

# Ragnhild Mæhre

Challenging conventional notions of mobility through increasing mobility.

- Gram Tarang Employability Trainings' Sewing Machine Operators development through knowledge

Trondheim 11.05.2015

Norwegian University of Science and Technology

Faculty of Social Sciences and Technology Management

Department of Geography



**NTNU – Trondheim**  
Norwegian University of  
Science and Technology

Picture on front page: Sowing Machine Operator Trainees stitching on paper exercises in Gram Tarang Employability Training classes in the Centurion University, Paralakhemundi Campus.

Source: Private photo

## Abstract

This thesis is looking at how conventional notions of mobility, in the rural areas of Mayurbhanj in the state of Odisha in India, can be challenged due to an increase in mobility through the skill training program of Gram Tarang Employability Training, GTET. The skill training in focus is the Sewing Machine Operator program which attempts to meet the apparel industry's global demand of apparel. By using a theoretical framework of previous studies of mobility, female mobility, shifting social requirements in village households and benefitsharing and through research on the GTET trainees, I am discussing how human mobility is changing in India. Through the theoretical framework I am looking at the evolving aspects of mobility, and comparing human mobility in the global south with the global north.

The case study is developed through several semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. The interviews are conducted with families of GTET trainees in the rural areas of Mayurbhanj, with GTET trainees at the training center in Centurion University in Jatni, Bhubaneswar as well as with trainees who are employed in the apparel industry in Bangalore. The case study is focusing on the external and internal influences of human mobility, how mobility through the SMO program is favouring female labour in consideration to benefit sharing, and lastly how knowledge is contributing to covering development needs in the villages.

The empirical data from these interviews is presented in the analytical framework, describing the attitudes and changes in human mobility expressed and experienced by the rural people of Mayurbhanj. Different modes of mobility is discussed along with how the knowledge gained through GTETs SMO program is challenging conventional notions of mobility. The analysis discusses the benefits and downsides of human mobility in Mayurbhanj, and how mobility is changing gender roles and gender equality. This thesis attempts to provide an understanding of how female mobility can increase development through GTET, and how mobility is not only a cause of modernity, but a part of history.



# Acknowledgements

This thesis marks the completion of my masters study program in "Globalization, Global Politics and Culture", at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. This is a two-year master program focusing on the increasing interconnections of capital, people and ideologies through the Department of Geography.

The focus of this paper is to look at conventional notions of human mobility, and how these are challenged through the organization of Gram Tarang Employability Training's, GTET, Sewing Machine Operator, SMO, program in Odisha, India. In addition to this, the research focuses on benefit sharing and knowledge gained, changing gender divisions and the external and internal influences of mobility.

I want to thank the employees of GTET and the Centurion University in Bhubaneswar, India for all the help they gave me during my internship and fieldwork. I especially want to thank my Centurion supervisor, Smita Mishra Panda, for her help and support and for introducing me to the Indian culture and traditions. I am also grateful to my interpreter, Laxmi Riya, who inspired and encouraged me out in the field.

I am so grateful towards Ragnhild Lund for her encouraging and constructive feedbacks throughout the work on my master thesis. After every meeting I found I had new inspiration and motivation to continue researching and writing.

A big thank you to my friends, co-workers and classmates who have further motivated me, and been valuable supporters during this period. A special thank you goes to Elin who has always been there, night and day, giving valuable feedback and motivational support throughout this process.

Lastly, I want to thank my family, my mom and stepdad, Ingrid and Ronny, Thomas, Christina and Even who have supported me through this program and encouraged me to finish this master. And last but not least, a big thank you to Erlend who have endured late nights of writing, taken care of me and believed in me.

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## Introduction

According to Lund et.al "*Mobility is understood as movement in a social and cultural context*" (2014, p5). Mobility has traditionally been seen as a mode of transport, a movement from A to B, but the term mobility reaches further than that. By looking at this quote, we can see how mobility does not only cover movement over a specific distance; mobility can also be seen in a social context. For example moving between castes or classes, or culturally by developing ones traditions to adapt to a new environment such as a big city. The demands for mobility as a cause of globalization and keeping up with the global economy, have led to a need for a bigger workforce in the urban, industrial areas. This causes a further spread of mobility, and a utilization of the human capital in the rural areas. To distinguish between migration and mobility, we can look at migration as moving from one place to another, regardless of the individual's changes. Mobility, on the other hand, searches for the types of movements and the social changes, such as new identities and the construction of relationships (Panda, 2014).

## Vulnerability of Female Workers in India

In the Indian society women and men do not have equal rights regarding socially acceptable behavior, and conventional notions of mobility, according to the maker of the documentary "India's daughter" Leslee Udwin, mentioned by Johnsen (2015). This documentary deals with the Indian society's attitudes towards women and their mobility and freedom. A woman on her way home from the cinema with her male friend gets molested on the bus ride home. As stated by the violators: she should not be outside of her household in the evening (NRK TV, 2015). From this it is evident how modernity and mobility contests the norms of the Indian society, considering women. The conventional notions of human, and here gender, mobility, do not allow women the freedom of independent mobility.

The documentary presents different men's attitudes towards women's freedom, and how the women can blame themselves for the crimes they are victim to when they venture outside after dark without male members of their family. With this in mind, it can be understood that the Gram Tarang Employability Training's, GTET that will be further described in the following chapter, work with mobilizing young women for skill training can be a challenging procedure. Keeping in mind the unsafe environment present in both the urban and the rural areas of India, one has to ensure that the safety of the trainees of GTET is

under control. "India's daughter" speaks of the traditional views of women as staying inside the household, and being their father's, brother's or husband's responsibility (NRK TV, 2015). By doing research in the area of Mayurbhanj and through several discussions with female trainees, I found that the issue of mobility and restrictions connected to traditions were not necessarily as strict as those presented in the documentary, and is one of the aspects I wish to challenge in this thesis.

Women's mobility can be a difficult issue concerning culture and norms, and through my fieldwork and analysis I wish to explore the village households' attitudes towards female mobility. I will go into literature on the subject of traditional and modern attitudes through the research of Venkatesh and Veena (2014) to further investigate if the traditional view of inequality between men and women presented in the documentary that is justifying the actions of those men, can be applied to the general population.

I will see this documentary as a justification of the importance of my research subjects of female mobility. This documentary can be seen as an extreme aspect of the hazards of female mobility, although this is not the only case of violence and assault towards mobile women in India.

## The Study

In the autumn of 2014, I conducted research for the Centurion University in Bhubaneswar, Odisha in India through an internship. During this internship I researched a government-supported program called Gram Tarang Employability Training, GTET, which is located at the Centurion University campus. According to a report by Gram Tarang (n.d. b) GTET was established so that unskilled, marginalized youth without the ability to generate an income could get the possibility to learn a skill. Young, unemployed people in rural areas can be easy targets for recruiting to extremist group. To avoid this, GTET is offering several programs for skill training, including the program of Sewing Machine Operators, SMO, which I have chosen to focus on. I will come back to the details of this program and GTET in the chapter of area and field of study.

The research I conducted during the internship consisted of looking at the level of independence and empowerment of the female trainees enrolled in the SMO program. This further fuelled my interest in the program as I had learned more about the construction and progress of GTET. According to an university document which I had access to, All Chapters

(n.d.), women in the rural areas of India do not have many opportunities for paid employment outside of the village, and this is as mentioned, the area where GTET wants to contribute.

Whilst doing my fieldwork I experienced the vast landscapes, rice fields and forests of Mayurbhanj, the enclosed spaces of the Centurion University Jatni campus in Odisha, as well as the urban setting of the factories and worker hostels in Bangalore. During the fieldwork I was acquainted with the different modes of transport and other aspects of mobility that the SMO trainees would have to use in their journey with GTET. This experience led to this thesis' focus on marginalized peoples mobility, not only connected to modes of transport and infrastructure, but also as a social and cultural movement. I will make use of the fieldwork conducted for the Centurion University, by re-examining and analyzing the data in consideration to mobility. According to an article by Athena Infonomics (n.d.) Skill training such as GTETs programs utilizes human capital capable of acquiring a new skill, for thereafter teaching them skills through vocational training to lastly employ them in the industry. Making use of the human resources available in the rural areas, such as Mayurbhanj, to meet a global demand of apparel and materialistic produce.

Skill training is defined by Athena Infonomics (n.d. p1) as: *"...The set of relevant competencies required to carry out identified tasks in the most efficient and timely manner while adhering to an agreed set of qualities and standards."*

This is what GTET aims to do with their Sewing Machine Operator program, SMO. As the above-mentioned global demand for apparel is increasing, the industry is experiencing a bigger demand for skilled human capital, in which GTET is attempting to meet. In accordance to Dicken (2011) the apparel industry is part of the global economy, with employees both in the formal and the informal sector. The required skill knowledge is allegedly low, making poor and economically marginalized people attractive for these industries, as in this case women belonging to the lower castes and indigenous people of the rural areas of India.

The objective of my study is to look at the processes of mobilization that the GTET SMO trainees follow. Not only looking at infrastructure and the physical aspects of mobility, but also considering mobility as a social and cultural phenomenon in accordance with Lund et al. (2014). In this regard I have constructed a research question dealing with GTETs role in mobilization of young women from rural areas:

Research question: *Does the GTET SMO program lead to increasing mobility and thereby challenge conventional notions of mobility?*

To further research this question I have made three assumptions:

1. External and internal influences, such as poverty, marginalization, corporates and state policies, influence mobility.
2. Mobility is gendered and influence benefit sharing, such as remittances and acquiring skills.
3. Knowledge gained through GTETs SMO program does not necessarily cover the development needs in the villages.

I will provide an answer to this research question and assumptions by re-examining the fieldwork I did in Mayurbhanj, Jatni and Bangalore. I will start by presenting the area of study in addition to detailed information about the organization of GTET to give a better picture of the trainee's starting point including their journey of mobilization. Thereafter I will go on to present the research methods and design to describe the methods I have used. Following this will be relevant theory on the subject of mobility, globalization and migration. Lastly I will present my findings in an analysis and discuss these in relation to the theories presented to either verify or dismiss my assumptions and research question.

## Study Areas: Mayurbhanj, Jatni and Bangalore

I will now introduce the contextual framework of this master thesis. In this chapter I will explain the set-up of the GTET organization and SMO program, as well as presenting the area of Mayurbhanj where the trainees in this study originate from, Jatni which is the location of the training center, and lastly the city of Bangalore where the industry is located. This will contribute to the understanding of the trainees' background and the changes they go through during their mobility.

### Gram Tarang Employability Training

Gram Tarang Employability Training is the organization that I am focusing my thesis on. GTET was established by Prof. Mukti Mishra from the Centurion University (Gram Tarang, n.d. a) Gram Tarang is an organization in partnership with the National Skill Development Corporation, NSDC, which aims to educate and give skill training to underprivileged people. In my research I chose to focus on the GTET SMO training which lies under the GTET vocational training (Gram Tarang, 2014). As stated by Gram Tarang (2014) they aim to train people from scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, SC and ST, as well as people from other backwards castes, OBC. SC, ST and OBC are considered as marginalized groups in India according to the United Nations in India (n.d). The Indian government has made programs such as the NSDC to help fund initiatives to help develop these classes, as well as to attempt to create equality amongst the classes by giving such funding and opportunities (UN in India, n.d.). I will now elaborate on the structure and intentions of GTET using my internship report.

In accordance to my internship report, A study of Gram Tarang in Odisha: Training and Placement of Young Women (Mæhre, 2014, pp.4-7) the program is organized as follows:

Gram Tarang Employability Training, GTET, was introduced at the Centurion University of Technology and Management, CUTM, in 2005 by Professor Mukti Mishra to help develop the people of rural villages in the state of Odisha. It has since then expanded its horizon by including several different vocational training skills classes, and has enrolled trainees from many districts of the state (GramTarang, n.d. a). GTET is a social enterprise that is supported by the National Skill Development Corporation, NSDC, which aims to encourage private organizations to help develop the interior peoples. Different other corporations and entities are also contributing to the GTET programs such as Ajeevika and the Ministry of Rural Development, MORD. GTET is in addition to working with the government, working with

other private companies such as Cafe Coffee Day, a nationally and internationally known coffee shop (Sharma, n.d.).

The vision of Gram Tarang is to train unskilled individuals, who are village bound, in different trades in order to increase the economic and social standard of the disadvantaged people in Odisha's rural areas. Gram Tarangs' goal is to empower women and the oppressed classes of the society to minimize class differences and work towards an end to extremist violence and groupings (GramTarang, n.d. b).

To integrate the uneducated groups of Odisha into this globalized world, Gram Tarang aim to train those unable to pursue a career because of the lack of theoretical knowledge. Vocational training activities have shown to increase the employment of school dropouts and other disadvantaged people from indigenous areas of Odisha. GTET also aims at cooperating and partnering with oppressed groups to ensure a healthy and self-helped growth of tribal and scheduled caste communities (Gram Tarang, n.d. c).

Gram Tarang Employability Training, GTET, has several different training programs located at CUTM Jatni Campus. Seeing that this study will focus on GTETs SMO-program, Sewing Machine Operators, I will give a brief introductory to the contents of this program. With the ongoing modernization of the world, there is a big demand for an enhanced workforce within the garment and apparel industry. Due to this demand, many factories and industries are located in developing countries where the availability of cheaper labor is higher (Parvin et al, 2013). The SMO-program at GTET was set up to meet this demand, and in the same way help develop the rural areas of Odisha. Mobilizers working for GTET works in all districts of Odisha, supplying information about the different programs, to enroll trainees, the age of 18 and up, from remote areas (GTET, 2013-14).

The mobilizers need to motivate the youths from the rural villages to join the SMO-program. Some mobilizers use previous trainees to be more convincing, and also use success stories to attract new trainees. Through research done by GTET employees, and also from my own experiences in the field, it becomes apparent that not all mobilizers are giving the future trainees the correct information about the training. The reason for this may be a lack of training of the mobilizers, although, as the commission, which the mobilizers are paid, increase the more trainees they enroll it may also be natural for the mobilizers to make the program as enticing as possible to get more trainees. It seems that mobilizer training is something that is not prioritized in the GTET programs, and that it would be beneficial to

introduce this to avoid trainee drop-outs as a cause of lack of information (Sharma, n.d.). Through conversations with village families, I have found that not all of them have been informed about their daughter's placement in a big city, and are therefore reluctant to send them there after program completion. The work of mobilizing can be difficult considering the traditional attitudes and notions towards mobility experienced by the villagers.

