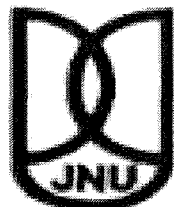


**AN ETHNIC MINORITY SCHOOL IN A
MULTICULTURAL CONTEXT: A STUDY OF THE
GUJARATI VIDYALAYA IN CALICUT CITY**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

K. ANARGHA



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JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY


NEW DELHI-110067

2011



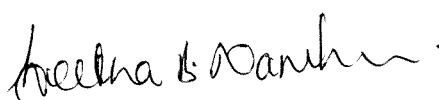
DECLARATION

I, K. Anargha declare that this dissertation entitled “**An Ethnic Minority School in a Multicultural context: A Study of Gujarati Vidyalaya in Calicut City**” submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University, is my bonafide work. I further declare that the dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.


(K. Anargha)


CERTIFICATE

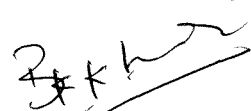
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Acknowledgements

Never thought words would leave me at sea as I sit to write this page.. Perhaps the slideshow of images flashing past is doing the job.... but among the many faces, there are few whose influence and support left the imprints so strong and project themselves above the rest. This dissertation would not have been possible without the valuable assistance, support and guidance of many people, who in one way or another contributed and extended their help

First and foremost my utmost gratitude to my guide Prof. Geetha B. Nambissan, for her everlasting sincerity, directions, encouragement, and inspiration, without which it would have been impossible to hurdle past all the obstacles in the course of this research. Her guidance helped me learn a lot in the process of research and writing. Words fall short in expressing my gratitude to you.

My heartfelt thanks to Prof. Srinivasa Rao, for the timely help and insights, which spread light on my path.

My deepest regards and respects to all faculty members as well as non teaching staff of the Zakir Hussain Centre for Educational Studies.

I express my sincere thanks n gratitude to Rema Ben, Darsana, and Georgy Thomas for giving me all the help and lifting away the veil so that I could step into the Gujarati community without the barriers of a stranger, for letting me explore into the depths and for providing with all the facts and information.

My heart is laden with gratitude for the golden friends i have, friends who so richly people my life, providing love, laughter, support, absorbent shoulders and never ending belief. I am boundlessly grateful to Sunetra for all the wondrous motivational talks, thoughts, patience and moreover for the assurance of being there for me always. For Salah, who played the multiple role of a good friend and a great academic helper. Meghnath, Meenu, Seema, Rajshree

for their constant encouragement and support, Shalini for helping me pass the last minute rushes, for Brajesh, who have been a fantastic friend and a pillar of strength, motivating me to move on.

My family for the unstinting love, support and belief they showered. My Daddy for giving me the edge to pursue my dreams, for standing with me through all my decisions and for telling me that "I'm always his princess...". My Mama for all the pain, care, love and warmth which drew off my worries and helped me plod on...My dear little sister for manipulating my moods with her magical tactics to bring back the smile.

Anargha

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Chapter One

Introduction

India is a nation where ethnic pluralism or cultural diversity is a lived reality. The country can be arguably called the largest multi-ethnic society in the world which has diversity as its defining feature. This diversity or the diverse groups are generally defined on the basis of language, religion, culture, ethnicity, region etc (Bhattacharya, 2003). The movement of people from one region to another has also led to the formation of minorities in different parts of the country. Long before the debates on multiculturalism gained prominence, India recognised the cultural pluralism of this society. The Constitution of independent India provided for inclusive measures for minorities as early as in 1950. Rights are given to the minorities to protect their distinctive cultures. This makes the Indian scenario quite different from the world context where diversity was the resultant of factors like immigration and other historical events and where the importance of 'multiculturalism' was recognised only after the 1970s.

Following black and ethnic movements in the 1960's and 1970s in the USA and Canada multiculturalism rather than the assimilation or integration came to be seen as a preferred policy and strategy to manage conflict and value diversity. Academic literature and research on the experiences of minorities and the challenges they had to face is relatively scarce prior to the 1970s. Studies looking at the various ethnic minority communities have shown that some of them have been in a disadvantaged position, unable to attain social mobility (Patterson, 1977). They were experiencing problems in academics, language and higher education. Their achievement level remained low compared to the other dominant communities. These experiences led to demand for equal opportunity for access to diverse resources and representation in different institutions. On the basis of their demands steps were taken by various societies to initiate policies to enable access and inclusion of members of these communities in schools and colleges and also to ensure that institutions reflect their cultures and identities as well (Ghosh and Abdi, 2004). At the same time certain other groups have been identified, who have been relatively successful in the host land. These migrant groups have known to have garnered all possible opportunities in the land they have migrated to, when

compared to those who have been in the disadvantaged position. Studies suggest that there is need to look at the historical background of the various ethnic groups to understand reasons of the position they are now in. Those communities, who have come in search of better opportunities on their own volition, were comparatively more successful than those groups who have had the history of forced migration. Some of the studies have referred to these groups as the 'voluntary migrants' and 'involuntary migrants' respectively (Ogbu, 1987).

The communities who have migrated within the Indian Territory have been discussed in various studies. The experiences of these communities are also known to be different in the diverse regions they migrate to. They have been seen to try to adapt and progress in the host society through various strategies as mobility aspirations are the one driving factor for migration. Even though majority of the migrations are aimed at better life opportunities, these groups confront adversities on many grounds. It is argued that, it is mostly the various strategies that these groups adopt which helps them in the progress and adaptation in the dominant society (Kumaran, 1992). A few studies have looked at the experiences of ethnic minorities who have had long histories of progress in the host society. The present study aims to look at one such community, the Gujaratis, who migrated to the Calicut city of Kerala for trade. This community is generally referred to as the trading community as they place a high regard for commerce and trade. They have migrated to many lands exploring wider opportunities of trade and are usually successful in their ventures (Poros, 2011; Panda and Panigrahi, 2000). The study focuses on how education has been utilised as a strategy for progress by the community focusing on the school- The Gujarati Vidyalaya, which the community has set up and the place it has in their lives. The role the Gujarati Vidyalaya has, in retaining their cultural and social roots as well as satisfying their mobility aspirations will be explored.

Ethnic Minorities

As the study is based on an ethnic minority community, a look at the distinct meanings of ethnicity and the discussions regarding its interpretations would be enlightening. The word ethnic has its origin from the Greek word 'Ethnikos'. Ethnic refers to various races or groups of people belonging to 'primitive' culture

who have common traits (Websters1978;Oxford,1933). Sociologists like Giddens (2006) explain ethnicity to have a meaning or idea which is purely social. According to him, ethnicity refers to the cultural practices and outlooks of a given community of people that set them apart from others. The term ethnicity in the broad sense is used to denote the descendants of all groups whose culture is significantly different from the majority of the population. This emphasis on the cultural pattern is the one thing that separates the ethnic group from other immediate groups. Hutnik(1991) refers to the ethnic group as a group having a shared identity and common cultural tradition. According to him,

A group with a common cultural tradition, a sense of shared identity which exists as a subgroup of a larger society. The members of an ethnic group differ with regard to certain cultural characteristics from the other members of the society.(Hutnik, 1991:29)

Some sociologists like E.K. Francis (1995) use the term ethnic group to refer to groups of people of a national origin. In Britain there was a proliferation of terms used to describe the minority ethnic group population as a whole. It embraces Blacks, Asian and other minority (Cole, 1993). In some sense it is also used to refer to all non-white, denoting the less dominant, marginal etc. Giddens(2006) also points at this, he mentions that sociologists use the term 'ethnicity' over the term 'race' as the concept conveys an entirely social meaning and he also notes that in practice, ethnicity is most often associated with minority groups; a group who is disadvantaged when compared with the dominant group. This suggests that it could also refer to a majority who are in the disadvantaged position. Schaefer (1979) and Schermerhorn (1978) have argued that the term ethnic not only includes small communities but also those communities who are large. This could include the 'primitive backward' people as well as the industrialised of the developed countries.

In a syncretistic approach, an ethnic group is defined as a historically defined group with real or imaginary associations with a specific geography, shared beliefs and values either self defined or defined by others for certain recognized status. Ethnic refers to a set of characteristic features of people. It may include a linguistic group, cultural group, racial or religious groups. Here I intend to look at ethnic

group in the context of migration, where, ethnicity can be viewed as a ubiquitous phenomenon where people carry with them their identities and cultural baggage to the society they migrate to. Ethnic group thus can be looked as a community when they have a unique socio cultural histories and retaining their distinct social patterns and cultural elements. Thus an ethnic community is bound by common descent, language, history projecting ethnic distinctiveness (Jayaram,2004). Every community has certain ascriptive properties such as religion language region race etc that can be used to characterize the member of the minority group which are known as ethnic markers (Lewandowski,1980). Thus ethnic community can be viewed as an enclosing social device that marks out a recognized social group based on shared perception and distinctive commonness among members. The act of migration can disrupt and decentre the ethnic identities of immigrants, who are thrust into a completely different socio-cultural environment; this can challenge their former identities, resulting in a profound transformation in ethnic self-consciousness, which may lead to stronger or weaker ties with their group members (Panigrahi and Panda, 2000).

We have seen that, migrated communities have been invariably required to negotiate the problem of ethnicity. Experiences of ethnic discrimination, exclusion and conflicts have been brought to light calling out for policy reconstructions by the native society. The problems of exclusion from the mainstream society is frequent, Immigrants often experience a discrepancy between their formerly held ethnic self-consciousness and the identity that is ascribed to them by the dominant host society. This is because the ethnic categories and understandings they bring from their home country are different and many a times conflict with the mainstream values and culture of the host society (Tsuda, 1999).

Education has a pertinent place in the multicultural society as acceptance or hatred of groups mediates educational experiences of the migrants or ethnic minority in the host society. It is also seen as an important pathway to social mobility that the ethnic minorities aspire for. It is in fact a major means whereby the migrants expect their children to gain access to the economic and social resources of the host country and to attain social mobility through better occupations and life styles which they may not enjoy. Various strategies like assimilation through education, in a subtle way contribute to the social exclusion of many ethnic minority groups.

In many societies mass schooling is seen as an effective device in bringing about integration of the heterogeneous populations. Classrooms and pedagogy may thus keep the ethnic minorities in their disadvantaged positions, blocking way even to aspire for social mobility. Thappan (2010) in her study on ethnic minorities in Canada mentions the crisis faced by the students in developing an identity. The school offers a kind of socialisation where the child faces problems, as the agents of socialisation as well as the process is alien to the child. She writes,

Non Anglophone immigrant students in Canada are socialised into language, culture and social world of another society in the school where they encounter, peer, teachers and the text as alien others with whom they must negotiate in the constitution of their Canadian identity (Thappan, 2010:76).

Many of the ethnic groups such as Mexican Americans in the united states, African Carribeans and South Asians in the United Kingdom, the aboriginal people in Australia, Algerians in France, Indigenous people in Mexico etc were experiencing problems in language and higher education (Castles,2009). The achievement level of these communities remained low compared to the other dominant communities. On the basis of their demands that the schools and colleges ought to reflect their cultures and identities, steps were taken by various societies for inclusion. Multicultural education as a policy was thus widely encouraged (Ghosh and Abdi, 2004).

This is indeed an area which calls for in depth explorations. Contrasting the situations of marginalised ethnic groups, with the so called successful ethnic groups one cannot stop wondering, what actually makes the difference. Present study focuses on the group which is understood as being relatively successful in the host land. Review of the literature on the studies conducted on the various migrated communities would give an insight to this. The review of literature narrows down to the Asian migrants, and mainly, the Indian migrants abroad.

Migrant Groups- Successful and Unsuccessful

Migration is a phenomenon where movement of people would bring in a number of changes which includes social as well as economical. Many factors have been identified with the reasons for migration. The push and pull factors of migration are analysed to see the nature of migration. Push factors are the ones which cause

people to leave their place of residence or origin. This mainly is due to the reasons like poverty high population pressure, lack of basic infrastructural facilities like health care, education. Pull factors, ie those which attract the people from different places are mainly better job opportunities, availability of regular work or relatively high wages. Better education facilities also forms a major pull factor (Castles and Mark,1993;Bolaria and Rosemary,1997). Migration from the Asian countries during different eras has been talked about. During the colonial times, millions of labourers from India were sent to Mauritius, Caribbean islands, Fiji and South Africa by the British. This was mainly for plantation works. The nature of migration changed with the 20th century. There was no more of forced migration. Skilled and semi skilled were migrating searching better prospects to make their life. And in the recent times, professionals like engineers, doctors, software professionals make the majority of Indian migrants abroad (Appleyard, 1989).

It is seen that the experiences of different migrant communities in education has been varying. Many Researches has brought to light that certain migrant communities are less successful compared to others in social adjustments and educational performances (Ogbu,1987;Kim,1993). As mentioned earlier, internationally, the simple assimilation of minority students has been replaced by an emphasis on pluralism and multiculturalism, bringing in the need and importance to embrace cultural diversity. How far has this succeeded is indeed a different question. The studies show that Asian American students are more successful than their counterparts and there has been hype in the press and other writings, calling them the 'model minorities' (Feliciano, 2006). Ogbu (1987) reasons this through the notion of 'voluntary' and 'involuntary migrants'. Voluntary migrants come from those groups who have moved to the country in search of greater economic and educational opportunities. Involuntary migrants include members of a minority group who have suffered slavery or colonization and who have later been denied true assimilation. Involuntary minorities are the ones who usually experience greater difficulty in school adjustment and face academic failure than the voluntary migrants. Various studies on voluntary minorities, such as Chinese (Ogbu 1974), Punjabi Indians (Gibson 1987), and Central Americans (Suarez-Orozco 1987) have shown that though they experience difficulties because of language and cultural differences, they are not subjects to

disproportionate school failure. A stark contrast is seen in the case of involuntary migrants like the native Hawaiians, and Mexican-Americans who were found in experiencing difficulties in school and had lower representations in colleges.

Ogbu (1987) advocates a specific cultural model, where he moves beyond the cultural explanations of success or failure to include the historical and social context of the minority group. It is here that he brings in the notion of primary cultural difference and secondary cultural difference. Primary cultural difference is the difference that existed prior to migration; before the two populations came in contact. Secondary cultural difference is the one that develops as a resultant of the contacts between the two groups, the migrants and the host society. The immigrants are the groups with primary cultural difference. The voluntary immigrants do not see acquiring secondary cultural differences as a threat to their identity, but as an additive learning to become successful. This is different with the involuntary groups as they see these differences as markers of their identity and not as barriers to overcome. The voluntary migrants thus 'make it' in the host land. They are known to be more successful in education, occupations and have better life standards. This is reasoned on the basis of the cultural difference they possess. Since they do not fear a loss of culture, they adapt easily to the dominant society's ways and seldom face problems in education. Based on this, the study looks at the other important contributing factors; the factors that have helped in the 'achievements' of the voluntary migrants. These are identified as the strategies of family and community in helping them to be successful.

It is interesting to analyse these reasons of success with a special focus on the family and community networks involved. In Kim's study (1993) on the Korean migrant children's academic success, it is argued that the Korean migrant's cultural specificity of 'making it' acts as a main reason behind their academic success in a different country. The voluntary migrants are determined 'to make it' in the host land. Their patterns of career choice, achievement at the school level, are all explained on the basis of this. Kim calls it the 'American dream' which the community sees will materialise with academic achievements. They also have positive image and trust in America as a powerful, rich and friendly country where the cultural values that the Korean immigrants brought from their country such as hard work, education, and future orientation are justly rewarded. How this is

materialised has been discussed looking at the role of the community organisations.

This immigrant type of cultural model mobilizes the entire community to exert community forces and thereby directs and controls the community member's life. There are various ways through which this is carried out. The Korean-American newspapers and magazines and the media, through various advertisements, documentaries, create awareness among the community, by reinforcing the fact that education is important for mobilization. Publicisation of educational services like after school classes, home worksheets, private tutors are offered by community centres, Korean churches and other private services. Here we see an attempt from the community's side for the advancement of the migrants and thus, through this an effort to create an identity, ie, being Korean is akin to be success seeking and progressive. The same is seen in the study by Feliciano (2006) where, it is brought to light, how the characteristic of the group as a whole has importance in the success level of the various migrant groups in US. In trying to explain such ethnic differences, Zhou (2001) emphasized how social networks that are based on ethnic ties within communities can provide support to certain disadvantaged groups. Bankston and Zhou (2002) pointed out that family ties are often disrupted by migration, while ethnic-group membership is often intensified upon settling in a new country. Their work on the Vietnamese illustrates how community efforts outside the family can facilitate the next generation's academic success (Zhou and Bankston, 1998). The group or community social networks hence call out for a detailed study to unravel the fact that, the group-level characteristics matter above and beyond their association with individual family-background characteristics and that greater attention needs to be paid to the effects of ethnic communities and group identities in understanding the adaptation processes of the second generation. The way they identify themselves with the collective identity needs to be focused. How does the community as a force work towards this cause? The platform where the community ties are worked out thus holds a pertinent place. The culture and social networks have their invisible hands in pushing the ethnic minorities in community activities and in the process coping with the wider society. To uncover the question of how it is materialised, some light ought to be shed onto the culture and social behaviour of the community in the host society.

Culture and other social networks

When the migrant community comes into a new land they carry with them a cultural tradition and want to live with it wherever they are. Even though they want their children to adapt to the host society and be successful they also don't want them to move away from their tradition and culture. And for a community to endure over time, it is essential that it needs to maintain the continuity. In most cases, this is ensured through the passing down of customs, language, traditions, social norms, etc (Upadhya, 2001). Kaur (2001) makes an interesting observation where she writes

‘It is apparent that often the concepts of community, civil society and identity are used in closely related ways or as subsets or derivatives of one another. In any case they are very often closely linked and community is seen to exist in the space of civil society and emerging through a shared sense of identity’ (Kaur, 2001:80).

Ethnic communities' involvement in the process of defining boundaries and maintaining boundaries cannot be neglected, this in a way leads to the process of them constituting a certain identity. Communities and ethnic groups try to retain their culture in the host land through various means. It is in fact part of their social identity and does not want it to be compromised with the majority's ways.

Rayaprol's (2001) study on the Indian migrants in different countries of the world shows that the migrated groups have interesting experiences. In contemporary Malaysia, the Indians constitute one of the three major ethnic groups, along with the Chinese and Malays. The people who are grouped together as Indians include third or fourth generation people of Indian origin who have intermarried with the Chinese, speak the Malay language and have no ties with India. More than any other factor, it is through religion that the Malaysian Indians have tried to maintain their identity. The experience in US is also interesting; at the end of the 1990's there were over a million people of Indian origin in the United States. It was observed that, like other immigrant groups, the Asian migrants have been struggling to make themselves different even as they undergo acculturation. It is here that the various identity markers have their presence. These markers of identity, ranges from, food, clothes, language retention, religion, music, dance, myths, legends, community rites etc (Sharma, 2004). One very visible marker in

US is the 'Sree Venkateswara' temple, of the South Indian Hindu community, which is an attempt to reconstruct a new community. The establishment and maintenance of this temple points to the reflection of the immigrant desire to recreate a community, which is based on the familiar and intimate categories of religion, language and caste. Rayaprol(2001) mentions that, the community in this sense becomes 'for the immigrants an ontically secure home against the homogenising wave of globalisation.'

The study on Telugu migrants in Mauritius and US shows that, the community is keen on celebrating festivals and visiting temples as they feel that the weekly visit to temple is compulsory to emphasise the fact that they are a close knit community. They consider the temple as a platform for the promotion of culture and solidarity. Another note worthy thing is the broadcasting of Telugu programmes for an hour in the evening, which the older generation looks forward as an important event of the day, where they get to feel their motherland. The other markers of identity preserved by the Telugu are their customs with marriages. They take pride in maintaining the Telugu traditions though they face the problems like the loss of language etc. In spite of keeping in touch with the other migrant families, they have maintained consistent cultural and economic link to their land of origin (Bhatt and Bhaskar, 2007). Cultural identity forms the core of socio- economic, political and religious life whether they are located in India or anywhere else in the Diaspora. As pointed out by Mukadam and Mawani (2007) that articulation of cultural identity is effectively carried out which varies from religion to regional, or to linguistic or caste. It can be seen that, these minorities not only expresses one single ideology of language but also of region and culture.

Networks and Associations

Networks have been more or less an important factor in the establishment of the community in a migrated land. It helps with the adaptation process, integration to the host society, linking and connecting with the leaving and the receiving society. Usually strong ties are associated with ethnic communities. And it has been pointed out that, the migrant network will develop into an ethnic community only if its members can establish and maintain the endogamous ties to achieve social closure. In the study on family community networks, it is mentioned that the

community networks work complimentary to family networks. These networks even influence the decision to migrate (Winters, et al, 2001).

In the case of Indian migrants in Fiji, it is seen that, the situation is much different from the other migrants there. The caste ties and associations have a different nature with the plantation migrants there; they don't have strong caste or linguistic ties, rather have ties based on South Indian, North Indian etc. This scenario is much different in the case of migrants who have a stronger economic capital; ie, the Gujarati migrants, who have established themselves through free chain migration. The study on these migrants by Grieco (1998) reveals this. Through their constant communication and exchange, the Gujarati sub caste groups in Fiji have established themselves as overseas extensions of their base groups in India. Sub caste integrity provided the Gujarati community with the structural basis it needed for the continuation of caste-related behaviour in Fiji. This is clearly seen by their maintenance of traditional caste occupational specializations. Gujarati sub caste community, maintain strong social and economic endogamy. Though they have not recreated the strong caste system which exists in their region, the Gujaratis are aware of the ritual status ascribed to their individual sub castes in India and can place themselves in a relative purity/pollution hierarchy. The position of any one group on this relative hierarchy is still affected by its traditional occupation and dietary customs, but other factors, such as the general level of wealth and education of its members, also affect its status. This replicating of the community practices, caste groups etc can be attributed to the much stronger networking with the Gujarati community. The cases of indentured labourers, whose migration was not organised and who are mostly in the lower rungs of the society have fewer networks and their customs and rituals got confined to individual families.

