NICOL FOULKES SAVINETTI

Encountering Difference

The experience of Nordic highly skilled citizens in India

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UNIVERSITY OF TAMPERE

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I can handle your telling me
what I did or didn't do.
And I can handle your interpretations,
but please don't mix the two.

If you want to confuse any issue
I can tell you how to do it:
Mix together what I do,
with how you react to it.

Tell me that you're disappointed,
with the unfinished chores you see,
But calling me "irresponsible"
is no way to motivate me.

And tell me that you're feeling hurt,
when I say "no" to your advances,
But calling me a frigid man
won't increase your future chances.

Yes, I can handle your telling me
what I did or didn't do,
And I can handle your interpretations,
but please don't mix the two.

Marshall Rosenberg
Nonviolent Communication (1995:25)

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Raising my son is giving me a new understanding of how complex human beings are, how divergently we are affected by our social and natural environment and, more poignantly, how we are influenced by the people around us. And let us not forget the part that is unique, and just the self. I consider myself fortunate that the 'self' that I possess today has been influenced by countless wonderful individuals, many of whom I shall mention here. I would say that this is perhaps the most pleasurable section of the manuscript to write as it requires me simply to put on paper all of the people to whom I owe a debt of gratitude for their input not only for the duration of the thesis production, but also before.

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Abstract

The present study is an analysis of Danish and Finnish temporary migrants who travel in conjunction with work for a limited period of time to the growth economy and so-called 'developing' country, India. Seen through the lens of privilege, the study investigates how diversely the highly skilled migrants' social citizenship is affected by the move to the mega-cities Mumbai, Delhi and Bangalore, which have been recognized as challenging destinations for foreign highly skilled migrant workers. I apply Rainer Bauböck's (2010) citizenship constellation as a theoretical frame. It does not conform to any specific citizenship typology, but rather allows for consideration of the multidimensional horizontal, vertical and environmental intra- and interactions that take place in the negotiation of social citizenship. The project utilizes a combination of semi-structured interviews, detailed pre- and post-interview questionnaires and participant observation methods, and takes a holistic approach guided by Gadamerian hermeneutics.

The main findings are that the Nordic citizens indeed exhibit highly divergent citizenship constellations. In vertical relationships they experience changes to their legislated social rights in their home country diversely, depending on the country of origin, duration of stay and whether they are the employed or accompanying partner among other factors; both the employed partner and the accompanying partner's reliance on the company for social support increases dramatically, thus redefining Marshall's (1950) understanding of industrial citizenship; the Nordic migrants are susceptible to framing effects (Chong and Druckman 2007) and also engage in corruption and homogeneous stereotyping to varying degrees when dealing with public institutions and administration in India. In horizontal relationships, the Nordic migrants show diversity in their willingness and ability to mobilize and transform their economic, social, cultural and erotic capital (Bourdieu 1984, Hakim 2010) to facilitate dealing with new and sometimes challenging situations. Furthermore, being in possession of the different forms of capital and privilege is advantageous, disadvantageous and sometimes irrelevant in the migrants' encounters with difference. In relation to the broader social and physical environment, their constellations diversify with regard to how and how much they

use public spaces, their consumption habits and their environmental awareness among other things, seemingly as a consequence of their location specific change in group status (Malloy, Ristikari, Berrios-Candelaria, Lewis, and Agastein 2011), and their (in)ability to categorize themselves and others along multiple dimensions (Rubini and Palmonari 2012).

Tiivistelmä

Tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan Intiassa tilapäisesti työskenteleviä suomalaisia ja tanskalaisia korkeasti koulutettuja henkilöitä ja heidän puolisoitaan. Tutkimuksessa selvitetään kuinka muuttaminen Mumbain, Delhin ja Bangaloren haasteellisiin miljoonakaupunkeihin vaikuttaa korkeasti koulutettujen sosiaaliseen kansalaisuuteen. Käytän Rainer Bauböckin (2010) kansalaisuuden kokoelmia teoreettisena viitekehyksenä. Bauböckin määritelmä ei perustu yksittäiseen kansalaisuuden typologiaan, vaan pikemminkin antaa mahdollisuuden käsitellä kansalaisuutta moniulotteisesti: horisontaalisena, vertikaalisena sekä ympäristöllisesti monitahoisena vuorovaikutussuhteena. Tutkimusongelmaa lähestytään monipuolisten tutkimusmenetelmien kautta: puolistrukturoidulla haastattelumenetelmällä, yksityiskohtaisilla pre- ja postkyselyillä sekä osallistuvan havainnointimenetelmän avulla. Tutkimus perustuuu Gadamerian holistisen hermeneuttiseen lähestymistapaan.

Tutkimuksen päätulokset osoittavat että pohjoismaiden kansalaiset ilmentävät useita erilaisia kansalaisuuden kokoelmia muuttaessaan Intiaan. Vertikaalisissa suhteissa he kokevat muutoksia sosiaalisissa oikeuksissaan kotimaihinsa nähden eritavoin riippuen lähtömaasta, komennuksen pituudesta ja työsuhteen laadusta. Sekä työsuhteessa oleva että mukaan lähtenyt puoliso ovat riippuvaisia lähettävän yrityksen tuesta, mikä osoittaa Marshalin (1950) teollisen kansalaisuuden käsitteen rajoitukset tässä ajassa. Pohjoismaiset väliaikaiset siirtolaiset ovat alttiitta sosiaalisen kehystämisen vaikutuksille (Chong & Druckman 2007) ja harjoittavat eriasteisesti korruptiota ja yleistävää stereotypiointia toimiessaan julkisten instituutioiden kanssa Intiassa.

Horisontaaleissa suhteissaan pohjosmaiset siirtolaiset osoittavat eroavaisuuksia halukkuudessaan ja osaamisessaan liittyen taloudellisten, sosiaalisten, kulttuurillisten ja eroottisten voimavarojen käyttöön haasteellisissa tilanteissa (Bourdieu 1984, Hakim 2010). Lisäksi erilaisten voimavarojen ja etuoikeuksien omaaminen on osaltaan hyödyllistä, hyödytöntä ja jopa merkityksetöntä erilaisuuden kohtaamisen kokemuksissa. Mitä tulee laajempaan sosiaalisen ja fyysiseen ympäristöön, siirtolaisten kansalaisuuden kokoelma laajenee liittyen siihen kuinka paljon ja millä tavoin he käyttävät julkisia tiloja, minkälaisia kulutustapoja heillä on ja minkä

tasoista heidän tietoisuus ympäristöstään on. Kansalaisuuden kokoelman laajentuminen nähtiin liittyvän paikkaan liittyviin muutoksiin ryhmästatuksessa (Malloy, Ristikari, Berrios-Candelaria, Lewis, & Agastein 2011), ja siirtolaisten kyvyssä/kyvyttömyydessä kategorisoida itseään ja muita useilla ulottuvuuksilla (Rubini & Palmonari 2012).

Contents

1   Introduction

Walter L. Wallace (1971) describes science as *'a way of generating and testing the truth of statements about events in the world of human experience'*, and adds, importantly, that it is only *'one of several ways of doing this* [i.e. generating and testing truths]'; moreover, none of the modes of generating and testing knowledge excludes any of the other. A particular objective truth is no less true than the same truth discovered by other means; as Wallace states, it is only our confidence in the obtained 'truth' that will vary depending on which means we have been socialized to accept with least question (Seale 2004: 35–38).

Von Wright (1971) identifies two competing traditions of science: the Galilean tradition and the Aristotelian tradition. He postulates that the main difference between the two lies in their understandings of the nature of scientific explanation. In the former, the explanations are causal or mechanical. As with the natural sciences, the methods used should be able to be replicated to produce the same results; phenomena are thus predictable through knowledge of their causes and generalizations can be made through observation and experiment. Many scientists believe that the ability to replicate a study using the same methodological strategies is precisely what makes this scientific research science (Cozby 2004) and strengthens validity (Polit and Beck 2010). This positivist approach is reflected strongly by the relative lack of discussion of topics such as reflexivity in the discourse of quantitative research methods (see Ryan and Golden 2006 for further discussion).

According to the Aristotelian traditions, scientific explanations are teleological, that is they are given in terms of the purpose/ends rather than the cause. The explanations involve interpretations and understandings and thus cannot be governed by laws and, furthermore, necessitate induction and empirical exploration. In the Aristotelian tradition, I am of the belief that the researcher as well as the numerous other external occurrences, interactions and intra–actions[1]

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[1] Intra-action differs from interaction in so far as intra-action does not presuppose the prior existence of independent entities (Barad 2003). When two objects interact, they are recognized as being two separate items that were in no way connected to one another prior to their meeting and exchange, whereas when they intra-act, the two objects were in one way or another connected prior to their meeting and exchange.

make each piece of research unique, no less scientific and, particularly in the case of qualitative analyses, impossible for another human being to fully replicate as precisely the same conditions are impossible to replicate. This does not mean that the same findings cannot be reached using similar or different methods. Even when this is the case, the very same results, whether qualitative or quantitative, can be – and often are – interpreted in different ways depending on a plethora of different characteristics of the interpreter: their political ideology, their academic background, not to mention other socio-economic or socio-cultural characteristics. I believe that a researcher's personality, emotions, political orientation, heritage, life experience, affiliations and many other dynamics related to time and space are part of and influence the research process. These influences produce unique outcomes, however they should not stop researchers from aiming to be objective, professional and transparent when doing their work.

The point of reflecting on the different dynamics in the methodological process is to make the process more transparent and to show what has been done and how the conclusions have been drawn from the research material (Ryan and Golden 2006, Billig 2004). Failure to acknowledge the traits of the researcher can have a significant impact on research findings and the presentation of conclusions and generalizations. This noteworthy impact has been discussed in the literature on performing research on indigenous populations and decolonizing methodology, a research tradition which attempts to change practices of colonial research traditions that have, in the past, made culture silent (Liamputtong 2010:21–24) and consequently produced somewhat unwholesome truths. I believe, moreover, that this stance is also helpful in easing the tensions that can arise between different academic disciplines that employ different methods. These beliefs are reflected strongly throughout the thesis which follows the Aristotelian tradition of science and adopts a Gadamerian hermeneutic methodological approach. In addition, while my doctorate is in the field of social policy, I also draw on the discourse of social psychology, sociology, anthropology and hybrids thereof.

Perhaps unusually for a doctoral thesis in the discipline of social policy, I give detailed information on my own life experiences in an attempt, in the rhetoric of Gadamer (2004), to foreground and appropriate my own fore–meanings in accordance with the hermeneutic tradition. I am a migrant from the UK to Denmark, daughter to migrants from Jamaica, and granddaughter to an Indian migrant to Jamaica. I was born in London and grew up in a town in Essex which at that time had very few non-white residents. I speak different western European languages, have lived in Germany, Spain, Australia and Finland for extended

periods working and studying and have always lived a very local, rather than 'expat' life. Difference and diversity have been constant and central features of my personal and professional life course, and what's more they are features I enjoy and see the positive sides to in spite of experiencing the negatives, including indifference to their existence. In the thesis I address primarily the challenges that arise when individuals are confronted with difference – different behaviors, different settings, different treatment and different norms – and how divergently citizens from the Nordic region interpret the situations and deal with them. Another researcher, hypothetically speaking, with a different cultural heritage and ethnic background would most likely have had other fieldwork and research experiences, and hence s/he would potentially have located a different set of informants, made different observations, and recognized different phenomena when conducting a study among Nordic highly skilled migrants in India.

The thesis is an investigation into how social citizenship, that is formal and informal social ties and behaviors (my own definition; see Chapter 3 for more detail), is negotiated and transformed when citizens are located in a social system foreign to their own. My core research subjects are highly skilled citizens of Denmark and Finland who have migrated for temporary periods to Bangalore (officially named yet less commonly referred to as Bengaluru), Delhi and Mumbai (formerly named Bombay), three of India's largest cities and economic hubs. In the social sciences, it is common for Finns to study Finns, Danes to study Danes, Italians to study Italians and so forth, however with the mobility options that now exist in institutes of higher education, this trend, while still the norm, is changing. In many ways, I represent the quintessential international researcher with both formal and informal ties to several different polities: a British citizen with a non-British and non-white ethnic heritage, permanently resident in Denmark, enrolled at a Finnish university, studying Danes and Finns who are living in India.

1.1   The Nature and Aim of the Thesis

The thesis takes the case of Danish and Finnish seconded workers (defined as employees sent to work in another office by their employer on a temporary assignment) and their accompanying partners living and working in the mega-cities of India and places them in a framework of more general theoretical issues at the intersection of migration and citizenship studies. Being seconded abroad outside of the territory of the European Union, the workers and their families put their lives

in the hands of the employer and the private and public services offered by the destination country. They also often expose themselves to unfamiliar cultural, social and natural environments. Furthermore, in some cases, depending among other things on the length of stay abroad or their work or marital status, these individuals experience diminished social protection that is usually guaranteed by legislation in their home country.

The idea to look at the phenomenon of Nordic citizens moving to Asia stemmed from an, at the time, new trend I was noticing while teaching at a private international language school in Copenhagen. I was getting an increasing number of students, wives and children of employees of Danish multinationals, who were preparing to move to Asia on secondment. Being a Master of European Social Policy Analysis and having encountered what I view as the Nordic gender exceptionalism, I pondered why these women would willingly give up their independent, 'equal' breadwinner status, good careers and the safety and security of the Nordic region to become dependent housewives in, most likely, quite challenging locations in Asia. The questions I have chosen to ask in this thesis, and moreover the answers I find are of course more complex as is revealed in the ensuing chapters.

1.1.1 Encountering Difference

The challenge for welfare states for the future, I believe, is to learn how to deal with difference, be that among the mono–ethnic or the multi–ethnic resident populations or non-resident citizens. There is much to be gained in analysing the culture of the 'self' and how we can adapt and are adapting ourselves to changing environments, rather than consistently attempting to regulate and control the curious 'other' as has been done for centuries in Western academia, politics and society (e.g. Said 1979). This thesis investigates Nordic universalism and asks whether the universalism that is currently in place is applicable when Nordic citizens encounter difference, be that difference among themselves as supposedly homogeneous citizens of their home country, or within an 'other' society among its citizens.

Although in the early twenty-first century research in the social sciences have greatly adapted to consider differences between people, such as gender, race and religion coined by the term intersectionality (Yuval–Davies 2006 and 2007, Collins and Chepp 2013), assumptions and rigid generalizations continue to be made

regarding nationality and citizenship into the 21st century. In particular, in the field of social policy, analyses have been strongly rooted in economics and politics with an unarticulated aim of controlling society within a white, Western neo–capitalist, nation–state centred framework, rather than looking to the behaviors and desires of individuals, citizens and denizens whose profiles and needs are increasingly diverse.

The literature on the challenges facing welfare states for example is abundant (see for example Castles 2004, Anttonen, Häikiö and Stefánsson 2012, Frericks and Maier 2012), however little attention has thus far been paid to how the migration of domestic populations and international secondment challenge the sedentary intergenerational contract basis of the traditional welfare state (c.f. Castles and Schierup 2010, and Zutavern and Kohli 2010), whereby the working generation finances children's childcare and schooling and their parents' old–age care and pensions. This arrangement has been under scrutiny in recent years in Europe due to the growing ageing populations; by 2050 Denmark is predicted to have over 25.4% of the population aged 65 and over and Finland approximately 27.6%; this corresponds to a ratio of 57.3 and 70.2 inactive elderly to the total labor force (OECD 2009: 19; see also Véron, Pennec and Légaré 2007) While the ageing discussion has centred around how to finance pensions and care provision, migration throws up questions about what Goodin (1998: 145) describes as *'at best a contract of adhesion'* as no–one is ever asked whether or not they are prepared to sign up to this tacit contract, and, moreover, it destabilizes the idea of the nation state being the sole risk–pool. Thus, we must expand our perspectives outside the realm of the nation state and analyse migration, i.e. the in- and out-flows of people and the various social statuses and rights attached to those transitions.

The variegated and multidimensional nature of modern day citizenship demands that we be able to think in terms of many dimensions (McIntyre–Mills 2009: 1), for example dimensions of language, culture, heritage, place, social and political ties and activities, work activity and so forth; it demands, moreover, that we achieve a greater understanding of how these differences and difference in itself is confronted and dealt with. In this thesis, I choose to focus on differences that are encountered by citizens, at the institutional level in relation to the home-country welfare state, as well as at the individual level in relation to being relocated to a new and foreign social environment and system. The notion of difference is also intended to be implicit in the discussions that will follow on the citizenship, migration, privilege and (in)security, and is also a defining feature of the overall methodological strategy.

1.1.2   Migration and the Highly Skilled

In migration research in general there is an excessive focus on the precarious nature of migration 'from below' (the low-skilled, refugees, asylum seekers, and 'east-west' or 'south-north' migration), and little is known about the precariousness of migration 'from above' (highly skilled mobility, 'west-east' or 'north-south' migration). If the goal of social research is to contribute towards building better societies, then migration studies need to focus on how the power-holders, decisions-makers and agenda-setters themselves, who also tend to be more affluent, behave in different social settings as they too contribute to the ecology and evolution of the social systems they operate within.

Migrants are usually perceived as highly skilled when they have at least tertiary education.)ther interpretations revolve around the nature of their occupation or the salary they earn (Chaloff and Lemaître 2009: 4). As economies have made and are making the transition to becoming knowledge-based, it has become apparent that many can expect increasing shortages of highly skilled labor in the coming decades (Chaloff and Lemaître 2009, OECD 2008, WEF 2010), partly due to the expansion of world trade (Salt 1997), and partly due to the IT–related boom and the aging populations in industrial countries (Martin 2003). At the same time as the opportunities afforded by the improved prospects for labor mobility across borders among the highly skilled increase for many countries, they create problems for others: the outward–migration of the highly educated workforce also means a loss of human capital, the skills and knowledge acquired through socialization and education.

Towards the end of the 20th century, the phenomena brain drain (the exit of human capital from a country or region), brain gain (the gain in human capital for a country or region), brain circulation (the movement of human capital from one country or region to another and back again) and brain waste (the inability to make use of available human capital) became widely discussed (see for example Mahroum 1999, Pellegrino 2002, Bhorat, Meyer and Mlatsheni 2002, Solimano 2008) in confronting the challenges and opportunities created by the fluctuating stocks and flows of human talent, chiefly in the case of migration from less wealthy to more wealthy countries. There is also some concern for countries that traditionally have been recognized for their inward migration, such as Canada and the Netherlands, as they are witnessing movement of highly trained workers to the USA for example where there are even greater opportunities; equally, countries in

the so-called 'global south' are becoming increasingly knowledge based and increasingly able to retain their highly skilled workforce (Mahroum 1999: 168).

Having overwhelmingly export–driven economies, it is hardly surprising that in this phase of globalization, the numbers of Nordic knowledge workers spending a portion of their working time abroad has increased – a trend which may continue for some time to come. In Finland for example, the number of highly skilled migrants to Asia has increased from a mere 20 persons in 1990 to 195 in 2009 (Statistics Finland 2011).[2] In addition, university education in Denmark and Finland has become so international that choosing to work abroad is now an obvious and even an expected step in young highly educated people's career path (Koikkalainen 2009, Munk 2009).

Although there is some concern about the number of individuals with tertiary level education or above leaving the Nordic countries as they leave during their most economically productive years, there is confidence that the majority of them do/will return. According to a survey conducted by The Danish Confederation of Trade Unions (Landsorganisationen Danmark - LO), approximately 65% of the well-educated Danes who left the country in 1998 had returned by 2003; and an astounding 81% of those who left in 1981 had returned by 2003 (Madsen, 2006). In Finland, outward migration has approximately doubled since the beginning of the 1990s and transnational mobility has increased most of all among 25–34 year olds (Koikkalainen 2009: 27). According to figures from Statistic Finland, between 1990 and 1993 adults in this age bracket made approximately 1,900 moves abroad from Finland per year, and between 2005 and 2008 that number increased to 4,200 per year, signalling an increase of 119% (ibid).[3] The increase in the number of outward migrants in Finland is further motivation to analyse the situation of the highly skilled who leave.

Aside from the focus on mobility of skills and knowledge in the form of human capital in the context of the different 'brain' phenomena, attention has also been given to the ways in which the highest returns can be achieved from the investment in this form of mobility, exemplified by an extensive body of work focusing on how successful expatriate assignments are or are not. Attention has been given to expatriate management (e.g. Suutari and Brewster 2000, Clegg and

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[2] Data on skills levels of migrants from Denmark are not available, however the total number of migrants to India has increased in Denmark from 66 in 1990 to 93 in 2009 and after peaking at 137 in 2011, fell to 91 in 2013 (Statistics Denmark 2011, 2014). More recent figures for Finland were not attainable.

[3] The interview data upon which this thesis is based is from 2009. However, as the result of restrictions in accessing data, some of the background indicators used are from different years.

Gray 2002); expatriate adjustment including the influence of the spouse on assignment outcomes (e.g. Black and Stephens 1989, Ali, Van der Zee and Sanders 2003, Lauring and Selmer 2010, Okpara and Kabongo 2011); and expatriate failure (e.g. Lee 2007) in the field of Human Resource Management and business studies. Arguably this focus, while ultimately serving the interests of the business community and multinational enterprises, has highlighted the importance of recognizing the plethora of social interactions that impact the migration and life experiences of highly skilled mobile workers and their accompanying families.

This thesis aims to fill a gap that exists in migration research on the highly skilled by turning the focus from economics (which the discourse on their human capital and 'adjustment' capabilities ultimately serves) to society and the social dimension by concentrating on the Nordic migrants' behaviors, reactions to and interactions with their host and to some extent their home social systems. The thesis not only draws attention to the specific circumstances in the destination locations, the Indian megacities Bangalore, Delhi and Mumbai, but also considers particular circumstances in the home countries that the migrants originate from, Denmark and Finland. Thus far, the truths we have learned about privileged migrants like the Nordic citizens at the centre of this thesis have been obtained largely on the basis of looking at socio-cultural phenomena of and in the 'other' society in which the migrants are contained (see Section 3). Adding the socio-cultural aspects of the countries of origin to the picture not only challenges this mono-directional approach, but also highlights the importance of analysing both the self and the other in social scientific research.

1.1.3   Studying Social Citizenship

The Nordic region contains historically strong welfare states with a reputation for providing universal social protection for 'all' citizens (Erikson, Hansen, Ringen and Uusitalo 1987, Kautto 2010, Kangas and Kvist 2013). Nonetheless, in spite of the various equality directives in place at the EU level,[4] it is well recognized that incidents of welfare chauvinism arise when the phenomenon of (im)migration is taken into account in the Nordic welfare model (see for example Andersen 2007, Valtonen 2001, Heikkilä 2005, OECD 2011a, Ristikari 2010, 2013). In short, social democratic citizenship and the residence-based form of universalism has been

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[4] For example the Racial Equality Directive and the Employment Equality Directive. For more information on these Directives. See FRA 2011: 47–52.

found to affect immigrants' social rights (Sainsbury 2012). In this thesis, I enquire into how that universalism works or performs when Nordic citizens are immigrants themselves in non-Nordic and non-European environments. In doing so, it highlights some of the ways that the state inadvertently, and perhaps unintentionally, disadvantage and discriminate against relatively well-positioned citizens through social policy. As the thesis will show, Nordic emigrants are subject to differential treatment largely due to the strong connection between residency and social rights in the region. In recognizing these differences in the treatment of ideal-type citizens (highly skilled individuals who are usually employed in the knowledge economy), it is my goal to decipher, or better understand, the relationship that exists between the self and the field (Ji, Peng and Nisbett 2000) – the self being the highly educated, highly skilled, mobile Nordic citizens, the field being transnational social spaces.

Rules, decisions and choices are made in the context of social citizenship; for example, the state directly and indirectly generates opportunities for work, but individuals decide where to work and who to work for; housing is provided through the state and the market, but individuals decide where to live; schools are built and staffed, but parents decide to a great extent which schools their children should attend; cultural and leisure facilities may be provided, but individuals, families and other social groups decide which social circles to mix in, and how and where to socialize. These decisions may also be strongly anchored in social class, general social trends or social inheritance. Nevertheless, depending on the choices made in these and numerous other social environments, there can be further repercussions for an individual's social rights and duties, and generally speaking their formal and informal relationship to the state: citizens who on the surface may appear to be of the same 'breed', so to speak, may sometimes have similar and also sometimes quite divergent forms of citizenship. Similarly, *'migrants and their families are also agents who choose between alternative citizenship options'* (Bauböck 2012: 5).

Condor (2011) refers to *'the bureaucratic classification, and consequent treatment, of persons as members of a particular polity'* as objective citizenship, while subjective citizenship is *'an individual's personal awareness of, and possibly investment in, their own polity membership'* (Condor 2011: 194). The focus of analysis of this thesis is not of the objective aspects of social citizenship, that is, I do not attempt to analyse institutions such as the welfare state themselves. Instead I focus on the subjective elements and analyse how the individual migrants respond to the restrictions imposed on them and opportunities offered to them by institutions in the sending

and receiving state, and how they negotiate their membership during the secondment abroad.

With time citizenship becomes less and less simple to define; researchers have stressed the need for 'a more dynamic and comprehensive understanding of the inter–relationships between the dimensions of citizenship and immigration' (Bloemraad, Korteweg and Yurdakul 2008), as in many cases social rights are given to residents; this is the case for EU migrants resident in other EU countries[5] as well as non-EU countries where bilateral agreements exist regarding social security.[6] Thus, to a great extent, the traditional understanding of the term 'citizenship' relating to the country where one holds a passport, and is assumed to have closest social and political ties, is losing importance and residency is gaining importance.

Bauböck (2010) suggests that using a constellation framework to study citizenship traditions, laws and policies goes beyond dominant frameworks rather than replacing them, and allows for the analysis of the intertwining nature of the different aspects of citizenship. Most pertinent for this thesis, Bauböck claims that a study of constellations will allow us to better understand individual interests in relation to alternative citizenship statuses, taking into account both the country of origin and the destination country and possibly multiple countries (Bauböck 2010, 2012). Rather than using the constellation perspective to solely bring into view *'how host and home countries create a web of legal and political ties'* with migrant groups as Bauböck (2010, 2012) suggests, I propose that it can also be used to show how host and home countries create a web of arenas (e.g. formal and informal social ties, divergent socio-cultural environments, interactions and intra-actions etc.)[7] that produce diverse reactions and behaviors, all of which contribute to and alter migrants' social citizenship. Social citizenship is understood not only as the conventional rights and entitlements to welfare services and benefits (Marshall 1950, 1964) and guarantees of equality of opportunity, but also includes the societal

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[5] EU Directive 96/71/EC aims at protecting posted workers' rights when taking up employment in another EU Member State. EU Regulation No (EEC)1408/71 and Regulation (EEC) 574/72 ensure that persons residing in an EU Member State who come from the EEA and countries which have bilateral agreements with the EU are subject to the same obligations and enjoy the same benefits under the legislation of a Member State as the nationals of that Member State regarding social rights. See http://europa.eu/youreurope/citizens/work/index_en.htm for more information.

[6] See www.europa.eu for an overview of individual countries' bilateral agreements.

[7] Similarly, in studying political citizenship at the micro level, i.e. with a focus on the migrants themselves, Bauböck encourages the study of how migrants' interests are affected by the state, and how they take their own decisions within a given 'citizenship opportunity structure' (Bauböck 2012: 5).

participation of members, whether they are permanent or temporary in a given society, and also other factors relating to the surrounding environment, e.g. local culture, the natural environment and so forth. Ultimately, the constellation approach allows for the existence of multiple enactments of citizenship which do not have to conform to a specific typology. This thesis is deductive in so far as using my data, I ascertain whether or not the theoretical model of citizenship constellations, introduced by Rainer Bauböck, can be applied to social citizenship in the study of transnational migration.

I aim to make a contribution to the field of social policy and migration studies by bringing the 'social' lives of secondees, who are increasing in number, to the fore. Furthermore, in the concluding section of the thesis I expand the discussion of citizenship moving it towards a discussion of denizenship.

1.1.4   Privilege and Capital

The thesis is also inductive in nature as, during the data analysis stage, I observed that Nordic migrants had different capacities to handle and cope with the challenging new situations that they encountered; that is, they used their different forms of capital and privilege to negotiate their new situation diversely. In some cases however, possessing and mobilizing these capabilities also worked against them and ultimately compounded their feelings of uncertainty. These observations have led me to argue that being in a position of privilege and possessing economic, social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984), and also erotic capital (Hakim 2010, 2011) can be both advantageous, disadvantageous and irrelevant when encountering difference. This idea is based on the assumption that having a large stock of resources is generally considered advantageous, and that agential privilege evolves with the accumulation of capital and life experience.[8]

While it is unknown what effect the globally privileged status of the Nordic countries has on the migrant's stock of the different forms of capital, it must be acknowledged that the quality, quantity and usage of that stock may vary greatly, arguably as a direct consequence of globalization – Nordic societies are much more diverse now than they have ever been[9]   and advances in communication and

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[8] See also Sen's (2009: 269–290) discussion on capabilities (understood as 'the power to do something' [Sen 2009: 19]) being able to work towards and against personal well–being.

[9] According to the Nordic Statistical Yearbook 2010 there is an increasing number of foreign citizens in the Nordic countries, the majority of whom are non–Nordic; that is, the majority of immigration

inexpensive travel mean that citizens are in general more exposed to and impacted by different ways of behaving and living. Nevertheless, in the thesis, I analyse how transferable the different forms of capital that Nordic migrants possess are when they are located in a social system that is widely different to their own.

Furthermore, I propose that when considering the 'social' aspects of citizenship, there is good reason to argue that, as a result of the different positions of privilege and the different acquisition and usage of various forms of capital, citizens exhibit and are subject to a variety of different citizenship constellations. There are certainly many other aspects that may influence the individual constellations such as employment or marital status, stage in life course and personal wealth to name a few. Some of these other aspects are reflected upon in the analysis, however they are not the central focus. The constellations are extremely dynamic and are not only influenced by the sending and receiving state regulatory systems and polities, but also by the environments in which the migrants operate that constitute diverse interactions with social and professional clubs and networks, a variety of different living and working places and spaces, as well as with the 'foreign' natural and socio-cultural environment.

1.2   Research Questions, Theories, Methods and Data

In the previous sections I have identified that research on the renowned Nordic welfare state fails to consider the how citizens social rights are affected when they leave their home nation states; the body of work on migration and social policy has focused almost exclusively on the position of so-called 'low skilled' immigrants who have moved to, rather than from, the state in question. The present study fills this distinctive gap by analysing the situation of Danish and Finnish highly skilled citizens who have moved to India in conjunction with a temporary work assignment. I utilize the broad concept of social citizenship as the overarching theoretical frame of the study. Using this frame allows me to investigate not only the formal aspects of the move, such as how the legislated rights change and how the migrants respond to those changes, but also leaves room to investigate the informal aspects such as how the migrants participate in and respond to the destination society, and to some extent their social relationships in their home countries. Adopting Rainer Bauböck's (2010) constellation approach to studying

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to the individual countries is from outside of the Nordic region, with the exception of Greenland and the Faroe Islands (Agerskov 2010).

citizenship not only frees the analysis from the constraints of a specific typology of citizenship, but it also complements the holistic methodological approach I take with the thesis. Specifically, the thesis works with the following hypothesis:

Danish and Finnish highly skilled citizens exhibit varying constellations in their social citizenship as a result of their temporary relocation to India a) vertically, in relation to official institutions such as the state and the labor market, b) horizontally, in relation to the different cultures and people associated with the move, and c) in relation to the broader social and physical environment? In exploring this hypothesis the study is guided by the following three research questions:

1. How are the Nordic migrants' social rights affected by their move to India, and how do they deal with the different and possibly new forms of insecurity that arise as a result of the move to some of the country's most advanced global cities?

2. To what extent do the migrants mobilize, adapt and cultivate different forms of capital and privilege when they encounter difference in their welfare situation, and in the socio-cultural and physical environment in India? In what ways do these capacities and capabilities help and hinder them?

3. Do the Nordic migrants' relationships to space, time and privilege evolve and/or transform as a consequence of the move, and if yes, how?

In seeking answers to these questions a number of the theoretical concepts are necessarily utilized in the analysis of the data. They comprise theories on the politics of insecurity, trust, distrust and corruption (which includes the concepts of framing, group status, homogeneous stereotyping and social categorization); the dimensions and boundaries of social citizenship, and citizenship constellations (which includes the concepts subjective citizenship, horizontal citizenship, vertical citizenship, industrial citizenship, culture, expected behavior, and place and people-space relations); and on privilege and capital (which includes the concepts of advantage, disadvantage, structure and agency, economic capital, cultural capital social capital and erotic capital).[10]

To my knowledge, the vast majority of the previous studies on the lives of highly skilled migrants originating from and living outside of the European Union have been ethnographic studies. Following the tradition of ethnography, anthropologists have spent continuous longer periods conducting their research in

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[10] For more detail on these concepts and author references see Sections 3.

the field, living among the subjects they are studying in order to grasp the different phenomena that impact their lives while living abroad (see for example Fechter 2001, 2007a, 2007b 2012; Hottola 1999, Korpela 2009, 2010, 2013, Giguère 2013, Boncori 2013 and Lehmann 2013). Using purely ethnographic strategies in the present study, in my opinion, would have interfered or interrupted the lives of my informants to too great an extent because of the temporary nature of their stay. Consequently, I chose to use a mixed method approach to data collection which included: an extensive pre-study; pre-interview questionnaires, post-interview questionnaires and semi-structured interviews with key informants and a large control group; participant observation and further informal interviews conducted during three one-month field trips to Delhi, Bangalore and Mumbai in 2009.

The interviews with the key informants and the control group, which were carried out in people's homes, offices, at cafés and five-star hotels, were not directly transcribed but a descriptive narrative text was written for each interview. It is my intention for the thesis that the interpretations and understanding of the interviews be as clear as possible, in line with the Aristotelian tradition of scientific explanation and Gadamer's hermeneutic approach upon which the thesis is based. Hence the narrative texts were more appropriate for the study as it was important that the interviewees firstly have the opportunity to comment on my understanding of what was said during the interview and secondly reflect on the comments they made during the interview at a later stage and have the opportunity to comment further. After the interviewees had read and responded to the texts, they were coded according to specific categories outlined in Table 4. In the empirical analysis the coded data was then decoded and contextualized within the boundaries of my theoretical framework, while simultaneously reflecting on the previous research already conducted and my observations made when conducting the fieldwork.

1.3   The Composition of the Book

The remainder of the thesis consists of six more Chapters which are further split into Sections. In Chapter 2, I present a detailed outline of the theoretical framework that the thesis works within. The three main topics discussed are the politics of insecurity, the dimensions of social citizenship and privilege and capital. In Chapter 3, I present an overview on the state of the art of research on highly skilled migration focusing on the literature in two key areas: privileged migration and Nordic migration. In Chapter 4, I give a comprehensive explanation of the

research questions and describe the methodological approach, describe the different phases of the research, and detail the methods used in the data collection and analysis process. In Chapter 5, I present the empirical findings. In Chapter 6, I summarize my main findings in the form of a conclusion, referring directly to my research questions and main hypothesis. In the final discussion in Chapter 6, I position my research and research subjects in time and space and critically reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of the thesis. I also discuss the ethical considerations I made during the course of researching and writing the thesis. Lastly in that section, I state the main contributions this study makes to science and the implications for research on migration and social policy.

2   Theoretical Approach

In this chapter l discuss the central theoretical concepts that I use to explain the variation in the way difference is encountered by the Danish and Finnish citizens interviewed in India and how these contribute to differentiating between their social citizenship constellations. The explanations are meant to encourage the reader to consider the multi-dimensional nature of human interactions and how they can vary.

The first part is a discussion on the politics of insecurity. Originating from countries that have been shown to have strong welfare state traditions, relatively high levels of gender equality and of trust in institutions, and generally a good quality of life, Nordic migrants might be expected to face insecurity on one level or another no matter the destination country. When confronting the extreme differences in daily and working life as well as greatly divergent culture and cultural norms in Indian mega-cities, the extent to which the migrants in this study experience fear, distrust and insecurity varies greatly as does their resulting behavior. How issues of (in)security are framed play a major role as do different cultures of trust and corruption. These concepts will be discussed.

The second part is a discussion of social citizenship. The notion or idea of citizenship provides a useful analytical framework under which to study both the change in the relationship these types of migrants have with the sending state (their formal citizenship rights and responsibilities to/in Denmark and Finland) and also the changes they experience as individuals and citizens abroad (their behaved citizenship in the receiving state, India), in an era when the consensus on what constitutes full citizenship is increasingly difficult to define. In this section, I outline in detail my understanding of what social citizenship constitutes, taking into consideration relationships with institutions such as the state, the labor market and the employer (vertical relationships), peers, colleagues, staff, friends etc. (horizontal relationships), as well as places and spaces in the broader social environment (e.g. cyber space, culture, neighborhood, country etc.). In order to encompass all of these aspects and the variety of ways they are encountered and lived out, I propose the use of Rainer Bauböck's (2010, 2012) citizenship constellation framework for the analysis of the Nordic migrants' social citizenship.

The third and final part is a discussion of the inter- and intra-action of privilege with the different forms of capital. In this section I discuss how privilege differs to advantage and how both behave, positively and negatively, in relation to different forms of capital (economic, cultural, social and erotic) with regard to the position of Nordic highly skilled temporary migrants in India.

2.1   The Politics of Insecurity

The act of migration generates questions about security and insecurity not only for individual migrants but also for receiving countries. Questions of border security and general national security threats are often discussed in the west when migratory activity is undertaken by refugees and asylum seekers (see Huysmans 2006) and, since the events of 9/11, people from Islamic countries (or simply with Middle Eastern appearance) (see Afshar 2013). In these cases, the threat, be it perceived or real (e.g. of increases in social expenditure targeted to immigrants, various integration benefits, increasing dependency on social assistance [c.f. OECD 2013], of terrorism or of increasing unemployment among the domestic population for example), comes from the migrant and is upon the receiving country and its citizens. This process is depicted by the black arrows in Figure 1. Meanwhile, the insecurities that individual migrants are exposed to are mainly debated with regard to refugees, asylum seekers, and so-called 'non-citizens' in discussions of human security (see Edwards and Ferstman 2011) and with professional, technical and kindred (PTK) workers moving from so-called developing to developed countries (see Martin 2003). They may face discrimination from employers (e.g. wage dumping), or from the state (e.g. inadequate social protection), or from the resident citizens (e.g. racism and discrimination), as indicated by the grey arrows in Figure 1.

In the case of highly skilled workers seconded from Denmark and Finland to India however, migrants experience 'human' insecurities that arise from their ties to and interactions with the sending country (e.g. diminished social rights), the receiving country (e.g. general health and safety), the employer (e.g. insufficient healthcare coverage and relocation support), as well as from Indian citizens (e.g. lack of trust in domestic staff, manual workers and service providers), as indicated by the white arrows in Figure 1.[11]

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[11] The 'threat' that the highly skilled migrants themselves pose to the sending state (destabilizing the intergenerational contract of the welfare state and brain drain for example) and the receiving state (increased pollution from demands for mass produced packaged products and affluent lifestyles for

Figure 1. Sources of Insecurities for Migrants, States and Other Citizens under Migration
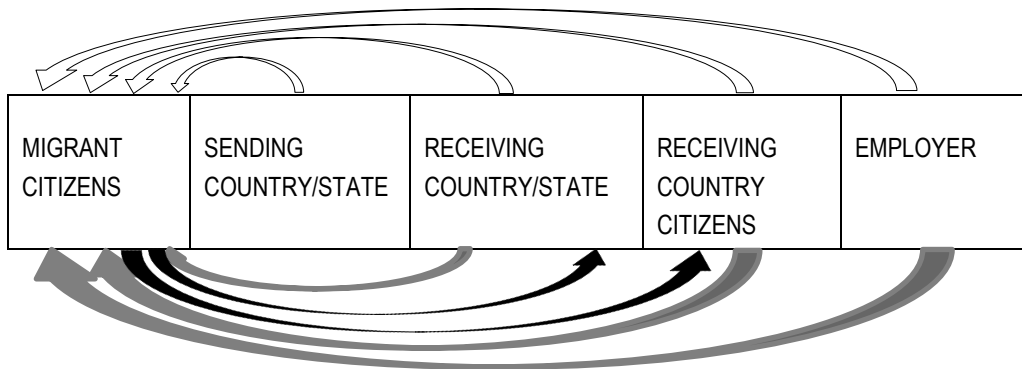
Huysmans (2006) acknowledges that insecurities differ depending on the nature of the threat and who or what is being threatened, yet the mainstream discussions on the politics of insecurity in the context of migration continue to take as a starting point the 'threat' imposed by migrants on a state or country and its citizens. Huysmans (2006) strongly debates the understanding of security knowledge as *'a political technique of framing policy questions in logics of survival with a capacity to mobilize politics of fear in which social relations are structured on the basis of distrust.'* This definition implies that it has the capacity to *'[fabricate] and [sustain] antagonistic relations between groups of people'*, and illuminates the strong linkage between security, fear and trust: where there is fear there is insecurity and distrust, which suggest that where there is no fear there is security and trust, in both cases whether the presence or non-presence of fear is real or perceived. For instance, if refuge is framed as a humanitarian question, refugees experience different relations with people than if it is framed as a security question; with the former people would tend towards compassion, while with the latter they would tend towards fear and exclusion (Huysmans 2006: xi – xii).

Goffman (1974) describes the examination of the organization of experience as frame analysis (Lemert and Branaman 1997: 155). While this thesis does not enter into frame analysis as such, it is critical to consider how the framing of actors and processes in the migration process does and does not produce different kinds of insecurities among the Nordic migrants. Chong and Druckman (2007: 106) explain that *'a frame in a communication organizes everyday reality by providing meaning to an unfolding*

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example) and its citizens are acknowledged to exist, however are not the focus of the thesis and therefore will not be discussed here. Furthermore, they will only be reflected upon in the empirical part in conjunction with the identification of different citizenship constellations.

strip of events and promoting particular definitions and interpretations of political issues'. As the previous examples suggest, frames in communication matter as they affect the interpretations, attitudes and ensuing behavior of their audiences. Security and securitization thus becomes a political issue because the discussion of the concepts evokes responses from both citizens and non-citizens.[12] Huysmans questions the rhetoric and language used by power holders in discussions on asylum and refuge and the technique of emphasizing crisis and exceptionality[13] to create fear and justify the enactment of security policies, stating that *'language does not simply describe an event but […] it mobilizes certain meanings that modulate [security policies] in rather specific ways.'* (Huysmans 2006: 7). Prior to policy being formulated however, 'language' mobilizes certain meanings that modulate attitudes, responses and behaviors both among the general public and policy–makers, and these ideas and 'frames' are used to create 'reality'.

The process of the frames in the communications of elites influencing citizens' frames and attitudes is called a framing effect (Chong and Druckman 2007: 109). For a framing effect to take place there must be a meditational process. A particular idea, belief or consideration needs to be stored in memory and be able to be retrieved and used. For example, if a person does not understand the concept of humanitarianism, then they might not tend towards compassion or be affected at all by the humanitarian framing of refuge. The same will happen if the person has had little exposure to a communication frame emphasizing the issue, e.g. humanitarianism has not been debated very much and the individual has no recollection of its significance, as they will not be able to retrieve their thoughts on the issue from their long-term memory. Furthermore, the framing effect is influenced by moderators such as values, knowledge, credibility of the source, and the presence or non-presence of other information. All of these moderators, among others, influence the perceived applicability or strength of a frame. (ibid: 110–112).

In social psychology, it is widely recognized that the same message delivered using particular language (communication) can convey different meanings to different recipients, and that speakers take the addressee's knowledge, beliefs, feelings and motives into account when formulating a message (Krauss and Chui, 2010). Individuals belong to overlapping social categories which impact or

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[12] By non–citizens I am referring to people who are physically present in a particular country, yet do not hold the citizenship of that country.

[13] For example, in the exceptional case of 9/11 which precipitated an international 'war on terror' and encouraged the demonization of Islam.

determine to some extent what they know, value and believe (ibid) and subsequently how they assign meaning to a message and how they respond. Hence, the aforementioned suggestion by Huysmans (2006) regarding the impact of particular framing of concepts and phenomena may be largely dependent on the social 'make–up' of the recipients of the message. Fear and insecurity may therefore not always be the response to situations, people and places that are portrayed as a threat to security.

The rhetoric used by power–holders and policy–makers, who are more often than not considered credible sources, in Denmark and Finland is comparatively positive in the area of social protection. The two countries along with the rest of the Nordic countries are famed for their strong welfare state traditions and high levels of trust in state institutions (see Section 2.1.1). According to Huysmans' reasoning, although the actual or 'real' situation for many of the highly skilled migrants in this analysis is that they are often in a more precarious situation regarding their legislated social protection than if they were in their home country, the migrants should not fear this kind of insecurity but rather continue to show trust and confidence in the welfare state and display confidence about their welfare security because their perception of it is positive.

The general knowledge disseminated about India in the West is relatively limited and strongly impacted by the ideological orientation and motives of the source. The discourses in the media surrounding life and living in India are mixed. On the one hand there is the portrayal of glitz and glamour, high–end shopping malls, luxury hotels and so forth, and on the other we receive less than positive messages about high levels of poverty, corruption and pollution for example. One would expect therefore the sentiments and experience of security/insecurity regarding the broader environment in India to be equally variegated among migrants. Their experience and perception of India and Indian citizens are however concomitantly influenced by messages relayed from other sources such as migrants who have visited India, expat networks and indirectly by the employer through cultural advisors (via cultural awareness courses). These messages tend to be relayed in the context of 'us and them' or *'otherizing'* (Afshar 2013:9, see also Brubaker 2002 on *'groupism'*).

The technique of essentializing groups, that is, reducing them to a basic form, may have the consequence of masking the multiplicity of behaviors that are contained within any society as it leans towards negative stereotyping and prejudicing of the 'outgroup' (see Raudsepp and Wagner 2012 for further discussion of in- and outgroups). In attempts to ensure well-being, the migrants

(ingroup) are briefed about what they should be aware of regarding India and Indians (outgroup). Depending on the social make-up of the recipient of the message, this 'awareness' may on the one hand be interpreted as what they should fear and may create insecurity about interacting with Indians, as they are viewed as a homogeneous group. Alternatively, other migrants may simply receive the message, contextualize it, store it and approach the 'other' or the 'outgroup' as a more heterogeneous group.[14]

2.1.1　Trust

According to the OECD (2011c: 92), *'a cohesive society is one where citizens have confidence in national level institutions and believe that social and economic institutions are not prey to corruption.'*; Ola Listaug and Kristen Ringdal (2008) postulate that if citizens have trust in key institutions in a given, society social and economic exchange is facilitated, the need for control and supervision is reduced which saves money for both public and private sector actors and institutions, countries will be at an advantage in attracting investment, trade and tourism, and the chances of non-democratic forms of government receiving support will be reduced (Listaug and Ringdal 2008:131). The high level of trust in state institutions is frequently cited as a defining characteristic of the Nordic welfare model and part of the social contract (e.g. Taylor–Gooby 2006). When located abroad however, the Nordic migrants, together with all of the other foreign migrants I spoke to, showed extremely low levels of confidence and trust in the state institutions in India, a sentiment also felt by the Indian population.

　　Central to the two previous examples of the different rhetoric used by particular interest groups regarding migration from Denmark and Finland to India is the concept of trust. According to the World Values Survey, 1999–2000 wave, 38% of Indians have confidence in the police for example, compared to 91% of Danes, 90% of Finns in their home countries.[15] While trust in institutions is high at home, Danes and Finns show much lower levels of trust in people (67% in Denmark and

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[14] For further theoretical discussion on the analysis of thought and action in self–other relationships, see Cheng, Sculli and Chan (2001).

[15] World Values Survey, Online Data Analysis accessed on 1 June 2012 at http://www.wvsevsdb.com/wvs/WVSAnalizeQuestion.jsp. World Values Survey, Online Data Analysis accessed on 1 June 2012 at http://www.wvsevsdb.com/wvs/WVSAnalizeQuestion.jsp. The data accessed was integrated European Values Survey and World Values Survey data. WVS no longer has the agreement with EVS and so the data (for Denmark) is, at the time of writing, no longer available through the WVS website.

57% in Finland) in general than might be expected. Nonetheless, the levels are higher than among the population in India (41%). Thus, Danes and Finns show much lower levels of trust in people than they do in state institutions, while Indians show similar levels of trust in both. Denmark and Finland are furthermore consistently recognized as having extremely low levels of perceived corruption (e.g. OECD 2011b, Salminen, Viinamäki, and Ikola-Norrbacka 2007). According to Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index 2009, Indians perceive the public sector in general to be corrupt, with India ranking number 84 out of 180 countries, with a score of just 3.4/10, while Danes ranked number 2 with a score of 9.3/10 and the Finns ranked number 6 with a score of 8.9.[16] I continue this section by addressing the issue of trust in people, and in the following section (2.1.2) I address the issue of trust in institutions.

It is well recognized that being a member of a culturally and socially similar group is the demarcation for the self and other differentiation which in turn leads to conclusions about who can be trusted and who not (Rubini and Palmonari 2012: 74). Social categorization therefore becomes an important aspect for consideration not only in the discussion of the politics of insecurity but also for intergroup trust. Søren Kirkegaard is often quoted to have said *'Once you label me you negate me'*.[17] Similarly, Rubini and Palmonari (2012) find that dichotomous social categorizations, that is, labelling individuals as two different groups, can lead to intergroup hostility as well as intergroup mistrust. Furthermore, multiple complex social categorizations can lead to higher levels of trust. In analysing the work of Sherif (1966) and studies carried out on children by Bigler and Liben (1992), Rubini and Palmonari (2012) concluded that by learning to classify the self and the other along multiple categorical dimensions and by learning to develop more complex representations of social identities of both, human beings may be able to establish more trusting relationships with people and social groups who are being deemed as untrustworthy (see Rubini and Palmonari 2012: 73–83). If individuals are able or facilitated to do so, there may also be less of the aforementioned homogeneous stereotyping between and among ingroups and outgroups. Simply understanding difference therefore may be an inadequate measure to take in the pursuit of

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[16] Out of 177 countries in 2013 India, Denmark and Finland, ranked 94, 1 and 3 respectively. Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index [Accessed online on 26 June 2014 at http://www.transparency.org/research/cpi/].

[17] The original quote in Danish reads: "Hemmeligheden i al Begriben er, at selve dette at begribe er høiere end al Position, som den sætter. Begrebet sætter en Position, men det at den [Bergrebet] begribes, er just, at den negeres." (SKS 11, 209). Other interpretations include: 'If you classify me you deny me.' Both versions are a rough translation of the, here, italicized part of the original quote.

building mutually trusting relationships. Human beings need also to recognize the similarities they have with one another in order to feel secure.

The way in which people respond and behave in intercultural contexts has also been found to be affected by group status (Malloy, Ristikari, Berrios-Candelaria, Lewis, and Agastein 2011) For instance, if an individual perceives themselves as belonging to a group that is more skilled or more educated than another group where the members also perceive themselves as less advanced or less educated, then the behaviors exhibited should correspond to their group status rather than to the individual's actual education or skills level.

In North America, Thomas Malloy and colleagues (2011) have studied several aspects of intergroup interaction, perception, affect, and behavior among cultural groups with differing status hierarchies, such as white and black males, and homosexuals and heterosexuals, within a single laboratory–based design and produced results that may have implications for understanding the impact group status has during the process of intercultural communication. They find that low status members of a dyad pay close attention to the high status member, but the reverse does not occur. High status members see the out–group as "all the same." (Malloy et al. 2011) Furthermore, Malloy, Albright, Kenny, Agastein and Winquist (1997: 397) have suggested that people may behave quite differently in *'non-overlapping social contexts because norms and interpersonal relationships within them shape situation–specific identities'*. In other words people may behave differently in different environments with different people and form accordingly different identities because they have different relationships with them. It may consequently be challenging for individuals who perceive themselves as having different status hierarchies to one another to be able to recognize the similarities that exist between them.

2.1.2 Corruption

Over the past two decades, the question of why citizens in some countries are more trusting of government institutions and actors than in others has received wide scholarly attention and the disseminated findings often produce a set of contradictory results: some studies find that the effect of education for example on institutional trust is positive, some find it is negative, and some find that it has no effect (Hakhverdian and Mayne 2012: 739). Challenges also remain in understanding why levels of corruption in different countries change over time, in

spite of the attempts made to find the causes (O'Connor and Fischer 2012). Having the reputation of coming from trusting societies, being highly educated and being in financially advantageous positions, one would perhaps expect the Nordic migrants a) to have trust in institutions and b) to not only disapprove of corruption but also to not engage in corrupt activities at all. Nonetheless, the majority of the respondents showed a distinct lack of trust in Indian institutions and also engaged in corrupt practices even though they expressed clear moral disapproval of it.

Hakhverdian and Mayne (2012) point out that the previous studies which analyse the effects of education on institutional trust have neglected to consider the context in which corrupt activities are taking place. Using data from the European Social Survey 2008–2009, they find that in countries where there are low levels of corruption (e.g. the Nordic countries), education boosts institutional trust; that is, as levels of education increase, trust in institutions increases too. In countries where there are high levels of corruption (e.g. India) however, education dampens institutional trust; that is, as levels of education increase, trust in institutions decreases. These findings may partially explain the behavior of some of the informants in this study – the migrants are highly educated, but find themselves in a country where there are high levels of corruption, so they would be expected to express distrust in institutions. Hakhverdian and Mayne's results are, however, based on data for citizens resident in their home countries (i.e. Finns in Finland and Danes in Denmark) rather than citizens abroad. Furthermore, they do not explain why the Finns and Danes suddenly engage in corrupt behavior when they relocate to India.

An explanation for this could be the *'mischaracterization of the problem'* proposed by Persson, Rothstein and Teorell (2010). According to Persson et al., the predominant theory of corruption within political science and economics, the principal–agent model, does not provide an adequate analytical framework upon which to base anti–corruption policies. Instead, they propose that collective action theories may be more applicable. In the former, there is a conflict of interest between the principals, who are assumed to have the public interest at heart and are privy to less information, and the agents, who are assumed to believe that the benefits of corrupt transactions outweigh the costs and are privy to more information. The principals and agents furthermore may either have top–down relationships (e.g. the treasury as the principal and the tax collector as the agent), or bottom–up relationships (e.g. citizens as the principals and the ruling elite as the agents). In this model, there is the assumption that the problem of corruption lies exclusively with the agent and that the principals aim to negatively affect agents'

motivation to partake in corruption (Persson et al. 2010: 4–5). In many countries however, in spite of a great investment in anti–corruption reforms, corruption has actually become even more prevalent, which, according to the principal–agent model, suggests that in fact the principals themselves are also corrupt (ibid: 1–5).

Collective action theories question the assumption that every society has a group of actors who are willing to act as principals and enforce anti–corruption reforms; they rely, by contrast, on the assumption that all individuals are maximizers of their own self–interest: *'rationality is bounded – or, in other words, [interactive] or [reciprocal] – in the same sense that it is highly dependent on shared expectations about how individuals will act.'* (ibid: 5) Accordingly, when corruption is the expected behavior, there will not be any actors who would be willing to take on the role of combatting it, rather they would simply *'jump on the bandwagon'* and engage in it as well themselves (ibid: 5–6). Persson et al. (2010) also draw attention to the fact that while actors are not necessarily willing to take action against corruption, the majority of them are still morally disapproving of corrupt acts (ibid: 11)[18], which may explain the contrasting behavior of the Nordic migrants under study, and possibly also the wider 'expat' community in India.

To conclude, as discussed in previous sections, highly skilled Nordic temporary migrants in India are often recognized as a social category in themselves. Within that social category however, I argue that the migrants possess and exhibit varying levels of social, economic, cultural and erotic capital that are intertwined with different kinds of privileges. This diversity in the social 'make-up' of the members of the group may enable some members to classify themselves and others along multiple categorical dimensions and develop more complex representations of social identities, and thus engage in more trusting relationships than others. The framing of insecurity and hence the politicization of it by different interest groups (such as the welfare state, employers, other migrants) can therefore be expected to have a diverse range of impacts on the migrants which result in equally diverse behaviors and may impact and alter their social citizenship constellation. Concomitantly, finding themselves in a location where corruption is prevalent in state institutions (as well as in private enterprise) may lead to a more 'collective' response of distrust in the said institutions and engagement in corrupt activities. These theoretical discussions highlight the importance of distinguishing between trust in other citizens and trust in institutions when debating the politics of insecurity.

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[18] The results are based on data from the Afrobarometer 2006. See www.afrobarometer.org.

2.2   Dimensions of Social Citizenship

Although citizenship in its everyday usage is a legal status involving rights and an activity of political participation (Bauböck 2006), in reality when one resides in a country one is assigned particular rights and duties; one takes part in country–specific practices; one develops new rituals and maintains old ones; these all provide content to and, depending on the extent to which we practise them, differentiate between our citizenship status. With time citizenship becomes less and less simple to define. Some researchers believe that attempting to account for *'all existing differences [in citizenship discussions where] there is no external other'* would make it impossible to arrive at a common conception of citizenship (Rosenfeld 2010: 241). Globalization and the present age of migration (Castles and Miller 2009) may be signalling a watershed in the history of citizenship studies.

The citizenship discussion has moved on greatly since T H Marshall produced his seminal work Citizenship and Social Class in 1950, however the debate about the inequalities and class divisions that citizenship both creates and counteracts continues (see for example Lipset 1964, Barbalet 1988, Faist 1995). One of the critiques of Marshall's theoretical mode that is relevant to seconded workers and their accompanying partners is its Anglo- or rather UK-centrism. His nation-state centred mono-cultural approach has been discussed vigorously drawing further attention to the inequalities that membership, non-membership, participation and non-participation in a given society produce (see for example Brubaker 2009 and 2010, Soysal 1994, Bauböck 1994, Portes et. al 1999, Vertovec 2009, Rosaldo 1994, Pakulski 1997, and Stevenson 2003).

Although liberal theories of citizenship tend to centre around discussions of rights and duties (Bell 2005), the different foci of citizenship studies highlight the challenges to other concepts such as identity, solidarity, social behavior, stratification and so forth in Marshall's model, when the nations people are functioning within, and when the nationality of the residents of a country are not singular. Condor (2011) recognizes that these concepts as well as intra–group conflict and other concerns in the study of citizenship suggest that we are moving towards a social psychology of citizenship. Furthermore, she claims that the contemporary work in citizenship studies is characterized by disagreement (Condor 2011: 194). I would argue that citizenship typologies, while founded on difference, continue to be bound by exclusion: on the one hand they tend to be borne out of empirical studies on immigrants and other marginalized groups within society, excluding the dominant groups which can also be widely diverse; on the other

hand, by using a language of typology, they seek to differentiate themselves from one another rather than embracing the inter and intra–action of the plethora of societal, political, environmental, psychological and physiological factors that influence everyday life, as do many other citizenship typologies not related to migration (see Mullard 1999:12–26 for examples of various other discourses on citizenship).

As Condor (2011) asserts, it can certainly be acknowledged that the only point upon which academics are unanimous is the multifaceted and contested nature of the concept citizenship. She categorizes the debates on citizenship into four broad and overlapping areas: boundaries – focus on the limits of polity membership and the *'fuzzy frontier'* between citizenship and other concepts such as human rights, as in the case of the aforementioned post–national and transnational citizenship models; dimensions – concerns internal dimensions such as Marshall's social, political, civil and industrial citizenship (Marshall 1964), or Rosaldo's cultural citizenship; models – established according to the precise way that the legal, political and social dimensions are understood and prioritized, such as Communitarian vs. Liberal or active vs. passive models of citizenship; and finally membership – for example ethnic (hereditary) and civic (acquired) citizenship (Condor 2011: 194–195). This thesis, while taking its starting point as the social dimension, of citizenship, also straddles the category of boundaries, with respect to the social as well as political constructions, and takes distance from discussion on the latter two categories.

2.2.1   Defining Social Citizenship

Social citizenship is understood in this thesis not only as the conventional rights and entitlements to welfare services and benefits (Marshall 1964) and guarantees of equality of opportunity, but also includes the societal participation of members (i.e. their inter and intra–action with the broader surrounding social environment), whether they are permanent or temporary in a given society.

For T H Marshall, the social element of citizenship referred to the right to *'a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in society.'* (Marshall 1964: 72). What constitutes a 'modicum' of security of course changes over time as do 'prevailing standards'. These terms are also highly relative and could be and are fiercely debated among different strata and interest groups in any given society.

Since the beginning of this century in the gender literature for example, researchers have argued that child care and care in general has become a citizenship right in the Nordic countries (Anttonen 2002, Leira 2002, Lister 2009), however in some liberal welfare regimes this 'right' has yet to be considered part of that modicum of security (see Lister 2009 for the UK example).

A more recent definition of social citizenship by Taylor–Gooby (2010) as something which *'concerns the rights and duties associated with the provision of benefits and services designed to meet social needs and enhance capabilities, and also to guarantee the resources necessary to finance them'* removes these subjective terms and defines social citizenship as '*a framework [that is] set in a cultural context of beliefs, assumptions, and predispositions which influence how people behave towards one another and how society functions'*. (Taylor–Gooby 2010: 4–5). This contextualization of social citizenship is key for understanding how social citizenship can change for an individual when they move between different settings; in the case of seconded workers and their partners, the different settings are different countries in which their beliefs, assumptions and predispositions as well as their formal ties to different states not only impact human interactions and the functioning of the society in which they find themselves, but are also often challenged by the new social environment.

In the negotiation of subjective social citizenship, it is not only states and their institutions, but also the local environment and the people that play a role in how migrants perceive and invest in their polity membership. Hence limiting the definition of social citizenship to a discussion on the welfare state and labor markets is highly inadequate. The analysis will therefore consider what Condor (2011) refers to as vertical (social) citizenship, that is an individual's identification with a political institution, in this case the welfare state and the labor market of the sending and receiving countries; as well as horizontal (social) citizenship, that is the form of identification with a human community (Condor 2011: 194), focusing primarily on communities in the receiving country, India; and lastly on the relationships with the spaces and places in the broader environment.

2.2.1.1 Horizontal and vertical relationships

It has been suggested that for academics, relational distinctions such as vertical and horizontal citizenship are largely invisible (Conn 2011); that is, academics, in contrast to practitioners working in the field of community and global development for instance, fail to recognize the hugely complex social systems that evolve from the many interactions that take place within and across different

clusters of different elements of any given system. To some extent this is true as academia has for many years been divided into different disciplines and research traditions; interdisciplinary and mixed methods approaches are however becoming more and more commonplace. This change perhaps reflects the increasing interest in concepts such as intersectionality, interaction, and intra–action[19] in this era of globalization and signalizes a movement away from the rational actor paradigm. In the field of social philosophy, most notably in the work of Ferdinand Tönnies (1887) (community and society), Martin Buber (1951) (the political principle and the social principle) and Jürgen Habermas (1981) (the system and the life–world) it has been recognized that there is *some evidence to the existence and nature of the two relational systems'* (Conn 2011: 3–4). Also, in the field of social sciences, reference is often made to bottom–up and top–down approaches which usually refer to society at the 'grass roots level' (i.e. citizens and communities) at the bottom, and state or corporate institutions at the top. Conn (2011) defines this as the one–system approach which differs from the two–system approach in that it is thought of as fitting together as one and gives the impression that both parts are organizationally similar; in the two–system approach, the two parts *'coexist alongside each other interacting and co–evolving in one shared social eco–system'* (Conn 2011:4–5); as such, the two systems intra-act.

