

Spaces of Belonging:
Indian Women Migrants' Everyday
Spatial Practices in Hyderabad, India
and Melbourne, Australia.

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Abstract

Contemporary migration patterns are complex and diverse; the reasons for migration are multiple. Further, the relationships migrants share with different locales extend beyond places of origin and reception. In the context of globalisation, the social location of individuals within local and global networks, constrains and enables their spatial mobility and their level of inclusion and exclusion (Massey 1994). Against this backdrop, this thesis analyses migrant women's sense of belonging experienced through their everyday spatial practices. The specific focus is on women of Indian origin in two contexts: as internal migrants within multilingual, multicultural India, and as international migrants to Australia. The spatial routines of these women are analysed using Hägerstrand's time-geography notational diagrams to arrive at different migrant typologies of belonging. The emphasis is on *movement* (particularly habitual time-space routines) and the affective dimensions attributed to everyday spaces to arrive at a conceptualisation of place-belonging. Further, an intersectional lens is overlaid to understand the variation in these experiences of belonging with time and context, based on the migrant women's complex identities.

Place-belonging is shaped continually by both external structures and individual subjectivities during the women's life course, which determine their spatial activities and patterns at a given context and time. Maintaining kinship ties is considered an integral part of Indian culture; thus, Indian women migrants often navigate patriarchy and other socio-cultural practices in old and new contexts. Agency is, therefore, an important aspect of understanding how gender is articulated in different places through migration. The findings of this thesis aim to offer new insights into the relationships between migrant women and cities and contribute to the literature on everyday experiences of place-belonging for women of Indian origin. This thesis also proposes a replicable methodology for analysing the everyday life of an individual, particularly to identify spaces of belonging from a gendered perspective.

Declaration

This is to certify that the thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD except where indicated in the Preface or where due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used. The thesis is fewer than the maximum word limit of 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.

SriPallavi Nadimpalli

30th April 2021

Preface

This thesis is an original work of the author, SriPallavi Nadimpalli. The semi-structured interviews conducted for this research and discussed in this thesis were conducted as per the ethics procedures and guidelines approved by the Architecture, Building and Planning Human Ethics Advisory Group (Ethics ID: 1750364.1).

I acknowledge the financial support I have received for my research through the Melbourne Research Scholarship (including fee offset scholarship) granted by the University of Melbourne and the Travel Scholarship awarded by the Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning for conducting fieldwork in India.

Prior to the enrolment in the doctoral degree, as part of the initial scoping work for my research, I wrote a co-authored article titled “Cities for whom? Re-examining identity, to reclaim the right to the city for women”, published in a [special issue of TRIA](#) (Territorio Della Ricerca Su Insediamenti E Ambiente) Journal. This article was later republished in the [Australian Planner](#) in 2017. While I contributed to one of the case studies for this paper, I built on the concept of intersectionality as one of the main frameworks for this thesis. The literature review on intersectionality discussed in this thesis was not a part of the publications.

Some of the findings discussed in Chapter 4, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 of this thesis are published in the following:

Nadimpalli, S 2021, ‘Missed ‘pauses’ and everyday interactions for migrant Indian women during Covid-19 times’, *Journal of Public Space*, 5(3), 115-120, available: <https://doi.org/10.32891/jps.v5i3.1295>.

Nadimpalli, S & Mateo-Babiano, D 2020, ‘[Pauses in the busy lives of migrant Indian women can make a big difference](#)’, *The Conversation*, 10 July. <https://theconversation.com/au>

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While I wrap up this chapter of my life, I fondly remember my dearest grandmother, whom I unexpectedly lost in 2020. *Ammamma* was my biggest supporter and always believed that I could get here. I hope I made her proud.

Contents

Abstract	i
Declaration	ii
Preface	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
List of Tables	viii
List of Figures	ix
List of Abbreviations	xi
CHAPTER 1. Introduction	1
1.1 Research Questions	1
1.2 Setting the Context: Positioning Migrants in Contemporary Cities	2
1.3 Significance of the Research	3
1.4 Structure of the Thesis	6
CHAPTER 2. Literature Review	8
Introduction	8
Part I: <i>Contextualising Terminologies</i>	8
2.1. Migration as a Spatio-Temporal Movement	8
2.2 Spatial Practices and Everyday Spaces	12
Part II – <i>Theoretical Frameworks</i>	14
2.3 Time-Geography	14
2.4 Sense of Belonging	20
2.5 Intersectionality	26
2.6 Conclusion	29

CHAPTER 3. Methodology.....	30
Introduction	30
3.1 Researching the Life-World of the Migrant Women.....	30
3.2 Case Study Approach	31
3.3 Research Design	35
3.4 Researcher Subjectivity: Analysing the Analyser	39
3.5 Limitations.....	40
3.6 Conclusion.....	41
CHAPTER 4. Case Study: Migrant Women in Hyderabad.....	42
Introduction	42
4.1 Migrant women in Gagillapur	42
4.2 Everyday Spaces in the Time-Path of the Migrant Women	50
4.3 Conclusion.....	59
CHAPTER 5. Case Study: Migrant Women in Melbourne.....	60
Introduction	60
5.1 Migrant women in Melbourne.....	60
5.2 Everyday Spaces in the Time-Path of the Migrant Women	69
5.3 Conclusion.....	80
CHAPTER 6. Analysing Everyday Spaces and Spatial Practices	82
Introduction	82
6.1 Recurring Time-Space Routines.....	83
6.2 Analysing <i>Stations</i>	88
6.3 Factors influencing local movements.....	93
6.4 Conclusion.....	110

CHAPTER 7. Feeling “at home”	112
Introduction	112
7.1 Migration Purpose and an Intent to Belong.....	113
7.2 Experiencing Belonging in a Place.....	114
7.3 Spectrum of Belonging.....	124
7.4 Conclusion.....	129
CHAPTER 8. Re-positioning Indian Women Migrants.....	130
Introduction	130
8.1 Macro Level: Re-Contextualising Indian Migrant Woman.....	131
8.2 Micro Level: Re-Positioning Migrant Belongings through Time	141
8.3 Experiencing belonging through Space and Time.....	163
8.4 Conclusion.....	167
CHAPTER 9. Conclusion	168
Summary.....	168
9.1 Research Contributions	171
9.2 Reflections: Limitations and Future Directions	173
9.3 Final Thoughts.....	174
Postscript.....	176
Bibliography.....	178
APPENDIX A Publications	190
APPENDIX B Individual Movement Maps: Hyderabad.....	195
APPENDIX C Individual Movement Maps: Melbourne.....	200
APPENDIX D Ethics Approval.....	219
APPENDIX E Plain Language Statements, Consent Forms and Interview Formats	221

List of Tables

Table 2. 1: Summary of Cwerner's <i>Times of Migration</i>	10
Table 2. 2: Place-Belongingness: Factors.....	23
Table 3. 1: Data Collection.....	37
Table 4. 1: Participant Profile: Hyderabad	44
Table 5. 1: Participant Profile: Melbourne	62
Table 7. 1: Spectrum of Belonging.....	125

List of Figures

Figure 2. 1: A model of the Asia-Australian migration system (Source: Hugo 2008, p. 269).....	9
Figure 2. 2: Time, with its past, now and future (a); the individual path in the past (b); two individual paths as a bundle (c); the prism principle (d); the changing prism shape as time goes by (e) (Source: Ellegård 2019a, p.6).....	15
Figure 3. 1: Gagillapur, Hyderabad.....	34
Figure 3. 2: Metropolitan Melbourne, Country of Birth: India. (Source: State of Victoria 2018b, p.38).....	35
Figure 4. 1: Migration Map, Hyderabad.....	46
Figure 4. 2: Residential Relocation(s) within Hyderabad	47
Figure 4. 3: Time-paths of Migrant Women in Hyderabad.....	52
Figure 4. 4: Gagillapur Local Map, Hyderabad.....	53
Figure 4. 5: Manjula working from her living room	54
Figure 4. 6: (left to right) a. and b. Ganga's Tiffin Centre c. Shanti's Mobile <i>Chaat</i> Stall	54
Figure 4. 7: (left to right) a. Ledge at the front porch b.Common corridors in multi-tenant building c. Designated spaces in corridors for laundry or cleaning meat d. Front porch of a private residence.....	55
Figure 4. 8: (left to right) a.Wednesday market b. Participants interacting and shopping with their friends at the market.....	55
Figure 4. 9: Two adjoining <i>kirana</i> stores operated by Gayatri's (left) and Megha's (right) family.....	56
Figure 4. 10: (left to right) a. St. Ignatius Church, Gagillapur b. A local temple in Gagillapur	56
Figure 4. 11: Laxmi's Everyday Spaces, Hyderabad.....	57
Figure 4. 12: (left to right) a. Temples destinations within 100 km radius of Hyderabad, b. Other temple destinations across India.....	58
Figure 5. 1: Migration Map, Melbourne.....	64
Figure 5. 2: Residential Relocation(s) within Melbourne	67
Figure 5. 3: Time-paths of Migrant Women in Melbourne.....	71
Figure 5. 4: Everyday Spaces, Melbourne.....	72
Figure 5. 5: Bhanu's Everyday Spaces, Melbourne.....	73
Figure 5. 6: Queen Victoria Market, Melbourne.....	76
Figure 5. 7: Hindu Temples in Melbourne (left to right) a. Shri Shiva Vishnu Temple, Carrum Downs b.Vinayagar Temple, Basin.....	77

Figure 5. 8: Point Cook Pop-up Park 2019 (left to right) a. Fashion show organised by the Indian community b. Pop-up park	78
Figure 5. 9: Regional trips within Victoria.....	80
Figure 6. 1: The informality of Ganga's tiffin centre allows a drive-by pick up service	90
Figure 6. 2: (left to right) a. Geeta's Fruit stall located adjacent to an informal (shelterless) bus stop b. View of the main accessway from the fruit stall.....	91
Figure 6. 3: Puja's Everyday Spaces and Residential Movements, Hyderabad.....	103
Figure 6. 4: Sara's Everyday Spaces, Melbourne	104
Figure 7. 1: Spectrum of Belonging	126
Figure 8. 1: Key Events in Megha's Migration Trajectory, Hyderabad	143
Figure 8. 2: Megha's Everyday Spaces and Residential Movements, Hyderabad.....	145
Figure 8. 3: Key Events in Leela's Migration Trajectory, Hyderabad.....	146
Figure 8. 4: Leela's Everyday Spaces and Residential Movements, Hyderabad.....	147
Figure 8. 5: Key Events in Monica's Migration Trajectory, Hyderabad	149
Figure 8. 6: Monica's Everyday Spaces and Residential Movements, Hyderabad	150
Figure 8. 7: Key Events in Sonam's Migration Trajectory, Melbourne	152
Figure 8. 8: Sonam's Everyday Spaces and Residential Movements, Melbourne.....	156
Figure 8. 9: Key Events in Soumya's Migration Trajectory, Melbourne	157
Figure 8. 10: Soumya's Everyday Spaces and Residential Movements, Melbourne....	159
Figure 8. 11: Key Events in Priya's Migration Trajectory, Melbourne	160
Figure 8. 12: Priya's Everyday Spaces and Residential Movements, Melbourne	162
Figure 8. 13: Sense of Belonging in Time and Place	166

List of Abbreviations

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
CBD	Central Business District
e.g.	Exempli gratia (English: for example)
et al.	Et alia (English: and others)
etc.	Et cetera (English: and so forth)
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FIAV	Federation of Indian Associations of Victoria
GHMC	Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation
i.e	Id est (English: that is)
LGA	Local Government Area
MAS	Mahila Abhivruddhi Society
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
ORR	Outer Ring Road
p./pp.	Page/ Pages
PLS	Plain Language Statement
PR	Permanent Residency
SEZ	Special Economic Zone
WGC	Western Gymkhana Club
Indian State Abbreviations	
AP	Andhra Pradesh
AS	Assam
KA	Karnataka
KL	Kerala
MH	Maharashtra
ML	Meghalaya
NCR	National Capital Region
OR	Odisha
RJ	Rajasthan
TN	Tamil Nadu
TS	Telangana
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UT	Uttarakhand
WB	West Bengal

CHAPTER 1. Introduction

Waking up to the *azaan*¹ echoing from a nearby mosque and the sound of the doorbell, conveying the milkman's delivery, the smell of freshly brewed coffee in the air and the faint sound of hymns playing on tape in the living room, is a memory of a morning routine that I strongly associate with *feeling at home*. A busy scene with crowded streets filled with hawkers, bright colours and lights, the aroma of food from the street stalls accompanied by slow-moving traffic drowned in an orchestra of commotion, is another familiar image. There are some of the images that I associate with different people, places and activities, that became a part of my normalcy. However, growing up in multiple cities and later migrating for education and work, this normalcy was often interrupted. While not all aspects of my life could be replicated in different places, I began reflecting on my core sense of belonging (or if there was one); based on the aspects that I could preserve and the aspects that needed modification in different situations.

My thesis journey originally began with an investigation into the interrelationship between migrants and public spaces; however, I gravitated towards these varied meanings of belonging, particularly for migrant women like me. This became the primary line of enquiry for my thesis; *when and how do migrant women start to feel at home in a new place?* As an Indian woman, who has experienced internal and international migration, I became interested in understanding *how this notion of belonging varies for different women (who have complex identities) with varying migration trajectories?* Finally, as an architect and a planner, I also wanted to include a spatial dimension to explore if *places mattered in the articulation of belonging for migrant women in their everyday life?*

These questions prompted me to investigate further, refine and arrive at my research aims and research questions, which are explained in the subsequent section, 1.1. In Section 1.2, I introduce the context for this research, and in the following section, 1.3, I discuss some of the gaps in migration scholarship that this research aims to address. In the final section, 1.4, I introduce the structure for this thesis.

1.1 Research Questions

This research aims to provide new insights into understanding the relationship between migrant women and cities, especially how particular spaces enable or constrain women of Indian origin in feeling they belong to their new cities.

The main objective is to contribute to the literature on the interrelationship between migrants and cities: broadly in the context of globalisation where people and places have complex identities and are distinctly positioned within interlinked local and global processes; and specifically, through the everyday experiences of place-belonging for Indian women migrants.

¹ An Islamic call to prayer, recited from the mosque five times a day. In India, it is common to hear this prayer through the loud speakers mounted on the mosque's minarets.

The boundaries and the typology of everyday spaces are left open for exploration while seeking an appropriate framework to construct belonging for the migrant women.

The main research question of the thesis is:

How is the everyday sense of belonging enacted or experienced by migrant women of Indian origin through their spatial practices in their cities and beyond?

Sub-questions:

- 1 What are these spatial practices, and what is their importance in the daily life of the migrant women? Where and how do the migrant women engage with different spaces as part of these everyday activities?
- 2 How is belonging enacted or experienced in a place? How does this place-belonging relate to the various spatio-temporal movements of the migrant women?
- 3 How does the social positioning of migrant women (with their complex and intersecting identities) affect their sense of belonging in different contexts through time?

The following sections introduce the context and identify some of the gaps in migration research that this thesis aims to address.

1.2 Setting the Context: Positioning Migrants in Contemporary Cities

Urbanisation in the 21st century has repositioned contemporary cities as prominent urban nodes interconnected in a vast transnational network. Furthermore, with advancements in telecommunications and transportation systems, these cities operate both in physical and non-physical spaces, making them simultaneously a part of the local and the global (Sassen 1996; Castells 2016). Further, the expansion and globalisation of these productive networks have simultaneously triggered an increase in workers' migration towards these various cities and urban nodes (Sassen 1996; Soja 2000). While capital movements and disparities in income between nations (causing relocation for better work opportunities) are among the predominant reasons for migration, not all migrations are global, and other factors trigger migratory flows as well (King 1995). Some of these include migration to seek refuge due to ecological, political and demographic pressure, and in some cases, ethnic and religious struggles and conflicts in their home countries (Sandercock and Lyssiotis 2003). Migration can be “ ‘voluntary’ and ‘forced’, internal and international, undocumented and legal (under a variety of channels), skilled and unskilled, conflict displaced, environmentally induced, political asylum seeking, trader, student, temporary and ‘circular’ and permanent migrants” (Vertovec 2015, p.2). An individual can also be associated with different categories of migration at the same time.

This multiple and varied migration of people makes contemporary cities increasingly diverse. National identity, ethnicity, language, class and human capital are altered in the process (Sandercock and Lyssiotis 2003; Vertovec 2015). Further, as the political and economic coordination now occurs at different scales (sub and supranational levels in addition to the national scale), the national hegemony is restructured, thereby altering prior known citizenship notions (Purcell 2003). New forms of claims emerge from these new “citizens”, some

legitimised and some lacking recognition due to their positioning in the new geographies (Sassen 1996). Further, the intersectional identities of the migrants (including gender, race, caste, ethnicity, religion, among other social identities) with their unique migration trajectories complicates their social positioning within a context, thereby creating a differential spatial experience (Anthias 2009a).

Massey (1994) explains that the “power geometry” (p.149) of the time-space compression locates different social groups and individuals distinctly with the global flows, and depending on the manifestation of the social relations and the location of various individuals in this geometry, they could experience either inclusion or exclusion. Therefore Massey proposes the globalisation of social relations as alternative geography by including race and gender, among other factors that influence spatial experience. Further, in the context of time-space compression, the understanding of space should not be limited to its physical boundaries. Instead, spaces should be viewed as “articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings”, linking both global and the local processes (Massey 1994, p.154). The nature of these social relations is dynamic and changes with time, thereby giving multiple meanings and identity to a place.

Therefore, within the context of globalisation, both places and individuals have unique and complex identities with varied positioning within the vast interlinked local and global flows. Social location and positioning become crucial in understanding how identity is understood and experienced by different individuals in a context. Further, an intersectional construction of identity is necessary to acknowledge the variation in experiences and vulnerabilities for different individuals even within the same ethnic group. Also, as migration is a movement between places, a “migrants’ sense of place and of personal identity often involves a duality – ‘here’ and ‘there’ ” (King 1995, p.29), and therefore a re-construction of this interrelation between people and places is critical for understanding a migrant’s (multiple) notions of belonging.

1.3 Significance of the Research

While, on the one hand, globalisation processes trigger migratory flows, they are not always global—further, these migration patterns are complex and diverse. However, most migration studies have focussed only on international migration, particularly between lesser developed countries to developed countries like Europe, North America, Australasia (King and Skeldon 2010). There is a separation between internal and international migration within the migration scholarship despite their possible interlinkages and commonalities (King and Skeldon 2010).

Further, migrants play an essential role in reshaping contemporary cities and urban life (in both sending and receiving societies) through various processes related to their migration (King 1995; Hatziprokopiu et al. 2016). However, there is limited research exploring this interrelationship between “place, global restructuring processes and migration processes”, especially from a comparative view (Schiller and Çağlar 2009, p.178).

Finally, while identity and belonging have become a central aspect of research on ethnicity and migration, the study of gender and migration requires further attention. As Anthias (2012, p.103) explains, migrants are seldom considered “ethnic, class and gendered subjects already in their countries of origin and the continuing importance of bonds with it and other countries

where their relatives and friends have migrated”. Therefore, there is a need to understand how social relations (particularly gendered norms and practices) are negotiated through migration, and how these negotiations are interlinked with other categories of social differences in a given context (Pessar and Mahler 2003; Anthias 2009a).

This thesis addresses some of these gaps and aims to contribute to the migration scholarship, particularly in the construction of the hybridity of migrant women’s identity within cities in the context of globalisation and their differential access to space in their everyday life based on these identities.

1.3.1 Internal and International Migration

There is a dichotomy of international and internal migration in migration scholarship (King and Skeldon 2010; King 2012). International migration has received greater attention than internal migration from researchers, international organisations, and funding agencies alike (Bhagat 2016). According to King and Skeldon (2010, p.1620), this dichotomy is

“influenced by several factors, including different data sources, different disciplinary backgrounds of researchers, different analytical techniques, and different research agendas that reflect different policy concerns and funding sources.”

While there are differences between the two migration trajectories (like crossing international borders in international migration), there are similar forces at play for both cases (King and Skeldon 2010). For example, the same economic, social, cultural, and political drivers could impact internal or international migration decisions (King and Skeldon 2010). Further, in some situations like in the European Union, where there is a borderless zone within the Schengen area, the distinction between the two migrations can be blurred (King and Skeldon 2010). In other instances, the migration trajectories could be interwoven. For example, international migration could be preceded by internal migration, or vice-versa, or could occur in different combinations leading to return migration (King and Skeldon 2010).

However, over the last two decades, migration literature has mostly referred to international migration (particularly between lesser developed countries to Europe, North America, Australasia) while overlooking other forms of migratory patterns relevant in the context of globalisation (King and Skeldon 2010). King and Skeldon (2010) further explain that although global estimates indicate that internal migration exceeds international migration substantially, only immigration or movement of people across international borders has gained greater attention. There are fewer studies on internal migration or migration within a single nation-state.

The concept of belonging in the context of migration is also often discussed for transnational migration. A key focus is on the power relations within a nation-state and the functions of control adopted (like entry or exit of migrants, management of unwanted migrants and the incorporation of migrants in host communities) to grant or deny access to the desirable and non-desirable migrants (Babacan and Singh 2010). Citizenship and identity are also often discussed within the boundaries of a single nation-state and the rights, duties, and membership granted to specific individuals within it.

Following King and Skeldon (2010), this thesis argues that while not all migrant experiences are similar, both internal and international migration can be studied based on common themes.

For example, Abbas (2016) explains that similar to international migrants, internal migrants in India also witness some degree of othering from the locals who fear the loss of local jobs or public resources or a transformation of culture. Internal migrants experience double discrimination through both informal and legal channels that sometimes raise national security concerns based on how they are perceived. While internal migrants are likely to share a common nationality, access to full rights and membership is not always equal, which leads to exclusion or discrimination due to the poor reception in their host cities (Abbas 2016).

1.3.2 Importance of Places in Migration

According to Schiller and Çağlar (2009), there have been several conceptual barriers in (re)defining localities within the process of globalisation in the migration scholarship. The national boundaries are considered synonymous with societal boundaries within theories of migrant assimilation or incorporation (Schiller and Çağlar 2009; Levitt 2012). Most migration scholarship assumes “boundedness, rootedness and membership in a single national, ethnic or religious group” as a “natural order of things” (Levitt 2012, p.493). As a result, the local space nuances within cities and their scale are often blurred out in the process (Schiller and Çağlar 2009).

Further, this rootedness in a single nation-state overlooks other forms of informal claims and citizenship that contribute to a multi-layered sense of belonging (Fenster 2005). Secondly, the local-global linkages also influence the manifestation of different spaces and the positioning of individuals within them. However, this perspective of understanding localities has yet to receive sufficient attention in the conceptualisation of cities (Amin and Graham 1997). Anthias (2012) and Levitt (2012) emphasise that migration scholarship must consider the multiple sites and layers of a migrant’s social fields to allow a deeper understanding of the interplay of global and local dimensions of power that influence an individual’s experience.

1.3.3 Gender and Intersectionality

Until the 1970s, most research assumed women to have a passive role as companions to men in the process of migration (Pessar and Mahler 2003). Migration studies that followed focused on women as a variable (and as dependents to men) rather than as a lens for studying migration (Anthias 2012). Most recent poststructuralist scholars have argued for a more dynamic and fluid conceptualisation of gender (King *et al.* 2006; Mahler and Pessar 2006).

In migration studies, gender needs to be viewed as a process analysed in relational terms within a context (Mahler and Pessar 2006). Anthias (2012, p.105) also explains that,

“gender is about relational processes around particular types of social differentiation (we can think about this as involving the organisation and reproduction of sexual difference) and social stratification, hierarchy and social division.”

These relational processes indicate that gender does not exist in isolation. Other structures of social difference, including race, class, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, also need to be incorporated in the understanding of gender. Migrant scholarship, therefore, needs also to include an intersectional perspective.

“Intersectionality is a means of seeing the way in which many different aspects of what determines our lived experiences- including gender, class, age, and ability.” (Lacey 2013, p.144).

According to Anthias (2009a), intersectionality can be used as a heuristic device, functioning as a starting point to examine the different processes and power hierarchies that influence patterns of identity, belonging and social outcomes in a context.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

This chapter has introduced the context and has established the main research questions and objectives for this research.

Chapter 2 discusses pertinent literature in two parts. Part-I re-examines the conceptualisation of the two main terminologies, *migration* and *everyday spatial practices*, as applied in this research. Migration and everyday spatial activities are both studied as varying spatio-temporal movements against the backdrop of Massey’s (1994) *power geometry*. Part-II discusses the main theoretical frameworks. This thesis primarily builds on Hägerstrand’s *time geography* and adapts its notational diagrams to identify, map, and analyse the everyday spatial practices of migrant women. The affective dimensions attributed to different routine activities is a critical part of identifying and analysing everyday spaces. The second theoretical framework develops the notion of *place-belonging* for migrant women by building on previous scholarship. Repetitive spatial *movement* is an important dimension of this conceptualisation of place-belonging. Finally, this chapter discusses the need to apply an intersectional lens to understand the interrelation between experiences of identity, everyday spatial practices, and the experiences of belonging. The third theoretical framework is the *intersectional life course* approach, which addresses the impact of varying positionality (experienced through migration and life course) on the notion of place-belonging.

Chapter 3 outlines the research design and implementation. This thesis is embedded in a phenomenological approach, using semi-structured interviews as the primary qualitative research method. Further, by applying a comparative study using case studies, Indian women migrants are examined as internal migrants in Hyderabad, India, and international migrants to Melbourne, Australia. A total of 20 interviews were conducted in Hyderabad, India and 19 interviews in Melbourne, Australia. The interview questions were structured around three broad themes: migration trajectories and experiences, migrant women's everyday spatial activities, and the experiences of feeling “at home” in their cities. These themes structured the analysis in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 present the key findings from the case studies in Hyderabad, India and Melbourne, Australia. Here, Hägerstrand’s notational diagrams are overlaid with David Seamons’ (1980) notion of *body-subject* to identify the habitual spatial routines of the migrant women based on their varying frequency of recurrence. The linkages between the macro level migratory movements and the everyday spatial practices are also explored in this chapter. Further, the participants' local movements are spatialised through maps to aid in the analysis of their time-space routines.

Chapter 6 analyses the different spatial practices identified in the case study chapters. This chapter is organised into three parts. The first part discusses the main time-space routines of

the Indian women migrants, as observed in both cases. These routines were primarily *core activities* related to work, study, purchasing everyday necessities, trips related to caregiving activities, and religion. The other important set of time-space routines were *restorative practices*, linked with social interactions and travel for visiting family, leisure or relaxation. The second part analyses the nature of the setting of the spaces where some of these time-space routines occur. Using Tuan's (1979) *fields of care*, the affective dimensions attributed to different spaces is emphasised. The final section discusses various factors that have impacted the spatial patterns of the migrant women interviewed. These factors include social and cultural variations between contexts, the influence of patriarchy and protectionism, impact of varying positionality, gendered mobilities, perceived safety (of public spaces), perceived boundaries (within the cities), time-budget constraints. Across all factors, intersectionality appeared as a critical lens for analysing the varying spatial movements of the migrant women interviewed.

Building on the analysis from chapter 6, **Chapter 7** discusses the notion of belonging as experienced through these everyday routine practices in different spaces. I propose that any discussion on the notion of belonging for migrants must first and foremost begin with an understanding of the purpose of migration and the intent to belong. Different experiential factors in everyday life further mould this intention to belong. In the final section, I discuss the interrelationship between these varying everyday spatial patterns and movements of individuals and their intent to belong to propose six broad typologies of migrant women. The proposed *spectrum of belonging* includes *Settler, Resilient, Explorer, Content, Dependent* and *Transient* migrants. The migrant women are likely to transition between these different categories based on the changes in their circumstances during their life course, which is analysed further in Chapter 8.

Using an intersectional lens, **Chapter 8** brings together the discussion from the previous analysis chapters. In the first section, the external processes that have defined and *positioned* the migrant women (as internal migrants in India and as Indian migrants in Australia) in their receiving cities are analysed at a macro level before discussing the lived experiences of their social position at the micro level. The micro level perspective draws from the narratives of six migrant women, to study the variations in their experiences of identity and belonging through their life course, particularly migration. An *intersectional life course* approach is applied to include a temporal dimension to this analysis of *positionality*. The chapter concludes by addressing the main research question to define what belonging means through space and time for the Indian women migrants.

Chapter 9 summarises the key findings and addresses the main contributions of this research. Mainly, the advantages of applying the notational diagrams of time-geography to study the varying spatio-temporal movements of the migrant women across two contexts: India and Australia are discussed. This methodology has helped arrive at a framework for conceptualising place-belonging for migrant women of Indian origin. This chapter also identifies some of the limitations experienced during the research process while simultaneously exploring future research possibilities. Finally, contextualising the findings in the global pandemic of the year 2020, this thesis reflects on what belonging means in the context of mass disruption of spatial routines and new spatial controls that are restructuring prior known hierarchies and social boundaries.

CHAPTER 2. Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical grounding for this thesis and is sub-divided into two parts. Part I contextualises terminologies as applied in this research: Section 2.1 discusses *migration*, and Section 2.2 defines *everyday spatial practices*. Both these terminologies are considered as varying spatio-temporal movements against the backdrop of Massey's (1994) *power geometry* of time-space compression. The second part of this chapter explains the three main theoretical frameworks applied to address the research questions of this thesis. Section 2.3 discusses Hägerstrand's *time-geography* and its application in studying everyday spaces and spatial routines of the migrant women. Section 2.4 focuses on the conceptualisation of *place-belonging* that emerges from these routine spatial practices. As emphasised in the introduction chapter, intersectionality is a necessary lens to understand different processes and power hierarchies that influence experiences of identity, belonging and social outcomes in a context. Section 2.5 introduces *intersectionality* and its application in this research to study the variation in place-belonging experiences with time for the migrant women interviewed.

Part I: Contextualising Terminologies

2.1. Migration as a Spatio-Temporal Movement

As discussed in the introduction chapter, migration in the contemporary era is complex and diverse. As an increased number of countries become a part of the transnational network due to globalisation, migrants from multiple origins (with different economic, social and cultural backgrounds) spread across a wider geographical area (King 1995). The role and participation of women have also significantly increased in contemporary migration (King 1995). Further, as the circumstances that drive migration have transformed over time, the primary rationale for migration is no longer limited to the economic push and pull factors (King 1995). Asylum-seekers and refugees are examples of migration patterns that occur due to push pressures that may arise out of "poverty, overcrowding, political instability and environmental disaster", among other factors (King 1995, p.23). Conversely, the expansion of service industries has modified the pull factors with its new demand for highly skilled workers, while the growth of the informal sector continues to attract casual workers with relatively lesser skills (King 1995).

As migration becomes more differentiated, the typologies and pathways are also multiple and varied (King 1995). For example, from his research on Indian and Chinese migrants in Australia, Hugo (2008, pp.269-270) notes that in addition to direct permanent settlement in Australia, migration trajectories could be:

- a. **indirect**, involving migration to a third country (for example, migrating to New Zealand, before permanent settlement in Australia)
- b. involve a **return migration** to homeland
- c. include a **third country migration** (after staying in Australia for a period)
- d. **reciprocal** (outflow of Australians to an Asian country)
- e. **circular** (long-term but temporary migration of Asians to Australia and vice versa)
- f. **circulatory** (short-term) movements between Asian countries and Australia.

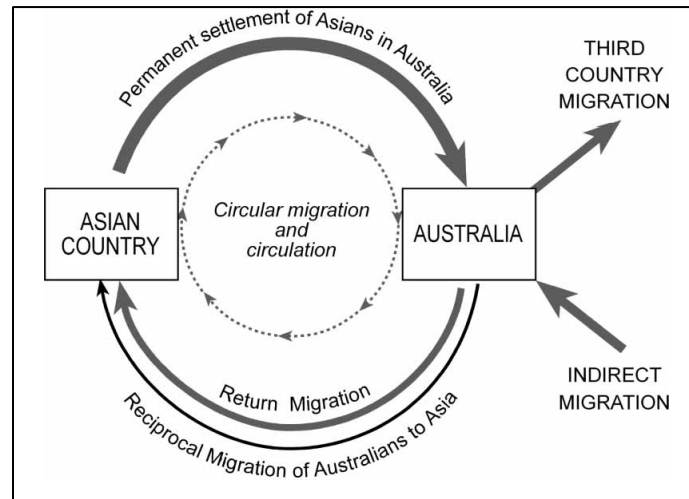


Figure 2. 1: A model of the Asia-Australian migration system (Source: Hugo 2008, p. 269)

Borrowing from Hugo's (2008, p.269) work, Figure 2.1 represents the possible complex migratory patterns between Australia and Asian Countries. Hugo (2008) further explains that these migratory movements are often combined, and there could be transitions between multiple migratory systems. These transitions may be linked to an individual's life cycle stage as well. Similarly, Robertson (2019a, p.170), from her study of "middling" migrants from Asia to Australia, refers to these shifting migration patterns in the contemporary migration as "staggered". Staggered migration is

"contingent, multi-directional and multi-stage – where the boundaries between temporariness and permanence (as both legal status and subjective state) are increasingly blurry and mutable." (Robertson 2019a, p.170)

Some of these intricate migratory patterns are also evident in internal migration occurring within a single nation. For example, in India, women often temporarily migrate to their maternal home (typically in another location from their usual place of residence) for childbirth and post-natal care (Bhagat 2008). Deshingkar and Start (2003) explain that seasonal and circular migration (mainly temporary relocation of rural agricultural workers for labour work in urban areas) occurs either as a coping strategy or survival, for additional income, better enumeration or opportunities. Often temporary migration is viewed as a transitional step before a permanent residential movement in India's internal migration (Joshi and Deb 2015). Also, contemporary migratory trends within India show a strong tendency to maintain ties with hometowns (or villages) because of the social links and the intention to return for a better life in the long term (Joshi and Deb 2015). These linkages result in frequent circulatory movements between hometown and receiving city.

Therefore, contemporary migratory movements (both internal and international) are complex. As Hugo (2008) explains, there is a need to emphasise the processes that link the origin and destination, beyond a linear and unidirectional relationship, to uncover the multiple patterns of migration that can occur between them.

Further, Robertson (2019a) explains that staggered migration causes an intersection between the institutional, biographical and everyday temporalities, which creates distinct experiences of time for the migrants in their everyday lived experiences. Therefore, she urges to consider the conjunction of multi-scalar temporal scales acting on a migrant at a given place and time.

Specifically, she introduces two temporal experiences: *contingent temporality* and *indentured temporality*. *Contingent temporality* relies on the unfolding of particular events as well as the “unforeseen, unpredictable and unanticipated circumstances” (Robertson 2019a, p.174). Contingency temporality causes the migrants to alter the timing and occurrence of some of their life events (like marriage, childbirth) or migration decisions based on the impact of the sometimes unpredictable institutional timescales (like migration policies and criteria). These decisions are sometimes negotiated with other family members to achieve desired (or perceived) “normative” outcomes of life events.

Indentured temporality occurs when an anticipated or intended migration trajectory is unexpectedly suspended or delayed in some way (Robertson 2019a). These indentured temporalities sometimes fix migrants in a specific place or time based on the institutional timelines imposed on them. These two temporalities, she argues, “disrupt teleological imaginaries of life transition and migration goals” (Robertson 2019a, p.171). In both these cases, Robertson challenges the linear and unidirectional understanding of migration trajectories and brings *time* into contemporary migration experiences.

Before Robertson, Cwerner (2001) also studied the different temporal experiences of migrants. From his study of Brazilian immigrants living in London, he proposed eight sets of time in his *times of migration*, which are summarised in the table below:

Table 2. 1: Summary of Cwerner’s <i>Times of Migration</i>			
Times of Migration		Description	
1	Strange times	Cwerner (2001, pp.18-19) explains that these first three sets of time relate to the “practical and symbolic” ways of adjusting to the receiving society, particularly as new immigrants.	Strange times relate to unpacking the migrant’s “temporal baggage” and adjusting in the socio-temporal organisation of a new life (Cwerner 2001, p.19). This recalibration could include adjustments to weather and seasons, a different pace of life, among other factors.
2	Heteronomous times		This temporality refers to the imposed laws and rules, related to visas and work permits, which sometimes results in “temporal alienation” (Cwerner 2001, p.21).
3	Asynchronous times		The migrants try to keep in touch with their home country through multiple strategies by re-synchronising their temporalities in a new context. These strategies could include access to media and numerous communication modes, including email, internet, and phone (King <i>et al.</i> 2006).

4	Remembered times	Cwerner (2001) explains that while these three sets of times are possibly present from the start of the immigration journey, they become expressive with time.	Remembered times are linked with the expression of nostalgia through specific events, material objects like photographs, memorabilia, or through food, music and dances, among others (King <i>et al.</i> 2006).
5	Collage times		Immigrants often struggle with the clash of memories and narratives of their homeland (from a different time) with an alternative representation (of themselves and their nation) in their host society. Collage times refers to the impact of the juxtaposition of these multiple representations.
6	Liminal times		Liminal times are linked to the ‘temporary and transitional’ stage experienced due to uncertainties imposed by their host society's rules and regulations.
7	Diasporic times	These two sets of times relate to the “long-term temporal outlook” of the migrants (Cwerner 2001, p.19)	Diasporic times are concerned with the recreation of familiar rhythms resembling the past social life (from their homeland) in their new place of domicile.
8	Nomadic times		Nomadic times challenges the dominant temporal constructs to introduce new time conceptualisations and practices, where migrants become “time pioneers”.
(Source: Cwerner 2001; King <i>et al.</i> 2006)			

Cwerner (2001) adds that these *times of migration* can co-occur in the lives of the migrant. The individual importance of each of these times is dependent on their unique circumstances and their social context.

Both Cwerner and Robertson forefront time in the study of migration and emphasise the impact of contextual structures (acting at multiple scales- including biographical and institutional) that shape migration trajectories and everyday temporalities. In addition to time, places also matter in the discussion of contemporary migration. As King (1995, p.27) explains, migration creates a basic human link between places of departure and arrival or settlement. Further (as explained in the introduction chapter), the positionality of different individuals determines the extent and reach of their varied spatio-temporal movements. Within the power geometry, as Massey (1994, p.149) explains,

“different social groups have distinct relationships to this anyway differentiated mobility: some people are more in charge of it than others; some initiate flows and movement, others don't; some are more on the receiving-end of it than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it.”

This thesis focuses on these spatio-temporal dimensions of migration and explores its interlinkages with the micro level everyday movements. If international or internal migration are understood as long-distance, long-term (either temporary or permanent) movement sometimes transcending national or international borders, then everyday spatial movements (and commuting) can be understood as comparatively short-distance, short-term, temporary movement (Malmberg 1997; King *et al.* 2006; King 2012). As migration brings about a change

in the life situation and relocates the base of everyday activities (Malmberg 1997), it establishes a basic link in-between these different spatio-temporal movements.

The multi-scalar analysis of these different movements can be operationalised using time-geography's notational diagrams (discussed later in Section 2.3). The framework of time-geography allows an examination of the constraints (both external structures and internal subjectivities) that influence an individual's freedom of choice and their decision to engage in different activities. The following section (Section 2.2) discusses the conceptualisation of these spatial practices (both official and unofficial) that emerge in various everyday spaces.

2.2 Spatial Practices and Everyday Spaces

Everyday life comprises of all activities - "the sum total of all our relations- is built on the ground, in daily activities and transactions" (Burkitt 2004, p.212). Burkitt (2004) adds that these everyday experiences are multidimensional as they involve multiple social fields, although they take place on a single plane. Building on Pierre Bourdieu's work, Burkitt explains that these social fields emerge from the difference in the power relationship between agents (which is reproduced continuously) and unfolds as practices and relations in a geographical space at a particular time. These social fields shape *official* and *unofficial* practices of everyday life, which are "open, permeable and necessarily interdependent" (Burkitt 2004, p.215).

The *official* practices operate within the top-down naturalised or codified processes, while the *unofficial* practices are enacted outside of this systematisation and codification, for example, relations of love, intimacy and relationships (Burkitt 2004). This approach also resonates with de Certeau's (1984) definition of *strategy* and *tactics* in discussing everyday practices. A strategy is a top-down formulation (expectation) and articulation of what is considered "proper", whereas tactics operate outside of anything "proper" and often breaks boundaries that are meant to contain them.

Both official and unofficial practices are produced and articulated in time and space. According to Burkitt (2004), the official practices usually occur in the more structured physical built environment where the temporalities are set by the rules of the institutions governing them. Here, he refers to institutions as the state or the economy, which fix certain social practices in space and time. Official practices also influence embodied experience when they unfold as

"habitual practices or customs wherein the rules and codes disappear from consciousness and practices are produced unconsciously by each of us, who 'simply know' how to 'carry on' in social life." (Burkitt 2004, p.221)

Burkitt (2004) further explains that, unlike official practices, unofficial practices are built on human relations that are produced temporally than spatially. Therefore, he adds that unofficial practices are likely to be visible in the "more informal spaces of the home, the streets, playgrounds, cafes, bars, restaurants, among other spaces" (Burkitt 2004, p.221). However, these practices are somewhat less likely to be habitual, although Burkitt does not rule out the possibility.

While Burkitt's analysis is limited to social fields operating between various forces of capital, it does not expand sufficiently to include other structural forces (for example, social and cultural factors) that could determine social hierarchies and impact these practices. Following

Burkitt (2004), this thesis explores the temporal and spatial dimensions of different practices (both official and unofficial) by considering all relevant structural forces that could impact them in a given context.

Further, as Massey (1995) suggests, places can no longer be understood as fixed, coherent, unique and bounded, in the context of globalisation. Instead, places have an identity based on the activities and meanings attributed to them in a specific time and place. She explains that places need to be understood

“as a meeting-place, the location of the intersections of particular bundles of activity spaces of connections and interrelations, of influences and movements.” (Massey 1995, p.59).

An *activity space* refers to the “spatial network of links and activities”, the spatial linkages, and the location within which an agency operates (Massey 1995, p.54). Activity spaces can be used as a heuristic device to understand a society's spatial organisation and the geography of power that it operates within, thereby leading to aspects of social inequality (Massey 1995). For individuals, mapping different activity spaces can help identify the extent and shape of the spatial reach and understand the interrelationship between different places identified.

Therefore drawing from Burkitt (2004) and Massey (1995), **first**, *everyday spaces* are conceptualised based on the spatial practices and activities (both official and unofficial) that are attached to them. Further, these spatial practices and the extent and reach of spatial patterns are interconnected to individual subjectivities and the broader structural processes that shape everyday life. As Rose (1995) explains, a sense of place is derived from both individual's meanings and feelings (attached to particular places) and from the social, cultural, economic circumstances that an individual is embedded within.

Secondly, in this thesis, I explore the nature and extent of these spatial activities (or activity spaces) of the migrant women (at an individual level) to understand their significance in their daily life. Section 2.3 of this chapter explains the framework applied in this research to identify and analyse these spatio-temporal movements by adapting the time-geography's notational diagrams.

Finally, the typology of everyday spaces is left open for exploration, and the focus is instead on the affective dimensions attributed to them. For this, I adopt Tuan's conceptualisation of place. According to Tuan (1979), it is the experiential perspective of an individual that qualifies place from space. Therefore, *space* is more abstract, whereas a *place* is specific and is associated with attributes and qualities. A place has an identity, and it is enriched with the “experiences and aspirations of people” (Tuan 1979, p.387). He explains,

“Place is not only a fact to be explained in the broader frame of space, but it is also a reality to be clarified and understood from the perspectives of the people who have given it meaning.” (Tuan 1979, p.387).

Broadly he states that there are two types of places, *public symbols* that can be appreciated visually and “command attention and awe”, and *fields of care*, which “evoke affection” and are not necessarily visible to an outsider (Tuan 1979, p.412). Fields of care need not fit within any identifiable (visual) criteria and can take different forms. Some public symbols can be fields of care; however, the latter cannot be immediately recognised from an external point.

Tuan explains that one way of developing an affective bond with a space is through routinised practices and repetition in everyday life, which helps set established paths and routes. Religious practices and celebrations are some other forms of building an affective bond. Frequency is, therefore, a way of examining the affective relationship shared with different places. For Tuan (1979), time is an essential factor that helps build up experience and care for particular spaces.

For this thesis, the sense of place that emerges from these various spatial practices and routines in different spaces is critical to the conceptualisation of belonging for migrant women. Moreover, as Rose (1995) explains, a sense of place that emerges as a response to different processes can be expressed in multiple ways and can be multi-scalar, depending on the social locations and experiences of identity. For example, she explains:

“senses of place relates to identity in different ways: they may invite identification with a place; they may establish identity by offering a contrast between a place that is ‘home’ and the place that is ‘away’; or the meaning of sense of place may irrelevant to how people identify themselves.” (Rose 1995, p.97)

Therefore, identity and power relationships are an integral part of developing a sense of place that shapes experiences of belonging in daily life. Section 2.4 discusses the theoretical framework applied to arrive at the notion of place-belonging for migrant women.

Part II – *Theoretical Frameworks*

2.3 Time-Geography

Swedish human geographer, Torsten Hägerstrand, introduced the term time-geography in the 1950s (King 2012; Ellegård 2019a), and it “deals with the time-space “choreography” of the individual’s existence at daily, yearly, or lifetime (biographical) scales of observation” (Pred 1977, p.208). If an individual is the unit of analysis, time-geography can be used as a tool to understand how time as a quantity is differently utilised within 24 hours in a day (Davies 2003; Ellegård 2019a). Various activities are delegated within this linear understanding of time, where events unfold in a sequence and are inter-linked.

As Ellegård (2019a) explains, time in time-geography consists of three parts; *past*, which has already occurred and cannot be modified, although the *past* can be reinterpreted at a later point. *Future* is yet to come and presents different opportunities which are yet to be realised and may remain unfulfilled. In time-geography, the present or *now* is the point of intersection, where the *past* is continuously transforming into the *future* and is moving. *Now* is also the time where actions are taken and changes are made.

Time-geography’s notational diagram visually represents an individual’s time-space movement from the past, through the present and into the future. The key components of this notational system are *time-paths* and *stations* (Pred 1977; King *et al.* 2006; Ellegård 2019a). *Time-path* is used to represent an individual’s sequence of movement in time-space and investigate different processes that influence this movement (Ellegård 2019a). *Stations* or domains are fixed points like (home, workplace, community centre) (Pred 1977; King *et al.* 2006). Individuals can meet others as a group at these stations. Stations are also places where more than one individual path comes together to form a *bundle* (Pred 1977; King *et al.* 2006; Ellegård 2019a). These time-space activities may be related to *projects* of life, like sustaining a

livelihood, creating a family; while some projects can be idealistic, others are situational (King *et al.* 2006). Multiple projects can lead to a goal (Magnus 2019). The time-path of an individual can be constructed at different temporal (like a day, week, a year or a lifetime) and spatial scales (like household level, city, regional or national) (King *et al.* 2006).

A *prism*, in time-geography, represents a future space of opportunities. As the *now* line moves into the future, the prism reduces, and thereby only one possibility emerges and is realised in the present. Ellegård's (2019a, p.6) diagrammatic representation of the notational diagrams are shown in Figure 2.2 below.

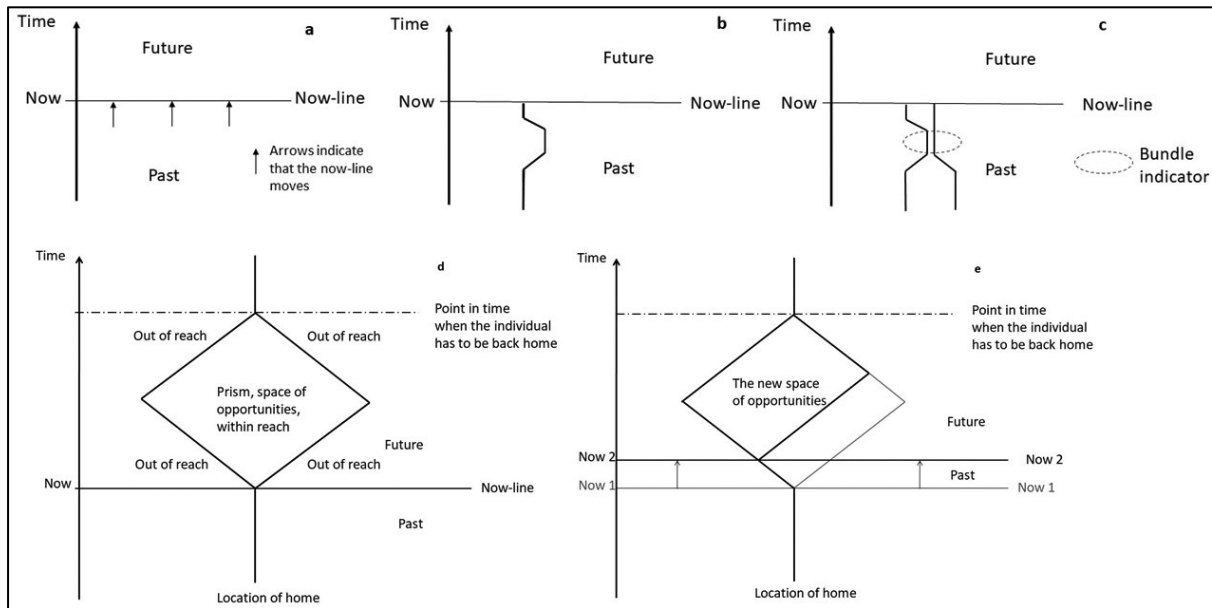


Figure 2. 2: Time, with its past, now and future (a); the individual path in the past (b); two individual paths as a bundle (c); the prism principle (d); the changing prism shape as time goes by (e) (Source: Ellegård 2019a, p.6)

Activities and *projects* are constrained by *capacity or capability*, *coupling* factors, or *steering* constraints. The *capacity or capability* constraint is the limited ability of an individual (either physical, physiological, social or financial), properties, knowledge or tools to achieve a particular goal or perform an activity (Pred 1977; Malmberg 1997; King *et al.* 2006; Ellegård 2019a). *Steering* (or authority) constraints are the contextual constraints enforced on an individual, like the laws, regulations that determine who has access (or does not have access) to certain stations at specific times in order to perform tasks or activities (Pred 1977; Malmberg 1997; Ellegård 2019a). The third constraint, *coupling*, arises out of the need to perform a certain activity with another individual or more (or other coupling conditions) in a given time-space (Pred 1977; Ellegård 2019a).

All these factors help analyse an individual's freedom of choice and their decision to engage in specific activities (Pred 1977; King *et al.* 2006). As Davies (2003, p.134) explains, "time and space, therefore, impose basic constraints for freedom of action and movement". According to Hägerstrand (1975), time-geography can also shed light on the barriers which constrain some events from occurring. Pred (1977, p.211) explains that in time-geography, "the "collateral" nature of processes involving the actions and experiences of "individuals" " can be understood. In other words, human behaviour and activities are influenced by the trajectories of other "living being and fabricated items" (Hägerstrand 1975, p.7).

2.3.1 Theoretical Debates on Time-Geography

Many scholars have debated the usefulness and the applicability of time-geography. According to Pred, time-geography has the potential to

“ (1) specify the necessary (but not the sufficient) conditions for virtually all interaction between man and elements of the natural environment, and man and man-made objects; and (2) provide a bridge to cover the gap between human ecology and biological ecology.” (Pred 1977, p.209).

In time-geography, human activities are influenced by both structures of power and subconscious practices (of an individual) in a given context. However, some of the earlier critiques of time-geography state that it inadequately captures the experiential dimensions related to time and space scheduling (Buttimer 1976). A few scholars have argued that time-geography has also failed to comprehensively include the social processes of everyday existence, including the psychological impacts, impacts of cultural norms and social status (Pred 1977; Davies 2003). Davies (2003) and Rose (1999) state that time-geography lacks an understanding of the gendered processes that influence women’s time-path activities, both physiologically and physically. The time allocated for different activities and spatial movements for women are dependent on their social relations (Davies 2003). For example, a woman’s choice of working from home, undertaking temporary work, part-time work or work sharing could be determined by different spatial and temporal conditions (Davies 2003). Therefore, a linear conceptualisation of time does not address the multidimensional aspects of women’s time.

Davies (2003) emphasises that time and space for women’s spatial activities, unlike for men, primarily emerge out of the relational needs and demands of others in their life, either child, parent, spouse, among others. While Davies’ argument forefronts the rationality of care, which she states as a critical component of women’s life, she also recognises that this could vary based on the context and differing social positioning. Further, she adds that women seldom have time for a *pause* due to scarcity of time and multiple responsibilities. Davies (2003, p.140) defines *pauses* as “moments at work or at home when the usual flow of work is halted for a period”. Drawing from Snow and Brisset (1986), she explains that pauses are not necessarily a period of inactivity; instead, they need to be understood as moments of relaxation and re-energising or reflection, which are essential for an individual’s wellbeing. These pauses are different from the activity patterns of men and could be overlooked in time-geography.

Rose (1999) argues that in Hägerstrand’s time-geography, both the human agency and the “free” use of space that it refers to is masculine. She argues that this perspective is evident in the separation of the rational mind from the emotional body, and in the articulation of a sense of space, which is gendered (Rose 1999). Before Rose, Buttimer (1976, p.287) also commented that the “functional and topological perspective” of time-geography “assumes an unidentified space-the “featureless plain” of our spatial tradition”.

Further, Rose (1999) argues that an individual is also rendered colourless in time-geography due to the separation of inside and outside- the body from the skin. She explains,

“Time-geography embodies an agency that purports to be human but, [...], this agency inhabits a masculine (no)body.” (Rose 1999, p.362)

Rose argues that due to the non-recognition of *others* (those who are not heterosexual white male) and other non-public spaces (like domestic spaces), the conceptualisation of constraints in time-geography is inadequate. Therefore, there is an assumption of a generic individual, and the conceptualisation of movements in space assumes the (gendered) dichotomy of public and private. Traditionally, *public* is associated with politics, power, spaces of production, paid employment and men and *private* is viewed as a space for reproduction, familial relations and activities, unpaid employment- sometimes informal, and women (Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2010).

Further, space is not neutral; the built environment is often a reflection of existing societal hierarchies, and it reinforces existing inequalities (including gender, race, class relations and other cultural and social complexities) (Weisman 1992; Desai 2007). The gendered role expectations and behavioural norms of each society are a translation of this social construction of masculinity and femininity (Young 2005; Phadke *et al.* 2011). The differentiation between sexes is socially gendered as well. In some contexts, the patriarchal controls are more predominant, and these influence how women move and access the city. Women are expected to continually demonstrate their purpose and maintain respectability when they are out and about (Phadke *et al.* 2011). The social construction of space is complex and significantly varies between contexts and between individuals. The boundaries between private and public spaces can be challenging to demarcate clearly and can have different meanings in different contexts. Rose (1999) argues that time-geography overlooks these complex social dynamics that influence an individuals' spatial movement in different spaces (which are gendered). She adds that,

“the space of time-geography, then, seems to be the dominant space of patriarchy: public, masculine space, which fully acknowledges only (repressed) white heterosexual bourgeois masculine body.” (Rose 1999, p.365).

While feminist critiques of time-geography do not necessarily negate the use of time-geography, they emphasise the need to consider these variations in spatial experiences based on different identities. Despite raising some doubts on time-geography, Rose (1993, p.18) states,

“time geography shares the feminist interest in the quotidian paths traced by people, and again like feminism, links such paths, by thinking about constraints, to the larger structures of society.”

Similarly, although Scholten *et al.* (2012) explain that while some of the earlier applications of time-geography had their limitations, the more recent work has allowed more significant insights into gendered use of space and experience. For example, *time-geography diaries* are sometimes used in conjunction with other methods like in-depth interviews to yield an in-depth understanding of gendered experiences of space and time. Given that gender relations of power manifest into everyday life in terms of gendered roles and division of responsibilities, the authors also add that analysing *projects* in time-geography can help understand “which and whose projects are successful and why?” (Scholten *et al.* 2012, p.588). They argue that time-geography’s biggest strength is that it is possible to

“visualise constraints, dominant projects and individual reach by creating images of the everyday struggles between activities, decision-making, hindrances and intervening policies from an individual perspective and at a local geographical level.” (Scholten *et al.* 2012, p.588)

However, Scholten *et al.* (2012, p.587), also recognise that not all studies that focused on gender introduce “new gender sensitive concepts in time-geography”. Therefore, the authors suggest that in order to strengthen the feminist approach within time-geography, useful concepts need to be redefined and incorporated while simultaneously creating new ones as part of the feminist knowledge production.

2.3.2 Analysing Everyday Routines

Ellegård (2019b) explains that time is fundamental to the study of everyday life; however, every individual experiences time differently. She describes two different ways to think about time in everyday life: *the daily life perspective* and the *instrumental perspective*. The *daily life perspective* focuses on the activities that are performed at certain times by an individual in their daily life. In comparison, *instrumental perspectives* focus on the precise measurement of time used for “systematic description, comparison and analysis” (Ellegård 2019b, p.105). However, Ellegård (2019b) explains that in order to obtain a general understanding of life conditions beyond the individual’s subjective experiences of time, both these perspectives must be combined, which she refers to as the *constructive perspective*. She adds that,

“the constructive perspective must be aware of the totality of everyday life with its various contexts, relationships and dependencies, when bringing people’s own life experiences into the analysis.” (Ellegård 2019b, pp.105-106)

The time-geographic diary method was developed to apply this constructive perspective. As Ellegård (2019b) describes, this method provides a tool to describe the self-reported activity sequence of the individuals (typically within a 24-hour scale) and analyse and discuss their experience of their everyday life (Frändberg 2008; Ellegård 2019b). The sequence of the activities is embedded in the “social, geographical, physiological contexts” (or other contexts) based on the focus of the study (Ellegård 2019b, p.106).

In this method, the participants enter when (the specific time) they commence or change different activities in a day and describe the activities in their own words. This method allows insights into opportunities and constraints at an individual level. Further, the activities are analysed using an activity categorisation scheme (organised hierarchically) (Ellegård 2019b). This categorisation scheme is developed empirically using a bottom-up approach (Ellegård 2019b). The diaries are also visualised and shown to the participants. Sometimes, as observed in Ellegård and Nordell’s work (as cited in Ellegård 2019b, p.108), the diaries were also used as a reflective tool. Based on the study’s purpose, this visualisation could include information on different contexts for the same time frame. For example, the visualisation could consist of a geographical context (showing place and movement), activities related to movement and companionship (individual activity vs coupled activity and the specifics of it), emotional context (like feeling neutral, stressed about activities) and the use of technology related to the activities (like car, stove, dishwasher, tv) (Ellegård 2019b).

Time-geography diaries have been applied in wide academic subjects, including “human geography, social work, psychiatry, occupational therapy, physiotherapy, political science and technology and social change” (Ellegård 2019b, p.114). Feminist research of time-geography has mostly focused on qualitative methods, by gathering stories of individuals from interviews, focus group interviews in addition to using time-geography diaries (Scholten *et al.* 2012). For example, Dyck (1989) examined how agency, space and structure intersect in patterns of

mothering practices, highlighting the interconnections between home, community and workplace. Dyck combined various research methods, including participant-observation, in-depth interviews, in addition to the time-geographic diary to identify broad patterns of mothering activities and experiences and the locales associated with it. Another example is Kwan (1999), who used travel diary data with GIS 3-D visualisation to study gender differences in the journey to work and employment status. The temporal scale applied in most of these time-geographical studies is a twenty-four-hour spatio-temporal scale.

In the context of migration studies, King *et al.* (2006, p.235) note that one of Hägerstrand's time-geography's drawbacks is "its preoccupation with daily, weekly and seasonal rhythms of mobility, localised studies of individuals and very small samples". The authors state that the mapping technique has the potential to study contemporary international migrations if they are scaled up to study long-distance emigration. Similarly, Malmberg (1997, p.45) explains that:

"Time-geography is essentially a micro-perspective, but a time-space perspective is also applicable in the analysis of determinants and processes on the macro-level, since any phenomenon has an extension in time-space."

One example of this time scale expansion is Frändberg's (2008) study of childhood transnational trips taken by Swedish youth to analyse their long-distance mobility (both temporary travel and permanent migrations) patterns. Frändberg's research focused on the changes in long-distance travel patterns with time (particularly with age and experiences) by using a biographical scale. Her work has demonstrated the possibility of adapting and scaling up the spatio-temporal dimensions of analyses in the notational diagrams for different research aims. Frändberg's study also compares the linkages between different spatio-temporal movements: both migration and temporary mobility, as they are assumed to "connect the same points in space" (Frändberg 2008, p.22). Finally, the routinisation of travel patterns is another key consideration in her research. She adds that travel for leisure and tourism can also be considered a routine, especially if there is a repetition in the trip purpose.

For this thesis, similar to Frändberg's study, the notational diagrams of time-geography are scaled up to include both migratory movements and everyday movements as varying temporal scales (discussed further in case study chapters 4 and 5). However, as Frändberg (2008, p.19) explains, when the time scale is expanded from hours and days, "the representation of movement is by necessity very *selective*". As this research focuses on understanding the range and extent of *everyday activities and spaces* (or activity spaces, as described in Section 2.2 of this chapter) of the migrant women, the exact sequence and timing of the activities are of lesser significance.

Further, Buttimer (1976, p.291) explains that time-space studies "could be fruitfully channelled towards phenomenological reflection on everyday behaviour, and the modes of presence to world which are normally possible for human persons". One way to operationalise this reflection is to include the notion of *body-subject* in the time-space studies by examining the rhythms and routines that unfold at multiple scales. As Buttimer adds,

"everyday behaviour demonstrates a quest for order predictability, and routine, as well as the quest for adventure and change [...] This tension between stability and change within rhythms of different scales, expressed by the body's relationship to its world, maybe be seen as a prototype of the relationship between places and space, home and range in the human experience of world." (Buttimer 1976, p.285)

In the concept of *body-subject*, the body is viewed as an intelligent subject which can direct behaviours of a person in a “pre-conscious way” which can be described by words like “automatic’ or habitual” (Seamon 1980, p.155).

“Body-subject assures gestures and movements learned in the past will readily continue in the future. It handles the basic behaviours of everyday living.” (Seamon 1980, p.157)

Complex movements of the body-subject extended over time and space result in *body-ballets*. Seamon (1980, p.157) describes body-ballet as “a set of integrated behaviours which sustain a particular task or aim”, like doing laundry, cleaning the house, mowing the lawn, etc. Like body-ballet, the *time-space routines* comprise of habitual bodily movements that occupy a significant portion of time in an individual’s routine. Time-space routines may sometimes consist of multiple body-ballets. Further, in a “supportive physical environment”, several body-ballets and time-space routines of multiple individuals come together in a place to form a *place-ballet*, which contributes to defining a sense of a place (Seamon 1980, p.159). Place-ballet “is an environmental synergy that people unknowingly create” (Seamon and Nordin 1980, p.40).

Therefore, by overlaying this conceptualisation of body-subject, repetitive time-space routines can be identified, categorised and analysed on the notational diagrams. This notion of body-subject considers individuals' embodied experiences, which addresses one of the drawbacks of time-geography identified by Rose (1993). Further, in this research, the interpretation of *stations* is linked to Tuan’s (1979) conceptualisation of *fields of care*, which forefronts the affective dimensions attributed to different places (where the places may not necessarily adhere to any identifiable visual criteria) (see Section 2.2 of this chapter).

Further, the categorisation of constraints of time-geography will focus on the different factors that have either modified or reinforced prior known body-ballets and time-space routines through migration. Therefore, this approach expands from the *steering, coupling, and capability* constraints proposed by Hägerstrand and allows a bottom-up identification of different factors shaping migrant women’s spatial practices (discussed later in Section 6.3, Chapter 6).

The following section discusses the notion of place-belonging that emerges from these different spatio-temporal movements.

2.4 Sense of Belonging

Belonging is a dynamic process that can be constructed in multiple ways. It can be a feeling of *being at home* (Antonsich 2010; Yuval-Davis 2011), where *home* is a “symbolic space of familiarity, comfort, security and emotional attachment” (Hooks cited in Antonsich 2010, p.646). Belonging can be attached to an individual or a collective (Yuval-Davis 2006a) or objects and places (to different localities and territories) (Gustafson 2009; Antonsich 2010). For Massey, places are a convergence point of different social relations and activities linked to both local and global processes (Massey 1995). Therefore, belonging emanating from a sense of place can be multi-scalar as well- it can range from a private space like home to a nation (sometimes experienced through formal citizenship) (Rose 1995; Gustafson 2009; Antonsich 2010; Yuval-Davis 2011).

Belonging can also have a performative dimension through specific practices (sometimes cultural and social) (Fortier 2000) repeated habitually in everyday life (de Certeau 1984; Fenster 2005). Building on Purcell's (2003) work, Fenster (2005) explains that appropriating and participating in (decisions related to) urban spaces, as part of everyday life, is one way to exercise the right to the city and experience belonging. Here, inhabitation (through use and participation in urban spaces) is a way to establish informal citizenship to a city. For Fenster (2005), participation and control in everyday life are extended to the private domain of a home as well. She adds that "the more choice people have, the stronger their sense of belonging becomes" (Fenster 2005, p.227). Therefore, a sense of belonging can be experienced by the right to both public and private spaces. Here, the boundaries of both public and private spaces can have different meanings and can symbolise different things (for every individual) based on the gendered power relations which intersect with other contextual structures of power (Fenster 2005).

Belonging is also as much a part of self-identification (Anthias 2008; Yuval-Davis 2010) as it is a part of identification by others which could be "stable, contested or transient" (Yuval-Davis 2010, p.199). For Probyn (1996, p.19), identity is in transition, and belonging arises out of yearning where,

"the desire for some sort of attachment, be it to other people, places, or modes of being, and the ways in which individuals and groups are caught within wanting to belong, wanting to become."

Building on Probyn's (1996) conceptualisation of identity and focussing on institutional practices of belonging, Fortier (2000) articulates migrant belongings as comprising of both movement (of becoming) and attachment, linked to this desire for an identity. Fortier's focus is on the process of identity formation that simultaneously produces sameness and difference.

For Anthias (2009), identities are embedded in locations, which are context, meaning and time-related and therefore can change and be contradictory at times. The term *translocation* implies that an individual is simultaneously attached to multiple locations across many terrains, and the physical movement from one nation-state to another (through migration) does not necessarily cause a dislocation at all (social) levels (Anthias 2008). This *transnational positionality* is sensitive to the intersectional identities and the inclusionary and exclusionary practices in specific contexts that influence experiences of identity. Therefore, belonging includes both formal and informal experiences of belonging:

"Positionality is about more than identification as it is also about the lived practices in which identifications are practiced or performed as well as the intersubjective, organizational and representational conditions for their existence." (Anthias 2009a, p.12)

Here, identity and belonging are constructed in relational terms with the social processes of a context. Anthias (2008, p.9) explains that belonging is about boundaries *as well as* hierarchies that exist both within and cut across these boundaries. For Massey (1994), these social processes are stretched across space and time, which locates every individual uniquely in a power geometry. Furthermore, depending on how individuals and groups are located in these flows and interconnections, they experience differentiated mobility (Massey 1994).

Therefore, belonging is a multidimensional phenomenon where both identity and citizenship become an integral part, although they cannot be conflated with it (Antonsich 2010). The

feeling of belonging can be concrete or abstract and can vary across individuals. However, it is usually “articulated, formally structured and politicized only when it is threatened in some way” (Yuval-Davis 2011, p.10), or activated through experiences of exclusion (Anthias 2008), or when the taken-for-granted routines and spatial practices are disrupted (Buttimer 1980).

2.4.1 Analysing Belonging

This section discusses some of the relevant analytical frameworks proposed by various scholars in studying the notion of belonging.

Yuval-Davis (2006a) proposes three analytical levels to construct belonging by using an intersectional framing. These analytical levels are *social locations*, *identifications and emotional attachments* and *ethical and political value systems* (Yuval-Davis 2006a, pp.199-204), which can be interrelated but cannot be reduced to one another. *Social location* relates to an individual's positioning within the social (power) hierarchies of a context. This positioning is based on an individual's unique identity (like age, income, class, caste, religion, sexuality, migration status), which is usually multiple and intersecting. An intersectional lens is critical to understand these power structures that hinder or foster belonging. Intersectionality also helps address the reductionist approach that highlights one social category (race, gender, ethnicity) over others or assumes a degree of homogeneity among individuals of a social category and groups them together.

Identifications and emotional attachments can be at an individual or a collective level, although the latter is likely to influence the former to a greater degree (Yuval-Davis 2006a). According to Yuval-Davis (2006a), the identity narratives are the stories through which people communicate about themselves, their emotions and their desire for attachments. These narratives can be verbal and built through certain repetitive practices embedded in specific social and cultural spaces, which help link individual and collective behaviour (Fortier 2000). These narratives can also be multiple, contested, change over time or can be transferred between generations:

“Narratives of identities can be more or less stable in different social contexts, more or less coherent, more or less authorized and/or contested by self and others, depending on the specific situational factors, and can reflect routinized constructions of everyday life or those of significant moments of crisis and transformation. They include both cognitive and emotional dimensions with varying degrees of attachment.” (Yuval-Davis 2010, p.267)

The last analytical lens, *Ethical and political values*, proposed by Yuval-Davis (2006a) examines the boundaries of identities and categories drawn based on how the values of an individual or a collective are judged.

Yuval-Davis also introduces the concept of *politics of belonging*, which is the political delineation of *others* or “us and them”, arising out of the articulation of belonging, based on the three analytical levels proposed by her. These boundaries of delineation are continuously reconstructed by those in power and decision-makers in society resulting in contestations. The politics of belonging involves an “expectation” of what belonging should mean for belongers (or unbelongers).

Antonsich (2010) argues that while Yuval-Davis' analytical framework is useful in understanding the politics of belonging, it overlooks the notion of place in the discussion of

belonging. Therefore, building on past research (including Yuval-Davis), his framework mainly focuses on an individual's emotional attachment rooted in a place. His first analytical level discusses how *place-belongingness* occurs or how an individual feels *at home*. Based on his extensive review of literature, Antonsich (2010, pp.8-12) highlights five factors that evoke an individual's place-belongingness, which are discussed and tabulated in Table 2.2).

Table 2. 2: Place-Belongingness: Factors		
1	Auto-biographical	Past, history, memories and relations
2	Relational	Meaningful relationships shared with friends and family
3	Cultural	Language, food, traditions, habits, among others
4	Economic	Integration into the (receiving society's) economy
5	Legal	Formal modes of belonging (citizenship, residency permits)
Source: Antonsich (2010, pp.8-12)		

As tabulated in Table 2.2, *place-belongingness* could be related to memories (particularly childhood memories) and history attached with specific places. It could also relate to relationships and social ties that are shared with different individuals and groups in a place. These relationships could range from casual encounters between strangers in public spaces to deep emotional relationships shared with friends and family members. However, Antonsich (2010) clarifies that group belonging emerges from frequent physical interactions, which generate a sense of stability, are positive, long-lasting and significant enough to develop an affective bond with others. Cultural factors could include language, cultural practices, traditions, habits, religious practices or other shared commonalities that have the potential to create a feeling of community due to shared commonalities. Economic factors are related to the stability and safety offered through an individual's integration into the economy. This economic integration could also affect an individual's perceived stake in the place they live. Legal factors include the formal mode of belonging through citizenship and residency status, which are particularly relevant in the case of refugees and (international) migrants in the receiving society. In addition to these, Antonsich (2010, p.649), citing Savage et al., includes the *length of residence* as another factor, where an individual can experience a sense of belonging with a chosen place of residence (which is not a place of origin or hometown) as it is compatible with their life story.

As place-belongingness is embedded in social processes and does not exist in isolation, the second analytical level discusses "belonging as a resource in discourses and practices of socio-spatial in/exclusion" (Antonsich 2010, p.649). Antonsich (2010) explains that the intimate and personal sense of belonging operates within the power hierarchies (social, political, economic, among others) of a context, where the resultant exclusionary or inclusionary forces affect an individual's sense of place-belonging. This analytical dimension draws from Yuval-Davis' (2010) concept of *politics of belonging*. He proposes that future empirical studies must include the intersection of his proposed two analytical dimensions while considering the multiple scales at which place-belonging operates.

Christensen (2009) also builds on Yuval-Davis' framework and further adds that belonging can be multi-scalar and located at *Macro, Meso and Micro* levels. The *macro level* pertains to "imagined" communities attached with strong feelings of a community like nationalism or religion. The *Meso level* pertains to a collective organisation of people (specific organisations

like political parties or social movements). The *Micro level* relates to the connections formed in everyday life and to local communities. She adds that,

“Such belongings can be reflexive and deliberate, they can be oriented towards integration in local communities, but may also be characterized by prejudices, e.g. about class and race/ethnicity.” (Christensen and Jensen 2011, pp.147-148)

Christensen’s (2009) analytical lens focuses on the subjective and emotional aspects of citizenship in the discussion of belonging, which unfolds at the three levels depending on how they co-relate.

In the context of migration studies, and as discussed in the introduction chapter (See Section 1.3), there have been several challenges in studying identity and difference. In order to address some of these challenges and better understand ethnicity, migration and transnational movements in the contemporary era, Anthias (2008) introduced the concept of *translocational positionality*. Translocational positionality focuses “on the crisscrossing of different social locations” and “to the shifting locales of people in terms of movements and flows” (Anthias 2008, p.17). Like Yuval-Davis (2006a), Anthias (2008) forefronts social positionality and uses an intersectional approach that views identity as a process rather than fixed attributes of individuals and groups. For Anthias (2008), belonging is heightened when a sense of exclusion is experienced through dislocation at a social location. She explains:

“Belonging is not just about membership, rights and duties, as in the case of citizenship, or just about forms of identification with groups or others, but it is also about the social places constructed by such identifications and memberships and the ways in which social place has resonances on stability of the self, on feelings of being part of a larger whole and the emotional and social bonds that are related to such places.” (Anthias 2008, p.8)

Therefore, the construction of social categories and locations need to be understood as a process and in relational terms with each other based on the time, context and meanings attached to it. Furthermore, intersectionality (elaborated in the subsequent section 2.5) can serve as a starting point to examine these different processes and power hierarchies that influence patterns of identity, belonging and social outcomes (Anthias 2009a).

For Arp Fallov *et al.* (2013), belonging comprises of three dimensions, people, places and mobility. They build on the Buttimer’s (1980) sense of place, derived out of two reciprocal movements of *centering in* (bringing home) and *reaching out* (towards the horizon), and define (local) belonging as comprising of various centering processes through combinations of mobility and immobility. In other words, centering can be understood as creating essential anchoring in everyday life. Their framework is further informed by Seamon’s (1980) conceptualisation of place-ballets which emphasises the importance of habitual, repetitive movements for developing an affective bond with a place and building a sense of place. Arp Fallov *et al.* (2013) also note that internal factors like life cycle changes and the biography of an individual influence belonging in addition to the external factors.

2.4.2 Understanding Place-Belonging for Migrant Women in the Context of Globalisation

As explained in the previous sections of this chapter (Section 2.1), migration in the contemporary era is complex and is no longer limited to fixed categories and patterns. Further, the relationship that migrants share with different locales is also complex. As Anthias (2008, p.6) explains, for migrants,

“there exist complex relations to different locales; these include networks involving social, symbolic and material ties between homelands, destinations, and relations between destinations.”

As stated earlier, Massey (1994, p.147) refers to this “geographical stretching of social relations and the movement and communication across space as the time-space compression”, where the sense of place is neither fixed nor homogenous. It varies based on the changes in the power structures and the nature of social interactions at the convergence points (or places). Further, the positionality of different individuals and places within this time-space compression differs and is also dependent on the structures of power operating across and within the transnational space (Massey 1994; Rose 1995). Therefore, migrants can be understood as differently positioned both at home and in their receiving country.

Against this backdrop of globalisation, and the identity construction of both places and individuals in shifting geographies of power, this thesis examines the sense of belonging experienced by the migrant women in their everyday life. Here, *translocational positionality* can aid in identifying the exclusionary and inclusionary forces operating on an individual at different places based on the understanding of their complex identities (Anthias 2008). Therefore, context, time and meaning are crucial to conceptualise an individual’s identity, their social positioning, sense of place and belonging.

While acknowledging that any discussion on belonging without considering the context is inadequate, given the complexity and limited scope, this thesis does not engage in an in-depth examination of the politics of belonging; the focus is, instead, on the individual’s emotional attachment shared with a place.

Therefore, **first**, as explained previously, I use David Seamon’s (1980) body-ballets and time-space routines to identify everyday habitual spatio-temporal movements and represent them using Hägerstrand’s notational diagrams. Following Arp Fallov *et al.* (2013), Gustafson (2009) and Seamon (1980), I emphasise *movement* as an important dimension to experience and enact belonging in a place. As both migratory and everyday local movements are identified as varying spatio-temporal movements (Malmberg 1997; King *et al.* 2006), I explore how belonging can be multi-scalar through these different movements.

Secondly, I use Antonsich’s (2010) proposed factors (auto-biographical, relational, cultural, economic and legal) as a starting point to analyse the individual narratives of place-belonging while exploring other factors that may arise from the research. **Thirdly**, I examine how the complex identities of the migrant women and their varying positionalities in different contexts (both at home and receiving society) impact their everyday spatial movements and the notion of belonging. The variations in everyday place-belonging experiences through time are further examined using an intersectional lens, which is elaborated in the subsequent section.

2.5 Intersectionality

As emphasised in the introduction chapter, gender does not exist in isolation; it intersects with other structures of social difference, including race, class, religion, sexual orientation (among other differences). An intersectional lens aids in understanding how different social categories influence each other in relational terms in a given context and alter an individual's lived experience. Within intersectionality, gender is not limited to binary categories; it is fluid and open and is socially constructed (Lacey 2013).

The term *intersectionality* was introduced by legal feminist scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989, p.139), who defined it “as the multidimensionality” of marginalised subjects’ lived experience. She argued that using a single-axis analysis (either gender or race, or class) was inadequate to understand Black women’s experiences in the United States. Before Crenshaw, Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1983, p.62) also contested the notion of “sisterhood” in feminist research. They argued against an assumed commonality of interests and goals among all women without considering the interrelationship of ethnicity and class. Anthias and Yuval-Davis emphasised the ontological differences between the social categorisations, which are mutually constituting. Therefore,

“classes are always gendered and racialised and gender is always classed and racialised and so on, thereby dispelling the idea of homogeneous and essential social categories.” (Anthias 2012, p.106)

Intersectionality has made a significant theoretical contribution to feminist research, particularly in multi-disciplinary research “analysing subjects’ experiences of both identity and oppression” (Nash 2008, p.2). However, despite its contributions, there have been several debates on the methodological challenges of undertaking an intersectional analysis (for example see, McCall (2005), Yuval-Davis (2011), Christensen and Jensen (2012)).

One of the first methodological challenges arises from the complexity of analysing mutually constituting social categories (McCall 2005; Christensen and Jensen 2012). McCall (2005) discusses three different approaches adopted in intersectional analysis to address this complexity. The first approach is the *anticategorical approach*, which deconstructs the “normative” understanding of categories and is primarily visible in deconstructionist and post-structuralist theories. The second approach is the *intracategorical approach*, which focuses on differences and inequalities with a single category. Crenshaw’s (1989) work is an example of this category. In this approach, the scholars do not reject the categories per se but highlight the “exclusionary repercussions” caused due to the inadequacies of understanding the categories itself (Nash 2008, p.89).

The third approach developed by McCall (2005, p.1786) is the *intercategorical approach*, which

“focuses on the complexity of relationships among multiple social groups within and across analytical categories and not on complexities within single social groups, single categories, or both.”

However, Yuval-Davis (2011) argues that an *intercategorical* intersectional approach must also include an *intracategorical* analysis, as applying only a single approach can result in reductionism. Christensen and Jensen (2012) add that while focusing on the ontological

differentiation between categories, the categories must also be considered in a non-hierarchical order as their differentiation works differently at both structural and identity levels and shaped by power relations.

The second methodological challenge noted in an intersectional analysis is identifying the “right” number of social categories from an endless list of possibilities that may exist in a given context (McCall 2005; Yuval-Davis 2011; Christensen and Jensen 2012). To address this complexity, Yuval-Davis (2011, p.9) explains that,

“in specific historical situations and in relation to the daily lives of specific people there are some social divisions which are more important than others in constructing their specific positionings relative to others around them.”