The SMO-program duration is two months, where the trainees are continuously taught skills to enable them to pursue a career within the apparel industry. This program is an opportunity for school dropouts and otherwise unskilled youth and young adults to join the global work market. SMO cooperates with certain actors within the industry to ensure the employment of the trainees after having completed the course. After completion of the course, the trainees are sent for one month of On the Job Training, OJT, to ensure that the trainee's quality of work and dedication to the job is up to speed with the industries requirements (Gram Tarang, 2013-14).

Included in the SMO-program are also life skill classes where the trainees learn how to adapt to new environments, considering their scheduled tribe or scheduled caste, background. The life skill class teaches the trainees how to be hygienic, have communication lessons, time management, self-management, teamwork, AIDS-awareness, yoga, meditation and financial planning (Gram Tarang, 2013-14). The SMO-classes firstly teach how to operate the foot pedal sowing machine, how to manage it and also the basics of machine maintenance. After the trainees have familiarized themselves with the machine, they move on to stitch on paper exercises, using the machines, to learn basic precision of stitching followed by doing the same exercises on cloth. After the completion of these exercises they move on to sew the parts of a shirt to get accustomed to the basics of apparel making. There are several batches of SMO-trainees in a year, and these are overlapping. The last assignment of a finishing batch is therefore to produce the uniforms for the next batch arriving (Gram Tarang, 2013-14).

After completing two months of SMO-training, the trainees go back to their villages for some days before they will be taken to the programs last destination, their placement. At this stage the organization experiences the highest frequency of dropouts. The trainees, who were not informed about a placement in a big city before they reached the training center, now have to inform their parents who may not allow them to leave. Also those who are allowed to leave for their placement are facing problems in adjusting to food and other social aspects in the big city, so that they eventually drop out. Many trainees do succeed, and quickly adapt to their new surroundings and environment, and are experiencing a high level of job satisfaction

(Sharma, n.d.). The fear of trafficking was another reason for dropouts according to mobilizers, families of the trainees and the trainees themselves (Mæhre, 2014). The families expressed a concern of their daughters being left to themselves, and that it is difficult to ensure their safety. Another aspect contributing to suspicion to the organization was the parents' limited knowledge of GTET, which was confined to the information given to them by a mobilizer. The mobilizers do not seem to have any brochures, do not seem to mention any websites or give any reassurance of the legitimacy of the organization that they are representing, other than telling people to trust them. This led to understandable hesitations. Questions that were repeated were about how they can send their daughters with strangers they do not know anything about (Mæhre, 2014).

### **Caste and Class**

In 1949 the Indian constitution stated that those belonging to Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled tribes (ST) or Other Backwards castes (OBC) should receive benefits to attempt to erase the boundaries between the classes and to help to develop the underprivileged in the Indian society as stated in Hockings (n.d.) and Mæhre (2014). The government made lists, or schedules, to help recognize those eligible for receiving this help, thus they were named scheduled castes and tribes. According to Hockings (n.d.) the scheduling system can raise issues seeing members of a certain caste is not necessarily experiencing the same level of poverty in different areas in India. Belonging to a higher caste does not mean that you are wealthy, therefore raising issues of who deserves receiving assistance from the government or not. Because of this, the government has different schedules and lists for different states and regions (Hockings, n.d., Mæhre, 2014).

### **Process of Mobility and Training**

The Gram Tarang initiative by the Centurion University has been nominated for several awards, as well as receiving awards for their work in developing the rural areas of east India (Gram Tarang, 2014). During my stay at the Centurion University I was able to witness the processes taking place in the SMO-program. In accordance to Gram Tarang (2014) I observed how GTET recruited trainees, taught them the essential sewing skills and thereafter placing them in factories in the apparel industry. The Jatni Campus of the Centurion University provides accommodation and three meals a day for their trainees as well as life skill classes to

better prepare them for a life in a big city. From Mæhre (2014) and through Gram Tarang (2014) it was stated that the traditional process in the skill programs started with mobilization of trainees, development of curriculum, skill training, then moving on to on the job training and finishing with placing of trainees in the different industries.

According to the internship report (Mæhre, 2014) the trainees' families in Mayurbhanj, stated that there were several issues connected to the mobilization process of the SMO program. Members of staff at GTET also presented this issue. Following Sharma (n.d.) the mobilization process takes place at a grass root level where they are supposed to get sufficient information about both the training and their final placement. From Sharma's (n.d.) survey on the mobilizing process, he found that the mobilizers have the responsibility to find trainees with the right ambitions and aspirations. The mobilizers then stated that they make use of prior trainees to inform potential new trainees about the training and employment possibilities. It became evident from Sharma (n.d.) that there is no training of the mobilizers, and that they get some information about the GTET SMO program, but possibly not enough to properly inform the public about the program. This is something I will go into more detail on in my analysis about the increase of mobility as a cause of the GTET program. As further mentioned by Sharma (n.d.) there are also several problems connected to the trainees work placement in the big cities. Problems mentioned were family issues, food adjustment, low salaries in comparison to their expectations and security issues to mention a few. This also correlates with my own findings concerning GTET dropouts after placement. From observations in Bangalore I could see that GTET continued counselling of the employees coming from the GTET SMO program, to prevent further dropouts and to help with adjusting to a new environment. The mobilization process is highly important in GTET as it contributes to meeting the high demand for workforce in the apparel industry (Gram Tarang, 2013-14).

After recruiting trainees through the mobilization process, the trainees are taken to the Jatni campus to undergo a two-month period of training according to Gram Tarang (2013-14). The training program teaches the trainees the basic skills needed to work on a factory floor level, sewing apparel. After the two-month period of training follows, as mentioned, a one-month period of on the job training, where the trainees are guaranteed employment provided they have satisfactorily completed their basic training (Gram Tarang, 2013-14). By visiting some factories in Bangalore I learnt that they get offered positions in accordance with their level of expertise. Some employees informed me that the training they had received through GTET was not sufficient enough, as their placements required additional practice and

training. At Jatni campus I observed that the trainees start by getting to know the functions of the sewing machine, then moving on to learning basic stitching on paper. Thereafter they move on to exercises on fabrics. The trainees have to fulfill the requirements of each exercise before moving on to more difficult levels of training. The final exercise of the course is to sew the uniforms for the coming batch of SMO trainees. My previous findings of inadequate training is in compliance with Athena Infonomics (n.d.), which states that the curriculum in skill training for the textile industry in India is not as relevant as it could be compared to the tasks they are given in the industry. They also mention issues regarding the trainee mobilization and the possibility of employment after finishing a course due to the differences in what skills are taught and what is required. GTET has a good rate of employment as stated in Gram Tarang (n.d. a) but is experiencing problems connected to the mobilization process and according to prior trainees, a basic training of skill, which does not fully comply with the industrial standards in future work places.

### The Temple City and the Forest Region

The research done in India consisted of following GTET trainees from village to city, and therefore there were three different areas of study. These areas were rural villages in Mayurbhanj and the GTET center in the nearby region of Balasore, the training center at the CUTM University campus in Jatni, Bhubaneswar, and lastly the hostels and factories in Bangalore where the GTET trainees were placed after training. I found it important to visit all the areas of their transition and way of mobility so that I could get a better feeling of their everyday lives and how these routines changed after going through a process of learning and mobilizing. The pictures below are from the fieldwork done in Mayurbhanj showing the scenery and living conditions, and from Jatni campus where the trainees were accommodated.



Figure 1: Mayurbhanj, private photos



Figure 2: Jatni Campus, Bhubaneswar, private photos

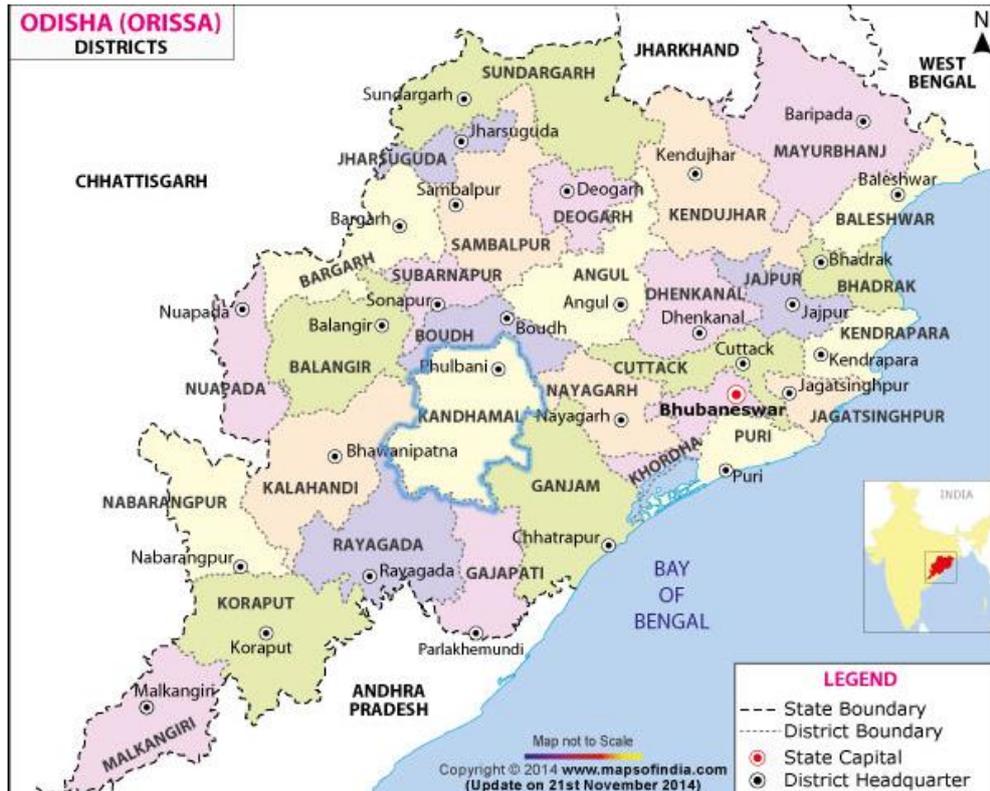


Figure 3. Map of Odisha District

Source: <http://www.mapsofindia.com/maps/orissa/orissa.htm>

On figure 3 we can see Bhubaneswar, where Jatni campus is located, as well as Mayurbhanj district located north in the state. The train ride from Bhubaneswar to Balasore (Balasore) took about five to six hours, and the daytrips into Mayurbhanj from Balasore ranged from one hour to five hours one way, depending on the area and mean of transport. Mayurbhanj district has according to The Government of Odisha (2014) a percentage of 39% of their land covered with forests and hills, which I can verify after travelling around some of the villages in the district. The climate ranges from hot summers till cold winters with fauna and flora in abundance. The people we visited all worked within agriculture or various petty works in the village. Some of the areas we visited had rice fields as far as the eye could see, and the people

worked the field from early morning until evening. We got to know that one of the core reasons for sending a member of their family for skill training was the possibility to earn a steady income each month, and not have to rely on a good harvest to feed their family.

Mayurbhanj and Bhubaneswar are both located in Odisha, a state in the northeast of India. Considering the size of India, each state is of a substantial size, and Mayurbhanj and Bhubaneswar are therefore located far from each other. Bhubaneswar, the capital of Odisha, is urbanized and more developed than Mayurbhanj, which in turn is mostly relying on agriculture (AllChapters, n.d., Maps of India, 2013). Bhubaneswar has developed its infrastructure, and is connected to the rest of the world through air, train and roads, Mayurbhanj on the other hand is harder to navigate, and we found that several villages were only accessible by foot.

During our travels in the rural areas of Mayurbhanj, we got to experience how mobility affects our lives. Some of the villages could, as mentioned, not be reached by either car or auto rickshaw, so we had to walk and jump over a stream to reach one of the families we wanted to interview. Seeing that the sun was about to set, we had to jog, and in the end, run, to manage to reach our destination and back to the car again before dark. The reason for this being an issue was that we had to cross a mountain to get back to Balasore, the city we were staying, and that road was known for its highway bandits, and it was also through a national reserve with elephants and tigers. We had to stay in Balasore, the capital of the neighboring district, because of Mayurbhanj lacking tourist hotels, and because it was considered unsafe to stay in for me as a foreigner. We were able to both conduct the interview, although we had to shorten it quite a bit, and get back to Balasore safely. Luckily our driver was experienced and knew the area well, but it became evident how difficult mobility can be, and especially after nightfall.





Figure 5: Bangalore City, private photos

According to a report from Advantage Karnataka (n.d.) there are already over 700 Multi-National Companies, MNCs, located in Karnataka with an average of one new company moving in every week, with the result of calling themselves the Knowledge hub of Asia. Furthermore, Advantage Karnataka (n.d.) presents the state as ranked in the top five Technology Clusters in the world. Seeing that the state expands with one company a week, it is easy to understand that a need for a bigger workforce is demanded, and that GTETs work with mobilizing people from ST, SC and OBC is necessary to meet the global demand for goods.

In my research, I had to be mobile due to the fact that my three areas of study were in different places of India. I got to experience both the train and the bus to and from Balasore and Mayurbhanj, as well as by car, and by auto rickshaw in a lightning storm during our ventures into the rural areas of Mayurbhanj. In order to get to Bangalore I had to go by flight seeing I did not have the time to travel with the trainees by train. The train takes around 24 hours according to Make My Trip (n.d.) to reach Bangalore from Bhubaneswar, so I decided that going by flight would be more reasonable considering my timeframe.

### Summing up

Through this contextual framework I have presented the trainees' background and the construction of the GTET organization and program. Their path from a rural village, through the training center and finally in Bangalore for their placement is central in understanding the stages of human mobility through GTET. With this in mind I will now continue with the methodology used during the research and case studies.

## Methodology

During my internship I conducted semi structured interviews and focus group interviews to attempt to map GTET trainees and their parents' attitudes towards the SMO-program. The focus of these interviews was on the level of independence the trainees started out with, and the outcome of their training and how they changed in their path from village to big city. The interviews also revealed problems connected to the work of the GTET mobilizers, and how this affected the rural families' view on their children's possible mobility, which leads to the focus of my current research. Here I describe the methodology of the fieldwork I conducted in India in the autumn of 2014 with particular emphasis on the data collection for my master thesis.

I have followed an inductive approach in the relationship between theory and research. An inductive approach starts with the observations and findings thereafter connecting relevant theory to the subject as described by Bryman (2012). Prior to starting my internship fieldwork I studied theory about caste, class and the Indian society in general as well as acquiring information about GTET, which was the organization in focus in my study. Without this background I would not have been able to thoroughly interview my subjects neither to know who to interview. I could familiarize myself with theory already existing on that domain and develop my research accordingly. This approach can lead to negative aspects of having a set mind of how things are, and should be, before going into the field, a kind of prejudice. On the other hand, if one manages to keep an open mind, the knowledge acquired prior to the fieldwork can assist in approaching the interview subjects, as well as having knowledge of who to interview.