We see that the networks are more visible and prominent among the well off migrant communities. They articulate it effectively and use it to reap benefits in the host land. The study on Telugu migrants by Bhaskar and Bhatt (2007) and their associational activities also throws light on this. Their language and culture are maintained through the efforts undertaken by the community. At the same time it is seen that there have sprung up many associations in every state of US, both at the local and regional levels. While some of them have affiliations to the major

organisations like the Telugu Association of North America (TANA), and the American Telugu Association (ATA), the others maintained their own identities and agendas. However it cannot be neglected that these organisations have also become platforms for the segregation based on caste, region or religion. The North American Telugu association is mainly dominated by the Kamma caste, one of the dominant castes of Andhra Pradesh. And the American Telugu association has the domination of the other equally strong Reddy caste. These two castes have a main role in the politics of Andhra Pradesh. These associations act as the stage for the establishment of extensive caste networks between the communities and their places of origin. These networking have a strong impact in the politics of Andhra Pradesh. These association no doubt provide a sound arena for social networking. Membership in the association is thus seen as highly profit fetching as it widens the social networks which can benefit in different spheres of life.

These studies points towards the network formation in determining the continuity of immigrant cultural characteristics being re-established in the receiving society. In the case of Zorastrians in different countries of Canada, UK, Australia, there are different community associations or 'centres' as it is called. It was seen that nature of each community association is affected by the proportions of the different sub-groups constituting it and the role that they played in the history of the association. The festivals and rituals celebrated were mostly that of the subgroup's which represented the association in majority. The networks are well managed by the community through various means. The aged people, those retired from their jobs etc are seen to take intense interest in the association's management (Hinnells,1994). Thus as they keenly observe the cultural specificity that they brought from their home country through the associations and networks, in a way, pave the path to adapt to the terms of host society's social settings with regard to education , employment , and attaining a social position in the society.

Schooling and Ethnic Minority

Research shows that, minority parents have strong views about the education of their children, though many times the differences in culture between home and school create problems. Despite the different cultural backgrounds, all parents expect their children to perform well in schools and hope that they mix with the

mainstream society well. They also want them to acquire skills and qualifications needed to have a decent living in the host society and thus, see schools as places where their children's life chances would be enhanced (Tomlinson, 1984)

In a number of studies ethnic groups have been found to stress on the equality of opportunity in schools as well as the need for acceptance of their own cultures. Though the West Indians, in the study by Zhou (1956) were found to aspire for mobility through education, they are not happy with the system as they see a non acceptance of their cultural differences. Sikh and Punjabi parents in Derby and Nottingham had strong desires for their children's upward mobility through education, irrespective of their varying backgrounds (Vellims, 1982). The Chinese parents in a study in Britain were also more concerned regarding the successful assimilation of their children, than getting recognition for their cultural distinctiveness in schools (Wang, 1982). Even though parent's involvement in the school activities is less as they do not know the school curriculum and its structure, they were inquisitive about their children's progress. Vellims says that it is common place to hear teachers complaining that Asian parents have unrealistically high aspiration about their children. Asian parents have been more satisfied with the schools and believed that they had equal opportunities to excel and thus make a way for social mobility. Punjabi migrants in Canada, places a high regard for school achievement and aspired that their children by all means, adapt completely to the ways of the Canadian academic system. At the same time, they were also found to be bothered about the children losing touch with the mother tongue and in the process to the religious teachings. They feared that, distancing the children from these would have implications on other crucial identity markers, like dress, food, cultural symbols etc (Ghuman, 1980).

Language in Education

It is seen that, language is in all cases a force to tie the community together especially in a migrated land. It forms an important part of primary identity, symbolising cultural representation. The question that arises here is about the keenness of the migrant parents in their children learning their language. What are their concerns involved in this, as in the process of adjustment many a cases minority's language has to be compromised with that of the mainstream society's.

In the case of Punjabi migrants in Canada, home school discontinuities posed problems. It was observed that almost all parents were in favour of teaching their language to children. Though many agreed to the impossibility of teaching it in school, the community arranging for it was considered as an option. But at the same time it was found that the community school was not a preferred choice by the parents as the quality of education was low compared to Canadian schools and there was a lack of qualified and trained teachers for teaching their language (Ghuman, 1994).

The case of Gujarati migrants in East Africa was also no different as the parents revealed a concern for the shrinking knowledge of Gujarati among the third generation South Asians. They have set up Indian schools from the time they settled in East Africa. It also had an important place in the lives of the pioneers. These Indian schools were the ones from which they were taught to read and write their own language (Oonk, 2007). Bhatt and Bhaskar(2007), on the basis of the interviews with many Gujaratis who participated in their study, notes that they had attended the Indian school. People from all sections of the community accessed it irrespective of their religious differences. As the community prospered, many of the upper strata Gujaratis began sending their children to countries like UK, as they were not happy with the quality of education in the country. This made them even more distant from learning their language. Religious lectures which were given in the temple premises were often in Hindi or Gujarati and the third generation Gujaratis had difficulty in understanding them. Lessons in Gujarati were encouraged in the temple premises because the community was concerned about the fading Gujarati language. Some parents make an extra effort to teach their children Gujarati by introducing private tutors and extra language lessons (ibid).

In some countries a language formula embracing the languages of ethnic minority has been taken into policies. Singapore, to represent its heterogeneous cultural milieu has adopted three other languages, Mandarin, Malay and Tamil other than English, as the official languages (Purushotham, 2000). Recent additions of other Indian languages in education have resulted in many students taking up languages like Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati etc. Following the government's decision to leave the

provision of non-Tamil South Asian languages in the hands of the community groups, several organisations like the Bangla Language and Literary Society, Singapore Gujarati School, Hindi Society, Singapore Sikh Foundation etc have taken the responsibility to cater to the languages. Whilst many of these languages had very less students prior to this decision, the number has grown tremendously over the years (Rai, 2009). Languages though have a strong link to the identity, in majority of the cases is chosen keeping in mind the future prospects of learning it. Like, Hindi is opted by them in Singapore who has plans to migrate back to India and Mandarin is taken up by the local born Indians who envisages a future in Singapore (ibid).

Ethnicity Minority in Indian Context

Ethnic group in the Indian context, in a general sense refers to the indigenous group, 'Adivasis' or the original inhabitants of the land (Bengra and Bijoy, 1988). They are seen as the marginalised groups often without identities which have led the way to innumerable debates and conflicts. Acharya (1988) observes that, the ethnic group members possess a certain extent common attitudes which relate to their culture, psychological traits and their ethnic consciousness. The specific cultural attributes defining ethnicity, include spoken language, religion, region, folklore, folk customs, rites and ceremonies. Even smaller symbols used in culture are taken as means to denote the ethnicity. The food, dress, hygiene habits, aesthetic ideals and artistic culture are all seen to have its pertinence in the Indian context. In India's wide multicultural scenario, all the above mentioned characteristics have an important role to play in defining certain communities. Belief in a common origin, often mythical shared memory of past migrations, folk traditions etc are seen to have been taken as strong symbols of ethnic expression in the case of tribes like Garos, Khasis, Jaintias, Tiwas, various Naga tribes (ibid).

Ethnic conflicts have a history of decades in India. It was understood that the ethnic movements and the ethno based identity factors came to prominence in the 1980's. Many of the ethnic based resistance movements happened in the North East of India. The various ethnic groups in the region of North East are identified as Nagas of Nagaland, Mizos, Lushars, Hamrs of Mizoram, Chins , Zomis, Bodos etc (Acharya,1988; Shimray,2001). Their assertion of identity and the political

unrest is based on their fears of losing their historical and culturally acquired identities due to various dominances. This assertion is for fears of assimilation as well as for the protection of territoriality ie, land. Various other ethnic movements have also shaken the country bringing in a twist to ethnicity debates. Ethnic movements like the Jharkhand and Ghorkhaland are examples for this. Different ethnic markers were being projected by the groups involved in the movements or protests. One of the prominent symbols highlighted was language. In the Jharkhand issue, Basu(1996) notes that the loss of Kurmali language as it was being dominated by the other more dominant languages was brought up. It was also seen that, in some of the movements which involved many tribal groups, over time they have consolidated the different groups' markers to form a group ethnic identity. Looking at the movement for Khalistan, Singh (1996) notes that the Sikh community over time have transformed themselves into an 'ethnic group' to raise demands for autonomy. According to the author, the suppression and their minority status are seen as reasons where they derived their ethnicity.

As these ethnic groups or communities have been operating within the multicultural framework of the country, which allows socio-cultural distinctions and separate identities to co-exist, many a times the society has been open to the negotiations. There are also provisions to manage quite effectively, the ethnic movements and conflicts (Porter 1965; Kallen, 1982; Singh1996).

The communities who have migrated to different cities of the country become the ethnic minority in the place. They might also be part of a majority community which resides elsewhere in the country. The studies conducted on such ethnic minorities have understood their ethnicity as 'situational' ie, to the region that the group is in (Lawandowski, 1980). These ethnic minorities rarely hover in the political debates regarding ethnicity, ethnic movements or conflicts. It could be suggested that in most cases these communities have their own strategies to face the oppressions or dominance from the dominant society. This is derived from the fact that they have voluntarily chosen to become the 'ethnic minority' for their better life expectations. Quite a few studies have looked at the experiences of these communities in a micro perspective. It would be hence interesting to look at the strategies and means they follow to keep their identity as well as to be successful in the dominant society.

The internal migration in the country is presently considered as one of the most important factor influencing social and economic development of the country. The census of 2001 estimates about 98 million people displaced during the period from 1991-2001. The various reasons were classified as work, employment, business, education, marriage etc. Employment or job was seen as the main reason for interstate migration (Bhagat, 2005). Even though the movements across states have been always occurring studies on the historical context of these internal migrations has not been documented much. Some of the anthropological and sociological studies have looked at the migrant communities, focussing on the family, caste and their contexts in the various Indian cities (Vatuk, 1972; Lewandowski, 1980; Panda,2001). Questions have also been raised in some studies on the problems that India as a multi-ethnic state would face in the process of national integration.

When looked at internal migration as a socio-political process, there are a wide range of aspects that can be analysed. Many communities migrate for various purposes far and wide in the country. Migrants have been found to get their own people to form ethnic enclaves at the destination (Cohen, 1974). The contents and forms of such group formation are based on the various ethnic markers or identity markers like language, region, religion, caste etc which varies from society to society. Berremen (1972) in his study on social categories in urban India, talks of the various social categories which are referred to as social identities. He points to markers of social identity, which vary from casual interaction, speech, dress, the distinctive social and cultural structural attributes like that of ceremonies, myths, social organizations, system of kinship etc. These markers are used to project what one's identity is in that particular social context. In the case of ethnic minority, the associations formed, and membership in them is important for their social identity. Mythili's (1974) study on the migrant Tamils in Bombay found that, the community consciously maintains and renews its ethnic boundaries by periodically going for community rituals. Kerala migrants in Goa are also seen to have active associations and organisations based on caste, religion, region etc (Thakur, 2002). They take intense interest in the participation of these associations. Lewandowski's (1980) work on the Kerala migrants in madras talks about their ethnicity and the way their family and outlooks changed with generations. She also discusses on the

nature of the ethnic associations and the change that it had with the shift in the political scenario of Kerala. In the case of Gujaratis in Orissa, it is found that, they have a tendency to reside in and around their own ethnic enclaves (Panigrahi and Panda, 2000). Thus on the whole the different studies shows that, the migrant groups have an urge to remain connected with their roots, through the culture, customs, rituals, which they practice in the land where they migrated to. Ethnic organizations may be established to attain specific goals and promotion of particular ethnic interests as well as political economic, religious or cultural interests. In most of the cases it is seen that they keep their sense of identity alive and maintain their belongingness to the group. These kinds of caste and ethnic associations functions well for socio-cultural purposes. They meet during festive occasions. In most cases temples and community schools are the platforms for these get-togethers. Apart from all these the association or group meetings also take place from these community schools (Narayanan, 1989).

In order to protect their local culture, religion and language, government of India through article 29 and 30, give the right to conserve and promote their culture and also the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. Much of the studies have not delved into the educational experiences of these migrant communities and the educational institutions they set up. These schools provide them with the opportunity to learn their language and the children are familiarised with their cultural values and traditions. But in reality, how far are these schools serving their cause? Do the community members prefer to send their children to these schools and what actually happens with them? When looked at the participation of the migrant Gujaratis of Orissa in the school which the community set up, it was found that it varies on the basis of their economic well being. The economically sound Gujaratis send their children to reputed English medium and other Hindi medium schools and the community school which taught both Gujarati and Hindi was preferred by some to the Oriya medium schools (Panigrahi and Panda, 2000). The report on Chinese business community by Sen (2009) in North Bengal says that the migrant Chinese are conscious of their children's education. During the early decades of their arrival, they built Chinese language schools, though they had little time for education. It was seen that as the Chinese community prospered, education was given more importance. Primarily it

was in Chinese supplemented by Hindi and English languages. Later on as their business establishments developed, English became a necessity for negotiations of business deals etc. By the early 1970s there began a trend of migration to Canada, Australia, for which a sound base in English was necessary. The only Chinese school thus was closed down to be reopened later as an English medium school. But the present Chinese parents prefer to send their children to the prestigious boarding schools and professional colleges. It is seen that, the perceptions and attitudes of education among the migrants changes as they establish themselves in the society. The role the community school had earlier in their lives, changes with the increasing opportunities and exposure that they gain with time. It is thus, quite possible that various sections may gradually move out of the community school as they attain economic advancements and acceptance in the society. This might reduce the school to a namesake establishment, with its functions being merged with the community organisations activities.

Studies have found many factors for school preferences, like that of language of instruction, caste, community, as now, schooling choice is understood an important determinant of future occupational outcomes. Good education is valued equal to a good family background and a stamp of prestige in the society (Drury, 1993).

Attitudes among the business communities have been steadily changing over the past two generations. Though the parents, who were business men were not much educated themselves, they looked upon education as a status elevator and as a means to a secured job. Drury's (1993) study on the business families shows this approach to education. The business families are ambitious in their aspirations of their children's education, as they are in a position to afford the best private schools. Drury also observes that even the small business families are beginning to press for higher education, even though they would have 'something to fall back on' if the children did not do well in school. They still preferred their children to get into a secured job. It was also found that even if the family wants their children to join business, they are particular about them having sound educational qualifications. Education is no doubt a strong cultural capital. Upadhya's (1997) study on the Kamma caste, throws more light onto this as how the upper class Kammas who have taken to business builds social and cultural capital by the activation of social networks. A different way of building networks were seen with

the rich Kamma families often developing special relationships with poor Kammas by helping them economically for their loyalty and other services- a visible utilisation of caste identity. Establishing educational institutions as a Promotion of caste solidarity is identified as for political reasons and gains. In Vishakapattanam, Andhra Pradesh the Kamma group has started schools and colleges, where the funds mainly come from the rich business class. Even IAS coaching centres were developed so that their hold and position in the society could be enhanced. The young entrepreneurial class started taking keen interest in being part of elite social circles by taking membership in business clubs etc. The picture becomes more clearer when the historical path of these communities are analysed. The rich agricultural class, rural elite shifted to the towns for higher education and economic benefits, which was used to create a more strong base in terms of prestige in the society. Upadhyaya thus brings in the interplay of the different capitals in strategising the identity of the community in the society.

In the background of this I would like to look at the Gujarati community which is mainly a trading community in Calicut district of Kerala and their educational institution, the 'Gujarati Vidyalaya'. It is seen that ethnic migrants use different means to ascertain their identity and social networks. Here I would like to focus on how the community uses education as an effective strategy in this regard. What is happening with the community school, what relevance it has in relation to the community's activities in the society?

Site of Study:

The study was conducted in Calicut city of Kerala state. Calicut has a significant Gujarati settlement. The Gujarati Vidyalaya is located in the city quite near to the Gujarati Street, where majority of the Gujaratis in the city lives.

Research questions

- 1) Why the Gujarati School established and what is its relation with the community's migration and establishment in the Calicut city?
- 2) What role the school has been playing in relation to economic opportunities and cultural identity of the Gujarati community
- 3) What are the activities that happen within the school in relation to the cultural and associational functions of the community

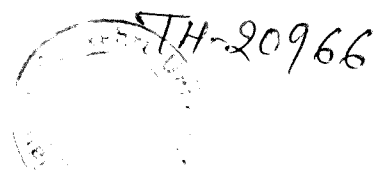
- 4) Who accesses the school? Which sections of the community prefers the Vidyalaya, and what are the reasons for their choices?

Objectives

1. To understand the role that the Gujarati School was visualised to play in the life of the Gujarati community and wider society in Calicut City. How this may have changed over time and how is the school located in the context of the community today.
 - To trace the historical development of the Gujarati school in Calicut city. The purposes for which it was established, and how that has changed over a period of time
 - To map the activities of the school in relation to the cultural identity (Gujarati language and other aspects of their culture), sense of community, and social networks and linkages with the wider society.
 - To understand the role of the Gujarati Association in this context.
2. To map the educational access of Gujaratis to the school and how this has changed over a period of time. Are there sections of the community that send their children to the school and those that do not? Why this is so?
3. To interview a few families those access the Gujarati school as well as those that send their children to other schools. To understand reasons for these choices, as well as their participation in community level activities within and around the school.

Theoretical framework

The study would draw on Ogbu's (1987) framework of analysing the success and failure of minority groups. He distinguishes the minority groups as voluntary migrants and involuntary migrants on the basis of their background of their migration. The voluntary migrants are those who have migrated in search of better educational and economic opportunities and the involuntary migrants are those groups who have had the experience of forced migration. Ogbu suggests that the voluntary groups come to the land expecting to access better employment and educational opportunities which orients them to make adjustments when



confronted with adverse situations. This makes them more successful than the involuntary migrant groups. He says that, for understanding the success or failure of these two groups, the historical, cultural and situational factors need to be looked into. The role of society and community comes in here. The criteria of success which Ogbu mentions are in terms of academic achievements.

In the case of the proposed study, the Gujarati community is the trading community and is seen as a successful voluntary migrant group. The value they place for education or their aspirations in terms of academic achievement is not known. But it has to be noted that, the Gujarati community have established themselves well in the host society and has an educational institution, which has a history of more than hundred years. This educational institution is very much intertwined with the community's growth and development. As the study also looks at the community's progress through the acquirement of capital and effective usage of it through their convertibility, Bourdieu's notion of convertibility of capital would also enlighten it.

Bourdieu refers to the three types of capital, economic, cultural, and social capital. Economic capital comprises of the material things, like the property, income etc. Social capital involves the resources that can be derived from the network of social relations, in Bourdieu's terms, 'membership in a group'. Cultural capital includes the educational qualifications, knowledge and skills, that brings in acceptance in the society, which people strive to acquire. The different forms of capital can be converted to one another and through different means. It is seen that, domination and reproduction occurs not only through the accumulation of material assets but also through other means. The convertibility of the capital, the economic capital as assets towards the social and cultural capital is a pertinent part here. As the socio historical background of the community and the school would be analysed in relation to the role it has now in the community, this notion of convertibility would throw more light onto it.

Methodology

The study is qualitative in nature. Study on the socio-historical background of the school through the migration and settlement of the Gujarati community in Calicut has been carried out on the basis of information gathered from the school records, association's registers and other documents. Field work was carried out in the Calicut district of Kerala. Interviews and observation techniques were used. Interviews with parents, association's members and few families were taken. Purposive sampling was used to select the families that sent their children to the Gujarati school and those that send them to other schools. Families were selected to include those across different generations to understand from their experiences the changes over a period of time. Interviews with open ended questions were used to gather information from association members and parents. Details of methodology are given in the second chapter.

Chapterisation

Chapter one includes the introduction of the topic and a review of the available literature. The second chapter is based mainly on the data collected from the field. It includes a historical background of the community and the Vidyalaya association's role in the life of the community. The third chapter is on the Gujarati Vidyalaya, the school preferences by the community, parental concerns, strategies and aspirations. Fourth chapter summarizes the study and discusses the relevant findings in the light of research in this area.

Chapter Two

Gujarati Ethnicity and the Socio-Cultural Networks

This chapter deals with the historical background of the Gujarati community looking at the trajectories made in the process of settling down. The Gujarati association which the community have built around the Gujarati school or Vidyalaya, and the diverse role it plays in the progress of the community would be explored here. The cultural and social interaction of the community is looked at through the responses of the committee members and a few Gujarati families.

A total number of sixteen families were interviewed. The families were selected for interaction, with an attempt to speak to individuals belonging to different caste, communities and across generations. The caste groups include, Lohana, Bhatia, Patel, Vaishnav Vanik, Brahm, and from the Jain religion. The span of generations include from the first to the fourth generation. The generations referred to here are from the youngest in the family to their great grandfather. The 1st generation is the great grandfather, the grandfather is the 2nd generation, father the 3rd and the child, or the youngest in the family is the 4th generation. I refer to the 1st and 2nd generation in the families as 'old generation' and 3rd and 4th as the 'young generation'.¹

The Gujarati families have varying backgrounds. Some of the families were the pioneering elite families, who had a long past in the city. These families had their three to four generations within them; some continue to live in the city while others have shifted to other places. The fore fathers of these families have started business establishments or trading companies which have been inherited over generations. Over time some of the families had to face very serious crisis in their business leading to a massive downfall from their prior economic status.

The change in the economic scenario, around the 1990's had aggravated the crisis they faced in trade. Quite different from these families, few other families were able to have retained a hold in the trade and maintained their economic status

¹ has been used to refer to the respondents' age, generation in the families and caste they belong to. The first letter of the first name of the respondent is used to refer to the caste group. For example, L- Lohana, B- Bhatia, V- Vaishnav Vanik, Brahm- Brahm, P- Patel, Jain- Jain.

intact. These families were seen to be having a highly educated genre of third and fourth generation.

Some families had the history of their fathers or grandfathers who came to work in the companies established by their communities in the city. These families include two to three generations in them. Though few of them had set up their own businesses later, they were not very successful. Thus, the younger generation here had no solid fall back of family business and hence move towards salaried professional jobs. Majority of the families were nuclear families and the parents interviewed are from the old as well as the young generation of different families. Some of them had their children of school going age, while the others were either doing higher studies or settled with a job. The women in the family were mostly house wives. They are mostly confined to their homes, and as they stay in the Gujarati Street their interaction was more or less limited to their ethnic group members. Looking at their experiences, a glimpse of changes that had taken place over years could be seen. The Gujarati Muslim community have not been included in the study as they are not part of the Vidyalaya association and also owing to the constraints of time.

