dubai is also well known in Barkas where people shop, eat and interact with fellow migrants. Similarly, Levitt (2001b) has argued that the Dominican migrants and their non-migrant counterparts knit together transnational communities that are a geographic and social mediator between the global and the local.

Voluntary organisations or clubs by migrants in the hostland are another form of cultural remittances. These social clubs formed by migrants reinforce their identity with their places of origin and also served as a medium for exchanging information and ideas about homeland and hostland. In the Gulf countries, many associations are found in large numbers. Noor, a bus driver in Ras Al-Khaima has reflected on this issue,

I am a part of a driver's association in Ras Al-Khaima. We meet for interaction and exchange of information about other countries. Moreover, our club also helps migrants to return to their home when they did not have money to buy flight tickets. Everyone is welcome in this club. Even Arabs joined us and exchanged a lot of information and culture with us.

Exchanges are related to the systems of practice which is shaped by normative structures. This includes household labour, *religious practices*. In Barkas, this type of remittance has far reaching consequences in terms of household labour, religious practices and political awareness to some extent. One way migrants stayed connected with their homeland was through transnational religious practices. Migrants from Barkas have started following Arabs in as much as imitating a few religious practices with visits to Haj in the recent times. During Ramzaan, men in Barkas wore Arabian

dress as a symbol of Gulf migration. Religious institutions in the Gulf have often helped the newcomers to cope and build a life from scratch.

Other than small associations, religious affiliations such as membership in Islamic associations and mosques have played an important role in the Gulf as well as in Barkas. Many a time, mosques in Barkas have helped individuals to migrate financially. Reading the Quran has become an everyday duty in Barkas especially post migration to the Gulf. Children take Quran lessons at home and in the nearby mosques. Girls were not allowed to take Quran lessons after they reached 12 years of age. Religious attitudes have changed and most of the interviews have pointed out that, a migrant and his/her family discussed about the religious practices that are prominent in the Gulf. Islam is the dominant religion in the Gulf and believing in one god is most important. To elaborate, many migrants have stopped visiting Ajmer sharif and other traditionally popular shrines. Many of them have been trying to motivate people and urging them to follow such practices. Some migrants have started believing that they became 'pure' Muslims post migration. This is because according to them, 'real' Islam is practiced in the Gulf. They have started spreading this belief among their families, friends and relatives and to some extent their immediate neighbours. Mosques in and around Barkas are constructed following the architecture of those in the Gulf. According to Levitt (2003) 'migrants also brought particular incarnations of global religion with them as they saw in the hostland. In this way, they have tried to create new forms by combining what they have brought and what they have encountered and in turn introduced the ideas, practice and activities and identities in some ways. Some migrants have sustained long term and long distance

memberships in religious organisations of which they were a part prior to migration'. Levitt (2003) has further argued that mosques made significant financial contributions to these groups, raised funds to support their activities, seek long distance spiritual and religious guidance from them, and participated when they came for visits. These migrants brought with them various religious ideas for the upliftment of their families, friends and the local community. This has been seen in Barkas as well when migrants bring back certain amount of religious practices with them and influence their friends, relatives and neighbourhood to follow them.

Majority of the interviews reflected that migrants were mostly bothered about the *politics* in the homeland even if they were absent at the time of elections. For the most part, the discussions of the migrant with their family members were about the politics in both the homeland and hostland. They were more interested in the political affairs of the state, much more than the curiosity they had expressed when they migrated for the first time. At the same time they are also interested in the politics in the hostland. Migrants, mainly male migrants often revealed that the main topic of their interaction is about politics of the hostland and law. Young men discussed with their parents in the homeland how political affairs are different in the Gulf.⁸ It is well known that women remitted more than men hence it was useful to look at how women have sent back ideas, culture and norms and certain practices to their homeland. Therefore, the complex issues of gender and social remittances are of utmost importance to the study.

8. Enough data could not be collected on this as migrants and their families were not open about the political ideas and opinions.

Gender and Social Remittances

Up to now, only a few country specific studies have concluded that women remitted more than men (Lucas and Stark 1985; United Nations Population Fund [UNPFA] and International Organisation for Migration [IOM] 2006, World Bank 2004:171). Grassmuck and Pesar's (1991) work on Mexican and Dominican migrant have shown that migration was not only a reaction to economic condition but also the result of a gendered response within households, family and friend networks. In the case of the Philippines, Rhacel Salazar Parrenas (2001) had demonstrated that even after migration women continued to provide emotional care by paying regular visits, making telephone calls and writing letters. Nevertheless, in the absence of the woman, economic restructuring takes place in the household. Several studies on remittances have focused on gender specific behaviour of sending remittances and bringing back culture, ideas and values (Alejandro Portes 1997; Patricia R. Pessar and Sarah J. Mahler 2003; Nicola Piper 2005; Ramirez Dominiguez, Morais 2005; Nina Nyberg Sorensen 2005; Jorgen Carling 2008). Barbara Ehrenreich and Arlie R. Hochschild's work on (2004) on the care complexities of immigrant women showed the lives of female migrants who are increasingly filling the care vacuum in developed countries by taking up jobs as domestic workers, nannies and sex workers. Their work examines the effects of this phenomenon in both the homeland and hostland by framing it as a new form of resource exploitation by the developed country. Moreover, it has impacted the families left behind in the homeland. It has been found in umpteen numbers of cases in Hyderabad. As discussed earlier that men remit mostly to their wives whereas women remit to those who are taking care of their

children. When a man migrates leaving his wife behind in the homeland then he often leaves with the responsibility of taking care of children and family. On the other hand, when a woman migrates she remits to those people who take care of her children and family, mostly women from amongst family members, relatives or friends. A woman remits to a larger circle of people than men. Remittance has an effect on improving women's and men's control over their own lives.