Through Kitchin and Tate (2000) I started looking at practical considerations connected to my research. Due to the time limit of my research I had to limit the number of interviewees, and also combine semi-structured interviews with focus group interviews, which I will explain further later in this chapter. Other practical considerations I had to face were the costs of my travels. Seeing I had to use an interpreter, I had to pay for both of our travel, accommodation and meals during our visits in Balasore and Mayurbhanj. I also had to budget for a flight to Bangalore and my accommodation there. Because of the practical factors I had to limit my research, and make the most out of the time and resources at my disposal.

At the Centurion University I had the access and opportunity to make use of the university's library, the GTET organization's files on the SMO-program as well as my counselor's private

collection of books in accordance to Kitchin and Tate (2000) on how to make use of the resources at hand. I was also able to interact with GTET employees to familiarize myself with both the area and the culture of Odisha.

## Informant Selection

While I was doing fieldwork in India, I did not have the advantage of speaking either Hindi or any of the local languages. I neither had any knowledge of the areas I chose to focus my study on, so I had to rely on the GTET organization to find my informants. Members of GTET staff therefore did the sampling for me, yet I decided on which groups and individuals inside the SMO-program to interview. Following Bryman (2012) I along with members of staff from GTET, found my interview subjects by purposive sampling. Purposive sampling means that I used a non-probability method of sampling, whereby I picked participants of the GTET SMO-program seeing if they were, or had been, enrolled in the program and would be able to enlighten me on the subject of mobility due to GTET.

Following FAO (n.d.) the validity of my informants can be strengthened by collecting information from several possible sources, which I did by interviewing people from the villages, Jatni campus, as well as workers in Bangalore. As stated by FAO (n.d.), fieldwork through, in this case, semi-structured- and focus group- interviews can vary from time to time. Even though the same researcher conducts the same interviews, it can give varied results depending on external and internal factors.

I chose to do as many interviews as my time limit allowed me to do, and was in this way being able to accumulate data from several informants on the same issue. When considering the mobility of the villager's daughters and the prospects of their future marriage, the SMO-workers families could give me wrongful information based on my background. They could be giving me the answers they thought I would hear from a European standpoint. They stated that caste and class did not matter in regards to a future husband of their daughter, which could be because of me, the interviewer. After going to Bangalore I experienced that some of the SMO workers were of the same opinion, that after staying in Bangalore, they would have a problem with marrying somebody in the village. This coincided with what the families of the workers stated in the villages. Although, other workers emphasized that they would not be able to marry in the city, but would have to go back to the village. The families I interviewed in the villages were not related to the workers I interviewed, so I cannot state whether the

worker and her own family share the same views about marriage. I can on the other hand see a connection in the attitudes of the village families and the Bangalore workers; some were for inter-caste marriages, and some against.

### Semi-Structured Interviews and Focus Groups

Table.1 gives an overview of what kind of interviews was conducted, how many informants I had as well as the geographic location in which they were performed. This table has been created to give a clear view of the size of the research and informants. In Mayurbhanj I mostly interviewed parents or other relatives of SMO trainees, in Jatni campus I interviewed trainees who were still undergoing their training, while in Bangalore I interviewed trainees who had finished their training and had moved on to working in the apparel industry.

Area	Number of informants	Interviews	Focus Group Discussions
Mayurbhanj	21	7	2
Jatni, Bhubaneswar	18	18	0
Bangalore	24	2	4

Table 1: Interview Statistics

Source: Fieldwork November 2014, authors own design

My fieldwork consisted of several interviews while travelling around to different locations. Prior to the start of my research, I conducted some semi-structured interviews in Jatni campus with SMO-trainees to test my interview guides, and to see if additional questions could be added. In accordance with Longhurst (2012), this can be helpful to familiarize oneself with the subject and to be prepared for the main interviews.

I started my main research with semi-structured interviews, and I shifted to focus group interviews either due to a shortage of time or depending on the number of people gathering around. During the village interviews, we were most often situated outside their house, thus making the neighbors curious and joining in the discussion.

There are similarities between semi-structured and focus group interviews according to Longhurst (2012), one of which is that they are both informal and that they act more like conversations rather than direct questioning. I wanted to allow for additional information during my fieldwork, and I felt that my informants would more easily engage in conversation

with a semi-structured interview as a starting point. My informants were from rural areas of India, and I did not want to intimidate them with formal questionnaires, but talk to them within their own comfort zone and have a casual conversation about their feelings towards GTET. I got positive feedback from my informants, and I also allowed for a session in the end of the interview where they could ask questions freely, whether about the organization or about me as a person. As I allowed for conversations also about my situation and me, the setting became more relaxed and informal.

I decided to make use of focus group discussions seeing that my time spent for individual interviews was limited. In the rural villages, group interviews came naturally as gradually more members of the family, and also neighbors, gathered around us while conversing. One interview was conducted while the family was enforcing the roof of their home, as the rainy season was expected. This made for an interesting interview with both parents and children interacting with us while performing their household duties. The more natural construction of group interviews in the villages of Mayurbhanj was replaced by organized focus group discussions while interviewing female SMO-workers in Bangalore. As described by Longhurst (2012), I found that within my focus groups in Bangalore, the group dynamic and position of the different participants were more easily recognized. Often, one informant took the lead, and took on the responsibility of representing the group. This could be both due to level of shyness, but also the division of power within the group. In the other focus group discussion, several workers joined in the conversation. This could be due to the fact that the last group had been working in Bangalore for a longer period of time, and that they had possibly become more independent and self-reliant. In the first of the Bangalore groups it became evident that the person in lead did not override the others, but rather encouraged them to reply truthfully and to participate in the discussions. According to Longhurst (2012) it can be beneficial to make use of different research methods to enhance his or hers understanding of the theme being researched.

Some of the questions I had prepared were of a more sensitive nature; I therefore made sure that these questions appeared later on in the interview following Longhurst's (2012) recommendations. These questions were sometimes left out completely as I interpreted the informant's situation during the interview, and found that the questions could be unsuitable or offending due to the informants' earlier response on their situation. For example, the parent of one trainee could tell us about her daughter running away with a boy to get married without her parent's approval. I then found it insensitive to ask whether or not she believes her

daughter would get married in the village, which was one of the following questions. In accordance to Kitchin and Tate (2000) personal and sensitive questions cannot be easily defined by guidelines, but can mostly be identified by using common sense.

In Jatni campus, I had both one-to-one, well two-to-one as I had to work with an interpreter, and focus group interviews. The focus group discussions in Jatni were not used in the end research, but were helpful to get a better idea of what questions were appropriate and relevant for the SMO trainees'. Longhurst (2012) claims that offering food and drinks during an interview could help lighten the mood and make for a more comfortable setting. While conducting interviews at Jatni campus, I offered snacks and I found that it encouraged small talk and made for a more positive setting. In the beginning I found that they were polite and refused to accept the snacks. After joking around, and by both me and my interpreter helping ourselves to the snacks, they shortly followed. Needless to say, our snack-limit was more than surpassed that day.

The semi-structured and focus group interviews I performed were done in a setting where the interviewees would feel comfortable as recommended by Longhurst (2012). In the rural villages we conducted the interviews in their homes, in Jatni in a hostel room and in Bangalore the interviews were conducted in their hostel homes provided by the company they were working for. I recorded all of the interviews so that I could focus solely on the conversation instead of taking notes, in accordance to Longhurst (2012). I informed the informants in beforehand about the recording, and asked for their permission, with the guarantee that the recordings would be strictly for my ears only.

## Case Study

Following Yin (2003) a case study is beneficial when searching for answers to how or why. My study requires an explanation on a contemporary phenomenon and I have therefore decided to use a case study based on qualitative methods. GTET and its SMO trainees are part of a contemporary, social phenomenon that I will examine further. In my study I am searching for if and how GTET is increasing mobility and thereby challenging conventional notions of mobility. I am also looking at how this increase in mobilization is affecting the rural areas of Mayurbhanj, thus questioning the significance of mobility.

Ways to differentiate between different methods of research can be by asking oneself the question of what is being researched, according to Yin (2003). E.g. How, why, what, who,

where, are all questions that researchers want answered. By looking at what you want an answer to, whether the question has a focus on contemporary events as well as requiring control of behavioral events, you get an idea of what methods will be beneficial. In a case study such as mine, I do not require to be in control of the interview subject's behavioral events, but have a focus on the contemporary events of GTET and the Mayurbhanj trainees.

## Secondary Data

By working with and for GTET I had access to documents of research that others had done before me. This data consisted both of descriptions of the organization as well as fieldwork from another intern on the subject on mobilizers. This data was then treated as secondary data. Following White (2012), secondary data has been collected for another purpose, but can also be used in other research. The data might have been altered as a cause of multiple purposes, which is important to keep in mind. I found that the secondary data I used was reliable as it coincided with my own findings in the field. Other secondary data I used was factual, and about the organization itself. According to Bryman (2012) secondary data can be very helpful when time is of the essence. One might not be able to cover as much ground as wanted during one's own fieldwork, and it can therefore be useful to use secondary data to confirm findings, or to look at differences in results. I found that by using secondary data as well as my own data I had more time to code and analyze my findings as described in Bryman (2012). Bryman (2012) also points to the quality and trust in secondary data. I got my secondary data from GTET in form of reports done by other members of staff, and I therefore did not have to deal with somebody else's way of coding, but I compared the report with my own experience of the organization and therefore managed to validate the information.

## Coding

When conducting social research, it is recommended by Kitchin and Tate (2000) to plan both the research method as well as method of analysis beforehand. This proves helpful in qualitative research as researchers often analyze in between acquiring data. I followed this approach seeing I needed to set aside a fair amount of time for transcribing and coding the interviews I conducted. By spreading the workload, and varying between interviews and analysis I found that it was easier to keep in focus, and also to stay motivated.

During the period of time I spent conducting interviews, I continuously transcribed my interviews. Because of the amount of interviews I gathered, I found that transcribing still with the interview fresh in mind, helped me to better understand and remember the interview situation as described by Longhurst (2012). After finishing transcribing a bulk of interviews, I moved on to code my findings, and thereafter categorizing the data. In line with Cope (2012), coding helps the researcher to see patterns in the different data sets, and also to identify certain themes that keeps repeating. In agreement with grounded theory in Bryman (2012) I have coded my qualitative data and categorized it into different themes. The labels have not been set on beforehand, but came to in being coded. In accordance to Bryman (2012) I have made used of selective coding, meaning I focused on a specific category valuable to my research and connected it thereafter to the other categories. After going through the categories I had found, I sat down and read through all of the data, to see if I could find quotes that could be relevant for my study. Following a framework approach as described in Bryman (2012), I made brackets of the different categories and put quotes in the suitable brackets to give an overview of my findings, and to show specific feelings regarding the subject.

## Ethics

According to Alan Bryman (2012), there are two main ethical issues to consider while conducting social research. Namely how to treat the subjects we are researching, and if there are any activities we should or should not fore take in while interacting with them. Iain Hay (2012) discusses how there are two sides of a coin when dealing with ethics. If the end justifies the means, can certain behavior be tolerated when dealing with ethical issues? In conversations with my interview subjects, I sometimes gathered information that could be damaging for a certain member of staff in the GTET organization, even though this was not the aim of the research. If I were to reveal this information to GTET, I would have to compromise the identity of my interviewee. Seeing this would not be beneficial for my research, and would also put my informant at a risk, I chose to follow the ethical principle of doing no harm.

The social research I conducted in India was not of a covert nature but transparent at all levels. Bryman (2012) describes covert research, as research where the subject researched is not aware that he or she is being researched. The interviews and research I performed had no benefit of being covert and I would not be comfortable with performing covert research as it

touches upon ethical and legal issues. I did not present the interviewees with forms of consent, but informed the subjects in detail about the research and ensured that their identity would be kept anonymous. Most of my subjects did not speak English, only Hindi or their tribal language, so it would be difficult to present them with a written document with the details of my research. On the other hand, I had an interpreter who described the goal of the research for them, and got a verbal consent of them agreeing to participate in the study. This is in compliance with the website Research Methodology (n.d.) where they state that subjects participating in research should not be harmed, their safety should be ensured and that they should be informed about the study and agree to participate prior to conducting the study. I have kept the identity of the participants anonymous and separated from the transcriptions so that their answers and identities cannot be linked. Seeing that parts of my research dealt with their attitude towards the program, keeping them anonymous helped me in getting truthful answers. My subjects, although stating that they would not be comfortable complaining about the program, as it is free of charge even though their identities were kept anonymous. Despite this fact, they seemed to open up during the interview and did not complain, but were more comfortable in disclosing what they felt could be improved in regards to the SMO-program.

During my research in Mayurbhanj, an employee from the Balasore GTET center was assisting me in finding families with children participating in the SMO-program. Because of this, he would be able to identify them. This could possibly create an ethical dilemma for my research, as their identities would be compromised. The employee wanted to be a part of the interview process, but after negotiations with the help of CUTM University staff, we managed to come to the agreement that my interpreter and I would conduct the interviews without GTET staff present. I still had to be careful with the information I got, and had to leave out some of the data as it could be damaging for my informants. This can be seen in accordance to the website of Research Methodology (n.d.) in the protection of the informants' privacy and in ensuring their anonymity.

While conducting social research I have to rely on my own moral code to ensure that I am conducting ethically good research, as stated by Kitchin and Tate (2000). From this I interpret that my own upbringing and environment has a lot to do with where I stand in ethical dilemmas. Kitchin and Tate (2000) although emphasizes that along with our own moral code, we also have the responsibility as researchers to conduct social research without causing harm to our informants or subjects. Kitchin and Tate (2000) has defined one sentence which I find helpful when conducting social research:

”A general rule might be to consider whether the respondent will take part in the study if it had to be repeated again”. (Kitchin and Tate, 2000 p36).

In accordance to this quote, I made sure that their identities were kept anonymous. I did not release their names or villages, and used only the information, which could not be linked to their household or social situation.

## Validity

With respect to validity, particular emphasis is given to respondent validation and trustworthiness as well as theoretical and practical validity. In accordance to Bryman (2012) respondent validation, or trustworthiness, which can be connected to different types of validity, is important to validate the information the researcher has found. In my case I had conversations with several GTET staff while conducting my research where I could confirm that others had also found or seen the same tendencies as I had. I did also hand in a final report to GTET so that they could make use of the information, and validate the research.

