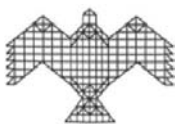# Research Report Series

Research Report No. 4

# The Organisation of Migration

Migration Industry and Social Networks

in Anand, Gujarat (India)

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December 2012

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# THE ORGANISATION OF MIGRATION

## MIGRATION INDUSTRY AND SOCIAL NETWORKS IN ANAND, GUJARAT (INDIA)

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# ABSTRACT

This research report focuses on migration agents in Anand, India. Migration agents are the key figures in the migration industry: 'a major and largely legal international business that facilitates migration' (Castles 2004: 209). However, in Anand many potential migrants possess a network of overseas family and friends that can assist them in their migration. Such networks are known as migrant networks. Although migrant networks facilitate various parts of migration for a large number of potential migrants in Anand; agents fulfill a key role in their migration. Migration agents possess knowledge and overseas connections that potential migrants cannot acquire through their networks. Furthermore, agents can function as substitutes for persons who do not possess a migrant network, therefore placing them in a position to migrate. Agents manage to fulfill this role by, on the one hand, penetrating the migrant networks and, on the other hand, by co-operating on a macro level to arrange the practical parts of migration.

# PREFACE

Pieter Lagerwaard,
Amsterdam, June 2012

The photograph on this page was taken in Anand, India, on February 8th, 2012. The building in the picture was my most important research site.

# INTRODUCTION: MOVING ABROAD

In academic literature considerable attention is paid to the impact of migration on migrant sending and receiving countries. Likewise, the motivations of migrants are a major topic of study. Yet, *how* people actually migrate is a subject that has not been thoroughly discussed. Commonly, familial and/or relational ties – the migrant networks – are accepted to be essential for a potential migrant, because these provide the necessities for migration. Another field of study, however, that also pays attention to how people migrate, focuses on what is called the migration industry: 'a major and largely legal international business that facilitates migration' (Castles 2004: 209).

In this report I will show that the migration industry and migrant networks are not necessarily two separate fields of study, but are intertwined on multiple levels. Based on two months of ethnographic research on migration agents in Anand, India, I argue that alongside existing migrant networks, the migration industry fulfills an essential role in migration.[1] Migration agents possess knowledge and overseas connections that potential migrants cannot acquire through their networks. Furthermore, agents can act as substitutes for persons who do not possess a migrant network, therefore placing them in a position to migrate. Agents manage to fulfill this role by, on the one hand, penetrating the migrant networks and, on the other hand, by co-operating on a macro level to arrange the practical parts of migration. In this report, I will discuss various services that agents offer, and describe the 'agent market' in Anand.

Since this research is – to my knowledge –the first case study that focuses on Indian agents and their activities, strong internal validity is essential.[2] I therefore chose to apply mainly qualitative research methods – most of all, participant observation and semi-structured interviews. However, I also conducted a survey among seventy potential migrants to find out what their motivations were for making use of an agent, and whether they possessed a migrant network.[3] To achieve strong internal validity, my strategy was not to visit a large group of agents with uniform questionnaires, but a small group of agents on a regular basis and in an informal manner. Therefore, although this research report is based on information from twenty-four agents, the in-depth information derives mainly from eight agents who I came to know in an informal, personal

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[1] This research was conducted in January and February 2012.

[2] When preparing this research it was hard to find any case-studies regarding Indian agents. However, one large scale quantitative study was conducted in 2010 by Irudaya Rajan et al. among agents and potential migrants (Rajan et al. 2010).

[3] This survey entails a *non-probability sample*, conducted among seventy student visa applicants who were all studying English. They studied English because for some visas – for example student visas –applicants need to possess a certain level of proficiency in English. I obtained access to three different locations (at some locations more samples were obtained than others) through three different agents. All applicants who were asked to fill in a questionnaire agreed, therefore non-response was zero. The questionnaire mainly consisted of c*losed questions*. See appendix one for the questionnaire.

manner.[4] First of all, through these agents I came into contact with many other agents. Secondly, I gained access to the financial part of the market and, finally, I met lots of potential migrants. In other words, through them I became acquainted with the migration industry in Anand.

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[4] See appendix two for general information on these eight agents.

# MIGRATION INDUSTRY

In academic literature migration agents go by many names. A few of these names are: migration-entrepreneurs, middlemen, merchants, intermediaries, recruiters and migration brokers.[5] The definition of migration agents, as I use it, comes from Gerry Rodgers: 'private agents who move workers over national borders' (2006: xi).[6] Yet in this study, students and not workers, take the centre stage. Rodgers argues further that: 'Their practices [the practices of the agents] as well as the implications for migrants are among the most under researched topics in migration research' (2006.: xi).

Migration agents are seen as a part of the migration industry, a concept that has been used in international migration literature since the late 1990s (Spener 2009: 1). The concept originated from the slightly different term 'migration business', which was put forward in 1997 by John Salt and Jeremy Stein. According to them, the migration business is 'a system of institutionalised networks with complex profit and loss accounts, including a set of institutions, agents and individuals each of which stands to make a commercial gain' (Salt and Stein 1997: 467). Then, in 2003, Stephen Castles and Mark Miller were the first to bring the concept of the 'migration industry' forward. Nevertheless, the most detailed and up to date definition of the migration industry was described by Castles in 2004. This will be used as a central definition of the migration industry:

> The migration industry includes travel agents, lawyers, bankers, labour recruiters, agents, interpreters and housing agents. If a government decides to curtail migration, it may have difficulties, because such agents may go on organizing migration, though the form may change…. Facilitating migration is a major and largely legal international business (Castles 2004: 209).

Migration agents are just one part of the migration industry. However, in the migration industry described above they are an essential link, a key player. According to Philip Martin 'their major assets are contracts to fill foreign jobs and knowledge of workers willing to migrate to fill them' (2005: 2). As Martin clearly depicts, migration agents hold the mediating position between foreign jobs and migrant workers. Likewise, Thomas Faist argues that they 'play a role as middlemen linking business... with their personal networks and technological and market know-how' (2008: 30). As both Faist and Martin put forth, the

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[5] In this report I will use the term 'agent' because this is the term that is used by my informants in Anand. However, because scholars use different terms these will also come forward in, for example, quotes.
[6] Public agents, in employment for the government, are not located in Anand. The agent market here is purely private; a 'free market' as my informants repeatedly told me.

personal networks (the connection with potential migrants) and the market 'know-how' (the access to foreign jobs) are essential for migration agents.

