THE INTERACTION BETWEEN THE DIGITAL AND MATERIAL WORLD: TRANSNATIONAL PRACTICES AMONG HIGH TECH INDIAN IMMIGRANT WORKERS

by

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AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

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Abstract

Asian-Indians represent an important component of the professional and 'high-tech' workers in the U.S. Research on this population has found that majority of these workers are temporary workers working on a contractual jobs. Further, it is not unusual for Indian immigrant workers to get married and have children while in the U.S. As such, they must learn to negotiate the U.S. cultural terrain in both their place of work and home life. This provides the potential that they will become transnational by developing identities and engaging in cultural and social practices from two different nations, India and the U.S. This dissertation investigates the nature and extent of transnational practices adopted by high-tech Indian workers employed by U.S. firms on a temporary work visa. In summary, the purpose of this research is to explore and describe the prevalence and practice of transnationalism among Indian high-tech workers employed by U.S. firms on a temporary work visa and its impact on their lives.

The study uses a mixed-methods research (Ivankova, Creswell and Stick, 2007), where quantitative survey and qualitative data collection are used in single study to understand the stated research problem. Also, as there is no formal list of Indian IT professionals working in the U.S. at contractual jobs, the data collection will be carried out through the non-random chain-referral sampling technique. A detailed survey and personal interview will be used to measure various micro aspects of these workers' lives including consumption patterns, recreational choices, socialization, cultural beliefs and family dynamics.

The study reveals that the temporary stay of these professionals in the U.S. along with their families necessitates day-to-day negotiations between two cultures in terms of their food, clothing, recreation, and daily activities creating a transnational life style for these young

professionals. The responses reflect the inner struggle of these professionals between their long-term goals of settling in India with their families and the current material life in a far-away land of opportunity. On one hand, the dualism of living in the U.S. as an Indian is demonstrated in this study by the convergence of the disparate elements of both aspects of their lives, work, incomes and remittances; on other hand, family, social life, religion, consumption patterns, and recreation activities provide the glimpse of a dual life. All of these cultural and social practices can be considered as the combination of transnationalism from 'above' and 'below' as noted by Smith and Guarnizo (1998). Transnational activities at the work place, which is forced by the work culture of the MNCs that employ them, can be considered as '**transnationalism from above'**. Simultaneously, being bi-lingual at home, cooking and eating Indian and Western food, socializing with Indian and American friends outside work, and all those cultural activities they perform on a day-to-day basis, indicates '**transnationalism from below'**.

Overall, through this study, I have described important aspects of the transnational lives of Indian IT professionals, who try to maintain a fine balance between faster assimilation of American culture which might help them at the work place while simultaneously retaining much of their 'Indian-ness' so that going back to India never poses a problem when their visa expires. In a way, the lives of this particular group of professionals can be viewed as those of *temporary-enclave residential* workers.

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my Daughter:
Kaayana, who keep my priorities in order!!

Chapter 1 - Introduction

Overview

I love going to Bloomington, because not only do I have family there, but it also gives me a feel of India. Even though Bloomington is a small mid-Western town in Illinois, it has a relatively large Asian Indian population; most of is comprised of information technology (IT) professionals. It also offers all kinds of Indian amenities including grocery shops, restaurants and recreation centers. During my last visit to Bloomington, while I was enjoying an evening *chai* (tea) party at a friend's place, I realized how the issues pertaining to migration and assimilation within the United States (U.S.) society are no longer relevant for this group of IT professionals who are staying in the U.S. on a temporary visa for undertaking contractual work assignments. These professionals try to be as American as possible on their regular office days in terms of their language, work culture and habits, but after 5 p.m. every evening, they just forget that they are in the U.S. and return to their Indian roots by gorging on *adrak* (ginger) tea and samosas (Indian snacks) with their families and Indian friends. Members of this group of migrants are thus desperately trying to balance their dual lives at the work place (in an American office) and home (where they try to recreate their India). This dualism of living in the U.S. as an Indian entails a convergence of the disparate elements of both aspects of their lives, including work, incomes and remittances, on the one hand, and family, social life, religion, consumption patterns and recreation activities, on the other. According to Canno (2009), such immigrants can be termed 'transnationals' who '*belong to here and there at same time*.'

For my dissertation, I am studying this group of immigrants, who are in the U.S. on temporary visas. Beginning with the above overview of the subjects of my study, this introductory chapter

goes on to present the research statement, followed by the research queries, and justification of the research. The chapter concludes by highlighting the significance of the study, and the composition and organization of the subsequent chapters of the dissertation.

Research Statement

Over the past few decades, the study of human migration has undergone immense change and come a long way from the earlier conceived notions of migrants and migratory patterns. The erstwhile studies on the subject contended that migration was a more-or-less permanent phenomenon whereby the migrants assimilated themselves almost entirely within the host nation. Migration to the U.S. was particularly considered to be unidirectional, with the migrants completely merging with American society and culture. However, the last few decades have seen a tremendous shift in the pattern and profile of immigration to the U.S. This changing pattern can be seen as symbolizing a shift from the earlier European-centric permanent immigration to the temporary migration of people from the south, which is key fallout of the process of globalization. Further, the profile of immigrants has also changed from that of unskilled workers to migrants equipped with a more diverse range of skills and work experiences.

According to Massey (1995), the current cohort of immigrants to the U.S. can be classified into two groups — the unskilled labor migrants from Mexico, and skilled labor migrants from South Asia. This changing structure of migration to the U.S. has also resulted in the addition of more areas to research in migration studies, involving elements such as the political incorporation, socialization, culture, and networks of migrants, among other features of their migration processes.

Contemporary migration studies thus broadly recognize that migration is not a one-way phenomenon and that one needs to consider the links that the migrants continue to maintain with

their concurrently embedded ties and networks in their home countries. Further, there is a need for migration studies to incorporate and analyze such wider aspects of migrants' lives. This line of inquiry has come to be regarded as the study of transnationalism. Transnational studies have in fact emerged as one of the interdisciplinary areas of research, wherein a wide variety of experts including sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and scholars of cultural and ethnic studies collaborate their efforts to identify new methodological and theoretical perspectives for further research.

According to Canno (2009), the theoretical perspective that develops from the notion of 'being here and there at the same time' can also be framed from an analytical standpoint within any discipline of the social sciences by taking recourse to a comprehensive study of the methodological and theoretical background of each discipline. In sociology, the erstwhile debates on transnationalism were backed by theories of the nation state and the assimilation of outsiders within it (Alba and Nee, 2003). However, as stated earlier, since the 1990s, transnational migration studies have started taking into account various aspects of the ties that migrants actively maintain with their home nations even as they simultaneously attempt to become a part of their destination countries (Levitt and Nadya-Jawosky, 2007). This new area of studies on migration is a product of 'world capitalism', which is amalgamated with the other social, cultural, and political processes, and economic experiences that the migrant populations go through across the two borders while trying to balance multiple identities in their society of origin, on one hand, and the host society, on the other (Faist, 2000; Glick Schiller, *et al.*, 1992; Guarnizo, 1997; Levitt, 2001). According to Levitt (1999, p 7): *"The task of new transnational studies is to uncover, analyze and conceptualize similarities, differences, and interactions among trans-societal and trans-organizational realities, including the ways in which they shape bordered and bounded phenomena and dynamics across time and space*."

An early topic of debate in the literature on transnationalism concerned what was meant by the concept. This was characterized by ambiguity. Scholars not only disagreed on its definition, terminology, methodology and theoretical perspective of migration, but also questioned the scope and importance of this new area of studies, arguing that it was no different from the earlier studies of the assimilation of migrants and their ethnicity (see discussion in Waldinger and Fitzgerald, 2004). Smith and Guarnizo (1998) presented two contrasting perspectives of the concept of transnationalism. The first, which they contended was emphasized in the literature, was termed transnationalism 'from above' or purely from the nation state perspective. The present scenario relating to migrant lives, they argued, requires a second perspective; they termed transnationalism 'from below'. This included the transnational activities of migrants as observed in their daily lives and personal characteristics. Thus, the focus would be on the perspective of the migrant population as opposed to that of the country to which they had migrated. This aspect of transnationalism, therefore, covered the increasing globalization of capitalism, global political transformation and universalization of human rights, the technological revolution that has had a monumental impact on communication and transportation, and finally the expansion of social networks that influence the economic organization, and political and cultural changes inherent in transnational migration (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998).

Thus, transnationalism is a multifaceted and multi-local process. Further, contemporary literature on transnationalism also highlights the concepts of hybridity (Bhabha, 1990), and flexible citizenship (Ong, 1999). Numerous socio-economic and cultural studies have examined the transnationalism of different migrant populations (Portes and Rumbart, 2006; Guarnizo, 1997; Bhabha, 1990). Recent literature on transnationalism points out that contemporary migration is taking place within a fluid social space that is being reworked through the

simultaneous embedding of migrants in more than one society (Levitt and Nadya-Jawosky, 2007). This social space is multi-layered and occurs at multiple locations. This not only includes that of the host society and sending society, but also that of all other societies around world that connect migrants to their co-national and co-religionist counterparts (Levitt and Nadya-Jawosky, 2007). Thus, recent studies on transnationalism focus on the space where day-to-day transnational activities are taking place in terms of the sharing of norms, beliefs, cultures, and identities of the migrants among themselves and also within their adopted societies.

While these studies on transnationalism have provided a solid framework for further research, most of them concentrate on the discourse on transnationalism resulting from the migration of Latin Americans to the U.S. Not much has been written about one of the fastest growing migrant populations of the U.S. — the Asian Indians. The latter population can be distinguished from other transnationals through two of its unique characteristics. First, most migrants from India are highly educated and work at jobs that require a highly skilled workforce; and second, most of these professionals enter the U.S. with temporary work permits for taking up contractual jobs and they have to leave the U.S. once the contract is over. These Asian Indian professionals also possess good English language skills, which is why the issue of language never poses a struggle for them in their process of adjustment to U.S. society. However, the main unanswered question that arises here is: do these migrants want to assimilate with the American culture or do they want to maintain dual transnational lives?

Apart from the dilemma of transnationalism and multiple identities, the lives of these migrants are also hampered by the nature of their jobs (which are mostly contractual and temporary) and strong U.S. work visa rules, which restrict them from voting, seeking promotions in their jobs, and allowing their spouses to take up jobs. Thus, a primary objective of this study is

to explore and investigate the social and cultural transnational practices used by temporary highly skilled Indian professionals and how such practices impact their day-to-day activities.

Through this study, I will seek to identify the various transnational practices at the leisure time and work place of IT professionals from India, working on temporary and contractual jobs in the U.S., and investigate the impact of living a transnational life. I argue that the temporary stay of these professionals in the U.S. along with their families necessitates day-to-day negotiations between two cultures in terms of their food, clothing, recreation, and daily activities, among other things. This entails a detailed study of various micro aspects of their lives including consumption and saving patterns, recreational choices, socialization, cultural beliefs and family dynamics, but from a transnational perspective. Thus, my research objective is to explore and describe the prevalence and practice of transnationalism among Indian high-tech workers employed by U.S. firms on a temporary work visa and the impact of transnationalism on their day-to-day life.

Justification of the Research: Why Study Transnationalism of Indian IT Professionals?

Although the migration of Asian Indians to the U.S. started very recently, India holds a unique position in the phenomenon of international migration. During the twenty-first century, India has drawn worldwide attention as a country of origin for the migration of so-called 'knowledge workers' (that is, IT professionals), to developed countries, with the U.S drawing approximately 80% of the emigration of Indian migrants (Khadria, 2003). According to the *American Community Survey 2008*, the Indian immigrant community constitutes the third largest and fastest growing immigrant group in the U.S. (after the Mexicans and the Filipinos), with a total population of 1.6 million (see table 1.1) (Terranzas and Batog, 2010). In view of its size, it

is pertinent to reproduce some statistics about the Indian immigrant community here. Three-quarters of Indian immigrants in 2008 were in the working age group of 18–54 years (with the median age of the population being 28 years). Around three-quarters (73.6%) of the adults among the migrants had acquired at least a bachelor's degree, or had higher levels of educational attainment. Among the working Indian population, more than 25% were working in the IT sector, while 20% were engaged in management and 10.7% in the fields of science and engineering (Terranzas and Batog, 2010).

Also, Indians are among the most affluent community in the U.S. with a median household income of over $50,000 per annum (Verma and Rogers, 2004). Further, recent publications have also testified to the fact that while the growth of permanent settler admissions has slowed in developed countries in the twenty-first century, the number of temporary worker entrants has grown more rapidly during the corresponding period.

Table 1.1 Total and Indian Foreign-born Populations, 1960–2008

Year	No. of Foreign-born Persons	Indian-born Population		
		Number	***Share among all foreign-born migrants***	***Rank*** [(a)]
1960	9,738,091	12,296	0.1%	42
1970	9,619,302	51,000	0.5%	30
1980	14,079,906	206,087	1.5%	16
1990	19,797,316	450,406	2.3%	12
2000	31,107,889	1,022,552	3.3%	4
2008	37,960,773	1,622,522	4.3%	3

Source: http://www.migrationinformation.org/Focus/display.cfm?ID=687

Notes: [a] Rank refers to the position of the Indian-born migrants relative to other immigrant groups in terms of the size of the population residing in the US during a given census year.

Source: Data for 2000 from the 2000 Census; data for 2008 from the *American Community Survey 2008.*
Data for earlier decades from Campbell Gibson and Emily Lennon, "Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign-born Population of the United States: 1850 to 1990" (*Working Paper No. 29*, U.S. Census Bureau, Washington, DC, 1999).

Table 1.2 Occupations of Employed Workers in the Civilian Labor Force Aged 16 Years and Older by Gender and Origin, 2008

	Indian-born		All Foreign-born	
	Male	***Female***	***Male***	***Female***
Persons aged 16 years and older employed in the civilian labor force	713,094	384,481	13,630,931	9,505,339
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Management, business, finance	20.2	15.7	10.7	10.4
Information technology	27.0	13.6	4.0	1.9
Other sciences and engineering	10.7	5.4	4.1	2.2
Social services and legal	0.8	1.3	1.1	2.0
Education/training and media/entertainment	4.4	7.7	3.4	7.1
Physicians	4.3	5.7	1.2	1.0
Registered nurses	0.2	5.5	0.4	3.4
Other healthcare practitioners	2.1	5.6	1.0	2.9
Healthcare support	0.4	2.4	0.6	5.4
Services	4.3	6.1	17.4	25.7
Sales	10.6	10.6	7.5	10.5
Administrative support	4.1	11.8	5.3	14.7
Farming, fishing, and forestry	0.2	0.2	2.6	0.9
Construction, extraction, and transportation	5.3	1.4	25.9	3.3
Manufacturing, installation, and repair	4.9	4.6	14.6	8.5

Source: http://www.migrationinformation.org/USFocus/display.cfm?ID=687

Asian-Indians represent an important section of professional and high-tech workers who migrate to the U.S. for employment (see table 1.2). Research on this population has found that is

not unusual for Indian immigrant workers to get married and have children while in the U.S. As such, they must learn to negotiate the American cultural terrain in both their place of work and home life. This provides the potential that they will become transnational by developing identities and engaging in cultural practices from two different nations — India and the U.S. Thus, this study of the growing number of IT professionals from India who are in the U.S. for temporary work constitutes much-needed research required to fill the gap in the field of transnational studies. This dissertation will investigate the nature and extent of transnationalism practiced by high-tech Indian workers employed by U.S. firms on a temporary work visa. A sample survey and qualitative interviews will be used to measure various micro aspects of these workers' lives including their cultural practices in leisure time and at work, the extent to which these practices are transnational, and how transnational practices impact their lives.

Importance of the Study

This study will contribute to knowledge on transnationalism in several ways. First, a micro-level analysis of the topic has hitherto been missing from extant socio-economic studies and other literature, which mostly focus on the migration of Latin Americans. This study will examine Indian immigrants. Secondly, this research aims to present a two-phase study on transnationalism for facilitating a holistic analysis of the lives of transnational migrants. Third, this study will conduct a detailed analysis of the lives and work of temporary, high skilled IT workers, and the manner in which they and their families negotiate with their new environment while simultaneously retaining their Indian identities and performing their complex roles at the work place. Finally, unlike the earlier studies on transnationalism, this research does not confine its subjects (skilled IT professionals) within the straitjacket of any structural and political transnational position. Rather, this study attempts to explore the concept of transnationalism from below while investigating the characteristics of transnational migrants at both the individual

and group levels. It also will examine factors affecting the lives and lifestyles of these transnational's, as well as the experiences and extraneous conditions that contribute to their dual existence in the country of their birth and the one they have migrated to.

Composition of the Study

Chapter 2 consists of a literature review that discusses theories of migration, in general, and of transitional migration, in particular. This chapter also explores the literature on migration from India and the resultant concepts of brain drain, brain gain, and the ensuing circulation of intellect. Further, the chapter examines the manner in which the pattern of migration of Indian immigrants has changed from being permanent to more temporary in nature, while also examining the impact of this change.

Chapter 3 provides the theoretical framework for the study. Limitations and gaps in the existing knowledge base will be identified, drawing upon literature and sociological theories on transnational migration. These limitations will guide the development of research objectives for the study. This chapter would also discuss the importance of the study and its anticipated limitations.

Chapter 4 describes the methodology and research study area by discussing research questions in detail. This chapter will also present the details of the study area and the reasons for choosing Bloomington, Illinois (IL) as the particular location for this research. This chapter would also discuss aspects of the work visa (H-1B) category and its formalities. The methodology used for the sample survey, qualitative interviews and data analysis will also be discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 5 explores the research findings around the first research objective for the study -- *Explore the type and the extent of transnational practices used by Indian IT professionals employed in the United States (U.S.) on a temporary visa category by an U.S. corporation*. This

chapter discusses the characteristics of Indian IT professionals, their reasons for migration, and provides a detailed analysis of their transnational practices.

Chapter 6 presents the findings concerning the second research objective of the study: *What are the perceptions of Indian IT professionals concerning what it feels like to be transnational?* To address this objective, I will draw upon and discuss relevant findings from both the quantitative sample survey and the qualitative personal interviews conducted with the IT professionals. Chapter 7 presents the findings concerning the last and final research question of the present study: *How does being a transnational affect the self-esteem, job-satisfaction and lives in general, of Indian IT professionals?* This objective also will be addressed through utilizing a synthesis of both quantitative and qualitative data. Finally, **C**hapter 8 will summarize the key findings, draw conclusions, discuss the limitations of the study and present some ideas for future research.

Chapter 2 - Chapter -2 Literature Review

Introduction

One of the most dynamic demographic transitions that has been shaping and reshaping the population characteristics of various countries in recent years is that of human migration. The United States has been viewed as the land of opportunity by millions of people for many years. Numerous studies across academia have discussed the migration of people from all around the world to the United States (U.S.) for economic, political or social reasons. Among the most explored aspects of migration is the demographic composition of the migration flow, which has always been a dynamic phenomenon. These studies have described the profiles of migrants in terms of their age, sex, education and employment status. Other literature has focused on the determinants and consequences of immigration into the U.S. and investigated the size and structure of the immigrants' groups including European, Mexican and Asian immigrants (Ong *et al.*, 1992; Massey,1993; Massey and Capoferro, 2004; Portes, 1999; Lipinski *et al.*, 1997). Some attempts have also been made to explain the distinctive phenomenon of occupation across regions (Ong *et al.*, 1992; Agarwal and Winker, 1984).

Some of the common arguments addressed in the literature included reasons for the high inflow of immigrants from the Third World countries, and the number and composition of these immigrants. The economic context of the above-mentioned questions has been quantitatively analyzed and well-summarized in the research literature (Borjas and Tienda, 1987; Borjas, 1989; 1990; Borjas and Freeman, 1992). Lee (1966) points out that among all the factors responsible for migration, the most prominent would be economic reasons. The characteristics of the source country also play an important role in determining the decision to migrate (Blau, Kahn and

Papps, 2008) and, changes in these characteristics influence labor market outcomes in the host country (Lopez and Lozano, 2010). Further, the sociology of migration literature focuses primarily on issues like migrant networks, assimilation, and enclave settlements.

Various studies have highlighted the importance of immigrant enclaves in attracting more immigrants and in providing better economic opportunities for new and existing immigrants (Massey, 1987; Portes and Bach, 1985). Further, an assessment of the importance of immigration for the U.S., which is the main country attracting migrants, necessitates not only accessing information about the shifting magnitude and nature of migration flow into the country over the past few decades, but also an understanding of the various theories as to why such migration flows take place. It is crucial to consider the changes in the demographic and economic context that mark this period, as well as the shifts that may have altered the types of reception that newcomers get in the country of migration.

Massey (2003) addressed the theoretical framework explaining migration patterns and accounting for the increase in the transnational population flow. He avers how in different eras, scholars have used various theories to explain the movement of people. For instance, neo-classical theorists like Harris and Todaro (1970) place an emphasis on utility-maximization as a major factor affecting the migration decision, and conclude that migration is caused by the supply and demand of labor (in relation to the wage differential among the nations). In contrast, neo-classical theory at the micro level discusses the individual rationale behind the migration of the individual as an actor. According to this perspective, the individual makes a migration decision after calculating the costs and benefits from migration (Harris and Todaro, 1970; Borjas, 1999). Further, the New Economics Theory of Migration points out that the decision to migrate is a household matter wherein households collectively calculate the risks and benefits

accruing from the event of migration. The New Economic Theory thus basically stresses the intersection of labor market factors and household variables in affecting the migration decision (Stark, 1991; Taylor *et al*., 1997).

Dual labor market theories describe the process of labor market segregation and how social stratification variables affect migration. In his work on immigration, Piore (1979) points out that migration is caused not by push factors but by pull factors from the receiving country, which is why it is important to consider the labor market situation in the receiving country. He identifies the following 4 fundamental features of advanced nations that build up a demand for migrant labor: structural inflation, motivational problems, economic dualism, and the demography of labor supply.

Massey describes how different authors like Walton (1981), Castells (1989), and Sassen (1988 and 1991), have linked Wallerstein's World System Theory (1976, 2004) to the process of international migration. According to these authors, migration is caused not due to the bifurcation of the labor market within a nation but rather due to the structure of the world market. The relationship between the capitalist core economy and the peripheral non-capitalist societies creates a situation for migration. In order to earn higher profits, capitalist firms from the core nations enter the poor peripheral regions in search of land, raw material, labor and consumer markets, as was seen during the era of colonialism. Further, the same capitalist economic process that leads to migration in the peripheral region concurrently attracts these workers to the developed nations to work at lower costs, which, in turn, leads to a stream of migration from the poor to the core nations. According to the World System Theory, "Migration is the national outgrowth of disruption and dislocation that inevitably occurs in the process of development" (Massey, 1993, p. 445).

In addition, Massey (1993, p 446) discusses the Network Theory — known as a situation of cumulative causation — as an explanation for international migration patterns. The proponents of this theoretical perspective seek to explain how social networking among actors influences the migration decision at the micro level and leads to a migration chain (Massey, 1990; Taylor, 1986). According to these authors, once the process of migration has begun, it tends to expand over time, unless the network connections become diffused or everyone from the region wishing to migrate can do so without difficulty.

Institutional Theory discusses the role of private institutions and organizations that assist the international migration process. This theory points out that when these institutions and organizations develop, sustain and promote international movements to higher levels, the migration flow becomes institutionalized and is independent of the original factors and causes of migration (Massey, 1993, p. 451). Finally, Massey points out that even though theories of migration emphasize different mechanisms and levels of analysis (for instance, the Neo-classical, New Economic and Network theories examine the micro perspectives of migration, while the Dual Labor Market Theory and the World System Theory examine the macro perspective), they are not contradictory and integrate with each other to explain the magnitude and scale of contemporary migration, which is presently at an all-time high.

India and Migration to the United States of America

The phenomenon of migration has also formed an integral part of development and social change in India. Historians have noted that traditionally, Indians used to migrate more to Great Britain than to other places (as India was a British colony). There were very few Indian migrants to the U.S. before World War II and during the first few decades of the post-World War II era. Gonzales (1986) discusses the history of Asian–Indian immigration to the U.S. and notes that the

first flight of Asian–Indian immigrants to the US came in the 1920s and 1930s through Canada. This immigrant stream was small in number and consisted mainly of unskilled and agricultural laborers. After the Second World War, a second wave of Asian–Indian immigrants arrived in the U.S. This stream was also small in number, comprised of unskilled workers employed by farms in the U.S. It was only with the third wave of immigrants to the U.S. during the post-1965 era[1] that the flow of skilled Asian–Indian immigrants to the U.S. began.

As part of the earlier literature on India's out-migration, Jensen (1988) explored the push and pull factors of Indian immigration to the United States and other developed nations. Some of the push factors for out-migration from India were unemployment, poverty, and ineffective State policies for highly skilled workers. Some of the pull factors for migration to the U.S. included the offer of a better job, potential for higher earnings, and higher living standards.

A major part of the discussion on the impact of migration from developing countries like India to the U.S. during the post-1965 era has concentrated on skilled migration. The Immigration and Nationality Act encouraged more and more skilled migrants to come to the U.S. Thus, as Gonzales (1986) points out, the third wave of Asian–Indian migration started after 1965. This flow of immigrants largely included people from the well-educated and urban areas of India. Gonzales claims that this was actually the advent of the era of 'brain drain' from India. The migration of skilled professionals, especially from the developing to the industrial countries, has been attributed to the 'Third Industrial Revolution' — that is, the information revolution — which has generated a significant demand for high-technology workers (Thurow, 1999; Rosenblum, 2001). The issue as to who gains more from this kind of migration has also been widely discussed. Different authors have assigned different names to this phenomenon like *brain*

[1] The year 1965 is seen as ushering in a landmark phase in the migration history of the U.S., as the new amendment of the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1965 removed the race barrier to entry and encouraged skilled workers from Asian nations to migrate to the U.S. (Sahay, 2009).

drain, brain exchange, brain trust, brain export, emigration of talent, migration of knowledge workers, brain gain and *brain circulation*, all of which have also been widely discussed in numerous studies (Gonzales, 1986; World Bank, 2000; Khadria, 1999; 2003; Sahay, 2009).

Third Industrial Revolution: Migration of Skilled Professionals

According to Sassen (1988), a globalized world characterized by increasing labor migration has created a division of skilled and unskilled labor, leading to a new geography of centrality and marginality. The marginality of unskilled migrant workers has been vastly debated and discussed in literature on migration. For example, Massey (1993) asserts that new immigrants to the U.S. constitute two major groups from distinct places and diverse occupational groups, viz. the low-skilled Mexican workers and the high-skilled Asian professionals.

During the 1990s, numerous studies were undertaken to examine the skill composition of immigrants and the differences in the wages, work behavior, and labor market dynamics between the skilled immigrants and natives. Additionally, the socio-economic consequences of the migration of skilled labor on the sending and receiving countries were also explored (Borjas, 1999). In this literature, the skilled migrant labor force is defined as labor with a tertiary degree or specialized work experience (like professionals in the fields of computer engineering, information technology, management, science and healthcare, among other professions). Further, one of the key impacts of skilled migration on the sending countries is that these workers send back wages in the form of remittances, thereby helping in investment and reduction of unemployment in the sending countries (Iredale, *et al.*, 2003; Saxenian, 2001; Chakravartty, 2001).

According to an International Monetary Fund (IMF) report, remittances to developing countries amount to U.S. $ 100 billion a year. This represents the single largest source of foreign exchange for many developing countries (IMF, 2005). Remittances have, in fact, grown rapidly over the last few years, especially in the South Asian countries where they have had a significant impact on development. Together, India and the Philippines received 65% of inter-Asian remittances in 2001 (Khadria, 2003). The latest estimates of the World Bank indicate that India received remittances worth U.S. $ 69 billion in 2012, placing it at the top among the remittance-receiving countries.

The phenomenon of migration of Indian engineers and Information Technology (IT) professionals to industrial nations, especially the U.S., is well-documented and central to the literature on 'Brain Drain' (Khadria, 1999; Chakarvartty, 2001; Saxenian, 2001). In a case study of workers in the Indian IT sector, Iredale *et al.* (2003) discusses the history of highly skilled Indian migrants from 1950 onwards. This case study points out that from 1950 to 1975, most of the migrants from India were permanent in nature and became non-resident Indians (NRIs). These permanent migrants were able to earn high salaries. This phenomenon, coupled with initiatives taken by the Indian Government, led to a sudden rise in the flow of remittances from NRIs in the U.S. and the United Kingdom (U.K.) to India. In the 1980s, export led-development and IT became the priorities on the development agenda for India. This led to the establishment of colleges, businesses and industries supporting the demand for Indian IT professionals abroad (Iredale, *et al*., 2003).

In his book titled *The Migration of Knowledge Workers: Second-Generation Effects of India's Brain Drain*, Khadria (1999), mentions two studies on Indian engineers. The first study was conducted in 1994 and estimates that out of highly educated young men and women in India, 7.3% from the field of engineering, 2.8% from medicine, and 2.1% from the natural

sciences moved to other countries in search of better earnings and conditions of work. The second study found that roughly one-fourth of the Bachelors in Technology (B.Tech) who pass out of the Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) move out of the country (Khadria, 2000, p. 32). The impact of this kind of migration has been well documented in literature and labeled by various names such as the *globalization of human capital, brain gain,* or *brain circulation* and *brain export*, among others (Aneesh, 2006; World Bank, 2000; Khadria, 1999).