As presented in Bryman (2012) it is important to keep in mind while doing research that by keeping the research transparent, one creates validity. I kept my research open, except for when protecting my informants, so that the results are valid, and can be checked at another occasion. This invites for further research on the subject, where the study can be repeated. I have included all the areas where I collected data, and I have enclosed my interview guides so that the research can be conducted in other areas. Bryman (2012) speaks of external validity as a result that can be generalized to the whole population. As my research were time bound, I did not have the chance to collect as much data as wanted, and I can therefore not say that my results are applicable to the whole population. I although found similarities during the interviews, and some points which could be considered a norm, e.g. Peoples’ attitude towards urban areas as places with an opportunity for employment and a steady income.

Validity is recognized in Kitchin and Tate (2000) as either theoretical or practical validity. The theoretical validity deals with the validity and integrity of the theories used in one’s research. The theories I use should be reliable and in accordance to, and enlighten, my research question. Practical validity on the other hand, deals with the research methods I have chosen and how they strengthen my results. If I had used a cross-out questionnaire to collect information, I would not have got the chance to go in depth on some of the questions, and I would not have been able to get additional information about the questions. In consideration

to my research, the semi-structured interviews allowed for extra questions and for the informants to add information they felt was important for the study. This can be seen as following Kitchin and Tate (2000) in practical validity. In Kitchin and Tate (2000) we can find analytical validity as a factor within the concept of practical validity. The right method of data analysis is important to acquire appropriate findings. Because of the time limit of my research I was not able to cover enough grounds to state that my findings can be general to the population, but I can state a tendency amongst the informants I interviewed.

### Summing up

Through the past chapters of methodology I have presented the methods of the fieldwork and case study. Through the informant selection, suitable candidates for semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions have been found. Secondary data, given to me by GTET, has been used to add to the study, and to get a better understanding of the field. The data have been coded and categorized in order to see patterns in the data sets. The aspects of ethics, validity and trustworthiness have been central in this fieldwork, in order to protect the interview subjects and their families. The methods I have used will give an understanding of how the research have been performed, as well as clarifying how I have approached my interview subjects and the research question. I will now proceed to theoretical framework of this thesis.

## Theoretical Framework

The notion of mobility can be understood in several different ways. I will use this chapter to discuss different theorist's views on mobility, the external and internal influences causing mobility as well as the outcomes. The aspects considering external factors will be state policies, GTET and the mobilizer's ways of recruiting trainees. The matter of internal factors will be focused on remittances and skill knowledge as benefit sharing, as well as attitudes towards human mobility within the village households. Furthermore I will look at human mobility in relation to who and why they move instead of how they move, as well as comparing mobility in the global north and the global south. Lastly the matter of what affects human mobility will be the issue before moving on to the analytic framework and approach

### The Different Sides of Modernity

*"Mobility is understood as movement in a social and cultural context"*. (Lund, 2014, p5)

From this quote and from Rigg (2007) we can see that mobility does not only extend to people, but also to apparel, technology and for example diseases. In this case I will focus on human mobility in regards to mobility as a movement within the social and cultural spheres. Kofman and Raghuram (2015) describe how internal mobility, within a country, is higher than international mobility. It is stated that internal mobility in several developing countries is the cause of about 40% of the urban growth. As a consequence of modernization and urbanization, infrastructure has developed and mobility has therefore increased. The changes in infrastructure makes it easier to be mobile, and possibilities of going to the urban areas for employment are more easily achieved, in accordance with Lund et al. (2014). The rural people of Mayurbhanj are increasingly more included in the urban communities for the benefit of both the industries and the workers, in this case the SC, ST and OBC, themselves. This coincides with Joshi (2005) who looks at how the building up of industries for export and import is seen as a step towards modernity and development through economic growth.

Joshi (2005) mentions that an increase in and a development of infrastructure as well as social changes help affect a society's development through mobility and employment. As stated by Joshi (2005) this came to be known as the modernization theory. On the other hand, improvements in infrastructure can also be a relevant factor for a decrease in mobility, or immobility, as goods and materials are more easily brought into the smaller communities, making it unnecessary to migrate for the purpose of accumulating goods. Another aspect of a

decrease in mobility as mentioned by Lund (2014) can be the people's attitudes towards the urban areas and the behavior that follows life in a modern society. People might believe that moral grounds are weakened, and that one's behavior can be demoralized. Venkatesh and Veena (2014) have also mentioned this aspect. They look at indigenous people in the state of Karnataka that prior to external influence had gender equality. After being exposed to general Indian norms they faced domestic violence and dowry giving as a result of human mobility. Such external influences can be seen as the Indian society's norms encroaching on the marginalized peoples social and cultural standards. Following Venkatesh and Veena (2014), the Indian society's view on women as inferior to men, can be a negative aspect of outside influence in the villages due to changes in mobility. Such attitudes can be seen in contrast to earlier beliefs mentioned in Joshi (2005) of the traditional and rural as deficiencies and as something stagnating modernization. Other factors of mobility mentioned by Lund (2014), are the challenges connected to creating a household in the city, integration into a new culture, and one's caste and class. Those left in the rural areas have to face a lack in manpower for work in the fields, learn how to deal with the newfound remittances and changes occurring in their families considering gender roles and traditions.

### Small Scale Mobility

Mobility can be seen in a smaller context. Daily migration to collect food stuffs or supplies for the household, commuting in connection with work, travelling to see relatives or longer term migration are all parts of mobility following Lund (2014). One cannot state that rural people have not been mobile prior to modernity, but that the way of being mobile and the purpose of it has altered. Historically, tribals have been forced to move to work in plantations during colonial times, and from the 1980s mobilization to bigger cities for employment started (Panda, 2014). Venkatesh and Veena (2014) also points to how indigenous people in their study have always had a tradition of being mobile as a part of their households and everyday lives as well as in agriculture. They furthermore, state how the Indian government has been a part of immobilizing indigenous people due to modernization. One example of this can be the banning of shifting cultivation, or declaring forest reserves because of environmental causes, making the local tribes immobile. However, the consequences following a decreased access to resources and a dependence on good climate for agriculture, eventually led to an increase in mobility in search for opportunities to generate an income for the household (Venkatesh and Veena, 2014). Economic, social and politic situations can

affect mobility and immobility, considering what is more beneficial for the family. Just as mobility can be shaped by the households' own situation, the situation or culture can resist, adapt or change in accordance to mobility or modernization. In compliance with Coles, Gray and Momsen (2015) mobility is shaped and adapted by context.

Lund (2014) states that a consequence of mobility might be that resources or remittances can be misused, thereby enabling the household's sustainability. By getting used to remittances the household can get accustomed to certain habits which are more costly than what people initially could afford. By losing the possibility of receiving remittances, they might not be able to sustain their own family. However, remittances can be used for further migration, instead of developing the rural areas as described by Coles, Gray and Momsen (2015).

Mobility can also be seen as a forced process, whereas it is a consequence of a modernization in for example agriculture meant for export. Furthermore, mobility can be influenced, or forced, by market powers and the global industry as following Lund (2014).

The length of mobility for SMO workers can vary according to the trainees changing household responsibilities. Other aspects related to mobility and the lengths of stay are changes in the industry or education, and increased skill demands within the business. Lund (ibid.) points to how people's livelihoods are shaping mobility thus making livelihoods mobile. Livelihoods are not constant, and can be mobilized due to social and economic changes in the household. Kofman and Raghuram (2015) agrees to this argument saying that women tend to migrate to urban areas to collect a steady income, but as soon as they get married, either by their own or their parents' choice, they return to the smaller communities.

## External and Internal Influences

In today's developing world, mobility is not only a consequence of one's own self-realization, but also influenced by external forces such as GTET, the state and the ever growing market, (Lund, 2014). The mobilizers in GTET are influenced by the state, as the organization is state funded. The better results, the more trainees they enroll, leading to more funding to the organization. By using mobilizers to advertise for the program, highlighting the advantages of mobility instead of explaining the realities of an urban everyday life, it is easier to meet the apparel industry's demand for a larger workforce. The mobilizers of GTET are the advertisers of the program, and are making households realize the benefits of mobility, as well as rationalizing the choice of moving locations as following Cresswell and Merriman (2011). As

stated by Rigg (2007) there is a delocalization of livelihoods occurring in these mobility processes where women are contesting the gender division of labor. This can contest the households' gender division of labor, as the sewing industry is as mentioned favoring women for employment, thus making men the caregivers in the household while the women are supporting the family with a steady income. In cases where there are other female members of the household old enough to take over the caregiver responsibility, the men continued working the fields and doing other petty jobs in the village. In this way the state contributes in urbanizing the rural people, whether they are interested in the skill or not. As for GTET, it was stated that they favor women for the SMO program as they are seen as more fitting for the job, and that they are easier to control than men. Coles, Gray and Momsen (2015) also look at how women are more likely to send remittances back to their households as compared to men. This is verified by Panda (2014) and her findings of women saving their money and sending remittances, while the men who mobilized were more likely to spend the money earned, on themselves, e.g. On commodities, alcohol and technological gadgets.

By looking at external forces, we can see how the global demand for produce is an external force affecting urbanization of marginalized people. According to Joshi (2005) we can see how the Dependency Theory looks at how the developed countries remain with an increasing economic growth while the developing countries are still struggling. For one to develop others must under develop. The demand for a bigger workforce in the industry is a sign of how the industrialized world aims to lower costs of production in order to increase sales and further push their own economies. The goal of GTET is according to Gram Tarang (2013-14) to attempt to provide sustainable livelihoods for the trainees and their families to help them out of poverty. In addition to this, GTET endeavors to raise the household income, leading to improvements in their socio-economic standard and status. Rigg (2007) also looks at how some migrants may not have the possibility or means to migrate, while others do. This can create a divide within the migration possibilities. As mentioned, the GTET SMO program is free of cost, and everybody should therefore have the same opportunity to migrate, even so we have to consider the social aspects of the household, and whether or not the family needs the human capital for household labor. Even though remittances are sent back to the periphery, these funds can be used as signs of wealth instead of covering their basic needs. Rigg (2007) also points to how remittances can be used as shallow displays of consumerism, and as a misuse of funds, as well as a factor relevant in the possible increase in cost of basic goods in the local market. It has been discussed that resources have not been used to develop the rural

areas meaning the remittances can cause tension instead of progress. Rigg (2007) mentions how the extra funding can create a dependency when not used as surplus in the household economy. Costly habits can be creating an everyday life needing more funds than prior to the migration.

Within GTET, we can see how the rural people are benefitting from taking up work in the urban areas, thus contesting the Dependency Theory. Following Grieg, Hulme and Turner (2007) there are endogenous and exogenous forces driving this mobilization. Regarding the industry in Bangalore, both international and local actors can be seen as exogenous forces that are searching for manpower and pushing the mobilization forward. The endogenous forces at hand are the workers own will or ability to be mobile and be employed. Grieg, Hulme and Turner (2007) also look at how the endogenous forces can be the reason for possible difficulties with mobility and development, looking at the internal social, economic and political issues on a grass root level.

Peter Dicken (2011) points to that there is an abundance of candidates for employment in the apparel industry. A reason for this can be that most people are searching for a steady income, and most of the textile industries employees are women. In accordance with GTETs own statements, they favor women, thus explaining how a higher percentage of their trainees, and thereafter, workers in the industry are female. Dicken (2011) also points to how receiving a steady income can create a higher sense of freedom and also gives the opportunity to provide for their families through remittances. This is in agreement with the attitudes I observed where the majority of my interview subjects expressed a sense of pride in being able to support their household. Following Dicken (2011), daughters are encouraged to take jobs in cities like Bangalore instead of working in the fields and doing petty jobs in the village in order to increase and secure the families economy and achieve greater independence. This is in compliance with the findings of Venkatesh and Veena (2014) of rural women in India experiencing greater freedom and independence as an earning member of the household, in comparison to the women staying at home, taking care of the house. In comparison to this, Panda's (2014) study of tribals in Odisha found that women who had worked in urban areas were enjoying a greater independence and freedom, but after returning to their villages, they struggled to find a partner, as there were negative attitudes towards urban women. Following Rigg (2007) we can see that being mobile and taking the opportunity to mobilize for working purposes can contribute to women enjoying more freedom, confidence and responsibility, as well as achieving a higher status in their household. He further mentions that as long as the

parents are ensured of their daughters' safety, the daughters can raise their own status and attitudes towards themselves. Venkatesh and Veena (2014) discovered how the indigenous people of their research were affected by tales of danger and violence in the urban areas when making the decision of being mobile or immobile. This is in accordance to Rigg (2007) who looks at how cultural norms can be restrictions for relocation, and how attitudes towards urban behavior can limit women's, mothers' and daughters' mobility in countries such as India where men often are the providers of the family. These attitudes can vary depending on the household dynamics, and also the need for mobility to supply on the family's income.

It has been argued that the people of lower classes and castes living in rural areas cannot be compared with migration models as described in Venkatesh and Veena (2014). The reason for this has been that marginalized peoples' reason for being mobile has been looked upon as mainly an increase in income and other economic aspects. Venkatesh and Veena (2014) discusses how this exclusion of rural people in migration models is wrongful, seeing that many of the rural people consider their households and village development when making decisions of mobility. As mentioned earlier, mobility has always been important in the lives of rural people depending on their need for produce. Furthermore keeping close ties with relatives living in different areas has affected and inspired their ways of mobility.

### **Mobilities, Process and Circulation of Subjects**

As mentioned in Cresswell and Merriman (2011, p1) Scottish geographer Percy Crowe works towards a progressive geography. This meaning that we should move our focus from the fixed objects, the infrastructure and networks, towards a focus on process and circulation, the things moving, namely mobility. According to Cresswell and Merriman (2011) there are three primary points in mobility; origin, destination and a reason for moving. Others who agree with Crowes statement are Elizabeth Lee and Geraldine Pratt (2011) who state that mobility is not only about infrastructure and relocation, but also about the individual migrating, their background and the purpose of migration. In accordance to Panda (2014) there are three different forms of rural mobility, short-term daily commutes, seasonal mobility in connection to agricultural work, and lastly long-term mobility such as experienced by the GTET trainees.

In accordance to Cresswell and Merriman (2011), whenever we want to explain a location, we have to include the fact of movement, and also how infrastructure and transport came to for the purpose of closing gaps. Goods and people are mobilized from a place where they are not

fully utilized, to a place where their abilities and values are put to use. We can see how mobility is used to improve one's own potential. In the villages of Mayurbhanj, the marginalized people have been mobile seeing they have had to go to and from fields and markets, as well as moving from dangers in the surrounding forest areas. As they have decided on enrolling in the SMO program they have had to take on the costs of buses or trains from their local villages to reach the training institute in Jatni, Bhubaneswar. Thereafter the train to Bangalore is funded by the GTET organization. From the trainees' perspective one can see that the mode of transport is not as important as the goal of the destination. I was told that the train from Bhubaneswar to Bangalore would take about 24 hours, in comparison to a flight, which is about 2 hours. I was not able to go on the train with them because of my time limitations, but it would be interesting to see what expectations and attitudes the train ride inspired to.