The use of the terms horizontal and vertical to describe the informal and formal relationships within a community have largely taken place in discussions in the UK on the constitutional citizen (see Rosenfeld 2010, Conn 2011 and DCA 2007 for example). The Department for Constitutional Affairs (2007) in the UK defines citizen–citizen based relationships as horizontal citizenship, and citizen–governance based relationships as vertical citizenship (DCA 2007: 8). Only the state and its institutions are included in the latter, and the DCA questions where the market or the third sector fits into this equation, and whether a company's activities can be thought of within a citizenship framework. The DCA finds that *'the public do not equate being a "good citizen" with engaging with the state. Rather, 'good' citizenship is perceived to be based around horizontal relationships – within and between households – concerned with morals, manners, self–reliance and public behaviors.'* (DCA 2007: 7). Vertical citizenship on the other hand is perceived to be more official and inflexible and is associated with national citizenship. This is about entitlements (e.g. public service, national security and welfare), duties (e.g. jury service, voting) and obligations (e.g. paying taxes, abiding by the law) (ibid: 28). Conn (2011) meanwhile

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[19] Intra–action differs from interaction as the former does not presuppose the prior existence of independent entities (Barad 2003).

distinguishes the vertical and horizontal by contrasting the (horizontal) peer and (vertical) hierarchical relationships, where the vertical relationships are defined within an organizational framework that includes public and voluntary sector agencies as well as corporations. Conn (2011: 5–8) suggests that vertical relationships are essentially hierarchical in nature – for example in the world of work there is management and staff and in state-citizen relationships, the state sets the parameters and citizens must live their lives within those parameters – and that within communities citizens behave with one another as equals or peers.

While Conn's hierarchical description of vertical relationships is difficult to dispute even in the most democratic of societies where civic action such as voting, strikes, protests and petitions give citizens some degree of power and may influence decision–making, the notion of horizontal relationships being 'peer'–based is highly questionable, particularly if we take the case of Nordic seconded workers and their partners in India. During secondment, the communities in which they operate are extremely diverse and hierarchy is almost always present. Even if one looks to the communities of so-called peers such as social networking groups, there is also an element of hierarchy or at least stratification; for example, the language of communication is always English in international networks, which is the first language for many and the second, third or fourth for other members; in the large social networks there is often an organizational structure which includes a president, vice–president, treasurer, volunteers and ordinary members. In the case of horizontal citizenship therefore, I suggest keeping a more open definition that concerns citizens as human beings interacting with one another in so-called communities in line with the definitions put forward by the DCA (2007) and Condor (2011).

The question then arises as to what can be included in the category of 'community'. In the citizenship literature, communitarian citizenship pertains to the active participation in the 'common good' and fulfilling duties and obligations towards a group or institutions such as the family, schools and churches (Sison 2011:4). It has been widely recognized however that these kinds of attitudes and to a great extent those that the DCA associates with horizontal citizenship (e.g. morals and self–reliance) can be found within organizations, i.e. workplaces, and a large body of literature has emerged on what is recognized as organizational citizenship behavior (Smith, Organ and Near, 1983), which has its roots in industrial citizenship (see for example Kabaskal, Dastmalchian and Imer 2011, Somech and Drach–Zahavy 2004, Van Yperen, N W and van den Berg 1999, Konovsky and Pugh 1994); citizens as human beings with emotions and socio-

ethical behaviors do not cease being such when they move into the workplace, suddenly becoming entirely rational and behaving solely according to their contractual rights and obligations. Hence, as well as the groups and institutions usually associated with the term community, in this thesis the third sector is also included as a type of community within which horizontal citizenship is practiced.

2.2.1.2   The welfare state and the labor market

According to Marshall and others, social rights are strongly connected to political and civil institutions as well as to the market economy. In line with this thinking, the body of work on social citizenship over the past few decades has tended to go hand in hand with discourse firstly on the welfare state (Edwards and Glover 2001, Hviden and Johansson 2007 and Taylor–Gooby 2010), as social policy and policy changes impact, and are inextricably linked to, social citizenship in the majority of industrially advanced countries; and secondly, as Marshall proposed, on markets (see for example Faist 1995, Andersen 2002, Clasens and van Oorschot 2004). Marshall (1950, 1964) discussed the connection between citizenship and labor markets, i.e. industrial citizenship, chiefly in the context of the trade union movement. Although his rhetoric draws a stronger connection between the civil dimension of citizenship (collective action for the assertion of basic rights such as a minimum wage for example) and work, as Zetlin and Whitehouse (2003) point out, his assertion of the right to broader social rights such as education and other social services *'implies a need for protection against contingencies relating to employment and the labor market, and emphasizes the interconnection of social welfare and industrial citizenship'* (Zetlin and Whitehouse 2003: 776).

   Esping–Andersen (1990) argues that the labor market is systematically and directly shaped by the (welfare) state drawing attention to the conditions under which people are allocated jobs and enter into employment, the conditions under which they claim paid absence from a job, and the conditions under which people exit from the labor market in retirement (Esping–Andersen 1990: 144). Furthermore, in opposition to the 'social rights come from social policy which comes from welfare states' view point, Barbalet (1988) reminds us that in early 20th century Britain, many believed that social rights *'could be achieved through high wages and wage maintenance through full employment [and] others who believed that such things were not achievable in capitalism, held that social rights could be attained through the socialistic overthrow of the market economy'* (Barbalet 1988: 64). While there is little support for the latter, in spite of the financial crisis of the early 21st century, the secondment of workers

abroad and being placed for a period outside of the circle of rights originating from state social policy, is a modern–day example of the former as seconded workers and their families frequently turn to the company and the market for the provision of social protection (e.g. healthcare and childcare) and other social services (e.g. schooling and leisure facilities).

The third sector is undeniably within the realm of vertical citizenship as the literature surrounding it in the context of citizenship explicitly employs the rhetoric of governance, rights, entitlements, duties and obligations. However there are elements, namely the relationships and behaviors people in it have with one another that correspond more greatly to horizontal citizenship. The third sector thus occupies a space where vertical and horizontal citizenship overlap in a social system. At some points in time, different elements of the vertical and horizontal relationships intersect with one another(vertical/horizontal), as they do within the groups themselves (i.e. vertical/vertical or horizontal/horizontal) and produce various outcomes, be they practical, behavioral or attitudinal. Consideration of both the vertical and the horizontal aspects in the analysis of social citizenship is thus necessary for understanding the impact of social policy on not only migrant citizens but also stay-at-home citizens' lives.

2.2.1.3 The influence of culture

As the previous section on the welfare state and labor markets highlights, the way people behave in a given situation is influenced greatly by social context. Research has also shown that the way they participate in society is also influenced greatly by culture. Culture is understood in this thesis as a cognitive schema that includes ideas and practices about how the material and social world operates and that is widely shared by members of a society or cultural context (Markus and Hamedani, 2007 cited in Zhou and Cacioppo 2010). Furthermore, culture is assumed to be learned and shared and located both within individuals and larger social groups (Dressler, Balieiro, Ribeiro, and Dos Santos 2007: 197). It gives form and direction to individual experience such as perception, cognition, emotion, motivation and action; it is something which is both embodied and enacted or behaved by one person or group as it evolves, and is also perceived and interpreted by another person or group; it does not travel on a one way street. Neither can it be ignored when considering the settings, i.e. the spaces and place, in which the horizontal and vertical relationships are taking place.

In the globalization debate of the 1980s universalist thinkers believed that, with the acceleration in international, cross–cultural and interpersonal relations supported by mass media, new means of communication and an exploding rate of intercontinental travelling, there would be development towards a one–world scenario with increasing cultural homogenization (Helgesen 2007: 1–4). It has been found, however, that despite economic development, technological revolutions and political transformations (for instance from dictatorship to democracy) certain basic socio–emotional traits that individuals possess remain intact; In other words, while some aspects of culture 'evolve', to some extent, people remain as they were before change happens (Inglehart and Baker 2000), and this continuity continues to color interpersonal relations, social behavior and thus society.

Inglehart and Baker (2000) test the thesis that economic changes are linked to systematic changes in basic values, using extensive data from three waves of the World Values Survey. They find that there is indeed evidence of immense cultural change, yet distinctive cultural traditions remain. *'Economic development is associated with shifts away from absolute norms and values toward values that are increasingly rational, tolerant, trusting, and participatory. Cultural change, however, is path dependent. The broad cultural heritage of a society—Protestant, Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Confucian, or Communist—leaves an imprint on values that endures despite modernization. Moreover, the differences between the values held by members of different religions within given societies are much smaller than are cross–national differences.'* (Inglehart and Baker 2000: 19). The World Values Survey is probably the most comprehensive comparable set of data providing information about the socio-economic situation and values and attitudes of a large proportion of the world population with 65 societies and 75% of the world population covered. Hence the findings of Ronald Inglehart and colleagues based on the data cannot be ignored. Culture, it appears, is both entirely permeable and prone to change, yet at the same time remains path dependent and rigid.

The relationship between culture and behavior has been studied extensively empirically within the discipline of social psychology and predominantly on American subjects in mainstream academia. Goffman (1959) states *'…when an individual appears before others his actions will influence the definition of the situation which they come to have.'* and that, *'he will intentionally and consciously express himself in a particular way […] chiefly because the tradition of his group or social status require this kind of expression and not because of any particular response […] yet he may be neither consciously nor unconsciously be disposed to create such an impression.'* (Goffman 1959: 6) In other words, people also behave in different ways partly because they are predisposed to do so, partly because it is what is expected of them, and also possibly in order to influence the

outcome of the situation. Their actions however, can be both conscious and unconscious while simultaneously being purposeful.

The Nordic migrants will have different needs and, moreover, they will prioritize and have different degrees of needs that they will articulate all of which are related to their culture (Walzer 1983: 66). Indian society may only partially meet some of those needs to some degree as the society and social goods were not constructed around the needs of foreign workers. The Nordic migrants do not, however, operate in purely Indian environments, but form a part of an elite group of migrants who enjoy lifestyles that are accessible to and also lived by a growing number of upper to upper–middle class Indians, many of whom have returned to India from abroad. The space in which culture is consciously or unconsciously enacted by the Nordic migrants in India oscillates between being purely Nordic, locally Indian, multicultural and transnational, which means that the cultural model that the migrants behaviors are approximating is less well defined as it is located, using Walzers (1983) terminology, in a variety of spheres of culture within the territory of India.

The relationship between culture and citizenship has been discussed in various ways across disciplines in the social sciences. Cultural citizenship has been described by Renato Rosaldo (1994) as a *'right to be different and to belong in a participatory or democratic sense.'* (Emphasis added. Rosaldo 1994: 402). The debate centres around ethnic minorities' demands for full citizenship in the face of discrimination by state agencies, public institutions and by civil society in the US, which implies that full citizenship can be achieved through the actions of the citizens themselves (see also Pakulski 1997). Ong (1996) by contrast describes cultural citizenship as *'a process of self–making and being–made in relation to nation–states and transnational processes.'* (Ong 1996: 737–738). She argues that cultural citizenship is a dual process including both the cultural assertions of citizens as in Rosaldo's model, and the cultural inscriptions assigned to them by the state and the wider world. She states that *'becoming a citizen depends on how one is constituted as a subject who exercises or submits to power relations […]'* (ibid: 738). In this thesis, rather than locating culture solely within the self as both Ong and Rosaldo do, I propose that under migration a third dimension intra–acts with the dual process that Ong (1996) speaks of: the cultural assertions of citizens and cultural inscriptions placed on them by the state and the wider world (the culture of and on the 'self') evolve in spaces (e.g. multicultural and transnational expat communities, Indian society)[20]

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[20] See Beaverstock 2011 for empirical evidence of the role of the expatriate club in the making of transnational social space in an Asian city.

and places (Indian cities, workplaces etc.) that too have their own culture (the 'other' culture). These three dimensions, the culture of the self, the inscribed culture, and the culture of the 'other', contribute to social citizenship in so far as they inter- and intra-act, impacting the way that the migrants participate in the host society.

2.2.1.4   The influence of environments

As well as the interaction with human communities in intangible social environments such as different spheres of culture and hierarchy (understood as space), citizens also interact with tangible physical environments such as the home, the workplace and the other public places such as roads, parks and recreational areas in between (understood as place). City planning in the Nordic region has been described by Jacob and Hellström (2010) as having a *social democratic planning culture'* which integrates four central dimensions that reflect Nordic public–space values. The first is leisure and play, the most important aspect of which is the goal of increasing the *'richness of choice [of experiences] for the city dwellers'*. The second is power and organization, whereby the cities promote the officially–organized use of public space (e.g. local government initiatives on rubbish collecting). The third is unruliness and change, which refers to public space being *'presented as something unruly and necessarily flexible, which is inherently subject to change'* and not *'too pre-structured or pre-defined'*. The fourth dimension is identity and unity, whereby public space should be a source of mutually supporting identity for the city and the public and create a *'gravitational focus'* in the city center. The city therefore is a strong reflection of the social democratic values that are presumed to be upheld by the citizens who inhabit them. If one further takes into account the social, economic and environmental disparities between the Nordic region and India, widely different 'cultures' and norms of behavior can be expected in the cities of the Nordic countries and India.

In addition, the expected behavior of different groups (i.e. the expectations of Indians of Nordic people, Nordic people of other Nordic people, and Nordic people of Indians) can also vary according to whether they are in one location or another (i.e. India or the Nordic region). Studies within the area of citizenship that reflect explicitly on the relevance of space and place for citizenship are limited. One of the few by André Di Masso (2012) addresses *'how common understandings of normative behavior in public are often based on particular constructions of place and people–space relations.'* Taking the case of a struggle over a public space in Barcelona's Old

Town between 1999 and 2007, Di Masso (2012: 139) suggests that a model of citizenship is required which is *'based on a politics of difference, recognition, and contestation in the public space, rather than of sameness, unity, and peaceful consensus.'* I propose that analysing social citizenship using a constellation framework is one such model.

Individual aspects of place on their own or in combination with aspects of space may influence the behavior of some, but not others as place can have a unique reality for each inhabitant even though the meanings of place are shared (Low and Lawrence–Zúñiga 2003: 15). The dense populations of the mega-cities of India for example can cause severe traffic jams which can require a different approach to time use. This in turn can precipitate changes in both vertical and horizontal relationships. Anthropologists refer to the spaces described above as 'inscribed spaces' and studies within this area define the relationship between humans and the environment they occupy acknowledging the *'depth and complexity with which people construct meaningful relationships with their surroundings'* (ibid: 13–18). Bell (2005) draws attention to traditional understandings of social citizenship which include citizens' right to basic needs such as food, clothing and healthcare, acknowledging the embodiment of citizenship. However, in this frame, the embodiment is not related to the environment, which continues to be marginalized and conceived of as property, making the social citizen *'free–floating'* and *'locationless'* (Bell 2005: 182–183). While Bell (2005) acknowledges that *'basic needs can only be met through the exploitation of the physical environment'* and is hence a means of survival, he continues the trend of keeping environmental citizenship as a citizenship typology unto itself, separate from social citizenship. In this thesis, rather than defining the relationship between humans and the inscribed spaces they occupy in a discourse of rights and duties, I analyse the inter- and intra–action that Nordic citizens have with the environment, understood as the spaces and places that they operate in (including the natural environment), and discuss how the 'unique realities' of these encounters can produce divergent enactments of social citizenship.

I propose therefore that in social systems people carry out their citizenship within, a third dimension be added to the two–system approach, which only considers horizontal and vertical relationships, that includes the environment as the 'settings' not only include people and institutions, but also tangible and intangible spaces and places that continuously evolve, whilst impacting each combination and permutation of vertical and horizontal relationships.

2.2.2   Analysing Citizenship Constellations

Stephens and Squire (2012) used the metaphor of an exaggerated version of a black widow spider's web, represented by the image below in Figure 2, to symbolize the complexity of citizenship in relational terms where the nation state is rejected as the only imagined community. They do so in the belief that a web draws attention away from *'any sense of an overarching spatial unit'* and gives an impression of timelessness, or inhomogeneous non-linear time (Stephens and Squire 2012: 552–553), while acknowledging that borders are necessary in the actual image of the web for practical formatting purposes. As Stephens and Squire (2012) suggest, the spiders web can also be seen as *'a device that reminds us that those social [...] formations which appear unified, homogeneous and even timeless are in fact complex, heterogeneous, and rely on being constantly recreated anew.'* (ibid: 553)

Figure 2.   Tomás Saraceno 14 Billions (Working Title).
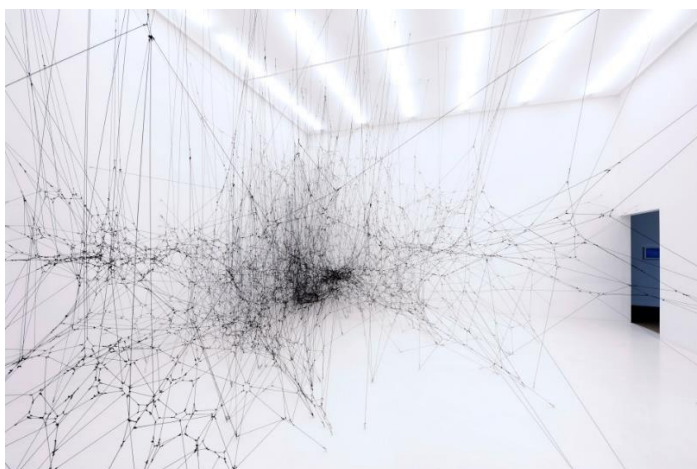
(Photograph taken by Colin Davison, ©Tomás Saraceno and BALTIC Center for Contemporary Art)[21]

The vertical and horizontal relationships experienced by the Nordic migrants in India are constantly evolving, sometimes crossing over, sometimes intersecting, sometimes intra–acting and sometimes side–lining one another at different points

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[21] The image was originally seen in the Stephens and Squire (2012) article, however, the image shown here and permission to use it was obtained directly from the BALTIC Center for Contemporary Art, Gateshead, UK.

in time. A migrant may have a combination of two, three, four or more relationships happening on one or more different levels and they may intersect with the happenings in the lives of other people too. All of this activity takes place within a social environment, which in itself is extremely complex and dynamic as each element of that environment may also contain multiple dimensions. The negotiations of the different relationships, for instance, may be taking place within and across two or more national social systems. The majority of the migrants interviewed in this study were negotiating relationships with/in their home and destination country; others, negotiate between three or more countries as their 'home' country is not their country of origin. For many other families abroad, there are even more countries involved, as the country of origin of a partner, who may have a different nationality or ethnic origin, may also be different.

Stephens and Squire's interpretation of the spider's web is entirely in line with my understanding of how citizenship needs to be understood in general. However, because of the random organization of the web, and the web being a single entity (that is, there is only one web), it is an insufficient representation of the different configurations citizenship can have from person to person. The combinations and permutations of the configurations of their citizenship are numerous (see Vertovec 2007 for discussion of *'super–diversity'* in citizenship). Examining only one aspect of social citizenship, such as labor market relationships, is undoubtedly necessary for a better understanding of how labor markets function for different cross sections of society for example; however, in order to understand the human responses to the labor market and other social phenomena involved in citizenship, it is necessary to use a framework within which one can study the complexities that arise when a variety social relationships are intertwining at various points in time. Rainer Bauböck (2010) suggests that using a constellation framework to study citizenship traditions, laws and policies used goes beyond dominant frameworks (e.g. transnational citizenship or environmental citizenship) rather than replacing them, and allows for the analysis of the intertwining nature of the different aspects of citizenship (Bauböck 2010).

Most pertinent for my thesis, Bauböck claims that a study of constellations will allow us to better understand individual interests in relation to alternative citizenship statuses. Thus far the constellation approach has only been suggested to be applied to the study of political citizenship, and a (political) citizenship constellation is defined as *'a structure in which individuals are simultaneously linked to several such political entities, so that their legal rights and duties are determined not only by one political authority, but by several'* (Bauböck 2010: 848), similar to the transnational

citizenship model. This can occur when there is political integration of states into a larger polity as in the case of democratic federations or membership of the EU for example, and also when there is migration between states. In the case of political citizenship, there are states which determine the general rules and how they apply to citizens, and there are migrants (and citizens) who choose between alternative citizenship options (ibid: 849). The same can be said of social citizenship which furthermore must consider the impact of both vertical and horizontal relationships in the home country, and in relation to India and the employer, as well as the impact of the broader environment as outlined previously. I suggest that the constellation approach be expanded to consider social citizenship as well. Indeed, when migrants move, they both actively and passively form different relationships to the formal and informal social institutions in the different countries they move in and between. For T H Marshall (1950, 1964), the social element of citizenship referred to the right to *a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in society.'* (Marshall 1964: 72). These rights are strongly connected to political and civil institutions as well as to the market economy. The body of work on social citizenship has mushroomed since Marshall's seminal work and tends to go hand in hand with discourse on the welfare state (Korpi 2002, Edwards and Glover 2001, Johansson and Hviden 2007 and Taylor–Gooby 2010), as social policy and policy changes impact and are inextricably linked to social citizenship in the majority of western countries, and to some extent on markets (Faist 1995, Andersen 2002, Clasens and van Oorschot 2004).

2.3   Relativizing Privilege and Capital

When located in the Nordic region, the migrants enjoy other privileges such as high levels of protection from the welfare state, good quality of life, freedom to move around with a lot of (physical) personal space, freedom to work and high levels of personal safety and security. When they move to India, however, they experience informational and social uncertainties (Farh et al. 2010) chiefly as a result of being exposed to difference in many aspects of their social lives, and the way in which they deal with these differences and uncertainties, in turn, impacts their privileged status to varying extents.

Privilege is not always a comfortable concept to use or discuss, as implicit in its definition is the understanding that one group or person has advantages over

another in a given context and without necessarily having to work hard to get it. It is also often the case that privileges are more easily identified by the non-privileged and hence remain invisible (Kimmel 2010). An advantage, on the other hand, can be defined as something that makes one person or thing more likely to succeed than others; it can be a good feature or quality that someone or something has, or it can be something that is of benefit to oneself.[22] Highly skilled seconded migrants are in an advantageous position when compared to most other mobile workers, for example low-skilled economic migrants, as they are moving to a different country with the security of work, accommodation and more often than not a substantial income. None of these advantages came about by chance; they are there because the person works for a company in the West. In contrast, Nordic highly skilled seconded migrants may be considered to be more privileged than others as simply being born and brought up in the Nordic region carries with it particular advantages regardless of whether one has worked hard to get them, such as free access to education, good standards of living and so forth (as outlined in Section 4.3.1). It is vital to remember that the two terms (advantage and privilege) are not synonymous, and that being in a position of privilege and possessing different forms of capital such as economic, social and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984), and also erotic capital (Hakim 2010, 2011) can be both advantageous, disadvantageous and irrelevant when encountering difference, particularly when encountering different spheres of culture in foreign social systems.

In understanding privilege and oppression Johnson (2001: 86) writes: *'As long as we participate in social systems, we don't get to choose whether to be involved in the consequences they produce. We're involved simply through the fact that we are here. As such, we can only choose how to be involved, whether to be just part of the problem or also part of the solution. That's where our power lies, and also our responsibility.'* For Johnson, privilege is born out of the way in which people participate in a given social system; in any given social system there are people who participate in it, but the people are not the system and the system is not the people. Therefore, in order to understand what happens in the system we need to look at how the people participate in it. In addition, according to this logic, what may be considered a privilege in one social system may not necessarily be considered a privilege in another, and furthermore the conditions in the new social system may not be sufficient to allow that privilege to exist to the same extent, if at all. Johnson's understanding of privilege implies that agency has a role to play in privilege (agential privilege), while more anthropological definitions of privilege (see Chapter 3) are more structurally determined (structural privilege).

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[22] Macmillan Online Dictionary: www.macmillandictionary.com

Structure and agency are not however to be thought of as independent, rather there is a dialectical relationship where the two elements work together to produce a synthesis (Bilton et al. 2002: 18).[23]

When operating in any given social system, individuals inherently draw on their past experiences and the assets and resources they possess in order to get by. Researchers have shown that the *'social valuation'* of different population categories such as being a highly skilled or a skilled migrant, being a woman or a man, within society can affect the value of and an individual's ability to use these resources (Weiss 2005, Anthias 2007, Erel 2010). In the wider analysis of social stratification, there has been much focus on the resources which are able to be converted into other assets in order to gain further profit or advantage, and the subdivision of them into different categories has been made most notably by Pierre Bourdieu (1984). In his theoretical exploration of class and stratification, concepts that are also central to the discussion of citizenship, Bourdieu referred to these assets and resources as capital and distinguished between economic, cultural, symbolic and social capital (Bourdieu 1984). In the 2000s Catherine Hakim added a fifth asset to the discussion, namely erotic capital While there are now numerous nuanced definitions of these concepts, in this thesis I adopt Bourdieu's interpretations and understand economic capital as the sum of resources and assets that can be used to produce financial gains (e.g. money or land); cultural capital as constituting educational qualifications, training and work experience and information resources, as well as assets that are socially valued such as knowledge of art, literature or music; social capital as the sum of resources accrued from access to a network of relationships or membership in a group; human capital as the combination of economic and cultural capital; and lastly erotic capital is understood as Hakim defines it: the combination of aesthetic, visual, physical, social and sexual attractiveness to other members of society in all social contexts (Hakim 2010).

In a global perspective, it is still a very small percentage of the world population who not only have the opportunity to increase their stock of capital, but also possess the capabilities (Sen 2005, 2009, Nussbaum 2000) and have access to structures and institutions that can enable them to mobilize their capital in order to maximize gains. Being in such a position may therefore be considered a privilege; privilege and capital, moreover, are increasingly intra–acting rather than interacting; that is, privilege cannot exist without capital, and being in possession of different forms of capital yields privilege. Capital and privilege are thus mutually dependent and as Bourdieu (1977) theorizes, structural inequality reproduces itself (Wu 2011:

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[23] See also Barad 2003 and 2007 for a theoretical discussion on agential realism.

20). Recognizing and acknowledging the pre-existence of and continual development of different forms of capital in individuals is useful in understanding the ways in which Nordic migrants respond or react to social difference, and allows the study of privileged migration to move beyond monetary privilege, which may itself also vary in impact according to location and time.

2.3.1   Economic Capital and Privilege

The link between economic capital and privilege may seem obvious at first; meanwhile, it may be challenging to imagine that having economic capital may be both advantageous and disadvantageous. In Bourdieu's investigation of cultural capital, he referred to the upper class as the dominant class as they occupied the highest paying jobs or professions and exercised corporate, governmental and cultural power. While economic capital was thought of as an *'equal opportunity resource'*, as theoretically speaking anyone can invest in economically relevant skills, cultural capital was thought of as being *'bred at home'* (Soares 2007: 169). He proposed that human capital should be recognized as a combination of both economic and cultural capital. Shapiro (2004) further identified that wealth perpetuates inequality and draws our attention to *'head–start'* assets. These are assets, such as bulk savings or a house that children acquire from their parents which give them a head start in life (Shapiro 2004: 60–66).

The vast majority of Nordic migrants, and other informants, in this study do not occupy the highest paying jobs or professions when they are located in their home countries, but may be considered to occupy well-paid jobs and belong to the top end of the large middle class that dominate Nordic countries in the sense that they are high in number (Ervasti 2008). When they arrive in India however, they belong to a minority group of foreigners who are often, in comparison to their status at home, financially better off as a direct consequence of either a pay raise, supplementary salary for a hardship posting, or indirectly by company contributions towards housing and accommodation, domestic staff and transportation, among other things. Furthermore, the cost of living is significantly lower in India (although housing prices in the large cities can sometimes be comparable to those in the west[24]), so their Euros or Kroner are worth far more. Even if an Indian employee has an equivalent job or profession in India, as a

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[24] See http://businesstoday.intoday.in/story/home–prices–seen–falling–on–high–interest–rates–poll/1/201335.html.

consequence of these 'head–start assets' that the secondees receive from their employers, the Nordic migrant will always be in an economically more privileged position than his/her Indian counterpart.

The Nordic migrants in focus are economically more privileged, and hence constitute a segment of the upper class in India. They do not, however, constitute the dominant class as they do not exercise corporate, government or many aspects of cultural power. They are often middle management, they are not permanently resident in India and therefore have no political rights, and they often only superficially involve themselves in Indian culture and arts. They do however have access to elite schools, but prefer an international rather than Indian curriculum, and are able to accumulate and cultivate cultural capital within the elite expatriate circles.

Therefore, in the context of migration from advanced industrialized countries to industrializing or non-industrialized countries, economic capital cannot be considered an equal opportunity resource (see Chen, Kræmer and Gathii 2011, Leung, Zhu and Ge 2009); an Indian employee will, at present, never be able to have the same disposable income as their expatriate counterpart (see Zhou, Lu, Li and Li 2010). Despite the advantages of being able to live in more luxurious accommodation, having a greater disposable income and so forth, disadvantages arise for foreigners in India as a direct consequence thereof: many of the major tourist attractions charge different prices for foreigners and Indian nationals; when shopping in street markets or travelling by taxi or auto–rickshaw, vendors and drivers will more often than not attempt to charge a higher price; furthermore, local people may also have pre-conceived ideas about the behavior or desires of a foreign person in India because of their imagined or real wealth privilege, and may subsequently only relay partial information that they think correlate to a privileged foreigner's tastes and preferences (see Section 2.2.1 for a discussion on expected behaviors). In the empirical section, rather than simply giving examples of the advantages and disadvantages that arise, I use the data to show how the migrants deal with these advantages and disadvantages of having economic capital differently and how it affects their lived experience of and in the new social system.

2.3.2   Cultural Capital and Privilege

The intra–action of structural and agential privilege is reflected in Bourdieu's (1984) discussion of cultural capital which can appear in objectified (e.g. a

computer), institutionalized (e.g. computer science education) and embodied (e.g. the ability to use a computer) forms. He highlights the important role that the education system plays in legitimizing particular tastes and culture resulting in their being a strong correlation between the two with education levels and occupational class structure (Bourdieu 1984: 223–254). In a global perspective, it is still a very small percentage of the world population who have access and opportunity to education and hence the possibilities that Nordic highly skilled migrants have to accumulate capital may be considered a privilege (see OECD 2010, Wilkinson and Pickett 2010). At the same time, the acquired tastes and culture (e.g. appreciation of the arts, fine dining, partaking in particular sporting activities etc.) that place them among the privileged class in the Nordic context may or may not be possible to pursue in the Indian context, or may have to be adapted. Bourdieu refers to these socially acquired skills, behaviors, dispositions and tastes that unify, organize and articulate the position of a particular group in a social space as habitus, and acknowledges that habitus is a relational position as it is always relative to the position occupied by other social groups (Bennet 2010: xix).

In her analysis of Turkish skilled migrant women workers in Germany and the UK, Erel (2010) introduces the concept of migration–specific cultural capital which focuses on the distinctions within the group (i.e. skilled migrant women from Turkey in Germany and the UK) rather than the role of the receiving country's systems of migrant integration (Erel 2010: 644–645). Erel critiques the human and ethnic capital conceptualization of cultural capital, known as the rucksack approach, whereby the migrant puts her cultural capital *'into her rucksack and, once in the country of immigration, unpacks to see if it fits the "keyhole" of the cultural system of the country of immigration'* (ibid: 645), which effectively ignores or denies the role of habitus. She argues in favour of the Bourdieusian approach, which allows for a deeper investigation of how migrants use their own agency to transform their cultural capital rather than trying to make it fit. In this scenario, the rucksack is viewed more as a treasure chest and when unpacking it, *'the migrant engages in bargaining activities with institutions (such as professional bodies or universities) and people (such as employers or managers) about the value of these treasures'* and recognizes that in the case of skilled migrants, the treasures are often undervalued as they *'only have limited power over the rules of the game' (*ibid). This setting in which the agents (in this case the female Turkish skilled migrants) and their social positions are located is referred to by Bourdieu as the field. In the case of skilled migrants, Erel and others find that migrants actively work towards converting their cultural capital *'to fit in with the ethnically dominant culture of the society of residence.'* (ibid: 644–645); that is they negotiate

their *'national capital'* (Hage 1998: 53 cited in Erel 2010: 644) in order to legitimize belonging.

Nordic highly skilled seconded workers and their partners in India however have an entirely different professional group status (Malloy et al. 2011), culture and tastes to Turkish skilled migrants, and furthermore reflect a debatably sought–after 'Western' lifestyle; they are white and relatively wealthy which also gives them an entirely different social valuation and habitus. The power relations with the host society and to some extent the formal institutions, hence, vary greatly to that of Turkish skilled women migrant workers in Britain and Germany. Little attention has been given in the literature on the cultural capital that highly skilled mobile workers possess. Weiss (2005) in one of the few studies in this area argues against methodological nationalism in so far as social positions in a world system are not only characterized by the value of resources in relation to one nation state, but are also structured by *'spatial autonomy and the quality of spaces to which (migrant) populations have access'* (Weiss 2005: 708).

The status, social valuation and consequently the power of the agency of highly skilled migrants who have moved abroad as part of secondment can be expected to differ substantially to that of lower–skilled or simply independent (i.e. not moving together with an employer) migrants. Other structural factors such as the temporary nature of their stay may also influence whether or not they engage in bargaining activities with institutions or simply try to make their cultural capital fit in the host society. As in Erel's (2010) study, this thesis is concerned with migrant–specific cultural capital; that is, the intra–group distinctions among Nordic highly skilled migrants, in order to bring to the fore the nuanced nature of privileged migration, and focuses on the different ways migrants choose to participate in the new social system. Furthermore, in looking at the transformative aspects of migrant–specific cultural capital among a privileged class, I argue both for and against Erel's Bourdieusian assertion that the migrants tend to create new forms of capital in the destination country rather than simply unpacking cultural capital from their rucksacks, by paying closer attention to the conditions (the citizenship constellations) under which they do one or the other.

2.3.3 Social Capital and Privilege

In research on social capital, it has been proven that more education leads to higher stocks of social capital, and perhaps consequentially, social capital has

proven to be a powerful concept in explaining a wide variation of economic phenomena both at the micro and macro level: it can increase the probability of receiving a loan, improve company sales, incline firms to engage in innovative activity, and can also affect the growth rate of regions, influence a nation's economic performance, and even decrease poverty rates (see Shideler and Kraybill 2009 for further examples). Other scholars have argued that a lack of different forms of social capital can lead to mutual distrust and in the worst case to civil strife, ethnic discrimination, the depletion of natural resources, and the misuse of social insurance systems (see Rothstein 2005). As with the discourse around the other forms of capital, much is discussed about the advantages of possessing social capital and the disadvantages of not possessing it. The discussions on the disadvantages of possessing social capital are limited and centre almost exclusively around corruption (see for example Graeff 2009 and Uslaner 2009). As Woolcock (2001: 12) points out, the exclusionary effects of social capital are considered in our everyday lives by law (e.g. nepotism laws) and on a more personal level (parents worrying about children being in the 'wrong crowd' or the negative sides of peer pressure), yet there is a distinct lack in empirical studies that show how the pursuit of social capital can create in and out–groups, and moreover its ability to place real or imagined restrictions on individuals' personal freedoms among migrant populations.

Farh, Bartol, Shapiro and Shin (2010) developed a theoretical model of expatriate tie formation that considers the unique cultural challenges and the informational and emotional needs of expatriates in an exploration of how expatriates form *'adjustment facilitating support ties'* (support networks) when they find themselves in a culturally unfamiliar contexts (Farh et al. 2010: 434). The first stage which concerns the expatriates' motivation to seek support is pertinent to my analysis. According to the model, the expatriates' motivation is strengthened when they experience informational and social uncertainty (ibid: 437)[25], a situation which arises frequently for Nordic secondees in Indian cities where many aspects of everyday life such as the transport, communications, governance and the social infra-structure can be vastly different and challenging to get to grips with. While cross–cultural training (CCT) can undoubtedly reduce the level of informational and social uncertainty, it has been recognized that its effectiveness may be

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[25] Stage 2 is concerned with approaching support providers; stage 3 with the ability and willingness of the approached actor to provide support; stage 4 with the absorptive capacity of the expatriate to translate the support and enhance adjustment; and stage 5 with the experience of enhanced adjustment and the adding of the actor to the expatriate's support network (Farh et al. 2010:437).

'contingent on the specific circumstances and the culture of the foreign assignment.' (Okpara and Kabongo 2011:29).

In order to analyse the peculiarities of highly skilled temporary migration to India, I utilize the concepts of bonding, bridging and linking social capital. In his analysis of the 'American Community' Putnam (2000) distinguishes between bonding and bridging social capital; the former occurs when people socialize and network with others like themselves (same race, religion, ethnicity etc.), and the latter occurs when people socialize with others who are not like themselves. He claims that both are necessary in order to create peaceful multi–ethnic societies, and that if both are present, they strengthen one another (Putnam 2000). Woolcock (2001) describes bonding social capital as denoting ties between people in similar situations, such as immediate family, close friends and neighbors, while bridging social capital denotes more distant ties of like persons such as loose friendships and workmates. Both ties are made with people who are within the same community an individual operates within, and can therefore be seen as horizontal relationships. In order to consider vertical relationships, Woolcock adds a third form, namely linking social capital which addresses the ties made with *'unlike people in dissimilar situations'.* This third dimension takes into consideration ties made with people and institutions that are outside of the 'community'. Woolcock states that *'The capacity to leverage resources, ideas and information from institutions beyond the community is a key function of linking social capital'* and furthermore through this process, individuals form strategic alliances with others who are in one way or another in positions of power (Woolcock 2001: 13). Power is a relative term and should not be perceived as something which is solely possessed by people and institutions up the perceived (social) ladder. For highly skilled migrants in India there are benefits to be had from forming 'strategic alliances' or simply good relations with domestic staff and even local traders for example.

In the Nordic countries where there is a long history of homogeneity among the population, and ethnic diversity is a relatively recent phenomena, it may be argued that bonding social capital has been much more in focus, and less emphasis or even importance has been given to the encouragement and incorporation of bridging social capital (according to Woolcock's definitions). Some institutional structures in Denmark provide pertinent examples: The care and school system is structured so that children potentially stay together with the same classmates throughout, and in school often keeping the same class teacher for years, in order to promote a strong sense of security (see Jenkins 2011: 173–202), which may encourage fear of the 'other' or outsiders. Another reflection of the strong

tendency towards bonding social capital may also be the great number of foreninger in Denmark. A forening translates to a club, a society, a network or an association where people meet because they have something in common. Every Dane is a member of three different foreninger, and including membership affiliations and responsibilities adds value to curriculum vitae in Denmark.[26] Finland has also been called the 'promise land' of associations due to the high number of associations in the country.[27]

It is moreover possible that the Nordic egalitarian tradition, the flat hierarchy, having small populations, and in Denmark, Janteloven, shorten the real or imagined distances between (white) citizens of the Nordic countries, thereby facilitating the cultivation of bridging and linking social capital when located within the confines of the nation state. The type of social capital Nordic migrants possess, on the other hand, reflects how the intra–action of agency and structure can both produce privileges and also have a negative impact on the migration experience. Having such strong traditions for spending time around persons who are like–minded or have strong similarities to oneself, it may be the case that Nordic migrants' agency does not always produce privilege or advantage, but may rather inhibit them when confronted with difference in an ethnically and culturally diverse social system like India.

2.3.4   Erotic Capital and Privilege

According to Hakim, a central element of erotic capital is beauty, which clearly has cultural and temporal variations. Another element is sexual attractiveness. While beauty can also appear as sexual attractiveness, the latter can take many different forms such as personality, sense of style and fashion, femininity or masculinity or simply the way a person moves or behaves. It is *'a characteristic of social interaction'*. A third element involves qualities such as charm, charisma and the ability to make people like you, feel at ease and happy with you, want to get to know or even desire you. A fourth is liveliness which can encompass physical fitness, social energy and good humor. A fifth element is social presentation in the form of style of dress, make–up, perfume, jewelry, accessories and other adornments, and

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[26]   For   information   on   foreninger   in   English   see https://www.workindenmark.dk/en/Find_information/Information_for_job_seekers/Highly_skille d_professionals/Network_and_societies;   for   information   in   Danish   see http://www.netvaerksportalen.dk/artikler/foreninger–i–danmark.

[27] See http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/finland.php?aid=843

hairstyle. A sixth element is sexuality itself understood as sexual competence, energy, erotic imagination, playfulness and so forth. In some cultures, fertility may be added as a seventh element that is unique to women. (Hakim 2010: 500–501.)

Erotic capital differs quite substantially and significantly from the previously discussed forms of capital as it is an asset that is embodied in an individual human being which can both be learned and developed, and natural or *'fixed at birth'* (Hakim 2010: 501) and hence is not only structurally determined in the field. It may thus be thought of as a privilege that is more predetermined by agency than structure. As noted previously, however, the two have a dialectical relationship: erotic capital has a performance character; one learns how to perform a role as prescribed by the society one finds him or herself in (ibid: 503–504) and so structure cannot be ignored.

Hakim argues, on the basis of analyses conducted on sex surveys, that the male sex deficit (men wanting a lot more sex than they get at all ages) colors relations between men and women. Furthermore, *'the principle of least interest and excess male demand for attractive women greatly increase the value of women's erotic capital.'* (Hakim 2011:40). She concludes that if women recognize their erotic capital, they *'have a major advantage in private [heterosexual] relationships'* (ibid). She also argues that *'erotic capital has higher value when it is linked to high levels of economic, cultural and social capital'* (Hakim 2010: 503). It is unclear whether Hakim is referring to romantic relationships or relationships in general. If we assume the latter, in the case of Nordic migrants in India, questions arise as to how valuable that erotic capital is when the male counterpart in the relationship, or more simply the interaction, is from another culture and/or has a different status hierarchy. Furthermore, does having high levels of the other forms of capital increase the value of the erotic capital when culture and group status enter the mix? Women after all have a reputedly markedly lower status than men in India.

While acknowledging that erotic capital is not easy to measure, Hakim qualifies the aforementioned statements by exemplifying the cases of monarchs, presidents and company directors, for whom having an attractive charming spouse has greater value as public display and social networking are prioritized in their jobs, as opposed to plumbers and electricians for instance. Other studies show that beauty can be connected to earnings returns, socio-economic status, marital success, health, self–confidence and social popularity (see Jæger 2009). These examples of the effects of erotic capital and beauty focus on the effects across the sexes, i.e. between men and women. In line with Hakim's thinking (2010: 500), I do not attempt to measure erotic capital in this thesis, I rather show, taking cases where

migrants themselves refer to the skills and assets Hakim identifies as elements of erotic capital, that it is important to recognize its social and economic importance in different areas of social activity. In particular I shall focus firstly on how erotic capital affects relationships among same–sex groups and across cultures. Secondly, I shall analyse the outcomes of the deployment or non-deployment of erotic capital during interactions between groups who have different status hierarchies.

2.4   Summary

In the previous three sections, I have discussed the central concepts that I shall use to explain the variation in the way difference is encountered by the Nordic migrants interviewed in the ensuing empirical analysis. The concepts are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1.   Summary of Theoretical Considerations

SOCIAL PHENOMENA THAT INTER- AND INTRA-ACT TO PRODUCE DIFFERENT SOCIAL CITIZENSHIP CONSTELLATIONS	
(IN)SECURITY TRUST CORRUPTION	Framing of people / actors Group status / Status hierarchy Homogeneous stereotyping vs. multiple complex social categorization
VERTICAL CITIZENSHIP	Institutional relationships in country of origin / destination country: Labor market Welfare state The state /authorities
HORIZONTAL CITIZENSHIP	Relationships with human communities in country of origin / destination country Work Home In public
CULTURE	Cultural change Cultural path dependency Expected behavior: Culture of the self Inscribed culture Culture of the other Spheres of culture
ENVIRONMENT	Tangible and intangible environments Expected behavior Place and people–space relations Quality of spaces Citizenship rights & behaviors related to environment

*PRIVILEGE	Agential privilege	
	Structural privilege	
	Social valuation of population category and ability to use resources	
*ECONOMIC CAPITAL	Head start assets	
*CULTURAL CAPITAL	Migrant-specific cultural capital	
	Create new capital or unpack old (rucksack approach)	
*SOCIAL CAPITAL	Bonding social capital: Ties with like persons in the community	
	Bridging social capital: Ties with unlike persons in the community	
	Linking social capital: Ties with like/unlike persons outside of the community	
	Production of in- and outgroups	
*EROTIC CAPITAL	Within same sex groups / across cultures	
	Impact of other forms of capital and status	

* The advantages and disadvantages of possessing / not possessing / utilizing / not utilizing these assets will be explored.

These theoretical concepts explain different social phenomena which are continually inter- and intra-acting when the Nordic migrants encounter difference during their migration period. In the empirical analysis I use these concepts to explain both my understanding of the migrants' social and socio-psychological conditions under which they are enacting their social citizenship and how the differences in their perceived and real situations contribute to differentiating between their citizenship constellations. Furthermore, I use the concepts to analyse the understanding that the migrants' have themselves of the situation they are in. I aim to highlight the way that migrants understand and behave towards particular phenomena and situations similarly and differently. I argue that in encountering difference divergently, the Nordic migrants have resultant differences in their social citizenship constellations (Bauböck 2010). Moreover, these constellations can be recognized as fluid rather than static, as they are prone to change throughout the course of the migration period, simply because society and people continually evolve. As such, this study falls into the body of works which discuss the boundaries and dimensions of subjective citizenship (Condor 2011).

3   Previous Empirical Research

The preceding section defines the theoretical apparatus used to reach the ensuing research findings. The central theme of the thesis, encountering difference, is being approached from the perspective of social policy through the lens of privilege. Encountering difference is a central theme in the majority of empirical research on migrants in general as it is the differences in the way life is lived, work is done, people are treated, and so forth, that present challenges for migrant populations. In this thesis I have chosen the concept of social citizenship as an analytical tool to enquire further into how difference is encountered when living abroad. Four major sub-themes have thus far been discussed in the context of highly skilled temporary migration from the Nordic region to India, in arguing for the utilization of Rainer Bauböck's (2010, 2012) constellation approach to analysing (social) citizenship. The four sub-themes I have identified which contribute towards differentiating between the temporary migrants' citizenship constellations are:

1. the impact of widely divergent socio-cultural and environmental traits and norms of the sending and receiving country states and inhabitants/migrants

2. sense of security, trust and corruption, and the significance of framing in self–other relationships with people and institutions

3. the boundaries and dimensions of subjective social citizenship both horizontally (in relation to a human community) and vertically (in relation to the welfare state and the labor market)

4. the inter and intra–action of privilege with economic, cultural, social and erotic capital

The four areas I have identified are not mutually exclusive; they intertwine and overlap to different extents depending on the analytical approach taken. The body of literature on migration research is immense. Hence, in order to present a coherent overview of how these themes have or have not been discussed in migration research thus far, I focus on the literature in two key areas: privileged migration research and Nordic migration research. In the latter I also reflect upon the literature at the intersection of social policy and migration research.

As outlined in Table 3, the key informants in this study constitute different groupings of people; nonetheless, they can all be classified as highly skilled.[28] The majority of the Nordic key informants constitute seconded workers or partners thereof. Such immigrants tend to be classified as expatriates in the literature in the fields of Human Resource Management and anthropology, and more commonly as mobile highly skilled workers or highly skilled migrants in political science, sociology and social policy. They also constitute a sub group of the 'global careerists' and 'young global professionals'. Empirical studies of both are abundant, however, the vast majority pertains to those who have relocated to industrially advanced countries (e.g. Findlay, Li, Jowett and Skeldon 1996, Oxford Research A/S 1998, Mahroum 2001, Martin 2003, Vertovec 2002 and 2003, Smith and Favell 2006, Jespersen, Junge, Munk and Olsen 2007, Koikkalainen 2009, Beaverstock 2011, TOKTEN).[29] The emerging trend of affluent migrants moving from industrially advanced countries to growth economies and non-industrialized countries is generally unacknowledged or under-analysed in contemporary research on international migration (Croucher 2012).

The following review of the existing empirical research reveals firstly that the vast majority of work done on privileged migration is within the field of anthropology and thus does not directly address questions of social policy; moreover it suggests that many privileges can be perceived by the migrants as non-privileges. Secondly, the highly skilled and highly educated are almost invisible in Nordic social policy research; while there is a growing literature on Finnish highly skilled mobility, the literature on Danish highly skilled mobility is sparse and is focused on education and wages. Furthermore, there is almost no discussion on Nordic citizenship within this literature. This study, thus fills several research gaps. In drawing attention to the social aspects of the Nordic migrant's citizenship, it addresses the privileged migration phenomenon from a new perspective, namely social policy, and differentiates between privilege, advantage and disadvantage. I also highlight the position of a particular group in Nordic society (the highly skilled) which constitutes a significant sector of the population that has received little attention from the Nordic research community, notably in Denmark. In doing so, I 'study up' (Nader 1972) and thus render the highly skilled visible to policy makers as well as researchers.

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[28] For a definition of the highly skilled, see Section 1.1.3.

[29] There is however a growing literature on expatriates from the 'developed East' in the 'developing East' (Basu and Yoshida 2012). See Basu and Yoshida (2012) for the case of Japanese in India, Pichler, Varma and Budhwar (2012) for the case of Koreans in India, and Coates (2013) for mobility between Japan and China.

3.1   Privileged Migration Research

3.1.1   Who and Where?

Migration is commonly discussed in terms of movement to countries with both a longer history of material wealth and narrow income disparities. Meanwhile the discourse on countries with less even distribution of wealth, many of which are formerly colonized regions, focuses on internal migration and emigration. Furthermore, there is a particular focus on migrants with skills that lead to employment in low–paid positions (for examples see Castles and Miller 2009). Even as the migration discussion widens to consider not only long-term migration (often simply referred to as immigration), but also the issues surrounding temporary migration, the focus remains on migrants who *are often willing to accept conditions of work, housing, public education or health far below the domestic standards the receiving country sets for its citizens.'* (Bauböck 2011); i.e., less wealthy and so called 'low–skilled' migrants who move in search of work or to be united with their families. The Nordic temporary migrants in this study are in a contrasting situation during their migration period: they are recognized as highly skilled; they move with a company and hence employment security or at least financial security; they have a far greater disposable income, live in more luxurious accommodation and usually have domestic staff, send their children to expensive international schools, and have comprehensive private health insurance. They are, in short, in a position of great privilege.

Migration has been undertaken for centuries by more wealthy members of the global population, yet contemporary migration research continues to focus on the less wealthy. An obvious reason for this is that they are far greater in number and so, perhaps as a consequence, much of immigration research is concerned with the effects of the new arrivals on the receiving country: immigrants are a potential problem while emigrants are rarely seen as such. A less obvious reason for this focus may be that it has for a long time been the wealthy who have dominated Western academia. Mirza (1998) has claimed that being dominated by white middle–class and/or male researchers, the academic agenda has made the marginal, the powerless and the oppressed the *'excessive object of study'* (cited in Liamputtong 2010: 1); furthermore, anthropologists in particular continue to have a strong tendency towards 'studying down' (Fechter 2007a, Nader 1972), that is, studying

individuals or groups who are perceived by the researchers and power–holders in society to be more vulnerable.

In the field of social policy researchers have also been caught in the trap of consistently studying down. Within the social sciences, it is mainly anthropologists who have begun the trend of studying up and analysing the behaviors of more privileged sectors of society. The relative infancy in terms of empirical data on the social consequences of privileged migration is evidence of this. Throughout the course of this project, the body of literature on Western[30] expatriates and more affluent migrants located in industrializing and non-industrialized countries has been steadily growing, but remains small, with the geographical areas covered thus far including Indonesia (Fechter 2001, 2005, 2007a, 2007b 2012), Nepal (Hindman 2007, 2009a, 2009b and Norum 2013), India (Hottola 1999, Zhou, Lu, Li and Li 2010, Foulkes 2011, 2014, Korpela 2009, 2010, 2013, Giguère 2013), China (Selmer 2006a and 2006b, Ariele 2007, Zhou, Lu, Li and Li 2010, Farrer, 2010, Boncori 2013, Lehmann 2013 among others), Mexico (Croucher 2009a, 2009b), Panama (Benson 2013, Spalding 2013a, 2013b), Egypt (Karkabi 2013), Nigeria (Okpara and Kabongo 2011) and Kenya (Chen, Kraemer and Gathii 2011). The groups that have been in focus in the aforementioned countries include both long and short-term corporate expatriates and their accompanying spouses, self–initiated expatriates, young global professionals, and lifestyle migrants. An additional recent focus pertaining to highly skilled migrants from advanced industrial societies is on aid workers in various aid–receiving countries (see Fechter and Hindman 2011, Fechter 2012, Roth 2012, Eriksson, Bjorck, Larson, Walling, Trice, Fawcett, Abernethy and Foya 2009).[31]

3.1.2   Defining Privileged Migration

As stated previously, much of the work on migration from industrially advanced countries to industrializing and non-industrialized countries has acquired the label 'privileged migration'. Within this literature, it must be noted, there are different understandings of the concept privileged migration itself. For Anne Meike Fechter

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[30] In spite of its geographical and political incorrectness, I use the term 'Western migrants' in reference to more affluent migrants originating from Europe, USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa as it is the term that the migrants use to describe and differentiate themselves from the local population.

[31] While the majority of the migrants in the aid workers studies are western, some of the informants also originate from non–western countries.

(2007a) the term is used to denote transnational migration 'from above' (movement of the more wealthy) rather than 'from below' (movement of the less wealthy). According to this logic, the privileged migrants Fechter analyses are privileged by virtue of their own status in or the global status of their home country. Thus for Fechter the position of privilege is assumed prior to undertaking migratory activity.[32] In her study on the political transnationalism of North American migrants in Mexico, Sheila Croucher (2009) defines privileged migration in terms of the relation to the destination country: it is a situation when a sending state is privileged in relation to the receiving state and migrants are privileged in relation to their host society. Although not stated explicitly, the 'privilege' being referred to by Fechter and Croucher is an economic one.

One of the few studies that explicitly analyses the effect of the destination country on migrants' experience of privilege attributes privilege solely to the migrants' socio-economic position in their home country: Angela Torresen (2007) compares the experience of middle–class Brazilian long-term 'voluntary' migrants (i.e. they have migrated of their own accord) in Lisbon, Portugal and London, UK. She finds that destination directly affects the experience of privilege for these migrants with the colonial ties between Brazil and Portugal playing a major role. Similar to Torresen (2007), this study takes into consideration the privileged position of migrants in their home country and analyses the impact of the destination country on that privilege, as well as considering how their position of privilege impacts their encounters in the destination country. This study differs however in so far as only one destination or host country is considered, and the 'privilege' being explored also encompasses Nordic values. In addition the migrants are temporary, they may be labelled as highly skilled or highly educated[33], and they have moved with the security of a job with the sending company or organization which adds a further dimension to their status of privilege. They are therefore, unlike Torresen's research subjects, secured an economic status of privilege upon arrival in the destination country and do not have to seek it.

In other studies one can surmise that migrants are privileged simply because they have the resources, economic or otherwise, required to lead a life they desire

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[32] Fechter's definition comes under scrutiny however if one considers the position of highly skilled workers who are seconded from less wealthy to more wealthy countries, e.g. from India to Finland, as the global status of India is at present not considered to be privileged in spite of its successes. Indian migrants subsequently find themselves in economically disadvantageous situations, compared to their European peers, when their Indian company sends them with an Indian 'high' salary to work in Europe.

[33] All respondents have tertiary education (vocational or academic).

during the migration period (e.g. lifestyle migrants); in studies on migration from affluent Asian and South American countries, migrants have been recognized as privileged as they live a more desirable lifestyle than that which they have at home (e.g. Kurotani 2007), and because of their socio-economic status in their home country (e.g. Torresen 2007). Amit (2007) equates the privileged with the elite and points out that in anthropological writings, the relative resources, influence, power and scale of elites *'appear to be highly divergent'* when compared to one another; moreover, she also emphasizes *'the importance of relating the issue of relative advantage and power to particular social and political contexts'* (Amit 2007: 1). In a similar vein, as explained in previous sections, I employ the term privileged as a relational lens in recognition of not only the undeniable economic advantages (the 'head start assets') of the migrants in a local and global perspective, but also in relation to their social and cultural group status as perceived and inscribed upon them by the individuals themselves, the host (the institutions and host country nationals as well as other foreigners) and the home society.

3.1.3   Women and Difference

'Boundaries' and 'flows' are common vocabulary within the literature of anthropology. Anne-Meike Fechter's chief finding in her work on Western expatriates in Indonesia is that their transnational lives are in fact marked by boundaries as much as by flows (Fechter 2001). From a gendered perspective, she finds that the *'seemingly privileged social position of Western transnational women [in Jakarta] can be experienced as restrictive'*. Many of her female 'family expatriate' respondents who have followed their husbands on various postings around the world, thereby sacrificing their own careers, refer to themselves as living in a *'golden cage'* and express feelings of lack of purpose (Fechter 2007a: 37 – 57). In contrast, Sawa Kurotani (2007) speaks of the *'long vacation'* of Japanese expatriate corporate wives and the feeling of liberation they experience during expatriation to the US compared to the restrictive life they have at home. Fechter and Kurotani's findings suggest that the wives of secondees' experiential realities have a relational dimension. In both studies, the wives define their so-called 'privileges' in relation to the lives they live in their home country. The findings also suggest that migrants' cultural heritage impacts the experience of 'privilege' under temporary migration.

Using the constructs shopping and consumption, Heather Hindman (2009) discusses the cultural and class shift that women are *'on the front line'* of when the

expatriate family moves from the home country to a country like Nepal. She finds that the *'markers of class'* that in the home country would usually reflect differences in wealth become, to some extent, invisible within expatriate circles. This happens because by pure virtue of expatriation (from the US to Nepal) the families are all living in big houses, have chauffeur–driven cars, domestic helpers and have social–club membership and high disposable incomes. As a result, new forms of hierarchy and distinction are created within the expat communities; for accompanying women spouses in Kathmandu these come in the form of knowledge and consumption of culture and art, both Nepalese and international: *'Collecting things and knowledge is a form of capital acquisition that is understandable to others within the expatriate circuit—a shared grammar.'* (Hindman 2009: 676; see also Hindman 2008). Hindman's findings support Erel's (2010) theory that migrants create new forms of capital in the destination country rather than simply unpacking cultural capital from their rucksacks. In doing so, their identification with the human community around them (their horizontal citizenship) is also transformed not least because the (female) expatriates, who have come from racially homogenous middle–class environments, *'find that their past approaches to difference are no longer adequate'* in their new multicultural expatriate settings (Hindman 2009: 664).

The significance of new ways of approaching difference also surfaces in Korpela's work on European female lifestyle migrants in Varanasi, India. Some of them find themselves liberated from *'Western gender constraints'* as they do not have to care about their looks in the same way as they do in Europe (Korpela 2006: 14). On the other hand, as with Fechter's female subjects, they also face many restrictions because of their gender (ibid: 4–10). For Hindman's subjects in Kathmandu, employers are found to intrude surreptitiously into family and domestic life. The compensation packages provided by many employers, Hindman claims, *'reinforce particular understandings of gender within the family and create for women new roles, roles they often perceive as traditional, as homemakers and protectors […]'* (Hindman 2008: 49). In confronting the difference in the local environment in Kathmandu, women are encouraged to insulate and protect their families from the outside, Nepalese world by engaging in particular consumption and social practices that create a *'hypernationalised domestic space'* that is culturally homogeneous and has stereotypical gender roles. Home life should be reminiscent of the image of the 1950s family life that possibly only existed on television, where gender roles were very clear: this was a time when formerly *'productive'* women were forced to return (happily) to the household as their men had returned home and taken up the *'productive'* work again. Hindman notes the similarities between those women and

the expatriate women in Kathmandu, many of whom had given up their careers in order to support their husbands' and were experiencing some remorse for the situation they were in: their qualifications and experience are obsolete and there is little hope of them returning to paid labor in their field again. On top of this, women find themselves in a position where failure to create such perfect hypernational homes can, in the worst case scenario, lead to their husbands being fired (ibid 55–58).

3.1.4   Inter-and Intra-Group Relations

In other work pertaining to horizontal relationships, Roger Edward Norum explores the ways that *'elite, mobile professionals – early career expatriates living in Nepal […] construct, navigate and narrativise the boundaries between themselves and […] tourists'*, in order to gain an insight into group and individual identities among privileged communities (Norum 2013: 27–29). Addressing issues of class and hierarchy within expatriate communities as Hindman and others do (see also Farrer 2010), he finds that there is a tendency for expatriates to define themselves strongly against the tourist, thus positioning themselves as having a higher group status. Moreover, they have a need to demonstrate that they appreciate and understand Nepalese society and *'constantly gauge levels of authenticity'* in what he calls *'the highly commoditised semantic touristed world of Kathmandu'* (Norum 2013: 42). A similar situation arises for family expatriates in Indonesia who, in spite of their reliance on the expat community for their livelihood, like to emphasize their long-term commitment to the country and do not label themselves 'expats' because of their *'genuine engagement with Indonesia, [and] their different outlook and motivation for being there'* which contrasts to (corporate) expatriates' more *'egotistical and exploitative motivations'* (Fechter 2007a: 5).

Korpela (2006) and others (see for example Hottola 1999, Hindman 2007 and Farrer 2010), in a more commonly used anthropological framework, study how Western expatriates position and identify themselves in relation to the host country nationals. She finds that, similar to the women depicted in colonial travel literature, there is a tendency for young European women in Varanasi, India to distance and differentiate themselves strongly from local Indian women in their process of self–understanding and empowerment (Korpela 2006). The lifestyle migrants in Korpela's study often depend on other migrants and tourists for their income and consequently have no imperative need to gain acceptance or receive interpersonal support from local Indian women. Indeed, it has been found that different migrant

categories experience relations with locals differently and this is largely dependent on their motivations and reasons for being in the destination country (Spalding 2013b: 78–79; see also Fechter 2007). Hindman (2007) draws attention to how the *'disciplining structures'*, i.e. institutions, that put expatriates in the locations they are in, produce particular understandings of difference through expatriate training and the 'disciplining' of culture. She finds that many expatriates consider themselves to lack culture at least *'in a way that might parallel its presence in Nepal'* (Hindman 2007: 155). She suggests that for employers, *'culture is a barrier to capitalism'*; consequently they give expatriates large compensation packages to *'mitigate the difficulties of cultural displacement'*. By encouraging them to see themselves as neutral, normal and modern as opposed to the society in which they are located, employers attempt to form generic acultural expatriates (Hindman 2007: 172). Others claim that for privileged migrants, non-assimilation is facilitated by advanced communications technology through which they can maintain very close ties with their homelands (Croucher 2012: 3).

Anne-Meike Fechter (2007a), in her study of Western expatriates in Indonesia, differentiates between five groups whose interaction with Indonesian society differs according to their grouping. The first group is development workers who constitute both staff who receive local–level wages and development managers who receive similar salaries and benefits to corporate expatriates and also live similar lifestyles. Because of the nature of their work and the fact that their motivations are humanistic rather than profit–oriented, they are reluctant to refer to themselves as expats and do indeed have far more contact to the host country nationals.

The second group is the 'family expatriates'. This refers to the traditional corporate expatriates where the husband is posted as a part of his international career and the wife and children accompany him. They are usually aged between 35 and 59 and *'[the] husband's assignment abroad is seen as a necessary phase of his career trajectory within the company'* (Fechter 2007a: 128). As such the family are not necessarily that interested in the country to which they are being posted so their social lives remain strongly attached to the home country and they socialize mainly with their national community abroad, limiting their contact to Indonesians to domestic staff and work colleagues, with some exceptions (see above). She argues that these kinds of expats live in a *'bubble'* (ibid; see also Warinowski 2011 and Fechter 2007b).