In my study, none of the women interviewed are working or have worked in the Gulf. Only five out of 87 women from 43 households are working as entrepreneurs, private tutors, school teachers and ladies tailors in Hyderabad. Therefore, the concept of sending money back home by women migrants is not present in my study. Among the respondents, social remittances that are exchanged are ideas and change of attitudes as well as the awareness to cope up with life in the Gulf. Many women have also tried to change the perspective of other women who were left behind, relatives and friends. They were always full of stories of their experiences in the Gulf that helped people's lives at home become easier. Among women in Barkas social remittance is exchanged in a collective form which sometimes does not go with socio-economic class division. Social remittances were measured in terms of women's education, gender division of labour in the household and the kind of jobs done by their husbands in the Gulf.

There was a demand for male migrant labour in the 1970s after the oil boom in the Gulf, in a similar way there was demand for woman's labour for domestic work, nannies, manual labourers, technicians and doctors. Standard theoretical economic considerations of migration and remittances have ignored the differences in women's and men's migration patterns and remittance decisions (Lucas and Stark 1985;

Edward Funkhouser 1995; Stark 1995). However, a growing number of applied studies have focused on immigration from Latin America and Asia and have stressed that 'migration is a profoundly gendered process' (Shawn Malia Kanaiaupuni 2000: 1312; United Nations Development Fund for Women [UNIFEM] 2008). Gendered processes of migration have often disadvantaged women due to inequality in salaries. Rayaprol's study (1997) has dealt with the construction of gendered spaces in a special space inside the Sri Venkateshwara Temple in Pittsburgh which has showed that men and women who formed a part of the diaspora were voluntarily segregated and how gendered spaces were created. In a similar manner, women in Barkas enjoy private spaces popularly known as *Zenana* (women's quarters) with other women in each others' houses. Here, mothers talk about their children's education in the Gulf, about their migration process to the Gulf, young women share recipes and discuss preparations for festive occasions, how these practices should be transmitted from one generation to another, how religious practices take place in the Gulf countries, discuss latest fashion trends in the Gulf and elucidate on matters such as who migrated where, for how many days. They also discuss cases where women are abandoned post marriage and how the Gulf countries are unsafe for women when they stay alone when their husbands are away for work. From their conversation it is clear that there are no measures taken by the homeland government for the protection and safety of migrant women in the Gulf countries. Although several welfare schemes have been implemented it is also true that majority of the migrants do not approach the homeland government when they are in trouble. They try to solve it among themselves and are blaming the government for being irresponsible and corrupt.

Small parties or get togethers are organised in Barkas frequently mostly in the late nights among close relatives and friends and men do not intrude into these spaces. These are mostly the kitchen area or another room inside the sitting room. Men generally place themselves in the sitting room on the floor. In these two separate spaces, women share great deal of what they bring back from the Gulf countries and influence the locals who have not migrated. Sometimes older men and teenage unmarried boys did become a part of such conversations but not for long. Gender segregation is present but there is no veiling inside the home. Women take off their veils and burqas after reaching the house where they were invited as there is a degree of informality and comfort.

In my study, Khalil Ahmed's wife, a 41 year old housewife, an occasional migrant to Doha, has pointed out that her family members had expectations of receiving certain material items from the Gulf,

When I used to call my family, they used to say 'you have to bring this for me, you have to bring that for me!' there was too much demand. Since all of us live nearby so bringing gifts, food items and dress materials are common in Barkas.

Feminist scholars have shown how gender roles and a gender specific division of labour had shaped the migration process (Carlota Ramirez, Mar Garcia Dominguez, Julia Miguez Moraiz 1995). Women who stayed at home, women who have moved with their husbands and women who have migrated and returned as independent members have assumed negotiating positions and bargaining rights over household relations, household resources and decisions made on behalf of other household members. According to Conway (2008) conflicts arose as women become important

transnational players in the process. Household is the main domain where time and space budgeting, resource allocation and real-location are contested, negotiated and decided by men and women. Mostly women as recipients and primary dispensers of the remittances took responsibility for their investment decision and women's management expertise appeared stronger with time. These in turn have provided them with higher social independence (United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women [UN-INSTRAW] 2006). In my study, remittance mainly comes to the male members of the family yet women have shown greater knowledge of using the remittance. Women who have migrated and have come back after a decade have brought back with them certain aesthetics about the everyday life from the Gulf. This also benefits the children who generally face problems of adjustment after staying in the Gulf. This is mainly seen when children who have received higher education in the Gulf fail to adjust with the locals in Barkas or even in the city of Hyderabad. There are separate schools inside Barkas for boys and girls but they experience difficulty and hence many times opt to study in the international schools and other schools in the city of Hyderabad.