The information regarding the Vidyalaya association, history of its progress and development were gathered from the available records, interaction with few committee members, former board members and through interviews with the families who were willing. Since interviews took a long time a few of them had refused to cooperate. It was noted from the responses of the Gujaratis that there was a tendency to view the researcher as a representative of the Kerala society.

Historical Background of Calicut City

The Gujarati migrants have known to have a long past in Calicut, a district in the Kerala State. Quite less of the literature talks about the migration of Gujaratis to the city. There is no proper evidence on when the period of their migration started in Calicut. Calicut district has had immense significance in the trade history of Kerala. The historical and socio-political economic features of the city have had a major role in attracting various groups and communities to come down and settle (Nampoothiri,1987). From the very early times, extensive trade was carried on between Kerala and the West Asian countries of Arabia, Syria and Egypt. The

Arabian Sea stood as an important trade route for the Arabs to reach lands far from theirs. The regular transport system of sailing vessels helped them through the routes. It is the Greeks who claim to have discovered these monsoon winds or trade winds as it is better known. One of the first century Greek travellers, Hippalaus in 44AD, had utilised this facility to reach various parts of the world (Kusuman, 1960; Narayanan, 2006). Thus through this route, India's west coast saw a rush of trade with the Roman empire, Syrians and Arabs who captured the leadership of the trade (ibid).

The trade in Kerala consisted of products from the place and those products collected from other countries. Her own products included ivory, cinnamon, pepper and ginger, while the products collected from elsewhere consisted of silk and fine cotton fabrics, hides, cloves, jewels and pearls. The import consisted of wine, bronze, tin, gold and various manufactured articles. The spices of Kerala fetched high prices elsewhere. It was noted that most of these trades happened in the north of Kerala and Malabar was the familiar word used by the early travellers to denote modern Kerala. Neither Kerala nor Travancore was mentioned by the pioneer adventurers who left the accounts of their experiences in the place as travellers (Kusuman, 1960).

While the Western Ghats insulated Kerala against the peninsular encroachment, the sea was known to throw it open to trans-oceanic contacts. Banerjee (1991) while mentioning the trade of Kerala notes that majority of trade happened with the Malabar Coast. Seeing this feverish activity during the trading season, Ibn Batuta, a traveller, mentioned about Malabar in his travelogue. Batuta had travelled extensively on the west coast during the period from 1342-44 AD. He notes in his writings about the important towns of Malabar, which included 'Shaliyat(Caliyam)', 'Shinkili(Kodungallur)' and 'Kulam(Kollam)' and describes Malabar as 'the land of fulful (Pepper)', the most important trading commodity. Of the several ports of Malabar he notes,

'Kalikut(Calicut) is one of the chief ports of Mulaybar and one of the largest harbours in the world. It is visited by men from China, Sumatra, Ceylon, and the Maldives. Yemen and fars and it gather merchants from all quarters. (Kulam=

Quilon) is, the nearest of the Mulaybar towns to China, and most of the merchants (from China) come there² (Cited in Kunju, 1975:7).

It was understood that Calicut grew as an important trade centre or port with the decline of Kodungalloor³. The port of Kodungalloor was silted and closed after the great flood that occurred in 1341 AD and Kollam, the other port was dominated by the Syrian Christians. The Arab traders who were looking for new openings found Calicut. Narayanan (2001) tracing the roots of this old city states it like this,

‘the Raja of Eranad, who moved into Kozhikode harbour, in the beginning of the 12th century, befriended the Arabs and thus, famous long term partnerships of Hindus and Muslims, which promoted the fortunes of Calicut- which may even be upheld as a model for new India today- came into existence.’(Narayanan, 2006:64)

Thus the city of Calicut had risen to great prominence by the beginning of the 14th century. This was chiefly on the basis of the preference shown to the port by the Muslim merchants.

Gradually trade relations developed with other countries as well. Envoys were sent to china and trade relations were developed. The Chinese traveller, Mahuan (1403 AD)⁴ gives a lengthy account on Calicut describing it as an emporium of trade where merchants from all places thronged.

The city had grown tremendously since it became the flourishing port. It became one of the most prosperous towns in the whole of Malabar Coast with most of the foreign trade in the hands of Muslims, who were both Arabs and the natives. This resulting prosperity from trade had made its ruler the most powerful king on the Kerala’s coast by the latter half of the 15th century (Menon, 1967).

Portuguese historian Castaneda, in his writings about 1528 mentions,

‘So great was the trade and population of Calicut and the surrounding country, and the revenues of its sovereign.....That he was able to raise a force of 30,000 men in

² Kunju, I. 1975. cited from, Ibn Batuta, *The travels in Asia and Africa*, 1325-54. Broadway Travellers Series, London, 1929 pp.234-238

³ The place in the Central Kerala which was an important port

⁴ Cited from Menon, K.P. Padmanabha 1993, *History of Kerala*, Written in the form of notes on Visscher’s letters from Malabar. 4 Vols. AES, New Delhi

a single day, and could even bring a hundred thousand men into the field completely equipt for war, in three days. This prince in the language of the country was styled the zamorin, or samoryn, which signifies Emperor' ⁵(cited in Kunju,1975:12)

By the time of the Portuguese arrival during the 15th century, the trade of Malabar was entirely in the hands of Muslims. The foreign trade of the country had reached the highest peak of development. The trade of Malabar was mostly in fine quality pepper and numerous other commodities from many regions with cinnamon, ginger, cloves, incense, sandalwood and all sorts of spices; stones of great value, pearls and seed pearls (Panikkar, 1929).

On their arrival the Portuguese found that the competition for Kerala trade was very intense. The goods brought by Vasco da Gama were not in demand at Calicut. Wars were waged by the Portuguese with the king Zamorin of Calicut to get the trade monopoly.

The Muslim merchants did everything in their power to prevent the Portuguese from obtaining any lading for their ships. Still Gama was able to procure sufficient goods which repaid sixty times the cost of the expedition which whetted the ambition of the Portuguese king to monopolise the trade of the country. The predominance of the Portuguese power continued unabated till about 1600. The beginning of the 1600 marked the decline of the Portuguese power in the Asian seas and also their monopoly of the pepper trade in Malabar. The period after this, saw the commercial prevalence of the Dutch and the English. The Dutch in fact, had stepped into the shoes of the Portuguese. They controlled and dominated the trade in Malabar till the middle of the 18th century (Menon, 1967; Panikkar 1929)

Thus, Narayanan (2001) rightly notes Calicut as the 'melting pot of religions and races'. As a result of trade networks, there were various foreign settlements in its land. The city's streets and buildings evolved with these settlements. It began with the Muslim settlement, later came the Chinese, Portuguese, Dutch, English and French. Apart from these foreign settlements, Nampoothiri ⁶ mentions about the

⁵ Casteneda, Lopez de, *The History of Conquest of India, 1582*, in Kerr, Robert (ed) *A general history and collection of Voyages and travels, Vol.II*, London, 1811, Cited from Kunju I, p12.

⁶ From the Unpublished work by Dr.N.M.Nampoothiri- *Heritage of Calicut- Enlivening a Vanished City*.

Gujarati settlements located near the 'Gujarati temple', but the period or details are unknown. Few of the streets were also named after these settlements, some of which still retains it. Other than the Gujarati Street which houses the Gujarati settlements, there is a street based on the Chinese settlements on the northern side of the 'Valiyangadi' or the big bazaar. Named after the trade that happened there, the streets here were known as the 'Pattusala or Silk Street'.

Trade History of Gujarat

Gujarat has a very prominent place in the maritime activities and trading ventures from time immemorial (Dasgupta, 1970). Even though the Konkan coast enjoyed greater natural advantages as compared to that of Gujarat, it was noted that Gujarat has held a prominent place in the trading activities for various reasons. In the Konkan region while the Western Ghats tended to pose a barrier to communication, Gujaratis had access to a much larger hinterland. The influences which seeped in from central Asia too have given an emphasis to the flourishing trade in this region (Pearson, 1976).

Various communities from Gujarat like the Bhatias, Lohanas, Jains, Khojas, Bohras had made their way by sea. The same way many other groups have come into Gujarat. Those who came through sea include the Yavanas (BC.300-A.D.100), Arabs (A.D.600-800), Parsi (Zoroastrian) and Navayat(Muslim) refugees from Persia (A.D.1250-1300) and later Portuguese and Turks(A.D 1500-1600). The group which assumed the most prominent role in trade were the Vanias, whom the Europeans referred to, as the 'Banias', and others like the Lohanas and Bhatias. According to Banerjee (1991), Gujarat conducted trade in the gulf area and along the East African coast upto Sofala.

‘After the 11th century itself Gujarati traders appeared to have secured access to East African goods through Arab enterpoints, offering cotton cloth in exchange. In 1507 Khurfakkan was the seat of a large colony of Gujarati merchants while between 1541-1543, Gujaratis paid 700 pardaus to the Hormuz administration to enable them to live according to their own laws (Banerjee, 1991:3).

The interwoven relationship of trade, industry and craft production in Gujarat added as the contributing factor to the urbanisation and relative prosperity. The

central trading port was Surat. It was also highly active both commercially and industrially with a large number of Arabs, Persian, Portuguese, Dutch and English traders engaged in active trade during the period of the Mughal empire (1526-1707) (Goody,1996; Poros, 2011). Father Manoel Gordinho⁷, visited the Gujarati port city which was known to the world as one of the most important cities of western India at the time. It was for centuries a centre of trade. Impressed by Surat's trade he wrote,

'Goods arrive at Surat by land and sea. The English and Dutch bring merchandise from Europe, the ships of the red sea carry the products of Africa and the native Indian merchants import the merchandise of Asia Minor. The Indian merchants of Surat are rich and they have fifty ships of their own going out to all countries'. Goods from inland production centres are carried into Surat by caravans, bullocks and camels which enter its gates every hour'. The country around Surat produces wheat, pulses and rice as well as the date palm, from which a wine is produced by the Parsis⁸(Lach and Van Kley,1993:25).

By the 1500, the sultanate of Gujarat was a very wealthy state owing to its economy. Imports and exports were maintained with Arabian countries, China etc. After the 15th century Chinese had disappeared from the scene and the Muslim domination was felt. Arabs were in control of the trade between Calicut and Red sea.They participated in the trade from the Red sea Malacca via Gujarat. The arrival of the English and Dutch in western Indian waters in the early seventeenth century and their attacks on the Portuguese until 1635 and 1663 respectively made little difference as regards to control of sea trade. The trade was always at its peak in Gujarat, with the various communities searching out for the best avenues. It was understood as the basic characteristics of Gujarati traders which led to their success in business (Panda and Panigrahi, 2000). Trade and commerce in Gujarat thus, had strong roots in history. Their involvement with the British in the trade shows that they had experiences and strong ambitions regarding trade. They joined hands with the East India Company and carried out with various countries in Gulf (Dasgupta,1970). They had migrated to far off lands too in search of trade

⁷ A Jesuit who had first visited India's Portuguese colony of Goa

⁸ Cited from, Lach and Van Kley, 1993, *Asia in the making of Europe: A century in Advance. vol,III*,

opportunities which were undeniably significant contributing to the existence of long distance migrant communities.

Gujarati Community in Calicut

There is no clear evidence of when the Gujaratis migrated to Kerala or about their settlements in Calicut. From the works of historians and research on the history of the city of Calicut, it was found that the Gujarati community has a history of centuries in Kerala. The history of Gujaratis in Calicut city is very closely linked up with the history and development of the city as such. As mentioned above, Gujaratis have migrated to numerous lands in search of trade and opportunities, as they have their networks in different countries of the world (Poros, 1968).

This is seen as the reason by the historians, for their coming and settling in Calicut which was once a brisk trading centre. The Gujaratis in Kerala are spread mainly around Calicut, Alapuzha, Ponnani and Cochin. Only when these ports started losing their prominence did the Gujaratis migrate to Cochin (Manalil, 2006, Narayanan, 2001).

The Zamorin Raja of Calicut is said to have had good relations with Gujarat. According to Manalil (2006) the court of Zamorin Raja had more than 1500 ambassadors from other local kingdoms, out of which 600 were from Gujarati kingdoms. The Zamorin known as ‘Samudra ray’ in Gujarat was very popular there, as stories and poems were written about him.

‘Kerala Pazhama’s’⁹ version says that it was a Gujarati who guided Vasco da Gama to Kerala. The ‘Malumi’¹⁰ of the ship in which the Portuguese came was a Gujarati. It shows that even before Portuguese reached Kerala, Gujaratis were familiar with the place and sea routes to it (Narayanan,2001:42).

The king who encouraged trade on a large scale, had to wage wars on this account. In order to fight the Portuguese upheaval, the Zamorin received help from the Gujarati kingdoms. Kunju (1975) refers to this where he says that, Zamorin in his

⁹Cited in Narayanan, (2001) in the Malayalam, ‘Kozhikodinde Katha’; Gundert, H, 1868, *Kerala Pazhama*, Basel Mission Press, Mangalore

¹⁰ Malumi is referred to the guide for the sea routes

efforts to drive the Portuguese out of Kerala waters, succeeded in negotiating a confederacy with the maritime powers of Egypt and Gujarat. Qanz -Ul -Ghawri, the Sultan of Egypt, sent a well equipped fleet to India to fight the Portuguese and the Admiral, Mir Husayn, was instructed to co-operate with the fleets of the Sultan of Gujarat and the Zamorin. There was a combined operation with the Egyptian fleet, joined by Gujarat and the Calicut ships against the Portuguese in 1508 (Menon,1975).

The Gujarati traders who came down for trade from Kutch and Jamnagar opened go-downs in various places in Kerala. They would come to Kerala after the monsoons and would return back before it starts again.

Later on when the trade relations increased they found this difficult. Expenses had to be met on a large scale. Thus they were forced to settle near the ports. They lived in their go-downs initially and gradually brought with them their families. Narayanan (2001) notes this as a characteristic very unlike the other groups who came and settled in Malabar. Groups, like the Arab traders maintained relationships with the local women which gave rise to the community of 'Mappilas'(Miller, 1976). Similar way, the intermixing of the European traders and the natives resulted in bringing about the Anglo-Indian community (Manalil,2006). Narayanan (2006) analyses that, though the Gujarati community claims to have settled in Calicut about 800 years ago, by all probability they must have come to the city, after the city developed into a big trade centre i.e, some 200 years after the city's foundation. The mention of Gujaratis in Keralolpathi¹¹ (1600AD) shows that they were well established by the 16th century.

Apart from trade and commerce, there also was an aspect of religion identified. The history of Jainism in Kerala, point towards the fact that Gujaratis used to visit Jain shrines in Kerala. It is believed that Jainism reached Kerala in the third century BC. The reminiscences of Jain religion is found in various parts of the state (Manalil,2006). The Jain traders who came to Calicut in the late 17th century, upon finding out that the Jain temple in Calicut was in the hands of Hindus, were said to have requested the Zamorin to give them the right to the temple. Though,

¹¹ 'Keralolpathi', 1868 by an unknown author, gives the history of Kerala down to the modern age. Malabar , Basel mission

the exact period of the setting up of the temple or its renovation is unknown. Narayanan(2006), says that in the Malayalan year 1011 (1836 A.D) as per available revenue receipts, Seth Jairam Jaivandas and Seth Motichand Uferchand were paying municipal tax for the Jain temples. Permission to construct a number of ware houses by the Gujarati settlers was given by the British, as there is reference of it in the British records.¹²

It is estimated that there are less than 500 Gujarati families in Calicut¹³.The Gujarati street houses majority of the city's Gujarati population. This street is near to the Calicut beach where the old port stood. The street also has close proximity to one of the commercial hubs of the city-the 'Valiyangadi' or the big bazaar¹⁴. This bazaar, which has a history of more than 600 years was the main area where all trade of Calicut was focused. Though the city has developed and shifts have been occurring to different other parts, this commercial centre still retains its old charms with Brisk trade being the facet of the place. Another important trade centre of the city is the Sweet Meat Street, popularly known as the S.M Street. It got its name from the sweet meat shops there. This street too, like the lanes of 'Valiyangadi' holds a history of about 500 years. The street was occupied by the residents and shops of sweet manufacturers from Gujarat (Narayanan, 2001). The families living in the Gujarati Street belongs to various caste groups which includes Bhatia, Lohana, Patel, Vaishnav Vanik and Brahmin.

Other than these caste groups, there are Jains, who make majority of the Gujaratis in Calicut. It is observed that, they have their own temples and worshipping places. They live in the Jain colony, which is almost in the same compound of the Jain temple. Jain colony is quite close to the Calicut city's railway station, as well as the Gujarati Street. The colony has about hundred families living in houses, which have been built since the time Zamorin gave them the place to settle down. The Jain people living there have an interesting version to share on how they acquired the place and settled down designing it as the present Jain colony. According to

¹² Malabar Collectorate Records,MSS No.8872,p.254,RAC, cited in Narayanan,M,G,S.2006. *Calicut: The City of Truth*. Calicut: University of Calicut. p111.

¹³ The directory of the Gujarati association, 2010

¹⁴ From the field observations and visits

them, this happened centuries back during the time of devastating floods which occurred when the monsoon was at its peak, it left many Jain businessmen homeless. These businessmen had been staying in their go-downs and some of them had their families with them. One of the businessmen was sent to the Zamorin to inform him about the plight of these traders. The King was very genuinely concerned about their problems as he didn't want any of his traders to suffer; he saw them as guests to his land.

He gave the place, which was a raised ground, where floods would not cause havoc and granted them all rights to stay here forever¹⁵. Even though many people have moved out and settled in various other parts of the city, this colony still houses the majority of the Jain population presently living in the city¹⁶.

There is no written history on the Gujarati migration to Calicut, the time of their arrival and progress in the city. Hence, it is through the narrations of this trading community's memories and the available records that I set to decipher the background, adaptation and progress of the community in a distant land. I do this through the study of the Samaj, the Gujarati association and Vidyalaya in the life of the community.

A 'Mini Gujarat'- The Community in Calicut

It is always fascinating to look at how the ethnic minority migrants put into place diverse strategies as they travel to alien lands and settled down. As mentioned in the introduction, they come together to form associations and groups extending support to one another. The kind of ethnic associations in the Indian cities are mainly based on language, region of origin, caste and religion (Lewandowshki, 1980; Kumaran 1992). Anderson and Anderson (1962), mentions about various kinds of bonds which unite the individuals into these kinds of social groups in the urban context. It was seen that a variety of reasons are involved in the formation of these ethnic associations. Participation in them helps the migrants to have a high level of interpersonal interactions giving way to group solidarity. Studies delving

¹⁵ As told by a respondent, who is 80yrs. He belongs to the 1st generation migrant, living in the Jain colony.

¹⁶ Deshabhimani Yearly Publication. 2009. Calicut: Deshabhimani Press

into the successful and unsuccessful immigrant groups have debated on the strategies these communities use to move on.

Studies have analyzed and rated the minorities unravelling the role of the ethnic minority associations as a medium in their survival strategies (Singh, 1976; Kumaran1992). These associations have been understood as having different characteristics during different periods of the minority group's progress.

Also, various types of associations are seen to develop during the diverse stages of the development of ethnic community. In the urban contexts, when change in character of ethnic associations was analyzed, it was found that as urbanization and industrialization increases many associations becomes non functional or takes the form of modern organization. Splitting up of bigger associations into smaller ones can also be noticed in such urban contexts (ibid).

The Samaj

The Gujaratis in Calicut have different ethnic association based on their caste. These are called Samaj. Many such Samajs exist among the community. In the Samajs, there is more of an informal interpersonal interaction, as it is a group of only the caste members. Thus the Samaj is the caste association, and the various castes have their separate Samajs. They are the Brahman Samaj, Jain Samaj, Lohana Samaj, Bhatia Samaj and Vaishnav Vanik Samaj. They are mainly for socio-cultural purposes. They keep records of the entire caste members and their whereabouts. They have well structured offices and halls to carry out their activities. The Bhatia's have their Samaj hall and office called 'Krishnadam'. Similarly, Lohana Samaj also has their association hall and samaj office in the heart of the city. The Jain samaj office functions from the Jain Temple which is near to the Jain colony, in the Trikovil lane. Most of the meetings are held from this temple hall. Each Samaj has their own board of members, which includes the President, Vice President, Assistant Secretary and Treasurers. Elections are conducted by the Samajs to these posts every year. The case is quite different with few other caste groups who are not a big group in the city. The Patel caste group has only very few families residing in the city and does not have a caste Samaj functioning.

One of the interesting features of these caste samajs is that they have a very effective children's section. Children below the age of fifteen have a separate wing within the samaj. This children's wing functions like that of the main samaj. They also have yearly elections to choose their Presidents and Secretaries. On the whole these caste samajs provide the space for interaction of the caste members.

It also very effectively performs the adaptation task by making all the children of the caste, members of the samaj. This could be seen as an effort to keep the next generation acquainted with the caste association activities and hence strengthen and retain their ethnic ties.

Samaj, the caste associations were considered as having a pivotal share in keeping their culture intact. Samaj was also seen as a cultural marker. The Samaj's role in maintaining their religion and culture was pointed out by many of the respondents. Gujaratis, trying to portray themselves as a group who have been living according to the 'Gujarati ways of life' said, it was the Samaj which gave a major contribution towards this. Some of the functions that were highlighted by the members of the Samaj were in this regard. They see Samaj as a group more closely to them.

It was seen that, there is a co-operation between the Gujarati temple and the working of the Samajs. Like in some cases, the Samaj was found to take the initiations for the performances of certain pujas or other religious kind of talks. These were either organised from the Samaj halls or the temple premises. As it was a caste association, the Gujaratis saw Samajs as having a more important role in avowing their culture and religion. With lesser number of members, the Gujaratis see the Samajs more or less like an extended family. Some of the Samaj members were found comparing the Vidyalaya association and the Samajs to convey that they were more closely knit because of the Samaj. They feel proud revealing how much bonded they are to their Samaj. Some of them showed much keenness to explain this as they think that the Kerala society is less aware of the Samaj's functions as compared to the Gujarati Vidyalaya associations.

The former secretary of one of the Samajs talked about this clearly.

Our culture is maintained through the Samaj and we also have our association. For us samaj is something which is closer, because our caste members come there and meetings happens more often. It's more like a family (60y, 2nd g, L).

Avinashi of the elected member from the Jain Samaj talked about the obscure nature of the Samaj functions as compared to the association.