The third group is the young global professionals who she describes as *'[...] from either Europe, North–America or Australia [...] 25–40 years old, university educated*

and unattached, and who, for at least a certain period, pursue a life of working abroad.' (ibid: 128). This group differs substantially from the traditional family expatriates in so far as they have *'highly itinerant work patterns, frequently change employers and places of residence of their own initiative, and take up a series of jobs in various countries'* either with local globally competitive salaries or as part of a foreign assignment with a transnational corporation. They regard a global lifestyle as something exciting and attractive and working abroad is something they set out to do rather than something that was impressed upon them (ibid).

The fourth group is the non-corporate foreign residents, small–scale entrepreneurs, teachers, artists and people working for small NGOs who live outside the capital. They differentiate themselves from 'expatriates' as rather than living luxurious lifestyles, lacking in language skills, being ignorant, arrogant and possibly also having racist attitudes as 'expatriates' do, *'they aim for a better level of integration to Indonesian society, building genuine relationships with Indonesians, while they have comfortable but moderate lifestyles that are not far removed from local ones'* (ibid: 5).

The fifth group consists of corporate expatriates and spouses with the requisite professions or incomes, but whose ethnicity excludes them from certain national expatriate communities. Fechter gives the example of an Indonesian national who has lived in Germany for 20 years and feels that she is neither accepted by her Indonesian relatives nor by the German expatriate community. Both groups regard her as a foreigner (ibid: 6).

Fechter suggests that each group possesses different levels of economic capital which directly influences the form and stock of cultural capital they accumulate and utilise, which in turn results in divergent attitudes and approaches to the differences they encounter in the 'new' social system in Indonesia. While explicitly detailing the significance of economic and cultural capital on West–East expatriation, a disadvantage of Fechter's analysis (as she recognizes herself) is the grouping of the expatriates as 'Western' and thereby negating or neglecting the value differences that exist between individuals that originate from a diverse array of different cultures.[34]

On the flipside of the coin, turning to the field of Human Resource Management, researchers have found that in an organizational context, host country nationals' (HCN) attitudes towards expatriates determine how supportive they are towards expatriates which in turn can affect assignment success (Pichler, Varma and Budhwar 2012, Boncori 2013). Pichler, Varma and Budhwar (2012)

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[34] Fechter describes the informants in her study as mostly white 'European and American', with the exception of some British Asians (Fechter 2007a:7).

tested the conditions under which Indian HCNs decide to help expatriates from the US and found support for both the principle of similarity attraction and social identity theory: for the former, perceived similarities between the HCNs and the expatriates were related to the extent to which HCNs categorized expatriates as ingroups, with deep level similarities (e.g. values) being more relevant than surface–level similarities (e.g. race or gender); for the latter, expatriates were socially categorized as outsiders (as opposed to insiders) by HNCs when they were perceived as 'different' and subsequently received reduced role information and reduced social support (Pichler, Varma and Budhwar 2012: 922–924).

Fechter (2005) highlights how Euro-American expatriates are *'racially marked'* by HCNs in Jakarta through being looked at in the street and being called bule, which is an Indonesian term for 'white person'. Similar to the Nordic migrants in India, many of Fechter's subjects are for the first time experiencing living in a non-white society where they constitute a visible minority. Fechter finds that in spite of being bodily visible and *'racially othered'* the expatriates *'are reluctant to relinquish the notion that they constitute the racial norm'* (Fechter 2005: 89). The expatriates also fail to recognize the similarities between their experiences of being racially stereotyped and the experiences of non-white people in their own countries, and, moreover, they resort to the same kind of racial stereotyping about Indonesians in response. Fechter concludes that *'whiteness is subject to reconfiguration in different local settings and that white identities, often conceived of as stable and dominant, can be unsettled and destabilized by a situationally dominant "racial Other"'* (ibid; see also Lundström 2014).

In many studies on expatriation and privileged migration, it is recognized that cultural dissimilarities between the country or nationality of origin and the host or destination country can be challenging (Mäkelä, Suutari and Brewster 2014) and the wider the cultural gap, the higher the levels of adjustment (Boncori 2013: 103; see also Mäkelä, and Suutari 2011). Migrants to these countries 'adjust' their behaviors to varying extents and their presence has an impact on the host society. As noted previously, many wealthier foreign migrants have been recognized as living in 'expat bubbles' which may be viewed as a cushion that reduces the level of adjustment that they have to make. Attention has been drawn to the cultural implications this bubble life has for host communities. Croucher (2012) recalls the work of Bousta (2007) who identified brewing tensions between expatriates and the host country nationals in Marrakech in relation to *'culturally–inappropriate behavior [and] the potentially negative influence of that behavior on local youth, and the related threats to the local communities traditions and heritage'* (Croucher 2012: 7); similar tensions were noted among local populations in Mexico (Croucher 2009b) and India (Hottola

1999). Another contentious issue in privileged migration is the size of the ecological footprint of wealthy migrants in comparison to that of the less wealthy local population (see Croucher 2012: 6). Karkabi (2013) refers to North–South migration as *'consumption–led'* and South–North as *'production–led'* and believes that, *'Such migrant populations participate in civil life in the host country based on distinct forms of a globally reaching citizenship that stems from affiliation to affluent donor countries taking advantage of the international dependency system. It is thus important to understand this global hierarchy not only on a state to state level but also on the individual level'* (Karkabi 2013: 61). In the case of India however, it is important to recognize that there are many stark similarities in the lifestyles and consumption habits of wealthy Indians and wealthy foreigners.[35]

These empirical findings suggest that how ingroups, whether according to nationality, skin color, work or social status and position or some other category, are perceived by outgroups affects both how they are treated by the outgroup and how they react towards their new situation. Social behavior and social identity seem thus to be to some extent conditioned by the social environment in which the migrants find themselves, i.e. the spaces and places, and the institutions, people and cultures that surround them.

3.1.5   Relation to Sending and Receiving States

In general until now, too little attention has been given to identifying the implications of privileged migration for the destination country and the sending country states (see Croucher 2012). Conversely, the impact of the destination country state (Fechter 2007a) and the sending country state (Foulkes 2014) on the privileged migrants' experience is also largely unexplored. Nonetheless, several studies address different location-specific challenges that privileged migrants are faced with in their destination country. Croucher (2009a, 2009b) for instance finds that while Mexican citizens abroad are considered favourably by their home country, in spite of being significantly politically active exercising their rights as American citizens in Mexico, the US government is not actively and officially interested in them. Furthermore, the Mexican government expressly prohibits foreigners from involving themselves in Mexican politics through an article in its constitution (Croucher 2009a: 476–480). In short, while the retiree lifestyle

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[35] On the consumption of luxury goods in India see http://businesstoday.intoday.in/story/children–of–rich–people–best–consumers–for–high–end–products/1/197637.html.

migrants that Croucher studies live privileged lives in terms of the material and economic advantages they have, they encounter some restrictions in their possibilities for engaging in local politics and are more or less politically disregarded by their country of origin. Thus, they experience significant boundaries to their political citizenship as a consequence of their relocation south of the US border.

Mari Korpela's continuing work on Western lifestyle migrants in Goa has led her to highlight the vulnerable situation they find themselves in because they fall outside official structures both in their home countries and in India (Korpela 2012; see also Foulkes 2014). In spite of the vulnerabilities they face, such as lack of financial security when things do not go as planned (as in the case of accidents, illness and problems with business partners), she finds that most of the Westerners in Goa in fact *'prefer to be outside of public welfare systems because they feel that such systems control and restrict [them] too much, [sic] whereas they prefer to be "free".'* (Korpela 2012: 68). The lifestyle migrants in Korpela studies may be considered to be living in a *'hypermobile world'* where they remain temporary migrants switching between different countries for short periods for a substantial portion of their lives (Bauböck 2011: 684) and as such, the freedom afforded them by not having any formal ties anywhere is perhaps understandably a welcome necessity. This hypermobility is however not always entirely their preferred choice: the Westerners in Goa face visa restrictions that demand that they leave and re-enter the country when they do not always need or want to (Korpela 2013: 69–70). Another fallout of this way of life is the negative impact it has on the children of lifestyle migrants' schooling (ibid 70–71; cf. Mäkelä, Suutari and Brewster 2014). Lifestyle migrants in Goa have precarious vertical relationships that put them in a vulnerable position regarding social security. The lack of bonding social capital, that is, the weak social ties they have to family and friends while abroad, exacerbates this vulnerability. In spite of this, the migrants are happy to be outside of social systems that they believe restrict their freedom.

In other parts of the world, European privileged migrants encounter positive discrimination from the state in their chosen destination country. Nadeem Karkabi (2013), for example, has studied how the Egyptian state has granted European lifestyle migrants privileged citizenship rights while simultaneously marginalising indigenous Bedouins. In the process of nationalising the Sinai Peninsula, in 1981 the entire territory was declared state–owned land that could be used by, leased or sold to any interested parties. In short, Bedouins nomadic lifestyles were severely disrupted and much of the land was bought and owned by wealthier foreign and

Egyptian nationals and big corporations in developing the profitable tourist industry. More recently, in the period after the January 2011 revolution, a decree was issued that meant all non-Egyptian citizens, Egyptian citizens with a second nationality and those with one non-Egyptian parent must sell their rights to property within 6 months. The media uproar and voice of the Egyptian and foreign upper classes then prompted the Prime Minister to give assurance that the decree would not be enacted retrospectively. Karkabi suggests that this episode proves that the government is not interested in confronting the Egyptian and European elites with limitations to their privileged citizenship and that furthermore, it *'[creates] a threat to the national unity of equal citizens and the state as their legitimate governing authority'* (Karkabi 2013: 60–63). While the voice of the European migrants is not heard in Karkabi's analysis, it is evident that having large stocks of economic capital is keeping these long-term migrants in a position of power in Egypt. Their social valuation by the Egyptian state remains high, but among the indigenous population and some sectors of the Egyptian population it is low. They have not been able to mobilize linking social capital 'down' the social hierarchy and consequently, their ability to use their financial resources (in the case of land purchase) has been restricted.

3.2   Nordic Migration Research

According to historians, the populations of the Nordic countries have been mobile for centuries. During the old agrarian society the movement tended to be over short distances, within limited regions and also for seasonal work within and outside the countries. In spite of the onset of industrialization, during the 19th century there was a transformation and people started to venture further afield: compared to the other countries of Europe, relatively large waves of transoceanic emigration took place (Norman and Runblom 2001). During that period, there was a rapid population increase in the home countries, the export of capital to the New World from Europe increased the capacity for conveying large numbers of emigrants, and unemployment and proletarization remained constant. As such, both the push and pull factors were strong motivators and resulted in a massive emigration (ibid: 148).

The 19th century emigration from the Nordic countries was for the most part unregulated and only became a subject of political debate towards the end of the period. In the early 20th century, efforts were made in Sweden, Norway and

Finland to stem the outflow of citizens, but in Denmark no such efforts were made because of the small numbers of emigrants that left (ibid: 151). In the post WWII period, inter–Nordic migration was in focus: the inter–Nordic labor market was established in 1954, and in 1958 passport–free movement in the region for Nordic citizens was introduced (Brochmann and Hagelund 2012: 9). Intra–Nordic flows continue to constitute a large part of the mobility among Nordic citizens and, with the exception of Finland, the outflow of citizens from the region is currently receiving little attention.

Research on emigration from the Nordic countries during the 19th and early 20th century has received varying attention in each country: in Sweden larger research projects have been funded; in Denmark and Norway the research was less characterized by large projects, but The Danish Emigration Archives (Det Danske Udvandrerarkiv) was established in Aalborg in 1932, housing the national collection of books and documents on emigration history in Denmark, and focusing on the movement from Denmark to USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. In Finland, the Institute of Migration was founded in 1974 as a result of the interest in post–war emigration of Finns, primarily to Sweden (ibid: 137). Post–war (WWII) immigration to the region has been the main research focus in recent times, in spite of the continual intra–Nordic migration of Nordic citizens. In the era of globalization and the so-called *'Age of Migration'* (Castles and Miller 2009), contemporary emigration from the Nordic region remains a relatively understudied field.[36]

In the following section, I position this study within the empirical research that has been carried out on Finnish highly skilled emigrants since 2000, when, according to Statistics Finland, the numbers of highly educated Finns leaving the country peaked (see Koikkalainen 2011: 48). I then turn to Denmark and review the limited contemporary research that has been carried out on highly skilled Danes.

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[36] At the 17th Nordic Migration Conference, 2014 for example, of the forty workshop proposals only one workshop entitled,"Transnational Migrant Families: Norms, Laws, and Lived Realities" is inviting to empirical work on emigration. (See http://www.sfi.dk/call_for_paper_proposals– 12506.aspx). Also, both the former AMID (Academy for Migration Studies in Denmark) and the current CoMID (Center for the Study of Migration and Diversity) at Aalborg University center their research on foreigners in Denmark, rather than Danes abroad (see www.amid.dk and www.comid.cgs.aau.dk).

3.2.1　Emigration from Finland

Finland was for a long time a country of emigration, but in the 1980s it became a country of immigration (Heikkilä 2011, Korkiasaari and Söderling 2003). The number of immigrants began to exceed the number of emigrants largely as a consequence of return migration of Finns. In spite of this, there has been a net loss of Finnish citizens since the beginning of the 1990s. Moreover, during the same period, the numbers of highly educated Finns leaving the country has not only been increasing, but has consistently exceeded the numbers of highly educated Finns returning to Finland (see Koikkalainen 2011: 48 and Dumont and Lemaître 2005: 11).

Knowledge-based societies such as Finland rely heavily on a qualified labor force and consequently investigations into the new forms of mobility and migration (Heikkilä and Koikkalainen 2011) among highly educated Finns has been a research focus in recent years. Foci related to Finnish highly skilled and highly educated migration have included: the migration intentions of educated groups (Koskinen 2005); the motivations for the highly skilled to move abroad (Koikkalainen 2011, Kiriakos 2011); the peculiarities of family expatriation with emphasis on expatriate family resources and problems encountered abroad (Warinowski 2011); the lives of female (worker) expatriates (Mäkelä, Suutari and Mayerhofer 2011) and female accompanying spouses (Oksanen 2007); how Finnish migrant professionals experience distance (Kiriakos 2010, 2014) and the global economy (Ruckenstein 2004); and lastly, the labor market experiences (Koikkalainen 2014) and work–life balance (Mäkelä, Suutari and Mayerhofer 2011, Mäkelä, Suutari and Brewster 2014) of mobile Finns.[37] In addition, (Nordic) student and researcher mobility is being studied (see for example Kyvik, Karseth, Remme and Blume 1999, Kulonpalo 2007, Saarikallio-Torp and Wiers-Jenssen 2010).

Similar to the old wave of migration to the New World, there is a notable gendered dimension in the contemporary flows: Even though in the old wave the numbers of men migrated exceeded that of women, women were leaving in greater numbers at younger ages; also, as many as 75% of the women leaving Finland were single when they departed and worked as domestics, maids, cooks, nannies and factory workers. Many of them ended up marrying Finnish men and moved from

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[37] Oksanen and Ruckenstein's work is in Finnish. As a result of my inability to read Finnish, their work is not reviewed here. A summary of Oksana's work can be found at the University of Helsinki's website: http://www.helsinki.fi/uh/1–2007/juttu4.html

paid employment to do the unpaid work of taking care of and managing the home (Hanson-Stone 1998). With the new wave, again, the numbers of young women (15-34 years) exceed the numbers of men in the same age bracket, and among the more mature migrants the numbers of men exceed the numbers of women (Statistics Finland). While to my knowledge this phenomenon has yet to be explored in depth, the research focus in Finland on the situations of families and women during expatriation may be partially explained.[38] In addition, the profile of my Nordic respondents warrants reflection on this body of research: almost two thirds of my key informants were female; furthermore, of the eight Finnish key informants, only one was a (seconded worker) man and six of the remaining seven Finnish women were accompanying their husbands; for many of them, their time was spent less on paid labor market work and more on managing the household.[39]

As Mäkelä, Suutari and Mayerhofer (2011) note, in spite of there continuing to be an overwhelming majority of men who accept assignments abroad, the proportion of expatriated women has risen and may continue to rise as the education level of the female labor force rises, and as the desirability of undertaking foreign assignments decreases (Mäkelä, Suutari and Mayerhofer 2011: 256). Concentrating both on how work–life balance (WLB) is conflicted and enriched by expatriation,[40] they find that female expatriates (to avoid confusion with non-employed spouses of secondees, I refer to Mäkelä Suutari and Mayerhofer's (2011) subjects hereafter as secondees or seconded) face similar work–related challenges as their male counterparts regarding a high workload and working in a different location with different colleagues and work systems.

On the side of 'conflict' the following was revealed: While both a male and female seconded spouse may have a partner who is willing or unwilling to manage the family affairs, a female secondee is more likely to be single or childless. They found that women's work had a negative effect on their personal lives particularly if they had children: working long hours meant they had no time to spend on

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[38] Within the field of International Business and Human Resource Management, the central role of the family (see for example Harvey 1985, Gordon and Teagarden 1995) and spouses (see for example Black and Stephens 1989, in achieving assignment success has long been recognized. See also Riusala and Suutari 2000 for the Finnish case.

[39] This compares to only two of the eight Danish key informants being female and only one of them accompanying her spouse. This sample in no way claims to be representative of the general profile of the Finnish highly skilled emigrant population.

[40] 20 interviews were conducted with Finnish women in 2008 and 2009. It is not clear whether the interviews were conducted while the women were carrying out their assignment abroad, or whether their accounts are retrospective. Neither is it clear whether the interviews were carried out face–to–face or by some other means.

themselves, on their partners and families, or to pursue hobbies and other leisure activities. Different legislation in the destination country also presented challenges for those who gave birth during the assignment for example with shorter maternity leave. A lack of existing social networks in the destination country and the lack of time to create any was also cited as a problem. Personal lives were also seen as having negative effects on working lives. *'Relations with'* and *'responsibilities to'* other people were in focus in this dimension, For some dual–earner families, the focus was on the male spouse's career and work opportunities rather than the female's (see also Mäkelä, Känsälä, and Suutari 2011); for others, consideration was given to moving abroad in future in support of their male spouse's career. Having children also presented challenges for work as a consequence of not having family and close friends nearby to provide childcare, and furthermore many of the working female spouses continued to be the primary carer for the household as a whole. (Mäkelä, Suutari and Mayerhofer 2011: 263–265).

On the side of 'enrichment' in Mäkelä, Suutari and Mayerhofer's (2011) study, women described the positive impact that their personal life had on their professional lives. Women felt that their private lives, which often included husbands and children, gave them an opportunity to withdraw from work issues and regain energy. For some women, having children made them perform better in supervisory roles at work and provided them with opportunities to create new social networks through children's schools and day care (Mäkelä, Suutari and Mayerhofer 2011: 266–267). The importance of family relations to the expat experience is also highlighted by Warinowski (2011). She finds that *'family internal resources'*, i.e., social support within the family itself, is the prime resource for expatriate families living abroad. She describes this as the *'family bubble'* which, she claims, is a bubble inside the expatriate bubble (Warinowski 2011: 161–163). For women without children, having a husband at home to talk to and to prepare dinners was a great support, and single women stressed the important role that leisure time activities and friends played in their lives (Mäkelä, Suutari and Mayerhofer 2011: 267).[41] The working life was also found to have a positive effect on the personal life. Women felt that working abroad gave them the *'opportunity to express themselves and to use and develop their skills […] and also to find happiness in their personal lives […] [and] to see the world far more than if they had stayed in their home country.'* Lone women felt that their situation helped advance their careers as they were available to work late and travel easily. Several women moved abroad because of

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[41] Fischlmayr and Kollinger (2010) support these findings in their research on Austrian female expatriates.

their foreign boyfriend, and women with families and children felt that their families also benefited from the experience regarding travel, leisure and free time together (ibid: 265–266).

These findings highlight the ways in which both vertical (relationship to institutions such as the labor market and the welfare state) and horizontal citizenship (relationships with human communities) are affected by secondment, and how the ability to mobilize and develop social capital impacts the different social citizenship constellations. Differences in working times prohibit female expatriates from developing an informal social network and participating in social activities. Meanwhile, others do find time for networking and socializing and see this as an important aspect of success of their experience abroad. Not having a solid informal social network, and hence support system, in the destination country has a negative impact on work for working mothers, yet the nuclear family is recognized as the *'prime resource'* for Finnish expatriate families. Furthermore, being resident in countries where there is no welfare state providing affordable and reliable childcare and parental leave and benefits, the female working migrants are forced to find less desirable alternatives or quit their jobs and return 'home'. On the other hand, other opportunities arise during secondment abroad or expatriation such as more frequent travel, taking part in new and different leisure activities, which do not present themselves in the home country. It is not clear however whether or not the conflicts and enrichments outlined by Mäkelä et al. (2011) are entirely gender specific. In other research on Finnish male and female global careerists, Mäkelä, Suutari and Brewster (2014) in some cases find congruent results for the male counterparts. One must surmise on the basis of these findings then that different social citizenship constellations exist as a consequence of work, family and gender status while abroad. The authors have not addressed how the migrants deal with their variegated situations.

3.2.2 Emigration from Denmark

Perhaps because of the high rate of return of Danish migrants to Denmark throughout its migration history, there exists a very small body of work on Danish emigration that has taken place since the transoceanic migration of the 19th and early 20th century. The research undertaken on the migration during that period is

also relatively limited[42] compared to the mass of research on immigration in Denmark in recent times. Denmark became a country of immigration during the late 1960s (Brochmann and Hagelund 2012: 8; cf. Norman and Runblom 2001: 156), with intra–Nordic migration comprising a large proportion at that time. Of the non-Nordic immigrants, Turkish migrants were the most numerous in Denmark. Immigration was curbed in the early 1970s when the supply of incoming labor began to exceed the demand. There continued to be a great influx of migrants largely due to family reunification and asylum seekers until 2004, at which time labor immigration again became more significant as a result of the 2004 EU enlargement (Brochmann and Hagelund 2013: 8–9).

In the same year, a report written for the OECD declared that *'Denmark faces long-term economic challenges relating to the development of human capital.'* And that *'[i]n view of a rapidly ageing population, increasing the labor supply […] of highly skilled in particular is a central concern.'* The report highlights the slow rate of growth in tertiary educational attainment citing high tax rates and flat wage structure as disincentives for young people to become highly qualified (OECD 2004: 5). In spite of this, Denmark has one of the highest levels of annual expenditure on higher educational institutes, per student, in the OECD (ibid: 9). In light of these findings, one might expect there to be or have been a research focus on the activities of Danish highly skilled or highly educated citizens over the past decade.

In her research on highly skilled Finns in European labor markets, Koikkalainen concludes that *'for internationally–minded, relatively young and well-educated European citizens[,] mobility in the EU area is one possible path among many, and experimenting with living abroad may be motivated by a range of different reasons related to lifestyle and personal growth that are not directly linked with one's professional career or the possibility of earning a better salary.'* (Koikkalainen 2013: 3). Nonetheless, in the Danish case, the contemporary peer-reviewed research that exists on Danish citizens abroad has been carried out in the field of economics and pertains to self–selection and earnings of emigrants (Poutvaara, Munk and Junge 2009, Foged 2014a) and the effect of relative earnings potentials of men and women in family migration (Foged 2014b).[43] In the field of sociology, student mobility has been studied with a focus

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[42] See the publications list for the Danish Emigration Archives (Aalborg) here http://www.emiarch.dk/pub.php3?l=da.

[43] All of these studies have come about as the result of a project initiated by Professor Martin D Munk in 2007, funded by The Danish Social Science Research Council, SFI and Aalborg University. Statistics Denmark carried out two surveys among Danish citizens who had emigrated in 1987, 1988, 1992, 1992, 1997, 1998, 2001 and 2002. Representative samples of 3,079 Danes who had

on transnational investments in informational (academic) capital (Munk 2009). Studies on the social citizenship of Danish highly skilled within the social policy and migration literature, to my knowledge, are yet to come to the fore.

The distinct lack of focus in Danish academia on citizenship and the human aspects of mobility and migration practices among highly skilled Danes, who comprise a substantial portion of the country's dominant middle class, is reflective of the tendency of 'Western' academia to focus research on the curious 'other' without reflection or consideration of the role and actions of the 'self' (at the micro/grass roots level, i.e. Danish people) in society, societal processes and social transformations that have a cross-, inter- or trans-cultural dimension. Indeed, the intense focus on immigration and immigrants among the general population in recent years has been due to the media intensively *reinforcing the border between 'them [immigrants] and us [Danes]'"* in Danish society, and immigration becoming a politicised issue in the 2001 national election race (Siim and Borchorst 2008).

There has however been some 'self'–reflection at the macro level regarding the Danish welfare state and labor market. As well as the research mentioned in previous sections on the disadvantageous situation of immigrants regarding pensions and unemployment assistance (Anderson 2007), the lack of attention to (or consideration of) cultural diversity in Scandinavian welfare and gender regimes (Siim 2008, Siim and Borchorst 2010, Borchorst 2012), and the negative effects on immigrants' social rights under the social–democratic, residency–based form of universalism (Sainsbury 2012; see also Kristensen 2007), research has also shown that large gaps in employment access have been found between immigrants and 'native' Danes,[44] with non-Western immigrants and immigrants arriving after 1984 in Denmark being at a particular disadvantage (Brodmann and Polavieja 2011); immigrants have also been found to have higher poverty rates than Danes which is partially explained by the structure of benefit schemes in Denmark and the family structure of some immigrant populations, as well as by the success or failure of labor market integration policies in Denmark (Blume, Gustafsson, Pedersen and Verner 2007). As far as migrant wellbeing is concerned, there are numerous studies on the health of immigrants in Denmark (e.g. Singhammer and Bancila 2011,

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subsequently returned to Denmark, and 4,257 Danes who still lived abroad was obtained. The respective response rates were 67 and 61 percent respectively (Poutvaara, Munk and Junge 2009: 6).

[44] 'Individuals are classified as first–generation immigrants if they are born abroad and both parents are non–Danish, if one parent is non–Danish and one is of unknown nationality, or if both parents are of unknown nationality. Danes include individuals who were born in Denmark and have Danish citizenship, as well as those who, regardless of their country of birth, have Danish citizenship and at least one native–born parent.' (Brodmann and Polavieja 2011: 65).

Mirdal 2006), likely as a consequence of large numbers of migrants originally arriving in Denmark as refugees and asylum seekers (for a brief history of immigration in Denmark see Brodmann and Polavieja 2011: 60).

4   Research Questions, Methodology and Data

The study at hand aims to answer three research questions in order to present a picture of how Nordic highly skilled temporary migrants' social citizenship is negotiated and transformed during secondment to India. The variegated and multidimensional nature of modern day citizenship demands that we be able to think in terms of many dimensions (McIntyre–Mills 2009: 1), for example dimensions of language, culture, heritage, place, social and political ties and activities, work activity, access to institutions and services and so forth. It demands, moreover, that we achieve a greater understanding of how these differences and difference in itself is confronted and dealt with. As such it is vital that an analytical framework is employed which allows space for these numerous dimensions to be considered. In the thesis, I therefore employ Rainer Bauböck's (2010) constellation approach to analyse how differences are encountered in the vertical (with state institutions and the labor market), horizontal (people and culture) (Condor 2011) and environmental relationships that are associated with the move. My main hypothesis is:

Danish and Finnish highly skilled citizens exhibit varying constellations in their social citizenship as a result of their temporary relocation to India a) vertically, in relation to official institutions such as the state and the labor market, b) horizontally, in relation to the different cultures and people associated with the move, and c) in relation to the broader social and physical environment

I have chosen to take the aforementioned relationships as the starting point of the analysis, and thus as the basis for the three ensuing guiding research questions, as it is a goal of the research to highlight how divergent the Nordic migrants' (social) citizenship constellations are. Consequently, the theoretical concepts that I employ to understand the migrants' positions intertwine and overlap in all three of the research questions discussed below, yet some theories are more pertinent to particular questions than others and attention will be drawn to those here.

The first research question concerns the Nordic citizens' social rights and their new state of welfare when living in the Indian rather than the Nordic social system. Previous studies have found that so-called privileged migrants often experience increased vulnerabilities once they fall outside of the official structures of their

home countries yet deeper investigation into the precise ways in which they are affected and how they compensate for the effective loss of rights is lacking. Therefore, this question is concerned with a more comprehensive analysis of how the Nordic migrants' legislated social rights are affected and in turn how this affects them, and also how their relationship to social services changes. What is their new relationship to the Nordic welfare state? How do they compensate for the loss of or change in their rights and access to and usage of social services? Where do the new dependencies lie? How do they deal with the different and possibly new forms of insecurity? In answering these questions, in the first instance, I complete a normative analysis of the rules regarding entitlement to basic social security. I then use questionnaire data and face-to-face semi-structured interview data in order to establish precisely which aspects of their welfare arrangements in the Nordic countries are directly and indirectly impacted by the move and how they respond to their change in situation. This line of enquiry establishes whether and how, as Sainsbury (2012) explores for immigrants to Nordic welfare states, the social democratic residence-based form of universalism affects emigrants from Nordic welfare states social rights.

In analysing the formal and informal channels the migrants use for social protection and support, the role of the employer, the sending and receiving state, family, friends and also people who are considered to be outside of the community are highlighted. This draws attention to the importance of industrial citizenship (Marshall 1950) both for the seconded worker and the accompanying partners for social security provision. When it comes to the welfare state, it is not only benefits but also services that are provided. In this context, I use the different theories of corruption (Hakhverdian and Mayne 2012 and Persson et al. 2010) as well as Di Masso's (2012) theory on people-space relations and understandings of normative behavior to reflect my interpretation and understanding of the migrant's reactions to the situations they find themselves in. All of the aforementioned points necessarily entail a discussion of the politics of insecurity (Huysmans 2006) and the framing of welfare service and provision at both the state and grass roots level in India and the Nordic region. Furthermore, how the migrants perceive and conceive of themselves and others and the places and situations they find themselves in is key for answering the aforementioned questions. In this context Rubini and Palmonari's (2012) understandings of how individuals form trusting relationships through the categorizations of the self and others, the perceptions and impact of group status (Malloy et al. 2011), and the impact of framing effects (Chong and

Druckman 2007) allow for greater understanding of why some migrants have a greater sense of insecurity than others.

The second question concerns the migrants' abilities to draw on and adapt their social, cultural, economic (Bourdieu 1984) and erotic capital (Hakim 2010) when they encounter differences in various social environments. The previous research has shown that privileged migrants do indeed exhibit particular behaviors, adopting new identities, creating new boundaries and distances between themselves and other groups and so forth. Nonetheless, there has been little attention given to how the migrants utilize the specific abilities and capabilities (Sen 2009), nor to the conditions under which they are able or unable to mobilize them. I ask to what extent the migrants mobilize, adapt and cultivate different forms of capital when they encounter difference. How do they use their social capacities and capabilities similarly and differently and how do they help and hinder them in their everyday lives? What are the factors that enable and inhibit the mobilization of the various forms of capital? And what are the consequences and outcomes of being able and unable to mobilize the various forms of capital?

In seeking to answer these questions, I use the interview data, and to a lesser extent the questionnaire data, to analyse how the migrants use and do not use their agency in three key areas that pertain to the horizontal, vertical and environmental aspects of their social citizenship: Social Protection and Social Support, Spatial and Environmental Challenges, and Socio-Cultural Inter- and Intra-actions. The advantages and disadvantages of possessing and not possessing the various forms of capital are highlighted and debated in relation to the social space they operate within drawing attention to the findings of Di Masso (2012), Weiss (2005) and Malloy et al. (1997), and also in relation to people and institutions which again raises issues of inter- and intra-group relations (Malloy 2011, Rubini and Palmonari 2012, Farh et al. 2010)

The third question concerns the Nordic migrants' relationships to space, time and privilege. These somewhat abstract concepts are omnipresent in the daily lives of the Nordic migrants as they have relocated to cities and moreover a country that is in the midst of a major social and structural transformation. They are, thus, concepts which are inextricably linked to the two previous research questions. The previous research on privileged migration has tended not to draw any particular attention to the conditions in the destination country, but has rather focused on the migrants' behaviors in the broader constructed social environments within which they are perceived and understood as being contained. More importantly, how the differences between the socio-cultural, socio-economic and structural

conditions in the sending and receiving countries may impact the privileged migrants' encounters with difference has received little attention. In filling this research gap, when seeking answers to the previous two questions, I continually consider how the Nordic migrants relationships to time and space impact and are impacted by the relocation to India; I pay attention to the challenges they face in their renegotiation of time and space, and how they deal with them. I also persist in my consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of being in a position of privilege, and question how their own and other people's understanding of their privilege affect their citizenship behaviors.

Most pertinent to the third research question is the understanding of the Nordic migrants' relationship to place and space. Consideration is given to Di Masso's (2012) theory on socio-spatial behavioral norms and expectations. I also reflect on Johnson's (2001) understanding that privilege is born out of the way in which people participate in a given social system as well as on the dialectical relationship between agency and structure (Bilton et al. 2002).

I continue this chapter with a detailed description of the methodologies used in the thesis to achieve the aforementioned aims. I then detail the different phases of the research process. I include information on both the personal, practical and academic work involved in the research process from its inception to its conclusion. Among other things, I detail how the theoretical foci came about and developed over time; I reflect on the successes and challenges with gaining access to informants; and I give some insights into my experiences of the cities I visited when carrying out my fieldwork in light of the theoretical concepts I have chosen to explore. I then describe my key informants and control groups who were interviewed and the interview process with its ups and downs, detailing the qualitative methods used during data collection and analysis which involved a multi–method approach (Collier and Elman, 2008). In the subsequent section, I draw attention to the specificities of Nordic and Indian socio-cultural and socio-economic environments in order to define more descriptively the context of the study. Lastly, I outline the methods used in the collection and analysis of the data.

4.1   Methodology

'A methodology involves presenting rules of procedure about matters such as the collection of data and their analysis. The rules are impersonal, in that they are meant to apply equally to all researchers. It is assumed that any two researchers who approach the same problem should arrive at identical

results, as long as neither infringes the methodological rules. […] In this way, methodology attempts to standardize the practice of social sciences and to eliminate quirkiness.'

<div align="right">Billig 1988: 13–14</div>

As argued in the introduction to the thesis, I believe that each piece of scientific research, particularly qualitative work, is quite unique because the individual personal and professional traits, and intra–action thereof, of every researcher are essentially different. These unique traits influence the research process and hence while the practice of social science is possible to standardize (i.e. rules can be followed), it is impossible to eliminate quirkiness, and moreover acknowledgment the quirks is an important part of the methodological process. The challenge for social scientific research is that not all researchers are aware of or give importance to their own quirks and the impact they may have at the various stages of the research process. In the present section on Methodology, I emphasize the quirkiness of the methodological procedures that were undertaken during the research process and consequently propose my own alternative definition of the term methodology:

A methodology involves presenting the circumstances of, as well as the formal and informal procedures followed throughout, data collection and analysis. The standardized methodological rules are presented as are the nuanced ways in which they are applied, while reflecting upon the impact of the individual traits and specialist skills of the researcher. Methodology attempts to give transparency to the research process and an in depth understanding of how the scientific results were obtained.

In the following two sections I give an 'ethnographic' review of the evolution of this study. Here, I must emphasize that the research methodology is not grounded in ethnography, even though it encompasses research methods commonly used in anthropology (see Section 4.3). The detailed review presented in these two sections is, I believe, a necessary part of the methodological explanation as conducting fieldwork in India, as Purkayastha et al. (2013) note, can be physically demanding because of the lack of infra-structure and poor transportation and communication facilities. They note further that *'Travelling to collect data is a lengthy and time–consuming process. It requires significant cultural competences on the part of the researchers.'* (Purkayastha, Subramaniam, Desai and Bose 2013: 508). As such, the circumstances of data collection and analysis are somewhat particular and warrant due attention because of the impact they have, directly and indirectly, on the research process. Coffey (1999: 116) highlights that this kind of *'confessional'* writing serves *'to demonstrate the*

reality and unevenness of the research process.' It is my aim, using this approach, to make the research process more transparent and to both consider myself how my experiences impacted the research process and me personally, and to give the reader the information necessary to reflect.

4.2   Phases of the Research

The research process began with questions regarding the welfare and wellbeing of Nordic citizens who had relocated to Asia in conjunction with work.[45] As the research progressed during three key phases that are outlined below, the theoretical focus changed from wellbeing and welfare to an investigation of social citizenship, which, as I have defined it in previous sections, encompasses a variety of aspects of wellbeing and welfare. The three key phases of the process will be outlined in this section. In the first phase, I conducted a pre-study in order to familiarize myself more thoroughly with the phenomenon of secondment outside of the EU. In the second phase, I narrowed the study down and gathered data using questionnaires in an attempt to deduce whether or not the theory of citizenship constellations (Bauböck 2010) could be applied to the Nordic temporary migrants in this study. In the third phase, I conducted my fieldwork. Initially, I made three one–month field trips to the aforementioned cities and conducted interviews with migrant knowledge workers from Denmark and Finland. During these trips, I recognized that being in a position of privilege and possessing different levels and forms of capital impacted the migrants' behavior towards and experience of the people, places and spaces that they encountered during their stay. I argue in the thesis that the different ways that these inter-and intra-actions and outcomes thereof divergently impact and shape their social citizenship. The last part of my fieldwork was in 2012 when I made a follow–up trip to India. The same year I had an unexpected 14 month break in the research process before completing my analysis and the final thesis monograph.

4.2.1   Phase 1: The Pre-Study

The research process began in 2007 when my proposal was accepted by LaborNet, the Finnish Graduate School of Work and Welfare located at University of

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[45] See Section 1.1 for more on how this idea came about.

Tampere. I was unable to attain funding for that year and so I continued my 'day jobs' teaching English and working as cultural awareness instructor for a small cross–cultural training institute. In both of these positions I was regularly in contact with individuals who had either been seconded to Denmark or were anticipating secondment from Denmark to another continent. Consequently, I was able to learn more about secondment in a non-academic environment and in a role that was not perceived by the migrants as 'the researcher'. Furthermore, studying and working with Danes and Finns over the past fourteen years has given me enough *'identification elements'* with both Danish and Finnish people and their lives in Scandinavia to enable understanding of the content of their interviews (Duque 2009: 11).

During that year, as well as getting to grips with the existing literature on expatriation, based primarily in Denmark, I conducted a pre-study in order to familiarize myself more thoroughly with the phenomenon of secondment to locations outside of the EU. This strategy was also in acknowledgement of the fact that within the social sciences gaining access to high–level professionals can be challenging; careful consideration must be taken in deciding on what information is important to the study, and what is the most effective way of getting it. I had intended to conduct interviews for my main set of data and recognized that before going into any interviews, I needed to find out as much information as possible; a sound conception both of oneself and the interviewees are crucial in order to feel comfortable with different forms of interaction with such informants (Thomas 1995).

The pre-study also facilitated an understanding of which aspects of secondment impacted migrants' state of wellbeing in the destination country, and how their relationship to their home country changed. Sources used included reading migrant travel blogs, joining online migrant social networks, sending informal emails, conducting interviews and having conversations with return migrants, as well as collecting questionnaire data from return migrants in my social and professional networks. The feedback was collected from people with a variety of nationalities who had spent time in countries both in-and outside of the EU. This enabled me to get a greater understanding of what the challenges are that people face when located in non-European countries where they would potentially also risk losing some of their legislated social rights.

Through the pre-study I was able to recognize that many of the major challenges faced by the informants were related to the culture difference and the infra-structure of the destination country or city. Also, it was challenges regarding

social services rather than the change in legislated social rights and benefits that were spoken about. The extent to which the informants own cultural norms seemed to affect how they dealt with similar situations also became evident. Already at this phase questions arose as to why the migrants behaved differently in the same situations. What were the different resources they were able to pull on to get them through the challenging situations and why were the situations challenging to them in the first place? These questions laid the foundations for the theoretical framework I finally chose to focus on. Informants, both at the stage of the pre-study and later on during fieldwork, relayed information about the things that made them feel both secure and insecure; they spoke about how they needed to adjust their behavior (or not) in order to get along; they spoke about how different their everyday lives were both in terms of the more privileged (yet restrictive) lifestyle and elite status they had, and in terms of being a foreigner in a foreign land. One of the ways these differences in encounters and behaviors can be explained is by using a theoretical framework that encompasses discussions on (in)security, citizenship, capital and privilege as individual and overlapping concepts.

That said, in the initial stages, I intended to use a deductive approach with welfare and wellbeing as the broader theoretical concepts I wanted to explore among migrants who had moved to socio-culturally different countries. At that time, the BRIC[46] countries were on the rise and the numbers of companies from affluent industrially advanced countries investing in the BRICs, and consequently the numbers of knowledge workers relocating there, was also on the rise. The extreme socio-cultural differences between Asian and Nordic cities and people presented a *'maximum of contrasts'* (Dogan and Pelassy 1990: 144) and made a study of Nordic secondees in Asian cities an interesting case for understanding how more well-positioned members of society cope when they are faced with such differences in their everyday lives. As such I chose to focus on India.

The next step was to access so-called expatriate communities in the destination country, India, in order to learn something more about the challenges of being there. Not having visited India at this stage, my exposure was purely from secondary sources such as academic papers, books, media and Indian migrants I

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[46] BRIC is an acronym for Brazil, Russia, China and India. In 2010 South Africa officially joined the group in spite of its blatantly smaller economy and lesser growth prospects (see http://mg.co.za/article/2012–03–23–sa–presence–drags–down–brics). Accordingly, the acronym now reads BRICS.

had met during my life course.[47] I signed up to several online networking communities in order to see what kinds of discussions were going on between people during their stay and also to run a short exploratory questionnaire with migrants in India. The questionnaire was received both positively and negatively with thirteen informants completing it, eleven women and two men. The 'test' was useful in two important ways. Firstly, it alerted me to the sensitivity of contacting people virtually using such platforms. As Fielding (2004: 237) highlights, any fieldwork environment can be hostile if poor techniques are used. The fact that I had joined the networking group in order to conduct research antagonized some members as there was a sense of proprietorship of the site among them, and not being a migrant myself made me an outsider and an unwelcome visitor. When accessing other networks thereafter, I first contacted the administrator of the site and asked them to introduce me to the members before I set up a profile. Secondly, the pilot afforded me the opportunity to construct a questionnaire that could be further developed in the future based on the responses and in consideration of the strengths and weaknesses of it that I could recognize.

The final step in the pre-study was to construct a more detailed extended questionnaire and distribute it among migrants or former migrants in my personal network in order to gain deeper and broader insights into the experience of being seconded and, more generally, added perspectives on living and working abroad. In constructing the questionnaire, as well as using selected pre-study interview responses and questions and the information gathered from the online networking groups, I also took inspiration from the structure and content of the questionnaires used for both the World Values Survey and European Social Survey. I received twelve responses in total and some general feedback from my friends and colleagues about the structure and content of the survey.

4.2.2   Phase 2: Focusing the Study

In phase two I secured research funding and was able to focus full time on the research. During this phase, I narrowed the study down. Based on the feedback on the short and extended pre-study questionnaires, the online discourses, and my previous engagements with migrants, I constructed a final extended questionnaire, which was intended to be used to collect data for analysis in the thesis. It was to be

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[47] I have Indian heritage and while being somewhat exposed to the British Indian culture through friends at school, other family friends and local communities, I had never travelled to India before.

filled out by return migrants. A shorter questionnaire was also formulated to be completed by migrants who were still located in India. I had hoped to collect enough responses from both surveys to be able to conduct quantitative analyses in addition to interviewing some of the prospective respondents. Ultimately, the thesis only utilizes the data collected from responses to the short questionnaire filled out by migrants in India (see Appendix 1).

In order to reach as many informants as possible, I contacted embassies and the chairpersons of various networking groups by telephone and email, as well as multinational enterprises (MNEs) and trade unions in the sending countries. Another strategy was to distribute the two questionnaires in my own formal (academic and professional) and informal (friends, family and acquaintances) networks. The last method that was used was snowballing, or word–of–mouth. By far the most successful channels were the networking groups in the destination countries, and the Danish Embassy in New Delhi was also extremely helpful. The approach of seeking co–operation with MNEs and trade unions was largely unsuccessful, with the vast majority citing lack of resources as the main reason for non-participation. In Denmark and Finland, many companies also cited having only a few secondees in India and China as a reason for non-participation.

Contacting different organizations individually and having to relay similar information repeatedly was very time consuming. Hence, upon return from the first field trip, I decided to create a website for my project, independent of my institutional affiliations, which I could refer prospective participants to rather than spending valuable time on repetitive emailing. I branded the project 'Global Europeans'.[48] The strategy of making the research more visible in this way was highly successful. I saved a lot of time by being able to refer people to the website rather than writing lengthy descriptions with each correspondence, and it also presented me and my research in a format that is more accessible and familiar to business professionals. Respondents could refer to the website at any time for information about the project and access the online questionnaires. Prior to my second fieldtrip to India, twenty Nordic migrants that had relocated to India had filled out the short questionnaire and eleven were willing to be interviewed. These respondents were located in Bangalore, Delhi, Mumbai and Hyderabad. In consideration of my time and funding constraints, and that only one of the respondents was in Hyderabad, I decided to focus the experiences of temporary migrants in the other three more populous cities.

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[48] See www.globaleuropeans.com.

Prior to our interview, all of the key informants filled out the shorter questionnaire (sent either by email or accessed through the website), which provided me with basic socio–demographic information, as well as informing me of some of the challenges and successes the migrants were facing during their stay. It was a useful tool for preparing both me and the informant for the upcoming interview. Upon return to Denmark after the first fieldtrip, and after consideration of the responses to the short questionnaire and the themes discussed during the interviews, I made minor changes to the questionnaire. The same was done after the second fieldtrip in preparation for the third. The three different versions can be seen in Appendix 1.

4.2.3   Phase 3: In the Field

In the third phase, my goal was to reach more informants who would be willing to be interviewed, and carry out more fieldwork. Table 2 gives an overview of the actual research activities I undertook during the first three field trips. I continue here with some general remarks about the field trips in terms of the theoretical concepts I approach the data with. Rather than giving a chronological linear narrative description, I highlight a variety of issues that came up and describe particular events and encounters that I believe were highly significant for the research process, in so far as they facilitated both my understanding of India, its people, its megacities, and of how differently life can be experienced in the cities by Nordic and other migrants who originate from more affluent and less populous parts of the world.

As a result of preliminary conversations with individuals who had been seconded to Asia during the pre-study phase, it was my aim during the field visits to not only witness and experience aspects of everyday life in India that my respondents participated in but also the parts that they do not participate in, in order to recognize the difference and to broaden my understanding of the options that exist when living life in Indian mega-cities. As reflected in Table 2, I collected my interview data during three one–month fieldtrips to India in 2009. In 2012 I returned to India for just two weeks in order to carry out follow–up interviews. I had made tentative arrangements with several informants but unfortunately all but one person cancelled either prior to the trip or while I was there. Consequently during this trip I spent much time exploring the cities and observing the changes and transformations that had taken place to their infra-structure, and also to the

various spaces of expatriate sociality I had encountered on previous trips. During the follow-up trip I often felt very tired and sometimes a little sick, and so explored the cities in the evenings to a lesser extent. Upon returning to Denmark I discovered that I was pregnant. While the pregnancy was problem-free, I experienced prolonged morning sickness and was subsequently away from the thesis for a period of 15 months (including maternity leave).

Table 2. Activities Undertaken During Fieldwork, 2009

	BANGALORE			DELHI			MUMBAI		
	JAN 2009	MAY 2009	OCT 2009	JAN 2009	MAY 2009	OCT 2009	JAN 2009	MAY 2009	OCT 2009
PRE-SCHEDULED FORMAL INTERVIEWS	0	5	4	0	3	2	0	3*	0
SPONTANEOUS FORMAL INTERVIEWS	1	4	6	0	0	1	0	0	0
OTHER ACTIVITIES	Read local newspapers Read fictional writing about Bangalore. Attended methodology course Attended network meetings organized by: - OWC (Overseas Women's Club) - BEC (Bangalore Expatriate Club) - DABGO (Danes Abroad Business Group Online) Visited local parks and gardens, commercial areas (including high and low–end shopping malls, local markets and 'high streets'), business districts, residential suburbs, major tourist attractions. Spent one day at an orphanage Visited rural areas outside of Bangalore in Karnataka. Engaged in other cultural activities (art viewing, watched live traditional music, took part in annual festivals), and ate out at eateries ranging from street food to Indian and international fast food places and café to exclusive restaurants.			Read local newspapers. Attended network meetings organized by the Delhi Network. Visited local parks and gardens commercial areas (including high and low–end shopping malls, local markets and 'high streets'), business districts, residential suburbs, major tourist attractions, embassy compounds. Engaged in other cultural activities (took part in annual festivals), and ate out at eateries ranging from street food to Indian and international fast food places and café to exclusive restaurants.			Read local newspapers. Visited commercial areas (including exclusive and low–end shopping malls, local markets), business districts, residential suburbs, slums, and the major tourist attractions. Engaged in other cultural activities (visited museums, went to the theatre), and ate out at eateries ranging from street food to Indian and international fast food places and café to exclusive restaurants.		

* One in Mangalore and two in Mumbai. The interviewee who was based in Mangalore travelled frequently to Bangalore, Delhi and Mumbai for work and therefore the data is included with the other Nordic key informants.

As with the Nordic key informants, my social citizenship status also underwent some change during the course of the fieldwork, though not with regard my formal social ties to the Danish state. The changes occurred largely as a consequence of my temporary relocation to an Asian growth economy that is in a process of major structural transformation. I had never visited India before, but I have ties to the country through my family lineage. Similar to the Nordic migrants, upon arrival, simply the extreme nature of the aesthetic differences between India and the Nordic region I encountered were slightly overwhelming, yet in a positive way. I was able to draw on my previous experiences in other densely populated Asian and South American cities and navigated all three cities with relative ease, even when I occasionally got lost. In those instances, I believe that the high levels of trust I showed in people and my ability to use my erotic capital with both men and women served me well. Fortunately I had for the most part pleasant experiences both with foreign migrants and Indian people while gathering my data.

4.2.3.1　Vertical relationships in the field

As I was only away for three separate one month trips and a two-week follow-up trip, my legislated social rights in Denmark were not affected. I did however incur extra expenses in order to be sufficiently protected regarding my health: vaccinations needed to be paid for and, in undertaking the research outside of the European Union and EEA, I had to arrange my own health insurance coverage for the duration of the stay. In Denmark, I had an apartment in the city which I was sharing at the time but as a result of obtaining funding for the field trips through different Finnish institutions, I was not put in a financially precarious position by continuing to pay rent in Denmark, neither did I have any dependents at that time. As such, my life was very easy to organize with regards to travelling abroad and I also received a lot of moral support from my professional network in Finland and my social network in Denmark. I could imagine that things would be more difficult if I were travelling with a partner and children as several of my key informants did.

My first interaction with the Indian state was when obtaining my visas at the Indian Embassy in Copenhagen. For all four trips I obtained visas without any problems as I hold a British passport. Had my passport been Danish, I may have incurred problems for the follow-up trip as a result of the diplomatic tensions between Denmark and India because of the Niels Holck Purulia arms drop case.[49]

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[49] For more information about the case see Madsen (2011).

The transnational nature of my (passport) political citizenship thus served me well as my vertical relationship to the British state had a higher social valuation (than Danish) for the Indian authorities at that particular moment in time. This and the terrorist attacks in India in 2008/9 alerted me to the importance of recognizing the temporal aspects of secondment to India and how the timing may alter both the migration experience and social (citizenship) behavior.

During my time in India I had relatively little interaction with state institutions and so did not face the great challenges that several of my key informants did in dealing with the red tape and public officials. I used the post office twice; once locally and once in the city centre which, I was warned, I should have set aside a few hours for. I experienced otherwise, however, as I was able to deploy my interpersonal skills, and enter into a general conversation with a key employee who then fast-tracked the preparation of my package to be sent abroad. I realized that this conversation possibly saved me a few hours of my day (even with the help I was still in the post office for an hour and a half) and it heightened my awareness and understanding of the value of being able to communicate with, in the words of Woolcock (2001), unlike persons in dissimilar situations, i.e. the value of being able to form ties through linking social capital. I could clearly see how the market for brokers had arisen in India and how attractive it must be for foreign migrants to use them to cut the red tape, in spite of morally disapproving of corruption. The collective action theory of corruption as described by Persson et al (2010) is perhaps too simplistic for the Indian case as it does not consider temporal aspects: engagement in corruption for many in India is seemingly a time-saving measure.

The preferential treatment I received was in a sense a reward for my skills at communicating. Fortunately I was never in a situation where I required help from public officials where any kind of bribe was demanded. I did however have three encounters with corruption among the police. One was in an auto-rickshaw. The auto-rickshaw driver had driven the wrong way down a very small side street and there was a traffic policeman waiting at the end. The verbal exchange was short, money was handed over and the auto driver continued my ride. The second was as a passenger in a car. I had rented the car and driver for the day to take a trip to the Taj Mahal and we were stopped on the motorway in very slow-moving traffic. Similar to the previous encounter, there was not much conversation, money was handed over and we carried on – no paper in sight. I had no involvement in either of the two exchanges. Other foreign migrants I spoke to had had similar experiences. The third incident was rather more uncomfortable and none of my key informants had had such an encounter. It was a private party that had been

raided by the police and I was subject to a line-up and brief, yet intimidating, questioning (for the full story see Appendix 2). The host paid the apparently prerequisite bribe after the police had flexed their muscles with us, the party stopped and the police went on their way.

In the first two instances, the drivers had the choice between paying the bribe or, as another driver explained to me, getting a fine put on record, paying more money on a fine (than on a bribe) which would dent their income significantly, and then losing his job and potentially finding it very difficult to find another driving job because of the smear on his record. They were completely powerless and had no agency whatsoever. In the third incident however, the host (and guests) had plenty of economic capital and would have been more than capable of paying any kind of official fine he may have incurred if he refused to pay the bribe. However, the police officers' intimidating behavior (both their verbal interaction and physical behavior waving wooden canes around) unsettled everyone. It was my impression that everybody was focused on keeping the situation calm and getting through it as quickly as possible. We too, in spite of having monetary power, had no agency and this was a familiar story among my key informants. Even if the police had had a friendlier demeanour, foreign migrants often pay these kinds of bribes, I learned from the other guests, simply to avoid dealing with all the bureaucracy involved in receiving and paying a fine, which is also extremely time-consuming.

The encounters I had with vertical institutions taught me a lot about the different ways I was required to behave when I found myself in new and precarious places and spaces. As Di Masso (2012) suggests, there was a normative behavior expected in each instance. At the post office I was expected to wait and queue. There I felt very secure and confident and was therefore able to break the rules and engage in informal conversation which resulted in me getting preferential treatment. As a passenger in hired vehicles, my previous understanding of how to interact with police ('do not speak unless spoken to') kicked in and I complied with the expected behavior, without feeling intimidated or insecure. As a guest at the raided party, I look to the other guests to see how to behave as this was my first such encounter; they had apparently had the experience on several occasions, although in this case, the host said that the police were particularly provocative. Again I conformed to what was expected of me, not with insecurity but with fear as all of my capital and capabilities were immobilized.

Threats and danger brought about through direct contact with other human beings is another reality in the Indian (and arguably any) mega-city, and the threats are different depending on whether you are a man or a woman. In general in India,

local societal environments respond very differently to men and women visitors from *'the west'* (Hottola 1999). While there are reports of harassment by Indian men towards Western women in academic literature (see for example Hottola 1999 and Korpela 2006) as well as on blogs written by women from white majority countries, and in other online travel literature and guide books, actual incidents of physical violence against (white) western women in public are rare in spite of the recent cases.[50]

Within academia, and particularly field work conducted in India, there is little discussion of the hazards women face with the exception of Cynthia K. Mahmood's (2008) harrowing account of her intimidation, assault and rape whilst carrying out fieldwork in India in the 1990s. Mahmood, a white, female American researcher, shares with readers how her persistence with pursuing a politically controversial line of study, contrary to the desires of some of her Indian colleagues, led to her being assaulted and raped by a gang of *'hired thugs or rogue police'* (Mahmood 2008: 1). My line of study is not politically controversial but Mahmood's experience reflects the depth of the corruption within the police force, and the powerlessness one feels if/when an incident occurs. Her story is perhaps a brutal example of emotional, physical, professional and ethical danger of fieldwork (Howell 1990).

4.2.3.2   Horizontal relationships in the field

Growing up in the UK to Jamaican parents and having Indian heritage meant that I was well-informed about the nature of the caste system before arriving in India. Indeed, it had served as a barrier to my desire to visit the country in my youth as I had interpreted this information to mean that if I, as a black woman with African heritage, ever travelled there, I would be subject to racism and unashamed discrimination. I had expected to be perceived as having a low group status, which is quite contrary to the expectation that white Nordic migrants probably had; simply being white and from Europe automatically would give them a high group status (Malloy et al. 1997, Malloy et al. 2011). Indeed, Tung and Haq (2012) find that in international assignments, race and gender do matter and black women managers in particular may find themselves with more challenges if seconded to a firm in India. My experience as a non-employee however was quite the contrary. I

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[50] See http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/11/world/asia/rape-cases-are-making-tourists-wary-of-visiting-india.html?_r=0.

was also assigned a high group status because of my European style of dress and possibly also demeanour and engagement. It was my feeling that among different circles of Indians (at the research institute, in public spaces such as in parks or on the street, in shops etc.), for the most part I occupied a space between being a wealthy foreign 'other', and a familiar 'other' as my interactions with Indian people were *'intimate, very friendly on a family footing'*[51]. There were only two occasions with older Indian male professors that I felt any kind of tension. In the first instance it was a question of undesired sexual attention. In the second instance I felt an undertone of racism, with regard my 'British' origin rather than my skin color, and sexism, in so far as the professor was rather dismissive of my contribution to our conversation and seemed to assign himself a higher group status. In the former case I easily adjusted my behavior and interactions with the professor so that I no longer received such attention. In the latter, the conversation was very brief and I had no reason to interact with that particular professor again. Curiously, this was not the first time I had had such feelings when speaking with older Indian men – the same has happened both in the UK and in Denmark. I must note however, that I have also had many conversations with Indian men of the same age, social background and social standing where I have not experienced any such negative interactions.

When interacting with my Nordic peers, key informants and other foreign migrants, my skin color had no bearing as far as I could tell, and I was considered part of the ingroup: European, middle class and highly skilled. In spite of getting this general impression, I pondered sometimes during some of the interviews when informants would refer to their 'whiteness' as a reason for hawkers and auto-rickshaw drivers and sales people charging them higher prices, if they thought that I did not have those experiences because I was black. In fact, I had exactly the same experience as them in all of the situations they described. People attempting to charge me higher prices was not something that offended my sensibilities in any way because, relatively speaking, I was far wealthier than their average customer. I imagined that I might employ exactly the same tactics if I were in their position. This did not prevent me, however, on most occasions where there was no indication of a fixed price, from playing the bartering game. I saw this as part of my new experience rather than as something to be protected from because of my privileged status. In short, I observed that my horizontal relationships with Indian people in general were both similar and different to those of my Nordic key

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[51] Definition of 'familiar' taken from the Online Etymology Dictionary accessed on 22 June 2014 at http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=familiar.

informants, and the broader white-skinned expatriate community, in spite of both groups occupying the position of a familiar other for me.[52]

On my first field visit I spent a lot of time with Indian academics from the institute where I studied and lived for a period of each of my field visits, both on and off campus. As well as increasing my stock of human capital by attending a methodology course, I socialized and thus engaged in social networking with the people I met at the research institute. I would describe the forms of social capital I accumulated as both bridging and bonding as my interactions were with both staff and students of Indian, Nordic and American origin. The latter two groups I regarded as very similar to myself in terms of social class, education and with regard the lifestyles they led. Some of the outcomes of the bonding social capital accumulation included developing a broader professional network in the field of 'India studies' which has been extremely beneficial to the progression of the thesis in so far as I was able to discuss my work with peers on a different dimension. It was through an American colleague that I was alerted to the existence of the Bangalore Expatriate Club which ended up being a key institution in my recruitment of interviewees.

I engaged perhaps more deeply, however, with the Indian PhD students and staff who I was subconsciously keener to get to know and understand. I could be sure they had similar education level, but there was a great diversity in their social backgrounds and the vast majority of them had very different lifestyles to mine. My interactions with this group and the bridging social capital accumulated included attaining a broader cultural awareness about India as they taught me a lot about the political and gender-based tensions that exist in Indian society. They also assisted me in my experiences of shopping, as well as in navigating the city using public transport and exposed me to different parts and sides of the city.

During the course I gained a more in-depth knowledge about Bangalore, Karnataka and India as a whole through lectures and field trips to the heart of the 'Silicon Valley' of India, Electronics City, to the inner city of Bangalore, as well as

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[52] I only had conversations with a couple of foreign migrants of South East and South Asian origin, and they were insufficient for me to gain any in depth understanding of their positioning in Indian society. One of my German informants however had African heritage and her account of her experiences differed not in the way Indian people responded to her (compared to how they responded to other white Europeans that I interviewed), but in how she responded to them. In Cameroon, where she spent her childhood (her parents were Diplomats from Benin), there is a large Indian community and the Hindi culture and the Bollywood culture is omnipresent. In Germany, she had two very close Indian friends, one from Tamil Nadu and another from Karnataka. She found it easy to get along in India because she said the behaviors are quite similar to those of people in Cameroon.

to a local reservoir, a tour of a silkworm cocoon market, a small silk mill and then a silk market and two field trips to small villages in the Karnataka countryside. During the field trips to the villages I was able to interview teachers and staff at one state-run and one privately-run school and interact with the local children, and staff of a local NGO. I also frequented many different types of restaurants, eateries, markets and more exclusive shopping areas with different people, and went to a small private viewing of an art collection and an open air traditional Indian classical concert.

The social support I received through these interactions may have been, as Pichler, Varma and Budhwar (2012) suggest, because of the perceived similarity in values between 'me' and 'them', with both Indian and foreign people, in accordance with the principle of similarity attraction. I also believe that particular elements of erotic capital as defined by Hakim also had a role to play: my charisma and the ability to make people feel at ease and be happy with me and thus like me, my liveliness, enthusiasm, interest, social energy and good humour, and my social presentation, I believe worked in my favour. Other qualities and capabilities that I believe contributed to my networking success include curiosity, openness, reservedness, empathy and a heightened sense of cultural awareness and sensitivity.

I would like to be able to say that I was able to invoke these skills whenever I was faced with challenging situations, but I cannot. On one particular occasion when I needed help to find my way home I became uncomfortable with the guidance that was being given to me. I had had a day of shopping in a suburb of Mumbai and decided to take a train home, but the train station I disembarked at was quite far from where I was actually staying – too far to walk with bags of shopping at dusk. A young woman assisted me in getting a cab and I shared it with an older female hawker and her 'baggage'. I believe the exhaustion of walking around the bustling city during that day, the decision to use the train during rush hour when both the station and the trains themselves were mind-blowingly packed with people, the onset of darkness, and not being able to understand the language my guides (the hawker and the taxi driver) were using contributed to my increasing sense of insecurity as our journey took us into a massive, bustling slum: I became slightly verbally, and blatantly visibly angry with the taxi driver and the hawker who did manage to relay to me that this route was a shortcut. The slum however was an unfamiliar social space for me and being in the thick of it as darkness was upon us made me slightly nervous. Whereas during the day time, I may have been able to draw on my interpersonal skills and engaged in some kind of agreeable communication with the taxi driver and hawker and possibly learn something

about the slum, at night I was exhausted from my daytime activities and was not only unable to draw on any forms of capital. I also responded towards them somewhat uncharacteristically aggressively. In short, the structural conditions of the city, my choice of transport, and my insufficient capabilities regarding language produced behavior and feelings that, looking back, were not warranted. During my interviews and interactions with foreign migrants in India, several people made references to the 'situations' they were in evoking aggression that they had never seen in themselves before largely because of frustration. My reactions were relatively calm compared to theirs, but the incident gave me a strong insight into what they migrants were referring to. The experience taught me that on some occasions, no amount of privilege or capital can help.