Therefore, it is essential to recognise the social axis of power in a context to uncover the predominant social categories that locate *others* in relational terms. Yuval-Davis (2011, p.9) adds that without constructing these “categories of signification”, it would be difficult to distinguish between them. Therefore, an intersectional approach should not just be limited to those on the margins of the society, but instead be applied to everyone, as all individuals have ethnicities; intersectionality can help analyse this social stratification (Yuval-Davis 2011). Including the majority categories allow us to question the “normality” defined by them without limiting the discussion of *other(s)* as different.

Following McCall (2005), Yuval-Davis (2006b) and others, Christensen and Jensen (2012, p.112) therefore suggest establishing a “select number of categories or establishing *anchor points* as a *strategic choice*”, which can aid in making the analysis manageable. These anchor points help focus on specific categories that are considered important for a given research question at a particular time and place (Christensen and Jensen 2012).

Considering these methodological challenges, in this thesis, I have broadly identified women, migration and Indian ethnicity as the primary *anchor points* of social categories, while considering the possibility of other intersections of difference. In this research, the *intercategorical* differences between internal migrants in India and Indian migrants in Australia also include *intracategorical* variations within each group. While this study could have benefitted by including the experiences of migrant men, other migrant groups, and other majority categories, it is beyond the scope of this thesis.

In this research, intersectionality is used as an aide in two ways. First (as discussed in section 2.4.2), I use *translocational positionality* (Anthias 2008, Anthias 2009, Anthias 2012) of the migrant women as a critical link in the construction of identity and belonging. Secondly, this translocational positionality is overlaid with the *life course approach* to study the variation of place-belonging experiences with time. This intersectional life course approach is discussed in the subsequent section.

2.5.1 Intersectional Life Course Approach for Studying Everyday Life of Migrant Women

The life course approach, broadly,

“can be viewed as a multilevel phenomenon, ranging from structured pathways through social institutions and organizations to the social trajectories of individuals and their developmental pathways.” (Elder 1994, p.5)

Worth and Hardill (2015, p.2) explain that the life course approach allows a “finegrained understanding of everyday life” and reveals how individuals are interconnected with both their immediate and wider social contexts.

Elder (1994), one of the pioneers of this approach, has proposed four main factors which influence the life course and human development in diverse ways. These four factors are 1) interlinked *human lives and historical times*, 2) *timing of lives*, 3) *linked or interdependent lives (social ties)*, and 4) *human agency* (in decision making of one’s life course) (Elder 1994; Elder and Giele 2009). Ferrer *et al.* (2017) explain that *human lives and historical times* are interconnected, and specific life events have a long-lasting effect on the life course. This approach links the historical experiences connected with individuals of the same birth cohort in a particular geographical location (Elder and Giele 2009). The *timing of lives* focuses on the occurrence of specific events (related to normative and subjective meanings of age), which impact different people differently based on the timing of occurrence. *Linked lives* focus on the interrelation and interdependence of social relationships (specifically intergenerational relations links and reproduction) (Elder and Giele 2009; Ferrer *et al.* 2017). Finally, *human agency* focuses on how individuals are “planful” and make decisions (regarding their roles and situations) while being subjected to different structural constraints (Elder and Giele 2009; Ferrer *et al.* 2017). Each theme focuses on a particular temporality in the life course.

However, Collins and Shubin (2015) explain that within migration scholarship, the application of each of these themes illustrates a different interpretation of time and has its shortcomings. For example, migration as a planned process of human agency overlooks the “surprising and divergent experiences”, which shape the different temporal norms and rhythms (Collins and Shubin 2015, p.97). For example, Section 2.1 of this chapter has discussed the different temporalities acting on middling migrants in the Australian context (Robertson 2019a). Similarly, the *timing of lives approach* reduces the migration experiences to a succession of different stages, which blurs the complex interlinkages of time between past, present and future (Collins and Shubin 2015).

Applying a life course approach in migration studies, Collins and Shubin (2015, p.96) propose a “more-than-subjective” temporalities of migration in their study of English teachers in Korea, undergoing a youth-adult transition. As emphasised in earlier sections of this chapter, the author’s research explains that individuals (mainly migrants) can be subjected to temporal structures that they have little or no control. They may not necessarily fit into pre-determinate phases or stages in the life course. Collins and Shubin’s (2015) findings argue against a simplistic understanding of migrants’ temporal experiences within the life course approach and suggest a focus on the nexus of the subjective and objective temporalities that unfold through the lived experiences of migrants based on how they are embedded in their context.

To better understand how structural and institutional forces differently influence individuals' (mainly migrants) complex identities in their daily lives, a few scholars have overlayed an intersectional lens to the life course approach. Kelly (2015) adopts this approach to focus on the interlinkages between subjective and objective, and macro and micro factors that influence skilled Iranian migrants' migration decisions in Sweden. Kelly (2015) employs multiple methods by drawing from three different data sources at a macro (descriptive statistics on Iranian population in Sweden), meso (interviews with Iranian organisations), and micro level (interviews with individual onward migrants) to draw her conclusions. However, she cautions

that an intersectional life course approach requires a researcher to be open theoretically and methodologically. For example, while multiple methods may offer new and nuanced perspectives that cannot be generated from a single approach, it can be complex and impractical to implement in certain situations. However, Kelly (2015) brings to attention the benefits of using multiple methods at multiple scales to understand their interlinkages and impact on the complex identities of an individual in their life course.

Ferrer *et al.* (2017) also apply an intersectional life course approach to study the experiences of racialized older people in Montreal, Canada. They have overlayed the *translocational positionality* proposed by Anthias (2008) with the *life course perspective* proposed by Elder (1994). By combining the key components of both these approaches, the authors have proposed a conceptual framework with four dimensions. These dimensions are 1) identifying key events and their timing and the structural forces that shape them, 2) examining locally and globally linked lives, 3) interplay of identities and difference, and 4) agency, domination and resistance (Ferrer *et al.* 2017, pp.12-13). In their study, the intersectional life course approach identifies and links key events, trajectories and (social) interconnections that unfold in the life course by emplacing them within broader historical structural and social systems to understand how they transform over time (Ferrer *et al.* 2017, p.17).

Within migration studies, the intersectional life course approach considers multiple and varying temporalities of the migrants. Both subjective and objective experiences can be forefronted at *macro, meso and micro level* perspectives to understand the structures that influence the decisions to migrate as well as the everyday movements and temporalities. Applying an intersectional life course approach to this research can help examine the change in positionality of the migrant women over time (during the life course) in a given context, based on how their identities are constructed and experienced in everyday life.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the various theoretical concepts that will be applied in subsequent chapters to address the main research questions. The following chapter, 3, details the implementation of this thesis in two case study sites where Indian women are examined as internal migrants in Hyderabad, India, and International migrants to Melbourne, Australia. The research approach is phenomenological, and the focus is on the lived experiences of the migrant women, particularly examined through their everyday spatial routines in different spaces.

CHAPTER 3. Methodology

Introduction

This research primarily analyses how migrant women experience belonging through their routine spatial practices in their everyday life, and the various meanings attributed to different spaces they engage with as part of these activities. Therefore, the focus is on the embodied, experiential meanings, and this analysis of the “human experience of the life-world” can be understood within phenomenological research (Gray 2004, p.21). Section 3.1 of this chapter introduces this methodological perspective as applicable in this research.

Further, an inductive approach using qualitative methods is applied in two case study sites- Hyderabad, India and Melbourne, Australia, to address the main research questions. Section 3.2 outlines the case study approach adopted to examine a similar phenomenon (experiencing place-belonging through everyday spatial practices) for Indian women migrants, as internal migrants in their home country and as international migrants to Australia. The contexts of both the case study sites are also introduced in this section.

Section 3.3 discusses the research design. Semi-structured interviews are the primary qualitative research method applied for data collection. A total of 20 participants in Hyderabad and 19 participants in Melbourne were recruited through various platforms. The data from the interviews were coded using NVIVO software and were analysed based on the broad themes identified throughout the data collection phase. Further, some parts of the narratives were spatialised using the *fields of care* mapping technique, adapted from Woodcock *et al.* (2011). This mapping technique visually represents the spatial patterns and everyday spaces identified by the migrant women in their interviews.

Section 3.4 discusses my positionality in this research to acknowledge my biases and identify their influence on the research process. In the final section, 3.5, I address some of the limitations experienced during the data collection phase.

3.1 Researching the Life-World of the Migrant Women

In daily life, individuals can be so immersed in their *natural attitude* (or their normal existence) that they may be unaware of their *life-world*, where there is a “taken-for-granted”, unquestioned acceptance of objects, things and other people and ideas. As Buttmer (1976, p.278) explains,

“each individual is the focus of his own world, yet he may be oblivious of himself as the creative center of that world.”

Phenomenology examines this *life-world* and redefines it in the manner in which it is described and understood by the person who experiences it. Although phenomenology has several interpretations, Finlay (2009b, p.6) explains that one of the main objectives of phenomenology research is to extract “fresh, complex, rich descriptions of a phenomenon as it is concretely lived”. In order to do so, a phenomenological researcher must adopt an open *phenomenological attitude* by moving away from priori judgements, preconceptions to critically examine the act of consciousness (Buttimer 1976; Finlay 2009b). By performing *epoché* (or using a

phenomenological reduction), a researcher “disengages” from the life-world and re-examines it anew (Seamon 1980). However, Finlay (2009a, p.2) also adds that in phenomenological research, both participant or subject and the researcher impact each other, and the data emerges from “a constantly evolving, negotiated, dynamic, co-created relational process”. Therefore, the researcher’s subjectivity must be addressed throughout the research process (discussed further in Section 3.4 of this chapter). Further, the researcher and the participants’ relational dynamics must also be considered reflexively (Finlay 2009a).

In the study of everyday routines, Seamon (1980) explains that typically, either a *behaviourist approach*, where everyday bodily movements are understood as a response to an external stimulus or a *cognitive approach* that links human spatial behaviour to an individual’s cognitive map of the environment, has been applied. He argues that phenomenologically, both these perspectives are limited as they conceptualise the body as passive and examine the spatial behaviour through an imposed priori theory. Therefore, he proposes an alternative concept of *body-subject*, a term he borrows from the works of French phenomenologist Merleau-Ponty (1962). The notion of body-subject integrates “the organic and the psychic aspects of behaviour, and a sense of familiarity with the preconscious foundations of perception and behaviour”, and offers one way of examining the dynamism of the life-world (Buttimer 1976, p.291).

And as discussed previously (in Section 2.3.2, Chapter 2), in the conceptualisation of body-subject, the body is considered an intelligent subject that directs a person’s behaviours in a pre-conscious way (Seamon 1980). Complex movements of the body-subject extended over time and space result in *body-ballets*. Like body-ballets, the *time-space routines* consist of habitual bodily movements and occupy a significant portion of time in an individual’s routine.

In this research, I adopt David Seamon’s (1980, p.148) notion of body-subject as a way of “exploring the phenomenon of *everyday movement in space*”. Seamon emphasises on the value of phenomenological geography, by particularly focusing on the experiential meanings attributed to different spaces through routinised everyday movements (Seamon 1980). These routine aspects can be understood as “some of the unifying conditions and forces in the human experience of the world” (Buttimer 1976, p.280).

In this thesis, the notion of body-subject is operationalised through time-geography notational diagrams (as explained in Section 2.3, Chapter 2). The subsequent chapters (4 and 5) demonstrate how the everyday spatial practices are identified and mapped using time-geography, based on the narratives of the migrant women.

3.2 Case Study Approach

One of the aims of this thesis is to study internal and international migration experiences across common themes. Here, the focus is on understanding how Indian women migrants experience place-belonging through their varied spatial practices as internal migrants within their home country and as international migrants to Australia. Therefore, a comparative lens can be useful in examining a similar phenomenon (i.e., experiencing a sense of belonging) for women of the same ethnicity (Indian women migrants) in different contexts. Comparative studies can offer new insights and challenge conventional theories. As Bloemraad (2013, p.41) explains,

“comparison makes most sense when it contributes directly to theory development, helps in the conceptualisation of phenomena under study, helps evaluate the limits of an existing theory, or, within a research project, assists in elaborating an evolving argument by considering other logical implications or undermining alternative explanations.”

In this research, the comparative study also aims to deconstruct and re-examine the “assumed” homogeneity of the “Indian migrant” group (discussed in Section 1.3, Chapter 1) by applying intersectionality (discussed in Section 2.5, Chapter 2) both within and across the case studies, Hyderabad, India and Melbourne, Australia.

Further, drawing from “worlding practices” proposed by Ong (2011), I position both Hyderabad and Melbourne on the same plane of global cities, rather than adhering to any hierarchical ordering of cities (as first-world or second-world cities, developed or developing nations). By emphasising on site level nuances, Ong (2011) explains that the interrelationships between various institutions, actors, events (both local and transnational) influence the formation of the built environment in different locations. These heterogeneous practices linked to the formation of the cities are understood as “Worlding practices”. Within these practices, the cities are viewed “as a milieu that is in constant formation, drawing on disparate connections, and subject to the play of national and global forces” (Ong 2011, p. 3). As discussed in the literature review chapter (Section 2.1, Chapter 2), if both internal and international migration are conceptualised as varying spatio-temporal movements, the case studies can reveal the manifestation of different migratory experiences based on the “worlding practices” of the context examined. Therefore, the focus is on the power relationships occurring at different scales and localities within each context, particularly those impacting the experiences of everyday belonging.

The subsequent section explains the rationale for the selection of the case studies and briefly introduces the context.

3.2.1 The Rationale for Case Study Selection

During the fieldwork phase, an NGO, Mahila Abhivruddhi Society² (MAS), was engaged in a project with the local migrant population in Gagillapur, an outer suburb of Hyderabad interspersed with industries. Due to Gagillapur’s recent inclusion (in the year 2007) in the Hyderabad municipal corporation, it is rapidly urbanising and witnessing a continued influx of migrant population from different parts of the country. The project, *Mission Gagillapur*³, had an active participation from the primary stakeholder groups, including the local government, which had signed an MOU with MAS, and had agreed to collaborate on the project. Due to these factors, Gagillapur was identified as an ideal case for this research. MAS was approached in May 2017 to seek their support in identifying and recruiting participants. A Community Resource Person (CRP), who was working closely with the community as part of the project, aided in the participant recruitment process. Further, MAS provided their needs assessment study with an updated data on the local migrant population. In India, as the census data on

² MAS is a not-for profit public society primarily working for the advancement of self-help institutions, Self Help Groups (SHGs) and SHG Federations, Producer Organization Promoting Institutions, Farmer Producer Organisations, cooperatives and other Community based organisations. (Source: MAS, <http://www.apmas.org/>)

³ Mission Gagillapur was conceptualised in 2015 and initiated in Jan 2016 by HörmannKG in partnership with MAS. The project was aimed at transforming Gagillapur into a “model village” within a five-year span through a community-led development process. (Source: MAS, <http://apmas.org/gagillapur.aspx>)

migration is not immediately available (Bhagat 2008) (for example, the 2011 migration data was only published in 2019), this data was also beneficial to the study.

In search of a similar case, I had approached different organisations like the Federation of Indian Associations of Victoria⁴ (FIAV) in May 2017 during the initial scoping work in Melbourne. Through FIAV, I was introduced to Ramonhelps.org, a not-for-profit organisation tailored to assist the Indian community in Melbourne, mainly the new migrants and family violence victims. Although Ramonhelps had initially agreed to support the research in May 2018, it did not materialise. During the same period, I had simultaneously approached Western Gymkhana Club⁵ (WGC) and several active Indian community members in the outer western suburbs through the support of the project managers at the Point Cook Pop-up Park⁶ (a community organised project). Through these various contacts in the Indian community, several participants were recruited. Most of the participants resided in the suburbs, with a high proportion of Indian born population within the Metropolitan region.

The following sections introduce the context of the case studies.

3.2.2 Case Study: Hyderabad

Hyderabad is the capital of Telangana state⁷, and it serves as its administrative, industrial and commercial centre (Das 2015). It is the 6th largest metropolitan city in India, with a population of 7.67 million (Census of India 2011). Hyderabad Metropolitan region is expected to be a megacity by the year 2030 and would rank 28th globally with a total projected population of 12.77 million (United Nations 2015).

Hyderabad witnessed the first wave of skilled worker migration with the establishment of heavy industry, requiring a large semi-skilled labour force, during the 1960s-1970s (Das 2015). In 1999, the state government focussed on strategies to attract foreign direct investments (FDIs) and transform the city into a high-tech centre and an Information Technology (IT) destination (Das 2015). The government promoted Special Economic Zones (SEZ) and policies to support the development of IT, pharmaceuticals and biotechnology industries. The liberalisation of the economy at both state and federal levels combined with the state government's drive to promote Hyderabad as an IT destination brought in several domestic and foreign software companies and triggered a second wave of skilled migrants (Das 2015). Over the last decade, Hyderabad has been experiencing substantial growth in its periphery compared to the core (Ramachandraiah & Prasad, 2008, cited in Das 2015, p.50). Moreover, to support the new

⁴ FIAV is an umbrella organisation in Victoria (located in Central Dandenong, Melbourne) offering membership and supporting several smaller Indian associations which are organised by linguistic or sub-regional affiliations. It also serves as a physical and virtual platform to provide support for the Indian community in Victoria. (Source: FIAV, <http://fiav.org.au/>)

⁵ WGC is a not-for profit club specifically tailored for the Indian community but open to all community members of the western suburbs. They organise social, recreational, cultural activities and aid in networking and professional development opportunities for its members. (Source: WGC, <https://westerngymkhanaclub.com.au/>)

⁶ Point Cook Pop-up Park was first organised in the summer of 2018, led by a not-for profit organisation, CoLocal together with the support from Wyndham City Council as well as local community groups and businesses. The pop-up park was hosted at Stockland Point Cook since 2018 (Source: Facebook, www.facebook.com/PCPOPUP)

⁷ The state of Telangana was carved out of Andhra Pradesh in 2014. Hyderabad is the capital of the state of Telangana but also serves as a joint capital for erstwhile Andhra Pradesh until 2025. During this period, a new suitable alternative capital will be identified and developed for Andhra Pradesh.

developments, attract investments and maintain its position as a hi-tech city, Hyderabad began massive urban restructuring (Das 2015).



Gagillapur

Gagillapur is an example of a peri-urban area that is transforming rapidly due to urbanisation and expanding city limits. While Gagillapur's industrial zone continues to attract rural migration, its proximity to the new Outer Ring Road (ORR) gives it additional locational advantages (See Figure 3.1). This ORR links Gagillapur to several major arterial roads leading into the city and connects it to the international airport. Due to these developments, Gagillapur has witnessed substantial growth, and it

Figure 3. 1: Gagillapur, Hyderabad

was recently incorporated into the Municipal Corporation in the year 2007.

Gagillapur's influx of inter-state migrants is primarily from the states of Andhra Pradesh and internally within Telangana. As per a baseline survey⁸ conducted by MAS in 2016, out of the total households surveyed in Gagillapur, 44% of the migrants were from Andhra Pradesh state, and another 40% are from Telangana. The other out-of-state migrants were primarily from Maharashtra, Odisha, Punjab, and Uttar Pradesh. Most migrants (both in-state or out-of-state) have moved from rural areas into Gagillapur within the last ten years for employment opportunities. They are typically engaged as factory workers or in manual labour. Overall, more than half (about 62%) of the total population in Gagillapur are Hindus, followed by Christians, which comprised nearly one-third of the total population. A majority of Gagillapur's population were identified as lower-income groups belonging to minority social categories.

3.2.3 Case Study: Melbourne

Melbourne is the capital of the state of Victoria and serves as its business, administrative, cultural and recreational hub. Melbourne's metropolitan area spans over 9,990 square kilometres, supporting a total population of 4.9 million people (Australian Bureau of Statistics [ABS] 2016) from over 200 countries.

⁸ The base line survey covered a sample of 112 households out of the total 1,085 households in the area. This survey was used to identify needs and develop a comprehensive development programme for the people in Gagillapur.

Melbourne is diverse due to its multiple migration waves, starting with European settlers in the 1830s to the more recent continuous influx through skilled or family migration. While the earlier migrants were mainly from Europe, primarily the United Kingdom, the recent migrants are people born in Asia, mainly China and India. In 2016, out of the 26.3% of the total Victoria population born overseas, India was ranked second in the top countries of birth. Between the years 2011-2016, the Indian born population increased substantially by 51.9% to approximately 170,000 in 2016 (State of Victoria 2016). This increase in the Indian population could be attributed to the increased pathways to skilled migration since 1998, post abolition of the White Australian Policy⁹ in the 1970s. Further, according to the 2016 census, the typical migrant in Victoria was identified as a 43 years old Indian born woman who speaks English at home.

Indian Population in Western Suburbs

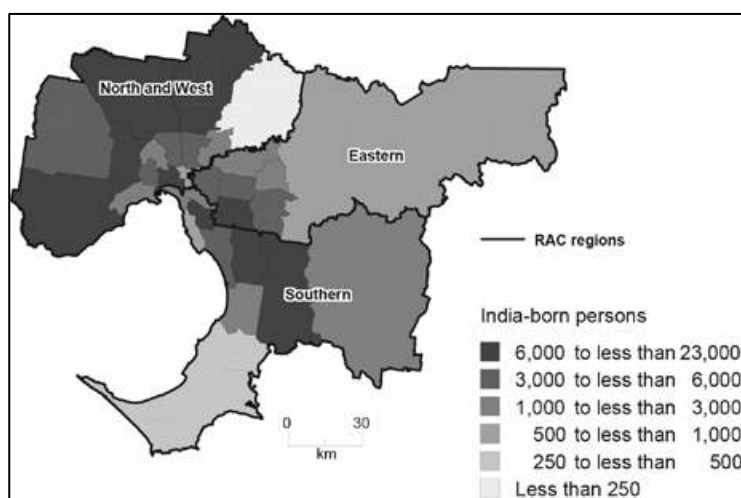


Figure 3. 2: Metropolitan Melbourne, Country of Birth: India. (Source: State of Victoria 2018b, p.38)

As evident from Figure 3.2 (State of Victoria 2018b, p.38), within the metropolitan Melbourne region, the North and West suburbs (mainly cities of Wyndham, Brimbank, Hume and Whittlesea) are a popular destination for Indian migrants. According to the 2016 Census, the City of Wyndham was ranked the topmost Local Government Area (LGA) with the highest number of India-born population. Some of the popular suburbs within it are Tarneit, Point Cook, Truganina,

Hoppers Crossing and Wyndham Vale (State of Victoria 2018a).

Wyndham had witnessed a 176.6% increase in the number of Indian born population from 2011 to 22,392 persons in 2016, comprising about 10% of the total LGA population. In Wyndham, more than 50% of the Indian population have at least an undergraduate degree; and about half of this group has a post-graduate degree (State of Victoria 2018a). Also, more than 63% of the population in Wyndham are well-conversant in English.

Overall the Indian born population has substantially increased across the metropolitan Melbourne area over the last five years, and it is anticipated to grow further.

3.3 Research Design

Semi-structured interviews were identified as the primary research method with an objective to “explore subjective meanings that respondents ascribe to concepts or events” (Gray 2004, p.217). As explained in the previous sections of this chapter, the subjective meanings attributed

⁹ In 1901 the Immigration Restriction Act that was enforced, was specifically aimed to limit non-British (or non-white) immigration into Australia (Source: <https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/white-australia-policy>)

to different spatial activities and spaces are important for this research. A total of 39 interviews were conducted in both case study sites, and the details of the participant recruitment, data collection and data analysis methods are detailed in the subsequent sections.

3.3.1 Participant Recruitment

According to Arksey and Knight (1999), identifying the right sample size is balancing the practical constraints (time, money) with the research foci and the degree to which generalisations need to be made from the data gathered. Therefore, keeping in view the time constraints and the research objectives, a target of at least 15 participants (Indian women migrants) was identified for each case study site. However, in each site, the participant recruitment was continued until broad patterns began to emerge from the responses, within the given timeframe of the fieldwork. Also, as this research also considers the intra-group variations in belonging through different migration trajectories for different identities (as discussed in Section 2.5.1, Chapter 2), a *purposive sampling strategy* was implemented. The aim was to recruit an equal number of newer migrants (migrated less than five years ago) and relatively older migrants (migrated more than five years ago), with varying attributes (in terms of religion, marital status, age, among others) in both cases. Overall, a total of 20 and 19 participants were interviewed in Hyderabad and Melbourne, respectively.

The fieldwork was implemented in three stages after seeking ethics approval from the Architecture, Building and Planning Human Ethics Advisory Group at the University of Melbourne in November 2017. **In the first stage**, pilot interviews were conducted with five migrant women in Melbourne between December 2017 and January 2018. Out of the five participants, three were identified through my social networks of Indian migrants living in Melbourne. Two other participants were identified through a snowballing approach, where friends or acquaintances were nominated to participate in the research. Although the focus of the pilot was to test the interview questions and techniques, given the strength of the interview responses, they were included as part of the Melbourne case study.

The second stage of fieldwork was implemented between February 2018 and March 2018 in Hyderabad, India. During this period, as stated earlier, MAS nominated a field representative to assist with the recruitment process. The representative was briefed on the project, and the ideal participant profile, based on which suitable candidates were identified and interviewed.

The third stage was implemented between May 2018 and August 2018 in Melbourne, Australia. The participants were identified through various active social networks of Indian groups and communities like the Western Gymkhana Club (WGC), especially those involved in the pop-up park at the Point Cook Town Centre. Additionally, participants were recruited through Facebook Groups like *Melbourne Telugu Association* and *Indians in Melbourne* to achieve the target sample size within the given time frame.

Throughout the fieldwork, snowballing approach aided in identifying suitable individuals through the participants' social networks. The details of the participants and their recruitment are given in Table 3.1.

Table 3. 1: Data Collection							
	Pseudonym	Suburb	City	Date of Interview	Recruitment Method	Interview Location	Language of Interview
Phase I	Venessa	Fitzroy	Melbourne	4/01/2018 (Walk-about: 10/01/2018)	Recruited by researcher	Park near participant's university	English
	Sara	Maribyrnong	Melbourne	5/01/2018	Recruited by researcher	Participant's residence	English/ Hindi
	Priya	Camberwell	Melbourne	26/01/2018	Recruited by researcher	Café near participant's residence	English/ Telugu
	Zainab	Truganina	Melbourne	1/02/2018	Snowballing	Sara's residence	English/ Hindi
	Charu	North Melbourne	Melbourne	5/02/2018	Snowballing	Café at participant's university	English
Phase II	Laxmi	Gagillapur	Hyderabad	23/02/2018	MAS Field Representative	Participant's residence	Telugu
	Subbu	Gagillapur	Hyderabad	23/02/2018	MAS Field Representative	Participant's residence	Telugu
	Manjula	Gagillapur	Hyderabad	23/02/2018	MAS Field Representative	Participant's residence	Telugu
	Leela	Gagillapur	Hyderabad	26/02/2018	MAS Field Representative	MAS Field Office, Gagillapur	Telugu
	Monica	Gagillapur	Hyderabad	26/02/2018	MAS Field Representative	Participant's residence	Telugu
	Rani	Gagillapur	Hyderabad	26/02/2018	MAS Field Representative	Participant's residence	Telugu
	Renuka	Gagillapur	Hyderabad	26/02/2018; 28/02/2018	Snowballing	At Rani's residence	Hindi
	Puja	Gagillapur	Hyderabad	26/02/2018	Snowballing	At Rani's residence	Telugu
	Zara	Gagillapur	Hyderabad	28/02/2018	MAS Field Representative	Participant's residence	Hindi/ Telugu
	Ganga	Gagillapur	Hyderabad	28/02/2018; 9/03/2018	MAS Field Representative	Participant's residence/ Participant's workplace (<i>Tiffin</i> centre)	Telugu
	Malini	Gagillapur	Hyderabad	9/03/2018	MAS Field Representative	Participant's residence	Telugu
	Soni	Gagillapur	Hyderabad	9/03/2018	MAS Field Representative	Participant's residence	Telugu
	Sujata	Gagillapur	Hyderabad	14/03/2018	MAS Field Representative	Participant's residence	Telugu
	Gayatri	Gagillapur	Hyderabad	14/03/2018	MAS Field Representative	Participant's residence	Hindi
	Megha	Gagillapur	Hyderabad	14/03/2018	MAS Field Representative	Participant's workplace (Mini grocery store)	Hindi
	Shanti	Gagillapur	Hyderabad	16/03/2018	MAS Field Representative	Participant's residence	Hindi
	Madhu	Gagillapur	Hyderabad	16/03/2018	MAS Field Representative	Participant's residence	Hindi
	Neha	Gagillapur	Hyderabad	16/03/2018	MAS Field Representative	Participant's residence	Hindi
	Geeta	Gagillapur	Hyderabad	16/03/2018	MAS Field Representative	Participant's workplace (Fruit cart at an intersection)	Telugu
	Siri	Gagillapur	Hyderabad	16/03/2018	MAS Field Representative	Participant's residence	Hindi
Phase III	Sonam	Point Cook	Melbourne	28/05/2018	Nominated by project managers at the pop-up park in Point Cook	Café near participant's workplace in Central Business District (CBD)	English
	Diya	Point Cook	Melbourne	15/06/2018	Snowballing	Participant's residence	English
	Sejal	Point Cook	Melbourne	19/06/2018	Nominated by Western Gymkhana Club's President	Foodcourt near participant's workplace in CBD	English
	Swapna	Docklands	Melbourne	28/06/2018	Snowballing	Participant's residence	English/ Telugu
	Nirmala	Glen Waverly/ Former Point Cook resident	Melbourne	4/07/2018	Nominated by an active Indian community member in Point Cook	Café near the participant's residence	English
	Reya	Point Cook	Melbourne	7/07/2018	Nominated by Western Gymkhana Club's President	Café near the participant's workplace in CBD	English/ Hindi
	Soumya	Point Cook	Melbourne	12/07/2018	Snowballing	Participant's workplace in CBD	English
	Bhanu	Point Cook	Melbourne	13/07/2018	Nominated by an active Indian community member in Point Cook	Foodcourt near participant's workplace in CBD	English
	Veera	Airport West	Melbourne	18/07/2018	Recruited through Melbourne Telugu Association Facebook page	Participant's workplace in CBD	English
	Mary	Point Cook	Melbourne	23/07/2018	Nominated by Western Gymkhana Club's President	Participant's residence	English
	Sita	Broad Meadows/ Future Point Cook Resident	Melbourne	24/07/2018	Recruited through Melbourne Telugu Association Facebook page	Café near the participant's residence	English
	Mira	Footscray	Melbourne	2/08/2018	Snowballing	Café at participant's workplace in CBD	English
	Vanita	Point Cook	Melbourne	10/08/2018	Recruited by researcher	A café in CBD	English
	Keerti	Cranbourne	Melbourne	17/08/2018	Recruited through Melbourne Telugu Association Facebook page	At the participant's workplace in CBD	English/ Telugu

3.3.2 Data Collection

At the start of this research, two main qualitative methods were proposed for data collection. In addition to the semi-structured interviews, I had included a walk-about with the participants. The objective was to identify five women (from the participants interviewed) in each case and walk with them to a public place they frequented. The individual walk-about aimed to observe the participants' spatial relationship. While one walk-about was implemented during the pilot phase in Melbourne, the method could not be effectively replicated in Hyderabad due to the contextual differences. Further, as the weather was unfavourable in Hyderabad at the time of the interviews, the participants were unwilling to participate in an additional interview that involved walking. Therefore, the walk-about was replaced with photo documentation of some of the participants' frequently accessed spaces and activities.

As stated earlier, the semi-structured interviews were conducted in three phases, a pilot interview phase with five participants, followed by 20 interviews in Hyderabad in phase two and finally 14 interviews in Melbourne in the third phase.

As Table 3.1 explains, most of the interviews were conducted at the participants' homes. In Melbourne, public places (like parks, cafés), either near the participants' home or workplace, also served as interview locations. The participants identified these interview locations based on their convenience and comfort. In the case of Hyderabad, the MAS field representative identified a time slot when most women would be free from their domestic chores and would be available for an interview. Most of the participants preferred to be interviewed at home so that they could resume their work or chores afterwards.

The interview questions were structured around three broad themes: 1) migration trajectories and experiences, 2) everyday activities and spaces, 3) and the sense of belonging experienced in their daily life, specifically with their cities. **The first theme** was aimed at understanding the motivation for migration, timelines of arrival in their new home and their experiences as a migrant thus far. The focus of the **second theme** was to understand the spatial patterns and activities of the migrant women and their relationship with different spaces as part of their day-to-day activities. Another sub-theme that was explored was the participants' conceptualisation of public spaces. **The third theme** was aimed at understanding the participants' sense of belonging in their new city. Based on the participant's response, the order of the interview questions varied. The narratives of the participants were audio-recorded, and the average interview time was different in both cases. In Hyderabad, the average interview time varied between 15 mins to 20 minutes, whereas the Melbourne interviews were comparatively longer and ranged between 30 minutes to one hour.

Most of the participants interviewed were conversant in at least two languages; therefore, the interview responses were bilingual in most cases. In Melbourne, while 15 of the interviews were conducted in English, participants occasionally used phrases from either Hindi or Telugu to emphasise a statement. In four interviews, the participants organically switched between two or more languages to better express themselves. In Hyderabad, the interviewees primarily spoke in one language (either in Telugu or Hindi) while frequently borrowing a few words or phrases from English or another language.

3.3.3 Data Analysis

The semi-structured interviews were transcribed and translated by me. In the transcription and translation phase, repetitive or filler words were omitted from the text to focus on conveying the meaning of the participants' statements. The information from the interviews was coded using NVIVO, which is a qualitative data analysis software. The data was coded under the three broad themes of the interview structure and was refined throughout the fieldwork as the interviews progressed, and several sub-themes began to emerge.

The semi-structured interviews also lead to identifying spatial activity patterns and places that were considered important in the daily life of the migrant women. This information was spatialised using the *fields of care* mapping technique, a method adapted from Woodcock *et al.* (2011). This mapping technique develops mental maps of spatial usage within a given context using data from the interviews. Woodcock *et al.* (2011) explain that this method is beneficial compared to other mapping techniques that may require the participants to draw or sketch by themselves, which could be intimidating. Secondly, the authors state that, with the participants' varying drawing skills, the researcher may have to re-draw to achieve consistency. Thirdly, if a base map is given to the participants, the plotting will be restricted to the map itself, whereas their activities and movements might be more fluid and beyond the range of the base map presented. The major advantage of using this technique is to “make visible aspects that would otherwise remain invisible” (Woodcock *et al.* 2011, p.6).

3.4 Researcher Subjectivity: Analysing the Analyser

According to Finlay (2009b), in phenomenology research, researcher subjectivity is inevitable, so it is important to self-reflect, acknowledge prior biases, assumptions, and beliefs from the phenomenon studied to maintain the focus on the research participants. Secondly, it is also essential for the researcher to engage in “a dialectic movement between bracketing preunderstandings and exploiting them reflexively as a source of insight” (Finlay 2009b, p.13) without getting caught up in excessive self-contemplation.

My varied migration experiences as an Indian woman aided me throughout my research. In the preliminary stages, it helped me identify broad themes that I could investigate for this research. These themes were further shaped by the literature review and tested in the pilot phase. Throughout the data collection process, I went back and forth between my prior known notions and new findings emerging through the interviews, which helped me identify and acknowledge my biases.

Further, being an Indian woman, it was advantageous to win the participants' trust, as they could identify with some aspects of my identity. Being multi-lingual and fluent in Hindi and Telugu, in addition to English, helped me throughout the interview process as well. The Hyderabad participants initially felt intimidated when I was introduced to them as a “Madam” from Australia. However, as we began conversing in a common language, my positionality appeared to shift from an outsider to a relatable individual, and they began to engage in a conversation openly. Further, my appearance as a saree clad woman, wearing a *mangalsutra* (a necklace displaying the mark of a Hindu married woman), aided as an icebreaker for most Hyderabad interviews. Other commonalities that I shared with different participants (in addition to being a female), like my marital status, religion, my identity as a Telugu speaking *Hyderabadi*, a (new) Indian migrant woman in Melbourne, or a student in Melbourne, gave me

more significant insights into the participants' varied experiences. As I was pregnant throughout the interview process, several married women with children empathised with my condition and shared their own experiences of a new mother, especially as a migrant. Through my own intersectionality, I had an opportunity to explore the intersectionality of the research participants and their various migratory experiences as they progressed through different life cycle stages. Also, as I was familiar with the layout and organisation of both Hyderabad and Melbourne, the participants described their everyday spaces and movements effortlessly. This prior knowledge of the city allowed me to probe further into their responses and understand their relationship with specific places.

Overall, most participants also felt inclined to (and in some cases felt responsible to) support a female student pursuing higher studies as a fellow woman. And as the research was introduced as a student project affiliated with the University of Melbourne, most participants felt comfortable to be audio-recorded after also being reassured that their statements would be de-identified and used only for this research.

While my positionality in both cities proved beneficial in many ways, it also presented some challenges. The participants often inquired about my migration experiences and sometimes looked for validation to their responses. As Finlay (2009a, p.2) explains, "research does not involve a participant subject talking/telling to a passive and distanced researcher who receives information"; there exists a dynamic relationship between the participant and the researcher from which information emerges. Therefore, while it was necessary to offer some basic personal information to gain the participants' trust, it was necessary to refrain from sharing personal opinions to avoid influencing their responses.

3.5 Limitations

3.5.1 Interview Process

The semi-structured interviews were designed to be a one-on-one interaction between the participant and the researcher to offer a safe space for the interviewees. However, in Hyderabad, when participants were approached in their homes, they were often surrounded by their close friends. Therefore, they were interviewed in a group, which made it difficult to maintain consistency in the interview settings across all interviews. Although the observers felt encouraged to participate in the research, their responses were possibly influenced by others interviewed before them.

3.5.2 Language of the Interview

The participants were encouraged to respond in Hindi or Telugu if they preferred. As a result, the interviews were conducted in a combination of three languages. Most participants often switched between languages or combined phrases and words from another language to complete a sentence. Moreover, given the multiple dialects within the same language, some words were used in numerous ways, making it difficult to understand the nuances at times. For example, in Telugu, the term *ooru* or *vooru* could refer to either a generic village or one's hometown or a generic suburb or the participant's residential suburb.

Further, for several Gagillapur residents, Gagillapur was viewed as a peripheral village to *the city*, a reference to the more urbanised parts of Hyderabad. Therefore, Gagillapur was

sometimes referred to as *vooru*, which implied a village or a place with a village-like appeal. In Melbourne, the participants also used the word *city* to refer to the Central Business District (CBD), and distinguish between suburbs and the core city. It was important to recognise the nuances in the usage of some of the words based on the context before analysing the meanings attributed to them.

3.5.3 Translating Terminologies

Translating the terms *feeling of being at home* and *public spaces* proved challenging when conversing in multiple languages and maintain consistency. For example, while I could ask the participants, *Are you starting to feel at home here?* Or *Do you feel at home here in your city?* in English, in Telugu and Hindi, the questions roughly translated to *Do you get a similar feeling as living in your hometown?* or *Can you call this place your hometown or a place of your own?* Based on the participants' responses, the follow-up questions were modified to convey the intent of the question.

Similarly, at the beginning of my research, one of my research aims was to understand the participants' perception and use of public places. Towards the end of the interview, I had asked the migrant women to describe their mental image of public space, as experienced in different contexts. However, the term's usage proved to be too technical and often intimidated the participants in both cases. Therefore, this question was only included in the interviews if the participant had previously used the term to describe their everyday spaces. During the initial stages of fieldwork, it became evident that the affective dimensions attributed to different spaces required further examination rather than focusing on interpreting this technical term.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has primarily discussed the research design for this thesis. The following chapters (4 and 5) will examine the case studies in greater detail and present the key findings. The subsequent chapters will also introduce the participants' profile, their migration trajectories, and local movements in the two cities. The case study chapters will identify and discuss the spatial practices of the migrant women based on the frequency of their recurrence using Hägerstrand's time-geography notational diagrams as a tool.

CHAPTER 4. Case Study: Migrant Women in Hyderabad

Introduction

This chapter discusses the key findings from the Hyderabad case study and presents an overview of the participants interviewed. Mainly, the chapter aims to map the everyday spatial practices of the migrant women and identify the different places associated with them, thereby addressing one of the research sub-questions of this thesis. The first section, 4.1, introduces the profile of the migrant women interviewed. The participants' movements, both migratory and local movements, and their interlinkages are also discussed in this section. Using Hägerstrand's time-path diagrams (as discussed in Section 2.3, Chapter 2) as a tool, Section 4.2 discusses the different time-space routines of the migrant women and interprets their significance based on their varying frequency of recurrence. The everyday spaces discussed in this chapter lays the groundwork for further analysis in the subsequent chapters.

4.1 Migrant women in Gagillapur

4.1.1 Profile

A total of 20 interviews were conducted with migrant women in Hyderabad between February 2018 and March 2018 during the first phase of fieldwork. Table 4.1 presents the profile of the migrant women interviewed and a snapshot of their migration trajectories. All the participants were married with children, except for one woman who was a widow and a single parent. Eleven participants were aged between 20 and 35 years, followed by six who were aged between 35 and 50 years of age. The remaining interviewees were between 50 and 60 years of age. Some participants preferred not to disclose some of their personal details to maintain a degree of anonymity. In these cases, their age group could only be estimated based on their narratives.

Most of the participants interviewed identified as Hindus, except for one Muslim and one Christian participant. One of the Hindu participants belonged to a Lambadi¹⁰ tribe, which is originally a nomadic community. As the Indian states were demarcated based on linguistic differences, the primary spoken language varied between the participants depending on their origin. However, most of the women interviewed hailed from the erstwhile state of Andhra Pradesh¹¹ and identified as Telugu speaking. During the interviews, the women also identified with different groups based on other regional or cultural differences.

In terms of educational qualifications, only one of the participants graduated high school and received a diploma certificate in teaching. Six other participants attended school between Grade

¹⁰ Lambadi is a gypsy community who typically live in *Thandas* (or a hamlet) located on the peripheries of urban areas. Lambadis are self-sufficient and undertake agriculture and related work. They typically organise and purchase their daily necessities like pulses and vegetables from the nearest city or urban area to supply to their community.

¹¹ Comprising the new states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana

4 and Grade 7 before discontinuing it. Three women stated they were uneducated, while seven of the participants did not explicitly comment on their educational background. The remainder appeared literate as they could read the Plain Language Statement (PLS) in either Hindi or Telugu.

All of the participants interviewed in Gagillapur identified managing home, undertaking domestic chores and caring for their family as their primary responsibility. Seven of the participants were also simultaneously engaged in different entrepreneurial activities or were involved in small home-based businesses (as specified in Table 4.1) to either earn additional income for their family or satisfy their creative interests. One participant worked with an NGO as a community resource person (CRP).

Table 4. 1: Participant Profile: Hyderabad													
S.No.	Participant Code	Pseudonym	Age	Highest Educational Qualification	Occupation (other than primary responsibility of home and caregiving)	Marital status	Religion	State of origin	Migration to Hyderabad	Migration to Gagillapur (+ 5km radius)	Reason for Migration to the city	Ration Card ¹² / Voter ID ¹³	Homeowner (Y/N)
1	G1	Laxmi	42	7 th or 8 th Grade	Previously a factory worker/ currently an aspiring entrepreneur and a self-proclaimed religious speaker	Married	Hindu	Not stated (Erstwhile Andhra Pradesh)	2001	2001	For job opportunities	Not stated	Y (at hometown)
2	G2	Subbu	51	Uneducated	-	Married	Hindu	Andhra Pradesh	2007 (approx.)	2007 (approx.)	Escape hardship	Not stated	Y (under construction in Gagillapur)
3	G3	Manjula	32	Attended school	Professional tailor (home-based small business)	Married	Hindu	Andhra Pradesh	2004	2015	Marriage	Not stated	N
4	G4	Leela	35	Diploma in Teaching (After high school graduation)	Previously a school teacher/ CRP at an NFO	Married	Hindu	Telangana	2004 (approx.)	2015	Marriage	Ration Card (Suraram)	Y (one in Suraram and another caught in litigation in Gagillapur)
5	G5	Monica	45-50	4 th Grade	Earns income through leasing portions of her property	Widow	Christian	Andhra Pradesh	1997 (approx.)	2001	For job opportunities and education (for participant's children)	Ration card & Voter ID (Gagillapur)	Y
6	G6	Rani	30-35	7 th Grade	Professional tailor (home-based small business)	Married	Hindu	Andhra Pradesh	2004	2004	Marriage	Not stated	Y
7	G7	Renuka	41	Not Stated	-	Married	Hindu	Maharashtra	2001	2001	Marriage	Not stated	Y
8	G8	Puja	40-45	Uneducated	-	Married	Hindu (Lambadi Tribe)	Telangana	2008	2008	Escape hardship	Not Stated	N
9	G9	Zara	30	7 th Grade	-	Married	Muslim	Telangana	Born and raised in Hyderabad*	2007 (approx.)	Child of a migrant	Ration Card (Lingampally)	N
10	G10	Ganga	35-40	Attended school	Operates a <i>tiffin</i> ¹⁴ centre with her spouse	Married	Hindu	Andhra Pradesh	1995	2012-2013	Family migration during childhood	Ration Card (Gagillapur)	Y
11	G11	Malini	55-60	Not Stated	Previously worked as a mason.	Married	Hindu	Andhra Pradesh	2008 (approx.)	2010 (approx.)	For job opportunities	Ration Card (Gagillapur)	Not stated
12	G12	Soni	30-35	Not Stated	-	Married	Hindu	Not stated (Erstwhile Andhra Pradesh)	2007	2007	Migration for spouse's job opportunity	Not stated	N
13	G13	Sujata	30-35	Not Stated	-	Married	Hindu	Andhra Pradesh	1988 (approx.)	2001 (approx.)	Family migration during childhood	Ration Card (Ongole, Andhra Pradesh)	Y (at hometown, Ongole, Andhra Pradesh)
14	G14	Gayatri	30-35	Not Stated	Operates a <i>kirana</i> ¹⁵ store with her spouse	Married	Hindu	Rajasthan	2004	2015 (approx.)	For job opportunities	Ration Card (Toopran)	Not stated

¹² Ration Card is an official document issued by the state government in India to eligible households (typically low income) to access subsidised food grains from the Public Distribution System.

¹³ Voter ID is issued by the Election Commission of India to adults who are over 18 years of age. This document is required to cast a vote at the municipal, state and national elections.

¹⁴ Tiffin is an Indian English word for breakfast and also commonly used in South India to refer to breakfast dishes. The Tiffin centres could be set up in formal or informal setting like a street food stand as well.

¹⁵ Kirana store is a small neighbourhood convenience store or a mini market that stocks everyday needs like groceries, snacks, soft drinks, vegetables, etc.

15	G15	Megha	20-25	6 th Grade	Operates a <i>kirana</i> store with her spouse	Married	Hindu	Rajasthan	2014 (approx.)	2016 (approx.)	Marriage	Not stated	Not stated
16	G16	Shanti	35-40	10 th Grade	Operates a street food cart with her spouse	Married	Hindu	Uttar Pradesh	2015 (approx.)	2015 (approx.)	For job opportunities	Ration Card (Hometown)	N
17	G17	Madhu	25-30	Not Stated	Saving up money to buy a sewing machine to start tailoring from home	Married	Hindu	Odisha	2008 (approx.)	2008 (approx.)	Marriage	Ration card & Voter id (Gagillapur)	N
18	G18	Neha	25-30	Not Stated	-	Married	Hindu	Odisha	2012 (approx.)	2016 (Circular migration between Gagillapur and hometown every six months, until her permanent migration in 2016)	Marriage	No (Cancelled)	N
19	G19	Geeta	55-60	Uneducated	Sells fruits on a cart together with her spouse	Married	Hindu	Andhra Pradesh	2003 (approx.)	2004 (approx.)	Escape hardship and for job opportunities	Ration Card (Potharam)	N
20	G20	Siri	25-30	Attended school	-	Married	Hindu	West Bengal	2005 (approx.)	2012-2013	Migration with family as a child	No (Cancelled)	N

* Zara was born and raised in Hyderabad but identified as a migrant before commencing the interview.

4.1.2 Migration Trajectories



Figure 4. 1: Migration Map, Hyderabad

Out of the total 20 women interviewed, two migrated internally within Telangana, while eight others were migrants from the new state of Andhra Pradesh (see Table 4.1). Two other Telugu speaking participants, hailing from the erstwhile state of Andhra Pradesh, did not clarify their state of origin between the new states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. The remaining seven participants were inter-state migrants from Odisha, Maharashtra, West Bengal, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh (See Figure 4.1 and Table 4.1). In one exceptional case, a participant (Zara, See Table 4.1) who identified herself as an “outsider” despite being born and raised in Hyderabad was also included as a migrant. At the time of the participant recruitment, she stated that her maternal roots were Maharashtrian (from the state of Maharashtra) and that she belonged to Zaheerabad (located 100 km away from Hyderabad in Telangana and close to the Maharashtra border), which was her spouse’s hometown. Her self-identification as a migrant prompted me to retain her narrative for two main reasons. First, it is likely that the patriarchal influences have encouraged the participant to adopt her spouse's migrant status as her own. Secondly, from the interviews, it appeared that she viewed the more urbanised parts of the city and Gagillapur as two separate entities. This demarcation possibly located her as an outsider to Gagillapur and thus a migrant. Also, her initial experiences appeared to resonate with some of the out-of-state migrants.

Most (17) of the women interviewed were older migrants who migrated to Hyderabad more than five years ago (see Table 4.1). Within this group, two participants migrated with their respective families when they were young and had lived in the city for most of their lives.

About half of the total migrant women interviewed migrated directly into Gagillapur (or to the adjoining suburbs within a 5 km radius) from their respective hometowns. As illustrated in Figure 4.2, the remaining participants lived in different suburbs in Hyderabad before moving to Gagillapur. Six of the total participants relocated to Gagillapur within the last five years after living elsewhere in Hyderabad.

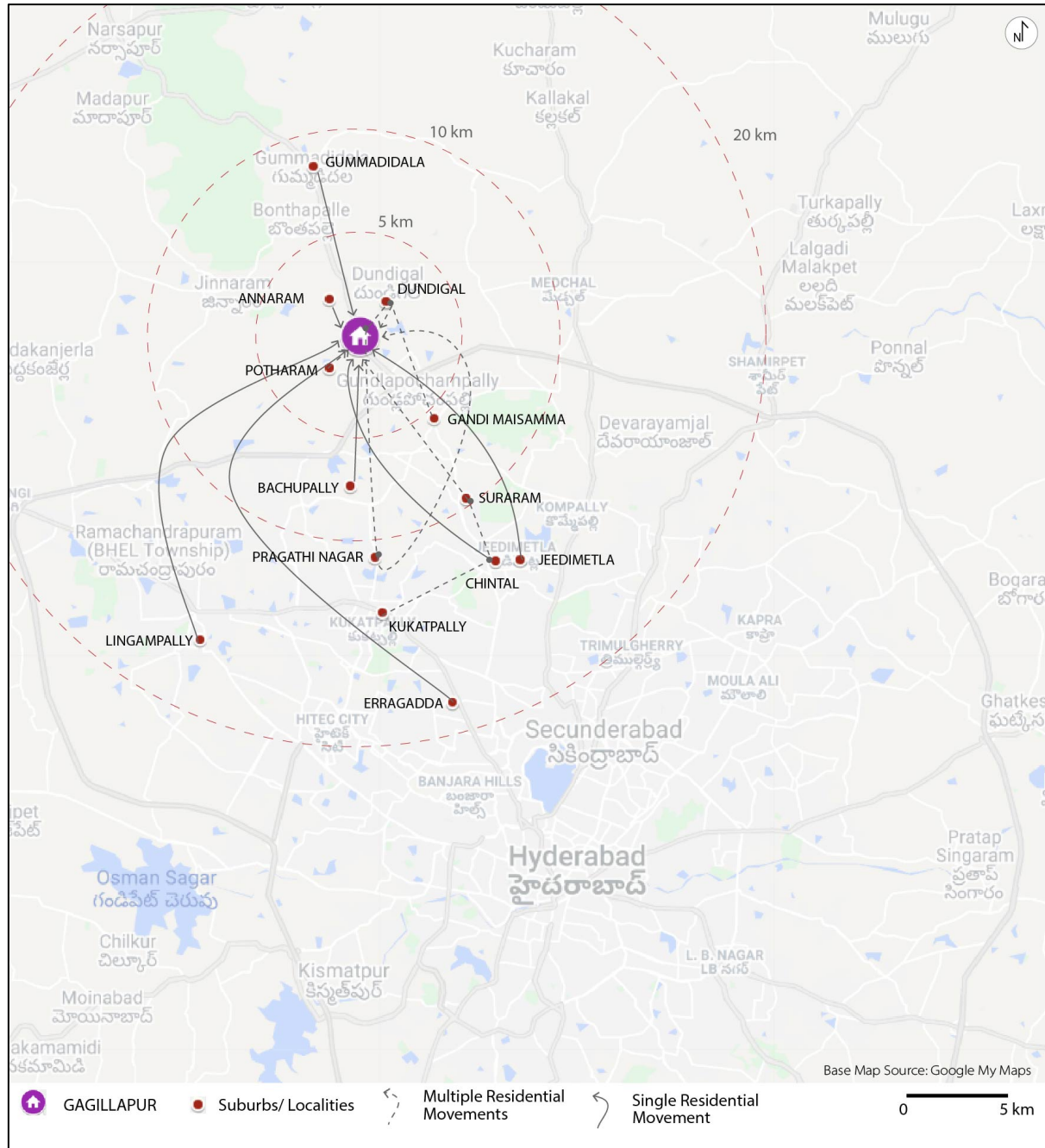


Figure 4. 2: Residential Relocation(s) within Hyderabad

There were no independent migration trajectories among the cases interviewed in Hyderabad. The predominant reason for either intra- or inter-state migration was marriage or job opportunities. Seven of the women interviewed relocated to Hyderabad immediately after their marriage. In these cases, the decision to migrate and the choice of the residential suburb was either connected to the location of the husband's employment or family home (among other predominant factors). Some of these women claimed to have no prior knowledge of the city or

the localities they had moved to. As a result, they initially faced social isolation due to their limited connections in an unfamiliar environment, as one participant, Neha explained, that she was often home alone when her husband worked long hours:

“...I used to get really bored. My husband used to ask me to stay at home. Not that he would stop me if I went out, but where would I go? I did not know anyone here initially.”

Neha stated that she felt more comfortable with her environment once her social connections grew, especially after meeting others with a similar cultural background like those hailing from her home state Odisha or its neighbouring state, West Bengal.

Migration for job opportunities (primarily for the spouse) was the primary reason for seven cases. For Laxmi, Monica, Malini and Soni, this decision to migrate to Hyderabad was linked to the presence of a “settled” family member or friends who could provide the initial support. In some cases, migration decisions were prompted by other factors like challenging financial circumstances in their places of origin, including poor farming conditions or lack of other employment opportunities. For example, Geeta and her spouse left their village to escape drought and poor farming conditions to work in a factory in Gagillapur for a better income. She stated that, in general, cities offered more opportunities to earn daily wages, unlike her village.

In two other cases, women identified strained family relationships, especially with their in-laws, as the primary reason for moving away from their respective hometowns. For example, Puja relocated with her spouse and her four children with her older sister's support:

“... my sister was the one who brought me [us] here, we could not bear the hardships over there [at home] [...] Back then, when we did not have any money, my sister helped us out... my sister helped us out with everything!”

The initial support provided by an immediate family member was crucial to help Puja and her family settle into a new place and seek job opportunities for her spouse. The participant's sister also helped enrol Puja's children at school and paid for their tuition while accomodating the family in her home until they could support themselves.

From the narratives of the women, it was evident that in almost all the cases, the decisions to migrate were based on the information supplied by an acquaintance or a relative who had already “made it” in the city.

Laxmi: “..So we [first] came [to Hyderabad] with my sister-in-law's husband [who had prior migration experience]. Since my brother-in-law [another relative] and his family lived in IDPL [a locality in Hyderabad] [...], we could stay at their home for a week and then started inquiring around for jobs.”

As explained in Laxmi's case, there was always a family member, a close friend or a relative who was willing to guide the women and their families through the migration process and provide the initial handholding. In addition to finding jobs and apartments, the participants also received advice on local commuting routes and navigating through the new city. In some cases where the spouse had migrated a few years before the women, the spouse would guide them on local routes (including transportation options) to access markets and other daily necessities (like school, clinics, shopping areas) until they could commute independently, as Soni explained:

“ So, he [husband] was already familiar [with the city, bus routes, etc.]. So, those [relatives/spouse] who were already familiar with everything initially took us around. After that, we could [figure it out], and now we are used to everything. [But] if there is a person who could accompany us, we would prefer to go [with them].”

Therefore, the narratives have indicated that kinship ties played a significant role in migration decisions. Further, in some cases, patriarchal influences also dictated the choice of the city and residential location. These decisions, in turn, influenced the everyday local movements in the cities, depending on how (and by whom) the migrant women were first introduced to their cities. The initial migratory experiences and their influence on the local movements are discussed in the subsequent section.

4.1.3 Local Movements

The initial experiences of navigating a new city varied greatly within the participants. For example, Rani, who migrated from rural Andhra Pradesh after her marriage, described feeling excited and fascinated to live in a place that looked like the movies that she had watched back at home.

For Monica, moving into a big city from a village was intimidating. She found it hard to navigate and commute independently as her reading skills were limited at the time of her migration, as she explained:

“So, when we left the village and moved into the city, I did not really know where to step out. I was very scared! I am not well educated; I only studied until 4th class [grade]...[So] I was scared even to board a bus; I could not even read the bus name [signage] properly at that time.”

For women who migrated from other states (other than Telangana and Andhra Pradesh) and were unfamiliar with the local language (Telugu), the initial stress of adapting to a new environment was heightened. Social isolation due to language barriers and limited social circles was a difficult combination to overcome, as explained in the case of Gayatri and Madhu:

Gayatri: “... I did not know anyone initially. So, whom could I talk to? I did not even know Telugu. So, when we set up the shop [*kirana* store], little by little, I started learning Telugu for the shop [business]. Otherwise, I did not know it at all [...] I still cannot speak Telugu perfectlybut I can get by.”

Madhu: “.. we did not know Telugu, [so] even if I met someone, I could not say anything [...] I can understand a little bit of Telugu now. [But] I cannot speak [fluently] yet. My husband knows it well. He knows Telugu ...and my children also speak well... With their help, I learnt a little.”

Among the participants, there was also a variation in the way Gagillapur was characterised and experienced. This variation could be attributed to the fact that Gagillapur was under a gram panchayat¹⁶ (or a village council administration) before its incorporation into the Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation (GHMC). Therefore it was identified as distinctly different from the more urbanised parts of the city. For example, some of the women who migrated from rural Telangana and Andhra Pradesh described Gagillapur as a new but familiar place due to

¹⁶ Gram Panchayat is a local self-governance system at the village or small-town level. A group of villages or a village are divided into wards which elect a ward member through direct election.

its village-like appeal. The experiential differences emerged from the variation in the physical characteristics, amenities like roads and utilities, access to public transportation and availability and access to everyday necessities. These perceived boundaries (discussed in detail in Section 6.3.6, Chapter 6) were important in understanding how different women experienced their city as a whole and in relational terms to Gagillapur.

Overall, the migration trajectories appeared to be linked and have influenced how the local movements unfolded in a new city. For example, as a new migrant, the women's spatial patterns were shaped by either their spouses or other relatives, who introduced different everyday spaces and access routes to them. These interlinkages and other factors that influence everyday spatial patterns of the migrant women are analysed in Chapter 6 (Section 6.3).

The next section introduces the spaces that the migrant women have identified as part of their habitual spatial activities.

4.2 Everyday Spaces in the Time-Path of the Migrant Women

The women interviewed were asked to describe spaces they would frequent as part of their everyday routine activities. These routines could include (but not limited to) work, education, schools (for the participants' children), groceries, other shopping necessities, places of worship, cinemas, restaurants, recreation, places of religious and cultural importance. They were also asked to elaborate on how (and with whom) they conducted these activities in different spaces. Based on the narratives, different habitual routines were identified and categorised based on their frequency of recurrence. Adapting time-geography's notational system (as explained in Section 2.3, Chapter 2), the individual time-paths of the participants from Hyderabad are shown in Figure 4.3. The time-paths for the Melbourne participants are discussed later in Chapter 5.

4.2.1 Interpreting Time-paths

An individual time-path typically is a linear representation of time utilised in 24 hours of a day in succession. In this research, however (as explained in Section 2.3.2, Chapter 2), the time-budgeting of different activities and the actual sequence of events are overlooked.

In the notational diagrams shown in Figure 4.3, the y-axis represents the different spaces or *stations* considered important by the migrant women. These stations are organised based on the frequency of recurrence (either daily, weekly or monthly) of the time-space routines (as discussed in Section 2.3.2, Chapter 2). The x-axis represents the approximate distance covered from home (starting point) to access these different stations (categorised as <5km, 6- 20 km, 21-50km, 51- 100km, >100 km). The location specifics of one-time (non-recurring) trips completed by the women are not represented in these notational diagrams. Instead, only the trip purpose, which is significant for discussion, is represented on the time-path for ease of readability. As Frändberg (2008) explains, travel for leisure and tourism can also be considered a routine, especially if there is a repetition in the trip purpose. Similarly, while some of the participants interviewed stated to go on a holiday every year, their destinations varied.

The *present* or *the now* in the notational diagrams notes the time-space routines, as recorded during the study period. The *past* only captures the key migratory movements, which in this case is migration to Hyderabad. The residential relocation to Gagillapur is also shown on the time-paths. The *future* outcomes are not examined in this research.

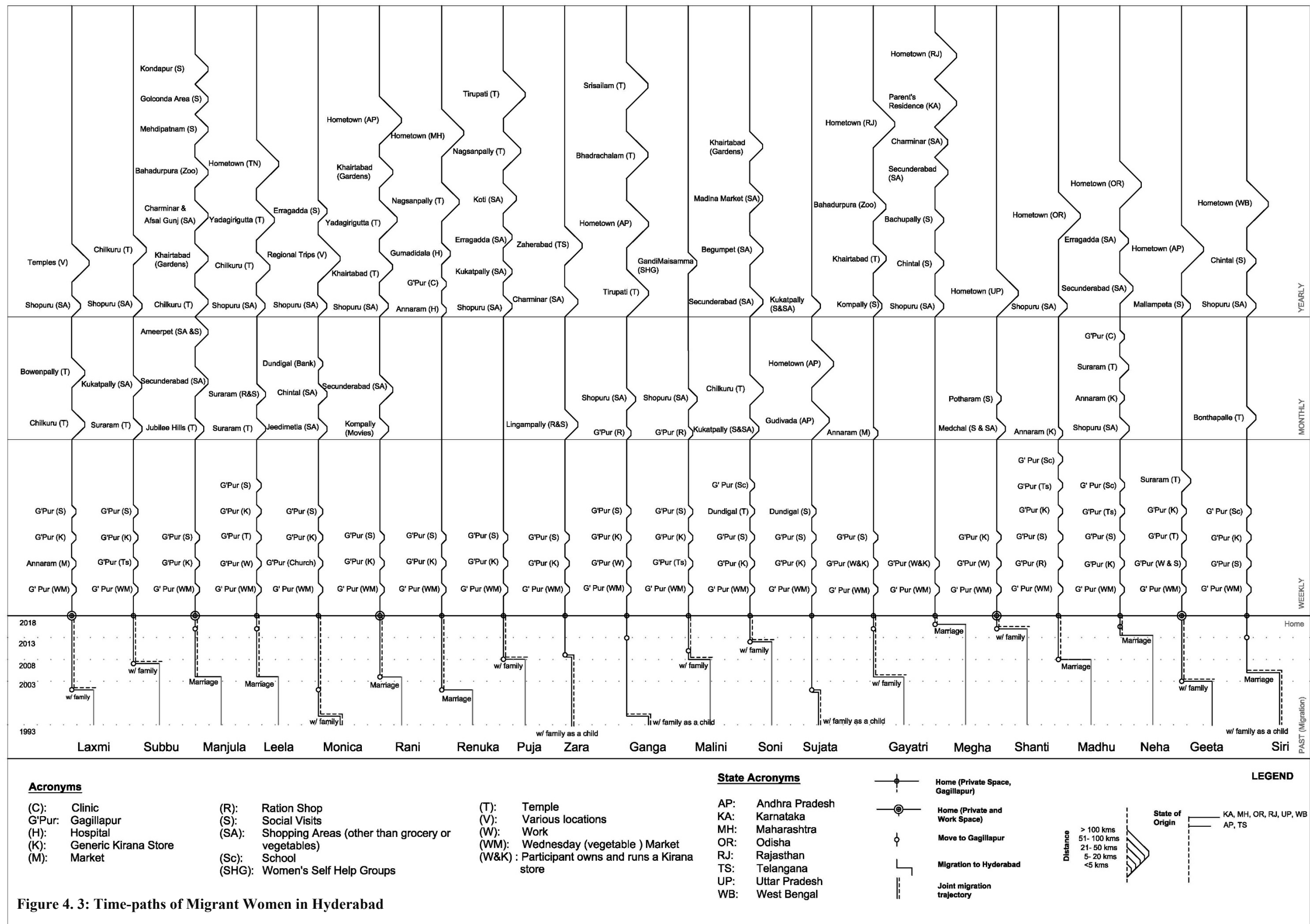
The notational diagrams aim to identify any emerging patterns within the twenty cases examined and analyse the factors (discussed later in Section 6.3, Chapter 6) that influence the movement of migrant women in their new city. Further, the individual *fields of care* maps contextualise these notational diagrams by identifying some of the *stations* on the map of Hyderabad (see, for example, Figure 4.11 in this chapter and Appendix B for maps of all participants). These maps also represent local residential relocations and some of the possible commuting routes, especially if the participant stated to use public transportation.

The following sections explain the time-paths in greater detail.

4.2.2 Past (Migration)

As explained in the previous section, the *past* in the time-path represents the participants' key migratory movements. The horizontal line represents migration to Hyderabad, with varying lengths representing different states of origin (as indicated in Figure 4.3). The migration origin is organised into two categories: migration within the erstwhile state of Andhra Pradesh (i.e. new states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana); and inter-state migration (other than from Andhra Pradesh). This categorisation is to differentiate between relatively shorter distances of migration within the erstwhile state of Andhra Pradesh and the long-distance migration (over 500 kilometres) from other states.

The dotted lines in the diagram symbolise joint migration trajectory (either with a spouse or other family members). As stated earlier, in the case of Hyderabad, there were no independent migrations. The circles on the *past* time-path represent a residential move to Gagillapur. As discussed in the previous section, some participants lived in different suburbs (see Figure 4. 2) before moving to Gagillapur and therefore have varied experiences of living in Hyderabad.



4.2.3 Present (Everyday Spatial Practices)

The *present* in the notational diagrams (see Figure 4.3) is subdivided into three sections: weekly, monthly and yearly recurring time-space routines. The following sections describe these activities and the spaces associated with them.

A. Frequently Recurring Trips

From the Hyderabad case, it was evident that the spaces that were accessed most frequently were within a five-kilometre radius (see Figure 4.3 and Figure 4.4). These trips were typically completed for work or for purchasing everyday necessities like groceries, vegetables or buying rations. Four other participants chaperoned their children to the local schools twice a day. In some cases, the participants made an additional trip to deliver lunch boxes to their children in the afternoon.

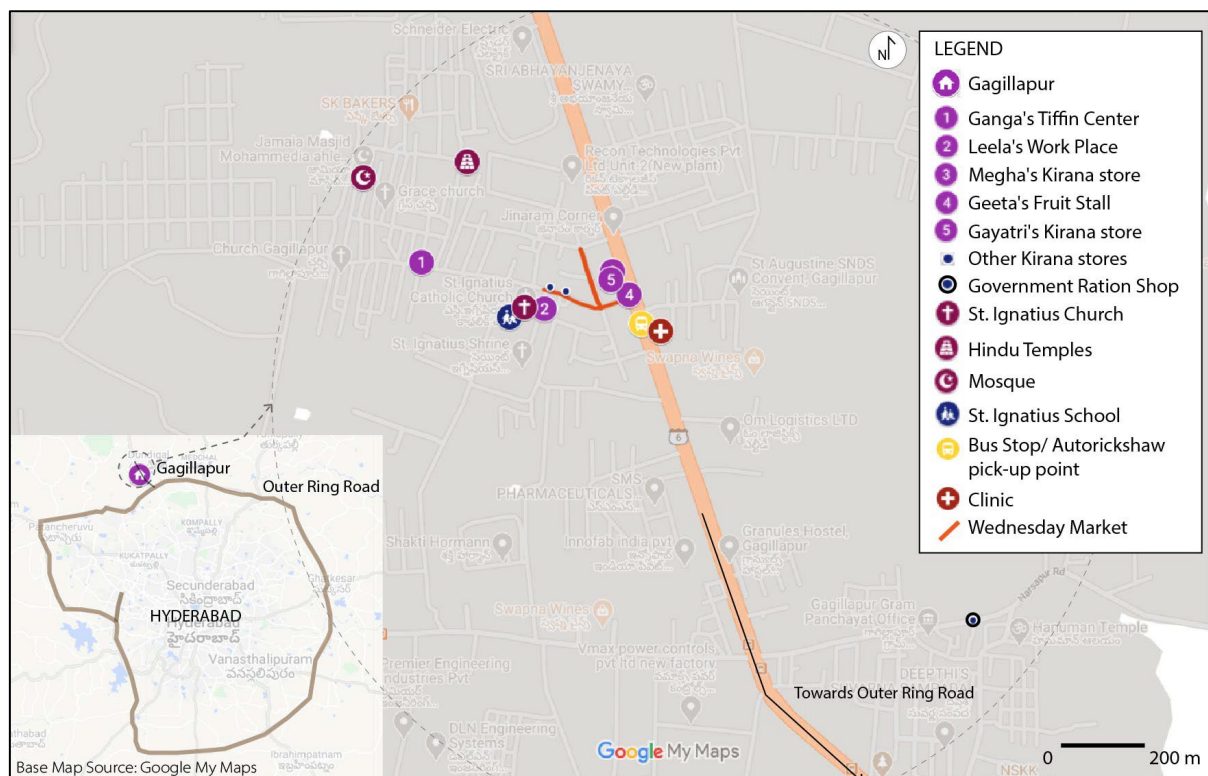


Figure 4. 4: Gagillapur Local Map, Hyderabad

Working women either worked within a short walking distance from home (like Leela, Ganga, Gayatri, Megha, Shanti and Geeta as shown in Figure 4.3) or operated a small home-based business (like Manjula and Rani as shown in Figure 4.3). Therefore a home was also a significant space that supported work and other time-space routines.

Most of these frequent trips were completed on foot if they were within short walking distances. Typically return trips from grocery stores were completed in auto-rickshaws, especially if the participants needed to carry grocery bags back home. Some trips that required longer commute were either completed using an autorickshaw or a private vehicle, if it was accessible through the spouse, as none of the women interviewed in Hyderabad drove. Most of these trips were either completed independently or coordinated with others (with other women or family members).

Home: Private, Social and Workspace



Figure 4. 5: Manjula working from her living room

Home is the starting point for all time-paths in Figure 4.3 and was identified as an important social space by almost all the migrant women interviewed. Typically the women would get together in small groups around late mornings in each other's home when they were free from their household responsibilities and when their children and spouse were away. Most interviews were also conducted during this period in the participant's home.

A home also served as a communal space or a place of work for some of the participants. For example, Manjula (see Figure 4.5) and Rani operated a small tailoring business from their living room where their clients would drop off or pick up their orders. Ganga and Shanti used their private kitchens for prep-work for their food-related small businesses. Ganga's *tiffin* centre was set up at an intersection across the road from her home, and her house served as an ancillary unit to support her business (see Figure 4.7 a,b). Similarly, Shanti prepared her ingredients for *Chaat*¹⁷ at home, which she later sold on her food cart by wheeling to different locations (See Figure 4.7 c). Geeta used her home as a storage space for fruits which she sold on her cart at a nearby intersection.

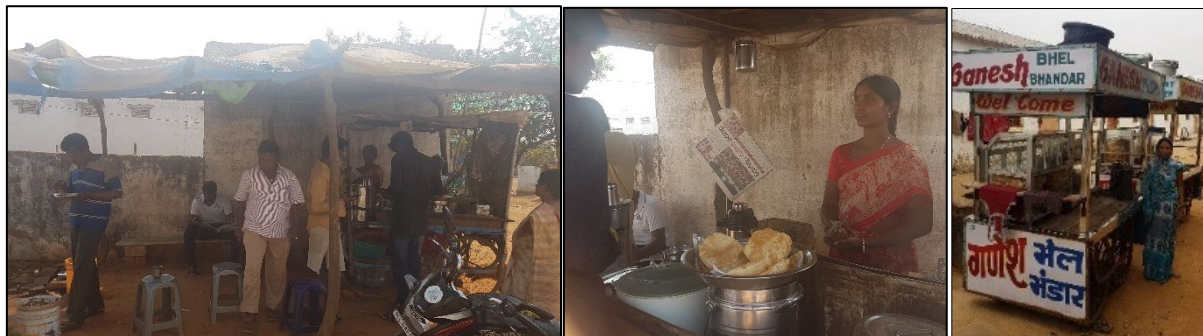


Figure 4. 6: (left to right) a. and b. Ganga's Tiffin Centre c. Shanti's Mobile Chaat Stall

Ledges and Front Porch

In addition to the living rooms or lounge spaces in private homes, the steps at the front porch or common corridors (in a multi-tenant building) also served as an important social space (See Figure 4.7 b,d).

In one of the interviews, a participant mentioned a small ledge (see Figure 4.7 a) as a get-together evening space for a few neighbours. This ledge was projected onto the street and built on the exterior side of her boundary wall. It was perceived as an extension of a private space rather than an appropriation of public space.

¹⁷ Chaat is a savory snack typically sold at food stalls or carts in India.



Figure 4. 7: (left to right) a. Ledge at the front porch b. Common corridors in multi-tenant building c. Designated spaces in corridors for laundry or cleaning meat d. Front porch of a private residence

Similarly, the common corridor spaces in two of the multi-apartment complexes (see Figure 4.7 b) where some of the participants were interviewed functioned as a social space. There were corners dedicated for laundry, dishwashing and meat cleaning (see Figure 4.7 c) in some of these corridors. The neighbours would coordinate and complete their chores while chatting simultaneously with their neighbours.

Wednesday Market

All the participants accessed the weekly vegetable market set up along a one-kilometre stretch in one of the internal roads in Gagillapur every Wednesday (See Figure 4.4 and Figure 4.8 a.). The market visits were often coordinated within smaller social groups of women (sometimes accompanied by their children) (See Figure 4.8 b). In addition to purchasing vegetables, other household items, and knick-knacks, the women used the market as an opportunity to eat out at the food stalls or “hang out” with their friends. The street, which was otherwise underused on other days, was accessed and fully utilised by everyone during market trading hours.



Figure 4. 8: (left to right) a. Wednesday market b. Participants interacting and shopping with their friends at the market.

Kirana Stores



Figure 4. 9: Two adjoining *kirana* stores operated by Gayatri's (left) and Megha's (right) family

Kirana stores or small mini supermarkets were accessed by all the migrant women, typically close to their home and within short walking distances. These stores were meant for purchasing immediate necessities in-between monthly ration or grocery trips.

There were multiple *kirana* stores in Gagillapur; Figure 4. 4 shows some of the stores identified by the participants. Gayatri and Megha's *kirana* stores (Figure 4.9) were identified as *Marvadi*

stores by some, as they were owned and operated by the Marvadi community hailing from Rajasthan.

B. Moderately Recurring Trips

Temples or other religious places appeared at different frequencies based on individual interests, commuting distances from home, availability and affordability of different modes of transport, temple operating hours, festival periods, among other significant factors. Local social visits to meet friends or family members also appeared in the time-paths at varying frequencies based on similar factors. These social visits were typically combined with other activities like temple visits or shopping trips.

Places of Worship



Figure 4. 10: (left to right) a. St. Ignatius Church, Gagillapur b. A local temple in Gagillapur

Religion was considered important by most participants interviewed in Gagillapur. Monica chose to live in Gagillapur because of her church and her community. She lived adjacent to the St. Ignatius Church (see Figure 4.10 a), which she frequented at least once every week (the location of the church is shown in Figure 4.4).

All the 18 Hindu women interviewed spoke extensively about different temples that were a part of their daily lives. Temple trips served social and religious purposes and were often

completed in groups with family or close friends. Temples within Gagillapur were accessed by foot if they were within a two-kilometre radius from home or by a private vehicle (if available through the spouse or other family members) if the temples were located in neighbouring localities. Temples located over a five km radius involved multiple transfers in public transport and required prior planning and additional time to accommodate a long commute. For some women like Laxmi (see her everyday spaces in Figure 4.11), these trips were considered necessary as part of their religious beliefs, irrespective of the commuting challenges. As Laxmi explains,

“There are timings for a few [temples]. [So] if I want to go early, I will leave at dawn. Of late, it has been difficult with the traffic. It is difficult to get past it. If I need to be somewhere by eight or nine, I will have to leave by five-thirty or six o'clock [in the morning]. That's it...”

Laxmi also often planned annual pilgrimage trips outside of Hyderabad (see insert in Figure 4.11).

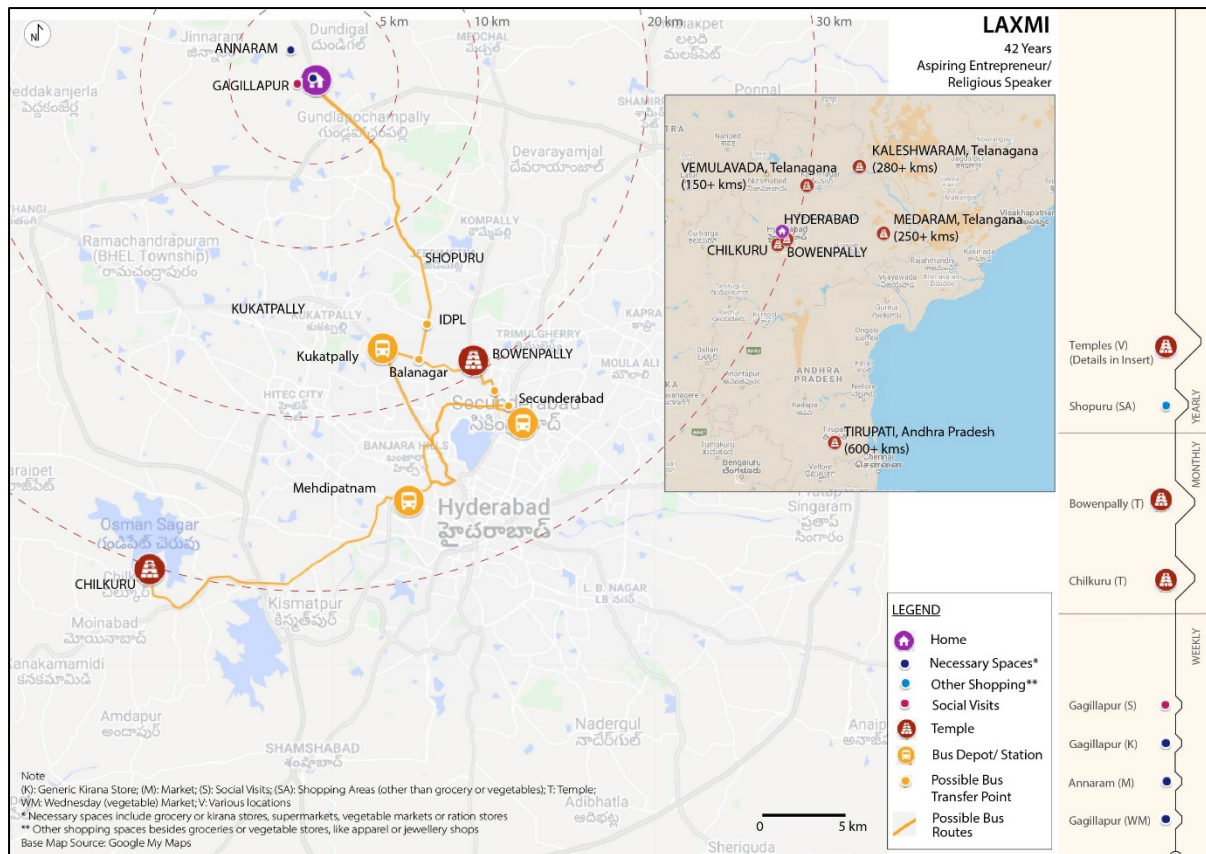


Figure 4. 11: Laxmi's Everyday Spaces, Hyderabad

Shopping Areas

In Hyderabad, the participants identified shopping areas (other than groceries needs and vegetables) in different locations based on their preferences. Most women stated that these areas were typically frequented during festivals or special occasions, but not necessarily every month. Affordability also played an important role in the frequency of access and destination choice as some of the women interviewed in Hyderabad belonged to lower-income groups. The shopping areas close to Gagillapur, like Shopuru or Kukatpally, were accessed more frequently than some other places like Secunderabad and Charminar, which required multiple trips

transfers and additional time for commuting (For example, see Figure 4.11 for Laxmi's likely public transportation commuting route to Secunderabad). Sometimes, if the participant had lived elsewhere before moving to Gagillapur, she would commute to her old suburb for her shopping needs due to her sense of familiarity and comfort.