We have our Samaj and that is important for us. We could maintain our culture as the Samaj works towards it. All things related to Gujarati culture is cared for there. It not only the festivals that are celebrated. You people must be knowing only about that, as the Gujarati association's Navaratri celebrations are reported in newspaper. There are more things related to our religion. We organise religious talks, either in the temple or from the Samaj hall (70y, 2nd g, J).

The Vidyalaya Association

The Gujarati Vidyalaya association came into being in 1931. This association was formed for the benefit of the Gujarati school which was established in 1869. All the Gujaratis are allowed membership in the association. Thus, it acts as the umbrella association in bringing together the entire Gujarati community in the city irrespective of their Samajs. According to a former committee member Padamsi,¹⁷

The Gujarati Vidyalaya association is the one and only Gujarati association in the city. Its functions are solely related to the activities connected to the school. But every Gujarati is a member of it and it has become our main association' (CM1, 85y, 1st g, B).

There are different kinds of memberships offered by the association. The lifelong membership and temporary membership has to be renewed each year. Other than these two types, there is a kind of membership called the 'laga membership'. This is given to those Gujaratis owning companies or other business establishments and

¹⁷ The Committee Members are indicated as CM1, CM2, CM3 and CM4.

who donate certain amount of their profits to the association. According to Monish Mehta (CM2,70y, 2ndg,L), present member of the committee , the Vidyalaya association works as a well organized body with an elected board of representatives. The board consists of President, Vice President, Secretary, and a few committee members. Elections are conducted every year for this purpose.

More recently, a change is brought in, as the time period of an elected board has been increased to four years. Any Gujarati who has membership in the Vidyalaya association can contest and also exercise their vote in the election processes. An important factor to be noted here is the stark dividing line based on religion. Vidyalaya association is restricted to the Hindus of the Gujarati community. The Gujarati Muslims of Calicut and the Bohra community, are not part of the association and nor do they participate for any social and cultural get together.

Vidyalaya as the Site

The Gujarati Vidyalaya as mentioned acts as the platform providing space for all the get-together and meetings of the community. As mentioned, the Vidyalaya was the 1st Gujarati school in Kerala established in 1869. The Vidyalaya hall, one of the biggest halls in the city is the main venue where the cultural and social gathering takes place. Committee's festivals, funeral meetings, some of the Samajs functions etc happens here. It is a place where their social and cultural bonds are retained. The part Vidyalaya plays in this business committee's success and progress in the city thus forms an interesting area for in-depth exploration. The ethnic minority's major association and the school association being one and the same is the most illuminating factor here. The networks created through this, and the interactions that happen here have to be analysed to figure out the role the association plays as a medium to reach out to the main society. It is seen that, the activities of the association and the Samaj are diverse. They attend to a wide range of needs from social, cultural, educational, religious and recreational. The Vidyalaya is seen to give the ideal platform for all these activities to merge. The School log book was a visible evidence for this.

The school log books from the 1970's to the 1990's were studied to look at the activities and the functions that happened at the school during the period. It was found that most of the association's activities were noted along with the daily

events in the log book. It was seen together with the happenings in the school. Lack of availability of the old log books posed a restriction to the attempt to trace the differences over years.

But with the available records in the log books it was found that there was no drastic change with the years. Mention of almost all the cultural and social activities of the association was seen together with the school activities. Some of the events penned down in the log book which are of interest, were the following. The committee members and association members participation in the Dandi march which was organised to commemorate the day, the list of all the scholarships given to the toppers of public examinations which the various Samajs sponsored, the condolence meetings held with the death of the community members, the festivals celebrated by the community, Get-togethers and meetings of the association, contributions from the Gujarati businessmen towards the school. The copies of the invitations sent to the association members through the school for the various functions that took place in the school hall were also attached in the book. This makes it obvious that the Vidyalaya associations and the school's functions lay intertwined.

Culture as an Ethnic Tie

Among the various factors which form the basis of ethnic ties, culture has an undeniable part to perform in retaining the ethnic group solidarity. Scholars have stated that, ethnic group memberships are often intensified by migration even when the family ties are disrupted (Zhou and Bankston, 2001). This solidification of ethnic ties is usually on the basis of various commonalities the group possess. Cultural similarities have an important part role here. The following section looks at the various aspects of Gujarati culture which are preserved by the families.

All sixteen families felt it was an achievement that they could maintain their Gujarati identity. Even after so many years of stay in the land, they could still retain the specific ways of their culture and an identity for themselves. They vehemently opined that they have a clear cut cultural distinction which they followed to this day. They narrated this through various markers of culture.

Most of the respondents think that religious difference is one of the striking factors that differentiate them from the Kerala society. All the respondents, across generations were seen juxtaposing their culture with the host societies. They were observed to be very eager to convey that they had a wide cultural difference from Kerala society and this was more or less linked to religion and rituals. Most of them started their conversion with, 'we have a separate culture as our religion's ways are very different.' Elaborations on this were made through various interesting narrations.

One of the noticeable factors was their preference to go to their temple. The Gujarati Street has the Vaishnav temple. Except Jains, many of the Gujaratis prefer to visit this Vaishnav temple. They see this as their attempt to stand by their culture. They feel that the 'pujas' and offerings done in 'their' temple is different from the other temples in Calicut. An exception to this is the 'Azhakodi Devi temple' in Calicut. The Gujarati's prefer to visit this temple as it has a link with the community. They believe that their ancestors had gifted an idol of 'Bhavani Devi' to temple. Vijay Thogadia (55y, 2nd g,vv), opines that he gets a feeling of contentment after giving his prayers only at the Vaishnav temple. Though the temple belongs to the Vaishnav caste group, other Gujaratis also prefer to go there.

'We go to our temple. It is not because the gods are different in yours!! You see the performance of puja, other offerings, like archana differs from the Kerala temples. It is according to our culture and we feel that we are praying; the ambience is there' (55y, 2nd g,VV).

Navin, an old generation Gujarati, talked about the other temple which the Gujaratis visited, they follow this as their fathers and fore fathers have been going there.

'We also go to Azhakodi Devi temple. We have a connection to that temple. The idol of Bhavani devi which the Zamorin king gave to the temple long back was gifted to him by traders from Gujarat. Maybe it is because of this that our parents and grandparents went there. Now we also go there.' (85y, 1st g, B).

The younger generation that is the present third generation in the Gujarati families were a little more liberal in their outlook regarding the religion's rigidity. Even though they opined about the difference their religious practices had, they were found to be visiting the worshipping places of Keralaites as well. But at the same time some of them pointed at the other aspects like, keeping fasts, offering to gods etc. Even the younger generation feels that the Gujaratis are more bound to their religion in terms of following the rituals and customs without fail. Devna, also points at this difference, which is involved in the practices within religion. She says that they visit all temples in the city. Unlike the old generation, they don't feel any kind of discomfort praying in other temples. But she emphasised the differentiating factor is with 'being Gujarati' which shows that the Gujarati is more religiously bond. According to her, they follow even the minute things in relation to religion very rigidly.

'Religion is also different, as in the practices involved varies. For us taking 'vrata' is more strict, you people eat on that day but we don't eat at all, our puja and ceremonies in temple have a distinct nature unlike yours' (35y,3rdg,P).

Gujaratis also hold strongly bound ties of rituals through the religion. Almost all of them still have connections with their home town in Gujarat through their family temples. They go there every year to participate in the 'puja' conducted for the prosperity of the entire family. Ganesh Moolji, says that they go every year like all culturally bound Gujaratis to their home town in Gujarat to participate in the family 'puja' or ritual

'Our religion's bonds are also stronger. We keep our culture's roots intact. We go to Gujarat every year to take part in the 'puja' which happens in the family temple. We never miss that, even when my son had his exams, we used to go taking special permission from the school' (50y, 3rd g,B).

A distinct feature of the Gujaratis is the celebration of festivals. For everyone these celebrations spoke about their culture's uniqueness. They were very keen on celebrating their festivals. The major festivals celebrated are the Navaratri, Diwali and Holi. It is the Vidyalaya association which celebrates these festivals. The

celebrations mainly take place from the school hall. This brings together the entire community and is considered as a means through which their culture is retained. All of them unanimously expressed delight at the festival celebrations. According to the community, 'culture is celebrated through festivals'.

It was quite obvious that the Gujarati community visualised the celebration of their festivals as a strong marker of their culture. This was evidently seen from the fact that, they were not celebrating the festivals of Kerala like 'Onam' or 'Vishu'. In spite of their decades long stay in the state, very few families belonging to the fourth generation migrants were showing interest in the festivals of Kerala. Though they said that Onam is celebrated, it was a rarity. It was not celebrated as like their festivals. Mere participation as guest in a 'Malayali' friends home or spreading the flower carpet which forms an important part of Onam celebration were the two things that the respondents talked about when they were asked about celebrating the festivals of Kerala.

'We celebrate festivals like Onam also, not at home, some of my Malayali friends invite me home for it. I love the 'sadya' and 'payasam' made on the day' (Adit shah,35y, 2nd g, B).

Priya, who belongs to the 3rd generation, celebrates Onam because she lives in a flat where every others are Keralaites. With the others they celebrate by putting flowers and making 'sadya'¹⁸. Being born and brought up in Calicut, Priya thinks that it is quite natural to adopt the regions culture as well,

'We celebrate our festivals. Whatever it is we never compromise on it. But at the same time we also celebrate Onam. All of the residents in the flat does this... last Onam we made the best flower carpet' (35y,3rd g,L).

Food preferences of the community were seen to have an important place in relation to their cultural and religious sentiments. They are vegetarians and stressed on this as a major differentiating factor from the Kerala society. An

¹⁸ One of the important part of the festival Onam is related to the spreading of flower carpets and the 'sadya' is the meal cooked on the occasion

interesting aspect which unveiled when food preferences were discussed was the differences in choice by the male members and the female members.

Most of the husbands favour the Kerala or south Indian dishes. In few houses the families agreed that some of these dishes are cooked quite often but it is mainly for their husband or children. Majority of the Gujarati wives did not prefer it. They owe this choice of to their husband's, to the increased interactions with the Kerala society and his friends circles. As mentioned earlier, wives in the families were more or less confined to their ethnic enclaves. Ratna, a third generation house wife, who is forty five, inspite of living in Kerala like her husband is not familiar with the Kerala cuisine. Poorni a house wife, married to a businessman belonging to the 2nd generation, sounded offended at her husband's preference of Kerala dishes.

'We cook all kinds of vegetarian food at home. Kerala dishes are also cooked at home. I didn't know to cook all that, my husband asked his friends and taught me. He has a lot of Malayali friends' (Ratna,45y,3rd gen,VV).

'We, to this day have problems with the food!! He asks me to cook 'Avial and Erisseri', which I am very bad at. I don't have interest in it. Since he eats outside with friends, he is used to the taste, that's not the case with me' (Poorni,60y,J).

Language

Language has a major role in the context of migration. According to Panigrahi and Panda (2001) language has been seen as an important ethnic marker. It acts as a base for unity. The issue of linguistic adjustment have attracted the attention of scholars widely. In the context of migration its relevance is even more as it constrains the migrants from becoming the part of the receiving society.

In the case of Gujarati migrants in Calicut, it is the language factor that is the strongest base for their association. As in all multicultural contexts the debate over the loss of language, as a result and estrangement with ones culture and the fear of weakening the already delicate lines with homeland, is prominent here too.

Language is a factor which has immense importance in the life of a migrant community. It is one factor that the community have in common. The Gujarati community is tied across castes, class, religion, place and generations through language. Language thus becomes a pertinent factor in unifying the community. Gujarati is seen as an important cultural marker by the community members. The respondents when asked about the way they maintain their culture, immediately responded that they still speak Gujarati language at home. There are numerable studies showing the shift in using mother tongue by the migrated communities. The Gujaratis who migrated to East Africa, with years, saw an exchange of Swahili and English with their mother tongue Gujarati (Oonk, 2007). One finds this as an inevitable process that would happen with generations as the ties of interaction among themselves weakens. An interesting aspect about this argument is that, sometimes purposeful decisions owing to adaptability and progress affect the language being used. It could also be that, over time shifts occur as the community embrace the dominant language.

The case is different with this Gujarati community as language is considered an important indicator to denote that the community is still connected to their roots. And it was seen that the Gujaratis from different generations and belonging to different backgrounds visualised language as a part of their culture. Speaking the language is given more emphasis by the community. All the respondents speak Gujarati at home and converse with the others in the community also in Gujarati. Few of them emphasized that they maintain this strictly at home. Their parents have been speaking in Gujarati to them and now they follow the same so that the next generation takes it on. The language spoken at home has a lot of relevance. It can be argued that, it is the language in which the community feels most comfortable. Speaking ‘only Gujarati’ at home can be seen as a strategy to acquaint their children with an ‘important part of their culture’.

A respondent from the third generation states this very clearly. According to him, it is because the family speaks in Gujarati that they have not become estranged with their language.

‘We speak only Gujarati and that was a deliberate family decision. My parents did it and I do that to my children so that they know their mother

tongue well. It is part of our culture. All of us speak in Gujarat. See, we have not lost touch with it even after so many years (Manohar,40y,3rdg, P).

Another respondent who belongs to the first generation was quite forthright in expressing himself. He sees Gujarati as their 'culture's link'.

'At home we speak only Gujarati. That is our language, our culture's link and we will speak only our language right? Like you people who speak only Malayalam wherever you are!!' (Navin,83y,1st gen,B).

Community's knowledge of Malayalam, the regional language and their views around it brought in interesting insights. Knowing the native language is often a necessity in an alien land and speaking it fluently could be taken as a determining aspect to measure the level of adaptability that the migrants have attained in the host land (Rai ,2009 ;Oonk,2007) . This argument has more pertinence in the case of trading communities as interaction with the natives is inevitable. According to Thogadia,

'We had to learn your language, see how well many of us communicate in Malayalam. It was essential for us, as our main job is to talk to people. Doing business, you need to know the language of the place' (55y,2nd ,VV).

Fluency with Malayalam language was found to vary with generations among the families interviewed. The first and second generation Gujaratis know to read and write Malayalam when compared to the third and fourth generations. Many from the older generation had chosen to study Malayalam as a subject in school.

Thus, through this voluntary attempts and daily interactions they could speak good Malayalam. This is mostly the case of Gujarati men. Women of the community have a different experience altogether.

Majority of the old generation and middle generation wives did not know Malayalam. It was quite surprising that despite their long stay in the state, they could not even converse or understand the language well. This is not only the case of women who came to Kerala after marriage but also with some of the 2nd and 3rd generation women as well. It had a lot to do with their education and the school

they went to. Those who went to the Vidyalaya interacted more with their community's students and also had chosen to study Gujarati. While their husbands, even though few of them had not learned the language, over time with their interactions with the outside society could converse in Malayalam fluently. The Gujarati women, especially from the 1st and 2nd generation were found more confined to their ethnic group. They had their interactions mainly within them. While talking to few of the 1st and 2nd generations in the families, this difference was found very evidently. Most of these older generation house wives preferred not to speak much. Navin a 1st generation migrant in the city speaks about this, when the question was posed to his wife.

'They don't even know to speak Malayalam properly, leave about reading and writing. Where do they go out here? Only to our samaj functions that too with the community members' (84y, 1st g,B).

Padma, who came to the city after marriage, was very specific, she said that knowing the language has more to do with regular conversing with Malayalees. She was bothered about the fact that she had stayed in the city for a pretty long time and still has not got the conversing skill.

'if you daily interact with many Malayalees, wont you naturally get to know it. My husband can speak good Malayalam not just because he studied it. As he is a businessman, he talks to a lot of malayalees. That is not possible for us' (59y,2nd,J).

Association, Vidyalaya and Networks

Vidyalaya association is seen as the platform which holds together majority of the Gujarati community based on their cultural markers. The commonness of identity of being a Gujarati is maintained here. The Gujarati community association by bringing together all the caste Samajs and sections helps in the intensification of their ethnic ties. It is the Vidyalaya which provides the physical space for the festivals which the community celebrates, the get-togethers and functions which the various Samajs initiates.

The community members from all sections are present for the functions in the school hall. The central emphasis of ethnicity, which falls on sharing of a common culture, celebrating the same festivals and following the same rituals, is visibly evident here. An intermixing of the Vidyalaya association, samaj and Gujarati identity happens in the school. How the Vidyalaya serves as the medium for this interaction would be explored here.

This platform for the Gujarati association is a place frequented by the community members. As seen, the community identifies various markers of culture which they hold closer to them and which in turn becomes a part of their identity in the city. Gujarati association also has to be seen in this background. The community members talk passionately about their association and its role in binding them. The reasons for the community members visits to the school were unveiled through the responses. They were asked why they visited the school and the interest they have in the functions that are organised.

As seen earlier, celebrating the festivals was an important part in the life of Gujaratis. The festivals like the Navaratra, Diwali and Holi are celebrated from the Vidyalaya hall. To conduct these festivals, separate committees are formed from the Vidyalaya association. It is the festival committees which manages all the events regarding the celebrations. Many interesting activities occur during this time making it an entirely cultural event. A very long celebration happens for Navaratra.

It includes the rituals as well as the entertaining programmes. Ceremonies like offering 'puja' and other rituals are performed by the priests who are called exclusively from Gujarat, the women of the community come together to perform the Garbha dance etc. All the respondents unanimously said that festivals would become 'colourful' only if it is celebrated from the school hall. According to one of the respondents,

'Only when the festivals are celebrated in groups do we feel that something is going on, we see everybody together and with the same level of enthusiasm to celebrate'(Viswas Jain,60y,2ndg, J).

Other than the festivals, the sports day and school annual day are also celebrated with equal interest as like any other festival celebrated from the school. All the Gujaratis who are members of the association are invited through the school. The celebration of the Gujarat state's formation, Gandhi Jayanti and New Year has its specialities in its own way. On the state's formation day, all the programmes are conducted only in Gujarati language. Performances like Garbha, Raaz, Geet Razal, Doha Chand, quiz programmes are all in Gujarati. Many such programmes are also ceremonised with a special Gujarati lunch. According to Monish Mehta, a committee member,

'Almost everybody shows interest in coming for this, these functions are also equally defining for us like the festivals. It is like part of the Gujarati identity exclusively' (CM2,70,2nd g,L).

Some of the samajs activities were also found to take place from the school, through the association as the medium. All the community members are invited for such functions. The invitations are sent via the Vidyalaya association. One of the major events which the samaj conducts this way is the children's wings programmes. It is called the 'Anand Bazar'. Most of the children's wings of the samajs are known to organise this. It is more or less like a 'fete' where the children keep food stalls, conduct entertainment programmes like games, dances and songs, sell their handicrafts etc. the interesting thing is that the adults don't intervene in this at all. School ground and the hall becomes the main venue. The dates fixed for these programmes are announced in the association's meetings well in advance. Invitations are sent to all members of the vidyalaya association. Many such functions are organised by the samajs in this way. Association thus maintains its role reaching out to the entire community. One of the former committee members of the vidyalaya association was all praise for such programmes organised by the samaj's and the cooperation from the association.

'Children conduct programmes on their own. The 'Anand Bazaar' is the one which happens every year. You should see the way they do it. The profits from it are utilised for many good things, like charity work and all. Association does a commendable work by giving the Samajs this kind of support to conduct the programmes' (Vikas Jain,CM2,65y,2nd g,J).

Other than the festivals and celebrations the funeral meetings are also held from the school. If an association member dies all the Samajs are informed about the death calling for a prayer meeting in the school hall. All the Samajs and caste groups are free to organise such meetings in the school where almost every member of the community come into join. Thus the physical space provided by the Vidyalaya has a lot of relevance here. This space is efficiently used by the community to project their identities. Responses from the Gujaratis revealed this more clearly.

The interaction that happens during the time of celebrations was emphasized by many of the Gujaratis as festivals were found to be the time when the entire community visits the schools. Manohar, was excited speaking about their festivals. He sees this as a time to meet with every other Gujarati.

'When we have our festivals, everybody brings their family also. We get to know each other in the Vidyalaya itself. Once my cousins had come from Gujarat and told me that it is celebrated more lively than in Gujarat!!' (40y, 3rd g, P)

The women who came to Calicut after marriage were seen showing more interest in their approach to association's functions and celebrations. Some of these wives were very keen on attending all the association's functions and programmes. This was more visible with the younger generation wives. Women who have been born and brought up in the city were not eager to attend all of the association's functions however; they never missed any important celebrations or activities. This could be owing to the fact that the association gives them an emotional support that they are still connected to their land, as many of them mentioned that they could see Gujaratis around and speak in their language.

Neena a 33 year old house wife, who came to Calicut after marriage take immense interest in going for the association's activities, where she can interact with the other Gujaratis.

'I feel very happy to go for all association's functions. It is an association which stands for us and we should participate in its activities. I cannot speak Malayalam and there we meet everybody from Gujarat and can talk a lot in

Gujarati. I don't miss any festivals or other functions, even if my husband doesn't get time' (33y, B).

The difference was evidently seen with Priya ,3rd generation migrant. Even though she goes for festivals, she was not regular with the meetings or other programmes which the association organises. There were others which were given more priority than the association's programmes.

'I go to the school for our festivals, like, Navaratri , Diwali etc. I do agree that it is the place where we meet and interact with our community members. But I don't get time for all the programmes happening there. Even if it is on Sundays, I would be having some or the other engagements...My father in law goes for all of them , and through him we get to know what is going on at the association '(Priya,34,3rd g, L).

All of the community members feel that school becomes the venue for their interaction. Wider interaction with the community is made possible through the school association as the community has more of its interactions within the Samaj, which is a confined space for only caste members. According to Raj Jain the feeling of togetherness and the fact that they are a wider group is felt with the school association's activities.

'Whatever the case is I never miss any kind of functions. That is the only time I can meet others from the community. Even if we go to our samaj, it is our caste members only. In the association everyone from the community comes '(Raj Jain,63y, 2nd g, J).

The old generation also feels the mixing up in the Vidyalaya as very refreshing. Many of the younger generation Gujaratis have started migrating away from the state, leaving behind the older generation-their parents. Navin an 84 year old points at this and feels that it is the association's activities that gives him strength and an emotional support. The active interest he takes in the association's activities keeps him engaged too. Thus the Vidyalaya association's activities are more or less like a recreation place for the old people. This could also be attributed to the reason of the association's activities being thronged more by the older generation.