4.2.3.3   Relationships with the environment

The year before carrying out my fieldwork in India, there was the serious of bombings in the very cities I visited, which was a major cause of concern for my family and also the families 'back home' of some of my key informants. Problems relating to infra-structure such as traffic accidents and lengthy travel times can happen anywhere, and so to some extent we are also aware of these possibilities when we are at home. However, the risk of these things happening in an alien social system that has such a dense population creates a different sense of insecurity that can potentially be emotionally harrowing, even without major incident. India is not a place for the so-called faint-hearted to be expatriated or to carry out research.

The small body of literature that exists discussing the dangers that can exist in carrying out fieldwork tend to focus on physical danger (e.g. Howell 1990, Lee 1995, Jamieson 2000, Mahmood 2008, Sluka 2012) yet it has been recognized that other forms of danger also exist for field researchers, for example emotional (Lee–Treweek 2000, Letherby 2000, Sehgal 2009), ethical, and professional danger (see Lee–Treweek and Linkogle 2000). Similar to the situation of the Nordic migrants, choosing Indian mega-cities as the main site for fieldwork presented indisputable potential dangers to my physical and emotional well-being and so these are the aspects of 'danger in the field' I will discuss here.

When it came to navigating the Indian mega-cities, I was at an advantage because I had learned from my Indian colleagues about some of the unofficial rules of driving. Understanding why people drove how they did in the city meant that I was less anxious when using public spaces. In all three cities I used the public

transports systems (bus, train and metro) whenever possible, and also made use of auto rickshaws regularly, taxis occasionally and hired cars with drivers on specific occasions, such as going out alone at night time, sight-seeing, or completing a day of back-to-back interviews. I also walked extensively in all three cities in spite of the often poorly constructed pavements and visited as many of the public parks as often as I could. Walking was the form of exercise I chose to do as it gave me two rewards: exercise and getting a feel for the cities. I was also aware foreign migrants tended not to have these interactions with the physical environment chiefly because of the hazards their perceived that they faced: accidents, injury and undesired attention from Indian people.

When I was in the public domain I thought about the discomfort felt by my informants at being stared at and realized the advantages I had from being black and spending most of my life in white-dominated areas. I was and am quite used to being stared at, to the extent that most of the time I do not even notice it. I do not believe I was stared at any less than the majority of the white foreigners, and I was approached by both men and women on numerous occasions. I fully understood their curiosity as it is something I have been subject to so many times before by white Europeans and as such it was not at all intimidating and did not cause me the unease that it did other foreign migrants. It is also possible that, as Rubini and Palmonari (2012) suggest, being able to classify myself and the Indian others along multiple categorical dimensions enabled me to have more trusting relationships and consequently feel more secure. In any case, my ease with the *'gaze of the other'* as Fechter (2005) frames it put me in an advantageous position: I had one less difference to contend with.

Bangalore, Delhi and Mumbai have been recognized as some of the most challenging places in the world for posted workers both to live and to carry out their assignments. Some of the more serious problems identified by ORC Worldwide, a New-York based human resources firm that is now known as Mercer, were infrastructure, pollution, disease and sanitation, climate, political violence and repression, and to a lesser extent, physical remoteness and medical facilities.[53] Such hazards can potentially present health risks and threats to emotional and physical well-being. Unlike seconded workers who mostly receive financial compensation for working in such high risk locations in the form of *'hardship'* pay/allowances (see Fechter 2007: 4), any misfortune or hardship I may have encountered would not be compensated financially at all by my employers. Monetary compensation to cover healthcare costs and transportation and such,

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[53] See http://images.businessweek.com/ss/09/03/0304_difficult_cities/index.htm.

however comprehensive, cannot recover lost time or spent emotions, or remove physical pain, which is why I tended towards prevention rather than relying on the cure. As a researcher in the field, I was also constantly aware of how the decisions about how to prevent danger might impact the research process.

I was strongly advised by my supervisors during the methodology course not to venture too far of campus, definitely not alone, and definitely not after dark, in the interest of my safety. Again, I felt that my cultural heritage, rather than any form of capital or privilege worked to my advantage: Growing up in a white neighborhood in 1970s Britain when the skinhead movement took a deeply racist turn, I was taught how to navigate danger and threats to my person from a young age. I have learned to be vigilant without being paranoid, and without feeling that my experiences are being compromised. Similarly, in India, I believe I was always on alert, yet rarely more consciously than usual.

Some of the students at ISEC told us, a group of female students from Nordic institutions, that it was highly unlikely that anything bad, such as mugging, robbery, sexual assault etc., would happen to us in public spaces simply because we are foreign women. To the contrary, we would be so much a focus of attention from the general population that nobody would dare to try to rob or attack us for fear of reprisal and abuse from other local people. I was thus receiving mixed messages from Indian people about the potential dangers I might be exposed to, and therefore relied on mainly on my instinct. I had also received mixed messages about India through Danish and British news media. Consequently, there was no significant framing effect (Chong and Druckman 2007) taking place regarding my personal safety in public spaces, contrary to the situation of my pre-conceived understanding of horizontal relationships within a caste system mentioned previously. In Bangalore I would venture out in groups with the other Nordic scholars or with the Indian students and also alone to the local area and to the city centre, to restaurants and shops both during daylight and when it was dark using the local blue buses[54], the red Volvo buses and auto–rickshaws. I broke many of the codes of behavior of *'respectable'* women that Hottola (2002) describes (see 'A Note on Womanhood' below).

My experience of the traffic in all three of the cities, similar to the rest of the foreign population, was that it was chaotic. The most frequent instances of

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[54] In 2009 there was the old fleet of blue and white buses where the seats at the front were meant for women and the back for men. These were very cheap and well used by local people with medium to low incomes. There were also new red 'Volvo buses' that were more expensive and ran several express routes across the city.

heightened awareness were when walking along or across a street because of the poorly constructed pavements and the traffic. Originating from London in the UK and having lived in a few other European cities and travelled in both Asian and South American cities, my understanding of that chaos was quite different to the majority of the Nordic key informants I interviewed. Some of them commented on Indian people's poor driving skills. I, to the contrary was very impressed with their skills; I imagined that if there was the same density of traffic and lack of organization of road systems in Copenhagen, for example, there would be far more accidents than there are in the Indian cities. For some of the key informants it was often the case that Indian people, rather than structural, environmental or even cultural differences, were given the blame for things that were challenging in the Nordic migrants' lives. Consequently, several of them frequently resorted to negative homogeneous stereotyping.

In the event of an accident in the city, an additional hazard would be the time it might take an ambulance to arrive, and subsequently, the time for the ambulance to reach a hospital. Such road-related hazards were not spoken about by my Indian colleagues and supervisors; they were considerations I had myself and concerns that were also expressed by my informants. I was warned by staff and students at ISEC that while on a daily basis there was usually relative calm in India's mega-cities, trouble can flare up quite unexpectedly with little prior warning. Causes included the climate and nature, freak or sudden accidents and civil unrest, and even minor discussions between people or groups can easily and rapidly escalate into violence.

In *Surviving Fieldwork*, which is recognized as one of the first publications dealing directly with the dangers that arise while conducting fieldwork, Howell (1990: ix–x) explains that it was the series of terrible incidents that happened to her and the stories of disaster from other anthropologists that motivated her to call for more focused attention on health and safety in anthropology. Similarly, the articles, book chapters and papers on the topic written by numerous field researchers after Howell's publication relay stories of actual dangers that the researchers encountered. I was never physically or emotionally harmed in any way. Nonetheless, I believe it is important to impart or share these involvements with and potential exposures to hazards, threats and danger in order to encourage risk control (Jamieson 2000, 61) and risk reduction (Lee 1995, 63–76) during field research. As Jamieson (2000) notes, research managers (and research teams) are often not mindful of the threats researchers face when conducting fieldwork until after the work has been carried out. Furthermore, strong communication within a

research team is central to counteracting physical danger and in assessing and planning for personal safety (ibid). I would argue based on my experiences of the Indian city environment that sharing experiences is central to counteracting emotional danger as well. While I cannot say that I felt in emotional danger during my time in India, the consideration needed and sometimes the worry and the concern may be defined as an additional emotional burden at the very least.

4.2.3.4   A note on womanhood

In her chapter entitled *'An Immoral Western Woman'*, Mari Korpela (2009) describes the uneasiness she felt at times as an anthropologist studying Western women in Varanasi, India, because she *'often had to behave in ways that are considered improper by local standards'* (Korpela 2009, 59–60). She would be out late at night without her husband and spend time with other men which Indian people found peculiar. Hottola (2002) highlights that Western women's non-verbal signals, such as having a bold stare, solitude, socializing with men, and loitering around streets *'break the local codes of suitable behavior for respectable women'* (Hottola 2002, 168). Korpela, a white, blonde researcher from Finland, was in India with her spouse and lived with a local Indian family while carrying out her fieldwork in Varanasi, a conservative (in so far as religion plays a major role there) city of two million people. She felt that the presence of her husband made her socializing with Western men easier as there was no misinterpretation of her intentions and the men did not see her as a 'potential sexual partner' (ibid, 58). Another researcher I encountered, also a blonde Scandinavian, used to wear jewelry that indicated that she was married,[55] even though she was not at that time, because she felt that people (strangers) would treat her differently if they thought she was married. In her PhD thesis, however, she writes nothing of her gendered encounters but does point out that in spite of dressing in Indian clothing and speaking an Indian language, she is *'a tall blond woman doing research on [her] own'* and will always constitute someone different, the *'other'* (Westermark 2013, 91).

In 2009 I was a lone, unmarried female researcher and I chose not to adorn myself with marital jewellery in order to avoid disapproval and possible harassment from Indian men. I believed that my previous extensive experiences of travelling as and being a lone female provided me with sufficient capabilities to deal with

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[55] My colleague wore a toe ring, and we were told that a necklace made of black beads and gold is also commonly worn by married women.

everyday life in India, as a visiting researcher. I also feel rather strongly about presenting myself as genuinely as I possibly can at all times. As Westermark and Korpela did during their fieldwork, I wore Indian clothing, although not always in the traditional manner; I would describe it as European Indian dress. I did not feel that this style of dress was drastically different to how I dress at home in warm weather although some of the styles were new to me. I like Indian fashion and I continue to wear the clothes I bought there during the summer months at home in Europe. I did not attempt to blend in in Indian or expatriate contexts but rather wore what felt comfortable both practically on my body, and aesthetically going out into the public sphere, as I would at home. In this respect, unlike many European researchers doing fieldwork in India, I did not make my body available for cultural remapping (Perez 2009: 37) by either Indian people, or Western expats.[56]

4.2.4   Interviewing and The Interviewees

4.2.4.1   The interview process

Taking part in the methodology course at the Institute for Social and Economic Change (ISEC) in Bangalore on my first field trip to India in January 2009 benefited my interview process immensely. Having this, rather than immediate fieldwork with my target group, as my first experience of the Indian mega-city gave me a very personal understanding of how infra-structure, and the social and the natural environment may impact the wellbeing of visitors who originate from Northern European countries. It also provided me with first–hand experience of how challenging it can be to, broadly speaking, 'get things done' if one remains on Nordic time. I was told repeatedly by my Indian colleagues that plans can change very suddenly for different reasons that may not warrant a change in other cultures, and this advice was reinforced by foreign residents I spoke to and through my own experiences later on during data collection.

One day for example, while I was taking the methodology course in Bangalore, there was an eclipse of the moon and all of the shops closed, suddenly. It was a day when we had planned to go to visit some silk vendors with our Indian supervisor,

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[56] See Appendix 3 for some personal examples of 'Gender Troubles' I encountered during the fieldwork.

and we only found out about the eclipse as we were about to leave. This was, coming from Northern Europe, surprising and curious for us, and also disappointing as our social time with our supervisor was very limited. This was an experience that we were not sure that we would be able to reschedule. Nonetheless, instead of heading to the city centre, we enjoyed the day with the other students in our small suburb, Nagarabhavi. I relay this example because it highlights the importance of (from the vantage point of a Northern European researcher) expecting the unexpected while carrying out fieldwork in India.

As I had not arranged any interviews prior to the first trip, the introduction to the Indian megacity during the four-week course prepared me well for the subsequent trips where I had some time constraints: in anticipation of the time it might take to get from one location to another due to the poor infra-structure or any unexpected occurrences, I only planned two interviews per day, unless interviewees were resident in the same enclave or block; I made sure I had detailed information about the meeting place, a mobile phone with a local number as well as the phone number of the interviewee, as there might be communication issues between myself and the person transporting me there, be it a taxi or auto–rickshaw driver; I understood the importance of checking the weather conditions in the places I would be visiting; and most importantly, I was prepared for my arrangements not to go according to plan, which was an essential precautionary measure to avoid frustration and/or irritation if things did not work out as expected. The last measure meant that I used my time more effectively, even though there were only three occasions where things did not work out as I had planned.[57]

Rather than staying in India for three consecutive months or longer, I chose to organize the interviews with the majority of informants via email while in Denmark and Finland. As detailed in Table 2, the majority of interviews were arranged prior to the fieldtrips, and several were arranged spontaneously during the fieldtrips. Interviews were held in English at workplaces as well as in the spaces of expatriate sociality (Norum 2013) such as at people's homes, in cafés and restaurants and hotel lobbies.

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[57] See Appendix 4 for examples of challenges that I faced while conducting interviews.

4.2.4.2   The key informants

Throughout the thesis, I differentiate between 'informants' and 'key informants'. The former refers to any person I spoke to throughout the research process who gave me some insight into how it is to live and work abroad. This includes people I interacted with during the pre-study phase as well as those I encountered both informally at social occasions and formally in interview settings during the fieldwork in India. The latter term, key informant, refers solely to the Nordic citizens with whom formal interviews were conducted and whose profiles are outlined in Table 3.   As a result of there being so few Nordic people on secondment in India, here and in the empirical section, I give limited information pertaining to job descriptions and the industry or company that the informants are associated with in order to achieve the goal of anonymity. As a consequence of the lack of cooperation from businesses, and due to time, funding and institutional constraints, my research design includes data from different kinds of highly skilled migrants such as entrepreneurs, middle and upper–level managers, freelancers, public servants and recent university graduates. Over 40 individuals completed the online questionnaire, however only the 16 key informants are referred to in Table 3. The responses from the remaining 24 informants were solely used for recognizing recurring issues and themes that arose for the migrants in relation to secondment.

Table 3.   Key Informant Profiles

LOCATION	NATIONALITY	USUAL COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE	
Bangalore (11)	Danish (8)	Denmark (3)	Finland (6)
Delhi (3)	Finnish (8)	Belgium (1)	UK (2)
Mumbai (1)		USA (1)	India (2)
Mangalore (1)*		None (1)	

WORK ACTIVITY (in India)	GENDER	PRIMARY REASON FOR BEING IN INDIA
In paid employment (10)	Male (7)	Seconded from European multinational enterprise (5)
Self-employed (1)	Female (9)	Limited contract with an international organization (2)
Not in official paid		Entrepreneur with Indian spouse (2)
employment (5)		Accompanying partner of seconded worker (6)
		Accompanying partner of governmental
		worker/diplomat (1)

* One interview was carried out in Mangalore (pop. 1 million) where the interviewee lived. He travelled frequently for work to Bangalore, Delhi, and Mumbai, and originally moved to India with a Danish company.

Of the Danish key informants, three were usually resident in Denmark, two in India, one in the US, one in Belgium and one had no official residency anywhere; there were two women and six men. Of the Finnish respondents, six were usually resident in Finland and two in the UK; seven were women and one was a man. The Danish respondents were present in all categories of 'primary reason for being in India' except for accompanying partner of governmental worker/diplomat, while the Finnish respondents were all either accompanying their partner who was a seconded worker (government or MNC), or were the seconded worker themselves. Both nationalities were represented in all of the categories of 'work activity in India'. Danish people were interviewed in all four locations, while the Finns were only interviewed in Delhi and Bangalore. Two of the Danish key informants had spent extended time working in India before and two others had come for very short work trips prior to the 'move' in the period when I interviewed them. Most of the Nordic key informants however had never been to Asia before, neither for work nor as a tourist. In line with the general trends among seconded workers noted by Mäkelä, Suutari and Mayerhofer (2011), the two female secondees (one Dane and one Finn) were single and did not have children.

4.2.4.3 Control groups

As well as the sixteen interviews with the Nordic key informants, I also conducted 13 formal interviews with seconded workers or partners thereof who had German, Dutch or British citizenship.[58] These interviews were crucial for me to be able to distinguish the study as one that pertains to Nordic rather than Northern European citizens. Collecting data from citizens originating from other Northern European countries enabled me to identify the aspects of the data that were particular to the Nordic experience. While more or less the same issues were spoken about during the formal interviews, they were spoken about in different ways using different frames by the different nationalities. The Nordic respondents distinguished themselves with their focus on trust, institutional and normative behaviors, order, hierarchy, and interpersonal relationships and communication. They were also the group that engaged a lot in dichotomous social categorizing:

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[58] The interview structure for the 'formal' interviews was the same for both Nordic and non-Nordic interviewees.

they made by far the most reference and comparisons to things Danish and Finnish, and also made the most references to 'whiteness'.[59]

I conducted two further interviews with Northern European migrants (one Dane and one Dutchman) who were only in Bangalore for three months. On subsequent trips I interviewed another Dane who had been in India for six months and was leaving shortly, and a Portuguese woman who was in India with her seconded partner from Spain. The interviews with short-term migrants (less than six months) were conducted in order to get a clearer picture of the differences in experiences between short-term and long-term secondment. They revealed, as one might expect, that the short-term stays were experienced more as a fun, adventure or 'an experience' and there was little discussion or mention of any challenges or problems. I subsequently decided to focus on migrants who had been or would be resident in India for more than six months.[60] The interview I conducted with the Portuguese woman was mainly to verify that there was a strong distinction between the experiences of Southern European compared to Northern European migrants. Indeed, this interview together with informal conversations with people from other parts of Europe, as well as feedback from informants whose partners were from Southern Europe, confirmed that the experience of India differed greatly depending on whether migrants originated from Southern or Northern Europe. Those who came from Southern Europe found many socio-cultural similarities between their own countries and India which made their experience of everyday life markedly different to that of my Nordic key informants.[61] I emphasize again that the empirical analysis is based solely on the data from key informants whose nationalities are Danish and Finnish.

4.3   Research Methods and Data

As the preceding chapters have shown, in a study of social citizenship, the situation of Nordic highly skilled citizens in India is complex. Giving the situation primacy

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[59] As explained in Section 4.3, this is small sample study and does not claim to make any definitive generalizations about Nordic highly skilled citizens as there is not a representative sample. These distinguishing features do however give food for thought for future (quantitative) studies of the sample group.

[60] In the final group of key informants upon whose responses the empirical section is based, there was only one migrant who was in India for less than one year. All of the other informants were there for more than one year.

[61] I had conversations with/about people from Portugal, Italy and Spain.

has led me to adopt a holistic approach towards the study in its entirety. Weiss (1966) writes that in holistic approaches, it is assumed that the *'study of the situation will reveal interrelations among elements, that the organization of these interrelations will have the properties of a system, and that the system will be the unifying force underlying the observed phenomena.'* This means that studying the situation of the Nordic migrants will reveal that two or more aspects of their 'social' lives will have some relation to others, and the way they deal with (organize) these aspects has the properties of a social citizenship constellation. The constellations are a unifying force in the sense that everybody has one, regardless of the impact of privilege or capital or the home/destination country social environment or welfare state.

In the holistic approach the complex situation is defined as unique, which begs the question of what the wider value is of the research if generalizations cannot be made. In agreement with Weiss, I suggest that the true aim of holistic research is to produce knowledge of a *'class'* of complex situations (Weiss 1966: 202). In this study, I have stated that the class of complex situations is citizenship. Rainer Bauböck's (2010) theory of citizenship constellations is little explored, and has thus far, to my knowledge, only been applied to political citizenship (see for example Dzankic 2012). Taking a holistic approach allows for more exploration than other approaches may (Weiss 1966) and is therefore better suited to this new and consequently less explored theory.

Weiss (1966) notes, furthermore, that it is the representation of various systems of organization within the class of complex situations that is of importance for a holistic small sample survey, and not the representativeness of the sample. The sample group for this study contains different types of highly skilled Nordic citizens. Aside from the two different nationalities, there are differences in the time they have and will spend outside of their country, differences in their work activity prior to and during their time in India and so forth. Being a small sample study, it is important that the group contain different examples of citizenship constellations, as there are not enough cases to claim either representativeness, nor to make definitive generalizations about Nordic highly skilled migrants' citizenship constellations. I suggest, nonetheless, that the contrast between the socio-cultural, socio-economic and the environmental nature of the two regions (The Nordic region and India), is reason to expect there to be a host of different encounters and challenges facing the Nordic migrants during their time in these Indian mega-cities.

4.3.1   Contextualization of the Field

The new forms of migration being studied differ drastically from the old forms where the poor–to–rich country migrants ended up at the bottom of the social hierarchy in the destination country, as in the case of Polish (Znaniecki and Thomas 1974) or Cuban and Mexican (Portes and Bach 1985) migrants to the US, Turkish migrants to Germany (Söhn and Özcan 2006, Abadan–Unat 2011), and the Roma communities throughout Europe (O'nions 2011) not only as a result of exclusion from or *'ill–defined'* relationships with mainstream social institutions (Sabates–Wheeler and Feldman 2011) including the labor market, but also because the choices made by migrants regarding their business activities are not so much socio-economic but rather cultural and political (Abadan–Unat 1997). The Nordic highly skilled who are placed on foreign assignment constitute a migrant group which is far from being exploited, financially or professionally. The worker is often given an extremely advantageous compensation package including housing, a high salary which may include an additional hardship allowance to compensate for being located in a more challenging destination (compared to London or New York for example) and private education for the accompanying children. Accompanying partners' welfare and wellbeing needs are usually limited to health insurance, which is only applicable if the couple is married. The new structure of welfare arrangements is reminiscent of what T H Marshall refers to as industrial citizenship (Marshall 1964), whereby welfare benefits are granted by the employer (rather than the state). The challenges that these families face are thus more often related to the relationship to the sending company, and the social and cultural demands placed on the family by the receiving society in which they are placed (see Hindman 2007 and Smith and Favell 2006).

In a 2010 survey carried out by a large US–based relocation company[62], India was cited as the second most challenging destination for secondees after China, and was revealed to be the location that presented the greatest assignment difficulties for program managers. The previous year, a US–based human resource firm cited Mumbai, Delhi and Bangalore as some of the most difficult 'hardship posts'[63] in the world.[64] There are numerous places across the globe that might be

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[62] 120 small, medium and large organizations with headquarters located in the US (55%) in Europe, the Middle East and Africa (43%) and in Asia–Pacific (2%) were surveyed. Source: Brookfield Global Relocation Services (2010).

[63] Fechter describes a hardship posting as a posting 'to locations where the re–creation of a Western standard of living is difficult, as measured for example through quality of housing, regularity of

considered more challenging to live and work in for Nordic migrants simply because they move from societies that are commonly believed to be well-functioning, liberal and democratic with high levels of gender equality. As such, the increase in the numbers of Nordic migrantsto one of the most challenging destinations in the world, India, is more than worthy of attention.[65]

Coles and Fechter (2008) have noted the distinct lack of information about the countries and local environments in which studies on privileged migrants take place, and that *'an understanding of the economic, political and social environments of the host country is a crucial preliminary to analysing expatriate communities'* (Coles and Fechter 2008: 14, emphasis added). I would add that an understanding of the economic, political and social environments of the countries that the migrants originate from is also crucial as privileged migrants with different nationalities, cultural heritages and traditions are too often labelled according to extremely broad and ill-defined generic categorizations such as 'Western' without a clear understanding of what socio-economic and socio-cultural characteristics and traditions the trait 'Western' includes and excludes, aside from nationality. It is my belief that understanding where and what migrants come from as well where and what they are going to contribute towards understanding their position and behavior during the migration period.

The Nordic highly skilled citizens in this study leave a region that is for the most part portrayed and consequently widely acknowledged as a global success story on both societal and economic grounds (see Helliwell, Layard and Sachs 2012, UNICEF 2007, OECD 2006b, 2011b). Research shows that the small populations enjoy a good quality of life, and furthermore, that the combination of a strong welfare state tradition (Kangas and Palme 2005), high educational standards (OECD 2010, Wilkinson and Pickett 2010), flexible labor market policies, gender equality, and a commitment to advancement in technology and communication

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power supply, availability of healthcare, provision of international schools and amenities such as Western consumer goods and foods.' (Fechter 2007: 4).

[64] ORC Worldwide (now Mercer) ranked Mumbai, New Delhi and Bangalore 5th, 6th, and 16th respectively. See http://images.businessweek.com/ss/09/03/0304_difficult_cities/index.htm.

[65] Although there exists no official statistics on the number of Nordic secondees in India, The Confederation of Danish Industries reports that there are over 100 Danish firms now located in India and the number continues to rise. See http://www.omii.dk/omii–english/references–and–cases/articles/danish–companies–are–recruiting–in–india–to–an–increasing–extent.html. According to the Finnish broadsheet Helsingin Sanomat, at the end of 2009 approximately 85 Finnish companies were already in India and a larger wave is yet to take place. See http://www.hs.fi/english/article/More+Finnish+companies+attracted+by+India/1135257596522.

(Dutta and Mia 2010, 2011) have enabled the Nordic region to maintain this leading position in the global arena.

Egalitarianism remains a strong thread in Nordic society that is reflected in the universal welfare state tradition even though the individual countries are recognized by many scholars as having "historically prominent and well-established class cleavages […] that have consequential linkages to both historical and contemporary patterns of welfare state development." (Brooks and Svallfors 2010: 200–201). The spirit of egalitarianism and tradition of flat hierarchy, which in Denmark is rooted in the idea from 'The Jante Law' (Janteloven) that *'we should all be the same'* is also reflected in daily interactions in contemporary society in the Nordic region and in the behaviors of people who belong to different groups in society at the very grass roots level (Jenkins 2011: 45); it is not uncommon to see celebrities in local cafés and hairdressers and the royal family attend state schools (Folkeskole). Finnish cabinet ministers fly in business class on regular flights rather than using private airplanes, and the former president Tarja Halonen lives in a flat in Kallio, a part of Helsinki known for its working class roots. If one considers these indicators of the extent of egalitarianism in Nordic society it may come as no surprise that the effects of group status among Nordic populations have yet to be explored in depth in social sciences. However, research tells us that immigration to Denmark and Finland by people from less wealthy countries, people with different education and skills levels, with different skin color, and with different socio-cultural traditions has brought about new hierarchies and distances between inhabitants.

India meanwhile is often referred to as a land of contradictions. As Drèze and Sen (2013: 45) comment, *'life can indeed be exciting in the rapidly reshaping India, and the picture of a new and rapidly changed India is both accurate and important. And yet […] the majority of people have been left behind in the enhancement of living standards.'* In stark contrast to the Nordic region, India is still home to some of the most poverty stricken regions of the world, even with the exponential growth in its economy in recent years and several of the major cities including Bangalore, Delhi and Mumbai achieve *'World City'* classification.[66] Over 90% of the active labor force is in unorganized work and without any social protection. According to the United Nation's Human Development Index 2013, of a total of 186 countries, Denmark ranked 15 (very high) and Finland 21 (very high), while India ranked 136

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[66] This classification indicates that these are important cities that are instrumental in linking regions and/or states to the world economy. See http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/.

(medium)[67] and the major cities of India have poor yet improving infrastructure (UNPD 2010). The pluralism of language and religion were two of the cornerstones of the Indian Republic. These cornerstones together with the success of democracy in the country are probably three of the most positive defining characteristics of India, while the classification and treatment of different castes, in a world where egalitarianism is strongly advocated, remains a thorn in India's side (Guha 2007).

Figure 3. Summary of Differences between the Nordic and Indian Social Environment

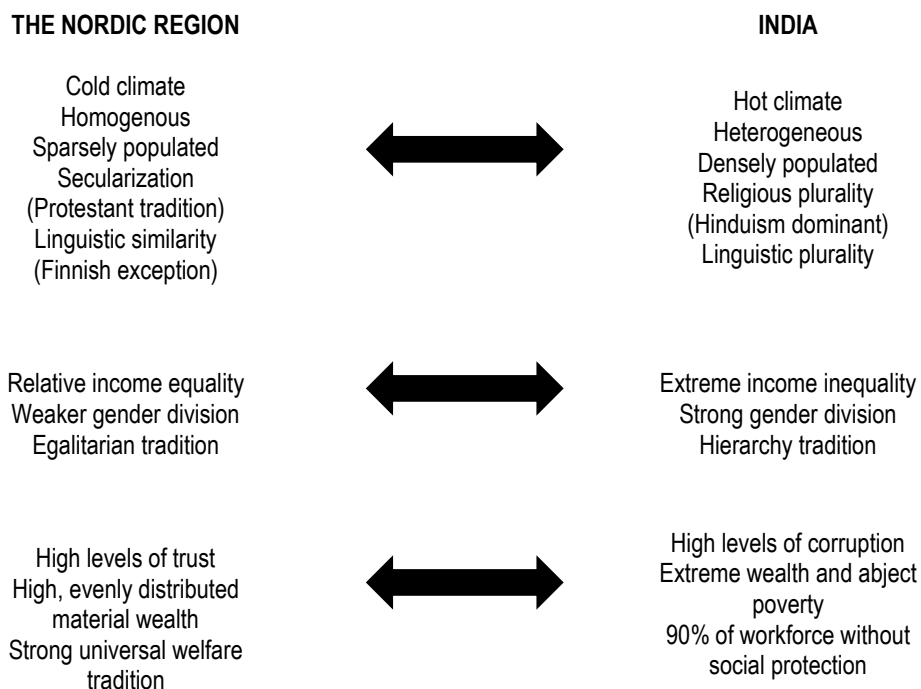| THE NORDIC REGION		INDIA
Cold climate Homogenous Sparsely populated Secularization (Protestant tradition) Linguistic similarity (Finnish exception)	⟷	Hot climate Heterogeneous Densely populated Religious plurality (Hinduism dominant) Linguistic plurality
Relative income equality Weaker gender division Egalitarian tradition	⟷	Extreme income inequality Strong gender division Hierarchy tradition
High levels of trust High, evenly distributed material wealth Strong universal welfare tradition	⟷	High levels of corruption Extreme wealth and abject poverty 90% of workforce without social protection

Figure 4 above summarizes the major differences between the Nordic and Indian social environment and reflects the polarity that exists in areas such as demography, geography, social and economic stratification and social policy (see also Appendices 7 and 8). Nordic migrants who are temporarily located in the mega-cities of India are confronted by these differences in their everyday lives, and the ways in which they encounter them can vary. In addition, whether it is their

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[67] In 2009 when the interviews were carried out, out of a total of 182 countries, Finland ranked 12 (very high), Denmark 16 (very high) and India 134 (medium). For the 2009 index see http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr2009/.   For   the   full   current   index   see http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/.

intention or not, the migrants occupy to a large extent a different status when they move to India: they are from affluent, industrially advanced countries, they are white and wealthy and several of them hold managerial positions, which in India automatically places one at a high position in the work hierarchy. For the women, there is a fall in status hierarchy. When encountering these differences, the Nordic migrants' conceptions of time, space and human interaction are sometimes challenged, and ultimately their social behaviors and state of wellbeing are affected both positively and negatively.

The behavior of individuals changes as circumstances change, sometimes according to the rules of the new system, and sometimes not (Homans 1973: 3), not only because people disobey or are not able to decode the new rules, but also because they have their own understandings of norms of behavior in particular social spaces. Bourdieu speaks of '*fields*' in reference to different social spaces and suggests that '*the total field of [different] fields offers well-nigh inexhaustible possibilities for the pursuit of distinction.*' (Bourdieu 1984: 223). In other words, how people inter and intra–act with the different elements of the social system(s) they are a part of potentially produces a multitude of different outcomes. In order to narrow the field, this thesis uses a theoretical framework built upon three central concepts: the politics of insecurity, social citizenship, and the inter- and intra-action of privilege and economic, cultural, social and erotic capital.

4.3.2   Data Collection

The present study uses a multi method approach combining diverse approaches and techniques within conventional qualitative methods (Collier and Elman 2008). The use of questionnaire data which is traditionally a quantitative tool suggests that Creswell (2009) and Creswell and Clark's (2011) mixed–method approach, which involves the use of qualitative and quantitative research methods and data to varying extents, may be a more appropriate description. However, there was insufficient data collected via the questionnaires to warrant qualitative analysis and as such the data collected have been used qualitatively as a supplement to the interview narratives.

An interview is a special form of conversational practice (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009) that involves questions and answers. Gadamer writes: '*The art of questioning is the art of questioning ever further—i.e., the art of thinking. It is called dialectic because it is the art of conducting a real dialogue. To conduct a real dialogue requires first of all that the partners*

do not talk at cross purposes. Hence it necessarily has the structure of question and answer.'
(Gadamer 2004: 360). The key informants completing the questionnaire and visiting the Global Europeans website prior to the interview, was a strategy to avoid talking at cross purpose. Through these channels they were able to familiarize themselves with the major foci of the research. Conversely, by gathering my data through doing fieldwork in Bangalore, Delhi and Mumbai, I was able to familiarize myself with the societies in which they lived and worked, rather than relying on secondary sources (such as different kinds of literature, news media, retrospective interview data from return migrants and such), and then simply conduct telephone or internet–telephony interviews as other studies on Nordic highly skilled have done (see for example Koikkalainen 2013, Mäkelä, Suutari and Brewster 2014).

A further strategy was to conduct semi-structured rather than open narrative or rigid structured interviews. As described in the introduction to the thesis, this study began using a deductive approach and throughout the course of data collection other patterns were observed leading me to take on an inductive approach as well. The deductive approach meant that there were particular questions that I needed to find answers to which further suggested that semi-structured interviews would be more suited to the research design. In order for there still to be room for a more free-flowing conversation, I compiled a list of questions and key words that I could refer to during the conversation, rather than using them as the basis for the conversation (see Appendix 7). In some cases, if the conversation did not begin organically in the sense of evolving naturally, I began by asking the interviewee to tell me about how their life has changed since arriving in India. I also had the interviewees' questionnaire responses with me, as there were sometimes answers given that needed further clarification. Were there any discrepancies between the conversation and the questionnaire responses, having the interviewees questionnaire physically present meant that the interviewee could see the discrepancy for themselves in case they were unsure or had any doubt. This situation, however, did not arise.

Another method used in the collection of data and for understanding and determining the different citizenship constellations of the Nordic migrants was participant observation. This is not an ethnographic study (a study of human culture) and so I did not undertake fieldwork that involved me immersing myself into the daily lives of the migrants over longer periods of time as in the anthropological tradition (see for example Fechter 2001 and 2007a, Korpela 2009, Norum 2013); it is however a study of human beings and their interaction with

society and so I placed importance on not only observing informants in their social surroundings (at home, at social functions, at professional and informal networking meetings and in their work places) in India, but also on observing society itself, through the fieldtrips and through interaction with Indian, Danish and Finnish citizens in the respective countries. Reading academic and literary writings, following mainstream media and using other internet–based platforms supplemented this observation work. Utilizing this method supported me in my endeavour of giving a thick description of research sites and society of the countries of origin, and the ethnographic description of the research process presented in this chapter.

4.3.3   Data Analysis

In the preceding chapters I have described the complexity of the situation of Nordic migrants living in India. Prior to that description, in Chapter 1 I began the thesis with a discussion of the ways and means that 'truths' are obtained. And prior to that, I start the manuscript with a poem by Marshall Rosenberg, which encourages the reader to keep in mind that what is observed or experienced by one person may not be the same as the interpretation another person puts on it. In order to understand and interpret how social citizenship – that is, formal and informal social ties and behavior – is negotiated and transformed when these citizens are located in a social system foreign to their own, I gather these arguments and philosophical ideas and adopt a Gadamerian hermeneutic approach to analysing my data. Hermeneutics has been described as *'the most fundamental ways in which we perceive the world, think and understand [with] a philosophical root in […] epistemology—that is, the problem of how we come to know anything at all, and actually how we think and legitimate claims we make to know the truth.'* (Jasper 2004: 3). Hermeneutics involves making understanding the object of reflection.

Both in the Introduction and in this Methodology section, I have, perhaps unusually for a doctoral thesis in the discipline of social policy, given detailed information on my own life experiences in an attempt, in the rhetoric of Gadamer (2004), to foreground and appropriate my own fore–meanings and potential prejudices while undertaking this study. Prejudice, in this sense, is not synonymous with false or negative judgment. Gadamer reminds us that the concept of *'prejudice'* only acquired the negative connotations it has today with the Enlightenment period: a *'pre-judgment'* can in fact have either a positive or negative value; it is

simply a *'judgment that has been rendered before all the elements that determine a situation have been finally examined'* (Gadamer 2004: 273). It is, furthermore, the recognition and acceptance that all understanding inevitably involves some prejudice that strongly distinguishes hermeneutics from other scientific approaches. Having hermeneutically trained consciousness involves being aware of one's own bias and remaining open to the meaning of the other person or text. This openness involves *'situating the other meaning in relation to the whole of our own meanings and ourselves in relation to it'* (ibid 271). In short, one must be prepared for texts and persons to tell something, asserting their own truth against one's own fore–meanings. My catalogue of fore–meanings and prejudices have expanded at each stage of the research process: in reading the various literature on migration and citizenship; in developing my theoretical framework; in continuously learning about the countries and people under study both through my academic endeavours and personal life experiences; and, not least, at each stage of documenting my thoughts, interpretations and understandings in the form of this manuscript using written language. It is imperative that the 'truths' that I arrive at through my analysis be understood within this paradigm.

Gadamer draws our attention to the importance for understanding of understanding the subject matter. Previously, I presented an overview of the economic, political and social environments of the host country, India, and the countries of origin, Denmark and Finland (Section 4.3.1). This, together with the review of the previous research conducted in two fields of migration research – privileged migration and Nordic highly skilled migration – and the detailed theoretical considerations, is part of the holistic approach to the subject under study, and also my attempt to give the reader a *'substantive insight'* into the subject matter (ibid: 183). Citing Chladenius, Gadamer reminds us that when readers try to understand a text, they can *'rightly think of things that had not occurred to the writers'* however the real task of hermeneutics is not to understand more, but rather to understand the true meaning of the book itself (ibid: 183–184). This is both a task of the reader of this thesis, and also as a researcher, my own task in understanding the spoken word of my key informants when executing the data analysis.

The interview recordings were thus transformed into a narrative text and returned to the key informants for verification purposes. Writing the narrative involved the first step of interpretation: as opposed to verbatim transcription, there is was an element of paraphrasing, sometimes because of what I understood as incorrect usage of English terms, and sometimes in order to clarify a meaning myself. The main motivation for returning the narratives to the interviewees was

for them to have the opportunity to comment on my interpretations of what was said in the interview, in order to avoid any misunderstandings, which is a further characteristic of the hermeneutic tradition.

When writing the narrative texts, I noted down the key issues that were spoken about by the key informants which, after each read and re-read of the narrative texts, resulted in the summary in Table 4. I then numbered the different categories of 'Manifestation' and coded (Strauss and Corbin 1990) the narratives manually on paper accordingly. The next step was to code the data electronically, which entailed further re–reading and resulted in some changes in categorization. Repeating the coding electronically allowed me to focus once again on the 'true' meaning of the text in order to make as accurate categorizations as possible. There were several pieces of text that during the initial coding overlapped categories. Some key informants were quite emotive when speaking and one even suggested during the interview that she comes across as 'confused'. Consequently, some parts of the texts were simply included in one or more categories in order not to fragment the dialogue too much and lose the, sometimes multiple, meanings of the whole. In analysing the data, I entered into dialogue with these coded texts, and in a sense decoded and contextualized them within the boundaries of my theoretical framework, while simultaneously reflecting on the previous research already conducted.

In the empirical analysis there are two voices that can be heard: mine and that of my interviewees. I have distinguished in-text quotes by the interviewees by using double quotation marks. When relaying situations and feelings that the interviewees have described in the main text, I stick as closely as possible to the language that was used in the interview narratives that the interviewees reviewed. Lastly, the stories that are told in the text boxes are transcribed directly from the interview narrative texts, with some editing: spelling, punctuation, and sentence structure has occasionally been altered in order for the 'story' to flow.

5 Empirical Findings

"This has been a very good experience as a whole. If today [were] the day when I would be selecting should I go or should I not go, I would be definitely going and I would be definitely recommending to any person in a similar situation, 'Go ahead do it.' But on the other hand, it's not … it's not always easy; easy, easy ride or easy road."

Timo (FI), Bangalore

The above statement, by a Finnish secondee in his thirties on secondment for the first time with his partner, was echoed in the responses from the vast majority of the informants regardless of nationality, gender or working status, and whether they were first time secondees or so-called career expatriates. Another Danish respondent who had travelled to more than 100 countries worldwide, and had lived for temporary periods (6 months to 4 years) in over 10 different countries globally, described India as "without a doubt the most challenging place he has ever lived; even worse than war zones!"[68] During the same interview, he commented that in spite of these challenges, he felt "just as good in Delhi as in any other place in the world." It is, hence, not the intention of the ensuing analysis to portray only the negative experiences as informants' overriding feeling about their stay in India; rather, the analysis identifies the areas that presented new challenges for Nordic privileged migrants when negotiating their formal and informal social relationships within society. Table 4 summarizes the factors discussed in our interviews which contribute towards the challenges that the key informants faced during their time in India. The table highlights the relational distinctions (Conn 2011) that complicate and differentiate between the Nordic migrants' social citizenship, that is, their relationships to both vertical and horizontal structures and institutions. It also identifies how the challenges with those structures and institutions have manifested themselves during the course of the migration period.

In the ensuing analysis I present my findings according to the different sections of the table in order to untangle and succinctly identify the inter- and intra-actions that are taking place sometimes concomitantly, sometimes as a consequence of one

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[68] This interviewee did not want to be recorded. This quote is taken from his interview narrative.

another, and rarely in isolation. I divide the analysis into three sections according to the categories Social Protection and Support, Spatial and Environmental Determinants and Socio-Cultural Determinants. I then, I sub-divide the sections according to the 'Determinants of Vulnerability or Type of Challenge' identified in the first column of the table. Lastly, when appropriate, I narrow the analysis further according to the 'Manifestations' identified in the second column.

Table 4. Determinants of Vulnerability or Type of Challenge Faced by Key Informants

SOCIAL PROTECTION AND SUPPORT	Manifestation
FORMAL SOCIAL PROTECTION AND SUPPORT	**Welfare and Social Security** conditional on marital status, employment status, duration outside of the country (DK, FI, UK, DE) different access in different countries of origin (DK, FI, UK, DE) restrictive nature of system (DK) expat package (IN) lack of social insurance (IN)
	Public Services unpredictable and poor standards (IN) corruption (IN) choice and standards of schooling (IN)
INFORMAL SOCIAL PROTECTION AND SUPPORT	**Employer-related** cross-cultural training orientation visits relocation support differential support for accompanying partners
	Non-employer related host country nationals expatriate networks nationality-based communities family domestic staff Internet-based support (Skype, email, blogs etc.) news media

SPATIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL	Manifestation
PUBLIC SPACE	**Interaction with Physical Environment** waste, rubbish, air and noise pollution parks unkempt poorly constructed pavements risk of sickness and injury hazard of traffic jams in case of emergency high incidence of road accidents dense traffic public transport time-consuming to carry out tasks climate and its impact on mobility
	Interaction with Local Population being stared at because of difference in appearance and skin color assumption of wealth because of skin color higher prices because of being foreign disturbing seeing poverty

	uncomfortable feeling being approached by / targeted by beggars terrorism and sudden conflict/uprisings over-crowdedness / lack of solitude & privacy personal safety
PRIVATE SPACE	**Domicile and Neighborhood** natural hazards in back gardens poorly functioning utilities property and rental prices disagreeable neighbors and neighborhood proximity to work and school
	Domestic Staff and Workers need for security guard lack of privacy, solitude and freedom blurred boundaries between home and work space remuneration and informal perks/benefit arrangements balancing working/personal relationships reliability and trustworthiness gender

SOCIO-CULTURAL	Manifestation
WORK AND EMPLOYMENT	**Accompanying Partner** lack of opportunities for paid work visa restrictions career sacrifice gender
	Seconded/Working Partner relation to hierarchy and teamwork approach to working hours corruption qualification levels understanding of local working conditions and working culture Insufficient time period within which to complete task gender
SOCIAL AND FREE TIME	**Shopping** lack of Western-style supermarkets variety and quality of products haggling/bartering tradition different service culture time-consuming
	Recreation and Socializing accessibility and availability of exercise facilities poorly maintained exercise equipment diversity of cultural attractions accessibility and availability of recreational facilities availability of (non-alcohol-related) alternatives for socializing standards in restaurants, cafés & canteens cooking and handling of fresh produce gender
	Family, Friends and Acquaintances distance and grandparents relations with children distance and sickness in family in home country family planning role change within family establishing and maintaining friendships short-term / rotating nature of friendships gender dynamics

5.1   Social Protection and Social Support[69]

As indicated in Table 4, the focus in this section is on how both the formal and informal channels of social protection and support in India and in the home country play a role in defining the migrant's citizenship constellations. It involves a discussion of how both the migrants' vertical and horizontal relationships, and their broader social environment act, and in some cases fail to act, as a safety net during their time in India.

5.1.1   Formal Social Protection and Social Support

All of the sixteen Nordic migrants interviewed continued to hold a Danish or Finnish passport, however the ties they had to the Nordic countries, India and in some cases third and fourth countries varied. This alone meant that there were differences in their conventional rights and entitlements to welfare benefits and services, and their societal participation in Denmark and Finland. In spite of the majority of the migrants having great confidence in the Nordic welfare state, there were differences in attitudes towards it. This section also highlights the often challenging adjustments the Nordic migrants have to make to the way they approach, relate to and use public services, which differ greatly to the quality and standard of service they are used to in their home countries. The analysis shows that the new ways in which they participate in the Indian social system, in relation to their formal social citizenship, is less defined by their formal relationships to the Nordic welfare state, and is sculpted more by their position of privilege, their relationships to the employer (industrial citizenship), the role they performed (e.g. mother, accompanying partner or main breadwinner) and how they choose to confront the challenges they face during the migration period. The Nordic migrants display a wide range of different behaviors as they indeed articulate quite varying degrees of needs (Walzer 1983)

5.1.1.1 Welfare and social security

As outlined below in Tables 5 and 6, the difference in treatment of migrants from Denmark and Finland regarding their eligibility for basic social security is perhaps more significant than one might expect from welfare states which define themselves as being grounded in universalism, in congruence with the findings of Korpela (2012). Nevertheless, both the Danish and Finnish key informants who completed the follow-up questionnaire expressed that they were committed to supporting the welfare state and trusted that the welfare state would assist them with benefits and services when they returned. These results support the proposition that the positive rhetoric used by the power-holders and policy-makers in the Nordic countries in their framing of the welfare state results in the Nordic migrants showing confidence about their welfare security in spite of some of them, in reality, being left in a relatively precarious situation.

Table 5. Employee Eligibility for Basic Social Security in Denmark and Finland during Secondment (in 2008)

	PRE-CONDITIONS	AUTOMATIC FULL COVERAGE	APPLY FOR COVERAGE	NO COVERAGE
DENMARK	Folkeregister and permanent residency	n/a	For up to 2 yrs.	If secondment lasts for more than 2 years (with some exceptions)
FINLAND	Covered by Finnish social security before departure Finland–based employer Residency in Finland	Up to 1 year	If secondment lasts for more than 1 year (can be given a decision for up to 5 years)	If not covered by Finnish social security before departure If hired by local subsidiary or firm and no residency in Finland

Table 6. Accompanying Partner Eligibility for Basic Social Security in Denmark and Finland during Secondment (in 2008)

	PRE-CONDITIONS	AUTOMATIC FULL COVERAGE	APPLY FOR COVERAGE	NO COVERAGE
DENMARK	Folkeregister and permanent residency	n/a	For up to 2 yrs.	If secondment lasts for more than 2 years (with some exceptions)
FINLAND	Covered by Finnish social security before departure Finland–based employer Residency in Finland	Up to 1 year	If secondment lasts for more than 1 year (can be given a decision for up to 5 years)	If not covered by Finnish social security before departure If undertake paid work locally

As reflected in Tables 5 and 6, in Denmark having a permanent address in the country is crucial to eligibility for basic social security. Challenges can arise for individuals resulting from the legislation and rules attached to different housing solutions.[70] Furthermore, if an individual decides to give up their place of residency in Denmark at any point in time, they automatically lose their right to social security in Denmark. Two further distinctive characteristics of the Danish model are that the employee and the accompanying partner experience equal access and denial of rights, and undertaking paid work in the destination country does not have any negative consequences (providing it is for no longer than 2 years). This freedom means that the accompanying partner is free to choose whether or not to depend on their employed partner's income and contract of secondment for their own welfare needs. This freedom however is counteracted by the receiving state, India, imposing tight visa restrictions on partners who are travelling on spouse visas: they are not permitted to engage in paid employment in India.

Basic social security in Denmark includes access to healthcare, sickness insurance, benefits related to childbirth and adoption, unemployment insurance, basic state pension and early retirement pension, service pensions, ATP pension[71], family allowance and work accident insurance. There is no rule governing secondment outside of the borders of the EU/EEA, which explains why there is no instance where full coverage automatically applies. Denmark has bilateral agreements regarding social security with 16 countries, the agreement with India first being signed in February 2010, one year after the interviews took place.[72] Hence in preparation for secondment in India, the informants for this study had to

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[70] By way of example, I refer briefly to the system of part–ownership housing (andelsbolig). According to Denmark's statistical database, Statistikbanken (www.statistikbanken.dk) there are approximately 200,000 part–ownership associations (andelsforeninger), which own and maintain a given part of a property, entire property or several properties. The members of the association are the individuals who have bought their 'share' of the property (i.e. an apartment or other space). Hence in the Danish case, part–ownership, refers to part–ownership of the entire property owned by that association (compared to the UK usage which refers to only partial ownership of the actual apartment/house lived in). Each association has its own set of rules which are established in accordance with the laws pertaining to this type of housing, the Andelsboliglov. A common restriction addresses the length of time one is allowed to rent out the accommodation to a third party (fremleje), the maximum usually being between one and two years. Hence, if an individual living in a part–ownership property is offered a three year secondment abroad, they face losing their home.

[71] Every person who works in Denmark is required by law to pay towards an ATP supplementary life–long pension (one third employee and two thirds employer contribution). See www.atp.dk for more information.

[72] The other countries are: Australia, Bosnia–Herzegovina, Canada, Chile, Israel, Croatia, Macedonia, Morocco, Montenegro, New Zealand, Pakistan, Quebec, Serbia, Turkey and USA.

contact the various offices dealing with the different areas of social protection and submit an application for coverage if they so wished.

In Finland a combination of social citizenship and industrial citizenship can be seen as both labor market attachments and pre-departure eligibility for social security are of importance. If an individual is eligible for social security coverage prior to departure, they may reside abroad for up to one year and maintain their full coverage. KELA (The Social Insurance Institution of Finland) expressed during a telephone enquiry I made in 2008 that, in the case of temporary assignments abroad, they rarely deny coverage to those who apply for up to five years' extension as long as the conditions regarding labor market attachment and previous coverage are fulfilled. The employee must remain employed by the Finnish company during the period of secondment and the employer must continue to pay social insurance contributions to the Finnish state. In addition, if the employee is sent abroad by their Finland office to a subsidiary to be paid locally, the employee must keep their permanent residency in Finland in order to qualify for residency–based social security entitlements, which includes national pensions, survivors' pension, family allowance, maternity grant and general housing allowance. If the secondment is for one year or less, the secondee is also entitled to pensioner's housing allowance, disabled person's allowance, child care allowance, front–veteran's supplement and special support for immigrants. The situation for the spouse or partner is somewhat more precarious as they lose their right to social security if they undertake employment in the destination country with a non–Finnish firm, regardless of their previous eligibility. In this case, the partner will fall under the social security system of the country in which they are located.

As expected if one considers the results of Transparency International (see Section 2.1.1), there were, in general, strong levels of trust in the Danish and Finnish state institutions among the Nordic secondees. The duration of time that the migrants had been or were to be outside of their country of origin seemingly played a major role in the way they spoke about the welfare state. I argue in line with Huysmans (2006) that the Nordic migrants also show this level of trust because their perception of the Nordic welfare state is still positive. The data reveals that the perception of the welfare state among most of the migrants who had been outside of their country for longer periods was more negative.

Two of the Finnish key informants, Karin and Greta, would be returning with their British seconded partners to the UK, and Saara, also a Finn, was to accompany her partner to the Middle East after the posting in India. None of them had any expressed intention of moving back to Finland in the near future.

Similarly, four of the Danish key informants, Kristoffer, Greg, Brett and Niels, also had no immediate plans to move back to Denmark. A commonality for these seven key informants was their sense of detachment from the Danish and Finnish welfare state. While Karin, Greta and Saara expressed their detachment through their relative lack of discussion about the Finnish welfare state, in spite of accepting and agreeing with not having any right to access social security in Denmark, three of the four Danish migrants (Greg, Brett and Niels) spent a much more significant portion of the interview time critiquing the Danish welfare state and Denmark in general, indicating a marked difference in their subjective citizenship.[73]

Niels, who had been resident outside of Denmark since 1994 and had been together with Indian partner since 2002, and Brett, who was also married to an Indian partner and resident in India since 2005, expressed an abject distaste for the Danish tradition of Janteloven. Similar to Korpela's lifestyle migrants who felt that the welfare system in their home countries controls and restrict them too much (Korpela 2012), they described Denmark as a "society where you have to conform" where "ambition gets stifled" and you just have to be average. Niels did not like the levels of control and felt that there was no freedom to choose, while Brett described Denmark as a country that has "lost itself" in a system of welfare and taxation. While Brett and Niels' critiques came across as strong motivations for pursuing a life and career outside of Denmark, Kristoffer, who was in India with his Danish wife, had left Denmark over twenty years ago simply in order to try life somewhere new. He and his family first moved to the UK on secondment with the intention of having a life abroad until they did not enjoy being abroad any longer. After seven and a half years in the UK, they spent thirteen and a half years in the USA and planned to return there after the posting in India. They did not express any dissatisfaction with the Danish or English welfare state at all.

Greg's story relayed below perhaps reflects an extreme case of the perils of living a mobile life outside of Denmark and the EU (Foulkes 2014). His case is evidence of the extreme extent of the disadvantages one can face having a mobile career and a relationship and family with international cultural and political ties. While Greg felt that he represented Denmark well as an (unofficial) ambassador in his positions in India and maintained few yet strong family and friendship ties in

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[73] The remainder of the Finns would be seconded for periods that fell within the 5-year limit and fulfilled the pre-departure criteria for continual access to basic social security. Of the remaining Danish respondents, two would be returning within the maximum time limit for being outside of the country, and the other two would not. Nonetheless, similar to the remaining Finnish key informants, none went into any detailed conversation about the welfare state, their feelings about their membership or how their eligibility status was impacting their stay.

Denmark, he also felt that he was being rejected by the Danish state in many different ways, "officially".

Greg's Story (1)

Greg's nationality, culture and political citizenship are very important to him. He describes himself both as a world citizen and very much Danish: "It is my roots, and they are totally stuck." He streams Danish football on the internet and keeps up-to-date with Danish current affairs. He feels that he is being punished for doing well, and that this situation is a "disgrace and a violation of human rights". Greg also mentions the fact that he served the country also putting his life on the line in the military and in his current position he represents Denmark (indirectly) at every official engagement and with each professional encounter. This situation "hurts [his] feelings".

Greg talks during our interview about his personal situation and his frustration with being "thrown out of Denmark" as a result of his professional path. Due to the nature of his position, his natural course is to move from one country to another every 6-24 months. He feels that he is a good asset to and representative for Denmark, yet he is punished for fulfilling his role. He has some understanding for not being able to vote; he is after all not living in the country, and hasn't on a permanent basis for over 15 years. However, it does disturb him that he cannot vote anywhere. He says "Maybe one vote doesn't count but the fact is that there are many expats abroad who cannot vote." He can understand why "a guy living in Vesterbro [a central district in Copenhagen] would not feel that someone living abroad for 16 years should have the right to vote, but the politicians should understand".

He also objects strongly to being de-registered from his family home, which was built by his grandfather and in which his mother still lives. Being the only child, he is the sole heir to the property and feels that the Danish state should not have the right to decide that this is no longer his 'home'. He can totally understand the reasons why he should not have any social security, but describes the denial of right to residency as "Amputating the leg when there is a problem with the foot."

Having not lived in Denmark for such a long time, having a wife who is not European, and a daughter who was born in the Middle East and has lived in 10 countries in as many years (and 15 countries with his wife), Greg feared that he would encounter problems if in the future he wanted to move home to Denmark with his wife and daughter, as a consequence of not having the required amount of 'ties' to Denmark, and his fears were confirmed by the Udlændingestyrelsen (the Danish Immigration Service) when he contacted them. He has only spent one month in Denmark with his

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family, as they tend to travel to his wife's home country when they have holidays. Greg lived in Denmark for his first 25 years and still has a couple of childhood friends there and, due to the nature of his job, he does not have stronger ties to any other country. He is not able to obtain an international driving license because the Folkeregister (the National Registry) in Denmark de-registered him; he cannot obtain residency in Denmark because he works abroad and neither is he registered as living in India because of the nature of his job; and he would have problems if he wanted to divorce because of rules in the divorce laws in the countries where they have ties regarding residency and where one pays taxes. Greg concludes that living an international life is not as glamorous as people imagine it to be. He has ended up in a position of not being officially resident anywhere and hence entirely reliant on private sector services for his own and his family's welfare.

Greg is in a position of great advantage in many ways: he has a high work status not only in relation to local employees, but also in relation to other expats and seconded workers, and is financially secure. However, his extremely negative informal identification with the Danish state and his disadvantageous formal identification with the Danish or any other welfare state, in other words his vertical relationships are unstable and they also impact his horizontal relationships, that is, in familial and personal relationships, negatively. Just like Greg, Brett and Niels continued to identify with differing aspects of their Danish culture, which may explain their strong emotion towards the formal structure, organization and restrictive nature of the welfare state. All three of these key informants also had non-Danish wives as a commonality, and all three referred to the negative treatment of their wives by Danish people or the Danish state which may also be a reason for the difference in their positioning. There is evidence to suggest that these Nordic migrants respond differently to the framing of the Danish welfare state as something very positive because, as Krauss and Chui (2010) suggest they belong to overlapping social categories which impacts what they know, value and believe and how they respond when discussing the Danish welfare state. Kristoffer's wife is Danish and so it is unlikely that they would face any form of ethnic prejudice or homogeneous stereotyping in their vertical or horizontal relationships when they are in Denmark.

Most of the Nordic key informants had some idea about their social security entitlements in their country of origin. Hanna, who was seconded to India alone stated, "Being on an expat contract, I didn't pay too much attention to those things as they do not so much concern [i.e. worry] me." This statement is both a reflection of Hanna's confidence in the ability of her employer to cover her welfare

needs sufficiently, and indirectly, her confidence in the Finnish welfare state to act as a safety net in case they don't. By comparison, another Danish female secondee, Freda, was fully aware of her rights and continued to be a member of a union and unemployment fund in Denmark and thought it "important to have some kind of safety net" for when the assignment finished. While Freda was focused on having her safety net, another Danish secondee, Michael saw maintaining his union membership in Denmark as a social tool for keeping up with what was happening in Denmark.

Karin, who was returning to the UK stated explicitly that she believed she would be able to claim unemployment benefit when they returned there after their posting, however she did not think she would need to:

> "I've always been kind of quite independent and I can manage to find things to do, whether that's a part time job in a pub or something, I don't mind. I'm quite flexible about work. And I don't think we are going to be [so] financially distressed that I will need to find some work immediately. So maybe for the first couple of months it will be a great opportunity for me to do something … reconsider my career completely. You don't get this opportunity so … it is harder when you already have a job to find another area of employment or a completely different career."
>
> <div align="right">Karin (FI) 1:18:00</div>

In not discussing the pitfalls of being potentially outside of the system during the interviews, the Nordic migrants, like Karin, also showed a confidence in her and her husband's labor market attachments and ability to support themselves financially upon their return. As a result of this perceived privileged position Karin furthermore views being unemployed upon return to the UK as a unique opportunity to reconsider her career which is also an indication of high levels of confidence and sense of security both in relation to her husband's job security, i.e. his industrial citizenship, in the labor market conditions in the UK and lastly in her own human capital and other capabilities.

Another topic that is pertinent to the discussion of how formal social protection impacted the migration experience and migrants' citizenship constellations was that of housing. There was a wide variation in the choices the migrants made regarding their homes in their usual country of residence. Some had rented their properties out and remained registered there, while others rented out but were no longer registered as living there; others had sold their places and would be returning to live with their parents or rent while they looked for somewhere else; and others had chosen to leave their homes unoccupied so that

they could use them during vacations and trips back home. There were also some, as mentioned previously, who had no immediate plans to return to their country of origin. None of the key informants, apart from Greg, viewed their housing situation in their home countries as particularly problematic. However, the difference in housing solutions available and found in India are worthy of closer attention chiefly because the migrants had varying access to information and varying levels understanding about how their choice of housing would affect their everyday lives. The solutions found impacted the migrants' citizenship constellations greatly (see Sections 5.2.2 and 5.3.2).

The housing provision for the Nordic migrants, and equally for the remaining key informants in India was complex. For the seconded workers, the housing that was provided was primarily contingent on the 'expat package' afforded them. Usually the secondees are expected to find a rental property themselves and the company may provide them with a relocation agent. All of the seconded key informants had contributions towards housing costs from the employer. In some cases the company paid for the house/apartment directly, in others the employee received the money and paid the housing costs themselves. There were some limits on the secondees freedom to choose the size of the property (rather than the location) that they deemed suitable as none were given a blank cheque, however, none of them complained that the employer contribution was too little. Industrial citizenship is thus extended to the arena of housing in the case of secondment.

I was told by several informants that the house prices in these Indian mega-cities are extremely high. For several people that I spoke to, their rents had increased phenomenally since they had moved in to their places. This presented a challenge for some sending companies as it meant that the costs related to international secondment were rising exponentially. Ann, a Finnish accompanying partner, and her husband had sold their home in Finland. She noted that having this kind of expense covered by the employer makes secondment "a good saving opportunity".

The extent to which the accompanying partner benefit from the "saving opportunity" is conditional on the state of the marriage or partnership, and the agreements made (and honored) between the two parties. The accompanying partner is left in a precarious situation as there is a return to the male-breadwinner family model (Lewis 2001). The male seconded partner increases his economic capital and also his economic power. Unlike the 'housewives' of the old male-breadwinner family model, however, the seconded partners are 'freed' from the labor market and have the opportunity to pursue other activities. As detailed in

Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2, the 'wives' are highly effective in finding using their agency to find other things to do with their time. In addition, they are 'freed' from many domestic tasks as they have employed staff to do that work. In other words, because of the housing 'protection' provided by the employer and the subsequent economic privileges it affords, a new male-breadwinner model emerges whereby the employed 'husband' sees a direct increase in his economic capital and power, and the 'wives' use their agential privilege and to transform their cultural capital in their new surroundings creating new opportunities and consequently increasing their stock of cultural capital. Under secondment to India therefore, the working partner's industrial citizenship status indirectly benefits the non-working partner both financially and temporally, providing there are good relations between them.