A case study by Ernst Spaan clearly shows how agents combine their market 'know how' with their personal networks (Spaan 1994). He studied agents who arrange migration from Java, Indonesia, to the Middle East. Not one, but several agents are involved in this process. It starts in the Indonesian rural areas, where a 'village broker' informs potential migrants about their possibilities. As Spaan describes:

> In the rural areas, they [the village brokers] form crucial links in disseminating information on jobs in the Middle East and on recruitment agencies in Jakarta which send workers. They are knowledgeable about procedures and have necessary networks for sending candidate migrants (Spaaan 1994: 106).

The 'village broker' co-operates with relatives – who recruit potential migrants – and with recruitment agencies in Jakarta, as the above quote depicts. These recruitment agencies have, in turn, connections with agents in the Middle East who can arrange employment in the country to where the potential migrants are migrating.

As this case shows, agents are in a position to connect migrants with overseas employment because they co-operate. Several agents are involved in this process; from agents in the rural areas, to agents in foreign countries. In India, co-operation between agents has also been reported. For example Irudaya Rajan et al. state that:

> A large number of unauthorized agents in the field, constituting both firms and individuals, often function as middlemen between the foreign employers/agents or local [agents]… and the prospective emigrants. Most often the chain would be extremely lengthy, involving friends/relatives/neighbours… (2010: 25-26).

This statement is taken from a working paper by Rajan et al. in which they describe the migration industry in India (they call it the recruitment industry). In their study they draw a line between people who migrate using their social capital – the networks – and persons who migrate through an agent (Rajan et al. 2010: 9). However, the line between people who migrate through their networks or the industry is, according to me, difficult to draw. During my research in Anand town, it appeared that the migration industry and migrant networks were not easy to separate, they did not exclude each other.

# MIGRANT NETWORKS

In India there is a long history of migration which can be divided into three phases: pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial (Jayaram 1998: 3-6). In each phase, distinct in its origin and nature, Indian migrants settled abroad. All Indian migrants together constitute the Indian diaspora, which consisted, in 2002, between 25 to 40 million people – depending on which definition one applies (Bose 2008: 121). Many Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) who identify themselves as a part of this diaspora maintain socio-cultural, political and economic ties with their relatives or friends in India.[7] Several studies show that these ties strongly influence India as an immigrant sending country.[8] One result of these ties between migrants and their country of origin is that they form the basis of migrant networks, leading to what is called 'chain migration.'

According to Douglas Massey et al., 'Migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin' (1993: 448).These networks are more than only informal relations, they 'constitute a form of social capital that people can draw upon to gain access to foreign employment' (Massey et al 1993: 449). This social capital decreases the costs and personal risks of the migrant, because with each new person migrating, the networks expand and the possible assistance or guidance for new migrants grows (Massey et al 1993: 449). Due to this expanding social capital, more people tend to migrate and migration itself becomes more accessible.

In an article from 2005, Selvaraj Velayutham and Amanda Wise illustrate how migrant networks provide social capital to potential migrants. One of the authors, Velayutham, belongs to the India diaspora that lives in Singapore. He personally experienced the need to participate in the migrant network, because of pressing moral obligations towards family members. As the authors describe:

> Like other village families in Singapore, Selvaraj's family often hosted relatives on visitors' visas in their home, helping them to find employment, sometimes in the informal economy. Such assistance is seen as a means of facilitating the social mobility of other caste members, fulfilling an obligation to offer the same opportunities made available to Selvaraj's parents when they migrated (Velayutham and Wise 2005: 30).

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[7] Studies concerning the influence of migrants on their homelands on social, political and economic levels – that are also relevant in respect to the Indian case – are respectively: Levitt 1998; Østergaard-Nielsen 2003; Lessinger 1992.
[8] See for example: Gardner 1995; Walton-Roberts 2004; Velayutham and Wise 2005.

Since Velayutham's parents were assisted in their migration, he was also obligated to assist other family members in their migration. Once these new migrants are settled, it is very likely that they, in turn, also become morally obligated to assist family members.

The process by which these networks keep growing, and potential migrants tempted to migrate because of the new possibilities, is called 'cumulative causation'. Cumulative causation means 'that each act of migration alters the social context within which subsequent migration decisions are made, typically in ways that make additional movement more likely' (Massey et al. 1993: 451). In this way, expanding networks provide potential migrants with the social capital to migrate, causing migration from a region/community to accumulate and therefore leading to a figural chain of migration. One of the consequences of these growing networks is that they influence home regions greatly, possibly leading to what is called a 'culture of migration', meaning that 'migration becomes deeply ingrained into the repertoire of people's behaviors….' (Massey et al 1993: 451-3).

During my own research in Anand, the presence of the 'culture of migration' could be clearly seen. On the streets, enormous billboards advertised overseas migration possibilities, and many people I spoke with wanted to migrate, had family/friends overseas, or were returned migrants.

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As previously mentioned, Rajan et al., in their – mainly quantitative – study of the migration industry in India, draw a line between migrants who use either the migration industry or their networks. According to Rajan et al., every day the Indian government authorises 145 emigrations of persons who migrate through their social networks. In contrast, there are also every day, 3275 authorisations given to migrants who use the services of agents (Rajan et al. 2010: 65).[9] This illustrates that roughly twenty-two out of twenty-three migrants in India travel overseas with the assistance of a migration agent. These numbers, however, are mainly valid for migrants with a low educational level.[10] Yet they clearly show that there is a significant difference between the number of migrants who use an agent and those who don't, as well as the clear presence of the migration industry in India. Furthermore, in a survey among returned migrants – regardless of their educational level –

[9] When a person wants to migrate he/she must obtain authorization of the Protector of Emigrants (POE), which has eight offices in different states in India. When a potential migrant uses an agent, he/she does not have to visit the POE office physically – because agents have connections with the POE. However, if migrants arrange the authorization directly they have to visit the office (so they do not use an agent, but rather their networks) (Rajan et al. 2010: 20).

[10] The POE authorisation is only compulsory when one has an Emigration Check Required (ECR) passport. When a person has an matriculation level education (secondary school) he receives an Emigration Check Not Required (ECNR) passport, meaning that authorisation by the POE is not necessary (Rajan et al. 2010: 20). This means that the numbers as presented above are representative for lower educated migrants. Student visa applicants, for example, do not need an authorization because they have a high level of education.

in five districts in the state Kerala, Rajan et al. found that 73.5 per cent had obtained their visa through an agent (Rajan et al. 2010: 58).

