Male Ageing and Migrancy
sevā and the Indian Diaspora in the US

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Introduction

In this chapter I would like to bring together two signature experiences of our time, population ageing and migration. Both phenomena are well-known but have not often been seen as in any way connected. In 2005, in a much-quoted statement, Shelley Fisher Fishkin spoke of the "proverbial migrant" (24) and both this figure and the mobility for which it stands have been haunting literary and cultural studies for some time now. But that emblematic person has mostly been imagined as young or at least as somehow "ageless." After all, it seems to be part of the eternal order of things that the young are mobile whereas older people either stay or are left behind. In such a scheme, ageing and old age are seen as the local other, the leftover, in quite a literal sense, of global migration. I think this is and has always been a misconception; it is a misconception especially today, as capital-driven globalization has over the last 50 years "mobilized" people of all ages in hitherto unprecedented ways. Recent data from the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs indicate that an estimated 12.2 percent of all global migrants are 65 and older (DESA, Migration Data Porta, update Jan. 2021). In addition, the first generations of (often male) labour migrants that once came in great numbers to the United States (and other countries of the Global North) as unskilled labourers have been getting old. Not only are they getting old far away from "home," they are also ageing in ways that are

vastly different from the "home" ways.[1] Millions with various social and cultural backgrounds thus not only spend most of their lives living between cultures, they also grow old between cultures. What this means is that at some point in their life course they will have to contend with the problem of how and where to age best at the crossroads of intercultural and intergenerational differences. For this reason, old age does matter in migration, in multiple, complicated and even contradictory ways, and it is the purpose of this essay to trace some of these ways and to promote *a multi-generational understanding of migration*.

Putting "age" (back) into our debates about migrancy requires, inter alia, that we develop a sustained focus on a number of constellations, in both the Global South and North, in which the mobility of older people, real or imaginary, requires changes in our understanding of both migration and later life. Literary texts offer important reference points for such a project, not least because they are usually not held in thrall by epistemologies of power or practicability but are concerned instead with "repairing what has been broken in the relation between individuals and worlds" (Berlant 2009: 1090). There is no space here to present a panoramic view of literary representations of the nexus of old age and migrancy from various cultural contexts. In what follows, I will focus instead on one complex and well-documented example, the literature in English of the subcontinental Indian community in the United States which speaks about and for the age-migrancy-nexus.

Such a choice justifies itself on a number of grounds. First and most obviously, intellectuals with a subcontinental background such as Arundhati Roy, Gayatri Spivak, or Nobel Prize winner Amartya Sen

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1   In response to this situation, "culture sensitive" care facilities for ageing migrants have sprung up all over the Global North. These facilities are run by staff who speak the migrants' language and are familiar with cultural traditions such as religiously mandated dietary restrictions. They include institutions such as the Paulo Agabayani Retirement Village set up by the United Farm Workers for aging Filipino field workers near Delano, CA, or Nikkei Manor for Japanese seniors in Seattle, WA. These institutions have often been praised as a solution for the quandary of ageing "away from home". On the ambivalences of this perspective see Kunow 2016, esp. 104–106.

have been taking a leading role in the conversation in the academy but also the general public about migration, diasporic life and issues of political and cultural advocacy.[2] Secondly, the migration of people from the Indian subcontinent to the United States and Canada since the 1960s has produced a rich and distinct body of literary texts committed to exploring what it means to be living (and ageing) between two cultures. Almost all of this literature is written in English, is therefore widely accessible and has become recognized even in the popular culture of the United States.[3] The most visible author here is of course Salman Rushdie who moved to the United States in the 1990s, began to write pieces for the *New York Times* and has become a vigorous advocate of US culture and (sometimes) politics. Aside from him, a sizable number of other writers, many of them women, have also gained popular and critical attention.[4] South Asian American women writers have performed cultural work as "interpreters of transnationalism" (Schlote 2006) in their representations of the gendered traumas of identity crises and gender discrimination in both traditional Indian and US-American culture. As Inderpal Grewal argues, "The immigrant novel written by or about the 'Asian' or 'Asian American' woman . . . revealed a great deal about the transnational circulation of knowledges of nation, race, and gender" and, as I hope to show, also age (2005: 62).