Women who migrated with their husbands and stayed at home in the Gulf have learnt new skills. They have tried to bring back these new experiences to their homeland. Abood's brother's wife who has migrated to Muscat with her husband for more than eight years says,

In Muscat, I was alone at home. My husband worked till late. I managed the household work and raised my children. I have learnt Arabic eventually in order to talk to local women for help and for leisure purpose. It was difficult before but somehow I have now adjusted to it. I force my cousins in Barkas to do their

work alone and not depend on the male members but nothing much has changed in my neighbourhood.

Here, Abood's sister in-law has used her skills and learnt new ways of coping up in the Gulf. She has added to the range of skills and depends less on the men. . Further she mentioned about her new skills to her family in Barkas as a part of information and ideas exchange process.

Conclusion

Economic remittances are an important aspect in Barkas. With upward social mobility, money has started flowing into Barkas. Similarly, social remittances are transmitted from one place to another with the help of the migrants and this was accepted in many forms, collectively. Men and women migrating to different countries bring back different kinds of ideas with them and they exchange it between the two or more countries. Not all the ideas and habits are exchanged. Some get prominence and more recognition due to strong influence of migrants and their families which sometimes have shaped the lives of the migrants and locals. Women have a significant role to play in economic remittances and the relations between gender, social and economic remittance is a significant aspect in my study. The next chapter is the conclusion which discusses key findings and relevance of the study.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

In this study, I have examined the ways in which homeland/s are constructed by the residents of Barkas post migration to the Gulf. I have also studied in what ways with to and from migration from Barkas to the Gulf countries have given rise to creating multiple homeland/s for the migrants as well as for the non migrants in Barkas. The core argument of my study is that residents of Barkas were migrants once upon a time, and with the movement of individuals to the Gulf countries, the question of the construction of homeland has taken a new direction. Theoretical frameworks of migration studies and sociological theories defining individuals' movement from one nation to the other have provided a lens to make sense of Barkas. It is well known from the already established literature that migration leads to upward social mobility, and my study has discussed how Gulf migration has led to intergenerational social mobility in the neighbourhood especially post migration to the Gulf. Lastly, the study also looks at the processes of socio-cultural exchanges between Barkas and the Gulf countries as a result of such type of migration. The study clearly highlights the influence of the Gulf migration as a context for creating and re-creating the meaning of homeland/s and the ways it is perceived by individuals in the locality. My study reveals the extent to which the idea and construction of homeland/s is shaping migrant identity differently and at different time period of migration.

In the Introduction chapter, I have made an attempt to understand how and why migrants construct homeland/s differently especially post migration to the Gulf. In the beginning the chapter deals with the history of the city of Hyderabad and the context on the migratory patterns from the city of Hyderabad to different countries for various

socio-economic reasons. This chapter has discussed about the major theories of migration and diaspora that is relevant in my study. The reasons for selecting Barkas as a field site given its dynamic character in terms of history of Gulf migration to the present situation have been established. The research problem and the description of the field site have been elaborated along with the methodology used in the study along with self reflexive account of my experiences as a woman researcher.

The second chapter provides a theoretical review of migration literature. Contemporary views on migration depart from earlier premises of push-pull theories of migration. Using various patterns and types of both internal and international migration, this chapter highlights the relevant theories in my study along with the migration phases and the reasons for migration from the city of Hyderabad. This chapter has also discussed the changing migratory pattern from the city of Hyderabad, internationally. Further it has a sub section on the historical pattern of Yemeni migration to the various countries and also to India especially to Barkas. In the end, the chapter has dealt with the Gulf migration from India and its implications broadly to understand the conditions and legal issues of migrants in the Gulf countries.

The third chapter discusses the construction of multiple homeland/s and identities among the residents of Barkas. This chapter highlights why and how migrants from Barkas have constructed their homeland/s in different places. Two sets of people are living in Barkas and they identity themselves differently. Some have identified themselves as Hadramis even today whereas many have identified them as Hyderabadis. Therefore, on analysis, it can be said that the idea of homeland becomes imaginary for many Hadramis, especially for the older generation who have stories

from their ancestors or have witnessed few events when Hadramis lost their jobs during 1950s. Therefore, this imagination is related to the recollected moment when they migrated to India. Therefore, this group of people constructs images of themselves and the world they encounter and attempted to assimilate while keeping their Hadrami- Hyderabad, a hyphenated identity, alive and re-invent their ideas about homeland, family and national identity in the hostland⁹.

In Barkas, among self identified Hadramis, Benedict Anderson's imagined community is of significance as he mentions that these types of communities are to be distinguished by their falsity/genuineness but by the way they are imagined. It is because they migrated to Hyderabad from Yemen which they still have in their imagination. Construction and re-construction of identities is mainly done through various types of networks. The idea of homeland therefore becomes imaginary and a fantasy through which society perceives itself as a homogeneous group. Therefore this imagination is related to the recollected moment when they migrated to another place for various reasons, voluntary or forced. My study has also elements of Gilroy's analysis as migrants from Barkas are in both places in their imagination i.e. in India and in Barkas and also in Hadramaut to some extent. This chapter has also explored the complexities of multiple identities across generations with different occupations in the Gulf. Complexities arise with multiple cultural identities across generations and it is interesting to see that the ways in which the notion of collective identity has played an important part in the field where self identified Hadramis and Hyderabadis have