In sum, though the migration industry plays an essential role in migration from India to the rest of the world, there is also a large migrant network between India and its diaspora, which provides potential migrants with the social capital to migrate, leading to chain migration. This network also exists in Anand, and many people that I spoke with have family or friends overseas. Following this line of thought, the central research question of this report is: *What is the role of migration agents in migration from Anand, Central Gujarat, as seen against the background of the prominent migrant networks that exist here?*

# A FALSE DICHOTOMY

Despite the common acknowledgement that the migration industry and migrant networks play an essential role in migration from India, in academic literature they are generally treated as two separate fields of study. Is this dichotomy between the industry and networks justifiable on an empirical basis? Do potential migrants in Anand use the migration industry – the assistance of an agent – or their migrant network?

Since the beginning of the 20th century, the state of Gujarat has had a great number of out-migration, especially by the Patel community (Rutten and Patel 2007: 168).[11] My central research site Anand town (pop. 250.000) lies in Central Gujarat, and is the administrative center of Anand district. As Mario Rutten and Sanderien Verstappen show in their study on Indian youngsters who migrate from Central Gujarat to London, many of these youngsters travel on a student visa (Rutten and Verstappen 2012). Anand is no exception. Most of the migration billboards here advertise primarily student visas to Western countries. The reason that these visas are exceptionally prominent in Anand, is because a large student population is settled here. Several universities and colleges are situated in the area called Vallabh Vidyanagar. Thousands of students from all over Gujarat live in this area in hostels, for the period of their study. Agents intentionally



**Figure 1:** Migration advertisement in Vallabh, Vidyanagar.

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[11] Source: Wikipedia, http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b3/Map_GujDist_CentralEast.png (13-05-2012).

invest large amounts of money in advertisements for student visas in specifically this area (see figure 1). According to several agents, two thirds of the agent market consists of student visas.[12]

My survey brought to light that 32.9 percent of student visa applicants had family overseas, and that this group received, without exception, assistance in their migration from their overseas family. This can be in the form of accommodation, financial support, employment – or a combination of these. However, 60 percent indicated that they do not have family overseas that can assist them in their migration. Even so, I spoke with many potential migrants– from here on known as 'candidates' (the name that is used in Anand by the agents) –who do not receive assistance from overseas family, but from friends who have already migrated.

The average spending of a student visa applicant for the whole migration process (excluding finance for spending in the country of settlement) is between six and seven lakh rupees– roughly €10.500. In the case of 58.6 percent, these funds are acquired through their family. Mostly from family that lives in India, but 14.3 percent of the candidates receive financial contribution from their family overseas. For example, I interviewed one candidate who paid between five and six lakhs (roughly €9000) for her migration. She will migrate to Cairns in north Australia on a student visa, but is planning to settle permanently and start her family there. Her sister, who is already in Australia, will pay the whole migration sum for this candidate. Since her sister already resides in Australia, this candidate possesses the social capital, as well as the economic capital to migrate.

In many cases, employment and accommodation in the country of settlement are arranged by family or friends of the candidates. This happens in various different ways. One candidate informed me that he arranged accommodation and employment through friends who are currently in the UK. Yet this candidate also has family members in the UK who can assist him. However, as previously mentioned, moral obligations to family members can be pressing. Therefore, he wants to be independent from his family network, and find accommodation and employment through his friends.

Aside from family or friends, furthermore, religious overseas institutions can also arrange accommodation for candidates. One candidate whom I interviewed was applying for a letter from a Hindu organisation (Swaminarayan) in Anand, which has a division in Canada. With this letter he is entitled to receive temporary accommodation from the Canada division of this organisation. Through friends already in Canada, this candidate hopes to obtain employment, and when he earns 'much money', he plans to buy a

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[12] Agent markets like Anand have their own specific features, because the demand of the potential migrants differs per region. All agents in one city/town constitute an agent market. They, firstly, share a geographical location (making co-operation simple) and, secondly, they have access to the same group of potential migrants. In the case of Anand, student visas to Western countries are extensively dealt with, because of the large student population. In other agent markets – in for example a region with many low educated migrants – other visas (like working permits) or migration destinations can be more prominent; therefore defining the nature of an agent market.

house. Then, if he is permanently settled, he wants to assist family members in their migration to Canada, financially and socially. In other words: a classic form of chain migration.

Even though it seems that the candidates described above migrate mainly through their networks, they all use an agent to migrate. For some visas – student visas for example – candidates are obligated to use an agent. That many candidates also use their networks, illustrates clearly that a separation between the migration industry and migrant networks is not valid: both play a crucial role and cannot be seen separately in the migration of a candidate because both facilitate it. For this reason, the dichotomy between the industry and networks is not justifiable in migration from Anand. Nevertheless, why agents play a prominent role in migration from Anand remains a question unanswered. What are their services and why are these needed by candidates?

# MIGRATION AGENTS IN ANAND

In Anand town there are roughly sixty migration agents. Most agents are highly educated, internationally orientated and all are male. Even though agents are commonly individual entrepreneurs, some employ female managers who organise the bureaucratic parts of migration. Paradoxically, agents help numerous people to migrate while they, in general, never migrate themselves. In total, two known informants have migrated. One succeeded in establishing several connections in the agent market during his migration process, which he still exploits today. The other, however, became an agent only when he returned to India. That only one agent obtained connections through his migration, shows that being an ex-migrant is not a necessity for an agent.

Since this line of work is for many agents profitable, one can wonder why not all people in Anand work in the agent market. The answer is straightforward: for an agent to be successful he must possess entrepreneurial motivation and skills. For this, he must master the English language and have an educational background. These skills are not absolute necessities to become an agent – I have met agents who only speak basic English, but a certain level of skill and entrepreneurial motivation is needed to grow in this line of work. It is also imperative that one should be willing to work many hours a week. From what I observed in Anand, most agents work around sixty hours a week.[13]

The activities that agents deal in – the services that they offer to candidates – are crucial to understand their key role in migration from Anand. However, these activities are very diverse. Since every country around the globe has different visa regulations – depending largely on the passport of the applicant and his or her purpose of visit – the entrepreneurial possibilities for the agents are vast. Also, because visa regulations often change, possibilities for agents constantly arise or disappear.[14]The services which they offer to candidates can be divided into two main categories: the *core and side activities*. The difference between these two, and the relevance of viewing them separately, will become clear below.

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[13] Some agents are also involved in businesses that are not related to the migration industry. Some examples of these businesses are: the development of meat-tenderiser products, business counselling, web designing and digital stock exchange (many agents are involved in the latter).

[14] One example of changing regulations that affect the agent market in Anand currently concerns student visas to the UK. Because of new regulations, these have become more difficult for agents to arrange (Rutten and Verstappen 2012: 2).

# THE INDISPENSABLE ROLE OF AN AGENT

The *core activities* consist of the arrangement of different kinds of visas, the main source of income for agents. Two main kinds are student visas and working permits. Aside from these two there exist a variety of other visas that I group under 'remnant visas'. These three different kinds of visas shall be briefly delineated below.