'We are very interested in the activities of the association, which is an important place where we can meet others and talk. In our case, we old people are more or less like in old age homes. You walk around and see the Gujarati Street, you will find only old people, the present generation is moving away. So, in school we meet and see everybody from all corners coming together' (Navin,84y,1st g,B).

Thus on the whole, the vidyalaya association looks at the function of the retentions of cultural ties quite efficiently. Utilising the school as the platform, it satisfies the community giving them a kind of feeling of solidarity, support and above all an identity. It was seen that retaining the culture intact by bringing together the community is indeed a complementary thing which the entire association members welcomes inspite of the generations they belong to.

Preeti Jain an active committee member rightly says this ,

'our association does a lot to the community, we remain together share our problems and are still here as a community with identity because of the association.. Whatever happens, all the Gujaratis come to the school for one or the other occasion. The most important ones are the festivals. We celebrate it so well, creating a 'small Gujarat' and who would want to miss it.' (CM4, 46,3rdg,J)

Ethnicity, Entrepreneurships and Social Capital

It is seen that the cultural networks are well managed through the various functions and activities which the association initiates. As the Gujarati community is mainly a trading community, diverse channels are utilised in building and creating social networks, which are beneficial for them in the success and progress of their occupation. The association as a medium for this is being explored in the following section.

Studies have shown that, Ethnic group ties play an important role in strengthening the already existing ties of networks and utilising it for stabilising new ones, the ethnic associations or more specifically ethnic group members play an important part in the entrepreneurial ventures of the migrants (Aldrich and Waldinger,1990).

Recent studies have discussed the ethnic entrepreneurs focusing on the networks of 'kinship' and 'friendship' around which the ethnic communities are arranged (Etemad and Wright,2003) They have moved on the discussion regarding immigrant entrepreneurship, looking at the complex networks involved and the 'social capital' cultivated through it. Aldrich and Zimmer (1990) talks about the 3 part person to person transaction approach, which includes communication, exchange, and normative considerations (expectations of the parties concerned).

'A hierarchy of social networks starts with the role-set (people you know), action-set (purposeful alliances), and network ('the totality of all persons connected by a certain type of relationship' Networks are distinguished by their density or connectedness, reachability (direct or indirect path), centrality of the individual in the network, and the group's 'internal organizing capacity'.(Aldrich and Zimmer, 1986: 12).

A clearer explanation regarding the relationship between social capital and networks have been put forth by Bates(1994), where the entrepreneur is identified as the member of supportive kinship, peer and community subgroup. With the help of these networks, firms are created and operated successfully. The social capital acts as the source of customers, loyal employees and financial assistances. It is also understood as the most dynamic mechanism that underpins a flourishing society (Sardinha, 2009). Social capital has the undeniable role of building connections between people and communities with the focus being placed on the creation of relationships of trust and tolerance through person to person contact, strengthening the social fabric of communities and society. It is also understood that social capital functions on the basis of people's skills, knowledge and abilities to build relationships through social networks and groups (ibid).

Trade- the Major Occupation

Majority of the Gujarati men are engaged in business. As history reveals, they have basically come for trade and have been continuing it for generations. They either set up their own companies or came to work with those Gujaratis who were established. The first big business establishment of all Gujarati establishments in Calicut was founded by the Nagji Purushothambai Amarsee's and Company. It

was started in 1880 and became one of the famous firms. The History of all the present Gujarati companies in Calicut has been known to have started from the foundation of this company¹⁹. It dealt mainly in textiles, fancy goods and Malabar produce. The company flourished and ventured into new businesses in 1932. It was the first big Gujarati Company in Calicut and had played an important role in strengthening the Gujarati migration to the city. An 86 year old businessman of the 1st generation recalls that the success of such businessmen like Nagji is the reason for Gujaratis to have moved on well with an identity in a land known to the world as traders' paradise.

In course of time, this company took a leading position among all the trading concerns at Calicut. He envisioned that the activities of the company should be associated with the wider society. This tempted the company to involve in the developmental activities of Calicut. The company had contributed substantially towards the progress and development of Gujaratis in Calicut. Gujarati school, community hall, corporation buildings etc have the share of the contributions from the community in them. The other contributions from their side, includes one of the very famous football tournament, the 'Nagji Amarsee football tournament'. It became one of the landmarks in the growth of football in Calicut. The tournament led to the recognition of club football in Calicut. Other than this pioneer firm, those which were established later on were also seen following the path set by the old firms. Hirakhand Ratansi, founders of the Gwalior Rayons, etc, which are the city's pioneering Gujarati business firms were also seen indulging in various activities to reach out to the society.

The Malabar chamber of commerce, a mercantile group has Nagji Purushotham as one of its founding members. He had served as the President of this organisation for a period of few years. Later on many other Gujarati businessmen also joined the organisation.

According to Monish Mehta (CM2, 70y, 2nd g, L) 'the contributions he made to the Vidyalaya and the active role he played in its prosper keeps him living in the hearts

¹⁹ Information gathered from the interaction with Padamsi, 85 year old business man and a former member of Malabar chamber of commerce.

of all Gujaratis in Calicut.' Looking at the records, it was found that most of the funding for the Vidyalaya had come from such Gujarati families who own companies and other businesses.

Donations to the school and helping in its development are seen as the most valuable contribution of the old generation rich Gujarati families. As mentioned, these businessmen were trying to get a position in the host society through these means. Vidyalaya association here becomes the platform for these community members or business men to create the social capital by building in networks and connections with people of the same ethnic community. This in turn forms the necessary factor in creating the identity needed in the host society. Thus, the social capital achieved through this acts as the resource to attain the required status or prestige in the wider society thus making it easy to access other avenues, i.e various other associations.

For the business community, memberships and positions in various business organisations like Malabar chamber of commerce, Calicut city merchants association etc are pathways to get to know more people and where interaction is possible. This helps them flourish and maintain their identity in the city's business concerns.

Since the demise of the founder Sri Purushothambai Amarsee several members of the family held chief positions in the company and have contributed substantially to the funds of Sri Gujarati Vidyalaya association. Records also show that these members of Amarsee Company have occupied positions of honour in the vidyalaya association. These records in the school regarding the building funds and scholarships has the detailed mention of the contributions made by the business groups like the Nagjee purushotham and co, Bombay steam navigation, Mullaisi bankers association, Gwalior rayon silk, MGF, Javaraj Harakhchand etc.

Table2.1 Donations for the School Building Fund

List of Donors of Funds for the 1st Building Fund- 1950-54	Amount Contributed
1)Seth Nagjee Puroshatham & Co Private ltd	16001
2)Mullaisri Bankers Association	2000
3)Bombay Steam Navigation Co.Ltd	2001
4)Other Gujarati Association	1800
For the 2nd Building Fund from 1964	
1)Gwalior Rayon Silk MGF (wvg) Co.Ltd, Mavoor	40,000
2)Nagjee Purushotham and Co Pvt Ltd	15001
3)Seth Javaraj Harakhachand	2500

(Source-Study 2011)

The table above, found in one of the school records, shows the contributions made by few of the Gujarati firms to the building fund. The lists of donors were seen in the records for a period from the 1950's onwards. It was found that many of the business families in the name of their founders have contributed substantially to the building funds. Scholarships were also being sponsored by some of them. The noticeable fact was that, these groups of companies have had a major share of representation in the association's board as presidents, committee members and secretaries of the Vidyalaya. Nagji amarsee, Tharanjee Puroshatham, Maneklal Purushotham, Leeladhar Naranjee Mehta, Chabildas, Methansee Manekjee, etc from the above mentioned business groups served as the first presidents of the Vidyalaya association²⁰.

These business organisations thus could reach out to the society creating an imprint in the minds of people. The acceptance they sought through this from the society added to their growth and prosperity in the city. Associating themselves with the activities of the school and thereby standing for the cause of education can

²⁰ Data from the school log book; year 1975.

thus be seen as an attempt towards attainment of a certain social capital (cultural capital). This is a phenomenon seen in different contexts in various societies. Certain societies try to elevate their social positions by diverting their economic capital and investing them in setting up educational institutions, other charity works etc (Upadhya, 1987).

Many of the community members were found to specify the contributions and donations that they gave to the association when their interest and participation in the association's activities were asked. The community visualised themselves as being part of the effective functioning of the association and took pride in talking about their monetary contributions to the school fund. They saw themselves getting recognition among the community members through this. Those who had preferred other schools for children also were seen to keep an interest in the activities of the school by donating to the school fund and participating in the discussions regarding the development of the school.

Some of the younger generation Gujaratis, who have migrated abroad or to other places were also contributing a decent sum to the school. Viswas Jain mentions the past while asserting the need to contribute to the school fund.

'We have been able to enjoy the school facilities and association because somebody else from the previous generations had taken the initiations for it. Do you know that, many of the rich Gujarati families contribute to the school fund even now? I too donate to the school fund, even though my children did not study there.' (60y, 2ndg, L).

A father belonging to the 2nd generation, who is very active in the school association's functions proudly, speaks about his son who has contributed a share of his salary to the school fund. He sees it as the responsibility of the younger generation to help and keep their association progressing.

'My son has contributed a handsome amount, in fact a share of his salary to the school fund. He is settled in US with his job, but still keeps his responsibility.... Yes it is a responsibility on the part of the younger generation to help the association function, especially the school. Nowadays, the young generation moves out and forgets' (63y, 2ndg, B).

They tried to portray themselves as a self sufficient community who maintains themselves well through their association. Other than the monetary contributions to the association, various business groups use to sponsor for the smooth conduct of certain programmes and functions organised in the school. Sponsors of food, seating and the other arrangements were always from the community. Monish Mehta, one of the committee members says that, the association seldom have to pool money for such things.

'The Gujarati business groups are the ones who sponsor things when some kind of functions or activities happens within the school. Since we are into business it makes us easy for such contributions... the light and sound for school programmes, sometimes chairs to fill the auditorium, lunch or dinner are all given. We don't have to depend on others or pay for it. Which is the best part' (CM2,70y, 2nd,L).

Thus, the Vidyalaya association suffices the space for the identity within the community as well as outside the ethnic group. The community utilise the resources from the association to attain the social capital required to move forward in the host land. But at the same time it was found that the association, inspite of being portrayed as the one projecting the solidarity of the Gujarati community, has various conflicting issues within it. These issues which are more or less obscured to the wider society were revealed by few of the association members.

Vidyalaya Association- The Other Side

Although the vidyalaya association is intended to represent the majority of the Gujaratis in the city, it is mainly controlled by the higher caste and higher class within the community. The posts of the presidents and the secretaries when analysed were found to be the domain of these higher caste and class groups. There has not been much difference in this from that of the formative years of the association. The association is known to have progressed with the various rich pioneering families coming together to take the initiation for the development of the school. The posts in the board of directors were usually held by the members of these families. But overtime with its proper establishment and wider acceptance, it became a solid medium for social networking. Many of them from the communities aspired for the posts of the board aiming for the attainment of the

'social capital'. Elections and contestations to it as matters of conflicts have to be reasoned this way.

Interaction with the former committee members and a few board members revealed that there was a keen interest from the side of many businessmen to take up the post of the president or be in the board of committee members. According to them, holding a position in the school board would bring in respect from within the community as well the wider society. Most often elections result in internal conflicts within the members. Issues regarding certain caste members occupying the positions and members of the rich families, who have been succeeding the posts were brought about.

Though most of them preferred not to talk about these sensitive issues which were highly restrictive to the walls of the association, few were ready to voice out their concerns.

'Lots of internal politics happen within the association's meetings, especially meetings prior to elections. All the prominent caste groups want the maximum number of representations from their side. Some of the rich business groups are also no less, as they too want the post of president or secretary to themselves as it no doubt brings one respect in the society. This is a school organisation and the Gujaratis look up to them thinking they would do something. The society also would come to know of them.' (Vikas Jain, CM3, 65y, J).

There was also a suggestion that caste was also a matter of conflict. Few of the appointments made to certain posts in the school were mentioned to state this. These posts were not given to the eligible candidates from the community as they belonged to the lower caste. Also, the prominent caste groups wanting their members to be in the school board was discussed. One of the recent appointee shared how the rules were changed according to the interests of the dominant castes.

'There are a lot of internal conflicts in the association. I am here as the community did not want to give the post to a low caste. Those candidates

were in all way eligible for it. You see the rules were changed with a flick by the board' (Saketh, 40y, a recent appointee to the school).

Some of the older generation community members pointed out at the fact that there are no young people from the community coming forward to take up the association's board posts and are no longer interested in the association's functioning.

'We have efficient presidents and other members for the school association board. And there has been competition from the old generation businessmen, but you see, it is not the same with the younger generation. Many of them are not here, but those who are here also don't show much interest in the elections and all....' (Vikas Jain, 65y, 2nd g, L)

A change was seen in the case of younger generation. Even though the younger generation attended the major functions and programmes, many did not prefer or want to indulge in matters related to the internal conflicts within association and the arguments that happen in the meetings. The reason for the younger Gujaratis from the third and fourth generations not willing to take up the association's posts or involve in the elections makes it evident that the younger generation is moving away. Manohar, from the 3rd generation, agrees that Vidyalaya is indeed a space for interaction and meeting the other Gujaratis. But prefer to stay away from the meetings as it more or less becomes a conflict ground. He belongs to the Patel caste which does not have a samaj they are known to be more attached with the association as that is the only place where they meet other Gujaratis, in spite of this, he says,

'I am really interested in the association and the programmes. We can interact and meet people. It also stands for us and for the school. I go for the meetings, not for everything. To tell you the truth, in some meetings it is just arguments and arguments which doesn't reach anywhere and I don't have time for all that' (40y, 2nd g, P).

School as a Social Support

Apart from the cultural and social aspects, the community through the Vidyalaya association comes together to extend a huge support in relation to the education of

the community members. Studies have shown that social and cultural networks which are based on ethnic ties have been known to provide support to certain disadvantaged groups also. Feliciano (2006) while looking at the success of immigrant groups in U.S brings to light the characteristic of the group as a whole has importance in the success level of the various migrant groups there.

The school as an educational institution has its pertinence in this regard. The Members of the Gujarati community are involved with a lot of assistance work in relation to the education of their members which is mostly carried out through the school. The economically better positioned in the group help the weaker section of the community. The Vidyalaya provides fee less education for all the Gujaratis who enrol. Uniforms and books are also given free to the Gujarati children. This acts as a very complimentary force to the progress of the community. The children who perform well in studies or in some other extracurricular activities are given various scholarships. These scholarships are mainly offered by the Gujarati business firms and other upper class Gujaratis.

Encouraging the children by giving them support for education in a way has an underlining impact. They try to construct a particular network by indulging in activities associated with the school and at the same time this also convinces the other community to send their children to the Vidyalaya. Monish Mehta (CM2, 70y,2nd g,L) says that, there are various scholarships offered to the children. Many of the Gujarati families offers scholarships and other funds to the school. It comes from different parts of the world. From USA, i.e. the Gujarati families settled there, three scholarships are offered every year to the tenth standard public examination toppers. Other than those, the rich businessmen too have trusts for children who excel in studies. According to him,

'There are many poor sections in our community. You will not suddenly recognise them, but they have to compromise their children's education, good food etc many times. The association and the school take care of them perfectly.' (70y,2nd,L)

Another factor which was note worthy was the support given by the teachers from the Gujarati community, working in the Vidyalaya. Presently there were only very

few, specifically, five Gujarati teachers in the school. The rest others are from the Kerala society. The support extended by these teachers was an adding aspect to the help provided by the association. Most teachers from the community give tuitions from their homes to the Gujarati children. Children from all classes go to these teachers.

It is more or less like a home tutoring session where the children would be helped with their home works. The smaller children are also given special attention by these teachers. They teach Gujarati language, English and help with all other subjects in smaller classes. Madhu Ben, former teacher of the school keeps herself busy with her tuition classes for children from all sections. In the case of economically backward children, the home tuitions are free.

'I provide tuitions to children. Not only Gujarati Children, Malayali children also come here. Some of our community people are really poor and they need help in education. I help them by giving classes in English and also with the home work given in school. I don't do it for business, infact parents who are well to do insist that I should accept their fees, but for many others from the community, I do it without expecting anything' (64y,2ndg, B)

Radhika Jain, a teacher in the Gujarati Vidyalaya offer tuitions in Gujarati. She says that, children from all sections of the community come to her.

'I teach mainly Gujarati language. Now in school it is compulsory also. Children from the vidyalaya come to me. They are serious as they have to appear for their public examinations. But other than them, children who don't study in the Vidyalaya are also sent here, just to learn the basic things of Gujarati language, they come mainly during the vacations' (50y,2ndg, J)

The community on the whole gets benefited as it emphasises on the need for education. Unlike before it was identified that, the Gujarati parents are very much particular about their children's education and envisions their children's future as secured only with a sound educational qualification. The Gujarati Vidyalaya playing its role in the education of the community thus ought to be looked at quite deeply. The next chapter focuses on the community's educational strategies and aspirations in the light of the 'Vidyalaya'.

Conclusion

The Gujarati community have come to the city seeking trade opportunities and has the characteristic of the 'voluntary migrants' who are identified to be usually the successful migrants. The community which has migrated to Calicut around a century ago has been able to move forward in the land exploiting the opportunities, yet maintaining their culture and differences. The associations set up by a migrated community have immense relevance in bringing together a feeling of solidarity, and a collective identity. They cater to the needs of the community looking at the adaptation and progress of the community. From the analysis of the roles the Vidyalaya and association plays, it appears that the physical space offered by the Gujarati Vidyalaya has been used to satisfy the diverse needs of the community required for the success of the community in the host land. The association which is centred on the Vidyalaya acts as the strong medium towards this cause.

The Vidyalaya association was formed in 1931, decades after the Vidyalaya was established; which was in the year 1869. The samajs or the informal caste groups were the only associations before the Vidyalaya association came into being. The association covers all the caste associations. It gradually became the identity marker of the community as all the Gujaratis were given memberships in the association inspite of their class and caste backgrounds. It could bring in the diverse sections of the community together maintaining a difference from the other communities like Muslims and the Bohra. Exclusion of such communities from the association, points to the fact that the base of possessing a common culture is a major reason on which the association is built.

The physical space offered by the Vidyalaya becomes a ground of complex interactions between the diverse samaj's, the association and the community as a whole to create an identity in the city. The Association has a central role to play in this regard. It is from the Vidyalaya that the festivals and other cultural events are celebrated by the community which is organised through the association. The Vidyalaya association is also seen to be acting as the ideal networking site for the various businessmen of the community.

Their active participation in the school activities as well as the association's activities enhance their prospects to effectively use ethnicity as a path to reach out

to their community as well as the wider society. The Vidyalaya association's role as an ethnic minority's association is thus evident as the basic characteristic of such an association is the retention of the cultural and social ties (Kumaran,1992; Panigrahi and Panda,2000). The Vidyalaya association in the background of the school, thus effectively becomes the platform to build the bonds bringing in the social and cultural capital which is used by the community to negotiate their chances of progress in the wider society.

Chapter Three

The Vidyalaya

This chapter intends to look at the Gujarati Vidyalaya as an educational institution which the Vidyalaya association, samaj and the community has been accessing as the site for a varied variety of reasons. The role of the Vidyalaya as an educational institution, the sections of the community preferring the school and the reasons for the same would be explored here. The chapter would also look at the parent's approaches towards education, their aspirations and mobilisation dreams with the ethnic minority school as the background.

The Vidyalaya established in 1869 was the first Gujarati school in Kerala. The Vidyalaya is an English medium school located quite near to the Gujarati Street. The school progressed gradually as it was started with a primary section. It was later on upgraded to a high school. In 1952, the school opened a new block- 'Sree Narayanji Purushotham Vidya Bhavan' which increased its infrastructure. The school received recognition from the Kerala government in 1969. It was in the same year that the first batch of students appeared in the state school leaving certificate examination. The school was upgraded into higher secondary in 2002 with a commerce batch and in 2003 with a science batch.

The Gujarati Vidyalaya is a school registered under article 30 of the constitution, which comes on the basis of article 29 of the linguistic minorities act. According to article 29 any section of the citizens of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own, shall have the right to conserve the same. All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. The Gujarati school was established along these rights of the constitutions. It is a linguistic minority institution, where the Gujarati students in the school have the option to study the Gujarati language instead of the compulsory Malayalam part one and part two papers for their school leaving certificate examination. Since the Vidyalaya is registered under the linguistic minority category, there is a need for the school to have a minimum number of students studying the Gujarati language to support the linguistic minority cause. More recently, many of the Gujaratis have preferred other schools and the number of Gujarati children have drastically come

down. As a result the school have introduced changes in its rules in relation to learning the language. Unlike before all the Gujarati students enrolling in the Vidyalaya have to compulsorily choose Gujarati as their main language for the purpose of keeping intact the linguistic minority status of the Vidyalaya. The preferences regarding schools by the Gujarati families thus turns out to be a pertinent factor in deciding the future of the Vidyalaya as well as the future of the community.

The school is also open to all sections of the society. Apart from the Gujaratis, many other local communities, Malayalis and non-Malayalis, also send their children to the Vidyalaya. The variation in the strength of Gujarati children in classes 1st to 10th from 2007 can be seen from the table below.

Table2.2 The Number of Students Enrolled in the School from 2007-11

Years	Total number of students in the school	Number of Gujarati students	% of Gujarati students	Non-Gujarati students	% of non-Gujarati students
2007	498	60	12.05	438	87.95
2008	503	52	10.33	451	89.66
2009	490	55	11.22	435	88.77
2010	487	50	10.26	437	89.73
2011	493	42	8.51	451	91.48

(Source-Study 2011)

The data shows the record of five years from 2007, it consists of the total number of Gujarati children enrolled in the school from classes 1st to 10th standard. The number of Gujarati children and non-Gujarati children is differentiated here. The table shows that only one tenth of the total students are Gujaratis. It is seen that the number of Gujarati children have been decreasing over years. 2007 shows a 12% of Gujarati children which have come down to 8.51% in 2011. A decrease of 3.54 % is seen over the gap of five years. Whereas, the ratio of non-Gujarati children enrolled have been seen increasing over the period. The increase percentage is almost equivalent to the ratio of decreasing Gujarati students, thus, maintaining the overall student total in the school. To have a deeper understanding of the

withdrawal of students from the school, interactions were conducted with the families, looking at their educational and socio-economic experiences

The general background of the sixteen families was mentioned in the previous chapter. Here, to have a clearer understanding in terms of education, background of the families are given on the basis of their generation, age, the schools they went to and the choice they made for their children's schooling. The attempt is aimed towards knowing the school preferences they made for their children and the reasons for the same. Since majority of the respondents are the fathers from the families, the following table represents the fathers.