⁹ Homeland and hostland keep on changing according to individual perceptions which varies among different generations, gender and socio-economic class.

different meanings of homeland/s and have different reasons for the construction of it. Hadramis' construction of homeland/s is interesting as well as complex as they still try to maintain the culture of Hadramaut in Barkas. However, the self identified Hyderabadis who are working in the Gulf or have returned are most of the times attached to Barkas as they believe that they cannot participate in the political and cultural life in the Gulf countries. Although they bring back certain amount of cultural life from the hostland yet the idea of home is most of the times is Hyderabad, Barkas. This chapter has further tried to capture the perception of homeland and identity from the perspectives of women who have migrated and those who were left behind in the process. Here the identity of the woman once again is related to her ancestors and her experience in the homeland and hostland. Therefore this chapter has concluded that meaning of home kept changing post migration to the Gulf and also across generations. It is contextual in nature. The meaning of home kept changing also because of the blurred or fuzzy identities that occur in an individual's life with the constant movement from one country to the other and back to his/her own country. This has further interested in the study of upward social mobility intergenerationally where individuals from different generations have experienced different types of social mobility.

The fourth chapter has examined social Mobility through Gulf migration: Changes across generations in the field with different occupations in the Gulf countries between three generations such as grandfather/grandmother, father/mother and son/daughter. This has been explained through education, marriage ceremonies and changes in the consumption habits such as food habits, dress and language. From the

study, it is known that migration from Barkas to the Gulf began in large numbers from the 1970s. They were mostly known as the first generation migrants from the neighbourhood. However, they are not the first generation settlers in Barkas. They are mostly the second generation settlers. It was mainly male migration for occupational purpose. But this type of male migration with various pull factors from the Gulf was impossible without the already established relation with the Gulf countries through marriage migration of women from Barkas. This type of marriage migration network has proved beneficial for a chance to move up the ladder socially and economically. First generation migrants have spent all the income to the basic survival with minimum savings for the future generations. However, with minimum education, the second generation migrants have accumulated the most financially from the Gulf migration in Barkas. The central focus of the second generation migrant was to renovate the house and to give better education to the children, to perform grand wedding celebrations of their children and donate in other relatives' weddings as well. Another motivation for the second generation migrant those who identify themselves as Hadramis even today, was to reach near Hadramaut, their original homeland. The third generation however, who are presently working in the Gulf spend more on electronics, dresses and food. There is upward intergenerational social mobility between first and second generation in families. Third generation has moved up the occupation ladder as they are working as MBAs, school teachers and doctors than the second generation who have mostly worked as garage mechanics and shopkeepers and drivers.

As I have used Bourdieu's concept of social class and field, therefore, on analysis, it can be said that cultural capital (education) in Barkas gave rise to upward economic mobility in many households therefore few cases have been studied to analyse how symbolic capital (status) and economic capital (class) are, if at all, linked through intergenerational social mobility. When migrants return, they bring back certain types of cultural practices in everyday life. This bringing back influences others in the neighbourhood and among household. Therefore there is a constant exchange of culture, broadly, of Gulf in Barkas. This is known as cultural capital or social remittances. Intergenerational social mobility is a leads to the study of social remittances. The fifth chapter has also analysed the changes in the consumption pattern among the families post migration in different classes. It is not only confined to eating habits but also certain other aspects such as buying land, decorating houses, and providing household members with goods and services, intergenerationally.

Intergenerational social mobility gave rise to certain types of socio-cultural exchanges between homeland and hostland. It is more interesting in Barkas, as this neighbourhood has a mixed population of Hadramis and Hyderabadis although blurred at present. Therefore, the kinds of exchanges have also pointed out the willingness of the migrants and their families to connect with the Arabian culture of the Gulf to Barkas.

To understand social remittances, I have first analysed economic remittances from Barkas in terms of buying property and role of women in maintaining the finance that male members send from the Gulf countries. Next, I have highlighted on the multiple social and cultural exchanges that happen as a result of continuous to and fro

migration between Barkas and the Gulf. This is related to intergenerational social mobility which helps in certain kinds of exchanges in the neighbourhood using various types of social, kinship networks both in the homeland and the hostland. The ways in which they have brought back few practices are highlighted in the chapter. These exchanges once again shape the identity of the migrant. In this way, migrants and even non-migrants from Barkas have adopted certain practices of the Gulf in their everyday lives in Barkas. Rarely everyday practices in Barkas were also taken to the Gulf along with the migrants and their families. This has become a collective phenomenon in Barkas. Not all the ideas and habits are exchanged but some gets prominence due to the strong influence of the migrants and their families. Presently, everyone wants to be associated with the Gulf even if he/she is not a migrant. Socio-economic class has played an important role in such processes which I have analysed using the conceptual framework of Peggy Levitt and Pierre Bourdieu. Some of the exchanges were associations in the Gulf, networks through which business is set up, marriage migration networks, food habits and dressing for men and women both and religious practices. In the end, I have focused on how women have used the social remittances in both the places. In this process I have seen that women have become important transnational players in the process because they were training their relatives and friends about different life styles and the usage of such ideas and values in Barkas.