The advent of economic liberalization around the world, especially in India, and the huge demand for IT workers from India has further boosted the development of the IT sector and IT educational institutions in India. As a result, the IT industry became the fastest growing sector in the Indian economy (Charkravartty, 2001). The household income of over 40% of Indian Internet users is Rs. 10,000 to 25,000 per month, or in the top tenth percentile of the nation's households (Charkravartty, 2001, p. 70). The number of engineers in the country has increased dramatically since the early 1990s, partly due to the incentives being offered by the Indian Government. India presently produces around 70,000 to 85,000 software engineers and about 45,000 IT graduates every year (Nasscom, *McKinsey Report*, 1999). Also, the number of IITs in India has increased from 6 to 10, while the development of IT programs by second-tier universities has also contributed in a significant way to this growth. The availability of skilled labor at home has encouraged NRIs to consider outsourcing to India from their firms in order to foster development in their home country (Saxenian, 2001).

In the light of the government incentives and the availability of attractive jobs at international pay scales in India, Indian engineers have been motivated to return home and work in U.S. firms in India since the late 1990s and early 2000s. However, Saxenian (2000) asserts that this has not substantially reduced the 'brain drain' phenomenon, as many of these professionals do not return on a permanent basis. They continue working on-shore under the

temporary visa category (Saxenian, 2001, p. 225). Meanwhile, Charkravartty (2001) affirms that the rise of incomes in the country and the huge demand for IT professionals around the world since the 1990s has brought about an advanced shift in the IT sector, while permanent NRIs are becoming entrepreneurs in the IT industry in the U.S. and the U.K., and have started hiring more Indian software workers on temporary visas.

The temporary visa or H1-B work permit is a special kind of temporary visa category designed for workers employed in 'specialized occupations' that require the worker to have specialized knowledge and at least an undergraduate degree (Sahay, 2009). The H1-B visa is sponsored by U.S. employers, while the concomitant permit for work is given for a three-year period constituting one term. This can be extended for another term. Thus, an immigrant working under this category can stay in the U.S. for a maximum of six years. However, he/she is eligible to apply for permanent residence during the period of temporary stay. The nature of migration in this case is, therefore, largely temporary and the workers have to return to their home nations after the project ends (Charkravartty, 2001). This mechanism for employing professionals on a temporary work visa is also termed as 'body shopping,' wherein the consultant firms shop for skilled 'bodies' (IT professionals) from recruiters in India for short-term projects in the U.S. (Aneesh, 2006). One of the drawbacks of this visa category is that the spouse or dependent of the H1-B holder cannot legally work in the country of migration, regardless of his/her qualifications.

The annual cap on H1-B visa allotments depends upon the business cycle, the demand for workers in the U.S. labor market, and the prevalent government policy. During the years 1990 and 2000, the U.S. Congress passed Immigration Acts for these respective years. These Acts

drastically increased the number of H1-B visa permits,[2] which more than doubled the pool of non-immigrant skilled labor visas available to U.S. employers. These Acts thus changed the composition of U.S. immigration and provided an opportunity to a large number of immigrants from Asian nations to enter the U.S. under different visa categories. It has been documented that over 50% of the H1-B visa petitions during these years were filled with regard to the computer-related and engineering occupations. A recent study cited by Aneesh (2006) indicates that in recent years, the top 25 employers who hire H1-B visa workers have been technology firms, of which 5 are subsidiaries of Indian firms.

The increasing competition and incentives for IT workers all around the world, followed by the expansion of the temporary work visa category by the U.S. Government, has opened up a new sphere of study pertaining to the migration of Indian IT professionals. The typical characteristics of this type of migration — including its flexible work profile, the changing patterns of the global labor market, and the increasing number of borderless 'any time laborers' employed in temporary jobs — has fostered the creation of a new type of migrant who is living a 'transnational life.' According to Canno (2009), transnational migrants are those who "*belong to here and there at the same time*," or those who try to retain the identity of their nation of origin while also trying to merge it with that of the host nation.

Transnationalism: A Perspective

A considerable amount of research has documented the nature, characteristics and impact of international migration. However, until recently, migration literature had either not spoken much about the reciprocal process described above, or had always assumed that members of the

[2] The number of H1-B visa permits increased from 65,000 to 115,000 per year during the 1990s, then to 195,000 during the dot.com boom of 2000.

migrant population forfeited their way of life, culture, and involvement in the society of their origin in order to become an intrinsic part of the new society. Erstwhile studies on the immigration policy assumed, rather simplistically, as it were, that migrants left their countries, settled in a new country, started integrating into their new society, and eventually abandoned their ties with their country of origin. Also, most of the sociological literature on migration is grounded in World System Theory, which assumes the existence of a world capitalist system and the unequal function of the global division of labor (Glick-Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton, 1992). However, a body of research on 'transnationalism' has recently emerged, focusing on the issue of how members of the migrant population are now succeeding in maintaining a political, economic and social interconnection with both their country of origin and the receiving country (Guarnizo, 2003; Levitt, 2004). This literature argues that it may be valid to use World System Theory for understanding the phenomenon of global migration, but that there are also other social, cultural, and political dimensions to the migration experience that need serious consideration (Portes and Bach, 1985; Sassen 1988).

World Systems Theory discusses the creation of Third World nations and the global restructuring of capital and local economies. This leads to the relocation of labor in both the industrialized and Third World nations, and the consequent growth of migration. At the same time, the changing capitalist system creates difficult real-life situations for migrants. Immigrants consistently face the problem of constructing a secure cultural, economic and social base in their new setting. The vulnerability created by this process increases the prospect of migrants attempting to construct a transnational existence for themselves (Glick-Schiller *et. al*, 1992).

There is need for a new perspective that would allow us to understand the economic, social and cultural forces responsible for transnational migration. Also, the global expansion of capitalism has encouraged technological innovations in transportation (such as the advent of

efficient and cheap airlines) and communication (including telephone and the Internet), which have facilitated the process by which transnational lives among immigrants are constructed. Therefore, transnational migration studies become important in the development of a framework by which the global economic processes can be linked to the various situations and conditions in which migrants find themselves as well as the social relations, political actions, work ethics and beliefs that characterize their new environment (Glick-Schiller *et al.*, 1992).

In a seminal work entitled *Introduction: The Debates and Significance of Immigrant Transnationalism*, Portes (2001) provides a background to the study of transnationalism. This concept was initially discussed by Randolph S. Bourne (1916) in a classic article entitled 'Transnational America.' In this formative article, Bourne (1916) argues that international immigration is pressing the world to become a homogeneous cultural ground wherein distinct cultural heritages and identities are gradually getting lost. In a later work, Glick-Schiller *et al.* (1994) redefined the concept as follows, "*We define transnationalism as the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origins and settlement… An essential element is the multiplicity of involvements that transmigrants sustain in both home and host societies. We are still groping for a language to describe these social locations*" (Glick-Schiller *et al.*, 1992, p. 6). According to Glick-Schiller (1997), "*transnational migration is a phenomenon by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-standard relationship that tie together their societies of origin and destination*" .

The earlier literature on transnationalism was focused on defining and measuring the concept. A few scholars, however, became skeptical about this new line of research and pointed out that the networks and ties among the migrating population with their kin (who were following the same traditions and culture as them, and were, like them, sending money back

home) had been documented earlier, which is why transnationalism cannot be treated as a new concept. Also scholars like Massey (2001) criticized the methodological limitation and analytical ambiguity of this newfound analytical perspective.

Guarnizo (2003) pointed out that the literature on transnationalism could be divided into two waves: the first-wave and the second-wave transnationalism studies, respectively. The first group of studies on transnationalism discovered the idea of transnationalism by exploring the settlement patterns of different immigrant groups in U.S. society (Bourne, 1916; Glick-Schiller, 1992; 1995). According to these studies, transnationalism represents a process of cultural convergence — that is, a gradual but irreversible process of acculturation and integration of migrants within the host society.

However, during the second wave of studies on transnationalism in the late 1990s and early 2000, transnational actions and conditions became the main focus of research (Glick-Schiller, 1999; Portes *et al.*, 1999; Guarnizo *et al.*, 2003). This new line of research focused on a specific kind of 'transnational action' (like political participation) or specific 'transnational activity' (like transnational civic organizations in both the host and sending countries). These studies were more comprehensive and were backed by strong methodology and research. They advocated that transnationalism is a study of the phenomenon of people living dual lives as members of the society in both their countries of origin and those of their migration. Further, the social, cultural and economic manifestations of migrant life change in accordance with the changing contexts of place and time. Portes (2003) argues that transnationalism represents a 'novel perspective' rather than a 'novel phenomenon.'

Research on transnationalism has tried to incorporate multiple aspects of transitional lives in their sphere. A new definition of the concept of transnationalism was also provided by Levitte (2004) in terms of a 'transnational migrant', who works, prays and expresses his political

interests in several contexts rather than in a single nation state. Further, Guarnizo (2003) discussed the economics of transnational living by defining transnational life from the point of view of the concept propounded by Robert Ostergren (1988) and Olwigs and Sørensen (2001), who focus on the conditions resulting from the cross-border processes that migrants have to experience as a part of their dual existence. According to Guarnizo (2003, p. 3), this definition of transnational livelihood overlooks the limitations associated with the narrow foci of earlier definitions.

Guarnizo (2003) further argues that the cross-border arrangements that are intrinsic to a transnational lifestyle are shaped by the historically determined social, economic, political and cultural structures of the society in which the livelihood of migrants are embedded. Thus, a transnational lifestyle inevitably leads to vibrant social intercourse that contains and concurrently affects all the actors (including individuals, groups and institutions) engaged in this lifestyle and way of living in the different countries concerned. It can therefore be concluded that transnational living is not a fixed condition but rather an evolving condition that is based on the changes in the resources and socio-cultural positioning that migrants have access to as well as the historical contexts of the specific locations where the migrants are based (Guarnizo, 2003, p. 3).

Glick-Schiller and Blanc-Szanton (2006) also theorize the concept of transmigrants. They define transnationalism as a process whereby immigrants build a social field that links their own country with the country of their settlement. The constituents of the migrant population that build such social fields are called ‘transmigrants.’ Transmigrants develop and maintain multiple relations within their families, and in the economic, social, organizational, religious and political entities prevailing across borders. Further, the authors also argue that in the present era, the term ‘transnational’ cannot merely be used to define corporations that have financial operations in

multiple nations. Rather the term also denotes people who have been relocated because of the operation of transnational corporations (TNCs). Thus, the transnational migrant takes action, makes decisions, fosters concerns, and develops an identity with the context of social networks that connect him/her to two or more societies simultaneously.

Glick-Schiller *et al.* (2006, p. 5) delineated six premises that are central to a theorization of the concept of transnationalism. These are enlisted below.

- The elements of social science, particularly the concepts related to ethnicity including diverse tribes, groups, societies, cultures, and ultimately, nations, as part of a macro picture, could limit the ability of researchers to recognize and analyze the phenomenon of transnationalism in all its complexity.

- The advent of globalization, and consequently of global capital, has significantly influenced the development of the transnational migrant experience, which, therefore, needs to be examined in this international context.

- The prevalence of transnationalism is manifested in the daily lives, activities and social relationships of the migrants, and must, therefore, be explored with this perspective in mind.

- Transnational migrants are predominantly workers in their professional lives but their personal lives symbolize a complex existence, which compels them to experience and rework different national, ethnic and racial identity constructs.

- This fluid and complex existence of transnational migrants necessitates a re-conceptualization of the notions of nationalism, ethnicity and race, thereby

leading to a re-formulation of the conventional understanding of culture, class and society as a whole.

- Although transmigrants have to confront a number of contexts at both the global and national levels, that is, in both the countries of their origin and migration, which also have a significant impact on their perceptions and beliefs, yet the resilience that they display in both their lives and social interactions enable them to reshape these frameworks.

Another issue covered in the research on transnationalism pertains to the aspects of 'transnationalism from above' and 'transnationalism from below', which have been developed by Smith and Guarnizo (1998). 'Transnationalism from above' refers to the activities of governments and multinational corporations (MNCs) that lead to cross-border transnational activities. This views the phenomenon of transnationalism from a macro perspective. On the other hand, 'transnationalism from below', indicates the transnational initiatives undertaken by grass root-level organizations entrepreneurs, workers and common people. According to Smith and Guarnizo (1998), most of the literature on transnationalism has focused on 'transnationalism from above.' However, with the number of grass root-level transnational organizations and entrepreneurs increasing significantly, it has become imperative to study 'transnationalism from below.' This is in alignment with the concept of 'counter-hegemonic power among the non-elite' as defined by Evans (1995), wherein transnationalism occurs in a new social space that is grounded in the daily lives, activities and social relationships of transmigrants.

According to Faist (2000), transnational space is created by social networking and can be divided into the following three categories: (i) kinship groups, signifying networking based on remittances; (ii) transnational circuits, implying networking based on trade and economic transactions; and (iii) transnational communities, which were previously associated with

permanent migrants (and their enclaves) but now typify temporary migrant networks and community formation. Thus, 'transnationalism from below' can be described as "*the ways that the everyday practice of ordinary people, their feelings, and understanding of their condition of existence, frequently modify those very conditions and thereby shape, rather than merely reflect, new modes of urban culture*" (Smiths, 1992, quoted in Mahler, 1998, p. 67).

This discussion indicates that the definition of the concept of transnationalism has changed over time. Initially, it was intended to signify the convergence of cultures that occurred as immigrants moved to new nations and assimilated the cultures and lifestyles of the latter. The meaning of the concept has, now changed to indicate the process whereby immigrants internalize the various elements inherent in the cultural identities of two or more nations.

Portes (2001) believes that the variety of definitions and meanings attributed to transnational activity has caused more confusion than clarity in understanding the issue. In an effort to ameliorate this problem, Portes (2001) distinguishes between the different types of actors in international space. He classifies the actors on the basis of the types of action and activities they conduct in transnational space. Categories one and two constitute activities performed by the government or the State and other nationally based institutions in the second country (like government embassies and government portals). The third category includes multinational private institutions (like Wal-Mart) that transcend the border of a single nation-state. The fourth category pertains to transnational activities performed by non-institutional actors, which could be organized groups, networks or individuals existing across borders (like the informal organizations of different countries operating in the U.S., or individual entrepreneurs). Further, Portes cites Peter Evans (2000), who differentiated between corporate multinational activities in international space and transnational activities.

Transnationalism has also been associated with cross-border economic transactions. Luis Guarnizo (2003) addresses this aspect of economic transnationalism while referring to the growth in remittances and entrepreneurship among migrant populations. He argues that the economic effects of transnational living are varied and multi-directional. In his study, Guarnizo cites a quantitative study by Portes et al. (2001) concerning transnational practices relating to entrepreneurship by Colombian, Salvadoran, and Dominican migrants residing in 5 U.S. metropolitan areas. The study finds that there is no modal path for conducting entrepreneurial business among the given immigrant groups. However, transnational entrepreneurship has been adopted by a significant number of immigrants in the study area. Although the study is unable to identify the causes of transnational entrepreneurship, it does succeed in statistically identifying the distinctiveness of the mode of trans-border actions, which vary across nationalities.

According to Guarnizo (2003), everyday transnational practices and the economic effects of transnational migration can be studied through embedded migrant networks. However, Guarnizo argues that most, if not all, studies on transnationalism, only discuss the unidirectional flow of money, and other goods and services from the North to the South. Meanwhile, the transnational workers who come and stay in a host nation (for example, the U.S.), cause economic effects there as well by generating a demand for goods and services in the host market. Thus, the study of transnational effects entails a complex exercise and should also cover the State, and the corporations and small businesses existing in the host nation.

Transnationalism As Cultural Hybridity And Flexible Citizenship

Another popular area of research under the field of transnationalism concerns the notion of 'cultural hybridity.' Wakeman (1988) introduced the term 'transnational phenomena' as a research field in the area of cultural studies. According to Wakeman, "*[a] transnational*

phenomenon focuses on [the] flow of meaning and material object in effort to describe the transnational culture and put the discussion of culture in a worldwide framework" (Glick-Schiller *et al.*, 1992, p. 10). Further, Appadurai and Breckenridge (1988), Sutton and Makiesky-Barrow (1987), Rouse (1988; 1989), Bhabha (1994), Hall (1996) and Appadurai (1990) discuss changes in global culture at the local level resulting from transnational phenomena by using terms like *cultural hybridity*, *global village*, *transnational migrant circuit, homogenization of culture* and *the transnational socio-cultural and political system*. Rouse (1989), in particular, introduced the concept of 'transitional migrant circuit' that embraces the cultures of several societies within one circuit. Bhabha (1994) and Hall (1996) emphasized the concept of cultural hybridity to discuss the cultural fusion and uncertainty of identity, nation and ethnicity that is implicit in the life of a transnational migrant (Aneesh, 2006).

Glick-Schiller *et al.* (1992) argue that in a global capitalist society, wherein the circulation of goods and services from one nation to another in different parts of the world is becoming easier, it is imperative to understand how these products are embedded in the macrocosm of social relations. In order to illustrate their argument, the authors cite an example of a barbecue grill sent to by one of the author's to his family members in a small town in Haiti from New York, U.S. In Haiti, the grill sent by the author not only symbolizes a material transfer, but also becomes a statement of success and social position for the local family. Thus, irrespective of whether they assume the form of sending symbols of one's material culture to the origin country, or procuring material from the latter in order to maintain one's cultural identity in the host nation, all transnational activities undertaken by migrants are embedded in the respective social fabrics of both places on a day-to-day basis. Transnationalism, therefore, inevitably becomes a much more complex concept that establishes linkages between two different societies

at the levels of the families, on the one hand, and government and business organizations, on the other.

The concept of cultural identity also includes the notion of 'belongingness.' With more and more people occupying places in transnational space, citizenship is rapidly becoming an integral facet of the identity of migrant populations. Glick-Schiller *et al.* (1992) also argue that within the complex web of social relations, transnational migrants try to create multiple identities extending across both their cities of origin and host nations.

Bhabha (1990) characterized the practices and identities of transmigrants as 'counter-narratives of the nation' that expunge national boundaries and become aspects of identity, which are consistent with the concept of imagined community[3] as discussed by Anderson (1993). Further, Smith and Guarnizo (1998) contend that the contemporary study of transnationalism, which has increasingly focused on a micro-level analysis of transnational migrants, can be evaluated through the concept of transnationalism from below that precludes a prior focus on the hegemonic logic of multinational capitalism and the nation-state. Instead these studies focus on transnational actors playing diverse roles as transnational entrepreneurs, transnational temporary workers, and guest workers on the transnational stage.

While analyzing the notion of the imagined community propagated by Benedict Anderson, Ong (1999) introduced the term 'flexible citizen' to explain the construction of multiple identities among the contemporary migrant populations in the globalized world.

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[3] Anderson provides a new dimension in the study of nationalism though the concept of imagined community. It comprises many concepts beyond the political boundary of any nation. Accordingly he states, "In an anthropological spirit, then, I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community — and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion." (pp. 15).

According to Ong, in a globalized world where goods and labor are imported and exported among nations in accordance with demand, the attestation of citizenship is increasingly becoming necessary. As a facet of modernity or the post-modern condition of capitalism, flexibility can be seen in all aspects of the lives of migrants including human agency. Thus, the persistent adoption of a totalizing view of economic globalization no longer makes sense. Ong views the flexible citizen as a social outcome of the cultural logic signified by capitalist accumulation, travel, and human displacement that "*induce subjects to respond fluidly and opportunistically to changing political economic conditions*" (Ong, 1999, p. 6). The concept of 'flexible citizenship' is also used to explain transnationality (wherein 'trans' denotes moving through space and changing the nature of something) as a condition of cultural interconnectedness and mobility across space that has intensified in post-modern society. Hence, transnationality is influenced by the cultural specificities of global processes wherein human agency creates multiple identities that endure in both the host society and the society of origin of the migrants.

Conclusion

Portes (2001) asserts that the conventional preconditions for the assimilation of migrant populations (that is, gradual learning and adoption of the culture, language and behavior patterns of the host nations) are changing and that the barriers against the maintenance of one's own culture are fading in the globalized world. Thus, transnationalism offers a better means of understanding these changes. The findings from previous studies indicate that transnationalism provides a more secure economic and legal status for migrants in host nations. Certain studies in the fields of anthropology and sociology have also discussed the issue of transnationalism among diverse migrant populations (Portes, 1999; 2001; Iredale *et al.*, 2003; Koshy and Radhakrishnan,

2008; Bios, 2004). In particular, most of this literature examines the relationship between migration networks (kinships, organizations), especially transnational networks, and development in the sending countries (Portes, 2000; 2001). Scholars have also pointed out that in the twenty-first century, more than 50% of the world's population is being directly or indirectly influenced by transnationalism or transnational living (Levitte, 2004; Portes, 2003).

Chapter 3 - Theoretical Framework and Research Objectives

This chapter summarizes the background literatures and sociological theories that I will use to inform my research, and briefly discusses their limitations. These limitations serve as a guide for identifying the specific research questions that I will examine in my study. This chapter also discusses the unique aspects of the subject of the research.

Transnationalism and The Missing Link

The available background literature discussed in Chapter 2 of this study indicate that transnational studies have emerged as a new area of research in migration studies, wherein migration can be seen in terms of a number of dimensions that are distinct from the earlier preconceived notions pertaining to this subject. This new facet of migration literature thus explores the social, cultural, political and economic experiences of the migrant population, which tries to maintain ties with other members of the society in both their countries of origin and host nations. As discussed in an earlier chapter, a plethora of research is now available on transnationalism. However, most of the literature on transnationalism in the discourse on the U.S. is concerned with the migration of the Latin American population to the U.S. All these studies examine the permanent movement of people from South America to North America and the consequent creation and extension of socio-cultural ties between the two nation states because of the movements of people between them. However, since they are confined to the migration of just one particular community, this literature is limited in scope and expanse.

One shortcoming of the existing literature on transnationalism is that hardly anything has been written about the transnationalism of temporary IT professional migrants from India. One

exception is *Virtual Migration* by Aneesh (2006), which highlights the prevalent conditions of transnationalism among IT professionals. In this book, the author highlights the borderless integration of labor in the globalized world. He compares the condition of transnationalism observed in the case of online professionals (those working from India) and on-site Indian employees working in U.S. firms. He calls the online workers 'virtual migrants' while the employees who physically migrate to the U.S. to work there are described as 'body-shopped' workers. While recounting the experiences of workers in body shopping (i.e., the physical movement of workers on special visas to the U.S.), he discusses how the temporary status of these workers creates unanswered questions about identity and belonging.

Aneesh (2006) also points out that the question of identity and sense of belonging among skilled migrant workers is closely linked to their 'transnational condition,' which is created by the political, cultural and social differences between these migrants and the local population of the country of their migration. This condition is reinforced by the other challenges they face such as a drastic change in the work environment, practice of corporate lobbying, cultural alienation, family responsibilities, characteristics of socialization, and above all, the issues of U.S. citizenship and immigration services involving the U.S. agency that grants visas and permanent residence to migrants. Aneesh (2006) argues that in this globalized world characterized by a highly integrated labor market, the question that needs to be considered is not merely who is gaining and losing in the labor market, but also how the process of job displacements in the U.S. is affecting both the domestic and migrant workers. These questions are concerned with the social lives of the two categories of workers: domestic and migrant. In order to answer them, however, it is necessary to address transnational space.

Another limitation of the literature on transnationalism relates to the approach adopted by their authors. Most of the earlier work on transnationalism was conducted 'from above,' or from

a perspective that discussed the nation state and the involvement of the migrant population in its day-to-day affairs. One such study was undertaken by Portes (2003), who examined the various issues affecting transnational entrepreneurs from Latin America to New York. However, barring a few studies, transnational practice 'from below' has been rarely discussed in the existing literature on the subject. In this regard, Portes argues that even though very little qualitative and quantitative research has been conducted on transnationalism, there is a large potential for further research in this area due to the advent of increasing global capitalism, the changing nature of the labor market (which has seen the entry of a large number of temporary immigrants) an increase in social networking, and advances in technology and communication, among other factors.

Given these limitations, I draw upon the literature on transnational migration, in general, and the argument of 'transnationalism from below', in particular, in order to frame a study of the practices of transnational IT professionals from India in the temporary visa category, who are working on a contractual agreement for companies in the U.S. Also, in the context of the above-mentioned research by Aneesh (2006), I would like to examine the day-to-day transnational practices performed by these migrants in transnational space and its effect of their lives. More specifically, I would like to study the nature and extent of transnationalism practices used by temporary Indian IT professionals in the U.S. and how these practices impact their lives. This will be an exploratory study that assesses how these professionals negotiate their transnational identity at work and in their social lives.

To explore these issues, I have divided the study into two phases: the first phase is to measure the types of transnational practices and the extent to which Indian immigrant workers use them. The second phase is to examine how Indian immigrant workers perceive transnational practices as affecting their lives and social identities. In the global capitalist world, labor becomes more mobile and flexible, which makes the investigation of transnationalism at work

essential. Also, as discussed in earlier literature, in order to capture the holistic picture of transnationalism from below, one also needs to consider the non-economic activities (social and cultural) attached to migration. Thus, this study provides us with a better understanding of the extent of the practice of transnationalism among these workers, while also helping us to understand their perceptions about transnational lives.

Extent of Transnationalism

In this world of global capitalism, workers are constantly becoming more and more mobile. In addition, the nature of migrant work is also changing. Previously, migrations were mostly permanent in nature and thus the employment of migrants was also permanent. However, with the global capitalism and the emergence of the 'third industrial revolution', firms, especially in developed nations like the U.S. and the U.K., are constantly seeking more skilled migrants to work for them on a temporary basis. Thus, contemporary migration is more flexible and temporary in nature, and consequently, so also is the work profile of migrant workers.

The changing profile of migrants is also leading to an alteration in the debate of transnationalism. The early literature on transnationalism was mostly based on permanent settlers in the host nation and their transnational activities across borders. This was termed 'transnationalism from above,' which concerns the political and civil involvement of the migrant population in both the host nation and the country of origin. However, contemporary migration, especially that of skilled workers, is more temporal in nature, wherein the type of job and the temporary visa status define the transnational lives and activities of these workers. As per the rules of the temporary work visa (H1-B or L1) under which these workers migrate to the U.S., they have to return to their country of origin within a maximum period of six years, although this visa category also allows them the option of applying to convert their temporary visa into

permanent residency and eventually citizenship of the U.S. On the one hand, these migrant workers are treated as temporary guest workers, who enjoy negligible rights in the destination country; on the other hand, they are allowed to harbor illusions of eventually becoming U.S. citizens. Further, the work profile of these migrants makes it unavoidable for them to interact with their American clients on a day-to-day basis. This in turn, necessitates their rapid assimilation into American culture.

Also, as discussed in the literature on 'transnationalism from below,' the transnational system brings together different worlds, with the transmigrants trying to negotiate and combine the two disparate cultures in their lives. Thus, in this global capitalist society, the non-economic social effects of the phenomenon of migration also need to be examined in order to obtain a holistic picture of the transnational lives of the migrants under study. In this process, it becomes imperative to investigate the family and social aspects of the transnational practices. Thus, in order to study the process of transnationalism at the family and social levels, I used the argument offered by Smith and Guarnizo (1998) that transnationalism must be studied in day-to-day activities and social relationships of migrants as ordinary people, their feelings and perception of the conditions of their existence. These phenomena reflect the concepts of cultural hybridity and flexible citizenship (Bhabha, 1999; Ong, 2000).

The literature on transnationalism has not examined the question as to how the work profile and work environment of migrant workers can influence their transnational practices. I believe that the struggle to develop a feeling of belonging, accompanied by the need to adjust to a new work environment and work culture, force these workers to live transnational lives. I also argue that the temporal stay of these professionals with their families give rise to day-to-day negotiations between two cultures in terms of their choice of food, clothing, recreation and other cultural practices.

Thus, my first research objective here is to:

RO1: Explore and describe the type and extent of transnational practices used by Indian IT professionals employed in a work place in the U.S on a temporary visa category.

Impact of Being Transnational Citizen

Another important aspect of transnationalism not addressed in previous research is the impact of becoming a transnational on the migrant himself or herself. I believe that the struggle involved in negotiating with a foreign culture and environment, accompanied by the need to adjust both their personal and professional lives in an alien country, impact the life and well-being of migrant workers at both the professional and social level. Thus my additional research objectives are to address the following issues:

RO2: What are the perceptions of Indian IT professionals concerning what it feels like to be transnational?

RO3: How does being a transnational affect the self-esteem, job-satisfaction and lives in general of these Indian IT professionals?

Implications of the Research

This research contributes to the knowledge base on transnationalism in several unique ways. First, it studies Indian migrant workers in the U.S. on temporary work visas. To date, little or has been conducted on this population. Second, this study adds to the knowledge base by studying this population using a micro-level approach to examine 'transnationalism from below.' The focus is on the types of transnational practices used by members of this population, the extent to which these practices are used and how they impact the lives of members of this migrant group.

Finally as described in the following chapter, this study develops and tests a methodological approach for studying the phenomenon of transnationalism.

Chapter 4 - Research Methodology

The present study is a descriptive one, exploring the extent of transnationalism among Indian information technology (IT) professionals working in U.S. companies in the temporary work visa category. A mixed method research design (Ivankova, Creswell and Stick, 2007, Ivankova, 2006) is employed in order to address the study objectives where the methodologies of a quantitative survey and qualitative data collection are used in a single study. The rationale behind the employment of the mixed method research design is that it will help provide a holistic view of the complexity of transnational practice, besides offering a deeper understanding of the research issues. Further, since no formal list of Indian IT professionals working in the U.S. on contractual jobs is currently available, the non-random technique is used to select subjects for data collection. This chapter provides a description of the research site, the research design, research method and the data analysis procedures that will be used for the study. The chapter includes the demographic profile of the sample from the quantitative analysis and qualitative personal interview. The chapter also includes a section detailing the typical features of the H1-B and L1 visa category.