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2   I am referring here *inter alia* to Roy's *Public Power in the Age of Empire* (2004), Spivak's *Critique of Postcolonial Reason* (1999) and Sen's *The Argumentative Indian* (2005). But see also Robert JC Young "Postcolonial remains." *New Literary History* 43, (2012): 19–42.

3   On this development and also the possible price to be paid for Indians writing in English see Salman Rushdie's "Introduction" to *The Vintage Book of Indian Writing 1947–1997*.

4   Aside from the boom of Bollywood movies, Indian writers in the US have attained national popularity as scripts for movies. Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni's novel *The Mistress of Spices* (1997), for example, when turned into a film, became a major box-office success. This development has recently been critically reviewed, for example in interventions from scholars positioned in India; cf. here the recent overview in *Diasporic Inquiries into South Asian Women's Narratives*, ed. Shilpa Dithota Bhat. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2020.

The third reason for the focus in this chapter on literature produced by Indians living in the United States (non-resident Indians, or "NRIs") is that in its representations of the age-migrancy nexus this literature engages with a clearly circumscribed and religiously sanctioned, non-Western mandate regulating the understanding of age and the relations between generations. Going back to the sacred Hindu text, the *Bhagavad Gita* (2nd century BCE), the Sanskrit term *sevā* designates a complex of services and respect due to older men, especially inside the family, during the *sannyasa*, the fourth and last stage of renunciation of worldly pursuits within the Hindu system of age-based life stages (https://slife.org/s annyasa/). Such services would include material and symbolic gestures, ranging from serving food, combing hair and washing, to touching an elder's feet as a sign of respect (Cohen 115, 180, Lamb 32–33). The principal recipient of *sevā* is the family patriarch.[5] In this way, s*evā* became an integral part, if not the idealized emblem, of male ageing in Indian families. And aside from introducing a temporality of ageing which in its emphasis on acceptance, even renunciation is markedly different from the current western model of forever active "best agers," *sevā* also invokes an alternative economy of belonging inside the family. In the context of the Indian migration to the West since the 1960s the moral imperatives of *sevā* came to interact and intersect with competing concepts of late life, most obviously those produced by Western modernity. Literary texts and other cultural practices such as photographs and films enter public conversation as case studies or case histories of this confrontation.

Male Migration and Indian Family Life: A Fictional Portrait

Jhumpa Lahiri's fictions are particularly relevant for the present inquiry because they trace the "predicaments of the hyphen" (Visweswaran 1993:

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5   Interestingly, a similar concept can be found in Muslim cultures and the figure of the *murabbi*. For an extensive discussion of the changing positionality of this figure in migratory contexts see Gardner 2002.

301): the problems of lived interculturality for Indian migrants to the US, in a migration or rather post-migration setting, with a sustained emphasis on intergenerational relations. Lahiri, whose debut collection *Interpreter of Maladies* won the 2002 Pulitzer Prize for fiction, is a widely acclaimed writer whose texts do not simply lament the cultural losses incurred by migration. Instead, they are meant to perform "simultaneous translations in both directions, of characters who literally dwell in two separate worlds" (Lahiri qtd. in Kumar 2002: 178). Many of her characters are shown at a crucial moment of their diasporic lives, as they are beginning to distance themselves from their parents' beliefs and traditions, without rejecting them wholesale, and negotiate new social and cultural subject positions, or what Lahiri calls an "amalgamated domain". "My writing," she says, "is less a response to my parents' cultural nostalgia, and more an attempt to forge my own amalgamated domain" (179). Nevertheless, cultural nostalgia is everywhere in her writing but often to be found at unexpected moments and not only among older people.[6]

A good example of all this is the short story collection *Unaccustomed Earth* (2008; the title is an echo of Nathaniel Hawthorne's "Custom House" chapter of *The Scarlet Letter*), which debuted as number 1 on the *New York Times* bestseller list. In the title story Ruma, a well-to-do NRI suburbanite married to an American hedge-fund manager expects a visit from her ageing widowed father. Ruma's father, a first-generation immigrant and now retired pharmaceutical company executive, has spent his retirement traveling. This is his first visit to his daughter's suburban life, and it is overshadowed by the death of his wife. After giving birth to a son, Akash, she decided to give up her career at a law firm and become a homemaker instead. The story is told from the two alternating subject positions of Ruma and her father, allowing an insight into the secret thoughts of both protagonists. So we learn that Ruma's