Collective Identity

An important theme that emerged from the study is the collective identity of the residents in the neighbourhood. When one discusses about migration, identity always plays an important role. When individuals migrate, they retain some kind of connections with their homelands. In my study self identified Hadramis have lost contact with their families, relatives and friends in their homeland and now are Indian citizens after the independence of India and with the end of the Nizam's rule in 1956. The present generation who are migrating to the Gulf and to other countries are constantly shaping and re-shaping their identity with time, culture and occupation. This is done collectively in Barkas where different types of social networks have helped them to set up such identities.

Barkas, being a neighbourhood of the Hadramis and few Hyderabadis have tried to maintain the culture of Hadramaut in their full potential through collective identity. The identity of being a Hadrami is very important to them. Migration began with deteriorating conditions and unemployment which gave rise to marriage migration of women to the Arab countries in large number in exchange of large amount of bride price. Arab citizens came to Hyderabad in search of women for marriage and in this way marriage migration especially from Barkas began along with other parts of the old parts of Hyderabad. This is done through social networks and continuing relations between the two places since the time of the Nizam of Hyderabad. This has shaped and re-shaped the identity of those women who were taken to the Gulf as wives. Apart from marriage migration which shaped the identity in Barkas, with a strong social network, individuals from Barkas have been constantly migrating to the Gulf

countries for occupational purposes. Homeland is constructed by the residents of Barkas with the help of collective identity and social networks. In my study, I have discussed about collective identity because of the dominant hybrid Yemeni culture in the neighbourhood. As mentioned earlier, presently everybody in Barkas wants to be associated with the Gulf which gives a rise in their status and identity as Arabs in Hyderabad. This is done collectively. As the migrants cannot acquire citizenship in the Gulf cultural identity becomes important as citizenship of the migrants is not possible in the Gulf countries construction of homeland/s is also based on where one is originally from. There is a blurring of identities according to generation and place. Old members believe they are Hadramis whereas the newer generation is not of the same opinion mostly. Therefore identity varies across generations. As Barkas has mixed population of Hadramis and Hyderabadis, therefore, sometimes the first generation migrants have shaped the identity for the subsequent generations.

It is not only collective identity but also ethnic identity and cultural identity. Just as identity has been constituted and re-constituted over time in the homelands, new concepts of identity and community are being produced in the hostland by the migrants and their descendants that have some consequences in the homeland as well. Migrants from Barkas are not only identified as Indians in the Gulf but also many times are generalised as Hindus irrespective of their religion. When these migrants enter into the core group of fellow migrants then they were identified as Hyderabadis and in few cases as Hadramis from Hyderabad. Therefore, identity is constantly in flux. Therefore the construction of homeland and thereby the identities that are formed are multiple in nature and in the process of re-definition or Creolization.

Social remittances that are transmitted from one place to another with the help of migrants were accepted and somewhat exchanged in Barkas in many forms. This is a collective phenomenon. Not all the ideas and habits are exchanged but some gets prominence due to the strong influence of the migrants and their families. Households participate in activities given their social standing in the area and also occupations in the Gulf. Therefore, socio-cultural exchanges are also happening collectively where migrants influence each other to engage in economic as well as cultural kind of activities. This gives them the identity of Gulf migrants which according to them is quite prestigious.

Limitations of the Study

One of the major limitations of the study was the failure to include more women respondents in the neighbourhood. Given the patriarchal setting, it was difficult to interact with women without being under constant surveillance. However, women in Barkas are an interesting identity experiences of multiple movements from one country to the other and remittances and about the neighbourhood are different than that of men. The other issue was that there is no other group that was comparable. Perhaps comparison with another Hadrami community either in India or elsewhere would have provided a more nuanced understanding.

Relevance and Implications of the study

Scholars conducting studies in their own communities which are closely related to them are often suspected to be biased in their judgment unlike my study. The study

was based on a Yemeni neighbourhood in Hyderabad. During the fieldwork, the research was conducted mainly speaking in Urdu and in Deccani Hindi and rarely in English. Being an outsider and not a member of this community has helped me to observe the field more carefully and minutely. Moreover, being a non Muslim and a woman in a strong patriarchal locality it was time consuming to build rapport with the people.

It is extremely interesting to see how each household has at least one Gulf migrant and how the residents still consider working in the Gulf as superior than working in their own country. This type of migration is mainly dominated by men whereas women were mostly the dependent migrants. This neighbourhood is culturally different from the rest of the city of Hyderabad. It is not only about the ethnic identity of being a Hadrami or a Hyderabadi rather moving beyond the question and trying to analyse the culture of the neighbourhood which makes them different from the rest of the city. At present, no one is a pure Hadrami or a Hyderabadi in this neighbourhood due to mixed marriages over the generations, so I have identified them as Hadrami-Hyderabadi. However, Barkas follows Hadrami culture due to its history of migration to Hyderabad. Therefore for the residents, it is important to locate and construct their homeland/s especially post Gulf migration. Although collective identity has played an important role, I feel that upward social mobility due to continuous migration to the Gulf across generations has somewhat changed the views and perception of people in constructing their homeland/s. As women were the most difficult category to interview due to male dominance, I felt it will be extremely interesting if research only on women could be conducted at the family level.