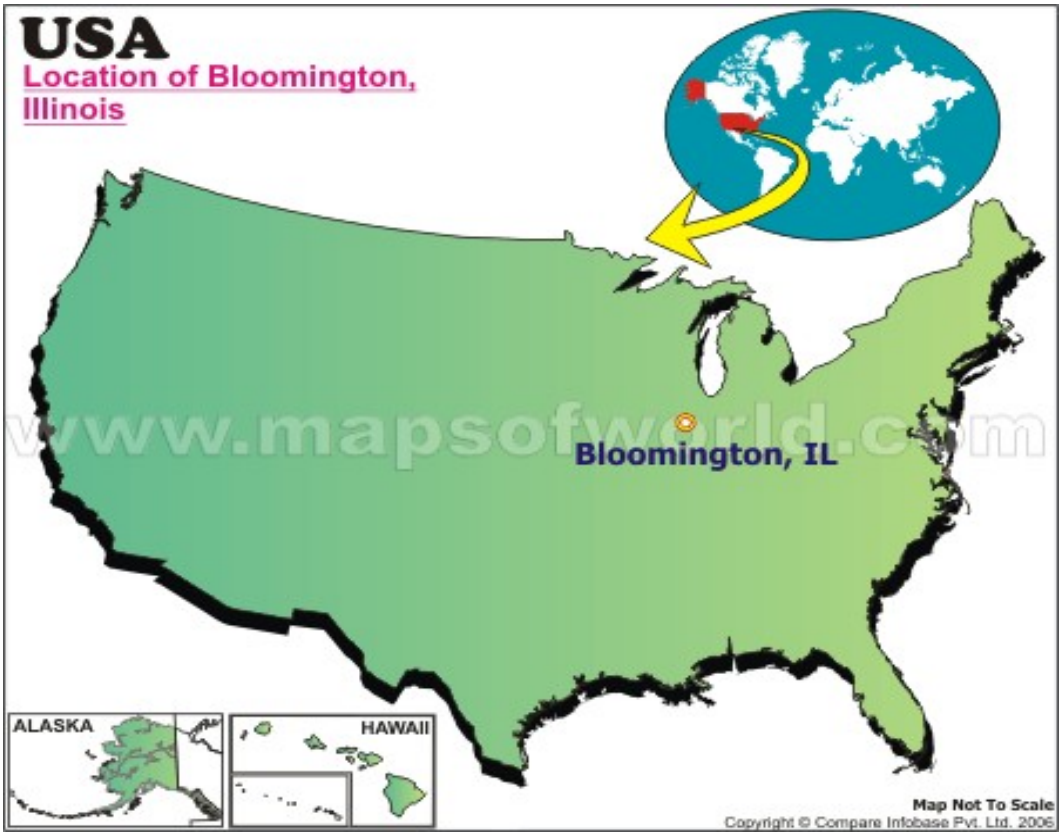
Research Site

The study area for the project is Bloomington, Illinois (IL). As discussed in Chapter 1, Bloomington IL is a small mid-western city that is a part of the Bloomington-Normal Metropolitan Statistical Area. It is situated 125 miles southwest of Chicago and has a total population of 76,610.

One of the major reasons for the selection of Bloomington, IL as my research site is its rapidly growing population of Asian Indians. The total population of the city is 76,610 (Census,

2010) out of which 3968 (5.2%) are Asian Indians. Another reason for selecting Bloomington, IL as a research site for my project is that I know the city well and have contacts with Indian IT professionals living there that would be of help to me in identifying respondents for participation in the study.

Figure 4.1 Bloomington in the U.S. Map



Source: http://www.mapsofworld.com/location-maps/usa/bloomington-iii.html

Research Design

In view of the specific objectives of my study, a mixed method research design is used. Greene, Caracellie and Graham (1989), define this as a combination of at least one quantitative method (designed to collect numbers) and one qualitative method (designed to collect words)

that would complement each other for facilitating complete analysis of the problem. Johnson, Onwuegbuizee and Turner (2007) undertook a meta-study using 19 different definitions of the mixed method design that were sourced from 21 published papers. They contended that mixed method research was a type of research in which the researcher combined elements of quantitative and qualitative research approaches (use of the quantitative and qualitative view point, data collection and data analysis) for the purpose of achieving an in-depth understanding and justification of the study (Creswell and Clark, 2011). One of the primary merits of using the mixed method approach is that the disadvantages of one method are addressed by the second method.

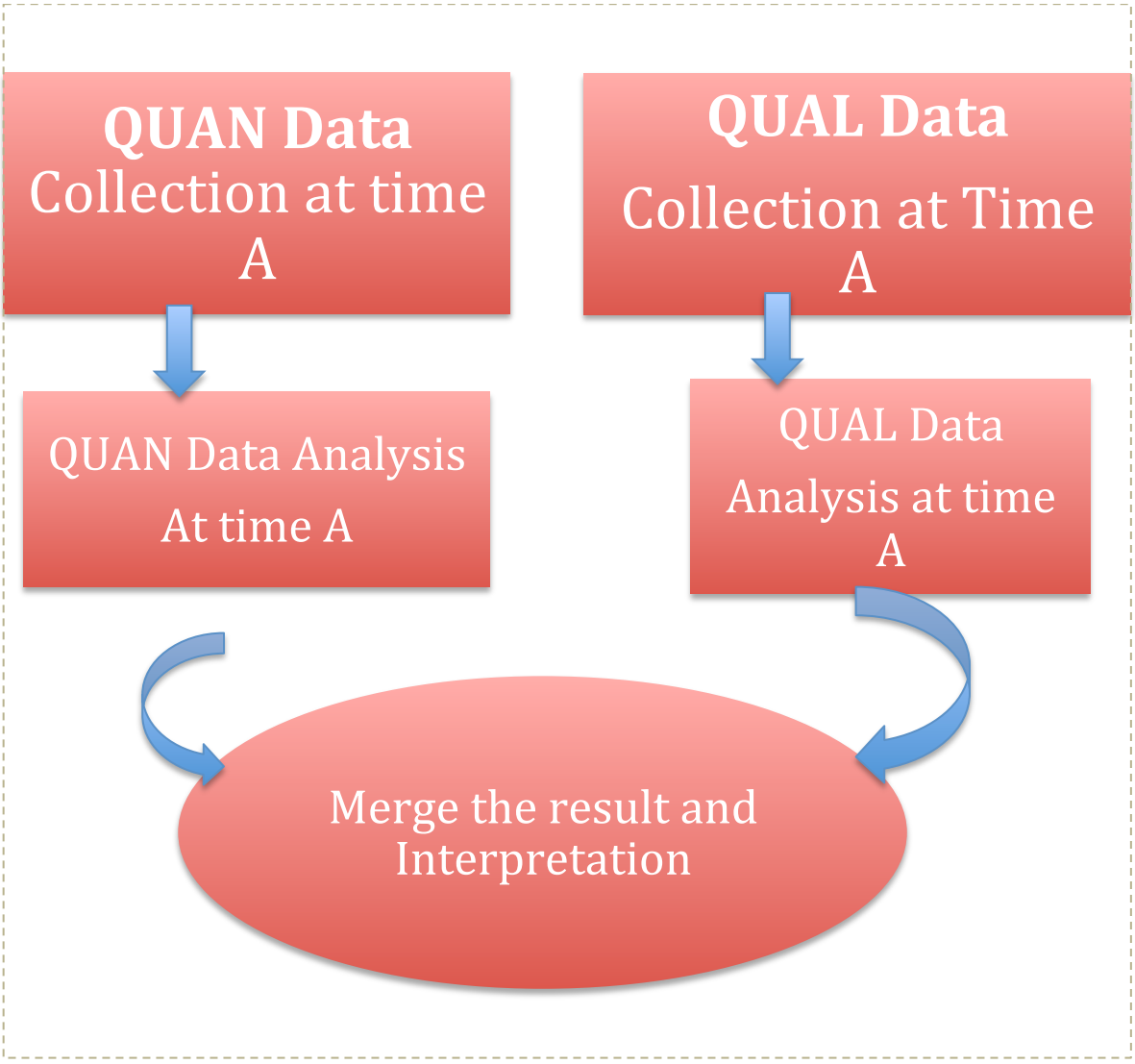
According to Creswell, Plano Clark, Guttman, and Hanson (2003), three major issues need consideration during the course of conducting research using the mixed method approach: priority, implementation, and integration. 'Priority' refers to the need to prioritize the method (either quantitative or qualitative) to be adopted for the study in the context of the research problem. 'Implementation' pertains to the decision as to whether the quantitative and qualitative collection of data would be undertaken in sequence or chronologically, or in parallel or concurrently. Finally, 'integration' refers to the process of combining or connecting the quantitative and qualitative data collected.

Creswell and Clark (2011) have identified the following six different ways through which the mixed method research design can be carried out: Convergent Parallel Design, Explanatory Sequential Design, Exploratory Sequential Design, Embedded Design, Transformative Design, and Multiphase Design. The choice of approach to be followed, the unit of analysis, variables for investigation and the method of data analysis used are governed by the research questions for the study (Tashakkori and Teddli, 1998).

For this study, the Convergent Parallel Design method (Wittink, Barg and Gallo, 2006) will be used. This method, which was introduced as the 'triangulation' method in the 1970s (Jick, 1979), is the most well known approach adopted for undertaking research across disciplines. In this method, both qualitative and quantitative data collection are carried out simultaneously. The results of the two data sets are merged and the output is then analyzed through an assessment of the convergence and divergence of the data collected (Creswell and Clark, 2011). The researcher needs to finalize the sampling and data collection process, the size of both samples, the design of the data collection instruments, and the format and order of different forms of data collection to be employed. In regard to the decision on data collection, Creswell and Clark (2011) recommend considering: the same individual for collecting both types of data, creating parallel questions based on the same concept to obtain answers to the two sets of issues, opting for different sample sizes for the data collection (with the qualitative sample being much smaller than the quantitative sample, if possible), and the assimilation of data from two independent sources (including the quantitative survey and open-ended qualitative questions).

For this study, I am employing the Convergent Parallel Design method of quantitative and qualitative data collection and data analysis methods simultaneously. However, qualitative data will be collected though personal interviews on a subset of the respondents who participate in the quantitative survey.

Figure 4.2 Research Design



Sampling Strategy and Respondent Selection

Due to the unavailability of a formal list of temporary IT professionals working on contractual jobs in the U.S., the data collection for this study is conducted through selection of a non-probability and non-random sample. I employed the convenience sample technique using the snowball sampling mechanism for this purpose. According to Berg, the snowball sampling strategy is a non-probability sampling technique, also referred to as a chain referral or respondent-driven sampling method, and symbolizes the best way for locating subjects with certain attributes or characteristics that are necessary for the study (Berg, 2007). The snowball sample actually begins with identifying a few relevant subjects. The sample thereafter expands through referrals or chain referral (Babbie, 1995, p. 287).

Indian IT professionals working in Bloomington, IL were identified though the chain referral method from different sources. I knew a few Indian professionals living and working in Bloomington and I sent them a note on my study (see appendix C) and a signup sheet to share with their co-workers who are Indians working in U.S. on a temporary work visa. The respondents who agreed to participate in survey were contacted, and a paper and pen survey was conducted.

My total sample size was 103 for the quantitative survey and 20 for the qualitative interviews. The repetition of themes in questions responses or 'saturation' was one of the factors for a lesser number of qualitative interviews.

Delineation of Study Population

As indicated above, the target population for this study was Indian IT professionals working in Bloomington IL in the temporary work visa category. Thus, the unit of analysis for this research is individual IT professionals working on a temporary work visa. The temporary

visa or H1-B is a special kind of non-immigrant work visa issued by the Government of the United States on a temporary basis under the Immigration and Nationality Act, 1991. This visa category is designed for workers employed in 'specialized occupations,' which require the person being granted the visa to have specialized knowledge and at least a degree equivalent to a U.S. undergraduate degree (Sahay, 2009). Here, the term 'specialized occupation' pertains to the disciplines of engineering, mathematics, architecture, physical science, medicine and healthcare, social science, education, law, accounting etc.

The H1-B visa is actually a visa permit for work sponsored by U.S. employers (the Bill requires employers to pay the fee for the new visa application for the workers[4]), and is given for a period of three years in one term, which can be extended for another term. Therefore, a worker working under this category can stay in the U.S. legally for a maximum of 6 years, though he/she is eligible for applying for permanent residence during his/her temporary stay. Hence, the nature of migration in this case is largely temporary and the workers have to return to their home nations after the project ends (Charkravartty, 2001).

The annual cap or quota for the number of H1-B visas issued fluctuates every fiscal year in accordance with the demand for workers and the Government policies being implemented in the U.S. The initial quota allowed 65,000 workers to work in U.S. firms legally (most of whom were IT professionals from India and other Asian nations). The quota for allotment of H1-B visas was raised from 65,000 to 115,000 a year, and subsequently to 195,000 during the dot.com boom in the years 1999 to 2001. However, during the post-9/11 era, the U.S. Congress reverted to the quota allotment of 65,000 annual permits (Sahay, 2009). Apart from this annual quota, permits are also granted to 20,000 additional workers who have obtained at least a Master's degree in

[4]The visa application fee of US$500-$1500, depending on the size of the firm paying the fee, is used as a fund for training and educational promotion among American workers.

any of the U.S. universities. In addition, the H1-B visa issued for the employment of foreign-born students in universities and non- profit organizations is excluded from the quota.

Due to the allocation of a large number of H1-B visas exclusively to IT professionals, another temporary work visa category, L1, was introduced by the U.S. Congress that allowed MNCs to transfer workers from their operations in India and other countries to U.S. locations for undertaking temporary work projects. The L1 visa is an intra-company transfer for workers who have worked in the U.S. for their employers for a continuous period of one year. The rules and restrictions applying for L1 visa holders are more or less the same as those for H1-B visa holders.

One of the merits of both the H1-B visa and L1 visa is that they give the visa holder the legal right to apply for permanent residence and eventually citizenship in the U.S. On the flip side, however, one of the demerits of the H1-B visa category is that regardless of his/her qualifications, the spouse of the H1-B visa holder, that is, the dependent H-4 holder, cannot work in the U.S. legally. This rule is not applicable in case of the L1 visa holder whose spouse (dependent wife/husband) can work legally in any U.S. business entity.

Returning to the sample survey, the selection criteria for the sample of respondents among 3,968 Indian professionals working in Bloomington IL would be based on the diversity in number of years spent by them in the U.S. Studies have shown that immigrants 'fresh off-the-boat' (FOB) require some time to get used to the foreign culture and mores. However, in the increasingly globalized world, a short period of time can be adequate for the development of a transnational identity. Given the flow of information is very fast due to the vast availability of broadband in U.S. and increasing penetration of internet in India, the transitions from one culture to another becomes easier.

Also, longer stay in foreign country leads to more assimilation of individual in the host nation. Hence, for this study, we assume that an individual needs to stay for at least 6 month or a year and maximum 8-10 years in the U.S. in order to evolve a transnational identity. In summary, the population for this study will consist of Indian IT professionals, who have been employed by a firm in Bloomington, IL on a temporary work visa for a minimum of 6 month.

Data Collection

The quantitative data were collected through a sample survey that was self-administered by respondents in my presence. This allowed me to provide clarification to any questions that respondents had in answering the survey. The qualitative data were collected through personal interviews that I administered. A short debriefing statement that includes information about the research, the data collection techniques, the use of data and the consent form was provided as part of an introductory statement. The data collection was carried in the month of June, 2012.

Quantitative Data Collection

A cross-sectional survey was used to collect quantitative data needed to address the three research objectives. Thus, data were collected at one point of time from the chosen sample (McMillan, 2000). The primary technique used for quantitative data collection was a self-administered survey that was completed in my presence. The questionnaire contained questions measuring and exploring the transnational practices utilized by a respondent (see questionnaire in Appendix A). It includes questions on the demographic profile, reasons for migration, number of years of stay in the U.S., consumption patterns (in terms of household goods like food and clothing), and the social and cultural practices of the subjects under study, including the rituals and religious customs they follow, the festivals they celebrate, the TV serials, and news shows

they watch, the language(s) they speak at home, and the number of phone calls they make to their home country, India.

The first section of the survey contains questions related to the factual background and demographic profile of the respondents. This section includes questions pertaining to the age, gender, marital status, visa status, job designation, and income of the respondents, as the year of their entry to the U.S. and the reason(s) for their migration. The section also includes some open-ended questions to reveal facets like their association with the rest of the Indian diaspora in the U.S. and the remittances they send to India. The next section in the questionnaire focuses on identifying the transnational practices (in terms of the consumption patterns, culture, and socialization) adopted by the IT professionals from India at work and in leisure time.

The total sample for the study consisted of 103 Indian IT professionals working in the temporary work visa category in the U.S. There were 20 professionals among these 103 who agreed to participate in the in-depth interview too. Among these professionals, less than 1% came to the U.S. before 2001 and around 30% came after 2010 but the huge flight of workers in my population came in the year around 2006-2009 (See Table 4.1). Among them 88 were male and 15 female. Around 52% of the total population belonged to the 25–30 age group and 51% of them were single. Around 85% of the respondents were the first from the family to come out to the U.S. and had no family member living in the U.S. at present, representing a very young population.

Table 4.1 Demographic Profile of the Respondents

Age	Freq.	Percent
20- 25	15	14.56
25-30	54	52.43
30-35	24	23.3
35-40	4	3.88
40 and above	6	5.53
Sex		
Male	88	85.44
Female	15	14.56
Marital Status		
Single	53	51.46
Married	49	47.57
Divorced	1	0.97
Have children		
Yes	36	34.95
No	67	65.05
State where they hail from in India		
Maharashtra	28	27.18
Andhra Pradesh	37	35.92
Tamil Nadu	12	11.65
Other	26	25.24
Do you have any family member in the U.S.		
Yes	14	13.73
No	88	85.3
Highest degree of education		
BE	44	42.72
B.Tech	6	5.83
M.S	41	39.81
Other	12	11.65
Salary (US$)		
Less than 40,000	4	5.26
40,000 to 60,000	33	43.42
60,000 to 80,000	35	46.05
80,000 to 100,000	2	3.95
100,000 and above	1	1.32
The year you entered the U.S.		
Before 2001	1	0.97
2001-2005	14	13.59
2006-2009	55	53.4
2010-2012	33	32.04
Visa status		
H1	56	54.37
L1	47	45.63

An interesting fact revealed by the personal interviews was that many of these single professionals were from a joint-family system and, the one thing these young professional missed, was home and family. Many of them stayed with roommates from the same region in India so that they could speak their native language with them. Since all these workers were on a temporary work visa and new to the country, the majority indicated was that they would go back to India in 5-6 years and would not like to settle permanently in the U.S.

Further, many of these professionals (almost 65%) belonged to one of two states in India — Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. Among the respondents in the sample, 42% had a B.E. (Bachelor in Engineering) degree, another 40% had an M.S. degree in computer engineering, and the remainder had other college degrees, including a BSE or MBA. Around 90% of these workers had attained their last degree from an Indian university. Even though they were on a temporary work visa, these professionals were very well paid. The salary of more than 46% of the workers ranged from $60,000 to $80,000 (U.S.) per annum. Around 6% of the samples had a salary above this range. Also, many of them held the position of a Systems Analyst in the company, while their work varied from that of a project developer, project leader, handling the software on-air, programmer or tester. Around 54% were in the H1-B visa category and the remaining 46% were in the L1 visa category. Few of them (around 5-7%) had applied for a Green Card. Around 90% wanted to return to India once their visa expired.

Qualitative Data Collection

Semi-structured personal interviews were used to collect the qualitative data. As recommended by Creswell and Clark (2011) for the use of the convergent parallel design method, individuals who participated in the survey were also interviewed to obtain qualitative

data. However, a smaller sample was used for the qualitative interviews than the sample survey and consisted of a subset of 20 individuals who participated in the survey. Survey respondents were contacted via email and asked if they were interested in participating in a 30-45 minute-long personal interview. Those agreeing to participate were interviewed at their convenience in (their) home, or at a coffee shop. The interview was conducted in the English language, and followed a pre-determined protocol. The interviews were recorded with the permission of the respondents and they had the right to terminate the interview at any point they wished. Apart from the audio recording of the interviews, I also field notes for each interview. I assigned aliases to each respondent to maintain anonymity in the resulting data.

Table 4.2 Demographic Profile of Personal Interview

Sl.No	Name	Age	Sex	Visa type	Job Title	Year of Arrival in US.
1	Parth	34	Male	H1B	Systems Analyst	2005
2	Sanjay	33	Male	L1	Systems Analyst	2006
3	Aman	31	Female	H1B	Systems Analyst	2005
4	Gagan	27	Male	H1B	Senior Software Engg.	2010
5	Kumar	33	Male	L1	Systems Analyst	2006
6	Ranjeet	23	Male	H1B	Program Analyst	2011
7	Vashnav	30	Male	H1B	Systems Analyst	2008
8	Mathew	26	Male	H1B	Systems Analyst	2010
9	Preeti	27	Female	H1B	Tech Lead	2009
10	Nina	32	Female	L1	Tech Lead	2005
11	Namrata	33	Female	H1B	Data Coordinator	2003
12	Gautam	34	Male	H1B	Systems Analyst	2008
13	Priya	32	Female	H1B	Systems Analyst	2011
14	Ranveer	29	Male	H1B	Business Analyst	2010
15	Rani	28	Female	H1B	Systems Analyst	2010
16	Varun	26	Male	L1B	Sr. Software Engg.	2011
17	Vinod	27	Male	H1B	Sr. Software Engg.	2009
18	Ravi	30	Male	H1B	Systems Analyst	2008
19	Kesav	34	Male	H1B	Sr. Consultant	2001
20	Amrita	32	Female	L1	Tester	2007

The interview questions elicited perceptual data concerning the contrast between the American and Indian ways of life, and the effect of this dualism on the quality and nature of the transnational migrants' lives (see personal interview questions in Appendix B). Further, the qualitative questions attempted to isolate the perceptions of the respondents about various other aspects of their lives including their cultural beliefs, dynamics of family life, socialization, recreation, and the manner in which they coped in their new environment away from the familiarity of their homes and relatives. Finally, subjects were asked about their views on the feasibility and desirability of their return to India, and if and when they would be interested in exercising this option, while considering both its financial and social ramifications.

Data Analysis

Once both the quantitative and qualitative data had been collected, the next important step entailed the coding and analysis of both data sets, which facilitated the conversion of the data into useful results that could be interpreted for fulfilling the research objectives. Since the data were collected from two different sources as part of the mixed method design, it was important to merge and analyze the data in such a way that one set complemented the other and both data supported the research objectives. For this purpose, data analysis was also divided into two segments.

Quantitative Data Analysis

Using the survey data, a descriptive analysis of the types of cultural practices utilized by respondents was completed to identify which are the most transnational as practiced by Indian migrant workers in the sample. The types of cultural practices that are essential to "transnationalism from below" are not well specified in the existing research literature. Given that the Indian IT professionals in the sample are employed by a U.S. corporation, it seems likely that negotiating in the workplace would demand some transnationalism. However, it also seems likely that transnationalism would be required outside the sphere of work during leisure time as the Indian worker and potentially his/her spouse and family members must learn how to meet their life needs in the context of an American city and metropolitan area. Based on this reasoning, a wide range of cultural practices in both the work and leisure time spheres of respondents in the sample were measured.

The leisure time practices examined included eating Indian and Western food, wearing Indian and Western clothing, speaking one's native language and English, playing American and

Indian sports, watching American and Indian sports, engaging in discussions about Indian and American politics, watching Indian and American TV serials, watching Indian and American movies, listening to Indian and Western music, attending services at an Indian Temple and American Church, socializing with Indian and American friends outside the work place, attending Indian and American cultural functions and attending meetings of Indian and American social organizations. Practices at work that were measured included engaging in discussions at work with Indian and American co-workers, working on projects with Indian and American co-workers, socializing with Indian and American co-workers, and celebrating Indian and American holidays at work.

How frequently a migrant must engage in a specific cultural practice from both the nation of origin and host nation in order to be considered "transnational" in regard to that practice is not addressed in the extant research literature. For example, if an Indian migrant worker eats Indian foods several times a day while living in America, and eats American (Western) food once a year, should the migrant be considered to have a transnational diet? It is my contention that this should not be the case. Occasional engagement in a cultural practice from the host nation does not make a migrant transnational. Rather, the migrant should engage in a cultural practice from both the nation of origin and host nation on a regular basis in order to be considered transnational in relation to that practice.

Respondents in the sample survey were asked how frequently they engaged in each of the leisure time and work practices listed above using a scale of 0 to 6 (0 representing never engaging in the activity; 1: several times a year; 2: once a month; 3: several times a month; 4: once a week; 5: once a day; and 6: several times a day). For the purpose of this study, I operationalized a "regular" frequency as representing at least once a week. Therefore, using the above example, a respondent was considered to be transnational vis-a-vis their diet if he/she ate

both Indian and Western food at least once a week. This operational rule was applied to each type of leisure time and work practice listed above. The responses to each Indian and corresponding American/Western practice were cross-tabulated to examine their joint frequency patterns and determine which practices were most frequently transnational among the respondents in the sample.

Multivariate, exploratory factor analysis was used to determine if there was an underlying structure to the transnational practices used by respondents in the sample. The frequency scores for each Indian and corresponding American/Western practice were summed to create a composite transnationalism score that ranged from 0-12, with 12 indicating the highest level of transnationalism. For example, the frequency score for eating Indian food was summed with the frequency score for eating Western food to derive a composite score for dietary transnationalism. This was done for all 13 of the leisure time practices measured and all 4 of the work practices measured. The 17 composite scores were then factor analyzed using the Principal Axis Method of factor extraction and the Varimax method of factor rotation (Kim and Mueller, 1978). Following Kaiser's rule, only factors with Eigenvalues > 1.0 were considered to be meaningful (Kim and Mueller, 1978). The pattern of factor loadings on these factors was then examined and interpreted with the objective of determining if there was a meaningful underlying structure to the frequency of transnational practices used by Indian migrant workers in the sample. The quantitative methods discussed thus far were used to address Research Objective 1.

Quantitative methods were also used in addressing Research Objective 2. The survey contained a number of questions that measured the perceptions of respondents concerning what it feels like to be living in America as a transnational (e.g. I feel I do need to know about American culture to work in the U.S.) (See section II-D in the survey). The frequency distributions of the

responses to these questions were examined as a component of the descriptive analysis required for this research objective.

Quantitative methods were also used in addressing Research Objective 3. The survey also contained questions designed to directly measure the impacts of living in the U.S. (see section III-A of the survey) and selected psychosocial characteristics of the respondent (self-esteem, job satisfaction, job dissatisfaction). Frequency tables were generated of the former measures to provide a descriptive analysis of the perceived impacts of the living the U.S. Self-esteem was measured using the scale developed by Rosenberg (Rosenberg, 1989) (see section III-B of the survey in Appendix A). The methods used in the creation of this scale are described in Appendix C. Job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction were measured using a combination of items found in Schuessler's Social Life Feelings Scale and Brayfield and Rothe's Index of Job Satisfaction (Miller, 1991: 450-453, 466-468)(see section III-C of the survey in Appendix A). The methods used in the creation of these scales are described in Appendix D.

A measure of the extent of transnationalism in leisure time was created by summing the total number of leisure time practices in which a respondent was found to be transnational (as noted above, this required engaging in both an Indian and American/Western practice at least once a week). Given that 13 leisure time practices were examined, scores on this measure ranged from 0 (was not transnational in any of the practices) to 13 (was transnational in all the practices examined). A measure of the extent of transnationalism at work was created by summing the total number of work practices in which a respondent was found to be transnational. Since 4 work practices were examined, scores on this measure ranged from 0 (was not transnational in any of the practices) to 4 (was transnational in all the practices examined). Exploratory, multivariate regression analyses were used to examine the relationship between self-esteem and the two measures of the extent of transnationalism, job satisfaction and the two measures, and

job dissatisfaction and the two measures. The unstandardized partial slopes derived from these analyses will indicate whether the impact of transnationalism at leisure and work on these psychosocial characteristics is likely to be positive or negative. The standardized partial slopes will indicate which type of transnationalism has a stronger effect on the dependent variable.

Qualitative Data Analysis

The qualitative data collected from the personal interviews were used to address Research Objectives 1-3. I took field notes and audiotaped all the interviews. I transcribed all the interviews on the same day as they were conducted. In analyzing the qualitative data, I searched for commonalities in key events and themes. This helped in bringing themes to the surface from within the data and helped in converting abstract conversation between the researcher and respondent to concrete data for analysis.

Thereafter, the data were coded using the axial coding technique. Axial coding helps in making connections among themes, and the concepts that those themes represent (Strauss, 1987). During the initial coding, causes, consequences, conditions, and interactions among the categories were studied. Through using these methods of coding, I identified themes concerning the lives of Indian professionals in U.S. and how they practiced transnational living, and the impact of this way of life on them. Where applicable, themes were associated with the quantitative findings and were presented in the study. The major objective of the qualitative data analysis in my study was to complement the quantitative data analysis by providing a deeper and better understanding of transnational practices as experienced and perceived by Indian IT professionals working and living in the U.S. on temporary visas (Neuman, 2000). Thus, while coding the data, I analyzed the responses to interview questions to determine how they supported the objectives of the present research. Finally, the codes of open-ended questions provided

insight into the attitudes, beliefs and motivations of the respondents. All the responses were analyzed for differences and similarities, and coded for common themes. Finally, pseudonyms or aliases were assigned to each respondent to maintain confidentiality.