A further aspect of welfare protection that was contingent on the kind of expat package afforded was healthcare coverage. Again in all cases of secondment among all of the informants I spoke to, the seconded workers were given comprehensive insurance to different extents, regardless of nationality. For some couples, the accompanying partner and children were not included on the insurance and private solutions were found; in some cases the accompanying family were covered because the secondee argued for it as a pre-requisite for accepting the assignment; for others no accompanying family members were covered; when couples were not married, the accompanying partner was not covered; and in one case, a couple registered themselves in a common-law marriage (they had plans to have a full church wedding the year after in any case) in order for the accompanying partner to be covered. There was insufficient data to establish whether these differences had anything to with pay grade or the size or type of employer. A further aspect of coverage that came up in the interviews was that some of the migrants who were on secondment for longer periods and consequently had no entitlement to social security in their home country were not covered by their health plan during trips home and so needed to take out a further private insurance policy that would protect them when they were 'on holiday'.

While India continues to be considered a 'hardship posting' indicating that employers are aware of the challenges facing foreigners in India, the same employers continue to focus on the welfare and wellbeing of the secondee alone and disregard that of the accompanying family members, in spite of the focus in the IHRM research focus on the central role of the family and spouse in expatriation (see Section 3.2.1). Leena, who was accompanying her husband with their two small children relayed that in the original contract that her husband signed she and the children were totally excluded in the healthcare package. Her

story, which pertains to both healthcare provision and healthcare services is relayed below.

Leena's Story (1)

Leena tells me that the original contract that her husband had only covered him and her and the children were excluded totally. Luckily she was sick on the pre-visit, and so when they got back she insisted and said that she would not go unless all of them are included on the health insurance and it paid off. Her last stay at the hospital was not cheap as she was in a suite. But, they are the first family to go so there is no standard agreement. In a way it was a good thing and in a way it was bad as they did not know what they should insist on having or what to expect. Then again it was very flexible so whatever they suggested the company looked into it and they could negotiate. Leena believes that Nokia people for example have two recreational trips somewhere and they only have one trip to Finland per year. They are somehow minor things, but then again her husband is the Managing Director of the Indian office and so to some degree he is able to do whatever he wants and deems reasonable and necessary. Leena says she can't complain.

On the pre-visit they stayed in the ER all night and Leena describes it as "horrible and disgusting". She was so happy her husband was with her and says she does not know what she would have done if he wasn't. The floor was dirty, there were people with diarrhea and there was no paper in the toilet, nothing to wash hands with, and there were bloody things lying around on the floor. She states that when you are sick you are not able to check everything, "the needles whether they are clean or not … they put oxygen masks on you and then put it on the next person without cleaning it. Coming from Finland, the land of hygienic living, it was disgusting."

The second time she was there, they knew better. They had been told by other foreign migrants that the facilities and services on the eleventh floor at the very same hospital are totally different. The second time they insisted on going straight up to the 11th floor, which she says was fabulous, They had their own private room and it was better than she had ever experienced anywhere. Leena advises me that if I ever get sick, I must insist on getting up to the 11th floor. She said it costs and is not cheap, but they have insurance so that is fine. It was a good experience in so far as she felt that this was a good place she would feel comfortable taking the children. For small things like cuts, Leena does not want to go to the hospital. There is a very nice clinic that they go to nearby and it is a place they can trust. Her husband is developing different illnesses. Leena is not sure if it is because of being in India or because of age. He has gout and problems with his stomach and goes to the clinic regularly. But fortunately there has not been anything major.

Referring to falling ill during an orientation visit as 'luck' is an indication of how challenging it may be for employees to convince employers of the necessity for healthcare coverage for family members. It also begs the question of how easy or difficult it may be for an accompanying partner to speak to her partner about the coverage. In the context of our conversation though, it was my impression that Leena was suggesting that had she not fallen ill during the pre-visit, they may not have thought to insist on coverage being provided for the whole family. Whatever the case may be, the story highlights well the extent of the migrants' dependency on the employer or the private healthcare market for protection, and the accompanying partner may be in an even more precarious position if she is also financially dependent on her partner. Furthermore, the employer's previous experience with international secondment also plays a role. In Leena's family's case, the immaturity of the employers' experience worked to their advantage. Her story highlights the structural privilege she and her family were able to take advantage of which furthermore has a temporal element: they were the first families seconded to India by the company and hence, there were no concrete policies in place for how to handle international secondment to India. This meant they had some freedom to decide how to handle things. In addition, her husband also had particular agential privileges: being the MD of the Indian office gave him more power to choose and decide procedures.

Tiina and her family were 'unlucky' on several occasions and had several instances of sickness and injury during their time in India (see Tiina's Story (1) in Section 5.2.1) and possibly represent a perfect case for the need for comprehensive health coverage to be provided. The stories relayed show how the means of privilege, money and capital cannot stop a person from becoming ill and accidents can happen to anyone, yet what happens after the fact can be controlled to some extent through those means.

5.1.1.2   Public services

There were three main topics spoken about with regard to public services. Healthcare services were widely discussed by those who had experiences with sickness or injury. For accompanying wives travelling with children, schools and child care were a topic of conversation. Lastly, the most talked about issue by the vast majority of the key informants was corruption in public offices among public servants. In continuation from the previous discussion, I begin here with the experiences migrants had with healthcare services in India.

5.1.1.3   Healthcare services

The experience of using the healthcare system varied as widely among the Nordic key informants as it did among all of the informants I spoke to. While a couple of the Nordic migrants referred to the limited alternatives there were for healthcare, both hospital care and local doctors and clinics, the main issue discussed was the hygiene at the places they visited: the difference between the regular wards that any member of the public visits and the wards that are set up for wealthier denizens. The hygienic practices of healthcare staff in general were also mentioned.

Leena's story above, regarding the hygiene standards in the general 'public' ward of the hospital in question, was reiterated to me by other informants in Bangalore with similar levels of dismay. Equally, I heard much praise about the level of hygiene and service on the private eleventh floor of the very same hospital. Some informants even commented that the level of service and standard of private care they were receiving in India was better than the public care they receive in their home countries in Europe. The mix of sentiments about the standards of care and service simply reflect the different individual experiences the migrants have had. Similar results could most probably be found in most countries of the world among foreign nationals who originate from the same region. For this thesis, the noteworthy aspects of the Nordic migrants' experience, is firstly how well or ill-informed they were about the opportunities available to them; secondly the expected vs. the realized personal care received and the consequence thereof.

It is not clear from the data whether or not employers provided information about the options for GP and hospital care in any of the cities, however it was my general impression from the informants I spoke to that the most effective source of information about healthcare providers was other foreigners, which highlights the importance of accumulating social capital upon arrival in India; migrant agency is therefore key. Coming from countries where standards of hygiene in healthcare are relatively high, I suggest that it is bonding rather than bridging or linking social capital that is of importance to the Nordic migrants in this instance, as they stand to gain most (i.e. get the standard of service they are used to) from others who have similar expectations of the healthcare environment. Hence if migrants face other socio-cultural challenges regarding their social networking, they may face further challenges in other areas; in this case, in their experience of the public services in India.

Greta was one of the Nordic migrants, for whom the personal care she received surpassed her unarticulated expectations. Greta used a GP that was located on the embassy compound and who she was told should provide NHS (National Health

Service) standard of care for all the embassy staff and their families regardless of whether they lived on the compound or not, and users were expected to pay the usual prescription charges as they would at home in the UK. This was a 'public' service for civil servants and their families, but 'private' in the sense that the general public were not permitted access. The employees who were seconded from abroad were also provided with comprehensive health insurance. Greta complained that in London her GP was always so busy she did not really have any time to spend with her as a patient. In India however much more time was spent on each patient. Niels also commented on how good the Indian doctors were at giving personal attention. He stated that there is still so much human consideration in India, "even though the doctors are also greedy and want a nice salary and nice car and house". The 'greed' of the doctors is acceptable to Niels because he is getting a higher standard of service. His and Greta's experiences suggest that there is a different culture of care service in India within the 'private' healthcare system. As Di Masso (2012) suggests, Greta and Niels had a common understanding of the normative behavior of the healthcare professionals, however that was set in a Northern European context where it is the universal public healthcare services that are normally used. In the Indian context, however, the migrants use different types of private solutions and received a different level of service, which some believed to be a result of the cultural difference (Indian vs. Northern European), and others believed to be the result of structural difference (public vs. private care).

The data also reveals there were framing effects from how the Indian healthcare system was portrayed to some of the Nordic migrants, and this impacted the levels of trust they had in the service. Ken, for example, has had to see a doctor twice. The first time was for flu that he believes he picked up in Thailand and was food-poisoning related. The other time it was for a small fever. He admitted that he was a little bit nervous each time he went, was definitely observing what the staff were doing more closely, and finally that his suspicions were unnecessary considering the place that he was in. It was a private clinic near to where they lived. Saara meanwhile feared the private service because of personal experience, yet she did not express a strategy for what she would do if she was in the same position again. Saara had experienced an extremely unhygienic public ward at the same hospital that Leena had visited and, also the 'other' high-standard private service on the eleventh floor when her son broke his jaw in an accident. Even though she had been exposed to the difference between the two wards, she still said that she worried that she was never going to see her son again, but everything went well and he came out fine. In the most extreme case, being in a position of privilege and

having a salary that would enable her to do so, Freda said she would avoid using the system altogether and return home in the case of illness because of fear of what might happen. Freda stated:

> "There is no real hospital you can be safe with. The doctors are fine, but the nurses are horrible. They might even stick you with an aids infected syringe or things like that – that happens. You have to be careful. So you don't want to be sick. You do what you can to treat yourself […] I've heard of places where you think 'I'm taking the first plane home'. But then you calm yourself down, you take a lot of vitamins and you try not to be sick. If I am sick, I will go home. I don't want to … I haven't [experienced] it yet, but I am sure that I won't want to go into hospital here."

> Freda (DK, R2)[74] 12:50

Freda has complete conviction about the poor service in the Indian healthcare system even though it is based solely on what she has heard from others and she has not used the system at all herself. Her trust in fellow privileged foreigners framing of the system has clearly created a great amount of fear and reflects some of the disadvantages being in a position of privilege can produce while being on secondment in India.

5.1.1.4   School and childcare services

Of the Danish and Finnish key informants who were travelling with children, it was only the mothers (Leena, Tiina and Saara, from Finland) who spoke directly about issues of childcare and schooling.[75] Child care (0-5 years) in India is often provided by the family; however, children are allowed to receive care in institutions, which are usually part of schools, from the age of three. At the time of interviewing, the official age for school start was six years, but this has recently been changed to five. At the time of interviewing there were four different international schools that informants spoke about. For all three mothers, the contrasts between their children's previous experiences and the ones they had and were having in India were challenging in different ways. Leena's youngest child had been cared for by a child minder together with two other children in Finland. The

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[74] R2 refers to the second part of the interview recordning.

[75] Three of the male key informants who were Danish were also in India with children.

experience of starting at a school-type institution was harrowing for both mother and child:

> "My younger was only three and a half […] and it was even worse for him, coming from Finland from a very small community. He was in the home day care system where there are three other children and him and then a nanny. A very quiet environment and then he is thrown into this school of thousands of kids who don't speak his language and the noise level is just unbelievable. So he was struggling I think for the first two months. So I was there with him most of the time, sitting in school with him. It wasn't easy, but the teachers did their best."

> Leena (FI) 12:20

In spite of the difficulties they faced, Leena made no mention of keeping her son at home or finding an alternative arrangement which may be an indication of the strong Nordic tradition of fulltime institutional care of children from a young age: Leena followed the same routine as she would in Finland and took her child to the equivalent of a nursery. Leena was continuing with work, albeit part time, and did not have any extended family or anyone in her social network who could potentially provide child care similar to that which the child was receiving in Finland. She says that she was fortunate that the teachers at the school did their best to support her son even though the system is not set up to support children who need "special care". Not being able to speak English was a further challenge that both of her children faced. At the time of interviewing, her son had settled in well and was enjoying being there. Although Leena was in a position of privilege with regard to her economic and cultural capital, the structural conditions in India coupled with the lack of close family or a wider support network in India, and insufficient pre-departure support (e.g. language lessons for the children) meant that her son had to adapt to a widely contrasting care environment, which had emotional consequences for both mother and child.

Leena's older son of ten years was a very good swimmer and they had prioritized finding a school for him that had a swimming team, which is the reason for both children attending this particular school. While the school provided swimming lessons, they did not in fact have a swim team which took some time to be revealed. Leena said that she has been vocal with the school about her dissatisfaction about this and she noted that she was pleased to have been able to do so, as in some of the other international schools, this would not have been possible. Tiina said that she does not have much to do with her child's school life

and puts the difference between her and other parents (who sometimes go to the school and read with their children) down to her being Finnish "It is a cultural thing." She goes to the school when she is invited and she thinks the children like that. Saara also mentioned that she had good interaction with the staff at her children's school, yet she does not have much to do with the school at all.

All three mothers commented on the 'international' nature of the school their children attended. For the first year, Saara told me that she sent her three children to another school that was "more like an Indian school" and the children were not so happy there. Leena relayed that at the school her children went to, "although it called itself international", only 10% of the children were foreign. She told me that many of the Indian children there had families in the US and UK who "sent their children there because it was cheaper." Tiina drew a comparison to Finnish institutions and schools and said that she feared that her older son "cannot enjoy his childhood" because the school is so demanding. At the time of interviewing, the youngest child was in a kindergarten and everything was "still about play" so she was not so concerned yet. She and her husband had the opportunity to stay for one more year in India and the children's schooling is one of the main reasons that they declined the offer. Their high levels of trust and confidence in the Finnish education and care system seemingly hindered them from being able to find any value of experiencing another type of education system, and the value of socializing with Indian children.

All three Finnish mothers seemingly focused on the downsides to these differences and this distinguished them greatly from the informants of other nationalities who spoke in more positive terms about the value of the children's school experiences. Saara did comment however (after the children had changed to a different international school) that somehow international schools are better than Finnish schools. Their middle child had had some problems in school in Finland and nobody told them about it until were leaving; then the teacher told them that he is a difficult pupil. He also faced challenges during the previous posting in the Middle East as he did not speak English at all and they did not have an ESL (English as a Second Language) class so he needed to try to learn as he went along. The first 6 months in India were very difficult. Saara was told that he was not naughty, but he would just ignore the teachers and other children. After six months though, everything was fine. Saara could not say what changed in that time but it seemed that she got direct honest feedback about her children's school experience in India which was lacking in Finland. For the most part however, the Finnish women's Nordic privileges worked against them.

In discussing all of these issues, it is clear that a significant part of Leena, Tiina and Saara's 'social' lives involves direct or indirect interaction with vertical institutions important for their children: staff and schools that provide care and education. The interaction the mothers had with these institutions was different as a result of the different needs of their children. These additional horizontal and vertical relationships result in their social citizenship differing to that of the other parents who did not have children with them in India as well as with those who did. The accounts relayed above also shed some light on how the relationships can vary from one institution to another, which in turn can lead to differences in the time the mothers spend on this aspect of their citizenship, and also in the type of cultural capital that the children ultimately accumulate.

5.1.1.5 Public offices

The challenges that dealing with public offices poses for foreigners has given birth to a new industry in Indian megacities of 'brokers' who can be hired to help companies and individuals deal with the official business of being in India. In short, the company or individual is hired, legally, to cut the red tape and fast track different applications for example. Several of the informants used these 'brokers' and believed that this was simply a formal way of using bribery as they believed that the brokers simply paid the officials to get things done quicker.

Another area where bribery was framed as being the only option was in dealings with the traffic police. In cases of road offences such as speeding or driving the wrong way down a one–way street, or simply a 'crime' invented by a traffic official, several migrants were offered two options: either pay an on the spot fine without a receipt, or have the offence documented and entered into the system for investigation and later fining or prosecution. The latter would more often than not involve a thorough investigation of the drivers' credentials and employment which would cause a problem for many as they are employed informally and are part of the unorganized sector; it would also be a long and complicated process that particularly temporary migrants to India would wish to avoid. Consequently, paying the on–the–spot fine, or bribe, is seen as the lesser of the two evils.

> "Basically, the way it works in my opinion, when you get in contact with the official authorities, they look upon you as a way of extracting money. So, whatever they are upset about has to do with how much they can get out of it, [I think] personally […]. It is bad. To me what it means is the laws don't matter. You can circumvent the laws. You know, you see it out here. People

build on public roads, they don't keep the distance from the lakes, they don't clean the water, you know. So the living standard of the people who try to live by the laws is significantly reduced by the fact that you can bribe yourself out of having to obey the laws. So I think it is a major issue here."

<div align="right">Kristoffer (DK) 1:57:10</div>

Corruption was viewed by the majority of the key informants as being a major issue in India. It was suggested to me that if anybody I interview says they have not been confronted with it, they are lying. Kristoffer believes furthermore that corruption is what is preventing India from fulfilling its economic potential and becoming a major threat to any other nation financially because "there is nothing that works". The depth of the corruption in India is the main aspect of work and life in India that has surprised him. He relays several 'corrupt' scenarios that he has witnessed ranging from a pet dog being able to enter India without being quarantined, to applications for visas moving through the system rapidly. Other informants told stories of bribes paid to traffic police for 'speeding' in very slow moving traffic and such. Kristoffer also relays a story of what happens if one does not go along with the corruption: the scenario involved the suicide of an employee at a European company's offices in India. The company he spoke of did not cooperate with the authorities as they were expected to and the result was that there was negative publicity for that company in the press and media which ultimately led to the suicide.

Several of the Nordic key informants referred to situations they faced with the authorities as simply ways of "extracting money". As Michael put it, "Whenever there are any problems, the solution always has something to do with money." This line of thinking is in accordance with Hakhverdian & Mayne's (2012) expectation that highly educated people will have less trust in institutions in countries that exhibit high levels of corruption. For some of the Nordic migrants, the feeling of being homogeneously stereotyped by Indians as 'rich white Westerners' also evoked feelings of mistrust. Among my key informants there were different strategies taken to deal with situations involving corruption: acceptance and compliance without reprise or frustration; acceptance and compliance with frustration; alternatives methods; non-acceptance and no alternatives.

Kristoffer and Michael took the route of acceptance and compliance without reprise or frustration. Kristoffer expresses clearly that while he disagrees with this way of running a country, he does not judge it too much or get upset about it, and he confesses that the fact that they are only temporarily in India (two to three

years) may be why. Kristoffer and other informants I spoke to introduced me to a new industry that has developed in India, namely the use of a 'broker'. The extent of the corruption is so deep in India that a market has been created for the brokers who 'assist' foreign nationals in dealing with the authorities. In short, the broker is paid a fee and they take care of all of the administration foreign nationals have to be involved in such as renewing visas and registering upon arrival in India. In this manner, those who can afford the service are spared time, are freed from dirtying their own hands with bribing and also from being reprimanded for participating in corruption, even though it is common knowledge that the broker simply bribes the officials with a proportion of the money he is paid. With over 90% of the workforce in unorganized labor, the boundaries between corruption and service provision are becoming blurred.

Michael uses an agency to help his family with administration. The agency always send him the same person (a broker) who told them that when they are at the offices, always just reply "yes" to officials and smile; he will take care of the rest. Michael explains:

> "We have had some fun with it; [we joke] 'Never drop your papers in that office because then the money will fall out!' [Laughs]. But we get a bill, so our company in Denmark are fine with the situation and we have, of course, official bills for all the expenses we do have and [so] no problem is made. Of course we are supporting a system which we shouldn't support, but on the other hand we would probably not be here if we didn't play by the rules from time to time […] The company is quite strict about [this]: you are not allowed to pay your way. But as I said, that's fine for some Finnish clerk sitting in Finland doing laws that are perfectly fine in Finland. Come over here!"
>
> Michael (DK) 1:13:30

Kristoffer, like Michael and the vast majority of other foreigners in India, believe that engaging in corruption in India is sometimes a necessary evil that people in other countries just do not understand. Michael and Kristoffer are morally disapproving of corruption, yet rather than attempting to combat it, they have engaged in it as well themselves, albeit indirectly, through the use of a broker. Their cases are evidence of Persson et al.'s (2010) collective action theory of corruption.

There were other Nordic migrants who also exhibited acceptance and compliance with the situation, but with some frustration. Leena, for example, is thankful that she has not had to deal with the authorities too much, but when she has had to, it has been quite stressful. She relays a story about her husband who

had been trying to get an Indian driving license. He had spent many hours at the public office on several occasions. Once he waited for several hours and then could not get it because they had run out of paper; another time they would not accept his own photograph, so he had to go back again for them to take their own photo of him. She concludes the story with,

> "The whole driver's license thing was just … horrible. You just pay. It's just plain corruption. You just pay to a broker and he gets it fixed. You don't need to show that you are able to drive. Nothing. They just ask you a few questions and that's it. So, it is so vague and it depends on who you are talking to and who you are, the company behind you. Our company is very small so we don't have any like real power."

<div align="right">Leena (FI) 4:00</div>

Leena mentions some friends who are with a very large multinational enterprise for whom "everything seems to be very smooth". It is unclear from the data whether the smoothness is due to the larger company simply being so big that they are not expected to succumb to corruption, or whether it is due to the company being so big that the bribes are paid with ease, or some other reason. She continues:

> "I've been [to the foreign registry office] now twice and it is just [sighs] it's a very frustrating thing. And then they don't have any databases, they don't have any computers, they have nothing. It is just big piles of paper and it is just a waste of time. I don't see the point of going there. Waiting in the line when there is no line [as] opposed to Finland where you can more or less do everything on your computer or the internet. Or if you have to go somewhere there is this number system – the board with the number and you just sit and wait for your turn and everything is very automatic and you are treated the same. Everybody is treated the same. Here you never know. The unexpected can happen."

<div align="right">Leena (FI, R2) 00:52</div>

One story or another about the visits to the foreign registry office was relayed to me by almost every foreign national who was in India for a longer period that I met during my field visits, often in a humorous manner. Leena is clearly morally disapproving of corruption and has also undeniably engaged in the act by using a broker, however it is a stretch to suggest that she is 'jumping on the bandwagon' (Persson et al. 2010) by doing so. As Kristoffer suggested, I did not meet anybody who had not confronted a situation where bribery or corruption were involved, so avoiding these situations did not appear to be a viable strategy for the Nordic

migrants. In venting such frustration however, I suggest that Leena has not been able to draw on any of her capabilities (privileges, advantages or different forms of capital) to either find a way to deal with the situation without frustration, nor to find alternatives to monetary bribes.

While Kristoffer and Michael managed to achieve the former, there were also others who managed to achieve the latter. Things have been very smooth for Anna, a self-employed Finnish woman working in the fashion industry and accompanying her partner who worked for a Finnish multinational enterprise. She spoke of the positive aspects of being female and doing business in India, openly expressing that she used her femininity and charm to get things done. She would bring cakes to her suppliers and made sure to ask about their wellbeing. She fostered good relations with the people she had to do business with, a key strategy in Indian business culture, and thus far had not had to use monetary bribes. Anna was able to mobilize her erotic capital (Hakim 2010) and this was enough to pave her way.

When Niels first wanted to register his company in one Indian state he faced many challenges, for example, he couldn't register the name because the person looking at the application did not understand the language. The whole process was taking a lot of time. When discussing the issue, someone said to him, "Why don't you just pay the bribe and it will be done." He told the person that he has run a business successfully in the Maldives without paying a single bribe and he is not going to found his company with a bribe. He went to another registry office in Kochi / Cochin (Kerala) and got talking to an official about the big problem of corruption in India and a few days later his company was registered. At that time Niels did not have a full-time permanent address, which he says, they also had a laugh about; the only thing he had with him was his liquor license from the Maldives which had an address on it and this was enough to register. In other words, Niels was able to create a good rapport with the 'right' official and, drawing on his past experiences in South Asia, he was able to discuss matters of corruption in such a manner that the official registered his company without even having the correct residency status.

Both Anna and Niels' stories involve the use of different forms of capital as an alternative to monetary bribery and at face value, and they appear to fit the principle-agent theory of corruption. Anna was consciously strategic in using her erotic capital in order to get things done. In an Indian context however, this behavior could equally be perceived as good business etiquette, as fostering good relations in an Indian business relationship involves behaviors that may be

perceived by Nordic citizens as more personal than professional. Anna therefore may not necessarily be aiming to 'combat' corruption, but rather simply aiming to conduct good business. Niels was successful in mobilizing both his erotic capital to create a strategic alliance with a key official. Unlike Karkabi's (2013) privileged migrants in Egypt, Niels was successful in mobilizing this linking social capital and was subsequently able get his company registered. That Niels' company was registered without him having the correct residency status and with insufficient documentation was a laughing matter between him and the official, however it may be viewed as a corrupt act in itself; Niels seemingly views corruption and bribery as one and the same and favours or making exceptions as something else.[76] The boundaries are, as with the broker service, once again blurred.

Lastly, Karin's experience is an example of non-acceptance and non-compliance: At the time of interviewing Karin was in India on a tourist visa as she had had difficulties renewing her spouse visa online. I asked her if she had faced any consequences for having the tourist visa, to which she replied, yes. When Karin got her spouse visa initially, she needed to get a residency permit as well which is a separate document. With the residency permit and spouse visa Karin had been able to stay in India for more than 180 days. On a one-year tourist visa however, she had to exit and re-enter the country after 180 consecutive days of being in India. When they tried to leave the country to go to England within that time period, the officials at customs insisted that they needed to see her residency permit otherwise they could not allow her to leave. She did not have it with her because she didn't realize she needed it – the spouse visa had not been renewed, and she was there on the tourist visa. It was Karin's impression that they just wanted to get money from them. She said to her husband that they should just wait there. Eventually one of the British Airways representatives came to find out what the problem was as they were calling passengers for the flight. With the help of the BA representative, eventually they were allowed through.

Karin's actions fit more neatly into the bottom-up principal-agent theory of corruption where Karin as a citizen is the principal and the customs official the agent. However there is a third party in the mix: the BA representative. This adds another dynamic as the representative has a relationship with both the agent and the principal, and could potentially have supported the actions of the agent. In this case though, the representative was supportive of Karin and her husband which

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[76] Oxford dictionaries online define corruption as 'dishonest or fraudulent conduct by those in power, typically involving bribery' (emphasis added). See http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/corruption.

facilitated their non-compliance. Had there not been the assistance from a third party, the outcome may have been different.

All of these examples of how differently the issue of corruption impacts the Nordic migrants are clear evidence of how different their social realities are. For most, the social behaviors they exhibit are different to those they exhibit in similar environments in their home countries giving credence to Bell's (2005) observation that the social citizen is not free-floating and location-less: their citizenship is related to an environment. Quite probably, none of the Nordic migrants would engage in monetary bribery in their home countries because it is not a prevalent practice there; however, located in India, while they disapprove of the practice, they engage in it, some of them with ease, and some with frustration. Others find alternatives which is arguably also common practice in the home countries (i.e. fostering good relations through social networking, gifts etc.). There are also those who neither take alternative measures, nor engage in the practices.

There were also others who did not put the problems faced in public offices down to an expectation of bribery, but rather surmised that the service one received was dependent on the person working in the office that day. Beth describes it as a "case-based decision making process". Beth believes that this is the problem with the system in India. She says:

> "[The system] is based far too much on the people in the system, what they want to take charge of, what decisions they want to make and they have no system of reporting anywhere, there is nowhere to go, nowhere to appeal […] and the problem is that you can't prepare. You can't say 'I know that if I do my work properly I will get my permit' because you are completely in someone else's hands, which is not good. And which is not what you are used to when you are from a civilized country."

> Beth (DK) 5:58

Several of the Nordic migrants expressed that the feeling of not being able to trust in the authorities and that things will go as they "should" creates a strong sense of insecurity as they feel there is nobody to turn to if they need help. Furthermore, it makes them appreciate how well things work in the "Western political system". The sentiment that public services work so much 'better' in other places was expressed by several informants from Northern Europe and the US. Some referred to their home country directly, some to 'home', some to 'Europe' and some to 'The West', with the implicit idea that there is one system that functions the same for everyone in it, and that it functions well and better than 'uncivilized' India. The

conversations I had with migrants from Southern Europe however revealed that they did not experience such stark contrasts between their home countries and India with regard to getting things done at the public offices, and furthermore, the previous research done on the Scandinavian welfare system shows how differently immigrants experience public services (see Section 1.1.2). These findings support Di Masso's (2012) suggestion that citizens, including migrants, construction of people-space relations – based on their own experience of place – form the basis for their common understanding of normative behaviors. In the case of the Nordic migrants, several of them have an expectation of the way things should work which is based on their personal experience in their home countries, which furthermore thei believe to be the norm.

Not being able to predict how the service will be, and not being able to trust in the authorities creates a sense of insecurity among some of the migrants. In general, among expatriate circles, and also in Indian society, the police and the public authorities are constantly being framed and referred to as corrupt and untrustworthy. This omnipresent framing may in itself, as Huysmans (2006) proposes, mobilize a politics of fear as the migrants structure their relationship to the authorities on the basis of distrust. This is strongly reflected in the responses from people who had not actually faced any issues themselves regarding corruption or bribery: in answer to the question whether or not they had come into contact with corruption, some responded that they hadn't, but then proceeded to tell me a story they had heard of which presents clear evidence of framing effect (Chong and Druckman2007). This inadvertent disapproval, Goffman (1959) may argue, might also come about because the tradition or social status of Northern European migrants in India requires this kind of expression.

5.1.2   Informal Social Protection and Social Support

As mentioned previously, not all of the Nordic migrants' home countries were Denmark and Finland, nonetheless the informal channels of social support they were/are used to in their home countries consisted, similarly, of mainly family members, be that their own or their partner's or both, friends and social networks. A major change to the seconded migrants' citizenship status when they move to India is the crucial role that the sending company plays in influencing decisions the migrant's take, which in some cases strongly impact the lives that they end up leading during the migration period. For many secondees, the employer becomes

the epicentre of their social citizenship influencing not only their vertical relationships to structures and institutions in an outside of the labor market as highlighted in the previous section and Section 5.3.1, but also their horizontal relationships as they often look to and rely on the company for informal social support and guidance in that area. As this section shows, the support provided varies greatly and impacts the Nordic migrants lives quite divergently as a consequence of other mitigating social circumstances. As with the formal channels of social support and protection, the Nordic migrants display quite divergent needs regarding their informal support which are most pertinently highlighted by the non-employer-related channels that were spoken about. The social environments that the Nordic migrants become more deeply involved in diversify as a result of secondment. How they interact with those environments markedly differentiates between their social behaviors and attitudes which in turn makes them quite divergent social citizens of the national and transnational communities they operate within.

5.1.2.1   Employer-related social support

On the whole, most of the Nordic migrants were generally satisfied with the support they received from the employer and they had quite different experiences and critiques. As Karin put it, a company cannot prepare migrants for everything because everyone experiences the country differently and has different ideas about what they want. In general, employers were praised about the financial support which included providing sufficiently high salaries, covering housing costs, costs for domestic workers, school costs and free flights back to the home country. Some were also praised for their help with practical matters such as getting permits and visas and setting up bank accounts. Nonetheless, in one case, when the help was provided by a local consultant, a Finnish secondee commented that it would still sometimes have been better to do things by themselves, and they have received "the general Indian level of support", implying once again that there is a generic 'Finnish' level of support that is given and received equally by all citizens and residents in Finland, and that the 'Indian level' is inferior.

One area of support that I noticed was lacking among the Nordic migrants was that of language. Only one Nordic key informant, Beth, was offered a language course (in an Indian language), which ultimately did not materialize. Beth was not sure whether she was supposed to organize it herself or whether the company should have. Greta initiated Hindi lessons herself when she was in Delhi, and Saara

had also procured English lessons and lessons in Kannada herself but her instructor was unreliable and often did not turn up. Saara expressed her insecurity with the English language, but also added that her proficiency had greatly improved since being in India. Leena told me that her children not being able to speak English had inhibited them strongly when starting school in India. For the accompanying partners in particular, it was my observation that some knowledge of the local language may have been useful in everyday life, for example when carrying out shopping or communicating with domestic staff and manual workers (see below). Under secondment therefore, the data suggests that industrial citizenship could or should also entail a language component, perhaps most urgently for the accompanying family members.

There were two main channels through which employers provided other types of informal social protection and support. The first was through a pre-departure orientation visit, and the second was through cultural awareness courses and these shall be discussed in more depth.

5.1.2.2   Pre-departure orientation visit

One of the key preparation and support measures taken by many employers who send secondees abroad is the pre-departure orientation visit (POV). Some employers did not offer one at all, others only offered it to the working partner and not the accompanying partner or children and others offered a POV to all family members. One key informant stated that the POV was a "very important part of the decision-making process" in deciding whether or not to take the assignment. There did not seem to be any correlation between the size of the company or the work status of the employee and whether the visit was offered or not.

Michael works for a major Danish financial institute and says that it was just coincidence for them that he had been to India with work two and half years previously and so knew the city (Bangalore) a little bit; enough to accept the secondment without a POV. He arrived in India seventeen days before his wife and two children, found a place to live, and he and his family have settled in well. He knew of others however who had "burned every bridge you can imagine" in Denmark and moved blindly to Bangalore. He said that people "usually survive" however one employee was ready to leave after just two weeks as it was completely different to what he was expecting. Michael felt that while they were travelling "first class" in many ways, the company could do better regarding support with orientation.

In providing secondees and their accompanying partners and families with pre-departure orientation visits, employers contribute to supporting the migrants socially. In some cases, the visit affords the migrants the opportunity to accumulate bonding social capital which proved to be very useful particularly when a cultural awareness course was not offered. As an accompanying partner, Karin felt that they received sufficient practical and administrative support from the company. She was not offered a cultural awareness course, but she did go on a POV which she says was key for them in deciding where to live in the city. Karin found that the best way she prepared herself for the stay in India was to talk to people (expats) who already live there. During her POV she was able to meet her husband's boss and his wife who had recently arrived in India from the UK and this proved to be very beneficial for her. She said that speaking to other wives who are living in India "now" is that,

> "It is a good way of finding out the true facts [about] what it is really like for a wife to be here; how your life changes and what kind of things you need to consider when you come here. Because it is not just the culture and the language – it's the climate and everything else; the hours you work and the cars and stuff, and how to deal with it and how to find things."

> Karin (FI) 1:00:00

Many of the sending companies put their secondees in touch with other people from the company in India, however, if the other migrants had a different family situation then the dynamics were diverse enough for the contact to prove unfruitful and somewhat unhelpful with regard preparation and expectations of the secondment, for the accompanying partner at least. The accumulation of bridging social capital in the form of meetings with other migrants who are in a different family situation, consequently, did not provide the seconded partners with the 'right' information to support their needs. There were, thus, mixed outcomes for those who were offered a POV which suggest that offering the visit alone is not a sufficient measure. Leena's husband, for example, works for a small Finnish company with only three international sites. Her husband's predecessor in India was also Finnish, but he only travelled with his girlfriend. They are the first expat family the company has sent anywhere and faced different challenges as her account about the school and day care exemplifies. Beth was in a similar situation: their predecessors had been a family with children and she was in India solely with her seconded partner. She explained that in hindsight, their POV was not as productive as it could have been. Her story is relayed below:

Beth's Story

Beth is in India together with her seconded husband. The company did not have much experience with expats – they had only expatriated two families with children before them. She points out that their situation is different because they have no children. When they came for the orientation visit they had more of a touristic four days and spent a lot of time "just looking around" and getting a feel for the city. She says, "Now I wish that we had seen more houses, that we had seen more living areas, that we had done sort of more practical preparation for ourselves. But it was very much a more social visit to get a feeling for the city."

At the time of interviewing Beth was having work done on the property that they decided upon and that was proving challenging because of communication difficulties and the need for her to stay at home while work was being carried out. Beth could not trust that the workmen would not steal from them

Beth and her husband chose to live in Whitefield, on the outskirts of greater Bangalore, because it is just 15 minutes to work for her partner but quite far out from the city. They knew that he would be working longer hours so this was the main priority. Beth doesn't find Bangalore city, which they spent much of the time seeing on the POV, very interesting and is only interested in going there once in a while to get what she needs. They looked at the 'compound areas' like Palm Meadows. She liked the area but not the houses – they looked much older than they are and they were very dark inside. They did not see one place they liked and it was extremely expensive. Then they saw the property where they lived now and really liked it because of the amount of light that came in, and the fact that they would have Danish neighbors a stone's throw away was also an influencing factor. They had met the neighbors in summer when they came to visit and thought they seemed like very nice people they could get along with. The house was also within their budget. Beth explains that they build houses without much light "because they are so afraid of the heat coming in", but she will simply use curtains for the months when it is very hot. "They build as they build all over India and they don't take into consideration that you don't have to build [so] heat-proof in Bangalore. It's a bit of a shame."

Beth and her partner have given the company feedback about the process they have been through, however she feels that the Indian office received this as criticism rather than constructive feedback. She does not feel that it is going to change much though because "what they need is more experience and they probably need input from places where they have more experience". In some ways, she feels that they have been guinea pigs.

> Beth likes the area they live in. She explains that they wanted to "be in India" and with the house they have chosen they feel they have this. Certainly the experience with the workmen is an experience and they also have Indian neighbors who own the land that their house is on. In Palm Meadows the environment is quite artificial and Beth points out that there is very little privacy. She was told that having a large garden is not something that shows your wealth; having a big house does which means that at Palm Meadows they build to the absolute extreme of what they are allowed to and hence do not value space around them, so she felt a little bit claustrophobic there.

In the case of Indian cities, providing the POV alone without giving it form and structure was a downfall of many companies perhaps because too many assumptions about the migrants' cultural capital, navigation skills and networking skills are made. The data suggests that unless Nordic migrants had had previous experiences with India, the POV was a crucial aspect of preparation. Furthermore, the accompanying partners are in a more precarious situation as they are not always offered, or able to make, the POV and are in a position where they must move to India blindly in the hands of their partner and the employer. As with other aspects of the secondment (see Section 5.3.1), the accompanying partners use their agency to overcome this shortfall.

Tiina for example, felt that when she and her family arrived in India, there was too much missing information. She was unable to come for their POV because she had a panic attack as she was about to leave for the airport, so her husband, who was already in Bangalore, did the trip alone and they moved there together as a family later on. Upon arrival and for the first six months, Tiina worked with a relocation company preparing Indian families for secondment to India. She relayed that this experience helped her a lot particularly in dealing with culture difference. She comments that having had the experience in India, they now know what to ask about before moving for their next posting. In short, the combination of human capital accumulation and everyday experiences of secondment to India enabled Tiina to increase her stock of migrant cultural capital, she believes, to the future benefit of her entire family.

5.1.2.3   Cultural awareness courses

The provision of a cultural awareness course (CAC) was a strategy used by some employers to provide informal social support. The courses are intended to facilitate

the process of adapting to the new cultural and social environment, however, not all companies give secondees and/or their accompanying partners the opportunity to take such a course. One Nordic key informant commented that the companies do not care so much about cultural awareness and they mainly concentrate more on the basic needs like the house, the car and the salary. As with the pre-departure orientation visits, the provision and satisfaction with the content and deliverance of CACs varied greatly. Some of the key informants were given courses pre-departure, some during the stay in India; some employers offered courses only to the employee, others to the accompanying partner too. There were also employers who did not offer a CAC at all. As Tiina's situation exemplifies, the Nordic key informants were distinctive in that they relayed different stories of how they filled the gaps that the provision or non-provision of courses left them with. The ways in which the Nordic migrants responded to the provision or non-provision of the CACs are further discussed below.

For those who were offered the courses, the timing of the course was a crucial factor, and the most useful strategy was to offer the course some months into the secondment, after the migrants had familiarized themselves with the new surroundings as they could then better understand the context of what was being 'taught'. Two of the other Nordic key informants were given cultural training after being in India for some time, and one other thought that they needed to have one there in addition to the short course they took pre-departure. They commented that they thought this was a good strategy because it meant they could relate directly to the situations being described. Saara noted, for instance, that there are some things that were spoken about that one cannot understand unless one has lived there and experienced it. Ken, who took his course after one month of being in India, also commented that he had some idea about India and its culture because he had worked a lot with Indian colleagues by telephone and email, but he says the picture that he got that way was quite different to what he got from actually being there: "You do not see the common man [via telephone and email]. "

Another key informant, Freda, was given a one-week training course in global health and security, as well as a two-hour introduction to the politics of Asia. While interesting, Freda felt that the course were not specific to India and consequently entirely inadequate for her situation. She filled the gaps left in two ways: firstly, she did some research of her own into these issues though this only gave her practical information. Freda had been informed that there was a team in the head office who were readily available to assist her with other matters, yet she had not heard anything from them at all since arriving and had not contacted them herself. She

felt, however, that psychologically, it was good to know they are there. Another strategy she employed was to be in contact with other colleagues. Many of them were from the College of Europe, which also has an online network. This was also the main institution that was providing her with a social network in India. She said that the online network makes her feel that she is "part of a small family". By undertaking research about India independently Freda mobilized her cultural capital. She also accumulated bridging social capital through online networks and consequently also forged new relationships and friendships in India thus altering her horizontal citizenship status.

Similar to Freda, those who did not partake in a CAC used different strategies to cope with their new situation. These included reliance on the seconded working partner's previous experience and the knowledge he chose to share about India: Leena arrived in India without having done a cultural awareness course. She believes this is because the company is not used to having expats abroad. She relied on the tales of her husband who travelled frequently to India for work for her preparation, and he prepared her for the worst. She says that she arrived with some stereotypes in her head, some of which turned out to be true, some false. As Leena's Stories (see Sections 5.1.1 and 5.2.1) show, there were several aspects of her stay that proved very challenging some of which may have been mitigated by participating in a CAC.

Neither Greta nor her husband was offered a cultural awareness course. Her main strategies were to mobilize her migrant cultural capital by drawing on previous experiences and knowledge gained in other Asian countries and adapting it in order to handle similar situations in India. She also used the power of agency to have demands met by employers, by making an official complaint to her husband's employer about the lack of a CAC. She then insisted on going on diversity training when it was offered to the other employees and she was permitted to do this. They received some basic practical information about Delhi but most of it was about what you can buy and where. They were however offered an orientation visit but they felt that they were a bit pressed for time and so decided that they would just see what things were like when they arrived. Greta and her partner had travelled in Asia before and so many of the aspects of life in India that others found challenging, such as the politeness ('yes') culture, the traffic, different food and so forth, were not as challenging for them, and in general Greta confronted the differences in a positive manner. She stated that having the understanding that things are different is key. Her husband worked as a public servant, so they lived on an embassy compound. Greta explains that the Foreign

Office really "hold your hand at every stage to a ridiculous extent" and that on the compound there are Community Liaison Officers whose job it is to "fix your life". They informed Greta of courses she could do as a foreigner and it is also through them that she started taking Hindi lessons.

Hanna also did not do a cultural awareness course before coming to India. She believes that due to the nature of the company that she works for, the HR department may assume that the staff can manage as they are used to taking foreign assignments. She prepared for the secondment entirely by herself by reading books and novels written about India by Indian, British and Finnish authors "out of respect" rather than arriving in India "ignorant". She felt that the reading absolutely helped her during her stay. She also suggested to her company that they give some form of additional support in future. In Hanna's case however the help she received from the books only took her so far (see Section 5.1.2 and 5.2.1), and there remained several cultural and environmental aspects of life in India that she was unable to come to terms with.

As the Nordic migrants' stories show, some of these strategies were successful in preparing the migrants for the challenges they faced in India, and some were not often as a result of cultural path dependency and the inability to adapt to the new physical environment and the structural challenges that were posed.

To conclude, whether or not and how the pre-departure orientation visit, the cultural awareness courses, and also language provision are provided by sending employers results in quite different experiences of industrial citizenship that impact numerous aspects of both the employed secondee and their accompanying partners (and children's) social citizenship constellations. The employers seem to be divided into three different categories, in the words of the Nordic migrants, "hold your hand" employers, "hands off" employers and those with little experience with international secondment. Among the Nordic key informants I interviewed there did not appear to be any correlation between how the migrants confronted the differences they encountered and the extent to which the employers gave additional social support. Migrant agency played more of a central role.

5.1.2.4   Host and home country nationals and expatriate networks

The daily interactions the Nordic migrants had with the local Indian population, and their perceptions of Indian people played a major role in providing subconscious social support. Those who seemed to have positive attitudes towards and amiable interactions with Indian nationals tended to create fewer barriers and

thus displayed higher levels of trust which both contributed to better wellbeing and impacted the way they participated in the new social system they found themselves in.

When discussing their interactions with Indian people in general, the key informants most frequently referred to Indian people collectively as "them" or "they" rather than identifying the groups or individuals they were referring to, or using more specified terminology such as 'the people I have met', or 'the people in Bangalore/Delhi/Mumbai'. Homogeneous stereotyping, as some of the previous sections have indicated, was rife among my key informants perhaps because, as Malloy et al. (2011) suggest, the Nordic migrants are positioned, or position themselves, as the high status members of the dyad, and thus see Indian people (the out-group) as all the same:

> "They are really helpful or really rude … but on average everyone is nicer and sort of more pleasant than in Europe. You also get very strange extremes. […] I know it is a horrible stereotype, but that [is] the [general] impression."

> Greta (FI) 30:50

Nonetheless, the vast majority, like Greta, described Indian people as "nice" in general, and one group also recognized that when misunderstandings did occur, they did so largely as a result of basic differences in the way things are done in India compared to in their home countries or in the "West". Beth gave this pertinent and reflective example:

> "They are very confused at the directness that Western people have and I think that they find it kind of rude as well. They get confused and when they get confused we get even more grumpy! I think it is OK, but when you have to deal with this on a daily basis, even though you understand the difference you sometimes just don't want to behave"

> Beth (DK) 26:50

Arguably, there are substantial differences between the 'directness' that British have compared to Danes just to take one example. Beth's statement reflects her understanding of herself as belonging to the group of Westerners, rather than simply Danish or Nordic. She interprets the Indian response to directness firstly in terms of how they feel about the directness (i.e. that Westerners are rude), but then suggests that the rudeness 'confuses them' which rather implies that she feels there is a lack of understanding on Indian people's part. Beth then goes on to suggest

that the Westerners on the other hand do understand what is happening, but, they don't want to obey the rules of the new system. Beth's statement reflects the higher group status that she perceives herself as a Westerner to have, and that occupying such a position gives her the liberty to be contrary.

Other Nordic migrants were more suspicious of the niceness they encountered and some surmised that many Indian people are only friendly because they have ulterior motives and want something. Karin, for example, described a scenario to me that, in a Nordic context, would perhaps simply have been viewed as utilizing ones social network: She and her husband were looking for a place to live and they went to visit a house in Indra Nagar that was owned and occupied by an Indian family. The father was talking to her and told her that his son was going to England to go to university in Nottingham. She said that they drank tea and talked and it was all very pleasant. "[We] found out that he was trying to find information how to benefit his son in Nottingham and was trying to get me to give him some contacts about jobs and things and visas and stuff. You kind of realized that, OK, you are not nice to me because you want to be nice or hospitable there's an alternative motive there." Karin's sentiments which revolve around trust were echoed by other respondents. As a listener, I understood the Indian man to simply be attempting to expand and make use of his network by developing bridging social capital. However, Karin's statement suggests that having trusting relations with like people in the network is a pre-condition for mobilizing those networks and transforming them into capital.

Ken stated that that the longer one stays, the more cynical one becomes about things and the less trusting one is. He said, by way of example, that when someone tells you the delivery time, "it is plain stupid to believe it". Ken explains that in Indian culture this is not considered as lying but coming from a Finnish cultural background it could be considered lying. For this reason he felt that he trusts less what people are saying or promising and he does not like this. He explained that in Finland if someone were to stop him on a street and ask him for or about something he would stop and listen, but in India he doesn't even stop; he emphasized that he just doesn't stop or even look in their direction because "usually they are rude proposals or requests for [financial] help". Ken said that it was such a subconscious reaction that he cannot even say how regularly it happens. He said that, in short, if there is no incentive for him to speak to a stranger on the street then he is not open at all. In Finland it is more of a conscious decision to not speak to a person, for example if a man is drunk. In India he does not even consider the conversation, particularly if he is an area where there are a lot of

beggars. There have never been so many beggars in Finland and so he feels that this is his defence, trying to ignore them, as he cannot help everyone.

Ken recognizes that he discriminates strongly against Indian people who he does not know and defends his stance by framing it as a coping mechanism. His privileged position in Indian society, and perhaps also the temporary nature of his stay, and maybe also the fact that his social life is largely constructed by and around his partner (see Section 5.3.2) mean that he has no incentive to interact with the general population or develop non-discriminatory practices that decrease the gap and the tensions between him as a foreign citizen and the host country nationals. Whereas in Finland a person needs to be a clearly marked 'unlike' person for him to ignore them, in India, the person simply needs to be Indian. This extreme form of otherizing serves to maintain the distance between Ken and Indian others and may simply fuel his feelings of distrust, thus confining his horizontal social interactions to wealthy foreign migrant circles, and drawing in the boundaries of his social citizenship constellation.

Expatriate clubs played a major role as a channel of non-employer related social support, particularly for the key informants in Bangalore. Anna for example, was surprised that their company did not inform them about the Overseas Women's Club's (OWC) existence as it has been a key institution for her and her husband in making new friends, as has the Bangalore Expatriate Club (BEC). None of my Nordic key informants were members of an expatriate network in Delhi or Mumbai.[77] The clubs acted as a kind of nest or safety net: here they could interact, if they so desired, with other women in like situations and as such they could increase stocks of both bridging and potentially bonding social capital, as defined by Woolcock (2001); they could access useful practical information about living in and navigating the city that could potentially affect their welfare (e.g. where to go to hospital, finding domestic staff with particular skills, where to shop for food and so forth).

While the clubs provided social support for some, they were sites of exclusion for others. In spite of also having members of Indian origin and engaging in the community through charity work and other events, the clubs encouraged the distancing of expatriates from the 'native other' Indians, by often portraying 'them' as having a different social and cultural group status. Through this rhetoric the foreign migrants are effectively discouraged from developing bridging and linking social capital (Woolcock 2001). Furthermore, by organizing regular meet-ups during the day, for example, and not allowing children to attend, accompanying

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[77] See Appendix 8 for more details about the expatriate clubs referred to in this section.

partners travelling with children, who were not able to organize childcare, were effectively excluded from the OWC and the Delhi Network (DN). Expatriate clubs were cited as key institutions for creating and expanding social networks, gathering information and also finding opportunities to partake in (unpaid) work activities all of which provide different forms of social support. Consequently non-attendance, particularly at the beginning of the secondment period, can potentially have consequences for accompanying partners, and also working women's, ability to navigate the city and life in general in spite of their economically privileged position. In other words, non-participation may affect their ability to accumulate cultural and social capital, thus differentiating their vertical and horizontal citizenship from those who do participate in the 'expat' meet-ups.

The professional networks by nature of their definition require a particular type of human capital. At the Danes Abroad Business Group Online (DABGO) for example, the purpose of the regular Thursday meet-ups at the offices of the Danish Trade Commission was to discuss the challenges and successes the members were experiencing in their professional and working lives in India. As such it was not open to professionals who had left careers behind, like several of the female accompanying partners I met, who may have just wanted to connect with others in the same industry or profession, discuss new ideas, or simply air their frustrations about their professional (rather than domestic) situation with peers. Two of the Danish key informants were members of DABGO and regularly attended the Thursday evening meet-up. Providing Danish migrants with social support, Michael informed me, was not one of the goals of the group. He said that sometimes attendees would discuss the cultural challenges they were facing in their work situations but that was as far as it went. The group did however arrange informal dinners once a month. I attended one of these dinners and one of the Thursday meet-ups. I would suggest that while it was not an expressed goal of the club, social support was provided indirectly through the monthly dinners where members were given an additional outlet where they could discuss both professional and occasionally personal issues that were present in their lives.

The OWC by contrast had a professional networking group that provided a platform for female accompanying partners, and here men were excluded. None of the female accompanying spouses that I interviewed who left a profession behind (Nordic and non-Nordic) made any mention of being part of or missing the presence of a professional network, which suggests that professional clubs were not a need that they had. Many of them on the other hand were attendees at one social networking group or another, which is indication of the importance of social

(rather than professional) networks for accompanying partners who are only on a temporary assignment.

There was also a temporal aspect to the participation or non-participation in the coffee mornings organized by the OWC, as attendance there meant time away from something else. Migrants weighed up the costs and benefits of attendance at different stages of the secondment with some, in the later stages of the migration period when their 'social' lives were better established, deciding that their time could be better spent on other activities. Others made the OWC and the activities surrounding it a part of their weekly schedule by 'working' as volunteers for the club, and/or simply using the meet-ups as an opportunity to socialize. Ultimately, the different forms of inclusion and exclusion encountered within the communities of these clubs, and the choice of whether to attend or not attend the meet-ups and events result in different access to resources and different usage of time. The data shows that for various reasons, the migrants identify very differently with these human communities, and consequently receive varying amounts of social support from them. This variegated intra-action ultimately differentiates between their horizontal and vertical citizenship.

I met several informants who only attended the OWC at the beginning of their stay, as it was then that it was crucial to make friends and develop social networks. Leena, for example, used to go regularly to the OWC weekly coffee mornings in the beginning, but at the time of interviewing she had an established social network and consequently did not have the need to participate in any of the social activities that were organized. She also felt that she should think more carefully about how she uses her time:

> "It is always a matter of choosing things: if I do that then I have to skip something else because I still need to finish my work. If I have time, why not? I don't have frequent guests anymore, but it was a good thing in the beginning. It was a very good thing and I was very fortunate to meet a very nice Finnish lady the very first time I went. She became my angel here and was able to help me a lot. Nowadays it is usually just standing around drinking coffee and talking about your maids and schools. You can do that sometimes, but not every week. I have enough friends and acquaintances. I don't, at the moment, need to go and find new ones."

> Leena (FI) 56:25

Tiina also thought the OWC could have been very useful and important in the beginning, but at that time, she did not have any child care arrangements in place, and children are not allowed at the coffee mornings. By the time she was able to

go, she had already established a good network of friends most of whom she met at the private gated communities where she had lived, or through free-time activities. She had bought the cookbook and the expat guide book and had attended a couple of the coffee mornings at the OWC but found them "a bit boring". She confessed that after being in Bangalore for a couple of years, she was not interested in going there and having conversations about how people were liking it in Bangalore.

In the words of Hakim, social presentation and having the ability to make people like you were some of the more abstract and to some extent unspoken qualities that were expected of members in all of the clubs, but most apparent at the Delhi Network (DN), the OWC and the Bangalore Expatriate Club (BEC). Hakim argues that erotic capital is important for the spouses of elite men as public display and social networking are priorities in the men's careers. My data suggests, however, that it is also important for the women themselves on the expatriate circuit in India for successful membership of expat clubs.

Tiina commented that she did not feel that she fit in with the group at the OWC as she felt an age and attitude difference or gap with the majority of the members she spoke to on the few occasions she was there. In addition she did not feel comfortable with the fact that the women 'dressed up' all the time. She was not alone; Saara also felt uncomfortable with the members because of the way they dressed. When Saara and her family first arrived in India, they were temporarily resident at the Leela Palace Hotel where the OWC held their weekly coffee-morning meet-up. She had been at the pool one morning and decided to pop into the coffee morning to "see what the OWC was about". She only had her casual pool-clothes with her, but did not consider that this would be a problem. However, when she arrived there she had another experience:

> "How do I say this nicely […] I don't use any make-up, and I don't dress up; I just go with comfortable dresses and normal clothes. And all these American ladies are always full of make-up and dressed nice […] I went there from the pool and had only this swimwear on and they said to me 'OK, so you are coming from the pool!' … Yes, sorry!"
>
> Saara (FI) 16:05

Saara says that the comment was made in a way that made her feel that she should apologize and she did not feel at all relaxed. This is the reason she does not go the OWC. Unlike Korpela's (2006) European female lifestyle migrants in Varanasi who felt 'liberated from Western gender constraints' as they did not have to care about

their looks like they do in 'Europe', Saara came face-to-face with similar gender constraints, imposed by other expatriate women, that she may not have come up against at home in Finland. These findings firstly highlight the importance of differentiating between regions and regions of origin when conducting migration research. Secondly, Saara's experience exemplifies the importance of possessing erotic capital in order to increase one's social capital through membership of expatriate networks. According to Hakim, social presentation is only one element of erotic capital; others include liveliness, charm, social skills in interaction. Saara felt aesthetically judged on her social presentation by the member she spoke to and was unable or unwilling to draw on any other elements of erotic capital, or other resources, capabilities or personal attributes to overcome the situation and continue to take part in the meeting. I must add that Saara was one of the few migrants that I spoke to who had extremely negative sentiments towards being in India. It was my impression during our interview that Saara had not found the social support she needed (see also Section 5.1.2).

Tiina on the other hand did not experience any form of real or imagined discrimination by any members of the group, yet still chose to exclude and differentiate herself from them because of the way they dressed. In many ways, the experiences of these Finnish women reflect a reverse situation to that of Hindman's (2009) research subjects in Kathmandu who found themselves in a position where they had to renegotiate and transform their past approaches to difference. The Finnish women come from societies that only recently have been confronted with stark differences among people in the form of immigrants. They are used to being, to a great extent, surrounded by others like themselves. In India they are suddenly confronted with differences among those who are supposedly also 'like themselves' yet with divergent cultural backgrounds and norms, and in an entirely different social setting. This situation disrupts Saara and Tiina's understandings of what the 'normative' behavior (Di Masso 2012) should be at such a meeting, and rather than negotiating their national capital to legitimize their belonging (Erel 2010), they take the rucksack approach and conclude that their way of being does not fit into this keyhole.

There was however an intra-group difference among the Finnish accompanying partners. In contrast to Saara and Tiina, Karin, who had been living in the UK prior to coming to India and is married to a British citizen, thought that the OWC was good for accompanying partners and fit in the keyhole well. She was able to mobilize her erotic capital and gained acceptance by the group, and thus was able to convert her cultural capital and adapt to the new environment and in doing so

seemed to enjoy a great amount of social support through different relationships with the OWC. She described it as a great place to start doing charity work, as "doing paid work involves the long and complicated process of getting a work visa". She found work at a slum school through the OWC; worked as a volunteer for the OWC welcoming new members; and she described the OWC as "a good place to find out information and meet, even if it is just to meet up on Thursday to have a cup of coffee, to get out of the house and see what's happening". Beth expressed similar sentiments and said that she always meets people there she likes and would like to meet again. The OWC can thus be seen to produce ingroups and outgroups on the basis of the ability and desire of migrants to mobilize their erotic capital,

The main networking activity organized by the BEC was a Friday night meet up at the poolside bar of one of the five-star restaurant in the city centre. Simply the venue and type of bar chosen dictates a particular standard of wealth, dress code and makes it a space of expatriate sociality that is not necessarily inviting to all and where exuding erotic capital is crucial. Contrary to the OWC which had dedicated volunteers to welcome and introduce newcomers to other members, it was only the President who was officially appointed to do so at the BEC meet-up, so networking could be challenging if migrants do not have sufficient erotic capital.

The meet-ups had a decidedly party atmosphere and centred round drinking alcohol. There were often offers at the bar for members, particularly for women (e.g. two drinks for the price of one) and so it was not only a particular appearance that was promoted, but a particular form of consumption was also engendered. The latter, in my experience, created definitive in and outgroups among the foreign community in Bangalore: those who were into drinking and those who were not. Those who were 'not', that is the 'outgroup', tended to be the migrants who were in India with their partners and children, and more mature migrants. In 2009, the club engaged occasional philanthropic and charitable fundraising activities. Since then the club has amalgamated with another more student oriented expat club and has become famous and infamous for its meet-ups and events which, while often themed, revolve intensively around drinking alcohol. They often feature in the local press and have also featured in national media.[78] The BEC was only mentioned by the Nordic key informants in regard to meeting new people at the regular Friday night meet-ups. Beth had not been introduced to BEC yet, but had heard about it

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[78] See for example an article on the current head of the BEC in India's GQ magazine: http://www.gqindia.com/content/king-expats.

and was keen on trying it out because she said it sounded like the members were a similar age to her and her husband.

There were some Nordic key informants for whom non-attendance of expatriate clubs did not impact their abilities to expand their social networks; they met people through free-time activities and also simply in the neighborhood where they lived (see Section 5.3.2) as well as through other types of clubs and social groups including Hash House Harriers, the Vatican Embassy Church and clubs on embassy compounds. For some of the Finnish migrants, the Finnish community had also been a great source of support. It was through the Finnish community that Tiina and her family got "all" of their information. When her husband came for a pre-visit he was given the details of some people and they were in a little bit of contact before arriving in India. This couple were spending a weekend at the same resort Tiina and her family were temporarily resident in upon arrival in India, and they got to know them then. When her husband had an accident, she called the wife to ask which hospital to go to. The woman has been a constant source of information and support so far throughout their stay.

Hanna had brought together a group of Finns and they met every Sunday to do a run or walk with the Hash House Harriers, which she also states is a good place for networking and meeting people. Hanna refers to being seconded alone to India as committing "social suicide". She says that you really need a spouse in India to manage all of the domestic things and for a single person in India life is quite tough. She describes being in India as "like landing on another planet" and the country as an "energy-consuming place" and she believes that you need to have someone to talk to. This appeared to be the role of the Finnish community that she is now a part of. Similar to some of Mäkelä, Suutari and Mayerhofer's (2011) single working secondees, leisure time and friends played an important role in her life. For Hanna, creating bonding social capital with fellow nationals seemed to be crucial to her welfare and sense of wellbeing. She tells me that on 1 May, they organized a Finnish celebration with schnapps, Finnish food and even music downloaded from the internet. Whenever one of them travels back to Finland they bring food back for the others such as the Finnish rye bread and liquorice. She even mentions that one of her Finnish colleagues in Mumbai can buy Finnish crackers in Mumbai.

The different women's experiences with the expatriate clubs and other networking groups reflect how divergent their identification with different communities is. Their ability and inability to mobilize erotic capital and different types of social capital resulted in their inclusion or exclusion from the different

groups. Thus they established quite divergent horizontal relationships during their time in India and used their time very differently at different stages of their secondment too.

5.1.2.5 Family

For the two Nordic migrants that I interviewed who were married to Indian spouses, both of whom were Danish men, the nuclear and extended family in India was a source of social support. See Brett's story below.

Brett's Story

One of the big reasons for Brett's satisfaction with being in India is the support network that he has compared to if they lived as a family in Denmark. Brett spoke of the "loss of traditional family values in Denmark", as a negative effect of the welfare state, but also of the care system freeing people up for labor market activity as a positive aspect. He referred collectively to his in-laws and domestic staff as being part of one big family. At the same time as he revels in the closeness of this kin network, it means that he is very busy with family affairs and conversations and it spills over into his working time. Brett also added that his own mother visits regularly and "loves it" in India.

His wife's mother is a teacher in a college and her father is "a typical Indian man" having worked for the same German company in India for 40 years. He is now retired, and her sisters are doctors. When their baby was born Brett and his wife looked after her for the first six months without having a maid/nanny. Although it was hard work, Brett is very happy that he did this. He believes that having children of one's own or nieces and nephews that you are close to, "makes you live longer and brings out a new side to you that is less egoistic."

It is important for Brett that his daughter gets to spend time alone with both grandparents as he believes they give her attention and input that they, being the parents, do not provide. Also Brett believes this is a second chance for the grandparents to do things they were not able to do with their own children. Brett suffered the loss of his father whilst studying and feels that he has found a sense of peace in India that he would not have been able to find in Denmark as the actions and reactions within society to family, work and life issues are predictable: people in different wage brackets have very similar habits regarding family, holidays, homes etc. He believes that this tragedy made him "grow up" more quickly and resulted in him not getting "stuck in the system".