When looking at Sheller and Urry (2006) and what they term the new mobilities paradigm, we can see how mobility develops over time. With modernity comes new ways of living and moving around. Airports, Internet, virtual reality are all new aspects of mobility. Sheller and Urry (2006) look at how these developments can be more easily seen in the global north than in the global south. In India, in regards to tribal communities, there is also the aspect of hinduization which can be seen in the SMO trainees in Jatni and Bangalore, where the mainstream Indian norms encroaches the tribals, who in turn adapts to this lifestyle (Panda, 2014). This divide could also be seen at the Centurion University where there seemed to be a technological divide between the university students and the SMO trainees as a consequence of knowledge, e.g. Access to Internet, knowledge of modern technology, and an increased level of independence. This could be caused by their background and access to commodities. Sheller and Urry (2006) emphasizes that the global south are not excluded in modern mobilities, but that these are focused differently.

In accordance with Rigg (2007) much social science has been sedentarist, meaning it has stood still in the issue of mobility. Grieg, Hulme and Turner (2007 p54) have mentioned a twelfth century poem saying: "Whatever changes, loses its value", which shows how a sedentarist thought is challenged by the notion of mobility and change. Mobility has been seen as something new and modern, while it should be seen as a part of history. Rigg (2007) looks at global south mobility as different from that of the global north. But just as mobilizing, mobility does not have one guideline to follow; it can be slower in some cases and with different origins. It can be discussed that global south mobility needs to look at multiple

drivers and contexts, look away from the practical aspect and look more to attitudes and outlooks. While the north focuses on airplanes, mobile phones and e-mails, the south focuses on improvement of infrastructure and transport, and gender equality. Other differences in mobility that were mentioned by Rigg (2007) were the focus on infrastructure of mobility in the north, attitudes as a result of mobility and how mobility creates own spaces socially and economically, as in for example airports. The south on the other hand, focuses on a household level of mobility, where outside products reflects their mobility. Boundaries between the rural and the urban may not be visible in the south in regards to people, religion or other activities, but can be apparent in a north rural-urban boundary. From my own studies I could see how the SMO-trainees adapted to the urban setting by maintaining their religious rituals, preparing food in accordance with their own culture, and creating relationships with people they could relate to.

One cannot say that the global south has been immobile as stated in the sedentarist paradigm, but rather that the methods and grounds for mobility have changed through modernity as mentioned by Rigg (2007). Mobility is not necessarily a result of modernization and urbanization, but there seems to be a difference in the magnitude, the means and the intensity of mobility. When looking at Grieg, Hulme and Turner (2007) we can see that the world can be seen as filled with prototypes and emulators. This means that the global south could draw experience and examples from the global north's way to modernity, and either copy their way to modernity, learn from their mistakes or simply adapt the development to their own surroundings. Grieg, Hulme and Turner (2007) point out that developmental models of prototypes and emulators were made on the assumption of the south and the north having equal starting points. On the other hand, there could be several different ways to achieve modernity, and modernity cannot be generalized or viewed in a linear sense.

### Integration and Social Attitudes

Through observations and conversations with people belonging to SC, ST and OBC, I have seen how the caste system is still being followed in some areas of India. This leads to difficulties in the transition from village to city. By facing possibilities of not being accepted in new environments because of social status, integration becomes difficult. These attitudes can be connected to the "Yeoman farmer fallacy" mentioned by Rigg (2007), which states that marginalized people should stay in the rural areas, preferably doing farming. Some

development strategies look at mobility as destructive, and as an anomaly from established behavior. Despite these attitudes, an industrial modernity has often turned out to be a reality proven beneficial for the rural workers according to De Neve in Rigg (2007, p124). The value of migration has been recognized and challenged the “Yeoman farmer fallacy” as scholars have looked at effects of the household instead of focusing solely on the individual. Following Rigg (2007) the household is the center of analysis in the global south in regards to mobility, looking at the social and economic changes occurring as consequences of migration.

Mobility can aid in blurring the boundaries between castes and tribes as stated by Rigg (2007). In the case of GTET, the trainees experienced a class divide but found themselves adjusting to the accepted norms in the city by changing the way they dressed and their diet. This is seen as an adaptation to a new set of living in the process of mobilizing oneself. Rigg (2007) points to how mobility impacts the source communities, where the workers originate from, and the change of worker’s identities during the process. After returning home the migrated women could experience a distance from the farming society as they had adjusted to an urban life. Rigg (2007) look at how the women’s feelings of self, changed, and how they experienced a dilemma of whom they want to be. Being urban or rural, being independent adults or still being children, what their aspirations for life are and what is expected of them.

### Variables Affecting Mobility

With the previous sections in mind, some of the areas and villages in India are more prone to mobility as the land can be difficult to live off. In Mayurbhanj the climate is suitable for agriculture so that they can live off the land. This still demands a lot of hard work, thus making people see a need for mobility in order to prosper and raise their life quality. The mobility of the GTET mobilizers, and their ability to move around the more periphery areas, has made it possible to mobilize the villages with a low quality of infrastructure. The villagers’ lack of education and means of communication could have rendered them unknowing of their possibilities if it was not for the work of the GTET mobilizers. However, this lack of knowledge could also lower their trust in the mobilizers, and according to Rigg (2007), discourage them from sending their daughters for training. A solution to this has been to bring earlier participants of the program to mobilizing meetings, so that the families can familiarize themselves with somebody from the same background as themselves. Coinciding with Rigg (2007) in stating that attitudes towards mobility can be fluctuant depending on the

knowledge of other people's successful migration. First generation mobile villagers can make it easier for the following people to be mobile. The acceptance of women being mobile can increase, making the number of migrants go up, and alter attitudes towards urban settings as the families see the positive consequences of mobilization. As stated by Rigg (2007) it is often the lower classes that migrate, and there is also a difference in affording to be mobile. The SMO program is free of charge, but the trainees still have to provide for clothing and other necessities themselves. The process of mobility might bring with it costs of transport and food on the way, but the steady income at the end should justify the money spent while travelling. Moving away from the household, the costs of travel and the uncertainty of moving to an unknown area are downsides of mobility. This coincides with Kofman and Raghurams (2015) research on care and mobility, where the caregivers in the family are sent away for industrial work, and the daughters left behind have to take over the role as caregiver in the household. The women migrating can still be caregivers on the bases of income; such as one of the women interviewed, who stated that her sole purpose for joining the GTET SMO program was so that she could provide for her children's school fees and future prospects. This can be compared to Gram Tarang (2013-14), which states that they mobilize youth from the most rural areas of Orissa who are affected by a high degree of unemployment, and in some cases are affected by extremist violence. Due to issues regarding my own security while conducting my research, I was not allowed into areas affected by extremist violence, but rather in areas with a high rate of unemployment. Other losses following mobility could be loss of labor and human capital. In Mayurbhanj, some were not allowed to join the program because of their parent's and household conditions. Such situations meant they had to stay at home, taking care of the family.

Rigg (2007) lists a number of variables that prove important in the case of mobility. Mentioning mobility being evidence of a lack of resources in the villages, a result of wealth, or encouraging equality in both resources and gender, widening the gap, it could strengthen the family bonds through remittances, but could also end relationships and cause an eruption of the household. Rigg (2007) furthermore looks at how mobility can cause a sense of belonging and a collective identity amongst the participants in the program who without the program would have no similarities or reasons to bond. He further stresses the importance of looking at both the urban areas, the destinations, in addition to their background to get a fair picture of their mobilization. In GTET, women from different tribes, castes and areas found a sense of belonging in each other, as a result of their common journey through mobility.

## Analytical Approach

To analyze the research question - *Increased mobility as a cause of GTETs SMO program, and challenging conventional notions of mobility* - I shall focus on the attitudes behind people's choices to be mobile. Social and cultural aspects affect their choices, as well as future prospects of a steady income and a better livelihood for their families' households. Gender roles, and the aspect of being the main caregiver in a household, are other aspects that are challenging mobility. Traditionally, women should be taking care of the household, while men work to achieve a steady income. This pattern is now changing. The following assumptions will guide the analysis:

Assumption 1: External and internal influences, such as poverty, marginalization, corporates and state policies, influence mobility.

Assumption 2: Mobility is gendered and influences benefit sharing, such as remittances and acquired skills.

Assumption 3: Knowledge gained through GTETs SMO program does not necessarily cover the development needs in the villages.

These assumptions will be studied through researching the different forms of mobility in Mayurbhanj and what influences the choices of the trainees' mobility. Hence, the following key concepts guide the analysis:

- Mobility: Conventional notions of mobility for females are limited to the areas surrounding the villages, for example going to the local markets and visiting relatives. The human mobility following GTET is utilizing women, and also looking at mobility through knowledge, skill and how these can be made better use of in locations outside the village.

What influences people's choices:

- External factors: Global demand is affecting the apparel industry in Bangalore. A bigger demand for cheap goods has caused the industry to grow. To help develop the rural areas of

India, the government has implemented state policies, such as the NSDC, to encourage skill training of SC, ST and OBC to thereafter be employed in the industry. GTET is receiving these funds in order to train more rural people to learn the SMO skills. State policies, the global demand and GTET and GTET mobilizers are all external factors relevant for increased human mobility in the villages.

- Internal factors: The possibilities for self-realization and independence are push factors that are relevant for the trainee's enrollment in GTET. The aspect of sending remittances to help develop the household, escaping poverty and marginalization, as well as family attitudes are relevant for the trainee's internal factors affecting human mobility. Traditions and prospects of marriage are also factors important for mobility or immobility.
- Gender: In the SMO program and business, women are preferred, thus contesting the traditional notions of human mobility in the rural areas. This leads to changing roles in the household, challenging the roles of provider and caregiver. Although, in the villages it was stated that they were more likely to send boys for training than girls.

## Summing up

These theories will contribute to the coming analysis by discussing the people's urban attitudes and gender roles in connection to challenging notions of mobility. Enhanced quality of infrastructure can lead to mobility as well as immobility seeing that people can more easily be mobile, but also immobile as necessities are more easily transported to rural areas.

The theories concerning challenging conventional notions of mobility are relevant to describe the traditional notions of mobility. Traditional village mobility has been visible through visits to markets and relatives. Furthermore the above mentioned economic, social and cultural situations within the household, as well as the issue of remittances, are important in discussing the relevance of the knowledge given by GTET.

The theories of internal and external factors influencing mobility, such as state policies, GTET, remittances and the notion of self-realization and independence have been emphasized to contribute to the discussion. Furthermore, the theories used are showing how gender divisions of labor are contested through the usage of mobilizers as external influences to rationalize female mobility. The SMO program is free of cost, thus making the choice to be mobile more attractive, while also contesting notions of mobility by a shift in household roles.

There is also an involvement of gender relations, and how the GTETs SMO program, and the favoring of women in the industry, challenge gender roles. The differences of mobility in the global north and the global south are relevant as they can be compared to the changing notions of mobility in the villages. The mobilization of rural people from the village to urban centers can be seen as utilizing human capital, which can be discussed in accordance to GTET covering development needs in the villages through knowledge. The social attitudes in the Indian society in regards to caste, class and integration and the trainees' adaptation to urban areas is important in the discussion of the relevance of the knowledge gained through GTET. A lack of knowledge could lead to distrust in GTET and the loss of human capital and changes in the household are social factors that could prevent mobility and act as consequences affecting mobility. Mobilization through GTET could, although, encourage gender equality in contesting gender roles. The collective identity created through the SMO program can be an internal influence increasing mobility.

In the analysis that follows, these are the key concepts used to explain my findings. In the analysis I will discuss household attitudes, restrictions and consequences of mobilizing in the villages. I will thereafter look at Mobility attitudes in Mayurbhanj, the process of going from rural to urban and the expected mobility time-span of the SMO trainees in Jatni, Bhubaneswar. Lastly the analysis will discuss the expectations and realities of employment, length of mobility as well as everyday life and attitudes of the workers in Bangalore, before continuing with the discussion.



## Analysis

During my internship with the Centurion University in Odisha, India I focused my research on female SMO trainees connected to GTET at Jatni campus in Bhubaneswar. This research was focused on the SMO trainee's changes in independence and various urban-rural attitudes amongst rural people in the state of Odisha. I have used the interview guides from the internship report (Mæhre, 2014) that are found in Appendix 1-3. From the interview guides and the interview transcripts, I could look at the rural people's attitudes towards mobility, which is the focus of my current study (Mæhre, 2014). I will now proceed with my findings in a chronological order. I have divided the interviews in three parts, to follow the trainees' path from village, through training, then to the big city. I will start with part 1; the village family interviews in Mayurbhanj, following with part 2; the SMO trainees in Jatni, before presenting the attitudes I got from part 3; the working girls in Bangalore. Part 1 is analyzing the families' attitudes of mobility, and how this is affecting their everyday lives. Part 2 looks at mobility from the trainees' perspective while undergoing their training. Part 3 deals with the workers in Bangalore, how they are adapting to an urban setting and how mobility is changing their lives.

### Part 1: Village Household Mobility

I ventured into the district of Mayurbhanj along with staff from the Balasore GTET center and an interpreter, because of my language restrictions, in order to localize families in connection to SMO trainees. Travels into Mayurbhanj were done by using different modes of transport such as an auto rickshaw, which is a motorbike with a carriage, and by car. We started off by using an auto rickshaw, but after a rain and lightning storm late evening as we were going back to Balasore, auto rickshaws only have a fabric cover over it so needless to say we were drenched by the time we arrived back in the city, we found that going by car would probably be more safe, and also allow us to save time. The geographical area of Mayurbhanj is vast, and because of time limits we had to go back to Jatni after meeting with 9 families during the week we had in Balasore and Mayurbhanj. In this table I will present some quotes from the village family's interviews to highlight their attitudes, e.g. towards their daughters mobility and a life in an urban area and the consequences of this.