Role of Researchers and Ethical Considerations

One of the most important issues relating to any social science research project concerns ethical considerations and the role of researcher — that is, the personality and the potential bias of the researcher. Being an Indian, I am sure that I would be unable to avoid falling prey to certain biases under certain circumstances. However, I did try my best to overcome some of these biases by being neutral in expressing my feelings while conducting the interviews and view the world of transnational Indians from the perspective of an outsider rather than as a member of the same community.

I would like to note that important ethical issues were addressed in both processes of data collection. The Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Kansas State University approved the research protocol for this study. The compliance regulations for research on human subjects mandated by the IRB were followed at all stages of the research. An informed consent form was used in securing the participation of human subjects, who were debriefed as part of the process (see Appendix E). The use of pseudonyms and the way in which the data were coded and handled guaranteed that the anonymity and confidentiality would be maintained.

Chapter 5 - Research Findings: The Frequency of Use and Structure of Transnational Practices by Indian IT Professionals

This chapter presents the findings related to the first research objective of the study: to explore and describe the type and extent of transnational practices used by Indian IT professionals employed in the United States on a temporary work visa. Before directly addressing this objective, I will first examine the reasons why Indian IT professionals migrated to the U.S. on a temporary visa.

Reason for Migration and Life in America

According to the survey results, the key motivation for migrating to the U.S. was a combination of 'pull' factors in association with the 'push' factor. While money and better living conditions are some of the major 'pull' factors driving the migration of Indian IT professionals, the lack of opportunity to gain experience and acquire better job skills for career advancement in India provided important push factors. The on-shore experience is an important part of IT jobs in India. The survey results reveal that the most important purpose for migrating to the U.S. was for to participate in particular project/research assignments (37%) and gain professional experience (31%). However, findings from the in-depth interviews reveal that for most professionals, the choice of coming to the U.S. was personal and was driven by the incentive of a higher salary.

There is a saying in modern India to the effect that "In India engineers join MNCs with a passport in hand and an American dream in their hearts." This argument is clearly visible from the personal interviews with these professionals. Thus, when IT workers employed by an Indian MNC gain 3-4 years of experience working in India with clients from other countries, the next step in their career is to gain direct experience working off-shore in an international context.

While Indian companies frequently arrange such opportunities, it is often a personal decision driven by salary incentives that prompts IT professionals to come to the U.S. to work. Thus, the professionals in the present study came to the U.S. after acquiring 3-4 years of experience in India working with U.S.-based clients.

Matthew hails from Kerala and came to Bloomington in September 2010. Matthew is single and lives with three other roommates all from the same region in India. According to Mathew,

"All IT people in India have an American dream. As soon as we join a MNC and acquire minimum years of experience needed, we look for the opportunities. In my case, I got my first opportunity after 3 years and soon I was on a flight to the United States of America".

While Vashnav from Tamil Nadu, who came to Bloomington in 2008 says*:*
"I came here for a big salary and a better opportunity. It was my personal choice to come to the United States and Patni computer provided me the step for a better life. I have three years of experience with Patni Computers in Chennai and like all other IT guys it was time to move to the U.S. I came to the U.S. in 2008 and love the luxury life here, but I do miss home."

Similarly, all these young IT professionals came to the U.S. with a better job profile in mind but money and better living conditions in their hearts. Also, they admitted that they love the luxurious life in the U.S.

When the IT professionals were asked if they faced any problems in migrating to the U.S., none claimed that they did. Their Indian companies collaboratively processed their visas and other migration formalities with the host firm. Further, in response to a question on what they expected from the U.S. and how far their expectations were met after migrating to the U.S., most respondents from Bloomington answered that they expected American cities to be big like New

York City and Chicago (as depicted in the Hollywood movies) much in contrast to Bloomington, which has fewer high-rises and more farms.

Nina who came to the US in 2005 as a dependent with her husband but now works for State Farm says,

"I always thought America was all about New York City. I thought in America there would be big buildings everywhere. But it's not true; in Bloomington we hardly have any big buildings (only State Farm!). I am not saying I don't like Bloomington, I just don't think Bloomington is the America I expected."

However, even though the feel of Bloomington is not what these professionals expected of America, nonetheless, all the respondents admitted that they liked living in Bloomington, which had all the amenities of a big city along with the comforts of a small city. The professionals also acknowledged that they were able to preserve their Indian way of living because of the large number of Indians in the city. Moreover, unlike small towns in the Midwest, Bloomington housed several Indian grocery stores, Indian restaurants, and other amenities that catered chiefly to the city's Indian population.

On question about life in the U.S. (more specifically Bloomington) and what they liked about living in the U.S., all the respondents acknowledged that it was clean, organized, and comfortable living with less corruption and more rules and regulations enhancing the welfare of individuals. As compared to India, life was simpler in the U.S, and one could afford better and a more comfortable life. Some of the respondents also compared work life in India with that in America, confessing that working in America was far better than working under the same profile in India as the former offered more money, demanded less hours of work and allowed more time for leisure.

Even though most respondents admitted that life in America was much better, they also believed that this was not the place to settle for life, given that their families were in India. Very few of them contradicted this point. One of the respondents Ravi, who came to the U.S. in 2008 said,

"While working in India, you feel like you are near to your family and friends but there is no time to meet them. As in India most of the young professionals of my age work for 12 hours a day for 6 or some times 7 days a week and commuting to office involves an hour's drive each way. So even though physically you are near to your family, when you work in India, you are able to see your family only during festivals. After coming to America, I have more time to talk to family and maintain good relations with friends than when I was in India. Also I like the life of luxury here and have more time for leisure. I have adopted my hobbies after coming to the U.S."

While another respondent Varun, who came to the U.S. in 2011, used to work in a different city from his family while in India. He said,

"I believe living in Pune (a city in India) to work for I-gate is same as working in State Farm in the U.S. I was away from home and used to visit family once a year. Also there are so many Indians in Bloomington that I don't feel that I am missing anything."

Gautam, who is married and has a three-year-old daughter, also came to the U.S. in 2008. He said,

"I believe that India is more dynamic than the U.S. There are so many people belonging to various classes and castes. Everyone is so different. Also, there are more challenges and more pressures in India. Here everything is so sorted out that it makes personal and professional life simple. I somehow miss the challenges of the Indian work system. It has its own flavor, which cannot be replaced by a sophisticated but bland life of the U.S."

Gautam said he liked living here and had picked up photography, which he said was his hobby for a long time though he was able to afford it only after coming to the U.S. Gautam said

he would like to return to India in 2 years, as soon as his visa expired. Like Gautam, many of these professionals who are on a temporary visa try to enjoy their life to the fullest in America. Here their life is much simpler and more affordable thanks to a good income, but they said they wanted to return to India since they believed that their family life would be much better back in their own country.

Many of these professionals had made good investments in India. To the question about whether they sent remittances to their family members on a regular basis and for what purpose, all of them replied that they either sent remittances every month or every alternate month. A very interesting fact revealed by the in-depth interview was that respondents who were single, especially single females, sent huge sums of money back home. Single females sent around 60-70% of their monthly salary to India, while single males sent around 50-60% of the income. This percentage of remittances declines tremendously (around 10-20%) once these professionals started a family in America, especially after the birth of a child. None of these professionals had made any investments in the U.S., but many of them had bought houses or condos in big cities of India. Thus, the most common reason for sending remittances was buying a house in India and to save for the future.

Another interesting factor revealed from the interviews was about their work, and where they saw themselves in the hierarchy ten years from now. Many of the respondents laughed at the question and said they did not know; and, they did not feel they belonged to any position in State Farm. This lack of a sense of belonging can be attributed to their position in the company. These professionals work here on a contractual basis and are part of the technical side of the work force where there is no growth for contractual workers after a few levels. If these professionals want promotion to management positions, they have to become U.S. citizens, which is not an easy process. When asked about their preference for their position within the

company, there was a contradiction among the respondents. A few said that they did not want to stay in the U.S., but enjoyed working in their technical team. Others said that they would love to be in a management positions, but it was not possible with their visa status. So, they either had to apply for citizenship or return to India.

Analysis of Transnational Activities

"You can take the man out of the country but you cannot take the country out of the man." The findings below indicate that this maxim holds true for the Indian professional IT workers in the sample. Though they live in the U.S. and work for a U.S. corporation, workers in the sample practice and maintain their 'Indian-ness' by engaging in such activities as eating Indian food, wearing Indian attire, and playing sports popular in India (e.g. cricket), among other activities. Most have started to become transnational by simultaneously engaging in American/Western forms of such activities – eating Western food, wearing Western attire, playing sports popular in America (e.g. basketball). As I previously contended, immigrants become transnational once they begin to engage in these dual cultural practices on a regular basis. As previously noted, "regular" was operationalized as engaging in such activities at least once a week. Transnational practices were examined both outside of work (leisure time) and at work.

Analysis of Leisure Time Activities

This section presents a descriptive analysis of select cultural practices that Indian IT professionals would generally engage in outside of work, or during leisure time. Table 5.1 presents the frequency distributions of indicators measuring how frequently respondents' engaged in each type of Indian and American/Western cultural practice.

Table 5.1 Frequency of Engagement in Select Leisure Time Activities (Percentages are in parentheses)

Statements	Never	Several times a year	Once in a month	Several time a month	Once a week	Once a day	Several times a day	Total
Eat Indian food	0 (0)	6 (5.83)	3 (2.91)	5 (4.85)	5 (4.85)	12 (11.65)	72 (69.9)	103
Eat Western Food	0(0)	10 (9.71)	4 (3.88)	31 (30.1)	32 (31.07)	22 (21.36)	4 (3.88)	103
Wear Indian cloths	6 (6.06)	27 (27.27)	8 (8.08)	15 (15.15)	10 (10)	15(15.15)	18 (18.18)	99
Wear Western Attire	6 (6.32)	8 (8.42)	4 (4.21)	13 (13.68)	7 (7.37)	17 (17.9)	40 (42.1)	95
Speak native language	0 (0)	5 (4.9)	2 (1.96)	1 (0.98)	0 (0)	5 (4.9)	89 (87.25)	102
Speak English language	2 (2)	6 (6)	1 (1)	2 (2)	0 (0)	5 (5)	84 (84)	100
Play Indian Sports (Cricket)	13 (12.7)	26 (25.5)	4 (4)	12 (11.76)	25 (24.5)	2 (1.96)	20 (19.6)	102
Play American Sports football, baseball)	64 (65.3)	7 (7.14)	11 (11.2)	3 (3.06)	5 (5.1)	1 (1.02)	7 (7.14)	98
Watch Indian Sports (Cricket)	7 (6.8)	27 (26.21)	12 (11.6)	17 (16.5)	14 (13.6)	8 (7.77)	18 (17.5)	103
Watch American Sports (football, baseball)	24(23.5)	21 (20.6)	17 (16.7)	14 (13.7)	10 (10)	5 (5)	11 (11)	102
Discuss Indian Politics	8 (7.92)	12 (11.88)	12 (11.88)	20 (19.8)	10 (9.9)	17 (16.9)	22 (21.78)	101
Discuss American Politics	26 (25.5)	12 (11.76)	14 (12.73)	17 (16.67)	11 (10.78)	10 (9.8)	12 (11.76%)	102
Watch Indian TV serial	29 (29)	13 (13)	5 (5)	14 (14)	11 (11)	12 (12)	16 (16)	100
Watch American TV serials	16 (15.8)	11 (11%)	11 (11%)	15 (14.8%)	11 (11)	19 (19)	18 (17.8)	101
Watch Indian Movies	0 (0)	10 (10)	8 (8)	26 (25.7)	21 (21)	19 (19)	17 (17)	101
Watch American Movies	0 (0)	13 (13)	4 (4)	23 (23)	28 (28)	17 (17)	16 (16)	101
Listen to Western Music	5 (5)	10 (9.71%)	11 (11%)	15 (14.8%)	11 (11%)	23 (23)	26 (26)	101
Listen to Indian music	0 (0)	12 (12)	2 (1.96)	8 (8)	4 (4)	23 (23)	51 (51)	100
Visiting Indian Temple	7 (7)	30 (30)	30 (30)	11 (11%)	9 (9%)	6 (6)	7 (7.14)	100
Attending service at American Church	67 (67)	11 (11)	6 (6)	6 (6)	7 (7)	2 (2)	1 (1)	100
Socialize with American friends	5(4.9)	22 (21.57)	13 (12.75)	11 (10.78)	12(11.76)	9 (8.82)	30 (29.41)	102
Socialize with Indian friends	1(1)	10 (9.71)	2 (1.96)	13 (13)	9 (9)	9 (9)	58 (56.86)	102
Attend Indian cultural function	0 (0)	12 (11.76)	5 (4.9)	27 (26.47)	42 (41.2)	5 (4.9)	11 (10.7)	102
Attend American cultural functions	26(26)	41 (41)	14 (14)	11(11)	3 (3)	2 (2)	3 (3)	100
Attend meeting of American social organization	56 (54.9)	20 (19.6)	11 (11)	8 (7.8)	3 (2.94)	2 (1.96)	2 (1.96)	102
Attend meeting of Indian Social Organization	32 (54.2)	37 (36.2)	11 (11)	13 (13)	5 (5)	1 (1)	3 (3)	102

The frequency distributions indicate that overall, Indian IT professionals more frequently engage in Indian forms of the practices examined compared to American/Western forms. This is not surprising given that: (a) the vast majority workers in the sample did not move to the U.S. with the intention of becoming permanent migrants; and (b) approximately 85% had lived in the U.S. 6 years or less.

The most frequent Indian practice observed in the sample was speaking one's native language. In this regard, an estimated 94% spoke their native language at least once a day (see Table 5.1). The second most frequent practice was eating Indian food. An estimated 84% of the sample ate Indian food at least once a day with an additional 5% eating Indian food at least once a week (see Table 5.1). The third most frequent Indian practice was listening to Indian music. An estimated 84% of the sample listened to Indian music at least once a day and an additional 4% listened to such music at least once a week. The fourth most frequent Indian practice was socializing with Indian friends. An estimated 65.7% of the sample socialized with Indian friends at least once a day with an additional 8.8% socializing with Indian friends at least once a week (see Table 5.1). Finally, the fifth most frequent Indian practice was discussing Indian politics. An estimated 38.6% of the sample engaged in discussions about Indian politics at least once a day while an additional 9.9% engaged in such discussions at least once a week (see Table 5.1).

Among the American/Western practices examined, the most frequent practice was speaking English. An estimated 89% of the sample spoke English at least once a day (see Table 5.1). The second most frequent American/Western practice was wearing Western attire. An estimated 57% wore Western clothing every day with an additional 7% wearing it at least once a week (see Table 5.1). The third most frequent American/Western practice was listening to Western music. An estimated 48.5% listened to Western music at least once a day with an additional 10.9% listening to it at least once a week (see Table 5.1). The fourth most frequent

American/Western practice was socializing with American friends. An estimated 38.2% socialized with American friends at least once a day with an additional 11.8% socializing with American friends at least once a week (see Table 5.1). Finally, the fifth most frequent American/Western practice was watching American TV serials. An estimated 36.6% watched American TV serials every day with an additional 10.9% watching them at least once a week (see Table 5.1).

Identification of Transnational Leisure Time Practices

The extent to which each practice was transnational was determined by simultaneously examining the frequency of a specific Indian and American/Western practice. According to the operational definition employed in this study respondents that engage in both forms at least once a week are considered to be transnational in regard to that practice. Given the frequency scale used, the contingency tables are 7X7 with 49 cells, not counting the row marginal totals or column marginal totals. According to the operational definition, respondents in the following cells and combinations of categories represent transnational's in each of the tables: (5,5) Once week, Once a week; (5,6) Once a week, Once a day; (5,7) Once a week, Several times a day; (6,5) Once a day, Once a week; (6,6) Once a day, Once a day; (6,7) Once a day, Several times a week; (7,5) Several times a day, Once a week; (7,6) Several times a day, Once a day; and, (7,7) Several times a day, Several times a day. Table 5.2 cross-tabulates the frequency of eating Indian food and Western food.

Table 5.2 Cross-tabulation of Frequencies of Eating Indian Food and Western Food

(Percent of Total Sample in Parentheses)

	Eat Western food							
Eat Indian food	Never	Several Times a Year	Once a Month	Several time a month	Once a week	Once a Day	Several times a day	Total
Never	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Several Times a Year	0 (0)	4 (3.88)	1 (0.97)	0 (0)	1 (0.97)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (5.83)
Once a Month	0 (0)	2 (1.94)	0 (0)	1 (0.97)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (2.91)
Several time a month	0 (0)	1 (0.97)	0 (0)	3 (2.91)	1 (0.97)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (4.85)
Once a week	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.97)	0 (0)	3 (2.91)	1 (0.97)	5 (4.85)
Once a Day	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.97)	6 (5.83)	5 (4.85)	0 (0)	12 11.65)
Several times a day	0 (0)	3 (2.91)	3 (2.91)	25 (24.27)	24 (23.3)	14 (13.59)	3 (2.91)	72 (69.9)
Total	0 (0)	10 (9.71)	4 (3.88)	31 (30.1)	32 (31.07)	22 21.36	4 (3.88)	103 (100)

The cross-tabulation reveals that very few respondents (3/103) ate both Indian and American food several times a day (see Table 5.2). The strongest tendency was for respondents to eat Indian food more than Western food. 86.4% of the sample (89/103) ate Indian food at least once a week compared to 56.3% (58/103) who ate Western food at least once a week. Overall, 56 of the 103 (54.4%) respondents in the sample were transnational in their diet in that they ate both Indian and Western at least once a week. An additional 25 (24.3%) respondents ate Indian food several times a day and Western food several times a month. Thus, these respondents were borderline transnational in terms of their diet. Table 5.3 cross-tabulates the frequencies of wearing Indian and Western attire.

Table 5.3 Cross-tabulation of Frequencies of Wearing Indian Attire and Western Attire (Percent of Total Sample in Parentheses)

	Wear Western attire							
Wear Indian attire	Never	Several Times a Year	Once a Month	Several time a month	Once a week	Once a Day	Several times a day	Total
Never	2 (2.17)	1 (1.09)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.17)	5 (5.43)
Several Times a Year	0 (0)	4 (4.35)	1 (1.09)	1 (1.09)	1 (1.09)	6 (6.52)	10 (10.87)	23 (25)
Once a Month	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 2.17)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.17)	4 (4.35)	8 (8.7)
Several time a month	0 (0)	1 (1.09)	0 (0)	6 (6.52)	0 (0)	1 (1.09)	7 (7.61)	15 (16.3)
Once a week	0 (0)	1 (1.09)	0 (0)	1 (1.09)	2 (2.17)	3 (3.26)	3 (3.26)	10 (10.87)
Once a Day	2 (2.17)	1 (1.09)	0 (0)	1 (1.09)	1 (1.09)	4 (4.35)	5 (5.43)	14 (15.22)
Several times a day	2 (2.17)	0 (0)	1 (1.09)	3 (3.26	3 (3.26	1 (1.09)	7 (7.61)	17 (18.48)
Total	6 (6.52)	8 (8.7)	4 (4.35)	12 (13.04)	7 (7.61)	17 (18.48)	38 (41.3)	92 (100)

The cross-tabulation suggests that western attire is more common among IT professionals even in their leisure time. 78.3% of the sample (72/92) wore western attire at least once a week compared to 55.4% (51/92) who wore Indian attire at least once a week (see Table 5.3). Overall, 29 of 92 (31.5%) of the respondents were transnational in their clothing preferences in that they wore both Western and traditional Indian attire at least once a week. Table 5.4 cross-tabulates the frequencies of speaking English and the native language of the respondents.

Table 5.4 Cross-tabulation of Frequencies Speaking Native Language and English (Percent of Total Sample in Parentheses)

	Speak English Language							
Speak Native Language	Never	Several Times a Year	Once a Month	Several time a month	Once a week	Once a Day	Several times a day	Total
Never	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Several Times a Year	0 (0)	5 (5.05)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (5.05)
Once a Month	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Several time a month	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 1.01	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 1.01	2 2.02
Once a week	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 1.01	1 1.01
Once a Day	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 1.01	4 4.04	5 5.05
Several times a day	2 (2.02)	1 (1.01)	1 (1.01)	1 (1.01)	0 (0)	4 (4.04)	77 (77.78)	86 (86.87)
Total	2 (2.02)	6 (6.06)	1 (1.01)	2 (2.02)	0 (0)	5 5.05	83 (83.84)	99 100

The cross-tabulation indicates that the majority of Indian IT professionals in the sample speak both their native language and English on a frequent basis. 77.8% of respondents reported that they spoke their native language and English several times a day (see Table 5.4) Overall, 87.9% of the respondents were transnational in their linguistic practices in that they spoke both languages at least once a day. Table 5.5 cross-tabulate the frequencies of playing Indian sports and playing American sports by the respondents.

Table 5.5 Cross-tabulation of Frequencies of Playing Indian Sports and American Sports (Percent of Total Sample in Parentheses)

Play Indian Sports	Play American Sports							
	Never	Several Times a Year	Once a Month	Several time a month	Once a week	Once a Day	Several times a day	Total
Never	13 (13.27)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	13 (13.27)
Several Times a Year	19 (19.39)	4 (4.08)	0 (0	1 (1.02	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	24 (24.49)
Once a Month	3 (3.06)	0 0	1 1.02	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (4.08)
Several time a month	7 (7.14)	1 (1.02	3 (3.06	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0	1 (1.02	12 (12.24)
Once a week	11 (11.22)	1 (1.02)	5 (5.1)	2 (2.04)	3 (3.06)	1 (1.02)	1 (1.02)	24 (24.49)
Once a Day	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.04)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.04)
Several times a day	11 (11.22)	1 (1.02)	2 (2.04)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (5.1)	19 (19.39)
Total	64 (65.31)	7 (7.14)	11 (11.22)	3 (3.06)	5 (5.1)	1 1.02)	7 (7.14)	98 100)

The cross-tabulation in Table 5.5 indicates that respondents played Indian sports more frequently than American sports. 86.7% (85/98) of the respondents reported playing an Indian sport during the previous year while only 34.7% (34/98) reported playing an American sport during the same time period (see Table 5.5). 65.3% of the sample reported that they never played an American sport. Only 12.2% (12/98) of the sample was transnational in playing sports in that they played both Indian and American sports at least once a week. Table 5.6 cross tabulate the frequencies of watching sports (Indian and American) by the respondents.

Table 5.6 Cross-tabulation of Frequencies of Watching Indian Sports and American Sports (Percent of Total Sample in Parentheses)

	Watch American Sports							
Watch Indian Sports	Never	Several Times a Year	Once a Month	Several time a month	Once a week	Once a Day	Several times a day	Total
Never	5 (4.9)	0 (0)	1 (0.98)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.98)	0 (0)	7 (6.86)
Several Times a Year	8 (7.84)	13 (12.75)	2 (1.96)	3 (2.94)	1 (0.98)	0 (0)	0 (0)	27 (26.5)
Once a Month	3 (2.94)	3 (2.94)	4 (3.92)	1 (0.98)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.98)	12 (11.7)
Several time a month	2 (1.96)	4 (3.92)	4 (3.92)	4 (3.92)	2 (1.96)	0 (0)	1 (0.98)	17 (16.6)
Once a week	1 (0.98	0 0	4 (3.92)	3 (2.94)	4 (3.92)	1 (0.98)	1 (0.98)	14 (13.7)
Once a Day	2 (1.96)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (1.96)	3 (2.94)	0 (0)	7 (6.86)
Several times a day	3 (2.94)	1 (0.98)	2 (1.96)	3 2.94)	1 (0.98)	0 (0)	8 (7.84)	18 (17.65
Total	24 (23.53)	21 (20.59)	17 (16.67)	14 (13.73)	10 (9.8)	5 (4.9)	11 (10.78)	102 (100)

Table 5.6 reveals that a larger number of respondents watch Indian sports compared to watching American sports. 93.1% (95/102) of the respondents had watched an Indian sport during the previous year compared to 76.5% (78/102) who had watched an American sport during this time frame (see Table 5.6). Overall, 19.6% of the sample (20/102) was found to be transnational in watching sports as they watched both Indian and Western sports at least once a week. Table 5.7 cross-tabulates the frequencies of the discussion of Indian politics and Western Politics by the respondents.

Table 5.7 Cross-tabulation of Frequencies of Discussing Indian Politics and Western Politics (Percent of Total Sample in Parentheses)

	Discuss American Politics							
Discuss Indian Politics	Never	Several Times a Year	Once a Month	Several time a month	Once a week	Once a Day	Several times a day	Total
Never	5 (5)	1 (1)	1 (1)	0 (0)	1 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	8 (8)
Several Times a Year	3 (3)	3 (3)	5 (5)	1 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	12 (12)
Once a Month	6 (6)	4 (4)	0 (0)	2 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	12 (12)
Several time a month	5 (5)	3 (3)	3 (3)	7 (7)	2 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	20 (20)
Once a week	4 (4)	0 (0)	1 (1)	3 (3)	1 (1)	1 (1)	0 (0)	10 (10)
Once a Day	1 (1)	1 (1)	3 (3)	2 (2)	3 (3)	5 (5)	1 (1)	16 (16)
Several times a day	1 (1)	0 (0)	1 (1)	2 (2)	4 (4)	4 (4)	10 (10)	22 (22)
Total	25 (25)	12 (12)	14 (14	17 (17)	11 (11)	10 (10)	11 (11)	100 (100)

The cross-tabulation indicates that respondents discuss Indian politics more frequently than American politics. 92% of the respondents (92/100) had discussed Indian politics during the previous year compared to 75% (75/100) who discussed American politics during this time frame (see Table 5.7). 38% (38/100) of the respondents discussed Indian politics on a daily basis compared to 21% (21/10) who discussed American politics on a daily basis. Overall, 29% of sample (29/100) were found to be transnational in their political deliberations in that they discussed both Indian and American politics at least once a week. Table 5.8 cross-tabulates the frequencies of watching Indian and American TV serials by the respondents.

Table 5.8 Cross-tabulation of Frequencies of Watching Indian and American TV serials (Percent of Total Sample in Parentheses)

Watch Indian TV Serials	Watch American TV Serials							
	Never	Several Times a Year	Once a Month	Several time a month	Once a week	Once a Day	Several times a day	Total
Never	11 (11.11)	5 (5.05)	1 (1.01)	5 (5.05)	4 (4.04)	1 (1.01)	2 (2.02)	29 (29.29)
Several Times a Year	0 (0)	5 (5.05)	2 (2.02)	1 (1.01	1 (1.01)	3 (3.03)	0 (0)	12 (12.12)
Once a Month	1 (1.01)	0 (0)	2 (2.02)	1 (1.01)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.01)	5 (5.05)
Several time a month	2 (2.02)	0 (0)	2 (2.02)	4 (4.04)	2 (2.02)	3 (3.03)	2 (2.02)	14 (14.14)
Once a week	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.02)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (6.06)	2 (2.02)	11 (11.11)
Once a Day	2 (2.02)	0 (0)	1 (2.02)	1 (1.01)	3 (3.03)	5 (5.05)	3 (3.03)	12 (12.12)
Several times a day	0 (0)	1 (1.01)	1 (1.01)	2 (2.02)	(3.03)	2 (2.02))	8 (8.08)	16 (16.16
Total	16 (16.16)	11 (11.11)	11 (11.11)	14 (14.14)	10 (10.1)	20 (20.2)	17 (17.17)	99 (100)

Table 5.8 indicates that Indian IT professionals in the sample watch American TV serials more frequently than they watch Indian TV serials. 37.4% of the sample (37/99) watches American TV serials on a daily basis compared to 28.3% (27/99) who watch Indian TV serials daily (see Table 5.8). Overall, 29.3% of sample (29/99) was found to transnational in their television viewing in that they watched both American and Indian TV serials at least once a week. Table 5.9 cross-tabulate the frequencies of and watching Indian Bollywood movies and American Hollywood movies by the respondents.

Table 5.9 Cross-tabulation of Frequencies of Watching Indian Movies and American Movies (Percent of Total Sample in Parentheses)

	Watching American Movies							
Watching Indian Movies	Never	Several Times a Year	Once a Month	Several time a month	Once a week	Once a Day	Several times a day	Total
Never	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Several Times a Year	0 (0)	8 (8.08)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.01)	0 (0)	9 (9.9)
Once a Month	0 (0)	1 (1.01)	3 (3.03)	4 (4.04)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	8 (8.08
Several time a month	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.01)	14 (14.14)	10 (10.1)	1 (1.01)	0 (0)	26 (26.26)
Once a week	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.02)	13 (13.13)	3 (3.03)	3 (3.03)	21 (21.21)
Once a Day	0 (0)	1 (1.01)	0 (0)	1 (1.01)	4 (4.04)	11 (11.11)	4 (4.04)	18 (18.18)
Several times a day	0 (0)	1 (1.01)	0 (0)	2 (2.02	1 (1.01)	1 (1.01)	12 (12.12)	17 (17.17)
Total	0 (0)	11 (11.11)	4 (4.04)	23 (23.23)	28 (28.28)	17 (17.17)	16 (16.16)	99 (100)

The cross-tabulation in Table 5.9 reveals that there is only a slightly higher tendency among the Indian IT professionals in the sample to watch Indian movies over American movies. None of the respondents were found to never watch either type of movie (see Table 5.9). 35.4% of the sample (35/99) reported that they watched Indian movies on a daily basis compared to 33.3% (33/99) who reported watching American movies on a daily basis. Overall, 52.5% of the sample (52/99) was found to be transnational in their movie watching in that they watch both

Indian and American movies at least once a week. Table 5.10 cross-tabulates the frequencies of listening to Music (Indian and American) by the respondents.