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6   Meanwhile, her interests and her writing have taken a decidedly different turn: *Dove mi trovo* (2018) is her first novel in Italian. Lahiri is proving an important point in debates about diasporic literature, namely that authors from such backgrounds are not at all restricted to dwelling on issues connected with migration.

father has a new love interest which he is afraid to reveal to his daughter, while she is apprehensive about her father's age and the demands Indian traditions might bring. She looks at him as the unchanged embodiment of Indian paternalism even in his adopted country:

> Ruma feared that her father would become a responsibility, an added demand … It would mean an end to the family she'd created on her own … She couldn't imagine tending to her father, serving the meals her mother used to prepare. Still, not offering him a place in her home made her feel worse. It was a dilemma Adam [her husband] didn't understand. (7)

Lahiri organizes her narrative around a key issue in Indian culture, intergenerational relations and obligations, more precisely the moving of older parents into the households of their children, and the concomitant obligations of *sevā*. What frightens Ruma is exactly this, that the generational relations grounded in the Indian tradition of sevwould be transplanted into her American life, adding new obligations to an already challenging routine with a demanding child and another one to be born soon. As it turns out, her apprehensions are unfounded, as her father has no intention of moving in with his daughter. Although *sevā* is part of his considerations, he has decided to opt for independent older life, more along American lines: "[H]is wife," he muses, "would not have thought twice about moving in with Ruma … The isolation of living in an American suburb … had been more solitude than she could bear" (29). But this was not for him: "He did not want to live in the margins of his daughter's life" (53). And going back to India is not an option, either. In the course of a successful business career he has assimilated to US culture and customs more than his daughter had realised. His outer appearance is a first indication of that. When they meet, Ruma is "struck by the degree to which her father resembled an American in his old age." (11)

As the story unfolds, Lahiri stages the encounter between two generations of Indian migrants as a complex, highly gendered play of open declarations and secret assumptions, of competing cultural scripts and commitments, assimilations and diasporic identities. Thus, in spite of

the comforts of her upper middle-class life, Ruma is haunted by a sense of failure, even of cultural betrayal, as her Indian cultural heritage seems to be slipping away from her. Food is of crucial importance here:

> She [Ruma] had spent the past two days cooking [in preparation for the father's visit], and the labor had left her exhausted. When she cooked Indian food for Adam [her husband], she could afford to be lazy. ... Her mother had never cut corners; even in Pennsylvania she had run her household as if to satisfy a mother-in-law's fastidious eye. (22)[7]

But her mother is dead now and her Indian ways of life cannot be reenacted by her daughter. Aside from cooking, Ruma is also losing the ability to speak her native Bengali[8] and worst of all, she cannot pass her language and cultural heritage on to her son Akash: "In spite of her efforts he [Akash] was turning into the sort of American child she was always careful not to be, the sort that horrified and intimidated her mother: imperious, afraid of eating things," (23).

India, together with the cultural traditions of Hindu culture, remains clearly separated from the everyday life of the characters by a distance that they are both aware of, a past that is irrevocably lost and that can be conjured up at best as a receding horizon of reference of which the characters become aware, on certain occasions, almost in spite of themselves. This is not a tale of two cultures, nor of the rewards

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7   Food is a crucial everyday praxis as migrants seek to organize their diasporic life. I have discussed this at some length in "Eating Indian(s): Food, Representation, and the Indian Diaspora in the United States" (2003, 151–75).

8   Like her fictional character, Lahiri is very much concerned about losing her native language: "Because of my divided identity, or perhaps by disposition ... I consider myself an incomplete person, in some way deficient. Maybe there is a linguistic reason – the lack of a language to identify with." She grew up with Bengali as her mother tongue but has never been able to identify with it: "I was ashamed of speaking Bengali and at the same time I was ashamed of feeling ashamed" (qtd. In Hardley).

of living a model minority life.[9] Instead, different responses to the experience of migrancy and their aftermath have a way of seeping into the narrative, and they are mediated along generational lines, but not in the expected way. In "Unaccustomed Earth," it is the children of Indian immigrants who lose the sense of connectedness with the culture their parents had brought with them to the US but that loss occurs without causing emotional troubles: "It was one of the many habits of her upbringing which she'd shed in her adult life, without knowing when or why" (14). Here, as in many Lahiri stories, intercultural differences are re-coded in terms of intergenerational differences. Ruma's father is keenly aware of the rewards and losses of diasporic life[10], and with a distinct tone of resignation, he realizes that the widening gap that separates him from his daughter cannot be bridged and that his migratory background is not just passed on to the next generation: "The more the children grew, the less they had seemed to resemble either parent—they spoke differently, dressed differently, seemed foreign in every way, from the texture of their hair to the shapes of their feet and hand" (54). The realization of this distance is painful for both Ruma and her father, but this is not the cause for drama, it is the way life goes.