<b>Mobility of Family Members</b>	<b>Mobilizers</b>	<b>Attitudes</b>
<p><i>"The trainee's brother is working in Gujarat, another state in India."</i> (Family no.1, Q7.)</p> <p><i>"...my brother is working in Balasore."</i> (Family no.4, Q7.)</p>	<p><i>"...We only talked by phone."</i> (Family no.8, Q20.)</p> <p><i>"...Talked about free training, good accommodation and placement in a big city."</i> (Family no.7, Q12.)</p> <p><i>"I was not informed about the placement until my daughter came home for her pre-placement village visit."</i> (Family no.2, Q26.)</p>	<p><i>"She has never been outside her village, only hesitation."</i> (Family no.4, Q17.)</p> <p><i>"No hesitations, because the trainees grandfather lives in Balasore."</i> (Family no.2, Q17.)</p>
<b>Family Expectations</b>	<b>Reality</b>	<b>Rural or Urban</b>
<p><i>"Increase in income level and a more luxurious life."</i> (Family no.4, Q29.)</p> <p><i>"We want to build a new house...and buy land for agriculture..."</i> (Family no.2, Q35.)</p>	<p><i>"No changes... she ran away with a boy without informing us."</i> (Family no.7, Q27, Q30.)</p> <p><i>"Better means to buy produce which is needed in the family."</i> (Family no.1, Q27.)</p>	<p><i>"If my daughter can work for 3-4 years in the big city, she can earn money and get married to a man in a smaller city, not a village."</i> (Family no.2, Q31.)</p> <p><i>"No, we do not want to go to the city, because in the village we have more relatives..."</i> (Family no.4, Q33.)</p>

Table 2: Village Family Interviews

Source: Table modified from Bryman (2012)

### Household Mobility

In Mayurbhanj most of the villagers were working within the agriculture section, doing small jobs in the village for a small fee as well as doing household maintenance. The majority of the villagers were uneducated or had failed tenth class. Some of the interviewees could tell me about members of their family, both in their household as well as more distant relatives, who had gone outside of their village for employment. Some had gone to the state of Gujarat, some to Balasore for accumulating produce or to work, others had lived in Bhubaneswar or joined the SMO training and gone to the industry in Bangalore or other larger cities. This correlates with the views displayed in table.1, first bracket of Mobility of Family Members. There seemed to be a larger acceptance towards mobility and migration to the urban centers within

the families, which already had connections with previous migrators than those without previous experience with urban mobility.

Many of the families I met had been in touch with members of the GTET organization, and had either limited knowledge about it, or had started mobilizing for it themselves. In many of the cases, the mobilizing for enrolling in the SMO program was done through the word of mouth, thereafter followed by the families' own initiative to contact a mobilizer. One of the parents of the trainees started recruiting trainees himself after sending his daughters for training, and he expressed the skepticism the villagers had towards the program because of the lack of GTET representatives in the village. In the village the smallest social entity is that of the household, and they all stated how the decision to send a member of the family for training was done both through family consultations or meetings and in consideration of the trainees own wants and needs. The families, who had relatives already in the SMO training system, had more trust in the organization than those with no knowledge of the process.

### Restrictions of Mobilizing

Only a few of the families mentioned being in contact with any mobilizers or other members of GTET before enrolling their daughter. The families themselves mostly contacted the mobilizers, either by phone or by visiting the Balasore center on their own initiative, so it seemed as though the mobilizers had not visited those areas. Others did not have any contact with the mobilizers until their children had enrolled in the program, while some only got feedback from the trainee herself about the training and future prospects with no contact with mobilizers. This can be seen in the bracket 2, Mobilizers in table, 1. Most of the families also stated that it would be easier to send their sons instead of their daughters for training.

There was a case of two trainees who had dropped out of the program before going for their placement village visits. The mobilizer then went to the dropout trainees' village to convince them to go for their placement, whereas one other girl from the village took the opportunity to discuss her own possibility for joining the SMO program with the mobilizer. Those who had met with a mobilizer had been attracted to send their daughters for training by the promise of free training, good accommodation and a big city placement after finishing their training. Others were only told about the training and not about the placement, which could thereafter create a certain degree of distrust towards the program, as they would get suspicious towards the intentions of the organization. The suspicion was also fuelled by the mobilizers not

returning to the village for updates on their trainee's progress, as well as the fear of their daughters being sent for human trafficking. The families emphasized the need of ensuring their daughters safety, as they had heard of the dangers of the urban areas. Hesitations were split amongst the villagers as seen in table1, bracket 3, Attitudes, and seemed to depend upon the families' knowledge of urban areas, and whether they had acquaintances outside the village.

One family mentioned how they did not allow their daughter to leave for her placement after training seeing that they were not informed about this beforehand. The only representative of the organization they met with was a boy who got training together with their daughter, and who came to their house wanting their daughter to come with him to Bangalore. After meeting with my interpreter, and me they expressed a positive attitude towards the placement, only because of our presence in their home. This shows the importance of transparency, information and contact when wanting to urbanize indigenous people. They would not simply let their daughter leave with an unknown boy to search for employment in a big city when they were not informed about this by any GTET staff. In this situation, the family felt compelled to lie about their household situation since the training had been free of cost, making the trainee lie to the organization by telling them that her mother had died, and that she was needed in the village. On the other hand, one family had sent their daughter for placement from which she had returned due to health issues. Because of the absence of mobilizers, or mobilizers contact info, they did not know how they could send her back seeing she had now recovered from her illness.

### Restrictions and Consequences of Mobility

There were several reasons for the villagers' disapproval of mobilizing their daughters. Stories about the trainees not being happy, not receiving adequate nutrition and not being safe at their placement were factors contributing to the reluctance of their daughters' migration. Another factor was the distance from the village to the city. Parents would feel that their daughter would be too far away, making it difficult to ensure her comfort and safety. Issues dealing with the family household would also restrict mobilization, as the parents could not afford to lose their own human capital in cultivation and household chores. One parent had sent both of his daughters for placement, but because of the mothers' passing away, he could only afford one of the daughters to proceed with her placement.

The families who had daughters already working in the industry through GTET could tell of several changes in their everyday lives as a consequence of mobility as seen in table 1, bracket 5, Reality, e.g. More means to buy necessary produce such as food and clothing because of economic changes and also enjoying a higher level of respect from fellow villagers. A daughter with a steady income was mentioned as a positive outcome of having a skilled, employed daughter. One parent also expressed how he encouraged his daughter to save the money for herself instead of sending remittances in order for her to save up for her own future. These aspects were all mentioned as benefits of urbanizing a member of the family. On the other hand, one family had experienced a negative side which mobility could lead to. Their daughter had come back from employment in the city for a couple of days, only to run away to get married with an unknown boy. The parents no longer knew where their daughter was or what she was doing. They only knew that she had not returned to her job in Bangalore.

Because of, and maybe despite of, these stories, most families expressed a positive attitude towards an urban life. Their expectations of a daughter in the big city was to increase their own income by remittances, lead a more luxurious life, elevate their own social status in the village as well as being more modern following table 1, bracket 4, Family Expectations. Most families were acceptant to all castes and classes, stating that they did not have any preference in who their daughter would marry, or whether it would be to a village- or city-boy. They seemed to view the urban centers as starting points for a better lifestyle and greater possibilities of development. Nevertheless, most of them did not view an urban life as a permanent solution. Employment in urban areas was seen as temporary, and that a life in the village was preferable because of the freedom and comfort which they enjoy in the rural areas, refer table 1, bracket 6, Rural or Urban. The village was portrayed as a peaceful place, and with good relations to relatives and neighbors living close by. The city was seen as cold and distant, and a development within the village after accumulating an income was the future expectation for most of the families.

## Part 2: SMO Trainees

At Jatni campus, conducting interviews with the SMO trainees was more easily executed seeing I was staying at the university campus. The only restriction we had was to limit the interview subjects to those originating from Mayurbhanj. Interviews were set up, and took

place within the hostel walls. It became evident that by being a girl, I had more freedom while doing research in Odisha than a boy would have. At the university campus, boys were not allowed to move inside the girls' hostels, and the SMO girls were not supposed to interact with other boys except for when discussing issues regarding their skill training. Instead of taking up the trainees' free time during schooldays, we arranged for our interview sessions to take place during Hindi festivals or holidays. The trainees were willing to participate in the research, and were curious about the differences and similarities between their lives and mine.

I will now present a table with some of the highlights from our interview sessions, and thereafter continue on describing my findings.

<b>Driving Forces for Mobility</b>	<b>Household Attitudes</b>	<b>Knowledge of GTET</b>
<p><i>"...I will go to Bangalore to work and save some money...then go back to my village and start college..."</i> (Trainee no.1, Q6.)</p> <p><i>"...I want to take care of my family."</i> (Trainee no.2, Q14.)</p> <p><i>"I just want to be independent, and help my family."</i> (Trainee no.4, Q16.)</p>	<p><i>"He (trainee's father) told me that if I want this, then I am allowed to go."</i> (Trainee no.5, Q6.)</p> <p><i>"We all took the decision together, my husband and my family..."</i> (Trainee no.12, Q7.)</p>	<p><i>"Until now, they (the parents) do not know about the big city..."</i> (Trainee no2, Q11.)</p> <p><i>"My aunt was a trainee here. She is in Bangalore now."</i> (Trainee no.16, Q6.)</p> <p><i>"I heard about it from my friend who is in Bangalore..."</i> (Trainee no.5, Q6.)</p>
<b>Urban-Rural Disparities</b>	<b>Urban Integration</b>	<b>Temporary Mobility</b>
<p><i>"In the village I was free, I did not have any work. Here I have a better time, learning something for my future."</i> (Trainee no.4, Q14.)</p> <p><i>"I do not see any differences, I am happy in both places."</i> (Trainee no.8, Q13.)</p>	<p><i>"...I have learned a new style of communication. More of urban behavior..."</i> (Trainee no.13, Q13.)</p> <p><i>"I feel like I have a new life here, with a systematic time schedule."</i> (Trainee no.7, Q16.)</p>	<p><i>"I do not want to go to Bangalore...I have to take care of the children."</i> (Trainee no.13, Q8.)</p> <p><i>"If I like the place I want to stay for one or two years."</i> (Trainee no.17, Q19.)</p>

Table 3: Trainees' Interview

Source: Table modified from Bryman (2012)

## Mobility Attitudes in Mayurbhanj

In the quarters of the girls' hostel in Jatni, one by one kept telling me how their driving force for moving was mostly due to the need to provide for their family as seen in table 2, bracket 1, Driving Forces for Mobility. This could either be done by sending remittances from Bangalore after employment or by making money to be able to pay for further education and thereafter providing for their family by acquiring higher education and better possibilities for employment. Several of the trainees knew of other girls from their neighborhoods who had been placed in the industry. One of the girls had mobilized herself by contacting a mobilizer who had gone to her village to get the caste certificates for two other girls in the SMO system. Caste certificates are necessary to join the SMO program, to prove one's identity as scheduled caste or tribe so that they can join the program free of cost. When asking whether their family knew about them being placed in an urban area after finishing training, they were split in half. Some stated that their family should know because relatives had gone through the same SMO process. Others said that they got the information about the placement from the mobilizer, while yet others claimed their parents did not yet know, and that it would be up to them to decide while the trainee is back for her pre placement village visit. From table 2, bracket 2, Household Attitudes, we can see how trainees mentioned how the decision was made in a family council or meeting.

Driving forces for mobility thus varied, but they all seemed to center around their village household. Wanting to take care of the family, to be independent in order to help the family as well as financial challenges were all push factors mentioned by the girls. Others expressed that they would not send remittances, but rather save the money so that they could start their own businesses after returning to their village. The need to be independent and to take control over one's own destiny and future so that they could have a voice in the family household seemed to be what had inspired them to pursue the SMO skill training.

In the villages, many of the trainees had heard of, or knew somebody who had joined GTET, and this made the decision to join themselves easier as stated in table 2, bracket 3, Knowledge of GTET. Other push factors were the excitement of getting to see a big city, and the joy of leaving their everyday life in the village for a period of time. The trainees had not gotten much information about their upcoming placement, but had heard from trainees from the older batch after they got to Bangalore, or from relatives or other people in their village who had gone for work.

## From Rural to Urban

When asked about differences between the rural and urban areas most of the trainees mentioned visible and concrete changes, which could be observed by the naked eye. In Mayurbhanj they had a lot of forest while in Jatni they were staying in a town. In the village they had no bathrooms while in Jatni there are latrines. Some did, however, mention differences in attitude, and the possibilities of learning as in table 2, bracket 4, Urban-Rural Disparities. The notion of freedom came up at several occasions. In their village they are free, but in Jatni there are rules and regulations to follow, which many trainees experienced as a positive difference, while others preferred the village and its relaxed manner. The aspect of being able to acquire knowledge was also emphasized along with the prospect of being employed, which rarely happens in the rural areas. The trainees enjoyed learning a new skill as well as learning Hindi and more urban ways of speaking and behaving. They told me how the village did not have a respectful way of addressing one another, and that there was always work to do either in the fields or around the village. Some emphasized how the freedom in the village was relaxing, while others felt that the urban environment was more relaxing because of the time schedule. After finishing their classes they could enjoy their free time and not have to worry about working the field to get food on their plates. Safety was also mentioned as an important difference. Working outside in the fields in the village was unsafe, but in Jatni they had the security of both security guards as well as other trainees.

Furthermore, we discussed how the trainees changed both behavior and looks during their stay in Jatni. Many of the aspects mentioned were closely related to the differences they saw between the rural and urban environments, e.g. matching clothes, correct behavior and changes in language. As seen in table 2, bracket 5, Urban Integration, we can see how they experience changes in behavior, as well as learning how to respect people. They looked at learning new languages, such as Hindi and Oriya, as changes occurring with themselves in the process of learning how to be integrated in Bangalore. Some trainees felt they had not changed, while others said they were now dressing in a proper manner and behaving more urban. Another change affecting them was the systematic time schedule of the SMO training as well as scheduled meals and bedtimes, which they felt was improving their life quality.

## Mobility Time-Span

Some trainees had not planned on going for placement, while others were happy to go along with fellow trainees. Several trainees seemed to be set on a duration of six months of work before returning to their village to be married, continue their education or work for their family. Others expressed how the level of satisfaction of working in Bangalore is a deciding factor for how long they will stay. We can see how a trainee's attitude towards an urban life is an important factor in whether or not they will drop out of the program, as well as their family's needs in terms of manpower in the village and the need of receiving remittances to develop the household. From table 2, bracket 6, Temporary Mobility, and from the interviews, it can be discussed how mobility through the SMO program seems to be temporary, depending on their satisfaction in an urban setting.

### Part 3: Urbanization and Mobility in Bangalore

The last site of my fieldwork was the city of Bangalore, where the Mayurbhanj trainees I set out to interview were placed. I got to visit two of the factory hostels along with a GTET employee situated in the city as well as two of the factories. Due to industry regulations concerning the privacy of both the hostels and the factories I was not allowed to take any pictures of the locations. We managed to locate Mayurbhanj trainees who had recently been employed, as well as some who had been here for a longer period of time.