Table 5.10 Cross-tabulation of Frequencies of Listening Indian and Western Music (Percent of Total Sample in Parentheses)

	Listening to American Music							
Listening to Indian Music	Never	Several Times a Year	Once a Month	Several time a month	Once a week	Once a Day	Several times a day	Total
Never	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Several Times a Year	1 (1.01)	5 (5.05)	3 (3.03)	0 (0	1 (1.01)	2 (2.02)	0 (0)	12 (12.12)
Once a Month	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.01)	1 (1.01)	0 (0)	2 (2.02))
Several time a month	2 (2.02)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (4.04)	0 (0)	1 (1.01)	0 (0)	8 (8.08)
Once a week	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.02)	1 (1.01)	1 (1.01)	0 (0)	4 (4.04)
Once a Day	0 (0)	2 (2)	3 (3.03)	6 (6.06)	2 (2.02)	10 (10.1)	0 (0)	23 (23.23)
Several times a day	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4.04)	3 (3.03)	6 (6.06)	7 (7.07)	25 (25.25)	50 (50.51)
Total	5 (5.05)	10 (10.1)	10 (10.1)	15 (15.15)	11 (11.11)	22 (22.22)	26 (26.26)	99 (100)

Table 5.10 indicates that listening to music is one of the more frequented activities of these professionals, although they clearly Indian music over Western music. 83.8% of the sample (83/99) listens to Indian music every day compared to 48.5% (48/99) who listen to American music on a daily basis (see Table 5.10). Overall, 52.5% of the respondents (52/99) in the sample were found to be transnational in music listening as they listened to both Indian and Western music at least once a week.

Table 5.11 Cross-tabulation of Frequencies of Attending Indian Religious Services at Temples and Western Religious Services at Church (Percent of Total Sample in Parentheses)

Visiting Indian Temple	Attending Service at American Church							
	Never	Several Times a Year	Once a Month	Several time a month	Once a week	Once a Day	Several times a day	Total
Never	5 (5.1)	1 (1.02)	0 (0)	1 (1.02)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	7 (7.14)
Several Times a Year	23 (23.47)	4 (4.08)	1 (1.02)	1 (1.02)	1 (1.02)	0 (0)	0 (0)	30 (30.61)
Once a Month	21 (21.43)	2 (2.04)	2 (2.04	0 0	3 (3.06)	0 (0)	0 (0)	28 (28.57)
Several time a month	7 (7.14)	3 (3.06)	0 (0)	1 (1.02)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	11 (11.22)
Once a week	5 (5.1)	1 (1.02)	2 (2.04)	1 (1.02)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	9 9.18
Once a Day	2 (2.04)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.04)	2 (2.04)	0 (0)	6 (6.12)
Several times a day	3 (3.06)	0 (0)	1 (1.02)	2 (2.04)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.02)	7 (7.14)
Total	66 (67.35)	11 (11.22)	6 (6.12)	6 (6.12)	6 (6.12)	2 (2.04)	1 (1.02)	98 (100)

The cross-tabulation indicates that attending religious service is a relatively infrequent activity for the respondents in the sample. However, among those who attend religious services, there is a stronger tendency for them to visit an Indian temple versus an American church. 22.4% of the sample (22/98) reported visiting an Indian temple at least once a week compared to 9.2% (9/98) who attended an American church on this basis (see Table 5.11). Overall, 5.1% of the respondents in the sample (5/98) were found to be transnational in attending religious services. Table 5.12 cross-tabulates the frequencies of socialization with Indian and American friends.

Table 5.12 Cross-tabulation of Frequencies of Socialization with Indian and American Friends (Percent of Total Sample in Parentheses)

Socialization with Indian Friends	Socialization with American Friends							
	Never	Several Times a Year	Once a Month	Several time a month	Once a week	Once a Day	Several times a day	Total
Never	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.98)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.98)
Several Times a Year	1 (0.98)	7 (6.86)	2 (1.96)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	10 (9.8)
Once a Month	0 (0)	1 (0.98)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.98)	2 (1.96)
Several time a month	0 (0)	3 (2.94)	4 (3.92)	2 (1.96)	2 (1.96)	0 (0)	2 (1.96)	13 (12.75)
Once a week	0 (0)	2 (1.96)	1 (0.98)	3 (2.94)	3 (2.94)	0 (0)	0 (0)	9 (8.82)
Once a Day	0 (0)	1 (0.98	0 (0)	1 (0.98)	2 (1.96	4 (3.92)	1 0.98)	9 (8.82)
Several times a day	4 (3.92)	8 (7.84)	6 (5.88)	4 (3.92)	5 (4.9)	5 (4.9)	26 (25.5)	58 (56.86)
Total	5 (4.9)	22 (21.57)	13 (12.75)	11 (10.78)	12 (11.76)	9 (8.82)	30 (29.4)	102 (100)

Table 5.12 reveals that the vast majority of Indian IT professionals in the sample socialize with both Indian and American friends, although they social with Indian friends more frequently. Less than 1% of the sample (1/102) reported that they never socialize with Indian friends while 4.9% (5/102) reported they never socialize with American friends (see Table 5.12). Further, 65.7% (67/102) socialized with Indian friends on a daily basis compared to 38.2% (39/102) who socialized with American friends at this frequency. Overall, 45.1% of the sample (46/102) was found to be transnational in their socializing activities in that they socialized with both Indian friends and American friends at least once a week. Table 5.13 cross-tabulates the frequencies of attending cultural functions.

Table 5.13 Cross-tabulation of Frequencies of Attending Indian Cultural Function and American Cultural Function (Percent of Total Sample in Parentheses)

Attending Indian Cultural Function	Attending American Cultural Function							
	Never	Several Times a Year	Once a Month	Several time a month	Once a week	Once a Day	Several times a day	Total
Never	3 (3)	2 2)	1 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (6)
Several Times a Year	14 (14)	22 22)	4 (4)	1 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	41 (41)
Once a Month	3 (3)	4 (4)	3 3)	0 (0)	1 (1)	1 (1)	0 (0)	12 (12)
Several time a month	3 (3)	9 (9)	5 (5)	6 (6)	1 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	24 (24)
Once a week	1 (1)	3 3)	0 (0)	1 (1)	1 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (6)
Once a Day	0 (0)	1 (1)	0 (0)	2 (2)	0 (0)	1 (1)	0 0	4 (4)
Several times a day	2 (2)	0 (0)	1 (1)	1 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	7 (7)
Total	26 26)	41 41)	14 (14)	11 (11)	3 (3)	2 (2)	3 (3)	100 (100

The cross-tabulation indicates that there was a stronger tendency for Indian IT professionals in the sample to attend Indian cultural functions compared to American cultural functions. However, they do not attend either type of cultural functions on a frequent basis. 94% of the sample (94/100) attended an Indian cultural function during the past year, but only 17% (17/100) reported attend such a function on a weekly basis (see Table 5.13). In comparison, 74% (74/100) reported attending an American cultural function during the past year while 8% reported attending an American cultural function on a weekly basis. Overall, just 2% of the respondents (2/100) were found to be transnational in their attendance of cultural functions in that they attended both Indian and American cultural functions at least once a week. Table 5.14 cross-tabulates the frequencies of attending meetings of social organizations.

Table 5.14 Cross-tabulation of Frequencies of Attending Meetings of Indian Social Organizations and American Social Organizations (Percent of Total Sample in Parentheses)

Attending Meeting of Indian Organization	Attending Meeting of American Organization							
	Never	Several Times a Year	Once a Month	Several time a month	Once a week	Once a Day	Several times a day	Total
Never	28 (27.45)	2 (1.96)	0 (0)	1 (0.98)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.98)	32 (31.37)
Several Times a Year	19 (18.63)	13 (12.75)	4 (3.92)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.98	0 (0)	37 (36.27)
Once a Month	3 (2.94)	3 (2.94)	4 (3.92)	1 (0.98)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	11 (10.78)
Several time a month	5 (4.9)	1 (0.98)	3 (2.94)	4 (3.92)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	13 (12.75)
Once a week	0 (0)	1 (0.98	0 (0)	1 (0.98)	3 (2.94)	0 0	0 (0)	5 (4.9)
Once a Day	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0	1 (0.98)	0 (0)	1 (0.98)
Several times a day	1 (0.98	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.98)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.98)	3 (2.94
Total	56 (54.9)	20 (19.61)	11 (10.78)	8 (7.84)	3 (2.94)	2 (1.96)	2 (1.96)	102 (100)

Table 5.14 indicates that Indian IT Professionals in the sample infrequently attend meetings of social organizations, although there is a slightly higher tendency for them to attend meetings of Indian social organizations. 54.9% of the respondents (56/102) never attended a meeting of an American social organization compared to 31.4% (32/102) who never attended a meeting of an Indian social organization (see Table 5.14). In combination, 58.8% (60/102) of the sample never attended a meeting of either type. Among those who did attend such meetings, the modal category for both variables was to attend "several times a year." In total, 4.9% of the

sample (5/102) were found to be transnational in their participation in social organizations in that they attended meetings of both Indian and American social organization meetings at least once a week.

Analysis of Practices at Work

This section presents a descriptive analysis of select work practices used by Indian IT professionals in the study. The frequency distributions of the work practices that were measured are displayed in in Table 5.15.

Table 5.15 Frequency of Engagement in Select Work Activities (Percentages are in parentheses)

Statement	Never	Several times a year	Once in a month	Several time a month	Once a week	Once a day	Several times a day	Total
Engage in discussion with Indian co workers	1 (0.98)	4 (3.92)	2 (1.96)	11 (10.78)	5 (4.9)	8(7.8)	71 (69.6)	102
Engage in discussion with American coworkers	1 (0.98)	4 (3.92)	2 (1.96)	10 (9.8)	7 (6.8)	17(16.6)	61 (59.8)	102
Work in a project with Indian co-workers	2 (1.96)	5 (4.9)	3 (2.94)	10 (9.8)	5 (4.9)	9 (8.82)	68 (66.6)	102
Work in a project with American co-workers	1 (0.98)	3 (2.9)	2(1.96)	10 (9.8)	5 (4.9)	9 (8.82)	71 (70)	101
Socialize with American co-workers outside of work	11 (10.8)	16 (15.8)	13 (12.87)	17 (16.83)	21(20.7)	3 (2.97)	20 (19.8)	101
Socialize with Indian co-workers outside of work	4 (4)	10 (10)	6(6)	15 (15)	20 (20)	9 (9)	36 (36)	100
Celebrate Indian holidays at work	15(14.7)	45 (44)	14 (13.7)	13 (12.7)	4 (3.9)	2 (1.96)	9 (8.8)	102
Celebrate American holidays at work	13(12.8)	49(48.5)	13(12.8)	12 (11.8)	3(2.9)	1 (0.99)	10 (9.9)	101

The frequencies indicate that among Indian IT professionals, the frequency of engagement in some work practices is evenly balanced between Indians and American forms while there is greater imbalance in others. For example, 77.5% of the respondents reported that they engaged in discussion with Indian co-workers on a daily basis compared to 76.4% who engage in discussion with American workers on this basis (see Table 5.15). 75.5% (77/102) reported that they work in projects with Indian co-workers compared to 78.4% (80/102) who reported they work in projects with American co-workers on a daily basis. 85.3% (87/102) had celebrated an Indian holiday at work sometime during the past year compared to 87.2% (88/101) who had celebrated an American holiday at work. Celebrating holidays at work was the least frequent work activity that was measured. In contrast, 65% (65/100) socialized with Indian co-workers outside of work at least once a week compared to 43.6% (44/101) that socialized with American co-workers outside of work.

Identification of Transnational Work Time Practices

The extent to which each practice was transnational was again determined by cross-tabulating the frequencies of the Indian versus American of each of the 4 practices measured. Table2 5.16, 5.17, 5.18 and 5.19 present the cross-tabulations of the frequency of work related practices.

Table 5.16 Cross-tabulation of Frequencies of Engaging in Discussion with Indian and American Co-workers (Percent of Total Sample in Parentheses)

Discussion with Indian Co-workers	Discussion with American Co-workers							
	Never	Several Times a Year	Once a Month	Several time a month	Once a week	Once a Day	Several times a day	Total
Never	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.98)	1 (0.98)
Several Times a Year	0 (0)	2 1.96)	1 0.98)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.98)	4 (3.92)
Once a Month	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.98)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 0.98)	2 (1.96)
Several time a month	0 (0)	1 (0.98)	0 (0)	8 (7.84)	0 0	1 (0.98)	1 0.98)	11 (10.7)
Once a week	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (3.92)	1 (0.98)	0 (0)	5 (4.9)
Once a Day	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.98)	5 (4.9)	2 (1.96)	8 (7.84)
Several times a day	1 (0.98)	1 (0.98)	0 (0)	2 (1.96)	2 (1.96)	9 (8.82)	55 (53.92)	71 (69.6)
Total	1 (0.98)	4 (3.92)	2 (1.96)	10 (9.8)	7 (6.86)	16 (15.69)	61 (59.8)	102 (100)

The cross-tabulation reveals that 54.9% of the respondents (55/102) engaged in discussions with their American and Indian co-workers several times a day (see Table 5.16). Also, 79 of 102 77.5%) of the respondents in the sample were transnational in their discussions at their work place as they engaged in discussions with their American and Indian co-workers at least once a week. An additional 7.8% sample can be considered borderline transnational as they engaged in discussions with their American and Indian co-workers several times a month.

Table 5.17 Cross-tabulation of Frequencies of Working in a Project with Indian and American Co-workers (Percent of Total Sample in Parentheses)

Working in a Project with Indian Co-workers	Working in a Project with an American Co-workers							
	Never	Several Times a Year	Once a Month	Several time a month	Once a week	Once a Day	Several times a day	Total
Never	1 (0.99)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.99)	2 (1.98)
Several Times a Year	0 (0)	3 (2.97)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.99)	0 (0)	1 (0.99	5 (4.95)
Once a Month	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.99)	1 (0.99)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.99)	3 (2.97)
Several time a month	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (5.94)	2 (1.98)	1 (0.99)	1 (0.99)	10 (9.9)
Once a week	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.99)	1 (0.99)	0 (0)	1 (0.99)	2 (1.98)	5 (4.95)
Once a Day	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.99)	0 (0)	4 (3.96)	3 (2.97)	8 (7.92)
Several times a day	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.99)	2 (1.98)	3 (2.97)	62 (61.39)	68 (67.33)
Total	1 (0.99)	3 (2.97)	2 (1.98)	10 (9.9)	5 (4.95)	9 (8.91)	71 (70.3)	101 (100)

Table 5.17 clearly shows that a majority of the respondents (62/101) work with their American and Indian co-workers in projects several times a day. Overall, 77 of 101 (76.2%) of the respondents in the sample were transnational in their work projects as they worked in projects with both Indian and American co-workers at least once a week.

Table 5.18 Cross-tabulation of Frequencies of Socialization with Indian and American Co-workers Outside of Work (Percent of Total Sample in Parentheses)

Socialize with Indian Co-workers	Socialization with American Co-workers							
	Never	Several Times a Year	Once a Month	Several time a month	Once a week	Once a Day	Several times a day	Total
Never	3 (3)	1 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (4)
Several Times a Year	0 (0)	6 (6)	3 (3)	0 (0)	1 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	10 (10)
Once a Month	1 (1)	1 (1)	0 (0)	2 (2)	2 (2)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (6)
Several time a month	2 (2)	2 (2)	3 (3)	5 (5)	3 (3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	15 (15)
Once a week	3 (3)	2 (2)	2 (2)	1 (1)	9 (9)	1 (1)	2 2)	20 (20)
Once a Day	0 (0)	1 (1)	2 (2)	2 (2)	4 (4)	0 (0)	0 (0)	9 (9)
Several times a day	2 (2)	3 (3)	3 (3)	7 (7)	2 (2)	1 (1)	18 (18)	36 (36)
Total	11 (11)	16 (16)	13 (13)	17 (17)	21 (21)	2 (2)	20 (20)	100 (100)

Table 5.18 discusses socialization activities of the respondents with Indian and American co-workers outside the work. The cross-tabulation suggests that 37% (37/100) of the respondents were transnational in their socialization behavior with co-workers outside of work in that they socialized with both American and Indian co-workers outside of work at least once a week.

Table 5.19 Cross-tabulation of Frequencies of Celebration of Holidays at Work Place - Indian and American (Percent of Total Sample in Parentheses)

Celebrate Indian holidays at work	Celebrate American holidays at work							
	Never	Several Times a Year	Once a Month	Several time a month	Once a week	Once a Day	Several times a day	Total
Never	7 (6.93)	6 (5.94)	1 (0.99)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.99)	15 (14.85)
Several Times a Year	3 (2.97)	38 (37.62)	1 (0.99)	2 (1.98)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.99)	45 (44.55)
Once a Month	0 (0)	2 (1.98)	10 (9.9)	2 (1.98)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	14 (13.86)
Several time a month	0 (0)	3 (2.97)	0 (0)	7 (6.93)	1 (0.99)	0 (0)	1 (0.99)	12 (11.88)
Once a week	1 (0.99)	0 (0)	1 (0.99)	0 (0)	1 (0.99)	0 (0)	1 (0.99)	4 (3.96)
Once a Day	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.99)	1 (0.99)	0 (0)	0 (0	2 (1.98)
Several times a day	2 1.98	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.99)	6 (5.94)	9 (8.91)
Total	13 (12.8)	49 (48.51)	13 (12.87)	12 (11.88)	3 (2.97)	1 (0.99)	10 (9.9)	101 100

The cross-tabulation reveals that celebrating holidays was not very frequent activity among the sample. Only 9.9% (10/101) of the respondents were transnational in their holiday celebrations as they celebrated both Indian and American festivals at least once a week. 79.2% (80/101) of the respondents reported celebrating both Indian and American holidays at work at least once during the past year.

Summary of Frequency of Transnational Practices

Tables 5.20 and 5.21 summarizes the leisure time and work practices that were examined and the % of respondents who were found to be transnational on each practice.

Table 5.20 Frequency of Transnational Leisure Time Practices

Variables	# of Transnationals	Percent	Total
Dietary practices	56	54.37	103
Clothing/attire	29	31.52	92
Language	87	87.88	99
Playing sports	12	12.24	98
Watching sports	20	20.59	102
Political discussion	29	29	100
Watching TV	29	29.29	99
Movie	49	49.49	99
Music	52	52.53	99
Religious attendance	5	5.1	98
Socialization with friends	46	45.1	102
Attending cultural function	5	5	100
Meetings of social organization	5	4.9	102

Table 5.21 Frequency of Transnational Work Practice

Variable	# of Transnationals	Percent	Total
Engage in discussion at work	80	78.43	102
Work in project together	77	76.24	101
Socialization with Co-workers	37	37	100
Celebration of Holidays	10	9.90	101

Table 5.20 that being bi-lingual were by far the most frequent transnational leisure time practice. Over 87% of respondents were found to be regularly bi-lingual in their linguistic practices. The next most frequent transnational practices included diet, listening to music and watching movies respectively. Table 5.21 indicates that most frequent transnational practice at work was engaging in work discussion (78.4% were transnational), closely followed by working in projects 9 (76.2% were transnational).

Is there a Structure to Transnational Practices? Results of an Exploratory Factor Analysis

As noted in Chapter 4, the frequency scores for each Indian and corresponding American/Western practice were summed to create a composite transnationalism score that ranged from 0-12, with 12 indicating the highest level of transnationalism. An exploratory factor analysis was conducted on the composite transnationalism scores for all the leisure time and work practices examined above. The principal axis factoring method was used to extract initial factors. The results of the initial factor extraction are displayed in Table 5.22. These results indicate that it was necessary to extract 17 factors in order to explain all the variation in the composite transnationalism scores of the 13 leisure time and 4 work practices measured. Only 4 of these factors were found to have an Eigenvalue > 1.0, and therefore could be considered to be theoretically meaningful. Together, these 4 factors explained 66.8% of the variance in the set of variables. Figure 5.1 displays a Scree plot of the Eigenvalues. The decline in Eigenvalues levels off after the 4th factor, which supports the 4-factor solution.

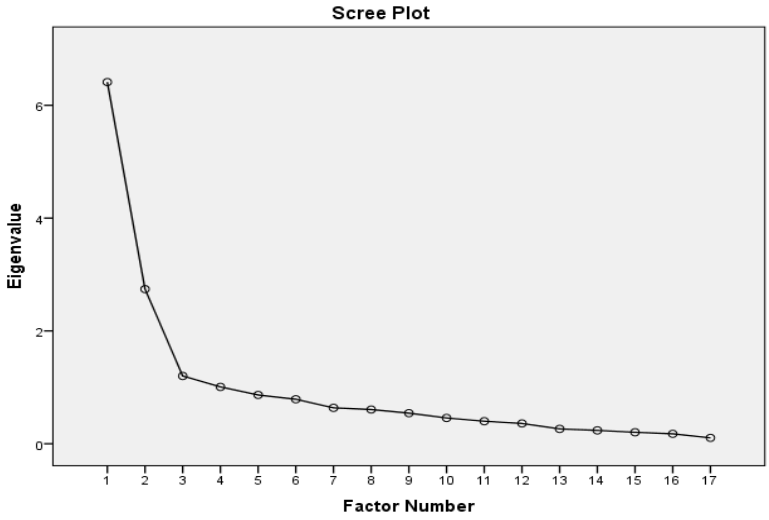
Table 5.22 Extraction of Initial Factors Using Principal Axis Factoring

Total Variance Explained

Factor	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	6.411	37.712	37.712	6.017	35.393	35.393	2.983	17.548	17.548
2	2.741	16.124	53.836	2.396	14.094	49.487	2.726	16.034	33.582
3	1.201	7.068	60.904	.887	5.215	54.702	2.277	13.396	46.978
4	1.007	5.925	66.829	.661	3.891	58.592	1.974	11.614	58.592
5	.865	5.089	71.918						
6	.789	4.641	76.559						
7	.637	3.746	80.305						
8	.606	3.565	83.870						
9	.542	3.190	87.060						
10	.457	2.689	89.749						
11	.400	2.351	92.100						
12	.359	2.114	94.214						
13	.263	1.547	95.761						
14	.237	1.396	97.157						
15	.203	1.195	98.352						
16	.176	1.034	99.386						
17	.104	.614	100.000						

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.

Figure 5.1 Scree Plot for Initial Factor Extraction



The un-rotated matrix of factor loadings is displayed in Table 5.23. The rotated matrix of factor loadings using Varimax rotation is displayed in Table 5.24. Of these 2 matrices, a clearer structural pattern is found in the rotated matrix. The variables with the highest factor loadings on factor 1 include the transnationalism scores for religious practice, attending cultural functions, attending meetings of social organizations, socializing with co-workers, and celebrating holidays at work (see Table 5.24). A common thread among these practices is that they represent voluntary activities that are coordinated through formal organizations, whether it be the corporation, church or a voluntary organization. Respondents in the sample who were transnational in their participation in one of these activities also tended to be transnational in their participation in the other activities.

The variables with the highest loadings on factor 2 include the transnationalism scores for diet, attire, language and listening to music (see Table 5.24). A common thread among these practices is that they represent activities that are coordinated at the individual level. While choices in regard to these activities may be influenced by the family or network of peers, they are coordinated by the individual. Respondents in the sample who were transnational in their participation in one of these activities also tended to be transnational in their participation in the other activities.

The variables with the highest loadings on factor 3 include the transnationalism scores for playing sports and watching sports (see Table 5.24). In effect, if a respondent was transnational in regard to playing sports, he/she was also transnational in watching sports. The fact that no other variables loaded highly on this factor indicates that participation in sports was unique among a subset of the respondents and was not strongly correlated with other types of practices.

Table 5.23 Un-Rotated Matrix of Factor Loadings

Factor Matrix[a]

Transnational Practice	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
Transnational Diet	.481	.480	-.310	.135
Transnational Dress	.688	.235	-.412	.139
Transnational Language	.468	.434	-.259	.210
Transnational Playing Sports	.698	-.377	-.059	-.420
Transnational Watching Sports	.749	-.323	-.139	-.421
Transnational Discussing Politics	.689	-.074	-.098	.058
Transnational Watching TV	.543	-.127	-.003	.098
Transnational Watching Movies	.743	.076	.034	.032
Transnational Listening to Music	.626	.287	-.106	-.090
Transnational in Attending Religious Practice	.612	-.331	.108	.168
Transnational in Socialization	.521	.177	.002	-.068
Transnational in Attending Cultural function	.732	-.370	.142	.167
Transnational in Social Organization	.288	-.427	.163	.221
Transnational in Discussion with Co-Workers	.401	.673	.442	-.091
Transnational in Working in Project	.345	.727	.381	-.091
Transnational in Work Time Socialization	.752	-.083	.216	-.034
Transnational in Celebrating Holiday	.472	-.343	.252	.277

Table 5.24 Rotated Factor Matrix Using Varimax Rotation

Rotated Factor Matrix[a]

	Factor			
	1	2	3	4
Transnational Diet	-.017	.722	.059	.225
Transnational Dress	.194	.784	.249	.056
Transnational Language	.056	.686	-.003	.212
Transnational Playing Sports	.370	.106	.813	-.009
Transnational Watching Sports	.341	.209	.838	-.012
Transnational Discussing Politics	.432	.420	.352	.078
Transnational Watching TV	.430	.269	.244	.057
Transnational Watching Movies	.424	.430	.337	.286
Transnational Listening to Music	.133	.514	.334	.317
Transnational in Attending Religious Practice	.653	.164	.266	.007
Transnational in Socialization	.179	.345	.276	.282
Transnational in Attending Cultural function	.755	.190	.335	.039
Transnational in Social Organization	.561	-.075	.072	-.124
Transnational in Discussion with Co-Workers	.008	.234	.023	.872
Transnational in Working in Project	-.075	.267	-.013	.851
Transnational in Work Time Socialization	.547	.227	.411	.318
Transnational in Celebrating Holiday	.686	.027	.087	.035

The variables with that loaded highly on factor 4 included engaging in transnational work discussions and transnational engagement in work projects. The common thread underlying these variables is that both represent work processes. If a respondent frequently engaged in discussions at work with both Indian and American co-workers, they also tended to frequently work in projects with both American and Indian co-workers. The fact that no other variables loaded highly on this factor suggest transnational participation in both these activities was unique among a subset of respondents in the sample and was not strongly correlated to transnational engagement in the other practices that were examined.

Chapter 6 - Perceptions of Life in America and Transnational Life

This chapter presents the findings for the second research objective of the study — ***What are the perceptions of Indian IT professionals, concerning what it feels like to be transnational?*** The findings are presented as follows: I will first examine quantitative perceptual data drawn from Question II D of the sample survey (see survey in Appendix A). This will be followed by an analysis of qualitative data drawn from personal interview questions. These questions seek, for instance, to identify and compare some of the unique features of living in the United States (U.S.) versus living in India, expectations about living in the U.S. and how these expectations fit in with actual life experience in the U.S., how the IT professionals maintain their 'Indian-ness' in the U.S., and whether living in the U.S. has changed their cultural beliefs, the way they socialize, and their family relations/ties. Finally, I examine their biggest concerns about living in the U.S. and their thoughts on returning to India versus staying in the U.S. As previously noted, I have assigned aliases to each respondent to maintain their anonymity.

Perception of Life in America: Quantitative Indicators

Question II D of the sample survey consists of a set of indicators designed to elicit the perceptions of respondents' about the nature of their work life in America. A set of statements were made with each one stating a possible scenario about their life at work in the U.S. Respondents were then asked to list their extent of agreement as it applied to their work life using a Likert scale of 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. The frequency distributions of these indicators are listed in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Frequency Distributions of Indicators Measuring Perceptions of Work Life in America (Percent of Total Sample in Parentheses)

	Statements	Strongly agree	Agree	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Total
1.	I feel comfortable with American co-workers	64 (63.37)	37 (36.63)	0 (0)	0 (0)	101
2.	I enjoy the work environment in US	74 (74)	26 (26)	0 (0)	0 (0)	100
3.	I enjoy the American work practice	68 (66.67)	33 (32.35)	0 (0)	1 (.98)	102
4.	I dislike American work culture	4 (4.08)	2 (2.04)	26 (26.53)	66 (67.35)	98
5.	I feel I do need to know about American culture to work in the US	18 (18)	52 (52)	10 (10)	20 (20)	100
6.	I feel I should not change my Indian way of living to work in US	22 (22.22)	38 (38.38)	17 (17.17)	22 (22.22)	99
7.	I do not have any problem in working with my boss in American	63 (61.76)	36 (35.29)	0 (0)	3 (2.94)	102
8.	I do feel discriminated in my office	6 (6)	9 (9)	41 (41)	44 (44)	100
9.	If given a change I would like to be a American citizen	12 (12.24)	37 (37.76)	19 (19.39)	30 (30.61)	98
10.	I feel being Indian restrict me for being promoted	6 (6.19)	10 (10.31)	37 (38.14)	44 (45.36)	97
11.	I feel native should be given priority in promotion	5 (5.10)	13 (13.27)	39 (39.84)	41 (41.84)	98
12.	My visa status restrict me to practice my Indian way of living	6 (6)	11 (11)	34 (34)	49 (49)	100
13.	I don't have problem in celebrating American festivals	40 (39.60)	54 (53.47)	3 (2.97)	4 (3.96)	101
14.	I do feel that some Indian holidays should be there in offices with more Indian workers	21 (21)	46 (46)	12 (12)	21 (21)	100

Overall, the survey data indicate that Indian IT workers in the sample have positive perceptions about their environment at work. The survey results indicate that 100% of the respondents agree that they are comfortable working with Americans and enjoy their work environment (see Table 6.1). Further, 99% agreed that they enjoy American work practices. 97.1% agreed that they did not have any problems working with their boss in America, and 93.9% disagreed that they dislike American work culture. One aspect of the work culture that was singled out as important was the respectful attitudes displayed among co-workers.