Table 3.1 The choice of Schools by the Old and Young Generation Gujaratis

			Schools to which the parents went		Choice of schools for their children		occupation
Resp	Gen	age	Vidyalaya	Other schools	Vidyalaya	Other schools	
1	3	45	yes		yes		bm
2	3	49		Yes		Yes	bm
3	3	50		yes		Yes	bm
4	3	38	yes		yes		bm
5	3	40		yes		Yes	bm
6	2	55	yes			Yes	bm
7	2	60	yes		yes		Lic agent
8	2	63	yes		yes		bm
9	1	83	yes			Yes	bm
10	3	42		yes		Yes	bm
11	3	35		yes		Yes	accountant
12	2	63	yes		yes		bm
13	2	60	yes		yes	Yes	bm
14	3	40	yes			Yes	bm
15	3	42	yes		yes		bm
16	3	43	yes		yes		bm

(Source-Study 2011) Resp- respondent, Gen- generation, bm- businessman

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the generations are traced from the youngest generation to the great grandfather, which includes 4 generations. The table shows that, of the total 16 respondents ten belong to the third generation, five of them to the second generation and one respondent to the first generation. Looking at their schooling it could be seen that all of the old generation went to the Vidyalaya

while there are differences among the young generation. Of the total 10 respondents from the 3rd generation, 5 of them had gone to the Vidyalaya and the rest five to the convent schools.

Looking at the choice of schools for their children, an interesting pattern could be seen. 50% of the respondents did not prefer the Vidyalaya for their children, while the other half had sent them to the Vidyalaya. Those who send their children to the Vidyalaya were four parents from the 2nd generation and four from the 3rd generation. Those parents who did not go the Vidyalaya (5) do not prefer the school for their children either. Some of the fathers (3) who had gone to the Vidyalaya also were not found sending their children there. This shift has to be seen in the light of the changing opportunities in their occupation. Majority of the community are occupied in business and have exploited all possible opportunities in the city. They have tried to maintain their position and stability in their occupation. The situation took a massive turn with the late 1980's and the early 1990's with the changes that happened in the economic scenario. While some of them were said to have thrived the changes by shifting their trade areas, some others had to face serious adversities. This turnover in the economic landscape had affected the many business families among the community. As the opportunities in businesses started closing down, many from the families have shifted their focus onto other avenues. A noticeable change was their attitude towards educating their children through which they could open the doors to an altogether different world.

Thus a delve into the reasons for the choice of the schools, perceptions regarding education which plays its role in the decisions and general aspirations has been done looking at the responses of the various families.

I would be discussing first about those families who preferred to send their children to the Vidyalaya before moving on to the reasons for choice of other schools by the community.

Easy Accessibility and Interaction

The location of the school was talked about by some of the parents as one of the reasons for their decision regarding the school: Though it did not figure to be a

major factor, among the early migrants, it was certainly a contributing factor. The Vidyalaya is very near to the Gujarati Street, hardly a kilometre away from the street. The children staying in the here could walk and go to the school. This has to be seen in a different dimension; in the light of the nature of 'earlier decade schooling.' During the times of the old generation children were sent to the nearby school. When this nearby school turned out to be the community school for the Gujaratis, many of the parents did not think twice. Moreover, they had their businesses and shops in and near the street, keeping these parents around the place always. As a 63 year old father recalls, 'I used to fetch my son right after the school bell goes, my shop was very near to the school'. Some of the Gujarati mothers who are generally confined to their homes, recollected how they used to walk back their children from schools as it was quite close to their homes. They shared fond memories about those times, which used to be their only outings, Suvarna rath, now, 60, says, '*few of us used to go together to bring back the children, those were the only times when we frequently went out. We could do this as the school was very close.*' (60y, 2ndg, J).

A difference was evident in the attitudes of the young generation parents who did not consider this as a valid reason at all to make the school choice. There are various other factors which they perceived as important for their schooling preferences. One of the old generation fathers rightly notes this change and thinks that it is a trend among the young generation parents to send their children to 'far away' schools.

'When we have 'our own school' why should we go in search of others, that too very far from home!!! School have our teachers, it is our culture there. Above everything it is close to home, children can walk and go' (Narain,63y,2ndg,B).

The reason of 'our school' was more important for the young generation parents because they could access the information regarding their children from the schools quite easily. This feeling was seen endured implicitly or explicitly in most of the 3rd generation, who send their children to the Vidyalaya. Many of the parents from this generation, were keenly interested in knowing their child's progress in school and preferred frequent interactions with the teachers. They think

that, this interaction which is possible effortlessly here would be difficult in other schools. These parents are quite familiar with the school organisation's working as they attend the Vidyalaya association's meetings and discussions. Information could be easily gathered from the school committee members as they would have regular interactions. This was also the same with the teachers. The parents have chances to meet them either in the samaj meetings or other places where the community interact. Mithun Chand, whose children study in the Vidyalaya, amidst all other factors considers this reason the most pulling one towards his choice of the Vidyalaya.

'My children go to the Vidyalaya, it is our school and we can go and enquire also whenever we want... in some schools it is like intrusion. Because it is our school nobody says anything' (42y, 3rd g, BR).

Another parent, who was a very active participant in the Vidyalaya association, said that he could know about the decisions of the school committee as well as the progress of the developmental activities in the school, as a lot of interaction happens during the Vidyalaya association's meetings.

'We come together for meetings and discussions many times. This helps us to know the progress of the Vidyalaya's activities. We meet the teachers also here and get informed about our children' (Sooraj Mehta, 43y, 3rd g, VV).

Low Cost Education

Some of the parents were keen on the low cost of education that the Vidyalaya was providing for the Gujarati children. The Vidyalaya has a provision to educate the Gujarati children without any tuition fee. Added to this, they were also being given uniforms and books for the academic year. Those wishing for this concession applied to the school through the association. And it was sanctioned for all the applicants belonging to the community irrespective of their class and caste background. This was also one of the prominent reasons why certain parents chose the Vidyalaya. This work of the association as mentioned earlier was pointed out as an important helping hand by some of the association members as it literally

cuts across class and caste in the association. This was undoubtedly understood as a prominent reason for the parents to choose the Vidyalaya.

While some of them were in high appreciation for this good work that the association does, few others were a little reluctant in revealing that they favoured the Vidyalaya for this particular reason. This was seen mainly with the young generation parents. They did not want to admit this as they thought that they were making a compromise on their children's education because they were unable to afford higher fees. But Contrary to this, the older parents were much more open about it. They did not shy away from admitting that their decision was mainly based on the monetary aspect. They also highlighted it as a very appreciable work which the association does. The third generation parents, who were not comfortable in revealing this, probably see this as a prestige factor. Earlier with fewer schools in the city, it did not matter much whether one's child went to the community school or to the nearby convent school. This scenario has taken a shift in the recent past with many diverse kinds of schools coming up. The school to which one's child goes, immediately reflected the 'social strata' one is in. Sending their children to such high fee paying school in itself would bring a status to parents. And this is more or less a phenomenon that has been in the vicinity recently as far as the community is concerned. Majority of the young generation parents preferred to send their children to these schools. But some of the young generation parents who send their children to the Vidyalaya are economically backward. Though some of them have had a long past of successful business ventures, presently they are vulnerable to the problems created by economic instability. Hence, they feel that the choice they make for their children's schooling would immediately point at their disadvantaged position.

Mehul, who is engaged in a small business has his children in the Vidyalaya. Though the family had a history of success in business, presently they are economically weak. He was also a former student of the Vidyalaya, who places high regard for education. Though the reason for choice was the economic aspect he was hesitant in saying this. And was seen quickly covering it up with other reasons.

'My daughters and son goes to the vidyalaya. The fee is also very less, but it is not only for that I send my children to the vidyalaya. They give good quality education and it is our school' (37y, 3rdg, L).

While R.Jain, an older parent, whose children had studied in the vidyalaya was enthusiastic when he said that,

'Both my sons and daughter went to the Vidyalaya. Education is free in the Vidyalaya. And our association does a rewardable job of providing books and uniforms free of cost for an entire academic year' (63y, 2nd g,J).

Narain Saran, a parent, from the old generation, notes this change and is cynical on the attitudes of the younger generation. He thinks it is unnecessary expenditure and expresses his concern at schooling becoming a status symbol. He point at the newly come up private schools which provides transportation through school buses and other vehicles to lure the parents. He says that,

'Many parents think that sending to far off schools in school buses children get the best education. It is a stylish thing that I agree!!!' (63y, 2nd g,B).

Language and the Vidyalaya

Language has had an immense role in the lives of community. As mentioned earlier, it is an important factor in binding the community members together. As seen before, the Gujaratis see language as a very important part of their culture. Being Gujarati is nothing but speaking the language for many. Many of the Gujaratis have differing experiences with their language. Mainly everyone from the 1st and 2nd generation know to read and write Gujarati, even though many had opted to study Malayalam in school. Those who could not learn Gujarati owing to their choice of learning the language from school were found unhappy about this fact.

The Gujarati language taught at school was not found to be a vital phenomenon for preferring the Vidyalaya. All the other schools following the state syllabus, of which Vidyalaya is also one, have to compulsorily teach Malayalam as their first language. As a linguistic minority institution Vidyalaya offered Gujarati, Malayalam and Additional English. The Gujarati children could opt for Gujarati as

their first language instead of the Malayalam language. Around ten years back, the school had taken away the option given to the Gujarati's to either take up Malayalam or additional English. This was done to protect its status as the minority educational institution because many of the community's children were moving out of the school. Also there was lesser number of children preferring to study Gujarati. Thus, fewer children to learn the language have been a matter of concern in the recent times. At present, the choice of additional English is only for other North Indian children who do not belong to Gujarat.

Gujarati language was never a necessity in the case of boys; the older generations were encouraged to take up Malayalam for their business prospects. As mentioned earlier, most of the old generation Gujaratis attended the Vidyalaya or the convent schools. Even though they had the provision to study Gujarati language in school, many of them had opted for Malayalam. This was mainly because they were businessmen and interaction with the people was inevitable. Though there was a very high probability of them learning the oral language through such interactions, they opted for Malayalam as a school subject and learning to read and write was done envisioning the necessity of it as their entire life would be spent here. At the same time, studying Malayalam did not mean that they were kept away from Gujarati. Apart from speaking, most of them know to read and write Gujarati also. Their business records and other documents were always maintained in Gujarati. Navin, an 84 year old, like many others from this generation know both Malayalam and Gujarati. While he studied Malayalam from the Vidyalaya, Gujarati was learned from home.

'I learned Malayalam language in the Vidyalaya. I can read and speak well now, but lost my writing skill over time. I can read and write Gujarati also, I don't remember properly, I think it was taught at home by sisters; we keep our accounts and all in Gujarati' (84y, 3rdg, B).

Thogadia , who went to the Vidyalaya says that, many of the community boys were asked to take up Malayalam as it would be needed for their future life here.

'I had to learn Malayalam from school that time it was not compulsory like now to learn Gujarati itself in the Vidyalaya. We were encouraged to take up

Malayalam because we had to do business here. I slogged through it, but afterwards it was helpful in my life' (55y,3rd g,VV).

Experiences of women migrants were seen to have a variation with learning the language. Among the old, the 2nd and 3rd generation women shared a different concern in relation to language. Some of them were bothered about their non-fluency in Malayalam despite the fact that they were born and brought up in Kerala. They were educated in Gujarati school and had not studied further. They reasoned this pointing at their confined interaction. They did not opt for Malayalam language in school and also had preferred to interact with their own community members. Uma Viswas, a 2nd generation migrant, who is 55 now, recalls,

'I cannot speak good Malayalam, in school, I took up Gujarati, even though we had Malayalees coming to the Vidyalaya, we usually had the tendency to talk to our own community's girls. It is because we meet them from many other places also. We see them at the Samaj and above everything all of us stayed together in the Gujarati Street' (55y, 2nd g).

While two of the 2nd generation women, who were more educated were worried over the fact that they could not read and write Gujarati. They had gone to the convent schools and for further education to Government colleges. They knew to speak Malayalam quite well owing to their increased wider group interactions. They could read and write it as well because they had studied it as a school subject. Meera Ben and Jyoti shah who were quite good at speaking Malayalam, said that they were unhappy over the fact that they cannot read and write Gujarati. It was as though they have kept themselves away from an important part of their culture

Meera Ben, belonging to one of the pioneering families had gone to St. Joseph's school; she was among the very few women from the old generation to go for higher studies. She talks about the loss she feels on her inability to read and write her mother tongue.

'I cannot read and write Gujarati, my father put me into St. Josephs as he wanted me to get convent education. There we learnt Malayalam. My father was not very particular about Gujarati language, only that it was spoken at

home. I feel very sad that I cannot read and write Gujarati well .Our language is our culture itself and I don't know it!!!... now it is very late to learn' (61y, 2nd gen,B).

The direct link between the language and culture is clearly visible here. Though some of the parents mentioned it as an advantage that their children could learn their language from school, it was seen that it became a stressing or a deciding factor in the case of girls. They were not particular about their sons learning the language, but saw it as a necessary thing in the case of daughters. This ought to be looked at in the light of their future aspirations. They saw a secured future for their girls in getting them married into a traditional Gujarati family. Knowing Gujarati even after staying in some other land, according to them defines how much culture bound the girl is. They preferred that their daughters should study Gujarati to qualify this. According to Raj Jain, a father whose daughter is married to a well settled family in Gujarat says that,

'The school also would teach children some of Gujarati culture. My daughter is good at Gujarati language because she went there. She can now nicely adjust to her in-law's place because of this ' (55y, 3rd,J).

Quite contrary to this, many of the third generation parents do not think Gujarati language necessary for their children's future life. The present situation is different as there have been changes in the opportunities and many of the younger generation has been shifting from business and taking up jobs in some other places. Hence, they think that both the languages would not have a say in the future lives of the community. The young parents were having high aspirations about their children and believed that they would be able to make a life, securing jobs to move outside the place. They think that their children in the future world need something more and not Gujarati or Malayalam; probably a 'better scoring subject'. These parents were found unhappy that their children had to study Gujarati compulsorily in the Vidyalaya. A third generation father who sends his children to the Vidyalaya for the reason of 'low fee' in the school, was bothered about the compulsory learning of Gujarati language in school and opines that

Gujarati children should also be allowed to take additional English as their 1st language paper.

'That's the only problem, language in school is Gujarati. It is compulsory; they have to learn it. They can't take up additional English also!!'
(Mehul, 38y, 3rdg, L)

Devna, a mother, who is a 3rd generation, also thinks along the same lines.

'My children know to speak the language as we talk in Gujarati at home. But what is the need to study it as a school subject? We should be given the option to choose...ultimately the subject should mark up to increase the 10th standard score' (35y, 3rdg, P).

Thus, among the young parents who send their children here, many other reasons figured over the language concern. Contrary to the responses of older generation regarding language learning, they chose the school for reasons like low fee, the cultural ambience etc in the Vidyalaya. These parents felt that learning the Gujarati language would not be of use now.

Culture and Vidyalaya- 'A Feel at Home'

Culture is seen as an important marker in defining ethnicity. As mentioned earlier, it is a force which holds on together the community bringing in a 'we feeling' among the members. Some of the parents, mainly belonging to the 2nd generation were specifically pointing out to this factor when they reasoned why they chose the Vidyalaya for their children. Vidyalaya is the place where the cultural ties of the community are upheld strongly and the parents felt that sending their children to the school would expose them to the Gujarati culture. While mentioning about culture, they referred to a diverse set of specificities which they think is deeply attached to their way of life. They talked about the programmes conducted in school, the food allowed etc.

Cultural programmes organised in the school was looked up to by few of the parents. It was found to be one of the reasons for their school choice. The school celebrates annual days, Gujarati New Year day and other festivals in which the children participates. The school annual day is the venue where the Gujarati

culture is celebrated. The children perform traditional dances, sing folk songs in Gujarati, creating a venue for the celebration of the Gujarati identity. The Gujaratis are highly conscious about their culture and the parents find this extremely captivating that their children are being socialised in their cultural environment. Thus, getting to know many things which are associated to their culture is heartily welcomed by the community. They are happy that their children are being exposed to the culture from where they could pick up and learn things. Though this factor was mostly stressed by the old generation, some parents from the younger generation also think so. R. Jain, an old generation father, whose children are well settled, says that he had preferred the Vidyalaya for his daughter and son as they would be bonded to their culture more. He also feels that there is more impact on the children when their culture was being imparted through the school rather than the parents trying to teach them. He was found to be highly contented with what Vidyalaya provides.

The school gives importance to our culture, they can take part in the programmes for annual day, New Year day, it is all about Gujarati culture. They dance and sing our traditional dance and songs, see the younger generation should know about all this and there is more effect if it is known from the school right? (63y, 2ndg, J)

Sooraj Mehta was also found thinking in the similar line. He is from the 3rd generation in his family and sends two of his sons to the Vidyalaya. He finds that the Vidyalaya's cultural festivals and programmes from the school contribute towards the process of children acquiring knowledge on the Gujarati culture, which otherwise is quite difficult for them to get acquainted with.

Atleast they see something related to our culture. The children otherwise don't have any other good options to know all this, learning this from school is the best right? (43y, 3rdg, VV)

Some parents were seen quite particular about the food. As mentioned before, the Gujaratis are vegetarians and they place a high regard for this. Food is seen as one of the major characteristics in denoting their cultural specificity. The Vidyalaya has the strict rule which allows only vegetarian food in its premises. All the

children in the school have to follow this without any defiance. It includes the children from all sections coming to the school. Few parents see this as a determining characteristic of the Gujarati culture followed by the school. They expressed that the religion's principles were maintained this way. Hence this was much welcomed by few parents from both the third as well as the second generation because these parents feared that the intermingling with the eating habits of children from other sections of the society, the Gujarati children would lose their 'vegetarian food culture'. They did not want their children to be parting with one of the defining marker of their culture. It was interesting to note the strong religious sentiments associated with the 'vegetarian food culture'. One of the parents from the old generation expressed that the 'vegetarian rule of the school' was because it is strictly based on Hindu religion's principle.

'The school is also a strict Hindu school and there is 'vegetarian rule', the school does not allow any non-vegetarian food in its premises. Isn't that a good thing?' (63y,2nd g, B).

Few parents expressed that they feel reassured on the school's rules which are tightly tied to the Gujarati culture in this way. Veena, a mother, who comes from a culturally bounded and conservative family, was relieved that the school allows only vegetarian food. According to her,

'The school allows only vegetarian food, that is a good thing, because children share their food with friends and might feel like trying new things also' (40,3rd g ,BR).

Protection of these kinds of a variety of culture markers makes the Gujarati parents feel that the school is the ideal place for their children as it provides the right ambience for them, 'a feel at home'. They talked about the entire school process which worked favouring the Gujarati children.

The parents also expressed that as many of the children from the community go to the school, they would not feel estranged with the school's environment as they see their neighbours and playmates around. According to them, children from the same culture's setting would contribute to the familiarity criteria. Parents feel that, in this way, there is a better chance of the children adapting to the school's ways

quickly. This familiarity which they talked about was not only in relation to company of children from the community but also the presence of teachers who are Gujaratis. Since the school has Gujarati teachers, some of the parents feel that their children would easily relate to them than to those teachers from the Kerala society. As the association was highly active, a more personal relationship with teachers are also possible outside the school walls, which brings in a confidence among the parents that their child would be taken care of better. A mother, a recent migrant who came to Calicut after marriage told that 'the school also gives them a 'feel at home', as they see people from the Gujarati community. They see children from their own community whom they might know too.'

Experiences regarding this were recollected by Viswas Jain, a father who said that he had sent his children to the school for these reasons. His children could adapt properly to the school as compared to his relative's children who were sent to other schools and was subsequently brought back.

'An important thing is that, teachers are also in many cases known to us and also to the children! My children could smoothly fall into the school's ways because of this. My cousins children were sent to the Model school were they faced problems adjusting. Finally they were shifted here' (60y,2nd g, J).

One of the old generation fathers was found wondering why many of the young parents don't prefer to send their children to the Vidyalaya. According to him, the children would definitely feel comfortable seeing their own people,

'You know, there our children would definitely feel more comfortable, people who come from their own kind of background, wont that give them a security and happiness?? I don't know why many don't send their children to the Vidyalaya. Now more children are from outside' (63y, 2rdg,B).

The younger generation parents, ie from the 3rd generation were not stressing on these aspects of culture much as compared to the old parents. They were found more bothered about other issues regarding the schooling of their children.

Moreover, the change in the scenario from the past also has to be noted. There are comparatively less Gujarati children and even lesser Gujarati teachers at present.

Outside The Vidyalaya:

Eight parents did not send their children to the Vidyalaya. Of this group four parents belong to the 3rd generation, whose children are still in school. Other four are from the 1st and 2nd generations whose children have passed out of school. It was quite intriguing to see that 50% of the 2nd generation had preferred other schools. This group includes four parents of the pioneering elite families who had preferred the convent schools for their children. With the first and second generation in the families itself, they have started moving out of the Vidyalaya for convent schools. They have been giving equal importance to education as like their business concerns. The other parents were also from the families who had quite a good hold in the trade, but did not have a sound base like that of the other long established families. They aspired that their coming generations has a future procured through education. It was also noted that the young generation parents from all these families had a very clear approach towards their children's future.

They even had the child's career plans drafted well. It showed a difference with those of the older parents. The young parents who did not choose the Vidyalaya had very clear and specific reasons justifying their decisions.