If an agent is specialised in student visas (often for a specific country), he needs contracts with overseas universities. One agent called Kavis, possesses contracts with sixty universities (mainly in the UK).[15] However, with six universities he has special arrangements, 'exclusive contracts' as they are called in the market.[16] One day while I was drinking tea with Kavis, he received a phone call from a university in London. Over this phone call the possible contract and co-operation between them was discussed. The most important point of discussion between Kavis and the university representative concerned the commission that Kavis would receive. The 'commission' is the percentage of the total student fees (only of the first study year) that an agent receives.[17] Since these student fees for the first year can be up to €10.000, a commission can comprise a significant sum of money. In this case, Kavis was offered a thirty percent commission from the university. Thirty percent was, in Kavis' words, 'a very good deal, which should be celebrated'.

In the case of working permits, overseas connections with factories are essential. One agent, called Jigger, is specialised in working permits. He has connections with factories in Tanzania, Singapore, Malaysia and Dubai. He visited all these places personally to establish business relations with factory owners. Remarkably enough, working permit specialists often present themselves as if they deal in student visas. From what I have seen, they proclaim to be dealing in student visas because this represents the more legal side of the agent market, while working permits are commonly more criticised since illegal practices often occur here.

Many other visas, aside from student visas and working permits, are also dealt with in the Anand agent market – which I group under 'remnant visas'. One illustrative example concerns an agent called Varun who, in the time of my research, directed his attention towards a job-seeker permit (for highly-skilled migrants) to Norway. This new permit was posted on the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (UDI)

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[15] All names used in this report are for privacy reasons not the real names of the persons I met.

[16] There are two kinds of contracts. The first is referred to by agents as exclusive contracts, while the second one is called 'ties'. Exclusive contracts are rare and only given by a university to an agent under the condition that he advertises extensively and delivers many candidates to this specific university/college. A 'tie' with a college is not exclusive and given by a university/college to several agents (+/- seven) so as to enhance competition between them. The contracts, whether exclusive or not, entail among others the commission which an agent receives when he sends an X number of students.

[17] The percentage of the commission depends on the university/college, country of study and the specific contract between the agent and university. The data I obtained differ greatly and range from seventy percent with universities in the UK to twelve percent in Canada.

website on January 6th, 2012.[18] When Varun gained knowledge of this new possibility he contacted the Norwegian embassy in Delhi and the UDI through the internet for information. He told me he invested a lot of time in investigating this visa. When I arrived at his very small office one day, I found it crowded with applicants for this new visa.

The visas described above– the student visas, working permits and the 'remnant visas' – entail the core activities of agents. These activities are the main source of income for agents. They constitute the motor of the Anand agent market. With respect to the candidates, the core activities are the most important services that agents offer, because these are difficult, if not impossible, to arrange through a migrant network. The student visas are a perfect example. Recall the girl who migrates to Australia with the help of her already migrated sister. This sister originally wanted to arrange the university admission herself (so as to acquire a visa). However, when she approached the university in Australia, they referred her to the agent in Anand, because he is the official representative in Anand district for this university. For this reason, this candidate was obligated to use an agent for her migration from Anand. Likewise, permits to Norway also are incredibly difficult to arrange solely through the networks. Varun put forth much effort to understand the procedures involved in arranging this new permit. Furthermore, he has many years of experience with the arrangement of visas, while the candidates for this visa do not because they lack the knowledge to arrange their migration – knowledge that the agent possesses – they depend on the assistance of an agent.[19]

In these cases, migrant networks do not provide the requirements for candidates to arrange their migration. The networks simply do not possess contracts with universities or, with factories; they do not have access to the official circuits. Also, the complexity involved in the application of a visa – for example the Norway permit – causes many candidates to acquire the help of an agent. Seeing the complexity for myself, if I had to migrate from Anand, I would also go to an agent for help. In my survey, forty percent of the candidates indicated that they use an agent because they do not understand the visa procedures.[20]

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[18] Source: http://www.udi.no/Norwegian-Directorate-of-Immigration/Central-topics/Work-and-residence/Apply-for-a-residence-permit/Newly-qualified-job-seekers-and-researchers/#cont(13-05-2012).

[19] To become or remain knowledgeable about certain core and side activities, technological improvements, mainly the internet and mobile communication, play a significant role. Kavis used both to establish the contract with the university in London, and likewise Varun specialised in the Norway permit through the internet. Furthermore, through the internet, agents constantly keep up their knowledge of (changing) regulations. One agent told me he employs a research team to keep up with changing regulations concerning student visas. Some agents are registered at foreign institutions, also governmental institutions, which keep them through the internet informed on visa regulations. The use of technological improvements is in this way to establish, maintain and use relations/connections, and to obtain information.

[20] One note to add is that in the case of some visas, candidates do find a way to arrange their whole procedure through their networks. For instance, I met one candidate who arranged his visa – an immigration visa to Canada – without the help of an agent. He finished two masters, studied in the US and has family in Canada who approach migration services in Canada directly to arrange his visa. However, the amount of social capital that this potential migrant possessed is

In the case of Anand – where student visas are most important –the vast majority of candidates cannot migrate without the assistance of an agent. They do not possess the needed connections overseas nor do they possess the required knowledge to arrange them. For these reasons, the networks do not provide the necessities required to migrate. Candidates therefore, depend on the agent who thus becomes an indispensable part of migration from Anand.

exceptional. The vast majority of candidates in Anand do not have this. Furthermore, for an immigration visa one does not have to possess a contract, but can approach the governmental institutions directly.

# THE DISPENSABLE ROLE OF AN AGENT

Varun the agent in Anand who I have already mentioned earlier, not only arranged permits for candidates, but also air-tickets and accommodation for them in Norway. These are just a small part of the *side activities* that agents deal in. These activities range from a pick up at the airport in the country of settlement, to assistance with the arrangement of financial requirements on many levels for the migration process; from organising overseas accommodation, to the preparation of candidates for a required English proficiency test; and from the booking of an airplane ticket, to the arrangement of an (travel) insurance in the country of settlement. In short, they offer many services with respect to the movement of a person beyond the Indian border. I shall now delineate two important side activities below. These two are of importance because they are normally associated with the social capital that a migrant obtains through his (overseas) family or friends.