When asked, "***What are the differences between the work culture in India and in U.S.?"*** Preeti — a female IT professional who worked as a Tech Lead at State Farm since 2009, and who had worked in India for 10 years before coming to the U.S. – responded, *"I like the way your [male] boss (in the U.S.) opens the door for you and stands there to make sure that you are comfortably inside. [This] is something we can never imagine in India. Also they respect all ladies in the office equally here, which is really to be appreciated."*

While virtually all respondents had favorable perceptions about their work environment, maintaining their "Indian-ness" appeared to be an important consideration among a smaller subset of respondents. 39.8% of the respondents disagreed that they would like to become a U.S. citizen if given a chance (see Table 6.1). Further, 70.6% of the respondents agreed that they should not change their Indian way of living to work in the U.S. At the same time, however, an even smaller subset of respondents perceived their "Indian-ness" as a problematic factor in their jobs. For example, 29.4% of respondents disagreed that they should not change their Indian way of living to work in the U.S. (i.e., they should change), 16.5% agreed that being an Indian restricted them in being promoted, and 15% believed they were discriminated against in their office (see Table 6.1). The majority of respondents believed that having knowledge of American culture was important to their jobs. 70% of the respondents agreed that they needed to know about American culture to work in the U.S. (see Table 6.1).

Perception of Life in America: Qualitative Analysis

To achieve a deeper understanding of their perceptions about life in America, the qualitative interviews contained a number of open-ended questions addressing this issue:

- ***Comparing your experience of living in the U.S. with your experience of living in India, what are some unique aspects about the American way of living? What do you like the most about life in the United States?***

In responding to this question, all respondents interviewed pointed to the sharp differences in the standard of the living between the U.S. and India. All of the respondents agreed that life in the U.S. was more luxurious and simple. Day-to-day life in the U.S., as explained by them, was simpler with less hassle. There was less red tape and little corruption, thus enabling the government to manage basic amenities more effectively. Also, they felt the U.S. had unmatched infrastructure such as roads and the overall transportation system, which in turn, translated into better living conditions. Further, in discussing the work ethics and work culture in the U.S., a few respondents mentioned that people were friendlier and work time was strictly about work. Working as a Systems Analyst in the U.S. since 2006, Kumar stated,

"Life is simpler and easier here with fewer complications in daily life. Everyone respects everyone around. Basic comfort and necessity are taken care of by the government — this does not yet exist in India. Also, working fixed hours at the office makes life more fun."

Vinod, who came to the U.S. in 2009, further, defined the difference between a developed and developing country,

"The uniqueness of U.S. can be seen though the amazing roads and good infrastructure. From office to recreation places, everywhere you can see the difference. This is the difference between a developed nation and developing nation."

Mathew, who came to US in 2010 after three years of working in India, discussed the uniqueness of U.S. through the prism of affordability and luxury living,

"Here I can go around and drive the best luxury car and afford good living and branded clothes, even though I belong to the middle class. This level of living is not possible in India. In India, luxuries….are unaffordable for the middle class."

Parth, who came to the U.S. in 2005 as a consultant, is a Systems Analyst at State Farm. He noted,

"The U.S. is more about hard-working people and has a friendly work culture. Working hours are working hours and nobody shirks here during working hours. I have been in the U.S. for six years (with one year in India in-between). I can see the sheer difference in the work culture. There, even if we start working at 9 a.m. in the morning, the real work starts only in the afternoon. However, in the U.S. we work from 7 a.m. to 4 p.m. and it is work!"

According to another respondent, Rani, the uniqueness of the U.S. lies in the respect its society holds for women:

"Here everyone respects everybody. Especially, respect for women is so high and women are treated equally. In India, people never treat women co-workers equally; they always treat us as subordinates that is not the case when we come on-shore (in the U.S.)."

Thus, respondents agreed that the work culture, the work ethic in the workplace, the overall infrastructure and better living standards were among the things they liked most about their life in the U.S.

- ***Comparing your experience of living in India with your experience of living in the U.S., what are some unique aspects about the Indian way of living? What do you like the most about the Indian way of living?***

The findings revealed that culture and the family were perceived as the two most important and unique things about India. Everyone in my sample discussed India's uniqueness through its culture, food, family-orientation and festivals. All the IT professionals interviewed were relatively new to the U.S., many of them were still single and thus, missed family, festivals, and the food. In this regard, Mathew, who is single and lives with roommates in the U.S., said,

"*Even though there were long working hours in India and less time for family….when you are done at work you go back to family. In India we stay with our parents always, even after marriage and, thus, our family system is so different from families here. Here, if I say that I stay with my parents (at this age), everyone laughs at me.*"

Amrita came to the U.S. in 2007 as the spouse of an IT professional and had recently acquired a full-time job at State Farm as a tester for IT development. She has a four-year old child. According to her, the uniqueness of India lay in its family values.

"India's uniqueness survives in its family system and culture. The joint family system is still a culture in India. If our place of work is in the same town as our parents', we stay together in one house; and, if it is in a different town our parents will try to come and live with us, or visit us more often. The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren in India is different and, my son is missing all that grandpa and grandma time! A large variety of festivals and foods are also part of India, and cannot be found anywhere else."

Gautam, who came to the U.S. in 2008 and works as a Systems Analyst, felt that of the two countries, *"India according to me is more dynamic and challenging. It has its own flavor which cannot be replaced by a sophisticated but bland life of U.S."*

- ***Did you have any expectation about what your life would be like in the United States? What were those expectations? Have those expectations been met?***

Due to globalization and the faster exchange of knowledge, all the new immigrants including this group of IT professionals know all about the country and its states and cities. Traditionally, Hollywood movies have promoted cities, and most Indians experience the U.S. through this lens. Their expectation before coming to the U.S. included 'big buildings', 'crowded roads', and 'good cars' — all of these expectations were mostly met once they arrived. Many of the respondents also agreed that Bloomington was a small city. While bigger cities had a lot more to offer, they were happy in Bloomington.

However, Nina who came to the U.S. as a spouse of an IT professional and had acquired a full-time job at State Farm, pointed out the difference between Bloomington and a bigger city like New York City (NYC) or Chicago. Before coming to the U.S. Nina had visualized U.S. cities as akin to NYC. However, Bloomington was nowhere like it, she felt.

"I always thought America is all about NEW YORK. I thought in America there would be big buildings everywhere. But it's not true. In Bloomington we hardly have any big buildings (only STATE FARM!!). I am not saying I don't like Bloomington, I just don't think Bloomington is the America I expected."

- ***Do any of the Indian ways of living you have maintained in the United States conflict with American ways of living? If yes, please explain.***

One fact that astonished all the respondents in the sample was the availability and access to all amenities (including Indian) in Bloomington. Even though Bloomington is a mid-size city, it has all the amenities of a big city. Located just a two-hour drive away from Chicago definitely helps. Bloomington has around five Indian grocery stores, a substantial number of Indian restaurants, a temple, and even a movie theater for Bollywood movies. There are also some good, reasonably priced Indian tiffin services (*dabba*[5] in Indian parlance) for single working professionals available. Many of these professionals feels at home because of this homemade dabbas. Also, the increasing number of Indians in Bloomington has given birth to sub-Indian associations based on region and language such as the *Marathi Samaj*, *Guajrati Samaj*, and *Tamil Association*. Therefore, it is not a very difficult task to maintain Indian ways of life while living in Bloomington.

Sanjay came to the U.S. in 2006 and has worked and lived in the U.S. since then. He has a beautiful family and lives in a good neighborhood in Bloomington, which is not very common for these temporary IT professionals. He said,

"Yes, sometimes there are some conflicts, as it is a huge cultural change for us to be here and at the same time it's a cultural shock for Americans having us in town. Sometimes we need to adjust and sometimes there is a conflict."

[5] In India, the Dabba system (tiffin service) is very common system wherein freshly cooked homemade food is provided by some catering services at work place, and college hostels at a very reasonable price. Dabba in Hindi means lunch box and a typical dabba consist of two to three chapatti (Indian bread), with one curry vegetable, dal (lentis), rice and salad.

Another respondent Kesav, who is in the U.S. since 2001 is a senior consultant with State Farm and has a six-year old daughter. He said,

"According to me, so far there is no cultural conflict — we try to celebrate both cultures at home here. I have a 6-year-old daughter who goes to public school. So we are getting more assimilated with U.S. society. There are restrictions in maintaining the Indian way of living here, as we don't have holidays for Indian festivals but we try to celebrate both Halloween and Diwali in the same weekend. And, we try to be as Indian as possible."

- ***Do you have children in the United States? If yes, what concerns do you have about your children living here? What are your thoughts about your children adopting an American way of living? How has living in America influenced your child-rearing practices?***

Another interesting perception about life in America comes out from the question on child-rearing practices, which indeed are very different in these two countries. Since, few respondents from the sample were married and had children, many respondents could not respond to this question. However, all the respondents who answered this question agreed that the involvement of both mother and father in the child-rearing process is much higher in the U.S. In India, fathers are not much involved as other family members or maidservants are always available. Respondent Kumar came to U.S. in 2006 as a single man and later got married. He is now the father of a three-year old son. He stated,

"I have a son who was born here. Yes, here the father takes more effort in child rearing and I like it. It is different from India, where fathers are just to play with kids and all other things mothers do. It was new to me but I have adapted to this culture and I like my bonding with my kid because I am always there for him."

Female IT professional Namrata was single when she came to the U.S. in 2003 for the first time. Now married with a son who goes to kindergarten, she stated,

"It is very different here, in India we have so much help from family that we don't have to think much about child rearing. But here we have to do it all by ourselves. However, husbands become more cooperative in the United States. I think it's a cultural effect."

- ***What are your biggest concerns/worries about living in America? Have you ever considered returning to India? Please justify your plans for staying in United States or returning to India?***

Interestingly, every respondent in the in-depth interviews expressed their desire to go back to India at some future point. However, no one could provide the exact time frame of their return to India. The justification for returning to India tended to relate to their concerns/worries about living in America. Parth, who has a seven-year-old daughter, said,

"I have a girl and I think about her all the time and her growing up here. It's good to have kids here. You have more bonding with kids here but at the same time I am scared of my daughter going to college here. As my girl is growing, she is one of the smartest kids in the class so I am not concerned about her education. I am more concerned about when she turns 16 and goes out of house to live by herself like every other kid in the United States. Even though I am open about my daughter adopting the American way of life I just want to make sure to let her know what is good and bad, I am concerned about alcohol, and having physical relationships at a young age. It's so different here. Therefore, in few years we are planning to return to India."

In explaining why he would return to India, Kumar stated,

"*I am concerned about my kid's education here. Education and school are not as competitive as in India. Kids go for easy jobs just after high school and don't go for higher studies. Also, I believe that primary education is much better in India. I don't mind my child adopting the American way of life but I also want him to adopt some Indian traditional culture."*

For the majority interview respondents, the biggest concern about living in America is with regard to their children growing up here. They worry about the education system in the U.S. and the college culture, which is different from that in India. Sanjay, a father of two kids stated, *"The Indian education system is more competitive and makes kids more motivated to study. So I want my children to get higher education in India and they can always come back to the U.S. for their graduate school if they want to (as my kids are American citizens by birth). Also, I want them to be with their grandparents, know their culture and tradition and enjoy festivals. So we will be returning to India very soon."*

Gagan, who has worked in the U.S. since 2010, stated that his visa will expire soon. He will have to return to India unless the company renews the visa for him,

"I am going back to India as soon as my visa expires, as I think I want my son to know Indian culture and be with his grandparents and extended family while growing up. He can return to the U.S. for higher studies if he wants to."

Conclusions

The findings indicate that the majority of the respondents in the sample are fairly new to the U.S. and are confused about their perception of life in the United States. Most of these professionals are highly certain they will return to India. However, they are not clear about the

timeline. They want to be as Indian as possible while living in the U.S., while at the same time, are attracted to the amenities and better living conditions in the Unites States. The respondents were certain about not adopting American ways of living or American practices, However, they really liked the fact that working and living in U.S. provides them with more leisure time to spend with family and friends (due to 40 hour a week schedule). Interestingly, their perceptions about their kids adopting American culture and thoughts on children marrying out of love rather than being arranged by parents (which is a part of Indian culture) was not a concern for these young professionals. They appreciated the monetary benefits of working in U.S. and, they wanted their children to be American citizens. However, at the same time they were not comfortable with the thought of their children growing up in the American society.

These conflicting responses reflect the inner struggle of these IT professionals. They are torn between the choice of their long-term goals of settling in India with their families and the current comfortable life in a faraway land of opportunity. Also, they strongly believe that they will not be able to acquire U.S. citizenship. As a result, they constantly prepare themselves to return back home. The process of immigration is very tough, complex, and costly.

The findings indicate that Indian IT professionals generally don't invest in homes and other immovable assets due to the very temporary nature of their visa status, which keeps them unattached to this country to the large extent. This aspect was further explored in Chapter 7, which the general impact of transnational life as related to research objective 3.

Chapter 7 - Impacts of Being Transnational

The chapter presents findings that address the final research objective: ***How does being a transnational affect the self-esteem, job-satisfaction, and lives in general of Indian IT professionals***? The data presented involve a synthesis of both quantitative survey data and qualitative data gathered from the personal interviews. The general impact of living in the U.S. on these migrant workers is first examined. This is followed by an examination of the impact of transnationalism on micro-level, psychosocial orientations including self-esteem and job satisfaction.

General Impacts of Being Transnational

The survey data revealed that most of the Indian IT professionals had a very positive general outlook about their life while living in the U.S. Only 2% of all respondents strongly agreed with the statement that staying temporarily in the United States (U.S.) had negatively affected their cultural beliefs and family values (see Table 7.1). Around 85% of sample disagreed with these statements. Also, about 2% of the sample believed that staying temporarily in the U.S. had negatively affected their socialization and recreation activities (see Table 7.1). More than 85% disagreed with these statements.

Table 7.1 General Impacts of Living the U.S. (Percent of Total Sample in Parentheses)

Statement	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Temporarily staying in the U.S. is negatively affecting my cultural beliefs	2 (2.02)	15 (15.15)	53 (53.54)	29 (29.29)	99
Temporarily staying in the U.S. is negatively affecting my beliefs about my family	1 (1.01)	11 (11.11)	60 (60.61)	27 (27.27)	99
Temporarily staying in the U.S. is negatively affecting my socialization	2 (2.04)	10 (10.20)	59 (60.20)	27 (27.55)	98
Temporarily staying in the U.S. is negatively affecting my recreational activities	1 (1.01)	15 (15.15)	56 (56.57)	27 (27.27)	99
It is okay if my children adopt U.S. cultural beliefs	12 (12.37)	62 (63.56)	18 (18.56)	5 (5.15)	97
It is okay if my children marry out of love	20 (20.62)	67 (69.07)	6 (6.19)	4 (4.12)	97
My family would be much better in the U.S.	10 (10.75)	44 (47.32)	32 (34.14)	7 (7.53)	93
I would like to become a U.S. citizen and forfeit my Indian citizenship	10 (10.53))	25 (26.32)	46 (48.42)	14 (14.74)	95
I would like to return to India because I feel I belong there	22 (22.92)	50 (52.08)	21 (21.87)	3 (3.12)	96
I feel distant from relatives living back in India	25 (25.77)	43 (44.33)	25 (25.77)	4 (4.12)	97
It is highly beneficial to me living in the U.S.	15 (15.46)	50 (51.55)	29 (29.90)	3 (3.09)	97

In response to questions about their families and children, 76.7% (74/97) of the respondents agreed that it was okay for their children to adopt U.S. cultural beliefs while 23% disagreed (23/97) (see Table 7.1). Almost 90% (87/97) agreed with the statement that it was okay if their children married out of love – a belief that is strongly supported in the U.S. and is often not something that is of primary concern with the Indian arranged marriage system. An

estimated 67% (65/97) of the respondents agreed that living in the U.S. was highly beneficial to them. Taken together, these responses suggest that the majority of respondents found living in the U.S. as beneficial and had embraced select U.S. cultural beliefs.

At the same time, however, there was evidence of alienation among the migrant workers and a reluctance to disassociate themselves with their native country. An estimated 75% (72/96) of the sample agreed with the statement, "I would like to return to India because I feel I belong there." Only 36.8% (35/95) agreed with the statement, "I would like to become a U.S. citizen and forfeit my Indian citizenship." 41.9% disagreed that their family would be much better off in the U.S. (see Table 7.1). Taken as a whole, these findings suggest that transnational life among these Indian migrant workers is characterized by cognitive dissonance, where the migrant embraces and supports aspects of life in the host country that they find to be beneficial, while at the same time, attempt to maintain an association as a member of their country of origin.

Questions from the personal interviews discuss the impact of a transnational life on these IT professionals living far away from home.

- ***Since you have lived in the U.S., have you adopted any living practices or beliefs that you would consider to be American? If yes, what are they? Why did you adopt such American practices and beliefs and how do feel about these changes?***

When asked whether they had adopted American living or beliefs, the majority of these IT professionals said no. This was in contradiction to the survey findings. Within the subsample of respondents interviewed, newcomers were more particular about not adopting American practices and beliefs. However, among those professionals who had lived longer in the U.S., the answer to this question changed from all no to partly yes, stating that they had adopted some good American practices, but no beliefs because American beliefs were very different from

Indian cultural beliefs. However, all the respondents were open to their children adopting American culture and the American way of living.

Aman, who came to U.S. in 2006, believed that if you were in America, there was nothing wrong in selectively adopting cultures and beliefs. Aman stated:

"Yes, I think I have adopted many American practices particularly at the work place. The work environment and work culture is so different here and it's for the good. I like the way Americans work here; they are so punctual; and, as soon as their eight hours at work are over, they leave the office and nobody questions them. However, in India, it's different -- long hours at work but less work done on regular days is common. We work around the clock only when we have deadlines. Also, in an Indian MNC, you are expected to sit in the office for late hours. I like the work culture here and, I think if we are here to work, we should subscribe to this work culture. As far as personal life is concerned, I think I have adopted simple things like respecting everyone even your juniors in office, saying 'Hi' to everyone, even strangers!"

Kesav, who had been in the U.S. since 2001, held a wider view about American practices and beliefs. According to him,

"I have become more honest towards my work and have started respecting others. In India, we don't bother much about our juniors at the company, but after being here for so long, I have learned how to respect people from all walks of life. Also, some of my beliefs have also changed; I have started celebrating American holidays especially for my daughter."

For Gagan, who came to U.S. in 2010, the adoption of American practices was a part of his daily interaction with Americans. According to Gagan,

"In practice, yes I have become an American and adopted a few practices at the work place. The adoption of American practices is a part of our daily life as we work in an American

company and interact with American co-workers for eight hours, five days a week. So we have to adopt their work practices. However a change in beliefs is not possible in such a short time. Thus, in practice, I have become more professional like the Americans but have not changed my beliefs."

Similarly, for Varun, who was also relatively new to the U.S., the adoption of American practices was an obvious choice; however, adoption and a change of beliefs came later. Varun said,

"Honestly, I have adopted a few living styles (practices) of Americans like playing games and living a comfortable life and enjoying shopping and driving big cars. I think I came to the U.S. for those and I am enjoying it. However as far as beliefs are concerned, I have not adopted any of them yet."

- ***Do you see you or your family as being much better off in the U.S.? Please explain your answer.***

For the majority of the respondents in my sample, this was a difficult question to answer as most were unmarried and without a family in the U.S. This young group of IT immigrants is here to earn good money and to save and invest in India. They were not very sure about their visa status in the long-term and thus, did not think about setting up a family. However, respondents who had a family in the U.S. had a mixed response to this question. A few of them supported the argument that a family was much better off here because of better living conditions and their having more time for family. However, a few thought that the family would be much better off back home, with more family support and their kids growing up with Indian values and culture.

Priya, who was single and had been living in the U.S. since 2011, said life in America was very comfortable; however, she could not consider it home. According to her,

"America is all about a comfortable life and respect for women. I also like the work culture here, which is much better than in India, and the fact that the government provides all services so you don't have to worry about small things and big queues. But for me home is India where my family is. I think, my family (in the future) will be better off in India."

In this regard, Kumar noted,

"I would say that financially it is much better here in the U.S. and also life is easier here. However, here I have fewer people to socialize with and to discuss Indian politics with. In India, although I have family, plus an extended family and a lot of college friends to socialize with, I have very little time. So, it is difficult to say where I would be much better off."

Parth also echoed Kumar's statement and said,

"I am here since 2005. My daughter goes to school here and she likes it here. I am making more money and we have more family time to enjoy here, which was not possible when I was working in India. Thus I think, my family is much better off here but I don't want my daughter to go to college here."

- ***Has living in the U.S. changed your cultural beliefs, relationship with family, the way you socialize with other people and spend your leisure time outside of work? Please explain your answer.***

While this question initially received a big 'no' from those interviewed, this group of IT professionals did discuss changes in their way of socialization and how they spent leisure time outside work. These responses suggested that their process of socialization changes as these migrants live for a longer period in the U.S. Also, the abundance of free time after working

hours, gives them time to relax and enjoy their leisure time with their families or in activities such as playing games, or pursuing a new hobby. In this regard, Nina noted that

"My way of socialization has definitely changed after coming to America. I never used to talk too much in India, but now I like talking and get more opportunities to talk with people. Also, we get more leisure time to enjoy with family and friends."

According to Parth,

"Yes, definitely socialization and the way I spend my leisure hours have changed to greater extent in the U.S. as we have more time for family here. In India if you are working for an MNC you cannot be home before 8-9 p.m. and by the time you are home you are so tired that you don't want to do anything other than eat and sleep. On top of that, in India we work on Saturdays too."

Vinod stated that he was able to pursue his interest of photography, which he always wanted to learn and explore. He said,

"All my life I wanted to do photography and my dream came true after I came to the U.S. It was not just about money to buy the camera but also time for exploring with the camera. I got both here; the camera became more affordable here and at the same time I get leisure time with my camera to explore too. In India we work for 6 days for 12 hours and we don't get any time to take up any leisure activities."

However, Vasant, who had been in the U.S. for 5 years, said

"No, my way of socialization has not changed much but I have started saying 'Hi' to everyone even strangers on the street, which sounded very weird to me when I first came to the U.S."

Further, Gautam differentiated socialization from other forms of social interactions. He said,

"My socialization has changed a lot; here, I socialize with people from different parts of my country as well as from people outside our country. In India, I was socializing only with Marathi people [those from his state and who spoke the same language], but here we are more Indian than Marathi. I meet more people from other parts of India and get to know about their culture."

During the interviews, respondents also mentioned the positive role played by fast-changing technology, such as Skype and cheaper international calling rates, in bringing families living in India closer to them. Interestingly, every respondent in the personal interviews expressed a desire to go back to India in a few years; however, no one could provide the exact time frame of when they planned to return to India.

Parth, who has a 7-year-old daughter and had been in the U.S. since 2005 said,

"I have a girl and I think about her all the time and her growing up here. Its good to have kids here. You have more bonding with kids here but at the same time I am scared of my daughter going to college here. It's so different here. Therefore, in few years we are planning to return to India."

Gautam, who had been in the U.S. since 2008, wanted to go back to India as soon as his work permit expires so that his children get more time with their grandparents. He noted,

"I am going back to India as soon as my visa expires as I think I want my son to know Indian culture and be with his grandparents and extended family while growing up. However, my son can return to the U.S. for higher studies if he wants to as he is an American citizen."

The Impact of Transnationalism on Self-esteem

The impact of transnationalism on the individual well-being of the Indian IT professionals in the sample was evaluated by examining the relationship between transnationalism and self-esteem. Self-esteem was measured with the Rosenberg scale of self-esteem (Rosenberg, 1989), which is an instrument measures how an individual feels about his/her self. Logically, more extensive engagement in a transnational life could promote self-esteem if it allows the migrant worker to better meet their life needs by gaining a deeper understanding and appreciation of the culture in their new country. Alternatively, more extensive engagement in a transnational life could lower the self-esteem of a migrant worker if it produces negative cognitive dissonance and the migrant worker begins to view his/her life in their new country in a negative light. The Rosenberg self-esteem scale was administered in the sample survey. The methods used to create the scale are described in Appendix C. Five items were used to create a summative scale with scores ranging from 5-20, with 20 indicating the highest level of self-esteem. The frequency distributions of each of the 5 scale items are presented in Table 7.2. The frequency distribution of the summative scale scores is presented in Table 7.3.

Table 7.2 Frequency Distributions for Items in the Rosenberg Self-esteem Scale (Percent of Total Sample in Parentheses)

Rosenberg Self-esteem	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others	0(0)	0 (0)	50(52.63)	45(47.37)	95
I feel that I have a number of good qualities	0(0)	2(2.08)	48(50)	46(47.92)	96
I am able to do things as well as most other people	2(2.11)	4(4.21)	54(56.84)	35(36.84)	95
I take a positive attitude toward myself	0(0)	3(3.09)	43(44.33)	51(52.58)	97
On the whole, I am satisfied with myself	0(0)	3(3.06)	49(50)	46(46.94)	98

Table 7.3 Frequency Distribution of Summative Scores for Self-esteem Scale

Scale Score	Freq.	Percent	Cum. %
11	1	1.08	1.08
14	2	2.15	3.23
15	29	31.18	34.41
16	8	8.60	43.01
17	11	11.83	54.84
18	13	13.98	68.82
19	8	8.60	77.42
20	21	22.58	100.00
Total	93	100.00	

The frequency distributions of the individual scale items and the summative scale scores indicate that the vast majority of Indian IT professionals in the sample have a high level of self-esteem. Over 96% (90/93) of respondents had self-esteem scores of 15 or higher on the 20 point scale. . On average, the IT professionals were found to have a self esteem score of 17.14 on the 20 point scale. This is not highly surprising given that the Indian IT professionals in the sample have high levels of education and are employed in high paying jobs. Thus, they tend to have a positive outlook about themselves, even while residing and working in a new country.

To explore the impact of transnationalism on self-esteem, scores on the Rosenberg self-esteem scale were regressed on indices measuring transnationalism during leisure time and transnationalism at work using multivariate regression analysis with ordinary least squares estimation. First, a set of 13 binary variables was computed to measure whether a respondent was transnational on each of the 13 types of leisure time, cultural practices examined (i.e., the respondent engaged in both an Indian and corresponding American/Western practice at least once a week), ranging from dietary practices to attending meetings of social organizations. The

binary variables were then summed to form an index of leisure time transnational practices. The values of the index range from 0-13 with higher values indicating the respondent is transnational in a greater number of types of practices. The frequency distribution of this index is displayed in Table 7.4. On average, the IT professionals were found to be transnational on 4.28 of the 13 cultural practices examined. However, 15 of the respondents were found to be transnational on 8 or more of the practices, with the highest value being 12 out of the 13 practices examined.

Table 7.4 Frequency Distribution of Index Scores for Leisure Time Transnational Practices

Index Score	Freq.	Percent	Cum. %
0	7	9.21	9.21
1	8	10.53	19.74
2	9	11.84	31.58
3	8	10.53	42.11
4	11	14.47	56.58
5	12	15.79	72.37
6	4	5.26	77.63
7	2	2.63	80.26
8	8	10.53	90.79
9	4	5.26	96.05
11	2	2.63	98.68
12	1	1.32	100.00
Total	76	100.00	

Next, a set of 4 binary variables was computed to measure whether a respondent was transnational on each of the 4 types of work practices examined. The binary variables were then summed to form an index of transnational work practices. The values of the index range from 0-4 with higher values indicating the respondent is transnational in greater number of types of work-related practices. The frequency distribution of this index is displayed in Table 7.5. On average, the IT professionals were found to be transnational on 2.04 of the 4 work practices

examined. Slightly less than 86% of the respondents were transnational in at least one work practice, while 33.7% were transnational in 3 or more of the work practices examined.

Table 7.5 Frequency Distribution of Index Scores for Transnational Practices at Work

Index

Score	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	14	14.29	14.29
1	7	7.14	21.43
2	44	44.90	66.33
3	27	27.55	93.88
4	6	6.12	100.00
Total	98	100.00	

In order to examine the relationship between work satisfaction and transnationalism, an exploratory regression analysis was conducted, where self-esteem was treated as the dependent variable and scores on the leisure time transnationalism and work transnationalism indices as independent variables. A multivariate regression model was estimated using ordinary least squares estimation. The results are displayed in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6 Results of Regression of Self-Esteem Scale on and Leisure Time and Work Transnationalism Indices

Source	SS	df	MS		
Model	2.38900436	2	1.19450218	Number of obs	= 67
Residual	287.879652	64	4.49811957	R-squared	= 0.0082
Total	290.268657	66	4.39800995	Adj R-squared	= -0.0228

	Unstandardized Regression Coefficients	Standardized Regression Coefficients
Leisure time transnationalism	-.0191852	-.0265432
Work transnationalism	-.1405565	-.0732647
Intercept	17.47407	.0000000

It is important to note that since the sampling design employed in this study is non-random, the t-test and F-test typically used in regression analysis are not applicable as heuristic devices for assessing the "significance" of independent variables and the overall fit of the regression model. The results of this exploratory analysis suggest that both leisure time and work transnationalism exerts a negative effect on self-esteem. The standardized regression coefficients suggest that transnationalism at work exerts a stronger influence on self-esteem than transnationalism at work. However, the extremely low r-square coefficient indicates that these influences are negligible at best. The results suggest that engaging in transnational practices, either during leisure time or at work exerts very little influence on the self-esteem of Indian IT professionals employed in the U.S. on temporary work visas.