The Language Factor

The social scenario of Kerala ought to be mentioned here because the medium of schooling and the prominence English language has in the state have also contributed massively to the decisions regarding the choice of educational institutions. In Kerala, learning Malayalam language at school has been a contested terrain. The state's language Malayalam was given the status of being 'one' of the official languages in the state. It was only very recently that Malayalam got the status of the 'single official language'. This has been mentioned by the linguists as a neglect of importance that it deserves. In education, the state follows the three language formula, and this policy towards language has brought in a lot of hue and cry from the society. The prevailing complacency in the approach towards teaching language has affected the study of mother tongue

adversely. In other states of India, while learning of mother tongue is mandatory, one could complete school education, without learning mother tongue at all in Kerala. The high priority that medium of English in education gets, ought to be seen in this light. Unlike before, English medium schools are opened in every nook and corner of the state and the government and government aided Malayalam medium schools are slowly vanishing from the scene. The aided Malayalam medium schools, introducing English medium at the primary sections are also a common sight now. Sending one's child to an English medium school has a defining element of prestige dissolved in it. Even the intelligentsia who advocates for the Malayalam language, trying to draw attention at its negligence have been criticised massively for their preference of good English medium schools for their children²¹.

One of the most pronouncing reason for school choice by the Gujarati parents emerged to be the 'English factor'. Most of the respondents were very keen on their children acquiring the skill of conversing in English. They see it as a necessity towards building up a sound and stable future. It is also seen as the medium of status elevation in the society. Most of the parents looked at their own experiences and identified the benefits as well as the lacuna which they carried as a result of their schooling. This became a clincher in deciding the best English medium schools for children.

Most of the older parents, the 1st and 2nd generations, had either gone to the Vidyalaya or the Christian missionary schools, ie, the St. Joseph's boy's high school and the St. Joseph's Anglo Indian girl's high school. These two convent schools are quite near to the Gujarati Street and were seen as the good schools of their time. Even though lots of schools have come up in the city, these convent schools still retain its reputation. Many of the Gujarati parents had preferred to send their children here. It was said through a pressing comparison between the Vidyalaya and the convent schools that most parents reasoned their choice for their children. Both are English medium schools.

²¹ Report on the language debate in Kerala in 'Mathrubhumi' Daily, 2008.

All of these parents were aware that the skill or fluency to speak good English is acquired through regular conversing in English. Sending their children to an English medium school alone would not ensure that their children would be able to communicate fluently in English. A difference in the nature of 'English medium', of the Vidyalaya and convent schools was compared. Manohar, a father of two children, and who belong to the third generation outrightly points at the English communication skill that has to be acquired through schooling.

'I did my schooling in St. Josephs's Boys. I send my children also there, though the standard of the school unlike Anglo Indian girl's have come down; it is a good English medium school. I can speak English so well because of my schooling. And we don't get that kind of a communicative skill in the Vidyalaya even though it is an English medium school' (40y, 3rdg, P).

Vijay Thogadia, who had send his sons to convent school echoes the same English factor in education, he opined this in the light of his own experience. He had done his schooling in the Vidyalaya but felt that as most of the community members come there, the conversations happen in Gujarati. The children seldom speak in English amongst their friends. This was seen as a main reason which works against the mastering of English communication skill. Otherwise an active participator in the school happenings and cultural meetings, this father was found to have a different voice when education was concerned.

'There you meet many from your caste and community, you feel like talking in your language. it is a good school, no doubt about it. but I wanted to send my children to a school where speaking in English would be a strict rule' (55,2ndg,VV).

Learning Gujarati language at school was not seen a good option by the community. Most of the young parents did not prefer the compulsory learning of the language in school. Some of them from the older generation, whose children had passed out of schools before the Gujarati language was made compulsory also felt the same way. As mentioned, these families were mostly the upper middle class who wanted their children to have a sound knowledge of English. Though

meeting the group members and going for cultural get-togethers and interactions in the Vidyalaya were eloquently discussed by these members none of them were ready to send their children or rather express their solidarity to their community's institution by sending their children to the Vidyalaya.

One of the parents frankly talks how necessary it is to learn English and contrasts it with the Vidyalaya's rule of compulsory learning of Gujarati language.

'Vidyalaya is our school and most of our community children go there. But there is a compulsion to learn Gujarati. The next generation can survive without Gujarati, but without good Education and English, won't they fall back?' (Manohar, 40y, 3rd, P).

While some parents who send their children to the Vidyalaya saw, learning Gujarati as a means contributing to their girl's future marital prospects, the approach was quite different here. It was noticed that the parents were keen on providing their daughters convent education, through which they aimed at the cultivation of English speaking ability in their girl children. This was more visible and very typical among the old generation parents. The difference was that these parents aspired for alliances from Gujarati families who were settled abroad. They groomed their daughters by giving them 'good English medium' education to enter into a marriage alliance with non resident Indian.

A father who had send his son to Vidyalaya and daughter to AIGHS, reasons clearly why he wanted her to attend the convent school. He has the example of his elder niece who had gone to the convent school -Anglo Indian's and gained her 'fantastic English speaking skill'. This paved the way for her to successfully settle abroad. He did not see English such a necessity in his son's future life as his options were open in business.

'I send my daughter there because I wanted to give her convent education, like to speak English nicely, my elder niece did her schooling in AIGHS long back and she can speak fantastic English. After marriage when she went to US, She did not face a problem. I had an example, I had decided that I would send my daughter also there' (Viswas Jain,60y, 2ndg,J).

Stable Job and Secure Future

Most of the parents especially the young generation parents of school goers were equally concerned about the quality of education. They judged the schools on the basis of the results the schools gave for the class 10th and 12th standard public examinations. Through this they deduce about the standard of education these schools provide. One father from the old generation, whose sons are settled as engineers, attributes their success to his wise choice of schools. He could effectively find out the schools which gave ‘good quality standard education’.

‘Through some influence I could get my son into Kendriya Vidyalaya. Elder one studied there and the younger in silver hills. Both are good school and with the results these schools gave, I could understand that they are giving good quality standard education. It is because of this, my children are in good positions’ (Vijay Thogadia, 55y, 2nd g, VV).

Suvadars, whose children just completed school and joined engineering talks about the difference in ‘coaching’ that the convent school and Vidyalaya provides. This father was clearer about the children’s education and their future. He had high aspirations for his daughters unlike the old generation parents.

the coaching given in St. Joseph’s is better than in the Vidyalaya.. Haven’t you seen the results? I also wanted my children to interact with the kerala society. So that it would be easy when they go to work or go abroad. (45y, 3rd g, L)

Adit Sha’s, views on education was interesting. This father of a two year old had clearly built visions on what education should be giving the child. He was gathering information about the schools, deciding and asking around which is the best school to send his son. He was a third generation migrant who aspired high about his son’s career. He believes that, it is not only marks, but also the extra-curricular activities that the school provide which helps in shaping the child’s personality.

'For my child, I will see a good school, I am asking around, thinking about 'Silver hills' or 'Bhavans'. I have my friend's children studying there, and I know these schools are good. The school should encourage extracurricular activities also as it is important for the overall development of child's personality. And you know, it is not only marks that matter these days, you need to get many other skills too' (35y,3rd g,B).

For few other parents, syllabus was one of the main concerns. Good education and standard education according to them indicated to the syllabus. The state has a lot of schools following the central board of secondary education's syllabus. The general notion is that, with the CBSE syllabus it becomes easier for clearing the 'All India' as well as 'State Entrance Exams' for professional courses like, engineering , medicine etc, with high ranks. Therefore, these parents want their children to go to school which were not following the state syllabus. Priya, preferred a CBSE school for her children. This was done, envisaging an early entry into professional courses through Entrance Examinations. Similar views are also expressed by a father, a rich businessman, who has two daughters studying in a 'CBSE school'.

'I chose 'Bhavan's' for my children because it's a good school, It is CBSE and they would be benefited through all means.Even to clear the entrance exams, it is easier with CBSE.' (34y, 3rdg, L)

The decisions regarding the choice of schools for their children very clearly points at their aspirations levels or the dreams that they have for children. Hence to get a complete picture of this scenario, the aspirations of the parents were sought on their children's future lives.

Aspirations of Parents

Parental aspirations were sought on various issues like education, job and marriage of their children. A wide variance in their outlook and attitudes were noted. It varied on the basis of parent's educational background, occupation, economic stability, experiences from the family and the generation they belonged to.

Parental backgrounds were found to have an important say in shaping the aspirations of their children. Many of the parents from the first and second generations had joined family business before the completion of their education. During the period business was very rewarding and the families were thriving hard to establish their business concerns in the city. Some of the old generation parents, ie mostly the second generation in the families, said that they were forced to join business compared to the others who had joined it out of their own will. In either case their education was left behind. Some of them had the added pressure of being the eldest son who was expected to shoulder the responsibility of the family business. At the same time it was noticeable that these businessmen from pioneering families had well educated younger brothers and other relatives in the family. They have been known to give due importance to education from their 2nd generations itself.

The parents who had willingly come out quitting studies had not seen education as a necessity for their occupation's success. Later developments in the trade scenario ie after the 1980's had brought a decrease in the scope of trade. While some of the Gujaratis could shift to new ventures and adapt better to the changes, some of them had to confront with serious economic crisis and losses in their business. This gave most of them the realisation that alternate options could be opened only through good education and rewarding professional jobs. The parents' strong aspirations about their children's future have to be seen in the light of this.

Navin, from the 1st generation, talks about the fading prospects of business.

'The community's facet is changing; there is no more opportunities of trade in the city. Younger generations are moving away towards some other jobs, they have to do it, study well and move on... Those who are still in business have to face lots of problems' (84y, 1st g, B).

Those parents who were forced to take up businesses due to the mounting family pressure were found very regretful that they couldn't pursue their studies. Since they couldn't complete their studies they aspired high for their children through education. They were found very liberal in letting their children study and made sure that they would, under no circumstances pose any kind of restriction on their

children's education. It was as though these parents saw themselves in their children and aspired to achieve what they couldn't through their sons and daughters.

Those fathers who were compelled into businesses said that they had to discontinue their studies mid way. Though everyone had finished school and two of them had joined college, they could not complete it to get a degree. Since they had to do this unwillingly, they consider it to be a great loss. Hence, whatever career their children choose, the parents wanted them to have atleast a graduate degree. Other than the father's whose children are still in school, the rest of the parents had 'achieved this'. Navin had dreamt of becoming a lawyer. It was extremely agonising for him when he was asked to stop his studies and join business. His passion keeps him reading law books even now.

'My father had a lot of business, too much that he could not manage on his own. I was good at studies and wanted to be a lawyer. During my pre-degree days my father just forced me to join him and I had to leave my studies behind. But I'll never blame my father because he gave me a life of luxury and happiness. To this day, I read law books, subscribe to all good law journals, it is just my interest' (84y, 1st g,B).

V.Thogadia, too was forced to join family business and had to leave his graduation midway. This led him to decide that he would give the best education to his children.

'I always wanted them to have a good degree and they got it. I couldn't complete my graduation. My father and uncle forced me into business which I regret. That is what I told my sons, 'even if you choose to do business, I want you to get a good degree'. I gave them the best education I can afford here' (55,2nd g, VV).

Some other parents were concerned about the reducing opportunities of trade in the city and said that unlike in their times does not have this solid 'fall back' of security. They think that education is the only provider of security. One of the parents says that,

'Children are given all chances to study; they have to get good education and degrees as there is no more chance for businesses now. I didn't finish my education as I had business to do, but now everything has come down, we all are struggling here. They will not have a secured platform to fall back. Children should not face this kind of difficulty' (Manohar,40y,3rd g, P).

A main point unveiled from the responses of the parents was that they did not see a future for their children in business. None of them wanted their children to take up business or join them. They did not see a future for business at all in the Calicut city. Two of the parents said that their children wanted to do business. It was not part of the parent's aspirations and one of them was deeply concerned about this decision of his son's to take up business. The other father hopes that his son succeeds in his venture in the city, so that he can have wider avenues abroad.

'My younger son quit studies last month and is saying that he want to join business. What business will he do? i myself is struggling. He is not ready to listen. I have told my elder son to take him to Dubai and maybe later on he can start one' (Viswas Jain,60y, 2nd g, J).

Narain Saran was more hopeful that his son's would succeed in business though he is aware of the adversities they would have to face.

'My elder son does electronic business and he is learning many things, I am hoping against hope that he succeeds. If he overcomes the challenges it is well and good, he can move to some other place abroad also' (63y,2nd g,B).

A factor which very visibly came out was that many of the parents had planned their children's future education clearly. Though it was mainly the young generation parents, few of the parents from the old generation also had this clear. Strategies like sending them to good schools, selecting the appropriate syllabuses, making sure that the children get the English communication skills, were followed. This was looked at intensely in the section on choice of schooling of the community. The old generation parents, despite their less exposure towards educational opportunities compared to the present, had taken efforts to provide what they thought was the best for their children. As far as the present generation

parents are concerned, they have many sources to know about what is best for the child and thus direct them correctly. Higher education was given immense importance by these parents. R.jain whose son is well settled says that,

'I gave my son good tuitions and asking those who were good at education, I made sure that my son reached where he is now... he finished his Bsc, then went for MCA and now is working with a multinational company' (Jain,2ndgen, 63).

Ravinder Jha, a 3rd gen migrant, whose daughter is in school, has clear plans about her higher education. He aspires that she becomes a doctor and think to send her to a very famous medical entrance coaching institute in Thrissur district of Kerala.

'I want my elder daughter to get into medicine. I think I will send her to PC Thomas institute in Thrissur for coaching.. Younger one also should do well. I want them both to study in merit itself' (40y,3rd g.L).

Concerns over Higher Education

Concerns over children getting admissions in higher education were found among many of the parents. The policy of the Kerala government on reservation to minorities was brought in by few of the parents. In spite of their minority status, the Gujaratis are not identified in the state as one of the linguistic minority group. They were not given reservation of seats for higher education. There was massive discontentment at this by the community. The linguistic minorities are generally at the disadvantaged position as the constitution of India has not clearly distinguished the 'linguistic minority'. The minority status is essentially decided by the respective states that the communities reside in. Moreover, The National Commission (2004) on Religious and Linguistic Minorities²² does not include Gujarati as a minority language in Kerala. The commission in its report identifies only Konkani and Kannad as the minority languages of the state. The commission also does not mention about any provisions of reservation for the linguistic minority community in the higher education when compared to the religious

²² From the report by the National Commission on Religious and Linguistic Minorities, 2004

minority communities. The Jains within the Gujarati community, apart from their linguistic minority status, claims for the status of religious minorities too. Even though a lot of debates have been happening regarding the consideration of Jains as a religious minority, they have not been given the status so far. Hence the Gujarati Jains, inspite of being a religious minority community in practice does not have the preference over reservations on these lines.

The parents expressed that the disadvantages that the community faced stood as a blockade in the path of their aspirations on children's education. It becomes quite difficult for them to acquire admissions to higher education in the state. And mostly they have to do their higher education in private institutions. A striking characteristic was that higher education meant 'professional education' to most of the parents. Those who cannot clear the state entrance examination for admissions into professional colleges in the category of 'general merit' are sent outside the state to study the course. This involves a lot of expenditure. The parents said that even after decades' long stay in the land they feel they are still denied certain rights that they deserve.

One of the fathers whose daughter is an engineering student in a 'private engineering college' articulated his annoyance on this issue,

'Our children have problems with higher education. My children faced a lot of difficulties. She did not write the entrance exam because there is no point in it. We have been living here all these years but no minority reservation till now! This is a main reason why the young generation is moving off' (Ganesh,45y, 3rdg, B).

A mother who has her children in school was all prepared to give 'intensive coaching' for entrance examinations as she feel that her children would be disadvantaged without the benefits of 'reservation'.

'They should study well and get into good engineering or medical college. But we can't rely on government colleges as we are not given reservation. I will give them good coaching for entrance examinations' (Priya,34y,3rd g, L).

Professional Courses

Majority of the parents wanted their children to get into professional courses. They envisioned a stable and secured future for their children with the completion of these courses. More specifically Engineering, MBA or medical courses were mentioned by the parents. They think that their children can have a stable and cushioned future only through 'professional education'. This security, in relation to the future was judged on the basis of high remuneration that engineering or management jobs would provide. Some of the parents from the third generation have their children in professional colleges, while some others have completed their courses and were settled with jobs. The parents whose children were doing the professional courses and those of whose children were into jobs after completing their courses felt proud that they could accomplish what they always aspired for their children. Professional education was seen to be having a high amount of social status and prestige associated with it. The families with high economic status want their children to bring in the social status too, which they envision, the professional education would provide. It was vice versa with the parents from middle class or lower middle class. Through the professional courses, they aspire to climb up towards higher economic status. By providing them with good education they aspired that their children get jobs which would pay them well. The monetary benefit that comes with the job was highlighted by them.

A second generation father, whose sons are settled as engineers think that unlike before the society values and respects an individual not just on the basis of having 'money' but a 'professional degree'.

'My sons are engineers. I wanted them to have professional degrees. It is not like in our times, more than having money, now a professional degree would give one attention in society' (Vijay Thogadia, 55y, 2nd g, VV).

Mithun Chand, apparently from a lower middle class family is concerned about the degree that their children should get so that it would fetch them decent jobs, which according to him means a handsome salary.

'Engineering or MBA can give one a nice job with a heavy pay package. With such degrees one can go abroad also' (42y, 3rd g, BR).

Narain Saran, a father belonging to the old generation has one of his sons working as an engineer. He takes immense pride in sharing this and thinks that compared to other children of his, this son is the most successful.

'I am really happy that my younger son could do it. His engineering degree can fetch him job anywhere unlike my other children' (63y,2nd g,B).

A noticeable matter which came up in the family's discussions regarding higher education was the perceptions on the girl's career. The difference was very evident from the responses of the 1st and 2nd generation migrants with that of the 3rd generation. Most of the parents who belonged to the 1st and 2nd generation who had their sons doing engineering or other jobs did not have any of their daughters in the profession nor did they talk about the aspirations they had for their daughters on this ground. But it was seen that, the young parents from the third generations had equal levels of dreams for their sons and daughters regarding their higher education. The girls were encouraged to take up professional courses and their career was visioned to be the provider of a secure life.

Ganesh has his son and daughter doing their engineering. He hopes that they go for a post graduate degree too.

'My daughter and son, both are doing their engineering. My daughter would finish it soon and I tell her that she should go for an MBA to get a better job rather than take up a job right now. You see career is so important for a secured future' (45y,3rd g,B).

A major reason, why the families emphasized on higher education, specifically professional education was that the degrees earned would pave the way abroad. The families do not see any more opportunities in this land and many of them have already moved away in search of better opportunities. The parents aspired that their children migrate abroad to places where there are tremendous opportunities to grow and would also provide the best avenues for their future generations to come. 'Going abroad' was talked about by both the young as well as the old generations. They longed for their children to settle abroad and consider that as a symbol of family prestige too. Having sons and daughters settled in US or UK is very proudly acknowledged by the community.

Narain Saran, a 2nd generation father whose youngest son is an engineer was elated when he talked about his son's new job project which would take him to US.

'My youngest son is an engineer and would be going abroad soon. His next work which the company gave is in US. Many of the younger ones from our family has been going abroad to settle. My niece and nephew are there and they are inviting my sister and brother in-law also. They make us proud!!'(63y, 2nd g, B).

Rakesh, a third generation father aspires that his children becomes engineers for the reason that they can go abroad quite easily with their job. He also sees a bright future for the coming generation in a foreign country.

'If they get into engineering, they can go abroad with their job. That way they can have a more better life, they can educate their children in some other land'(50, bm, 3rd gen).

Career was seen as a door open to a foreign land mainly in the case of sons. Marriage alliance from non-resident Indians was looked up as the ideal and acceptable medium to go abroad for their daughters. This was more or less similar with the old generation and young generation parents. Even though the young generation parents were particular about their daughter's education and career, marriage was seen to have the most weighing say with relation to their daughter's successful future life. The section on aspirations regarding marriage would give an insight to this more clearly.

Marriage

Marriage was seen as an important terrain where various factors were found attached to. As in all societies marriage was linked to one's culture and status. Being a migrated community, marriage has more dimensions to it in relation to the family's aspirations about their children. Loss of culture is always feared by such communities (Kumaran, 1992). Marriage is thought of as a major means towards keeping them together. All the parents across, class, castes and generations desired that their children marry within the community and caste. This was found more rigid in the case of daughters. When the parents were asked about

their children's marital aspirations it was about the daughters' marriage that they mainly talked about. If the daughters prefer to marry outside their caste, they would be denied further membership in the samaj and also would bring down the family's prestige and status. Thus marrying their daughters to families which is strongly tied to the Gujarati culture is considered to be the success of the family. This unwritten rule was not found to be very strict in the case of sons. A 1st generation father says, how important marriage is for a girl,

'Marriage has a lot of importance I our families. I was very particular that they marry a Gujarati. In case our girls marry outside, they are not in the samaj anymore, bringing in more shame to the family' (Navin,83y,1stg,B).

Giving them good education with the intention of getting the best possible matches was seen common with most of the parents of the old generation. It was seen that the schools were selected for the daughters keeping their future marital prospects alert. The strategies followed in this regard were found to be differing. Some of the parents had preferred the Vidyalaya for the reason that their daughters would learn Gujarati language and culture which is indeed necessary for a marriage alliance with a traditional Gujarati family. At the same time it was also seen that some of the parents send their children to convent schools so that they would be fluent in English, and would help them when they get married to NRI. These parents had chosen schools which gave the skills like good conversing skills in English, which they think groomed their daughters for their future married life abroad. Almost all the deep rooted and rich Gujarati families were seen to have many of their daughters and nieces as wives of non resident Indian's.

'I always wanted my daughter to get married to someone who is settled abroad. The family was searching a girl who can adapt there. I had send my daughter to the Anglo Indian school, She can speak well in English; is educated and they decided her for their son' (Narendra Jain,66y,2ndg, J).

Some of the old parents proudly shared that their daughters were getting proposals from families settled abroad. They also had compromised the daughter's education for a 'good alliance'.

'My daughter was doing graduation when she got married, the proposal was really good and that is more important in a girl's life isn't it?' (RajJain, 63y, 2ndg, J)

Another parent, who aspires higher education and job for both his son and daughter, had a change of voice when marriage was concerned, according to him,

We would prefer to get them married from our caste itself. If sons marry outside, I don't think there would be a problem. In my son's case the girl will be ours, would be brought into our culture but daughter would defame the community (Rakesh, 40y, 3rdg, J).