C. Occasional Trips: Visiting Home, Vacations and Other Trips

Some of the occasional trips were short vacations or holidays, sometimes combined with trips to temples or annual pilgrimage (See Figure 4.12 a,b, for some of the temple destinations identified by the participants). At least 12 women interviewed in Hyderabad also mentioned yearly trips to their respective hometowns. Those who migrated within the erstwhile state of Andhra Pradesh were more likely to visit home more often (given the shorter commuting distance and ease of access) in comparison to some of the out-of-state migrants, especially if they could afford it. These trips were typically organised around festivals when the participant's children have holidays.

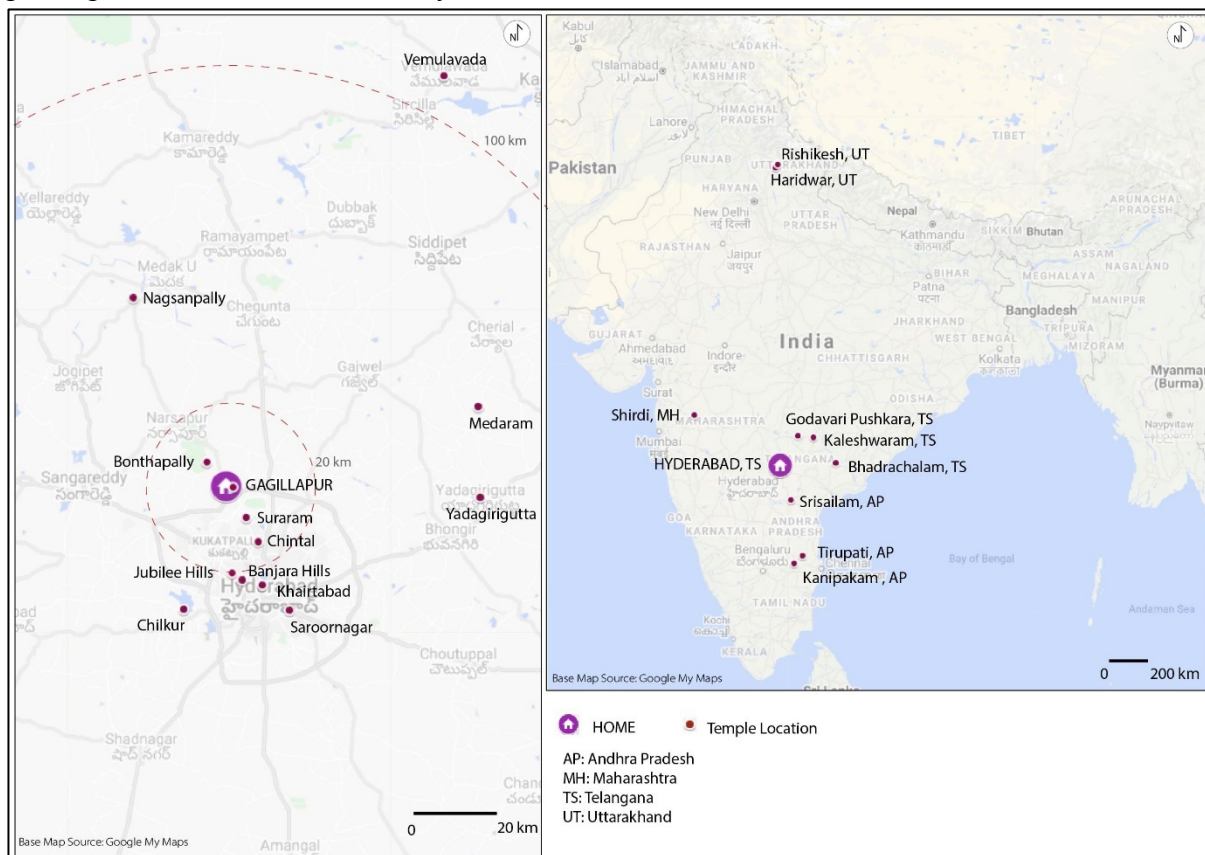


Figure 4. 12: (left to right) a. Temples destinations within 100 km radius of Hyderabad, b. Other temple destinations across India

Other local places of interest like NTR Gardens in Khairtabad area and Nehru Zoological Gardens in Bahadurpura area were mentioned by a few participants, especially those with young children. Some other places that appeared on the time-path were linked to the participant's life stage or unique circumstances. For example, Renuka alternated between three hospitals or clinics near her home for regular check-ups due to her recently diagnosed diabetes. Local clinics were also important for Neha as her toddlers required frequent check-ups.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the participants' profile in Gagillapur, their migration trajectories and their initial experiences of moving to Hyderabad. The time-path diagrams have aided in presenting a visual overview of the different spaces accessed based on their frequency of recurrence. Across all the women interviewed, home emerged as an important place where multiple activities, including work and communal activities, were undertaken. The migrant women socialised in various spaces with different people, where the nature of the setting was not constant. The preference for temples, shopping areas and other activities varied based on different factors which are discussed further in subsequent chapters (see Section 6.3, Chapter 6). Most women preferred to spend less time on their commute for their everyday needs, whereas time and space for relaxation and leisure activities varied between the participants.

The notational diagrams have also revealed possible interlinkages between migrant identities and their everyday movements and spatial patterns which are explored further in subsequent chapters (Chapter 7 and 8). The following chapter will introduce the everyday spatial patterns for the Melbourne case by replicating the time-path diagrams.

CHAPTER 5. Case Study: Migrant Women in Melbourne

Introduction

This chapter discusses the key findings from the Melbourne case study and presents an overview of the participants interviewed. Similar to the Hyderabad case, this chapter aims to map the everyday spatial practices of the migrant women and identify the different places associated with it, thereby addressing one of the research sub-questions of this thesis. The first section, 5.1, introduces the participants' profile. The interlinkages between the migratory movements and their local movements in Melbourne are also discussed in this section. Replicating Hägerstrand's time-path diagrams from Chapter 4, section 5.2 discusses the time-space routines of the migrant women and interprets their significance based on their varying frequency of recurrence. The everyday spaces discussed in both the case study chapters are further analysed in the subsequent chapters.

5.1 Migrant women in Melbourne

5.1.1 Profile

A total of 19 semi-structured interviews were conducted in Melbourne. Table 5.1 presents the profile of the migrant women interviewed and the details of their migration. As discussed in the methodology chapter (Section 3.3, Chapter 3), the first five interviews were conducted between December 2017 and January 2018 as part of the pilot interviews. Another 14 interviews were conducted between May 2018 and August 2018 during the third phase of fieldwork.

Fifteen of the participants in Melbourne were married, while the remaining were single at the time of the interviews. Among the married women, two of them did not have any children. Most (15) of the migrant women interviewed were aged between 25 and 35 years. Two other participants were between 35 and 40 years of age, while the remaining two were aged between 50 and 60 years. As in the case of Hyderabad, some participants did not disclose their personal details like age; therefore, some of the age groups were estimated.

Similar to Hyderabad, most of the interviewees in Melbourne were Hindus, except for two women who identified as Muslim and one woman who identified as Christian. One participant did not specifically comment on her religion during the interview. One of the Hindu participants also practised Buddhism. While the primary spoken language varied for the participants based on their states of origin, they were fluent in English.

Unlike the Hyderabad participants, the migrant women in Melbourne were highly educated. They also appeared to be in a higher income bracket, consistent with the recent statistics on the Indian migrant population in Australia (Costa-Pinto 2007) and hailing from middle-class families in India. As detailed in Table 5.1, most of the participants were postgraduates, except

for two graduates. Two of the participants were doctoral students at the time of the interviews, and one other participant was a researcher with a doctorate.

Eight migrant women interviewed were working full-time jobs, out of which one participant was operating a business from home. Three other participants were working part-time, and one participant was a new migrant seeking job opportunities. Three women within the participant group stated to have taken a career break to focus on their young children at the time of the interviews. Among them, one participant went back to school after two decades and was enrolled part-time at a local university. Like the Hyderabad case, while most married participants considered managing home, undertaking domestic chores, and caring for the family as their primary responsibility, this responsibility was often shared with the spouse or other family members.

Table 5. 1: Participant Profile: Melbourne															
S. No.	Participant Code	Pseudonym	Age	Highest Educational Qualifications	Occupation	Marital status	Religion	State Origin of India	Migration to Australia	Migration to Melbourne	Visa status	Driver's License	Homeowner (Y/N)	Reason for Migration	Residential Suburb
1	P1	Venessa	30-35	Graduate	Doctoral student (Architecture)	Single	Christian	Assam	Mar-17	Mar-17	Student	No	No	Education	Fitzroy
2	P2	Sara	30-35	Graduate (Landscape architecture)	Stay at home mom	Married with children	Muslim	Telangana	Apr-14	Apr-14	Permanent Resident (PR)/ Citizenship applicant (arrived on a partner visa)	No	No	Marriage	Maribyrnong
3	P4	Priya	30-35	Postgraduate (Sciences)	IT Intern	Single	Hindu	Telangana	2014	2014	Student/ PR applicant	No	No	Education	Camberwell
4	P5	Zainab	25-30	Graduate (Bio-Technology)	Stay at home mom	Married with children	Muslim	Telangana	Apr-14	Apr-14	PR	Learners	No	Marriage	Truganina
5	P6	Charu	25-30	Postgraduate	Doctoral student (Hydrology)	Single	Not stated	Kerala	Aug-15	Aug-15	Student	Not stated	No	Education	North Melbourne
6	M1	Sonam	38	Postgraduate (Marketing)	Business owner and Full-time employee	Married with children	Hindu/ Buddhist	National Capital Region (NCR)	Feb-05	Feb-05	Not stated (arrived on a student visa)	Yes	Yes	Education	Point Cook
7	M2	Diya	39	Postgraduate (Management)	Part-time Student (Psychology) and Stay at home mom	Married with children	Hindu	Chandigarh	1999	1999	PR (arrived on a student visa)	Yes	Yes	Education	Point Cook
8	M3	Sejal	39	Graduate	Part-time employee (IT)	Married with children	Hindu	Not stated	2004 (Sydney)	2006	Not stated	Yes	Yes	For better job opportunities	Point Cook
9	M4	Swapna	25	Graduate (IT)	(Job Seeker)	Married	Hindu	Telangana	Sep-17	Sep-17	Partner Visa (arrived on a visitor visa)	No	No	Marriage	Docklands
10	M5	Nirmala	35	Postgraduate (Fashion Design)	Aspiring Entrepreneur	Married with children	Hindu	Tamil Nadu	2011	2011	PR	Yes	Yes	For better job opportunities	Glen Waverly
11	M6	Reya	55-60	Postgraduate	Full-time employee (IT)	Married with children	Hindu	NCR	Oct-12	Oct-12	PR/ Citizen	Learners	No	For a better life in a country with better amenities	Point Cook
12	M7	Soumya	35-40	Postgraduate	Full-time employee (IT)	Married with children	Hindu	Tamil Nadu	2009	2009	Not stated (arrived as a dependent of a student)	Yes	NA	For spouse's education	Point Cook
13	M8	Bhanu	35-40	Postgraduate	Full-time employee (IT)	Married with children	Hindu	Tamil Nadu	Jun-13	Jun-13	PR	No	NA	For daughter's health and job opportunities.	Point Cook
14	M9	Veera	30-35	Doctorate	Full-time researcher (Genomics)	Married	Hindu	Telangana	Sep-15 (Sydney)	Mar-17	Partner Visa	Yes	No	Marriage	Airport West

15	M10	Mary	50-55	Postgraduate	Home-based business (Travel Agency)	Married with children	Christian	Maharashtra	Oct-08	Oct-08	Not stated (arrived on a partner visa)	Yes	Yes	Marriage	Point Cook
16	M11	Sita	30-35	Postgraduate	Part-time employee (IT)	Married with children	Hindu	Telangana	2006 (approx) (Sydney)	2009	Not stated (arrived on a student visa)	Yes	Yes	Education	Broad Meadows/ Future Point Cook Resident
17	M12	Mira	25-30	Postgraduate	Full-time researcher (Biotechnology)	Single	Hindu	Telangana	2008 (Brisbane)	2016	PR (arrived on a student visa)	Not Stated	No	Education	Footscray
18	M13	Vanita	30-35	Postgraduate (Urban Planning)	Part-time employee	Married	Hindu	Telangana	Jul-13	Jul-13	Not stated	Yes	No	Marriage	Point Cook
19	M14	Keerti	30-35	Postgraduate (International law)	Lawyer	Married with children	Hindu	Telangana	2015	2015	PR	Not stated	Yes	For (spouse's) job opportunities	Cranbourne

5.1.2 Migration trajectories

Out of the 19 women interviewed, seven were new migrants and moved to Australia within the last five years, while the remaining were older migrants. The participants cited different cities and states in India as their respective hometowns or places of origin (see Figure 5.1). Six participants hailed from the city of Hyderabad (Telangana), two from the National Capital Region or NCR (New Delhi and surrounding areas), two others from the city of Chennai (Tamil Nadu), and one participant each from the cities of Mumbai (Maharashtra), Coimbatore (Tamil Nadu) and Vijayawada (Andhra Pradesh). Two other participants mentioned Kerala and Assam as their respective home states in India. The remaining two did not specify their hometown in India.

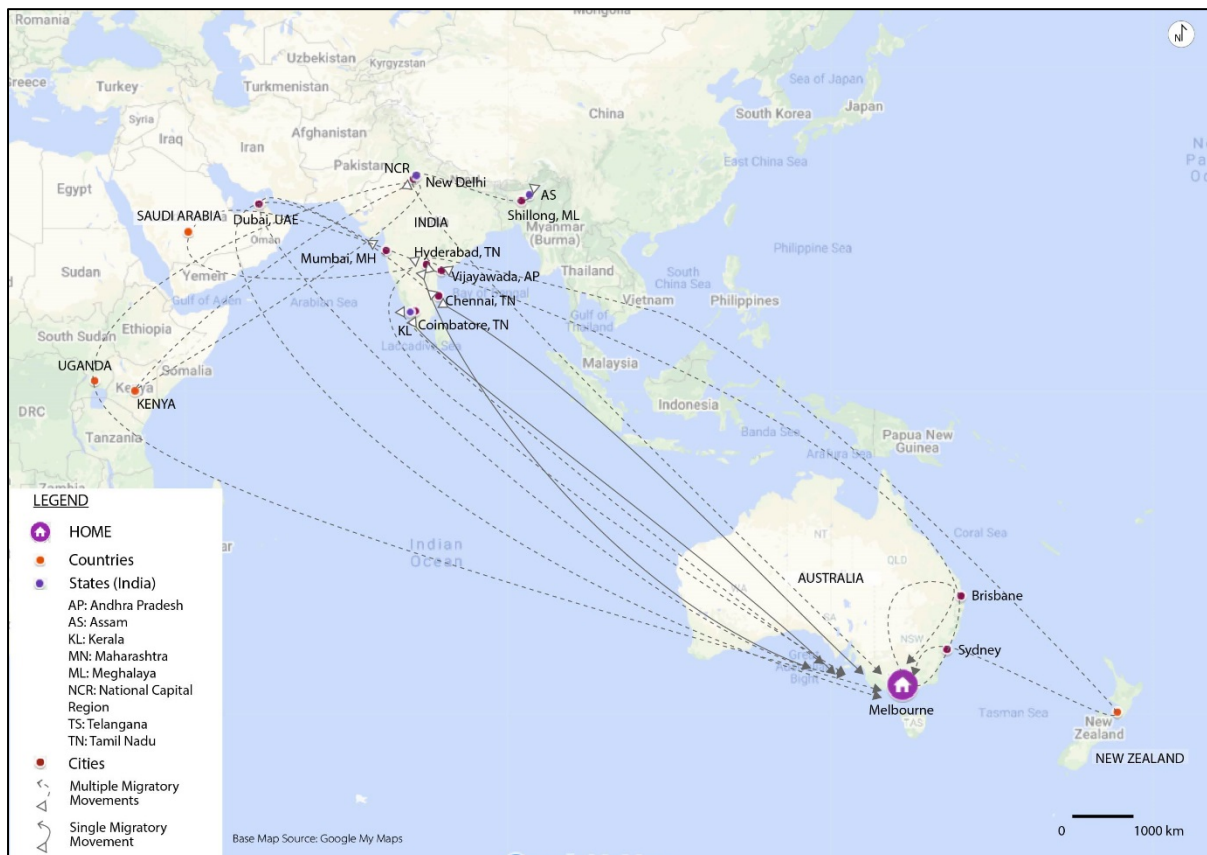


Figure 5. 1: Migration Map, Melbourne

All the migrant women were born in India. However, as illustrated in Figure 5.1, five participants migrated elsewhere before moving to Australia and the reasons for migration varied at every stage. For example, Mary and Soumya first moved to Dubai for work and later emigrated to Australia for marriage. Zainab and Sonam migrated to Saudi Arabia and Africa, respectively, with their families when they were children. Zainab later relocated to Hyderabad before marrying and moving to Melbourne. Sonam shuttled between Kenya, Uganda and New Delhi before moving to Melbourne for her higher education (See Section 8.2, Chapter 8 for further details of Sonam's migration life course).

Similarly, Veera first migrated to New Zealand to pursue her doctoral studies and then relocated to Sydney after her marriage and finally to Melbourne for better job opportunities.

For Veera, every migration experience was tied in with a major life event, and she described it as an “evolution process” where every experience was different:

“I was a very innocent, sweet little girl, coming from a village kind of setup, you know... parents were very protective [...] But coming from that to New Zealand was an extreme change, I had to make new friends [...] Then I got married, went to Sydney. Yeah, that was a big transition. I think from New Zealand to Sydney is not that big of a shock [...] Melbourne is much like a home now, I like it here, people are much friendly. I have a secure job, it took me six months to settle in the job and understand how things are working here, and now I am good! I'm happy!”

Like Veera, two other participants lived in other Australian cities (Sydney and Brisbane) before moving to Melbourne for better job opportunities (see Figure 5.1).

Overall, there were different reasons for migration into Australia. Seven women migrated on a *student visa* to pursue higher education in Australia, out of which two were students at the time of the interviews. These trajectories were independent, and all the women were single at the time of their migration. The location of their preferred university determined their destination city in Australia (or New Zealand, in the case of Veera).

Within this group, three participants married after graduation and continued to live in Australia after converting to a permanent visa category (typically seeking Permanent Residency¹⁸ or PR). For example, Sita studied in Sydney, and after graduation, she briefly returned to India before finally moving to Melbourne to join her spouse after marriage.

For almost all the students, the initial support (like navigating a new city and finding accommodation) was provided by friends or family already living in Melbourne.

Priya: “.... my accommodation [and], a job was ready for me when I arrived here... the manager [at her job] is my friend... so he chose the accommodation...”

Six other women either migrated on a *partner*¹⁹ or a *visitor*²⁰ visa to join their spouse immediately after their marriage and later sought a permanent visa. Within this group, two of the participants lived in Sydney before moving to Melbourne. Another participant Soumya (who was previously working in Dubai), relocated to Melbourne after her marriage as a dependent on her spouse's *student visa*. Similar to the Hyderabad case, married women were typically guided by their spouse on navigating and setting into a new city, especially if the latter was an older migrant in comparison, like in the case of Veera:

“.....he [my husband] was there to help. He was [in Sydney] for eight years before I came, so he knows everything in and out.”

¹⁸ Permanent Residency is granted to those who have a permanent visa like skilled work or family visa and the stay period is indefinite. (Source: Department of Home Affairs, <https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/>)

¹⁹ Visa granted to spouse or de facto partner of Australian citizen or Australian permanent resident or eligible New Zealand citizen to live in Australia (either temporarily or permanently depending on the visa category). (Source: Department of Home Affairs, <https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/>)

²⁰ Visa for tourists or to visit family and friends or for purposes other than business or medical treatment. (Source: Department of Home Affairs, <https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/>)

Migration for job opportunities and a better quality of life was the primary objective for five migrant women interviewed. These were typically *skilled migration*²¹ pathways or in some cases, dependents on spouse's *work permit* visas. For two of these women, having a family member who was already settled in Melbourne was a crucial factor in deciding to emigrate to Australia. In most cases, friends, relatives or work colleagues offered the much-needed handholding in the initial period, as Nirmala explained:

“how to rent a house..., [earlier] I didn't have any knowledge, so they[friends] were helping us, [on] how to go for the inspection, how to put the application for the rental properties, to research everything ... friends helped [us].”

In one case, Reya and her spouse migrated under the *contributory parent visa*²² category, as their daughter (who had migrated several years before them) was a permanent resident. Reya stated that the decision to migrate to Australia was a bold one, as the couple were already “settled” and “satisfied” in India with a permanent home, significant financial income and successful careers spanning over three decades. She added that typically Indians her age (over 50 years of age) only migrate to support their children as secondary (dependent) migrants instead of migrating for job opportunities. Their move was prompted to experience life in a better environment with more amenities.

Similar to the Hyderabad case, all the participants frequently relocated residence internally within Melbourne (as shown in Figure 5.2). These residential relocations were typically linked with changes in life circumstances (like marriage, job change, graduating from universities) and ceased with the purchase of a home, typically for those migrants who intended to settle long-term or permanently.

²¹ Visa granted to workers with skills (based on the skilled occupation list) who can live and work permanently anywhere in Australia. (Source: Department of Home Affairs, <https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/>)

²² This permanent visa lets a parent of a settled Australian citizen, Australian permanent resident of Australia or eligible New Zealand citizen move to Australia. (Source: Department of Home Affairs, <https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/>)

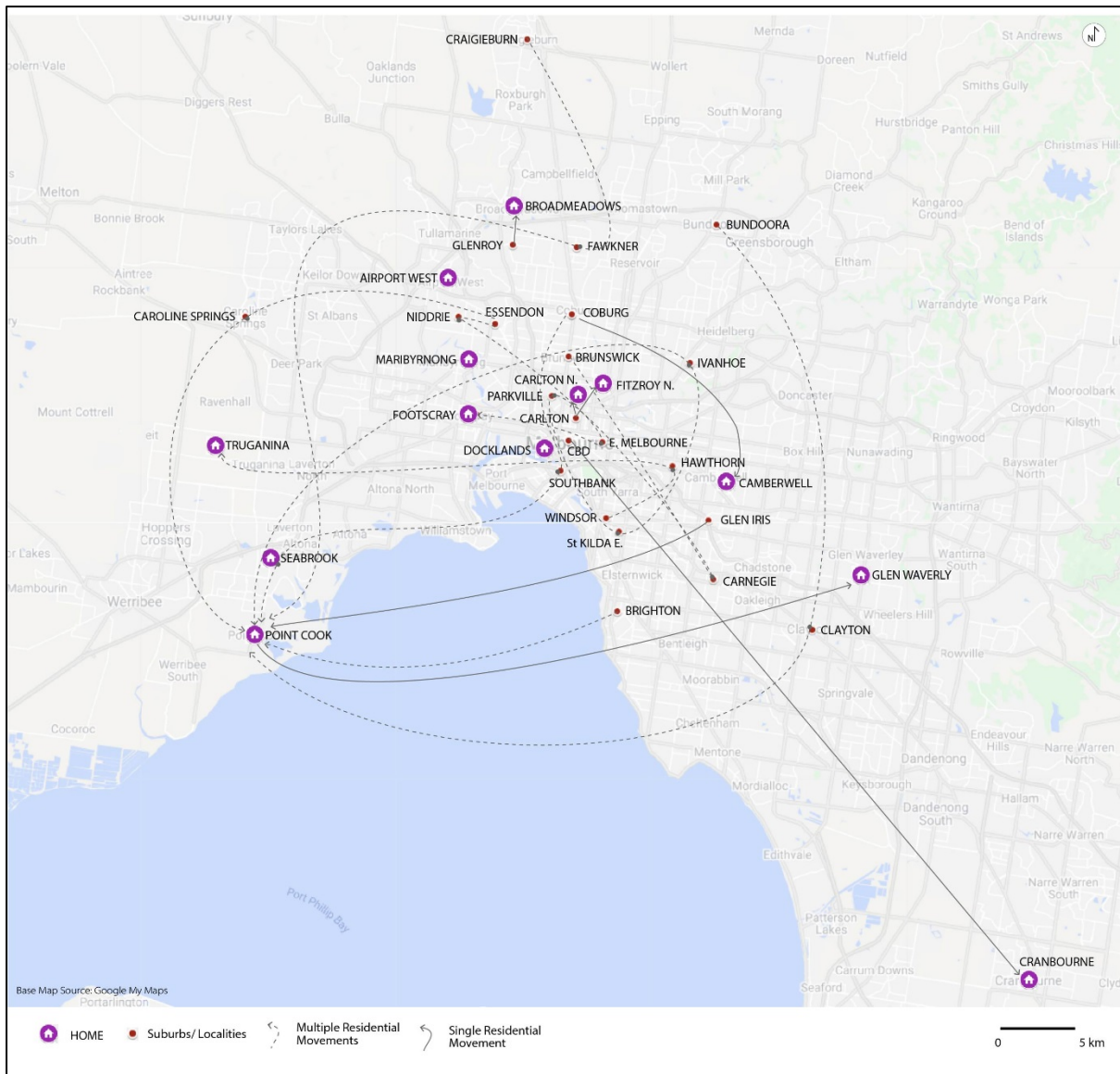


Figure 5. 2: Residential Relocation(s) within Melbourne

5.1.3 Local Movements

The initial experiences of navigating through Melbourne and Australia varied among the women. For almost all of them, relocating to Australia was a significant change in their lives primarily due to the time, energy and costs involved in applying and obtaining the visa, relocating and settling into a new life in a foreign land. Eleven of the interviewees could even clearly recollect the exact month and year of migration, while some women also stated the precise date of their arrival in Australia. For some of the participants who were travelling overseas for the first time, it was an exciting first experience, as Sejal shared her experience:

“yeah..it was dreamlike because I’ve never travelled an international flight, you know, and this I’m talking about like, 14 years ago. And it wasn’t very common for girls to travel abroad! (laughs) So it was... something different, something very, very new and exciting! But, yeah...when I came in here, it was a completely different story!”

Almost all the women also expressed some degree of apprehension before moving into a new and unfamiliar environment. Two of the participants wondered if they would “stick out” or be an “odd one” and face any discrimination as an outsider, as Venessa explained:

“... I was confused (laughs) actually...[about] what to expect? ...you know...What sort of racism will I feel? Or ... will I face any racism? Or will I just blend in? or ...how will I stand out or how will I not stand out?”

In comparison to the internal migrants in India, the international migrants experienced a completely different physical, social and cultural environment from their home environment, as one participant, Diya, explains:

“Everything looked washed! ...and washed, like after a rain, cleaner! Just washed!...[...]. In India, the colours are brighter. That's what I felt is the bigger difference.”

For five other women, who arrived in the winter months, the unfamiliar and inconsistent, cold weather conditions made it difficult for them to acclimatise immediately to a new place. Some participants expressed that they continued to struggle with the weather even after the initial adjustment period and, therefore, restricted their movements during the cold season.

Comprehending the Australian accent and spending in foreign currency was also stated as an initial hurdle for some. Sita explained this barrier in her interview:

“.....I was not understanding the English language or their accent here, even though we see English movies... it's not how you communicate in day-to-day life [in India]; it wasn't easy...”

For a few women who migrated immediately after their marriage, it was also a new experience of setting up a life together with their respective partners in a new country, as stated in Zainab's interview:

“Like first three days were really very adventurous for me...because.. new place, and exciting, coming with husband, kind of romantic also and it was adventurous because we did house hunting together.”

For some others, like Sejal, who moved to Australia to join their spouse, new life as a migrant was a struggle, despite her initial excitement. Sejal was a new mother who emigrated with her six-month-old baby and found it hard to manage both home and family while adjusting to her life in Sydney. Sejal and at least four other married participants also expressed that after they moved to Australia, they had to undertake household chores (typically done by maids in India) or include other trips which were previously considered unnecessary:

Sejal: “....In India, we have all these luxuries of you know, you get the milkman coming to your home, so you don't have those luxuries in here.”

The participants had to learn to organise their time to accommodate multiple responsibilities like childcare and everyday chores, and shopping along with their jobs (discussed later in Section 6.1, Chapter 6). Like in Hyderabad, in Melbourne, women who migrated for marriage faced a degree of social isolation in their initial days. Sara attributed it to the fact that she did not know anyone in the city, and her spouse would be away at work for most of the day. She added:

“I used to just stare out of the window! (laughs) Like, literally!..... seriously! (laughs)”

Similarly, Sejal felt isolated until the time she could find a group with similar interests:

“...my husband had friends, but none of them had kids, so I was quite left out.”

Both Sejal and Sara’s initial movements were limited due to their lack of social connections in a new city.

All these initial experiences influenced how the women interacted with their cities and navigated through it in their initial days as a migrant. In the case of Melbourne too, the migrations trajectories seemed to influence the everyday local movements. As discussed in the literature review, it was evident that the everyday temporalities were determined by the migration experiences (Cwerner 2001; Robertson 2019a) in both case studies. Mainly, the initial spatial experiences and patterns were shaped by the manner in which the migrant women were introduced to their respective cities, and these patterns modified through their life course with changing circumstances. These linkages are further explored in the subsequent chapters.

The following section introduces the various spaces that the migrant women have identified as part of their habitual spatial activities.

5.2 Everyday Spaces in the Time-Path of the Migrant Women

As in the case of Hyderabad, I asked the migrant women to describe spaces they would frequent as part of their everyday routine activities. These routines could include (but not limited to) place of work, study, schools (for the participant’s children), childcare or kindergarten, groceries, Indian groceries (usually identified distinctly different from regular supermarkets), cinemas, restaurants, recreation, places of religious and cultural importance. They were also asked to elaborate on how (and with whom) they engaged with these spaces as part of their routine activities. Based on the narratives, different habitual routines were identified and categorised based on their frequency of recurrence. The time-geography notational system applied in Chapter 4 (Section 4.2) is replicated in this chapter to map the Melbourne participants' individual time-paths (shown in Figure 5.3), and is discussed in detail in the subsequent sections.

5.2.1 Interpreting Time-paths

Similar to the notional diagrams for Hyderabad (as shown in Figure 4.3, Chapter 4), in Figure 5.3, the y-axis represents the different spaces or *stations* considered important by the migrant women and are organised based on their frequency of recurrence (either daily, weekly or monthly) of the time-space routines. The x-axis represents the approximate distance covered from home (starting point) to access these different stations (categorised as <5km, 6- 20 km, 21-50km, 51- 100km, >100 km). As explained in Section 4.2 of the previous chapter, the specifics of one-time (non-recurring) trips completed by the women are not shown in these notational diagrams. Instead, they are represented by their trip purpose (for example, regional trips).

The *present* or *the now* in the notational diagrams notes the time-space routines, as recorded during the study period. The *past* only captures the key migratory movements, which is migration to Australia and relocation to Melbourne in this case. The *future* outcomes are not examined in this research.

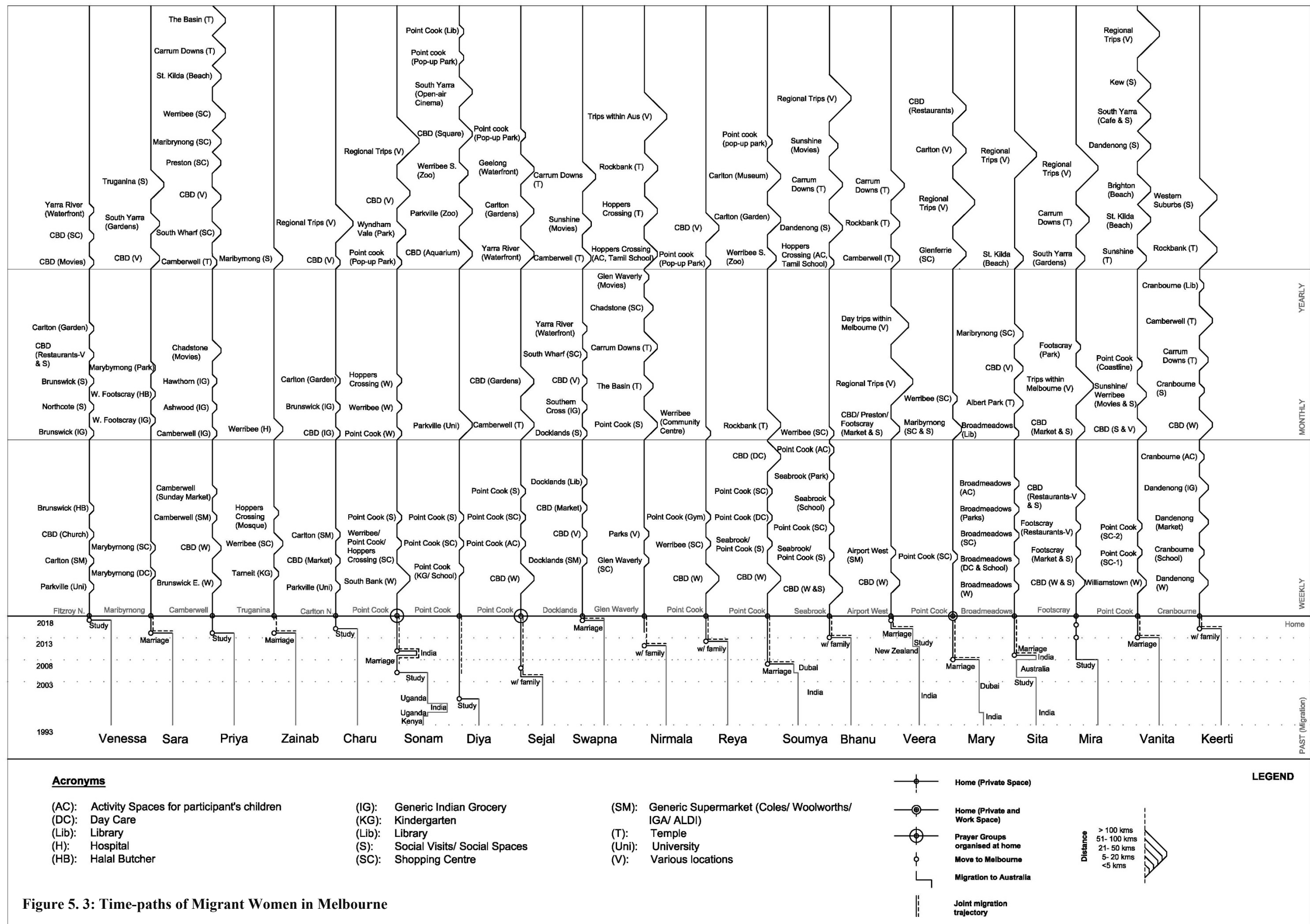
The notational diagrams aim to identify any emerging patterns within the nineteen cases and analyse the factors (discussed further in Section 6.3, Chapter 6) that influence the movement of migrant women in their new city. Further, the individual *fields of care* maps contextualise these notational diagrams by identifying some of the *stations* on the map of Melbourne, and highlighting possible commuting routes based on the individual narratives (see, for example, Figure 5.5 in this chapter and Appendix C for maps of all participants). As the Melbourne participants resided in different suburbs, unlike the Hyderabad participants who were all interviewed in Gagillapur, there was a variation in how the same space was accessed based on the distance from the participant's home.

The following sections explain the time-paths in greater detail.

5.2.2 Past (Migration)

As explained in the previous section, the *past* segment of the time-path only represents the participants' key migratory movements. The horizontal line represents migration to Australia. In the cases where the participant has migrated directly from India (irrespective of the specific location), the length of the migration line was kept constant. In some cases, where previous migrations have been indicated, the dimension of the horizontal line was varied to indicate the relative distances between the locations.

The dotted lines in the diagram symbolise joint migration (either with a spouse or other family members). In the case of Melbourne, seven participants migrated independently to pursue higher education and were single at that time. For Sonam and Sita (see Figure 5.3), however, subsequent migrations were linked with their spouse, and it is represented as a family migration in the time-paths. The circles on the *past* time-path represent a residential relocation to Melbourne. Unlike the Hyderabad case, which shows the intra-city residential relocation to Gagillapur, the Melbourne case only captures the inter-state residential movement within Australia due to the differences in the scales of migratory movements. The internal residential movements within Melbourne are shown in Figure 5.2.



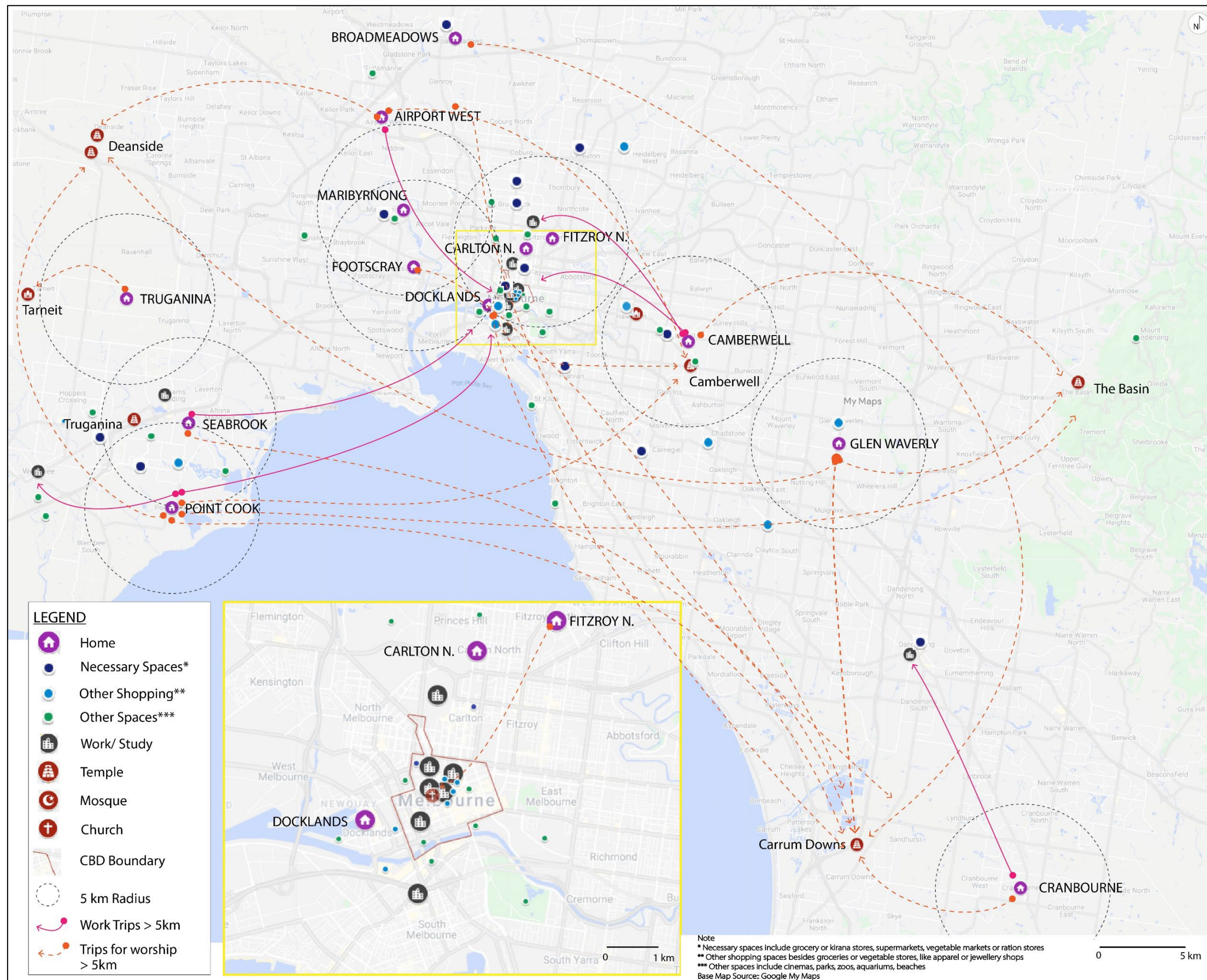


Figure 5. 4: Everyday Spaces, Melbourne

5.2.3 Present (Everyday Movements)

The *present* in the notational diagrams (see Figure 5.3) is subdivided into three sections: weekly, monthly and yearly recurring time-space routines. Figure 5.4 shows the residential suburbs of the participants interviewed and the location of different everyday spaces identified by them. The following sections describe these activities and the spaces associated with them.

A. Frequently Recurring Trips

In Melbourne, similar to the Hyderabad case, trips to work, university, kindergartens or schools, and purchasing everyday necessities at the supermarkets and grocery stores (including halal butchers) frequently recurred in the time-paths (see Figure 5.3 and Figure 5.4). Participants with young children also frequented parks and activity centres like swimming or tennis on a weekly basis (for example, see Sejal, Bhanu, Sita and Keerti's time-paths in Figure 5.3). Similar to the Hyderabad case, grocery trips and market trips were typically completed within a five-km radius and preferably in short walking distances or within short public transportation rides (less than 15 minutes) from the participant's home. Figure 5.5 shows an example of Bhanu's Everyday Spaces map.



Figure 5. 5: Bhanu's Everyday Spaces, Melbourne

Some women like Keerti preferred to shop near their workspace as it was more convenient. In most cases, the participants accessed a one-stop destination for their weekly shopping needs, like the shopping centres, where they could collapse their multiple purchasing trips into one. The daily commuting routes of the women interviewed were dependent on several factors such as access and availability to different public transport options in the participant's suburb, ability

to drive and access to a private vehicle among other factors (discussed later in Section 6.3, Chapter 6).

Home: Private, Social and Communal and Workspace

Home is the starting point for all the time-paths in Figure 5.3. In the case of Melbourne too, a home was identified as an important social, communal space, in addition to functioning as a private space. In the case of one participant, the home was also a workspace. “Catching up in each other's houses” for “pot-lucks” or “one-dish parties” were mentioned by at least 12 participants during the interviews. These social get-togethers appeared to be particularly important for families with young children. Private homes offered a safe and comfortable environment for the participant's children to play and mingle without constant adult supervision. Home was a place where the families could socialise until late hours, which was an important consideration in their suburbs where there were fewer places for families to get together at late hours. Some of these get-togethers were coordinated to celebrate festivals and cultural practices to stay in touch with the Indian roots, as Nirmala explained:

“...all our Indian friends, not only Tamil [community], ...everybody is there, Hindi, Gujarati, Telugu [communities], all the people in my community...so we will plan, every month, one month [...] like your pot-luck thing, so we celebrate our days [respective festivals].”

In some cases, a home was transformed to accommodate small religious or cultural congregations open to friends, acquaintances and sometimes even strangers. For example, Sejal started a Facebook group for Indians in the Point Cook suburb. This online forum was not only important to bring the community members together, but it also helped her establish a *Bhajan* or prayer group, especially for the parents and in-laws (of the primary migrants) or the aged population within the Indian (Hindu) community:

Sejal: “....so through that [Facebook] group, we actually found a lot of Indians, and people started coming in, and it almost felt like, after some time, like we are in India like, you know, there were so many people around, and we didn't know that people were living so close by! And then we started doing *bhajans* in that, this group....elderly group. It's been five years, and we are still doing it! (laughs)”

During the prayer meets, Sejal's home would transform into a community space once every week, thereby allowing access to outsiders. Sejal explained that this group also helped the elderly establish their independent social networks and gain some degree of comfort in a new country, especially as they were mostly retired and were dependent on their children. Similarly, Sonam used her home occasionally to get together with her friends to practice Buddhism.

Work and Study

For students, the residential suburb was typically identified within walking distance or a short commute by public transportation, from their respective Universities (See Venessa and Charu's time-path in Figure 5.3). As Charu explains:

“So, my roommate, she is in Chemisty [department] ... she has this laboratory thing so; she works late nights. And I also prefer to work late nights. So, [home] should be accessible. So, within walking distance, was the first criteria.”

For some of the newer migrants, like Veera, the location of work dictated the choice of the residential suburb and other everyday necessities:

“for me, it's like I want to commute to work within an hour or so or with one single transport with less, fewer changes or something, So I was actually ...searching across those lanes [tram lines], like 58 tram or 59 tram or 57 tram [line].”

Mira, who was single at the time of the interviews, also preferred to keep her commute between home, work and other necessities to a minimum and reduce her trips to short commute on public transportation.

Mothers with young children often chose to live in outer suburbs primarily for better schools and after school activities for their children, even if it meant a longer commute for work (See Sonam, Sejal, Soumya and Bhanu's time-paths in Figure 5.3).

Activity Spaces for Participant's Children

Women with young children, often incorporated the needs of their children within their daily movements (discussed in detail in Section 6.1, Chapter 6), as explained by Sejal:

“ ... on regular basis on weekends, number one is my kids and their classes, so...my daughter has swimming class [...] and then I go to Sanctuary Lakes [shopping centre] to do all my grocery shopping...andyeah...usually do those two things, and then my son has tennis, so I take him to tennis class [...]....most of my time goes for them and then doing household chores, you know, washing, cleaning, there is no end to it! (laughs)”

In Australia, eligibility to attend a government school is typically determined based on the place of permanent residence and the designated school zone. Therefore some participant's residential location was determined by their preference for a specific school for their children. For example, Bhanu decided to live in the Point Cook suburb to enrol her daughter in the same school as her cousin's (an older migrant to Melbourne) children (See Bhanu's Everyday Spaces in Figure 5.5). Therefore, kindergartens and daycares were often located close to home, preferably within short driving or walking distances. In one case, Soumya also enrolled her daughter at a daycare close to her work in CBD.

Three of the participants identified proximity to Tamil (regional) schools as important. These are weekend schools, where the participants' children can learn their native language and art forms (dance, music) and help them stay connected with their Indian roots, in this case, the Tamil community. Some other weekly activities and spaces mentioned by the participants include swimming lessons at local aquatic centres and tennis lessons or other sports at local sports centres, dance lessons, and libraries. Some participants also stated that parks and some

other spaces like Zoos only featured in their daily life after they had children, as explained in the case of Diya:

“I think I've never been to as many parks, and lakes and the zoos, that I have in the last eight [years], A [participant's daughter] is eight and a half. So I've never been to the Aquarium or the Melbourne Zoo till I had a child.”

The activities of the children appeared to be an integral part of the women's weekly time-space routines.

Supermarkets and Indian Groceries



Figure 5. 6: Queen Victoria Market, Melbourne

Various supermarkets, shopping centres, other grocery stores like halal butchers or Indian grocers and local markets (see, for example, Queen Victoria Market in Figure 5.6) were accessed by the migrant women typically within a five-km radius from home or sometimes close to work. As explained earlier, the participants, especially married women with children, preferred to combine multiple trips to access a one-stop destination like a shopping centre due to their time constraints., as Sejal explains:

“.... so we have this Sanctuary Lake Shopping Centre, and we are so blessed that, in one shopping centre we have got everything...so we've got the ALDI, Coles [supermarkets], we've got the veggie shops, we've got Indian stores, we've got Kmart, so one place stop for us, so....it's my day to day life there! (laughs) and it's so close by because now I'm driving, it's a six min - seven min drive from my home, I can go anytime. so, it's much easier, much much easier and I love that place, in fact, Sanctuary Lakes is my most favourite and most often visited shopping centre! (laughs)”

The location of these different spaces varied based on the preference of the participant.

B. Moderately Recurring Trips

In both the case studies, temples or other religious places appeared at varying frequencies depending on the participants' interests, commuting distances from home and availability of different modes of transport, among other major factors. Compared to the Hyderabad case, affordability was not stated as a major concern for mobility.

In addition to meeting at home, the migrant women often socialised at cafés, restaurants or met for barbeques at local parks. Malls, beaches, waterfront areas, cinemas were some of the other places that appeared in the time-paths at moderate frequency.

Unlike in the Hyderabad case, most migrant women in Melbourne had access to a car and could drive, and as most of the participants were in the higher income bracket, they were more likely

to travel for leisure. Several local and regional trips in and around Melbourne also featured on their time-paths, and these trips were often completed with close friends and family.

Places of worship

With the exception of Venessa and Mary, who attended church every week, the trips to places of worship were moderately recurring for other participants. Zainab chose to live close to a mosque, and she identified it as her “pillar of support” and as an important community centre where she regularly interacts with other people.

Like in the case of Hyderabad, the Hindu participants accessed different temples as part of their religious beliefs. As stated earlier, the frequency of the trip varied based on different factors for each individual. For example, Swapna, a newer migrant to Melbourne, said that ease of access and commuting time was a factor that influenced the frequency of her temple trips:

“we [participant and her spouse] go to the Sai Baba temple in Camberwell very regularly, because, if we board the [tram number] 70...75 here [in Docklands], we'll directly go there...[...] The Shiva Vishnu Temple in Carrum Downs, we went there twice. To get there we need to get on and off a train, then catch a bus..and then walk a bit, that's like, once we went in a car and another time we went in transport, in bus and train, yeah... we went there twice, but we go frequently to the Sai Baba temple.”

Figure 5.4 locates some of the places of worship, and Figure 5. 7 a,b are images of some of the prominent temples accessed by the Hindu women in the metropolitan region.



Figure 5. 7: Hindu Temples in Melbourne (left to right) a. Shri Shiva Vishnu Temple, Carrum Downs b. Vinayagar Temple, Basin

Parks

Parks appeared on the time-paths of the migrant women based on their purpose of access. As stated earlier, mothers often referred to parks as a play area for their children.

In the western suburbs, several cultural and religious festivals for the Indian community were also regularly organised in local parks. These cultural fairs or fests would include food stalls, small retail activities, clubbed with performances and other cultural events to engage the community. Some of the events organised at the pop-up park in Point Cook Town Centre is one such example (See Figure 5.8 a,b).

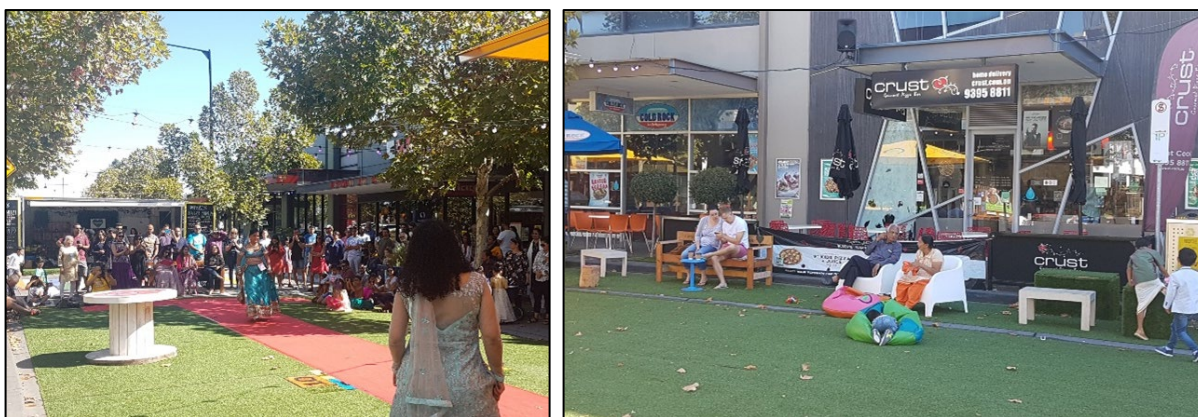


Figure 5. 8: Point Cook Pop-up Park 2019 (left to right) a. Fashion show organised by the Indian community b. Pop-up park

Parks were also identified as a favourite dating spot by both single and married women alike. Some participants felt that the Australian culture allowed them to freely express themselves especially in public places, without conforming to any societal expectations or pressures (discussed further in Section 6.3, Chapter 6).

Sejal: “I love Collingwood Gardens! I really like it! ..last year, I remember me and my husband used to meet there at lunchtime sometimes... I really like that place! Quite a romantic place! (laughs) Because me and my husband never dated, you know, (and) after one-and-a-half years (of marriage), I had a baby, and that’s it ... my life changed! ... And I never had a chance to you know, have those romantic moments with my husband. So, I am now spending it after 16 years of my marriage! (laughs)... which is pretty funny.”

For Sejal and Mira, parks were also a place for enjoying “personal time” during lunch hours near work or a “reflection space” close to home.

Libraries

Like parks, libraries were also considered a versatile space. Mothers often took their young children when there were activities (like storytelling) organised for them. Some of the participants felt that it allowed them to meet other mothers from different cultures (not necessarily Indian) who were experiencing a similar situation. Language and cultural barriers did not matter in these encounters.

For Swapna, as a new migrant to Melbourne, libraries helped her cope with loneliness and boredom when her spouse was away at work. Another participant, Nirmala, a recent graduate, identified university libraries as safe and comfortable space that she accessed at any time of the day throughout her program.

Shopping Areas

In Melbourne too, the choice of shopping centres (other than groceries and vegetables) varied based on the participant’s preference and mode of commute. Shopping malls close to home were preferred and accessed more frequently in comparison to malls located in other suburbs, which required additional time for commuting, especially if the participant did not drive. Also, unlike Hyderabad, and as stated earlier, the migrant women preferred a one-stop destination for their needs. Therefore, a shopping centre was likely to appear multiple times on the same

time-path of the migrant women if it was accessed for different purposes at varying frequencies (as shown in Figure 5.3).

Casino

The Crown casino²³ and the promenade were mentioned as favourite places by at least four migrant women interviewed because of the wide range of nightlife activities offered for different age groups. A few of the participants felt that, unlike in India, there are not many places in Melbourne that one can go to after five in the evening, and the suburban life is dull after those hours. Sita shared some of her experiences at the Crown plaza:

“our parents, like my husband’s parents [when] they come, we leave the kids home, and we go to Crown, and we play inside the crown, and we come back. And we take his parents sometimes if it's in the evenings, there it is nice, you know the water and all that, we just sit there for some time, we have some ice cream or something, so it's of a fun, family fun day!”

Diya mentioned that about 20 years ago, Crown offered a safe haven when she worked late hours and often missed the last train back home. She would spend the night at Crown and take the first train in the morning, without having to worry about her safety:

“In the past, apart from home, uni and work, wherever I've worked, Crown used to be a big part of my life. Because it was open for 24 hours, and there aren't many places here that are open for 24 hours. In trying to skimp on things, four dollars for a NightRider²⁴ and waiting for the morning first train in the morning, I used to spend a lot of time in Crown. Just waiting the night. Coz it was bright, it was busy, and if I wanted something to eat, I could get it.”

C. Occasional Trips: Visiting home, Vacations and other trips

Vacations and short trips were some of the occasional trips stated by the participants. Some of the destinations within regional Victoria identified by the participants are shown in Figure 5.9. In Melbourne, while the migrant women stated to visit their home in India, the frequency of the trips was not explicitly stated during the interviews.

Other occasional trips included trips to movies. Sunshine suburb (See Figure 5.4) appeared to be a popular destination for many participants, as Indian regional language films were often screened in their local theatres.

Some other places appeared on the time-path if it had significant importance in the migrant woman’s life-stage. For example, Zainab was pregnant at the time of the interviews, and because of her high-risk condition, hospital trips were a part of her routine for several months for a certain period in her life. Similarly, Sara stated that trips to hospitals and the general physician consumed most of her time during her pregnancies in Melbourne.

²³ Crown Melbourne is a casino and entertainment complex located on the banks of river Yarra in the heart of the CBD area.

²⁴ The NightRider was a network of bus services in Melbourne which operated on weekends and for special events from the Melbourne city centre to the outer suburbs. The NightRider operations ceased in 2015.

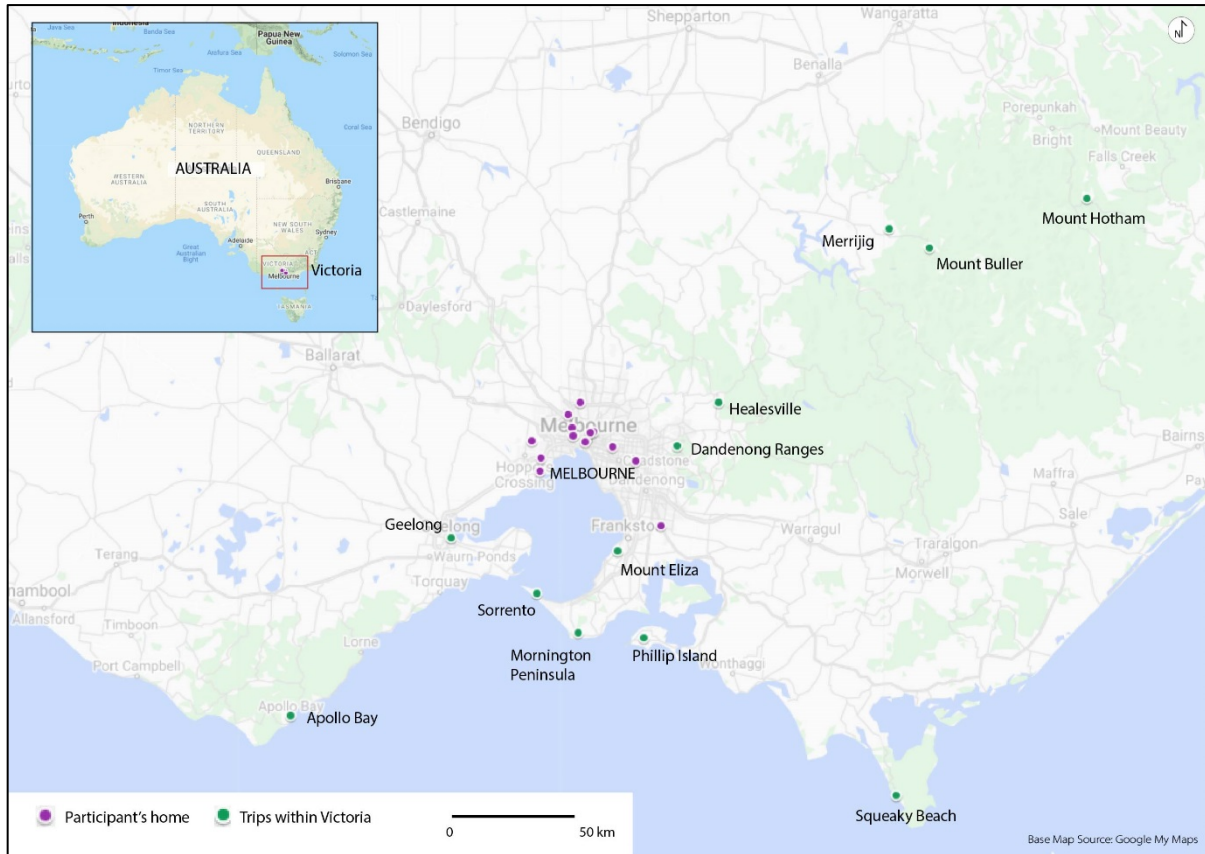


Figure 5. 9: Regional trips within Victoria

D. Online platforms

Virtual spaces that were not represented on the time-path appeared to be an integral part of their lives of the migrant women in Melbourne. Facebook group groups like Indians in Melbourne, Melbourne Telugu Association, Telugu Association of Australia, Melbourne Telangana Forum, Point Cook Indian Community, Wyndham Indian community, Meet-up groups for Indian Women in Melbourne, New to Melbourne, Point Cook Residents, and other online social platforms served as virtual public spaces and were mentioned by different participants. Some of these groups provided opportunities to seek and offer help to other community members in all aspects. For example, four participants for this research were also recruited through these platforms. For new migrants, these platforms also provided an opportunity to immerse in the local culture and meet people from different diversities and learn about the city. For Vanita, a Facebook group for her suburb gave her a sense of security. She felt that she can expect a “random person” to respond to an online post rather than wait for help from her immediate neighbour if she was ever in trouble. Online platforms appeared to translate into real relations with people across all diversities in the physical world and form a sense of community.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the participants' profile, their migration trajectories and initial experiences of moving to Melbourne. Similar to Chapter 4, the time-path diagrams have aided in presenting a visual overview of the different spaces accessed by the participants based on

their frequency of recurrence. In both case studies, home emerged as an important place where multiple activities, including work and communal activities, were undertaken. In Melbourne too, the migrant women socialised in various spaces with different people, where the nature of the setting was not constant. The preference for temples, shopping areas and other activities varied based on different factors discussed further in subsequent chapters (Section 6.3, Chapter 6). In the case of Melbourne too, several spaces that appeared on the time-path of the participants were strongly linked to the activities of their children. Similar to the case of Hyderabad, commute time was kept to a minimum for most frequently completed trips. Further, multiple trips were combined by accessing shopping centres with a variety of stores. Time and space for relaxation and leisure activities varied between the participants.

The notational diagrams have also revealed possible linkages between the identity of the migrant women, their migration trajectories and their local everyday movements, which are explored further in the subsequent chapters (Chapter 7 and 8).

The next chapter examines the everyday spaces identified in both case study chapters in greater detail.

CHAPTER 6. Analysing Everyday Spaces and Spatial Practices

Introduction

In the previous case study chapters (Chapter 4 and Chapter 5), different spaces were identified on the time-paths based on the routine activities stated by the migrant women. In this chapter, I address one of the main research questions by examining the importance of these spaces in the participants' daily life based on the activities and the meanings attributed to them. The relationship shared with the physical environment of a place is also explored.

In this chapter, I use Seamon's (1980) work as a framework (as explained in Section 2.3.2, Chapter 2) to first analyse the time-space routines (as identified in the notational diagrams in Figure 4.3, Chapter 4 and Figure 5.3 in Chapter 5) that form a "stabilising" part of the women's daily routines and are important in their everyday lives. Following Seamon, I use the word "stabilise" to emphasise establishing routines through repetition. As Seamon (1980) explains, repetition of routines helps maintain continuity in an individual's life and allows them to undertake some tasks with minimum decision and planning. In section 6.1, I have analysed some of the main time-space routines observed for the migrant women across both case studies. For this research, I have overlooked the specific bodily movements that form a part of body-ballets or time-space routines.

Secondly, Seamon (1980, p.159) emphasises the necessary precondition of *a supportive physical environment* for place-ballets and time-space routines to come together in a place. In section 6.2, I analyse the nature of the physical setting. Here, I use Tuan's (1979) conceptualisation of *place* to analyse *stations* of Hägerstrand's notational diagrams. As explained in the literature review chapter (Section 2.2, Chapter 2), *places* are given an identity and meaning based on the experiences and aspirations of the people using them. These places can be broadly categorised as either *public symbols* (which have high imageability and command awe and attention) or *fields of care* (places with which individuals form an affective bond). As discussed in the literature review chapter (Section 2.2, Chapter 2), this thesis explores the affective dimensions attributed to different spaces. Therefore, while some places can be conceptualised as both *public symbols* and *fields of care*, I explore the latter. Section 6.2 examines the place-ballets that occur in different fields of care, as identified by the migrant women. As explained in the literature review chapter, the fields of care need not fit within any identifiable visual criteria; therefore, the scale and the nature of the physical setting is left open for exploration.

Finally, some of the spatial practices or body-ballets from the past are likely to change to be "re-stabilised" in the new context given the change in the environment (social, cultural, physical, among others) through the migration process. Based on the narratives, Section 6.3 explores the various factors that have either de-stabilised or reinforced the movements of the body-ballets and the time-space routines of the women due to their migration process.

6.1 Recurring Time-Space Routines

From the notational diagrams (as discussed in the case study chapters Section 4.2, Chapter 4 and Section 5.2, Chapter 5), **core activities** (related to work, study, purchasing necessities, caregiving or religious trips) and **restorative practices** (understood as activities for social interactions, leisure and travel) emerged as significant. Core activities constituted a major portion of the time-space routines and were often completed in a habitual fashion, although not necessarily with ease (discussed further in Section 6.3). For some of the migrant women interviewed, these core activities were integrated with their caregiving responsibilities. Restorative practices appeared on the time-paths at varying frequencies, and the specific physical setting differed as per the participants' needs and preferences. The following sections discuss these two sets of routine practices of the migrant women.

6.1.1 Routinised Core Activities

A. Work and Study

More than half of the women interviewed in Melbourne had migrated independently to pursue higher education or seek job opportunities. In Hyderabad, seven of the women migrated to pursue a better life and job opportunities. Based on this intent for migration, some of the most frequent time-space routines were purposeful trips to work or study. In some cases, however, a home also served as the location of work. In Melbourne, for women who occasionally worked from home, both home and office served as workplaces. While the latter required some distance to be covered using different modes of transport, the former required no movement.

Both places of work and education are constrained temporally and spatially. For example, the location and duration of work are dictated by the participant's employment contract. The work location remains unchanged until the time the employer decides to move to a new location or the participant changes her job. Place of education terminates from the time-path after the migrant woman graduates from her program. Further, the courses of the program could be pursued in multiple locations, depending on where the classes are conducted. If the classes were offered online, the course could be accessed from any location. In the case of international migrants to Melbourne, terms of work and education were also constrained by immigration and visa laws (discussed further in Section 7.2, Chapter 7).

Based on the varying conditions over time, the specifics of these time-space routines could be modified in the life course of the migrant women (discussed further in Chapter 8).

B. Everyday Essentials

Places like grocery stores, supermarkets, or vegetable markets are necessary for any individual and occupied a significant portion of the time-paths of the migrant women. However, in Hyderabad and Melbourne, as most married women were the primary caregivers for their families, these routines were combined with other everyday activities. They were rarely conducted as an isolated, separate event.

As Law (1999) notes, for women, non-work related trips are sometimes more important than work-related trips, and the trip itself could be a part of an event. For example, in the case of Hyderabad, the women coordinated their schedules with their friends to combine weekly market trips with social interactions by eating out or simply “hang out” together during that

time. Trips to the ration stores²⁵ were also combined with social visits, especially if the women had to commute long distances to other suburbs where their ration cards were registered (discussed in detail in Section 7.2.1, Chapter 7). A similar observation was made in the Gender and Space project in Mumbai (Ranade 2007; Phadke *et al.* 2011), where the women arrived early to pick up their children from schools to socialise with other mothers (Ranade 2007). The women appeared to claim public spaces freely when they could establish a legitimate purpose (Ranade 2007; Phadke *et al.* 2011). This phenomenon was evident in the Hyderabad case too, where a sense of legitimacy was demonstrated by combining different activities related to home and everyday responsibilities.

In Melbourne, working women planned their grocery trips around their children's weekend activities (like swimming or tennis lessons) to minimise commute between multiple destinations. Most migrant women interviewed preferred a one-stop shopping destination where various activities could be completed at once.

For example, Sonam, a full-time employee working in the CBD and an entrepreneur running three salons in the western suburbs, combined activities related to home, family, and work in various ways during the week (See Sonam's Everyday Spaces in Figure 8.8, Chapter 8):

“Thursdays, Fridays are the days that, [...] I might go and do my groceries then, or over the weekends.[...] and then obviously, some days because we have the salons, we go and manage those ones as well, [...], and because for all three of them are in shopping centres, it depends wherever I am, I'll end up doing my grocery shopping from there... (laughs). Today I am here, might as well just finish it from here and then head back home!”

As explained in the case of Sonam, while routine activities like purchasing groceries had a placeholder in the time-path of the migrant women, the specifics of the actual activity varied based on different circumstances.

C. Caregiving Activities

According to Davies (2003), time and space for women's spatial activities, unlike for men, largely emerge out of the relational needs and demands of others in their life- either child, parent, spouse, among others. Further, she adds that due to the scarcity of time emerging from women's multiple responsibilities, they seldom have time for a *pause*. As explained in the Literature Review (Section 2.3.1, Chapter 2), *pauses* are moments when the usual routine flow of activities are halted at work or home for relaxation, re-energising, and self-reflection (Davies 2003).

In both Melbourne and Hyderabad, the rationality of care appeared to be an integral part of the migrant women's lives. However, it was also observed that these responsibilities were not always volunteered; they could be a part of the imposed gender role expectations (discussed later in Section 6.3.2 of this chapter).

In Hyderabad, women with young children made daily trips to schools to either drop off or pick up their children or deliver lunch boxes during lunch hours. In Melbourne, aquatic centres, parks, Tamil Schools (Indian regional language school) were all a part of regular weekend activities linked to the participants' children. Daycares or kindergartens were another important

²⁵ Eligible households (typically low income) access subsidised food grains from Ration store of the Public Distribution System using a Ration Card issued by the state government of India.

station. Mothers often coordinated their work trips with other responsibilities like childcare and household tasks, as explained in the examples below:

Sita: “..every week we come here, in the shopping centre, there is a play area inside the shopping centre, near ALDI [grocery store], so I sit there, I do my groceries a little bit, and then she [daughter] plays for one-two hours, and then we go and pick her sister up from the school, so that’s kind of a Tuesday routine for me. [...]because I work from Friday to Monday and I am off on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday. So, so that we don’t have to pay too much childcare.”

Keerti: “Now my son started his primary school [...], So it's like, right in front of my home, about five minutes walk is the school, so I drop him, and in the next four minutes I take the train [to work] [...] from the Dandenong Train Station my office is 10 mins walking distance [...] then the market is right there, so if I get the time, I go to the market [...] even the Indian store is nearby [to work] so I go to the Indian stores for the groceries.”

Sita and Keerti adjust their weekly schedules to incorporate their work routine with childcare responsibilities and chores like grocery shopping. Sita also stated that she could not take up full-time work as childcare was expensive and, therefore, worked for a limited number of hours per week and on weekends.

Life stage changes also have an impact on the importance of these different spaces in the lives of the women and the duration for which they were accessed. Two migrant women interviewed in Melbourne stated that parks only featured in their lives after they had their children, and as the needs of their children change, they might seek other places, as Diya explained:

“I think the park would be very versatile. In fact, they are a phase of life...and I think that will change...because A [daughter] is eight and in another two-three years, she is going to be over it, but N [daughter] is still four and a half, maybe I'd give it another four-five years of park time before we change to something else.”

In both case studies, women have pursued other interests or hobbies as their children got older and had more free time. For example, Rani and Manjula started a home-based business in Hyderabad, and Diya went back to school to pursue a degree at a university in Melbourne.

Time for self was limited, especially for women who were busy caring for family (young children, in-laws or parents) or were double burdened with home and work responsibilities. When Gayatri (who runs a mini grocery with her spouse) was asked if she had the time for leisure activities, she stated:

“Very rarely do I get the time. If I get two hours, or one hour [in between chores and work], I nap for some time. And in the evening, I go to bed at 11 pm or 12 pm. I must get up early and get things ready for my children. So when can I really go out? And when the children have their holidays, we go to Rajasthan [home state]...we stay for about 15 days and then come back...so there is no time!”

Gayatri’s only *pause* in the day was a short nap if her schedule permitted it.

D. Religious Practices

If religion was vital for the migrant women, praying at home was as important as completing routine trips to places of worship. For example, Zainab in Melbourne and Monica in Hyderabad

chose to live close to a mosque and a church, respectively. For others, while these trips were part of their routine activity, the frequency of recurrence varied based on different factors like commuting time, distance from home, among other factors (discussed later in Section 6.3). In both case studies, trips to places of worship were often coordinated between friends and family who shared similar beliefs.

6.1.2 Restorative Practices

The participants interviewed in Hyderabad and Melbourne were asked to identify different activities or places that they would go to in their free time for fun or leisure. They were also asked to elaborate on how (and with whom) they engaged in these activities. Based on the narratives, different *restorative experiences* were identified as important in the lives of the migrant women interviewed. Drawing from Scopelliti and Giuliani (2004) empirical work in Italy, these restorative experiences are understood as a “complex place experience, in which cognitive, affective, social and behavioural components” play out in different physical settings (i.e. built or natural environment) (p.426). Scopelliti and Giuliani’s (2004) findings indicated that restorative experiences differ for individuals based on their life stage and on time available to pursue different activities. Further, they identified *social interactions* and *relaxation* as some of the important affective dimensions of restorative practices.

Similar to the observations made by Scopelliti and Giuliani (2004), in both Hyderabad and Melbourne case studies, **social interactions** with friends and family were identified as an important and enjoyable free time activity. A variety of places that could support both casual encounters as well as meaningful interactions with different individuals and groups (both within the community and beyond) appeared in the time-paths of the migrant women. These observations were parallel to a study of a multi-ethnic community in an East London borough of Newham, where the participants identified a variety of spaces to meet their everyday needs. These included “spaces to linger as well as spaces to transit; spaces which bring people together and spaces for escape” (Cattell *et al.* 2008, p.556).

Everyday social interactions were typically in the form of a *pause*, which (as explained in the previous sections) were often integrated with the core activities of the time-space routine. In the case of Hyderabad, home or its immediate vicinity emerged as one of the most favourable places for such *pauses*. As explained in Chapter 4, most women interacted with their neighbours at their doorstep when they could take a short break from their chores; as Monica explained:

“... we don’t need to really go out somewhere [to meet with others], we can pass some time at the doorstep itself. Even if we are busy with work, we step out and sit outside, and rest for a bit [...] everyone gets back to their [respective work] after that.” (laughs)

Similarly, corridor spaces in a multi-tenant apartment (as shown in Figure 4.7 b,c, Chapter 4) also transformed into places for casual conversations, when daily chores like washing clothes or cooking prep-work activities were coordinated between the neighbours.

At least two women in Hyderabad have said that they coordinated their daily trips to schools with other mothers to drop off or pick up their children. The short walk to the local school was also utilised as a socialising time, while the women completed a core activity (caregiving) for the day. Similarly, in both cases, trips to local temples were also coordinated between close friends or family and served both religious and social interests.

Women in Melbourne also often incorporated social interactions with their other core activities. For example, while trips to parks and libraries could be linked to the participants' children, it was also an opportunity to meet other mothers in the community. Similarly, shopping centres or markets were preferred for social meetups so that the women could shop and catch up at café's or restaurants.

Home was an important place to socialise, in the Melbourne case as well. Women working or studying during the weekdays regularly organised "one-dish parties" or "potlucks" between close friends at home during weekends, as Sonam explained:

"...everyone is within five minutes of each other...literally...like you know you can be there in two mins in cars...usually...we catch up at each other's home, during the weekends [...] or ...we are catching up in restaurants, hotels or...maybe once...in two or three months, we come out and head out into the *city* [CBD]. Otherwise, we just like to sit there!"

Places of work also created opportunities to socialise within smaller groups, during lunch hours or after work, as explained in the case of Veera:

"...We have a girl's club, it's not actually a girl's club like I grab all the girls [from work] and say, let's go to a movie and go for movie nights. And we have like three or four girls, Telugu girls, we actually started [getting together] recently, we are quite social, we are thinking of another girl's night and maybe a movie. Sometimes it's not even about going out, just gathering at one place and watching a movie in a closed backyard or something."

As Veera explains, for most of the women interviewed, the specifics of the place did not matter, as long they could create opportunities to meet others and possibly incorporate it within their other routine activities. Mira's statement below also echoed Veera's view:

"...for me, it's not the place that matters. It is the fact that I catch up with them matters. So, the places keep changing"

Some of the other typical places where the migrant women got together with their friends or families were public places like café's, malls, parks, movie theatres, squares, market places, beaches, botanical gardens, and shopping areas. In Hyderabad, places of worship were also identified as a space to socialise.

Occasional trips to visit friends and family in the city was also evident in both cases. As Leela explained that once or twice a year, she gets together with her high school friends who live in Hyderabad, and irrespective of the occasion and the event's location, she would always make time to meet them:

"My friends from inter [Board of Intermediate Education or Grade 11 and 12] ...we still meet up regularly. We meet at least once a year, and we usually meet at one of our friend's home...[or] if there is a function [celebration/ event in the family] we go. Even there is a function at my home, everyone comes [over]. We all get together. I don't even have to [formally] invite them."

Another form of restorative practice stated by the participants was **travel** (typically outside the city limits) **for leisure or relaxation**. As explained in the case study chapters, short trips or vacations were sometimes coordinated between friends and family and appeared at varying frequencies in the time-paths. These trips could occasionally include temple visits, especially in the case of Hyderabad, as explained in the case of Manjula:

“... yea... when I get some time, either with people in the [apartment] building or with my friends, we would decide together and go to some temple. Recently we went to Yadagirigutta [a temple in the outskirts of Hyderabad]. All the ladies, together with our children, we went to Yadagirigutta, that’s it!”

The specifics of the location and the trip duration were subjective and greatly varied between the participants. Additionally, **annual trips home** were also considered an essential rejuvenating experience.

The nature of the physical setting for social interactions greatly varied between the participants. The everyday meetups (either casual or purposeful) were incorporated in multiple ways within the time-space routines of the migrant women, in places that could offer flexibility to serve multiple functions and suit their time constraints. In comparison, leisure trips were planned and organised in advance, and the nature of the setting varied based on the participants’ preference. Similar to Scopelliti and Giuliani’s (2004) framework, in both the case studies, time-budget constraints and the life stage of the migrant women influenced the preference for certain restorative practices (discussed later in Section 6.3.3 and 6.3.7).

6.2 Analysing *Stations*

As explained in the previous chapters (Chapter 4 and 5), fixed points (home, workplace, shopping centres, places of worship, etc.) on the notational diagrams are *stations* or domains (Pred 1977; King *et al.* 2006). Based on the routine activities identified in Section 6.1, this section examines the physical setting, which provides a conducive environment for different place-ballets and time-space routines of individuals to occur. Broadly, this section discusses five types of spaces identified through this research.

First, a *home*, which is the starting and terminating point for all activities in the time-path diagram, was used as a flexible space to accommodate multiple functions. It offered ontological security through the routine body-ballets and granted some degree of a continuance of past practices. Secondly, *streets* functioned as fields of care when used for informal interactions or collective activity. Thirdly, multiple *new nodes* were created and used by the participants as micro-public sites for everyday interactions and formed a field of care linked to their economic wellbeing. Fourth are the public symbols like temples and other *religious places*, which served as anchorage points within the community. Finally, *virtual spaces* also served as an aide to forming an affective bond with the physical spaces in the migrant women’s lives.

6.2.1 Home

Building on the work of Saunders and Giddens, Dupuis and Thorns (1998, p.24) describe a home as a space free from surveillance, where routine activities are undertaken. Home is also a space where an individual can control freely and experience *comfort* and be at ease, especially when the external world is understood as uncontrollable and sometimes threatening. A home grants a sense of permanence and continuity in an individual’s material and social environment. It is a space that offers “ontological security”, which is defined as “a security of being” or an emotional state of being in the world (Dupuis and Thorns 1998, p.27). From their empirical work on older homeowners in New Zealand, Dupuis and Thorns (1998) explain that

homeownership can also contribute to ontological security in the everyday life of an individual. However, the meaning of home and homeownership can vary contextually.

According to Lewis *et al.* (2015), this conceptualisation of *ontological security* has overlooked the experiences of women. Women are likely to be at a greater risk of violence, abuse and control in their own homes than in the public sphere. However, the authors also add that if ontological security is understood as *a sense of comfort*, it can be applicable in some instances. “Comfort is the ‘fit’ we experience in relation to the spaces we inhabit and the practices we perform” (Noble 2005, p.114) and “such a sense of security is fundamental to the fashioning of identity, relationship and belonging” (Noble 2005, p. 113). From this perspective, ontological security may be threatened and prevent women from participating in their everyday lives if there is a struggle for recognition of their identities within constant forces of othering in the external environment.