The Impact of Transnationalism on Attitudes about Work

The impact of transnationalism on the work experience of the Indian IT professionals in the sample was evaluated by examining the relationship between transnationalism and attitudes about work. Two dimensions of attitudes about work were examined: job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction. It is my contention that a worker could be satisfied with some aspects of their job and dissatisfied with other aspects. It is the aggregate combination of these feelings and the importance attached to each aspect, which determines the overall feeling of a worker toward his/her job. Both of these attitudes were measured using a combination of items drawn from Schuessler's social life feelings scale and Brayfield and Rothes' Index of Job Satisfaction (found in Miller, 1991: 450-457, 466-468). Logically, engaging in transnational practices could elevate a migrant worker's job satisfaction and lower their level of job dissatisfaction if it allowed the worker to perform their job at a higher level, be more successful and earn the right to engage in

more lucrative, interesting work. The methods used to create the job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction scales are described in Appendix D.

Five items were used to measure job satisfaction using a four point Likert scale with values ranging from strongly disagree (coded with value of 1) to strongly agree (coded with value of 4). Scores on the five items were summed to form a scale score that ranged from 5 to 20, with 20 indicating the highest level of job satisfaction. The frequency distributions of these items are displayed in Table 7.7. The frequency distribution of the summative scale scores is presented in Table 7.8

Table 7.7 Frequency Distributions of Items in Job Satisfaction Scale (Percent of Total Sample in Parentheses)

Statements	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
I am satisfied with the work I do	0(0)	12(13.19)	60 (63.93)	19(20.88)	91
My job gives me a chance to do what I do best	2(2.13)	20(21.28)	50(53.19)	22(23.40)	94
I feel I am happier in my work than most other people	3(3.26)	1314.13)	59(64.13)	17(18.48)	92
My job is like a hobby for me	3(3.19)	32(34.04)	47(50)	12(12.77)	94
I am satisfied with my job for the time being	2(2.08)	10(19.42)	70(72.92)	14(14.58)	96

The frequency distributions in Tables 7.7 and 7.8 indicate that the majority of respondents are moderately satisfied with their jobs. The majority of responses to each individual scale item were in the agree category (see Table 7.7). Further, 67% (60/90) of the respondents had job satisfaction scale scores in the 10-14 range (see Table 7.8). Only 2 of the respondents had scale scores of 16 or above, indicating a high level of satisfaction.

Table 7.8 Frequency Distribution of Scores on the Job Satisfaction Scale

Scale Score	Freq.	Percent	Cum.%
5	5	5.56	5.56
6	4	4.44	10.00
7	1	1.11	11.11
8	7	7.78	18.89
9	10	11.11	30.00
10	23	25.56	55.56
11	18	20.00	75.56
12	9	10.00	85.56
13	7	7.78	93.33
14	3	3.33	96.67
15	1	1.11	97.78
16	1	1.11	98.89
18	1	1.11	100.00
Total	90	100.00	

In order to examine the relationship between job satisfaction and transnationalism, an exploratory regression analysis was conducted, where job satisfaction was treated as the dependent variable and scores on the leisure time transnationalism and work transnationalism indices as independent variables. A multivariate regression model was estimated using ordinary least squares estimation. The results are displayed in Table 7.9.

Table 7.9 Results of Regression of Job Satisfaction Scale on and Leisure Time and Work Transnationalism Indices

Source	SS	df	MS		
Model	9.57826679	2	4.7891334	Number of obs =	66
Residual	396.906582	63	6.30010447	R-squared =	0.0236
Total	406.484848	65	6.25361305	Adj R-squared =	-0.0074

	Unstandardized Regression Coefficients	Standardized Regression Coefficients
Leisure time transnationalism	-.1128571	-.1342891
Work transnationalism	.4469325	.1827177
Intercept	9.738284	.0000000

The results of this exploratory analysis suggest that leisure time transnationalism has a negative influence on work satisfaction while transnationalism at work has a positive influence (see Table 7.9). The standardized regression coefficients suggest that transnationalism at work exerts a stronger influence on work satisfaction than leisure time transnationalism. However, the low r-square coefficient indicates that these influences are weak at best. The results suggest that engaging in transnational practices, either at work or during leisure time or at work exerts a very slight influence on the work satisfaction of Indian IT professionals employed in the U.S. on temporary work visas.

Five items were used to measure job dissatisfaction using a four point Likert scale with values ranging from strongly disagree (coded with value of 1) to strongly agree (coded with value of 4). Scores on the five items were summed to form a scale score that ranged from 5 to 20, with 20 indicating the highest level of job dissatisfaction. The frequency distributions of

these items are displayed in Table 7.10. The frequency distribution of the summative scale scores is presented in Table 7.11.

Table 7.10 Frequency Distributions of Items in Job Dissatisfaction Scale (Percent of Total Sample in Parentheses)

Job Satisfaction	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
There is too little variety in my job	15(15.62)	40(41.67)	33(34.38)	8(8.33)	96
I tend to get bored on the job	15(15.62)	53(55.21)	27(28.12)	1(1.04)	96
There must be better places to work	8(8.60	35(37.63)	43(46.24)	7(7.53)	93
I have too small a share in deciding matters that affect my work	11(12.09)	48(52.75)	27(29.67)	5(5.49)	91
My job is pretty uninteresting	19(20.21)	55(58.51)	13(13.83)	7(7.45)	94

The frequency distributions of the scale items in Table 7.10 indicate that respondents tended to exhibit moderately low levels of dissatisfaction with their jobs. This can be seen that the modal ranked category in each of scale items was "disagree" (see Table 7.10). The one exception to this was that a slight majority at least agreed that there must be better places to work than State Farm Insurance. The majority of respondents (58%) had job dissatisfaction scale scores in the range of 8-12 points, indicating a moderately low level of dissatisfaction with their jobs (see Table 7.11).

In order to examine the relationship between job dissatisfaction and transnationalism, an exploratory regression analysis was conducted, where job dissatisfaction was treated as the dependent variable and scores on the leisure time transnationalism and work transnationalism indices as independent variables. A multivariate regression model was estimated using ordinary least squares estimation. The results are displayed in Table 7.12.

Table 7.11 Frequency Distribution of Scores on the Job Dissatisfaction Scale

Scale Score	Freq.	Percent	Cum.%
5	6	6.82	6.82
6	2	2.27	9.09
7	3	3.41	12.50
9	6	6.82	19.32
10	13	14.77	34.09
11	13	14.77	48.86
12	19	21.59	70.45
13	6	6.82	77.27
14	9	10.23	87.50
15	5	5.68	93.18
16	1	1.14	94.32
17	4	4.55	98.86
19	1	1.14	100.00
Total	88	100.00	

Table 7.12 Results of Regression of Job Dissatisfaction Scale on and Leisure Time and Work Transnationalism Indices

Source	SS	df	MS		
Model	121.793676	2	60.8968378	Number of obs	65
Residual	438.667863	62	7.07528811	R-squared	0.2173
Total	560.461538	64	8.75721154	Adj R-squared	0.1921

	Unstandardized Regression Coefficients	Standardized Regression Coefficients
Leisure time transnationalism	-.4208437	-.4010637
Work transnationalism	-.2974338	-.1028265
Intercept	13.55321	.0000000

The results of the regression analysis show that both leisure time transnationalism and transnationalism at work both have a negative effect on job dissatisfaction (see Table 7.12). The standardized regression coefficients indicate that leisure time transnationalism exerts a stronger effect on job dissatisfaction than transnationalism at work. Unlike the regression models for self-esteem and job satisfaction, the r-square for this model indicates that the two independent variable explain a non-trivial component of the variation in the job dissatisfaction index (r^2 = .217). Thus, the greater the number of types of transnational activities that Indian IT professionals engage in outside and inside the workplace, the less dissatisfied they are with their jobs. Engaging in a wider range of transnational activities outside the workplace is more influential in lowering job dissatisfaction.

Qualitative Evidence on Job Satisfaction

Participants in the qualitative interviews further discussed satisfaction and dissatisfaction with their job in the U.S. One section in the in-depth interviews focused on gaining further insight the nature of their jobs (job profile), the organizational hierarchy in which they work, how satisfied they were being employed as a professional IT worker on a temporary visa in the U.S.

When asked about their job profiles, the majority of interviewees said they were System Analysts and were working on the same project and at same level as they were working in India. There was no change in the work profile, but they enjoyed being at the client site.

In this regard, Ravi, who works as a Systems Analyst said,

"My work profile is same here as it was in India but here the pay is three times more than what I used to earn in India. I was Systems Analyst in India too. However, being on the client site has its own benefits, more exposure and more money."

The interviews revealed an unambiguous opinion with regard to job satisfaction among professionals who have worked in the U.S. for more than 3 years and those who have worked in the U.S. for less than 3 years. The majority of the respondents (who were new to the U.S.) stated that they were very happy and satisfied with their jobs in the U.S. However, many of these professionals also knew that they were currently employed in a contractual job and thus could not think of promotions or job longevity. They stated that there was no growth for them in the company hierarchy in the U.S. unless they became an internal employee of the U.S. company (State Farm), which was only possible if they became an American citizen or took up permanent residence.

- ***What problems have you encountered in the work environment of your job in the U.S. as compared to your job in India? Do you feel that you have encountered any discrimination in your job in the U.S.?***

As stated above, interview data revealed that the professionals were happy working in the U.S. and the majority of them said they had not encountered any problems in their job in the U.S., including discrimination. However, some of them said they initially faced problems, primarily because of language difficulties. However, over time, they had overcome this problem.

Varun, who came to the U.S. in 2011, stated,

"I am happy now and it is all going good now. But when I was FOB (fresh off the boat), I had a huge problem with understanding the language and similarly, my American co-workers were unable to understand me. It took some time, but all is well now. The Americans are very understanding."

Not a single respondent in the personal interviews admitted that they had ever felt discriminated against in the work environment here. The majority of them said Americans were good and they did not care about anything so long as you followed the rules and worked according to the book. However, some of them elaborated that Indian contractual workers and internal permanent workers (majority Americans) had different work places within the same company (State Farm). Even the photo ID card was different for contractual workers (majority from India) and internal workers, the first one being a blue card versus a red card for internal State Farm workers.

- ***Are you satisfied with the status you have with your current job? Where do you see yourself in the job hierarchy ten years from now? Please explain your answer.***

This interview question on job satisfaction with the current position also produced a mixed response based on years of working in the U.S. The newcomers were very happy with the high salary and better living conditions while those who had stayed longer and had more experience expressed greater concern about their future stability. None of the respondents were clear about the future. When asked about where they saw themselves in the job hierarchy ten years from now, most said "*Nowhere"* as long as they were in the temporary visa category. For this question, many of the respondents felt that they would return to India, as they would gain more financially in India following their experience in the U.S. on top of the money they saved from working in the U.S.

For example, Mathew, who has worked in U.S. since 2010, said,

"I am very satisfied with my job here and I enjoy working here. I am getting good exposure, learning more about my work and also earning good money. I am earning around 3 times what I used to earn for the same job in India. So, I am happy and satisfied. Also, I am here just for earning and not thinking of the future right now. I will earn and save more and return to India. My experience here will help me to gain a good position in India."

When asked specifically about where he saw himself 10 years from now in the job hierarchy, he said,

"I don't know. It all depends on where I am in 10 years. I will start thinking about it when my visa is expiring. Right now I am thinking of returning to India in 3 to 4 years and shifting to another job."

The response from women was similar, as they were working and earning more. But they did not have any idea about the future yet. Priya, who is single and came to the U.S. in 2011, noted,

"The job here is the same and, I am very satisfied. I like what I am doing and on top of that, there is more respect and money here. I worked in India for 3 years before coming here…here I have earned 3 times more than I earned in 3 years there. I am buying my own apartment in my hometown and that's a good achievement for a young professional like me. I am very happy for now and have not thought about the future yet. I am getting married next year and then I will think about where I want to be."

Similarly, Ranjeet stated,

"I am very happy with more money and less worries here. I am working on the same position here as I was in India….here we are at the client site (State Farm) and work face-to-face with the client and so, all the misunderstandings and expectations are discussed face-to-face. Thus

there are fewer worries. Also, we have set working hours here and no late nights, which I am enjoying. The job here is very satisfying. I have not thought about the future yet."

However, all of these interviewees had worked in the U.S. for less than 3 years. Those who had worked in the U.S. for more than 3 years and whose second term of their H1B visa had started, had different responses. They tended to be more worried about their promotions and the future. For example, Sanjay, who came to the U.S. in 2006, and went to India for a year in-between for a visa extension, said,

"I am satisfied as the money is good here and work is more organized. However, with my experience, I want to see myself as the lead in the technical front area but cannot go any further than a Systems Analyst here, as long as I am working on contractual assignments. I have been in this position for the last 4 years. Only if I am an internal State Farm employee can I be the lead of a technical area, which is only possible if I am a citizen or a Green Card holder."

Similarly, Kumar, who had been in the U.S. since 2006 (he first came in 2006 on a H1B visa, stayed here for 5 years and then went to India for an year and the company got his visa changed to an L1 visa), said,

"I am very happy as earnings are high as compared to India. But, when I think of my job promotion, we can only get to a certain level here if you are on a visa. I have been in system analysis for many years and that's the highest level I can get to in the job hierarchy without a Green Card. Moreover, 5 years down the line, if I am with State Farm, I will get my Green Card (permanent residence) and thus will be eligible to be in a management position. If not in the U.S., with so much of experience on site, I will have good bargaining power in India for a better position. So, I have not decided yet."

With regard to job satisfaction, Aman, who has been in the U.S. since 2005, said, *"I am partly satisfied, as the money is good but still not very satisfied as there is no growth in the consultant job after we hit a certain level. In this case we have only two options. One is to return to India, change jobs and go for a management position; the other option is to apply for a Green Card and become a permanent resident of the U.S. and then apply for an internal position at State Farm or any other company in the U.S."*

Kesav, who has been in the U.S. since 2001 stated,

"I am not satisfied; with my experience I should be holding a very high position but visa restrictions are pulling me down. The money is good here so I am sticking to the job, as my family is happy here. But I have to always remember that we are consultants and so they don't treat us as regular employees; we need to take permission for everything we do. I have already applied for a Green Card and once it is in my hand I can go for a management position in the company."

- ***Compare your social status in India and United States? Do you think of it as an upward or downward social mobility?***

The findings indicate that the majority of the professionals interviewed acknowledged that coming to the U.S. had led to upward social and financial mobility. They stated that they were living a luxurious life with more branded clothes, driving good cars and maintaining a higher standard of living. On top of that, they admitted that their parents back home enjoyed a higher status in their neighborhood in India as a family member was earning in the United States.

Aman's expressed his view of social mobility as follows,

"I believe there has been a downward mobility in my social life and upward in my financial life. Here we are restricted in socialization, as we can't celebrate our festivals in our own way. But at

the same time we are getting so much money here that our family can afford a good vacation in India whenever we need it. Also, I drive a BMW here and now have a house in Pune. My parents are so happy that I am in the U.S. and they have a good status in the community."

However, Mathew noted:

"I think I am earning good money…but I feel isolated here. I am not able to connect to anyone here. My family back home is very large. I come from an extended joint family with 3 uncles, 3 aunts and lots of cousins and I enjoy being with them. Everyone in my family and friends are very happy that I am in the U.S. and they are proud of me. Therefore, I think for me it's a downward mobility when it comes to social life."

Nina, identified an additional difficulty,

"I love being in the U.S. and…. I started my family here. So personally, I think our social status is the same as it was in India. However, having family in India means a lot of helpers and a maid to do household chores. Here in the U.S., we have all the equipment for a comfortable life, but no help, so it is difficult sometimes."

The response to this question changed on the basis of demographic factors. For young, single immigrants who had recently come to the U.S. in the hope of earning more money and enjoying a better life, social status was defined by affordability. Varun, who came to the U.S. in 2011 and was able to buy a good car recently, was overwhelmed by his social status. He said,

"Whenever I call somebody in India, I tell them I have bought a BMW and everyone is so amazed, I feel good. My mom is looking for a bride for me and she also boasts about my BMW to the families of prospective brides — so definitely there has been upward mobility for me."

For Vaishnav, who came to the U.S. in 2008 and belongs to a very small village in India, coming to the U.S. brought upward mobility for everyone in his family and the village too. He noted,

"When I came to the U.S., my family prestige in the village increased. Everyone from my school teacher to extended family members always ask about me at my house. People started coming to my house in the village for suggestions and directions for kids in their household. Also, I am earning more here so can buy more land and a house in India. Thus, I think there has been an upward mobility in my social status after coming to the U.S."

In Conclusion

The findings indicate that the majority of respondents in the sample are very positive about the life in the U.S. in general. Only 2% of the total respondents have stated that the temporary stay in the U.S. is negatively affecting their socialization and recreational activities. At the same time, however, there was evidence of alienation among the migrant workers and a reluctance to disassociate themselves with their native country. An estimated 75% (72/96) of the sample agreed with the statement, "I would like to return to India because I feel I belong there." Only 36.8% agreed with the statement, "I would like to become a U.S. citizen and forfeit my Indian citizenship." Almost 42% disagreed that their family would be much better off in the United States. Many of them have noted that life in the U.S. is much easier and the work culture has many elements that they like (e.g. fewer work hours, strong work ethic, and respect for fellow workers).

Scores on the self-esteem scale were very high for the majority of the respondents, which indicates general happiness and satisfaction with their lives. Over 96% of respondents had self-esteem scores of 15 or higher on the 20-point scale. However, the results of the regression

analysis suggest that while their influence is negligible, both leisure time and work transnationalism has a negative effect on self-esteem.

Despite their approval of aspects of U.S. work culture, their higher compensation and fewer work hours, scores on the job satisfaction scale indicated that respondents were only moderately satisfied with their jobs. Almost 70% of the respondents had job satisfaction scale scores in the 10-14 range and only 2 of the respondents had scale scores of 16 or above, indicating a high level of satisfaction. The regression coefficients suggest that transnationalism at work applies a stronger influence on work satisfaction than leisure time transnationalism. However, the low r-square coefficient indicates that these influences are weak at best.

Finally, the majority of respondents (58%) had job dissatisfaction scale scores in the range of 8-12 points, indicating a moderately low level of dissatisfaction with their jobs. The results of the regression analysis indicate that leisure time transnationalism and transnationalism at work exert negative effects on job dissatisfaction with leisure time transnationalism exerting a stronger influence than transnationalism at work. Unlike the regression models for self-esteem and job satisfaction, the r-square for this model indicates that the two independent variables explain a non-trivial component of the variation in the job dissatisfaction scale. Engaging in a wider range of transnational activities outside the workplace and a wider range of transnational activities within the workplace are both related to lower job dissatisfaction. Finally, the qualitative analysis reinforces the findings of chapter 6 and suggests that these professionals are very happy with higher income, and luxurious life. They see a better future for their family in the U.S. However, at the same time, they fear of losing their Indian cultural and family ties.

Chapter 8 - Discussion & Conclusions

This concluding chapter summarizes the key research findings and addresses how well the findings align to the broader theoretical debate on transnational migration discussed in Chapter 3. The characteristics of IT professionals working in the United States (U.S.) on a temporary work visa revealed in this study are discussed. The chapter also discusses how these workers maintain their transnational lives and how that affects their lives in general. Finally, the chapter examines the contribution of this study to the theoretical framework on transnationalism and outlines some directions for future research.

Indian IT Professionals: A Young and Dynamic Group

The findings indicate that Indian IT professionals working on temporary work visas are demographically a young group that is excited to be working in the United States. Many of these professionals are here for the big salary, big cars, and work exposure. The sample population had already completed at least 3 years of college (with few of them having post graduate degrees) and had a minimum of 3 years of job experience in India. Members of the study sample were working in the U.S. on a temporary work visa (H1-B or L1), which is an employer-sponsored visa allowing professionals from outside the U.S. to work and stay in U.S. for maximum of 6 years[6]. This supports Charkravartty's (2001) argument that the nature of migration of IT professionals is largely temporary and the workers have to return to their home after the project or visa period ends.

The general characteristics of the sample in this study provide support for the 'body shopping' argument of Aneesh (2006), where consulting firms shop for skilled 'bodies' (IT

[6] However if the person has applied for a Green Card (i.e. for permanent residence in the U.S.) and is in the Green Card pipeline then he/she can stay for as long as the Green Card is not processed).

professionals) from recruiters in India for short-term projects in the United States. One of the drawbacks of this visa category is that the spouse or dependent of the H1-B visa holder cannot legally work in the host country, regardless of his/her qualifications.

The study reveals that the motivating factor of migration for these professionals is a combination of push-and-pull factors. Factors like better salary and superior living conditions are pull factors, and while the need for international work experience and job requirements after certain years of working in India are the push factors. The results reveal that the most important purpose for coming to the U.S. is to take up the project/research assignment and to gain professional experience. However, the in-depth interviews suggest that the decision to come to the U.S. is purely personal and is mostly for better pay. Thus, the pull factors play an important role in the immigration of Indian IT professionals to the United States. These findings support the argument of Piore (1979) that skilled migration in the globalized world is mainly caused by pull factors from the receiving country.

Remittances have been of interest to researchers in a variety of disciplines. One of the interesting findings from this study is the level of remittances to India by professionals who are relatively well paid. Professionals who are unmarried send around 60-70% of their monthly income home for saving and investment purposes in India. However, the level of remittance declines considerably (by around 10-20%), after these professionals start their family in the U.S., especially after the birth of a child. While none of these professionals have any investments in the U.S., many of them have houses or condos in big cities in India. Thus, the most common reason for sending bigger remittances is to buy a home in India and to save for the future. This conclusion supports the argument of Khadria (2003) and Faist (2000).

Indian IT professionals and their transnational lives in the U.S.

There is a saying in modern India to the effect that, "In India, engineers join MNCs with a passport in hand and an American dream in their hearts." At the same time, it is also true that "*You can take the man out of the country but you cannot take the country out of the man*." Findings from this study suggest that these sayings are very appropriate for the It professionals in the sample.

The first research objective was to describe the lives of Indian IT professionals in the U.S. and their transnational practices. The descriptive analysis shows that overall, Indian IT professionals more frequently engage in Indian forms of the cultural practices examined compared to American/Western forms. This is not surprising given that: (a) the vast majority workers in the sample did not move to the U.S. with the intention of becoming permanent settlers; and (b) approximately 85% of the sample had lived in the U.S. for 6 years or less. The five most frequent Indian practices adopted by the professionals are speaking their native language (94% speak native language daily), eating Indian food (84% ate Indian food at least once a day), listening to Indian music (84% listened to Indian music at least once a week), socializing with Indian friends (65.7% socialized with Indian friends at least once a day), and discussing Indian politics (38.6% engaged in discussions about Indian politics at least once a day).

In comparison, the five most frequent American/Western practices adopted by IT professionals in the sample were speaking English (89% spoke English at least once a day), wearing Western attire (57% wore Western clothing every day), listening to Western music (48.5% listened to Western music at least once a day), socializing with American friends (38.2% socialized with American friends at least once a day) and, watching American TV serials (36.6% watched American TV serials every day).

In regard to work-related practices, Indian IT professionals in the sample frequently engage in discussion at work with both Indian and American co-workers (80% respectively for discussion with Indian and American co-workers at least once a day) and work in projects with both American and Indian co-workers (around 80% work with American and Indian co-workers at least once a day). Socializing with Indian co-workers was a more frequent activity (45% socialize with Indian co-workers daily) compared to socializing with American co-workers (22% did this on a daily basis).

As mentioned in previous chapters, immigrants become transnational once they start engaging in the dual cultural practices on a regular basis. Here "regular" was operationalized as engaging in such activities at least once a week. Transnational practices were examined both outside of work (leisure time) and at work. The study found that Indian IT professionals in the sample worked hard to maintain their 'Indian-ness' as much as possible, but at the same time, had begun to engage in American/Western cultural practices and assimilate into U.S. society. Through these efforts, they began to live transnational lives. An estimated 94.6% of the sample was found to be transnational on at least 1 of the 13-leisure time and 4 of the work practices examined. Thus, 5.4% of the sample was not transnational on any of the practices. These data suggest that it is uncommon for the Indian IT professionals in the sample not to transition to a transnational life.

Indian IT professionals in the sample were most frequently transnational in their linguistic practices. A little over 87% of respondents spoke both their native language and English at least once week. This was followed by engaging in discussions at work with both Indian and American co-workers and working on work projects with Indian and American co-workers. While defined in this study as a "leisure time" practice, it is important to point out that being bi-lingual is a transnational practice that would also be used in the workplace and would be

necessary to transnationally engage in work discussions and transnational work projects. Since the primary reason for migration was to work in an American corporation, it is not highly surprising that these 3 practices were the most frequent transnational practices among the IT professionals in the sample.

The second most frequent group of transnational practices included leisure time cultural practices. In descending frequency, this included diet, listening to music, watching movies and socializing with friends. The percentage of respondents that was found to be transnational on these practices ranged from 54.4% to 45.1%. IT professionals in the sample were the least transnational in their membership in local social organizations, attending cultural functions, attendance at religious services, and observing holidays at work. Less than 10% of the IT professionals in the sample were found to be transnational in these practices.

The results of the factor analysis indicate that there is a fairly distinct structure to the transnational practices of Indian IT professionals in the sample. The results suggested there were four dimensions to this structure. The first dimension included transnational activities that are voluntary and coordinated through formal organizations – attending religious services, attending cultural functions, attending meetings of social organizations, socializing with co-workers, and celebrating holidays at work. Indian IT professionals who were transnational on one of these activities also tended to be transnational on the other activities. As noted in the discussion above, participation in this set of activities was limited to a small subset of the population. These respondents not only participated frequently in Indian organizations and functions, but had also reached out to participate more frequently in American organizations and functions.

The second dimension to structure of transnational practices included transnational activities coordinated at the individual level – diet, attire, language, and listening to the music. The common thread among the above-mentioned practices is that they represent activities

coordinated at the individual level. Indian IT professionals who were transnational on one of these activities also tended to be transnational on the other activities. As noted in the previous discussion, engaging in transnational participation in these activities was more common with close to ½ of the sample being transnational on these activities.

The third dimension to the structure included transnational participation in sports, which could be coordinated through formal organizations or at the individual level. Indian IT professionals who were transnational in watching sports also tended to be transnational in playing sports. While respondents were more frequently engaged in transnational sports participation than transnational participation in religious and cultural functions offered through formal organizations, this was still limited to a small subset of the sample.

Finally, the fourth dimension to the structure included transnational participation in work processes – engaging in work discussions with both Indian and American and co-workers and engaging in work projects with both Indian and American co-workers. Indian IT professionals who were transnational in one of these work processes also tended to be transnational in the other process. As noted, transnational participation on both of these activities was the most highly prevalent among respondents in the sample.

While being bi-lingual was the most frequent transnational practice, it is interesting that the factor analysis included this as being part of the second dimension of the structure of transnational activities. This indicates that bi-lingual practice was more strongly correlated with engagement in individual cultural practices (diet, listening to music, watching movies) than it was with transnational work processes. Both would seem to require the ability to understand and speak English. One possible explanation is that the transnational work processes that were measured may not always require speaking English.

Perception of Life in the Land of Opportunity

The findings suggest that Indian IT professionals working in the U.S. on temporary work visas have a very unique perception of life in the United Sates. The majority of the professionals is new to the country and appeared to be definite about returning to India. However, they are not clear on the timeline. They want to be Indian as much as possible, but at the same time, have appreciation and desire for all the amenities and better living conditions in the United States. They want to earn good money, buy big and expensive cars, buy name brand clothing, and definitely want their children to be American citizens. The opportunity for their family members to adopt American culture and the thought of their children marrying out of love rather than being arranged by parents (which is a part of Indian culture), are not concerns for these young professionals. This could be because many in the sample population are either single or have very small children.

The findings indicate that the major concerns about permanently living in the U.S. are being away from family in India, and having their children grow up and attend college in America. Some of these professionals also had concerns about the education system in U.S., which according to them is less competitive than the Indian system. Further, child rearing, which involves both parents in America, is one of many things that these young professionals have really enjoyed in America. The believed that it is an important part of life in the U.S., which they would have missed had they been in India where father's contribute less to child rearing.

This conflicting response reflects the inner struggle of these professionals between their long-term goals of settling in India with their families and the better material life they currently enjoy in a far-away land of opportunity. Thus, we can say that transnationalism from below seems to create dissonance and contradictory attitudes. For example, the IT professionals like

aspects of American culture and embrace some American norms and activities, but do not believe that they do. There are particular aspects of Indian culture that they continue to view as desirable and want to engage with their families in the future.