Unlike the old generation parents, the younger generation parents, though agrees that marriage should take place within the community, was found more keen on their daughters completing their education and acquiring a job before marriage. This also was linked to their aspirations on a 'good match' that their daughter would get on the basis of her academic qualifications and job. They don't see good communication skills in English to be the only major qualification for their daughter's to get good alliance. They understand that the needs have changed and as a result emphasis was given to the other aspects as well. A father from the 3rd generation says that,

'My daughters are engineers, they should get a good job before getting married, with good qualification and good job, good alliance also comes.' (Suvadash, 45y, 3rdg, L)

The younger generation parents though aspired that their daughter marries within the community, places education and marriage at equal stands. Unlike the old generation, who visualises a girl's bright future only through marriage, the young generation parents think that their daughters should get a good job before marriage. Few of the parents feel that their daughters should be able to stand on their own, independently in life. One of the fathers was concerned about the atrocities against girls and doesn't want them to marry off before completion of studies or a job. Ravinder Jha, voices his concern even though marriage has 'a long way' to go for his children,

'Marriage! a long way to go! I want them to get married within the community... both of them are girls and look at the atrocities that women have to face. I don't agree getting a girl married without good education and a job. She should be able to stand up for herself and for that, education is a necessity' (40y, 3rd g, L).

Thus marriage was seen having an important place with regard to the community's progress and also kept intact the culture and status of the families' as well the community's.

Conclusion

From the changes that were traced from the choice of the community's schooling, it was found that shifts have occurred across generation. There were sections that had preferred the Vidyalaya and others who have moved out. The foregoing discussion reveals the basis of the choice which this migrated community makes on the basis of their aspirations and visions they have for the future generation.

The Vidyalaya was the school to which most of the first generations and early migrants had gone. It had a major role to play as an educational institution of their times. But with the 2nd generation onwards there were variations in choosing the school. This has to be seen in the light of the changing socio-economic setting the community was in. The economic scenario which began to experience changes with the 1980 and 1990's was reflected in the trade opportunities of the community. There was a decline in the trade which disturbed the social background of many families of this trading community. It was at this juncture that the community began to look at other avenues seriously. As business was no longer a stable and secure option, preferences were given to access professional jobs, which would bring in prestige as well as a stable future. Thus education was seen as having more importance in this context. When most of the families are setting their strategies towards giving the children the best education, some of the pioneer elite families had made the shifts long time back ie with their first and second generations itself. They have given equal emphasis towards educating their children as well as managing their business firms.

The role the Vidyalaya has in this context is seen undulating. The parents do not see the Vidyalaya as giving their children the right kind of opportunity that would open the doors to a sound professional career through which they can make a living abroad. The ingredients which are identified as necessities for good schooling were supposedly lacking in the Vidyalaya. Even though the Vidyalaya is an English medium school, the parents did not feel that the children would be equipped with good communicative skills in English. This was owing to the fact that, children have a tendency to speak to one another in Gujarati as they see others from the community in the school. The prominent place the English language has in defining good education was highlighted here. English was seen necessary not only important for higher studies and professional jobs but also for the marriage of girl children. Equally important was the concern over the compulsory learning of Gujarati language. The school had made it compulsory as there were lesser children preferring Gujarati. The young generation parents no longer considers learning Gujarati to have any benefits in their children's future unlike the old, who send their girl children to the school to learn the language so that they are valued as 'culturally conscious brides' in the marriage market. The parents were also well aware of the schools which would give their children intense coaching and high levels of academic achievements. They were found to have clear visions about what ought to be provided to their children. The young parents who were sending their children to the Vidyalaya mostly for the low cost were also supposedly unhappy that there were limited opportunities with the Vidyalaya.

The families, especially the 3rd generation parents were found to have strong ambitions regarding their children's career and future lives. Being a migrated community they very well know that their strategies have to be well executed so that their future generations are not at stake. The present context reveals that the community aspires for a second migration to other countries in search of better avenues. Hence the choice of schools has to be understood as an important step which they take so that they can execute the well drafted aspirations they have on their children's future.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

India is a country which has diversity as one of its defining features. The existence of ethnic minorities in various parts of the country reflects this diversity. The tribes, linguistic minority groups etc are seen as ethnic minorities. As a result of movement of people from one geographical location to another, India has many ‘majority communities’ that have become minorities in the place of their migration. The present study has focussed on one such community, the Gujarati migrants in the Calicut district of Kerala. This community has been known to have migrated centuries back in search of trade opportunities. They have been successful in the host land, adapting and progressing, yet maintaining their identities. Some of the studies have talked about the migrants on the basis of their choice of migration. Those who have ‘voluntarily’ migrated are seen as more likely to be successful in the host land, as they exploit all available openings and strategise their actions accordingly towards attaining mobility. The present study has tried to unravel this aspect of the ethnic minority Gujarati community in Calicut. They are known for successfully ‘making it’ in the host land. The study has focused on the role the community school-the Gujarati Vidyalaya plays in the various spheres of their lives, particularly in relation to culture, identity and opportunities for the Gujaratis.

The experience of ethnic minorities in different societies is varied. A review of available research has revealed that their experiences have been different based on the different multicultural contexts they are in. Many of them had to face difficulties in accessing education and occupations constraining opportunities for social mobility in the societies in which they reside. The call for inclusive measures was emerged from these experiences and was highlighted in the ethnic and black movements of the 1960 and 1970’ in the United States and Canada which gave rise to debates on multiculturalism. Subsequently multicultural policies as against policies of assimilation were put in place in North American and European countries. Studies have shown that there are some migrant communities whose experiences have been different from the disadvantaged groups. They have been able to ‘integrate’ in the host society and effectively use the opportunities to attain progress. As mentioned

above, these migrants are referred to as the voluntary migrants (Ogbu, 1987). Studies focussing on the immigrant groups have revealed interesting insights. Successful ethnic communities have managed to overcome the cultural difference they have with the dominant society and these differences are not seen as obstacles in integrating with them or as a threat to their identity (Kim, 1993; Feliciano, 2006). At the same time these communities have been seen to maintain their culture and identity through their ethnic associations and other cultural organisations. Some of these associations provide a space for interaction and effective networking which in turn help the community as a whole, providing them support and strength to progress in the societies to which they have migrated. These communities were also found to succeed academically and education is seen as an important pathway towards mobility. Studies have highlighted that ethnic minority parents were particular that their children adapted to the education system of the dominant society and in many instances the community was seen to provide the necessary support so that the community on the whole progressed.

Though most of the studies have been referring to the international context, there are a few studies on relatively successful ethnic communities in India as well, who have migrated to various cities. They have been known to set up their cultural associations, educational institutions and other means to keep themselves connected to their states of origin. Looking at these studies, it was found that, much of the literature falls short in dealing with the ways these communities strategise their progress in the host society. The aspirations and the paths followed to attain social and occupational mobility by these communities needs to be delved into carefully.

Even though the Gujarati community has had a long past in Calicut, there is not much evidence on the history and their migration to Calicut. Calicut's historical importance as an efficient and popular port had brought in various foreigners into the city. It has had a rich history of trade and commerce which brought in diverse groups from various parts of the world. Gujarat too, with its rich networks in trade had been maintaining relations with many parts of the world. Some of the records have shown that Gujarati businessmen used to come to Calicut for trading purposes. It is in this background that the community's settling and progress in the city was looked at. The study is based on available records of the Vidyalaya association, the

interactions with the Vidyalaya Committee and other community members and interviews with a few families.

The Gujarati community settled in Calicut belongs to different caste groups and include Jains and Muslims as well. Like any other migrant community, the Gujaratis have formed groups and associations in the host land. The early associations they had was mainly based on caste and religion. It was through these caste associations or samajs that the community interacted. It was much later, in 1931 that the Vidyalaya association which brought together the members of the community around the Gujarati school was established. The Vidyalaya association was established mainly for the management of the Gujarati school or Vidyalaya, which was set up in 1869 to educate the Gujarati children. Gradually the association was seen to take a major part in the lives of the community. It embraced all the samajs and gave memberships to every Gujarati. Only the Muslims were not part of the association.

The Community and its Association

The Vidyalaya Association was found to act as the space for the interaction of the community. It helps in maintaining the cultural and social networks to a large extent. It has played a diverse role at different points of time according to the needs of the community. The cultural ties of the community are retained through the festivals and other activities of the caste associations or samajs. The Vidyalaya association organises the major Gujarati festivals in the space of the school. These are important occasions to strengthen intra community social ties and cultural practices that give a sense of 'being Gujarati' as distinct from the larger society which is broadly seen as 'Malayalee' but is in reality multicultural. In addition to maintaining the cultural and social aspects, the Association was found to be used by the businessmen as an effective networking site to reach out to the wider society to build social capital for the community and their businesses. The school also caters to the non Gujarati families. The importance that they gave the Vidyalaya can be seen in the monetary contributions given to the Association and their active interest in the functioning of the school. The Gujarati businessmen gained positions in the Vidyalaya association as presidents and secretaries. These positions were seen to be the domain of the

different elite business families bringing them prestige and acceptance within the community as well as in the wider society.

The School's (Vidyalaya) role as an educational institution was analysed through the interviews with the parents. How far was the school serving the cause for which it was established was looked into. The school preference for their children was indeed an interesting area, as the parents had clear visions and ambitions. The changing nature of the socio-economic scenario was the basis on which their future plans for the children was shaped. Business is the major occupation in which the community is engaged. The changes that came in the economic scenario after the 1980's and 1990's have reduced the business prospects. Now, business is considered to provide comparatively lesser opportunities. It was not seen as a secure option for career or life. The parents were looking at other avenues where the young generation would be successful. Thus the nature of the ambitions and aspirations that the parents had were seen varying with generations. Most of the first generation parents had gone to the Vidyalaya. The shift from the Vidyalaya was seen to happen with the 2nd generation itself. It was found that some of the 2nd generation parents had gone to the St. Joseph's boys, which is a convent school.

Many of the younger generation parents did not prefer the Vidyalaya. The younger generation sees schooling as an important domain where the children should get the best education to make a successful professional career which was considered to lead towards a successful life. They also aimed at migrating to foreign countries and envisioned a successful career and life for their children abroad. The reflection of these aspirations and dreams were seen in the choices they make for their children's schooling.

Vidyalaya- Identity and Opportunities

The Gujarati community, which has the history of centuries in Calicut have adapted and accommodated themselves well. They can be called the successful migrants as they were able to effectively use their opportunities to attain mobility and progress. This could be attributed to the voluntary character of their migration (Ogbu, 1987) the voluntary migrants, who had made the choice of their migration, always looked forward for the best openings. They choose to migrate expecting better opportunities and exposure which they do not get in their native land. Hence, the reason for

coming to the host society is justified only when they attain progress and social mobility from their prior status. They try all means towards the attainment of mobility.

Ogbu(1987) discusses the reason for success of various migrant communities on the basis of the primary and secondary cultural differences. The primary cultural difference is the difference which the community have in them from the host society. The secondary cultural difference is the difference which the communities get as a result of their interaction with the wider society. The successful migrants understand that their primary cultural difference has to be overcome to get the secondary cultural difference so that it becomes quite easy for the community to attain mobility. The Gujarati community in the present context has been found not only to have maintained their primary cultural difference intact, but used it as a means to attain progress in the land to where they have migrated. The strategies the community used to achieve this was found to be interesting.

Ethnic ties and their cultural specificities in the case of the Gujaratis were seen to be maintained through the Vidyalaya association. Even though the Vidyalaya association was formed to manage the progress and development of the community school, over time the association began to have a major role in the lives of the community creating an identity for them in the wider society. This was done through the Vidyalaya as it provided the space for it. The communities access the Vidyalaya for diverse needs. The main medium for this access is the association. Thus an intense intermixing of the association's activities, the samajs or the caste associations and those related to the educational needs happen from the physical space offered by the Vidyalaya.

It emerges that the association is the path used by the community to achieve their diverse needs. It is a place where the cultural ties of the ethnic community are renewed. The festivals celebrated and other get-togethers organised bring in the entire community to the school. Cooperation for the celebrations and participation in them give the venue for wide scale interactions of the community members. This helps in thickening and strengthening their ethnic bonds. These bonds of ethnicity are used towards building the necessary networks; cultural networks among the community and social networks with the wider society.

Many of the businessmen were seen making use of the association as an effective site of social networking. They maintain their identity and reached out to the society through this association. The history of the development of the school and association shows that many of the elite business families had contributed effectively towards the association and has kept intact their positions in the school board as Presidents and Secretaries. From the identity created through the association they have reached out into the wider society to become part of the city's business associations and commerce groups. It was seen that the networks are used aptly to acquire the necessary social capital to capture success in their occupation.

Another means used to reach the wider society emerges from the educational function of the Vidyalaya. Vidyalaya is an English medium school which is open to all sections of the society. The locals are encouraged to take admissions and the school does not discriminate them on any grounds. The records of students in the Vidyalaya shows unlike the initial years, majority of the students are Malayalees. Gujarati children had only one tenth representations in the total students accessing the school in the recent years. This suggests that the school has well reached out to the Malayalee society. Malayalam language is also taught in the school, which gives the local children the option to study their language. The school also recruits non-Gujarati teachers on a large scale. Thus, it emerges that, the community in this way have kept open a path so that there happens an integration and interaction with the wider society through the school.

Ethnicity thus was found to be used as a resource from which the elements required for the community to move on was extracted appropriately. Thus the community here is not losing their cultural difference but using them as a perfect strategy.

At the same time, it suggests that maintaining the pace of progress over the changing times is indeed the vital part of success. The community have known to be doing it quite efficiently. This becomes evident from the aspirations and plans they have for their future generations. With the opportunities and scope in business diminishing, the younger generation parents look out for other rewarding careers for their children. They see the professional job market as the provider of a secure

future in the coming years. Unlike the old generation parents, the younger generation thus stresses on giving their children the best education which they believe have to be started from the school.

The part Vidyalaya plays in the decisions of the choice of schools of the community, points at these strategies which the community follows. The older generation had preferred the Vidyalaya more as it had given them the opportunities needed during those times. As trade was the major occupation, higher education was not considered a necessity. They were keener on their sons learning the Malayalam language for interactions which would help in their business. Daughters were also sent to the Vidyalaya for learning the Gujarati language. The aspirations for girls were mainly limited to marriage. Gujarati language was seen to help them keep up their conventional traits required for an 'Indian bride'.

With the changes in the present context, younger parents look out for different aides from education, which would help their children for a professional career. Though Vidyalaya is an English medium school, it was not considered to provide the children the necessary skills for fluent conversation in English. English was considered a very essential requirement for the future education as well as career. Many parents consider this as a major drawback in the Vidyalaya. The learning of Gujarati language, which the school made mandatory ten years ago is also not appreciated at all. The younger generation thus is seen to be moving out of the school, choosing the 'best' schools for their children.

The reflections of the shift of Gujaratis have been seen in the Vidyalaya. As mentioned earlier, only one-tenth of the students are Gujaratis in the school. But at the same time, it was noticed that the community accesses it for the cultural and social interaction, which has a major contribution in the retention of the 'Gujarati identity'. Thus the association of the school is seen still having a critical role. It provides an important cultural space inspite of the various undulations that happened in relation to the community's choice of the Vidyalaya for the purpose of education. Thus the physical space which the vidyalaya provides has a lot of relevance in the context of this migrant community.

The Role of Language

Language's role in the lives of migrant communities has immense relevance as it keeps the community together and acts as the link to their region and culture (Oonk, 2007). In the context of migrant communities in India, language is seen to have even more pertinence as the states are divided on linguistic basis. The ethnic associations formed by the various groups thus have language as the most important binding factor. The Gujarati community in the city also is tied strongly on the means of language.

The Gujarati Vidyalaya has been registered under the linguistic minority rights of the constitution. Though an English medium school, Gujarati is taught in the school as the first language along with Malayalam and additional English. The Gujarati children in the school can opt to study their language instead of Malayalam which is compulsory in any other school. Around ten years back, the Vidyalaya has taken away the provision given to the Gujarati children to 'choose' their 1st language. It has made it mandatory for all Gujarati children in the school to study Gujarati as the 1st language. This was due to the fact that in the recent times lesser children preferred to study Gujarati. The school requires a minimum number of children to learn Gujarati as the 1st language to retain its linguistic minority status.

Language was found to be an important marker of culture in the case of the Gujaratis. The community feels they should retain it across their generations. They conversed only in Gujarati at home. This was practiced by all sections and all generations of the community. The parents think it as their responsibility to pass on the language to their children, thus facilitating the maintenance of oral language at the familial and community level. Studies have shown that the migrant communities are always keen on maintaining their language as it brings in a feeling that they are still connected to their roots. (Ghuman, 1994; Rai, 2009). The parents from the migrant communities were interested in their children learning their language, but it was mostly due to the dominant community's influence that they are forced to leave their language. Oonk(2007) notes from his study the concern of Gujarati communities in East Africa on their language fading away with generations. The case of the Gujaratis in Calicut was found to be very

different. Though Gujarati language was appreciated as a defining part of the Gujarati culture, the learning of the language at school level or as a part of their education was found to vary. This difference has to be reasoned with the needs and requirements for their future lives. The priority was being given to the mobility strategies and language's role was visualised in the light of it.

The Gujarati language as a school subject was not preferred by the old generation Gujaratis. Contrary to the above mentioned studies the old generation Gujaratis were keener to learn Malayalam from the school. The local language was considered the necessity of the time as it would help in their interactions and hence for their business. Opting Malayalam instead of Gujarati in school was thus based on their strategies for progress. This is also clearly evident from the fact that, girl children were encouraged to take up Gujarati unlike the sons. The girls needed the essential qualification of Gujarati language to prove themselves as culturally conscious in the marriage market. Knowing Gujarati meant that the girl, rather her family, is still bound to their culture inspite of the migrant status. It was also understood that, women in the migrant communities are accepted and valued for being the language bearers or language transmitters (Mukherjee, 2003). The aspirations regarding the girls' future was mainly attached to marriage and hence the girls were made to learn the language.

English language was seen to be playing a significant role in the present context. The language concern of the community had changed as the younger generation look out for a secure job and a professional career for their children. The business was no longer considered a safe option due to the diminishing scope it provided. The young generation parents were particular that their children should go for higher education and get into professional careers. Thus they no longer consider learning Gujarati or Malayalam as necessary. The language which is considered to bring in opportunities is English. This remains one major reason behind the parents' choice of other schools over Gujarati school. They feel that if the children are sent to the Vidyalaya children would have a tendency to communicate in Gujarati with their friends from the community and hence would not get the skill to converse in English.

English was also considered important as the Gujaratis were aspiring to migrate to foreign countries. 'Going abroad' was being equated with a future life of promising opportunities. Eventhough migration to foreign countries was being stressed by the community recently, some of the old generation families were seen to have strategised this long back. They have aspired it through their daughters. Some of the elite Gujarati families had interesting strategies for the mobility of their daughters. These families send them to convent schools so that they could master the English communication skill which would gain them marriage alliances from non resident Indians. Chopra (2005) in her study on the family strategies and education had pointed out at these very same strategies which were being used by certain families in Punjab for mobility. It suggests that these strategies have more relevance in the context of a migrant community as many of the respondents from the Gujarati families were speaking proudly about the 'relative's networks' they have in foreign countries.

On the whole language was found to play a diverse role in the case of the Gujarati migrants. Gujarati is retained by the community to act as the bonding factor for the association and progress of the Vidyalaya, eventhough other languages have been embraced for better opportunities and success.

The Gujarati community, an ethnic minority in Calicut city has been seen to have used a wide range of strategies to succeed in the host society, yet retain their own distinct cultural identity. The Vidyalaya provided a critical space through which the early migrants educated their children and learnt the language which helped in integrating with the wider society and becoming successful businessmen. The school was more than a learning space and when the Association was established it served to strengthen intra communities' social ties and retain a Gujarati identity within the larger society. However over time while Vidyalaya and the association continue to provide a critical space for the community. The former is no longer the pathway to economic opportunities as the most sought after occupations are the professions for which education in elite English medium schools are seen as important. The horizons of the younger generation are no longer limited to Calicut or Kerala but they are looking at national and global markets and the competition that they entail. While the Association continues to be the space for renewing cultural identity and strengthening social ties, the School now is an institution that

helps in reaching out and integrating with the wider society. As mentioned, it offers schooling in English to non Gujaratis who cannot afford other English medium schools. It also provides employment to non Gujaratis as teachers. Thus the Vidyalaya is a space to build social capital for the community and strengthen inter community networks, an important role that the association played earlier. Different studies have shown that, institutions like the community schools which the migrants set up becomes non-existent or exist as a namesake institution after a period with the adaptation and progress of migrant communities (Bhatt and Bhaskar,2007; Sen,2009; Panda,2000). As we have shown, the school has played a changing role in the lives of the Gujaratis given that it is also synonymous with their association. This space that it provides is indeed a complex one which is accessed not primarily for cultural and social adaptation in the host society but for maintaining the Gujarati identity and strengthening networks with the wider society. The Gujarati Vidyalaya exists as one of the proud symbols of the community. However, today the community also does not see the Vidyalaya as a space for educational opportunities but as a means for identity, interaction and integration with the wider society in Calicut.

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Annexure

Name	Age	Generation in the family	occupation	The school they went to		Choice of school for their children	
				Vidyalaya	Other schools	vidyalaya	Other school

The background of the community

Who were the early migrants to the city?

When and where did they settle down?

Which are the different sections within the community?

How do they maintain their cultural difference or do they?

When did the Gujarati association come into being?

Are all Gujaratis members of the association?

The programmes and other activities that took place in the association

Where do the associations conduct its meetings and organise programmes?

The Vidyalaya

When was the Vidyalaya established?

Were the first early Gujarati migrants educated?

When was the school set up? Where was the place chosen and why?

Who were the people behind this endeavour and the source of monetary contributions?

Did all the early migrants go to the school?

What were the subjects taught then ?

What were the activities that took place from the school?

Who are the active participants in these activities?

Trace the changes with generations from families

How is the cultural specificity maintained?

What is the language spoken at home?

Knowledge of Malayalam- reading , writing and speaking.

Is there any compulsion in the family to study Gujarati language?

The festivals celebrated, the food preferred by the members in the family.

Does the family participate in the cultural programmes organised in the school

How often do you go to the school and for what reasons?

Accessing the Vidyalaya

To which school did the old generation in the family go?

Which school did you go to?

Do all the children of the family go to the vidyalaya? why?

Why is the vidyalaya chosen/not chosen for the children?

What are the aspirations regarding the children's higher education?

What career do you aspire for your children?

What future do you envision for your children in relation to marriage and settling?