From the cases examined, a home emerged as a flexible space (where the boundaries of public and private spaces were continually modified as desired) and granted a sense of ontological security irrespective of the actual ownership. As explained in Chapter 4, in Hyderabad, Manjula and Rani, operated their home-based tailoring business to balance work with their primary responsibility of caregiving and domestic chores. Ganga and Shanti used their kitchen at home to run their respective *tiffin* centres²⁶ or food carts. Except for Ganga and Rani, who were homeowners, the remainder lived in leased properties. While Ganga and Rani expressed a sense of pride, security and comfort as homeowners, the remainder also appeared to modify their homes and use them according to their varying needs. A home offered an environment that could be adapted to suit multiple time-space routines of the migrant women.

For most of the women interviewed in both cases, a home was also a space for social interactions. The immediate vicinity of the home sometimes transformed into a micro-public space for small groups of women to meet regularly. For example, Monica built a ledge in front of her home as a place to catch-up place with her neighbours (See Figure 4.7 a, Chapter 4). Migrant women in Melbourne felt comfortable meeting with other families at home where their children could play with less supervision while the adults socialised. Further, they could interact for longer hours without worrying about hours of operation like in a restaurant or a café.

A home was also recognised as a place where cultural, religious and social practices could be practised freely, especially if cultural differences were experienced in their immediate surroundings. Cultural and religious groups were also formed, and group meets were organised periodically at home, especially as explained in Sejal and Sonam's case in Melbourne.

Through the process of searching for a plot and building a home, homeownership also appeared to offer ontological security to some of the participants. The emotional connection built through making a house a home, had a profound meaning to the participants in Hyderabad and Melbourne. It also gave the migrant women a feeling of permanence and continuity. While in both cases, ontological security was built through multiple (and continued) repetitive practices at home, the meaning of home and the importance of homeownership varied between the participants.

²⁶ Tiffin is an Indian English word for breakfast and most commonly used in South India. The tiffin centres could be set up in formal or informal setting like a street food stand as well.

6.2.2 Streets

Established paths and routes, which are a part of a routinised activity, form a “habit field” which often require minimal decision making to navigate (Tuan 1979, p.418). Although these fields of care aid in developing an affective bond with a place, they cannot be immediately visualised (Tuan 1979). For example, two women in Hyderabad stated that they often coordinated and got together with other women from the Odiya community every evening to make a trip to school to pick up their children or deliver lunchboxes.

Similarly, the Wednesday market in Gagillapur was a place where several time-space routines of different migrant women came together while they purchased their vegetables and knick-knacks and interacted with others. This market transformed the street into a field of care through the weekly routine practice of interacting with the sellers and purchasing necessities while catching up with their friends. Almost all the participants interviewed described the market as an important Wednesday event which they looked forward to.

In both these cases, an everyday route with no extraordinary or distinguishable physical characteristics was attributed a value through the collective routine practices of the migrant women.

6.2.3 New Nodes

In Hyderabad, Ganga and Geeta, who set up a *tiffin* centre and a fruit cart, respectively, created nodes or micro-public sites in Gagillapur where local people would often come together, thereby creating a place-ballet. For example, Ganga stated that her *tiffin* centre mainly attracted several officegoers, typically men and a few women who worked the night shift at nearby call centres or offices. Ganga added that some of the fathers also arrived on their motorbikes with their young children to pick up breakfast in the morning hours while the mothers were busy in their household. Given her *tiffin* centre's informal design, it enabled men on motorbikes to make a quick stop and order their meals (See Figure 6.1).



Figure 6. 1: The informality of Ganga's tiffin centre allows a drive-by pick up service

Similar to Ganga, Geeta's fruit cart was located at the intersection of one of the main roads of Gagillapur and an accessway from the city connecting to Gagillapur (see Figure 6.2 b). She located herself, next to a bus stop, to increase her footfalls (see Figure 6.2 a). Geeta stated that the casual encounters with her customers helped her make friends in the neighbourhood:



Figure 6. 2: (left to right) a. Geeta's Fruit stall located adjacent to an informal (shelter-less) bus stop b. View of the main accessway from the fruit stall

“... It's because of the fruit [stall]... otherwise, how would we get a chance to meet?”

Due to poor regulatory mechanisms that control informal businesses like the *tiffin* centre and the fruit cart, the design of these nodes organically evolved to suit both the buyer and the seller's needs. In both cases, these informal nodes formed place-ballets where time-space routines of different individuals came together. For the migrant women, their business was also their source of income and an integral part of their everyday work time-space routines.

Similar place-ballets occurred when the living room spaces functioned as temporary nodes to receive clientele for Manjula and Renuka's tailoring businesses in Gagillapur. The boundaries between private and public spaces were temporarily suspended when their customers walked into their living spaces to give their orders and pick up deliveries. Even in Melbourne, Sejal opened her living room space to organise weekly prayer meets for the Indian community in her suburb. Traditionally understood private spaces served as temporary nodes in the community during the hours when access was granted to outsiders.

6.2.4 Religious Places

Religion, through its rites and celebrations, creates a strong link between people and places of worship and religion (Tuan 1979). This link was evident in Hyderabad and Melbourne. The women interviewed in Melbourne, particularly the Hindu and Muslim women, experienced difficulties in continuing their religious practices outside of their homes due to the limited number of places of worship available in the city. For example, through the narratives, it was evident that Priya's past time-space routine in India incorporated regular prayer services every Thursday as part of her religious beliefs. However, she had to temporarily halt these practices until she could identify and access the desired temple near her home in Melbourne.

Priya: “I really like Sai Baba Temples [...] I go there sometimes! Actually, if I weren't busy with a job, and college, internship, I would go! [...] I felt lucky that *oh, I am next to a temple, temple is so close by, every Thursday I could go*, but I hardly went there four-five times, that's it! I go and pray at the temple during festivals sometimes.”

For Priya locating a temple of her choice helped her establish a connection with her suburb.

In addition to formal places of worship, certain festivals were also organised in different parts of the city for the Indian community in Melbourne. These temporary places were important to experience the festivities as a group and continue religious or cultural practices in other public places as well. For example, as Diya explains:

“...from a religious point of view or a culturally specific point of view, there would be two major occasions, for me, for this household. One is Diwali, and....one is Karwa Chauth²⁷, where I would actually venture out, and you know, try and find a place, [and] for Karwa Chauth, [...] You need more than two people (laughs) to do that. A lot of women get together and do it. They sometimes have it in a library, sometimes a restaurant organises it...The warehouse temple that I went to last year, which was wonderful, the temple it was close by, and there were many women there, we could all access it easily and [so] we went [...]”

The festival of Karwa Chauth is typically celebrated within smaller groups of other married Hindu women, therefore for Diya, it was important to find a place where she could celebrate with the Indian community. In Hyderabad, as Karwa Chauth was not a common practice within the Telugu Hindu community, Marvadi women like Gayatri (an inter-state migrant from Rajasthan) met with other women of similar background in Gagillapur for the festivities. These practices helped establish continuance in the religious and cultural aspects of the migrant women’s lives. In all these cases, the specifics of the location mattered less in comparison to the collective activity organised in a space.

For Diya, in addition to celebrating Diwali in public places with the Indian community, she also replicated some of the customs (like sharing sweet dishes with friends and family) related to the festival in her suburb, even if the local community was unaware of it.

Diya: “...Because Diwali is when you go out, and you know [...] you're going to everybody's house, you are knocking on doors, which is unheard of in this country. Even in this neighbourhood, which is like the Little India of Melbourne, it is still unheard of, but it doesn't matter! We have taken it upon ourselves. We will stack up our car with *mithais* [sweets], give nobody any notice, and just randomly knock on people's doors [and say]..“Happy Diwali!”, we do it for a whole week! [...] It helps to have places where we know people congregate, where we can run into and ambush, to give the *Mithai* [sweets]... because we want to make a big deal of Diwali! [...] Fed [Federation] square is huge on Diwali. So...it's there... so it's being used, and we make sure that we mark our attendance, so it doesn't stop.”

In comparison to the international migrants in Melbourne, the interstate migrants in Hyderabad had a greater number of opportunities to fulfil their religious and spiritual interests (outside of their homes) due to the similarities in religious and cultural practices within the country. In addition to the places of worship located in Gagillapur, the women frequented several temples both within and beyond the city as part of their routine visits (see Figure 4.12, Chapter 4). Similar to Melbourne's case, temporary public spaces sometimes appeared on the time-paths based on religious events organised during specific times of the year. For example, Soni explained that she regularly participates in a festival where a temporary idol is installed within the community for ten days as part of the religious customs.

Soni: “There are a few in [temples] in 214 [neighbouring residential community in Gagillapur], but this is Church Gagillapur [participant’s residential community] right, so there is a church ..there are no temples here. Over here, sometimes they set up Ganesha idol [during one of the festive periods] ...we even help set it up... so we go there [during that time].”

²⁷ Karwa Chauth is a one-day celebration in some parts of India, where the married Hindu women fast from sunrise to moonrise for safety and longevity of their husbands.

Similarly, religious fairs or *Jataras*²⁸, organised around festival periods once every year were also mentioned by some of the participants as part of their regular annual trips.

These multiple places of religion and worship rooted the women in their suburbs or neighbourhoods as well as with their city.

6.2.5 Virtual Spaces

As explained in Chapter 5 (Section 5.2.3D), the participants in Melbourne identified several online platforms as a way to connect with others in their community and beyond. While accessing these platforms required no physical movement from home, it occupied a certain portion of their time-space routines. Virtual spaces served as fields of care, depending on how they manifested into real relations in the physical space. For example, Vanita stated that an online residents' group of her suburb in Melbourne, which is multicultural and predominantly a migrant group, often supported each other when help was needed. As she explained:

“There is another example in Point Cook [...] where the wife actually posted saying that the husband's out of work [...] and they have tried managing it for two weeks and but they couldn't so. She just asked us [community members] to help. [...] within probably an hour, he is booked out for the next 2 weeks with [odd] jobs [and] he got four interviews lined up [...] so, I felt that there was some sort of a community there. Like, you don't have to do like meet every day or conduct the part of it. But when you say there is an issue, probably somebody will help...”

For Vanita, these experiences gave her a sense of confidence to live in her community and build a relationship with others around her, although through an online platform.

In some other cases, video calls through WhatsApp²⁹ were used to maintain a connection and continue social interactions with families living in India, although virtually, as explained in the case of Nirmala:

“... so every day I am talking with my mom in WhatsApp. Due to the technology development, we can very easily contact [with] anyone, wherever we are, so it doesn't matter [...] [if we don't] have them physically with us, you know, it depends on our mind [attitude]!” (laughs)

6.3 Factors influencing local movements

Based on the narratives of the migrant women, several factors that either impeded or enhanced local movements to different spaces are identified and discussed in this section. Here, I particularly focus on the contrast in body-ballet and place-ballet experiences in different contexts as shared by the participants. Further, I build on Law's (1999) proposed five themes to analyse the daily mobilities of women. These themes include the gendered division of labour and activities (both paid and unpaid work), gender differences in access to resources (predominantly time, money, skills and technology), embodied skills emerging at the

²⁸ A Jataka can be understood as a temple festival, where a seasonal local market is set up around the Hindu Temple, during the period of the fair.

²⁹ WhatsApp, is an American freeware, cross-platform centralized messaging and voice-over-IP service owned by Facebook, Inc.

intersection of gender and identity, cultural codification of femininity and masculinity and the gendered design and use of the built environment (Law 1999, pp. 576- 577).

6.3.1 Social and Cultural Variations

Due to the variation in the cultural and social environment between the contexts, the migrant women either ceased or transformed some of their prior known practices. As explained in the earlier sections, it was a common practice for women in Hyderabad to catch up with their friends and neighbours at their doorstep or on the front porch of their homes. As Cattell *et al.* (2008) note from their research in East London, these social interactions in public spaces help break free from routine activities, develop a sense of community through both causal and meaningful interactions and create multiple opportunities for making a lasting connection with different people. In the case of Melbourne, the migrant women said that they missed these informal and casual encounters within their neighbourhood and experienced a social disconnect in their initial days. As Sara explains,

“...being Indians we are used to seeing people the moment we step out of the house and it's doesn't mean that if we sit in the house, we do not get to see anyone, somebody will also come in [to visit].”

Mary who was previously a migrant in Dubai, recalled the stark contrast in her everyday social interactions during her initial years of living in Melbourne:

“...what troubled me was not having very friendly people around. That was my only issue for a long, long time. Well, he [her spouse] had his friends, but then always over here there is... it's a very formal relationship. Even with your friends, you are still corresponding via emails or messages, and nobody just picks up the phone and talks. But coming from my background, being an Indian living in Dubai, it was more spontaneous. If we felt like doing certain things, wanna go for a cup of tea over to the neighbour's place or things like that, that didn't happen [here]. And that started to get to me.”

Mary had later relocated to Point Cook to live in a more familiar-looking (predominantly Indian) suburb. At the time of the interviews, Sara was also contemplating moving to the western suburbs to live closer to her Indian friends. Also, Diya felt that as not many people are out using the streets in the suburbs, it looks isolated and unsafe. She stated:

“...The streets [are] a public space too, but nobody uses it. You know, the neighbours' kids don't play....there are safety issues, there are kidnapping issues, fears...people won't let their kids out and play, I mean, I spent half my life as a child in somebody else's house, playing or mucking around or falling off of things outside the house! But here, you won't! And that's what, I think from a public space point of view, I love that about India! I miss it! That connectedness... here there is ... a lot of isolation I find.”

Similar to Diya, after living in the CBD, Keerti felt that suburbs were comparatively deserted. She explained her insecurity in the following statement:

“...at least in the city, you can see some people around, but after I moved to the suburbs [Cranbourne] sometimes I wonder if someone will find me if I collapse at my gate. What if I collapse while walking in the night? I wonder if anyone would find me?”

Some of the participants also felt that as the stores close sooner in Melbourne in comparison to cities in India, the streets looked dull, especially during the night time. Venessa, a new migrant

to Melbourne, modified her night time movements to suit the early closing hours of retail and commercial spaces in Melbourne during her initial adjustment phase.

As a new migrant, one of the other barriers of everyday social interactions were linguistic differences. In Hyderabad, the non-Telugu speaking migrant women could not immediately communicate with the locals compared to their Telugu speaking counterparts. Even within the Telugu speaking community, variations in the dialect spoken created different social hierarchies (discussed later in Section 6.3.3). In Melbourne, while all the participants spoke fluently in English, some of the women noted that the differences in the accent made it difficult to engage immediately. Although most women have stated to overcome the language barriers over time, their initial movements were affected when they experienced discomfort in their everyday interactions.

Most participants navigated between the cultural differences in India and Australia and modified their routines based on what was considered important or necessary. For example, most Melbourne migrants noted an increase in their household chores (like cleaning and washing dishes), as it was not affordable to hire a maid, unlike in India, where it is a common practice. These additional tasks greatly limited their time-budget for non-household related activities. In one case, however, Vanita stated she could obtain these services (gardening, cleaning, cooking, etc.) at subsidised rates in her suburb compared to some other areas. Therefore, she could continue her routine practices from home, and the available services helped her feel rooted in her suburb.

In the case of Hyderabad, Laxmi included a new weekly time-space routine of purchasing vegetables from the market after her migration. Hailing from a rural area, it was a common practice to rely on the vegetables grown at home. Therefore Laxmi and her family rarely made trips to the local vegetable market. However, after moving to the city, she could no longer do so due to the limited space in her small apartment in a multi-tenant complex.

In some cases, unfamiliar cultural practices in the new environment were approached with caution or sometimes avoided. For example, the concept of “pub culture” was discussed in at least six of the interviews in Melbourne. While some women identified with pubs as part of their everyday spaces in India, for some others, it was associated with an unfamiliar “western” practice, which was best avoided. Bhanu explicitly stated that it is important for her to shield her daughter from such culture, and therefore she rarely went into CBD with her family. For Bhanu, living within the Indian community in Melbourne was crucial. She even enrolled her daughter in a regional language school to help her stay connected to their culture, language and religion.

6.3.2 Patriarchy and Protectionism

As discussed in earlier chapters, feminist researchers across different contexts attribute the disparities in spatial use to the traditional divide between public and private spaces, which translates into expected behavioural norms based on gender (Rose 1993; Phadke *et al.* 2009; Sweet and Ortiz Escalante 2010). For example, accessing public spaces, which are traditionally understood as masculine, sometimes requires women to establish a sense of purpose and demonstrate legitimacy to use it (Ranade 2007; Phadke *et al.* 2011). Women's everyday movements are also constrained and limited by the power structures, specifically patriarchy (Rose 1993). In some contexts like India, where patriarchal controls are more prevalent, it

translates into clearly defined gender role expectations and behavioural norms (Phadke *et al.* 2011). Law (1999) explains that these embodied skills are conditioned by the social practices which impact mobility choices available and chosen by the women. Additionally, women's access to economic and social resources are also affected (Law 1999; Whitzman 2013; Bhagat 2017).

From the findings in both cases, it was evident that the participants' spatial movements (both migratory and local commuting) were influenced by these societal hierarchies and gender role expectations. All the women interviewed in Hyderabad migrated with their respective families; there were no independent migration trajectories. In comparison, there were a significant number (seven) of independent migration trajectories in Melbourne; not all were connected to the partner's migration. In both cases, however, when women migrated for marriage or followed their spouses, the movement was assumed to be a natural order of things, as explained in Soumya's statement:

“... my husband came here for [higher] studies so then, like usual Indian women, came along with husband here [to Melbourne].”

Another indication of gender role expectation was caregiving responsibilities, as discussed in Section 6.1.1C of this chapter. In both cases, most married women considered themselves the primary caregivers in the family; however, the division of responsibilities at the domestic level varied and was overlaid with other factors. In Hyderabad, some of the monthly purchases like rations³⁰ and groceries were taken on by the men in the family (either the husband or the oldest son). This could be attributed to the fact that none of the women interviewed could drive and only in eight of the cases, the spouses owned a motorbike. The men in the household were comparatively more mobile through their access to a private vehicle. In some cases, where the spouses had migrated several years before the women, they were relatively more familiar with the routes and places.

Further, because of the inadequate frequency and access to public transportation, lack of proper roads and sidewalks in the neighbourhood coupled with harsh weather conditions in Hyderabad, multiple transfers in public transport was problematic, especially with grocery bags. For older women and mothers with young children, independent travel with numerous transfers was even more challenging. Another reason for this distribution of tasks could be attributed to the limited time-budget emerging from overlapping responsibilities at work and home.

Socialising patterns were also sometimes attributed to differences in gender roles. For example, in Hyderabad, two women felt that men do not have a need to interact or socialise in their free time, unlike women. Leela, however, clarified that this need varies for working women through her own transition from a homemaker to a working woman.

“The ladies, need [to socialise] more...or maybe those [women] who are working, do not [really] need to interact with anyone. When I was at home, I couldn't pass my time, and I would visit someone or the other. Or even if I couldn't go out when I saw people [near my doorstep], I would initiate a conversation [with them], or something like that. And now that I

³⁰ Rations refers to the government subsidised food grains distributed through the public system and accessed by a Ration Card.

have come here [to work], there is no time even to do things at home. I don't even have time to pray!"

Like in the case of Hyderabad, married women interviewed in Melbourne were also primary caregivers for their children and managed domestic chores. The division of responsibilities at the household level was sometimes shared with a spouse or other family members, especially if the women were working full-time. As in the case of Hyderabad, the inability to drive or limited access to a private vehicle increased dependency on their spouse and limited local movements for at least three of women in Melbourne (discussed further in the subsequent section 6.3.4).

Phadke *et al.* (2011) note from their work on gendered use of public spaces in Mumbai that patriarchal protectionism is often imposed on women. The "right" behaviour conduct (often visible in the ways the women walk, talk, dress, etc.) is representative of the honour and traditions of a larger community, and therefore women are expected to conform in order to protect the reputation of everyone else in the community (Law 1999; Phadke *et al.* 2011). In both cases, some of these practices were deeply embedded within prior known body-ballets and time-space routines, and were replicated (sometimes subconsciously) through different stages of the women's life.

For example, in Hyderabad, the participants noted that home, temples, fields and playgrounds (if they were available) were the only places where their parents allowed them to meet their friends in their respective hometowns. In all the cases, nighttime movements were disallowed or restricted. After migration, the women continued to socialise at home or in places where they could demonstrate legitimacy through the core activities (like grocery shopping, trips to schools, etc.) attached to them. They seldom left home unaccompanied during the night.

In the case of Melbourne, Sara explained that going to parks in India (especially alone or with friends) was an unusual concept for her. She would often worry about getting unwanted stares or being monitored by other users (especially men) or worry about running into couples who don't want to be intruded on. In comparison, she felt that parks in Australia are open and accessible to all users, and she need not be wary of her movements.

Sara: "you get this somewhat uneasy feeling when you go there [to the parks in India], and you feel like you might walk in on someone or that others might be staring at you. But here [in Melbourne], even if there are couples (laughs) [...] you don't feel like you are intruding the privacy, or like you don't get that weird feeling when you get into a park for a walk."

In cases where the women clearly identified with their "expected" gender roles, they continued to maintain their everyday practices from the past. Sujata migrated with her family as a child and lived in Hyderabad most of her life, but she said that she never had an opportunity to explore new places, as no one showed her around. For Sujata, men are the head of the household, and they make all the decisions, including her local movements. When asked if she would like to see any new developments in Gagillapur, she dismissed the question by stating that her husband usually thinks about such things,

"...either business or the family, we [implying women] don't know much. We don't bother with that; they look after everything".

It is likely that Sujata's perception of her own positionality in her family (as a subordinate to men) and her self-identification as the primary caregiver of the family restricted her

independent movements outside of her home. Similarly, Renuka attributed her limited movements within Hyderabad to her husband's lack of interest to take her out. For both Renuka and Sujata, independent mobility was also an unfamiliar routine as they seldom left home even when they lived with their parents. In another example, Shanti stated that she usually only steps out with her husband and never on her own. She later explained that at her in-law's home in the village, she wouldn't be allowed to go out without a male companion (other men in the family), and in Gagillapur, she must listen to her husband:

“I have a husband, right! In any case, we have to do according to what they say!”

In the above examples, there appeared to be a shift in patriarchal protectionism from the parents to the spouse through marriage.

In Melbourne too, there was some evidence of patriarchal protectionism for women who migrated for marriage. For example, some married participants commented on their local movements by saying, “my husband doesn't allow me to go alone at night” or “he [husband] has given me the freedom to do what I want”.

Priya, a recent migrant to Melbourne, explained that there was always a “caring” protective control while living with the parents in India. And only after she moved to Australia to study and started living independently did she have an opportunity to challenge some of her prior known practices. She felt comfortable and free from parental control and societal expectations in her new home. Priya explained:

“...I feel like I can enjoy more over here...you have that freedom! [...] If suppose I am in India, I have to think... you know...like I need to act... literally, I need to act! Like... if we think of doing something, ... we tend to hesitate, you know, we think about what others might think? What will they think? But over here you know, wherever you go, you can be yourself, like whether you go to a pub, you can do whatever you want! (laughs) wherever you go, you have that freedom!”

Vanita also expressed that because of the environment she was raised in, she never had the chance to explore her capabilities until she got married and moved away:

“... I wanted to stay somewhere and experience that place by myself as a student, that's a whole kind of a dream, but my mom said no! and she is like, you wanna travel outside [the country], you get married and travel with your husband.”

Mary stated that she never travelled in public transportation during her childhood because of her father's protectiveness, and it continues to be an unfamiliar experience even after several decades:

“...because I was spoilt by my father, who wouldn't allow me in public transport, that's why I started driving at 17, and so I always used to drive, or I would use the autorickshaws.”

Overall most women interviewed in Melbourne stated that the migration experience helped them grow and feel more confident and independent in a new context where they were comparatively free from societal pressures to conform, unlike in India. Six participants interviewed in Melbourne attributed this to the supportive culture in Australia, as Priya stated:

“You do not have anything of that sort here like you know! everybody minds their own! [...] I decided to live here actually....maybe I don't want to go back to India....I want to get settled here! ”(laughs)

Nirmala explained that unlike her family in India, she was encouraged by the people around her in Melbourne to pursue higher education:

“...After the marriage, after getting children, they [family and friends in India] don't motivate [me] even my side [of the family], *why you want to study?* They ask me. Because I already have two children, *why you want to have to go for studying?*. But here, everyone encourages me, everyone motivates me, so that's why I finished, last month I finished my studies. Successfully I finished!”

She also added that she often studied late hours in her university library as a student, a routine that she could never try in India, as her parents would not allow her to go out at night, especially when she was single and still living with them.

Similarly, in the case of Hyderabad, Megha stated that only after her marriage and later migration, she felt at ease, as most of her family members were away in other cities. For Megha, most of her decisions were made by her family. She was even sent away to live with her paternal grandmother in the village at a very young age to help her with farming. Megha felt liberated from familial expectations in her new home (Megha's life course analysis is discussed later in Section 8.2.1A of Chapter 8).

Overall, in both case studies, societal controls influenced the women's daily movements, both in their past and present routines. These access controls were, however, often layered with other factors and rarely acted in isolation. The patriarchal influences often act internally as well as externally; the self-perception of the migrant women also played a major role. The context also plays an important role in understanding how the women were positioned within the social hierarchies and the extent to which it influenced their movements. This is discussed in the following section.

6.3.3 Varying Positionality

According to Anthias (2008, p.5), “transnational locations” are a social space “produced within contextual, spatial, temporal and hierarchical relations around the ‘intersections’ of social divisions and identities of class, ethnicity and gender (amongst others)”. Therefore these locations are not fixed, and they involve “shifts and contradictions” (Anthias 2008, p.9). This intersectional approach places emphasis on both social locations as well as social processes. As Anthias (2009b, p.12) explains,

“Positionality is about more than identification as it is also about the lived practices in which identifications are practiced or performed as well as the intersubjective, organizational and representational conditions for their existence.”

Further, she adds that migration, through the process of physical relocation, does not necessarily cause a dislocation at all social locations for an individual (Anthias 2008). For example, international migrant women might experience a dislocation at the national level through their move across borders while they continue to be within the boundaries of gender or other social classes. However, how these social locations are experienced is altered based on the new context. In this section, I use translocational positionality to understand the

influence of migratory movements on the present time-space routines of the migrant women. Life cycle changes coupled with migration also influence the positionality of the women.

In both cases, linguistic and cultural differences altered the women's positionality through the migration processes. For example, in Telangana and Andhra Pradesh, Telugu is the most commonly spoken language, in addition to the official language, Hindi. However, due to the multiple dialects and distinction between castes and religions within the Telugu-speaking community itself, even if a migrant spoke Telugu, they would not be recognised as a local. Leela, who migrated internally within Telangana, mentioned that she was often identified as a “non-local”, which made her feel like an outsider. Sometimes other tags were attached to migrants. For example, Geeta, who migrated from rural Andhra Pradesh, was often labelled as a “person who strives to survive” (literal translation of a phrase from Telugu). This phrase was often used in a derogatory way to refer to rural migrants who relocate to bigger cities for survival. Migrant women like Geeta were consciously aware of their altered social position in the new context- as a Telugu speaking outsider or a non-local, which made them wary of their everyday movements.

In comparison, women who migrated from outside of erstwhile Andhra Pradesh were collectively labelled as “Hindi people” as a simple reference to non-Telugu speakers or were identified based on their state of origin. These labels were evident when the participants referred to other migrants (different from them) in the community. Often, these references were inaccurate as the differences within the non-Telegu speaking community were not easily understood. For example, out of the six non-Telugu speaking women interviewed, two participants spoke Odiya and hailed from Odisha; one participant was a Bengali from West-Bengal; two women relocated from Rajasthan and spoke Marvadi, and one woman was Marathi-speaking from Maharashtra. All of them had to learn either Hindi or Telugu to communicate and transact for everyday necessities. Hindi was not the first language for any of these six women interviewed. Depending on their hierarchical location within the migrant community, the women experienced layered othering. As Anthias (2008) explains, social locations are defined by both boundaries *and* hierarchies.

In Melbourne too, women have shared their experience of being an “other” or outsider in the local community. Venessa, who was both an internal migrant in India as well as an international migrant to Australia, explained that due to the vast ethnic and cultural diversity in India, every individual (especially a migrant) was identified differently based on their place of origin, physical appearances and other attributes. So, it was inevitable for her to anticipate a similar situation in Australia as well, as it was a new context and the differences were likely to be heightened, as explained in her statement:

“...previously even though I was within India[..] [there are] so many different communities, so many different states, and different states have got their own way of speaking one single language. I used to stand out in Delhi. I used to stand out when I was in Shillong as well. And then I stood out when I was in Delhi, so I was wondering how much will I stand out here?”

This self-identification as an outsider was constantly shaped based on everyday interaction with other individuals in the receiving society. Similar to Hyderabad, when the women in Melbourne experienced a negative episode, the feeling of dislocation was heightened at a social location. For example, Mary felt that she received “racial looks” in her previous suburb, which she referred to as “snobby” and predominantly White. These experiences prompted her to move to

a more “Indian oriented” suburb like Point Cook to live among people from her community. Interestingly Mary is married to a European origin Australian, but it was important for her to live among other Indians, to maintain a part of her life from India.

In another example, Priya was reprimanded by a customer at the supermarket where she worked for shrugging her shoulders in response to a query:

“...she [customer] means to say like you know, *don't behave like that, it's not India*, she said... I felt really bad!”

Similarly, Zainab, a hijab-wearing Muslim, was scolded for sitting next to a woman on a bus without seeking her permission. Zainab stated that she was hesitant to talk to any local Australians after the incident, especially “White people”.

Venessa wondered if she had “predator vibes” in Australia when she was mistaken for a stalker for walking briskly and closely behind a White Australian woman who was moving along slowly with her bags.

“I constantly kept thinking I shouldn't be caught like apparently following someone! (laughs) [...] At least we don't have those paranoid people in India! We are too crowded (laughs) There are so many people out there like everyone is following someone!”

Through these lived experiences, it was evident that some women noted a difference in their positionality based on their religion, race, appearance, behaviour or other characteristics, which altered their spatial experiences in their new home.

Reya added that it is important to be responsible towards society when living abroad and be mindful of our conduct (as Indians) because “whatever we do, as an individual, definitely will affect the image of our country.” She added that even if an Indian obtains Australian citizenship, they will always be identified and judged as an Indian and not an Australian:

“Even if they are an Aussie, and born here, even then, they [Australians] will only say that, *oh, they are Indians, and they did this*. So we have to be very careful not just of us [as a] person, but what we are actually representing.”

A similar concern was echoed in the case of Hyderabad, where Geeta stated that as a migrant, she had to constantly watch her conduct and her movements, as the community was cautious about outsiders, as Geeta explained:

“It is hard at times even if live by the rules, and pay our rent, we have to listen to them [locals], we need to compromise even if we haven't done anything wrong [...] it's their place, and it's their rules... home [hometown] will always be better than any other place!”

In some cases, life cycle changes coupled with migration complicated the positionality of the women. In Hyderabad, after her husband's sudden passing in an accident, Monica was forced to learn to manage her household as the new head of the family and support her children. Calling this transition a “rebirth”, she stated that she had to quickly adapt and learn new things like improving her reading and writing skills in Telugu, as she had to learn to live independently. Monica experienced a dislocation through her forced transition as head of the household due to an unexpected event in her life course. Her unfamiliarity with a new context as a new migrant further heightened this dislocation (Monica's life course analysis is discussed in detail in Section 8.2.1C of Chapter 8).

In Melbourne, women who migrated as students noted a difference in the positionality after they were married and became mothers in their new home. As Sonam explained:

“... when you are young then you don't have to worry about kids, so you know, you are able to do late nights and go to the clubs and things like that...[...] I think, now we have become old, we just can't be bothered anymore! My god! It's too far, even though it's like only 30 mins (laughs), but that time we were young [...]....and you know [we could] do late nights! Saying that, we still do late nights, [...] but...at that time, yes...you know, we'd be a lot more not worried, because the next morning you don't have to wake up, you can just wake up at your time, there were no kids, there were no in-laws, nobody was living with us at that time, so....it was different and now.”

In these cases, CBD was discussed as a place of the past where they could enjoy nightlife and step out often as they when they were free from responsibilities. In comparison, in their current life cycle stage, living in the outer suburbs with their families, their commuting patterns and movements were centred around their work and their children's needs.

6.3.4 Gendered Mobility

As established, women have complex daily patterns due to their multiple roles and overlapping responsibilities that combine caregiving responsibilities, domestic chores in addition to paid work (Law 1999; Davies 2003; Whitzman 2013). Research suggests that the resulting trip-chaining for these work and non-work trips may involve commute to destinations that are physically separated, and sometimes during a non-peak hour when public transportation is poor (Whitzman 2013). Women also walk and cycle and access public and private transportation to complete their trips (Whitzman 2013). Applying a gendered lens can help uncover these intersecting and complex factors influencing women's daily mobility patterns. This section specifically addresses the transport concerns that emerged from the narratives.

In Hyderabad, the migrant women extensively used public transportation despite the poor connectivity between Gagillapur and the rest of the city, which required multiple transfers. Public transportation was a necessity as none of the women interviewed drove, and not many households owned a private vehicle. As stated earlier, only eight women indicated that their spouses drove them on their motorbikes to complete some trips. Although indirect access to a private vehicle through the spouse enhanced mobility for the migrant women, it was dependent on the spouse's availability and inclination to offer a ride. As Ganga explains,

“Over there [back when she lived in the inner city], even if the men were not around, we would go and get everything that we needed, for any shopping needs And now, someone needs to accompany us, if we need to go from here” (laughs)

In the case of Puja, affordability was also a constraint, as trips using alternative transport modes were relatively expensive. She explained that return trips from markets or shopping areas were often completed in autorickshaws as it was difficult to commute in crowded buses with shopping bags:

“ Yes [we need to change buses], we need to go to Shopuru from here [Gagillapur], [then change] from Shopuru to Balanagar, then from Balanagar [...] again we need to get an auto [autorickshaw] to come back [...], and they drop us [shared 7-seater autorickshaws] off only at the main road [...], and from the road, we need to carry everything back [on foot].” (See Puja's movements in Figure 6.3)

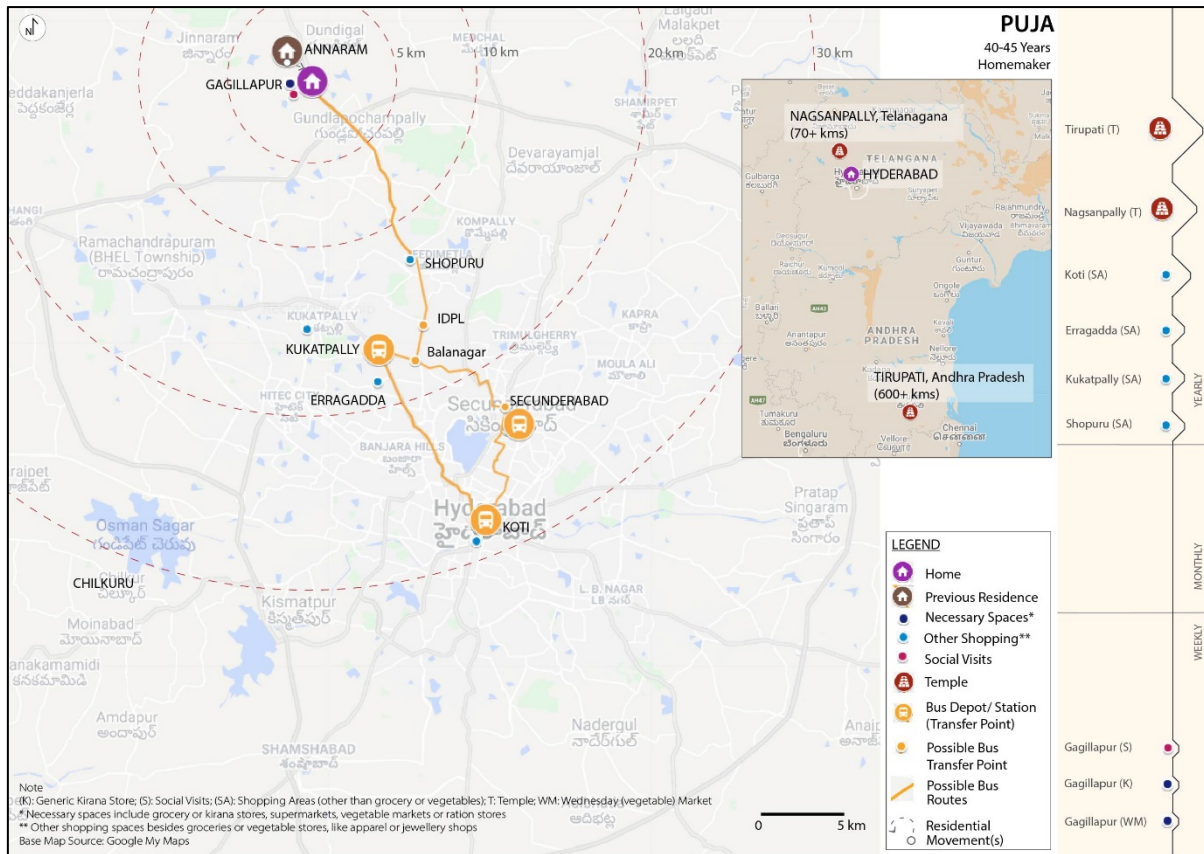


Figure 6. 3: Puja's Everyday Spaces and Residential Movements, Hyderabad

Like Puja, most women combined their trips on public transportation with walking or an autorickshaw ride. In Gagillapur, the combination of poor accessibility and availability of public transportation, and lack of or limited access to alternative commute modes defined the transport access limits within the city. Traffic was another constraint that extended commuting time, making long-distance trips within the city undesirable.

In Melbourne, the participants frequently relocated their residence (due to change in their circumstances) and lived in different suburbs (as illustrated in Figure 5.2 in Chapter 5). Depending on the location of their home, their access to public and private transportation varied. For example, if the participant lived closer to the CBD, she would have better access to public transportation and often use it. For many participants, this ease of connectivity and access via public transport within the CBD was considered favourable to live in the city or inner suburbs.

However, for one participant, Sara, despite having a tram route connecting to the city from her inner suburb of Maribyrnong, the absence of an accessible tram made it difficult for her to move independently with her children in a pram:

“Yes, they [tram stops] are not on the accessible level, and I can’t do it [lift the pram] on my own! It's like I need someone to help.”

Sara also felt restricted to use trains to visit her friends in the outer suburbs (Truganina), as she cannot complete the last mile from the train station independently with her children in the pram. Therefore, she was dependent on her husband for long-distance trips within the city. Similar to some participants in Hyderabad, her independent everyday mobility was restricted to her

suburb, where she could access all her necessities on foot. (See Sara's Everyday Spaces in Figure 6.4)

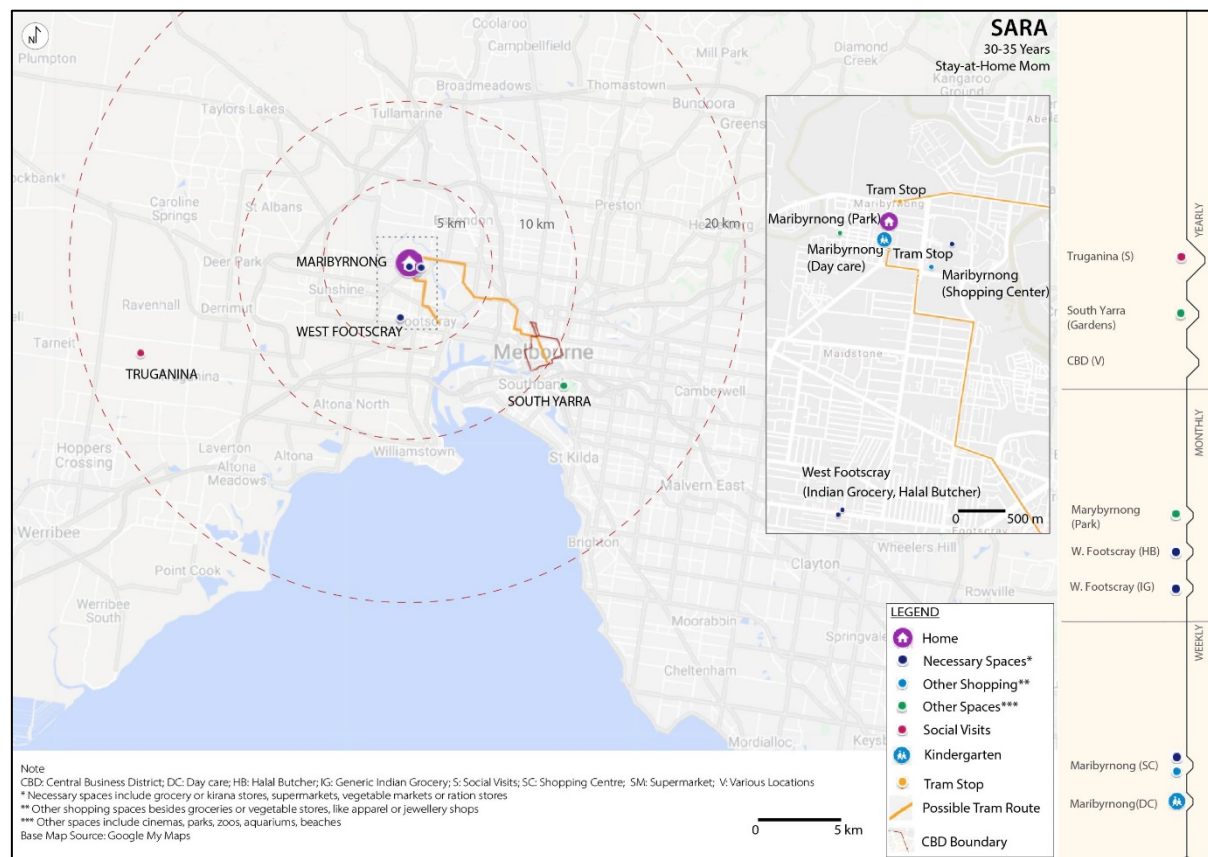


Figure 6. 4: Sara's Everyday Spaces, Melbourne

Compared to the inner suburb or CBD residents, participants living in the outer suburbs were likely to have limited access to public transportation due to the relatively limited network and frequency and would begin to rely more on private vehicles to get around. Driving was considered advantageous as it increased independent mobility, especially when managing caregiving trips with other core activities, as explained in the case of Sita:

“... The first thing you need to learn is driving, it makes your life easy and then you don’t have to walk too much, [otherwise] it takes a lot of time, stress, energy to go from one place to another place.”

At least three other participants felt that it was easier to get around and complete their trips once they started to drive instead of relying on public transportation or their partners.

Sejal explained that during her initial years in Australia, she was heavily dependent on public transport as she did not drive:

“... I think I have seen that, that struggle of [using public transportation] [...] I came here [to Australia] in 2004, so yea seven-eight years of struggle I have seen with public transport...so....I value it [driving]! (laughs) ...I value it a lot”

Most of her trips were during off-peak hours to daycare or kindergarten, which she stated were extremely difficult due to poor public transport frequency and connectivity, especially in poor weather conditions. Sejal added:

“... peak hours, you do have, you know, trains and everything...but then what about the people who are not working? What of the people who are not travelling in peak hours? It's not easy for them!”

Four participants in Melbourne associated driving as a mark of independence and gaining confidence while living in an unfamiliar environment. Some of them felt frustrated when other (Indian) women chose to depend on their spouses, as explained in Sita and Soumya's statements below:

Sita: “...I think, most of the ladies, they are like, *oh no! I am not driving; I don't want to learn driving*. But then it's probably a good thing for them to learn driving, rather than rely on somebody else, even though they are your family members, because you can get things on time. You can get everything organised, so likewise it is good.”

Soumya: “...yea yes..it is more independent there is no dependency. You don't need to wait for your husband to come and pick you up, for classes and especially when the kids grow up, we tend to put them in different classes, and it's easy too, there is no dependency.”

Diya cleared her driving test after failing five times; she persisted because she felt that one “can't survive” without driving (especially in the suburbs). It would otherwise limit your ability to do things. She also added driving was also necessary to set a good example for her daughters:

“You can't be it if you can't see it! My kids won't be independent if they don't see independence ..[or] independent people around them...”

Further, driving and access to a private vehicle were considered advantageous for making trips outside of Melbourne. Mira, who lived close to the CBD, stated that she never needed a car in the last ten years that she lived in Australia (both in Brisbane and Melbourne). However, if she wanted to explore beyond the city limits, she would have to coordinate and plan her trips with friends who can drive. As Mira explained:

“My colleagues, actually ten of us, went to Mt. Buller. Out of ten, only three could drive, and seven of us didn't have a car, didn't know to drive, and some of them used to drive, but a majority didn't even have a car. And we just pooled it together.”

Uber³¹ was considered as another alternative for women to get around in Melbourne. Additionally, most women felt that because it is easy to navigate routes through Google Maps, it gave them the confidence to get around without worrying about getting lost in a new city.

6.3.5 Perceived safety

The daily mobility of women is often constrained by concerns about safety emanating from gender-based violence and fear of violence, which limits both physical (movement and access to different spaces) and social mobility (by limiting access to services that might improve life prospects) (Whitzman 2013). In both the case studies, these safety concerns were evident in the way the migrant women differentiated public spaces based on their experiences.

³¹ A ride-hailing service

Spaces of comfort or discomfort were identified based on the different attributes of the people visible in them. For example, the presence of “Africans”, “blacks”, “fully covered” people, “drunk” people, “smokers”, “drug users”, “older kids” or “teens with boomboxes” were all mentioned as uncomfortable factors in certain spaces in Melbourne. For example, Swapna, a new migrant to Australia, often heard about increased crime rates and disturbances associated with African and or predominantly Black communities through different media sources. Therefore, their presence made her scared and uncomfortable. Priya did not like the suburb where she worked, as the “fully covered” men would often stare or shout or pass lewd comments. For Diya, teenagers who smoked gave a “skatepark feel” and created “seedy parts” of the shopping centre she frequents with her children in her suburb. One participant felt that while her suburb Footscray reminded her of living in India because of the number of Indians living in it, she also felt the need to be more wary of her surroundings, especially during the night, similar to her movements in India.

One participant felt insecure after watching a protest for indigenous rights on Australia day. She stated that the public spaces in Melbourne do not necessarily offer a sense of security for all, as she explained:

“...[a] bunch of aboriginals who walked through, and they were like, this is our country, you should not stay here, get out of our country, they were doing a procession like that [...] you will never get that....yea, secure feeling will not be there.”

Bhanu stated that she usually feels comfortable amidst “brown” people.

When women experienced a negative incident in particular spaces, they were identified as uncomfortable spaces that were sometimes avoided. For example, after Sita was nearly robbed in Sydney when she was walking home from the train station after returning from the University at night, she avoided walking alone. She explained:

“...after that, I was really scared ... if nobody is on the street, even if somebody is walking, I'd probably think, *oh my god, they will come and bash me and do something to me*. So maybe after that experience, I am very cautious not to go outside, like, alone on the street...if it's city [CBD] it's ok, but if it's in like a suburb area, I drive and go, so I prefer driving anywhere. In the night, driving is ok, but then walking alone is not really something I do now.”

Similar to Sita, Vanita switched to driving after experiencing three separate negative episodes in public transport. In one episode, an intoxicated individual had a knife strapped on his shoe and tried to intimidate her on a train. In another incident, she was reprimanded for not tapping on her tram card and was accused of taking away resources from the local people (as a migrant). Vanita stated that although she had a monthly pass and was travelling in the free tram zone, no one came to her defence, and she felt embarrassed to be shouted at in public. The third incident, which involved an indecent act performed by a stranger in an empty train station during early hours, discouraged her from ever using public transportation again, as expressed in her statement:

“So, I was just waiting there for my train, and again, [this] person was probably [using] substance, or he had some issues, he just walked in and...he sat right opposite to us, and he started jerking off! [...] he kept following us, luckily this train came in, and we just got in, but this time, I actually said, no, I'll actually take it to the police and complain [about] it. When I went and called in, they couldn't help me because there was no recorded evidence.”

However, despite these repeated incidents, Vanita stated that, overall, she probably feels a lot safer in Melbourne as she can do many other things independently compared to India. Similarly, Reya felt that India does not offer a safe environment for women anymore, and she would have never imagined allowing her daughter to travel late at night. However, in comparison, Reya felt safer in Melbourne. She never had safety concerns either for herself or for her daughter, who had migrated a few years before her to Melbourne:

“Here [in Melbourne] even if I have to do overtime till eight o'clock, [which] sometimes I have to do... I do. There [in India], I wouldn't have thought of [it]. I would have called my husband over [to the office]. Even in the office, you don't feel safe after six [in India].”

Mira explained that because Australia's population is smaller than that of India, it is possible to have a lot of personal space in public spaces (like maintaining a respectful distance in queues at grocery stores). Similarly, Reya added that she is never uncomfortable even in crowded public transportation because there is no “touch” or unwanted physical contact with strangers. Mira and Reya, and several other participants stated that in Australia, they are free from unwanted stares and physical contact and can be comfortable when they out and about. Mira's statement below contrasts this difference in spatial experience between India and Australia:

“when I go back home, obviously you've got too much of attention or staring, and you know, and when you come here, you'll be like, thank god! People don't give a damn about you! you know... what you are or who you are, and even if you are walking, they just mind their own business.”

Reya's comfort in public spaces was also linked to the confidence and faith she has in Australia's law and enforcement (in comparison to India). According to her, police officers in Australia are polite, well-equipped (referring to the gear and equipment that officers carry) and are well-built.

While there were negative perceptions attached to specific places, incidents, or people and made the participants upset, uncomfortable and wary of their movements, it did not discourage their local movements entirely. Most of them had a positive outlook on Australia and its culture. The participants would ultimately add that “most people are good”, and everybody mostly “minds their own business”.

6.3.6 Perceived Boundaries

According to Lynch (1960), the overlay of identity, structure and the meanings attributed to the physical environment influences an individual's imageability. He adds that,

“The environment suggests distinctions and relations, and the observer-with great adaptability and in the light of his own purposes-selects, organises, and endows with meaning what he sees.” (Lynch 1960, p.6)

These images result from a two-way process between individuals and their physical environment and can vary for different individuals. One way of establishing a coherent mental image is through familiarity (Lynch 1960) and repetition (Tuan 1977). Familiarity can also arise from a relatable feature or characteristic already registered in the memory through an individual's past experiences. Disorientation in a new environment can occur in the absence of this familiarity.

In both case studies, the women interviewed drew imaginary boundaries within the city based on their spatial experiences. Similar to Lynch (1960), these mental images and boundaries were defined based on the structural organisation of the city (sometimes different in comparison to the participant's hometown), the identity of the space (based on its use, visual characteristics, availability and access to different amenities among other factors) in addition to other meanings attached with different spaces.

For example, as explained earlier in Chapter 4 (Section 4.1.2), among the participants, Gagillapur was sometimes identified as a separate entity, different from the *city*, a reference to the more urbanised parts of Hyderabad. This identification could be attributed to the fact that Gagillapur was only recently incorporated within the municipality of Hyderabad, before which it was under a village administration with fewer amenities and limited infrastructure developments. Further, the Outer Ring Road or ORR (bordering South of Gagillapur, see Figure 4.4, Chapter 4) created a physical separation between peripheral areas like Gagillapur from the rest of the city because of the scale of the transit corridor.

Manjula, a new resident to Gagillapur, but an older migrant to Hyderabad, explained this contrast from her experiences of living in different parts of the city:

“...in the beginning, I didn't like this place [Gagillapur] (laughs). After living in the *city* [inner parts of Hyderabad], we couldn't find everything we needed over here [...]. There was nothing [not many stores] here in the first three years that we lived here. There were no clothing stores; we had to go to Annaram [neighbouring suburb] for everything. Or we had to go to Gandhi Maisamma [neighbouring suburb] on the other side [of Outer Ring Road]. We faced a little bit of problem initially because earlier when we lived in the *city*, [and] everything was available close by, [and] now we need to commute a bit.”

For Manjula, the limited availability of amenities and facilities in Gagillapur created a variation in her spatial experiences compared to living in the *city*. After her residential relocation, she modified her prior known time-space routines to account for the additional commute to access her everyday needs in the neighbouring localities.

Similarly, in Melbourne, the word *city* was used as a reference for the CBD area, which was different from the suburbs in terms of its character, density, appearance and demographics.

Vanita: “.... so I was completely new to the concept of CBD-Suburbs, and for us [Indians], a [any] city is entirely like the CBD, so we never had the CBD or a suburb concept.”

As Vanita explained in her statement, this bifurcation of city and suburbs in Melbourne was a relatively new concept to other participants as well. The stark contrast between busy, dense, high-rise CBD and the relatively low-rise development interspersed with vast open spaces in the suburbs created a variation in spatial experiences. The *city* was often described as a “bright” space with “hustle-bustle” of people (of different diversities) and multiple activities, especially during night time. As explained in the earlier sections of this chapter, for most migrant women, active night time spaces were identified as a familiar environment, similar to their images of home. The absence of this vibrancy made their immediate suburban environment dull, isolated and sometimes unsafe, which was best avoided, as Priya explained:

“There are always lights and everything [in the *city*]... I find it dull here [in Camberwell].”

As explained in the previous section, transportation connectivity and commuting routes also played an important role in constructing these imagined boundaries for the migrant women. In Hyderabad, the participants were aware of Gagillapur's disconnect from the rest of the city, due to the inadequate public transportation links. Similarly, in Melbourne, the participants noted a difference in their spatial experiences based on their commuting routes. For participants who did not drive, the mental image of the city was built through accessible routes on foot or by public transportation.

Other experiential factors also helped define borders of access and movement. For example, in Hyderabad, one woman, Subbu, stated that the extent of the city ended at the farthest location that she could travel independently, as explained in her statement:

"I don't know much about it [the *city*]. I haven't gone beyond Shopuru. I know my way until there. I can even go by myself. I don't know where else to go beyond Shopuru!"

For at least three other women, the *city* was unexplored territory, beyond their boundaries of independent travel.

6.3.7 Time-budget Constraints

Across both cases and as explained in the earlier sections, time-budget constraints emerging from overlapping responsibilities like work, managing household responsibilities and caregiving activities limited the time available for non-core activities. Sara's time-space routine in Melbourne was occupied with managing her two young children and home, leaving her with no time for other activities:

"I don't have any free time now to go anywhere! [...] earlier, I was dreaming of free time when I had put my oldest in childcare. But then, with the second kid, I really don't have any free time! (laughs)"

Megha's movements were limited to home and her *Kirana* store, which she operated with her spouse in Hyderabad. And as she lived next door to her place of work, she rarely had the time to explore other places, even within Gagillapur (Megha's movements are discussed in detail in Section 8.2.1A of Chapter 8). As Megha explained:

"... I don't have the time to go around anywhere. In the morning, we open the store at seven am, and it is almost 11 pm in the evening [when we close], [after that] we go home, cook food and eat. It is almost 12 pm by the time we sleep. Then we repeat the same thing the next morning."

Similar to Megha, Ganga, who runs a *tiffin* centre, described her daily schedule in the following way:

"We wake up at five am. He [my husband] leaves [to set up the *tiffin* centre] at around six am. I pack lunch boxes for my children and make everything [for the *tiffin* or breakfast centre]-chutneys, curries and everything and then I leave... by the time I come home, it is 11 am. [...] in the evening, we set up the *tiffin* centre from five to nine. We come home at nine pm, and during this time, my daughter helps me a little bit with grinding the batter and other things [for the next morning], then after I come home, I do some cooking and other minor chores, then we finish at 11 pm."

In addition to the time-budget constraints, in both these examples, the women have stated that if they take an extended break from work, they will need to close the business for a couple of days which impacts their income.

6.3.8 Other factors

Some other factors that determined an individual's spatial pattern were age, like in the case of Subbu in Hyderabad:

“Now that I am old, I do not step out after dark (laughs) Where will I go?”

Or affordability, as expressed by Geeta:

“No, we don't go to the *city* [to shop]... what we earn is barely sufficient to pay the rent [so] we don't go anywhere.”

Student migrants in Melbourne also stated that they had to choose places for different activities based on their budgetary constraints. Another factor that could influence movement and access to spaces are the hours of operation.

6.4 Conclusion

The time-space routines for both groups of migrant women were complex as a result of overlapping responsibilities, especially for those who were married with children. Therefore, multiple core activities were often combined and completed to reduce unnecessary commute and save time. Caregiving responsibilities intersected with trips related to work or shopping. Restorative practices unfolded in two ways. First, shorter *pauses* were integrated in-between core activities in everyday life. Secondly, extended vacations or trips home were planned within the annual routine activities. The typology of setting for restorative practices varied between individuals. The nature of the affective bond formed with different spaces also varied. According to Cattell *et al.* (2008, p.557), the term public space consciousness

“relates to people's awareness of the value of places, to the meanings attached to places, and demonstrates that people may discuss their relationships with spaces in connection with other valued aspects of their lives, including attachment to the neighbourhood, everyday activities in the locality and relationships with other people”.

Similarly, the findings indicated that the migrant women developed a “consciousness” of their everyday spaces based on how (and with whom) they engaged with these spaces and the value and meanings attributed to them, which varied for different individuals. As Cattell *et al.* (2008) note, both positive and negative experiences in a space contributed to this overall consciousness. Further, this “consciousness” is likely to alter with time through the life cycle changes of the migrant women (discussed further in Chapter 8).

As suggested by Davies (2003) and Rose (1999), Hägerstrand's proposed three constraints (Pred 1977; King *et al.* 2006; Ellegård 2019a) *capacity or capability* (the limited ability of an individual to achieve a certain goal or perform a certain activity), *coupling* (the need to perform an activity with others) and *steering* or authority (contextual constraints like laws or regulations) although evident, seemed inadequate to analyse the complex local movements of the migrant women in time and space. For example, the influence of patriarchy could act both internally and externally, making it a coupling and capacity constraint at the same time.

Similarly, access and use of different mobility options is a combination of all three factors: steering (through structural design of the city, access and availability to different modes of transport), capability (affordability or physical limitations like age) as well as coupling (as an outcome of social and cultural constraints that create perceived barriers).

By applying Tuan's (1979) conceptualisation of *fields of care* to identify *stations* on the time-path, helped focus on spaces that were considered important by the women through their lived experiences. Further, Seamon's (1980) conceptualisation of body-ballets, time-space routines and place-ballets aided in examining these *fields of care* along a temporal scale by redefining them as re-stabilised habitual movements (modified from the past) through the experience of migration and life cycle changes.

Further, Law's (1999) proposed themes facilitated in devising a broader framework to categorise the different factors affecting the everyday mobility of the migrant women. Across all the factors, intersectionality emerged as a crucial lens in understanding the variation in spatial experience across time for different women, based on their unique identities. Intersectionality will be addressed in greater detail in Chapter 8. The following chapter, 7, examines the experiences of belonging experienced through the women's everyday routine practices discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER 7. Feeling “at home”

Introduction

The previous chapter has analysed the main time-space routines of the migrant women and examined some of the physical environments where these routines occur. Chapter 6 has also addressed the various factors that influence everyday movements, resulting in differential spatial patterns for the participants interviewed. In this chapter, I extend the discussion on the linkages between people, places and everyday movements to explore how belonging is experienced through these varying spatio-temporal practices of the migrant women to address one of the main sub-research questions of this research.

In section 7.1, I discuss the importance of understanding the purpose of migration and the intent to belong as a starting point for conceptualising place-belonging for migrant women. This intent to belong is informed and shaped through everyday spatial experiences, life cycle changes, and other structures of power acting in a place. Section 7.2 examines how place-belonging is experienced through some of the core routine practices and restorative practices identified in the previous chapter. Here, I have overlayed Antonsich's (2010) framework with Arp Fallov et al. (2013) *mobile forms of belonging* (as discussed in Section 2.4, Chapter 2) to arrive at five factors that influence place-belonging. These are 1) Establishing legitimacy, 2) Gaining economic stability, 3) The process of home-making, 4) Making connections, and 5) Past experiences.

In section 7.3, by building on the work of Arp Fallov et al. (2013), I propose six broad typologies of migrants based on the juxtaposition of this varying intent to belong and different mobility patterns of the women interviewed. *Settler* is a permanent migrant with a high intent to belong. She is highly mobile in her city, which she describes as “home” or “second home”. A *Resilient migrant* has a high intent to “make it”, despite any difficulties that she may face in her new home. Resilient migrants might be temporary migrants, but they are likely to make their stay permanent. *Explorer migrant* is a new entrant and is in the process of adjusting to her surroundings. Due to her lack of familiarity in her new environment and limited social connections, her mobility is likely to be constrained initially. A *Content migrant* feels stable and comfortable with her surroundings and is a homebody. She is likely to be a permanent settler and a homeowner and is happy with her anchoring in her neighbourhood. A *Dependent migrant*'s movement might be restricted as she relies on her family to get her around. It is likely that her migration and related decisions are also linked to other family members, and therefore she might experience a relatively low intent to belong. A *Transient* migrant is similar to the resilient migrant in her determination to achieve her primary goal of migration (work, study, etc.) but is unsure about her duration of stay. She is likely to be a temporary migrant and might feel neutral about her intent to belong.

This chapter concludes by presenting multiple ways in which the migrant women experience the feeling “at home” through their differing migration trajectories and everyday spatial practices in their new homes.

7.1 Migration Purpose and an Intent to Belong

Hägerstrand (1982) explains that paths or trajectories were introduced in the time-geography to emphasise “the significance of continuity in the succession of situations” (p. 323). Further, among all the factors that influence the sequence of situations to materialise physically, human intentions are important. Different *projects*, which are a combination of several time-paths (that come together to help realise a purpose or achieve a goal), add meaning to these sequence of events. However, Hägerstrand (1982) acknowledges the shortcomings in his work by explaining that time-geography does not particularly address how human intentions are linked with the realised projects mapped on the time-paths. The input of the individual who initiates the project is an integral part of understanding how a project is pursued in a given situation, as Hägerstrand (1982, p.325) explains:

“Below the level of observation of (and participation in) the interplay between projects and situations, another level of reality resides which makes the interplay at all possible by its ‘thereness’. Nothing can become part of a project or of a situation without first being there as an idea, a feeling, an organism or a thing.”

Hägerstrand (1982), therefore, proposes the concept of *diorama* to understand how people are suspended in their normal environments, with the *thereness*, which determines the paths and projects. The diorama can help determine how paths and projects have evolved from their intended course:

“Only when we have recognized the finegrained structure of a diorama are we in a position to appreciate how situations evolve as an aggregate outcome quite apart from the specific intentions actors might have had when they conceived and launched projects out from their different positions.” (Hägerstrand 1982, p.326)

If the process of migration and adjusting to a new place is perceived as a *project* in the life of the migrant women, then the participants’ narratives can help construct the diorama of their project. As discussed in the previous chapter (Section 6.3, Chapter 6), different factors that influence and mould the everyday movements occur within this diorama of the migrant women. However, understanding the diorama of the migrant women is incomplete without considering the human intention that set the “migration” project into motion. Therefore I propose that any discussion on the notion of belonging must begin with an understanding of the intention to migrate as well as the intention to belong, to examine how these vary through time and different individual lived experiences in a new place.

As discussed previously in Table 4.1(Chapter 4) and Table 5.1(Chapter 5) in the case study chapters, the predominant reason for migration was either marriage or work for the participants in Hyderabad and Melbourne. Additionally, pursuing higher education and escaping difficult circumstances in their hometowns was stated as another reason for migration to Melbourne and Hyderabad, respectively.

In Hyderabad, in seven cases, the women migrated from rural to urban areas to earn better income in a big city and achieve financial stability. Within this group, four migrated permanently, while the remainder stated that their stay was temporary and they are likely to return once they have achieved economic mobility. For example, Shanti, who operates a street food cart, identified Hyderabad as a temporary home until she could save enough surplus to return to her hometown and resume farming. Shanti’s sense of belonging was firmly rooted in

her hometown, and she expressed no intention to form a relationship with her new home, Hyderabad, beyond her economic needs.

For three other women interviewed in Hyderabad, return migration was unlikely irrespective of their intentions. For example, Subbu and Puja left home to escape difficult family circumstances, and Geeta migrated due to the drought in her village. For all these three cases, return migration was impossible due to unfavourable circumstances at home.

In Melbourne, among the five women who migrated for jobs, three participants applied for permanent residency (PR) off-shore from India. For these participants, the international migration was intended to be permanent; therefore, it was necessary to secure a job (either for the participant or spouse) to stabilise in a new place quickly. The remaining two participants in this category migrated on their spouse's work permit and later applied for a PR. Women who migrated as students intended to make their stay permanent upon completion of their program. Unlike internal migration in India, it appeared that the international migration was more likely to be planned to be permanent due to the time and resources (primarily monetary) invested in visa processes and the stress of relocation to another country. The women in Melbourne stated that they would only choose to return home if they could not secure a job or stabilise financially.

In both the case studies, when women migrated for marriage, the spouse's job commitment (contract, temporary or permanent job) and visa status (in the case of Melbourne) dictated their duration of stay (and conditions of stay in the case of international migrants) which would, in turn, influence their intent to belong. In three other cases in Hyderabad, where the interviewees migrated with their family as children, their migratory decisions were linked to their family and their intent to belong altered through their life course. For example, Sujata moved to Hyderabad as a toddler and lived in the city for most of her life (over three decades). However, she explained that Hyderabad is not her home, and she felt firmly attached to her hometown in Andhra Pradesh. She even retained her identity documentation from her village to vote and participate in local elections.

The interplay of this intent to migrate and belong with the spatial patterns is explained further in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

7.2 Experiencing Belonging in a Place

In the previous chapter, four broad categories of *core activities* of time-space routines were identified: a) trips for work and study, b) trips for purchasing everyday necessities, c) trips related to caregiving roles and responsibilities, and d) trips pertaining to cultural and religious activities. Further, *restorative practices* (in the form of social interactions and leisure trips) formed another set of migrant women's routine practices. Building on these two sets of time-space routines and overlaying the frameworks proposed by Antonsich (2010) and Arp Fallov *et al.* (2013), I have identified five different factors that influence experiences of place-belonging for the migrant women: 1) Establishing legitimacy, 2) Gaining Economic Stability, 3) Home-making, 4) Making Connections, and 5) Past Experiences. As discussed in the literature review chapter, while I acknowledge and discuss the contextual embeddedness of these factors, due to the limited scope of this thesis, I do not engage in an in-depth examination of the politics of belonging for the migrant women interviewed.

Establishing a legal status was considered a necessary factor in building security, gaining recognition, and accessing social benefits in a new environment. Further, building economic stability was essential to feel rooted in a place and claim a stake. Social, cultural and religious connections are an integral part of any individual's life, which influences place-belonging. As discussed in the previous chapter, home, through the process of home-making, grants security, comfort and stability by maintaining continuity in prior known body-ballets and through homeownership. Finally, as King (1995, p.29) explains, "migrants' sense of place and of personal identity often involves a duality – 'here' and 'there' ". Therefore, the experience of place-belonging for the migrant women interviewed extended beyond their immediate surroundings and the city of residence; it was also simultaneously linked with their experiences of belonging in other places, including past experiences. These five factors are detailed in the following sections.

7.2.1 Establishing Legitimacy

While belonging can be experienced informally and formally, the latter establishes rights and obligations for meeting inclusion criteria created as a product of political, legal, and national rules (Anthias 2008). For example, for any international migrant, a prerequisite for migration is to gain legal entry in the receiving country through visa processes. Visa and passport systems grant temporary or permanent membership in the community (Salter 2006). Migrants are required to comply with the rights granted and the duration of the stay specified on their visas. These rights outline the restrictions on work or study or other criteria based on the visa category. In order to obtain this visa, the migrants typically invest time and resources for clearing background checks, obtaining medical clearance certificates, demonstrating English proficiency, among other criteria. Any changes in the immigration policies and visa regulations are likely to alter their stay, as explained in Mira's case:

" I mean, so this the sequential order. You have got your student visa, temporary residence, permanent residence. So, when I was in temporary residence [in Brisbane], Bio-Technology was taken out of the skilled occupation list [in Queensland], so that means that I cannot apply for permanent residency so when I was about to pack my bag and go home, I found out that Victoria was giving State sponsorship for Life Scientists, so, that means I had a chance in Victoria. So, I had to make a move to Melbourne, from Brisbane to Melbourne, so I quit my job, took up a student visa again, and came here on my own and started from absolute scratch..."

Mira, who initially migrated as a student (temporary resident), intended to live long-term in Australia after graduation. However, changes in the skilled occupation list in Queensland urged her to seek alternate pathways in other states to extend her stay. She relocated from Brisbane (her place of study and work) to Melbourne to obtain State Sponsorship³² in Victoria to obtain a permanent residency (PR). Mira stated that the changes in the migration rules made her take "10 steps backward" and caused a temporary period of uncertainty and displacement in

³² The state governments in Australia specify their skilled occupation list, based on which an individual may be eligible to receive a state sponsorship for a skilled migration, if they are willing to live and work in their state and meet the skills and experience requirements.

Australia. As Robertson (2019a) explains, *contingent temporality* and *indentured temporality* was evident, which impacted the everyday temporal experiences of migrants.

Prior research indicates that many international students consider studying in Australia to obtain a PR (Robertson 2008). Similar to Mira, most women who migrated as students have either pursued a PR or were in the process of applying for it to secure their status, extend their stay and build their career in Australia. In addition to gaining an indefinite stay, a permanent residency grants access to healthcare entitlements and social welfare benefits, eligibility to apply for Australian citizenship, grants study rights, increased access to bank loans which improves the ability to purchase properties in Australia. For example, Zainab migrated as a temporary resident to join her spouse after her marriage. As she was pregnant at the time of her arrival in Melbourne, it was vital for her to gain permanent residency to enjoy the benefits of Medicare³³. Like Zainab and Mira, more than half of Melbourne's participants entered Australia on a visa category different from their current visa. Further, at least five other participants converted into a permanent visa category based on their individual circumstances.

Visa or citizenship is an integral part of an international migrant's journey, and the rules and regulations attached to it formed the first level of boundaries within which the women navigated and made claims. As Antonsich (2010) noted, the legal status was observed to be a vital component of experiencing place-belonging through establishing legitimacy. However, this form of place-belonging is heavily controlled by the structures that grant legal status. As explained in the case of Mira, any regulatory changes at the global or national scale can directly impact the sense of belonging at an individual level.

Further, it was also evident from the interviews that gaining a permanent residency or Australian citizenship did not necessarily cease the sense of belonging with the women's place of origin. Although Mira is a permanent resident and was living in Australia for a decade, she identified both Australia and India as her home, as she explains:

“... because I do go back to India every year, and I am still an Indian citizen, still...so..., yea, I think it [Australia] still does sound like a second home. Or, or I don't know, if I could rate it first and second, it's just home! It's home, yea!”

In Hyderabad, while the internal migrants shared the same citizenship, their varying states of origin required them to secure at least one local identification for establishing proof of residence to access social benefits granted by the public system (at the state or city level). In India, many migrants lack proof of identity, limiting their opportunities to integrate into their receiving cities (Bhagat 2017). As Bhagat (2017) explains, lack of residence proof limits the migrants' right to register in the voting list and vote, open a bank account, or get a ration card (subsidised monthly rations through Public Distribution System) or a driver's license. Therefore, similar to the international migrants, establishing a legal status in a new place was considered necessary to gain a legitimate entry to participate in the city and feel secure. As Neha, who migrated for marriage from Odisha, explained that as her family lacks some form of a photo identity in Gagillapur, they cannot prove their existence in the city:

³³ Medicare is the publicly funded universal health care system in Australia for Australian citizens and permanent residents.

“We need some proof that we are [living] here, right? We have been living here for 13 or 14 years, but there is no proof!”

In addition to the passport and driving license, voter ID, ration card, and a Permanent Account Number (PAN) card for tax registration are some other available identity documents in India. In 2008, the Indian government introduced another identification system called Aadhar Card to have one super biometric identification system linked to all other identifications and allow easy disbursement of government welfare schemes and programs. The procedures for obtaining these different identity documents are complex and varied and have not been explored in this thesis. Here, I focus on the significance of these various identification documents in the everyday lives of the migrant women interviewed, as described by them. During the interviews, most participants discussed their voter ID and ration cards, and only two women stated to have an Aadhar card.

Most women purchased monthly rations through the public system as part of their monthly time-space routines, and at least half of them had a ration card registered in their name. In India, ration cards are an essential document to establish identity, proof of address, in addition to gaining access to subsidised food for lower-income groups (Abbas 2016). Ration cards also aid in obtaining a voter card to participate in the electoral processes. Also, an individual can only possess one ration card. Therefore, the migrants would have to inevitably give up their ration cards from their place of origin or hometown when they apply for a new card or risk cancellation. Having a registered ration card for at least one member of the family was considered crucial.

Some of the women interviewed chose to retain their ration cards registered in their previous suburb of residence due to their sense of attachment with the place, even if it required them to commute long distances to complete their monthly ration purchase. Leela’s family leased their home in Suraram and relocated to a rental home in Gagillapur to reduce her children’s commute to school (located near Gagillapur). She continues to use the ration card registered to her property in Suraram as she considers the suburb her home in Hyderabad. Similarly, Zara registered her ration card on her mother’s permanent residential address in another suburb, possibly because she moved residences frequently and her family did not own a permanent home. Despite their long commute to other suburbs, Leela and Zara stated that they often combined social visits with their core activity of buying rations and catch up with their friends and family in that suburb. For Leela, having a ration card from a suburb she likes was another way to express her belonging:

“We have lived in Suraram for many years. I feel like *that* is my place...because my ration card is from there...[my]Aadhar card is from there. I know people in the hospital. I know the vegetable sellers. I know the *kirana* shop people as well. It is like in the village [hometown]. I like Suraram.”

As explained earlier, Sujata retained her ration card and voter id from her hometown (Ongole) in Andhra Pradesh, despite living in Hyderabad for most of her life. Sujata and her family continued to demonstrate their legal residential status (although illegally) in their village to participate in the electoral processes. As Sujata explained:

“Ration cards?...no, it is not registered here. We never get them [rations] here anyway. We get it from the village.... we support local [political] parties there [in the hometown]. So that

is important for us, so we have our ration card and voter card from there... we have a voter id here as well...but we never vote here.”

She further explained that any motivation to bring about a change in the community would be directed towards her hometown and not Hyderabad. Her family owns a home in Ongole, and she has even relocated her children to boarding schools near her village in Andhra Pradesh. Commenting on her sense of belonging, Sujata added:

“...this is not my hometown. A home is a special place; I don’t get the same feeling here. [And] as all our political affiliations are back at home, so that is [home for me]”

Contrary to what Antonsich (2010) proposes, elective belonging may not necessarily be linked with the length of stay in a place. As explained in Sujata’s case, the sense of belonging could be directed towards a place where the participant intends to belong, irrespective of the duration of their stay.

7.2.2 Gaining Economic Stability

Antonsich (2010) explains that economic embeddedness is not only important to ensure a safe and stable material environment, but it also aids in making claims and feel invested in the future of the place an individual resides. In both case studies, where the participants migrated to seek job opportunities, securing employment for either the participant or their spouses was considered critical, especially as new migrants. Sometimes, the migration was phased to ensure that at least one member can gain an economic foothold before the entire family relocates. This phasing created an opportunity to return in case the migration was unsuccessful.

For example, Laxmi and her spouse moved to Hyderabad and first looked for a job in their first few weeks of arrival while they stayed with their relatives. Only when they were both able to secure a job and find an apartment could they successfully relocate the rest of their family and belongings. As Laxmi stated:

“...Initially, we both worked there [in the factory] for a week. At that time, our son stayed back with my mother-in-law [back in the hometown]. During our first week of work... we went around the *village* [Gagillapur] [...] to look for a room [apartment], and then we went back [to the hometown again]. Once we wrapped up everything back at home, we moved our belongings, and then my mother-in-law and our son joined us here [Gagillapur]...so (laughs) that’s how we settled here...” (laughs)

Similarly, in Melbourne, Bhanu migrated first, and her daughter and spouse followed after she secured a job:

“so we came here in 2013, we got a PR done [off-shore, in India] in 2012, December, and I came here in 2013...July 29th, I came here. And after that, I was alone here for three months, looking for job opportunities...then after that, my husband and my daughter joined me.”

Like Laxmi, Bhanu also received initial support and guidance from her cousin and his family, who were older migrants living in Melbourne.

While visa and citizenship regulations dictated the work or study rights of international migrants, some other factors, like mismatched skill requirements and expectations, lack of experience in the Australian job sector, also impacted their economic integration into the local

economy. Further, some women encountered difficulty in everyday interaction as the Australian accent was difficult to comprehend.

For example, Reya, who previously worked for over three decades in the banking sector in India, could not immediately find a job in Melbourne. She described her job search experience as “shocking” and “depressing”, culminating in an entry-level position in a different sector. Reya who was in her 50s, and felt that as she was much older than an average job-seeking migrant, she was competing with younger job seekers, making her job search challenging. Unlike other migrants interviewed in Melbourne, Reya and her spouse followed their daughter through a *contributory parent visa*³⁴. However, as Reya explained, as the couple were financially independent and “well-off”, they were only keen on living in Melbourne if they could secure a job:

“...me and my husband gave us a time, till October. So that one year [from the time of arrival], [...], we just decided that let us give ourselves such time, if we get a job, any one of us, we will stay... otherwise, we will go back. We'll review our situation...but suppose none of us gets a job, then definitely we are going back.”

7.2.3 Home-Making (as a “centering” process)

As explained in the previous chapter (Section 6.2.1, Chapter 6), a home granted *ontological security* for the migrant women through continuity in their prior known body-ballets and routines and homeownership in some cases. Further, similar to the work of Arp Fallov et al. (2013), home (and its immediate vicinity) was also observed as a mode of “centering”, against the reciprocal process of “reaching out” for everyday local activities in a new place.

In both case studies, when the participants were asked if they were starting to feel at home in their new city, homeownership was discussed as an integral part of feeling rooted in a new environment and demonstrate legitimacy. For example, in Hyderabad, Subbu mentioned at the end of her interview that she cannot call Gagillapur her home as yet, as she doesn't own a home in the suburb. Similarly, Geeta's desire to own a home was described as a way for her to escape the tag of an outsider (as an interstate migrant) and establish her claim to the city, although her financial circumstances made it difficult to realise her dream:

“....we do want to build a home [here] but ...what can we really buy? we are poor...”

Similarly for Leela, being a homeowner anchored her to Hyderabad, especially to Suraram, where her home was located (Leela's life course analysis is discussed later in Section 8.2.1B of Chapter 8). Additionally, she felt more at home in Suraram due to her established social connections and her registered identification documents. For Leela, homeownership was also a measure of financial stability, as she explained:

“If we had properties to back us up, we wouldn't have had to work so hard. But we do not have any of that. We must work hard to grow [financially]. My husband always says that- as we do not have any family inheritance, we should be able to pay for our children's education, and build a home with what we earn, to secure our future”

³⁴ This permanent visa lets a parent of a settled Australian citizen, Australian permanent resident of Australia or eligible New Zealand citizen move to Australia. Source: homeaffairs.gov.au

In Melbourne too, the migrant women felt “settled” or rooted in a place based on their homeownership. Four of the participants spoke vividly about the process of identifying a plot and setting up or building their home. The home was a place with which they shared a deep emotional connection. It gave them a great sense of comfort, safety and permanence, as Sejal and Bhanu demonstrate through their statements below:

Sejal: “... it could be an emotional attachment to my home as well because we built it there, so it was our first home.”

Bhanu: “initially, when we came here, we did not have hold of anything, but now we've got a house here, so we are a bit of ...kind of settling.”

7.2.4 Making Connections: Social, Cultural and Religious

As discussed in the previous chapter, everyday social interactions ranged from casual encounters at work and home (integrated as pauses into core time-space routines) to more purposeful interactions with friends and family across the city. These interactions could also be multi-scalar; they could range between small closed groups to large community gatherings based on shared religious and cultural interests. These multiple relations operating at different scales helped the migrant women develop an attachment with an unfamiliar environment.

For all the women interviewed, friends, family or acquaintances at work or spouse’s work provided the initial handholding to settle into the new city. This handholding included providing support to locate everyday necessities, finding an apartment, identifying job opportunities, locating schools for the children, among other needs. Some decisions to migrate were linked with the presence of social connections in the destination city. These social networks helped the migrants establish social linkages and ease into a new environment. In Melbourne, one participant, Priya, referred to her friends as “family”, and Soumya stated that friends are the only reason she is continuing to live in Melbourne; otherwise, she would have experienced a social disconnect. At least three participants migrated with their friends as students, and their shared experiences helped them slowly ease into the new environment.