In the intimate framework of the nuclear family, of a father-daughter relationship, Lahiri stages a role reversal between genders and generations. *Sev* is not an option here, not even an issue. Ruma's father does

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9   On the concept of the Indian "model minority", its history and its vicissitudes see Venugopal 2021. There is a hidden economic argument behind the relative prosperity of Indian immigrants: In 2019, immigrant households had a median income of $132,000, compared to $64,000 and $66,000 for all immigrant and U.S.-born households, respectively (https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/indian-immigrants-united-states-2019).

10   To help identify the position I am writing from I want to mention that my reading here is resourced by Rushdie's well-known reflections on the abiding power of the "imaginary homelands, Indias of the mind" (10) but more especially by James Clifford's *Routes: Travel and translation in the late twentieth century* (1999) and Pheng Cheah's *What is a world? On postcolonial literature as world literature* (2016). Cf. also my "Postcolonial theory and old age: An explorative essay" (2016).

not expect it, and Ruma is not prepared to give it. Throughout she remains insecure about her status as the daughter of Indian immigrants, and has been so for quite some time, as her deceased mother had noted: "You are ashamed of yourself, of being Indian, that is the bottom line" (26), and her marriage to an American had not been able to change that. It falls to Ruma's father to try and stabilize her identity by invoking the values and gender roles of US, not Indian, culture. His own wife had been totally bound by traditional Indian gender roles, but now he tries to encourage his daughter to follow American ways. When Ruma explains to him that she wants to remain a mother and a housewife — a role sanctified, according to Cohen (1998: 119–120), by the traditional Joint Indian Family — he raises objections which have their roots in US achievement culture, including its veiled ageisms: "Now is the time for you to be working, building your career" (36). In a long conversation with his daughter he tries to encourage her to plan her life on the American model of the successful career woman with its own inbuilt bias against women's age. When Ruma explains she wants to see her children grow up, he points to the rigid rules of business: "Then what will you do? . . . You will be over forty. It may not be so simple." (36) As is often the case in Lahiri's fictions, the difference of opinions between generations will not mature into an open conflict. As the story ends, Ruma's father is at the airport for departure, and Ruma returns to her homemaker routine. In this story, and especially in the subject positions which it organizes, Lahiri subverts widely held assumptions about the age-migrancy-nexus by a realignment of subject positions: it is Ruma's father who in his late life has found a way to strike a balance between the demands of Indian traditions and of the culture of his adopted country, while his daughter is caught in an uneasy and unsatisfying "in between." "In-betweenness" is of course a loaded term in postcolonial critique, but Lahiri's approach to this condition is far removed from Bhabha-style celebrations of this condition.

Transnational Realities and new Global Frameworks for Ageing Indians

Overall, it would be tempting to read this story in terms of postcolonial critique and its orthodoxies as an exploration of hybridity, third spaces, or contestation. Such a reading would be even more suggestive because of the autobiographical overtones. But Lahiri and her text do not follow the well-traveled postcolonial conceptual routines focused on "inter cultural and outer national social and political processes" (Gilroy 1994: 19) or "the emergence of the interstices – the overlap and displacement of domains of difference" (Bhabha 1994: 2). Rather, Lahiri here, as elsewhere in her stories, presents a carefully circumscribed world where intergenerational relations are crosshatched by conflicting cultural allegiances. They can be read as the fictional *mise-en-scene* of the age-migrancy-nexus and the new relationalities emerging in the aftermath of Indian migration to the United States.