First are the overseas services that agents offer: the arrangement of accommodation, employment[21] and pick up from the airport. Agents arrange these through a network of overseas ex-candidates with whom they stay in contact. To establish a network of ex-candidates, an agent has to practice this profession for a certain period of time. Over time they send numerous candidates overseas with whom they can establish these connections. According to one of the most successful agents in Anand, the ex-candidates receive a small amount of money for the expenses incurred, but they mainly assist new candidates to 'help a fellow Indian'. Other agents informed me that they know several agents who have connections with landlords or employers in overseas countries (possibly ex-candidates) from which they receive an amount of money if they deliver new candidates (a fixed amount or periodically).[22]

In addition, several financial facilities are offered by agents – through a national network with banks and 'financiers'.[23] Agents offer small services, like the transfer of university fees; or the exchange of Rupees for foreign money. They also offer more important services, such as the arrangement of huge funds that

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[21] This kind of employment differs from the kind of work discussed before -the working permits. The working permits can only be arranged by an agent, because he possesses the knowledge and has access to the official circuit (contracts with factories). The employment discussed here, however, is accessible without the help of an agent and can therefore be arranged through a migrant network, or with the help of an agent (side activity).

[22] Kavis believes that this business it is too risky in terms of making profit, because candidates will eventually discover that they are being 'cheated.' Therefore he provides these services only for the expenses that are made. Another agent told me that he often arranges 'group' accommodation. He hereby means that he sends a group of candidates (four to six) who together rent one house. In this way he does not have to arrange accommodation for each candidate separately.

[23] In the agent market in Anand there are, what I call, 'financiers'. They only arrange funds for candidates in the way described in note 24. I have met one financier who told me that he lends money to around thirty to forty candidates at a time, for about twenty agents. He works closely with a branch of the Bank of India. This branch is located is his home village (two streets from his home), and the bank manager is a close friend of him.

candidates need to have in their bank account when they apply for certain visas.[24] Since agents can provide these funds for a short time (so as to acquire the visa) candidates do not actually have to possess enormous amounts of money. Therefore, agents can make migration for poor candidates more accessible, because they need a smaller amount of capital to migrate. In the case of student visas, as well as others, this is a frequent occurrence. However, a candidate still needs to possess funds to pay for the whole migration, including the services of an agent.

The two side activities described above do not have to be arranged by an agent. As previously mentioned, a lot of candidates receive assistance at multiple levels of the migration process, from friends, family or religious organizations -- their migrant networks. In this way the agent side activities are for many candidates not indispensable, but are rather a choice whether they use their networks or an agent.

Sixty percent of the candidates, do not have family overseas. And others, like the candidates for the Norway permit, do not also have overseas friends who can assist them. These candidates are called by the agents as 'fresh files': candidates who have no family or friends overseas to assist them in the migration process. For them the side activities of agents are essential when they migrate; without the agents they would not have access to necessities such as overseas accommodation and employment. Furthermore, some candidates have personal motivations not to use the network. Recall the candidate who chose not to use his family network to migrate to the UK. He wanted to be independent because his primary reason to go to the UK was a girl from another caste that he fancied.[25] Therefore, he chose not to use his family network, but his network of friends. If he didn't possess a network of friends, he could have chosen to use an agent.

A candidate decides whether he uses an agent with respect to the side-activities, based on his access or the lack of it, to arrange these through a migrant network. For this reason the separation between side and core activities is essential to make, because the core activities, in contrast to the side activities, are often impossible to arrange through the migrant networks. Since certain visas cannot be arranged by migrant networks, agents are for the vast majority of candidates who want to migrate from Anand, a compulsory element of their migration. The side activities, however, are only essential for the 'fresh files'. In addition, candidates who have a migrant network can also use the side activities of agents – for different personal reasons.

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[24] To acquire a large amount of money, candidates can borrow, for a short time, money from an agent or financier who has connections with wealthy people that lend money for interest. The money is deposited on the savings account of the candidate, and secured by the bank manager (who receives a bribe for his help). Furthermore, to secure the large amount of money the checkbook and credit card are taken out of the possession of the candidate by the agent or financier. When the visa is granted the money is withdrawn and the loan is cancelled – leaving the candidate with the same amount of money as before.

[25] In India it is a common practice that people marry within the same caste. For this reason this candidate possibly cannot start a relationship with this girl in India. In England the situation is different. As Rutten and Verstappen show in their study of Indian youngsters in London, inter-caste relations occur here (Rutten and Verstappen 2012).

# CO-OPERATION AMONG AGENTS: THE MARKET 'KNOW HOW' AND RECRUITMENT OF CANDIDATES

Since agents possess the knowledge to arrange visas and have the practical connections overseas, the majority of the candidates in Anand depend on them for their migration. Furthermore, for candidates who do not have a migrant network, or do not wish to use them, agents offer the services to compromise this lack. There exists an extremely wide variety of core and side activities. Therefore, one agent –commonly individual entrepreneurs – is unlikely to meet the specific demands of every candidate, and on the other hand, candidates are not likely to meet an agent who offers the exact services that he/she requires.

As previously discussed, both Faist and Martin depict connections with potential migrants and access to foreign employment as essential features of migration agents (Faist 2008; Martin 2005). Since they can link these two matters, agents are key players in the migration industry. To achieve this position, however, agents need to co-operate. As Spaan has shown, agents co-operate intensely to connect potential migrants from rural villages with foreign employment (Spaan 1994). In Anand, student visas are most prominent, rather than working permits, yet the process as described by Spaan is still similar.

I will firstly show how agents co-operate – on a macro level – to achieve access to foreign countries. Then I shall discuss how candidates are recruited – on a micro level – through a structure of co-operating agents. How do agents include the candidates into the migration industry?

# THE MARKET 'KNOW HOW': CONSTITUTING A
# NATIONWIDE WEB OF AGENTS

Depending on the economic capital of a candidate – and the educational background – he or she can migrate to all continents through the Anand agent market, except, according to my knowledge, South America. Through the market here one has access to countries in Africa and the Middle-East (mainly working permits), Asia (working permits and student visas) and many Western countries (mainly student visas). How do agents facilitate this extremely wide variety of migration possibilities? How does the market 'know how' work in practice?

When an agent arranges the visa procedure for a candidate he tries to make as much profit as possible from this single case. For this reason, he is inclined to arrange all aspects of the migration process, which he does by using his own specialisations: the core and side activities in which he is specialised. Yet due to the many core and side activities, as well as the varying demands of candidates, one agent simply cannot specialise in all aspects of the market. Following this line of thought, agents need to co-operate if they want to maximise the profit from one candidate. They depend on the specialisations of their competitors, and their competitors depend on them as well if they too want to maximise profits. For example, one informant who was specialised in student visas to Canada, also arranged student visas to various other Western countries. This agent depended for the other visas on the specialisations of agents with whom he co-operated, and the other agents depended on him when they had a candidate for a Canadian student visa.