The absence of these social connections created an emotional disconnect with their surroundings. For example, in Hyderabad, for six participants who moved from other states and spoke a different first language, their social circles were limited due to the language barrier or for being tagged as an “outsider”. As Shanti explained:

“I don’t know Telugu-Velugu. We don’t speak to anyone here. When we don’t know [the language], what do we even say? We can’t participate in the conversation [either]...we only speak with *Didi*³⁵ [referring to the landlady as a sister]”

Another participant, Neha, alternated between her hometown and Gagillapur every six months, for almost four years after she initially moved to Gagillapur as she often felt lonely.

For these women, having a “go-to” person (sometimes an older person) living nearby was reassuring, especially if this was someone from the participant’s community, as Neha explains:

³⁵ In Hindi *didi* translates to older sister but it could be used to affectionately and respectfully address an older female.

“ She [*Didi*] is very good. Even in the middle of the night, if we call her, she will come and the Telugu people here...they are not all like that. I don’t know. But most people living here do not help [...] The [local] people are not nice to those who come from outside.”

Similarly, Siri explained that she could always rely on her landlady like a family member who made her feel at home in Gagillapur. Having these meaningful connections was particularly important for the women who migrated from non-Telugu speaking states and were experiencing difficulty integrating due to their language barriers. The landlady also acted as a resource person to help the migrant women acclimatise with their surroundings, or mediate in a common language or help establish local connections.

For most migrant women, it appeared that as their social networks expanded with time, they started to feel more at home. For example, Laxmi explained that after living and working in Gagillapur for some time and being associated with groups like DWCRA³⁶, it allowed her to interact with more people and feel more at home:

“Now I am used to it [living here]...and in the village [Gagillapur], wherever I go, there is at least one person [that I know]...because I had worked in the nearby companies, I got to know a few people. And then there is DWCRA; I know people through DWCRA. So that’s why... I don’t feel that way [out of place] anymore.”

Overall, at least four women interviewed in Hyderabad were a part of DWCRA groups.

Similarly, as explained in the previous chapter, cultural and religious groups (see Section 6.1, Chapter 6) also helped establish a link with a place through routine practices. In both case studies, Hindu women accessed different temples across their city, irrespective of their location, to pursue their religious interests. In Hyderabad, many participants stated that they often got together with their neighbours to visit temples and other religious destinations. Laxmi also said that she often organised prayer meets at home and invited friends and acquaintances to participate.

In Melbourne, formal community groups were considered essential (especially for permanent migrants). Several references were made to Indian community groups organised around linguistic differences like Tamil schools or the Melbourne Telugu Association (for those who spoke Tamil or Telugu) or based on states of origin like Rajasthani group or Melbourne Telangana Forum (for people from the state of Rajasthan and Telangana respectively). Western Gymkhana Club or WGC is another example of a community club in the Western suburbs, open for all through membership but specifically tailored for the Indian community. These groups typically organised events for the Indian community to come together and celebrate on different occasions. These groups also facilitated networking with other Indians in the city for generic information and support, as Keerti explained:

“First, I was involved in TAAI or Telugu Association of Australia, and I met so many people through that. So initially I only knew two or three families [in Melbourne], but now If you

³⁶ DWCRA stands for The Development of Women and children in Rural Areas. It is a government implemented scheme targeted at improving the socio-economic conditions of the women through income generating activities on a sustainable basis. Typically, the women form self-help groups, save money and take out small loans.

pick any area in Melbourne, I [will probably know] at least three to four people from that area.”

Most of the participants in Melbourne felt that it was important to have some link with the Indian community, although it was not necessary to live among them in their suburbs. One participant, Reya, felt that, in addition to participating in these community activities, one must also contribute to society in any way possible:

“... if we can be helpful to the society here, when you are living here, we have become a part of the society ...we should be more and more involved, and we are taking from the society [so we must also] give it back....in a positive manner.”

Therefore, Reya supports her spouse, an active volunteer at the Wyndham Council, and has helped set up a group for seniors (+55 years and above) of Indian origin. Activities like yoga and English language classes are organised for this group. For Reya and her spouse, volunteering for the local community is necessary to uphold the role of a responsible citizen.

As explained by Antonsich (2010), these multiple social, cultural and religious connections helped the migrant women develop a place attachment.

7.2.5 Past experiences

Tuan (1979, pp.399-400) explains that spatial experiences need to be understood with respect to time (past, present and future) as an individual's spatial comprehension is not limited to the objects located within the space,

“present awareness itself is imbued with past experiences of movement and time, with memories of past expenditures of energy and it is drawn towards the future by the perceptual objects' call to action.”

Seamon (1980) has emphasised this connection through the repetitive, habitual bodily movements of the body-subject. Extending this to the notion of belonging implies that belonging can be either attached with a place from an individual's past (through experiences, relations or memory) (Antonsich 2010) or is evoked through the longing for home. Or as Game (2003, p.226) explains,

“When we say that we want to belong we typically locate the realisation of this desire in an identity, in a self or a place or a time past that we would have again in the future.”

During the interviews, the migrant women in Melbourne and Hyderabad recalled different places, people, situations and memories, which evoked a sense of familiarity with the past or longing for home. These references to past experiences were varied and subjective. For example, many participants spoke about replicating some of their prior known body-ballets though food habits or visiting places of worship in their new environment. Seeing familiar landscapes (like beaches, farmlands) or familiar features in the built environment (for example, “red brick buildings” as stated by one participant in Melbourne) evoked a sense of familiarity, and these places were sometimes identified as a favourite destination. In the Melbourne case study, some characteristics like “hustle-bustle” and nighttime movement of people were also mentioned as a familiar environment in the interviews. For some other participants, seeing “brown faces” or hearing a native language in their suburb gave them the comfort of being in

a home-like environment. Climatic similarities or differences also impacted the sense of belonging for the migrant women in both the case studies.

For the women in Hyderabad, having meaningful relationships and a close-knit community similar to their hometown was considered important to feel at home. As Leela explains,

“.....It’s the people who know or recognise you, not [just] who you know. That is why I like Suraram a lot.”

Leela could relate better to Suraram, where she experienced close community ties similar to her hometown, whereas, in Gagillapur, she felt disconnected.

In both the case studies, the sense of belonging was heightened and articulated when an individual experienced a disconnect (Yuval-Davis 2011) or dislocation (Anthias 2009b) with their surroundings. For example, Neha longed for her family and often wished to return to her village as she had few friends in Gagillapur:

“... I wish I could do some magic...[I wish] I could just go back to the village for a bit and come back! I often feel that way, but it cannot happen, right?” (chuckles)

However, due to the long commute and expensive travel to her home state of Odisha, Neha could only visit home once or twice a year.

Sita stated that she misses meeting her extended family at weddings and celebrations back at home as she is away in Melbourne:

“...a feeling of home is like, [when] you meet people...day in and day out, you go [to] family functions [gatherings or celebrations], that’s [when] you feel [at] home for me. But no, I can’t feel [at] home [here in Melbourne], because, I don’t have my immediate family here, ...I’m just living here, that’s it.” (laughs)

Sita’s sense of attachment with her home was tied in with her familial relationships. Similarly, for two participants, who grew up in *joint families*³⁷ in India, they were always surrounded by many family members. Therefore, it was difficult to live with limited social connections and interactions in Melbourne. At least eight migrant women stated that if they had their parents or siblings living in the city with them, they would feel more at home in Melbourne. Similar to Hyderabad, some participants felt at home when the elders in the family (parents or in-laws) visited them. Conversely, in two cases, the participants experienced a disconnect with their hometown and India after losing a parent. Their past memories were replaced with a new understanding of what home means to them in Melbourne. As Diya explained in her interview:

“My mum passed away in 2009, so I don’t really have a *maika* [maternal home] any more...[.]. so when I go home...I don’t have the comfort of a house run by a woman...so this is the most comfortable house in the whole world...for me... my home here in Melbourne.”

³⁷ An extended family comprising of at least two generations living with their respective spouses and families within the same household.

7.3 Spectrum of Belonging

In their research in Aalborg, Denmark, Arp Fallov *et al.* (2013) explore the relationship between territorial belonging and everyday mobility routines for an individual. As explained in the literature review chapter, the authors build on Buttimer's (1980) conceptualisation of sense of place, which focuses on the process of "centering" as a reciprocal process of "reaching toward horizon". And by extending this understanding of a sense of place to belonging, different forms of belonging can be distinguished based on the varying "centering" processes that occur in combination with differing patterns of mobility (and immobility) for different individuals (Arp Fallov *et al.* 2013). The authors add that

"everyday movement in place and how place conditions these everyday routinised activities are important for understanding both varying forms of belonging to local places as well as the sense of place for those with low place attachment." (Arp Fallov *et al.* 2013, p.469)

Their tentative framework considers three sub-dimensions of belonging, which are "time, resources and structures of meaning" and are "operationalised as mobility rhythms, mobility resources and conditions of mobility", respectively (Arp Fallov *et al.* 2013, p.473). Their research links the *mobile forms of belonging* to both individual life paths as well as to the ongoing contextual processes within which individuals are embedded.

Building on their framework, I use time as the first sub-dimension of belonging and it is understood as varying frequencies of *spatio-temporal movements* (ranging between high-moderate-low). This sub-dimension draws from the different spatio-temporal routines discussed in Section 6.1 of Chapter 6. Based on the findings, highly mobile participants are likely to "reach out" to different spaces across the city independently and commute long distances. In comparison, those who have lower mobility access fewer spaces in shorter distances from home and are more likely to be dependent on others to complete long-distance commutes within the city.

Secondly, as discussed in section 7.1 of this chapter, I include the *intent to belong* (high-neutral-low) as a second sub-dimension for understanding belonging. For the third sub-dimension of belonging, I consider *ease of mobility* by combining mobility resources and conditions of mobility proposed by Arp Fallov *et al.* (2013). As discussed in Section 6.3 of the previous chapter, the conditions that facilitate mobility are often interrelated with mobility resources. For example, the discussion on access and availability to public transportation is incomplete without considering the perceptions of safety and patriarchal control mechanisms that may influence an individual's choice of mobility. While Arp Fallov *et al.* (2013) acknowledge that life stage, identity change and social mobility may alter the meanings attached with a place and the feeling of belonging, they do not particularly address how different experiences of belonging vary based on complex identities. Therefore, for the third sub-dimension, I consider a broader typology to accommodate the multiple intersecting factors that enhance or restrict local movement (broadly categorised as Voluntary or Constrained movements).

Applying this framework to the narratives from the case studies, I propose six broad categories of migrants (tabulated in Table 7.1) based on their intersections of varying intent to belong and their different mobility patterns. The sense of belonging experienced by these migrants can occur at different scales.

Table 7. 1: Spectrum of Belonging						
Migrant Typology	Settler	Resilient	Explorer	Content	Dependent	Transient
Migration intent	Permanent	Temporary/ Permanent	Temporary/ Permanent	Permanent	Varies	Temporary
Intent to belong	High	Moderate to High	Neutral to Moderate	Neutral to Moderate	Low to Moderate	Low to Neutral
Local Movements	High mobility	Moderate to High Mobility	Moderate Mobility	Low Mobility	Low to Moderate Mobility	Moderate to High Mobility
Easy of Mobility	Voluntary	Sometimes Constrained	Sometimes Constrained	Voluntary	Constrained	Sometimes Constrained
Catchphrase	<i>"This feels like home/ second home."</i>	<i>"I have to/ need to make it here."</i>	<i>"Everything is new and exciting."</i>	<i>"I am happy to be at home/ in my suburb."</i>	<i>"I am here because of my marriage/ family."</i>	<i>"I don't know if I will live here in the future."</i>

Table 7.1 details the proposed six migrant categories, while Figure 7.1 visually represents these categories and also locates the participants within different zones based on their narratives. These locations are only indicative of the participants' relative positioning based on the interpretation of their narratives. Some participants are located within multiple overlapping categories based on the characteristics they displayed. Similar to what Arp Fallov *et al.* (2013) suggest, these typologies are not fixed for the migrants. The migrant women are likely to move between different categories based on their life cycle changes and other changes in their circumstances.

The *Settler* is a permanent migrant with a high intent to belong, and she describes her city as a "home" or "second home". She is very mobile and accesses different parts of the city, involving both long and short distance commutes, as part of her time-space routines. She is likely to use multiple modes of transportation and may be able to drive herself around. She is comfortable moving independently, and her movements are voluntary. She may access different resources to support her desire for movement. Nine participants from Melbourne and four participants from Hyderabad are located in this category (see Figure 7.1). Except for Zara(H), Laxmi(H), Veera(M) and Reya(M), all the participants are homeowners in their respective cities. Reya and her spouse made a conscious decision to not buy a home in Melbourne, as they already own a property in India and given their age (over 55 years of age), it might be difficult for them to obtain a loan:

"... at this age, I won't get much loan right, so it will all go from my pocket. That much interest I am losing on my funds here, what's the point? Rather live on rent."

Zara is another exception in this category. Although she was born and raised in Hyderabad and calls it her home, she identifies herself as a migrant, as her mother and spouse are migrants.

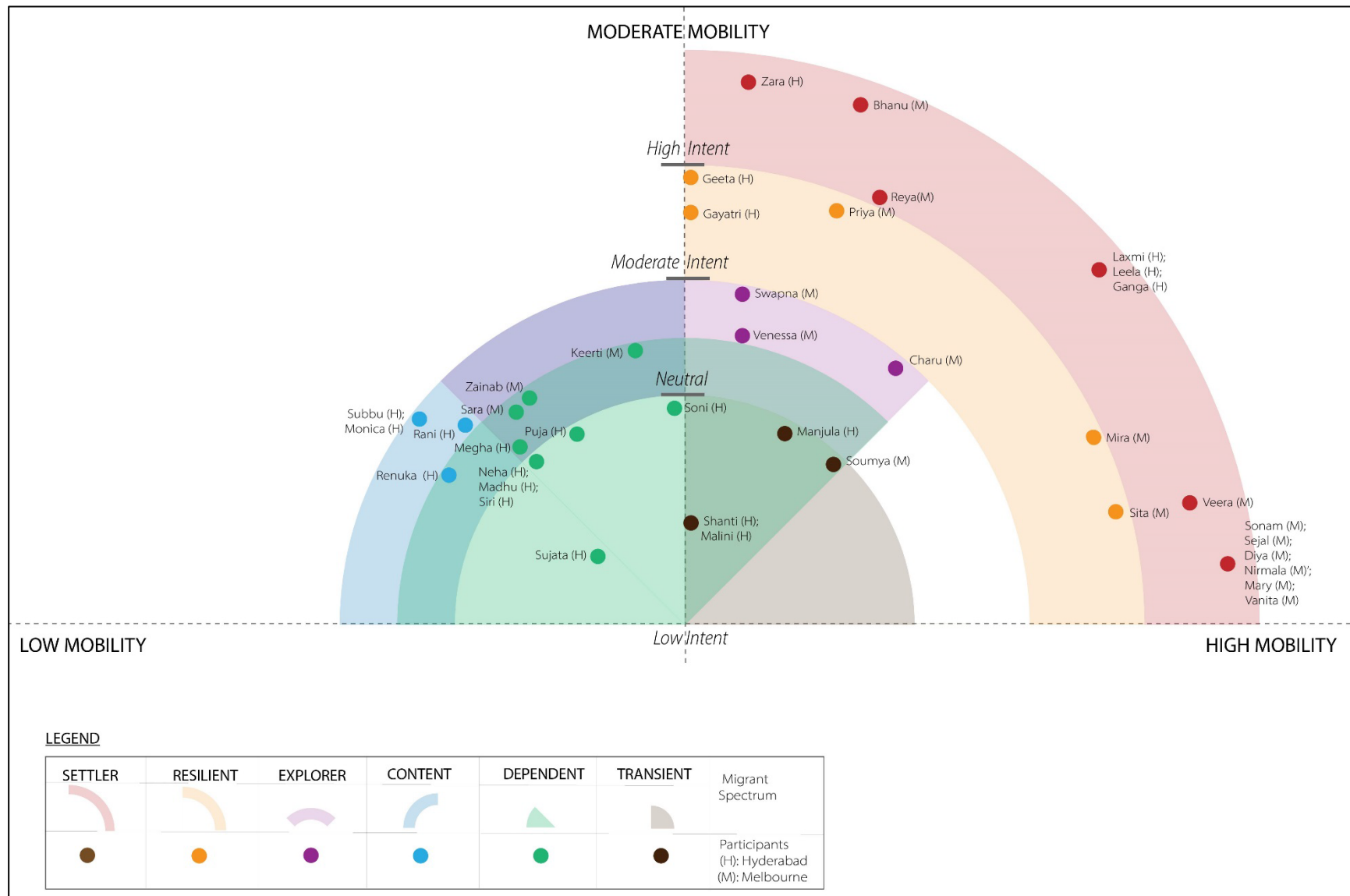


Figure 7. 1: Spectrum of Belonging

A *Resilient migrant* has a high desire to “make it” in their receiving city, even if she finds it difficult to adjust to certain circumstances in her new home. Resilient migrants might be temporary entrants, but they are likely to make their stay permanent if they can. Three participants from Melbourne and two participants from Hyderabad are located in this category. These participants are mobile and can access different parts of the city according to their needs. Their movements may be sometimes constrained by different factors, which vary for each individual. For example, Mira (M) and Priya (M) do not drive and are often dependent on their friends to commute longer distances outside of the city for leisure. Sita (M) can drive; however, as she was attacked near a train station during an incident in Sydney, she prefers not to commute alone. Sita often avoids public transportation, especially if she is on foot. Geeta (H) is constrained in her mobility as she cannot afford to spend on unnecessary commute, which is not a part of her core activity. Gayatri (H) is unfamiliar with Gagillapur, therefore, restricts her movement in her suburb. However, she is comfortable accessing other parts of the city by herself:

“ I go on my own...alone. I rarely go out on this side [around Gagillapur area], but I can go further distances alone on the other side [towards the city]. I am not very familiar with this area....I haven’t lived here for that long...”

Further, Gayatri also leads a busy schedule that leaves her with limited time to travel beyond work and home.

The *Explorer* is a newer migrant, and she is slowly familiarising herself with her city. She could be either a temporary or a permanent migrant and feel neutral about her sense of belonging. As the *Explorer* is likely to have limited social connections, her mobility is likely to be constrained. Her everyday movements could vary between low to moderately mobile and restricted to places she feels comfortable commuting independently. Three participants from Melbourne are identified within this category, out of which two of them are students, while the third participant migrated immediately after her marriage. Further, three other participants from Melbourne and one participant from Hyderabad, who are *Dependent* migrants (discussed in the subsequent sections), also share some similarities with the *Explorer* as they are new entrants and are keen to learn more about their new surroundings.

A *Content migrant* is feeling stable and comfortable with her surrounds and is a homebody. She is likely to be a permanent settler and a homeowner. Her sense of belonging is linked to her anchoring in her suburb through the homeownership. She is comfortable moving independently but prefers to keep it to a minimum, typically between home and its immediate vicinity. Subbu(H) and Monica(H) are over 45 years old and live with their adult children. Therefore, they explained that they don’t need to step out too often because of their age and limited responsibilities at home. Rani(H) works as a professional tailor from home. Therefore her work also keeps her movements close to home. Renuka (H), who is identified as a *content* migrant, also shares an overlap with *Dependent* migrant as well. Renuka mentioned that she mostly stayed at home during her childhood; therefore, home is her most comfortable place. However, she hoped that her husband would occasionally take her around the city.

A *Dependent migrant’s* trajectory is likely to be linked to her family’s migration and is not independent; therefore, she may experience relatively low intent to belong. For example, as Soni explains:

“We were [constantly] thinking about it [moving back], but because of our work and the contract [spouse’s job contract], we had to stay back. We have now enrolled our daughter in L.K.G [Lower Kinder Garten]. She goes to school here [so] we stayed back... after living here for three years, we just got used to it.”

She may be comfortable moving independently within the vicinity of her home but is reliant on others to commute longer distances. Her ease of mobility is constrained due to various factors. For Puja (H), limited financial resources restrict her movement. Further, as she is uneducated, she finds it difficult to get a job:

“ Nobody will hire me. I don’t even know how to read and write. And I have four kids. And it is not enough if only one person earns [in the family], but no one will hire me, even if I want to work.”

Puja often uses public transport to commute due to her budgetary constraints, limiting her independent mobility, especially if she needs to carry heavy shopping bags back home through multiple transfers. Sara (M) and Zainab (M) migrated to Melbourne after their marriage, and Keerti (M) migrated to Melbourne for her spouse’s employment. And as these participants live in the outer suburbs and did not drive, their everyday movements were restricted to their suburbs, particularly to places easily accessed by foot or public transportation. These participants were often dependent on their spouses for their mobility needs.

The remaining seven participants from Hyderabad (identified in this category) primarily relocated for their spouse’s employment and are also reliant on them for their everyday movement. Neha (H), Madhu (H) and Siri (H) continue to find it challenging to integrate into the local community as they are not familiar with the local language, thereby also affecting their everyday movement. For Megha (H), time constraints due to multiple responsibilities of managing a store, and taking care of her family, limits her local movements. As explained earlier in this chapter, Sujata (H) demonstrated a low sense of belonging to Hyderabad as she felt more rooted in her hometown in Andhra Pradesh. She migrated with her family as a child and continued to live in the city after her marriage. Despite her near three-decade stay in the city, she continues to be dependent on her family for her mobility needs:

“I feel like going out, but my family [husband] is busy. So, they [possible referring to men in the family] never took us to any new place. I never went anywhere.”

Among the participants identified in this category, Megha(H), Sara(M), Zainab(M) and Keerti(M) can also be identified with *Explorer* migrants as they are new entrants in their respective cities.

A *Transient* migrant is like the *Resilient* migrant in her determination to achieve her primary objective of migration. She considers herself a temporary migrant, but her length of stay may be undetermined. She is moderately mobile as she needs to get around to achieve her goals. She may not be interested in forming a serious attachment with her city, as return migration is a possibility. Three participants from Hyderabad and one participant from Melbourne are located within this group. Shanti(H) migrated temporarily with her spouse to stabilise financially and later return to her farming life in her village. Whereas Malini(H) and her husband moved to the city seeking work as masons and stated that she might move again to any other place that may offer them more work. Although Soumya(M) is financially stable in

Melbourne, she misses her family and feels dislocated. She often thinks of returning home, as she is still unable to “settle in”, despite the many opportunities that the city offers.

All these cases can also be identified as *Dependent migrants*, as their migration trajectories were linked with their spouse’s movements.

These broad typologies of migrants demonstrate the varying interrelationship between the migrant’s intent to belong and their everyday movements. While the participants were located on the spectrum in Figure 7.1, they are likely to move between different typologies based on their changing circumstances with time. For example, *Explorers* can move into other typologies depending on their change in their intent to belong. Similarly, *Settlers* may feel displaced if their economic or legal status is altered, forcing them to question their sense of belonging in their new place. *Transient* migrants might decide to live permanently and become *Settlers*. In all these categories, the social positioning of the migrants in their respective contexts plays a role in determining their experiences of belonging, which is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the importance of understanding the rationale for migration and the intent to belong before conceptualising place-belonging for the migrant women. This intent to belong is moulded through the everyday lived experiences in a new context. The final section of this chapter has juxtaposed this intent to belong with the habitual spatial routines identified in Chapter 6, together with the factors that shape various spatial patterns, to arrive at a *spectrum of belonging* displayed by the participants.

The feeling of being “at home” can be broadly understood as a section in time where the expectations of belonging are met through different experiences and grant a sense of security, comfort, promises a sense of stability and longevity in the place. There are multiple forms of experiencing place-belonging, which is likely to change with time and evolving circumstances. The next chapter explores this temporal dimension of belonging in greater detail by re-examining the positioning of migrant women and understand how different identities experience spatial belonging differently through time.

CHAPTER 8. Re-positioning Indian Women Migrants

Introduction

Chapter 7 has explored the notion of place-belonging experienced by the migrant women interviewed. A migrant's reason to pursue migration and the intent to belong is an integral part of conceptualising this place-belonging. By linking the factors influencing everyday movements and spatial patterns with this intent to belong, Chapter 7, has proposed a *spectrum of belonging* displayed by the migrant women interviewed. The proposed six broad typologies of migrants are *Settler*, *Resilient*, *Explorer*, *Content*, *Dependent* and *Transient*. In this chapter, I apply an intersectional lens to analyse how these six typologies can change through time, based on the varying positionalities of the migrant women, thereby addressing the final research sub-question. By building on the work of Ferrer *et al.* (2017), I have overlayed the *life course approach*³⁸ (Elder 1994) with *translocational positionality* (Anthias 2008) as the main analytical framework.

As discussed in the previous chapters, in the context of globalisation and migratory movements, people and places are interconnected to both local and global processes. Individuals hold multiple identities simultaneously and be a part of different categorisations, which vary based on the “context, situation and meaning” (Anthias 2009, p.10). Therefore, an individual can be simultaneously in both dominant and subordinate positions due to the contradictory and shifting social locations (Anthias 2012). As discussed in the literature review chapter (Section 2.4 and 2.5), Anthias (2008, 2009, 2012) proposes *translocational positionality* as an adjunct to intersectionality, to better understand ethnicity, migration and transnational movements in the contemporary era. As Anthias (2008, p.15) explains, a

“**translocational positionality** is one structured by the interplay of different locations relating to gender, ethnicity, race and class (amongst others), and their at times contradictory effects. Positionality combines a reference to social position (as a set of effectivities: as outcome) and social positioning (as a set of practices, actions and meanings: as process).”

Translocational positionality approaches intersectionality as a process and locates it within broader social processes in the framework of space and time (Anthias 2008; Anthias 2012). This positionality is as much about the lived experiences, where identity is practised or performed, as it is about the structures (intersubjective, organisational and representational conditions) that shape identity (Anthias 2008, p.16).

In this chapter, I apply the concept of transnational positionality to both internal and international migration and therefore refer to the term as *positionality* for a broader application.

³⁸ A life course approach provides insights into how an individual is inter-connected with both their immediate and wider social contexts. Elder's (1994) approach proposes four main factors which influence the life course and human development: interlinked human lives and historical times, timing of lives, linked or interdependent lives (social ties) and human agency (as discussed in Section 2.5.1 of Chapter 2).

Further, for analytical simplicity, this chapter discusses this *positionality* at two levels. Section 8.1 focuses on the macro level understanding of the processes that have defined and positioned the migrant women (as internal migrants in India and as Indian migrants in Australia) “as an outcome” before discussing the lived experiences of social position “as a process” at the micro level.

Section 8.2 draws on the life narratives of six migrant women, Megha, Leela and Monica in Hyderabad, and Sonam, Soumya and Priya in Melbourne, to analyse the variations in their experiences of identity and belonging through their life course, particularly migration. I have adapted the *intersectional life course approach* (see Section 2.5 in Chapter 2) proposed by Ferrer *et al.* (2017), to include a temporal dimension to this *positionality*. Following Kōu *et al.* (2017), I place additional emphasis on the *linked lives* (at both global and local level) aspects of the life course approach. Kōu *et al.* (2017) note from their study that, in the Indian context, social relationships play a significant role in shaping some of the life course decisions, especially migration.

The experiences of place-belonging can occur in multiple ways and vary for different individuals and are interconnected with the experiences of identity, which transform during the life course and context. The final Section 8.3 revisits the main research question and brings together the discussion from the previous chapters to define what belonging means through place and time for the migrant Indian women interviewed.

8.1 Macro Level: Re-Contextualising Indian Migrant Woman

This section focuses on some of the (extra-personal) factors that determine the social position “as a set of effectivities: as outcome” (Anthias 2008, p.15). Particularly, the identification of “migrant women” as used in the formal language is discussed, as it determines the state resources that are made available and accessible to the migrants. The understanding of “migrant women” in everyday life is also explored, as it (pre) determines their social location within the hierarchies of a specific context. The following sections discuss these two aspects in greater detail for both the Indian and Australian contexts.

8.1.1 Internal Migrants in India

The constitution of India, under Article 19, grants the fundamental right to move between states and territories as citizens of India. However, the internal migrants face several structural and social barriers to integrate into their receiving cities. Bhagat (2016, p.250), citing previous scholars, explains that internal migration, particularly inter-state migration in India, “has been impeded by the *sons of the soil*³⁹ [original emphasis] ideology which has hindered rapid urban transition and economic growth in the country”. This discrimination has primarily emerged from the linguistic and cultural differences between the states. Further, from the perspective of the policymakers, migration is often considered problematic and a threat to social and economic stability; therefore migration is often regulated instead of considering its importance as a livelihood strategy among the poor (Deshingkar and Start 2003). Moreover, due to

³⁹ A political ideology, suggesting that the natives or the locals have greater claims on the jobs and therefore migrants are considered a threat for taking away these opportunities from the former (Weiner as cited in Bhagat 2016)

significant data gaps on the “extent, nature and magnitude of internal migration”, migrants occupy a low priority in the government policies (UNESCO 2013, p.4).

A. Data woes

In India, the Census of India and the National Sample Survey (NSS) are the two primary data sources on migration, and migrants are not mandated to register either at their place of origin or destination (Bhagat 2008). The census measurement primarily provides information on the migrant’s place of birth (POB) and place of last residence (POLR). Within the census data, if the recorded POB or POLR is different from the place of enumeration, the individual is categorised as a migrant (Bhagat 2008).

Since 1981, the census questionnaire has included reasons for migration. The NSS also includes POLR as part of its employment and unemployment surveys (Bhagat 2016). While the census does not apply a limit on the duration for POLR, the NSS defines a “usual place of residence” as a place where a migrant has spent at least six months or more before moving to their current place of enumeration (Bhagat 2016). Since 1961, the census data can identify internal migration at three levels: intra-district⁴⁰, inter-district (within the same state) and inter-state for movements within four streams of migration: rural to urban, urban to rural, rural to rural, and urban to urban movements (Bhagat 2008).

Despite the vast data available on migration, several scholars have identified its inadequacies and drawbacks (Bhagat 2008; UNESCO 2013; Bhagat 2016; Bhagat 2017; Parida and Ravi Raman 2018). First, the data from the census and NSSO are not comparable due to the differences in the criteria of POB and POLR.

Secondly, the census and the NSS cannot capture short-term migrants based on the POB and POLR (Bhagat 2008; Bhagat 2016). The short-term migrations, typically seasonal or circular⁴¹, are identified as those who have lived away from their usual place of residence for over 30 days (but not exceeding six months) to seek or pursue employment (UNESCO 2013; Bhagat 2016). However, these migratory movements may not be captured if occurring between enumeration periods. Similarly, if a migrant relocates to their place of birth during this period, the return migration is not reflected in the data.

Bhagat (2016) also explains that there is an increased number of commuting workers due to better communication and transportation facilities. Nearly 12.3 million of these workers were recorded between 2009-2011 (Chandrasekhar cited in Bhagat 2016, p. 245); however, these temporary movements are excluded in the migration statistics. The census data does not distinguish between different types of migration, like permanent, semi-permanent and temporary, nor does it capture multiple migratory moves and the timing of the migration (Bhagat 2008).

For women, in situations where they temporarily migrate to their maternal home (typically in another location from their usual place of residence) for childbirth and post-natal care, the temporary move is not considered as POLR in the census (Bhagat 2008). However, when the mother returns home, the child is registered as a migrant due to the child’s POLR or POB

⁴⁰ District is an administrative sub-division of a state or a territory in India.

⁴¹ According to Joshi and Deb (2015, p. 122) this circular migration could include “seasonal migration, non-seasonal low-wage labor, and the movement of professionals, academics, and transnational entrepreneurs.”

(Bhagat 2008). In contrast, due to the variation in POLR definition in NSS data, these discrepancies in migration data are minimised to a certain extent.

Thirdly, the census data only record a single reason for migration (identified primarily from marriage, employment, relocation with family, education, business, moving with birth, among other factors) (Bhagat 2016, p.37). This single reason overlooks the possibility of multiple and complex reasons for migration. Reasons such as disasters, both natural and human-made like riots or social disturbances, and other reasons for forced migration are inadequately addressed (Bhagat 2008). The “other” category homogenises many complex and significant reasons for migration. Also, while the data indicates marriage as a primary reason for migration for women, Bhagat (2008) argues that there could be a degree of patriarchal bias, especially if reported by a male head of the household.

B. Migrants in the City

Overall, the current (available) statistics in India reveal that internal migration is a phenomenon that mainly occurs within a state. According to the 2011 Census, there were 450 million internal migrants, comprising about 37% of the total population. Most of this internal movement (about 62%) was within the same district (or intra-district), followed by 26% inter-district migration and 12% inter-state migration (De 2019). The inter-state migration only constituted 4% of the total population, and this figure has remained consistent from the 2001 census. Nearly 70% of the internal migrants recorded in 2011 (Census of India 2011) are women, primarily relocating from rural areas.

Bhagat (2016) explains, from his analysis of the 1999-2000 and 2007-2008 NSS survey migration data, that there was a significant increase in female migration (across urban and rural areas), while male migration declined. For men, this declining trend has been attributed to the

“insufficient job creation during the last two decades, a stagnation of job opportunities in the organized sector, rising commutation of workers, and the employment guarantee scheme which curtailed rural to rural labour migration due to reduced wage differentials between places of origin and places of destination within rural areas” (Bhagat 2016, p.252)

For women, this increase was partly attributed to increased communication and transport connections that facilitate long-distance marriages, typically among higher socio-economic groups (Bhagat 2016). Bhagat’s (2016) research also revealed that overall, migrants have higher educational attainments and a better economic status in comparison to non-migrants from the same area, which refutes the popular ideology that only the poorest or illiterate migrate. Also, although female migrants primarily relocate for either marriage or family, the statistics for the same period revealed a decline in migration of unmarried daughters accompanying an earning member or parent, especially if the migration was inter-rural. Bhagat (2016) attributes this phenomenon to the possible lack of preference to give female children opportunities associated with migration. Also, in comparison to men, illiterate women are more likely to migrate, typically as dependents (Bhagat 2017). Therefore, many migrant women who work in urban areas are employed in the informal sector and low skilled jobs post-migration. However, these migrants are sometimes excluded from the labour migrant category as they record marriage as the primary reason for migration (UNESCO 2013; Bhagat 2016; Parida and Madheswaran 2019).

In India, since the 1970s, urbanisation was primarily driven by neo-liberal policies. With contemporary cities diverting their attention towards corporate urban development, the urban poor, migrants and other marginalised communities are pushed into the peripheries as undesirables through the urban restructuring and gentrification processes (Bhagat 2017). These processes are severe, particularly in cities like Mumbai, Delhi, Bengaluru and Hyderabad (Banerjee-Guha; Kundu and Saraswati cited in Bhagat 2017, p. 35). Spaces designed with an objective to attract investments or support specific political agendas usually begin with an assumption of a homogenous citizen and a common “public interest”. The definition of this generic user or homogenous citizen often excludes the poor, disabled, aged, children, women and other vulnerable or marginalised groups (Phadke *et al.* 2011).

Within the Indian social system, caste is one of the predominant identity markers in addition to the linguistic differences based on which the states are organised. One’s social position is predetermined based on the caste an individual is born into. Further, patriarchy (as explained in Section 6.3.2, Chapter 6) has a significant impact on both migratory and everyday experiences of the women, which in turn impacts their access to economic and social resources as well as their mobility. In India, historically, gender relations have also been dictated by patrilocality, emphasising the institutions of marriage and family in addition to other social systems of control (Bhagat 2017). Migrant women experience discrimination and marginalisation at multiple levels, and it is often layered, as Bhagat (2017, p.38) explains:

“women in the city suffer the consequences of being migrants and women, in addition to inherent sociocultural prejudices and economic deprivations. Migration adds to the existing baggage of inequality and discrimination.”

For example, from their study in Mumbai, Phadke *et al.* (2011) explain that women’s access to public spaces is intricately linked to the exclusion of other marginalised communities. Women are

“traditionally seen as unsullied by the vagaries of the outside world, often become the symbolic markers of the community, the keepers of its tradition, and the bearers of its honour. Controlling them becomes synonymous with the protection of the community.” (Phadke *et al.* 2011, pp.17-18)

Therefore, this protection is necessary to shield the women from the “unbelongers” in the community. These “unbelongers” in the context of Mumbai, as the authors explain, are typically identified as male, belonging to a lower economic class, unemployed, and a member of a lower caste or is a Muslim and often perceived as a threat and are undesirable. As a result, the women of marginalised communities experience double-layered exclusion due to their gender and for being “unbelongers”. Therefore, understanding the women’s access to public spaces and their cities involves a process of uncovering the layered exclusion they experience through their multiple identities (Phadke *et al.* 2011).

In India, in addition to poor political representation and discrimination faced due to ethnicity, caste, class, gender (among others) differences, migrants also lack formal residency rights, have limited or inadequate access to housing, employment, civic amenities, and state government aided services (UNESCO 2013; Bhagat 2017). Establishing proof of identity and residency (as discussed in Section 7.2.1, Chapter 7) is one of the major barriers to accessing the public distribution system, exercising voting rights, opening a bank account and their ability to purchase a home, to name a few. Migrants who are poor, illiterate and live in slums in

precarious conditions also experience discrimination and exploitation. Bhagat (2016) explains that internal migrants also often face negative experiences as non-natives, which sometimes manifests into violence against migrants in some places.

To summarise, at a macro level, the understanding of the internal migrants in the national data is simplified. It overlooks several details and variations that might occur as part of the complex migratory processes, especially for women. While women primarily migrate for marriage or relocate with their families, other significant factors affecting their migration may be missed. The study of the contemporary migration patterns can no longer be limited to the economic push and pull factors between urban and rural areas, especially for women. Also, if women are solely identified as dependents based on their (singular) reason for migration, then their contribution to the local economy (particularly within the informal sector) could be excluded from the statistics (Bhagat 2017). The inadequate recognition and understanding of migrants coupled with the social and cultural barriers they experience along with a tag of a “problematic outsider” limits their right to the city (Yon and Nadimpalli 2017). In addition to experiencing marginalisation as migrants, women continue to be subjected to patriarchal norms and caste systems (in addition to other forms of social exclusion based on their identities), which determines their everyday movements and access to economic and social resources.

8.1.2 Indian Migrants in Australia

India is identified as one of the top origin countries of emigration, with a diaspora of 15.6 million worldwide, as noted in 2015 (Parida and Ravi Raman 2018). Unlike the internal migrants in India, the out-migrants from India belong to relatively higher economic groups and have better skills. Parida and Ravi Raman (2018) note that while the out-migration from India was primarily low-skilled and within the Asian region until the 1990s, skilled migration to North America, Europe, and Oceania (mainly Australia and New Zealand) increased significantly during the recent years owing to globalisation.

In Australia, this acceleration of migrants from Asia, particularly India, increased due to the increased pathways to skilled migration since 1998, after abolishing the White Australian Policy⁴² in the 1970s. Through skilled migration, the government specifically aimed at bringing in young, English speaking immigrants, specifically doctors, computer programmers, engineers and other professionals that could support the growth of the Australian economy (Vahed 2007). Hugo (2008) explains that Indians have an advantage (compared to other Asian groups) in the skilled migration pathway due to their good command of the English language and their skills that attract points in Australia. Indians also consider Australia a study destination, as the costs involved are comparably lower than that of the USA and UK and also due to the favourable immigration laws that support working while studying (Vahed 2007). Typically, Indian students view temporary migration as an initial step to permanent migration in Australia (Hugo 2008). Further, The Australian Citizenship Act of 1973 allowed eligible Asians to be considered for citizenship (de Lepervanche, as cited in Vahed 2007).

In Australia, the recent inflow of immigrants from India is heterogeneous compared to the older migrants who arrived before the 1970s, in terms of their cultural, linguistic and religious

⁴² In 1901 the Immigration Restriction Act that was enforced, was specifically aimed to limit non-British (or non-white) immigration into Australia (Source: <https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/white-australia-policy>)

background, as well as their income and economic class (Vahed 2007). However, the official discourse on multiculturalism cannot sufficiently grasp the complex and diverse forms of identity formation of different ethnic cultures (Lakha and Stevenson 2001). Also, the migration pattern of Asian migrants in Australia is non-linear and a multi-stage process (Hugo 2008), or “staggered” (Robertson 2019a). However, as Hugo (2008) explains, Australia's migration data continues to focus on permanent settlers, which can sometimes overlook complex migration trajectories that go beyond a linear relationship between the country of birth or origin and destination.

Further, families and networks are particularly important in the migratory movements between Asian countries (mainly India and China) to Australia (Hugo 2008). “Settled” migrants often support extended family and friends to pursue their migration by sponsoring students or by helping in finding jobs or other information (Hugo 2008). Also, within the Indian culture, parents and extended family play an important role in various decision making of an individual's life course and often influence the migration trajectories as well (Kōu *et al.* 2017).

A. Measuring Migrants

There are multiple streams for migration into Australia. The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) and the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) provide the migration statistics on these different streams. Permanent migrants primarily arrive through the *Migration Program* for skilled and family migrants; and the *Humanitarian Program* for Refugees (Phillips *et al.* 2010). The Humanitarian program was separated from the general migration program in 1993, and the “onshore” and “offshore” distinction was introduced within humanitarian visa recipients in the year 1996 (Phillips *et al.* 2010).

The general Migration Program can be processed through Skills Stream, Family Stream and Special Eligibility Visa. Skilled migration grants entry to those workers whose skills can supply the shortage in the Australian economy and this could be obtained either through employer sponsorship or based on the points tested, in addition to other economic streams (Department of Home Affairs 2020). The Family stream allows family members (primarily partners and parents) to join Australian citizens, permanent residents or eligible New Zealand citizens. Special Eligibility visas are for former residents and people who have served in the Australian Defence Force (Department of Home Affairs 2020). The government reviews and adjusts the intake for both the general Migration Program and the Humanitarian Program annually based on the government policy and the humanitarian need (Phillips *et al.* 2010).

Temporary migration to Australia can be visitors (for tourism, attending conferences, short-term business or visiting family), students, temporary skilled workers, people on working holidays or people seeking medical treatments, among other categories (Department of Home Affairs 2020). Unlike permanent migration, this category is not capped by the government but instead driven by the demand (Phillips *et al.* 2010).

The most accurate data on permanent migrants to Australia since 1980 has been recorded by the DIAC's Migration Program outcome (visa grant) data (Phillips *et al.* 2010). Similarly, DIAC also provides accurate data on the Humanitarian Program Outcome (visa grant) data, noting the statistics on refugee and humanitarian intakes to Australia since the 1970s (Phillips *et al.* 2010). However, these statistics do not reflect the number of offshore visa holders who

do not arrive the year the visa was issued (Phillips *et al.* 2010). And the data on temporary migrants available from DIAC shows fluctuations due to the change in circumstances like immigration policy, which has affected the numbers over time (Phillips *et al.* 2010).

Since 1925, the ABS has recorded the Net Overseas Migration (NOM), which primarily indicates migration flows and the contribution of migration to the overall population growth. NOM is a measure of both departures and arrivals of both permanent and temporary (long-term) entrants each year, which impacts the overall population (Phillips *et al.* 2010). NOM also includes the data on Australian and New Zealand citizens who move in and out of Australia on a long-term basis and any long-term temporary migrants who intend to stay over a year.

Phillips *et al.* (2010) note that due to the changes introduced in the government policy and the modification in the data collection method, it is difficult to interpret and compare migration statistics over time. One such example is the calculation of NOM⁴³, which changed the methodology for defining a “long-term” arrival or departure in September 2006, making it difficult to compare with previous NOM data (Phillips *et al.* 2010). Also, before 1959, the ABS data on arrivals and departures were only classified as permanent and temporary. The permanent category was later subdivided into permanent⁴⁴ and long-term movement⁴⁵. Short-term movement refers to those travellers who intend to stay or actually stay in Australia or abroad for less than six months, whereas long-term movement refers to an intention of stay for 12 months or more (Hugo 2008, p. 268). Hugo (2008) notes that one of the drawbacks of these inflow and outflow categorisations is the emphasis on self-reporting intention (either temporary or permanent) movement, which is often different from the actual outcome (David 2004).

Although Australia has one of the most comprehensive data collection systems compared to some other countries, Hugo (2008) explains that the simplistic categorisation of inflow and outflow of migrants overlooks some of the complex migratory movements. As explained in Section 2.1 of Chapter 2, these migratory movements can be indirect, include a return migration, could be reciprocal, circular or circulatory, in addition to direct permanent migration (see Figure 2.1, Chapter 2). An individual could transition between different categories based on their life cycle stage or part of a migration strategy in addition to other factors (Hugo 2008). An increased focus on permanent migration and significantly less importance to outflows can be a potential barrier to evidence-based policymaking in migration (Hugo 2008).

Further, Robertson (2019b) explains that in the Australian migration research, there continues to be a hard categorisation, for example between, temporary vs permanent migrants and voluntary vs involuntary migrants. She explains that these boundaries reflect the national data sets. For example, ABS measures self-reported data on ancestry, country of birth, ethnicity,

⁴³ Explanation of NOM Calculation: “It is the difference between the number of incoming travellers who stay in Australia for 12 months or more and are added to the population (NOM arrivals) and the number of outgoing travellers who leave Australia for 12 months or more and are subtracted from the population (NOM departures). With the introduction of the improved methods for estimating NOM, this 12 month period does not have to be continuous and is measured over a 16-month reference period. Therefore, whether a traveller is in or out of the population is determined by their exact duration of stay in or away from Australia over the subsequent 16 months after arrival or departure”. (Source: ABS, <https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/3412.0Explanatory+Notes12017-18>)

⁴⁴ “Persons migrating to settle in Australia and residents departing permanently” (Hugo 2008, p. 268)

⁴⁵ “Temporary visa holders arriving and residents departing temporarily with the intention to stay in Australia or abroad for 12 months or more, and the departure of temporary visa holders and the return of residents who had stayed in Australia or abroad for 12 months or more” (Hugo 2008, p. 268)

language and religion for migrants and therefore, most of the empirical research follows suit. Robertson (2019b) calls this process of codifying migrants (as refugees, skilled or unskilled, temporary or permanent, among other categorisations), in scholarly work as well as in media and policy discourses, as “status making”. This “status making”, she explains, if only limited to legal and political classification, overlooks the everyday processes of migrant categorisation which

“is dynamic (that is, variable over time and space), relational (that is, foundationally concerned with the creation of boundaries between different groups) and intersectional (that is, inextricably bound up with other categories of social difference).” (Robertson 2019b, p.220)

Therefore, she urges to re-examine the grouping of the migrants (particularly in Australian migration sociology), which is often based on fixed and conventional categories (examined in isolation) and consider the migrant trajectories, everyday practices and subjectivities as well.

B. Indian Migrants in the City

In recent years, Australia’s population growth has been primarily affected by NOM as opposed to natural growth, specifically due to the increased number of overseas students and temporary skilled visa entrants (Phillips *et al.* 2010). In 2016, there were over 1.9 million temporary visa residents in Australia, primarily on a working holiday visa, student visa or a skilled graduate work visa. Many of these migrants typically stay on for more extended periods, and some acquire permanent residency. Typically, over 50% of onshore temporary visa holders become permanent residents (Robertson 2019a).

Migration from India, which is mostly education-related or skilled migration, has drastically increased between the years 2006 and 2016, thereby doubling the Indian born population during this period (Varghese 2018). According to the Department of Home Affairs (2020), there were 592, 310 Indian-born population living in Australia in June 2018, almost twice in comparison to the previous decade, thus making them the third-largest migrant community in the country. This Indian-born population comprised of 8.1 per cent of Australia’s overseas-born population and 2.4 per cent of the total population. 48% of the Indian-born population are Australian Citizens, and students comprise a third of the non-citizen residents (Department of Home Affairs 2020). Indians in Australia are also the second-highest tax-paying diaspora after the UK (Varghese 2018).

Migrant women constituted 45.6 per cent of the total Indian-born population in 2018 (Department of Home Affairs 2020). Similar to other migrant women, Indian migrant women typically migrate to join their spouses to create a home and raise a family (Costa-Pinto 2007), following patrilocal traditions. However, unlike some other migrant groups, they are young, English language educated and technologically-oriented (Costa-Pinto 2007). According to the 2016 census, a typical migrant in Victoria was a 43-year-old Indian-born woman who spoke English at home (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017).

In Australia, “people of Indian origin are widespread, diverse in terms of religion and sub-ethnic identity, and displaying a wide range of occupational and income patterns” (Vahed 2007, p.37). Moreover, unlike the emphasis on singular Indian cultural identity in various discourses in both India and Australia, Lakha and Stevenson (2001) explain that the Indian culture in Australia is heterogeneous and is expressed in multiple ways. Further,

“there is a duality in the process of identity formation because on the one hand there is fragmentation through increasing group differentiation, yet on the other, there is a striving for continuity of identity within each group.” (Lakha and Stevenson 2001, p.247)

Vahed (2007, p.41) says that this inclination to compress “their identities into “homogeneous” categories such as South Indian Hindu, North Indian Hindu, or Muslim” arises from the confrontation of “rising sectarianism and new challenges posed in terms of liberal cosmopolitanism”. This group differentiation is often visible in the extensive network of Indian community associations and other institutions, primarily formed around cultural-linguistic differences (Lakha and Stevenson 2001). These organisations facilitate socialisation within groups of similar interests and minimise the feeling of isolation in a foreign country (Vahed 2007). Faria (2001, p.142) refers to the Indian organisations as a “surrogate extended family”, a response to the emphasis on nuclear families experienced in a different cultural context. However, these cultural expressions of identity often transcend religious and national boundaries. For example, in Melbourne, The Bengali Association, not only brings together the Muslim and Hindu Bengalis from the state of West Bengal in India but also attracts the Bangladeshi Bengalis due to their common linguistic and cultural background (Lakha and Stevenson 2001).

Temples and other religious destinations, Indian restaurants, grocery shops and other speciality shops are some of the other ways Indian identity is expressed in Melbourne (Lakha and Stevenson 2001). These diverse practices allow the individuals (from India) to maintain a connection with their homeland and express their imagination of the Indian identity; however, this participation does not prevent their engagement in the Australian mainstream culture and institutions (Lakha and Stevenson 2001, pp.248-249).

Further, from their study in Melbourne, Lakha and Stevenson (2001) note that the Indian community is dispersed in different suburbs. The authors attribute it to the city's multicultural environment that offers comfort and freedom to express their cultural identity and not feel “embattled as a victimised minority group” (Lakha and Stevenson 2001, p.259). Australia's multiculturalism policy grants a certain degree of freedom to practice religious festivals and other socio-cultural practices (Vahed 2007). The Australian government has also set up The Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs (AIMA) in 1979 to promote awareness of cultural diversity and tolerance (Vahed 2007).

On the other hand, some scholars feel that the multiculturalism policy, while helpful, it tends to homogenise ethnic groups. Faria (2001) explains that, although Australian society may not associate Indians with a particular value system, they continue to identify them based on their visible differences in their appearance, accent, and clothing as makers of difference and branding of “Indianness”. She adds that:

“the deeper values such as how Indians interact with their families and extended families, how actively they pursue their religious beliefs and how mother tongue languages are promoted in the family, remain hidden from the public gaze.” (Faria p. 142)

Within the Indian culture, “kinship solidarity is at the centre of the migration process and subsequent transnational activities” (Voigt-Graf 2005, p.381). Kōu *et al.* (2017) and Faria (2001) explain that maintaining links with extended family and parents is considered an essential aspect of Indian culture. Most of the young Indian adults Faria (2001, p.140) surveyed

identified “loyalty to family, respect for elders and an adherence to the wishes for parents” as an essentially Indian value.

Kõu *et al.* (2017), through their study of highly skilled Indian migrants in the Netherlands and UK, discuss three ways in which family members shape an individual’s life course, particularly migration. First, parents enable migration to support the general norm of upward mobility that migration brings and sometimes guide educational choices and provide financial support for their children. Secondly, migration experiences are often shaped by negotiating social norms and expectations of the parents and family. Thirdly, “future migration plans are largely directed by care-giving for parents and care of grandchildren” (Kõu *et al.* 2017, p.2800). Kõu *et al.* (2017) also explain that while parents influence the decision making before marriage, the spouse has a more significant impact later. Further, the authors note that even if the men initiate migration, professional opportunities for the wives are an essential consideration for migration, especially when they are educated and highly skilled.

In some communities, marriage alliances can sometimes be strategically used to open new migration trajectories, including inter-diaspora migration, where most women tend to follow their spouse and relocate after marriage due to patrilocal expectations (Voigt-Graf 2005).

Sarwal (2012, p.1) explains that immigrant women (particularly those from South Asia) in Australia continue to navigate the “societal construct where the community looks upon them for preservation and continuation of ethnicity”. Women are often forced to navigate between old and new cultures and value systems while adjusting to mainstream Australian society (Dordi and Walton-Roberts 2016). Women

“navigate between heritage, upbringing and the lifestyle of the host country, thereby traversing radically contradictory social settings and having contested identities.” (Dordi and Walton-Roberts 2016, p.90)

According to Costa-Pinto (2007), however, the changes in the social setting and situation for women also opens up opportunities for new forms of autonomy. Costa-Pinto (2007) has mainly focused on the impacts of cyberspace, assignment of household activities and socio-cultural reproduction within the Indian immigrant community in Melbourne to explore these new forms of autonomy. On cyberspace, she comments that access to technology and the internet allows women to maintain their social connections at home, seek support and solace while communicating issues with extended family. At the household front, most women learn to negotiate new roles as they lack the support of household help in Australia (unlike in India) and divide the new workload with their family. Further, similar to Kõu *et al.* (2017), Costa-Pinto (2007) adds that the Indian migrant women continually re-negotiate their gender roles and socio-cultural expectations with their family members and community in their new context. Her findings suggest that

“Indian woman migrant uses negotiation, compromise and tolerance to be autonomous while fulfilling community expectations, flexible while being in control of her life, and self-reflexive while being continuously engaged with her environment.” (Costa-Pinto 2007, p.1)

To summarise, the transnational migratory patterns, especially for Asian migrants (including Indian migrants), are “complex, multidirectional, and involving several distinct structural components of varying degrees of permanency/temporality” where the transition between these structural elements is a common occurrence (Hugo 2008, p.285). Indian migrants are one of

the desirable migrant groups due to their proficiency in English and their skills that can contribute to the Australian economy. Students also choose to migrate, considering possible career options in Australia and opportunities to settle permanently. Although the Indian-born population might seek upward socio-economic mobility through migration, it does not negate their strong attachment to their culture or their integration into the mainstream Australian culture and institutions (Lakha and Stevenson 2001). The Indians in Australia display their culture in multiple ways, and the multiculturalism discourse in Melbourne and Australia supports the free expression of their identity to a certain degree while simultaneously grouping them as a single cultural ethnicity. Indian migrants continue to maintain ties with their homeland through regular visits to their home-country in addition to other forms of connections (Hugo 2008). These other linkages include frequent communication over the telephone, internet, remittances, investment in real-estate in the home-country and other forms of economic links (Voigt-Graf 2005; Vahed 2007). Migrant Indian women, navigate between old and new socio-cultural values and patriarchies in a new context, while seeking opportunities to establish new forms of autonomy (Costa-Pinto 2007).

8.2 Micro Level: Re-Positioning Migrant Belongings through Time

In this section, an intersectional life course is applied to analyse how the *positionality* of the women varies through migration and time and creates a variation in their experiences of belonging. As explained previously, the framework proposed by Ferrer *et al.* (2017) (see Section 2.5, Chapter 2), which combines *translocational positionality* and *life course approach*, offers a useful starting point. There are four stages in their framework, **Step 1** focuses on identifying life events and the structural forces that shape them, **Step 2** explores the local and globally linked lives, **Step 3** analyses the identities, categories and processes of difference and **Step 4**, contextualises step 1 to 3 within broader structures and looks at agency, domination and resistance (Ferrer *et al.* 2017, p.12).

However, there are a few limitations in its application to this research. First, the interviews were not aimed at examining the life course of the migrant women; they were intended to understand the everyday spaces of the migrant women and the experiences of belonging associated with it. Therefore, there is inadequate information to apply a comprehensive intersectional-life course analysis relevant to all the steps proposed by Ferrer *et al.* (2017) for all the cases. Secondly, the participants belong to different age and migration cohorts and have different places of origin with complex migratory movements. Therefore, it is beyond the scope of this research to establish the historical context within which some of the migration decisions have occurred. Finally, as the framework particularly addresses transnational migrants, the concepts are broadly applied to both internal and international migrants.

Therefore, given the scope of the thesis and the data limitations, this section draws only on the micro level lived experiences pertinent to migration (through key stages and events identified in the life course by the participant) and links it to the macro level structures where possible. In the cases discussed in this section, the life-event markers only indicate an approximate timeline of the actual event, as derived from the interviews. In cases where the timeline was missing, an approximation was made.

Also, drawing from Kõu *et al.* (2017), I mainly focus on the *linked lives* aspect of life course research. Kõu *et al.* (2017) explain that, unlike the western literature that emphasises on an individual or nuclear household phenomenon, in the Indian context, the immediate and extended families have a strong presence and play a vital role in the life course decisions, particularly in the migration trajectories. The *linked lives* are also emphasised by Ferrer *et al.* (2017, p.14), who explain that,

“individual trajectories are seldom experienced in isolation, and implicate multiple family members, multiple generations, and take place across transnational spaces.”

The following sections analyse the trajectories of Megha, Leela and Monica in Hyderabad, and Sonam, Soumya and Priya in Melbourne. These cases have been identified based on the depth of the information available to apply an intersectional life course approach. They also represent an example from each of the six migrant typologies proposed in Chapter 7. The migratory movements and key events identified from the interviews are shown in the migration trajectory figures (Figure 8.1, 8.3, 8.5, 8.7, 8.9, 8.11) in the subsequent sections. The x-axis in these figures indicates years on the timeline, whereas the y-axis indicates the relative migration distance between different locations (as shown in the scale). The everyday movements, as well as the inter-city residential relocation of the participants, are represented in the Everyday Spaces and Residential Movements figures (Figures 8.2, 8.4, 8.6, 8.8, 8.10, 8.12). The time-paths of the participants are also indicated in these figures to correspond with the spatial locations represented on the map.

8.2.1 Narratives from Hyderabad

A. Megha

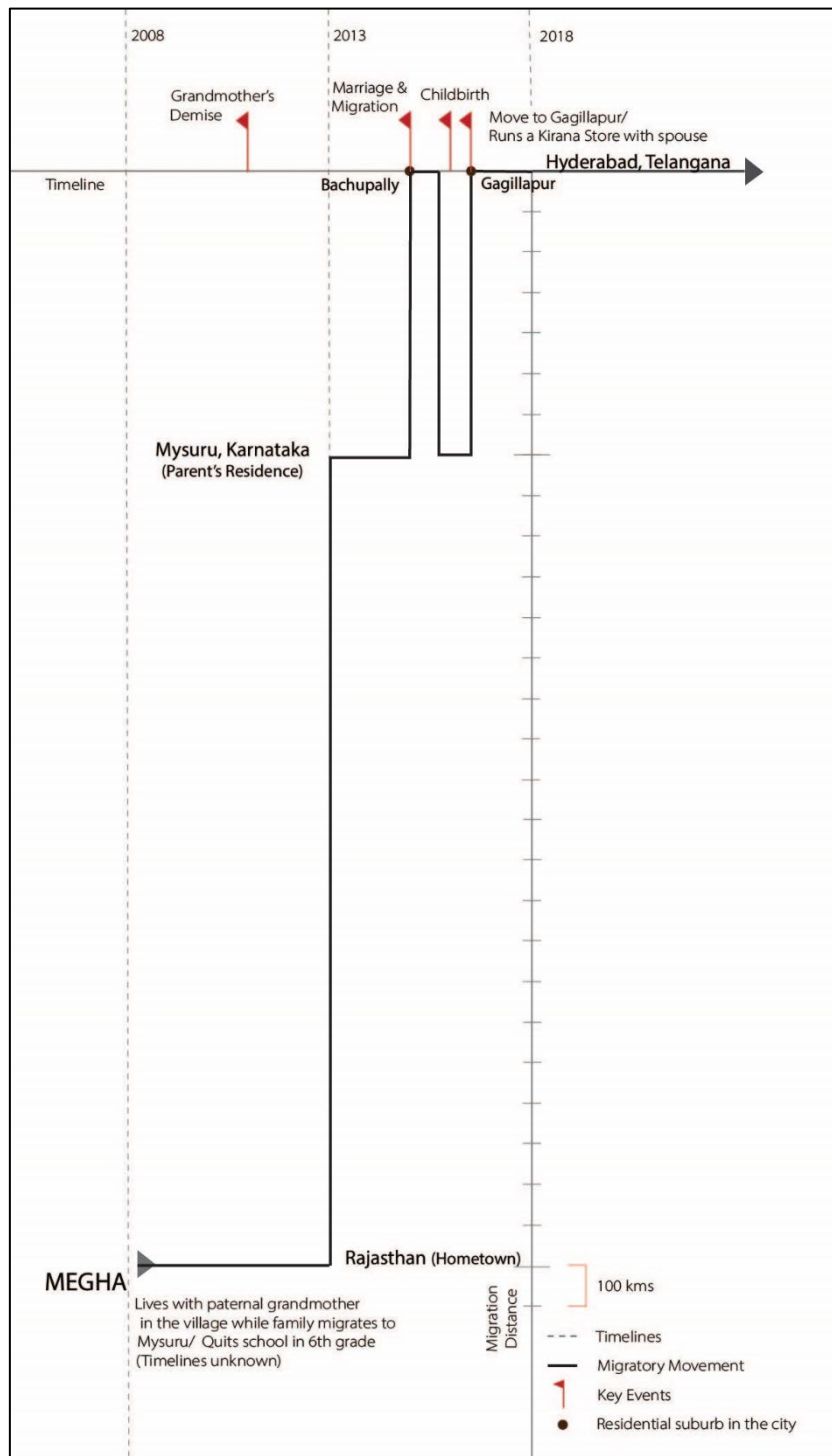


Figure 8. 1: Key Events in Megha's Migration Trajectory, Hyderabad

for two years until her marriage in 2014. Her family arranged her marriage, and she had never

Megha was 20-25 years old at the time of the interviews and identified as a *Marvadi*⁴⁶ woman hailing from the State of Rajasthan. Her life trajectory includes several migratory movements (see Megha's Migration Trajectory in Figure 8.1). During her childhood, her parents migrated to Mysuru (in the state of Karnataka) to start a small business. However, at her paternal grandmother's request, she was left behind in the village to assist the family in farming activities. Megha recalled her time in her hometown as a busy life, with several hours spent working in the fields and tending to cattle. As a result of which she was eventually forced to quit school:

"After...I finished my 6th grade, my grandmother made me quit school. She said, *Who is going to do all my work? Who will milk the buffaloes? Who is going to do all these tasks?*"

Sometime after her grandmother's passing, Megha re-joined her family in Mysuru and lived

⁴⁶ An Indian ethnic group originating from Rajasthan region and primarily identified as a business community.

interacted with her spouse before her wedding. Therefore, she was unfamiliar with the circumstances and the city that she was moving to.

After her marriage, Megha briefly lived with her sister-in-law's family in Bachupally area in Hyderabad for about seven months (See Megha's Residential Movements in Figure 8.2). Later, due to her pregnancy, Megha temporarily moved back to her parent's home for childbirth and post-partum care, as dictated by the cultural and social norms. After almost a year in Mysuru, Megha returned to Hyderabad along with her 6-month-old son and started living in Gagillapur. Since 2016, Megha lives in a nuclear household with her spouse and son and works at the family-owned *kirana* store (mini grocery) together with her husband.

Experiencing belonging with an increase in agency

Megha's migration trajectories were primarily linked to the decisions of her family. Her grandmother, the head of the family at the time, raised her in Rajasthan, while Megha's parents migrated elsewhere for work. Her subsequent migration decisions were linked to her parents' residential location (Mysuru) and later, her spouse (Hyderabad).

From her narrative, it was evident that Megha's agency was limited for most of her life decisions, including her education, migratory movements, and everyday local movements. This limited agency was mainly due to the gendered expectations imposed on her by her family and due to the limited availability of time emanating from multiple responsibilities, primarily caregiving.

During her childhood, her grandmother often controlled Megha's outdoor movements and her interactions with others around her, as she explained:

“My grandmother was temperamental, so even if I wanted to call my friends over, they would hesitate.... She would not allow anyone to come home.”

In the village, her everyday temporality was primarily set by the routines and rhythms of farming and cattle rearing activities. In contrast, in Gagillapur, her temporality was defined by her responsibilities as a wife and a mother in addition to the daily operations of the store. Also, as she lived within a few meters from the *kirana* store, her range of everyday mobility was restricted to the immediate vicinity of her home (See Megha's Everyday Spaces in Figure 8.2). During her life course, while her primary role transitioned from a granddaughter and daughter to a wife and mother, she maintained the gender normative expectations set by those around her. Moreover, time remained a scarce resource, primarily utilised for the care and support of her family.

In addition to the social structures that have shaped Megha's spatial patterns, cultural differences have also imposed certain barriers. While Megha communicates fluently in Hindi and Marvadi, her inability to speak in Telugu has restricted her interactions with the native Telugu speaking customers. Although Megha lives within a Marvadi community in Gagillapur, as most families run a *kirana* shop, they seldom have the time to get together. Therefore, Megha solely relies on her spouse (an older migrant and a non-native Telugu speaker) to navigate the language and cultural barriers. As she does not drive and is unfamiliar with the city, she also relies on her husband to commute farther out when their schedules permit.

Megha's migration life course locates her as a *Dependent* migrant on the spectrum of belonging (See Figure 7.1, Chapter 7) through her multiple migration trajectories and sometimes

controlled mobility patterns. When asked about her sense of belonging in Hyderabad, Megha stated that she liked her life compared to before, as she has a greater degree of freedom and independence:

“It’s just the two of us here...there is no one else. My in-laws live in the village...no one to tell me anything”. (laughs)

Megha has expressed an increase in her agency in her current life cycle stage as a young married migrant woman living in a nuclear family and away from her relatives and in-laws. While she feels attached to her house in Gagillapur, as a new migrant, she is yet to build a relationship with her neighbourhood and the city. Although Megha continues to maintain a strong sense of attachment to Rajasthan, through her annual visit to meet in-laws and extended family, Mysuru was only mentioned as her parent’s current home.

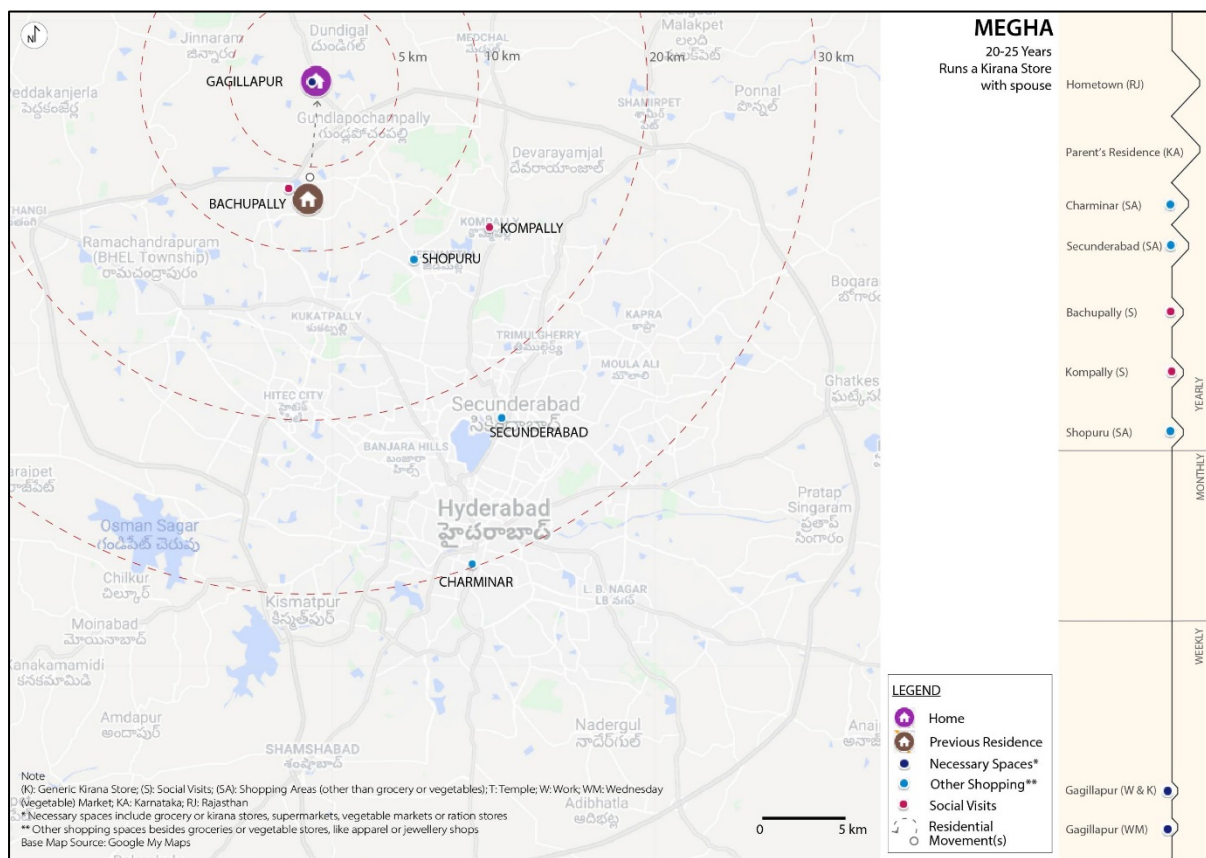


Figure 8. 2: Megha's Everyday Spaces and Residential Movements, Hyderabad

B. Leela

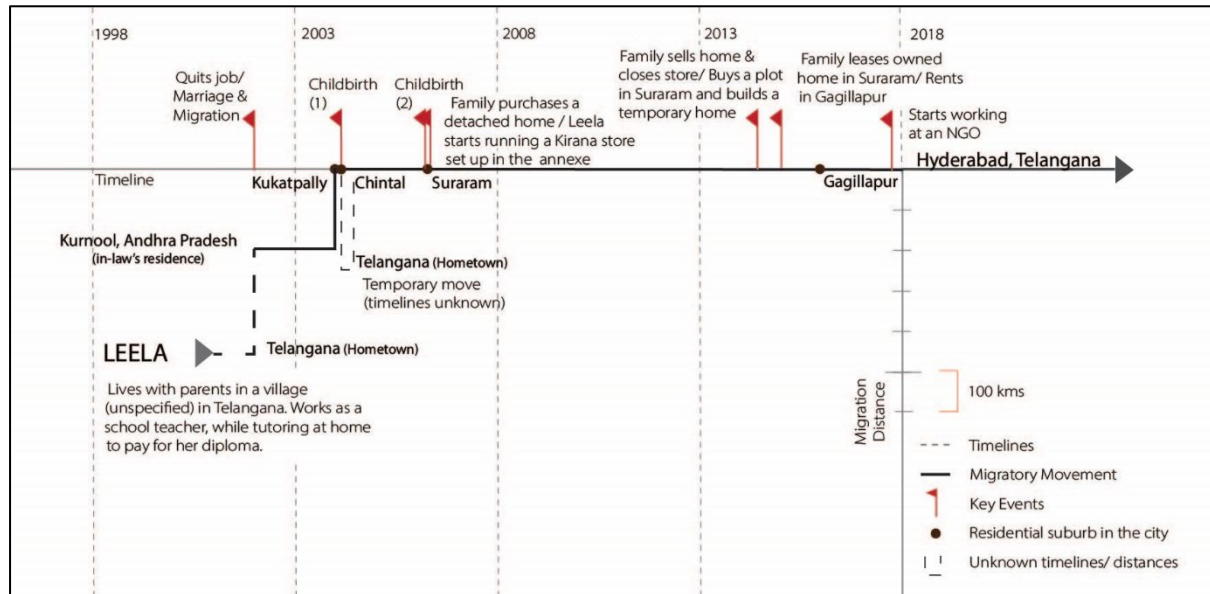


Figure 8. 3: Key Events in Leela's Migration Trajectory, Hyderabad

Leela was 35 years old at the time of the interviews and identified as an intra-state migrant of Telangana. Her migration trajectory began when she married in 2002 and relocated to Kurnool (Andhra Pradesh) to live with her spouse and in-laws (See Leela's Migration Trajectory in Figure 8.3). Prior to her marriage, Leela worked as a teacher at a primary school for over a year in addition to tutoring at home to pay for her diploma at an open university.

After two years of living in Kurnool, she moved to Hyderabad in 2004 to join her spouse, who migrated a few months before seeking employment. She was in the third trimester of her pregnancy at the time of her migration.

In Hyderabad, Leela lived in multiple suburbs (see Leela's Residential Movements in Figure 8.4). She first lived in Kukatpally, where her spouse and her brother were sharing an apartment. After a brief two month stay, Leela relocated to Chintal for her spouse's job. Within a week of her relocation, Leela gave birth to her first child, after which she temporarily moved back to her parent's home in Telangana to receive post-partum care.

After two years of stay in Chintal, Leela's family purchased a home in Suraram and relocated. Around the same time (approx. 2007), Leela gave birth to her second child. It is likely that she temporarily migrated back to her hometown for her second childbirth as well, although it was not stated in the interview.

In Suraram, Leela's spouse constructed a one-room annexe to their home to set up a *kirana* store. Leela primarily operated the business for about eight years while balancing her caregiving and domestic responsibilities. Her spouse also worked at the store in addition to his primary job at a chemical factory. Leela's family eventually closed the store and sold their home to purchase a parcel of land at a prime location in Suraram to live permanently in the future.

Leela's family constructed a temporary structure on their parcel, and sometime in 2015, they leased it to relocate to Gagillapur. This move was aimed to reduce the commute time for their children, who recently transferred to a high school near Gagillapur.

Since 2016, Leela lives in a detached rental home with her family in Gagillapur. She started working with an NGO as a community resource person (CRP) four months prior to the interview.

Feeling rooted in the suburb through social connections and homeownership

Through her diverse experiences in Hyderabad, Leela identified the most with Suraram, which she called “a place of her own”. Her connection with the community was primarily established through the eight years she spent operating the *kirana* store. Due to the family’s strong sense of attachment with Suraram, they purchased a plot with an intent to build a permanent home. Homeownership was an important family goal not only to secure financial stability for the children’s future but also to provide a stable environment for her in-laws, for when they decide to live with them in their old age.

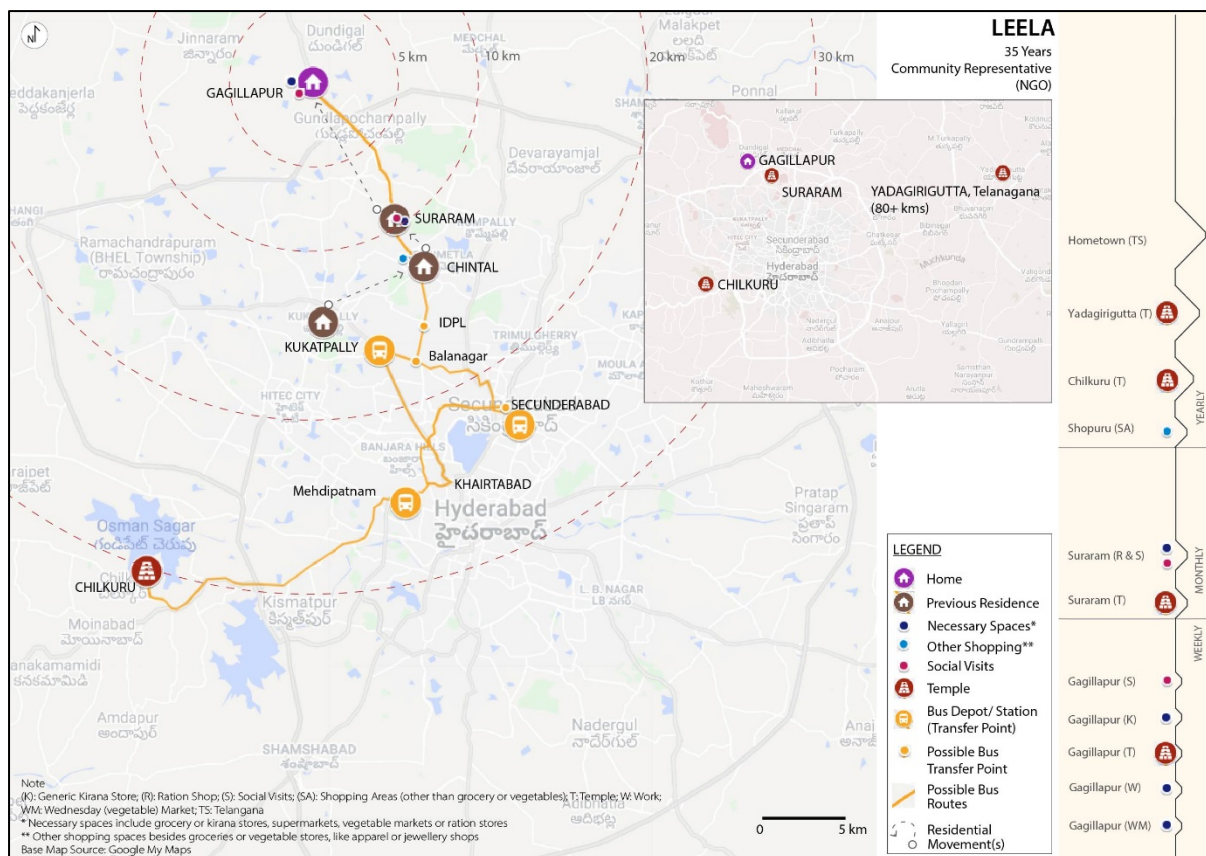


Figure 8. 4: Leela's Everyday Spaces and Residential Movements, Hyderabad

Despite her relocation to Gagillapur, she continues to nurture her connections in Suraram by retaining her national identification documents (Ration Card and Aadhar Card) linked to her property. These identity documents allowed her to make monthly trips to the suburb to purchase her government rations and meet her friends.

In Gagillapur, Leela struggles to find a similar sense of attachment with the community like in Suraram. At the time of the interview, Leela expressed the couple’s intent to purchase their current rental home; however, the transaction was interrupted due to a dispute which resulted in a financial loss. This negative experience made it difficult for her to feel at home in Gagillapur, although she expressed a deep sense of attachment with her current rental home. Additionally, Leela always feels like an outsider, as she was often identified as a “non-local”

in the community, despite her Telangana roots and being a native Telugu speaker. As a renter, she felt that Gagillapur will always be her temporary home as she is likely to move back to Suraram once both her children graduate high school.

One of the most significant transitions identified in Leela's life course was the change in her positionality as a single working woman and student to that of a wife and mother. Leela's marriage was arranged by her parents at an "appropriate age" with an individual with a similar educational background. However, contrary to her expectations, her spouse discouraged her from pursuing teaching, as he was unsuccessful in his attempts. Instead, he set up a *kirana* store to give Leela greater flexibility and autonomy in managing responsibilities at work and home, unlike a teaching position with a more rigid and demanding routine. Although Leela stated to be happy with the financial stability that her family has attained, she expressed disappointment in not being able to prioritise her interests and earn a degree in Education and teach.

Leela's current temporalities are defined by her job while managing household chores and caregiving responsibilities. Leading a busy life, she seldom had any free time, as explained in her statement:

"And now that I work here [at the NGO], and there is no time to do things at home. I don't even have time to pray! Getting both my boys ready [...] and sending them [to school], that takes until 8 (am). After they leave, I have to clean everything- laundry, dirty dishes [...] and in the evening when I return, there is always something to do, sweeping, taking care of the children, my time is spent that way."

Therefore, Leela's everyday movements in her current life cycle stage as a working mother keeps her close to home. As her work is located within a two-kilometre radius, she seldom leaves Gagillapur on working days. Due to her familiarity with the city, she is comfortable moving independently to different parts of the city using autorickshaws or public transportation (as shown in Leela's Everyday Spaces in Figure 8.4). She sometimes relies on her spouse for her transportation needs as she does not drive.