In the world outside fiction, these cultural politics have stimulated a wave of late-life migration from India to the US, as NRIs are asking their ageing parents still living in India to join them. Economic considerations are not important in this context. Subcontinental immigrants are eligible for SSI (supplementary security income), but most children are both willing and able to support their parents financially anyway. Rather, this late-life migration is the expression of a deep sense of cultural unease among affluent Indians who have "made it" in the US. This unease centers around intergenerational relations and the cultural tradition of the Great Indian Joint Family (GIJF) and its transgenerational bonds of love and support.[11] According to GIJF ideals, caring for ageing parents is the

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11   My argument here is indebted to Sarah Lamb's rich and theoretically sophisticated anthropological work which explores the intersection of culture and social science. Aside from *Aging and the Indian Diaspora* see also "Assemblages of Care and Personhood: "Successful Ageing" across India and North America" (2020) where she offers a detailed account of how "globalizing ageing models are increasingly circulating within India" (330). She also notes that "diverse and often contradictory models for living and ageing" are circulating in the transnational and transcultural spaces opened by migration (333).

children's *dharma*, their moral-religious duty, and so the transnational dispersal of Indian families is cause for anxieties, often intensely felt. These anxieties have been repeatedly taken up (and reinforced) by Indian popular culture, notably by Bollywood. In *Baghban* (2003), for example, the protagonist, Raj Malhotra (played by Bollywood legend Amitabh Bachchan), offers the conventional wisdom on the GIJF: "life does not move up like a ladder. Life grows like a tree. . . If a father can help his son to take the first step in life, then why can't that son help his father the last step of his life?" (qtd. In Lamb 2009: 43–44).[12]

The answer to that question lies in the new transnational realities of Indian life, realities which are dedicated to maintaining the arrangements essential for the moral integrity of families by bringing ageing parents to live with children and receive their *sevā* outside India but in an Indian milieu (Lamb 2009: 32–33, 206–235). As one NRI says about bringing his old father to the US: "culturally, I cannot imagine it any other way." (Lamb 2009: 209) Thus, bringing one's elders to the US can be read as a *reparative move*, an attempt to rescue intergenerational relations and especially the entitlements of male elderhood in the new international and intercultural framework created by capitalist globalization and world-wide labour markets. This reparative gesture is often mirrored on the elders' side by an equally restorative impulse. As Sarah Lamb has shown, Indian elders view their own late-life migration to the United States as an effort to stem the tide of Americanization, to assist their children in keeping attuned to their Indian roots and, even more importantly, their grandchildren. Says one of them: "in the Indian way I looked after the grandchildren—one of the greatest joys. [and after a great pause, he added, wistfully] But then the grandkids grow up and go the American way" (qtd. Lamb 2009: 217). And Lahiri's story has both characters reflect on the seemingly inevitable Americanization of Ruma's son. Late-life migration to the US can thus be understood as a way of "claiming culture," endowing older Indians with a new role

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12 The tree metaphor is deeply rooted in Indian cultural memory, it goes back to Sanskrit narratives such as the *Bhagavad Gita* and is also often invoked to idealise material dependencies (Cohen 1998: 104–106).

and a new status: they are not elderly migrants, they are migrant elders, custodians of traditions and gate-keepers to the right life prescribed by Hinduism and Indian cultural traditions.[13]

But the opposite is also true: a still small but growing number of Indians are deciding to forego the comforts and privileges of *sevā* in favor of other privileges imported from Western ways of late life. In the context of the burgeoning Indian middle-class, new retirement facilities have emerged all over India, first in the southern states but now also around big cities in the North. Some sources say that the current demand is for 3 million units. They are part of the fast-growing senior living industry which caters to the needs and wishes of a growing cohort of 60+ Indians.[14] Their senior lifestyle is characterized not, as might be expected from the perspective of *sevā*, by neglect or abandonment but by new and alluring creature comforts modeled on the West. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, there is a strong class (and in the Indian context also a caste) index to these new forms of living. Only people of the upper middle classes/castes can afford to live a Western-style late life.[15] The reasons for choosing this way of living, most often a choice made by men, are no different from the motives of seniors living in US retirement communities: safety, companionship, independence (Desai 2019). The growing demand for such facilities is the indirect and often unintended result of the continuing wave of migration and the resultant disintegration of GIJF.

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13   A similar argument has been made by Katy Gardner in her study of Bangla Deshi elders in London (Gardner, Katy. *Age, Narrative and Migration: The Life Course and Life Histories of Bengali Elders in London*. Oxford: Berg, 2002).