One essential point in these ways of working together is that candidates are not aware that their applications – their files – are being transferred to another agent. According to their knowledge, their agent arranges the whole procedure. This point is essential because, for this reason, specialisations in themselves become profitable without the need for contact with the actual candidate. For example, Kavis (the UK student visa specialist) received an offer from another agent to arrange applications for twenty-five students for a university in Manchester that Kavis had a contract with. Yet the candidates of the other agent were not aware that Kavis arranged their application, or that their files where being transferred. Because the core activity of Kavis was, in this case, profitable in itself, the need for the physical presence of the candidates was not required on his end.

These processes exceed the Anand agent market, because candidate files are not only transferred in this market, but also between agent markets from all over India (and Nepal). For example, one Anand agent processes applications from Chennai (South India) while the candidates in Chennai do not know this. The Anand agent has connections with a university in Poland, which the agent in Chennai does not possess. The

Chennai based agent can – by co-operating with the Anand agent – also offer these migration possibilities to candidates in Chennai. In this manner, applications for all sorts of visas from all over India are being transferred, while the candidates are kept in the dark about this process.

By co-operating intensely agents achieve to facilitate the vast migration possibilities for candidates. One agent can therefore offer various migration possibilities to a candidate, while he actually does not arrange them. I was told frequently by agents that without a network of agents that have different specialisations, they could not function in this line of work. Because of the need to co-operate, a nationwide agent network arises, a broad web of agents positioned all over India who utilise each other's specialisations.[26]/[27]

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[26]Agents co-operate with each other also to arrange the side activities. This happens not on a macro level, but commonly within an agent market between agents who maintain close, personal, ties.

[27] The way that money is shared when agents co-operate is case specific, because every co-operation between agents is different. It depends on what core or side activity is involved, who has the specialisations and the specific relationship between agents.

# THE WAY AGENTS INTEGRATE INTO THE MIGRANT NETWORKS

Agents facilitate a variety of services by co-operating and transferring candidate files without the knowledge of a candidate. However, this does not explain why a candidate, in first instance, chooses the assistance of a specific agent. How do they select an agent, or, the other way around, how do agents build up their clientele? To answer these questions it is essential to comprehend the co-operative structure of agents on the micro-level of the Anand agent market. There are three different kinds of agent categories distinguishable in Anand: large agents, middle-sized agents and recruiters.

There are around ten to fifteen *large agents*, who dominate the student visa market in Anand.[28] In the above described nationwide network of agents, they play, as will become clear below, an important role. These agents invest heavily in advertising, sometimes several lakh (Rs.100.000) per year, and their offices often consist of large buildings with multiple floors. The large agents are often specialised in a limited amount of visas (commonly student visas). For this reason they have a tightly regulated way of working, in which female employees deal with the bureaucratic parts of work.[29]

The *middle-sized agents* are not 'trapped' in a business structure and can change their way of working without too much difficulty. There are between thirty and fifty middle-sized agents in Anand. These agents are situated in small offices and do not invest heavily in advertisement. Furthermore, they are often not registered and, in contrast to the large agents, also arrange working permits. Because their businesses are of a smaller scale, they assist candidates personally – while in the case of large agents the female employees assist the candidates – and their way of operating is more flexible. An illustrative example concerns Varun and his new migration possibility to Norway. He assisted the candidates personally and re-directed his attention on this new migration possibility, without too much difficulty.

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[28] These large agents belong most of the time to an agency-chain: several partly autonomous agents (called franchisees in the market) spread out over different locations, mainly in India, who carry the same name and maintain strong connections among each other, and specifically to one head-office.

[29] The female employees work in the agent market on a fixed wage. They focus on a limited amount of activities, but on a large and structured scale. Their main activities consist out of the assistance of candidates, the preparation of students for their IELTS (International English Language Testing System) courses, follow-ups on interested candidates and the arrangement of the actual applications. They are highly educated or are currently studying (often BA or MA) and work long hours per day (six days a week).

| Table one | Registered | Office | Visas | Employees | Visa applications | Main characteristic | Advertisement |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Recruiters | No | No | None | No | No | Recruiting of candidates among friends/family | No |
| Middle-sized agents | Sometimes | Small office | All kinds, incl. work permits | Sometimes | Yes, much applications transferred | Flexible way of operating | Occasionally |
| Large agents | Yes | Several Offices | Student related visas | Yes | Yes, some applications transferred | Tightly regulated, bureaucratic way of working | Extensive |

**Table 1:** The structure of the agent market in Anand.[30]

Finally there are *recruiters*. They are individuals who have no offices, are not registered, do not advertise and do not arrange visa applications. Their main role in the agent market consists, as the name suggests, out of the recruitment of candidates for large and middle-sized agents for financial compensation. They recruit candidates mainly among family and/or friends. According to some agents there are around eight hundred recruiters in Anand district. However, others estimate the amount of recruiters lower, depending on who can be classified as a recruiter.[31] They are, according to one informant, 'fast, smart, young people' who come from the surrounding villages and know basic English.[32] (See table 1 for an overview of the different categories.)

According to my survey, a remarkable 81.4 percent of the candidates select an agent because they are referred to him by family or friends. This means that candidates do not select an agent because of the specific services that he offers, but because he is indirectly acquainted with the candidate. Furthermore, only 8.6 percent indicated that they chose their agent because of the abundance of advertisements in Anand. Why do the majority of candidates choose an agent based upon references? The answer is that when an agent is closely associated with them, the relationships are founded upon trust. In Anand various stories are told

[30] Because the descriptions of the three different kinds of agents are ideal type constructions, the representation of the Anand agent structure in table one is a simplification of social reality. Agents can also grow from a middle-sized to a large agent, and recruiters, when they master the skills, can advance to a middle-sized agent. In this way, agents can also fall in between categories. The market is not static, but rather flexible and constantly changing.

[31] There are recruiters who do not work full-time in the agent market, but nevertheless recruit people. One example concerns a professor from one of the local universities. He advises students that want to go abroad to visit one specific agent. This agent then gives the professor a certain amount of money for each student that he delivers. Another example concerns one ex-candidate who was very pleased with his past services and therefore recruits many candidates from his village for an agent – he even arranged a seminar in his village. This recruiter acts not out of financial, but intrinsic motivations.

[32] Although I have met these kinds of recruiters various times, I did not come to know them in a personal manner as I came to know several middle-sized and large agents. The reason for this was that they are not Anand based, do not have offices and only speak basic English.

about agents who 'cheat' their candidates financially. Candidates pay commission to an agent, who then does not deliver the services promised. For many candidates, the sum of money that they pay for their migration costs them an arm and a leg; some candidates whom I spoke with even receive their funds from their parents who mortgage their house. For this reason, knowing a reliable agent, whom they can trust, is essential.