Leela was identified as a *Settler* migrant (See Figure 7.1, Chapter 7) on the spectrum of belonging due to her intent to settle in Hyderabad permanently and through her positive experiences of belonging shared with the city, specifically Suraram. However, Leela's migration journey began as a *Dependent* and briefly transitioned into *Resilient* during the years that she worked at the store to support her family and build financial security despite facing some adversities:

"After eight years, I started to feel burdened. I struggled [to cope with the store] while raising little children. I had to take care of the children [...] at the same time, I had to come to the shop in the morning [when most of the sales occur]. [...] After he[husband] would return from his night shift, he would not even rest. He would come back and sit at the store [and] I would do the household chores while he worked at the shop. [...] Every day, by the end of the day, I would feel like crying. If we had a family inheritance to back us up, we would not have had to work so hard. But we do not have any of that! We need to work hard, to grow [financially or build financial stability]."

Leela continues to experience a sense of belonging with her hometown as well. Although, with time, she is unable to relate to the altered demographics in the village due to severe out-migration. Kurnool is another place that she often visits to meet her family. While her hometown is a cherished place from the past, the latter is the current (temporary) home of her in-law's until the time they relocate to Hyderabad. Leela also maintains continuity with her past social connections by frequently meeting her high school friends, who are also older migrants to Hyderabad, like her. Leela's social relationships and sense of financial stability, mainly rooted in Suraram, are her major anchors in the city.

C. Monica

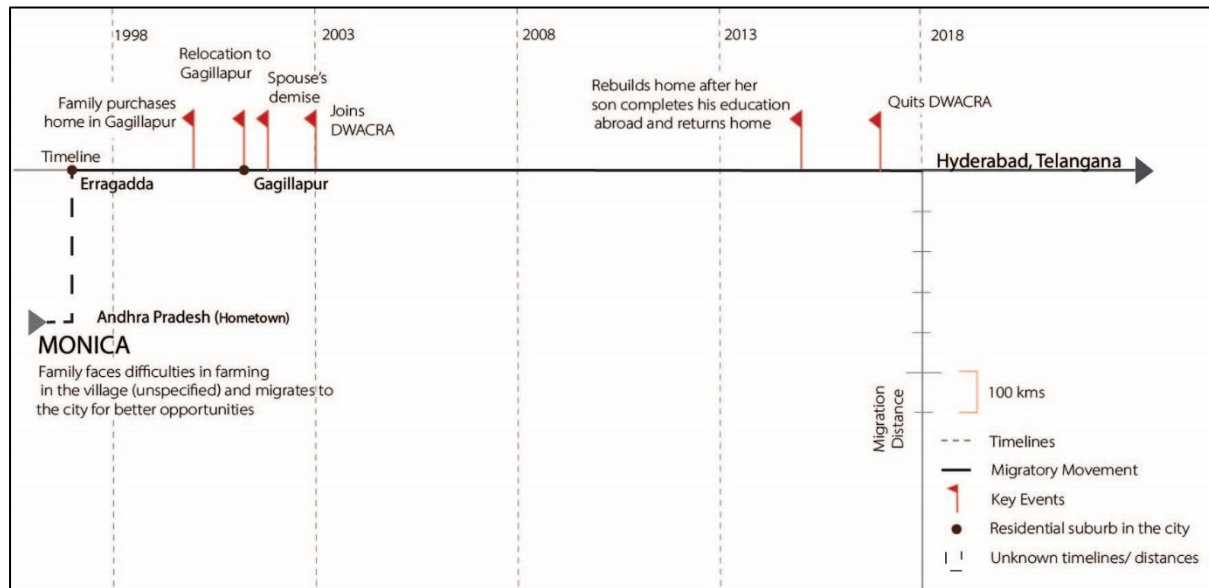


Figure 8. 5: Key Events in Monica's Migration Trajectory, Hyderabad

Monica's family decided to migrate to Hyderabad in 1997 (See Monica's Migration Trajectory in Figure 8.5) after they faced hardships in farming in their village (unspecified) in Andhra Pradesh. Their move was intended to seek job opportunities for Monica's spouse and better education for their children. With the support of their family and relatives living in Hyderabad, they first lived in Erragadda area in the city (See Monica's Residential Movements in Figure 8.6). Within a few years of their migration, Monica's husband started working as a bus driver for the Andhra Pradesh State Road Transport Corporation (APSRTC). Soon after, in the year 2000, the family purchased a home in Gagillapur. During the summer of 2001, after their children finished their academic year in Erragadda, they moved into their new home. Unfortunately, in October 2001, Monica's husband passed away in a road accident while on the job. After her husband's passing, Monica took over as the head of the household and focused on raising her children with the support of her extended family in Gagillapur.

In 2015, Monica's son completed his education abroad and returned home. After his return, they rebuilt their family home as a multi-tenant building. At the time of the interviews, Monica lived with her son on the ground floor of her building while leasing the upper floors. Monica explained that she lives a relaxed life in Gagillapur, now that she had fulfilled most of her responsibilities towards her children.

During Monica's life course, she was also an active member of DWCRA⁴⁷ self-help groups between 2003 and 2017, while also serving as a group leader for seven years.

Feeling at home with close family ties and religion

Monica described the period after her husband's passing as a "rebirth", as she had to take on the role of the head of the family and raise her two children by herself:

"..after my husband died, my responsibilities grew. I used to be scared... even to board a bus, but after he passed, I did not have a choice. I gathered some courage, I think, half of that strength was given to me by god!"

Before her marriage and migration, Monica explained that she spent most of her time indoors managing household chores. During her childhood, she even helped her mother raise her younger sister. As she was only educated until the fourth grade and possibly married young, migrating into the city was an intimidating experience, mostly due to her poor reading and writing skills. She explained that even after her marriage, she seldom left home as her husband did most shopping. However, after her husband's passing, she was forced to improve her skills to survive and manage the household independently. A major life-changing event intensified her experience as a new migrant in the city, especially with the loss of the family's sole earning member.

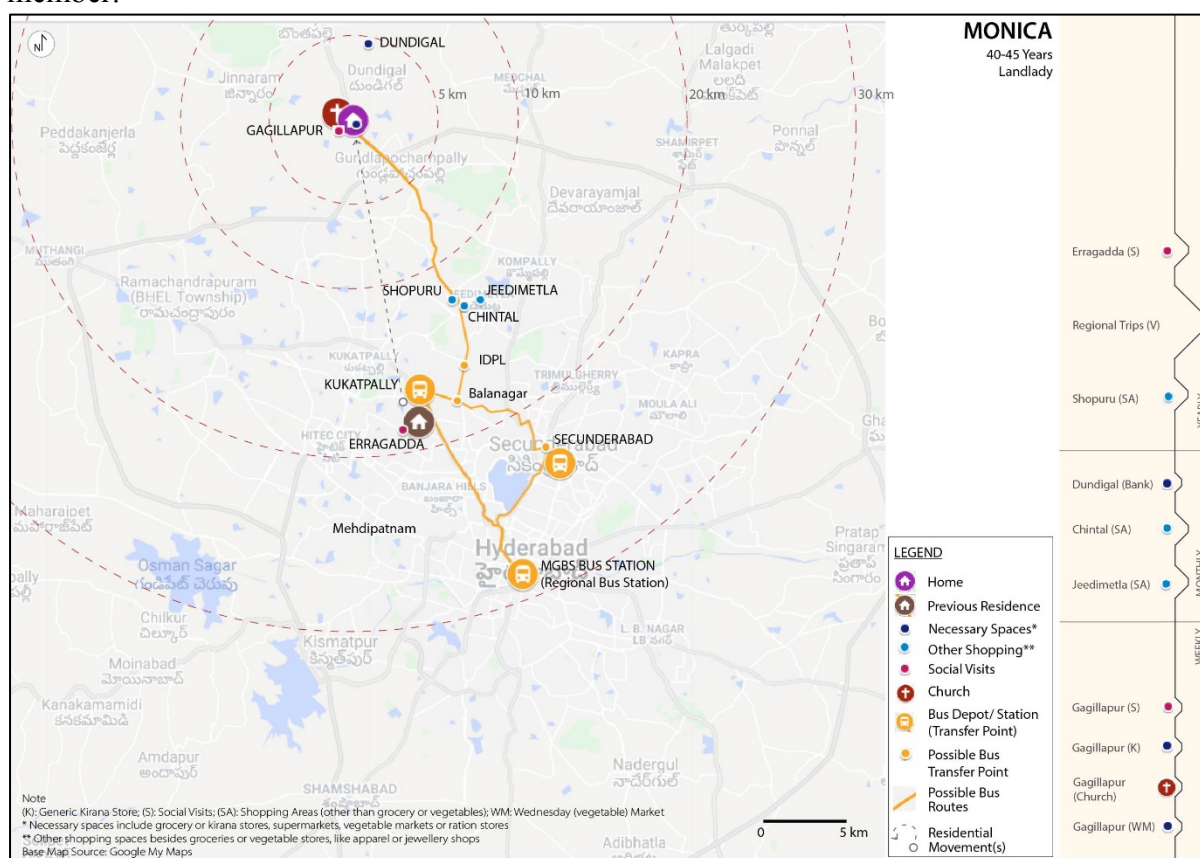


Figure 8. 6: Monica's Everyday Spaces and Residential Movements, Hyderabad

⁴⁷ DWCRA stands for The Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas. It is a government implemented scheme targeted at improving the socio-economic conditions of the women through income generating activities on a sustainable basis. Typically, the women form self-help groups, save money and take out small loans.

Monica explained that although her family-owned properties back in the village, she decided to continue to live in the city, despite her circumstances, to ensure a better life for her children. Although Monica did not share details of her source of income, she stated to receive support from her extended family in Gagillapur and some monetary compensation from APSRTC after her husband's demise. Also, as an active member of a self-help group (DWCRA), she sometimes took out small loans from her savings to pay for her children's tuition.

For Monica, the inner-city was an unfamiliar and intimidating place in the past, whereas Gagillapur always felt like home, because of her relatives and church:

“I have my relatives here. So, I did not feel that way [out of place]. When I first lived in the *city* [inner city], with my husband, [...] I was really scared. [...] I didn't know how to get around. But after we moved here, since there are relatives [living here], I did not get scared. My uncles live here- my mom's brothers.”

Religion and relatives have anchored Monica's life in Gagillapur, with which she shares a deep attachment. A relaxed lifestyle sets her temporalities in her current life cycle stage due to her reduced responsibilities at home. Monica was, therefore, identified as a *Content* migrant on the *spectrum of belonging* (See Figure 7.1, Chapter 7), as she voluntarily chooses to keep her everyday movements to a minimum and close to home. Monica maintains a connection with her hometown and also stated to commute occasionally (and independently) to the nearby towns using regional buses to visit relatives. Monica's migration journey began as a *Dependent* where her migration and everyday movements were mostly dependent on her spouse. She later transitioned into a *Resilient* migrant when she suddenly became the head of her family while balancing her responsibilities as a single parent.

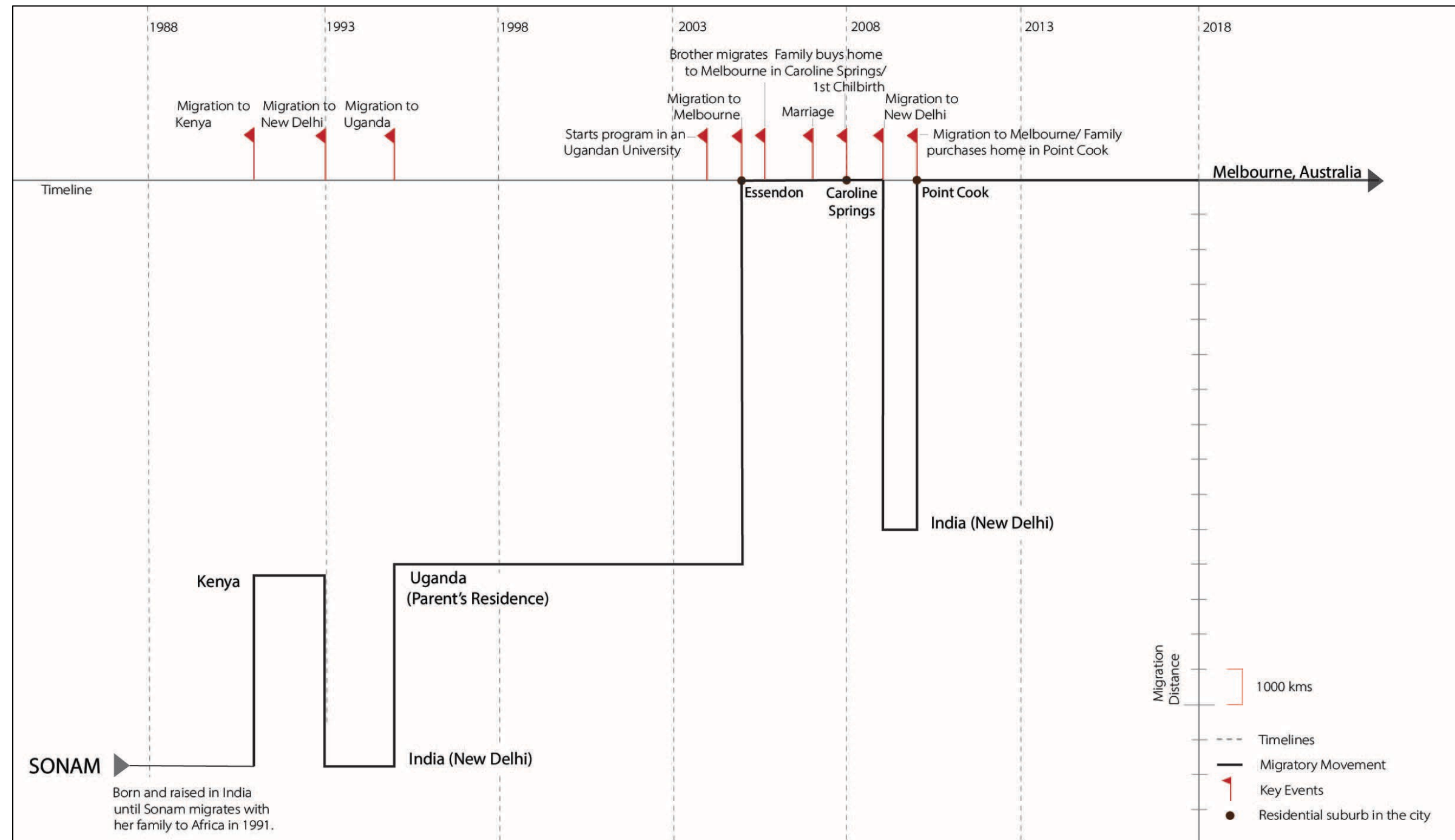


Figure 8. 7: Key Events in Sonam's Migration Trajectory, Melbourne

8.2.2 Narratives from Melbourne

A. Sonam

Sonam's life course included multiple migration trajectories (see Figure 8.7) across different continents. As shown in Figure 8.7, in 1991, she first migrated with her parents from India to Kenya, possibly for her parent's work. However, as she struggled to fit in her school and everyday life, she requested her parents to let her study in India whilst on a family vacation in 1993. Sonam completed two years of high school in New Delhi and re-joined her parents after they relocated to Uganda. She continued to live in Uganda while pursuing a bachelor's program via correspondence at a university in New Delhi. During her program, she often travelled to India to complete relevant short-term coursework.

In February 2005, at the age of 25, after completing a year at a Ugandan university, she moved to Melbourne to pursue a master's degree. While she had considered migrating to the USA or UK, Australia was a favourable choice as it was comparatively safer for her, and the duration of the program and tuition met her requirements.

After Sonam arrived in Melbourne, a high school colleague from New Delhi (who had migrated 18 months prior) provided the initial handholding. Sonam lived with her friend and his housemates in a rental home in Essendon suburb (See Sonam's Residential Movements in Figure 8.8) until her graduation and marriage. Six months after her arrival, her younger brother also migrated to Melbourne for his education and moved into her home. During her period of study, Sonam worked at a call centre to support herself financially.

In 2007, Sonam married her high school colleague and moved to Caroline Springs after they purchased land and built a home. She was pregnant at the time of the purchase. Sonam stated that their home was also intended to accommodate her in-laws, who were expected to migrate to Melbourne. However, within a year of the couple's move to Caroline Springs, they decided to return to India as their in-laws struggled to adjust to their life in Australia.

Sonam's family tried to resettle in New Delhi for a year, and when it was unsuccessful, they returned to Australia in 2010. During the second migration, the family purchased a home in Point Cook, as most of the couple's close friends and acquaintances had settled into the suburb. Sometime during this period, Sonam had another child, although the timelines were not stated in the interview. Sonam explained that when her children were younger, her mother-in-law visited for nine months in a year, while her mother filled in for the remaining three months to help with the children while the couple worked. The mothers continued to migrate temporarily, short-term, for a couple of years until Sonam's in-laws eventually retired from work in India and permanently relocated to Australia (a few years before 2018, timelines unknown).

At the time of the interview, Sonam lived with her husband, her two children and her in-laws in Point Cook while working a full-time job and simultaneously managing her businesses. Sonam worked near the CBD and commuted five days a week for work. She

also owned three salons within a 5-kilometre radius of Point Cook (see Figure 8.8 for Sonam's work locations), which she often frequented, either after work or on weekends. Sonam said that she had "wholeheartedly" accepted her life in Melbourne, and called it her home, as everyone in her family, including her, are happy with their lives and are "settled".

Multiple experiences of belonging and multi-locational linked lives

Sonam described her migration trajectory as unusual and unlike other migrants: "it's not your typical story, it's a different one!". Her multiple migrations were linked with varying intent, based on her life cycle stage and other decisions in her life. Her migration journey first began as a *Dependent* during her childhood, when she relocated to Africa with her parents. This was followed by two independent migratory movements, one to India and later to Australia, with a relocation to Uganda to re-join family, accommodated in between. Her independent movements were primarily intended for education, although the relocation to India could also be considered temporary return migration. Her intended temporary migration to Melbourne for study changed course and became permanent migration after she married a resident Indian migrant. However, due to a change in her life course events, there was also a brief return migration to India. This migration was immediately followed by a permanent migration back to Australia.

While living as a migrant in Africa and Australia, there were also several temporary, short-term circulatory movements: between Africa and India and later between Australia and India, and Australia and Uganda, to visit her family and relatives in different locations. Sonam has a complex social network extending beyond her country of origin and destination. Her parents continue to live in Uganda, and her brother relocated to New Delhi after living in Melbourne and Vienna. Sonam continues to travel regularly to visit her family across the globe.

Through her multiple migratory movements, Sonam's experiences of belonging varied based on her positionality in the context she was living in. She explained that every migration experience was different, and with time, it became easier for her to adjust to a new environment as "it became a norm". Sonam's first migration experience to Kenya was challenging, as she struggled to fit in:

"I was 11; we went back to India for my uncle's wedding...I refused to go back..to Kenya! I told my mom, I said ..I can't go, I don't like my school there, I don't have any friends, I'm not happy, I had friends but like...you know, I just wasn't comfortable."

This discomfort prompted her independent (temporary) return migration to finish high school while living with her aunt and grandmother in New Delhi. Later, after her parents migrated to Uganda, she decided to move back with them, hoping that the new environment would present different experiences. In comparison to her life in Kenya, Sonam explained that she could adjust better and connect with those around her in Uganda. Her positive social relationships and a sense of familiarity while living amongst other Indians in the city gave her a sense of belonging at the time.

During her later migrations, Sonam felt apprehensive initially about moving to Australia as she did not have any relatives in the country, nor did she live independently or away from her family. However, as her high school acquaintance (whom she later married) helped her adjust to both the university and everyday life in Melbourne through his prior experiences as an older migrant and a student, Sonam had a smooth transition. She described her initial experiences in Melbourne as “lucky”, “positive”, and “not challenging” in comparison to some other students. Sonam’s brother also migrated six months later for his studies. Sonam explained that having her sibling living with her in a foreign city gave her parents a great deal of comfort, as they could now support one another. Sonam’s sense of belonging in Melbourne was again strengthened primarily by her strong and supportive social connections in the city.

In Melbourne, Sonam lived in different suburbs and shared a varied sense of attachment with different places. Essendon was associated with her student life, where she was primarily an *Explorer* migrant, starting her life in a new country independently. Her latter experiences in Melbourne transitioned her to a *Settler* migrant through the change in her resident status, purchase of a home and her intent to live permanently.

After her marriage, Sonam’s family chose to live in Caroline Springs, which she described as a “new upcoming suburb with lots of Indians”. Sonam explained that she had always anticipated her in-laws to migrate and live with them as her spouse is a single child. Therefore, it was necessary to choose a suburb with an Indian community, particularly Punjabis. However, after their brief stint in India, when the family returned to Melbourne, they moved to Point Cook, where most of the couple’s friends had also bought a home. Her in-laws also eventually migrated to live with them permanently.

Describing Point Cook as her “safe zone”, she explained that the primary reason that she is happy in Point Cook and Melbourne is that everyone in her family is “comfortable and happy” as well. Her in-laws and her children have their independent social connections, which contributed to her comfort. Furthermore, in her life cycle stage, Sonam wants minimal changes in her stable life and is happy to continue in her current environment, as she explains:

“I know everybody [here], I know everything over there [in Point Cook] and therefore, and even now when my husband suggests a place, to move to another place or go to a different place, we usually end up pulling back. I think it’s more an age thing than anything else, where you know, after a certain age you want convenience, just want to keep to yourself rather than going through a lot of change....so that’s what is kind of happening.”

Further, after eliminating the possibility of return migration to India as a viable option, Sonam stated to “wholeheartedly” accept Point Cook as her home. Another major factor contributing to her place-belongingness is her financial stability gained through both her job and her successful businesses operating in and around her suburb.

Sonam experienced several life cycle changes through her migrations which also impacted her everyday movements and defined her temporalities. For example, as a

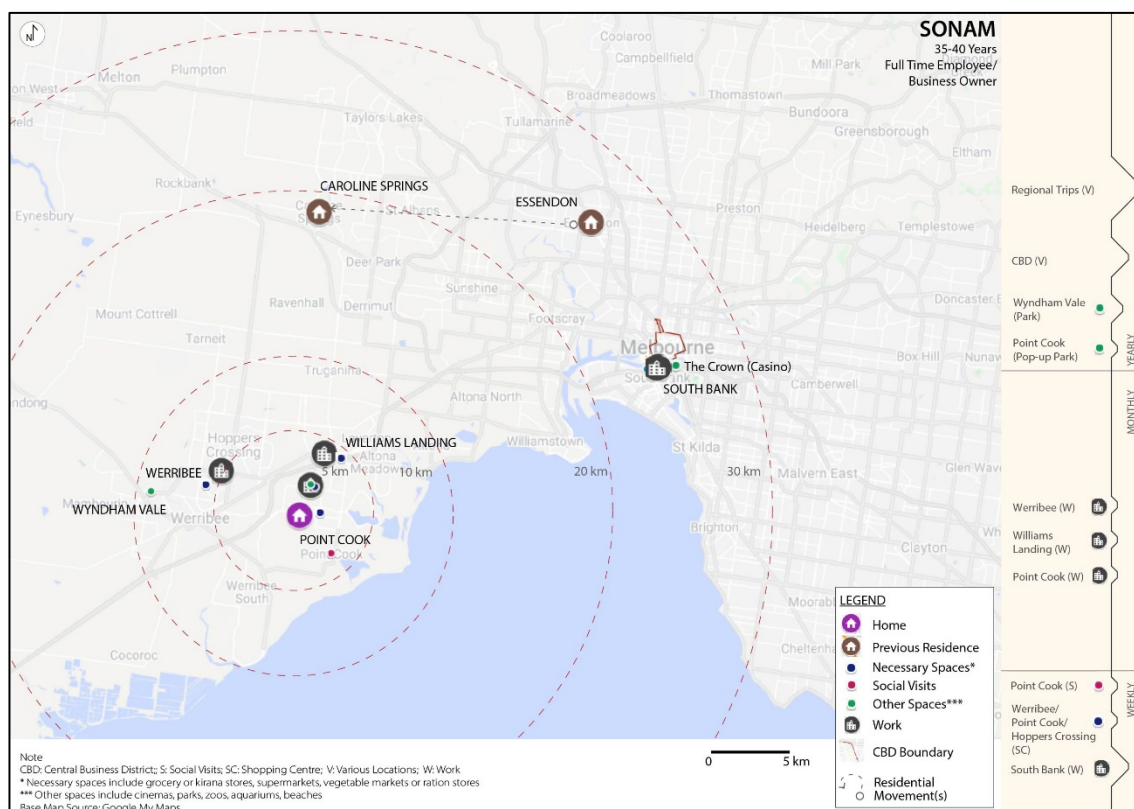


Figure 8. 8: Sonam's Everyday Spaces and Residential Movements, Melbourne

young single woman and as a student living in Essendon, she had lesser familial responsibilities, and her life revolved around the rhythms of her university routine:

“When you are young then you don't have to worry about kids, so you know, you are able to do late nights and go to the clubs and things like that..at that time, when we were living in Essendon, it was much easier coming to the *city* you know, ...Coz, it didn't feel that far off, like in an hour...I think, now we have become old, we just can't be bothered anymore! My god! it is too far, even though it's like only 30 mins (laughs)”

However, as a married woman with young children living in the suburbs, her temporalities were set by her responsibilities at home and work, and therefore her non-work trips to CBD are rare. Although her life still includes late nights, they are typically at home or a friend's place, together with the children. As shown in Figure 8.8, most of Sonam's local movements were close to home, in the western suburbs, other than her daily commute to South Bank for work. Sonam's life is rooted in her suburb, and she is also an active member of the Indian community and often participates in the events organised by them. One such example is the Point Cook pop-up park, where her businesses sponsored several events.

B. Soumya

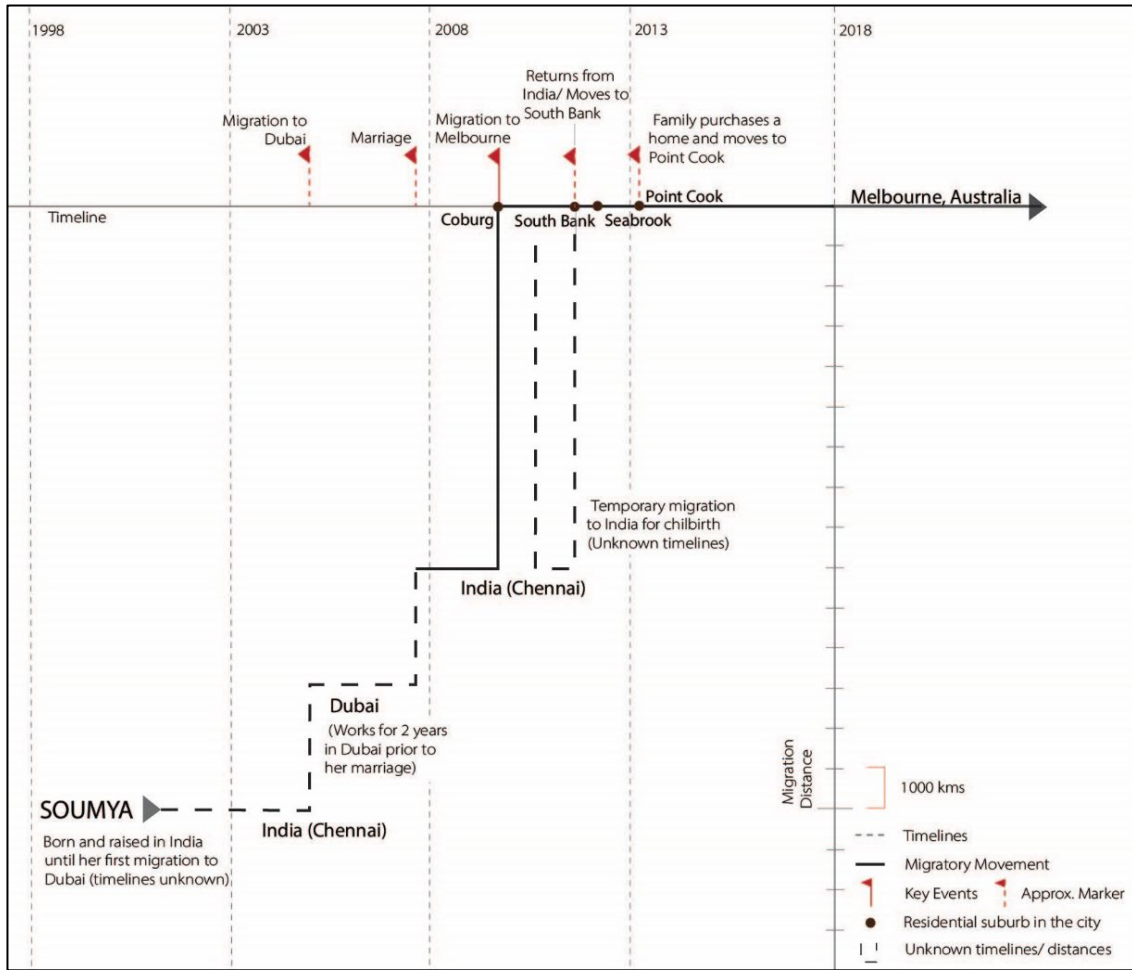


Figure 8. 9: Key Events in Soumya's Migration Trajectory, Melbourne

Soumya was aged between 35- 40 years at the time of the interview and stated Chennai as her hometown in India. She moved to Melbourne with her spouse in the winter of 2009, sometime after her marriage. Her spouse migrated for his higher education in Australia, and she accompanied him as a dependent. Before her marriage, Soumya also lived and worked in Dubai for two years. As Soumya did not discuss the specifics of her timelines, her migration trajectory in Figure 8.9 only represents a possible time of occurrence for some of the key events identified.

Soumya first lived in Coburg (see Figure 8.10 for Soumya's Residential Movements), as it was close to the CBD and her spouse's university. She explained that due to her poor health at the time and later her pregnancy, she spent most of her time at home during her initial days. She later moved back to India for a brief period for her childbirth (timelines unspecified). Upon her return, the couple lived in South Bank for six months, before relocating to the western suburbs. They lived briefly in Seabrook before finally purchasing a home and moving to Point Cook.

At the time of the interviews, Soumya lived with her spouse and daughter in Point Cook. She worked a full-time job in the IT industry and travelled to the CBD on weekdays for

work. She stated that her routine activities at home, work and after-school activities for her daughter keep her very busy, seldom leaving her with any free time, as she explains:

“[my] routine is like, morning get up cook, get ready, drop the kid in school, come to office, so I start late, my husband starts early, so he picks my daughter early, and then I go home around 7 o’ clock, by then my daughter's classes will be going on. Sometimes I pick her up, or sometimes my husband picks her up. Then make her do the homework, dinner and then sleep. That's the usual routine for the weekdays, and for the weekends also mostly we have some classes, like swimming.”

Despite living in the city for nearly a decade, Soumya said that she struggles to feel at home in Melbourne.

Quest for “inner happiness” and a sense of belonging

Soumya described her migration to Australia as a duty she fulfilled as an Indian wife by following her spouse after marriage. Although she felt that her life in Australia was better than before, especially for her child, her primary requirements remain unfulfilled, and therefore she feels unsettled:

“my requirement is different. I need my family here... so I don’t think I will be satisfied with anything else.”

Besides missing her family and extended relatives, she finds it difficult to relate to the surrounding environment and culture. Soumya finds the outer suburbs too “quiet” and “dark” due to the lack of busy movement (of people) and vibrancy (through different activities and inadequate nighttime lighting). Although the inner city and CBD have an active nightlife, she did not consider it suitable to raise a child. She explained that it is also hard to experience a festive environment, unlike in India, especially during religious occasions. The stark difference in the climate compared to her hometown was another factor that made it harder for her to adapt to Melbourne.

Contrasting her migratory experiences of living in Dubai, she explained that unlike in Australia, cultural differences were minimal and described her everyday life in Dubai as a “luxury version” of India. Moreover, given the short flight time to her hometown, Chennai, she frequently visited home, sometimes even for short weekend trips.

“..[at] that time I was not married, I didn’t have kids, so I can travel anytime I feel like, now, with kids school and everything I can fly whenever I feel like.”

For Soumya, her migratory experiences varied significantly based on the context and due to the life cycle changes that altered her positionality. In Dubai, she was a single working woman, living independently and with a greater degree of freedom to travel home and maintain ties with her family in India. In contrast, in Melbourne, her multiple

responsibilities at home and work, and her role as a mother and a wife, limit her visits home.



Figure 8. 10: Soumya's Everyday Spaces and Residential Movements, Melbourne

Commenting on her sense of belonging in Melbourne, she said that she is unsure about “how far she can take it” as she continually misses her family in India. Soumya felt that her social connections were the only factor that kept her rooted in Melbourne, particularly in western suburbs and Point Cook. She often gets together with her friends for birthdays, housewarming parties and other occasions. She explained that although there are activities organised by the Tamil schools⁴⁸, she seldom has the time to participate in any of their events.

Soumya craves a visually familiar-looking environment that includes the presence of more Indians (or brown-skinned individuals) wearing colourful clothing.

“I think we are already missing family and this darkness you know, increasing your sadness more (laughs) If it's colourful, that will keep you still happy [...] but I think Point Cook compared to other suburbs it is better, it's like getting brighter, so...and you can see Indian community more, if you go to Coles [grocery store] shopping or wherever, you turn around you can see Indian parents in *sarees*, *salwars* [Indian clothing]...that gives me a little happiness. (laughs)”

⁴⁸ Weekend schools, particularly for children can learn their native language and art forms (dance, music) and help them stay connected with their Indian roots, in this case, the Tamil community.

Soumya is, therefore, on a quest to find her “inner happiness”, to feel settled and at home in Melbourne.

Soumya’s migration to Dubai could identify her as an *Explorer* on the spectrum of belonging, however, her migration to Melbourne was that of a *Dependent* which later transitioned into a *Transient migrant* (Figure 7.1, Chapter 7). She was identified as a *Transient* as she was unsure about the duration of her stay in Australia, although she has a status of a permanent resident. As a Transient migrant, she is comfortable with her mobility and often combines public and private transportation for her everyday commute to the inner city. She explained that obtaining a driver’s license reduced her dependency on her spouse and helped complete her trips with a greater degree of freedom. Soumya’s mobility in Melbourne is voluntary, although her busy routine sometimes creates time constraints, and keeps her movements close to home and work (as shown in Figure 8.10).

C. Priya

Priya migrated from Hyderabad to Melbourne in 2014 to pursue her master’s degree. She was aged between 30-35 years at the time of the interviews. Priya explained that she was keen on moving overseas and had considered China and USA as her other options; however, Australia worked better mainly due to the swifter visa processes.

Priya had no family living in Australia and therefore wanted to initially live in Sydney, where her best friend migrated a few years before her. However, as she could not secure an admit in Sydney, she moved to Melbourne instead for her study.

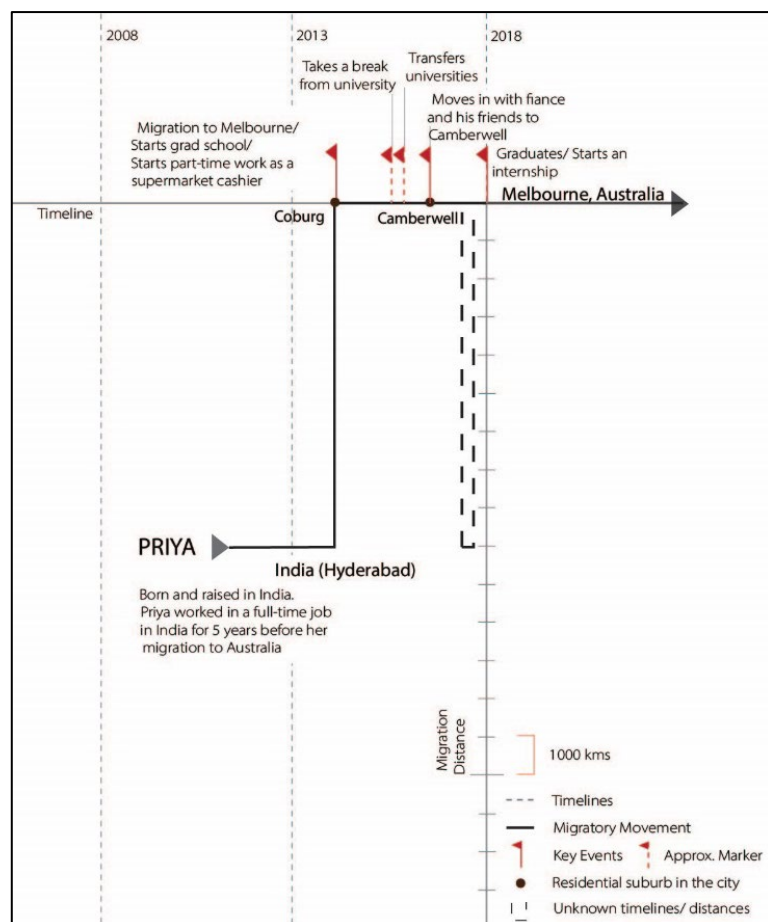


Figure 8. 11: Key Events in Priya's Migration Trajectory, Melbourne

Soon after her arrival, Priya’s former colleague from her undergraduate program in India, and an older migrant to Melbourne, arranged her stay in Coburg (See Priya’s Residential Movement in Figure 8.12) as well as a part-time job as a cashier at a supermarket.

With her migration to Australia, Priya left behind her career in sciences to start afresh in Information Technology (IT), primarily to increase her chances of obtaining a Permanent Residency (PR). However, as she struggled to cope with her course demands, sometime after the first year of the graduate program, Priya took a break from the university. She later transferred universities and completed her master's program in February 2018. In 2017, she also took a two-month break to visit her family in India. As Priya did not specify the timelines of her break periods and university transfer during the interview, Figure 8.11 shows an approximate timeline of these events.

At the time of the interview, Priya was working as an IT intern to complete her professional year while continuing her part-time job at the supermarket. Priya was also engaged to be married and was living with her partner and another couple in Camberwell since mid-2016. Priya explained that she originally intended to marry in 2017; however, due to her partner's PR application, their plans were delayed until May 2018. In the year 2018, she also hoped to finish her internship and apply for her PR and expressed an intent to settle permanently in Australia.

Displacement before an adjustment in a new life

Priya's most significant transition in her migration life course was her decision to give up a full-time job in the sciences field in India and start a new career in IT. She described her period of study as "stressful" and "lonely". Although she struggled to cope with the demands of her course, she persisted. She was determined to stay on and graduate and eventually obtain a PR, as she had already invested time and money to migrate. Further, returning to India or changing her line of study was not an option as she felt that her job in India was low paying, and there was limited scope for growth. Commenting on her experiences, she said:

"... I struggled a lot for education [...] I never understood anything, I could not even understand why I even came here ...what is this job [at the supermarket]? ... I used to do a professional job there [in India] ...but then I'm here and somehow.... (laughs) again [I] start all over from scratch...I always used to feel bad...but it's ok... you know I used to console myself...[saying] Ok... everything is for my own good right! (laughs)"

Priya was identified as a *Resilient* migrant on the spectrum of belonging (see Figure 7.1, Chapter 7) due to her strong intent to remain in Australia permanently despite facing some challenges in her journey. However, overall, she felt that Australia presented a more comfortable life compared to India, and she had more opportunities to live independently. Mainly, she felt that there was lesser societal pressure to conform to expected norms:

"everyday life is...very busy here... but other things you know like...[there is] not...much gossiping and not much... interference.... like you know everybody minds their own thing [...] ... that's what I like here! And... that's why I do not want to leave...I decided to live here actually.... maybe I don't want to go back to India....I want to get settled here! (laughs) [long pause]

So ...mostly for me.... only just... job is the problem...that's it! Rest I think I'm fine here!"

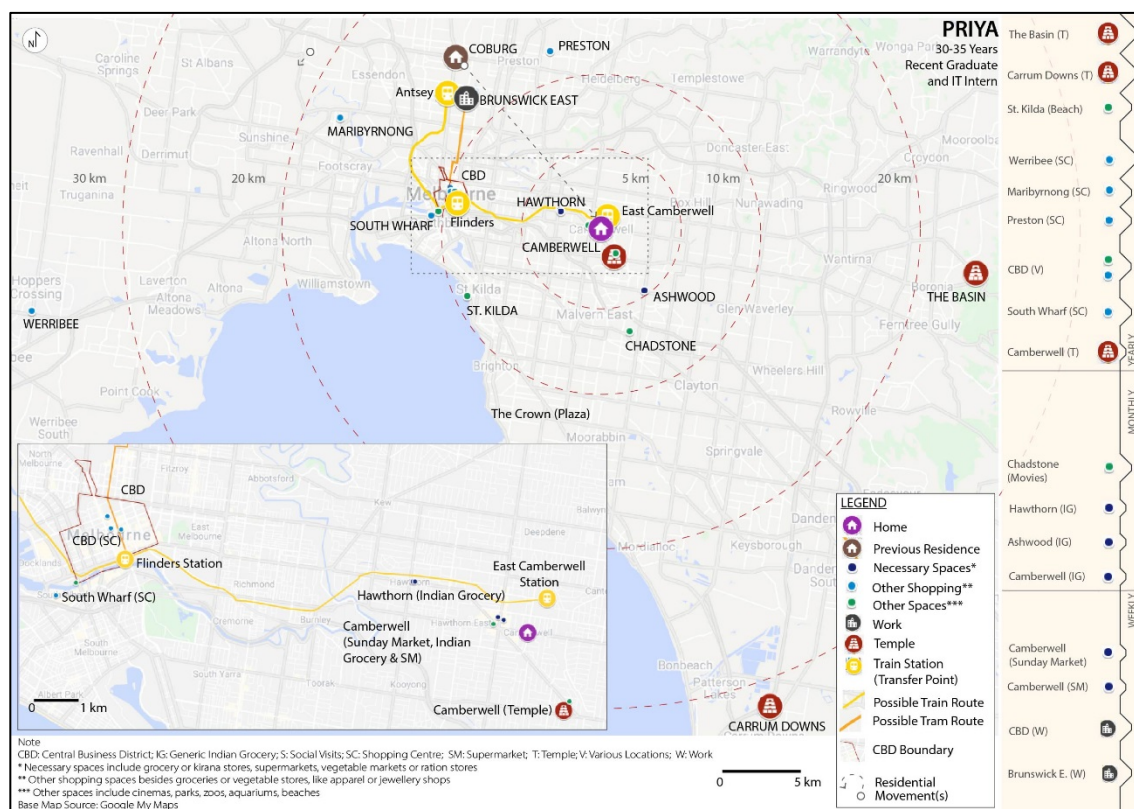


Figure 8. 12: Priya's Everyday Spaces and Residential Movements, Melbourne

Priya explained that before her migration, she lived in a protective environment in India. Her younger brother or father would often drop her at work, especially on days that she did not commute by autorickshaw. She often avoided public transportation, as they were crowded and uncomfortable. Priya also never travelled much outside of Hyderabad, nor did she live away from her parents. Her migratory experience allowed her to test her abilities to move independently and explore different gender norms in a new cultural context. In Melbourne, Priya often used public transportation and felt safe to navigate new places using Google maps or Uber. As she does not drive, she often travelled with her partner and friends to the outer suburbs and regional Victoria. Priya displayed a possible transition to *Explorer* migrant while aiming to be a *Settler* in the future.

At the time of the interview, Priya felt that her life was more “peaceful” and she could now experience her life in Australia, especially after her graduation. Her partner and her close friends were some of the strongest factors for her to start to feel at home in Melbourne:

“If I am alone, it would be hard! [...] I can’t stay! Like now, I have my partner here, then I’m happy! You know, 80% I’m happy because of him!”

8.3 Experiencing belonging through Space and Time

The narratives discussed in this chapter have demonstrated that migration trajectories are complex for Indian women migrants, irrespective of whether the movement is internal or international. As discussed in the literature review (see Section 2.1, Chapter 2) and earlier in this chapter, transnational migration between India and Australia is non-linear, sometimes involving a multi-stage process (Hugo 2008), or is “staggered” (Robertson 2019a). These trajectories were particularly evident in Sonam and Soumya’s narrative. Their migrations were multiple, spanning across multiple countries and included several temporary, short-term, circular movements (particularly between the home country and destination country) and temporary return migrations (in the case of Sonam). Similarly, internal migration for women was equally complex and involved several short-term (temporary) circular trips to visit family at hometown or in other cities or trips to maternal home for childbirth and post-partum care as observed in the narratives from Hyderabad.

The narratives have also shown that the migrant women shared an intricate relation with different places (beyond their place of origin and destination) based on the reach and shape of their “activity spaces”⁴⁹ and their social networks. As Massey (1994, p.147) notes, there is a “geographical stretching of social relations” and “movement and communication across space” and the relationship that the migrant women share with different places in this “time-space compression” is complex. The scale and reach of these everyday spaces varied between internal and international migrants. For example, compared to the Hyderabad migrants, the social networks of the migrant women in Melbourne expanded to the virtual plane as well, due to their comparatively higher degree of access and use of the internet.

Moreover, as previously discussed in the case study chapters (4 and 5), the everyday spatial practices for the migrant women are inter-connected to the migration trajectories. They are conditioned by both external structural factors (acting in a context) and an individual’s subjectivities based on a given time and place.

First, the intent to migrate and the circumstances within which some of the migration decisions were made were significant factors that shaped the initial experiences of the migrant women in an unfamiliar city. For example, in the case of Megha, Leela, Monica and Soumya, their migration decisions were linked to the spouse's employment or education opportunities, and patrilocality factors determined their migration trajectories. In these cases, the migrant women had lesser agency in the choice of the migration city and the circumstances that they were moving into. Further, each migration decision could be different and linked to different events for the same individual. For example, in Sonam’s case, migration during her childhood was linked to her parent’s job opportunities, unlike her independent migration later in adulthood, which was linked to her education and, later, her marriage.

⁴⁹ As explained in Section 2.2, Chapter 2, Massey (1995, p.54) defines activity space as “spatial network of links and activities, of spatial connections and of locations, within which an agency operates”

Secondly, as the migrant women's experiences unfolded in a new context, the temporalities of both official and unofficial practices (Burkitt 2004) (see Section 2.2, Chapter 2) were simultaneously moulded by the temporalities within their home as well as their external environment. Chapter 6 (Section 6.3) identified social and cultural variations, patriarchy and protectionism, gendered mobilities, perceived safety, perceived boundaries, time-budget constraints, in addition to varying positionality as some of the factors influencing local movements. The extent of the impact of these factors and the manner in which they occurred varied based on an individual's circumstances. However, the *social location* and *positionality* of the migrant women in their context appeared to be the most significant factor that cut across most other factors, and shaped the migrant woman's everyday movements.

For most Indian woman migrants, this *positionality* was primarily determined by gendered norms of **patriarchy** and other socio-cultural practices. Also, negotiating cultural and societal expectations in different contexts strongly impacted their migration trajectories and everyday rhythms. As observed by Faria (2001), Voigt-Graf (2005), Kõu *et al.* (2017) and Bhagat (2017), kinship played a significant role in different stages of their life course of the migrant women. Decisions related to education, marriage, migration were all negotiated with parents, spouse or extended family, and in some cases, these decisions were imposed on the migrant women. As Kõu *et al.* (2017, p.2800) explain, future migration plans were sometimes "directed by care-giving for parents and care of grandchildren", as observed in the case of Sonam. Caregiving responsibilities and after-school activities for the children occupied a significant part of the routines of most married women interviewed (as discussed in Section 6.1.1C, Chapter 6). Time was a scarce resource for women in both case studies due to multiple overlapping responsibilities arising out of different situations. For most of the migrant women interviewed, in addition to achieving financial stability in a new city, the presence of strong social networks and kinship was a significant factor⁵⁰ in shaping their place-belonging.

Further, as Pessar and Mahler (2003) highlight, *agency* emerged as an important part of how gender is articulated (across borders) within migration. The authors proposed a theoretical framework called *Gendered Geographies of Power*,

"for analyzing people's gendered social agency - corporal and cognitive - given their own initiative as well as their positioning within multiple hierarchies of power operative within and across many terrains." (Pessar and Mahler 2003, p.818)

This framework emphasises *geographical scales* (the multiple social and spatial scales that gender operates on) and *social locations*, to understand an individual's positioning within Massey's *power geometry*. As discussed in the introductory chapters (Section 2.1,

⁵⁰ Section 7.2, Chapter 7 identified some of the factors that contribute to the experiences of place belonging for the migrant women. These factors were: 1) **establishing legal status** as a way to build security, gain recognition and access social benefits in a new environment, 2) **building economic stability** to feel rooted in a place and claim a stake in it, 3) **building social and cultural connections** 4) **home**, through the process of home-making grants security, comfort and stability through maintaining continuity in prior known body-ballets and homeownership, 5) **experiences of the past**.

Chapter 2), within the time-space compression, individuals experience differentiated mobilities and varying levels of inclusion and exclusion based on their location within the geographies of power in a given context (Massey 1994). To these three dimensions, Pessar and Mahler (2003, p.817) include social *agency*, both cognitive and substantive, “affected not only by extra-personal factors but also by quintessentially individual characteristics such as initiative” as an important dimension.

The narratives discussed in this chapter have specifically illustrated how agency arises out of the intersection with the *social location* and *positioning* of the migrant women to determine the extent of their geographical stretching of social relations, which in turn shapes the migrant woman’s everyday spatial practices and experiences of belonging. For example, Megha experienced a sense of belonging with an increase in her agency when she was physically distanced from her family, thereby reducing her familial obligations. Similarly, Priya was raised in a protective household in India, and she experienced an increase in agency in Australia, where she felt free from “the watchful eye” of the community, expecting an “acceptable” and “normative” behaviour. Soumya, on the other hand, felt constrained in her agency in some ways due to her job and responsibilities towards her family in Melbourne, which limited her visits home to India.

Finally, as discussed in Section 8.2 of this chapter, the migrant women transitioned between the proposed typologies of migrants on the spectrum of belonging (*Settler*, *Resilient*, *Explorer*, *Content*, *Dependent* and *Transient*, as discussed in Section 7.3, Chapter 7) with time and change in their circumstances in their life course. Thereby displaying differing spatial patterns and multiple forms of belonging, resulting in numerous meanings of “home”. As Massey (1994, p.172) explains:

“places can be home, but they do not have to be thought of in that way, nor do they have to be places of nostalgia. You may, indeed, have many of them. [...] And what is more, each of these home-places is itself an equally complex product of the ever-shifting geography of social relations present and past.”

These experiences of belonging can also vary within the same city. As Bhagat (2016) explains, in large municipalities or a metropolis (as applicable in the case of Hyderabad and Melbourne), intra-urban migration is also significant. For example, Leela’s and Monica’s trajectories involved multiple residential movements within their city. However, their sense of belonging to their city was only rooted in specific suburbs where they owned a home and had strong social connections. For Monica, religion was also a vital factor that helped maintain a sense of belonging with Gagillapur. However, in all the cases, developing an attachment with their receiving cities did not necessarily eliminate their sense of belonging with their home town (or home country). Frequent visits and communication over the telephone and internet helped them maintain these social linkages frequently.

To summarise, as shown in Figure 8.13, this thesis has demonstrated that spatial practices are linked to multiple places (including the virtual plane) at different scales, and the experiences of belonging that emerge from it are multi-scalar as well. However, these experiences transform over the life course based on the migrant women's *positioning* in the *power geometry* of their context. Further, these spatial practices are also continually shaped by external structures and individual subjectivities at a given time and place, within which *linked lives* of the Indian migrant women play a crucial role in shaping their everyday spatialities and migration trajectories in their life course. Gendered expectations and socio-cultural norms are one of the predominant factors that emerged from these social interactions, both within the home and beyond. As Costa-Pinto (2007, p.1) suggests, these norms are often “negotiated, compromised and tolerated” to give rise to new forms of autonomy.

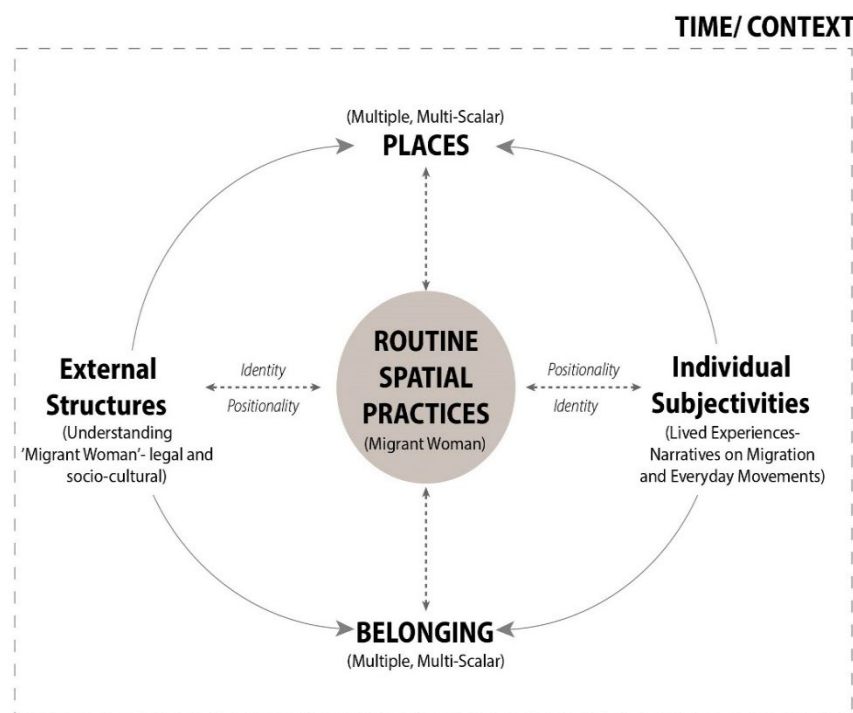


Figure 8. 13: Sense of Belonging in Time and Place

In other words, the feeling “at home” can be understood as a moment in time and place, where a majority of the factors that are considered important positively align with the goals and interests of the migrant women in their life cycle stage.

Sonam’s statement perhaps offers a simplistic explanation to this complex conceptualisation of place-belonging:

“[when] you have 70-80% things going in that favour, then you decide that ok! this is my home.”

For Sonam, a large proportion of things “going in her favour” was linked to the happiness of everyone in her family (including herself) and feeling “settled”. This feeling of being “settled” was derived from gaining financial stability, social stability and comfort in everyday life, among other factors.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter has re-examined the positioning of migrant women at both micro and macro levels to understand how place-belonging emerges at the intersection of these levels and varies with time and context based on the intersectional identities of the migrant women. Place-belonging is complex, multi-scalar and dynamic. However, as stated in Chapter 2 (Section 2.4), it is usually “articulated, formally structured and politicized only when it is threatened in some way” (Yuval-Davis 2011, p.10), or activated through experiences of exclusion (Anthias 2008), or when the taken-for-granted routines and spatial practices are disrupted (Buttimer 1980). The following conclusion chapter summarises the key findings and contributions of this research and discusses the way forward.

CHAPTER 9. Conclusion

Summary

This thesis has analysed how everyday spatial routines enable or constrain the sense of belonging that the Indian women migrants (both internal migrants in Hyderabad, India and international migrants to Melbourne, Australia) experience with their cities and beyond. Space and time are the key components of this research, which were carefully considered in the study of migratory movements, everyday spatial practices, and the experiences of belonging while exploring their interlinkages against the backdrop of Massey's (1994) *power geometry*.

In the context of globalisation, both migrants and migration have multiple meanings, and the migratory patterns of movements (both internal and international) are complex and go beyond a linear and unidirectional relationship between place of origin and destination. The rationale for migration and the circumstances that drive migration have also transformed over time and are no longer limited to the economic disparities between places. As discussed in the Introduction chapter, migration can be “‘voluntary’ and ‘forced’, internal and international, undocumented and legal (under a variety of channels), skilled and unskilled, conflict displaced, environmentally induced, political asylum seeking, trader, student, temporary and ‘circular’ and permanent migrants” (Vertovec 2015, p.2). Further, contemporary migratory patterns are “staggered”, “contingent, multi-directional and multi-stage” (Robertson 2019a, p.170). This *staggered migration* causes an intersection between the institutional, biographical and everyday temporalities, which in turn creates distinct experiences of time for migrants (Robertson 2019a).

In addition to this temporal dimension of migration, spaces also matter in the conceptualisation of migration. At the basic level, migration creates a human-link between the place of departure and arrival (King 1995). Moreover, as new meanings of migration take shape, the relationship that the migrants share with their cities varies and is dependent on their positionality and their experiences of identity in a given context (Massey 1994). The extent and reach of the everyday spatial activities are shaped by the structures that define this positioning. Here, places are conceptualised as “articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings”, linking both global and the local processes (Massey 1994, p.154). Therefore, as discussed in Chapter 2, this thesis frames *migration* and *everyday spatial routines* as varying spatio-temporal movements that are influenced by individual subjectivities as well as the wider structural process in a given context and time. The typology of the everyday spaces uses Tuan's (1979) conceptualisation of *fields of care*, where the affective bond built through repetitive routine practices is emphasised.

Against this backdrop, this thesis has addressed some of the gaps in migration research. This research has studied both internal and international migration for Indian women on similar themes by emphasising the processes that shape migration experiences in different

contexts. Further, the interlinkages between long-distance, long-term (more permanent) movements of internal and international migration and short-distance, short-term, (temporary) routine practices were explored by considering them as varying spatio-temporal movements.

Following Massey, this thesis has also considered the “geographical stretching of social relations and the movement and communication across space as the time-space compression” (Massey 1994, p.147). The extent and reach of the migrant women’s everyday spatial activities or *activity space* (beyond their places of origin and destination) were explored. The importance of places in migration processes and everyday spatial activities was emphasised. Further, this thesis has foregrounded intersectional identities of the migrant women (for both internal and international migrants) to study the variations in their spatial experiences and notions of belonging.

With this aim to provide new insights into understanding the relationship between migrant women and their everyday spaces, the main research question of this thesis was to **examine the sense of belonging enacted or experienced by migrant women of Indian origin through their spatial practices in their cities and beyond**

The sub-questions of the research were:

1. What are these spatial practices, and what is their importance in the daily life of the migrant women? Where and how do the migrant women engage with different spaces as part of these everyday activities? (RQ1)
2. How is belonging enacted or experienced in a place? How does this place-belonging relate to the various spatio-temporal movements of the migrant women? (RQ2)
3. How does the social positioning of migrant women (with their complex and intersecting identities) affect their sense of belonging in different contexts through time? (RQ3)

This research is grounded in phenomenological geography and has applied the concept of body-subject (Seamon 1980) to analyse the habitual time-space routines of the migrant women using Hägerstrand’s time-geography notational diagram as a tool (as discussed in Section 2.3, Chapter 2). The body-subject views the body as an intelligent subject that can direct an individual’s behaviour in a pre-conscious way in a “habitual” fashion (Seamon 1980, p.155). Semi-structured interviews were employed as the main qualitative research method. A total of 20 interviews were conducted with internal migrant women in Hyderabad and 19 interviews with Indian women migrants in Melbourne. Chapter 3 has introduced the contexts of both the case study sites along with the research design adopted for the study. This chapter has also highlighted some of the limitations experienced during the data collection process and discussed the impact of researcher subjectivity as well. Using NVIVO software, the narratives of the migrant women were coded and analysed under three broad themes: migration experiences, everyday spatial practices and experiences of belonging.

Based on these narratives, the case study chapters (4 and 5) have identified and mapped *everyday spatial practices and the spaces associated with them (RQ1)* in Hägerstrand’s

time-geography notational diagrams. These notational diagrams were adapted to represent both long-distance migration and everyday spatial activities as varying spatio-temporal movements. Further, by overlaying the concept of time-space routines proposed by David Seamon (1980), the habitual routine movements were classified and analysed based on the frequency of recurrence (weekly, monthly, yearly) in the lives of the migrant. The everyday spaces (or *stations*) on the notational diagrams were identified as *fields of care* (Tuan 1979) based on the affective dimensions attributed to them.

Chapter 6 analysed these different spatial patterns observed in the case studies to *understand their importance in the lives of the migrant women and identify the different spaces which support these routine activities (RQ1)*. As discussed in Section 6.1 (Chapter 6), across both cases, core activities (pertaining to work, study, purchasing necessities or religious activities) and restorative practices (primarily for social interactions and travel for visiting family, leisure or relaxation) emerged as significant. Restorative activities were either integrated intermittently, as *pauses* in the core routines, or included as less frequently occurring extended activities for travel, vacation or pilgrimage. *Pauses* are a moment of relaxation, and re-energising or reflection, integrated at home or work, and are essential for an individual's wellbeing (Davies 2003). These *pauses* were a necessary part of the spatial routines of the migrant women (particularly those married with children), which also impacted their experiences of place-belonging.

Chapter 6 has also discussed some of the *stations* based on the affective qualities associated with them through their use. Some of these *stations* identified in this research were: 1) home (a flexible space that accommodated multiple functions), 2) streets (used for informal interactions as part of a collective activity), 3) new nodes (created by the participants and used as micro-public sites for economic and socio-cultural benefit), in addition to 4) religious and 5) virtual spaces. Although the virtual spaces did not have a specific spatial dimension, they often manifested into relationships in the physical space.

Finally, this chapter has presented some of the factors (Section 6.3, Chapter 6) that have either “de-stabilised” or reinforced the time-space routines of the women due to their migration process. These factors included 1) social and cultural variations between contexts, 2) the impact of patriarchy and protectionism enforced on women that requires adherence to “acceptable” gender norms, 3) impact of varying positionality and differing experiences of identity, 4) gendered mobilities, 5) perceived safety, 6) perceived boundaries, 7) time-budget constraints. Across all these factors, intersectionality appeared as an important lens to analyse differential spatial patterns of migrant women.

Chapter 7 further explored *the interrelation between these various spatio-temporal movements and the experiences of belonging attributed to them (RQ2)*. Place-belonging can occur in multiple ways; however, for migrants, it is important to consider the rationale for migration and their intent to belong. Chapter 7 has emphasised *movement* as an integral part of place-belonging and has also discussed five factors that facilitate it. These factors were: 1) establishing legitimacy by securing a legal status, 2) gaining economic stability (primarily through jobs), 3) the process of home-making as a “centering” process, 4) making social and cultural connections and 5) seeking similar experiences from the past to maintain a continuum in the present.

Based on the juxtaposition of the intent to belong, extent and reach of the everyday activities, and the ease of mobility of the migrant women, Chapter 7 has proposed six broad categories of migrants. These are *Settler*, *Resilient*, *Explorer*, *Content*, *Dependent* and *Transient*. While *Settlers* and *Content* are likely to be more permanent migrants (long-term residents) and possibly homeowners, the *Content* migrants may display neutral intent to belong and voluntarily choose to keep their movements close to home. The *Resilient* migrants aspire to be permanent settlers while some obstacles or challenges delay their intent to do so. The *Explorer* migrants are typically new migrants who demonstrate positive intent to belong and experience constrained movement primarily due to their lack of familiarity in a new environment. The *Dependent* migrant relies on others (not always by choice) for her decisions on migration and everyday movements and may display a lower intent to belong. Finally, the *Transient migrant* is likely to be a temporary resident with an intent to return home sometime in the future.

In Chapter 8, all the six typologies identified on the spectrum of migration were examined with a temporal dimension to analyse *how the social positioning of the migrant women alters their experiences of belonging in a given context (RQ3)*. Using the framework of *translocational positionality* (Anthias 2008; Anthias 2012), this chapter has analysed the macro level understanding of the processes that have defined and positioned the migrant women (as internal migrants in India and as Indian migrants in Australia) “as an outcome”, before discussing the lived experiences of social position “as a process” at the micro level. The life narratives of the six women have demonstrated that migrant women can transition between the proposed typologies during their life course, based on their experiences in a specific context at a given time. The feeling “at home” is realised at a point in time and place, where the factors that are considered important in the lives of the migrant women align with their goals and interests in their life cycle stage. These experiences of belonging are shaped continually by external structures and individual subjectivities during the life course, which impacts spatial practices and movements at every stage. Chapter 8 has addressed the main research question and proposed a broad framework for conceptualising belonging with space and time.

The subsequent sections of this chapter reflect on the research process of the thesis to present some of the main contributions of this thesis, limitations experienced during the process and possibilities for future research.

9.1 Research Contributions

9.1.1 Methodological: Visualising and Mapping Spatial Routines in Time-Geography

The notational diagrams of time-geography proved to be a powerful tool to analyse the gendered dimensions of migrant women’s time-space routines at various scales and across different contexts. First, by integrating David Seamon’s (1980) notion of body-subject, the embodied practices of the migrant women could be emphasised, which addressed one of the major drawbacks of time-geography, identified by Rose (1993). Secondly, using Tuan’s conceptualisation of *fields of care* allowed to focus on the

activities attributed to different spaces. The conceptualisation of everyday spaces was derived from these activities rather than assuming a fixed physical typology. This approach uncovered the fluidity in the boundaries of public and private spaces, which allowed multiple uses of the same space for different routine activities (discussed further in Section 9.2). Additionally, virtual spaces appeared as an integral part of the time-space routines (also discussed in Section 9.2).

The notational diagrams could accommodate the different spatio-temporal movements at multiple scales, including migratory movements (both international and internal) at a macro level, as well as everyday spatial routines at the micro level based on their frequency of recurrence. Following Frändberg (2008), leisure and travel activities were also categorised as habitual routine movements based on the recurrence of the trip purpose. The reach and extent of the spatial activities identified on the time-space notational diagrams allowed in-depth insights into the organisation of different time-space routines, the interrelation between different spaces, and the factors that determined the spatial patterns for every individual.

Finally, the visual representations of the time-paths allowed comparison across each case as well as in-between the case studies, thereby demonstrating its strength of replicability. The notational diagrams were further given a geographical reference by creating individual *fields of care* maps of everyday spaces and residential movement (see Appendix B and Appendix C). While the study of the actual sequence of occurrence of different activities was beyond the scope of this research, a time-geographic diary method, if applied to this research, would have provided additional insights into the temporal organisation of different activities within a 24-hour frame as well.

9.1.2 Theoretical: Conceptualisation Belonging in Space and Time for Indian Women Migrants

The conceptualisation of *belonging* is complex as it can occur in multiple ways. This thesis has focused explicitly on place-belonging experiences emerging from spatial practices by forefronting *movement* as an important dimension of belonging by building on works of Arp Fallov *et al.* (2013). Against the backdrop of Massey's *power geometry*, this belonging can be multi-scalar where the reach and extent of the *activity space* extend beyond the local. Identity and belonging were constructed in relational terms based on the context, time and meanings attached to it. As discussed earlier, the concept of *transnational positionality* has not only aided in understanding "the crisscrossing of different social locations" but also "the shifting locales of people in terms of movements and flows" (Anthias 2008, p.17). While Anthias' positionality was discussed in the context of transnational migrants, this thesis was able to apply the concept to the study of internal migrants as well. Therefore this research could achieve the objective of examining both internal and international migration on common themes, particularly experiencing place-belonging through everyday spatial practices.

This research has shown that across both contexts, the Indian women migrant's everyday spatial practices are linked to their migration trajectories. Their initial spatial experiences were also connected to their intent and rationale for migration. Further, the research has

broadly identified factors that impact the everyday movements of the migrant women interviewed, out of which gendered norms of patriarchy and socio-cultural practices were significant and determined their positionality and agency. Therefore, gendered dimensions of migration and spatial practices were addressed using this framework, thereby contributing to the limited scholarship on the experiences of place-belonging specifically for Indian women migrants with different migration trajectories.

While the *spectrum of belonging* proposed for this research cannot be generalised for all Indian women migrants or for all migrants, the broad frameworks proposed in Chapter 8 (Section 8.3) and the methodology implemented (as discussed in the previous section) can be adapted to different contexts and project aims.

9.2 Reflections: Limitations and Future Directions

Throughout the research process, several sub-themes emerged, which could only be explored in limited capacity within the time frame of this thesis. The analysis of the *stations* in time-geography provided insights into the fluid boundaries between public and private spaces, which accommodated multiple activities. For example, the private homes of the migrant women were often used as spaces of work (work-from-home and entrepreneurial activities) or for communal gatherings (mainly for religious activities). The boundaries of the private spaces were suspended to allow temporary access to acquaintances and sometimes strangers for business and other activities (see, for example, Manjula's living space in Figure 4.5, Chapter 4). On the other hand, public spaces like street fronts of private homes were appropriated (sometimes illegally) as private spaces for everyday outdoor social interactions. One such example of this appropriation was evident in Hyderabad, where a ledge was projected onto the street (Figure 4.7 a, Chapter 4). Also, new nodes created by the participants (see, for example, Ganga's *tiffin* centre, Figure 4.6 a,b, Chapter 4) were informally (sometimes illegally) regulated to allow businesses to operate in public spaces. Further research into the control mechanisms (both formal and informal) enforced to regulate the public spaces could reveal more significant insights into the configuration of the "supportive physical environment" for these *place-ballets* to occur (Seamon 1980, p.159). In addition to the physical spaces identified in this research, virtual spaces also served as a platform for social interactions and connections that contributed to the experiences of belonging for migrant women in Melbourne. The spatio-temporal implications of these virtual spaces require attention, especially in the context of time-space compression and advancements in telecommunications and transportation systems that have interlinked the local and the global (Sassen 1996; Castells 2016) and re-defined the spatial stretching of activities.

While gendered dimensions of spatial routines and practices were examined using time-geography, two themes, gendered mobilities and perception of safety in the public realm, could only be briefly addressed. Future research could include time-geographic diaries in addition to semi-structured interviews to obtain detailed information on specific transport routes and movements, transfer points and time for commute. This data can further enhance the analysis of spatial patterns and movements of the migrant women in their cities. The rationale for choosing different mobility options and routes based on the

accessibility and availability of different transportation choices could also be investigated. The perceptions of safety was another critical factor that determined spatial patterns of migrant women. Including walk-about or safety audits as a research method could further bring in the perceptions of safety associated with different everyday spaces.

Another complexity that was addressed in a limited capacity was the *politics of belonging*. As Yuval-Davis (2006a) explains, the politics of belonging is the political delineation of “others” or “us” and “them”. These boundaries are continuously reconstructed by those in power and decision-makers in society resulting in contestations. While this thesis briefly discussed the identification of “migrant women” as used in the formal language and everyday life (Section 8.1, Chapter 8), a comprehensive policy and media discourse analysis would provide deeper insights into the layered experiences of belonging of the migrant women.

Further, some of the findings in this research are likely to apply to migrant Indian men, other migrant groups or the majority population in both contexts. As Yuval-Davis (2011) explains, an intersectional approach should not be limited to those on society's margins but instead be applied to everyone, as all individuals have ethnicities. Including the majority categories allow us to question the “normality” defined by them without limiting the discussion of “the other” as different.

Finally, as explained in the Literature Review chapter (Section 2.3, Chapter 2), appropriating and participating in (decisions related to) urban spaces, as part of everyday life, is one way to exercise the *right to the city* and experience belonging (Fenster 2005, drawing from Purcell 2003). While this thesis has offered a framework for analysing the everyday spatial appropriation of the migrant women (based on the different factors that determine their spatial patterns), further discussion on the factors impacting the *right to participate* (emerging from the politics of belonging) can help inform policy decisions. In alignment with Fenster (2005), this thesis acknowledges the gendered norms of patriarchy and other socio-cultural practices that influence right to both public and private scales, which is a necessary consideration for a gendered approach to the *right to the city* framework. However, this discussion on *the right to the city* is incomplete without considering the structural mechanisms that determine the organisation and functioning of the cities, and regulate the right to “control” and “participate” in the creation of its spaces. The factors that enable or prevent participation in urban space production are important considerations for future research to understand the migrant women’s stake and sense of ownership in their cities.

9.3 Final Thoughts

At the beginning of 2020, the world witnessed an unprecedented onset of events that reaffirmed the intricate local-global interlinkages through the immediate and far-reaching impacts of the COVID-19 virus. The ongoing global pandemic is causing a mass disruption in every individual's life, altering the “normal” spatial routines for all, impacting some more than others.

During the initial stages, prior known mobility patterns were suspended, including travel across and within borders. The access and use of public spaces were restricted and controlled. The private spaces transformed as multi-utilitarian spaces of study and work, shared by all, with stay-at-home restrictions imposed during lockdown periods. The existing gender disparities amplified during the crisis, both within the public and private spaces. Women, particularly, have lost more number of jobs and livelihoods and experienced increased responsibilities and vulnerabilities at home.

Migrants have been displaced and, in some cases, stranded. For example, in mid-March, the sudden decision of the Indian government to enforce a 21-day lockdown to tackle virus transmission resulted in a mass exodus of return migration, with some walking home for several hundreds of kilometres. These migrants typically worked in the informal sector and lost jobs overnight. In Australia, on 3rd April 2020, the Prime Minister announced, "If they're [international students] not in a position to be able to support themselves, then there is the alternative for them to return to their home countries". These events re-positioned the migrants in the cities, causing distress, chaos, and immediate dislocation at both emotional and physical levels.

While writing the conclusions of this thesis during the pandemic, it became necessary for me to reflect on my findings to question what belonging would mean in the “new normal” after the pandemic? What would it mean to be a migrant in the new world when their role and *positioning* is being re-evaluated? As Massey (1994, p.149) explained, within the time-space compression,

“some initiate flows and movement, others don't; some are more on the receiving-end of it than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it.”

Would the migrant women even feel “at home” in their own homes when the pandemic has pushed more people under the receiving end of heavily regulated “flows and movement” and further “imprisoned” those who were already on the fringes of society?

Postscript

I started this thesis by reflecting on my migration experiences to find my core sense of belonging. Through the participants' narratives and throughout my thesis journey, I began to think about my own spatial practices and patterns and how they have evolved over time and in different circumstances, particularly through migration.

I have always identified as a perpetual migrant- a person who is always on the move. I have lived in eleven cities across three continents, with several inter-migrations between them. In the past, if my family was not moving cities, we often moved homes within the same city. My father's job contributed to most of these movements, and later, I continued the pattern for my education and employment. Therefore, frequent change and movement was a significant part of my normalcy. Even when we did not move cities or homes, my family and I would often shuffle the furniture in the house to create a sense of "newness". Through all the moves, the routine practices that my parents continued at home created a sense of rootedness, even when the physical environment changed. Listening to prayers or hymns in the morning while sipping coffee and waiting for the milkman was one such routine. Memories such as these were moments trapped in time, which gave me a sense of belonging.

Another part of my stability was visiting family in different cities. These places were fixed anchor points in my life, as they remained more or less stable through all our movements. For example, while the cities grew and transformed over time, my grandparents' homes and the routines (contained within them) remained unaltered. We could always synchronise and blend in irrespective of the time of our visit. Losing my grandparents or seeing their homes disappear caused a great deal of displacement, a similarity that I shared with some of my participants. Familial ties are a vital part of my experiences of belonging as well.

Being a perpetual migrant also came with a high degree of adaptability, which meant that I was familiar and comfortable with the process of adjusting my routines in different situations. New environments were always more exciting than intimidating. However, during the last four years of living in Melbourne, I became very aware of my rapidly changing positionality. In addition to being a PhD student and a migrant, I also embarked on a journey of motherhood. I started noticing places that I knew existed but never cared to look for. My mental maps modified to include accessible paths with lifts and ramps in public spaces and sheltered walkways. Weather conditions became an important consideration while travelling with a child. Commuting independently, especially with a pram, was arduous, lengthy, and best avoided. Driving in a new country became even more stressful while I planned trips to juggle traffic conditions and baby feeding and sleep cycles. My spatial expanse began shrinking as I struggled to adjust to this rapid transformation in my life and my role as a parent. My experiences intensified as I was a migrant with a minimal support system to help me cope.

My neatly ordered daily routines became intermeshed, and *pauses* began to emerge as precious moments between mothering responsibilities, where I could accommodate work, relaxation and maybe sleep. My limited movements inadvertently prepared me for the

extended lockdowns during the pandemic. However, during this period, as a temporary migrant, I felt immediately disconnected from my surroundings as I could no longer travel home as I desired. The restricted mobility made me feel forcibly separated from my family.

In many ways, I began experiencing the phenomenon that I was studying, and it impacted my professional and personal life. On the professional front, I discovered my passion for learning about a subject that is close to my heart. Moving forward, as a researcher, I feel inspired to translate my findings into creating spaces that can enable positive place attachment for different individuals. On the personal front, I discovered various new aspects about myself and what belonging means to me. I realised that I have never had enough continuity to notice people and places age with me through time or to eventually learn the names of familiar strangers that I meet every day. I am beginning to wonder if I will ever be willing to trade my moments of “instability” for a more rooted existence that tethers me to a single place called home?

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APPENDIX A Publications

Pauses in the busy lives of migrant Indian women can make a big difference

THE CONVERSATION

Academic rigour, journalistic flair



Pauses in the busy lives of migrant Indian women can make a big difference

July 10, 2020 5:59am AEST

Women manage many overlapping responsibilities in both public and private spheres. Their busy routines leave them with just a little time to take a break or a pause in their activity. These pauses are a time for self or for activities other than home, work or care-giving responsibilities.

What is the role of such pauses in migrant women's everyday lives? Interviews were conducted with 20 migrant women (mostly migrants from rural areas) in Hyderabad, India, and 19 Indian migrants in Melbourne, Australia, as part of doctoral research. From the interviews, these seemingly incidental pauses emerged as an integral part of their daily lives.

Authors



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Read more: *From lascars to skilled migrants: Indian diaspora in New Zealand and Australia*

Each pause served a specific purpose and was itself as important as the women's other routine activities. Pauses particularly helped the women strengthen their social ties in the community. Pauses also helped them get to know different (public) places.

Most of the participants were married women with children. They saw home and family as their primary responsibility. Some did paid work, or owned a small home-based business, while also managing domestic responsibilities.

What kind of pauses matter to these migrant women? It appears pauses in their busy routines were most important for:

1. social interactions
2. moments of self-reflection or relaxation
3. opportunities for work or other activities.

Social interactions

In India, we observed social interactions as pauses when the migrant women co-ordinated their chores or made trips in their neighbourhood. Washing and airing laundry or prepping meals while chatting together in the common corridors of apartment buildings was common during the day.

Socialising at the doorstep was convenient, accessible and easy to manage between chores. As Monica* explained:

Even if we are busy with work, we can step outside and rest for a bit [...] Everyone can get back to their work after that!



Corridor spaces provide places for co-ordinated daily chores and casual interactions. Author provided

Trips on foot, to chaperone children to schools or to buy groceries, were similarly co-ordinated within small groups of women. Through these trips the migrant women identified others with similar cultural backgrounds and (migration) experiences and formed local connections.

Similarly, in Melbourne, women of similar ethnic or cultural backgrounds regularly co-ordinated lunch hours at work as time to “hang out” at a cafe or a restaurant. These acquaintances sometimes transformed into lasting friendships.

Self-reflection or relaxation

In India, the participants said their personal time was limited to only a short nap between chores when their spouse and children were away and if time permitted. In Melbourne, some used lunch hours at work for walks in the park, for both reflection and relaxation. Space for reflection helps cultivate self-awareness for any individual.

For Sejal*, this lunch hour was also an opportunity to spend quality time with her spouse during a brief period when they worked together in the CBD.

... because me and my husband never dated you know, (and) after one-and-a-half years (of marriage) I had a baby and that's it ... my life changed! [...] So, I am spending it (that time) now ... after 16 years of my marriage!

Opportunities for work and other activities

As women's family responsibilities reduced at different life stages, some longer pauses appeared in their daily routines. For example in India, some women started a small home-based business like sewing or making handicrafts as their children got older. These activities were sometimes considered secondary, but provided a creative outlet and extra income for the family.

In Melbourne, some women felt they had lesser familial expectations than in their country of origin and they could pursue other interests. Nirmala* said that before migrating she had always felt the need to prioritise her children over her own needs.

'Why do you want to study?' they asked me, because I already have two children.

After her migration, Nirmala felt encouraged to study further, while continuing to be the primary carer at home.

Read more: Migrants who adapt to Australian culture say they're happier than those who don't

A break that builds bridges

Women's everyday movements and activities have primarily emerged from gender norms shaped by patriarchy and societal expectations. Intervals of everyday casual interactions helped the women take a break from their "expected" responsibilities.

Pauses varied in duration and formats. They appeared in different spaces linked to the core routine activities of the women. These spaces ranged from home and its vicinity, to public spaces like streets and parks.

Read more: Putting the pieces together to create safe public spaces for all

These interactions helped the women identify others (mainly women) with similar interests or backgrounds. This helps them overcome unfamiliarity with a new place due to limited social connections. Social and cultural connections are particularly necessary for migrants to build a sense of belonging in their new cities.