Contrary to Niels' expressions about familial support (see below), Brett draws a direct connection between the "loss of family values" and his ability to deal with personal tragedy with the "consequences" of the social protection and support provided by welfare state in Denmark. At the same time as Brett refers to his family and domestic staff in India as one big family and the "closeness of his kin network" he does not articulate how this has affected his own family values.[79] Rather, at the crux of his story is the issue of time: a positive of the care arrangements in Denmark is the time that is freed for parents to enter/remain on the labor market; the time he spends on family affairs and away from work; the time he was able to spend with his new-born daughter; the time his daughter spends with her grandparents.

Similar to Brett, Niels points out the major differences in his personal life comparing Denmark and India with a preference for how family is 'done' in India:

> "In Denmark family was something that you were born into; it was not something you necessarily like or wanted to try to do something about or create stronger bonds. In India its simply there. It is not discussed. You of course have a family and that family is very important to you. So that is the core of your social circle. Then you have the layer around it. That is where … that layer becomes similar to what in Denmark you choose people that think the same things, who you can have fun with, discuss with and do activities etcetera, etcetera. But the core is the family and the moment the family needs you, you leave the friends and come to the family. What I like about the way family here is that you can still fight with your family, you can get angry and you don't speak together for two weeks or you shout at each other or whatever, but you still know that the family is there and they will never desert you and I think that is very important."

> Niels (DK) 25:15

Unlike Brett, who was in his late thirties at the time of interviewing and had first built his own family since being in India, Niels was in his fifties and has older children from a previous marriage. His previous wife was Danish and they had a life in Denmark together with the children before moving as a family to South Asia. Hence while Brett's point of reference may be the life he had with his parents and/or during his studies in Denmark, Niels may be drawing on memories of both his life with his extended and nuclear family. Nonetheless, both Brett and Niels distance themselves from the Danish culture of doing family (culture of the self)

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[79] Being 37 years of age at the time of interviewing and having only had experience of having a family (i.e. partner and child) in India may be a causal explanation for this.

and happily adopt the Indian way (culture of the other). These cultural assertions about Brett and Niels' kin-based horizontal relationships regarding social support are quite divergent from those of other seconded migrants, with the exception of Tiina, who did not expressly look to their families for practical social support during the migration period.

For the majority of the Nordic migrants family played a role in providing social support from a distance. It was only Tiina who had relatives come to India for the purpose of helping out with practical domestic matters. Tiina told me that after being in India for half a year she was very grateful that her sister, who is 10 years younger than her, came out to stay with them for 6 months. She was studying to be a nurse and decided to have a break and come out there. Tiina left the children with her more and more and she was supposed to spend the time finishing the last few courses for her Master's degree, but instead she pursued more hobbies (see Section 5.3.2). This support thus both facilitated Tiina's ability to pursue hobbies and expand her social networks and also provided her with a carer that she could trust entirely with her children.

Two other Nordic migrants stated explicitly that they are not so close to their families, and consequently their relationships with them did not have much bearing on their life in India. Others commented that they do not miss their families so much and that they see them just as much while they are in India as they would if they were at home. For the most part, contact with their extended families and friends provided moral social support for the Nordic migrants and an avenue to keep in touch with 'home'. In several cases, the contact with family at home was for the purpose of providing support to the family member there rather than to the migrant. For several key informants, the domestic service staff provided social support and protection that extended family members, the state, or the migrants themselves might have filled in the home country. A couple of the Nordic key informants used their staff to not only clean and cook and drive, but also sometimes to do the shopping and even provide child care (see below).

5.1.2.6 Media and ITC

The opportunities that exist now with internet telephony and cheap international phone calls made this very easy and cheap for both the migrants in India and their families abroad. For example, Kristoffer's children and extended family live in the US and Denmark. He and his wife speak to their youngest son two or three times a week and the other two children about once a week. Kristoffer tells me that he has

a cheap subscription with his Indian number so telephoning is inexpensive for them. His wife speaks to her dad in Denmark every day and it doesn't cost a thing, which she says has been very convenient as he has been unwell. They enjoy the fact that technology allows this without it costing so much. Many migrants spoke to their families abroad as regularly as they would if they were living in their home countries, and only in certain periods, for example in case of illness, more often. Several of the Nordic and non-Nordic key informants also used email and Facebook to keep in touch with friends. Karin commented that she used Facebook much more now that she is abroad because she has more time than when she was at home. Leena and one other non-Nordic informant kept up a blog in order to share information about their stay with friends and family abroad.

The internet was also used by the Nordic migrants to read newspapers, Danish and Finnish, on a daily basis. For some this was a force of habit, for others it was for the expressed purpose of keeping up with what is happening 'at home'. Very few read the Indian newspapers. Of those who did, there were mixed comments. Tiina misses the Finnish news a lot – both the newspaper and the television news in the evenings. She browses the Helsinki Sanomat online every day and can watch BBC News and CNN on the TV but "it is not the same". She finds the language used in the Indian newspapers difficult to understand and describes them as "so bad" and says that "the way they write is like children putting the news together". She finds it difficult to keep up with global politics:

> "There is one page and they are basically telling like what, you know, some famous people are doing and that's the news! [..] In Finland what we enjoy is the paper, coffee and the bread and here well you know it takes five minutes to browse the news and then I toss the paper away. I don't know why we … well, it is just a tradition to have it [the newspaper] there, but there is normally nothing in there."

> Tiina (FI) 1:03:00

Tiina adds that normally if they fly back home they always take all the newspapers and magazines from the plane or buy them and then "guard them" when they are home in India. She jokes that she can make one Sunday paper last for two weeks and that it is the best souvenir if when somebody comes they bring a newspaper. She states that they could get an international Sunday edition of the Helsinki Sanomat, but she thinks it will be in pieces by the time they get it, so she doesn't bother. Greta also states that she misses access to reliable news. Rather than taking a derogatory tone about the Indian press as Tiina does, she expressed that she

misses not being able to engage with the debates properly because of the cultural gap and lack of understanding of local issues – she says that she does not feel qualified to have an opinion about things. Greta adds that she is interested in understanding more about how things work and why, although it is not an explicit goal of being there. She has read some non-fiction that has Indian references, but has not read anything specifically about India, either fiction or non-fiction.

Michael reads the Danish newspapers on the internet, as his company is "more local than global" and so he needs to keep up with what is happening. He also reads it because it "eases up" communication with people living in Denmark socially as well. Apart from that he reads Indian newspapers. He says that global news is very different from an Indian perspective. It is interesting to read from this perspective rather than from "our little farm perspective at home" because things are looked at quite differently. Michael notes that in India, they are not impressed with America. In Denmark, a lot of the news is centralized around Israel and Americans. He was in India for four months without reading any Danish newspapers at all and he didn't see anything about Israel – He said, "It doesn't exist here … In Denmark, it is the centre of our world." Michael finds the Danish press very 'them and us' oriented regardless of where the news is taking place. If it is a shooting in Nørrebro, it is these guys and us; when talking about problems in the world, it is them and us. In stark contrast to Greta and Leena, Michael feels that Denmark really needs to learn something from India. He feels that there is a biased news supply in Denmark compared to what you see in India. He adds that it is also biased in India, but a completely different kind of bias.

News media thus played a dual role for the migrants. On the one hand being able to read local new from home, albeit via the internet rather than being able to physically hold the newspaper, was a way of keeping something constant in the migrants' lives while many things around them changed. This provided some sense of stability for the migrants; consequently, I suggest that this is an indirect form of informal social support. On the other hand, contrasting the Indian news media with that of Denmark and Finland fuelled both strong critique of the Indian and Danish press, and exaltation of the Finnish press. In questioning the reliability of the Indian news reporting, some of the Nordic migrants display a distinct lack of trust. Others meanwhile see the difference in reporting as a difference in view point and focus rather than a reason for suspicion. Reading Indian newspapers therefore swings between fuelling insecurity and increasing the cultural capital of the Nordic migrants.

5.1.2.7 Domestic staff and workers

> "India is the last place in the world where you can still afford to have a luxury life. People can afford to have a maid, if they can find one – it is a difficult task"

<div align="right">Niels (DK) 23:00</div>

Niels' statement above is an important point to raise as having domestic staff, particularly cleaners, is common practice among not just wealthy foreign migrants, but also among lower, middle and upper-class Indians. The interpersonal relationships the Nordic migrants had with their domestic staff and manual workers who came to do jobs at their homes were often challenging for the Nordic migrants, yet the support was absolutely crucial. At the time of interviewing all of the key informants had a person who was there to clean. All except one had a driver; several people also had gardeners and security guards, and one person had a nanny and caretaker as well.

Many of the informants I spoke to had found their staff through their social networks. Bonding social capital was crucial for getting good recommendations from other foreign migrants. Many people I met used the registry of domestic workers compiled by the OWC members. The skills of the workers are also listed there, and as with most jobs, the more competent the staff appears to be, the more attractive they are to their foreign employers, and more often than not, the higher their salary would be. Being able to speak English was a particularly valued asset among drivers and maids. I was also told, by both Indian people and foreigners that domestic workers prefer to work for foreign nationals because they pay better rates and have better working conditions.

I begin my analysis of the Nordic migrants' encounters with Kristoffer's story which relates to several different issues regarding domestic workers that were raised by other key informants.

Kristoffer's Story

Kristoffer and his wife do not have a maid at the moment and his wife likes to do most things herself when they do get one, she will not have many hours. However, his wife has realized that everything takes so much time to do. One can't just pop out quickly – it takes a whole morning to go to two places. Things take a lot longer.

Kristoffer doesn't drive but he is planning to buy a motorcycle. The company doesn't want him to have a car, but they only give him a driver for 12 hours six days a week rather than 24/7. He has complained to the company as he feels he is under house arrest. He has to pay the driver himself if he uses him outside of those hours. "It is not a lot of money but it is an obnoxious thing to have to deal with." He tells me that some of the Finns are very happy about having a driver, but he hates it. He doesn't like having servants in general because "you are dependent on them." He explains that they don't show up, and when something personal happens with them (e.g. father dying) it suddenly becomes his problem. His first driver's daughter had to go to hospital and it cost him 12,000 rupees (approximately 1,200 Danish Kroner). "The guy did not have a rupee to his name. He didn't even ask for the extra 5,000 rupees he needed politely; he said something like "I must have 5,000!"

Kristoffer says that the first few times he raised his eyebrows a bit, but then he realized the guy was quite nervous and maybe just said it how he thought one says it, but it was quite offensive because he was not even demanding; he was commanding. Kristoffer paid half the hospital bill. But he tells me that "no sooner had the daughter got out of hospital", the father went in. Kristoffer says that he made it clear to the driver that he shouldn't push his luck. He already paid him extra anyway simply for him to be available at all times.

Kristoffer says he does not like having to deal with money "with them". When he first arrived he inherited a cleaning lady from the neighbors opposite him. He had no furniture and it was just him, but the cleaning lady was there six days a week 'cleaning' and he says that he wondered what exactly she was doing. Kristoffer tells me that the neighbors started to get agitated because she would disturb their domestic helpers and then they started telling him that she was washing her clothes in his washing machine. He says that "the first thing she said when she started was that there had to be tea and biscuits and she used to use a lot of sugar as well. There were a few things that were not good." He went on to tell me that one night he came home around 8pm and he couldn't get in his home because the front door had been padlocked from the inside, and the maid had the key for the kitchen door. He did not know where she lived, but the driver tracked her down. They drove to her place and picked up the key for the kitchen door and he got in. Kristoffer says that he felt that she did not do it on purpose, but he used it as the excuse to get rid of her. He says he found it a bit hard because she was a single mum and was living in a mud hut. He says that when he saw that, he realized why she couldn't grasp what 'clean' meant. At home, he could not get her to do things: for example, because there is a lot of calcium in the water, the shower cabinet was covered in it. He asked her to clean it as she had plenty of time, but she couldn't do it. After he fired her she came back a few times to ask for the job again but Kristoffer did not take her back.

> Kristoffer tells me he has a gardener who he likes very much. "He is the only Indian I have met who refuses to be paid." He says that normally it is the other way round – "they refuse to leave without being paid!" He did some work for him one Sunday afternoon after he had been out buying plants. He offered him a few hundred rupees extra (they pay him a regular salary) and the gardener refused it.

The first issue raised by Kristoffer regarding time constraints because of the structural and environmental issues in the cities was echoed by other Nordic migrants several of whom said that they would have preferred not to have someone doing their cleaning. As Kristoffer expressed, the cities' traffic density makes it a challenge to get tasks done outside of the home (see also Section 5.2.1); and another factor mentioned was that the large amounts of dust that tend to accumulate very quickly inside of the home mean that cleaning is something that needs to be done far more frequently than the Nordic migrants would usually do. Greta for example resisted getting a cleaner for several reasons: firstly, she cleaning has always simply been a part of her routine and they were in an apartment that was not too big; secondly she was not keen on the idea of having someone else in her personal space (see also Section 5.2.2); and thirdly she had a friend in the UK who works for an NGO that supports Asian domestic workers in the UK. She had heard about "a lot of the stuff that goes on and how tough it can be" and she did not want to be part of it. However, after a couple of months she agreed to taking on a cleaner because she was having to clean every day because of the dust. Anna altered her behavior because the change in circumstances demanded it rather than because she wanted to.

The second issue raised by Kristoffer was regarding the relationship between him and his employer regarding private transportation. He was the only seconded key informant who expressed a desire to own a vehicle himself and that the company expressly did not want them to drive, but several mentioned that the employer did not pay for them to have a driver available to them fulltime. Most people simply relayed this as a logistical challenge, but one that could be met. Kristoffer's expression of the situation, however, implies that he would prefer it if the privileges of his industrial citizenship could extend to not having to enter into an employee-employer relationship with his staff, which includes having to pay wages. He would simply like to receive the services without being exposed to the 'realities' of the service providers' lives. As I understood Kristoffer, the fact that he "already" paid the driver extra for being there after hours should have been

enough. He saw this as a privilege for the driver rather than him simply being remunerated for the job he was doing. Tiina similarly sees the salary she pays the staff a "nice" thing that they can do to "help a little bit with the schooling and stuff like that."

The way Kristoffer relayed the stories about the extra money he gave his driver strongly suggested that he disapproved of him asking. He is very critical and with his rhetoric (the driver should not "push his luck" and referring to the staff as "servants", for example) he performs the role of the 'master' when speaking to me about his staff. His actions however with the staff are different: he continues to give his driver extra money for his family's healthcare and complain about it rather than saying no; and rather than confront the maid about using his washing machine and disturbing the neighbors' staff, he is dishonest with her about his reasons for firing her. In short, while Kristoffer clearly questions the sincerity of his driver and maid, he is not able to be sincere with them and act according to his 'true' feelings about the situations that arose. For Kristoffer, when it comes to relationships with domestic staff, trust is, thus, unidirectional and the 'responsibility' of the staff.

His attitude and approach differs greatly to the majority of others, in spite of the general cautiousness that all of the foreign migrants had towards employing domestic staff. Leena for example states that says they can count on their staff and their staff can count on them. She describes her relationship with her staff as an "employer-employee relationship" and that they are on very friendly terms but she would not describe it as being friends. There is some professional distance but they do talk about things. She tells me that they have a lady who does the cleaning, shopping and cooking and she is there 5 days a week from 8.30 to 3.30. They also have a driver who works 12 hours a day, six days a week and also often on Sundays. They also have a gardener who comes about three times a week and they share him with the neighbor. Leena says that she knows a lot about their families and she knows that if she needs something then she can turn to them. "We try to treat them very well … we pay for their medical bills and make sure she [the cleaning lady] has the things she needs like shoes and other stuff." Leena, thus, approaches her employer-staff relationship quite differently; there is mutual trust, and she makes sure that as well as the basic salary, other social costs are covered in spite of not having a formal written contract. Similarly, Anna feels that she and her husband have "managed to strike a good balance" with their driver and housekeeper.

The non-existence of a formal contract, as the staff are part of the unorganized workforce of India, was highlighted as a further aspect of the challenge of having

domestic staff; it means, as Karin relayed, that the employers (the Nordic migrants) can fire people on the spot and the staff can also just not show up for work. Karin says she has had to learn to read between the lines when it comes to staff. For example, the day before our interview, her maid did not come to work and she did not let anyone know. When she asked her about it, she said her son was poorly. They had issues with their previous driver who didn't show up for work quite often and always had some amazing story and so now they are a bit wary and wonder if they are telling the truth or not. Karin states that she feels that they have to make sure the staff know that they are on top of things and that they can't take advantage of them, "… because given the chance they probably will do that." Karin says however that she can understand this behavior in a way because the staff "do not necessarily come from the wealthiest of backgrounds and if the opportunity arises, they might take the chance". Staff turnover can, thus, be high, and for a couple of the Nordic migrants it was. Saara was perhaps the most extreme: at the time of interviewing she was on her tenth driver and had been involved in a car accident with one of them. Another outcome is that the staff is in very precarious situations. The final driver that Saara had, for example, she got a long with well, "I can trust him and he is very careful", and on the morning of our interview she had informed him that she and her family would be leaving soon. She explained that he had just found a wife and they were due to be married. He was very sad when she told him and Saara said that she does not know how this will affect him, "Maybe the wedding will be called off when they find out he is unemployed."

Among the foreign communities in India there is a constant discussion about the trustworthiness of staff and people are warned by others in the community to be cautious about leaving valuables around the home, and also about being taken advantage of financially by staff.[80] Staff registries like the one available to members of the OWC was one channel used by the Nordic migrants to find suitably trustworthy staff; Hanna also mentioned that she had compiled a list for the Finnish community she was part of in Chennai and after having challenges with finding maid she could trust to leave her keys with, took on a 'trustworthy' maid recommended to her through the Finnish community. By far the most used method among the Nordic and other informants I spoke with in general was word-of-mouth: staff was acquired through recommendations from neighbors, from seconded predecessors and from acquaintances or friends who were leaving India.

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[80] One of the Dutch interviewees had experienced the latter (handing over tens of thousands of rupees to the staff), and had told me that it was a big learning curve for her and her husband.

Many people actively tried to find a new position for their staff when they were leaving if they were happy with the job they had done.

In spite of using these channels, most of the Nordic migrants expressed that it took some time before they entrusted their maids with the keys to their homes. Kristoffer did not say whether he gave his maid the keys straight away or not, however, considering the long hours he worked, it is highly likely that he did. He was perhaps immediately trusting and assumed that the maid would have the same 'trustworthy' behavior, which he and many others presume to be normative regardless of culture or location, that a Danish domestic worker would have. Even though Kristoffer had been living in the USA and UK for many years, I suggest that he still behaved according to Danish norms as levels of trust among British and US citizens differ substantially. Greta who moved from the UK to India comments that she found great differences in the concept of trust when moving from the Finland to the UK. She states that losing your purse and getting it back with all the money in it and leaving children outside shops in prams are reasonable things to expect in Finland, but not in the UK where everybody is so distrustful.

Karin meanwhile did not give her maid the keys to the apartment for the first six months. The maid starts at 10.00 and Karin does not have the driver until 10.30 when he returns from taking her husband to work so she is there when she starts anyway. Even though the maid now gets a key, she still locks all their jewellery, passports and other valuables away. She has also informed the security guard that if she and her husband are not home, it is only the maid who is permitted to be on the premises. She has heard stories of people coming home to find that their house has been emptied. Karin jokes that she would not be able to carry the 32 inch TV by herself out of the building! Karin, thus, recognizes her own engrained mistrust and still takes precautions even though she has entrusted the maid with the keys. Tiina on the other hand had had experiences of suspected petty theft with both a maid and a driver – jewellery and a mobile phone had gone missing, and one driver used to take the car out without asking permission first. Tiina expresses that she does not like it in herself that she feels constantly that she has to be "careful" with her things and that when she loses something, her immediate thought is about who could have taken it, but she says she has these feelings because of her experiences. Nonetheless she often finds the things she has lost and feels bad for her suspicious thoughts.

The transition from being a private person at home in the home country, to an employer of staff in the home in India entails the negotiation of hierarchical relationships, which is a further new socio-cultural aspect to many of the Nordic

migrants' experiences of interpersonal relationships. Considering the egalitarian nature of Nordic societies, surprisingly few of the Nordic migrants noted that they had challenges with dealing with fulfilling the role as the employer of staff with respect to having someone else do the household chores. Ken even admitted that it will be harder to get used to his old lifestyle again, than it was to get used to having staff. One of the few was Greta, who expressed that it was a big step for her taking on a cleaning lady and, that she "really" dislikes being called 'Madame' and struggles with the hierarchical relationship but she feels she has to accept it because "no matter what I say, no matter what I do, I can't get her to say my name, Anna." Similarly, Tiina expressed:

> "At the beginning that [having a higher status] was a really big challenge; you know, having a driver and a maid coming in and cleaning. I felt like 'Oh this is horrible, to have someone that is older than me and she is like cleaning my toilet.' I felt like 'No, sit down, do you want some coffee?' But now I have sort of got used to it and I am more relaxed about it. And it is this culture as well. At the beginning it was weird to get used to this Madame and Sir."

> Tiina (FI) 51:20

What presented more of a challenge were cross-gender interactions with staff and also manual workers (see below). Tiina expressed that the maid and the driver behave differently depending on who is with them: the maid "feels more responsibility" towards her and the drivers "feels more responsibility" towards her husband. She had heard that in some families the wife is responsible for handing over the salary to the staff in order to gain more respect, and she sometimes pays the driver a bit more to "get more points".

The Nordic migrants gave many examples expressing that, as Leena put it, having domestic staff was not as much of a luxury as people thought, and that being seconded to India, it should be part of the deal. For Hanna language and communication was a significant issue that surfaced during our interview in her relationships with domestic workers. She tells me that her first cleaning lady was a Tamil woman recommended to her by her neighbors "who only knew five words in English like 'money' and 'bonus'". Hanna says she has tough cleaning standards and was unable to communicate well enough with her. The next cleaner had worked for a Finnish employer before and she spoke and read English, which meant that she could understand the notes she would leave her. Hanna paid her a higher rate than an Indian would pay for a cleaner, but she did so consciously because she could trust her and she could speak English. Hanna added that usually

if you can speak English, you do not work as a maid. She went on to explain that having a driver is not as much of a luxury as people at home think it is. "They are still a person that works for you who you have to manage, train and support and in addition you have to tolerate the constant miscommunication." Hanna tells me about a driver she had who failed to understand that when working for her organization, he "should be wearing shoes". At a certain point after some other things happened, she used an interpreter to explain to him that he must wear shoes. Hanna explains that these kinds of things are quite time and energy consuming.

As touched upon previously regarding carrying out the chores of shopping (see Section 5.3.2), the drivers and maids often performed multiple roles for the Nordic migrants. They often had a role as a care-provider not only for the children but also for the migrants themselves. Tiina would ask her maid to pick up the children from the bus stop so that she could continue with her leisure activities or studies, and Leena expressed that her driver had a great relationship to her sons; he would often play cricket with them and if they wanted to go out in the evenings, he would often babysit. Leena has met her driver's family and describes him as "a very good guy". She tells me that he reads magazines and she can have very interesting conversations with him. She says that he is also "like a tour guide to India". Hanna's maid had been teaching her how to cook Indian food. Anna had been to her housekeeper's step-daughter's wedding, in spite of expressing that she had distance from her housekeeper because it may become "problematic" if she became too close. Both Karin and Saara said that they will miss their maids now that they have established relationships with them. Karin says that she spends time with her talking about her life and her family and says that she has become a friend to her somehow, as has the driver. She feels that both the maid and the driver have provided some kind of emotional support and it could have been very lonely without them. The relationships these migrants had with their staff may be defined as linking social capital. However in Woolcock's definition the there is an asymmetrical power relation and the capital is 'gained' by the person not in power; here the Nordic migrant continues to have the greater power position in spite of them making the gains, and the domestic worker who theoretically should hold the power, is simply doing their job and ensuring that they remain in employment.

Greg statement that in an Indian home "there is always something that needs fixing", was repeated to me using different words by several of the key informants. For many this meant opening up their private space to manual workers. For Karin, it was a reason to rent an apartment where "there are people who are already

contracted to fix things", rather than living in an independent house where one would have to organize everything one's self. Having to interact with manual workers led to numerous challenges with cross cultural communication and gender. Ken enjoys not having to do these chores himself although he says that he finds it a little frustrating not having his tools with him to do small repairs. He stated that organizing workers can be very time consuming, and that people do not want to "let" him do the work. Brett expressed similar sentiments however he involved himself in the manual jobs at home even when he had hired people to do them as, unlike Ken, he had his tools there are he was permanently resident in Mumbai.

The repeatedly reiterated message among the expat communities in Bangalore that manual workers cannot be trusted meant for Beth, that for the first few months of her stay in Bangalore, her primary task was to be at home and effectively guard the house and monitor the work that was left to do on their recently constructed house. In her follow-up questionnaire in 2012, Beth wrote that she was now working part-time which saved her "from going mad" and that she "was not good at being at home" (see Beth's Story in Section 5.1.2).

Saara meanwhile cannot communicate verbally with her maid at all as she cannot speak Kannada and the maid does not speak English. Saara says, "She is always smiling though, is very good at cleaning and she is happy to have the work." Saara believes that it is often the case that the poorer Indians are friendlier than the wealthier ones who think they are something just because they have been somewhere else. Saara was referring to her Indian neighbors: she explained that because they had all spent time abroad and were wealthy, they thought that the rules of the compound did not apply to them. She had found drugs in the park that she believes are used by the Indian youths, and seen children driving their parents' cars who she knew were under-aged. When she confronted them about this, they said to her that they would just pay for whatever damage may be caused.

Saara was the only informant that I spoke to who expressed blatantly that she disliked 'India' and 'Indians'. In her follow-up questionnaire, she went so far as to say that she 'hated' her time in India. Saara and her family lived at another private gated community called Prestige Ozone before they moved to Palm Meadows. "After six months here I realized that nothing works here. I hate that. And you can't trust people here." Saara went on to talk about a situation at their previous home in Prestige Ozone. They had had a problem with the electricity and called someone in to take a look at it:

> "And because I was by myself they told me "Oh ma'am, there's nothing wrong here. Everything is fine". So then I needed to call my husband to

come here and help me because somehow the Indians they trust men […]. In [the Middle East] I did not have these kinds of problems. In Ozone we had many times the same problems with electricity or water or whatever. And always "Mmmmm there's no problem, and shaking the head. So that was difficult. And also when somebody is coming to fix your house or something you have to follow them so that they don't take anything."

Saara (FI) 6:55

Saara's frustrations were strongly expressed and accentuated by her mimicking the Indian accent and body language. The issue of trust for her far outweighed the issue of gender discrimination. When she spoke about gender issues, her comments were quite off the cuff and she remarked that it is the same situation in the Middle East and it is "not a big deal". For Saara, living in a place where things "work" and you can "trust" what people are telling you is the "truth" is far more important, and that she found in the Middle East. There, the rules of society were very clear and the highly restrictive way of life for women was not a problem for her, as those were the rules and everybody stuck to them. She does however say later on in the interview that after completing a cultural awareness course one year into her stay in Bangalore, she could better understand Indian people's behavior. Moreover, while Saara had expressed apprehension about the interview due to her lack of confidence about speaking English, there was no suggestion during the interview that her communication with Indian workmen may have suffered as a result of her own language issues.

Linguistic understanding undoubtedly played some role in defining the relationships the Nordic migrants had with their domestic staff and manual workers. Where there was good understanding and communication, and the work was done well, good relationships were fostered. If the work was not carried out to the standards required by the Nordic migrants however, good language skills became irrelevant as it was different understandings of concepts that were the challenge, not the language itself. In these instances, none of the migrants appeared to reflect on their own methods of communication in their dialogues, but rather tended to place blame on the domestic worker or manual labor for his/her lack of or insufficient capabilities. If work did not go as planned and there was poor linguistic communication antagonisms were created and there was a tendency for the Nordic migrants to engage in negative homogeneous stereotyping and display a distinct lack of trust. As Saara's experience with her maid shows however, linguistic barriers were not an issue if the capabilities of the domestic worker matched the expectations of the migrant employer.

In spite of the challenges that they faced, almost all of the Nordic seconded migrants expressed that they would miss having the extra help when they returned home and several said that they would now consider getting a cleaner at home.

5.2   Spatial and Environmental Challenges

The second part of my analysis pertains to the public and private spatial and environmental challenges that the Nordic migrants had to deal with in negotiating their positions as social citizens. In explaining elementary social behavior Homans (1973) suggests that different features of the environment of behavior help towards explaining behavior and furthermore that people's proximity to one another also impacts behavior (ibid: 210–214). The demographic differences between Denmark and Finland and India (see Appendices 5 and 6) are hence likely to cause, and to some extent demand, a change in the social behavior of the Nordic migrants, be it to their advantage or disadvantage, or to their pleasure or displeasure.

As Table 4 shows there were numerous issues that surfaced mostly related to their sense of safety and security. As Low and Lawrence–Zúñiga (2003) suggest, individual aspects of place on their own or in combination with aspects of space indeed influenced the behavior of some, but not others in spite of the meanings of place seeming to be shared: they dealt with the differences they encountered in both similar and different ways partly as a consequence of susceptibility to framing effects (Chong and Druckman 2007), partly as a consequence of their previous experiences of living and travelling in densely populated areas, and partly as the result of how they identified themselves as well as how they identify with the local Indian population.

5.2.1   Public Space

> "We are going to a place we don't know, so let's see what it is when we come."

> Beth (DK) 38:00

The Nordic migrants had varying reactions to the spatial and environmental challenges they faced in public spaces. My data suggests that the variation was grounded to a great extent in the expectations they had of the physical environment of India and Indian cities and of their understandings of normative

behaviors people should exhibit in those environments in congruence with the findings of Di Masso (2012). Perhaps the key element that differentiated between their reactions and behaviors was the frame of reference (their home country, Asian cities, greater India etc.) they used when describing their situations, regardless of whether they arrived in India with real or imagined 'non-existent' expectations as Beth expresses in the quote above, or whether they had pre-conceived ideas based on secondary information from literature, media, friends, colleagues or family. I divide this section into two parts according to the manifestations outlined in Table 4. Firstly, I discuss various aspects of the Nordic migrants' interactions with the physical environment including pollution, the roads and traffic etc. that posed challenges for them; and secondly, I discuss the spatial and environmental challenges they faced as a result of interacting with the local Indian population in public spaces.

5.2.1.1   Interaction with physical environment

The interaction with the physical environment was one of the very challenging aspects of the stay in India for the Nordic migrants that I interviewed. As Table 4 shows, there were a wide range of issues from the state of the roads and parks, to the pollution, to the traffic and transportation system. For many, these challenges led to restricted mobility, while others continued to move around with relative ease, but most of the Nordic migrants altered the way they moved around and used the city compared to if they were at home. Challenges also surfaced relating to personal safety; while some experienced poor health and injury as a result of the physical environment, others feared becoming sick or injured. The variegated encounters also necessitated a renegotiation of time use. As many of these issues overlap, in this section I have selected a few particular cases to exemplify how the interaction with the physical environment impacts the migrants' stay and consequently social citizenship differently.

There was a difference between locations in how the key informants spoke about pollution: the key informants in Delhi spoke mostly about air pollution and those in Bangalore more about noise pollution. As Ken, who was resident in Bangalore put it, for many it seemed that it was more the "idea of the pollution" in India that was actually disturbing rather than the actual pollution they were exposed to which suggest that the framing of the problem had a stronger effect than anything they were actually exposed to:

"I have been getting the worst air in some European cities and [they] smell more than here. But [here] you feel and you know that it is more polluted and I am not afraid, but I am worried about what the long-term effects of this kind of thing, staying here. You don't notice it every day. It is not like you don't see blue sky ever here […] One guy from the office was telling that in China there was one day in a one or two year period when he saw a blue sky in some Chinese city, so it is small compared to that. Because there is no heavy industry in Bangalore, […] there is a lot [of pollution] but if you are not going by auto-rickshaw then you do not notice it."

Ken (FI) 39:00

Kristoffer, who was also resident in Bangalore, draws a comparison with New Hampshire, US and is quite disdainful about the "environmental damage that 1.1bn people can cause", although he does not give any concrete examples. This indicates that it is also the "idea" of the pollution that he is referring to. There were however others who gave concrete examples of how the pollution and environment affects them on a day to day basis. Below, I draw attention to the experiences of several Nordic migrants who had divergent experiences with pollution, and also differing attitudes towards the physical environment in India. Greta is resident in Delhi; Hanna moves frequently between Mumbai, Delhi and Bangalore and is resident in Chennai; and Leena, Karin and Tiina are resident in Bangalore.

Greta's Story

For Greta, the air pollution in Delhi is having a direct impact on her health. She suffers from asthma and it has got worse in India because of the pollution. She has now been diagnosed as now suffering from severe asthma. The doctors have suggested that it will get better again once she moves away from Delhi. Greta describes this as "really annoying" and says that the illness is India-specific and she knows managers who factor in sick days when doing personnel planning. In spite of Greta's asthma, at the time of interviewing she and her husband had decided to travel around Delhi using auto-rickshaws instead of hiring a personal driver because of her husband's stance on the environment. She has been warned by a doctor not to let her asthma get too bad because if she does, she risks not making it to a hospital in time due to traffic jams. This difference (rather than her asthma getting worse) is what makes her nervous.

Greta and her husband usually live in London where they both take the underground to work. Greta comments that she finds her journey to work by auto-rickshaw much more pleasant than the underground commute she had in London. Greta says that even though a car and driver are not

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> provided by her husband's employer, it is somehow still expected that they have them as everybody else does, but they have just ignored it. She had expected Delhi to be more chaotic as that is what she had heard from other friends, but having travelled in other parts of Asia, she does not feel that it is any more chaotic than other Asian cities, and it "naturally" takes more time to do chores like going to the post office.
>
> Greta also states that she feels a lot safer in public places in Delhi than she does in London. She often goes running in Nehru Park both during the day and the early evenings whereas she would never go running in a park in London after dark. She also does her shopping alone.

Greta's points of reference are other major cities in Europe and Asia. I suggest that her understanding of and use of the inscribed spaces she encounters in India differs to that of Kristoffer because she takes this different frame of reference. Moreover, Greta and her husband are acutely aware of the environmental damage that traffic pollution causes as a result of their education and work experience. Consequently, in spite of the health impacts on Greta, they choose to use auto-rickshaws rather than a car and driver. Greta was the only key informant who used 'public' transport rather than a driver and car, and is perhaps an extreme case given her additional health issues. In short, the cultural capital, and perhaps also the moral values, that they have accumulated prior to arriving in India have taken precedence over the luxury lifestyle their economical privileges could potentially afford them. Karin was the only other Nordic migrant who made any mention of any explicit measures she took to be more environmentally friendly during her time in India. Several, however, said that they would make more effort to be so when they got home. Karin said that being in India makes her think more about the environment and pollution. She states:

> "The great thing about India is that they never waste anything. You know, if I have any left-over fruit or vegetables or even empty bottles or things, I give them to my maid and I know that she will put them into use. It's fantastic and it's the best way to recycle things and easiest way to recycle is giving up things you don't need anymore, clothes or shoes or whatever it is around. And then you realize how much waste we accumulate and put into our bins back in England, whereas here they can make use of it."

> Karin (FI) 1:22:48

Ken, Kristoffer and many other foreign migrants in India are also in principle morally disapproving of the pollution they are confronted with, yet neither Ken

nor Kristoffer intimated that the pollution caused them to change their use of or behavior in public spaces. Rather they behaved in congruence with the environment of behavior (Homans 1973) of the wealthier denizens of the cities; namely, they used personal drivers to transport them around the city, thus contributing significantly to the very pollution that concerns them. This behavior corresponds to the theory of collective action that Persson et al. (2010) apply to corruption.

Similar to Greta who was pleasantly surprised by the physical environment in Delhi, Leena was pleasantly surprised by Bangalore when they came for their pre-departure orientation visits. Leena's husband had travelled to India for work many times before they moved there and she says he "scared her to death" with his stories which was nice because it meant that she was pleasantly surprised when she arrived. However between then and the time of the interview, as Leena's stories portray (see Sections 5.1.1 and 5.2.1), she had experienced several major challenges related to the change in environment. Karin was similarly surprised by India and Bangalore. The images she had in her mind before she came were of "the slums in Delhi and the place being generally really run down and a lot of noise, air and rubbish pollution" and so forth. Karin relayed that when she and her husband arrived, Bangalore was much greener than they had anticipated. It reminded her of Rio because of the green and the climate. She said she was prepared for the fact that the traffic would be bad and it would be noisy, that some people live their lives on the street, that there would be animals in the street, and that the roads would be in poor condition, but even so, she wasn't sure how things would turn out. She found the look of the place positive, but the pace of life and the cultural aspects were a bit more of a shock. She struggled, however, with the realization that she could not just "open the door and go for a nice walk because there are no pavements to walk on!" She says that just crossing the road was a great barrier that she had to overcome and, in spite of her initial positive observations about Bangalore, it has been hard to get used to all the rubbish pollution and the crowds and noise. At the same time, it is the color and other aspects of street life in India that she will miss when she leaves. Karin found alternative activities to 'walking' and the privileges associated with her husband's industrial citizenship meant that she also had a personal driver at her disposal in between the drop off and collection of her husband from his workplace as did other accompanying partners.

Hanna faced similar challenges to Karin. However, while Karin spoke about the things she likes and will miss about the physical environment seemingly as a strategy of dealing with the things she did not like, Hanna spoke in more detail

about the specific things she disliked, how they challenged her and how she confronted those challenges. Her experiences provide clear evidence of the significance of the environment and place for social behavior, and, hence, as Bell (2005) suggests, citizenship. After Hanna had signed the contract taking the job in India, she did a lot of reading about the country's history and culture and visited India for one week. She described the experience of arriving at Mumbai airport and transferring to the domestic airport as "overwhelming" because of the "slums, the traffic chaos and the cows." When she arrived in Chennai, she had some doubts about the assignment because of the volumes of people and traffic, the noise and the "typical smell of India". She visited Chennai, Mumbai and Kerala during the first trip and she said that she got used to the idea of this being her home by the time the week was over. When she finally moved to India, the noise pollution continued to be problematic for her:

> "I found a very good aerobics instructor, but he is taking like an [infinite] number of people in the class so it gets so crowded that you don't have space to do stuff. And then like decibel-wise … In India they have never heard about decibel measurements. Like the music is at an [unbearable] level. I go there with my earplugs, but still it hurts my head. And these kind of nuisances – I'll never get used to this noise level. It is everywhere you go."

<div align="right">Hanna (FI) 19:40</div>

Hanna states that "obviously" in these types of countries with large populations people are much more tolerant to noises, unlike in Finland. At home in Finland and India, Hanna does not watch TV and doesn't have a stereo or a radio and says that she does not "tolerate" noise at all. For her this is one of the most difficult quality of life issues she has to tackle in India. When they are out driving, Hanna tells me that she does not allow her driver to use the horn. In doing so, I learned from Indian colleagues and acquaintances, Hanna may have been putting herself and her driver at risk. Many car-owners in India remove their wing mirrors and rarely use the rear-view mirror as there is an unofficial 'look forward' driving practice because of the density of the traffic. It was explained to me that the horn is a key instrument when driving because drivers are only looking forward. All of the lorries and trucks that I saw had signs on the back of them telling drivers to use their horns, so that the lorry/truck drivers know that they are there. Nonetheless, I suggest that as a result of Hanna's higher group status and perhaps also for fear of losing his job, the driver complied with the request.

Hanna's case reflects strongly my argument for the intra-action of the culture of the self, inscribed culture and the culture of the other impacting the way migrants participate in Indian society. Coming from Finland, she is used to a lot of silence, and the fact that she states that she does not have a stereo or radio at home reflect show deeply rooted this aspect of her culture of the self is. As a foreign seconded worker in India, there is an inscribed culture as Hanna conforms to the expatriate environment of behavior using a driver to get from one place to another, and mixing chiefly in expatriate circles which may exacerbate the distance and differences between her own and Indian culture. When faced with the Indian city culture (culture of the other) with regard to sound, volume and noise, Hanna responds according to the deeply engrained understandings she has of normative behavior in public spaces from her experiences in Finland in spite of educating herself about the country and its cities. This informational capital is not sufficient to overcome all of the challenges she faces, and perhaps because of a lack of local knowledge which could have been gained by developing linking social capital outside of expat circles, Hanna even puts herself at further risk in order to satisfy her need for quiet when using her personal driver. Hanna's economic capital however allows her to compensate somewhat as she is able to pay for a personal yoga instructor to come to her home instead of attending the aerobics class.

While Hanna believed that people from countries with large populations are simply more tolerant to noises, Greta relayed that her experiences taught her that Indian people do not care about pollution, and Leena believed that noise pollution and the way people dealt with it was a cultural matter. Finns are indeed famed for their love and need for privacy and space (see Lewis 2007), and both the Finns and Danes engaged in some form of homogeneous stereotyping in order to 'cope' with the differences they were encountering regarding different types of pollution.

After one month of moving into their house which was situated in a private gated community, a construction site came up at the end of the small back yard. Leena made reference to the construction site and the problems related to the noise created several times throughout the interview, which was an indication of how much it had occupied her thoughts and feelings.

Leena's Story (2)

Leena expressed that, coming from Finland where it is so quiet, it is very hard to explain to the neighbors and the construction workers why the noise bothers them so much. The work is done at

all hours of the day and often begins during the night, sometimes as early as 01:00. The construction workers just tell them to close their windows. Leena says that she doesn't mind the dogs and chipmunks and the cars and the honking and the neighbors shouting at 6am, she is used to that and she can live with it. She thinks that these culture differences are very interesting, small things but very significant, at least to them.

Leena and her husband discussed doing something about the construction site in their backyard by possibly talking to the police, but their neighbor told them that there is really no use as the police will just ask for money from her and then from the people doing the construction work. (34:40) [QUOTE] This gives a sense of having no security as there is nobody to turn to if one needs help. Leena says that at least in Finland one can basically trust the police and the courts and this inability to trust the authorities makes Leena nervous at times.

The issue with the construction site has also made Leena behave differently to how she ever has done before. Shouting at the people in the construction site is something she probably would not have done in Finland, but she says that it makes her so mad that they have no consideration for other people and think it is ok to start banging things "at one o'clock in the morning". In spite of putting the difference in approach down to culture difference, Leena comments, "In Finland they would at least stop to think, am I disturbing somebody, but they couldn't care less!" After just over a year of living with the noise, at the time of interviewing, Leena and her family had found another house in a different private gated community. They were in the process of negotiating the price.

When speaking about the public areas outside of the area where she lives, Leena again noted the differences between Finland and India. She has travelled in Asia before but to Thailand, and she states that she has never been to a "developing country" before and this is something quite different. She and her family make fewer and fewer trips to the park and miss being able to walk around in the nature, and having "clean" places to go to. Leena found Cubbon Park "disgusting". She says the children of course are unaware and just play. She finds Lalbagh Park beautiful but there are no play areas. Leena tells me that a new park called Freedom Park is being built which is supposed to be very nice, but she feels that the standard of niceness is not the same. In the beginning she read the guide books which described places as excellent and very enjoyable, then "you sit in a car for four hours and it is dirty and filthy and no toilets, nothing and you come back disappointed."

Leena had seen some photographs of Bangalore from the forties. She thought it was so beautiful and she wishes they had preserved it. As it is now, it misses the sense of history and that "they have ruined the town". She describes Bangalore as one of the most boring places she has ever

been to. Her in-laws came for nearly a month and they were lost for things to do. They planned to walk places and take buses but they just couldn't as it is not easy. She thinks it a shame.

Although the construction site was not on Leena's rented land, it was in such close proximity that it interfered with her private life. There was thus a blurring of the public and private space. Her husband's industrial citizenship however was such that they were able to look for somewhere else to live and would be moving away from the house by the construction site shortly. Similar to Hanna, the intra-action of the culture of the self, the inscribed culture and the culture of the other resulted in behaviors that Leena even commented that she would not exhibit if she were at home in Finland. With regard to the public parks, Leena's frame of reference is Finland where, according to Jacob and Hellström (2010), there is a social democratic planning culture when designing cities. This city planning culture is of course absent in India and in spite of her recognition that India is at an entirely different stage in its infra-structural development to a Finnish city, Leena appears to expect the same standards of upkeep of public spaces and speaks extremely negatively about the places she has visited. Possibly as a result of her deeply entrenched understandings of people-space relations, Leena struggles to overcome the spatial and environmental challenges she faces. Leena may also have been experiencing some form of culture shock as in the follow-up phase three years later she stated:

> "Compared to 2009, I'm much more settled […] I have developed a thicker skin to the less-than-great things in India […]. I guess I have come to terms with the versatility of life here, and my own limitations about the things I can do to change it. I have also come to be more selective, and probably concentrate more on things I enjoy doing rather than trying to experience everything out there. […] Overall I would say that Bangalore is easier now than it was in 2009."

> Leena (FI) follow-up questionnaire response, Q5

Several of the Nordic migrants referred to the risks they faced of sickness and injury in public places even though many had not experienced anything more than food poisoning and stomach upsets[81] which they believe, as Michael comments, is to be expected. Greg had been critically ill with Dengue fever, and he believed that the worst threats to safety in India are not only the diseases but also the traffic.

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[81] See Section 5.1.1 for incidences of sickness and injury and experiences with the health care services.

Aside from Greg and Tiina (see Tiina's story (1) below), none of the other Nordic informants made any indication that they feared disease, yet almost all of them expressed fears about road accidents and being able to get to hospital in good time. Tiina's family had several incidents of accidents and illnesses that other migrants fear. Her story is relayed below.

Tiina's Story (1)

Tiina says she is a bit cautious about the illnesses and so on because when her sister was there she almost died from septicaemia. She does not know if it was caused by food poisoning or something else. Her sister was in an intensive care unit for one week. Her son was also run over by a motorbike in when they lived in the private gated community, Prestige Ozone. He had head trauma and seventeen stitches in his forehead. When they first arrived in India the stayed temporarily at a resort hotel. Leena found the contrasting environments "kind of shocking": the warm tropical climate and plushness of the resort, and next to it, the "tents and all the scruffiness". During their week at the resort her husband caught his finger in a door and the top of his finger came off. Luckily all of them are now fine, but these incidents made her feel like she would be pushing her luck by accepting an extension of their contract and staying for another year – she felt like something terrible would happen.

When their son had the head trauma, luckily it was Sunday and so the traffic was not as heavy. Tiina asks if I have seen ambulances stuck in the traffic and says it is the worst thing here, that if something happens and you have to get to the hospital quickly, you can't because the roads are terrible. The traffic drives her crazy. She feels that she just doesn't want to sit in the car all the time with the children. She goes into the city once a week or once every two weeks - it really depends on what needs to be done. In this period she will have to go there more as they will soon be leaving India. Most things can be done around the area they live. She adds that sometimes being in Palm Meadows feels like being in "a nice luxurious prison," but still better than Prestige Ozone.

When they lived in Ozone they did not see any snakes, but in Palm Meadows, where they are now, they lived near the edge of the compound and there have been scorpions in the house; snakes under the car and on the street although not dangerous ones, but their neighbor has had a cobra on their property. She does not think about it too often, but she does not let the kids play in the garden alone; if they go, she goes with them. They had a bouncy castle in Ozone and they gave it away when they moved to Palm Meadows.

> Tiina said that she has to think about something all the time. She also thinks about swine flu and the mosquitos although Tiina says that Bangalore is not the worst place – she does not want to give that impression, but she says it is different if you come for a holiday to if you live there long term; she would not want to be constantly medicating the children.
>
> Tiina comments that it is like a trend in the newspapers that when you read that someone has died, they have spent one week in a hospital and three days after they have died they find out what the cause was. Tiina says this is also because people go hospital too late. She comments that more people die here also simply because there are more people in general.

Challenges to do with the roads, traffic and transport brought up a range of issues as exemplified by Tiina, Hanna and Greta's stories. As well as the risks surrounding being involved in a traffic accident, almost all of the informants I spoke to during my field trips commented on the amount of time it takes to get from one place to another, the state of the pavements, and many talked about the potholes in the roads, regardless of the type of housing area they lived in. Although Kristoffer, for example, lived in a well-kept private gated community where there are pristine, relatively newly paved roads with decent sidewalks throughout, he joked that the traffic does not move very fast so if you get hit you probably won't die, that driving on the left is optional, and that there was more to fear from the potholes than the people. Niels says that he pulls himself up when he hits a pot-hole and starts swearing, and thinks "Ok, how much would I have to pay [in Denmark] not to have pot-holes?" and he thinks ok, it is not a problem. For him, the sacrifice of paying higher taxes and living within the constraints of Danish society is far greater.

Numerous informants, rightly or wrongly, made sweeping generalization about Indian people and Indian society including: Indian people do not know how to drive; the way Indian people drive indicates that they have no respect for life; and almost all of the informants I spoke to referred to the public transport (buses, trains and metro) as dirty and overcrowded. They also expressed that there were challenges when using auto-rickshaws if the migrants did not know how to get to where they were going themselves, or if where they were going was a well-known spot. Karin informed me that auto-rickshaw drivers do not know street names and do not know how to read maps. On her way to her Bollywood class one day, for example, her rickshaw driver got lost. When she tried to show him on a map, she realized that he could not read it, nor could he speak English. Greta expresses that

she has high levels of trust in India in general and that it is only when she is taking an auto-rickshaw that she keeps an eye on where the driver is going. One key informant suggested that the pace of development in India is having consequences for the public transport system: Niels describes the new air-conditioned, comfortable Volvo buses that you can also sleep on as really the state-of-the-art. However there are issues:

> "The problem is these Volvo buses are really up-to-date, latest state-of-the-art; the same as you buy in Europe. The problem is the drivers are not taught how to handle powerful buses that can really drive fast. Secondly, the mechanics that maintain them are not really trained to maintain hi-tech buses. Thirdly, the roads are not good enough for these kinds of buses because they can really not handle big potholes and all that because the way they are designed they will fall into a pothole and get stuck. The passengers who travel them do not really appreciate them; they put chewing gum everywhere, sit with their food and throw [it] all over and break the seats and all of that. And India is a bit the same when you look at India in [its] totality."

> Niels (DK) 13:00

Mads, however, commented that he did not think that the roads and traffic were any worse than in Southern Europe. Similar to Greta who also commented that the traffic was worse in London, Mads had travelled in Asia before. He had been to Thailand and Malaysia and similar to Tiina, he said that he tried not to prepare at all for coming to India and arrive with an open mind because "if you don't have any expectations, then there is no disappointment." There were thus a range of responses and reactions to the physical environments in the cities and their expectations of people-space relations, that is whether their point of reference was a small Nordic city or another large or mega-city, impacted the extent to which the new conditions impacted their own behaviors and attitudes.

5.2.1.2   Interaction with local population

Inequality, privacy, personal safety and language were the common threads when identifying how the interactions with other people in public spaces present spatial and environmental challenges, and these issues will be highlighted in this section. The two aspects of inequality that came to the fore were firstly the differential treatment that the Nordic migrants were exposed to themselves, and secondly

being confronted with poverty. I begin here with the former, which involves also some discussion of privacy and personal safety.

Unlike with Fechter's (2005) Euro-American expatriates in Jakarta who failed to recognize their experiences of being visible, racially othered and thus marked cases, the Nordic migrants displayed a range of reactions to being in a similar situation in India. At one extreme there was Niels who was highly critical of white people's behavior in Indian settings:

Niels' Story

Niels has travelled extensively worldwide and has visited almost all the African countries, the US and almost every place in Europe. He says that the only place he doesn't feel like a foreigner is India. He jokes that he feels like a foreigner when the taxi drivers cheat him, but he also knows how to swear back at them now. Niels thinks he feels like this because India is such a diverse society – there is a lot of diversity between people, so you don't stick out just because you look or talk differently. One of the good things that came out of the British being there is that people are not so surprised about seeing a white face. Niels believes that if newcomers try to adjust to the Indian way of life, then anyone can have a wonderful life there and not feel like a stranger.

He does not like what he terms as "the white skin syndrome", which is when white people automatically think they are superior. Within his own company he has had problems with foreigners because of people really believing that they are superior and expressing as much, which "really pisses [Indian] people off". At the same time, Niels recognizes that he is not part of the "lower sectors" (i.e. less wealthy) of society. He and his wife own land in four different village settings. When they travel there he says the hospitality is wonderful and that the tea that a person offers them in their home tastes ten times better than anything you will get in the Taj Hotel. The people are so nice and the food is delicious and Niels really enjoys this. He thinks most foreigner miss out on a lot.

For Niels, the difference in economic status does not mean that there should be a difference in group status and hence he treats everybody with the same respect regardless of their economic circumstances. He is also acutely aware of the diversity of Indian society and Indian history, and so does not immediately associate being stared at with being necessarily racially othered. Rather than expressing how being white restricts his use of the physical environment in India, different aspects of Niels' account of his life in India pointed very much towards how local his life is and how unrestricted he feels (see also 5.1.2).

Michael did not have the same sentiments and feelings of being 'a local' as Niels, however he was not offended by being racially othered, and neither did it restrict him in the way he and his family used the city nor the places they visited. Contrary to Fechter's subjects, the experience made him reflect on how it must be to be an immigrant in Denmark. What he did find objectionable though, was being charged a different price for things because he was foreign. The two sides to Michael's experience are relayed in his story below:

Michael's Story (1)

One of Michael's children is extremely blonde and fair with blue eyes; she stands out everywhere, especially in India and is somehow an obvious target but nothing has ever happened to her. Michael and his family feel very comfortable in India. He says that they could sometimes do without so much attention, but it is "positive attention" and not the negative attention he has seen in many other places in the world. They expected the opposite, so this has been a pleasant surprise. He feels much more secure in Bangalore than he ever has at home.

As such, Michael explains that does not avoid the touristy areas because of security concerns; he avoids them because he gets annoyed by all the people trying to sell him things that he cannot use and who he never sees anywhere else in India apart from in tourist spots. He prefers the other part of India, the non-touristy areas, which is much more interesting. Here he feels that people look at him as a white guy and a kind of tourist attraction! Michael thinks he is probably in more than 500 Indian personal photographs because he looks different, and he feels that people are far more curious about him and interested in him rather than being threatening. This has been a nice surprise. Even when he goes into a small village somewhere, where he could "obviously buy the whole village", he feels that people do not look at him as a purse, but rather questioningly wondering why he is there. That is a very positive discovery. By comparison if he is in Paris or Rome he more or less has to put his money in his socks so that he doesn't get robbed. He feels more threatened in these cities and often does not want to go out at night or do anything and he and his family have never been in that position in India.

Michael says there is some reverse racism in India. He believes that many places and institutions have the attitude: "You are white, you are rich, so you are going to pay." He finds this annoying but also to be expected somehow. It has surprised him how in many places tourists have to pay one price and Indians pay another and this can be up to ten times as much. As an expat, they live and pay taxes in India and have a full address there, but they don't have an Indian passport. Michael says they have to be very aware of where they are and what is expected at different hotels and

different entry fees. Some interpret this fee difference as 'you should have an Indian passport'; some interpret it as paying taxes so if you have your card proving that you do so, that is sufficient. A hotel, for instance can be a third of the price if one is resident, so they have to be careful.

Michael says it has been very interesting to experience this reverse racism and feels he is now better able to understand the people who have problems in Danish society. "It may be a different kind of racism they are confronted with, but it is still something to do with diversity and putting people into boxes. You can choose to argue about it or you can choose to say 'I don't care'." He acknowledges however that this is kind of a luxury problem as they are expecting him to be rich; in Denmark it is probably the opposite for immigrants. Nevertheless, this discrimination annoys him from time to time. He has learned a lot about racism from being abroad full time. Michael doesn't believe you are exposed to it in the same way as a tourist. He has never been anywhere before where there are two prices for everything. Michael notes that there are not that many tourists in Southern India compared to the size of the population, so he cannot see the big benefit of doing it.

Contrary to Niels' viewpoint, Michael believes that he and his family get attention from Indian people because of their white, foreign appearance. However, he does not see it as entirely negative and, moreover, it does not make them feel insecure. Michael, like several of the other key informants, expresses that he feels more secure in Indian public space than he does in other European cities, including in his home country.

Kristoffer expressed a similar dislike to Michael for being flogged things in tourist areas, but rather than seeing it as simply something that happens at tourist attractions, he feels that it happens because he is white and notes that the locals do not get "harassed and pestered" in the same way. He describes India as "a very racist society [where] white people are a source of revenue". He concluded that he gets too upset about it and so decided to stop. During the interview Kristoffer also commented on how shocked he was that Denmark had become so racist, and that although he only has a limited understanding being a white man usually resident in a white neighborhood, he had some insight how it must be for non-whites because he once had a Chinese boss who was quite racist towards Westerners. Nonetheless, similar to Fechter's subjects, Kristoffer continually made sweeping generalizations making homogeneous racial stereotypes about Indian people throughout the interview (see Section 5.3.2 and 5.3.1). Ken meanwhile joked about the 'skin tax' when travelling by auto-rickshaw because 'everybody' thinks he has a lot of money, but he only chooses to barter if he thinks the 'tax' is too extreme.

Similar to Kristoffer, Leena and Tiina found the attention they and their families received from Indians in public areas as a result of being a racial other more objectionable. Leena relayed that finding things for the children to do was a big challenge. After a few months they had seen almost everything and finding a place that was comfortable for them was not easy as they stuck out. Their younger son was especially noticeable because as he was "very tiny, blonde and cute":

> "Going to a park for a walk is a hassle because we get so much attention …we have to have a good night's rest, calm ourselves and be in a very good mood because there are immediately tens of people around us taking pictures, pinching his cheeks, picking him up. We did not think about this before we came … In the Western world there is a sense of being discreet. I don't know if you agree or not. You don't stare, at least you are not supposed to; you don't come and touch somebody else's child, it is not allowed; or picking them up, picking up babies from trolleys which they do as well; being very in your face all the time. We have this big space in Finland. We are used to having lots of room around us and here it does not exist."

> Leena (FI) 26:25

Leena and her family live in a small village in Finland and she had been used to a lot of space, and a lot of privacy. She worked as a translator and so had little interaction with others during her working time, both in Finland and in India. Leena had spent an extended period in the USA during university and had many foreign friends during her entire time at university. Leena perceives being discreet as the 'norm' in the Western world, neglecting to consider other Western cultures for example in the south of Europe where being tactile with other people's children, whether one knows them or not, is a common occurrence. In this case, the cultural capital that Leena had accumulated served to create negative judgments and conclusions about what could be considered Indian cultural behaviors, in spite of her exposure to ethnic diversity in the past. Unlike Michael who was able to adapt to the new circumstances, Leena stuck to her own understandings of the norms of behavior in this particular circumstance.

Similar to Leena, Tiina is very aware of herself when she goes into downtown Bangalore as she feels very different to everyone else. The summer before last Tiina was walking through Helsinki and wondering why she was enjoying it so much. She realized that it was because she felt "normal" there; nobody was staring at her and she "blended into a group". She also feels she gets attention because of the visible wealth, like the car, "it's like the money is walking on the street." Tiina

says she understands if you compare to the very poor, but it is not like that, "We are normal people, from errr, but of course it is different." Tiina's hesitation after describing herself as a "normal" person is an indication that she was aware of her privileged status compared to most of the residents and citizens of Bangalore.

The situations and reactions described above do not only relate to the challenges of being 'white' for the Nordic migrants' experience of space in India. They also reflect how group status can impact people-space relations. In charging higher prices for non-Indians at various tourist attractions, the Indian authorities appear to homogeneously stereotype all foreigners as visitors and subsequently more wealthy. This is interpreted by some migrants as discriminatory even though many of them are indeed earning very high salaries paid through offices outside of India. There are many however who are receiving high 'expat' salaries but from local (Indian) offices and consequently they pay Indian taxes. The actual entry prices to the sights and attractions, while much higher than the price for Indians, remain very low by European standards. It therefore appears to be the principle of the matter that the Nordic migrants find objectionable, perhaps because of the traditions in the Nordic region that have, in the recent past, promoted egalitarianism and universalism as social norms.

Another form of unwanted attention that led to feelings of insecurity was, for one female Nordic secondee, that of Indian men. Similar to Hottola (1999) and Korpela (2006)'s subjects in India, Freda felt that much of the feeling of insecurity in Delhi came about as a result of her gender. The nature of her job also played a role: she has to move around and socialize in the evenings alone, which is when "… you are supposed to be at home if you are a single woman. That's how most Indians look at you." She continues:

> "There is a trainee that has been attacked in the evening. I've heard of other delegations being attacked. One was even killed. It happens. There's quite a lot of crime going on here. You have to have your security guard which I have, and know the people you are travelling with […]. You have to know what you are doing and who you are doing it with. It's a security issue. You can't just go out. There is no way that after seven you can go for a stroll. It's impossible. You are jeopardizing your security if you do that. That is one thing that I miss from Copenhagen. It is a small village! You can go out and nothing would happen at two o'clock in the morning. That's not the same as in London. There are still security issues there, but here it is really, really bad."

> Freda (DK, R2) 9:23

For Freda being treated differently because she was a woman had a significant negative impact on her use of public space. She had experienced being followed by men in the park during the day, and she said that that was intimidating enough to stop her from being out in public alone after dark. None of the other female Nordic key informants expressed any fear for their safety as a result of being a woman, yet it was only Greta that stated clearly that she used public spaces unaccompanied by her partner of driver after dark. Freda was also one of only two single women that I interviewed. The other, Hanna, expressed that her age and maturity played a significant role in her gender relations with Indian men as she is "not perceived as a young girl". These findings suggest that it is the combination of age and gender that impact relations between Indian men and foreign (and possibly also Indian) women. Freda's recount of her encounters in India in general tended to err on the side of caution and fear, while Greta's tended towards openness and trust, in spite of them both having very international profiles. This may lead to Freda having a more heightened sense of her gender and a more acute awareness of the actions and reactions of the men around her than Greta who made no mention of the attention she receives in public from men. To the contrary, Greta relayed stories of being subject to gender discrimination from other 'Western' women in embassy compound who, when she approached them about possibilities for undertaking other work, suggested that she use the time to start a family instead.

Aside from language being an issue when travelling by auto-rickshaw as explained previously, knowledge of language affected other migrants stay in different ways. Greta for example believes it is more difficult to really engage with another culture simply by travelling and at the time of interviewing she had had three months of Hindi lessons. She told me that she could read the script, but could not understand everything, and she could make basic sentences. Using Hindi when she was out shopping often meant that she got lower prices for different items. She also said that in general Indian people are very curious about you if you are foreign, but when she then spoke Hindi to them, they would lose interest in her, but that meant that she got more space, which she said was "the biggest benefit" On the whole though she found that people respond positively and appreciated the fact that she had made the effort to learn the language, and that it gave her the sense of being more part of the community rather than "just a tourist trying to get cheap prices".

By contrast, Hanna expressed that because she was aware of the different languages spoken in the different regions, she has not learned any Hindi. Tamil is

the main language spoken in Chennai where she lives, Kannada is spoken in Bangalore where she spends a lot of time, Marathi is the main language in Mumbai and Hindi is only spoken in Delhi. She said that she had thought about learning Tamil, but was not able to find a course through the relocation company because all of the courses are organized for people who do not work and so are held during the day. Hanna's position as a working migrant was as such a disadvantage. Even though she was in an economically privileged position, she was not able to take any lessons because of the structural conditions in India and the lack of opportunities afforded in the area of language learning.