Impact of Living a Transnational Life

The third and final research objective was to investigate the impacts of engaging in transnationalism on the lives of Indian IT professionals working in the U.S. The findings suggest that this group of IT professionals has a very positive attitude toward life in general. Only 2% of the total respondents believed that living in the U.S. is negatively affecting their socialization and recreation activities. Many of them noted that life in the U.S. is much easier and the work culture in American offices is better in many ways than what they previously faced in India. There are no expectations of spending more time than regular office hours at the work place, which gives them more free time to spend with family and pursue their hobbies. In India, it is normal to work late hours and spend weekends at the office (not necessarily with extra pay), especially when employed by an MNC. In the U.S., working for more than eight hours a day is considered over time and, in general, allows earning higher compensation.

Among the sample in general, and female respondents in particular, many respondents felt that working in the U.S. is a blessing due to the high standard of work ethics employed in the workplace. Female respondents experienced less gender discrimination at work compared to India and felt that men in the U.S. workplace considered them as equals and not subordinates. At the same time, however, there was evidence of alienation among the migrant workers and a reluctance to disassociate themselves with their native country. Almost 75% of the respondents agreed that they would like to return back to India because they belong there and, only 36.8%

agreed that they would like to become a U.S. citizen. Finally, around 41.9% disagreed that their family would be much better off in the U.S.

Scores on the Rosenberg self-esteem scale were found to be very high for majority of the respondents (over 96% of respondents had self-esteem scores of 15 or higher on the 20 point scale), which suggests that they are happy and satisfied with their lives. This is not highly surprising given that the Indian IT professionals in the sample have high levels of education, are employed in high paying jobs, and have experienced upward mobility in their material standard of living.

The scores on the job satisfaction scale indicate that the majority of Indian IT professionals in sample had a moderate-to-high level of satisfaction with their jobs (67% of the respondents had job satisfaction scale scores in the 10-14 range on a 20 point scale). The qualitative interviews provided insight into aspects of their jobs which provided sources of satisfaction. All the professionals interviewed made it clear that they were happy and satisfied with their job in the U.S. due to the huge earnings differential (in the U.S., these professionals earn almost 3 times the salary they received in India for the same job). Another contributing factor was that living and working conditions in the U.S. were much better than in India.

The scores on the job dissatisfaction scale indicate that the majority of Indian IT professionals in the sample had a moderately low level of job dissatisfaction (58% had job dissatisfaction scale scores in the 8-12 range on a 20 point scale). The qualitative interviews indicated that one area of dissatisfaction was the lack of an internal job ladder available to them as contractual workers working on-site for a U.S. client. They pointed out that being on a temporary visa places restrictions on them in applying for and gaining higher posts within the company. They felt that unless they became an internal candidate of the host company (in the U.S.), there was no chance of moving up the job ladder to higher-level management positions.

Becoming an internal candidate was only possible after gaining permanent citizenship (getting a Green Card) in the U.S. Several of the respondents also pointed out instances when they had experienced discrimination because they were outsiders in the company working on contractual projects[7]. Taken together, the positive and negative aspects of their jobs generate uncertainty about the future and about returning to India or living in U.S. on a permanent basis.

Contribution of the Research and Direction for Future Research

In this study, I argue that the temporary stay of Indian IT professionals in the U.S., along with their families, necessitates day-to-day negotiations between the two cultures in terms of their food, clothing, recreation, and daily activities among other things, creating a transnational life style for these young professionals. This study thus examines various micro aspects of their day-to-day lives and relates this to theories of migration in general and transnationalism in particular.

On one hand, the dualism of living in the U.S. as an Indian is demonstrated in this study by the convergence of the disparate elements of both aspects of their lives, work, incomes and remittances; on other hand, family, social life, religion, consumption patterns, and recreation activities provide the glimpse of a dual life. All of these cultural and social practices can be considered as the combination of transnationalism from 'above' and 'below' as noted by Smith and Guarnizo (1998). Transnational activities at the work place, which is forced by the work culture of the MNCs that employ them, can be considered as 'transnationalism from above'. Simultaneously, being bi-lingual at home, cooking and eating Indian and Western food,

[7]In companies like State Farm there are different color identity batches for internal and contractual workers. Thus, the status of a worker is visible to other employees. Also, there is more restriction on the movement of contractual workers. Leaving the work place during work hours is restricted for temporary workers. In this manner, a well-organized corporate sector can segregate worker identification.

socializing with Indian and American friends outside work, and all those cultural activities they perform on a day-to-day basis, indicates 'transnationalism from below'. These aspects of transnationalism therefore covers the increasing globalization of capitalism, global political transformation, universalization of human rights, the technological revolution that has had a monumental impact on communication and transportation, the expansion of social networks that influence the economic organization, and the political and cultural changes inherent in transnational migration (Smith and Guarnizon, 1998).

Through this study, I have described important aspects of the transnational lives of Indian IT professionals, who try to maintain a fine balance between faster assimilation of American culture which might help them at the work place while simultaneously retaining much of their 'Indian-ness' so that going back to India never poses a problem when their visa expires. In a way, the lives of this particular group of professionals can be viewed as those of *temporary-enclave residential* workers. A temporary enclave is where workers work in the same office and resides in and around the same neighborhood to form an enclave on a temporary basis. While living in the temporary enclave residents share a common basis by having evening chai (tea) and samosas together, discussing life in America and India and helping each other maintain their Indian-ness while at the same transitioning into transnational lives.

The key limitation of the study is that the study is based on Indian IT workers living and working in Bloomington, Illinois (IL). As mentioned above, Bloomington, IL is a smaller Midwestern city with one big employer "State Farm," which employs many Indian IT workers from three major consultancy firms in India. Thus, the results from the study are somewhat restricted. A comparative study including other cities/places such as New York City (NYC), Seattle, and Silicon Valley would provide additional insights into the research objectives that were addressed. In the future, I would like to undertake a comparative study on employees of a

larger company like Citibank or American Express, which could provide more variety in the sample. Also, studying other members of a household (such as the spouse and children) would help in understanding the perception of being transnational from the perspective of other family members. Being transnational could prove to be a different experience for dependents, who may have no say in choosing the activities which could assimilate them into this culture at a faster pace or altogether segregate them from the population. The struggle of children who attend American schools and are less acquainted with American school culture provides an additional facet of transnationalism to be studied in the future. Finally, it would be interesting to also compare the findings from this study with those for other types of group of Indian temporary workers (like doctors).

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Appendix A - Survey

QUESTIONNAIRE

Name of Respondent
Email ID:
Phone No:

Date and time of survey:

I. PERSONAL: Factual and background information

1. Age:
    a. 20-25
    b. 25-30
    c. 30-35
    d. 35-40
    e. 40 and up
2. Gender
    a. Male
    b. Female

3. Marital Status
    a. Single
    b. Married
    c. Divorced
    d. Widowed

4. Children
    a. Yes _____ How many?
    b. No
5. Language spoken at home (in US)
6. State of residence in India
7. Family members staying with you in US
8. Highest degree attainted
9. University Attended (in India)

JOB

10. Current job title at work:
11. Salary (per annum)
12. Year of Entry in US
13. Visa Status
    a. H1-B
    b. L1
    c. Other (specify)

14. What was your purpose for coming to the US? Please tick the appropriate option(s).
    a) Project/ Research assignment
    b) To gain professional experience
    c) To earn more money
    d) For permanent settlement in the host country
    e) Project/Research assignments
    Other ------

17. Which factors have helped you in decision to migrate to the US?

Please give scales to the following options according to your preference order as follows:

	Extremely important	**Moderately Important**	**Less Important**	**Not Important**	**Not at all important**
Better Income and employment opportunities in the host country					
Better living condition					
Job Requirement					
To gain experience that would later be highly valued in India					
Bleak employment prospects in India					
Quality of day to day life					
Higher Education					
Other					

Please explain your first three preferences of rank-order.

Explanation of Rank 1

Explanation of Rank 2

Explanation of Rank 3

II. Transnational practice

A. Cultural Practice

In your day-today life in US, how often do you do the following things?

	Statements	Never	Several times a year	Once in a month	Several time a month	Once a week	Once a day	Several times a day
1	Eat Indian food							
2.	Eat Western Food							
3.	Wear Indian cloths							
4.	Wear Western Attire							
5.	Speak native language							
6.	Speak English language							
7.	Play American Sports (football, baseball)							
8.	Watch American Sports (football, baseball)							
9.	Play Indian Sports (Cricket)							
10	Watch Indian Sports (Cricket)							
11.	Discuss Indian Politics							
12.	Discuss American Politics							
13.	Watch Indian TV serial							
14.	Watch American TV serials							
15.	Watch Indian Movies							

16.	Watch American Movies							
17.	Listen to Western Music							
18	Listen to Indian music							
19.	Visiting Indian Temple							
20.	Attending service at American Church							
21.	Fishing, hunting, camping							
22.	Use Indian herbal/ homeopathy medicine							
23.	Use over the counter medicine							
24.	Phone call to India							

B. Socialization

In a day-to-day life, how often do you do the following?

		Never	Several times a year	Once in a month	Several time a month	Once a week	Once a day	Several times a day
1	Socialize with American friends							
2.	Socialize with Indian friends							
3.	Attend Indian cultural function							
4.	Attend American cultural functions							
5.	Shop at American grocery store							
6.	Shop at Indian grocery store							
7.	Attend meeting of American social organization							
8.	Attend meeting of Indian Social Organization							

C. Transnationalism at work

In a day today life at work, how often you do the following:

		Never	Several times a year	Once in a month	Several time a month	Once a week	Once a day	Several times a day
1	Engage in discussing with Indian co workers							
2.	Engage in discussion with American coworkers							
3.	Work in a project with Indian co-workers							
4.	Work in a project with American co-workers							
5.	Socialize with American co-workers outside the work							
6.	Socialize with Indian co-workers outside the work							
7.	Celebrate Indian holidays at work							
8.	Celebrate American holidays at work							

D. Life in American

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree
1.	I feel comfortable with American co-workers				

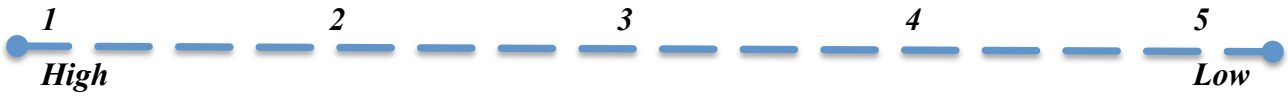
2.	I enjoy the work environment in US				
3.	I enjoy the American work practice				
4	I dislike American work culture				
5	I feel I do need to know about American culture to work in the US				
6	I feel I should not change my Indian way of living to work in US				
7	I do not have any problem in working if my boss in American				
8	I do feel discriminated in my office				
9	If given a change I would like to be a American citizen				
10	I feel being Indian restrict me for being promoted				
11	I feel native should be given priority in promotion				
12	My visa status restrict me to practice my Indian way of living				
13	I don't have problem in celebrating American festival				
14	I do feel that some Indian holidays should be there in offices with more Indian workers				

F. Where do you identify yourself in the following scale?

Totally Indian ***Totally American***

(Follow all Indian way of living and practice) (Follow all Indian way of living and practice)

G. Family Solidarity



High solidarity with many obligation of kinship relation within large, extended family	Relations of solidarity within a limited kinship circle with specified obligation only	Small loosely integrated, independent family with highly specific individual

III. Impact of Being Transnational

General

How do you think about the given sentences?

	Statement	***Strongly Agree***	***Agree***	***Disagree***	***Strongly Disagree***
1	Temporarily stay in US is effecting my cultural believe negatively				
2.	Temporarily stay in US is effecting my family believe negatively				
3.	Temporarily stay in US is effecting my socialization negatively				
4	Temporarily stay in US is effecting my recreation activates negatively				
5	I am ok with my children adopting US culture				
6	I am happy if my children go for love marriage				
7	I feel my family would be much better in the US				
8	Given a change I want to become American Citizen and forfeit Indian citizenship				
9	I would like to return back to India as I feel I belong to there				
10	I feel distance in relation to parents/ relatives in India				
11	I feel I am gaining a lot being in the US				

B. Rosenberg's self Esteem Scale

	Statement	***Strongly Agree***	***Agree***	***Disagree***	***Strongly Disagree***
1	I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with other				
2.	I feel that I have a number of good qualities				
3.	All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure				
4	I am able to do things as well as most other people				
5	I feel I do not have much to be proud of				
6	I take a positive attitude toward myself				
7	On the whole, I am satisfied with myself				
8	I wish I could have more respect for myself				
9	I certainly feel useless at times				
10	At times I think I am no good at all				

C. Job satisfaction

	Statements	***Strongly Agree***	***Agree***	***Disagree***	***Strongly Disagree***
1.	There is too little variety in my job				
2	I tend to get bored on the job				
3	There must be better places to work				

4	I have too small a share in deciding matters that affect my work				
5	My job means more to me than just money				
6	I am satisfied with the work I do				
7	My job gives me a chance to do what I do best				
8	I feel I am happier in my work than most other people				
9	I would like more freedom on the job				
10	My job is like a hobby for me				
11	I am satisfied with my job for time being				
12	My job is pretty uninteresting				

D. How Often was each of these things on your mid in last few weeks

		Never	**Rarely**	**Occasionally**	**Fairly Often**	**Frequently**
1	Money					
2.	Work pressure					
3.	Job Promotion					
4.	Family					
5.	Visa status					
6.	Future					
7.	Returning to India					
8.	Vacation					

Appendix B - Personal Interview Schedule

General Information

1. What is your age and educational qualification?
2. What is your annual income: (a) Below $20,000; (b) $20,000-$50,000; (c) $50,000-$100,000; (d) $100,000-$200,000; (e) $200,000 and above.
3. Do you speak Hindi/regional language (please specify)? With whom do you speak the language?
4. Describe your family in US?

(II) Reasons and Context of Immigration and Post-Immigration Experience in United States

1. Describe the socio-demographic profile of your family in India? Which part of India do you come from?
2. Describe the factors that contributed to your migration to United States? Were there any hindrances on the way of your immigration? If yes, what were they?
3. What, if any according to you are some unique things about American Way of living? What do you most like about United States.
4. Did you have any expectation about life in United States? What were those expectations? Have those expectations been met?
5. How long have you been to United States? Have you ever visited India after coming to United States? What was/were the purpose(s) of the trip(s)? Who accompanied you on such trips? Do you plan on visiting India in near future?
6. What, if any according to you are some unique things about Indian Way of living? Do you think you practice both this way of living? What do you most like about India.
7. Do you send remittances to your family members on a regular basis?
   If yes, how much remittances you have sent in last 3 years of stay in the US ? a) Up to $10,000 b) $ 10,000 – $ 20,000 c) $20,000 –above.
8. Describe the purpose for which the remittances were used a) Housing related expenditure (building material/purchasing a house/flat); b) Durable consumption goods (electronic appliance, furniture, etc); c) Other consumption goods; d) marriage; e) Investment on business; f) Investment on stock market; g) Other expenditures, specify

(III) Work

1. What is the nature of your current Job?
2. How do your job fits in the occupational hierarchy of the company
3. How many people in your company work at same position in your company
4. How many of them are Indians?
5. Were you doing the same job in India?
6. How can you distinguish between the work you did in India and what you are doing in US?
7. Are you satisfied with your current professional status? Please justify your answer.
8. What, if any hindrances your face in changing the work environment from India to US?
9. Do you feel there is discrimination/isolation practice in job
10. Where do you see yourself in job hierarchy ten years from now?

(IV) Ethnic Associations and their Purpose

1. Are you affiliated to any Indian associations in Bloomington? Describe your involvement in such associations?
2. What purpose do ethnic associations serve for Indian in Bloomington Area?
3. Do you have Indian association meeting or get-togethers? Do you attend those? What are the reasons behind your attendance or non-attendance. How often you used to attend the meetings?
4. Are you affiliated to any Pan-American- Club or association in Bloomington? Describe your involvement in such associations?
5. What purpose does pan- American-club or association in Bloomington Area?
6. Do you have Pan-American association meeting or get-togethers? Do you attend those? How often you used to attend the meetings? What are the reasons behind your attendance or non-attendance?

(V) Open Ended- Perception about Transnational life

1. Compare your social status in India and United Status? Do you think of it as an upward or downward social mobility?
2. Are you aware of the current happenings in India? How do you keep yourself updated about the happenings in India?
3. What if any, are some of the concerns you have about your kids in United States? What are your thoughts about your children adopting an American way of living?

4. What type of marriage (arranged or romantic) would you ideally prefer for your kids? What is/are the reason(s) behind your preference?
5. Do you see you or your family much better off in US? Justify your answer.
6. How do you think the transnational living effect your Cultural believe. Justify your answer.
7. How do you think the transnational living effect your Family dynamic? Justify your answer
8. How do you think the transnational living effect your Child rearing? Justify your answer.
9. How do you think the transnational living effect your socialization and recreation? Justify your answer
10. Have you ever considered returning to India? Please justify your plans for staying in United States or returning to India? What do you think of the programs offered by the Indian government to attract the NRIs (Non Resident Indians) back to the country?

Appendix C - Methods Used to Construct Self-Esteem Scale

The Rosenberg self-esteem scale (1989) contains both items that are worded and weighted in a positive direction (where a higher score indicates higher self-esteem) and items that are worded and weighted in a negative direction (a higher score indicates lower self-esteem). I first reversed the weighting of the negatively worded items so a higher score on all items indicated higher self-esteem. I then computed pair-wise, bivariate correlations for all the items (now weighted in the same direction) in order to gain insight into the strength of the relationships among scale items.

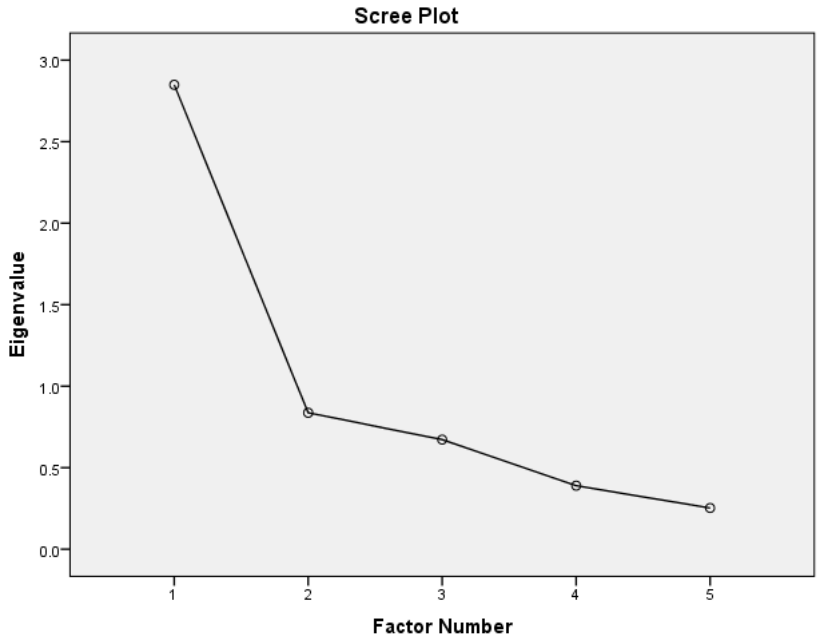
Since all scale items are theoretically measuring an individual's self-esteem, the self-esteem scale is unidimensional. In order to confirm this, I used confirmatory factory analysis, using the Principal Axis factoring method used to extract the initial factors. The results of the correlational analysis indicated weak correlations among some of the scales items. Further, the factor analysis did not result in a 1 factor solution and therefore, did not confirm a unidimensional scale. Rather, a 4 factor solution was obtained with 4 factors having an Eigenvalue > 1.0. The weak items responsible for this outcome were eliminated from the scale, paring the number of items from 10 to 5. Items 1, 2, 4, 6 and 7 were retained in the scale (all the items can be seen in section III-B of the survey in Appendix A. The 5 items retained in the scale are listed in Table 7.2).

The Factor analytic was then re-estimated. The results confirmed the unidimensionality of the scale. A single factor solution was obtained. The first factor only had an Eigenvalue > 1.0 (see results below). This factor accounted for 57% of the variance in the set of 5 items. The Pearson's r correlation coefficients among the scale items ranged from a minimum of .225 between item 1 and item 7 to a maximum of .707 between item 1 and item 2. An analysis of the

reliability of the scale times indicated an acceptable degree of internal consistency as coefficient alpha was found to be .800 for the set of 5 items. Finally to create a self-esteem scale score, I summed up the total of these 5 indicators, giving a measure with a range of 0-20, with 5 indicating the lowest level of self-esteem and 20 indicating the highest level.

Table A C 1 : Results of Factor Analysis & Reliability Analysis for Pared Set of Self -Esteem Scale Items

Factor	Initial Eigenvalues		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	2.849	56.975	56.975
2	.837	16.738	73.713
3	.672	13.443	87.157
4	.390	7.794	94.951
5	.252	5.049	100.000



Factor Matrix[a]

	Factor 1
III_B. 1. I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with other	.728
III_B. 2. I feel that I have a number of good qualities	.837
III_B.4. I am able to do things as well as most other people	.521
III_B.6. I take a positive attitude toward myself	.707
III_B.7 On the whole, I am satisfied with myself	.595

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.

a. 1 factors extracted. 7 iterations required.

Correlations

		III_B_1	III_B_2	III_B_4	III_B_6	III_B_7
III_B_1	Pearson Correlation	1	.707**	.342**	.475**	.402**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.001	.000	.000
	N	95	94	94	94	95
III_B_2	Pearson Correlation	.707**	1	.508**	.480**	.444**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.000	.000
	N	94	96	94	95	96
III_B_4	Pearson Correlation	.342**	.508**	1	.407**	.225*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.000		.000	.028
	N	94	94	95	95	95
III_B_6	Pearson Correlation	.475**	.480**	.407**	1	.607**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000		.000
	N	94	95	95	97	97
III_B_7	Pearson Correlation	.402**	.444**	.225*	.607**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.028	.000	
	N	95	96	95	97	98

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.800	5

Appendix D - Methods Used in Constructing Job Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction Scales

I initially expected that the combined set of items drawn from Schuessler's Social Life Feelings Scale and Brayfield and Rothes' Index of Job Satisfaction (found in Miller, 1991: 450-457, 466-468) would provide a unidimensional scale measuring job satisfaction. Some of the items are worded and weighted in a positive direction (where a higher score indicates higher job satisfaction) while some of the items that are worded and weighted in a negative direction (a higher score indicates lower job satisfaction) (see all items in section III-C of the survey in Appendix A). The negatively weighted items were reverse coded so a higher score indicated high job satisfaction. I conducted a correlational analysis and confirmatory factor analysis on the set of 12 items using the principal axis factoring method to extract the initial factors. The factor matrix was rotated using the Varimax method of rotation. These results indicated weak correlations among some of the items and the factor analysis resulted in a 3 factor solution with the 3rd factor having an Eigenvalue of 1.142 with no factor loadings greater than .368. Items 5 & 9 had weak correlations with the other items and had low factor loadings on all 3 of the factors. These items were eliminated from the scale.

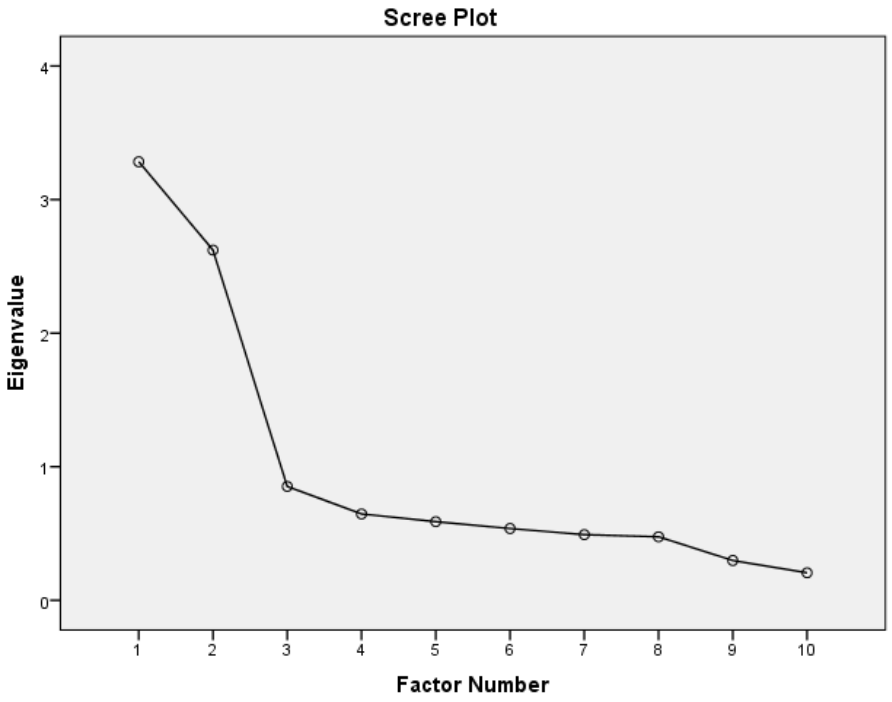
The factor analytic model was then re-estimated. With items 5 & 9 eliminated, a 2 factor solution was obtained with each factor being well-defined. Factor 1 had an Eigenvalue of 3.283 and accounted for 32.8% of the variance in the set of items. Factor 2 had an Eigenvalue of 2.622 and accounted for an additional 26.2% of the variance in the set of items (see results below). The pattern of factor loadings on the rotated factor matrix was distinct and clear. All items that were negatively worded to indicate a lack of job satisfaction (items 1, 2, 3, 4, & 12) loaded highly on factor 1 while all the items that were positively worded to indicate satisfaction with one's job (items 6, 7, 8, 10, & 11) loaded highly on factor 2.

The 2 factor solution suggested that the items on each factor were measuring two different dimensions of attitudes toward work. The first factor measured dissatisfaction with one's job while the second factor was measuring job satisfaction. The items on each factor were then treated as a separate scale. The original coding on the job dissatisfaction items was restored so a higher score indicated a higher level of dissatisfaction. The five items loading highly on factor 1 were summed to compute a composite score of job dissatisfaction. The scale scores had a possible range of 5-20, with 20 indicating the highest level of job dissatisfaction. The internal consistency of these items was found to be satisfactory as coefficient alpha was found to be .834.

The five items loading highly on factor 2 were summed to compute a composite score of job satisfaction. The scale scores had a possible range of 5-20 with 20 indicating the highest level of job satisfaction. The internal consistency of these items was found to be slightly less than satisfactory as coefficient alpha was found to be .777.

Table AD1. Results of Factor Analysis & Reliability Analysis for Pared Set of Items Measuring Job Dissatisfaction and Job Satisfaction

Factor	Initial Eigenvalues		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	3.283	32.830	32.830
2	2.622	26.218	59.047
3	.852	8.522	67.570
4	.646	6.463	74.033
5	.589	5.889	79.922
6	.537	5.374	85.296
7	.491	4.913	90.209
8	.475	4.754	94.963
9	.298	2.979	97.942
10	.206	2.058	100.000



Factor Matrix[a]

	Factor	
	1	2
III.C.1. There is too little variety in my job	.719	-.103
III.C.2 (r). I tend to get bored on the job	.808	-.050
III.C.3 (r). There must be better places to work	.681	-.122
III.C.4(r). I have too small a share in deciding matters that affect my work	.614	-.305
III.C.6. I am satisfied with the work I do	.378	.390
III.C.7. My job gives me a chance to do what I do best	.488	.740
III.C.8. I feel I am happier in my work than most other people	.156	.764
III.C.10. My job is like a hobby for me	-.078	.591
III.C.11. I am satisfied with my job for time being	-.052	.565
III.C.12(r). My job is pretty uninteresting	.627	-.268

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.

a. 2 factors extracted. 8 iterations required.

Rotated Factor Matrix[a]

	Factor	
	1	2
III.C.1. There is too little variety in my job	.723	.065
III.C.2 (r). I tend to get bored on the job	.798	.136
III.C.3 (r). There must be better places to work	.691	.037
III.C.4(r). I have too small a share in deciding matters that affect my work	.668	-.156
III.C.6. I am satisfied with the work I do	.279	.466
III.C.7. My job gives me a chance to do what I do best	.306	.832
III.C.8. I feel I am happier in my work than most other people	-.023	.780
III.C.10. My job is like a hobby for me	-.211	.557
III.C.11. I am satisfied with my job for time being	-.180	.538
III.C.12(r). My job is pretty uninteresting	.672	-.117

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

Reliability Analysis of 5 items in Job Dissatisfaction Scale

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.834	5

Reliability Analysis of 5 items in Job Satisfaction Scale

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.777	5

Appendix E - Debriefing Statement

My name is Uma Sarmistha, I am a PhD student in Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Social Work at Kansas State University. For my PhD Dissertation I would like to study the cultural and socialization practice adopted by immigrant workers from India, who are employed by U.S. firms on a temporary work visa. The research will basically try to explore the lives of transnational workers at work and home. For the purpose of my study, I would like to survey Indian IT professionals working at Bloomington, IL.

I would like to assure you that this survey is only for research purpose. The information obtained from this research will be used for three main purpose: firstly, It will be used in by PhD dissertation at Kansas State University; secondly it will be used to write few journal articles for publication and thirdly, it will provide a better understanding of the lives of Indian professionals working in the US firms on temporary visa category. Lastly, I would like to assure you that any answer you provide will be kept anonymous and confidential and will never be identified with your name.

It will take around 15-20minutes to complete the online survey. Your participation is important to the success of my study. If you agree to participate in my survey please send me your email id and name as a reply to this email. I will send you the survey form by June first week.

Thanking You
Uma