Interactions at a weekly informal market. Author provided

Further, through their individual and shared routines, the women identified familiar routes and "comfortable" places. For any individual, these routine and repetitive practices help develop an attachment to a place.

Read more: 'The neighbours were always very welcoming and warm': little things count to help refugees belong

The process of migration is a complex social phenomenon affecting the women's health and vulnerability. In today's "new normal" of restricted mobility and social distancing, what becomes of

these pauses? What are the impacts on women as they face an increased burden of domestic responsibilities and vulnerabilities while everyone stays home?

And what will these turbulent times mean for the migrants who are already experiencing instability? Will these pauses take a different social and spatial form, or be forever lost?

** Names have been changed to protect anonymity.*



Immigration Migration India Migrants Coronavirus Gender roles Asian migration Indian society COVID-19

APPENDIX B Individual Movement Maps: Hyderabad

S.No.	Participant Code	Pseudonym
1	G1	Laxmi
2	G2	Subbu
3	G3	Manjula
4	G4	Leela
5	G5	Monica
6	G6	Rani
7	G7	Renuka
8	G8	Puja
9	G9	Zara
10	G10	Ganga
11	G11	Malini
12	G12	Soni
13	G13	Sujata
14	G14	Gayatri
15	G15	Megha
16	G16	Shanti
17	G17	Madhu
18	G18	Neha
19	G19	Geeta
20	G20	Siri

LAXMI
42 Years
Aspiring Entrepreneur/
Religious Speaker

LEGEND

- Home
- Necessary Spaces*
- Other Shopping**
- Social Visits
- Temple
- Bus Depot/ Station
- Possible Bus Transfer Point
- Possible Bus Routes

Note
(K): Generic Kirana Store; (M): Market; (S): Social Visits; (SA): Shopping Areas (other than grocery or vegetables); T: Temple;
WM: Wednesday (vegetable) Market; V: Various locations
* Necessary spaces include grocery or kirana stores, supermarkets, vegetable markets or ration stores
** Other shopping spaces besides groceries or vegetable stores, like apparel or jewellery shops
Base Map Source: Google My Maps

Temples (V)
(Details in Insert)

Shopuru (SA)

Bowenpally (T)

Chilkuru (T)

Gagillapur (S)

Gagillapur (K)

Annaram (M)

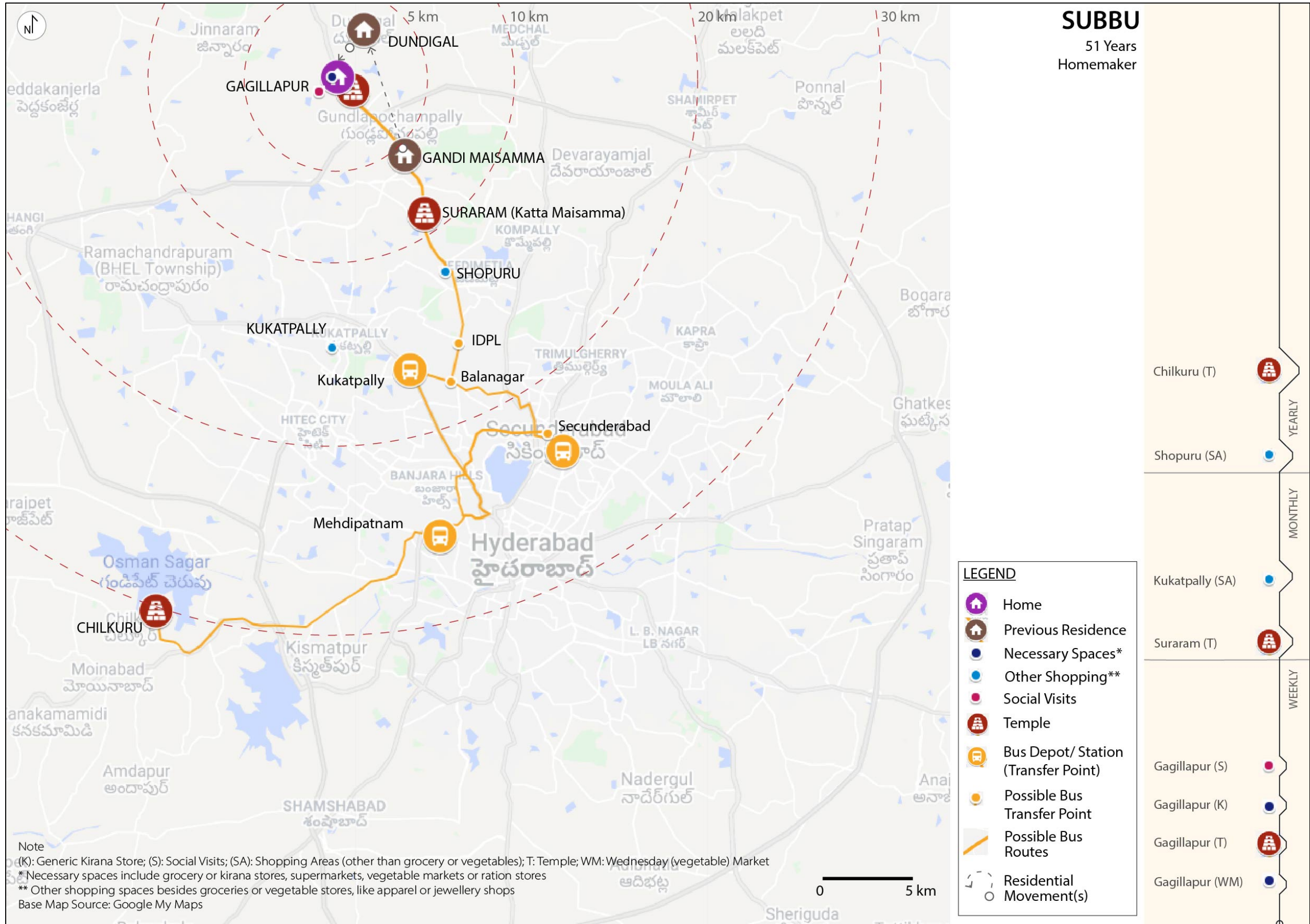
Gagillapur (WM)

YEARLY

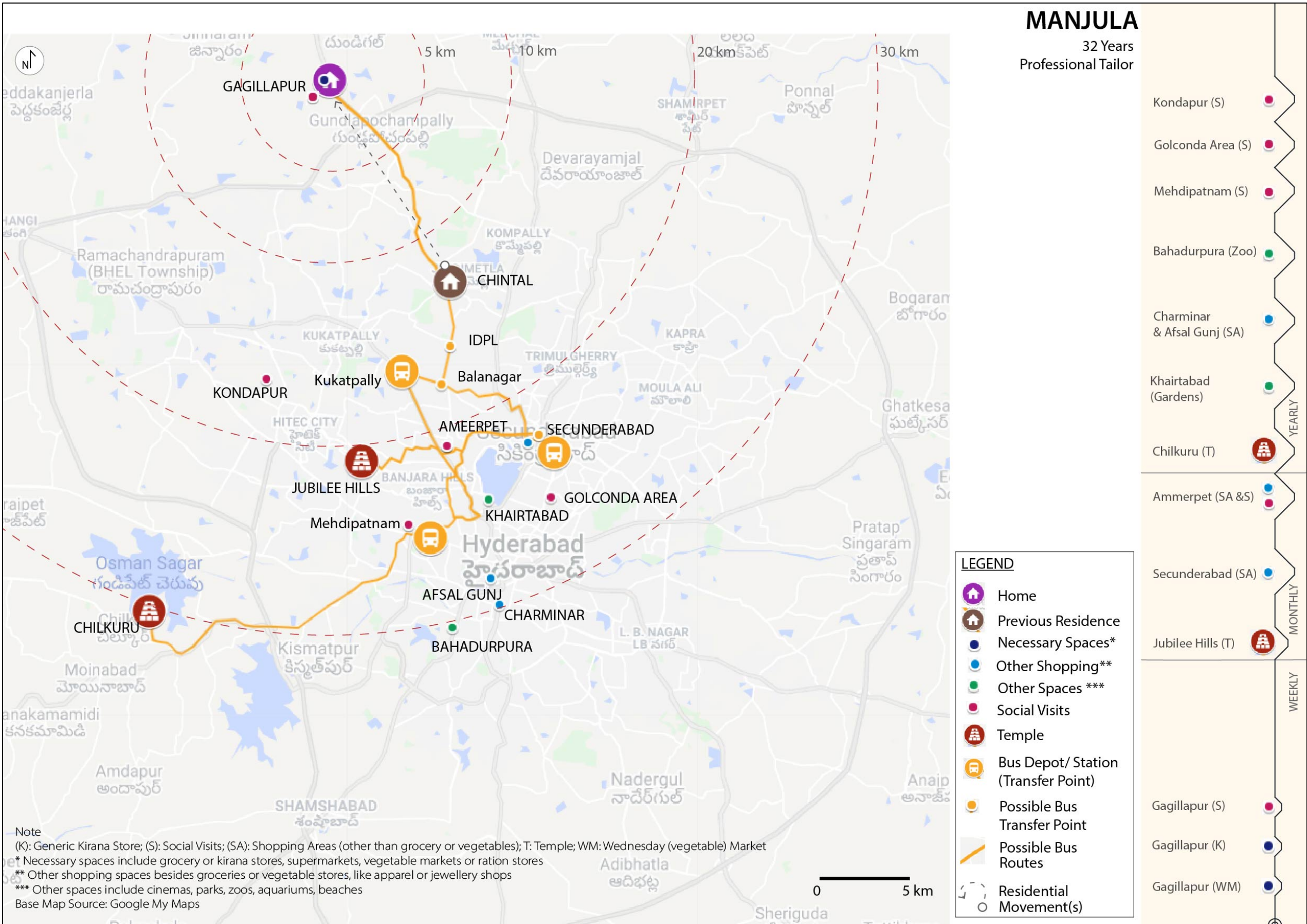
MONTHLY

WEEKLY

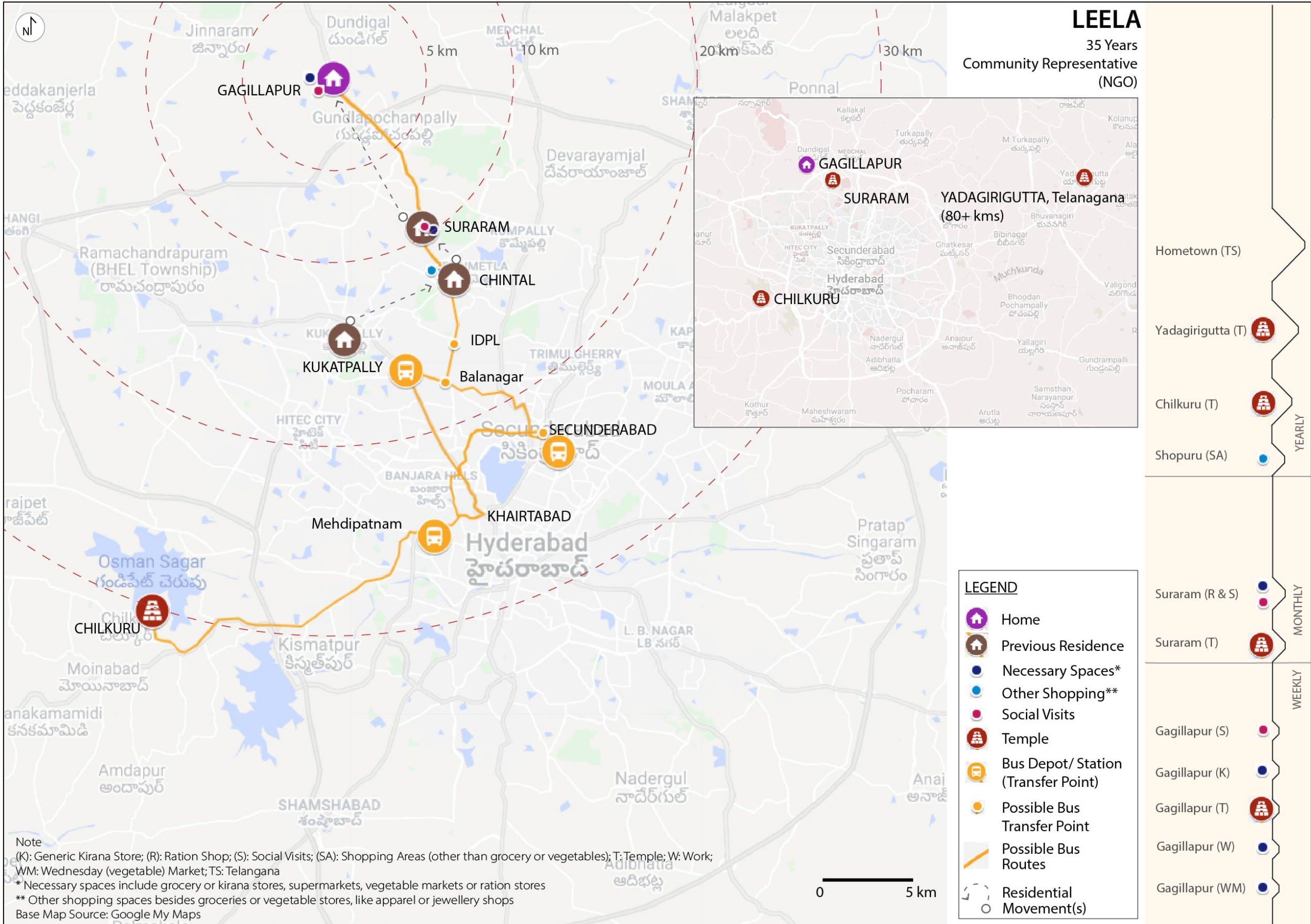
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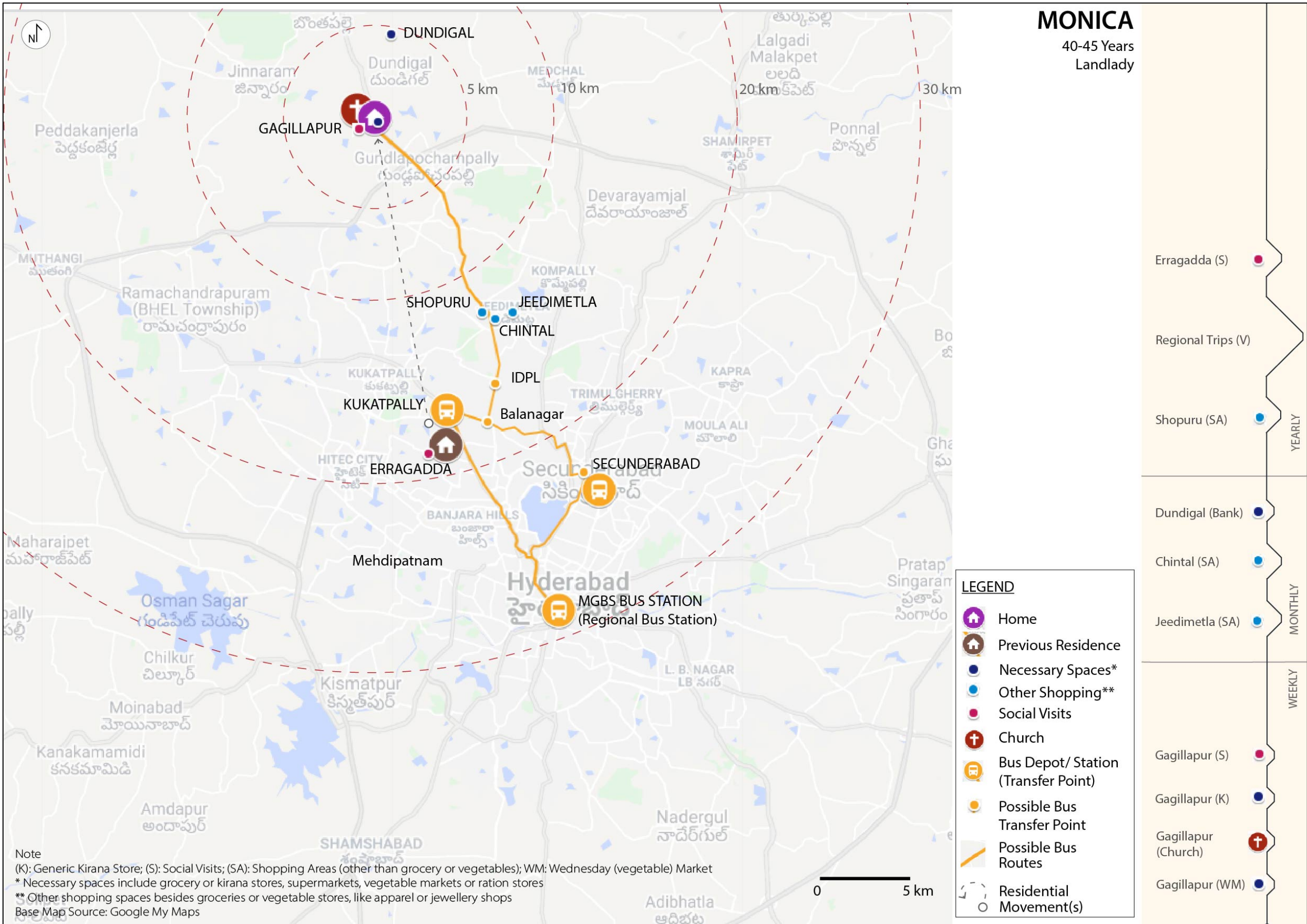
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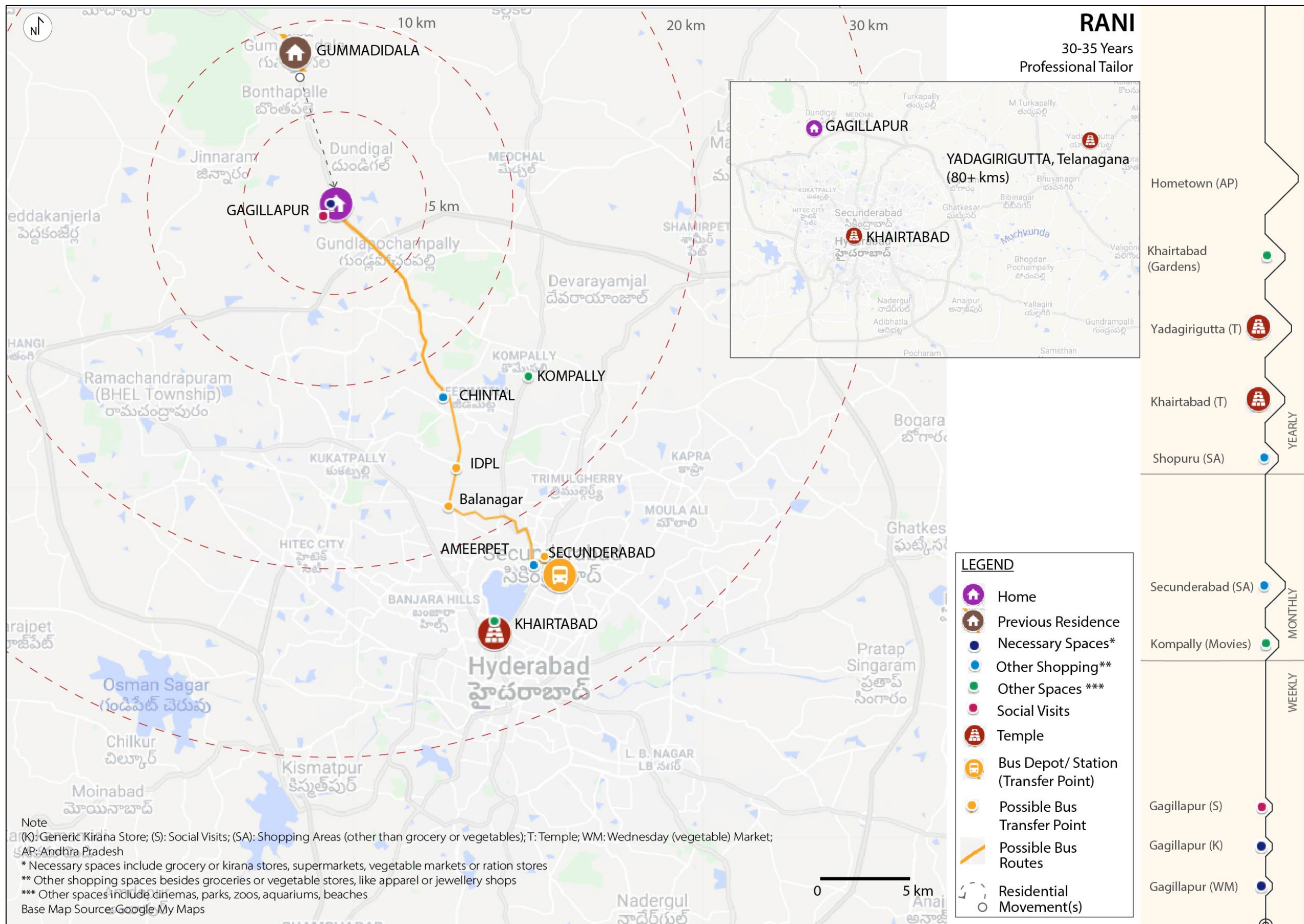
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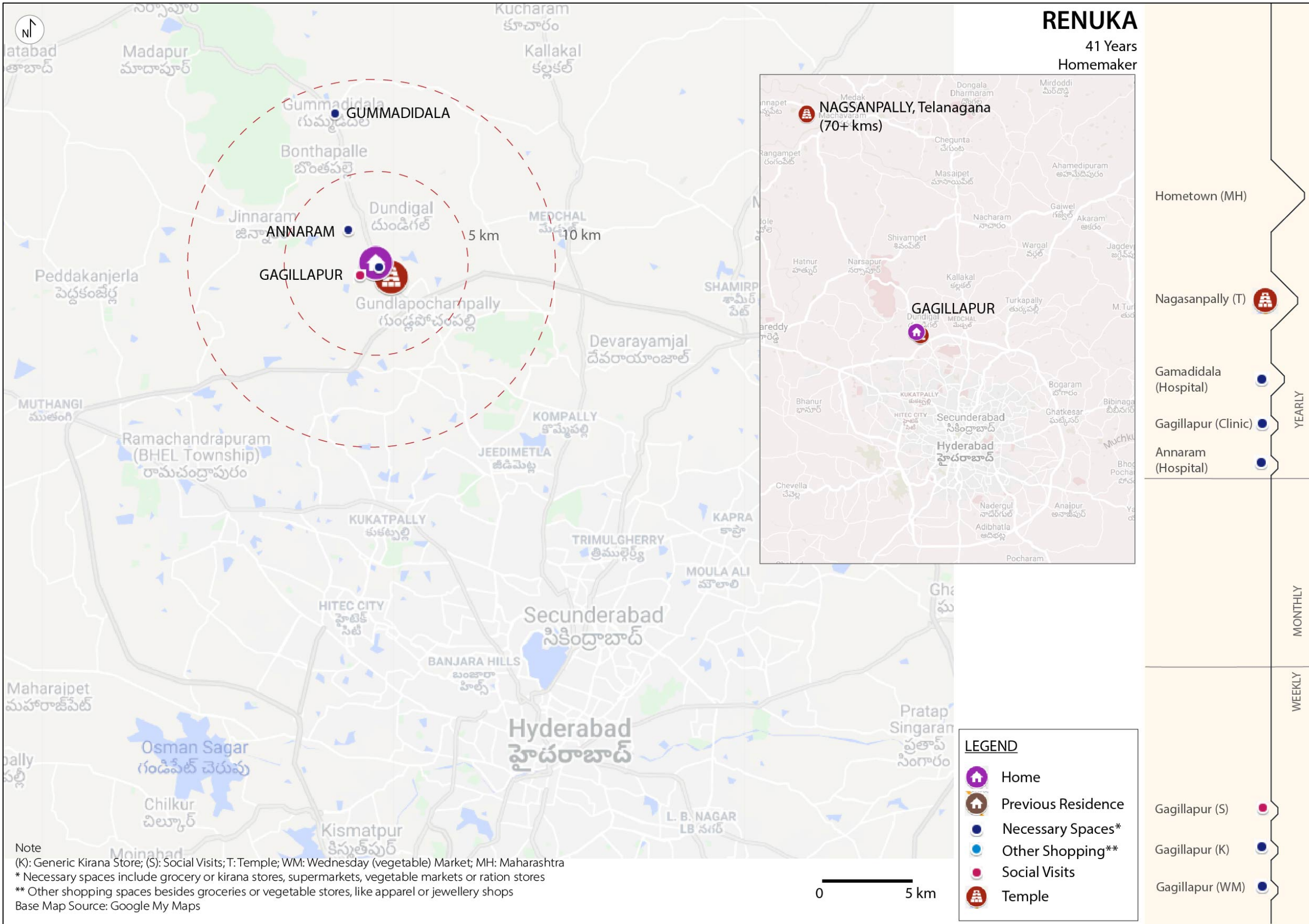
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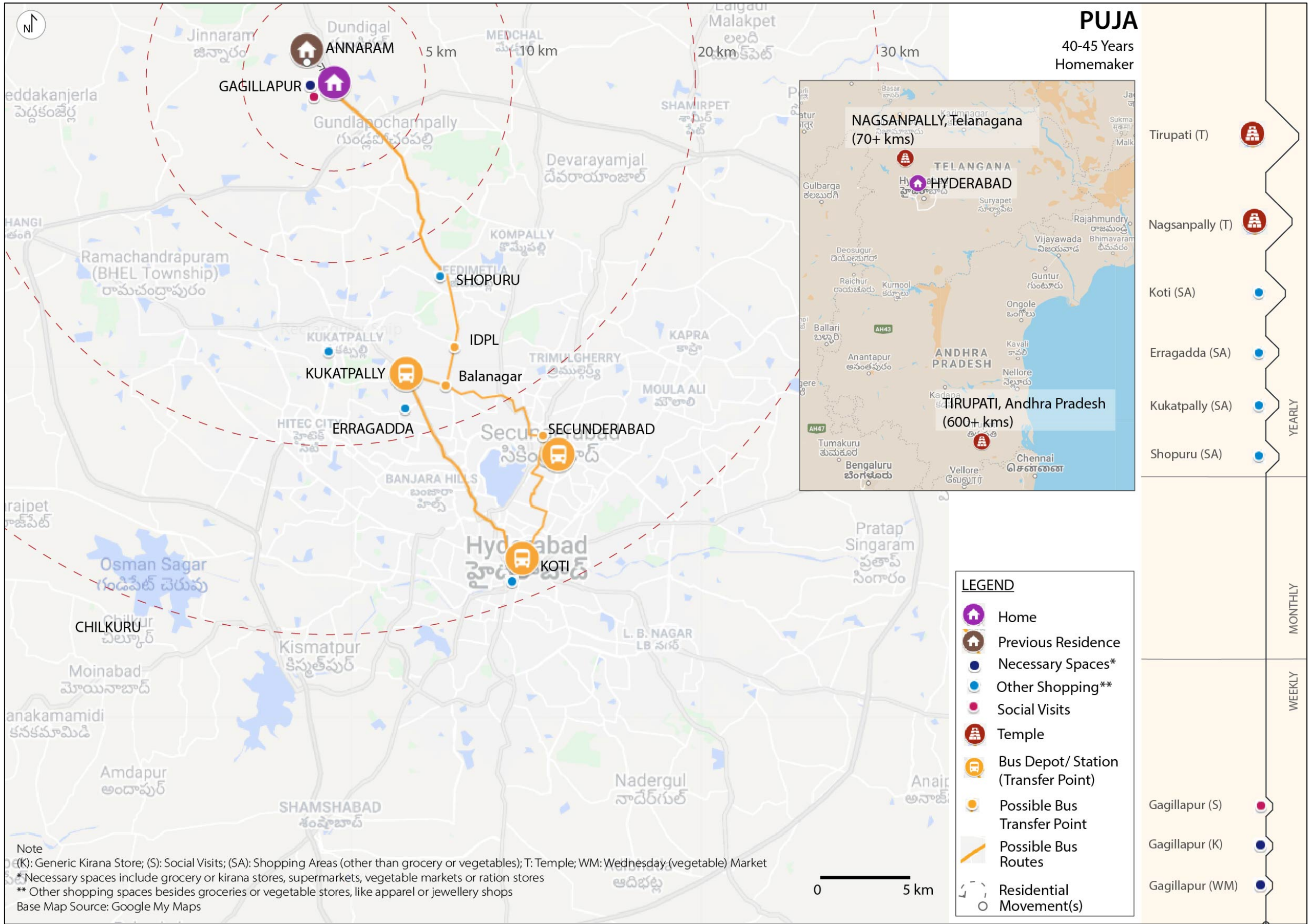
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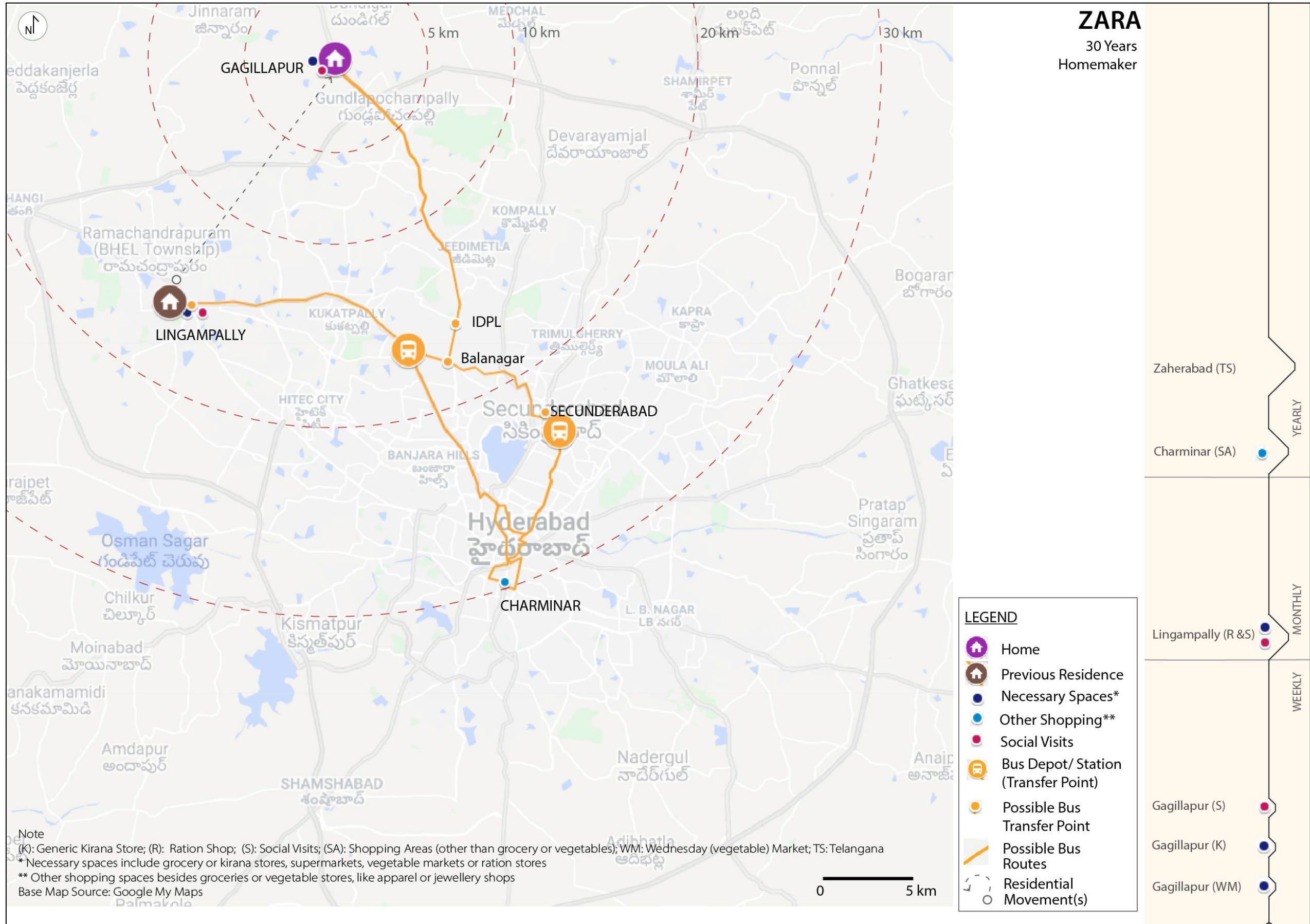
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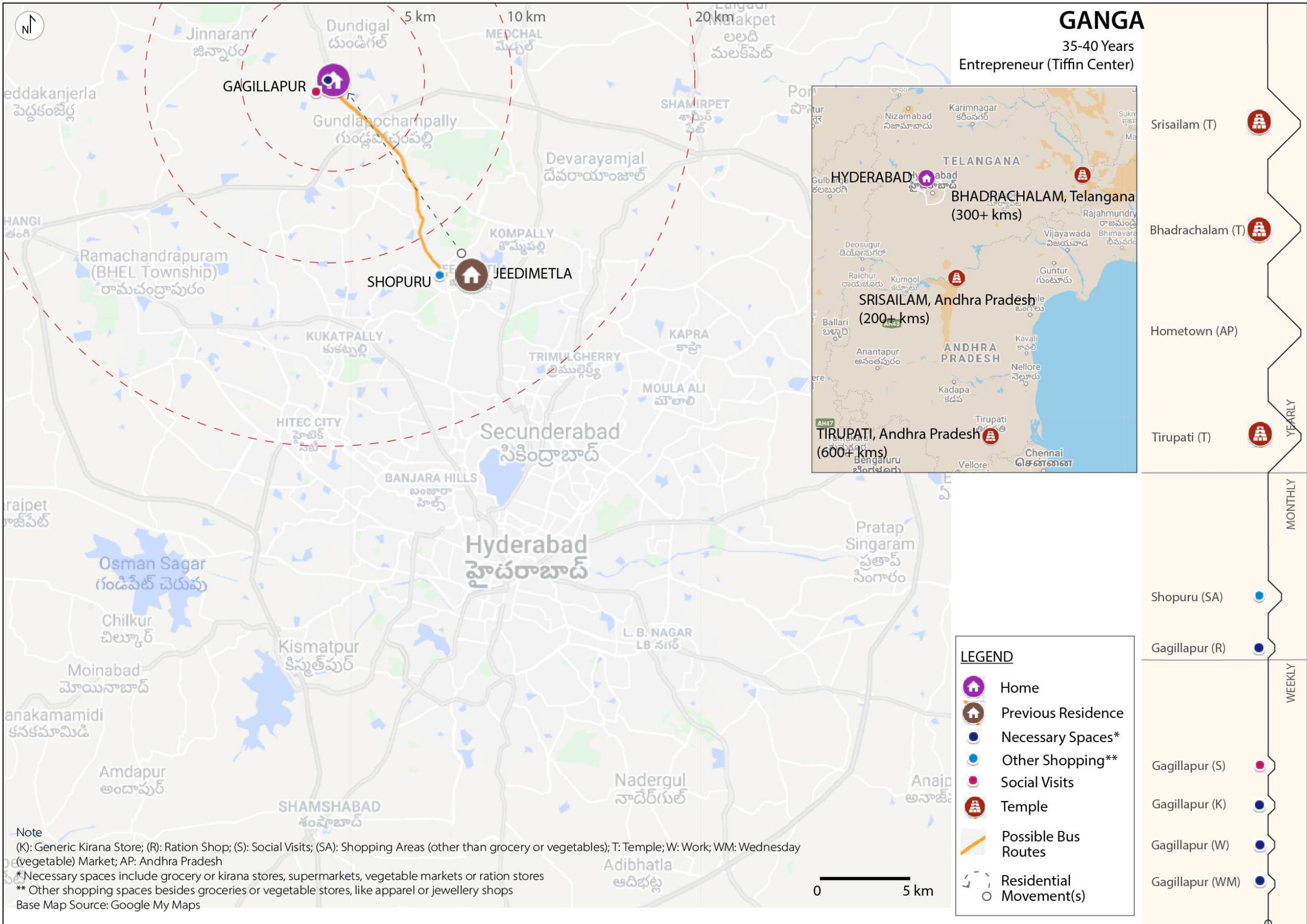
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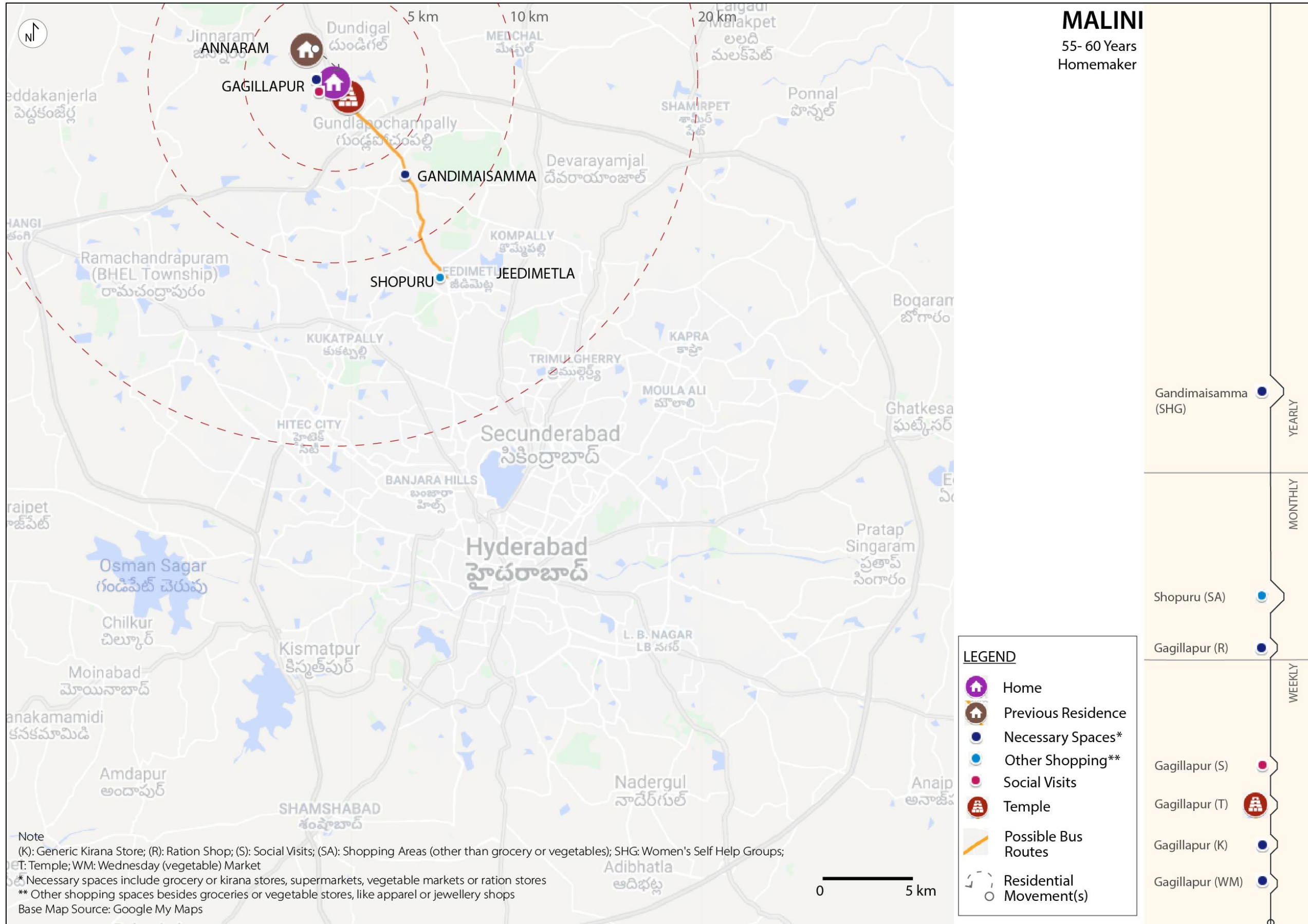
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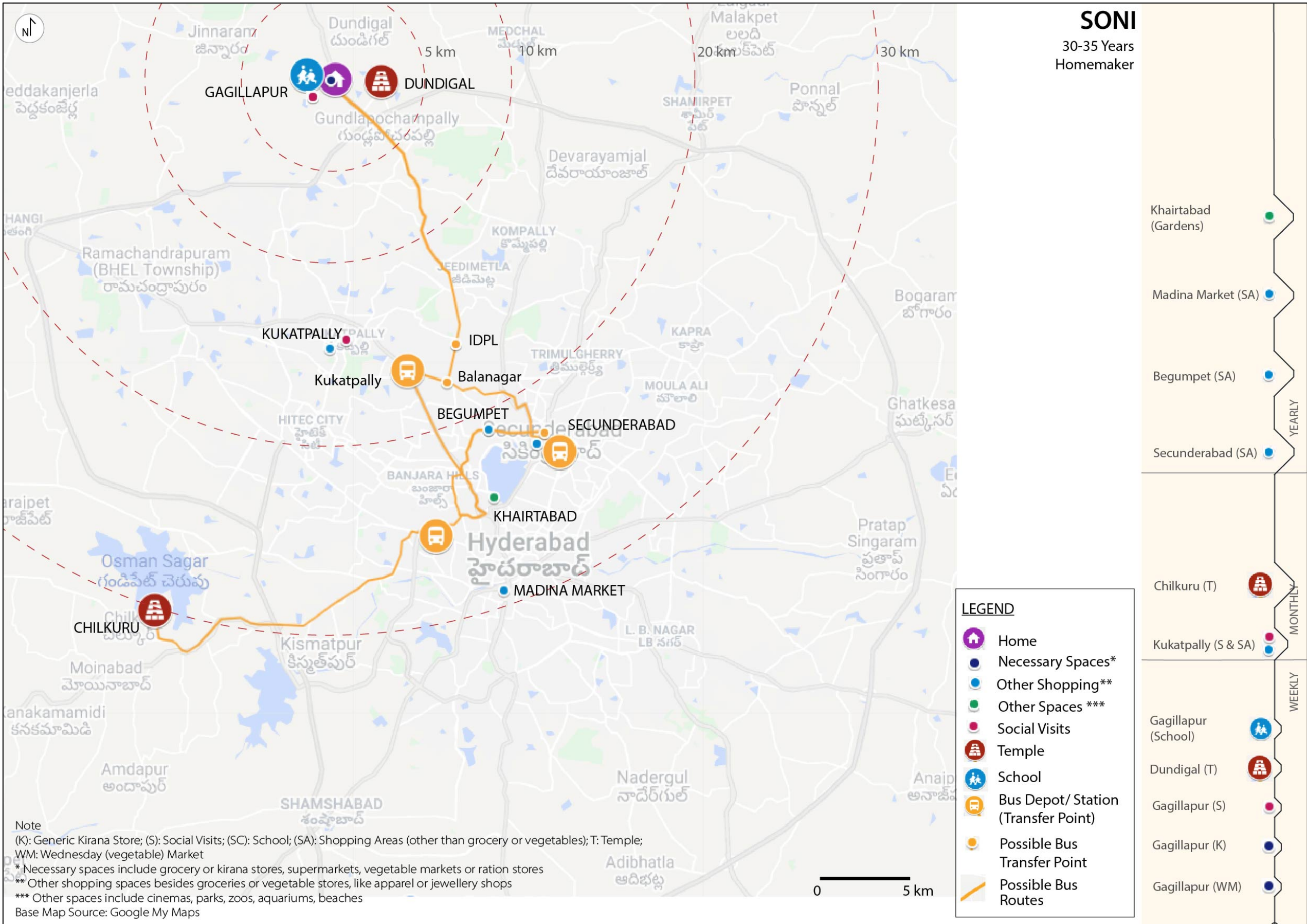
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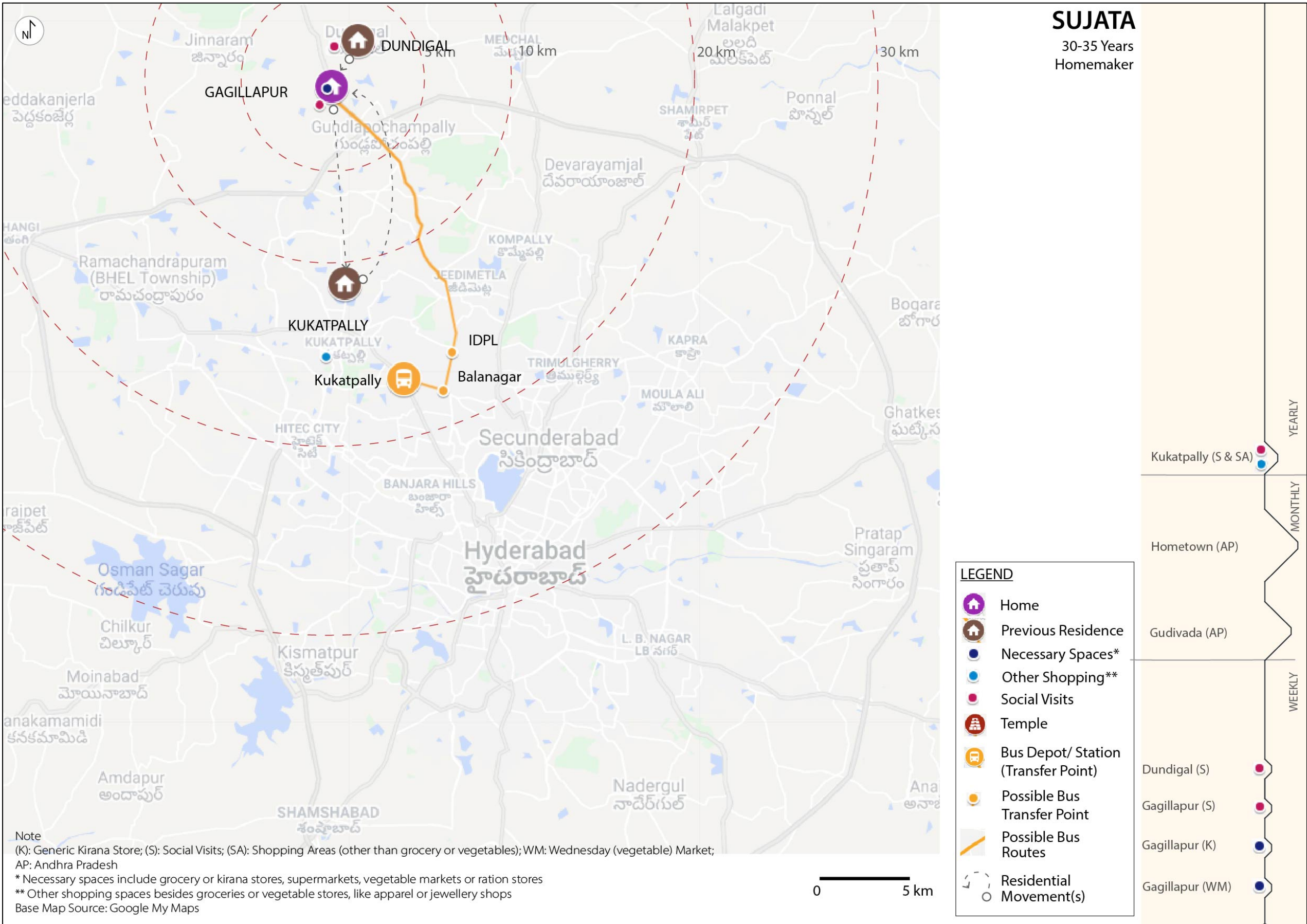
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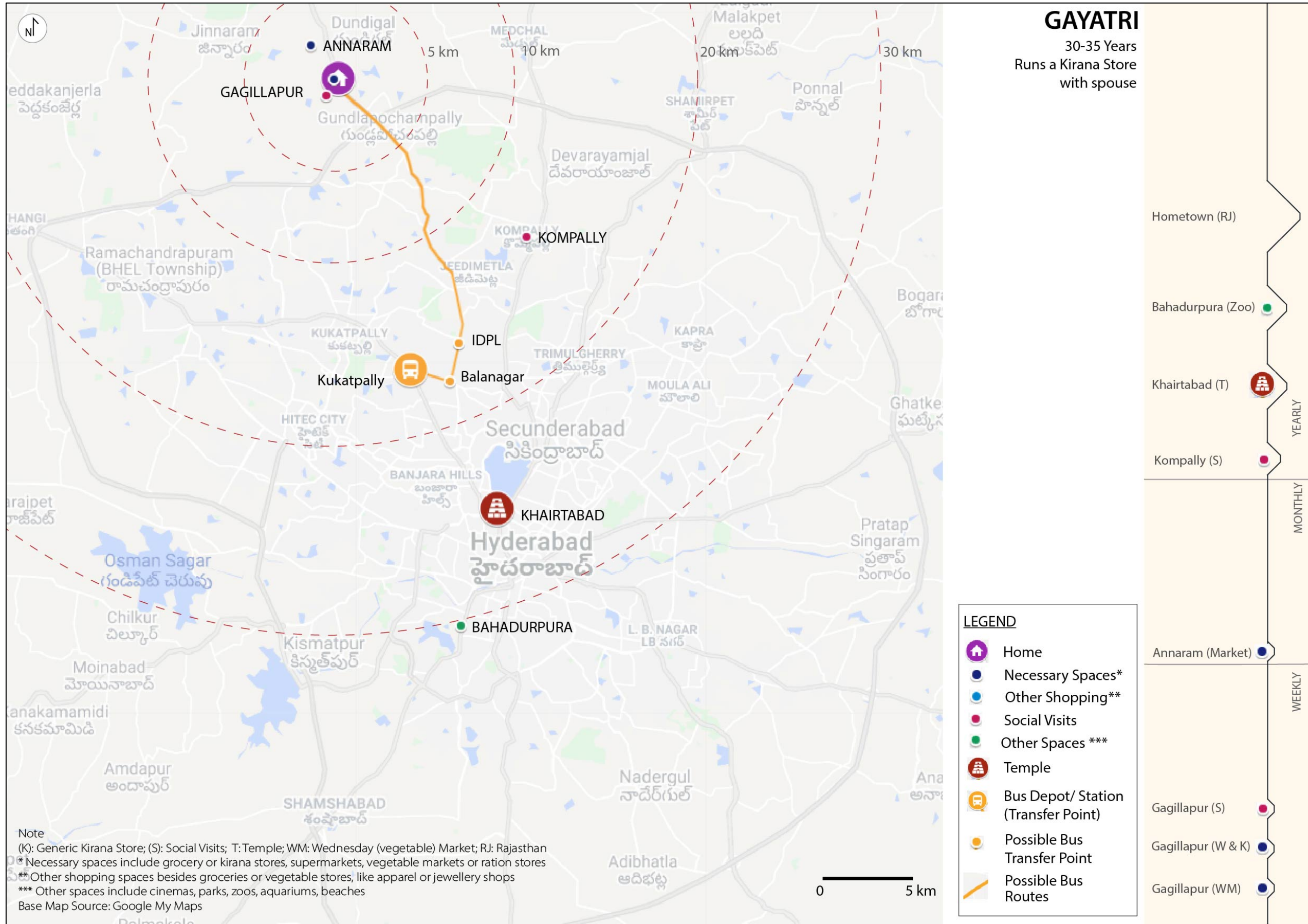
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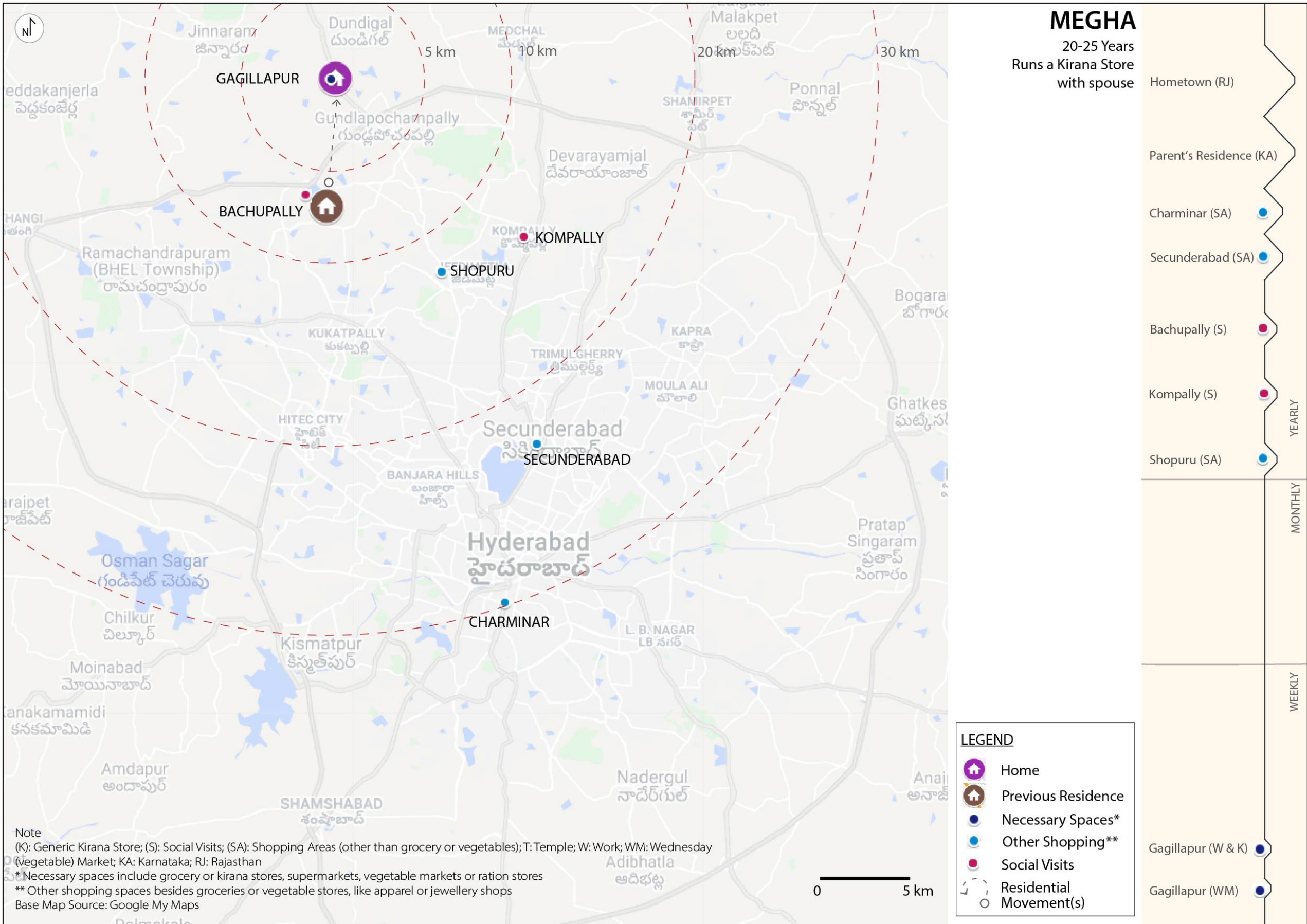
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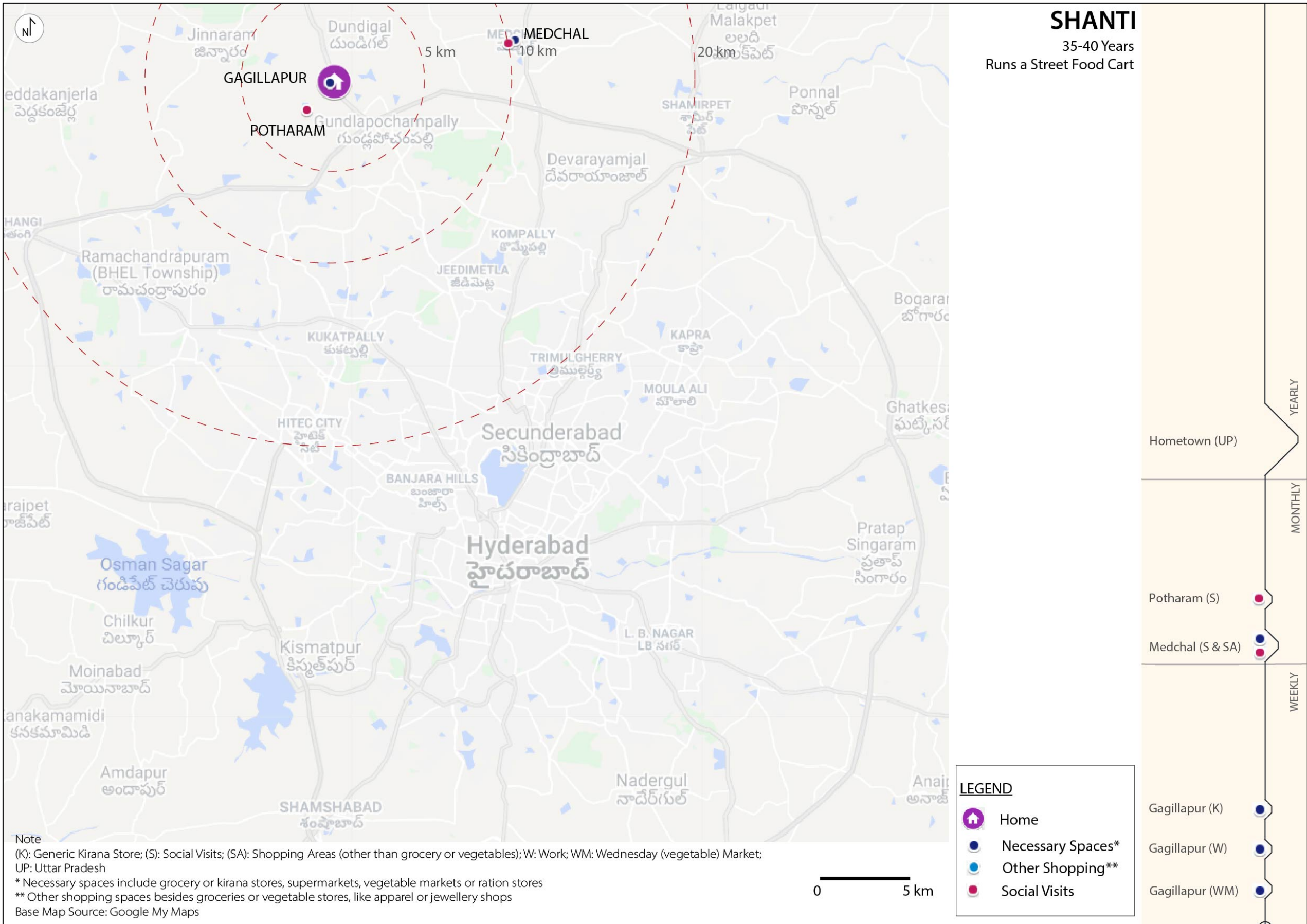
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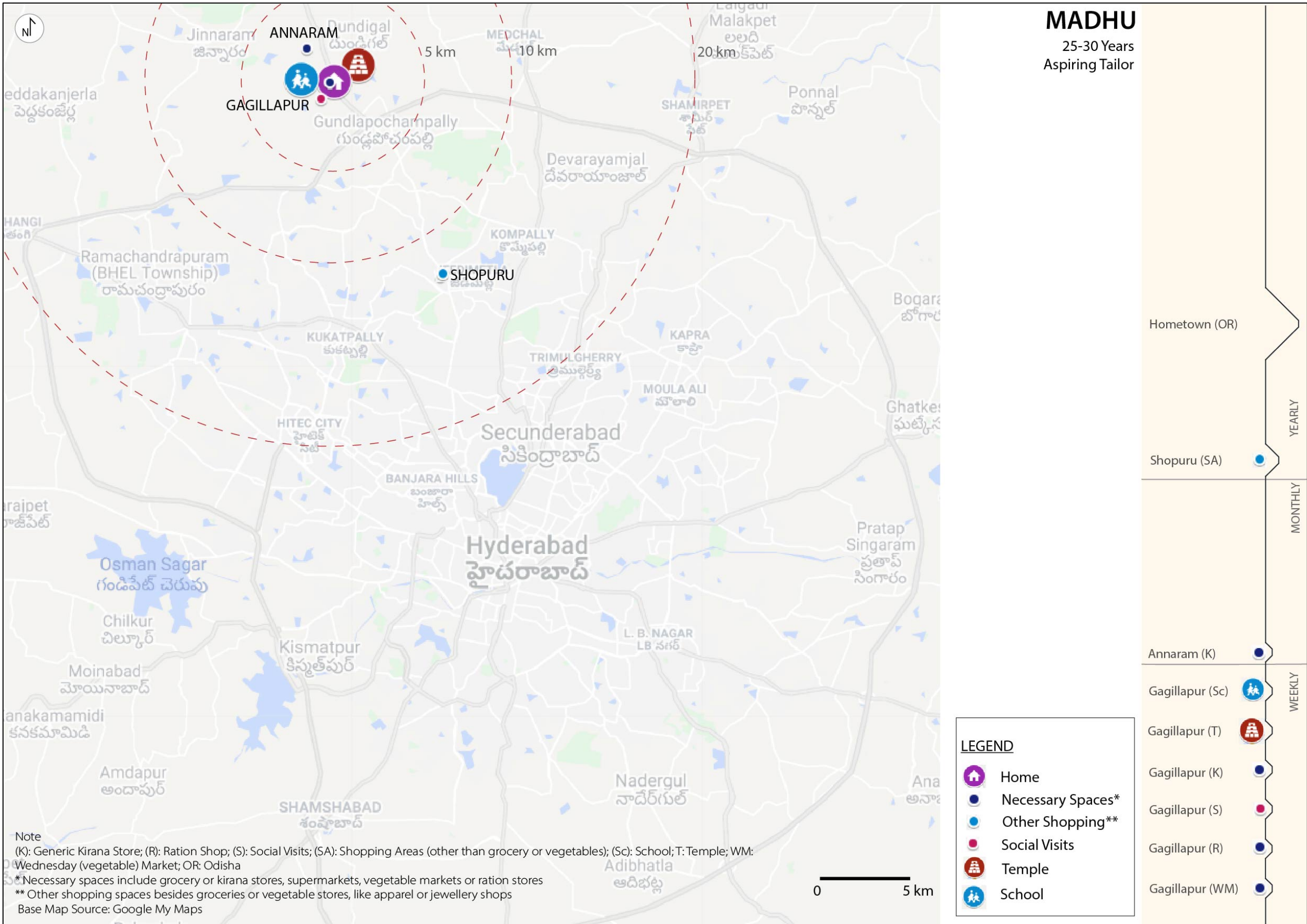
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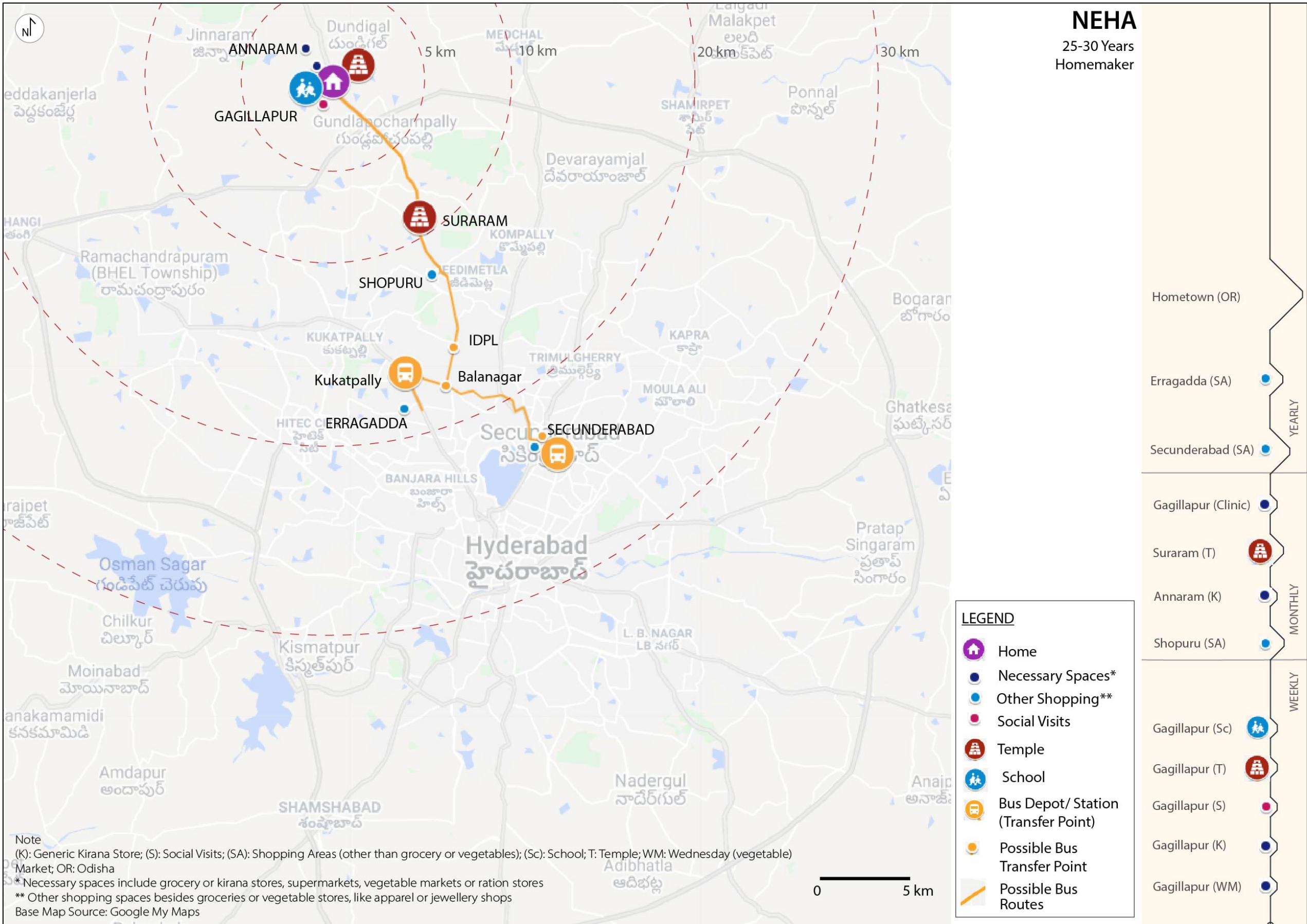
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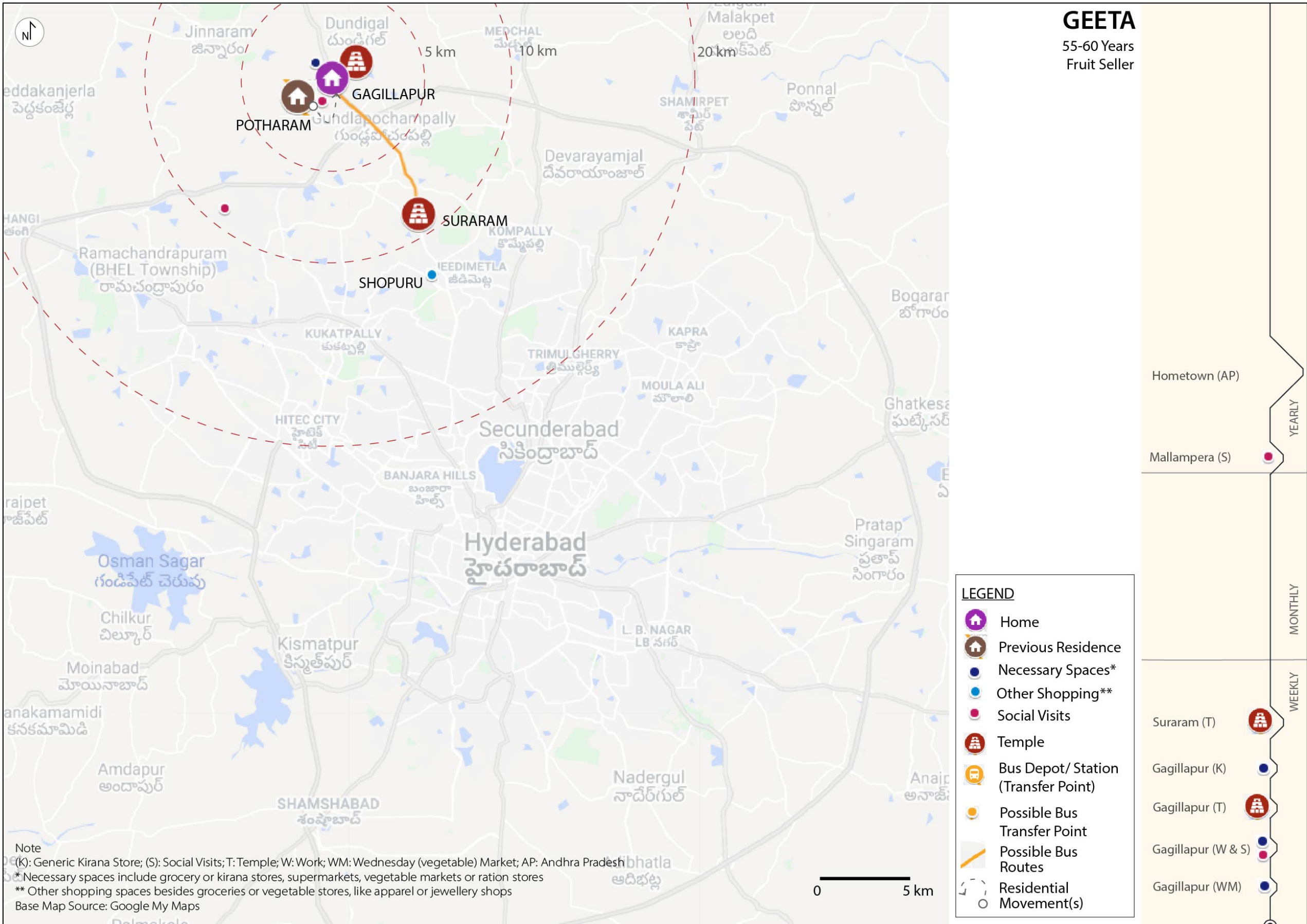
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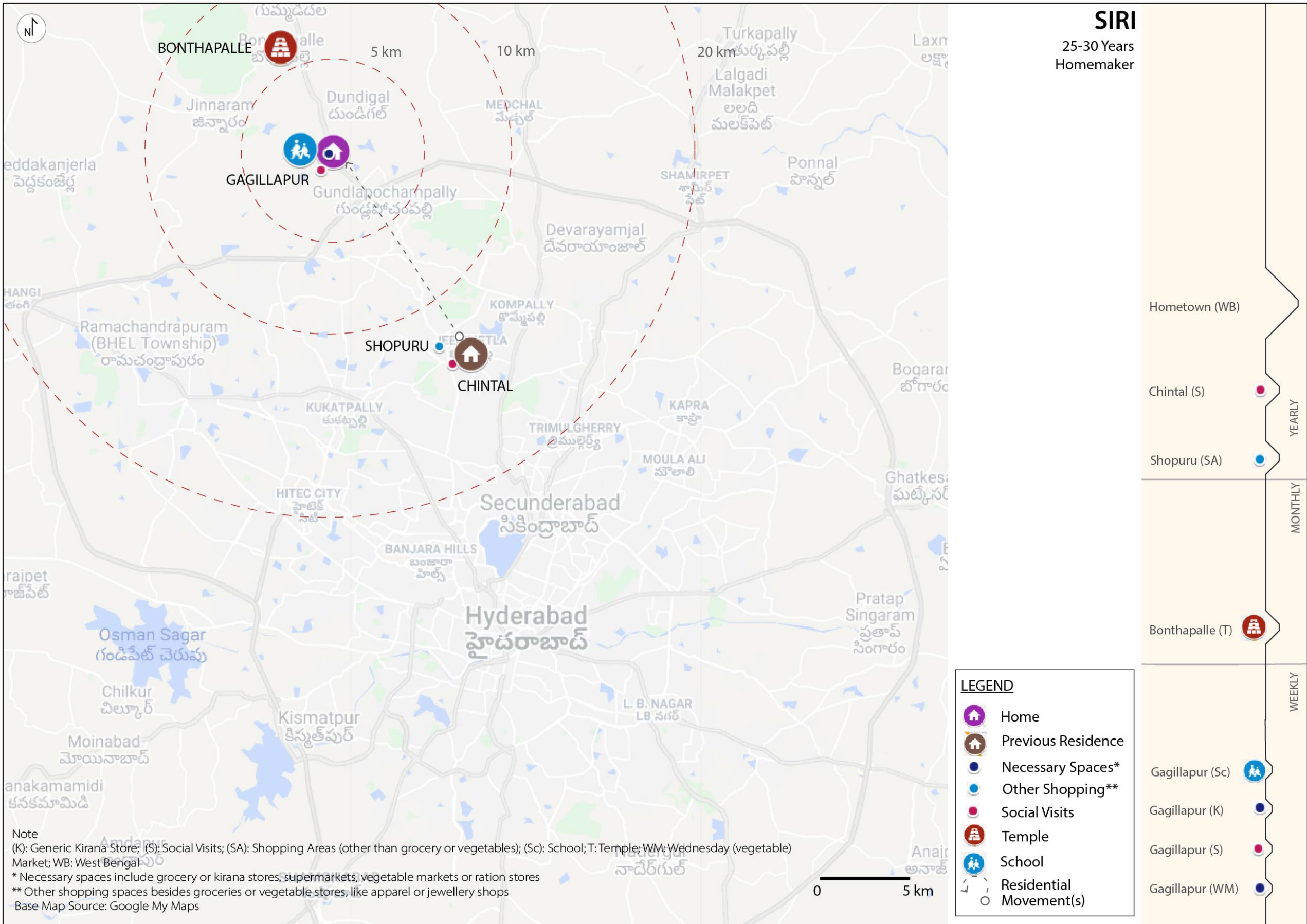
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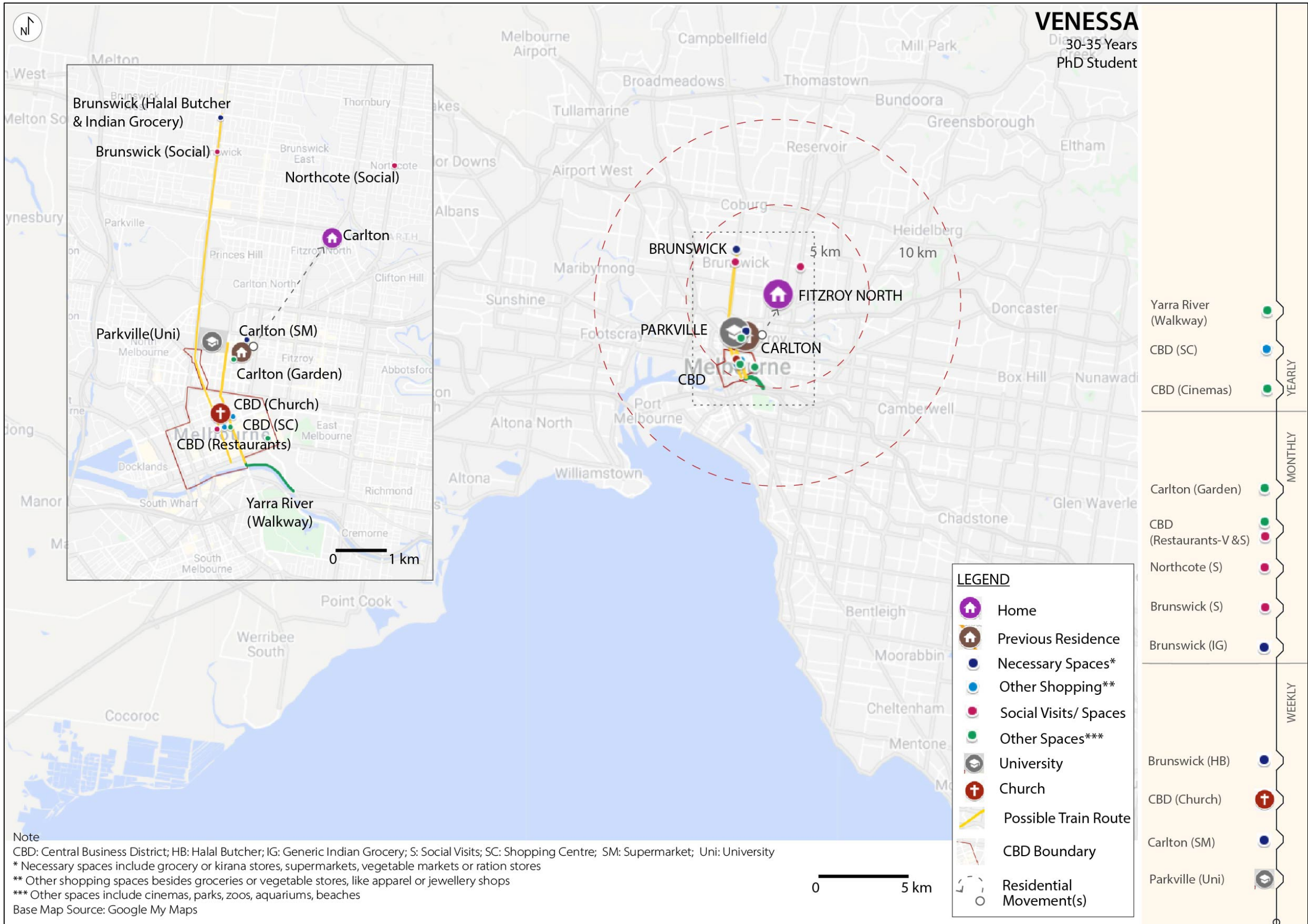
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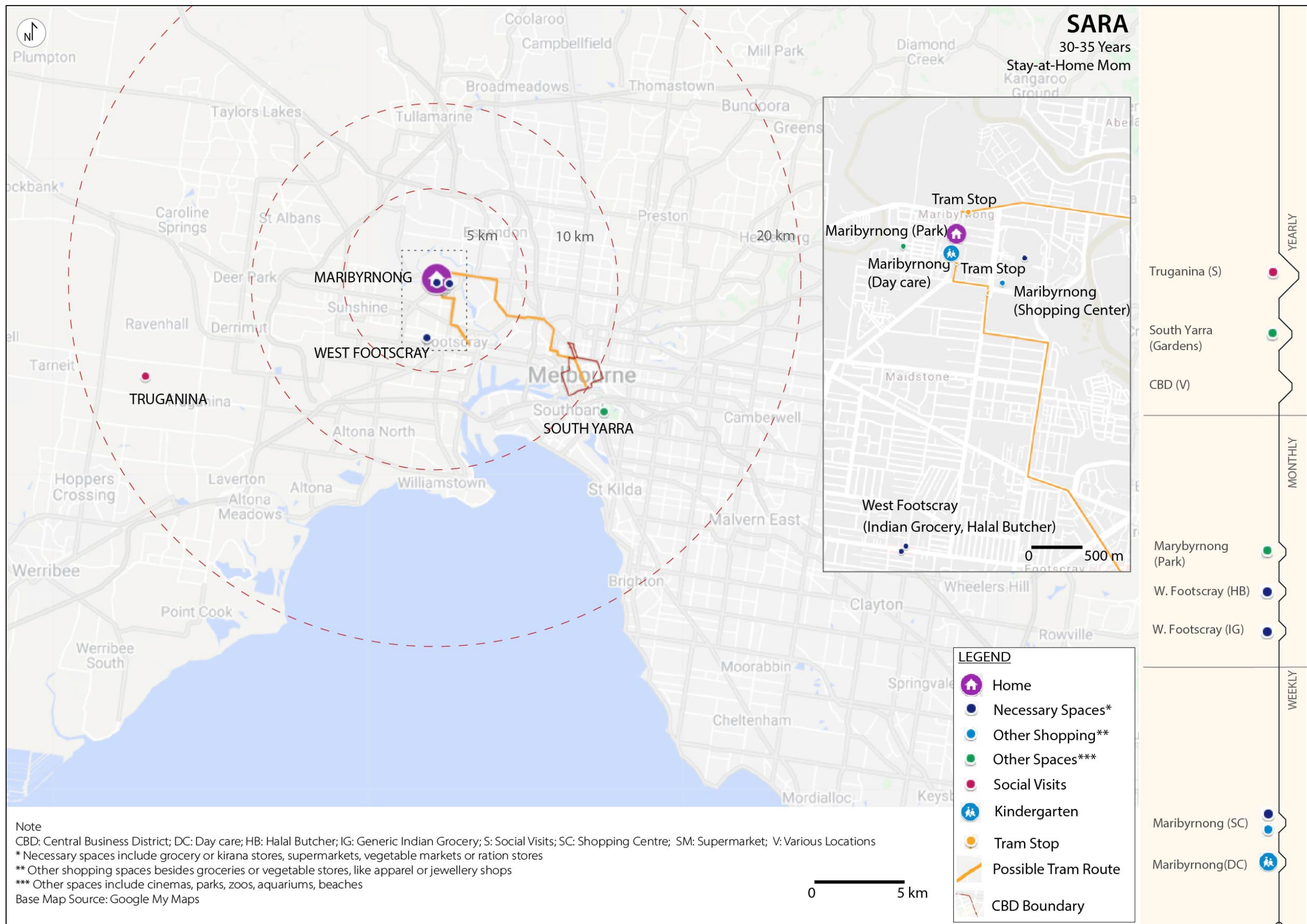
APPENDIX C Individual Movement Maps: Melbourne

S. No.	Participant Code	Pseudonym
1	P1	Venessa
2	P2	Sara
3	P4	Priya
4	P5	Zainab
5	P6	Charu
6	M1	Sonam
7	M2	Diya
8	M3	Sejal
9	M4	Swapna
10	M5	Nirmala
11	M6	Reya
12	M7	Soumya
13	M8	Bhanu
14	M9	Veera
15	M10	Mary
16	M11	Sita
17	M12	Mira
18	M13	Vanita
19	M14	Keerti

1.