<b>Work Satisfaction</b>	<b>Expectations and Realities</b>	<b>Mobility Time-span</b>
<p><i>"We think there is some degree of bias, that the Kannada locals are preferred."</i> (Group no.2, Q6.)</p> <p><i>"I like that so many people work in the factory."</i> (Group no.1, Q6.)</p>	<p><i>"...They told us that we would make 7200 rupies."</i> (Interviewee no.1, Q12.)</p> <p><i>"...We are only trained to operate a single needle, here in the garment sector we use double needles, triple needles and overlock."</i> (Group no.2, Q26.)</p>	<p><i>"We will work until we are married, because back in Odisha there is not much work."</i> (Group no.2, Q23.)</p> <p><i>"...I will go back after six months. I might not come back here as I also have responsibilities there."</i> (Interviewee no.2, Q21.)</p>
<b>Urban Livelihood</b>	<b>Remittances</b>	<b>Urban Attitudes</b>
<p><i>"We do not step out of the hostel except for work or to go to nearby shops."</i> (Interviewee no.1, Q11.)</p> <p><i>"...When we arrived, we had waterproblems, but now after a while we have learned how to adjust to it and live with it."</i> (Couple no.1, Q10.)</p>	<p><i>"After all of the deductions from the salary...we have about 2500 rupies left. It is very difficult to save."</i> (Couple no.1, Q13.)</p> <p><i>"In my house, the kids, my siblings, are now attending school. All this is because of our remittances."</i> (Group no.2, Q25.)</p>	<p><i>"Earlier when I would say something, my family would not listen."</i> (Group no.2, Q20.)</p> <p><i>"I will earn money, and if I do not get married I will try to generate an income by myself."</i> (Group no.1, Q14.)</p>

Table 4: Bangalore Workers

Source: Table modified from Bryman (2012)

## Work Satisfaction

At the hostels I engaged both in one on one interviews as well as group interviews. The workers seemed to have close bonds to each other, and therefore did not seem to have any restrictions when talking in groups. They told me about their level of satisfaction regarding work in the factory as is expressed in table 3, bracket 1, Work Satisfaction. They were mostly pleased with their jobs, but mentioned difficulties in understanding the local language Kannada, spoken in Bangalore, and some also expressed that they had to make use of their fellow co-workers as translators when orders were given in Hindi. Some stated that the production managers were too strict, and that it was difficult to get sick leaves, or leaves to go back and visit their villages. Some felt that the local Kannada workers were preferred, and that the Odisha locals were discriminated against in the work place because of their class and origin. By visiting the factories I could see that there was a pipelined production, similar to an assembly line setup. The lady giving me a tour of one of the factories told me that according to their level of skill and understanding of the production process they could get the opportunity to be promoted. I could also see how the classrooms in Jatni had a production line similar to the factories.

Some of the factors concerning work satisfaction show how mobility influences different aspects of the trainee's lives. Language, skill, urban behavior, and the means they get by acquiring a salary are key effects of mobility concerning the acquiring of knowledge.

## Expectations and Realities of Employment

During the SMO training, the trainees were told that they would get a higher starting salary than what was the reality. The trainees were expecting to earn 7200 rupees a month, while they started off with a minimum wage of 6566 rupees. There were differences in what skills they had learnt in Jatni and what skills were needed at the factories as stated by some of the trainees visible in table 3, bracket 2, Expectation and Realities. The stitching difficulty at the factories was more complicated than in Jatni, but they do have one month of on the job training when they first arrive in Bangalore. Because of this they felt that they were not qualified enough when they had just arrived. Another aspect they felt was missing from the Jatni training was learning how to be confident and smart. Many trainees did not know how to speak Hindi or understand it, and therefore needed somebody to translate for them. In Bangalore, GTET has members of staff to continue with soft skill classes, so that they can continue to learn how to take care of themselves in an urban environment while working.

## Length of Mobility

The attitudes towards the length of stay in Bangalore were as varied as the attitudes I experienced from the trainees in Jatni. Following table 3, bracket 3, Mobility Time-span, some wanted to stay for only six months before they return to the village, and some would stay until their parents, or themselves, decided that it was time to get married. Responsibilities and obligations to their household and family was a pull factor to go back to the village for some of them. On the other side, a need to work to send remittances to support the household was a push factor for them to keep on working in Bangalore and do their best to work overtime and be promoted, even though some families had wanted them to come back home. Responsibilities in their village did seem for some of them to be able to wait until they were married, until then they would work to be able to provide for their own needs and their parents and siblings.

The length of stay in Bangalore thus depends on their commitments in the village. One lady who had a husband and children in the village, wanted to stay in Bangalore for a long time, for 5-10 years, so that she could get her children through school. Bringing her family back with her to Bangalore would be too expensive, so she would have to sacrifice spending time with her family in order to provide for their basic necessities.

## Everyday Life and Attitudes

The newcomers to Bangalore had not yet explored what the city has to offer. Some felt that there was a language barrier making it difficult to make friends outside of the GTET circle, while others who knew some Hindi had made friends in the factories. A new batch arrives from Jatni every month, so they were excited to see the friends they had made from the latest batches in Bhubaneswar, but they explained how there was not much time to hang out with friends outside the hostel seeing that when they got home from work, they cooked a meal together, before going to bed. The older trainee's seemed more structured and explained that they had at least four hours of leisure time between work and evening. In Mayurbhanj they had to go to fetch water every day, while in Bangalore there is a water truck coming daily to serve them with clean drinking water, something that is connected to the possibility of being mobile. Without infrastructure and mobile workers, the truck would not have come to their hostels, making it possible for the trainees to live a healthy, mobile life, also mentioned in table 3, bracket 4, Urban Livelihood.

Regarding the issue of what to do with their salary they were divided. Sending remittances, saving up for themselves and using the money for themselves were amongst the most common replies in accordance with table 3, bracket 5, Remittances. Using the saved funds to start their own business in the village was one of the goals mentioned. It was stated that the salary was not enough to send remittances after paying all of the expenditures connected to a life in the city. Some expected that they would go back to their village after getting married, while others looked at the level of independence they acquired by making their own steady income, and did no longer see the importance of getting married. Money was an important factor in having a voice in the household, and a feeling of being important and independent was strengthening their self-esteem. Improvements made in the life of their families and in the village households were brought up, and a feeling of making a difference was strengthening their attitude to stay in Bangalore in compliance to table 3, bracket 6, Urban Attitudes.

## Summing up

The three parts of analysis show how mobility changes the households and the trainees' everyday lives and their perspectives on human mobility.

Part 1 looks at how benefit sharing, such as remittances, has affected some of the households' life quality. In addition to this we can see how families are more acceptant of their daughters going for training if they have previous experience with long-term mobility in their family. Also, the lack of information from mobilizers has made households uncertain about GTETs intentions, and social and economic relations acted as internal influences of mobility.

Part 2 discusses how the trainees' have an internal influence of wanting to support their family, as well as GTET and former SMO trainees are acting as external influences. The knowledge gained from enrolling to the program lead to social changes in the trainees' lives. The time-span for the trainees' long-term mobility was variable, but most of them mentioned work and life satisfaction as important factors for how long they would work.

Part 3 further looks at the importance of work satisfaction in accordance to the time-span of the trainees' employment. During the discussions about the changes they had experienced in Bangalore, there was an emphasis on their notions of independence and self-realization.

I will now proceed to discuss the theoretical and empirical findings of this thesis.



## Discussion

I will now discuss the theoretical and empirical findings in this thesis to give concluding answers to the research question and assumptions. I will discuss aspects of challenges, benefits and development in mobility, temporary, urban mobility, external and internal influences as well as the different modes of mobility. By looking at the connections between theory and empiric I will give a better understanding of the subject in matter, before presenting the conclusive summary.

### Challenges in Mobility

*"Mobility is understood as movement in a social and cultural context". (Lund 2014, p5).*

From the village, trainee and Bangalore analysis we can see how the girls enrolled in the GTET SMO program are mobile in the sense of movement in a social and cultural context new to them. While doing research on the subject of mobility, I found that mobilizing for the SMO program was often done through the word of mouth amongst villagers. By moving through different villages and interacting both socially and culturally, one can see how girls were inspired and brought to the attention of the possibility of skill training. Because of a developed infrastructure, mobilizers have better access to indigenous people as mentioned by Lund (2014). In Mayurbhanj, not all of the areas we visited were accessible by automobiles and we had to go by foot to reach some of the families. The villagers made pathways between the villages and the major roads, and we could see how they connected themselves to the major veins of transport for better access to produce and the influence of the urban centers. These connections makes for easier access to the bigger cities, but could also create a larger degree of immobility as produce and basic necessities are more easily brought into the periphery. The mobilizer's access to the villages made it possible to reach those further away. The families living further away had, in some cases, no previous knowledge of skill training, and the employment possibilities following this. Because of the mobilizers increase in mobility, more people could be recruited for the program, thus challenging the conventional notions of mobility in the village. Lund (2014) along with Venkatesh and Veena (2014) states that the weakening of norms and traditions can contribute to immobility as marginalized people might see urban areas as demoralized and with a weaker moral ground. This coincides with some of the villagers' attitudes of the urban setting as unsafe for their daughters. Without

parents' proper knowledge about the skill training process and unsatisfactory information from the mobilizers, the new generation's mobility can be hindered.

The question of GTETs influence in mobilizing marginalized people has to be seen in a center-periphery context. Considering small-scale mobility, one cannot say that villagers are not mobile in their everyday lives. As mentioned, daily commutes, walks to markets and visiting relatives are all aspects of mobility. GTETs usage of local people as mobilizers, or even the outsourcing of mobilization work, has proven effective as the indigenous people in my research have shown a greater confidence in people they can compare themselves to. The use of prior trainees and the promise of a better social and economic status has been effective in enrolling girls for SMO training. In compliance with Coles, Gray and Momsen (2015) the people's household situation shapes the choices they make of being mobile or immobile. In Mayurbhanj, the girls were not permitted to enroll in the program if the human capital was needed in the household. If there were sufficient resources back in the village to sustain their daily chores, the girl was allowed to be mobile and go for skill training.

## Benefits and Development

Following Lund (2014) benefit sharing through gendered mobility, such as remittances can be a source of development for the recipient, or be misused by being focused on accumulating displays of wealth. In the cases of the Mayurbhanj trainees, those who had sent remittances back to their families told stories of how their contributions had helped in sending their siblings to school, paid for medical bills when members of their families had been ill as well as improved the construction of their homes. On the other hand, while talking to families in the villages, some of the parents expressed that they would send their daughters for employment in urban areas to accumulate wealth and to lead a more luxurious life, which coincides with the attitude of misuse of remittances mentioned by Lund (2014). Some trainees in Bangalore did mention that they saved the extra money from their salaries for themselves, either by recommendations from their parents or by their own initiative. By saving their salaries, the extra funds could be used to set up their own business after returning back to their village. By buying their own sewing machine in the village, they could make money on apparel demand in the village, thereby contributing to the growth and development of the rural areas. With the prospect of setting up a business in the village through acquiring knowledge of a skill we can see how gendered mobility leads to benefit sharing in the village.

## Temporary Urban Mobility

The accumulation of funds can be restricted due to social requirements in their household. Agricultural needs, possibilities of marriage and shifts in their households can all be factors relevant to the length of stay in the city, thus decreasing the possibility of accumulating funds by experiencing a shortened time of employment. Lund et al. (2014) mentions how the apparel business itself can contribute to a shortened stay in the industry, as demands in knowledge of skill can increase, and one's skill training can be outdated. A modernization of the industry can also be a cause, if the manpower is to be replaced by machinery. Livelihoods can as mentioned be mobile and affect mobility in the same degree as mobility can shape livelihoods. The Bangalore workers expressed that it would be too expensive to start a household in Bangalore, but that if they had the chance, they would take the opportunity to build a family life in an urban area. Attitudes of modernity were expressed, whereas it was stated that getting married in the village would now be difficult, as they had been exposed to a modern urbanized life. Like what Kofman and Raghuram (2015) found, the trainees said that they would work in the urban center until they or their family decided that it was time to get married. Then they would move back to their village. By looking at the workers attitude towards marriage, it can be discussed whether the knowledge gained through the SMO program does cover the needs of development in the villages. If the knowledge can be used only during their period of employment, which seems to end as soon as they are married, is the mobility gained through SMO significant. The knowledge acquired, as well as the means saved or sent back as remittances, seems to last for a while, but as soon as they return to their village, the development needs are no longer covered.

Rigg (2007) discusses how mobility processes delocalize livelihoods, making women contesting gender divisions. By taking the women, in this case the daughters of a rural household, away from their household chores, mobility is challenging the different roles connected to gender in the family. The women then become the main economic caregiver, and in some instances making the man in charge of duties inside the household. In Mayurbhanj, the families seemed to only accept their daughter's mobility in cases where they had substitutes to fill their place while working in Bangalore. Either the mother of the family was still able to take care of the family, or another daughter were present in the village.

## External and Internal Influences to Mobilize

Push factors of mobility can be both external and internal. Lund (2014) looks at how the government can be an external factor contributing to an increase in mobility of indigenous people. GTET is funded by the government policy NSDC, and is in this case an external factor influencing the mobility of SMO trainees. In addition to the trainee's own effort of self-realization, the mobilizers used by GTET can be an additional force contributing to making the choice of being mobile. GTET used mobilizers who outsourced their work to villagers. By using familiar faces they could create a greater level of trust in the organization, thus using external influence to increase internal factors. This is in accordance with Rigg (2007) who states that earlier generations' successful migration can contribute to further generations following in their path. The parents of the trainees can therefore be ensured of their daughters' safety and wellbeing by talking to fellow villagers who have been in a similar situation of mobility. By spreading the word of the benefits by taking up employment in an urban area, one can affect the trainee and the trainee household's attitude towards migration. The state seeks to meet the industry's demand for manpower, while also utilizing the human capital in the rural areas. Coles, Gray and Momsen (2015) look at how women are more likely committed to sending remittances back to the village households than men. And from interacting with GTET employees I could see how they were also focusing their SMO trainee recruitment on women. The reason for this was said that women are better qualified for that work as well as being easier to control. In accordance with the statement of women being more likely to send remittances, I experienced how the trainees I interacted with was working to help their families, either by sending direct remittances or by saving the extra funds for their return back to Mayurbhanj.