Agents know perfectly well that their clientele choose them because of trust and references. The structure of the agent market described above is adjusted to this situation as follows:

The recruiters – on the micro level –do not arrange the actual migration of a candidate; they do not file applications. For this reason they stand apart from the agents described throughout this report. Because they recruit the candidates among friends and family, the relationships among them are based on trust and the moral ties between them. When they recruit a candidate, they refer him (and not only his files) to a middle-sized or large agent for a commission. Therefore, they fulfill an important role in the Anand agent market, because they combine the need of candidates to have a reliable agent, with an agent that has the knowledge and connections to arrange the migration. This, however, does not mean that all candidates find their agent through a recruiter. Many persons who are planning to migrate know friends or family that can recommend a reliable middle-sized or large agent. Still, for agents, especially middle-sized, recruiters play an important role to build up their clientele. I have met several agents who work together with more than twenty recruiters to obtain their clientele. Recruiters work together with several agents at a time, so to combine the specific need of a candidate with the agent that has the sought specialisations.

Middle-sized agents depend largely on recruiters to bring in clientele. However, they also depend strongly on direct references of candidates. For instance, one evening, when I was watching a movie with a middle-sized agent in his office, a Muslim man and wife visited this agent for a 'last minute' visitor's visa to the UK. This agent told me afterwards that he did his utmost best for these candidates, because normally he does not have many candidates from the Muslim community. If this application succeeded, he was sure that his clientele among the Muslim community would increase, because if he could show that he delivers reliable services and could be trusted, they would refer friends and family to him. However, because middle-sized agents also arrange the actual applications, they, in contrast to the recruiter, can arrange the migration of a candidate. If they do not possess the specializations (the services) that a candidate asks for, they can refer him to another agent. Yet another possibility is that they only transfer the files of the candidate in the way described earlier – without the candidate's knowledge.

Large agents, like middle-sized agents, obtain clientele through recruiters and direct references. However, because their operations are of a large scale, they are not acquainted with the candidates directly. They have female employees who assist the candidates personally, and file the applications. For this reason, they, like any large business, depend mostly on their general name in the market. If they deliver reliable

services the word will spread among potential candidates, and ex-candidates will refer friends or family. Yet a positive general name among other agents is equally, if not more important. As addressed before, large agents advertise extensively. They do this not only to recruit candidates (only 8.6 percent), but also to inform other agents about what their field of expertise is. Kavis, a large agent, told me that because of his advertisements, other agents approach him to start business relations. These relations can be with recruiters and middle-sized agents to build up the clientele, but also, equally important, with other large agents to co-operate in the way described previously: to use each other's specialisations. They cannot, for example, have contracts with all the universities in one country. Therefore they depend on the specialisations of other large agents, who also depend on them to function in the agent market.

In sum, recruiters refer candidates to middle-sized and large agents. Middle-sized agents refer candidates among each other and to large agents – yet they also transfer files. Large agents do not refer candidates (but receive candidates), and arrange the applications by co-operating with other (mainly large, but also middle-sized) agents by transferring files. Let me explain this complicated system through an illustrative example concerning Varun. One day, when we were talking in front of his office, he pointed to the hairdresser shop next door. He told me that he was currently processing an application for a hairdresser who worked there. However, the hairdresser was unaware of this. Varun, a middle-sized agent, received this application from another middle-sized agent, who did not possess the necessary connections. If Varun does not possess the connections overseas, he refers the candidate – or transfers his files– to an (large) agent with whom he co-operates. (See figure 2 for the way that candidates, or their files, are referred.)
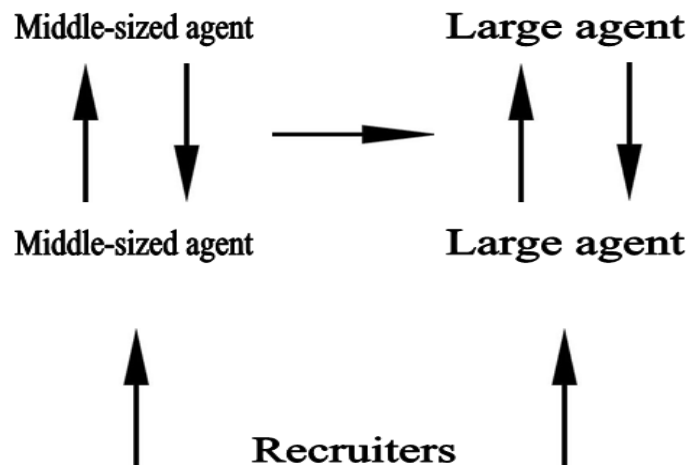


**Figure 2:** The way candidates are referred (or their files transferred) after they are recruited.

The example of Varun illustrates how the micro level structure of the Anand agent market combines with the macro level (nation-wide) agent co-operative network. Through the Anand market structure, the candidates are recruited and referred – or their files transferred – and eventually their applications are – on a macro level – arranged. Because of the wide variety of services – and candidates who do not choose an agent based on his specialisations or advertisements – agents need to co-operate, from a micro to a macro level, to facilitate migration from Anand. Recruiters only participate on the micro level – they do not process applications – while the large agents mainly work on the macro level; together they facilitate access to foreign countries. The middle-sized agents, however, stand in between – like Varun. He works on the micro level, as well as the macro level.

There are two ways to assess the above described process. The first is from the perspective of the agents. Through the Anand market structure they connect candidates to the variety of services that they offer. In this way, they include the candidates into their way of operating; into the migration industry. From the perspective of the candidates, however, are liable agents who they can trust is essential; it diminishes the risk of their migration. Therefore, knowing are liable agent, or friends or family who do, becomes a part of his or her social capital to migrate. Hence, agents become – alongside with overseas family and/or friends –an integral part of their migration; of their migrant networks.

# CONCLUSION

In this research report the role of migration agents in the migration of people from Anand, India, has been discussed. In literature, a separation is made between people who migrate either through their migrant networks, or the migration industry. In Anand a clear-cut separation between the two is not possible to make. Candidates do not use either the migration industry or their migrant networks. A vast amount of candidates use both to facilitate their migration.