2.



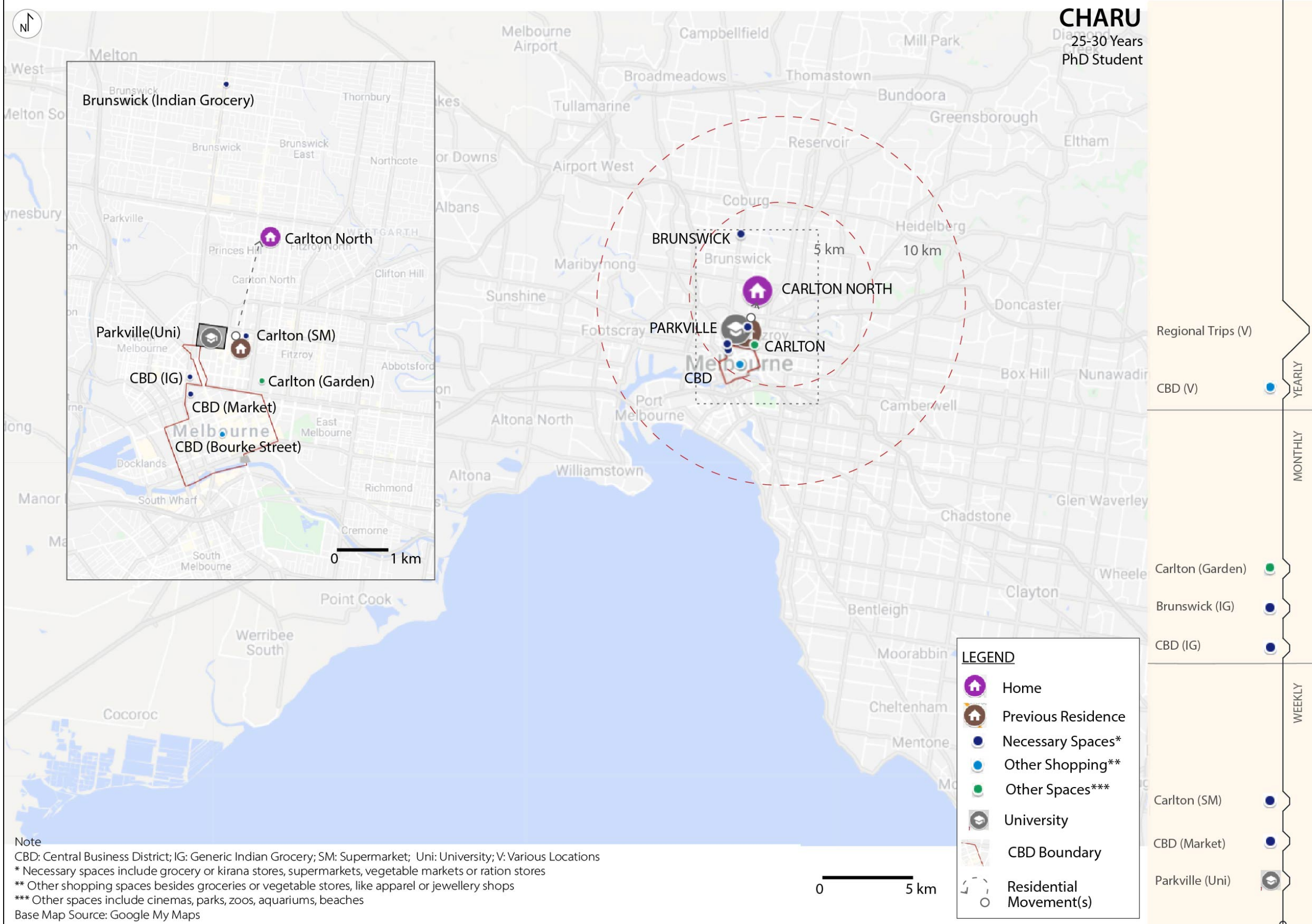
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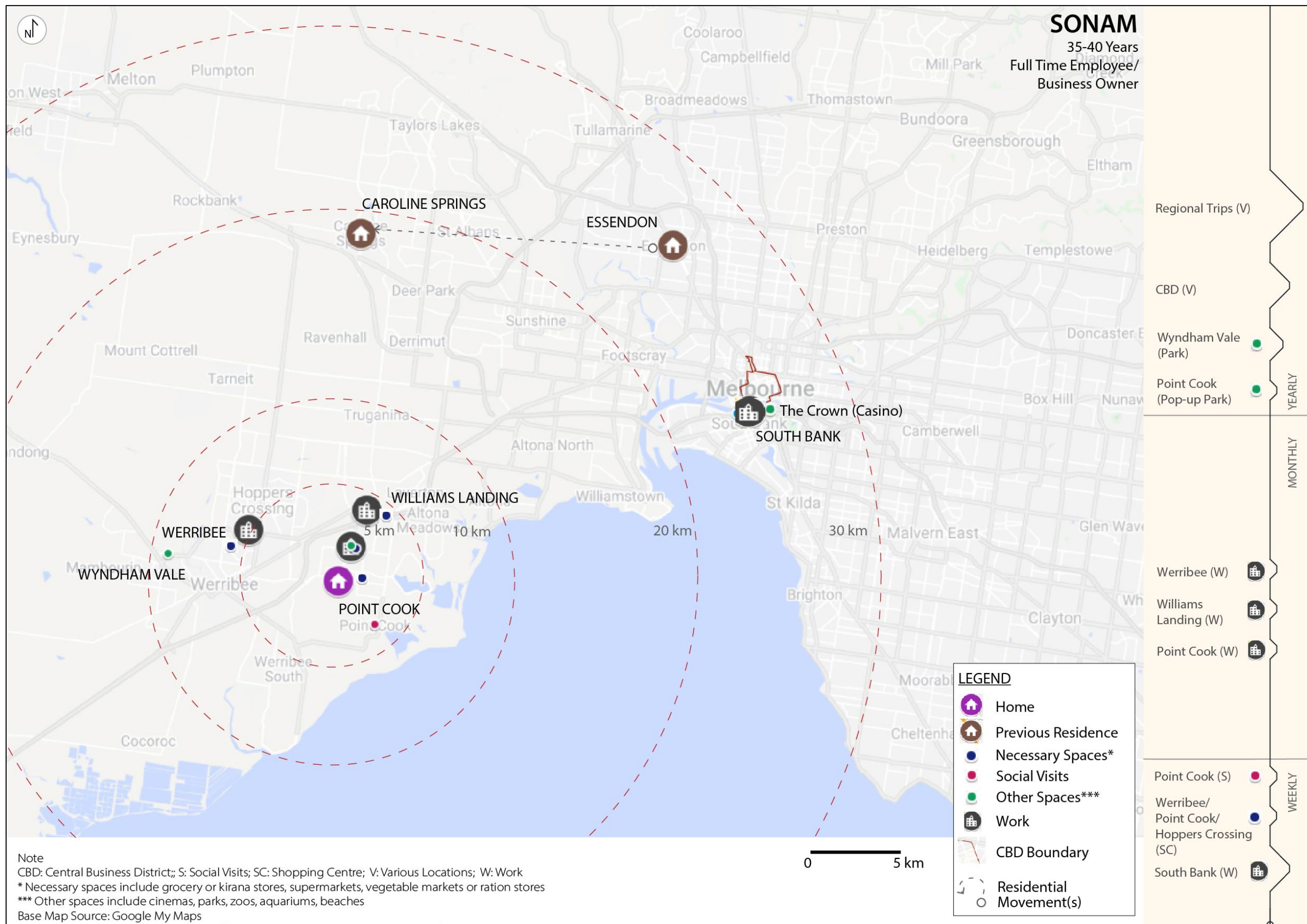
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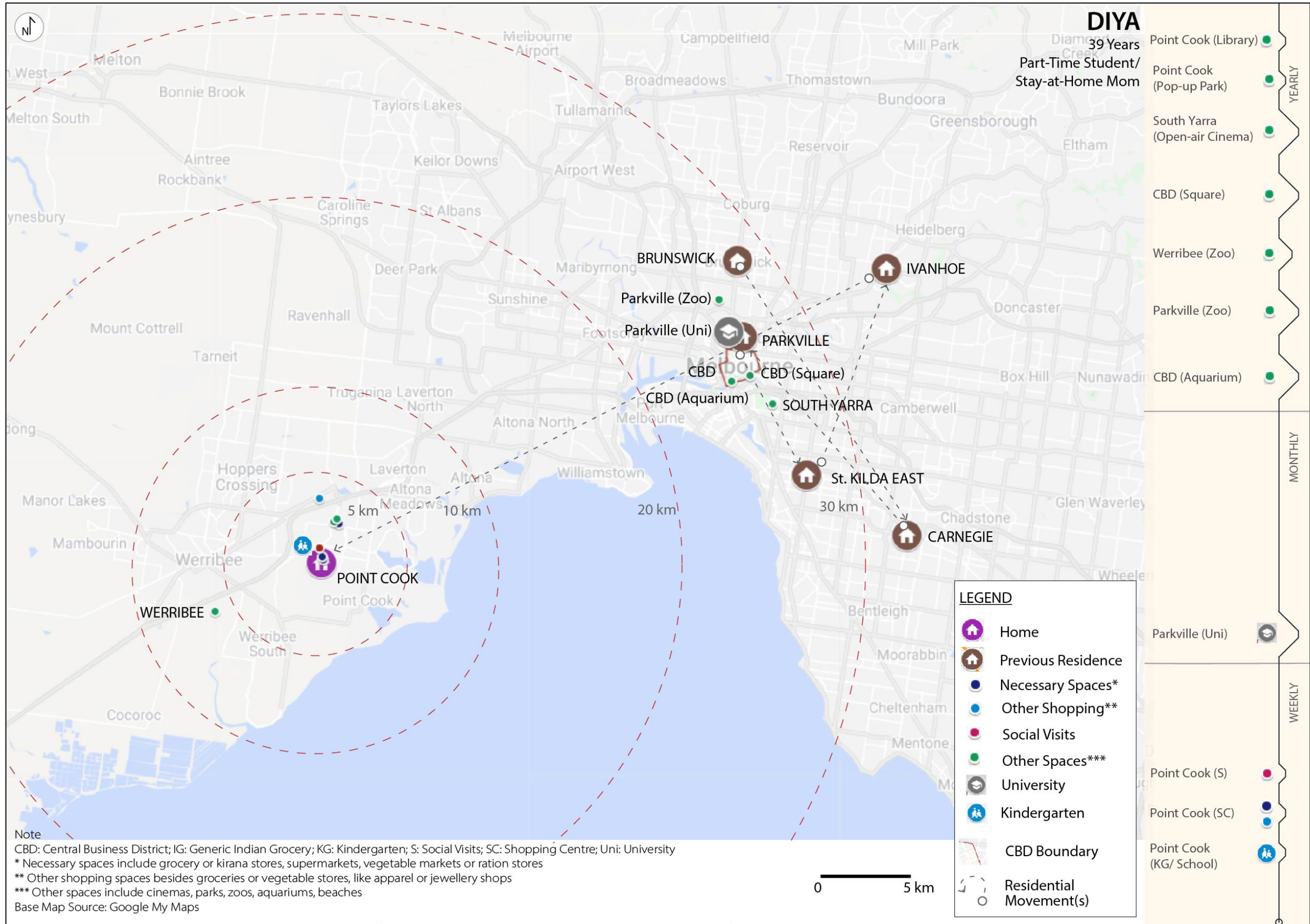
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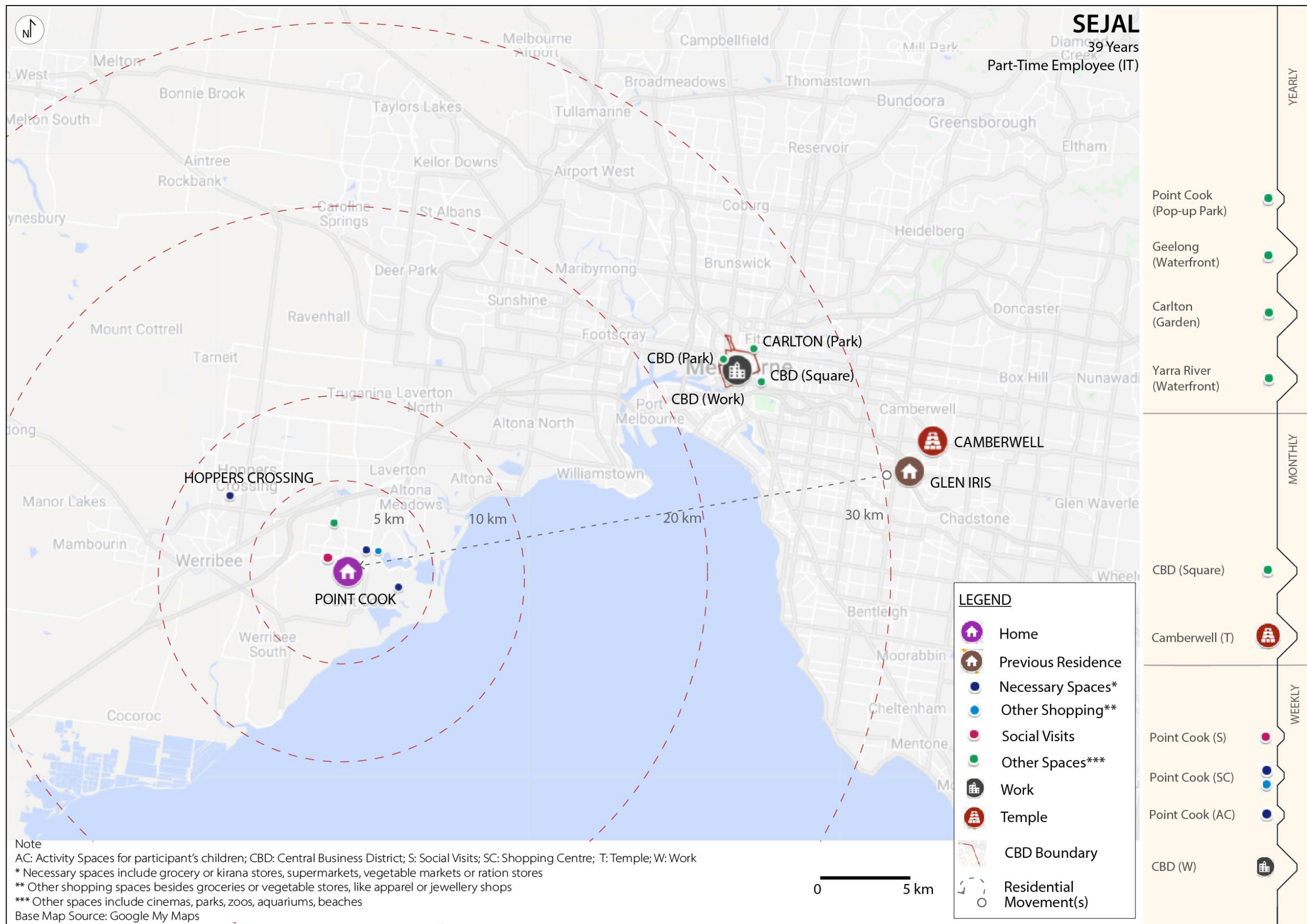
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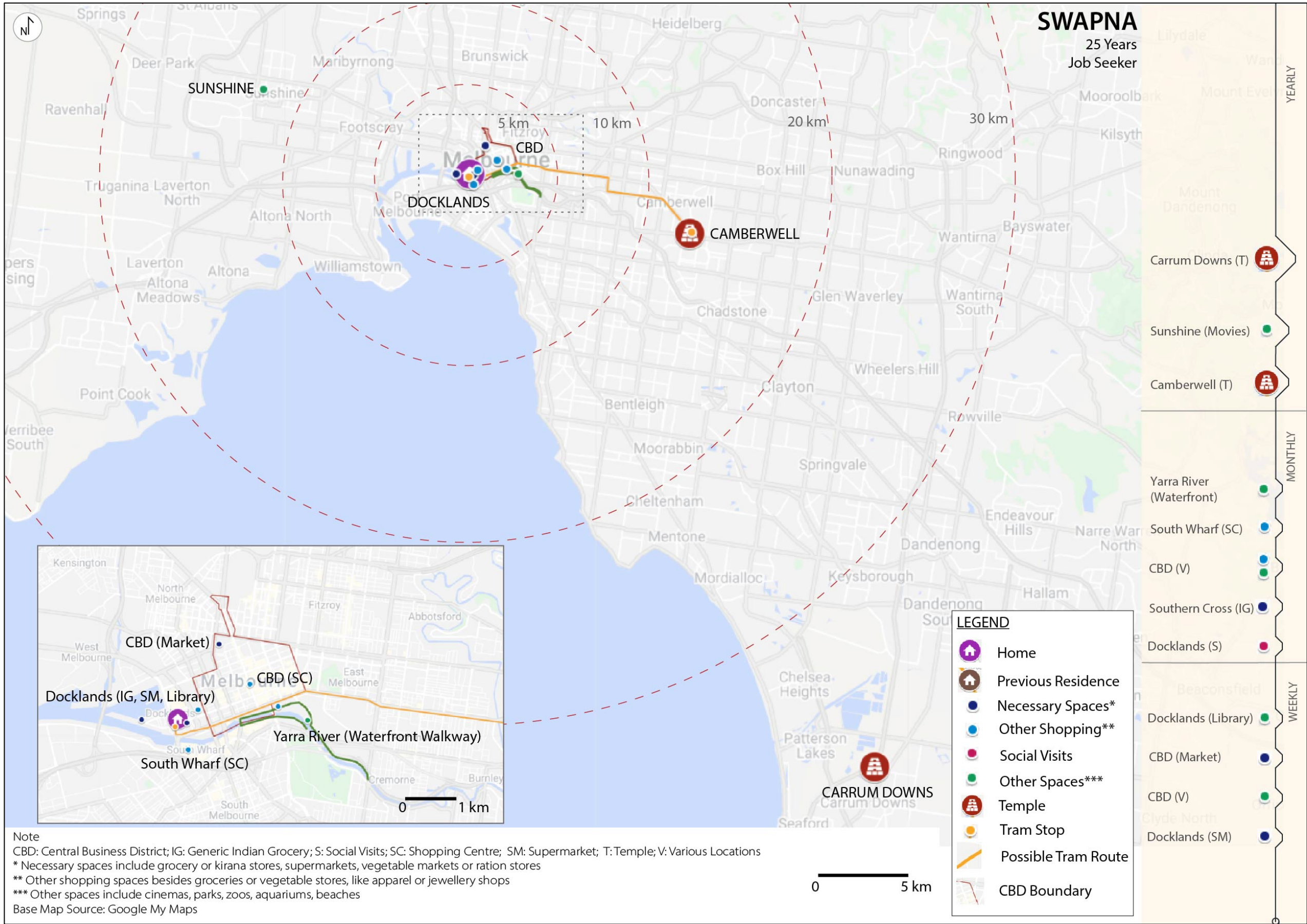
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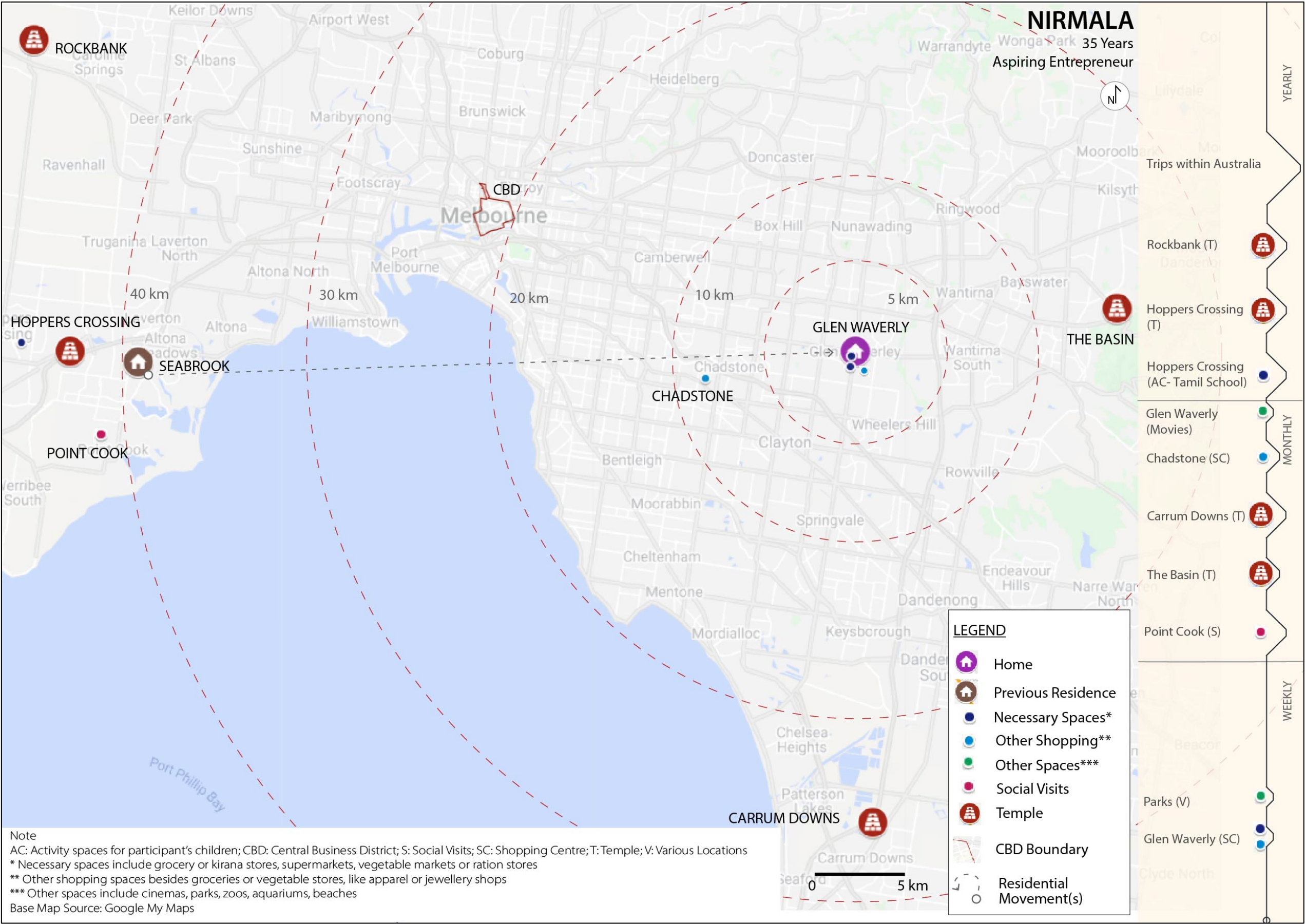
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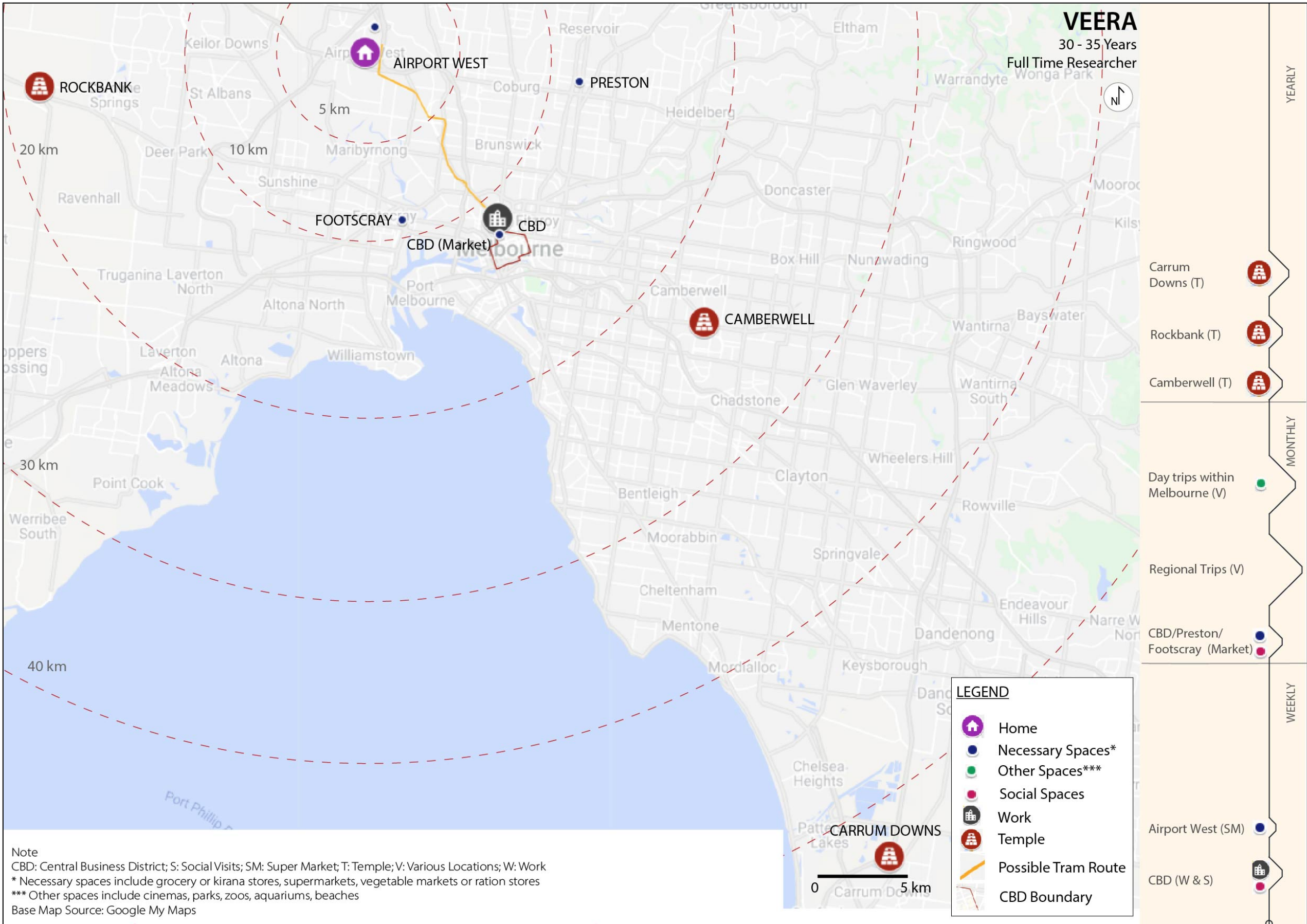
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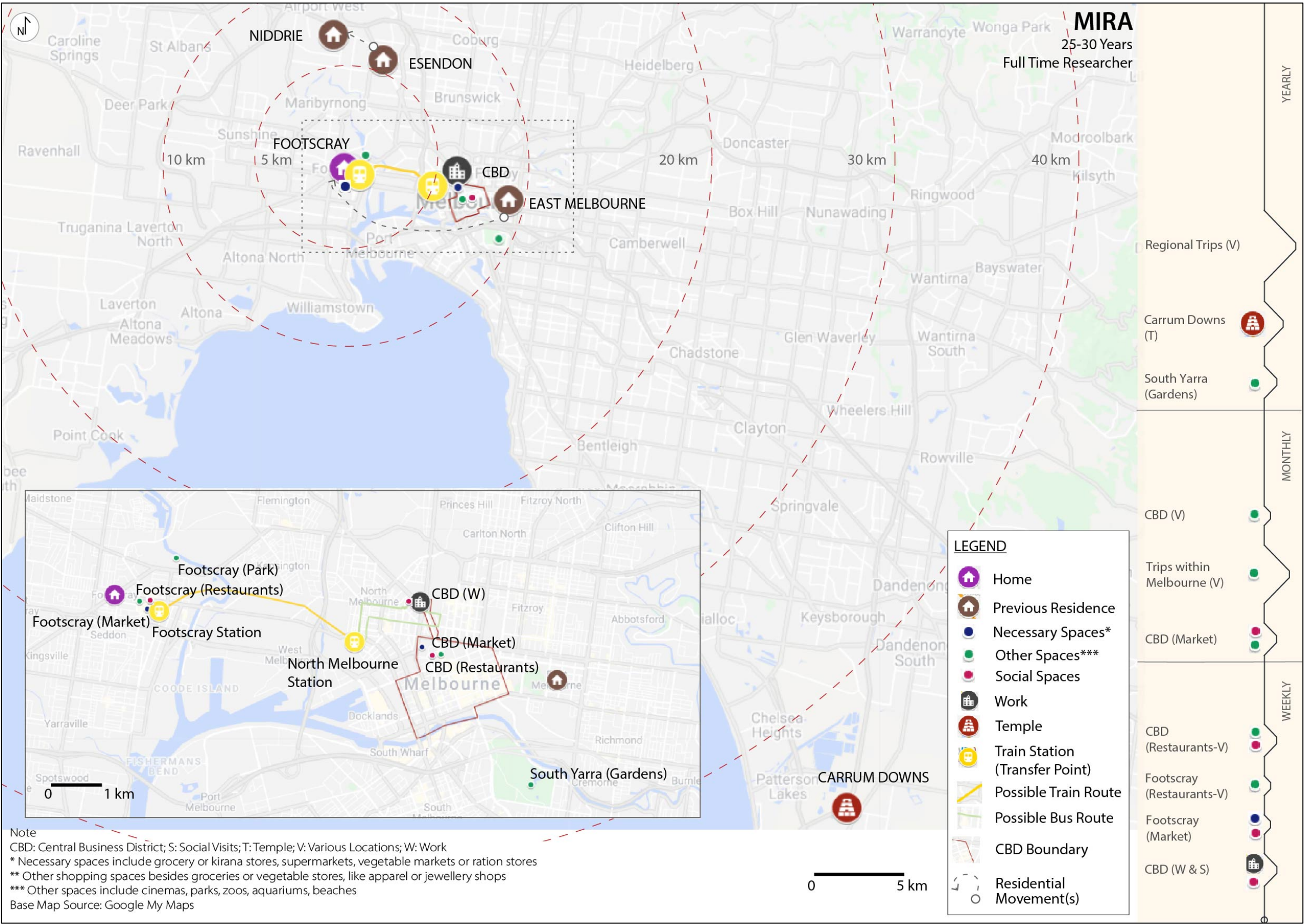
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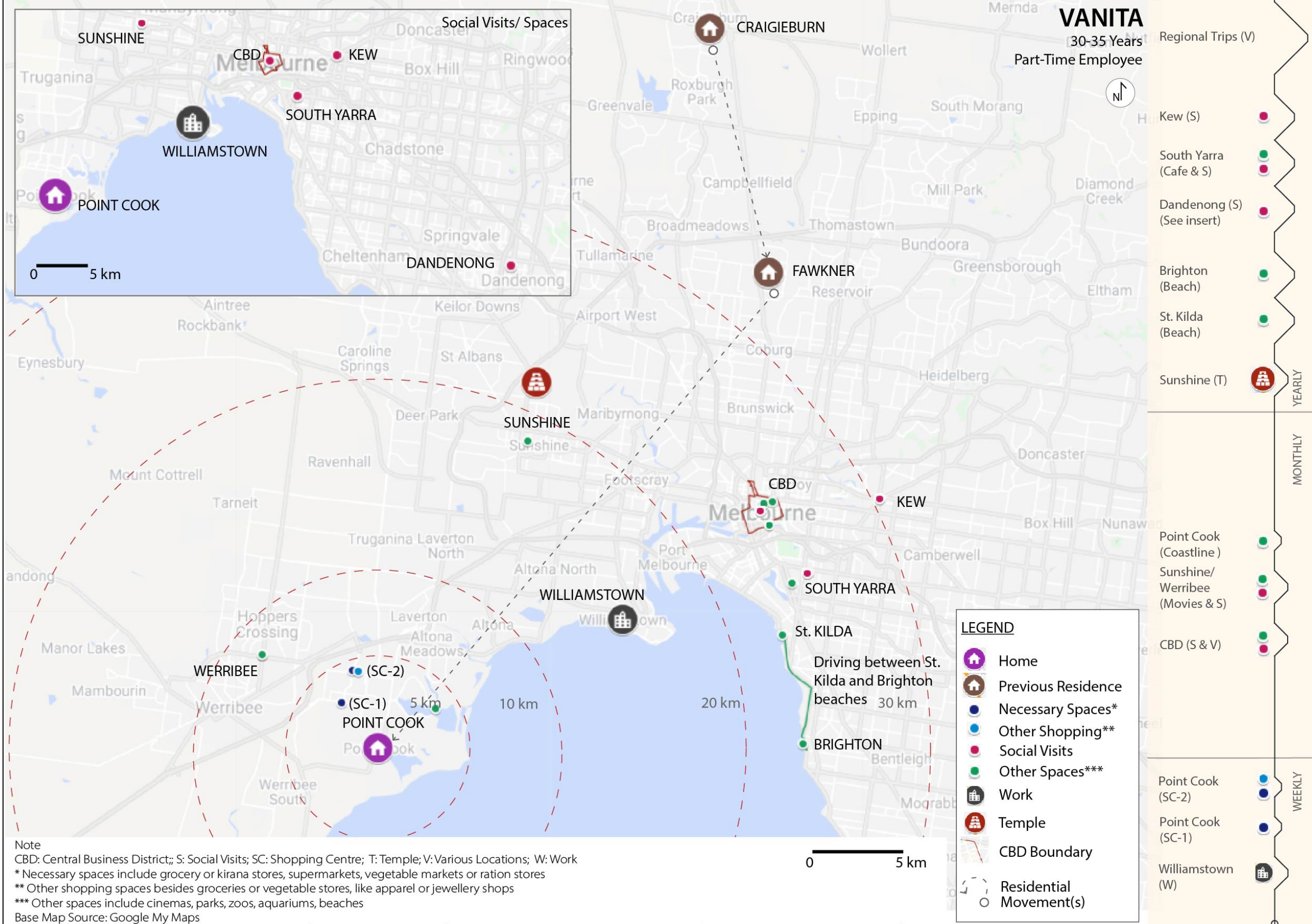
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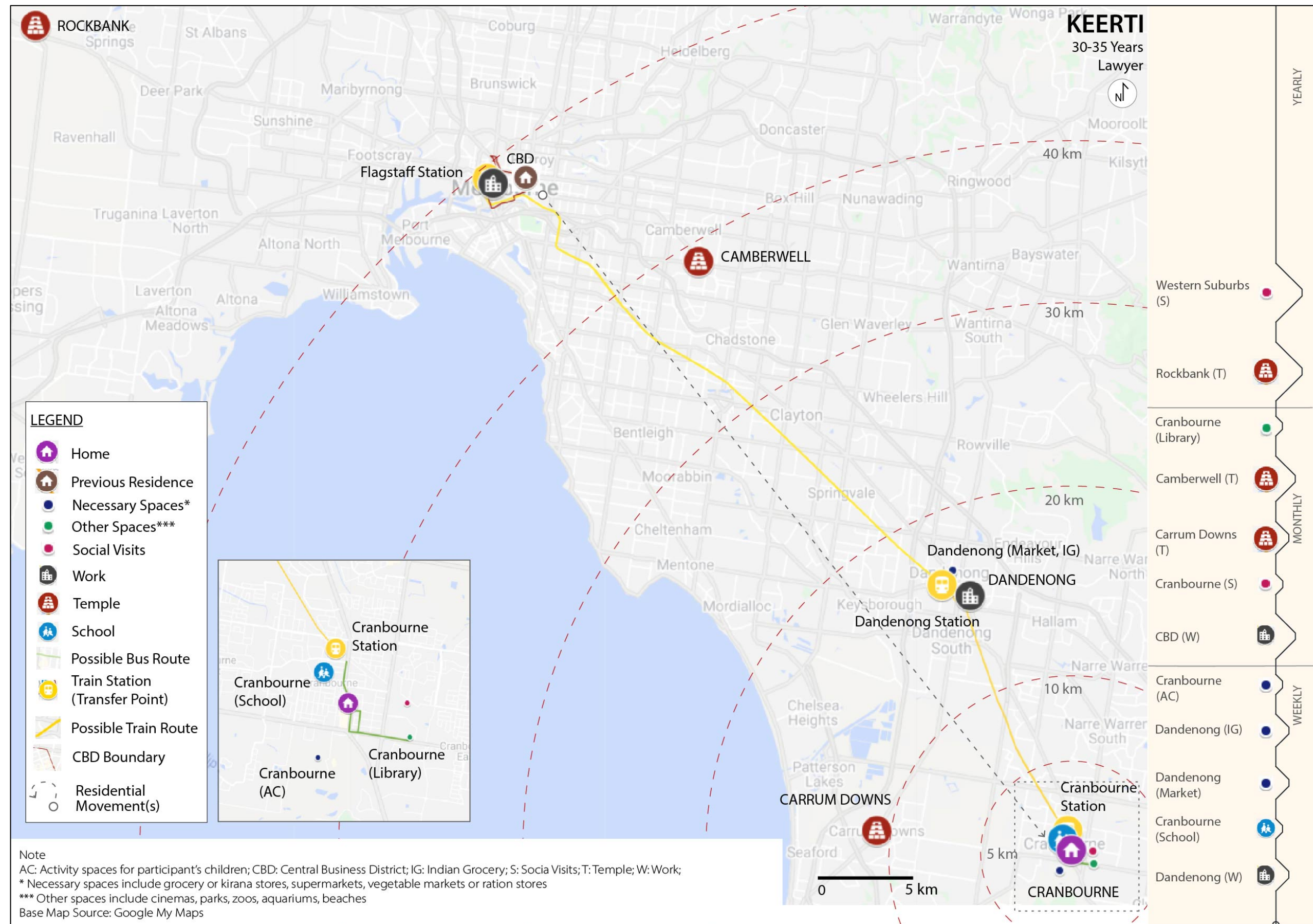
17.



18.



19.



APPENDIX D Ethics Approval



Sripallavi Nadimpalli <snadimpalli@student.unimelb.edu.au>

Ethics Application 1750364.1 APPROVED

abp-research <abp-research@unimelb.edu.au>

Thu, Nov 30, 2017 at 5:24 PM

To: Carolyn Whitzman <whitzman@unimelb.edu.au>, Sripallavi Nadimpalli <snadimpalli@student.unimelb.edu.au>

Cc: abp-research <abp-research@unimelb.edu.au>



30 November 2017

Dear researchers,

I am pleased to advise that the Architecture, Building and Planning Human Ethics Advisory Group has approved the following Minimal Risk Project Version 1.

Project title: Examining spaces of belonging for migrant Indian women in 'Global Cities'

Researchers: Dr. I Woodcock, Prof C Whitzman, S Nadimpalli

Ethics ID: 1750364.1

The project has been approved for the period: 30 November 2017 to 31 December 2018.

It is your responsibility to ensure that all people associated with the project are made aware of what has been approved.

Research projects are normally approved to 31 December of the year of approval. Projects may be renewed yearly for up to a total of five years upon receipt of a satisfactory annual report (lodged in Themis). If a project is to continue beyond five years, a new application will normally need to be submitted.

Please note that the following conditions apply to your approval. Failure to abide by these conditions may result in suspension or discontinuation of approval and/or disciplinary action.

(a) Limit of approval: Approval is limited strictly to the research as submitted in your project application.

(b) Amendments to project: Any subsequent variations or modifications you might wish to make to the project must be notified formally to the Human Ethics Advisory Group for further consideration and approval before the revised project can commence. If the Human Ethics Advisory Group considers that the proposed amendments are significant, you may be required to submit a new application for approval of the revised project.

(c) Incidents or adverse effects: Researchers must report immediately to the Advisory Group and the relevant Sub-Committee anything which might affect the ethical acceptance of the protocol including adverse effects on participants or unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project. Failure to do so may result in suspension or cancellation of approval.

(d) Monitoring: All projects are subject to monitoring at any time by the Human Research Ethics Committee.

(e) Annual Report: Please be aware that the Human Research Ethics Committee requires that researchers submit an annual report on each of their projects at the end of the year, or at the conclusion of a project if it continues for less than this time. Failure to submit an annual report will mean that ethics approval will lapse.

(f) Auditing: All projects may be subject to audit by members of the Sub-Committee.

Please quote the ethics registration number and the name of the project in any future correspondence.

On behalf of the Human Ethics Advisory Group, I wish you well in your research.

Yours sincerely,

Associate Professor Christopher Heywood

Acting Chair

ABP Human Ethics Advisory Group

APPENDIX E Plain Language Statements, Consent Forms and Interview Formats

1. Plain Language Statement (English)
2. Consent Form (English)
3. Invitation Letter to Organisations
4. Interview Format
5. Plain Language Statement (Hindi)
6. Consent Form (Hindi)
7. Plain Language Statement (Telugu)
8. Consent Form (Telugu)

1. Plain Language Statement

Plain Language Statement

Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning



Project: Examining spaces of belonging for migrant Indian women in 'Global Cities'

Prof. Carolyn Whitzman (Responsible Researcher)
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Ms SriPallavi Nadimpalli (PhD student)
Tel: +61 4 2060 2326 Email: snadimpalli@student.unimelb.edu.au

Introduction

Thank you for your interest in participating in this research project. The following few pages will provide you with further information about the project, so that you can decide if you would like to take part in this research.

Please take the time to read this information carefully. You may ask questions about anything you don't understand or want to know more about.

Your participation is voluntary. If you don't wish to take part, you don't have to. If you begin participating, you can also stop at any time.

What is this research about?

Migration occurs for different reasons, perhaps for better opportunities, for education or family. When we move to a new city, we constantly try to find things that give us a sense of belonging, gives us comfort or makes us feel at home. Our experiences are shaped by the design of the city and how we make a connection with it through our everyday activities in particular spaces. However, we know little about these spaces that make us feel at home when we move. Moreover, we know even less about the experiences of women in this aspect. This research will study these aspects and the information gathered will be very helpful to understand what women experience in a new city and what kind of spaces they require.

What will I be asked to do?

Should you agree to participate, you will be asked to contribute in two ways:

- 1) Firstly, you will be asked to participate in an hour-long interview at a location of your preference. The time for the interview will be mutually agreed upon. The interview will be audio-recorded for the entire duration. During the interview, you will be asked to share your everyday experiences as a migrant living in a new city. You will be asked to comment on the specific places you go to for your everyday activities.
- 2) Secondly, if you are willing to participate in the second phase of this project, you will be further asked to explain your experiences in these spaces in detail. During

this phase, you will be required to meet at a place you like in the city and walk for no more than 90 minutes with the student researcher. The interview will be audio-recorded and photographs will also be taken during the walk. We would like to learn more about what you like about the place and share your memories attached with it.

What are the possible benefits?

Through the information that you share, we will learn more about how women migrants connect with cities and specific spaces in it. This can help us understand what improvements are needed for cities to make it better for migrants.

What are the possible risks?

It is unlikely that there will be any risk related to your participation in this project.

Do I have to take part?

No. Participation is completely voluntary. You are able to withdraw at any time.

Will I hear about the results of this project?

We will share a summary of the interview as a checking process to make sure we have accurately recorded your comments. If you prefer, towards the end of the project we will share a copy of summary of findings by email or by mail.

What will happen to information about me?

We will keep your responses private. All the data collected will be de-identified which means that we will remove any identifying information from your interview and link it to a number/ code. All the data will be kept safely on a password protected computer which only the student researcher (SriPallavi) can access. After five years, the data will be destroyed.

Where can I get further information?

If you would like more information about the project, please contact the researchers; Prof. Carolyn Whitzman (+61 3 8344 8723), or Ms. SriPallavi Nadimpalli (+61 4 2060 2326).

Who can I contact if I have any concerns about the project?

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of The University of Melbourne. If you have any concerns or complaints about the conduct of this research project, which you do not wish to discuss with the research team, you should contact the Manager, Human Research Ethics, Research Ethics and Integrity, University of Melbourne, VIC 3010. Tel: +61 3 8344 2073 or Email: HumanEthics-complaints@unimelb.edu.au. All complaints will be treated confidentially. In any correspondence please provide the name of the research team or the name or ethics ID number of the research project.

2. Consent Form

Consent Form for interviews/ walk-about

Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning



Project: *Examining spaces of belonging for migrant Indian women in 'Global Cities'*

Responsible Researcher: Prof. Carolyn Whitzman

Additional Researchers: Dr. Ian Woodcock (Co-Supervisor), Ms SriPallavi Nadimpalli (Student Researcher)

Name of Participant: _____

1. I consent to participate in this project, the details of which have been explained to me, and I have been provided with a written plain language statement to keep.
2. I understand that the purpose of this research is to investigate how migrant women interact with specific spaces in their cities in their everyday life to give them a feeling of belonging.
3. I understand that my participation in this project is for research purposes only.
4. I acknowledge that the possible effects of participating in this research project have been explained to my satisfaction.
5. In this project I will be asked to: 1) participate in an hour-long interview to talk about my experiences as a migrant living in a new city and possibly 2) lead a guided walk on places I go to regularly, for no more than 1.5 hours.
6. I understand that my interview may be audio recorded and the guided walk may be photographed and video recorded.
7. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from this project anytime without explanation or prejudice and to withdraw any unprocessed data that I have provided.
8. I understand that the data from this research will be stored at the University of Melbourne and will be destroyed after 5 years.
9. I have been informed that the confidentiality of the information I provide will be safeguarded subject to any legal requirements; my data will be password protected and accessible only by the named researchers.
10. I understand that given the small number of participants involved in the study, it may not be possible to guarantee my anonymity. However, every effort will be made to protect my confidentiality and privacy. My name will not be used under any circumstances.
11. I understand that after I sign and return this consent form, it will be retained by the researcher.

Participant Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Ethics ID Number: 1750364.1 Project Start Date: December 2017 Version: 1.0

NEXT STEPS

A) Please send me a copy of the summary of the interview/ guided walk, which I would return within two weeks with comments. (YES/ NO) _____

Email it to me at _____

Mail it to me: _____

B) WALK ABOUT: In the next stage of the research we will be conducting a “walk-about”, where you will be required to participate in a 60- 90 minute walk to a public space identified by you and talk about your experiences and the activities that you engage in it.

I would like to participate in the ‘walk-about’: (YES/ NO) _____

C) If you would like more information about the project, please contact the researchers;

Prof. Carolyn Whitzman

T: +61 3 8344 8723; E: whitzman@unimelb.edu.au

or Ms. SriPallavi Nadimpalli

T: +61 42060 2326; E: snadimpalli@student.unimelb.edu.au

If you have any concerns or complaints about the conduct of this research project, which you do not wish to discuss with the research team, you should contact the Manager, Human Research Ethics, Research Ethics and Integrity, University of Melbourne, VIC 3010.

Tel: +61 3 8344 2073 or Email: HumanEthics-complaints@unimelb.edu.au.

3. Invitation Letter to Organisations (Template)

The University of Melbourne
Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning
Parkville, VIC, 3010



[insert date]

Project: 'Examining spaces of belonging for migrant Indian women in 'Global Cities'

Dear [insert Director's/Manager's name],

We are writing to you to request your help.

We wish to request your support in our ongoing project which aims to investigate how migrant women interact with specific spaces in their cities in their everyday life to give them a feeling of belonging. This project is undertaken by The University of Melbourne's Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning. The project is being conducted by Prof Carolyn Whitzman (Principal Supervisor), Dr Ian Woodcock (Co-Supervisor) and Ms SriPallavi Nadimpalli (Student Researcher). This project hopes to identify suitable candidates for interviews, whose narratives will bring women's perspectives to the forefront and contribute to enrich the literature in the field. We would appreciate it if you could nominate someone to participate in the project, based on the following eligibility criteria:

1. should be female
2. a migrant (migrated less than 5 years ago OR migrated more than 5 years ago) to [insert context : Australia or to the former State of Andhra Pradesh]
3. should be 18 years of age or older
4. should be Indian born migrant with any nationality (need not have an Indian passport)
5. should reside or work within the [insert name of the case study site]

Further details about the project and participation are detailed in the attached Plain Language Statement.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

SriPallavi Nadimpalli (Pallavi)

Student Researcher

Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning

The University of Melbourne, VIC 3010

T: +61 4 2060 2326 | E: snadimpalli@student.unimelb.edu.au

4. Interview Guide

Interview Guide: face to face



Project:

Examining spaces of belonging for migrant Indian women in 'Global Cities'

Note: This is a semi-structured interview that will last between 60 and 90 minutes. Some of the questions will be open ended and the questions listed below will only be used as guides and prompts. The order of these questions may be modified depending on the flow of the actual conversation. Some questions might be covered in greater depth than others.

Pre- interview protocol:

- Thank the participant for agreeing to do the interview
- Introduce the purpose and objective of the interview and state that the interview will be audio-recorded
- Explain the Plain Language Statement and Consent Form (Optional: Seek oral consent before commencing the exercise if the participant does not prefer or cannot sign a consent form)
- State that the participation is voluntary and the participant can withdraw at any time during the process. Also, explain that the participant is not required to answer questions that they are uncomfortable with, and can ask for clarifications during the process. They can also take a break at any time

Themes for interview questions:

1. General questions about the participant's background
2. Narratives around migration and overall experience related to moving to a new city
3. Everyday activities conducted in public spaces (how is the activity undertaken, with whom, when and how?)
4. Discussion on most favourite/ least favourite space(s) in the neighbourhood/ city
5. Comments or concluding remarks on the interview discussion

Post- interview protocol:

- At the end of the interview, ask if the participant is willing to show a place that is particularly special to her? If so, arrange a time and place to meet.
- Arrange to return notes (email address) and make sure consent form is signed and PLS received.

Examples of likely questions:

Theme	Example questions
Background questions	• Tell me about yourself, how long you have lived in this city, where do you work (if applicable), where do your children go to school (if applicable), where do your friends live.
Narratives around migration	• Tell me about your experiences when you moved here – what did you like about your new home? • What did you know about the city before you moved here? What did you know about the neighbourhood you were going to move into? • Why did you move to this city? What did you hear about this city before you moved here? Did you know anyone here before?
Everyday activities in public spaces	• Where do you usually go for your everyday activities (prompts: shopping, groceries, restaurants, pubs, places of worship, day-care/ child care, education, work, recreation)? • What do you do in your free time? (Movies, social get-togethers, recreation) • Do you meet a lot of other members of the Indian community (In the case of Hyderabad – local community)? When do you get together? • Where do you usually meet them? And how often? • What other activities do you do in the city? (what is your typical weekend like?)
Most/ least favourite space (s)	• What are your favourite places in the neighbourhood/ city? (Prompts: Specific time of the year/ month/ days/ events/ festivals) Why? • What is your least favourite place? Why?
Concluding remarks	• Would you like to add anything else or comment on anything related to our discussion?

5. Plain Language Statement (Hindi)

सादे भाषा में बयान

फैकल्टी ऑफ आर्किटेक्चर, बिल्डिंग एंड प्लानिंग



परियोजना: 'ग्लोबल सिटीज' में प्रवासी भारतीय महिलाओं के लिए सार्वजनिक स्थानों में संबद्ध स्थानों की जांच करना।

प्रो. कैरोलिन व्हाट्समैन (जिम्मेदार शोधकर्ता)

टेलीफोन: +61 3 3 8344 8723 ईमेल: whitzman@unimelb.edu.au

डॉ. इयान वुडकॉक (सह-पर्यवेक्षक)

टेलीफोन: +61 3 9925 3441 ईमेल: ian.woodcock@rmit.edu.au

श्रीमती श्रीपल्लवी नडिम्पल्ली (पीएच.डी. छात्र)

टेलीफोन: +61 4 2060 2326 ईमेल: snadimpalli@student.unimelb.edu.au

प्रस्तावना

इस शोध परियोजना में भाग लेने में आपकी रुचि के लिए धन्यवाद। निम्नलिखित कुछ पन्ने आपको परियोजना के बारे में अधिक जानकारी प्रदान करेंगे, ताकि आप यह तय कर सकें की क्या आप इस शोध में भाग लेना चाहते हैं।

कृपया इस जानकारी को ध्यान से पढ़ने के लिए समय निकालें। आप उन चीजों के बारे में सवाल पूछ सकते हैं जिन्हें आप समझते नहीं हैं या जिसके बारे में अधिक जानना चाहते हैं।

आपकी सहभागिता स्वैच्छिक है। यदि आप भाग नहीं लेना चाहते हैं, तो आपको ऐसा करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। यदि आप भाग लेना शुरू करते हैं, तो आप किसी भी समय रोक सकते हैं।

यह शोध क्या है?

प्रवासन विभिन्न कारणों से होता है, शायद बेहतर अवसरों के लिए, शिक्षा या परिवार के लिए। जब हम एक नए शहर में जाते हैं, तो हम लगातार उन चीजों को खोजने की कोशिश करते हैं जो हमें अपनेपन की भावना प्रदान करते हैं, हमें आराम देते हैं या हमें घर जैसा महसूस कराते हैं। हमारे अनुभवों को शहर के डिजाइन के द्वारा और जिस तरह से हम विशेष जगहों पर हमारी रोजमर्रा की गतिविधियों के माध्यम से इसके साथ संबंध बनाते हैं उसके द्वारा आकार दिया जाता है। हालांकि, हम इन स्थानों के बारे में बहुत कम जानते हैं जो हमें घर जैसा महसूस कराते हैं। इसके अलावा, हम इस पहलू में महिलाओं के अनुभवों के बारे में और भी कम जानते हैं। यह शोध इन पहलुओं का अध्ययन करेगा और इकट्ठा की गई जानकारी यह समझने में बहुत मददगार होगी की एक नए शहर में महिलाएं क्या अनुभव करती हैं और उन्हें किस तरह के स्थानों की आवश्यकता होती है।

मुझे क्या करने के लिए कहा जाएगा?

यदि आप भाग लेना चाहते हैं, तो आपको दो तरीकों से योगदान देने के लिए कहा जाएगा:

- 1) सबसे पहले, आपको अपनी वरीयता के स्थान पर एक घंटे के साक्षात्कार में भाग लेने के लिए कहा जाएगा। साक्षात्कार का समय पारस्परिक रूप से सहमत होगा। साक्षात्कार पूरी अवधि के लिए ऑडियो-रिकॉर्ड किया जाएगा। साक्षात्कार के दौरान, आपको एक नए शहर में रहने वाले प्रवासियों के रूप में अपने रोजमर्रा के अनुभवों को साझा करने के लिए कहा जाएगा। आप अपनी रोजमर्रा की गतिविधियों के लिए जिन विशिष्ट स्थानों पर जाते हैं, उन पर टिप्पणी करने के लिए कहा जाएगा।
- 2) दूसरे, अगर आप इस परियोजना के दूसरे चरण में भाग लेने के लिए तैयार हैं, तो आपको इन स्थानों के साथ जुड़ी अपने अनुभवों को विस्तार से बताने के लिए कहा जाएगा। इस चरण के दौरान, आपको शहर में आपकी पसंद की जगह पर मिलना होगा और छात्र शोधकर्ता के साथ ज्यादा से ज्यादा 90 मिनट तक चलना होगा। साक्षात्कार ऑडियो-रिकॉर्ड किया जाएगा और पैदल चलने के दौरान तस्वीरें भी ली जाएंगी। हम आपको इस स्थान के बारे में क्या पसंद है, उसके बारे में अधिक जानना चाहते हैं और इसके साथ जुड़ी आपकी यादें साझा करना चाहते हैं।

संभावित लाभ क्या हैं?

आपके द्वारा साझा की जाने वाली जानकारी के माध्यम से, हम इसके बारे में अधिक जानेंगे कि किस प्रकार महिला प्रवासी शहरों और उसमें विशिष्ट स्थानों के साथ जुड़ती हैं। यह हमें समझने में सहायता कर सकता है कि शहरों को प्रवासियों के लिए बेहतर बनाने के लिए किन सुधारों की आवश्यकता है।

संभावित जोखिम क्या हैं? it is

यह संभावना नहीं है कि इस परियोजना में आपकी सहभागिता से संबंधित कोई जोखिम होगा।

क्या मुझे भाग लेना है?

नहीं। सहभागिता पूरी तरह से स्वैच्छिक है। आप किसी भी समय वापस लेने के लिए सक्षम हैं।

क्या मुझे इस परियोजना के परिणामों के बारे में पता होगा?

हम एक जांच प्रक्रिया के रूप में साक्षात्कार का सारांश साझा करेंगे ताकि यह सुनिश्चित किया जा सके कि हमने आपकी टिप्पणियों को सही ढंग से रिकॉर्ड किया है। यदि आप चाहें तो परियोजना के अंत में हम ईमेल द्वारा या पोस्ट द्वारा निष्कर्षों के सारांश की एक प्रति साझा करेंगे।

मेरे बारे में जानकारी का क्या होगा?

हम आपकी प्रतिक्रिया निजी रखेंगे। एकत्र किए गए सभी डेटा को पहचान नहीं दी जाएगी जिसका मतलब है कि हम आपकी साक्षात्कार से कोई भी पहचान वाली जानकारी निकाल देंगे और इसे नंबर / कोड पर लिंक करेंगे। सभी डेटा को पासवर्ड से संरक्षित कंप्यूटर पर सुरक्षित रखा जाएगा जिसे केवल छात्र शोधकर्ता (श्रीपल्लवी) उपयोग कर सकते हैं। पांच साल बाद, डेटा नष्ट किया जाएगा।

मुझे अधिक जानकारी कहां से मिल सकती है?

यदि आप परियोजना के बारे में अधिक जानकारी चाहते हैं, तो कृपया शोधकर्ताओं से संपर्क करें; प्रो. कैरोलिन व्हाट्समैन (+61 3 8344 8723), या श्रीपल्लवी नडिम्पल्ली (+61 4 2060 2326)।

अगर मुझे इस परियोजना के बारे में कोई चिंता है तो मैं किससे संपर्क कर सकती हूँ?

इस शोध परियोजना को मेलबोर्न विश्वविद्यालय के मानव अनुसंधान नीति समिति ने मंजूरी दे दी है। यदि आप को इस शोध परियोजना के संचालन के बारे में कोई चिंताएं या शिकायतें हैं, जो आप अनुसंधान दल के साथ चर्चा नहीं करना चाहते हैं, तो आपको : मैनेजर, ह्यूमन रिसर्च एथिक्स, रिसर्च एथिक्स एंड इंटीग्रिटी, मेलबोर्न विश्वविद्यालय, विक्टोरिया, 3010 (Manager, Human Research Ethics, Research Ethics and Integrity, University of Melbourne, VIC 3010) से संपर्क करना चाहिए : +61 3 8344 2073 या ईमेल: HumanEthics-complaints@unimelb.edu.au। सभी शिकायतों के बारे में गोपनीय तरीके से व्यवहार किया जाएगा। किसी भी पत्राचार में कृपया शोध टीम का नाम या शोध परियोजना का नाम या नैतिकता आईडी नंबर प्रदान करें।

6. Consent Form (Hindi)

साक्षात्कार / 'पैदल-सैर' के लिए सहमति फॉर्म फैकल्टी ऑफ आर्किटेक्चर, बिल्डिंग एंड प्लानिंग



परियोजना: 'ग्लोबल सिटीज' में प्रवासी भारतीय महिलाओं के लिए संबद्ध स्थानों की जांच करना।

जिम्मेदार शोधकर्ता: प्रो. कैरोलिन व्हाट्समैन

अतिरिक्त शोधकर्ता: डॉ. इयान वुडकॉक (सह-पर्यवेक्षक), श्रीमती श्रीपल्लवी नडिम्पल्ली (छात्र शोधक)

प्रतिभागी का नाम: _____

1. मैं इस परियोजना में भाग लेने के लिए सहमत हूँ, जिनके विवरण मुझे समझाए गए हैं, और मुझे एक लिखित सादे भाषा का बयान दिया गया है।
2. मैं समझती हूँ कि इस शोध का उद्देश्य यह जांच करना है कि प्रवासी महिलाएं विशिष्ट स्थानों में अपनी रोजमर्रा की जिंदगी कैसे जीती हैं, और वे इन जगहों से संबंधित होने की भावना कैसे विकसित करती हैं।
3. मैं समझती हूँ कि इस परियोजना में मेरी सहभागिता केवल अनुसंधान उद्देश्यों के लिए है।
4. मैं मानती हूँ कि इस शोध परियोजना में भाग लेने के संभावित प्रभावों के बारे में मुझे समझाया गया है, जिससे मेरा समाधान हुआ है।
5. इस परियोजना में मुझे: 1) एक नए शहर में रहने वाले एक प्रवासी के रूप में अपने अनुभवों के बारे में बात करने के लिए मुझे एक घंटे के साक्षात्कार में भाग लेने के लिए कहा जाएगा, 2) और यदि संभव हो तो, जिन स्थानों पर मैं नियमित रूप से जाती हूँ, वहां लगभग 1.5 घंटों के लिए निर्देशित पैदल चलने के लिए कहा जाएगा।
6. मैं समझती हूँ कि मेरे साक्षात्कार में ऑडियो रिकॉर्ड किया जा सकता है और निर्देशित पैदल चलने ('पैदल-सैर') की तस्वीरें खींची जा सकती हैं और वीडियो रिकॉर्ड किया जा सकता है।
7. मैं समझती हूँ कि मेरी सहभागिता स्वैच्छिक है और मैं बिना किसी स्पष्टीकरण या पूर्वाग्रह के किसी भी समय इस परियोजना से निकलने के लिए और मेरे द्वारा प्रदान किए गए किसी भी असंसाधित डेटा को वापस लेने के लिए स्वतंत्र हूँ।
8. मैं समझती हूँ कि इस शोध का डेटा मेलबोर्न विश्वविद्यालय में संग्रहित किया जाएगा और 5 साल बाद नष्ट किया जाएगा।
9. मुझे सूचित किया गया है कि मेरे द्वारा प्रदान की गई जानकारी की गोपनीयता किसी भी कानूनी आवश्यकताओं के अधिन सुरक्षित होगी; मेरा डेटा पासवर्ड से सुरक्षित होगा और नामित शोधकर्ताओं द्वारा ही पहुंच योग्य होगा।

नैतिकता ID नंबर: 1750364.1 परियोजना प्रारंभ तिथि: दिसंबर 2018 1.0

10. मैं समझती हूँ की अध्ययन में शामिल प्रतिभागियों की छोटी संख्या को देखते हुए, मेरी अनामिता की गारंटी देना संभव नहीं है। हालांकि, मेरी गोपनीयता और गोपनीयता की रक्षा के लिए हर प्रयास किया जाएगा। मेरा नाम किसी भी परिस्थिति में उपयोग नहीं किया जाएगा।

11. मैं समझती हूँ कि इस सहमति फार्म पर हस्ताक्षर करने और वापस करने के बाद, यह शोधकर्ता द्वारा रख लिया जाएगा।

प्रतिभागी हस्ताक्षर: _____ दिनांक: _____

अगला कदम

1. कृपया मुझे साक्षात्कार / निर्देशित पैदल चलने के सारांश की एक प्रति भेजें, जिसे मैं टिप्पणी के साथ दो सप्ताह के भीतर वापस कर दूंगी। (हां/ नहीं) _____

मुझे यहां ईमेल करें:

मुझे यहां पोस्ट करें: _____

2. पैदल-सैर: अनुसंधान के अगले चरण में हम "पैदल-सैर" का आयोजन करेंगे, जहां आपको आपके द्वारा बतायी गयी किसी सार्वजनिक जगह तक चलने की 60 - 90 मिनट की पैदल यात्रा में भाग लेने और अपने वहां के अनुभवों और उस जगह से संलग्न गतिविधियों के बारे में बात करने की जरूरत होगी।

मैं 'पैदल-सैर' में भाग लेना चाहती हूँ: (हाँ / नहीं) _____

3. यदि आप परियोजना के बारे में अधिक जानकारी चाहते हैं, तो कृपया शोधकर्ताओं से संपर्क करें;

प्रो. कैरोलिन व्हाट्समैन

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या श्रीपल्लवी नडिम्पल्ली

T: +61 42060 2326; ईमेल: snadimpalli@student.unimelb.edu.au

यदि आप को इस शोध परियोजना के संचालन के बारे में कोई चिंताएं या शिकायतें हैं, जो आप अनुसंधान दल के साथ चर्चा नहीं करना चाहते हैं, तो आपको : मैनेजर, ह्यूमन रिसर्च एथिक्स, रिसर्च एथिक्स एंड इंटीग्रिटी, मेलबोर्न विश्वविद्यालय, विक्टोरिया, 3010 (Manager, Human Research Ethics, Research Ethics and Integrity, University of Melbourne, VIC 3010) से संपर्क करना चाहिए। Tel: +61 3 8344 2073 or ईमेल: HumanEthics-complaints@unimelb.edu.au.

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7. Plain Language Statement (Telugu)

సామాన్య భాషా ప్రతిపాదన

ఫాకల్టీ ఆఫ్ ఆర్కిటెక్చరు, బిల్డింగు మరియు ప్లానింగు



ప్రాజెక్టు: భౌగోళిక పట్టుములలో వున్న వలస వచ్చిన స్త్రీలకు సంబంధించిన స్థలములను పరిశీలన చేయుట.

ప్రొఫెసర్ :కారల్స్ విట్జ్మన్ (బాధ్యతాయుత పరిశోధకులు)

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డా:ఇయాన్ ఉడకాక్స్(సహ సూపర్ వైజరు)

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పరిచయము

ఈ పరిశోధనలో (ప్రాజెక్టు) పాల్గొన్నందుకు మీకు ధన్యవాదాలు. వీటి గురించిన వివరములు ఇవ్వబడినవి కనుక మీరు ఇందులో పాల్గొనుట గురించి నిర్ణయించుకోండి. పూర్తి వివరములను నిదానంగా తెలుసుకుని, ఏదైన విషయము గురించి ఇంకా తెలుసు కోవాలంటే, మరి తెలియక పోయినా తప్పక అడగండి. మీరు స్వచ్ఛందంగా (మీకుగా మీరే) పాల్గొనగలరు.మీకు ఇష్టం లేక పోతే అంగీకరించవలసిన అవసరం లేదు. ఒకవేళ మొదలుపెట్టిన తర్వాత కూడా ఎప్పుడైన నిలపివేయవచ్చును.

ఈ పరిశోధన దేని గురించి జరుగుతున్నది?

జీవితంలో మెరుగైన అవకాశముల కొరకు, చదువుల కోసం మరి కుటుంబం కోసం, వలస వెళ్ళ వలసి రావచ్చును. ఏదైన కొత్త ప్రదేశమునకు వెళ్ళినప్పుడు, అక్కడ పరిస్థితులకు అలవాటు పడుటకు, మనస్సుకు నచ్చే విధంగా వసతులు ఏర్పాటు చేసుకోవటం జరుగుతుంది. ఆ ప్రదేశము యొక్కరూపు రేఖలను బట్టి మన అనుభవాలు ఉంటాయి. అంతేకాక దైనందిన జీవితంలో ఆ ప్రదేశమునకు తగినట్లుగా మార్పు కలిగి ఆ ప్రదేశములో ఒక బంధం ఏర్పడుతుంది, కాని ఆపరిస్థితులు ఎలా ఉంటాయో పరిశోధన విద్యార్థికి తెలియదు. అంతే కాక స్త్రీల అనుభవాలు గురించి విద్యార్థికి అంతగా తెలియదు. కనుక ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు లో నేర్చుకున్న విషయాలు వలన ఆమెకు కలిగే అనుభవములు, పరిస్థితుల గురించి తెలుసుకోనేందుకు తోడ్పడుతుంది.

నేను(పాల్గొనేవారు) ఏమి చేయవలసివుంటుంది?

ఒకవేళ మీరు ఇందులో పాల్గొనుటకు అంగీకరిస్తే, మీ తోడ్పాటు రెండు విధములుగా వుంటుంది:

1. మొదటగ, మీకు వీలుగా వుండే ప్రదేశమును ఎంచుకుని కనీసము, ఒక గంటసేపు ఇంటర్వ్యూ వుంటుంది. అందుకు వీలైన సమయము ఇద్దరూ కలసి నిర్ణయించు కోవచ్చును ఇంటర్వ్యూ మొత్తము

2. ఆడియో రికార్డింగు చేస్తాము. ఆ సమయములో మీరు వలసవచ్చిన కొత్త పట్టణములో మీ అనుభవములు గురించి అడగుతాము. మీరు రోజు తిరిగే ప్రదేశముల గురించి మీ అభిప్రాయములు తెలుసుకుంటాము.
3. రెండవది, ఒకవేళ మీరు ఇష్టపూర్వకంగా ఈ రెండవ దానిలో పాల్గొంటే, ఈ ఇష్టమైన జాగా కి వెళ్ళడం జరుగుతుంది. ఆ జాగా గురించి, మీ అనుభవములు మరింత వివరముగా చెప్పాలి. ఈ సమయంలో మీకు ఆ పట్టణములో ఒక గంట సేపు, విద్యార్థి పరిశోధకునితో ఈ జాగా గురించి, కలసి నడవ వలసి వుంటుంది. ఈ ఇంటర్వ్యూలో మీ మాటలను రికార్డు చేస్తాము. కొన్ని ఫోటోలను కూడా తీస్తాము. ఆ ప్రదేశము గురించి మీ ఎక్స్‌పీరియన్సు (అనుభూతులను) మేము తెలుసు కుంటాము. మరి మీ జ్ఞాపకాలను, అనుభవాలను, తెలుసు కుంటాము.

ఇంటర్వ్యూలో పాల్గొనుట వలన కలిగే లాభములు ఏమిటి?

ఈ విషయ సేకరణలో, వలస వచ్చిన ఆడవారు ఆ పట్టణములకు, ఆ జాగాకు ఎలా అలవాటు పడుతున్నారు అని తెలుసుకుంటాము. దీని వలన వలస వచ్చిన వారికి ఆ పట్టణ ప్రదేశములలో ఎటువంటి అభివృద్ధి (ఉన్నతిని) చేయగలమో తెలుసు కుంటాము.

ఇంటర్వ్యూలో పాల్గొనుట వలన ఏమి హాని(రిస్కు) కలుగుతుంది?

ఇందులో పాల్గొనుట వలన మీకు ఏ విధమైన హాని జరుగదు.

నేను పాల్గొనుట తప్పనిసరి అవుతుందా?

లేదు. మీకు మీరు ఇష్టపడి చెయ్యాలి. మీకు ఇష్టం లేకపోతే ఎప్పుడైనా ఆపివేయ వచ్చును.

ఈ పరిశోధనలో ప్రాజెక్టు ఫలితములను నేను తెలుసుకోవచ్చునా?

ఈ ప్రక్రియ యొక్క సారాంశమును, మీరు చెప్పిన విషయాలు సరిగ్గా ఉన్నవని ఖరారు చేసుకుంటాము. ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు చివరలో మీకు ఈ మెయిలు ద్వారా ఒక సారాంశ కాపీని పంపిస్తాము.

నా గురించి తెలుసుకున్న వివరములను ఏమి చేస్తారు?

మీ స్పందనను రహస్యముగ వుంచబడుతుంది. మీ వ్యక్తిగత వివరములకు బదులు ఒక నంబరుగాని, కోడ్ గాని ఇవ్వబడుతుంది. సేకరించిన వివరములను విద్యార్థి పరిశోధకుల (శ్రీపల్లవి) కంప్యూటరులో పాస్‌వార్డు తో కాపాడతాము. ఐదు సంవత్సరముల తర్వాత ఆ వివరములు తీసివేయబడతాయి.

ఇంకా కావలసిన వివరములను ఎక్కడ పొందగలము?

మీకు ఇంకా వివరములు కావాలనుకుంటే, పరిశోధకులనుండి తెలుసుకోవచ్చును.

ఫ్రో:కారిస్ విట్టమన్ (+61 3 8344 8723), లేక శ్రీపల్లవి నడింపల్లి (+61 4 2060 2326).

ప్రాజెక్టు గురించి ఇంకా ఏదైనా తెలుసుకోవాలని వుంటే ఎవరిని సంప్రదించవలెను ?

మెల్బోర్న్ విశ్వవిద్యాలయము, మానవ నైతిక విలువల కమిటీచే ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు ఆమోదించబడినది. ఒకవేళ ఏదైనా ఫిర్యాదులు గాని అనుమానములు కాని వుండి, అవి మీరు పరిశోధక దళముతో పంచుకోలేకపోతే మేనేజరు, మానవ నైతిక విలువల కమిటీ రిసర్చ్ ఎథిక్స్ అండ్ ఇంటగ్రిటీ, మెల్బోర్న్ విశ్వవిద్యాలయము ,విక్టోరియా 3010 (Manager, Human Research Ethics, Research Ethics and Integrity, University of Melbourne, VIC 3010), టె: +61 3 8344 2073 లేక ఈమెయిలు: HumanEthics-complaints@unimelb.edu.au ను సంప్రదించవలెను.

అన్ని ఫిర్యాదులు గుప్తముగ వుంచబడును. వివిధమైన ఉత్తర ప్రత్యుత్తరములో మీరు పరిశోధక దళము పేరు, లేక పరిశోధన ప్రాజెక్టు ఎథిక్స్ ఐడి (ID) నంబరును తెలియచేయండి.

8. Consent Form (Telugu)

ఇంటర్వ్యూకి/ 'నడకలో సంభాషణ' అంగీకార పత్రం

పాకల్టీ ఆఫ్ ఆర్కిటెక్చరు, బిల్డింగు మరియు ప్లానింగు



ప్రాజెక్టు: బోగోళిక పట్టణములలో వున్న వలస వచ్చిన స్త్రీలకు సంబంధించిన స్థలములను పరిశీలన చేయుట.

బాధ్యతాయుత పరిశోధకులు: ప్రొఫెసర్.కారలిన విట్టమన్

అదనపు పరిశోధకులు: డా:ఇయాన్ ఉడకాక్స్(సహసూపర్వైజరు), శ్రీపల్లవి నడింపల్లి (విద్యార్థి పరిశోధకులు)

పాల్గొనే వారి పేరు: _____

1. ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు లో పాల్గొనేటందుకు నేను అంగీకరిస్తున్నాను.ఇందుకు గాను పూర్తి వివరాలను చెప్పారు. మరి నాకు ఒక సామాన్య బాషా ప్రతిపాదన ఇచ్చారు.
2. ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు ముఖ్య ఉద్దేశ్యము,వలస వచ్చిన స్త్రీలకు ఆ పట్టణములో వున్న ప్రత్యేక ప్రదేశములతో గల సంబంధము,వారి దినదర్యలో ఆ ప్రదేశమునకు గల విలువ గురించి తెలుసుకోవడము, అని నాకు అర్థము అయ్యింది.
3. ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు లో నేను పాల్గొవటం కేవలం పరిశోధన కోసము అని నాకు అర్థము అయ్యింది.
4. నాకు ఈ పరిశోధన ప్రాజెక్టు లో పాల్గొనుట వలన కలగే పరిణామములను తెలియచేసారు.
5. ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు లో నేను 1) వలస వచ్చినందువలన నాకు ఆ క్రొత్త జాగాలో కలిగిన అనుభవములు తెలియచేయటం 2) వీలైతే, నేను ప్రతి రోజు తిరిగే ప్రదేశములలో పరిశోధకులతో కలసే సుమారుగా ఒక గంట చూపించడము జరుగుతుంది.
6. నాతో జరిపిన సంభాషణను ఆడియో రికార్డింగు చేస్తారు అని, అనుకున్న ప్రదేశములలో నడచి నవ్వుడు ఫోటోలు వీడియో కూడా తీయవచ్చని అని అర్థమైనది.
7. నేను పాల్గొవటం స్వచ్ఛందమని (నాకు నేనుగ) అని నేను అర్థం చేసుకున్నాను ఎప్పుడైనా ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు నుండి ఏ కారణం మరి దురభిప్రాయం లేకుండా వదలి పోవచ్చని, మరి నేను ఇచ్చిన విషయాలను వివరించకుండా నిలిపి వేయవచ్చని అని అర్థం చేసుకున్నాను.
8. ఈ విషయ సేకరించిన వివరాలను మెల్ బర్న్ విశ్వవిద్యాలయము వారు గూడముగ వుంచి, ఐదు ఏళ్ళ తర్వాత తీసివేయబడుతుంది అని వివరించారు.
9. చట్టబద్ధముగా ఈ వివరాలు భద్రపరచబడతాయి అని వాటిని గూడత్వము కూడా కాపాడతారని నాకు తెలియచేసారు . నిర్దేశించిన పరిశోధకులు మాత్రము పాస్ వార్డుతో ఈ వివరములను జాగ్రత్త చేసి, వారే వీటిని పొందగలరు.
10. ఈ పరిశోధనలో పాల్గొనే వారు అతి తక్కువ మంది కనుక, నా వివరములను రహస్యముగా ఉంచడానికి ప్రయత్నము గాని,వ్యక్తిత విషయములు మాత్రము కాపాడటం జరుగుతుంది.ఎట్టి పరిస్థితులలోను నా పేరు ఉపయోగించబడదు.

ఎథిక్స్ ID నం: 1750364.1 ప్రాజెక్టు మొదలు తేది: డిసెంబరు 2017 ప్రతి: 1.0

11. నేను ఈ అంగీకార పత్రం లో సంతకం చేసి తిరిగిచ్చిన తర్వాత, అది పరిశోధకుడి దగ్గరనే ఉంచబడుతుందని నేను అర్థం చేసుకున్నాను.

పోల్గొనువారి సంతకం:

తేదీ:

తరువాత క్రమము

A) దయచేసి ఈ ఇంటర్వ్యూమరి సారాంశము యొక్క కాపీ పంపించండి. ఈ సారాంశమును ఒక రెండు వారములలో నా విమర్శలతో తిరిగి పంపించుతాను. (అవును/కాదు)

ఈ మెయిలు చేయండి:

పోస్టు చేయండి: (అడ్డస్)

B) నిర్దేశిత నడక : తరువాత క్రమములో నిర్ణయించిన విధముగ నడక వుంటుంది. మీరు సుమారుగా గంట సేపు నీకు నచ్చిన ప్రదేశమును ఎంచుకుని, అక్కడ మీ అనుభవములు, మీరు చేయు పనుల గురించి చెప్పాలి.

నేను ఈ నిర్ణయించిన నడకకు అంగీకరిస్తున్నాను. (అవును/కాదు)

C) ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు గురించి ఇంకా వివరములు తెలుసుకోవాలనుకుంటే దయచేసి పరిశోధకులను సంప్రదించండి.

ప్రొఫెసర్ : కారలీన్ విట్జ్మన్

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లేక శైపల్లవి నడింపల్లి

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ఒకవేళ ఏదైనా ఫిర్యాదులు గాని అనుమానములు కాని వుండి, అవి మీరు పరిశోధక దళముతో పంచుకోలేకపోతే మేనేజరు, మానవ నైతిక విలువల కమిటీ రిసర్చు ఎథిక్స్ అండ్ ఇంటగ్రిటీ, మెలబోర్న్ విశ్వవిద్యాలయము, విక్టోరియా 3010 (Manager, Human Research Ethics, Research Ethics and Integrity, University of Melbourne, VIC 3010), టె: +61 3 8344 2073 లేక ఈమెయిలు: HumanEthics-complaints@unimelb.edu.au ను సంప్రదించవలెను.