Hanna expressed that she had had a lot of communication problems with Indians particularly over the phone. When communicating with officials by telephone, they often hung up on her because they could not understand her. She said that she is used to it now and has even developed an Indian accent herself. Hanna also relayed that her clients in Finland also struggle to understand the local staff and so they are happy that she is now located in India. The spatial aspects regarding language thus have a transnational dimension in the sphere of work. Hanna said that she felt that she could not come out and tell the staff that there accent is too thick, so instead she tells them that they need to speak more slowly because Finns are not native speakers of English and they will find it difficult to understand them and this "works" sometimes. Expressing the challenge in this way suggests that Hanna believes that the problem lies with the Indians and that she needs to tell them untruths (which, in my understanding, were indeed truths) in order for them to speak 'more clearly'. Hanna was not alone in her critique of the way Indians speak English, and it was my impression that in spite of English being the second language in India, spoken by millions of people there, some foreign migrants felt that their command and comprehension of the English language was superior to that of Indian people. Ken, for example, commented that "in India it is not really proper English; it is something else." It was the (majority) Indians who needed to change the way they speak in order to satisfy the (minority) foreign migrants, rather than the minority elite learning to understand the accent and nuances of the English language spoken by the host country national majority. Some of the Nordic (and non-Nordic) informants, thus indicated that they also perceived themselves to occupy a higher group status than their host country nationals in terms of language, in spite of English being their second language.

5.2.2 Private Space

The spatial and environmental challenges facing the Nordic migrants with regard to their private space centered largely round issues to do with 'home'. I was able to see ten of the sixteen Nordic interviewees' homes, and all of the key informants made some reference to either their living space or the neighborhood they lived in during the course of the interview. The data reveals that there were four central issues that arose when the Nordic migrants confronted spatial and environmental challenges with respect to their private space.

The first issue is that of reliance on vertical relationships (with the employer and relocation companies) in order to find the 'right' place to live. Among the Nordic key informants I was in contact with, this reliance was absolute, which is further support for the boundaries of Marshall's (1950) concept of industrial citizenship to be redefined to include housing, at least in the case of secondment abroad. None of the Nordic migrants relayed that they used their own agency in the pre-departure phase in order to gather more information about the options of places to live in any of the cities, for example by developing bridging or linking social capital through online networks or following other foreign migrants' blogs, or by contacting Indian relocation companies. It must also be noted that in 2009 the housing market in India did not have the extensive coverage online as it has today, neither were the city maps one could find online particularly accurate or informative. Some migrants like Karin and Beth did however develop bonding social capital with foreign migrants in India which was useful to them in their decision-making process regarding where to live in Bangalore.

As described previously in Section 5.1.2, in some cases, secondees and their accompanying partners and families were given a pre-departure orientation visit to the city they would be living in and assigned a relocation agent to assist them with finding the right place to live. Even when orientation visits were offered, secondees were still seemingly very reliant on the employer and relocation companies appointed to them by the employer for guidance with housing, not least because of the sheer size of the cities they are relocated to. Some other migrants were given orientation visits but left to find a place to live by themselves and others did not get a visit at all.

Upon arrival in India, things were not always straightforward for the Nordic migrants either. Some of them needed to stay in a hotel before they moved into their homes, and one had to stay in a spa resort for a week. Two of these migrants were travelling with their families and moved to a private gated community called

Prestige Ozone (PO) after just a week or two. Later on because of the hike in rental prices and dissatisfaction with the landlords both families moved to yet another private gated community called Palm Meadows (PM). Neither of the migrants expressed any objection to having to move three times within such a short period (the secondments were for 1½-3 years). To the contrary, they both expressed that they enjoyed the luxury of the stays in the hotel/spa and were both pleased to move away from PO. Karin and her husband stayed in a hotel for the first three months, which she did not like at all. She said that it was ok for the first few weeks and after that it wasn't good. Karin told me that they were there for this length of time because it took them longer to find a suitable place to live than they had anticipated as there were many more factors to consider than they imagined, for example the distance and time to get to and from work for her husband. There were others though who moved straight into their properties immediately upon arrival in India. Leena stated that she was happy they did not have to live somewhere else first, but they had to rent some furniture initially because theirs had not reached India yet.

Among the Nordic migrants, it was the so-called family expatriates and more mature secondees and their partners who chose to live in the private gated communities because they, rightly or wrongly, assumed them to be a safer environment where they would be exposed to fewer risks. Challenges brought about by the natural environment (dangerous animals) and structural phenomena (new and incomplete or poor development of properties) and simple chance traffic accidents, however, were not mitigated by this choice. No amount of economic capital or any other kind of privilege could protect the Nordic migrants from these risks. Accumulating bridging social capital and gaining knowledge and information from existing residents could have been a strategy taken to gain some understanding for the potential safety hazards and other challenges that can occur in these homes. For the seconded workers living in private gated communities, knowledge of the existence of the different communities appeared to be lacking which emphasizes once again the reliance on the migrants have on their vertical relationships and the significance of industrial citizenship. It must also be noted that between 2009 and 2014 the difference and rapid changes in the property market in Indian cities has been astounding, and it is highly likely that the availability of information via the internet has concurrently vastly improved. Palm Meadows is described on its website (in 2014) as:

> "570 Victorian styled villas dot 100 acres of land painting the picture of a utopian world, sitting cozy on the busy Airport Varthur Road of Bangalore.

The idyllic greens - 70 percent of green space – surround you with a feeling of peace. Luxury homes crafted to suit your personal taste in a truly beautiful setting offer a lifestyle that is both exclusive and superior. A state of the art clubhouse nestled in lush green, and world-class amenities complete this exquisite portrait of soulful living."

(http://www.adarshdevelopers.com/palmmeadows/PalmMeadows_Home.aspx)

Using vocabulary such as utopian, idyllic, peace, exclusive, superior, world-class and exquisite, Brosius (2010) might agree, contrasts PM strongly against the 'outside world' of the city of Bangalore, and the fact that PM can "offer a lifestyle" implies that there is no need to leave. It has a clubhouse with different sports facilities and exercise classes, a restaurant and other facilities. There is also a groceries store and other shops on the site and so, as Tiina explained, there was in fact no need to leave the area as such. However, similar to Fechter's (2007) subjects who referred to themselves as living in a 'golden cage', Tiina found that by not leaving PM very often, she felt like she was living in a "luxurious prison". Hindman (2008) finds that in the case of American seconded families in Kathmandu, it is the sending companies and the expatriate social circles that encourage women to 'insulate and protect' their families from the outside world by leading a particular lifestyle, eating particular food, and making a particular kind of home. What is more, the women are judged harshly by the employers and the expat community if they don't. It was my impression however in the case of the Nordic partners of secondees who had children with them that living in the private gated communities was very much a choice made by the mothers and wives themselves. There was no mention of the employers particularly encouraging them to live in a particular district, and neither did any of the Nordic key informants mention that they felt judged by others about their choice of where or how to live, yet these judgments were present.

Some of the Nordic and non-Nordic interviewees (male and female) complained that the structural quality of the houses at PM was poor and that the houses were not very big. I interviewed in a range of different sized housing at PM, and deduced that the size of the house depends on the amount of money an employer is willing to allocate for living expenses. The budget set by the employer is one side of the coin; the choice the secondees make of where to live is the other side. I was also told by other key informants that one can rent much bigger properties in more central areas of Bangalore for the same price as a small property in Palm Meadows. The secondees, if they have been made aware of all the options (see for example Beth's Story in Section 5.1.2), therefore make a conscious choice

about which aspects of their living space and neighborhood they prioritize and work within those parameters.

The second set of issues to do with the home that were significant factors when considering the spatial and environmental challenges was the family status of the Nordic migrants and to some extent the personal reasons for being in India. These aspects played a role for many of the migrants in deciding where and how to live.

Two of the Danish male secondees arrived in India alone, for example. Mads remained alone for the duration of his stay and opted to live in a serviced apartment in the city that his company has leased for some time and he says that that made things easy. Kristoffer by contrast would be joined by his wife later on, and he relayed, as did Hanna who was also in India alone, that he had great difficulties because "managing work and home was like having two jobs". The house he was going to be renting in PO was not finished yet, even though he had moved into it, and so Kristoffer had to get all of this organized around his working time which proved very challenging. He was reliant on the flexibility of his employers, and Hanna who had no direct superior in India, had to structure and restructure her work times around any tasks, chores or errands that needed to be done at home that involved the use of external service providers. Many of the family migrants I spoke to believed that life was much easier for migrants travelling to India alone. My data reveals that the type of housing migrants choose to live in during their secondment period can have a great impact on their experience of everyday life regardless of their family status.

The desire to live in areas populated by Indian people and get a sense of Indian culture was expressed by several of the Nordic and non-Nordic key informants. Many of the young mobile professionals (Fechter 2007) expressed that they wanted to 'experience India' and therefore opted for accommodation in traditional gated communities and non-gated suburbs close to the city centre; they imagined that the private gated communities were filled with foreign expats and did not constitute 'real' India. In making this strong distinction, the young global professionals, define themselves against those who choose to live in different and, as they saw it, 'non-Indian' neighborhoods. Similar to Norum's (2013) research subjects, the young mobile professionals gauge levels of authenticity and subsequently position themselves in a different, perhaps higher, group status in the expatriate hierarchy (Hindman 2009a). As has been discussed the gated communities are in fact overwhelmingly populated by persons of Indian origin. For Tiina and other non-Nordic key informants who lived in such communities, there was not such a strong separation of 'Indians' and 'expats' and interactions with Indians in their private

spaces was common occurrence. None of the Nordic young global professionals, by contrast, relayed that they had had Indian friends visit them at their homes.[82] Several of the female Nordic and non-Nordic key informants who lived in private gated communities had Indian neighbors, some of whom had lived abroad for many years, some of whom had always lived in India, who were close friends (see Section 5.3.2).

The vast majority of the key informants who were travelling with children chose to live in private gated communities as the parents believed them to be a safer environment for the children. While most did indeed express that they were happy that their children could play outside alone, Tiina's story relayed previously in Section 5.2.1 is a good example of how the idea of these kinds of communities can create a false sense of security. Her story shows that there are possibly even greater threats posed by the natural environment within the private space of the home because of the more remote locations the private areas are situated in. While Tiina's general feeling towards Bangalore as a city came across quite negative, she enjoyed her lifestyle change largely as a result of ending up at the private gated community, Palm Meadows. Anna and her partner Ken, like Karin and her partner, were in India without any children and they had chosen to live more centrally. For them, it was important to live where they could have easy access to the city for socializing and recreation. They also took into consideration how long it would take the seconded partner to get to and from work.

The third issue pertained to privacy and personal space. As described in Section 2.2, Danes and to an even greater extent, Finns are used to having space around them and consequently a lot of privacy. In addition, most likely because of the egalitarian foundations upon which modern societies were built, there is not a strong culture of servitude (Ray and Qayum 2009) so employing staff to work in the home, and hence having 'others' in one's personal space at home is rare. Lack of privacy with regard to private space, thus, surfaced as an issue from two perspectives: firstly with regard to the proximity of living accommodations to one another; and secondly with regards to having domestic and manual workers in the home.

Greta was one of two informants who lived on an embassy compound.[83] For her there were two main challenges that she and her husband faced as a

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[82] Several of the Dutch informants had close Indian friends; for example, one was dating an Indian woman, another was playing in a band with all Indian members apart from himself.

[83] The other was a British male accompanying partner who lived with his American wife and child on the US Embassy compound.

consequence of that choice. The first was related to health. Greta informed me that she has to go to the doctor, a GP on the compound, fairly frequently as viruses tend to go around the compound easily and quickly; there are often a lot of people in the surgery at the same time with the same complaint. Greta seemed to accept this situation as par for the course and did not appear too concerned about it. The second challenge which seemed more pertinent was the intimacy of the compound environment. On the plus side, the compound is full of people working for the Foreign Office and so there is ample opportunity to socialize there. Greta confesses though that both she and her husband very much miss their friends at home as the interaction with work colleagues sometimes feels a bit false. She states, "You know, you'll go the shop and there's your boss and your bosses boss, and there might be your secretary …" Greta finds this quite awkward. She knows of people who never leave the compound as it has all the facilities of a small town. It was my impression that, to an even greater extent than the private gated communities, the compounds were designed so that there really was no practical need to leave. Greta finds it "a bit freaky" that some people never leave the compound. She and her husband get out and see Delhi very regularly and do trips at the weekends.

The density of the population in the Indian cities meant that it was difficult to find homes with a lot of space around them. It was suggested by one migrant that it is the size of one's house, rather than the amount of space around it that was a stronger reflection of status and power in India. This may be considered a strong culture difference as it is in contrast to Nordic culture on two levels. Firstly with respect to the Nordic tradition of being close to nature, and secondly because of the traditions surrounding (flat) hierarchy and egalitarianism. It is noteworthy that so few of the Nordic migrants commented on the lack of private space with regard to the proximity of their properties to their neighbors.[84]

Lack of privacy at home because of the presence of domestic staff was also a complaint made by surprisingly few of the Nordic migrants. For Tiina, having domestic staff in the house full time, for example hiring an au pair, was not an option because of the lack of privacy that it would entail. She said she would find it uncomfortable for example if she had to argue with her husband. Michael expressed similar sentiments about having a full-time live-in maid adding that it

[84] The population density of the capital regions of Denmark and Finland (see Appendix 5) are perhaps higher than one would expect, which suggests that those who have moved to India from city regions in Denmark and Finland may be used to their living spaces being in close proximity to others.

doesn't "match with their mind-set" and that he would get annoyed by their presence very quickly. Greta also stated that part of the reason she was resisting having a cleaner was that she did not like the idea of having a stranger in their home and personal space. As detailed in Section 5.1.2, many of the Nordic migrants said that they found it strange to have domestic staff, but it was the hierarchical nature of the relationship that was more of a challenge than the privacy issue. These findings suggest that cultural change is taking place in the Nordic countries and that 'privacy' is a transformative or permeable or in the terminology of Inglehart and Baker (2000), an evolving element of Nordic culture. In contrast to the difficulties with adapting to the crowded public areas (see Section 5.2.1), the Nordic migrants appeared to adapt more easily to sharing their personal space at home, perhaps because they could easily see the rewards of it were/are more tangible (e.g. bigger indoor spaces; time saving and freeing up of time for accompanying partners). Several of the Nordic migrants commented that upon returning home, they could now consider employing domestic staff in the form of cleaners, which is a reflection social and cultural change that can evolve from migratory activity (Castles and Davidson 2000).

The fourth factor to note was the differences in the approach to constructing home among the Nordic migrants. For some, the home reflected aspects of their identity and culture. Having a few or many items from the home in the country of origin was of importance from both an emotional (culturally and personally) and also a practical point of view. Karin and her husband brought pictures, paintings and most of their personal belongings, including Karin's wedding dress, with them from home as they were renting out the house. They did not bring very much furniture at all. Karin states that she really appreciates that she has this stuff with her, including the kettle and other kitchen utensils, as there are many things she cannot find in Bangalore. In Greta's case, the apartment they were living in was already furnished and they could choose the color of the sofa. She said that their home in the UK is chiefly IKEA furnished with some personal Finnish items. Although coming to India from the UK, Greta brought the Finnish items with her to India and also has personal photographs around the apartment.

For those who lived on embassy compounds and in private gated communities, these communities offered a home 'life' that excluded the outside world of India and strongly differentiated between the migrants' people-space relations. As with Fechter's (2007) expatriate wives in Indonesia, for some of the accompanying partners the segregated communities were a source of refuge, even though at times they felt restricted, while for others they were something to escape from as often as

possible. The privilege of compound life was relative and had both spatial and environmental advantages and disadvantages. The way the Nordic migrants responded to those advantages and disadvantages differed and ultimately would lead to different accumulations of cultural capital: for example, Tiina spent most of her time in the segregated community and was able to pursue new hobbies, thus increasing her own skills set. Also in forming friendships with Indian neighbors she stated that she got to know a lot more about Indian people and Indian culture; Greta meanwhile, in the words of Bourdieu (1984), widened her field and in escaping the compound spent more time exploring and subsequently educating herself about the city and country.

In addition to life on an embassy compound, there was a blurring of boundaries between work and home in two more ways. Firstly, as already discussed in Section 5.1.2, the migrants became employers in the home because they had to employ staff to carry out different kinds of work. Secondly, the site of home became a site of work for some of the Nordic migrants. In the three cases of the latter, the Nordic migrants had quite different reasons for making this choice. Neither Brett, Leena nor Anna expressed any dissatisfaction with locating their work in the private space of the home. For Anna and Leena who were accompanying partners having a work space at home was a pre-requisite for accepting the assignment. This reflects the power of the accompanying partners' agency in the decision making process involved with accepting the assignment and somewhat diffuses the notion that accompanying partners are simply 'trailing' spouses (see Fechter 2007: 38-57).

Brett who was self-employed and in India long-term, works from home but states that he does so because the facilities at business centres are just starting to be developed and are not properly integrated yet. Hence, the structural conditions in India (price of property and poor infrastructure) strongly influenced his decision to work from home which partially supports Meyer's (2004) claims about companies in emerging economies compromising their standards in order to be competitive. While Brett had simply set up an office space in one of the rooms in their apartment, Leena had demanded that they find a house big enough so that she could have a room of her own to use an a office for her translation job. Niels also has his work space on the same property as home and his living space is also shared with his wife's parents.

Anna was starting up her own business and so needed easy access to the city, and also a house big enough for her to have a work space. They went from a 52 square meter apartment in Finland to a house which was more than 300 square meters, which was quite a change for them both. I conducted separate interviews

with them at their home. It was a large three storey house with a large room where she could work with her designs, a large guest bedroom, as well as their own bedroom, a large entrance room, kitchen-dining room and three bathrooms. They did not bring any furniture with them and had not fully furnished the house. Anna told me that she is not particularly fussed about these kinds of things (furnishing and furniture) and so it was not a major priority for them.

5.3   Socio-Cultural Inter- and Intra-actions

As the previous two sections have shown, the socio-cultural challenges facing the Nordic migrants in India impede many aspects of their lives including the way social protection and support are received and, to some extent, fostered. They also affect how spatial and environmental challenges are dealt with in the public and private space. In this section, I draw attention to how different socio-cultural factors of the migrants' everyday lives present challenges and opportunities for the Nordic migrants firstly in the sphere of work and employment and secondly during their non-working social and free time. Group status, status hierarchy and the (in)ability to form multiple complex social categorizations of the self and other are salient themes throughout this section. The analysis also illuminates the stark difference between the accompanying partners' and working partners' relationships to and within the Indian social system, and the particular separate communities within which they operate.

5.3.1   Work and Employment

> "[My wife] does not work, but there are some activities in that domain anyway and it will probably end up [in paid work]. It goes for anyone I have met that has taken the [leap to go] to India or anywhere else in the world: I believe [they] have some kind of a starter gene, something that drives [them]. There is some kind of personal drive in [all of them]."
>
> Michael (DK) 35:10

The vast majority of the Nordic key informants seem to possess the "starter gene" that Michael referred to above when he was telling me about his wife's theatre project she is pursuing in India, where she does not have a work visa. In spite of visa restrictions and other factors prohibiting them from undertaking paid work in

India, the analysis below reveals that almost all of the accompanying partners intended to or indeed undertook some kind of work activity, with the majority engaging with the Indian economy or society. Thus, the working lives of not only the Nordic seconded migrants but also the accompanying partners, perhaps surprisingly, support argumentation for Karkabi's (2013) production-led approach to migration.

There were some stark differences between the socio-cultural experiences of work and employment between the accompanying women partners interviewed and the seconded and permanently resident working men and women. Consequently, this section is divided according to the two groups who also exhibit widely divergent experiences within their groups. The diversity in their vertical and horizontal relationships within the sphere of work among similar groups, as well as the difference between the groups emphasizes the need to address the analysis of social citizenship using wider and more flexible parameters.

5.3.1.1   Accompanying partners

For the accompanying partners, the data revealed that it was both elements of their horizontal and vertical relationships (e.g. the socio-cultural environment of India, in the family unit and with the sending company) that impacted their working lives, and that their working lives concomitantly impacted their horizontal and vertical relationships. Unlike Fechter and Hindman's expat wives in Indonesia and Nepal who presented themselves as victims of their husbands' career aspirations, the Nordic accompanying partners that I interviewed in India did not position themselves as having a lower group status to their husbands and partners. Instead they expressed how they used their agential privilege and other capabilities to, in Erel's (2010) terminology, open their treasure chest of resources and transform their cultural capital to fit into their new environment. They were highly effective in doing so and often created further or new opportunities for themselves in India and consequently increased their stock of cultural capital. The structural conditions in India, being a growth economy, were furthermore frequently cited as being to their advantage. The accompanying partners tended to focus on these opportunities presented to them by India's current stage of development rather than seeing it, and their position as an accompanying partner as obstacles. Their position explicitly exemplifies the synthesis that is produced through the interdependence and intra-action of structure and agency (Bilton et al. 2002). Nonetheless, similar to some of Mäkelä, Suutari and Mayerhofer (2011) and

Mäkelä, Känsälä, and Suutari's (2011) female expatriates, several of the accompanying partners had made sacrifices with their careers, and the husband's career was in focus, and so this was also a topic of discussion. I interviewed seven accompanying partners, one from Denmark and six from Finland, and continue this section by discussing their cases.

As relayed previously in Section 5.1, the visa restrictions imposed upon accompanying spouses greatly impacts the possibilities that they have for pursuing paid work in India. This, rather than the social security restrictions facing Finnish and Danish accompanying partners (see Section 5.1.1), was a topic of discussion in so far as they said which visa they were on in conjunction with telling me about the activities they were or would be undertaking in India. The Indian state regulations therefore, not the Danish or Finnish state regulations, appeared to determine the type of activities the women undertook. In spite of their reputation for high trust and low corruption, several of the Nordic women broke the rules of their visas without reflection or remorse, as did many other non-Nordic informants, and carried out work in India which provided them with a monetary income. Others circumvented the restrictions by acquiring different kinds of visas and thus were able to carry out paid work.

The divergent situations that the women were in and the variety of work activities that they undertook resulted in differing exposure to the institution of the labor market and the vertical and horizontal relationships associated with it. Beth, for example, was not married to her partner at the time of interviewing and had managed to come to an agreement with her husband's employers that she accompany him to India on her own business visa. She should, as far as the Indian authorities were concerned, have also been carrying out work for the sending company. It was understood, however, between the sending company and Beth that she would not. She believes that the company had to vouch that they would "take care" of her and she was not supposed to find any other employment, but, contrary to the perhaps expected 'Nordic' tradition of honesty and trustworthiness, she did engage in paid work. Beth, moreover, felt at an "advantage" because she had heard about people who had applied for work visas and had had them rejected because they were married to someone who was on a work visa in India. Beth thus perceived herself as strategic rather than dishonest.

Anna, who had a common law marriage with her partner, had just finished her studies in Finland and had started up her own company, before their departure to India. As a result she was in India on a business visa. She was registered as living at her husband's parents' home in Finland and was indeed carrying out work in India.

Her common-law husband was there on a work visa, deregistered in Finland and registered as living in Bangalore. Anna was fully aware that were the authorities aware that she was married to a person who registered as living in India and furthermore there on secondment, her application for a business visa, as Beth suggested, would likely have been denied. Anna too goes against the expected behavior of a Nordic migrant and withholds information from the authorities in order to progress in her career.

In both cases the accompanying partners are on their own visas and have their 'own' residency permits and are thus independent of their partners, at least on paper. In reality however, their work statuses and livelihoods were both highly contingent on their partner's employed status and thus the sending company. In Anna's case, her husband's higher disposable income during their time in India enabled her to start up her Finnish business, with the manufacturing based in India, without having to take out a loan and go into debt. Anna stated that this together with the structural conditions in India, which provide cheap labor and materials, meant that she had an easier start that she may not have been able to have had she started up the company in Finland, whether production was based there or in India. The quality of the space (Weiss 2005) that she now finds herself in has, thus, improved. In addition, her husband's secondment and the economic privileges that come with it have afforded her greater spatial autonomy (ibid). These advantage, in addition to being able to transform her 'national' cultural capital to the Indian context (Erel 2010) and deploy her erotic capital, have contributed to the further accumulation of migrant cultural capital. Weiss (2005) rightly draws our attention to the spatial aspects of social positions, but she fails to give due attention to the crucial aspect of time. As Anna states herself, in spite of the recession in Europe, her career was in fact benefiting from being in India at that moment in time.

Beth's situation was quite different, yet she also believes that she was at an advantage at that particular moment in time because there were a lot of "opportunities" in India; she states that "it is just a question of whether I want to take them". In Denmark, Beth had just moved into a managerial position, and was working longer hours and earning a higher salary than her partner. Beth stated that it would have been much better for her career if they had stayed in Denmark. On the other hand, in India she feels that she can do anything she wants to as, similar to Anna, as a couple they were not dependent on her having an income, "I can work for someone if I feel that this would be interesting or challenging. I can work for someone for free." (32:54) Beth confesses that she is a very structured, career

oriented person so having such freedom is nice but the "lack of direction" and things being "so open" can be challenging. Nonetheless she recognizes this as "an opportunity to explore something new" professionally. When they first arrived in India she helped a Danish company to find investment partners in India. At the time of interviewing Beth was doing some consultancy work for another company that was looking for opportunities in India. This was a new area for her. Even though their activities differ, Anna and Beth are similar in their drive and ability to accumulate migrant cultural capital which they both believe is facilitated by the transformations currently taking place in Indian economy and society.

All of the other accompanying partners were similarly able to use their agential privileges and previously accumulated cultural capital to find work activities which, as Beth put it, "made sense" to them to pursue during this privileged time – a time when it was not a financial necessity for them to undertake paid employment. Beth stated that when she gets back to Denmark, she does not want to say "I did yoga, tennis and lunches" because that is not who she is and she does not feel it would be beneficial to her in the future either. In general, the activities the accompanying partners were doing prior to arriving in India seemed to strongly affect what they were spending their time on when I interviewed them. Those, like Beth and Anna, who were highly career focused or self-employed either continued building their careers or found suitable alternatives, albeit often on a part-time rather than full-time basis. Leena was another who was able to continue with her translation work (full-time) facilitated by the Internet, and she also engaged in voluntary work at a slum.

Greta had a professional career prior to her husband's secondment. She had taken a career break from her job at a government department in the UK in order to come to India. She and her husband had decided that they wanted to go abroad and do something different, but it was important for him to continue working in the field of climate change and so his desire to foster his career took precedence. Even so, it was important that they move somewhere where Greta could also find paid work as a part of the UK diplomatic corp. Opportunities came up in Canada and India, and they chose the Indian offer because they were advised that she had good chances of getting work in India as the High Commission there is very big. This turned out to be the case. Greta was doing project-based work (the conditions of her career break are such that she cannot enter into regular full-time work) at the time of interviewing, and was employed under local conditions with a local salary. She found the work she was doing intellectually stimulating and was enjoying it, yet still felt a void from her old job. Greta, thus, was in a similar

situation to Beth. However, while Beth's husband's employer could only provide her with false information in order for her to acquire a business visa, Greta's husband's employer (the British government) was also her employer in the UK, and was able to give an unofficial assurance of work – work that would, furthermore, suit her intellectual requirements, as she intimated during our interview.

The differences therefore in the vertical relationships in the home country with regard to the type of employer and relationship to that employer for both the accompanying partner and their seconded partner can be of consequence to the accompanying partner's experience of work in the destination country, thus affecting their citizenship constellation while abroad. In addition, the type of work activity undertaken gives the accompanying partners very different experiences of horizontal citizenship as they interact with different types of people in different spaces: Greta was having a 'local' experience working with Indian colleagues on a local salary, yet somewhat exclusive as it is within the diplomatic corps; Anna was also having a very local experience starting up her business and interacting with Indian service providers and producers; Beth was engaging with both the Indian and Danish business communities; and Leena had separate attachments to the Finnish labor market virtually through her translation work, and face-to-face with Indian people and society and the expat community through her work at the slum.

Saara and Karin were less focused on building or maintaining careers, but were also keen to be work active. Their work activities in India were not related to particular vertical institutions such as a particular employer that they or their husbands were or had been attached to or the Indian state (e.g. the manipulation of visa restrictions). Rather they approached the sphere of work according to the opportunities they could find that suited their lifestyle in India. Their relation to time and space differed quite significantly to the career-oriented accompanying partners.

Karin had been working full time in retail in the UK before coming to India. She described herself as always having been very independent and said that she had always worked (see Section 5.1.1). In India, Karin was a volunteer at the OWC and through the OWC she also found a job teaching a couple of hours a week at a slum school. Karin said that she spent about six hours a week doing work activities, which combined with the free time activities she enjoyed, was all there was time for in light of the restriction of needing to share one car and driver with her husband.

Saara had been studying and working part-time with handicapped people when she and her family lived in Finland. She found similar voluntary work with

handicapped children during their previous secondment in the Middle East before coming to India, but did not do the same in India because she found it very painful saying goodbye to the children when the secondment finished. Since leaving Finland, she spends three months every summer back in Finland in her old job. Saara stated that she does not like being "just a housewife" and sometimes she regrets the decision not to take up the voluntary work with handicapped children again in India. As a result of her dissatisfaction with life in India, Saara told me that she started to become depressed. She relayed that one night she could not sleep and it suddenly came to her that she should try to find something to do with her time via the internet. She found a massage course and qualified as a deep tissue masseuse. She now gives massages at their home, mostly to Finnish men.

Both Saara and Karin found entirely new work activities to undertake, Karin using her agency and social capital, and Saara using her agency and ICT skills. In both cases, the Nordic migrants added to their stock of cultural capital, however they are very different social citizens: Karin works within the expatriate community and also with the local people out in public spaces, while Saara works with her fellow Finns within the confines of her home, in her private space.

Tiina's time before coming to India revolved greatly around building a family. After their first child was born and finishing maternity leave, Tiina was working at a music school, and also working on her Master's degree. She then fell pregnant with their second child and did not complete the degree. It was her plan to return to work when the second child was two, and she was entirely ready to do so, but then her husband was offered the secondment to India. Tiina's previous experiences therefore neither involved an established career nor full-time work. At the time of interviewing towards the end of their three-year secondment, Tiina was spending her time looking after her youngest child and pursuing leisure activities (see Section 5.3.2). Apart from the first six months of the secondment, Tiina told me that she did not undertake any kind of work activity even though she recognized that it would have been easy to find work in India because of the growth there. She said that she felt that her career was "lost" and she was nervous that she would not be able to find a job in the future. Her vertical citizenship was thus quite distinctively different to the other accompanying partners in so far as her perceived attachments to the labor market in general were very weak. In spite of later on expressing that being able to pursue hobbies again after dedicating her life for the past few years to her family allowed her to "come out" again after feeling like she was "losing" herself, she berated herself for her choices:

"I feel like I have been just a lazy cow for the last three years! You know, I think it is the work thing and I not finishing my [studies] even though I have had [plenty of] time here. I don't know what it is. There was some other Finnish woman who tried to do something and she just felt the days went. There is always some little hassle you have to [deal with]."

Tiina (FI) 1:11:20

Tiina and her family would shortly be moving on to another posting to a non-EU country in Europe, where she thinks she will do some kind of work activity even if it is teaching yoga to housewives and beginners; she comments that it "might not be that fulfilling". Tiina's situation, thus resembles more the housewives of Fechter and Hindman's studies with regards her choice of activities. However, rather than placing blame on her partner, Tiina recognizes that there were possibilities for her in India to do some kind of work activity but she chose not to take them. Agential privilege again comes into play. Nonetheless, the conflicting emotions about her choices may reflect the impact of her national culture and the protestant work ethic that prevails in Finland and among Finns. It may also highlight her awareness of not performing the behavior she believes others, including me as the interviewer, might expect of someone in her privileged position. Nonetheless, Tiina said that she had benefited from work that she had undertaken in the first six months assisting a relocation company in preparing Indian families for secondment to Finland. She did not receive a cultural awareness course, and told me that doing this work with Indian people helped her adjust to India a lot during that initial period. Thus, although her vertical relationships were somewhat weak, she was able to strengthen her horizontal relationships through the limited work experience she had as well as through the social engagements she had in her free time (see Tiina's Story (2) in Section 5.3.2).

Several of the other women also expressed that the horizontal relationships they had through their work experiences gave them the opportunity to learn more about different aspects of Indian culture and society they would otherwise not have been exposed to. Engaging in work activities, thus provided several of the Nordic accompanying partners the opportunity to increase their cultural capital. In some cases this facilitated understanding of and engagement with Indian society which also eased the adjustment process. In others though, being exposed directly to the differences in culture served to reconfirm their perceived social distance between 'them' and 'us', and fed into the tendency for dichotomous social categorizing and, thus, a decrease in levels of trust in their horizontal relationships with Indian people, in accordance with Rubini and Palmonari's (2012) findings.

Karin's work at the slum school, for instance, exposed her to issues of caste (parents not wanting their children to mix with different castes and classes being divided according to caste), hierarchy and gender (the headmaster not wanting to listen to her suggestions because she was a woman), and poverty (she is involved in a project teaching the mothers arts and crafts and numeracy and literacy skills so that they can make their own living; children not being able to attend because they have to be at home and work). Leena worked with children in a small orphanage and said that she appreciated it very much. She enjoyed being with the children who she said always seemed very happy and content for the things they have in their lives. She said that she constantly felt torn between feelings of happiness and sadness and was very proud of the children. Saara's class, when doing her deep tissue massage course, consisted of her and a few other Indian men, and the instructors were a heterosexual Australian couple. During the course she was exposed to a physical aspect of gender relations: the students had to practice on one another and the person being massaged was only supposed to be in their underwear. Saara told me that none of the Indian men wanted to practice on her because she was a woman. The instructors however insisted upon it, but Saara said they "only did it softly" on her because they thought she would "break".[85] The men flatly refused to be touched by her because she was a woman and so she could only practice on the instructors. Saara also says that the men were always "looking somewhere else". Saara relayed the experience with a tone of disbelief and disapproval, rather than with enthusiasm, curiosity or interest as in Leena, Karin and Tiina's cases. As highlighted in other sections, Saara expressed a distinct lack of trust and a dislike towards Indians in general throughout our interview

5.3.1.2   Secondee / working migrant

In this section only I refer to the key informants as working migrants so as to include both Brett and Niels, who were not on secondment at the time of interviewing, in the discussions. There were both similarities and differences in the socio-cultural inter- and intra-actions that the working migrants encountered through their employment, and moreover, on the ways that they responded them. On the one hand, unlike the accompanying partners whose horizontal and vertical relationships (e.g. the socio-cultural environment of India, in the family unit and

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[85] Deep tissue massage involves direct deep pressure and people who receive this form of massage are often made aware that it usually causes some discomfort and pain.

with the sending company) impacted their working lives, and vice-versa, few of the Nordic working migrants' felt that their horizontal relationships outside of the workplace impacted their work, however some noted differences in their working hours. On the other hand there were several examples of how horizontal relationships inside the workplace affected their relationship to the socio-cultural environment outside of work. A further issue that will be discussed in this section is that during the interviews with the working migrants, there was clear evidence that the way they encountered difference in the workplace strongly reflected how they encountered difference outside of the workplace; the different approaches to hierarchy and culture difference were the most salient topics in this area.

As noted above, time surfaced as an issue with regard to working hours. I was told by several informants that Indian people work long hours. Among the Nordic key informants, some worked longer hours, some worked different but not longer hours, and some worked longer hours during the week and also had to work on Saturdays. Some of the working migrants who arrived in India alone expressed how difficult it was in the beginning to organize practical matters such as finding a place to live while working full time; they also expressed that not having a partner or children with them allowed them to work longer hours if they wished. Mads noted that he preferred how it was in India where there was not so much rigidity in the working times. He told me that in India it was perfectly ok to leave in the middle of the day for a few hours and then work at 02:00 if he wanted to. In Denmark even though a work contract can state otherwise, he expressed that there is an unofficial expectation that work is carried out during 'normal' office hours in the office, "and people comment on it" if you do not live up to it. Similarly, Brett enjoyed the fact that he could tend to family matters at any time of the day and simply adjust his working time accordingly. There were only two key informants (one man with an accompanying family and one single woman), both of whom worked for major international organizations, who expressed that long working hours, which included attending work-related social functions in the evenings, impeded their social lives. There was no evidence in my data that differences in working times prohibited female seconded workers, in particular, from developing informal social networks and participating in social activities (see Mäkelä, Suutari and Mayerhofer 2011). However, some of the male seconded workers did express that their social interactions came about as a result of their wives' networking activities or introductions made through the company. Michael said that although he spent more time on work (including the journey to and from his office), he also spent much more quality time with his family because he did not have all the other

hobbies and distractions he has at home. Although his journey to work was shorter, Ken also expressed that in spite of longer working hours, he spent more quality time with his partner (see Section 5.3.2 for further discussion). Lastly, Kristoffer and his wife agreed prior to him accepting the assignment that he would not work extremely long hours, otherwise it made no sense for her to be there. The data suggests that decisions are made about time-use on work, less according to gender, and more according to the type of employer and the position the migrants hold in the organization, as well as whether they arrive in India alone or with an accompanying partner and children.

Many secondees are sent abroad to transfer knowledge about company culture and practice, or transfer particular skills. However, they are not transferring these skills and knowledge into 'empty' spaces. The Indian employees are not passive recipients; they have their own work culture (culture of the self), which in many ways opposes that of Nordic working culture. This cultural baggage has to be re-negotiated in order for the new knowledge and new approaches to work to be received in a productive manner. Concomitantly, the Nordic migrants also need to make space for additional knowledge and understanding of Indian working culture. That is, they also need to adapt the culture of the self.

The data reveals that not all of the migrants possess sufficient capabilities to allow themselves to make such changes; rather the responsibility for adaptation is sometimes placed on the Indian workers. Having the task of transferring knowledge about company practices and organizational culture can lead to Nordic (and other nationality) workers having a culture of behavior inscribed upon them which suggests that they occupy a higher group status than the Indian workers they are sent to 'educate'. Thus, as Goffman (1959) suggests, they adopt a stance that is in line with behaviors traditionally expected of expatriates as a 'group'. Consequently, it can be challenging to recognize that the education or rather, re-education can and, according to the experiences of some of Nordic migrants I interviewed, should go both ways. The data reveals that this dialectical process of learning and understanding takes time and a strategy that involves consideration of both sides, equally, if successful communication is to be achieved. If insufficient time (and/or resources) is allocated, for example if secondments are too short or if the job requirements do not allocate time for cultural learning and understanding, then horizontal relationships in the workplace can be strongly affected.

At one end of the spectrum there were Nordic migrants like Brett, for example, who was of the opinion that it is a necessity for good relations and gaining an understanding of India and Indian business to have a core group of people who

maintain close ties and follow policies through, "from conceptualization to implementation" and that, "Long term ideas have to be supported by long term commitment as well [because] it takes time to build up trusting relationships." His sentiments were echoed by other Nordic working migrants. Although Brett was self-employed at the time of interviewing, he had been on secondment when he first came to India. He told me that he had worked in an environment where he saw Danish teams coming and going and companies "underestimating" the influence of the extent of corruption, the diversity of the people and the "sporadic nature of business" at present. He believed that this was a major flaw of Danish and other nationalities who were trying to do business in India. Similar to his working life, Brett engaged wholeheartedly with Indian society, people and culture in his private life (see Section 5.3.2).

Several of the seconded workers critiqued their home country offices for their lack of understanding about the local conditions. Many believed that this was occurring largely because, at that moment in time, the Nordic employers had had little to do with India; as Michael put it, "somehow the company is not aware of the problems there are in this part of the world. The only people who know are the ones who are there." In spite of the secondees being in frequent contact with their home offices, there was the feeling that the knowledge being transferred was not being received, understood and used effectively within the company. Michael even felt that the "Danish side [have largely] ignored the cultural change that is needed to make the cooperation work". He believes that the "intensive" two days of cultural training offered, but not made compulsory, is insufficient because it gives awareness, but not the "tools to understand what is needed". He believes that understanding can only be achieved "on the fly", i.e. while working in India, and that someone should be present to give support on a daily basis and "facilitate learning and understanding". He feels the company has chosen the wrong (cultural training) model and gone ahead with it too quickly. Mads, who worked for the same company as Michael and socialized outside of work with both foreign migrants and Indian people. He relayed similar sentiments to Hanna about the inappropriateness of the flat hierarchy approach to working relationships in India, and also pointed out aspects of Indian work culture that he felt were 'better' than the Danish: Danish people for instance are not very good at sitting with others and discussing things on a daily basis, but Indians are. Among other positive acknowledgements about the way Indians work, Mads also said that he found Indians easier to work with in so far as if you give them a "precise" assignment to do, they are good at getting results quickly. In Denmark by contrast, he relayed that

everyone needs to know the background and why things are being done and this can be time consuming. He says that Indians are not so good however at abstract thinking. Michael recognized similar differences and invested a lot of time on improving communication not only between himself and the staff, but also between the Indian staff themselves, and between the staff in the Indian and the staff in the Danish office. See Michael's story below:

Michael's Story (2)

Michael has found working with Indians very interesting. In his position as a liaison officer, he has come across people who are far more qualified than their Danish counterparts, but also people who are less qualified. When he works with one process group, they are all very qualified and superior to the same group in Denmark. He has set up a working environment where the group meets every morning at 11am for 15-30 minutes where they report their status, what they will do today and the plan for tomorrow. This has allowed him to get a good insight into how Indians work together. He has learned that there is a hierarchy that they need to comply with, but if you work close enough together with Indian staff and "enforce them", it is possible to get people to speak more freely, but, he adds, "not like Danes as that is not the intention". He has managed to get people to be better at using each other which I something he has noticed they are not good at doing.

Michael says that if you look at the staff's backgrounds and even just school, they have been competing with each other since the age of four, and it is not of concern how to get somewhere – more care is given to the result. In Denmark the schools teach that it is important how to get there and not to care about the result, so Danes can never get anything finished, but they know how to get there. He believes that this is why Indians steal if they can or use what they can to get somewhere, but they don't share as they are not used to working as a team as such. This difference can be problematic in a Danish organization, that is relatively unprepared [to face these culture differences] as Danes are used to specifying requirements in a high level way, as people are sure others know how to get there and if there is a problem 'we will talk'. He tells me that the Indian mind-set is different as they are used to getting clear instructions so that they can complete a task without interference, and so that they can just deliver results no matter what happens. They are not used to the 'cooperation model' which has given them a lot of problems during the two and a half years he has been there. Michael says that he is able to see this clearly from his process perspective. He can recognize that in a process certain gaps are not closed in India because of unsuccessful communication. The culture is very different and this has been an interesting part of his job as he has had to work intensively to change this trend. He stresses that it takes a lot of

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time and effort (e.g. meeting everyday with the team for half an hour), but it is possible.

Michael tells me that Indians don't want to disappoint in which case they will not tell you what the problem is, but if you learn to read the signs you can get around it. He describes a scenario with a high level development manager in Denmark and a task manager in India. The two were having a conversation on the phone. Michael says he was in the office, could see the face of the task manager and so could see the signs that the message being understood by the development manager was different to the actual situation for the task manager. The task manager said that they had some issues there (in Bangalore), and some things they need to investigate, but he thinks they can do it. Michael spoke to the development manager afterwards; the development manager had heard and understood that there are some issues, but they can solve them and so he didn't need to do anything. Michael explains that what the task manager was actually saying was that he has huge problems he cannot solve, He was crying for help. Michael describes this scenario as a cultural trick that showed him what a large part of the problem with the way the Indian office runs is. The Danish development manager 'who is an intelligent guy' wants to do a good job, but he didn't hear the message. Michael took the decision to sit in on all the meetings for the next two months and act as a cultural translator. Although the task manager never got into a 'Danish fighting mind-set', he certainly evolved and learned that it is ok to say that it is impossible and they have real problems without being 'executed' as this is what would have happened, had he been in a purely Indian organization.

Michael explains that the culture of India requires that you have a lot of respect and that you do not disappoint, and if you don't want to disappoint it is a problem to say something cannot be done. And if it is something that an individual feels they should have been able to do, then the problem is even greater as they not only have to admit the team cannot do it, but also that they as an individual are not doing the job well. Michael says that on the other hand, the Danish way is very arrogant from this perspective because 'we' expect people to say "we cannot do this"; and also Danes have the attitude that "we don't need to change, they need to change because they are helping our company so we don't need to change." Michael does not believe that cooperation can exist without change on both sides, and probably 50-50 change as well.

Although Michael did not relay that he had any Indian friends or acquaintances outside of work, when he described his interactions with Indian people in his neighborhood, he also reflected on the differences in a positive light. In work situations, the Nordic migrants, along with other working informants seemed to be able to employ their managerial and professional skills when dealing with the Indian 'yes' culture, in spite of their different immediate reactions to the 'lies'.

Mads, Michael and Brett, all from Denmark, were the only working migrants who reflected critically on the way their fellow country nationals work. Employed as liaison officers, Mads and Michael would perhaps be expected to do so as a part of their jobs. They thought about the culture of the self and of the other. Michael and Hanna's recognition of the 'need' their staff had for hierarchy was acceptant of the culture that had been inscribed upon them by the Indian staff as the 'boss'. Both were successful in adapting to the spheres of culture they found themselves in and worked with the Indian staff to achieve work goals and facilitate smoother processes within the Indian organization and, in Michael's case, also cross-nationally between India and Denmark. Mads was able to recognize the culture differences and felt he had sufficient resources to work with and through them, yet in spite of being critical of some of the Danish work practices, he still surmised during our interview that Danes "work better than Indians".

Several of the working migrants that I encountered in India had similar sentiments to Mads, and some of them expressed their sentiments using more derogatory language which reflected an explicit perception and understanding of themselves as far superior to their Indian colleagues, and the Indian workforce as a whole, who were portrayed as less capable and/or less educated. At the same time as he expressed his discomfort with the hierarchy traditions in the workplace in India, Kristoffer, for example, indirectly positioned himself in a superior position to 'India' when he spoke about the challenges he faced in his position as a software developer:

> "I look at it […] as my personal contribution to the development of the third world because I am actually here to teach them a discipline [software development] they don't really have [...] They are starting to get to the point where they are realizing, you know, that if they want to be part of the world they have to come up with their own ideas."

> Kristoffer (DK) 22:40

Kristoffer throughout the interview consistently positioned himself as a 'white Westerner' against 'the Indians' in a distinctly colonialist manner although never, in my understanding, maliciously. He also claimed that it was difficult to hire people in India "who have the drive of the Western world". The statements made by Kristoffer reflect his inability to categorize Indians along multiple more complex lines, in spite of his somewhat unique informal interactions with Indian families,[86]

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[86] Kristoffer relayed different stories about his life in the UK and the US where he himself was treated differently because he was foreign; how it was to work for a black Jamaican boss in the UK;

thus increasing the distance between himself and the Indian others and ultimately his general feelings of distrust towards Indian people.

Hanna highlighted that the "flat, democratic nature of Finnish business" is one of the obstacles. She felt that in India she has had to adopt more of a "supervisory function" and check what employees were doing throughout the project rather than simply giving guidelines and leaving the staff to get on with the work, as she would in Finland. Nonetheless, the way she described the situations shifted her slightly towards the 'traditional' stance of expatriates as a group. She explained that it was not enough to simply ask how everything was going as,

> "They do what we regard [as] lying just to get out of a situation. They slip some kind of white lies or explanations, which I find surprising. The same thing applies to my driver […] I say [to him]: What you are doing right now, I consider it lying. Don't do it to me!"

> Hanna (FI) 10:40

Hanna had been told by other foreigners that drivers do this because "they do not want to displease you, the boss." In spite of being well-informed through reading various literature about Indian culture and its peculiarities, Hanna states emphatically that she finds this behavior very irritating and that she would much rather people ask than "guess or lie". She also told me that after nine months, she could notice a change in her staff and colleagues' behavior and that the communication is much better. She had also made an effort to emphasize that she is also in India to learn. Indeed, Hanna had adapted her management style to suit her Indian employee's needs. At the time of interviewing, Hanna was living a life very much within the 'expat bubble' and seemed to distance herself socially from the Indian others. It is therefore conceivable that her mistrust of Indian people, whether in or outside of the workplace, stems from her inability of lack of effort made to categorize herself and the Indian others along multiple categorical dimensions (see also Section 5.2.1)

Freda also positioned herself strongly against the Indian others in the workplace in terms of education, and also in terms of gender. Freda indicated on her questionnaire that it was easier to achieve goals in the workplace in Europe, the reason being that people are educated there. She tells me that her locally employed staff are not educated to a level high enough to deal with the tasks she is giving

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how he and his wife went to Delhi with his Indian boss from the US when he came to India for a visit; and how he has been to his local Indian boss's home and to the name-giving ceremony for his daughter.

them and so she has to do a lot of the tasks herself. Part of Freda's job is to work with people in the Ministries and she tells me that they are not educated either. She says that she recognizes that there are schools in India which teach to a high level but she says that her organization does not have that kind of staff. Freda describes a scenario of visiting a ministry:

> "You go into a building that looks like a relic from the Soviet era. And it doesn't look like a ministry; it looks like a … I don't know what – a building. You go in and umm … you have to go through that yourself to see how horrible it is. You don't take that seriously. My first impression in the ministry was to laugh and I had to really control myself not to. And when you meet the people in that context and you realize that they are just like the building. Educationally speaking you have a problem because you are trying to achieve things and you might be very, very serious about it, you might be very motivated; it takes two to achieve something […] They are not independent human beings. Even the highly educated ones are unable to think without asking a boss whether or not it is correct, and the boss is usually influenced on someone higher up, so there is never independent thinking."

<div align="right">Freda (DK) 55:50</div>

In Freda's experience, sexism occurs both within and across genders. As well as her own experiences with male Indian colleagues, Freda stated that Indian women can be scornful of "independent" women because they "do not know their place", just as male employees can be very nervous about confronting their female boss who can be discriminatory towards him.

Unlike Michael who was able to invest a great deal of time in overcoming differences in work capabilities, Freda had specific work tasks to complete within a given time frame. It was neither part of Freda's job to train the local staff, nor did she take it upon herself to do so. This ultimately meant an increased workload for her. Even after acknowledging that there are highly educated people in India and having a partner of Indian origin (who was living in Europe at that time), Freda continued to stereotype Indians homogeneously and rather derogatorily as "not independent human beings". Furthermore, her positioning Indian women against independent women is a strong statement about her understanding of what it is to be a woman in India. She feels that their lack of independence breeds prejudice against those, like her, who have independence. She did not seem to recognize her own prejudice. Freda was the only Nordic migrant who had a female superior and perhaps as a consequence was the only person who noted the discrimination that

some male employees face when they have a female boss. In spite of these challenges, Freda expressed that she was enjoying her working life much more than when she was locally employed in Europe. She relays that being on secondment within her organization gives her a higher status and status is important for her career progression. She says that the new status has given her the opportunity to work with things she really loves and so the actual work she does is much more interesting. Hence, while Freda made very strong statements about her relationships within the sphere of work, the negative aspects did not appear to impact her general feelings about her assignment, nor did they prevent her from carrying out her work roles and tasks; her career is benefiting from the move.

Similar to the accompanying partners who engaged in work activities, another socio-cultural factor that surfaced for the working migrants through their employment was the opportunities presented for learning more about Indian culture in general through horizontal relationships. Three of the working migrants mentioned their exposure to different aspects of religion in the workplace. Hanna worked directly together with two staff who were both Hindu and she says there is a very pleasant working atmosphere where they speak freely and openly to one another. She explains to me that is an important part of the process for them to learn about the Finnish mind-set as they are working with Finnish companies, therefore they ask a lot of questions and so does she. She thinks that they do not mind her curiosity about their religion. She has noticed that if she wears religious symbols like the cross it is a statement that attracts attention and conversation. A colleague once asked her once about which church she goes to and Hanna said the woman was appalled to hear that she only when to church when people die or get married, "She probably started praying for my soul!" Hanna expresses that she likes the religious tolerance that exists in India, and enjoys learning more about Hinduism. She says that she has a tougher time to cope with Muslims because of the way they treat women. At work there are some colleagues who do not drink alcohol or who are vegetarian and she finds it fascinating learning about why.

At Freda's workplace there are a lot of Hindu and Buddhist employees. She tells me that when her European colleagues, on a regular basis, kill insects there are exclamations from Hindus. Also, sometimes the Buddhist employees call in and say they cannot come in to work as they have to pray because there is a certain special planet alignment. She also tells me that it is usual practice to have a statue or symbol of a Hindu god in one's home or workplace that people pray at work every day. She comments that her religious practices would probably seem absurd to another person "so it's fine." In Freda's friendship circle she has friends with

different religious beliefs and she does not feel the need to have people around her who are the same as her, but rather enjoys the diversity. Niels also tells me that he has Muslims, Christians and atheists in his office and they work fine together. He says that stereotyping of each other's religions does happen; he says it is not vicious way but he still finds it irritating. Niels says he has decided that he just has to learn to live with it because "Indians are used to saying these things [to each other] and have always done it".

Both Hanna and Niels found it difficult to cope with certain aspects of the religious cultures in India that did not fit with their own moral standpoints, while Karin came across as more accepting of the differences. For Hanna the difficulties arose because of the understandings she has brought with her to India about the treatment of Muslim women by Indian men, rather than anything she actually witnessed in India. Hanna did not mention any particular examples she had witnessed in Finland either, and so her opinion may simply be based on how gender relations in Islam are framed in the Finnish and other media. Her statement homogeneously stereotypes Muslim men, and perhaps reflects a disadvantage of the idea of gender equality that is strongly advocated as in the Nordic countries as being the way that women should want to be and behave. At the time of interviewing, Hanna did not mix with Indian people outside of the workplace. Niels on the other hand spent a lot of his time both in and outside of working hours with Indian people. He gave a concrete example and explicitly stated that he is opposed to the stereotyping of different religions. He was also, in contrast to Hanna, able to contextualize his feelings and live with this habit that he says Indians have without putting up barriers between himself and the 'others'. Hence, the data suggest that the Nordic migrants' (in)ability to negotiate their ideological standpoints may have a bearing on their identification with different communities, and thus their horizontal citizenship.

A further similarity to the position of the accompanying partners, several of the working migrants felt that the structural transformations that were taking place in India at that moment in time were to their advantage. Several of them pointed specifically to the relative infancy of Nordic employers having a presence in India. It was highlighted previously that for the accompanying partners this temporal advantage was a benefit to them during their stay in India. For the working migrants it was the future opportunities presented by the current situation that were spoken about. Kristoffer stated that even though his move to India was not a strategic career move, "having the experience of dealing with locals is probably a sellable asset". Similar to Kristoffer, Ken notes that the 'learning' for him has come

in the form of cross-cultural relations and that this experience in Bangalore may provide him with different opportunities within the company in the future as the company's "connection [to Bangalore] is there to stay". Ken said that he was enjoying his role in India very much. His function was to give guidance and transfer knowledge and competencies of how to do the different tasks that he was carrying out previously in Finland. He also helped people in India get into contact with the right key personnel in Finland. He says he has more of a consultancy role in India whereas in Finland he was a technician. Ken emphasizes that he is not a manager and does not have any direct peers in India, and that he felt that he might be under-stimulated if he returns to his old position in Finland. One other key informant relayed in a follow-up interview that he was now working on a doctoral thesis at a well-renowned business school as a direct result of his secondment to India and the socio-professional experience he had there.

The structural conditions in India in 2009 therefore not only provided the seconded workers with the opportunity to develop their career paths by accepting the assignment, they also allowed the secondees to increase their stock of migrant cultural capital during the assignment, thus increasing their opportunities to make future gains when they returned home. Post-secondment, the quality of the Nordic working migrant's professional or career space (Weiss 2005) is, thus, transformed. The migrants may (or may not) choose to respond to the transformed space using the newly acquired cultural and economic capital they obtained in India, but whether they do or not, they experience a qualitative change in both their vertical and horizontal relationships within the third sector upon returning home. Migrant cultural capital should therefore not only be considered in the contexts of migration, but also in the context of return-migration.

5.3.2   Social and Free Time

"A little taste of home is all you need from time to time."

Hanna (FI) 25:10

The above statement by Hanna was made in reference to food, however it aptly fits to many of the aspects of the Nordic key informants free time activities. In spite of all of them having seemingly very active social lives, most, regardless of whether they were the working migrant or the accompanying partner, said that they missed the social lives that they had at home, whether that be the activities they undertook, the places and spaces they used to go to, the food they ate, or the friendships they

had. Furthermore, while some believed that it was possible to spend free time in similar ways to how one does 'at home', others did not feel that was possible at all, and some did not want to. In discussing how the Nordic migrants used their free time, I refer to the dimensions of the migrants' social citizenship that pertain to horizontal relationships and relationships with the broader social environment. Their main activities outside of work included shopping, eating out and drinking and travelling. They also engaged in a variety of different sporting activities. The social lives of the Nordic migrants, thus support the idea that Nordic migration to India is consumption-led (Karkabi 2013), largely due to the economically privileged situation they are in.

I divide this section into two parts. In the first part I discuss the socio-cultural factors that impact the Nordic key informants' shopping experiences in India. These include time-use, people-space relations, culture difference, and interpretations of honesty and feelings of trust, as well as status and hierarchy. In the second part I continue the discussion as it pertains to other recreational and social activities which include doing exercise and sport, travelling and eating and drinking out.

5.3.2.1   Shopping

As with Hindman's (2008, 2009b) analysis of expatriate wives in Kathmandu, shopping was one consumption-oriented activity that was a source of differentiation between the migrants, albeit by no means as explicitly or as strategically as among Hindman's subjects. For the Nordic migrants in India, it was how they relayed their stories about the experience of shopping, rather than what their shopping constituted that strongly differentiated between them. Unlike Hindman's analyses which pertained solely to the expatriate wives, the data includes reflections from both the accompanying partners and working migrants. The data reveal that there are different spheres of culture surrounding shopping: most of the migrants need to do it or have it done, but they approach the task in very different ways.

The different ways in which the migrants approach food shopping results in diverse usage of space and time. The economic privileges they have allow them the freedom to choose what items they buy and where they buy them from. However, the structural conditions in India impose some restrictions regarding the variety and availability of non-perishable and pre-packed foods. The task also impacted the migrants' horizontal relationships with Indian people. For some, the food

shopping was given as an additional job for domestic staff to carry out, which the migrants framed as a positive experience for the staff (see Anna's description in Section 5.1.2) and as an accolade to their capabilities. During the interviews, and also in conversations with non-Nordic informants, there was never any mention of extra remuneration for the staff; the compliments and the privilege of carrying out the task appeared to be the only immediate reward. As far as I understood the unorganized nature of the labor market the domestic workers and drivers are part of, it was likely that some kind of financial reward would come about in the future. The informal nature of their work means that word-of-mouth is an important aspect for their future employment and being able to do such tasks in addition to the work they are actually employed to do often leads greater possibilities of getting employment again and also a higher salary (see also Section 5.1.2).

Those who did their shopping at the more traditional local markets expressed that they had two major outcomes: the first being that they completed the chore of grocery shopping; the second, that they had an enjoyable 'cultural' experience. They would encounter Indian people with low to middle income levels and also people in poverty. They would also experience more variety in the types of vendors including hawkers, street market stalls, indoor markets, small vendors, small to medium sized convenience stores, and in some cases also supermarkets. Those who shopped at the more expensive international supermarkets such as the Spar, also expressed that they experienced two major outcomes: they complete the chore of shopping at one location where they could also purchase both their desired luxury goods and their basic produce; but the second outcome was that it was a negative, it was relayed as a time-consuming chore. Karin, for example, did not recognize her shopping trip as a cultural experience, yet if shopping together with local people and buying local produce is the understanding of a 'cultural' experience when shopping, then it was precisely that. The large international supermarkets are mostly frequented by wealthier Indians, who constitute a growing sector of the Indian population and in addition to stocking so-called luxury items, they also stock the same produce that one can find in local markets. Thus, in both cases the migrants have a 'local' experience, albeit a different one; the difference in their citizenship behavior is, as such, more abstract as it relates to the mind-set of the individual migrants, their imaginations and perceptions of Indian society, and the lifestyle they choose to live during their time in India.

Karin's story below raises several of the issues spoken about from different perspectives by the other Nordic migrants:

<div style="text-align: center;">Karin's Story</div>

Karin explains that it is better to take the car when food shopping because she likes to shop less frequently and buy more things and this is not convenient with a rickshaw. The best supermarket where they can get most things in one trip is Spa which lies in Koramangala which is a 40 minute car drive away, and this would be at least an hour and less convenient in a rickshaw. She tells me that one needs a whole day just to do grocery shopping: 40 minutes to get there; one hour to do the shopping; maybe on hour for lunch there and then 40 minutes to get home and that is more or less 5 hours gone. It takes 45 minutes to get to her husband's workplace, so everything she wants to do during the day, has to be done within a specific time-slot according to his working hours.

One of the things Karin and her husband had wanted to do was get new furniture made for a new house they had bought in the UK two years previously. When they arrived, they realized that the things they liked were not available. There was a lot of ready-made furniture and the quality of the made-to-measure furniture varied immensely. Karin had heard horror stories of people getting furniture made there and getting it home and it split apart because the humidity is so much higher in India. So if they were to get something made they would have to check it was the right wood and good quality and so on. It was a shock to Karin that the quality varies so much. She puts this down to the fact that people are quite illiterate and innumerate and so possibly do not know how to measure things accurately which means that the standard is simply not as good. Nonetheless, she and her husband found a place where the standard was acceptable to them.

Karin notes that doing business with 'them' is interesting as it can take a whole day to get across exactly what she wants. It doesn't matter whether it is a hotel, a restaurant or a shop, people do not like to say no if they don't understand. She and her husband came with pictures and designs of chairs they wanted made, "the assistant says 'yes, yes'". When they came back the next time, they had made something completely different. They had not yet paid the full amount, which she says is the thing to do, so they were able to get the shop to change the chairs to their liking. Karin explains, "never pay anything in advance in full because once you do that then you are never going to get your money back". They learned from this experience that "You really have to watch them like a hawk all the way through the process. You have to be very specific and clear what you want, give the measurements, how you want it and visit them regularly. And check, check and check that it's done the way that you ask them to do it because as soon as you stop doing that, you know, they'll do something completely different or they'll make adjustments or changes that you never wanted."

These things are harder than they thought they would be. Karin said that she and her husband had a romantic idea that they could just take pictures of things they liked and they could just make it, but it isn't as easy as that. Things are also not as cheap as they thought they would be, "As a white expat, you will pay more and you really have to negotiate things." Karin explains that it can be quite "labor consuming" because prices are never fixed. She feels that people take advantage of her and she is not always in the mood to go through the bartering process.

Karin and her husband brought pictures, paintings and most of their belongings with them from home as they were renting out the house, but not very much furniture at all. She even has her wedding dress with her. Now she really appreciates that she has this stuff with her, including the kettle and other kitchen utensils, as there are many things she cannot find in Bangalore which was one of the surprises for her, but she notices that it gets better literally week-by-week. Cleaning products, for instance, are more readily available. She says that if she had known how little cleaning equipment was available there then she probably would have brought a mop and bucket with her too as the buckets there do not have the strainer part to them. It is these little things that she just hadn't thought about that she misses. Karin also misses some food items like tinned tomatoes, tinned tuna and stuff like that can be hard to find as they run out of stock rather quickly.

Karin concedes that she has a general distrust of people especially when buying things. She is acutely aware of the fact that people want money from her and often questions whether things are really genuine, if they are good quality and if that is really the true price as there is no returns policy. If she ends up taking something back, she really has to argue with the salesperson which can be a hassle and is time-consuming.