There is little work done on Barkas and about the Arabs in Hyderabad. It was only mentioned in the history books by Narendra Luther, V.K Bawa and sociological study of the city by Ratna Naidu. No literature was found on the documentation of Barkas. Studies on Gulf migration, homelands, social mobility and social remittances were done in large scale. However, relating it to Barkas is an interesting phenomenon in my study. Therefore it is important to try to understand the construction of homeland/s, upward social mobility intergenerationally and cultural exchanges through social networks and collective identity at the family level and how they complement each other. My thesis is a contribution in understanding an interesting old ethnic community in Hyderabad, Barkas. It has hopefully drawn light to a little studied area and will create greater sociological understanding of such groups.

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Understanding Homeland/s and Identities: A Study of Barkas in Hyderabad

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Synopsis

This study is an attempt to understand the construction of homeland/s and identities in Barkas, an Arabian colony in Hyderabad. Barkas is mainly inhabited by the Hadramis from Yemen. With the end of the Nizam's era in 1956, Hadramis and many Hyderabadis lost their jobs as the Nizam's bodyguards and treasury guards and started migrating to the Gulf countries especially from the 1970s as there was an oil boom. Hadramis first migrated to India around 200 years ago and it is commonly believed by the community that the first group comprised of Sayyids, who were descendants of the family of the Prophet Mohammad. They came to India and became preachers of Sufism mainly to the Hyderabad Muslims at that time. The second group primarily Sunnis, which was bigger came in search of greener pastures and got employment in the armies of native rulers of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. In Hyderabad, some of them rose to become part of the Nizam's nobility whereas others entered into the Nizam's irregular army. I am trying to look at the movements of people from Hyderabad especially from Barkas to the Gulf countries. In this process of crossing borders, my study is an attempt to understand the concept of homeland for the migrants from Barkas. The homeland issue gives rise to multiple identities which an individual experiences post migration.

From the 1970s, large number of individuals started migrating to the Gulf countries for better economic opportunities. It was push from poverty and unemployment to a pull of economic opportunity. Oil was found in huge quantities in the Gulf countries and therefore infrastructural development in these countries started taking place. As these countries have

less man power, the governments of these countries have started hiring labourers from other countries. In India, migrants went in large numbers from Kerala followed by Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. This type of migration was mainly based on contracts for a fixed period of time. A large number of Individuals from the city of Hyderabad who were unemployed or did part time informal jobs readily took up the jobs that were available in the Gulf. In this way, migration to the Gulf from Hyderabad has started taking place.

Field of Study: Barkas

Barkas, a neighbourhood in Hyderabad, is inhabited mainly by the Chaush community who were descendants of the Hadrami Arab military men and bodyguards hailing from the Hadramaut region of Yemen. It is also inhabited by some former employees of the Nizam of Hyderabad who are not from Hadramaut. This area used to serve as the Military Barracks of the Nizam of Hyderabad. The word is believed to have been derived from the English word Barracks. The area is also known as little Arabia as even today the area has elements of an Arabian colony by the locals. This paper is an ethnographic study based on forty three families in Barkas from August 2011 to February 2012. Data collected by Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation in 2001 showed that the total population of Barkas was 34,288 among which 17,808 males and 16,480 females. The neighbourhood is surrounded by Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) camp, quarters of CRPF and Kendriya Vidyalaya School now. Here, every household has at least one member from each generation either returned or working in the gulf. Today the local market has products from Saudi Arabia brought by migrants and their families. Influence of gulf was seen in the names of the shops such as Hadrami Harees, a café, Musqati Dairy, Dubai Shopping, Al-Ain Tailors, Dubai Footwear, Dubai Burqa shop, Oman general Stores, Hadrami shoes, New Saudi Arabian Shawarma Restaurant and Yemeni video library.

Research Question

As majority of the residents of Barkas identify themselves as Hadramis from Yemen- even today, does migration to the Gulf have any relationship with the concept of homeland? Given this, the main question of this chapter is how and why do different residents of Barkas construct homeland? I have looked at the multiple perceptions of people constructing homeland differently and attempted to explore the relationship between construction of homeland, hostland and multiple identities. In doing this, one is confronted with the issue that there is no single discernable homeland but perhaps the idea of shifting homelands and hostlands for the different generations of people in this study.

Secondly, when migrants move to different countries – either for occupational purposes or as a part of marriage migration– there is always a tendency to move upward in the socio-economic ladder to improve the quality of life. The primary aim among the migrants is to improve their standards of living through education, occupation, changes in consumption patterns and through marriage ceremonies. These changes however did not happen in one generation; rather, the changes in Barkas have happened over a span of three generations. This chapter focuses on the Gulf migration and its impact on the migrants in the form of upward social mobility, across generations. Intergenerational mobility is occurring mostly through educational opportunities and occupation shifts, giving higher status and prestige post the Gulf migration across all socio-economic classes in Barkas.

Thirdly, my study has explored the multiple social and cultural exchanges that happen as a result of continuous to and fro migration between Barkas and the Gulf. Why do migrants from Barkas adopt practices of the Gulf? In order to understand these practices, I have studied the economic and social remittances that are exchanged between countries and the impact they have on Barkas as a neighbourhood.