Additional external influences in a broader aspect can be the global north. By increasing the workforce in the apparel industry, one can lower production costs, thus lowering the final price of the finished goods. As mentioned, the GTET trainees are receiving the minimum wage set in India, and they are not being exploited by the industry because of GTET's continued care for and control of the trainees while in Bangalore. Considering the external factors influencing the trainee's choice of being mobile, they all seemed to have strong internal influences driving them forward. Expressions of wanting to go outside of the village, as well as being independent were evident in most of the trainees. In Bangalore the trainees told me how they now are independent, are enjoying more freedom, as well as having a voice in household decisions. Those who expressed dismay in taking up employment in

Bangalore went back to their village after ending their training instead of going to an urban area to be employed. This shows how their mobility, or immobility, was not more influenced by external forces than the internal ones. Such a finding coincides with the views of Grieg, Hulme and Turner (2007), stating that endogenous, or internal, forces can create obstacles for mobility and development.

The trainees of GTET have shown that Venkatesh and Veena (2014) have rightfully argued for the inclusion of indigenous people in comparison with migration models following their study. The main reason for indigenous people's mobility in Mayurbhanj has been expressed as a need to help their families develop in the villages. A minority of the subjects I interviewed expressed a want of settling in an urban area. The majority stated that they would go back to their villages to develop, and that their work in Bangalore was only temporary and to help their families to ensure funds for their future.

### Modes of Mobility

By making use of developed and modernized infrastructure and transport, human capital is more easily mobilized. People who are not fully utilized can according to Cresswell and Merriman (2011) be transported, or mobilized, into areas where their skills are needed. In the case of SMO trainees, their skills are being developed and utilized during their journey of mobilization. During the journey of mobilization, modes of mobility such as buses, trains and auto rickshaws have been utilized, all due to a betterment of infrastructure. As mentioned earlier, the trainee's own personal costs of joining the program are not as important or substantial as the end result of their training, namely the salaries and mobilization. By considering Sheller and Urrys (2006) new Mobilities Paradigm, we can see how the trainees will adjust to new ways of living as well as being presented to a modernized mobility such as airports, internet and other modern aspects following urban mobility. Although there was an apparent divide in modes of mobility between the Centurion students and the SMO trainees, this divide could decrease as a consequence of their independence and introduction to modernity through being mobilized into an urban area. As there are different types of mobility, it can be discussed whether GTETs SMO program has challenged the conventional notions of mobility.

## Summing up

Through my empirical evidence and theoretical findings, as well as by using the three assumptions as guidelines I have found an answer to my research question.

The conventional notions of mobility as seen from a village perspective can be of mobility through transport and infrastructure. It can also be a notion of men being the ones who are mobile in a marginalized society with a perspective of women being the main caregivers in the household. These conventional notions of mobility have been challenged by GTET giving preference to women's mobility, by giving them training and thereafter employment in urban areas. There can be a social acceptance of women being mobile through spreading knowledge about GTET, mobilizers using previous trainees as success-stories as well as knowledge about the trainees' placement and safety in the urban areas. In this way the conventional norms and traditions of women as exclusive to the household, are challenged leading to new notions of mobility. By outsourcing the aspect of trainee mobilization, GTET is using representatives from the village, which can lead to greater trust in the organization, thus creating mobility through knowledge leading to benefit sharing in forms of remittances and acquiring skills.

The social requirements in a village household can be shifted after being influenced by GTET mobilizers or by sending a member of the household for training and employment. Women can be seen as independent and as household providers thus challenging traditional notions of mobility. Furthermore, shifted social requirements in the household can contest gender divisions and lead to women being heard in social and economic matters. A temporary employment in an urban area such as Bangalore could lead to village development through remittances and further knowledge and acquiring of skills, if being put to use. Challenging gender divisions can create new possibilities when returning to the village, as the trainees state that they are enjoying a higher level of respect in the household, thus making it more possible for them to continue working in the village as Sewing Machine Operators at a smaller level.

The external and internal influences leading to these new notions of mobility can introduce the trainees to modernized mobilities in the urban areas, e.g. For further development of knowledge and benefit sharing new modes of transport and communication can be taken back to the village.

Through external and internal influences and a favoring of female labor mobility the GTET SMO program can lead to an increased mobility and thereby challenging the conventional notions of mobility. Although it might seem that this newfound mobility is in many cases temporary, it can lead to a development in the villages through remittances, the acquirement of new skills and other ways of benefit sharing through knowledge and mobility.



## Conclusive Summary

I will now move on to the findings regarding to the research question:

*Does the GTET SMO program lead to increasing mobility and thereby challenge conventional notions of mobility?*

Through the theoretical and empirical data provided for in this thesis I will now give a conclusive summary of the results, as well as providing answers for the research question and assumptions mentioned in the introductory chapter. The empirical data is, as mentioned, not wide enough to make general assumptions for the whole population, but it can be used as examples of people's attitudes towards mobility.

By following the SMO trainees' journey from Mayurbhanj, through Jatni, to Bangalore I have been able to draw conclusions leading to the answers for my research question. By discussing the analytic data in accordance to the theoretical aspects, I have found both modes and reasons behind female mobility as influenced by the GTET program of SMO. The trainee mobility has shown to be both influenced by internal and external factors such as the trainees' households own social and economic situation, as well as the government funded organization of GTET working as external influences. The conventional notions of mobility, followed by the SC, ST and OBC in the villages, seem to have been challenged, thus creating new spheres of employment and opportunities for mobility.

I will now present the findings connected to the research assumptions and their relevance:

- 1. External and internal influences, such as poverty, marginalization, corporates and state policies, influence mobility.*

Through my study I found that both external and internal influences were affecting the trainees. The external factors can be seen as pull factors in the sense that they attracted trainees to their SMO courses by the promise of employment. The external factors identified were the government policies that funded GTET, the global demand for produce, which was visible through the industry's growing need for employees, as well as the mobilizers working for GTET. The internal factors were the aspects of acquiring a skill and becoming independent, the expectation of a steady income leading to the possibility of sending remittances to be able to provide for the household, and also social factors of tradition and the trainees own desire of self-realization. All these factors seemed to have an effect on the

choice to be mobile through the GTET SMO program, making mobility the consequence of external and internal factors.

*2. Mobility is gendered and influences benefit sharing, such as remittances and acquired skills.*

Through both the theoretical and empirical data we can see how labor mobility through the GTET SMO program is gendered and favoring females. Female laborers are seen as more likely to use their salaries to send remittances back to the household, and saving money for the future. Females were portrayed as more suitable for this line of work, as well as being easier to control. This can be looked at both from GTETs and the households' point of view. Women in India are traditionally linked to the household, as seen from the introduction and the documentary of India's daughter. From both theory and this thesis' empirical evidence it becomes evident that the women in this research being better qualified to excel in the SMO line of work, as well as being more likely to send remittances as a way of benefit sharing. Benefit sharing can be used to further develop the villages, and to increase their families' level of education, by using remittances for school fees.

*3. Knowledge gained through GTETs SMO program does not necessarily cover the development needs in the villages.*

Several of the workers in Bangalore stated that they could no longer be employed in the industry after marriage. Some trainees claimed that they would save money for their future household so that they could set up their own sewing business in the village. By doing so, the knowledge gained through the SMO program could cover some of the development needs in the villages. This would depend on the length of stay in Bangalore, as well as the amount of money they would be able to save. The trainees mentioned the lack of relevance that the training they received in Jatni had for their work in Bangalore. This could question the significance of mobility through GTET seeing that they could be underqualified for the work they are to perform. Social requirements in their village, is another factor that could lead to a temporary mobility in an urban area such as Bangalore. Household requirements e.g. Marriage could shorten the length of their employment, thus limiting their possibilities to save up funds for their future so that they are no longer able to cover the villages development needs.

## Assessment of Theory and Method

In retrospect, there are some factors that could have improved the results of this research.

Seeing that the research focus for my thesis is mobility, it would be fitting to conduct a mobile interview. Due to my time limitations, I was not able to go to Bangalore by train with the trainees on their way to their work place. It would have been interesting to get the chance to interview them on the go, and in accordance to Evans and Jones (2010) see how being mobile affects their responses while also getting a feel of their expectations to the big city. Evans and Jones (2010) states that interviewing on the go, either by train, walking or cycling, can produce more truthful answers to a question, and not be under the influence of having to reply the “correct” answer. Conducting interviews while walking would have been problematic in Bangalore, since it is a busy, and noisy, city and because I was dependent on an interpreter (Evans and Jones, 2010). Conducting a mobile interview on a train or in the village on the other hand, would be more easily accomplished because of both the possibility to walk freely without traffic in the village, and make time pass on the 24 hour long train ride from Bhubaneswar to Bangalore. Evans and Jones (2010) emphasizes how environment affects our mood, and that various surroundings can inspire different answers and reflections. Evans and Jones (2010) found that mobile interviews were more area focused, and in my case, it would be helpful since I had questions relating to feelings about their home village as well as their attitudes towards moving to a bigger city. I will not go further into this type of methodology seeing I did not conduct a mobile interview myself, but felt it worthy to mention, as it could have been helpful for further research on the subject.

It would be interesting to expand the research to other districts of Odisha. By extending the research I could have gotten other attitudes on the notion of mobility by people from other areas. As there are differentiations in climate and culture in the different districts, the research could have had a different outcome. In addition to this, more people could have been interviewed in Bangalore, e.g. following new employees for a longer period of time or interviewing employees who have stayed in Bangalore for several years to see how mobility has affected their and their village households’ conventional notions of mobility.



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# Appendix

## Appendix 1: Semi-structured Interview Guide, Focus Group Discussion

### Mayurbhanj Households

- Q1: What is your name? Age? (For research purpose, will be anonymous)
- Q2: How many members are there in your family?
- Q3: What tribe or caste do you belong to? (Detailed, tribe or caste name)
- Q4: What are you working with? Primary and secondary occupation
- Q5: What education do you and members of your family have? Level
- Q6: Have you been outside of your village? How far?
- Q7: Have anybody in your family been outside of the village?
- Q8: How did you get to know GTET? (From who, when, where)
- Q9: Have you talked to a mobilizer, or several mobilizers?
- Q10: Did you know the mobilizer(s) from before?
- Q11: How many times did you talk to the mobilizer?
- Q12: What activities or messages did the mobilizer use to convince you?
- Q13: Did the mobilizer present different GTET-programs?
- Q14: Did your daughter want to join the program?
- Q15: How many times did the mobilizer visit you before you enrolled your daughter?
- Q16: Did anybody else help to convince you to send your daughter? (Local leaders, chiefs, bureaucrats)
- Q17: What were your hesitations to send your daughter for training?
- Q18: Did you pay anything to send your daughter for training?
- Q19: Did you get any financial help so that you would enroll your daughter?
- Q20: Have you met with the mobilizer after the training started?
- Q21: Have you, or anybody in your family, visited the trainee at the training center?

- Q22: Are you receiving any updates or feedback regarding your daughter? From who?
- Q23: Would it be easier to send your son for training? Would that need less convincing?
- Q24: Have any other family members been enrolled at a GTET-program?
- Q25: Are any other of your family members working outside of the village?
- Q26: Will you allow your daughter to be placed in a big city?
- Q27: Have you noticed any changes in your livelihood after sending your daughter? (Changes in economy, cultural differences, social status)
- Q28: Does this have an impact on other people in the village?
- Q29: What are your thoughts about people moving to urban areas?
- Q30: Do you expect your daughter to move back to the village?
- Q31: Will your daughter get married in the village?
- Q32: What would happen if your daughter found a husband in the city?
- Q33: Would you like to move your family to the city?
- Q34: What do you think are the main differences between a big city and your village?
- Q35: What are your expectations for your family in the future?

## Appendix 2: Semi-structured Interview Guide

Trainees at the GTET SMO-program, Jatni Campus

- Q1: What is your name? Age? (For research purpose only, will be anonymous)
- Q2: What village do you come from? Specify caste or tribe
- Q3: When did you enroll to the program?
- Q4: What do you like about this program? (Courses, surroundings, environment)
- Q5: What do you not like about this program? (Courses, hostel, environment)
- Q6: What do you like or not like about the accommodation and the food?
- Q7: Do you keep in touch with your family and village?

- Q8: Who told you about GTET?
- Q9: Who decided that you should join the SMO-program?
- Q10: Did you want to join this program?
- Q11: Did you get to choose between the different GTET-programs?
- Q12: How do you feel about moving to a big city?
- Q13: Do you know anything about the accommodation and working environment in the city?
- Q14: Are your parents aware of that you will be placed in a big city?
- Q15: What were your expectations towards the hostel and program at GTET?
- Q16: Do you know anybody that have joined GTET before?
- Q17: How did they/him/her convince you and your family to join the program?
- Q18: What are the main differences between GTET and your village?
- Q19: What did you do previous to joining the SMO-program?
- Q20: What are your plans for the big city? (Save money, build a future, advance in the workplace)
- Q21: How much do you expect to earn each month in the big city?
- Q22: Do you think you have changed since moving to Jatni? (Appearance, behavior)
- Q23: Do you interact with any of the other students at CUTM? Why, how? Why not?
- Q24: Did you know any of the other students from before?
- Q25: Do you know in which big city you will be placed?
- Q26: Do you know if you will be placed together with somebody you know?
- Q27: How long do you expect to stay in the city?
- Q28: What are your plans for the future?

**Appendix 3: Semi-structured Interview Guide, Focus Group Discussion**  
GTET SMO Workers, Bangalore

- Q1: What is your name? Age? (For research purpose only, will be anonymous)
- Q2: What village do you come from? Specify caste or tribe
- Q3: When did you attend the Gram Tarang project?
- Q4: What did you like with the program?
- Q5: What did you not like about the program?
- Q6: Were you happy with the accommodation and food?
- Q7: Are you communicating with any of the Gram Tarang staff?
- Q8: How long have you been working here?
- Q9: How are the working conditions at the factory?
- Q10: What do you think about your accommodation?
- Q11: Have you got any new friends in this city?
- Q12: How much money are you earning in a month?
- Q13: What did you expect to earn when coming here?
- Q14: What do you do with your money?
- Q15: How often do you see your family?
- Q16: What are the differences between your village and the big city?
- Q17: What did you do back in your village?
- Q18: How is your everyday life in the city?
- Q19: What do you think about moving back to your village?
- Q20: What are your plans for the future?
- Q21: What are your thoughts about marriage?
- Q22: What are your thoughts about your current life situation?
- Q23: Do you think you have changed since you moved from your village? Clothing, behavior, taste of food, health.

Q24: What do you know about the company and the products that you make? Where they are sold, costs, international or national.

Q25: Are there possibilities of being promoted? How likely is it?

Q26: Do you know anybody who have been promoted?

Q27: How long do you want to stay in Bangalore?

Q28: Have you met new friends in Bangalore except for your coworkers?

Q29: Do you think the life quality of you and your family has improved?

Q30: If you could change anything about the training in Jatni, what would it be?