The migration agents in Anand do not only offer the possibility to arrange a visa, but also to arrange the entire migration process; from the arrangement of overseas accommodation, to trivial aspects of migration such as a pick-up from the airport in the country of settlement – the side activities. For this reason, candidates who do not have family or friends overseas to assist them in their migration – the so called 'fresh files' – can also migrate. They can obtain access to necessities such as funds, overseas employment and accommodation. Agents arrange these through their own means – through overseas networks of (ex)candidates and national connections with banks and financiers. As discussed, in Anand many people want to migrate – there is a 'culture of migration'. Persons in Anand who are normally less likely to migrate – because they do not possess a migrant network to assist them – are, with the assistance of an agent, also in a position to migrate. Agents can figure therefore as substitutes for a migrant network. However, for many visas – the core activities – the assistance of an agent is a must for all that apply for it: through the networks these cannot be arranged. Candidates either do not have access to the official circuits, the universities or factories, or they do not possess the knowledge to comprehend the complex procedures that are involved. Where the migrant networks fail to provide the means necessary to migrate, whether for the arrangement of a visa or overseas accommodation, agents, for payment, fill the gaps in the migration process of candidates. Because agents possess the knowledge and have the connections overseas, they stand in between the candidate and his or her access to foreign countries; they have the key position.

Agents, however, do not fulfill this position individually. They do this by co-operating. On a micro level they work together to recruit the candidates and, on a macro level, to arrange the migration. For a candidate it is most important that he knows a reliable agent, or friends or family who do, whom he can trust. For this reason, knowing an agent – who can arrange the necessities to migrate – becomes a part of the social capital to migrate; of the network that he possesses. In this way, the dichotomy between the migration industry and migrant networks is impossible to make in Anand: agents penetrate the migrant networks and become an integral part of it. Through the Anand market structure, recruiters, middle-sized and large agents work together in such a manner that they include the candidates into the migration industry, and, from the perspective of a candidate, become an integral part of the migration. They re-direct a candidate – or his files –

to each other for commissions, so that eventually the application can be arranged by an agent that has the connections and possesses the knowledge.

In the definition of the migration industry discussed before, Castles states that 'If a government decides to curtail migration, it may have difficulties, because… agents may go on organizing migration, though the form may change' (Castles2004: 209).Because agents, mainly large but also middle-sized, specialise in specific migration possibilities they are able to invest a lot of time and research to accomplish this. Remember, they master the English language and are often highly educated. However, they do not only invest much time in bypassing new governmental relations, as the quote above depicts, but also tend to search for changing regulations to find new migration possibilities. Due to the constant change in governmental immigration regulations, migration possibilities do not only curtail or disappear, but new possibilities also arise. For example, Varun specialised in the new permit to Norway because the new regulations opened the Norway border for immigration from India. Likewise, when new contracts with universities are established, for example in Poland, the range of migration possibilities enhances. Not only for candidates from Anand, but also from other parts of India – in the case of Poland from Chennai. In other words, agents find, direct and organise migration (possibilities) from Anand, and India, to wherever new opportunities appear. Furthermore, they exploit these new opportunities, regardless whether migrant networks are present between India and the country of migration. In this way, they constitute a migration stimulant, which stands apart from the migrant networks.

To press this issue further, agents do not only expand the migration possibilities from Anand, but also make these available to a large group of persons whom without the agents would not be likely to migrate. One can argue that for this reason agents, like the migrant networks, cause migration to accumulate. As Massey et al. describe, cumulative causation means 'that each act of migration alters the social context within which subsequent migration decisions are made, typically in ways that make additional movement more likely' (Massey et al. 1993: 451). Agents cause 'additional movement,' because they make migration for many people in Anand more accessible: they figure as substitutes for migrant networks and offer a vast – and growing – amount of migration possibilities. Once the candidates who are in a position to migrate because of an agent, settle in their country of migration, they can assist their family or friends in their migration; they can form the basis of a migrant network. Furthermore, with each person that migrates through an agent, he expands his own network of (ex) candidates. When, for example, the candidates of Varun are settled in Norway, he can ask them to assist, for compensation, new migrants in finding accommodation. In short, because agents expand the migrant networks and their own network, they provide more persons with the social capital to migrate; hence they cause migration from Anand to accumulate.

In sum, what is the role of migration agents in migration from Anand, seen against the background of the prominent migrant networks that exist here? On the one hand they intertwine with the migrant networks; they include migrants into the industry, and become an elementary part of the social capital of a candidate. On the other hand, they stand apart from the migrant networks, because firstly, they have their own co-operative network on a macro level to organise migration, and secondly, they arrange, through their own means, the parts of migration that are normally associated with migrant networks. In these ways migration agents enhance the migration possibilities and the amount of persons capable to migrate. They are not only specialised professionals who facilitate migration: they stimulate migration the world over.

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# APPENDIX ONE

**Name** : _____

**Age** : _____

**Gender**:female / male

**1 Which education did you finish so far?**

10std.         12th std. BA:_____        MA: _____

**2 Have you already studied overseas? If yes, in which country?**

     - No           Yes, in_____

**3 In which country are you planning to study?**

- Canada           - UK          - US

- New Zealand     - Australia     - Other_____

**4 Which study are you planning to pursue?**_____

**5 Do you have family overseas?**

**No**

**Yes – will they help you with:(you can choose several options)**

- Accommodation    - Finance    - Employment    - Other:_____

**6 What are your total funds for your overseas study period?(including visa, study and time overseas)**

1-3 lakh 4-6 lakh 7-9 lakh 10-13 lakh    14-16 lakh    17 or more

**7 How do you manage to get these funds? (you can choose several options)**

- Family- Friends    - Family/Friends    - Own savings    - Loan from bank

**8 Why did you choose for the services of your agent?(you can choose several options)**Because:

… I do not understand the visa application procedure     -

… when I do not use an agent maybe the application fails     -

… I know my agent personally and he is a great help     -

… other_____

**9 How did you find the agent that you are using? (you can choose several options)**

- Reference friend/family          - Advertisement - Other agent     - Other_____

*Thank you very much for completing this survey!*

# APPENDIX TWO

| Name | Gender | Age | Educational degree | Migrated overseas | Place of residence | Visa specialization | Working experience |
|------|--------|-----|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Kavis | Male | App. 30 | MBA | No | Karamsad | Student visa | Seven years |
| Fahad | Male | 29 | MBA | Yes (one month) | V.V. Nagar | Student visa | Two year |
| Jigger | Male | 27 | Master | Yes (two years) | Boriavi | Working permit/ student visa | Three years |
| Varun | Male | App. 35 | Advertisement | No | Outside Anand | Working permit/ student visa | Four years |
| Saeed | Male | App. 30 | MBA | - | Anand | Student visa | Ten years |
| Gajanand | Male | 24 | MBA | No | Anand | Student visa | Two year |
| Karuna | Female | App. 25 | BA | No | Sarsa | Student visa | Four years |
| Radani | Female | App. 25 | Advertisement | No | Anand | Student visa | Seven years |

# ABOUT THE PROVINCIAL GLOBALISATION PROGRAMME

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

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

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

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

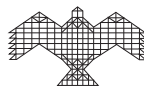www.provglo.org

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