14   All this is part of a changing demography. The numbers of Indians 65 and older are expected to grow from ca. 76 million to 173 million in the next five years alone. Estimates of future demand are often described in terms of market opportunities (https://www.tomorrowmakers.com/retirement-planning/living-home-versus-living-retirement-home-india-article).

15   There are only very few facilities for the less wealthy. HelpAge India operates 6 homes across the country. Ashima Saini, Director of Resource Development at HelpAge says "Our homes are free of cost for the residents. We sometimes charge a nominal fee for healthcare services, but only if the residents can afford it" (Desai 2019).

Although the quality of these facilities for senior life will vary as largely as the financial resources of their residents, the trend toward a fundamental change in the life circumstances of older Indians is unmistakable. Ten years ago, the emergence of Western-style retirement homes was still heralded as a quite astonishing feature by an Indian quarterly:

> While retirement homes for the elderly are commonplace in the US, they are a new, and growing, phenomenon in India. Fountains tumble in manicured gardens. Gray haired retirees shuffle along on afternoon walks. Inside the activity center, card players pair up in the early evening. And elderly spectators gather as a ping pong rally heats up. While it may seem like a Florida retirement village with its leisurely pace, this one is located two hours south of New Delhi in the Indian state of Rajasthan. And the 600-unit complex has a few features you won't find in Ft. Lauderdale. ("Western Style Retirement Homes")

The reference to Florida in this article certainly was no accident. The retirement homes for the wealthy signal, local variations aside, the advent of the Western concept and praxis of late life in India, and they are there to stay. This is not an Indian idiosyncrasy but marks a global trend, a trend that is unsurprisingly heralded by pundits of capitalist globalization. A few years ago, *Forbes* magazine, with a special reference to India, offered a celebratory account of how the "globalization of senior living" offered unlimited new opportunities for investments and revenue.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have tried to offer brief reflections on how "age," more particularly male age, figures in the context of migration (also broadly understood). The present argument marks a departure from previous reflections, including my own, in that it no longer focuses on Euro-American older people and their trials and tribulations, but instead on people from the Indian subcontinent and the multiple determinations at

work at the intersection of two of their trajectories: that of the human life course in time and also the courses across the global manifold. Literary texts like the one discussed above may help in creating a better understanding of this broader perspective by presenting a cultural imaginary of these trajectories and their impact on migrant life across multiple generations, as in Lahiri's tentative representation of *the ur-scene* of the Indian ideal of good ageing, the moving in with the children in the name of *sevā*. Here as elsewhere over the last decades it has become increasingly clear that migrancy is putting not only different cultures, but different cultures of age and ageing, into contact and contestation with one another. Lamb is speaking here of "deterritorialized images" of a good old age for men intersecting with one another (2020: 322). Lamb's notion of deterritorialization reflects a situation in which cultural traditions and ideals of a good late life are becoming "traveling cultures" (Clifford 1997: 17–46) moving from the Global North to the South, as the growing popularity of the Western concept of age for emerging middle-classes in India but also the world over makes abundantly clear. Sometimes, as with the Indian diaspora in the United States, this movement also goes in the opposite direction. Not only do ageing people migrate, "age" itself, as an idea and ideal, has become migratory. Uncoupled from the cultural locations and traditions which have sustained it, it can traverse the wide spaces created by capitalist globalization both from South to North and inversely, all the while recruiting people into its framework of expectations and obligations.

What the present argument, in its combination of literary and cultural-critical analysis, has furthermore shown is that the age-migrancy nexus can also present theoretical challenges. Our overall understanding of migration is often eventual, guided by what I would here call a "cultural politics of the instant," the moments when migrants actively enter different places and cultures. But "age" is a longitudinal idea and ideal which spans generations, and as the Lahiri story has reminded us, its multigenerational norms and prospects impact even those who are far from being old. What the age-migrancy-nexus thus adds to the presentist eventual view of migrancy is a sense of what Fredric Jameson in a different context called a cultural "politics of duration" (Jameson 13), a du-

ration characterized not only by the immediate co-presence of cultural others but also by the never-ending, inchoate and inconclusive processes of mapping personal experience onto different and competing cultural frameworks of late life.

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