Theoretical Perspectives

My study is based on the broader understanding of diaspora and migration as it involves movements of people between different countries from Barkas. My study also attempts to understand the question of transnationalism which means reaching beyond or transcending boundaries. This also means that several nations would be involved in the process of global exchange. As Peggy Levitt (2003) notes, 'transnationalism is the process of migrants remain(ing) strongly connected to their homeland even as they become incorporated into the United States. Migrants use a variety of transnational political, religious and civic arenas to forge social relationship, earn their livelihoods, and exercise their rights across borders.' Alejandro Portes (1996: 160) has said that analysing the economic origins of the transnational communities and arguing that the result of an economic project is the transformation of the immigrants into transnational communities, 'characterised by dense network across space by an increasing number of people who lead dual lives...move easily between cultures, frequently maintain homes in two countries and pursue economic political and cultural interest that require simultaneous presence in both.' This has proved to be true from the large scale migration flows happened from the city of Hyderabad either to the West or to the Gulf. In both these places, immigrants are living in dual lives and maintaining homes although in the Gulf, immigrants cannot occupy citizenships.

Imagined Community, Cultural Identity and Hybridity

In order to understand the construction of homeland/s and multiple identities, I have based my analysis on the concepts of Benedict Anderson's (1983) 'imagined community', Stuart Hall's cultural identity and Homi Bhabha's concept of cultural hybridity. Benedict Anderson's (1983) concept of imagined community is significant as he says that communities are to be distinguished by their falsity/genuineness but by the way they are imagined. Imagined community is a term coined by Benedict Anderson. An imagined community is

different from an actual community because it is not based on everyday face to face interaction between its members. As Anderson puts it, a nation 'is imagined because the members of even smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion'. Here it also means that they identify as from the same nation having some common interests. In my study, from the imagined community concept, I have used the idea of imagined homeland that emerges differently for different residents of Barkas depending on age, gender and movements around the world¹.

Stuart Hall (1996) has dealt with the subject of race and 'black diaspora'- its formation and process of growth and the way it is understood. His understanding of identity has influenced both cultural and diaspora studies in a significant manner. According to him, cultural identity is a 'production' which is never complete, always in process and always constituted within representation. Further he argued that there are two ways of looking at cultural identity- firstly, in terms of one shared culture which is collective and people with same ancestry hold within. Hall's understanding of any diasporic community is interesting as diaspora does not refer to those scattered tribes whose identity can only be secured in relation to some sacred homeland to which they must return at any cost. There is a conception and recognition of an identity that does not die with intersecting with new cultures but is hybrid. Diasporic communities are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew through transformation and difference (Hall 1996). As this new place is created, it gives rise to the desire to return to the homeland where they imagined, narrated and searched for their lost origins. This return need not be actual but imagined as well.

¹ Hyderabad and Hadrami identities are used on the basis of how an individual has identified himself/herself in the field.

Homi Bhabha's work (1994) on hybrid culture is significant. Bhabha uses hybridity as an in-between term referring to a 'third space' and to ambivalence and mimicry in the context of colonial-cultural interface. In other words, it is how newness enters the world. In this way diaspora arrives in the new world and reconstructs and reforms the cultural mixing with the hostland and produces a hybrid identity. Hybridity is a cultural effect of globalisation. For example, hybridity is presented by Kraidy as the 'cultural logic' of globalisation as it 'entails that traces of other cultures exist in every culture, thus offering foreign media and marketers transcultural wedges for forging affective links between their commodities and local communities' (Kraidy 2005). The term hybridity remains contested precisely because it has resisted the appropriations of numerous discourses despite the fact that it is radically malleable. For example, young Muslims in Indonesia are followers of Islam but have synthesised trends from global culture in ways that respect religious tradition. These included drinking non-alcoholic beer, using Quranic apps on their iPhones and buying Halal cosmetics (Furlong). In my study, using Bhabha and others, this mixture of culture is due to historical transformation and mixing of two or more cultures which has happened in Barkas due to mixed marriages for more than four decades and post migration to the Gulf. Closely linked to the concept of hybridity is diaspora.

Methodology and Fieldwork

Methodologically I have attempted to understand the meaning and construction of homeland/s among the residents of Barkas post migration to the Gulf.

Respondents were selected from different age groups. It has been ethnography of Barkas for eleven months including situational conversations, interviews, participant observation and in-depth interviews. Different groups that migrated to the Gulf are mixed between age and gender. Out of 196 individuals from 43 households, there are 76 men and 87 women and 33

(5-17 years of age) children who have migrated to the Gulf for various purposes. Women have migrated as a part of marriage migration and/or with families. 48 men have migrated to UAE, six have migrated to Saudi Arabia followed by Qatar (three), Oman (two), Bahrain (two). Two women were married in Yemen. Three men have migrated to Hadramaut for occupational purposes. 17 women have migrated spread in different countries post marriage with their husbands. 14 men, women and children have migrated with their families, there are two men who are searching for jobs in the Gulf at the time of the interview, 54 men, women and children have visited their immediate family members as occasional visitors and 43 men, women and children have never visited the Gulf.

Major Conclusions

Imaginary Homeland and a Hyphenated Identity- The migration patterns from Hadramaut to Barkas and recently from Barkas to the Gulf countries, among the residents of Barkas result in an idea of homeland that becomes imaginary for many Hadramis, especially for the older generation who have stories from their ancestors or have witnessed few events when Hadramis lost their jobs during 1950s. Therefore, this imagination is related to the recollected moment when they migrated to India. Therefore, this group of people constructs images of themselves and the world they encounter and attempted to assimilate while keeping their Hadrami- Hyderabad, a hyphenated identity, alive and re-invent their ideas about homeland, family and national identity in the hostland². This is done by understanding Benedict Anderson's imagined community as he mentions that these types of communities are to be distinguished by their falsity/genuineness but by the way they are imagined. It is because they migrated to Hyderabad from Yemen which they still have in their imagination. The idea of homeland therefore becomes imaginary and a fantasy through which society perceives itself

² Homeland and hostland keep on changing according to individual perceptions which varies among different generations, gender and socio-economic class.

as a homogeneous group. Therefore this imagination is related to the recollected moment when they migrated to another place for various reasons, voluntary or forced.

Multiple Cultural Identities- There are complexities of multiple identities across generations with different occupations in the Gulf. Complexities arise with multiple cultural identities across generations and it is interesting to see that the ways in which the notion of collective identity has played an important part in the field where self identified Hadramis and Hyderabadis have different meanings of homeland/s and have different reasons for the construction of it. Hadramis' construction of homeland/s is interesting as well as complex as they still try to maintain the culture of Hadramaut in Barkas. However, the self identified Hyderabadis who are working in the Gulf or have returned are most of the times attached to Barkas as they believe that they cannot participate in the political and cultural life in the Gulf countries. Although they bring back certain amount of cultural life from the hostland yet the idea of home is most of the times is Hyderabad, Barkas. Therefore, meaning of home kept changing post migration to the Gulf and also across generations. It is contextual in nature. The meaning of home kept changing also because of the blurred or fuzzy identities that occur in an individual's life with the constant movement from one country to the other and back to his/her own country.

An upward Intergenerational Social Mobility- Majority of the migrants for occupational purpose from Barkas were men. This type of male migration with various pull factors from the Gulf was impossible without the already established relation with the Gulf countries through marriage migration of women from Barkas. This type of marriage migration network has proved beneficial for a chance to move up the ladder socially and economically. The central focus of a migrant was to renovate the house and to give better education to the children, to perform grand wedding celebrations of their children and donate in other

relatives' weddings as well. Using Bourdieu's concept of social class and field, it can be said that cultural capital (education) in Barkas gave rise to upward economic mobility in many households.

Cultural exchanges between Barkas and the Gulf- Using Peggy Levitt's (1996) concept of social remittances, migrants and even non-migrants from Barkas have adopted certain cultural practices such as membership in associations in the Gulf, networks through which business is set up, marriage migration networks, food habits and dressing for men and women both and religious practices, of the Gulf in their everyday lives in Barkas. Rarely everyday practices in Barkas were also taken to the Gulf along with the migrants and their families. This has become a collective phenomenon in Barkas. Not all the ideas and habits are exchanged but some gets prominence due to the strong influence of the migrants and their families. Presently, everyone wants to be associated with the Gulf even if he/she is not a migrant.

Collective Identity- When one discusses about migration, identity always plays an important role. When individuals migrate, they retain some kind of connections with their homelands. In my study, self identified Hadramis have lost contact with their families, relatives and friends in their homeland and now are Indian citizens after the independence of India and with the end of the Nizam's rule in 1956. The present generation who are migrating to the Gulf and to other countries are constantly shaping and re-shaping their identity with time, culture and occupation. This is done collectively in Barkas where different types of social networks have helped them to set up such identities.

Barkas, being a neighbourhood of the Hadramis and few Hyderabadis have tried to maintain the culture of Hadramaut in their full potential through collective identity. The identity of being a Hadrami is very important to them. Migration began with deteriorating conditions

and unemployment which gave rise to marriage migration of women to the Arab countries in large number in exchange of large amount of bride price. Arab citizens came to Hyderabad in search of women for marriage and in this way marriage migration especially from Barkas began along with other parts of the old parts of Hyderabad. This is done through social networks and continuing relations between the two places since the time of the Nizam of Hyderabad. This has shaped and re-shaped the identity of those women who were taken to the Gulf as wives. Apart from marriage migration which shaped the identity in Barkas, with a strong social network, individuals from Barkas have been constantly migrating to the Gulf countries for occupational purposes. Homeland is constructed by the residents of Barkas with the help of collective identity and social networks. As mentioned earlier, presently everybody in Barkas wants to be associated with the Gulf which gives a rise in their status and identity as Arabs in Hyderabad. This is done collectively. Moreover, this kind of identity varies across generations. As Barkas has mixed population of Hadramis and Hyderabadis, therefore, sometimes the first generation migrants have shaped the identity for the subsequent generations.

It is not only collective identity but also ethnic identity and cultural identity. Just as identity has been constituted and re-constituted over time in the homelands, new concepts of identity and community are being produced in the hostland by the migrants and their descendants that have some consequences in the homeland as well. When a migrant enter into the core group of fellow migrants then they were identified as Hyderabadis and in few cases as Hadramis from Hyderabad. Therefore, identity is constantly in flux. Therefore the construction of homeland and thereby the identities that are formed are multiple in nature and in the process of re-definition or Creolization.

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