The first issue that Karin raises in the story above is about how long a simple task like food shopping can take (see also Section 5.2.1). Karin and her husband's requirements for their food consumption meant that they needed to go to a larger Western style supermarket where they could purchase the pre-packaged products they like. Their privileged economic situation meant that they were able to afford the higher prices for such products and use a personal driver, but Karin also pays the price of using a lot of her time on this task. Although Karin insists that taking an auto-rickshaw would take longer and be "less convenient", it was my experience that often an auto-rickshaw is quicker than being in a car, particularly in the city centre as they are able to weave rapidly through the dense traffic. Karin expressed in our interview that she uses autos for going out in the evenings, which suggests that the 'convenience' that she speaks of has to do with comfort, also because

there is a lot of spare room in an auto if there is only one passenger. Karin may also simply be consciously or unconsciously, as Goffman (1959) suggests, behaving in a way that is expected of foreign migrants in her position.

Greta and Leena, meanwhile, consider food shopping a 'cultural activity' and so the time spent on it is all part of the India experience. In contrast to Karin, they do their food shopping at local markets, rather than large supermarkets and enjoyed seeing different parts of the cities and mixing with local Indians, and Greta also travels by auto-rickshaw. Other Nordic and non-Nordic key informants, such as Anna, used their domestic staff to carry out such chores, thus saving themselves time. Their driver for instance would often do the food shopping, take clothes to the dry cleaners, and sometimes even make deliveries or pick up things for Anna's business. She explained that he was an intelligent man and that he would much rather be doing something than just sitting outside in the car waiting for them to be driven somewhere. Anna stated clearly that her main goal of being in India is business related and so it was my understanding that being able to use her domestic staff to carry out this chore saved her time she could then spend on her business. Michael also, as he put it, "outsources" the shopping to the domestic staff because he says, being Indian, they can barter well and get better prices for things. While Michael and Anna frame their usage of the staff to carry out different duties as skills that the staff have, Karin sees it as an 'Indian' vs. 'white-person' issue, where being white is a disadvantage and a reason Indian people use to discriminate against her. This perceived 'skin tax' phenomenon as Ken referred to it (see Section 5.2.1) is a source of insecurity for Karin as the questioning of the sincerity of sales staff indicates.

Shopping for other larger items such as furniture also proved to be a time-consuming activity for Karin and other Nordic migrants. Communicating with service and sales staff, and the challenges associated with the wide variation in the quality of goods took up more time than they were used to spending in similar situations at home. Karin disparagingly puts the difference in quality standards of furniture and such down to the poor basic numeracy and literacy skills of the "people" which resulted in her having to spend a lot of time checking small details. Rather than viewing the experience as perhaps a regional or cultural difference in consumer-seller communication, Karin resorts to homogenous stereotyping. She does, however engage in some self-reflection, as she comments that she and her husband had a "romantic idea" about how it would be to get things made in India. In short, they had pre-conceived ideas about shopping and the service culture in

India, possibly because of the framing of India as a 'developing country' in advanced industrialized countries in Europe.

Tiina faced similar challenges when getting a sofa made in India. While she acknowledged that there was a time factor, it was the price of goods and the 'honesty' of the sales people that were greater issues for her. She and her husband had a sofa custom-made while they were in India. She relays light-heartedly that "it was kind of hilarious" because they had to go to the shop quite a few times in order to get the sofa in the shape that they wanted it to be. They have bought some other items too but Tiina thinks it is hard to find good quality. She says that even if it is bad quality, the places still want the money and sometimes it is a lot of money:

> "Here it is possible to get a lot of things but, I don't know, the quality of things […] There are always these little hassles and I have found it more … it is definitely more stressful here than back home, you know, when you go and buy furniture because here it is just … . First of all what you have to deal with in the shop: I have found that people are not aware of anything; even if you go and buy yourself shoes, like training shoes or whatever and you ask, 'is this for running, is this for aerobics?' they just say yes. So I feel that there is no trust. If I am back home and I am asking about something I know they actually know about the product. And it is ok, fine, if you are buying something cheap, but if you are putting the money there and [people] are not honest … that is the problem here – you can never be quite sure, it is just yes, yes and […] you cannot trust that people can help you with certain things. […] It is just politeness for Indians"

> Tiina (FI) 27:30

In spite of recognizing that the 'yes' culture in India is a question of politeness and as such simply culture difference, Tiina, like Karin, elevates the Finnish service culture above that of India and resorts to negative homogenous stereotyping of Indian sales assistants. She defends her feelings by saying that it is problematic when one is buying an expensive product, however it was my impression that money had little to do with the problem: a pair of training shoes in India at that time were at least half the price they would be in Finland, and so could well be considered a 'cheap' product for economically privileged Nordic migrants. Similar to Karin, the experience of shopping generates feelings of insecurity and distrust.

Beth also uses 'them' and 'us' rhetoric when critiquing the service culture in India. During our interview she relayed a story about a friend's experience in a local McDonalds: The friend ordered an ice-cream in a beaker for her son and because this was not the norm it took about 20 minutes to get the ice-cream. She

then wanted to buy a coffee and was told she had to go to another counter around the corner. She went there, and the same lady who had served her the ice-cream walked across to that counter and served her the coffee. She also had to pay for the coffee and ice-cream at different tills because "… that's the way it is. They don't think about it. They don't think 'maybe we could do this better; maybe service would be better if we did it like this' ". Beth thinks that the philosophy that the customer is always right is lost in India and that service is poor. She says she believes it has something to do with the hierarchical nature of Indian society, so "if an employee is told that ice-cream is served in a cone, then it can't be served in a beaker." She states furthermore:

> "They have no reason to think that it is a good idea to make their own decisions about these things. Absolutely none because all their experience is that if you don't do what you are told, you are punished, you are out, something bad will happen. It is a completely different mentality. They see no reason to take any kind of responsibility. We are brought up completely differently, completely oppositely. All their experience tells them is 'don't make this call yourself. Just make sure that you not in any way to be held responsible for anything. That's the best way'"

> Tiina (DK) 10:53

Beth says that she would like to understand better the way everything works and "get into the minds of Indians." She says she can understand that at offices there is a different counter for different services, but not that it is not possible to buy and ice-cream and a coffee at the same counter in McDonalds. Thus, despite formulating an explanation for the actions of the McDonalds service staff based on a difference in the culture of hierarchy, Beth continues to search for a "better" understanding of how things work. I suggest however that she is searching for an explanation that fits into her own ideas about normative behavior. Her apparent confusion is a pertinent example of the challenges that arise with having cultural awareness, but lacking the 'tools' as Michael put it (see Section 5.3.1) , to learn how to deal with it. Beth's own understandings of place and people-space relations are so deeply engrained that she is not able to comprehend the alternative mode of service that is practiced at the McDonalds in India which may have something to do with the volumes of customers that they receive and/or different consumption habits.[87] In addition, similar to Karin and Tiina, there is no self-reflection; the

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[87] It may be the case that it is very rare for an average customer to order a coffee and an ice-cream during the same sitting.

process is deemed inefficient with blame appointed to the education of the Indian service staff, and Beth takes a Danish experience as a point of reference for the 'right' way to do things.

In spite of being highly educated and presenting her way of thinking as more correct than that of the Indian service staff, Beth does not possess the right capabilities to be able to adapt her behavior to her new cultural surroundings harmoniously. This results in her exhibiting similar traits to those she accuses the Indian staff of having. The inability for some of the migrants to accept alternative ways of doing things leads to feelings of stress, frustration and regret about the time spent on such encounters. Moreover, in positioning themselves as more educated and more enlightened than the Indian service staff, the Nordic migrants appoint themselves a higher group status. Through their negative homogeneous stereotyping they show an inability to categorize the Indian staff along multiple dimensions and thus create distance between themselves and the host country nationals. In some cases, this leads to heightened feelings of insecurity and lack of trust which support Rubini and Palmonari's (2012) findings.

A further time aspect to shopping that Karin raised is related to the availability and price of different products. Karin's desire to have the same cleaning equipment and products as she uses at home is what Hindman (2008: 48) terms nationally appropriate consumption. Contrary to Hindman's subjects however, aside from Karin, the numerous other key informants who spoke about their (in)ability to purchase produce and products they would at home, did so in a nostalgic rather than a dissatisfied manner. Even those who said that they did not enjoy eating Indian food all the time did not complain about the selection of food that they could find. There were however some who commented on the price of different food produce. Michael states:

> "The prices of things are quite diverse. You can find groceries which are just as expensive as home and then you can find something here which is so cheap that you cannot even imagine. It is very hard to … well, that has come as a surprise you could say. For instance, a can of tomatoes you know those tomatoes without the skin, if you buy such a one here at the grocery store you will pay, I would say, around 300 rupees or something like that […] and you can buy a kilo of tomatoes for 7 rupees. So there is no correlation to things, you have to take care. What you buy is all the things around it"
>
> Michael (DK) 1:03:20

While several of the Nordic migrants commented on these price differences for the different food products and showed their desire to have 'luxury goods', i.e. non-perishable food items and pre-packaged food, few reflected on the fact that they were mostly foreign imports and subsequently more expensive, or on the ecological and environmental impact of buying such products (the pollution generated during the long transportation, non-biodegradable packaging etc.). The migrants compound their environmental unfriendliness by using their drivers to do their shopping (and other) activities rather than public transport which often runs on carbon-neutral compressed natural gas. The ecological footprint left behind from their activities is significant; this in spite of, as discussed in Section 5.2.1, the migrants often being critical of the different types of pollution that they were confronted with in the cities. In fulfilling their perceived 'basic needs' in India, many of the Nordic migrants, as Bell (2005) suggests exploit the physical environment, and leave as Croucher (2012) suggests a larger ecological footprint behind than the average citizen in Indian.

In 2009, it was still relatively difficult to find pre-packaged food items and there were few Western-style supermarkets. In the follow-up visit in 2012, however supermarkets were not only more numerous, they had also diversified their product ranges. Also in Bangalore and Delhi smaller exclusive deli-style conveniences stores selling a variety of food brands that are popular in advanced industrialized countries, and packaged fruit and vegetables had appeared. If India continues on the path and culture of growth it is on then one would expect the needs of foreign residents, who wish to simply transport their 'Western' consumption patterns to India, to be met increasingly better. However the price that the migrants have to pay for those goods, in time and money and in terms of the cost to the environment, may also increase with time.

5.3.2.2   Recreation and socializing

In this part, I focus on the activities that the migrants engaged in outside of their working time aside from shopping. The main forms of recreation and social activities the migrants undertook were exercising, travel, eating (at home and out) and meeting friends for lunch, dinner or drinks. In general, the privilege of having a large amount of economic capital meant that the Nordic migrants had more choice regarding the lifestyle that they wanted to have. As the accounts relayed below reflect, there are several different factors that influenced how the Nordic migrants spent their leisure time in India. The data reveal that some migrants were

greatly influenced by their previous experiences of socializing, sightseeing, use of space and time, while others were in search of new experiences. Anna for example, was able to socialize largely in the same way that she did at home, while Karin could not, and Brett adapted to the 'Mumbai' way. His description of how socializing is organized in India suggest that there is a need for cultural adaptation among foreign migrants in the sphere of socializing, however this may be dependent on the social spheres the migrant's choose to mix in.

Niels commented that he loves the "freedom to live exactly the way you want to" in India, however the responses from the Nordic respondents did not entirely reflect this. Anna and other informants felt that it was entirely possible to lead a "Western" lifestyle there; "it all depend[ed] on the lifestyle one chooses to live". She says that she had thought that she would experience a big change, but actually hadn't. She explained:

> "You can have a quite normal house, go to an Italian restaurant or bars. You can have similar pastimes there and then you might not feel like you are in India. But on the other hand if you do something more Indian then of course you can have a different feeling. (25:20) A tells me that there are cinemas and restaurants in the area where they live but they are not very good. If you want better quality ones and want to see Western films then you have to go to the center."

> Anna (FI) 25:10

On the other hand there were people like Hanna who did not feel this freedom and missed being able to practice the same sports or do the same kind of social activities that they did at home. There were also a few whose free time was impacted because they missed the people that they would usually socialize with at home. Karin expressed that she missed the ability to go out for a walk and stop off somewhere for a coffee, or going down to the local pub with her husband. She says there are not really any 'local places' that they can just walk to, so transportation is always a consideration. Living in close proximity to the city center where there are more opportunities for this kind of social activity was a pre-requisite for Karin and her husband; it would then be easy to go in and out by auto-rickshaw whenever they wanted to.

Leena meanwhile stated that she found it easier to find recreational activities to do in India. She says that even though they might not be the things she is used to doing, in India there is always something going on. She and others expressed

missing Western arts and culture e.g. going to exhibitions, concerts and theatre, but did attend a "Western classical concert" once:

> "It was awful (laughs). There is a new posh Taj Hotel nearby Whitefields […] There was a French pianist who came all the way from France to have a concert and it was just awful! Poor person, or poor guy. The whole space where he was playing was not suitable for a classical concert. There was so much textiles wall-to-wall carpets so [we] could not really hear anything. There was a very nice grand piano that taken from somewhere else in Bangalore and nobody had tuned it so it was out of tune. And there were of course also locals who do not understand the music and so they were clapping when he was playing, and in the wrong places. And there was a wine tasting afterwards and they were arranging the bottles and the glasses too 'cling, cling, cling' while he was trying to play this beautiful music, and people were clapping and phones were ringing. It was very interesting. But then, come to think of it, it must be very boring for them just to sit and watch somebody play music they don't understand. So I think in a way it is more fun to go to events here and just be a part [of it]. It is so casual; with religious things nobody cares what religion you are you can still join in the prayer and sacrifice to the gods. In way it is a lot more fun than sitting in a church in Finland listening to how we will all end up in hell. Coming here it is just a big party."

> Leena (FI, R2) 5:40

Karin chose to live nearer to the city so that she could have more options for recreation; for others like Tiina, the husband's wage and position allowed them the privilege of having a large house in a private gated community where she and her children could take part in a variety of leisure activities, yet it did not compensate for what she felt was a lack of suitable leisure activities in the direction of arts, culture and kids amusement. Tiina also has a very active social life, yet even though she says that she did not go to see concerts or the theatre that much in Finland, she misses that she can't do it in Bangalore. She says that there is some kids' theatre but it is nothing like what you can experience in Finland. There are some water parks but she does not fancy taking the children there and there is something on at the cinema for kids only every few weeks. She tends to stick to the clubhouse in Palm Meadows where there are activities for children as she says it is a much more lively setting and the people who work there are "much more customer oriented".

She states that when you are the one who is at home and not working, it is nice to have this facility nearby.[88]

Contrary to Tiina who was only able to see the weakness of the Indian kid's theatre compared to Finland, Leena was spurred by her experience of a classical concert in Bangalore to criticize the Finnish way of 'doing' culture. Even though she did not think the performance was good, the observations she made and seeing them as 'interesting' experiences seemingly induced reflection on the culture of the 'self' rather than flat out rejection and condemnation of the culture of the 'other'. It also reflected an understanding that things are simply done differently in India As relayed in Leena's Story (2), there were however other aspects of leisure time and using public space where she was unable to adopt the same attitude.

Brett states that as a result of the strong support network they have they can make spontaneous decisions regarding socializing; socializing is furthermore a necessity for both of their jobs. Brett compares his situation to that of a Danish friend, who lives in Australia with a Dutch wife, who has to call a babysitter on Monday if he wants to go out on Friday. He tells me that Mumbai is known as the New York of Asia because it never stops: as with the flexible working times, socializing is something that can happen at any time, and does:

> "People like to party here. They like to go out, they like to enjoy themselves; they like to go to the theatre; they like to go out and dance because there is no other option. You don't take a walk and get tempted [by somewhere], and then go to that restaurant. You know already where you are going before you leave your home – it's chaotic."
>
> Brett (DK)

Brett's statements highlight the cultural difference in the way people socialize in India. On the one hand things are more spontaneous, i.e. plans are made at short notice, and on the other hand they are more planned, as it is decided where to go and what to do before leaving home. The desire for the same type and standard of entertainment as experienced in the home country is, I propose, an irrational expectation that is a possible reflection of the deep-rooted nature of privilege that some of the migrants have been exposed to in their lives thus far; in a sense, for them, it has lost its dimension of relativity.

Michael stated that when in Denmark if you want to do something, you form a group, create a board and start doing it, in India "you have to buy everything, and

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[88] See also Section 5.2.2 for Gret's account of the pros and cons of compound life for socializing.

if you have money you can make anything happen, but if you don't then it is kind of hard." The experiences of the Nordic migrants reveal however that the economic privilege that the migrants have at their disposal has its limitations – it cannot buy a culture that one is used, or a different organization of cultural institutions; in short, it cannot buy social spaces and as such, adaptation is often required. Having such low population densities and following Jacob and Hellström's (2010) suggestion that Nordic cities have a 'social democratic planning' where leisure and play is one of the important aspects, the Nordic citizens have the privilege of being, at most times, in close proximity to some form of recreation or entertainment when they are at home and in public spaces. Consequently, when they find themselves in the densely populated cities of India which are experiencing great structural and arguably also cultural transformations, the migrants must find different strategies to negotiate their new space. The economic privileges they dispose of do nonetheless allow them to do this.

Neither economic privilege, nor cultural capital however were helpful to Kristoffer in dealing with the unwanted attention he received when sightseeing, or his disappointment in the state of the temples. Kristoffer was the only Nordic key informant who expressed categorically that he had stopped going sightseeing because the unwanted attention from beggars and street vendors was "not comfortable" for him (see also Section 5.2.1). He had been to see temples – he states that he is not religious and sees them architecturally. He describes them as being in a "sorrow state" and continued "… people try to show off 'this is a fantastic temple!' Well, it is not even a nice ruin. It is just dirty and filthy and crowded with people that who shouldn't be there."

Kristoffer's suggestion about the type of people who 'should' and 'should not' be at a temple implies that access to cultural experiences should be restricted to particular classes of people. This attitude is strong evidence that, as Bourdieu (1977) suggests, the social space of arts and culture is unofficially restricted to particular members of society in advanced industrial societies. The fact that the poor and also those in poverty have access to and make use of religious temples in India, which is a positive reflection of the acceptance of diversity there, challenges Kristoffer's understanding of people-space relations to such an extent that, coupled with the fact that they are also poorly maintained, he chooses to completely omit temples from his sightseeing agenda. He has the power and privilege of agency which gives him this freedom of choice. Kristoffer states that in Karnataka there is nothing for him and his wife who had only joined him permanently in India two weeks before our interview took place. Before her arrival, Kristoffer's local social

life consisted mainly of meeting another Danish man at the "local pub" in Palm Meadows. He says that socializing is not so important for him. Although Kristoffer did not acknowledge it, being in an economically privileged position allowed him to find alternatives to local sightseeing and gave him the freedom to travel further afield in India and partake in sightseeing that he did enjoy. He stated that he hasn't found that many places he actually has enjoyed apart from one wildlife reserve, an eco-lodge, and boat rides in Kerala.

For Greta it was the nature of her husband's job rather than the economic privileges it afforded them that led them to live on a compound. To a great extent Greta rejected the 'privilege' of having leisure and social activities literally on her doorstep and sought out activities together with her husband and alone, outside of the embassy compound. Compound life did work to her advantage however in so far as there was easy access to information about things to do in Delhi. She found out about Hindi lessons there, and she and her husband had also attended a lecture at the British Council. Although the Council is widely recognized as a cultural institution, Greta expressed that she and her husband had not done any "formal" cultural activities. As Hindman (2007) suggests, Greta has experienced some form of disciplining of culture whereby her own culture, with respect to arts and entertainment, has become invisible to her. She does however deem shopping at markets, which involves interaction and observation of the 'other' a cultural activity. Freda expresses that she would also like to break away from the "normal" things that people do; for example, she would like to have different cultural experiences like learning about the buildings or doing different kinds of tours that are not so mainstream. The understanding of what constitutes a 'cultural activity' thus varied among the migrants.

Accompanying her partner to India and going from working full time to part time has made Greta recognize how long the hours were that she worked in London. On top of that she and her husband would socialize a lot with friends and they spent most of their free time together. In India, Greta's husband has to do a "fair amount" of work-related socializing and she accompanies him when he does. Tiina expressed that her husband would be bringing colleagues home for dinner occasionally. She was the only other accompanying partner mentioned that her husband had to socialize professionally.

Some of the Nordic working migrants also engaged in professional socializing and relayed quite varying accounts of this experience. Social standing or status surfaced as an issue in several instances. Niels and his wife were committed to their professional engagements. He relays that in both his and his wife's professional

lives they have to meet with so many people that they appreciate very much just being alone, or being with his wife's parents and family. He says that they have a reputation for maybe accepting an invitation from friends, and always being home before eleven at night, "It is an accepted fact." He tells me that if they are out after midnight then people question why they are out. It is unclear from the data whether it was their social standing or their deployment of erotic capital or some other factor that enabled them to decline or cut short social invitations from friends without reprise because of that professional commitment. Hanna's professional status meanwhile meant that she was able to not do the amount of work-related socializing that the company had expected her to do. Hanna told me that even though her company expected her to partake in and organize social events, she did not do it so often because "the everyday business" takes up so much of [her] time already, and the company accepted this.

For Freda, her status as a single female was brought to the fore when she socialized professionally, as it often was in her actual workplace (see Section 5.3.1), and she expressed that this was problematic for her. She told me that she has two social lives: one with the functions she must attend representing her employer where she gets to meet a lot of interesting people who are either solely interested in having a business relationship, or they are "diplomats who are trying to flirt". The other is her "real" social life which she is just starting to develop. In professional socializing, Freda's erotic capital, thus, works against her. Unlike the experience of the male migrants who socialize professionally (see below), Freda's experience suggests that for young, single foreign women in India, gender may be a barrier for full participation in industrial citizenship because their social valuation in the male dominated business environment, as Weiss (2005), Anthias (2007) and Erel (2010) suggest, affect their ability to use their resources.

Brett and his wife socialize quite regularly in both a professional and personal capacity. He relayed that they have an extremely diverse set of friends from many different nationalities and who work in different sectors. When they attend events they are often the focus of media attention as a result of his wife's Bollywood career. He says they enjoy the "high-class" socializing, but also need and thoroughly enjoy dinners at home with friends and a more low key social life.

For Michael, simply being a Danish manager in India meant being "a part of something bigger". He had been invited to attend a session where the secretary of the state of Karnataka and two ambassadors came and talked about unions and trade things being set up in Southern India, "Suddenly [I was] walking around with people way out of my league. 6 months ago I was completely unaware of their

existence [and they of mine]; I was never in that league and suddenly … just because I am here." There were only twenty people there and so there was a lot of interaction. Michael was not representing his company which is in the financial industry at this gathering, but rather had been invited because of his connection to a professional Danish networking group. He describes himself as not being "able to reach the socks of the people" he was mingling with; he was, nonetheless, considered as the same level and spoken to as an equal and so he played his role too. Michael explains that socially in Denmark he is on one level, and then here in India he is on a totally different level just by being there. He describes himself as a regular manager in his company at home and has a little house and lives a 'normal' quiet life, "not fooling around with the big guys". Other male informants, yet none of the female informants, echoed similar sentiments indicating that simply by virtue of originating from the Nordic region and being male, the social valuation as well as their privileged status increased in professional social environments.

In Michael's experience, there is strong evidence of the impact of status hierarchy. As Michael explains, his work and employment status is quite different to that of the people he was socializing with at that particular event, however he was perceived as having a high status and his behavior subsequently corresponded to that expected for someone of his perceived status rather than to his actual education or skills level. Michael and Brett are explicit in expressing that this 'high life' has been easy to get used to, and several other Nordic migrants implicitly expressed their ease with the transition to elite status when they talked about the things they would miss when they left: the domestic help, having a driver, eating in five star restaurants, travelling and other luxuries that their new economic situation afforded them. The Nordic migrants' abilities to adapt to the hierarchies of difference when socializing (see also Section 5.3.2), where they occupy a high group status, does not fit entirely with the perception and framing of Nordic citizens as being defined by their commitment to egalitarianism and tradition of flat hierarchy. While the data does not prove that their values have changed, it does reflect a change in behavior that has been induced by the change in social environment.

5.3.2.3   Exercise and sport

In general, those who practiced sport regularly at home, did so in India as well. The range included yoga, Bollywood dancing, swimming, rock climbing, running, trekking, aerobics, golf and many also made use of spa facilities. Several people

commented that they walk a lot more at home whereas in India they use the car more. As detailed in Section 5.2.1, many of the migrants felt that they could not walk freely because of the state of the pavements, and some people found the public parks disagreeable for various reasons. A few of the Nordic key informants did use the parks for walking, and there were other key informants like Greta who kept up their routines that they had at home for example by running in the parks; Saara kept up her hobby of golfing, which she had relatively recently taken up in Finland; and one other non-Nordic key informant even rollerbladed in the city centre in Bangalore.

A striking aspect of the Nordic key informants' approach to doing exercise was their persistence with finding alternatives to the sports that they usually practiced at home.[89] For most it took some time to find out where to take part in the sports, or to find a private teacher. The seconded migrants and partners thereof experienced informational uncertainty as none of them, with the exception of Greta, expressed that their employers helped them with finding solutions for free-time activities and sport during there POV or upon arrival in India. Anna described finding a yoga teacher to come to their home and give her and her husband lessons as one of the 'jobs' she needs to work on, and this aptly describes the way other migrants explained the task. As with informational uncertainty regarding social protection and support (see Section 5.1), they were indeed, as Farh et al. (2010) suggest, strongly motivated to seek adjustment facilitating support ties. They utilized their social capital effectively in order to find alternative solutions, thus diffusing the informational uncertainty. The strength and breadth of the social and support networks at the migrants' disposal thus became significant not least because of the time saved by being able to gather information quickly.

As with socializing and sightseeing, when it came to taking exercise, the Nordic migrants were forced to renegotiate their use of space. Similar to Fechter's expatriates in Indonesia (see Fechter 2007a: 69), for many this entailed a shift from using open public spaces when practicing sport in the home country, to using closed private spaces in India. There were however also a few who continued to use public spaces as they did at home. It was my impression during the interviews that several of the migrants were initially challenged by the stark contrast in, access to, and choice of sporting activities. Nonetheless, possibly as a consequence of the temporary nature of their stay, they did not dwell on this as Fechter's subjects

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[89] Key informants from the Netherlands were like the Nordic key informants extremely pro-active with finding alternative free time activities yet distinguished themselves for their engagement with local people.

seemed to, even if like Hanna they felt they would suffer a health consequence as a result.

When in Finland, Hanna swims, cycles to work, plays golf, rollerblades and she enjoys cooking and travelling and spending time with friends. She states that her social life during a work week when she was there was not so busy, but the exercise was a major part of her week, and this is one of the changes she is facing in India that she is not quite used to yet. She says that she complained a lot about it in the first few months of being in India "… there are no pavements, there is no space, it is always 35-plus degrees, parks are not open, that kind of stuff." But now she has accepted that she simply can't do those activities in India as the exercise opportunities are so different, and that she must find something else. After trying out an aerobics class, Hanna ended up hiring a yoga teacher to come to her home every working day at 6am, and she says she still has a tough time getting up so early. She also engages in Nordic walking which she says attracts a lot of attention from local people who think they are disabled, but she says she has given up on the idea of having a "real workout" and comments that this has "the unfortunate consequence" of weight-gain. She is also a member of the Hash House Harriers, a non-competitive running group. In spite of engaging in so many different activities compared to her situation in Finland Hanna still regards the 'lack' of sporting opportunities and the weight gain "a major negative consequence of being in India".

Another alternative solution that Michael found to practicing the sports he was used to doing was to buy a treadmill and put it on the roof terrace at their home in Bangalore. He says "it is not the same as running in a forest somewhere" but at least he gets his exercise. His other hobbies in Denmark included sailing and rock climbing. He accepts that he cannot do the sailing and comments that "Indians do not sail without an engine". Although it is located 300km away, at the time of interviewing Michael was building up the contacts to be able to go to Hampii to do rock climbing. Michael also notes that the children get to do plenty of sport in school.

Time was a major factor not only seeking out the desired activity, but also with regard participation. For the migrants who shared their driver with their working partners the density of the traffic and travel times (i.e. to drive to the workplace, home, to the sport facility, home and to the workplace again) had to be considered. Karin explained to me that her week and the activities she undertook were carefully planned around the times that the driver had to pick up and drop her husband off at work. She rarely had more than two things planned for each day and careful

scheduling was required. This was in stark contrast to Tiina who used the facilities at the private gated community where they lived (see below). A couple of the Nordic migrants enjoyed pastimes that neither required the use of facilities nor the involvement of third parties, and subsequently time did not play a role for them. Ken, for example, plays computer games sometimes, and Freda composes classical organ and choir music.

Tiina was exceptional in so far as she undertook more sport in India than she did at home in Finland. As relayed previously, the move to India afforded Tiina some freedom that she had not experienced for some years as she has a young family and had been looking after small children. In addition to not having to work in India, the children were now a little bit older and were able to be looked after in institutions and by the domestic staff, and she and her family were living in a private gated community that had a clubhouse offering good sports and leisure facilities. She comments that it has felt nice to be a little bit selfish and just do things for herself during the time in India.

Tiina is unique in her feeling of being liberated from the restrictive life she was leading at home, similar to Kurotani's (2007) Japanese expatriate wives in the US, yet her description of herself as "being a little bit selfish" by undertaking so many free time activities, and other remarks made during the interview, indicate that she also felt a strong element of guilt about her lifestyle. On the other hand, she states:

> "At the end of the day when [I] die, I don't think I will be regretting the time I have been with my […] and I have had the time to enjoy. There is not this economic pressure. So I think I should say to myself, 'Enjoy it! You can!' […] Still at the same time, I think it's the Finnish, kind of, what you are used to you know as a woman you have to, you know, you cannot stay home and just be a housewife. That [does not fit] in our culture. Lots of women discuss in Finland, when [considering going] to work when you have children, you are a bad mother or you are a lazy mother. There are those two options two options. I don't think it is just Finland [but] this women-motherhood thing, there is this constant battle. […] There are mothers who can go to work when the baby is nine months, that's fine, but [I learned] I was not that kind of mother, but I am also not that kind of mother that wants to wants to bake buns everyday with the kids and stay home till they are fifteen. […] I try to take it in a positive way, [now] I can do some [other things]."

> Tiina (FI) 1:12:45

Tiina appears to recognize her preferences for how to do motherhood (the culture of the self), however she is torn between the culture that has been inscribed on her by Finnish society and the culture of the 'expat wife' that she finds herself in, whereby her husband is the sole breadwinner and there is no need or desire to find some kind of work activity; her 'job' now is to take care of the children and the home.

Tiina and her family would shortly be moving on to another posting, and so it is possible, that these feelings arise because there is no immediate prospect of returning to her Finnish way of life, yet it is that life which she continues to think of as her norm and the behavior that she expects that she should have, and possible what she perceives others also think she should have supporting Di Masso's (2012) theory on the connection between expected behavior and place and people-space relations.

5.3.2.4   Travel

Travelling was another pastime that several of the Nordic key informants mentioned that they enjoyed doing while in India. It is noteworthy that those who did not mention travel as a pastime were those who were in India on a long-term basis, those who worked for international organizations, and those who travelled regularly in their jobs (five key informants in total). Anna and Ken were the two other exceptions, however Anna did state that cultural experiences were not her primary reason for being in India with her partner Ken; starting up her business was.

Most of the Nordic key informants travelled back to their home countries a couple of times a year for various reasons, including holidays, to visit sick relatives, to attend special events and to work. In addition to this, some focused their travels on seeing different parts of India, while others focused on seeing different parts of Asia "while they were in that part of the world", and there were those who combined the two. Several people commented on what a beautiful country India was "once you get out of the cities".

For Tiina travelling was a coping mechanism. Prior to moving to India, she had developed an acute fear of flying and so had not been travel abroad very frequently recently. Now she is more used to flying and when she gets back from one holiday she is asking when the next one is – she says that she enjoys the trips a lot. She states that she cannot stay in India for more than three months at a time, but is not

sure that that necessarily means that she is not enjoying her time there. She feels like she organizes her time in India in slots: "this part here and then we go there".

Travelling has also impacted Saara's life very strongly. As a family they have only visited Delhi, Agra and the Taj Mahal together. She tells me that in Finland she never did "anything big" by herself, like travelling for instance. She was a very shy person. Since being in India however, she has become far less shy and she says she can even speak to strangers now. She tells me that she also takes taxis by herself and she even did a trip to Singapore alone. Saara expressed that it was only when we were talking about it that she realized what a big thing this is.

As well as the simple enjoyment of being able to travel more frequently to different destinations in India and Asia, the privilege of being able to travel gave some migrants unexpected returns which arguably impacted their mental state in so far as confidence was boosted and fears were overcome. The negative side to the increased frequency of travel however which also included, in most cases, a couple of trips back to Europe each year, that was not mentioned by any of the migrants is the large ecological footprint the trips leave behind. As with the consumption of food and goods, with all the knowledge and cultural capital they supposedly possess, the migrants failed to recognize and take responsibility for their contribution to the environmental degradation that is occurring in India. As discussed previously (see Section 5.2.1), this was seemingly externalized as something that Indians were doing to themselves.

5.3.2.5   Food and drink

My data reveal that food and drink constitute a definitive sphere of culture within which a variety of relationships exist. For those who prepared food at home, there were different approaches to the preparation of food with some of the Nordic migrants expressly exercising extreme caution for fear of falling ill, while others made no mention of any precautions that they took and did not seem to fear food. Others meanwhile changed their diets in order to avoid items they deemed unsafe, in order to increase the nutritional content of their meals, and also simply as a matter of course with the result of experiencing better general health. There were also different attitudes among the Nordic migrants to the types of foods consumed with some keeping similar patterns to home eating both Indian and international cuisines, or using local produce to prepare non-local meals simply because of preference, while others changed their habits completely and only ate Indian food and criticized those who did otherwise. A commonality expressed among several of

the Nordic migrants albeit to varying extents was their missing or longing for particular Nordic food items.

Michael feels that he is "lacking somewhat" on the social side. He explained that in Denmark they socialized with people they had known for twenty years or more, and so everything to do with socializing in India is somehow new for them. He notes that in India if they do anything social outside of work "it either involves travelling or drinking. These are the two options." Michael states strongly that he likes to travel, but he does not enjoy drinking so often during the week as he is "past that stage in life". The problem he has with travel though is that friends do not always want to travel at the same time as him.

Michael was unique in his desire to travel together with friends, however, Anna and other non-Nordic migrants also made reference to the amount of alcohol they were consuming when socializing. Anna says that in the beginning of her stay she drank a lot more alcohol than she did in Finland. After a short while, however, she put limits on herself. She believes that having a driver certainly facilitates alcohol consumption and explains that many of the bars and hotels have offers of free alcohol: champagne with brunch for example. Anna also relayed that sometimes when she drinks alcohol she feels that she is being stared at because she is a woman. It was my impression that while Anna noted this extra attention, it was not the reason for her reducing the amount of alcohol she consumed.

Food consumption was a topic discussed by the majority of the Nordic migrants with regards to health concerns, the availability of restaurants, the type of food eaten, and longing for 'home' foods. While all of the Nordic migrants said that they ate out fairly often, Freda, Michael and Beth, even though they had domestic workers who could take care of the cooking for them, liked to cook at home.

Freda tells me that she has had "Delhi-belly" four times since she arrived and was near to being hospitalized on one occasion. She believes that this was because she cooks at home and in the beginning was not aware of the differences in the way to prepare food in India: for example, she tells me that some foods need to be soaked in water for 10 hours, salad needs to be sterilized and left in mineral water before it is eaten. Consequently, she relays, preparing food takes longer than it does in Europe. She does not prepare Indian food because she does not like spicy food particularly, but has gotten more used to it since being in India. Leena also mentions that she does not drink the same milk that locals drink because they boil it first and let it cool. She buys Nestlé milk instead, when they need it, but in general they have stopped drinking milk. They take calcium tablets instead. She

says that she tends to be quite careful with food, and if she buys fish from the market then she freezes it first and then fries it, "just to be on the safe side".

There were others who prepared food at home and did not express in particular that they were particularly cautious when doing so. While this does not mean that they were not cautious, it may reflect that they had less fear when approaching cooking. For Michael, cooking is a hobby and he tells me that he and his family are "slowly adapting to the Indian way of eating using the ingredients available to [them] there". He thinks that if they just carried on eating the same foods they did at home then there would be no point in being there. He tells me that he speaks generally at a very high level in his work domain, and says that he has been surprised at how many basic words needed for everyday conversation and grocery shopping he has been missing. By using Indian cookbooks and shopping for foodstuffs, he is expanding his vocabulary in English.

Beth and her husband cook more or less the same food that they did at home which she describes as "a mix of international cuisines". She says they probably eat more vegetarian dishes than at home as "the meat situation here is not very good". She also comments that it is very difficult to get a good fibre intake in India. She says that before they started cooking for themselves she had problems with her stomach and she believes this is the reason. She and her husband now make a conscious effort to take in more fibre: she says she found some coarse-grained oatmeal and she makes rye bread from mixes that she brings or gets people to bring them from home. Beth says that she can't eat Indian food all the time, just like she doesn't eat Danish food all the time when she is in Denmark. They have discussed sharing a cook with their Danish neighbors (two or three days a week) and if that happens, then it is fine for her that they eat Indian food a bit more frequently, but she does not cook Indian food.

Beth was not alone in missing and importing food items from the home country. Hanna and Leena get Finnish friends to bring back rye bread and liquorice when they make trips to Finland, and Leena compensates for missing seafood by eating a lot of it whenever they travel to other parts of Asia. Niels says that his food habits have changed and his health is much better now. He has adopted a vegetarian diet according to Ayurveda principles when in Denmark "a meal without meat was not a meal". Nonetheless, he admits that he misses the popular liquorice candy, Gajol, and that he makes Danish potato salad for his Indian family.[90] Similarly, Brett says that he eats much better in India and is rarely ever sick. When he goes back to Denmark, he finds the food very "heavy for the body

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[90] Niels also gets a Christmas tree brought over for them every year.

to digest", yet he still says that he misses Danish food a lot. Saara says that she does not understand people who get foodstuffs brought over to India from Finland; she feels that "when you live somewhere, you have to live with what is there". Nonetheless, she admits that she brings porridge over for the children and says that she is looking forward to their next posting where they will be able to drink water from the tap. Finally, Anna also admits that in spite of enjoying the fresh fruit available in India and the affordability of dining out in five-star restaurants, she has missed "the basic nature of Finnish food" (i.e. the simplicity of Finnish food) and ready-made pre-packed food.

It is likely that there would be similar disparities between the migrants' eating habits regardless of their nationality and regardless of the destination country. What is pertinent to this thesis, however, is once again, the relative ease with which the Nordic migrants used their agency to find and follow the eating culture that suited them, albeit sometimes with a few setbacks as in Freda's case. This phenomenon is also reflected in the experiences of dining out relayed below. As with travelling, preparing food at home also gave unexpected returns to Michael in the form of increasing his stock of cultural capital: by embarking on preparing Indian meals for his family at home, he increased his English vocabulary by using Indian cookbooks. An addition unexpected occurrence expressed by Anna and other non-Nordic key informants, was the belief that having a personal driver facilitated an increase in the amount of alcohol she consumed, which is evidence of a major disadvantage of being in a position of economic privilege. As Michael hinted, the social scene within wealthier migrant circles revolves very much around alcohol. Nonetheless Anna and others were still able to recognize this somewhat negative change of habit and adjust their behavior to a level that they deemed acceptable which went against the expected behavior of the segment of young global professions at expat gatherings.

5.3.2.6   Restaurants and dining out

As with the limited selection of non-perishable food items in India in 2009, the variation of cuisines in different restaurants and cafés was similarly lacking, albeit for only some of the key informants.[91] Of the Nordic migrants who spoke about

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[91] There was a marked difference between the range of restaurants in the three cities: Mumbai had the widest choice, Delhi was second and Bangalore lagged far behind both, yet the changes there were happening there at the most rapid pace.

their eating habits however, the vast majority were positive about their restaurant dining experiences.

Leena who lives in Bangalore says that she does not cook if she can help it and on the weekends they go out. She explains that she has been cooking for about 20 years and after this experience in India, she will cook again for many years. She says she does not miss it at all perhaps because she does not have a passionate relationship with food. The "maid" knows some Finnish dishes and Leena has been teaching her some more. They are not always able to eat the same things as they did in Finland, and things taste different to back home, but this is fine. She says there are many good restaurants. They live near a mall which they can walk to (which she describes as "freedom") which has a good Italian restaurant. Consequently they do not need the driver to be there the whole day. Her husband also drives sometimes and they go to a Chinese place not too far away. Leena says there is also a nice restaurant at the clubhouse in Palm Meadows where they will be moving to shortly. They have also been to different places where they can have long Sunday brunches. Leena says she can't complain about the dining out situation as there is plenty, and she is happy.

Anna was similarly satisfied in Bangalore. She told me which types of restaurants were available around where she lived and which she had to go into the city for. She ate both Western and Indian food and adds that the hotels often have good restaurants. Mads says that only eats out at all kinds of places as food shopping "is kind of a hassle", he works late sometimes, and he doesn't like eating alone. He ate mostly Indian food in the beginning, but "Just like you get homesick, eventually you get fed up with Indian food". He said he had a couple of weeks where he did not eat any Indian food at all and he now eats fifty-fifty Western and Indian food.

It was only Mads and Niels who expressed that they ate at smaller more local Indian restaurants. In doing so, Niels says that he and his wife "break all the rules" that foreigners usually go by: they go to restaurants that even the servants would not go to, but he says that they get the best food and service there, and there is "respect" between them and the patrons, however, when he and his wife were dating they had to exercise some caution. He tells me that there are eateries in Mangalore where the rickshaw drivers go and get drunk before they go home which the police raid regularly, that there is a tradition in Mangalore of sitting in your car outside a place, honking your horn and the waiter will come out with snacks and drinks. He did this sometimes with his then-girlfriend. After a while, Niels explained, some customers and passers-by started to make comments about

his wife: why was she with him, what is he up to and so on. He tells me that four "fellows" who could hardly stand came out of the restaurant and asked what [the men] were talking about. The people responded with questions about him and his wife and their relationship and the four drunk patrons fought them and chased them away. Niels states that "people still have honour". He likes it that his wife can go to this place and sit down and have something to eat and drink by herself as well.

In Delhi meanwhile, Greta says that she is not a very good cook. She and her husband used to eat out a lot when they were in the UK and she says they have the same habit there. Freda commented that she mainly socializes with friends in restaurants; she says it is a challenge to find good places to eat but they usually just have fun with this problem. She explains that one "cannot just go out to any restaurant and have a meal. It has to be somewhere that someone has recommended and trusts." She adds that even in the very good restaurants such as those in the Taj Hotel, people still get sick. She mentions that all of her friends who have visited her from Brussels became sick upon return to Belgium, implying that the fault is with the Indian food, rather than as Brett noted, difficulties with processing the 'home' foods.

The issues raised when discussing eating out were again quite varied among the Nordic migrants. Leena's account raises the question again of the Finnish women's triple burden that they experience in their home country. Unlike Tiina however, Leena does not show any signs of guilt about her current privileged status where they have a "maid" who can cook both Indian and Finnish meals, and they also have a good choice of restaurants nearby and in Bangalore in general. To the contrary, she clearly expresses her enjoyment about being freed from having to perform this duty and her account highlights the high valuation she places on her domestic staff, as well as on their choice of where to live.

Mads' experience meanwhile draws attention to the difference in eating habits that arise as a consequence of having a 'single male' status during the secondment period. He chose to eat out mostly as he recognized that his time was limited and he has had nobody to share chores of shopping or the pleasure of eating together with. Mads was also the only key informant that I interviewed who would be in India for less than one year, which, although not stated, may also be a reason for him to choose eating out as his only option.

It was my impression that the types of restaurants that Anna, Leena and Freda said that they frequented belonged to the category of 'five-star' that many informants used to describe the places where they dined and socialized. Although

Greta did not express which types of restaurants she and her husband went to, from her account of how she used the city and interacted with staff at mealtimes at work, it is likely that she visited a broader range of restaurants than the aforementioned key informants, while Mads and Niels stated clearly that they visited all kinds of places. As with the differences in the spheres of culture surrounding food outlined previously, the variation in the dining out habits of the migrants could potentially be the same regardless of nationality or place. The way in which the migrants spoke about their experiences is the point of interest perhaps most clearly emphasized by comparing Niels' and Freda's accounts.

Niels on the one hand speaks fervently about the honorable attributes of Indian people and the high quality of food and service he gets at restaurants that not only other foreigners but also the "servants" would not go to. Freda on the other hand speaks mockingly about the choice and standard of restaurants in Delhi, and does not go to one unless it has been recommended to her by "someone". While the "someone" is not clearly defined, from the tone of her description, one might assume that it would be a "someone" with the same group status as herself. In conceding that even if one goes to a five-star restaurant there is still a possibility of becoming sick, Freda indirectly undermines her choice of approach to eating out. Seemingly, no matter which choice she makes, she perceives that she runs the risk of becoming ill. After our interview was completed at Freda's home we drove to a particular shop that she recommended that I buy fabric from. On the way there I asked the driver to stop and I bought food from a street vendor. Freda proceeded to warn me very strongly about the dangers of eating street food and the process I should go through before eating the fruit. By contrast, when visiting Niels in Mangalore to carry out our interview, he invited me both to eat at home with his father-in-law, and also to a small local restaurant that was frequented by the rickshaw drivers he mentioned in his account. The difference in approach to food and eating out between Freda and Niels was extremely stark, and the rest of the Nordic migrants' habits fell somewhere in between the two.

5.3.2.7 Family

During the migration period, the Nordic citizens experiences changes in the dynamics of their personal relationships simply by being located in a new place. While Bell (2005) notes that citizens are not locationless and citizenship is enacted in an environment, my data reveals that horizontal interpersonal relationships are also enacted and impacted by both the physical and social environments that the

different communities straddle. In the case of the familial relationships, for instance, being in India presented an array of challenges for the Nordic migrants and their accompanying families that were not always able to be mitigated by the privileged financial position they were in.

For Greg, for example, the nature of his employment impacted his lifestyle greatly and it was my understanding that this had severe consequences for his family and his family life. Greg has lived abroad for many years and has a Polish wife who he met in Russia and a daughter who was born in the Middle East. He works a great number of hours, both in the office and at home and his wife manages the home. As well as facing challenges within his marriage (see Greg's Story (1) in Section 5.1.1), his story below refers to the consequences he believes his daughter has faced because of his job:

Greg's Story (2)

Greg is fluent in English and Polish and is highly proficient in Russian which is the language they speak at home even though it is not his wife and daughter's first language. Greg tells me that his daughter is not doing very well in school, which he believes is a result of all the moving around she has had to do since she was born. She has had to start fourth grade four times, and so is in a class with children younger than she is. He has the feeling that she envies her friends who have more stable lives, for example she keeps her best friend's name tag on her wall. Greg and his wife would not consider sending their daughter to boarding school as they view it as something that parents who do not love their children do; he would rather be away from his wife and daughter, than send his daughter away alone.

Greg speaks extensively about his career path. He currently works on two-year contracts and explains that the positions he gets are very much dependent on having good relations with his boss. He describes this situation as 'nerve-racking' for him and his family as they never know where they will be going next or for how long he will keep his job. His wife has taught him to not think about the future too much, and he summarizes the situation with "imagine that you could never buy a puppy for your daughter". He says it is these simple things that people take for granted that are missing from his life. The lifestyle choice also has consequences for friendships – Greg says that he only has friends from his childhood and a couple of friends who are in the armed forces.

Greg is very open about the negative impact that his working life, which both takes up a lot of his time and is also quite precarious, was having on his family and

kinships relationships. These issues had little to do with being in India, but were more to do with the transnational, fluid nature of his position. In spite of the struggles he was facing, Greg did not relay that at any point he had considered changing his career path for the sake of his family life. Crudely put, until the time of interviewing, he had been willing to make all these sacrifices for the prestige of his job and the cultural capital it allowed him to accumulate, thus carving out for himself a rather isolated social citizenship constellation.

Brett and Niels were the two Nordic migrants who had been in India longer-term. Both were married to Indian wives and both aired their preferences for the Indian way of doing family and that they were very happy in India presently (see Section 5.1.2). While Brett was open to the possibility of returning to Denmark at some point in the future and mentioned to me that his daughter had a Danish passport, Niels expressed that it was a part of their marital agreement that he and his wife remain in India so that they can care for her parents when they get old. For Niels, the culture of the 'other' was more omnipresent and played a defining role in his social life and thus his social citizenship. Brett presented his time spent with family and close friends as being "low-key" socializing, and the "high-class" socializing as that which he did outside of the home with his wife and friends; Niels did not differentiate between the two along those lines, but rather highlighted the stark contrast between socializing at home within an Indian context and how it would be in Denmark (see Section 5.3.2). He also emphasized how much more relaxed it is to spend time with his Indian family compared to how people behave in Denmark:

"If a lot of people suddenly show up at your house, there is always food for everybody. In Denmark it would be an inconvenience." Niels tells me that the evening before he had mentioned to his father-in-law that I was coming and he would like me to try his food and he said "no problem, bring her, bring her!" It is not a problem and no big fuss is made. They don't feel the need to get out the good cutlery and lay the table and have candles and whatever. Things are far more relaxed. His wife has two sisters. When the three of them were living in the family house there was always someone over. Niels explains that if he said to his Indian family that he was coming over with 20 people and could they cook some food, they would say yes, no problem.

> "If 20 people wanted to sleep over this would not be a problem either as people would just sleep where there is a space. They wouldn't need a fancy mattress or bed or anything."

> Niels (DK) 26:30

Both Niels and Brett had married into relatively wealthy upper-class 'professional' Indian families. Niels told me that initially there was a lot of resistance to him getting into the family. He was over fifty and divorced "which is really not good in a catholic society". He didn't have a job or much money, "just a business that nobody knew exactly what it was". But today he says he feels totally accepted. He states, "I fight with my mother-in-law, shout at my nephews and feel totally part of the family!" Thus for Niels, it was not only socio-cultural differences in the way of doing family in India that was preferable to him compared to Denmark, but also the socio-cultural differences in the way of socializing and interacting with family.

There were other secondees who faced challenges within the family unit. As already mentioned in Section 5.1.1, Leena's children were negatively impacted by the decision to move to India, albeit only in the initial stages of the secondment. Saara also faced challenges with her eleven year old son who managed to convince his teachers that he was suffering from a mental illness for a few months, in order to get out of doing homework. His grades also suffered a lot in the beginning, but at the time of interviewing, two years into the secondment, his was doing "very well" in school. Saara has also had to get used to her two oldest children spending much of the holiday time they have in Finland (two of the three months that she had been returning to Finland to work each year) together with their biological father who lives there. She is fortunate however that her previous and current husbands have a very good relationship and so they (all of the male members of the family) also occasionally spend time all together. The biological father has also been to visit them a few times since they have been in India. There were other migrants who had adult children who were studying and working in the home countries. The parents had diverse levels of contact with them and did not express that they had faced any challenges. For Saara, family life has straddled two countries and consists of two families since she and her current husband decided to live life abroad. Hence the spatial dynamics of Saara citizenship constellation are quite unique, at least among my key informants.

With regard to marital issues, as well as Greg, there was one others secondee who admitted to having big problems in the beginning largely due to the lifestyle and role changes experienced. Tiina stated that in the first few months of their secondment she was at home a lot with the children as they did not have places in schools and their (her and her husband's) life was suddenly just all about his (her husband's) life. She says though that the marital struggle as the experience of being in India has made her "grow up", she has learned a lot about herself, and she and her partner have learned a lot about each other. Michael also commented that

spending more time together has "strengthened the family unit". In Denmark he describes them as working well together as a "team" as they each had their own lives and they met up in between, whereas in India they have a more "old-fashioned" family life. Michael has adjusted his working hours to fit with the children's school day and then he does more work if need be after they have gone to bed.

Kristoffer and his wife had spent the first 18 months of the secondment apart. At the time of interviewing she had only been with him for a couple of weeks and they had agreed that he only work "normal" hours otherwise there would be no reason to be there. He had been working longer hours when he was there alone. This situation contrasts to Karin and her husband: he often works from 10.00 and doesn't arrive home until 20.00 or 21.00. She says that they usually just eat dinner and "have a quick conversation together" and then go to bed. For Karin, the weekends are for the two of them and she comments that having the domestic staff and the company paying for their apartment facilitates that greatly as they are free from other chores. The difference between the two couples decisions about time spent together may be partially explained by their age difference. Karin was in her late-twenties at the time of interviewing and had a relatively busy social calendar. Kristoffer's wife meanwhile was in her mid-fifties and was less socially active; their priorities as a couple differed greatly and they admitted to being less adventurous and less comfortable with risk-taking than they had been in their youth. They were a close couple with adult children living abroad. They have travelled a lot together in the past and emphasized that they wanted to share the experience of being India together. This suggests that the stage one is at in the life cycle can greatly impact the type of social citizenship constellation one has.

Several of the other Nordic migrants commented that they enjoyed spending more time together with their partners and children while in India than they would normally at home as there were fewer external distractions, such as family commitments, birthdays, and social engagements with friends. Ken relayed that the majority of his and Anna's friends in India are friends in common, whereas in Finland he has his friends who he sees without her. Also, before they came to India, Anna was in Spain for some time and before that she was studying in a different city. When they came to India, this was "a new chapter" also for them in their relationship in so far as they were now living full time at the same address. He comments that it is highly likely that even without the move to India, they would have started to spend more time together. He also mentions that in Bangalore there is "a trend" for couples to do things together and as such there have only

been one or two occasions when there has been something organized for only one of them. The social environment and more specifically, the spaces of expatriate sociality, thus influence the migrant's personal relationships positively.

As well as there being challenges with the new dynamics of family life, the previous examples suggest that there are also gains from a return to the male breadwinner model of family life during secondment. However, the new model has a highly significant tweak related to time: the non-presence of extended family, friends and separate social networks, and the presence of domestic staff frees up a lot of time which can be dedicated to the familial relationships; secondly, the temporary nature of the contracts give both parties the opportunity to enjoy the change, and perhaps enjoy it even more because they know it is temporary.

Another aspect of interpersonal relationships within the family that the migrants spoke about was to do with the family they left behind in the home country. The migrants experienced split responsibilities and mixed emotions about being away. Two of the female Finnish key informants (one secondee and one accompanying partner) had a parent in Finland who was seriously ill. In both Leena and Hanna's cases, the parent had sufficient care in place so they did not need to return to perform care duties. Leena stated simply that "it is not easy [being so far away], but there is nothing you can do", and Hanna expressed similar sentiments. Tiina expressed that she feels sad for her parents regarding their relationship with their grandchildren. She has a close relationship with her family and misses "having Sunday dinner together and those kinds of things". Fortunately they have been over to visit a few times for longer periods, and Tiina and her family have been back to Finland twice a year as well. The privileges of having sufficient financial means to return to Europe regularly as well as the free time to do so have thus been invaluable in allowing the families to maintain close ties.

5.3.2.8   Friends and acquaintances

It was my impression during the interviews that 'making friends' served different purposes for different people. For some, when it came to befriending other foreign migrants and country nationals it had more to with forming strategic alliances and ties with similar people than to do with forging deep and meaningful long-lasting personal relationships. In other words, many of the friendships that were made had to do with increasing stocks of social capital. There was a particular goal in mind or a particular need that required satisfying. When it came to the friendships that were

formed with Indian nationals outside of 'expatriate' communities the picture varied.

Leena for example explained that most of her friends are "expats" and she is friends with them mainly because she needs support from people who can fully understand what she is going through. As Farh et al. (2010) suggest, expatriate ties are formed when social uncertainty is experienced. This contrasts however to Brett's situation where his "high-class" social life is strongly connected to the entertainment industry that his wife works in where the friendships are based on enjoying the same social activities and to some extent informal professional networking as he described these "friends" as not always the ones he could pick up the phone and speak to if he is down.

Ken admits that at the beginning of the stay in India, it made things easier to be able to speak in Finnish, so he spent more time with Finns then. Once he was more used to speaking English in his everyday, his friendship circles became more mixed and now it was rare to be together with a group of Finns only. Even though Ken refers to the people he socializes with as friends, he says that "at this age, you don't make new friends", but he has found it much easier to get to know people in Bangalore because they have so much in common, namely being relocated; in Finland he does not have any foreign friends (he has some who live abroad) and he thinks he may even miss being in this kind of international community when he returns. This sentiment was echoed by practically every foreign migrant I engaged with while in India. Anna explained that "just by being foreign in this country there is a sense of belonging together and it is easy to start the conversation with the question about where you are from, why you are here and so on". She states that it is even "expected" that you at least say hello if a person is Finnish or even Swedish, "you respond as if you are old neighbors […]. The further you go from your home country the closer you are with other Scandinavians as there is the feeling that you are from the same place". Even though Saara commented that she did not like it that all the Finns spent time together in Bangalore, she admits that she and her husband chose to contact the Finnish people whose names were given to them by the company.

It appears therefore that the Nordic migrants are able to break down cultural barriers and develop more complex representations of their own and other foreigners' social identities. In the case of other Nordic migrants, as Rubini and Palmonari (2012) propose, refraining from dichotomous social categorizing effectively nullifies the intergroup hostility that sometimes occurs between people from different Nordic countries when they are located in the Nordic region. In

India they are in a minority group, not only in relation to the dominant Indian group, but also in relation to the foreign migrant group and forging relationships early on in their stay in particular provides a psychological safety net for the Nordic migrants.

With regard to his dissolved friendships at home, Niels, who says that his social circle in India does not include foreigners, states that "what makes a friendship is the exchange of impressions, opinions; you discuss what you have read in the newspaper or seen on TV – that's what you do with friends. When you don't have that thing together anymore it is very difficult to maintain the friendship." This description was pertinent for the seconded migrants whose friendships with other foreigners in India were short-lived because of the temporary nature of the working partner's contract. For Leena and other Nordic and non-Nordic informants, the transient nature of their friendships was one of the hardest things to get used to. For Karin this was particularly hard in the first year. She says she has a closer circle of friends, but the fact that they are always coming and going makes things different. Not ever hearing from people again, whether it be after a first meeting or a 'longer' friendship, has been difficult, but she is used to it now. She also mentions that it takes much more effort to see people in India than at home because it takes so long to get from one place to another and people are scattered around the city. Time was also a factor for Greg and other Nordic migrants who were working full time, many of whom mentioned that their friends were made through their partner's participation in expatriate clubs.

Aside from the few Nordic migrants who mentioned the Indian 'friends' they made directly or indirectly through expat clubs which seemed to be more acquaintances than friends, the closer friendships that the Nordic seconded migrants made with Indian people seemed to be less strategic, less effort and develop more organically. Greta, who got much of her information about different leisure activities from the embassy liaison officer, said that she does not have any Indian friends yet because all of the social activities she has undertaken so far have been in conjunction with the foreign community. She does mention however that she has some colleagues at work who she is friendly with but has not socialized with "yet". Almost all of the female migrants I interviewed formally who lived in a private gated community, meanwhile, had developed what they described as "close" friendships with female Indian neighbors. By contrast, the friends from the local community that several of the Nordic migrants who lived in traditional gated communities and in non-gated areas tended to be fellow country nationals. While this may have been coincidental, it may also be the case that the private

gated communities create more intimate living conditions similar to that of a village. Social interaction with those within the 'community' is facilitated as the commonality they share of their choice of way of life is omnipresent.[92] Tiina's descriptions of her friendships with Indian people in her story below reflect the difference, if one considers how the other Nordic migrants spoke about their relationships with foreign migrants:

Tiina's Story (2)

Tiina's best friends during her time in Bangalore have been Indian. Her closest friend was born in India and moved to the States after nineteen years. They started to do yoga together at her home. They had discussed a few days ago that they are quite similar and similar craziness. She is a bit older, 38 years-old, and divorced her Indian husband when they moved back to India recently. The husband and her two children are back in the States and she stayed in India with her German boyfriend. She told Tiina that it has been tough for her as even though she has been living in the States, divorce in India is not so common and she has had some hard times. Tiina says she cannot say this friend is "fully Indian" because she has this American background there as well. Tiina has another good friend who is Indian. She was her neighbor when they lived in Ozone. She also used to live in the States and is a very traditional Indian. She was away for quite a long time and now that she is back she is very keen to celebrate all the festivals and invited people to her home and showed people how things are celebrated, traditionally. She told Tiina that she really enjoyed that she was back. Tiina loves this and empathizes with it as when she goes back to Finland, she notices that she also enjoys some more traditional things more than before. The neighbor always wore a sari and when Tiina told her she was doing Bollywood dancing, she told her that girls should not do that kind of thing.

Tiina had one other Indian friend who is also a neighbor. She was born in England and her parents were from Delhi. On Friday she is actually flying to the UK and will visit the neighbor and her family who are there as well. Tiina tells me that a lot of Indians have some kind of background of being away from India. She has foreign friends in her circle outside of India as she studied in Leeds in the UK. Also in Finland her good friend married a Czech man and her own father is Polish. She describes him as 'in a way' foreign. Tiina does not speak Polish and so does not feel that the Polish culture is much a part of her life. Some of her husband's colleagues are also from different places.

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[92] There were exceptions such as Saara who stated clearly that she disliked the fact that all her neighbors were Indian.

Tiina was not alone in mentioning the international profile of her Indian friends and some foreigners even referred to them as "not really Indian". I believe that the strategy of reducing the strength of Indian people's Indian-ness was a necessary step for many foreign migrants in being able categorize 'others' along multiple dimensions: both groups then had their 'being foreign in India' in common. In describing her own father as 'in a way' foreign, Tiina's shows an inability, however, to categorize herself along multiple dimensions in the context of 'being foreign in Finland'. Rubini and Palmonari (2012) suggest that learning to develop more complex representations of social identities of both the self and the other are necessary for human beings to be able to establish more trusting relationships. Even though Tiina is only able to do this to a certain extent, she has indeed established trusting relationships (with the assumption that a friendship is a trusting relationship) with her neighbors. Her statements about 'foreign-ness' indicate that both location and different understandings of national identity may impact the ability to do this.

On the flipside, Tiina told me that she had learned from reading books that "Indians" are "not that culturally interested", so she believed that cooking Danish food for them is not something they would appreciate. This was a motivator for her to have an Indian cook because it means they can socialize together with Indian friends over dinner. Michael meanwhile told me that Indians are "not so social" and if they are "it usually revolves around work or dinner". For him and his family this was a barrier as they had a routine at home that revolved around the children's timetable: they eat dinner early because the children go to bed early because they wake up early. This is different to the Indian families he has observed. Michael tells me that it is not uncommon there to see children in restaurants around ten or eleven at night, which is unthinkable for him. Michael and Tiina thus represent examples of migrants who create well-defined distinctions, which may or may not be stereotypical generalizations, between themselves and Indian others in order to justify their own positioning and maintain cultural distance. For Tiina it seemed to be a defence or excuse for hiring a cook (as opposed to this simply being a luxury they can now afford, an inscribed culture), and for Michael it was reasoning for not mixing socially with Indian families (who he seemingly believed do not socialize with other families in any other way). In other words, in their minds, their behavior was a result of a particular aspect of the perceived culture of the 'other'.

As Beth's example hints, as well as developing relationships with Indian people through the living community, there were also those who developed personal

relationships through the working community. As previously mentioned, Kristoffer had a personal relationship with his Indian boss in Bangalore and had been invited to his daughter's name-giving ceremony. He had also been invited to several weddings by Indian colleagues, yet he did not refer to either his boss or colleagues as 'friends'. Rather he spoke about the invitations in the context of the cultural experience that he had.

Freda stated categorically that she was looking for Indian people to befriend rather than expats who she finds "quite superficial". She goes to the Vatican Embassy Church on a regular basis and the mass is held in different languages, so she often has the feeling of being surrounded by different nationalities. Freda was very busy with work at the start of her stay and as mentioned previously had only just started actively seeking out friendships at the time of interviewing. She said that she had started to make some Indian friends through her colleagues at work and hopes to have just as many Indian friends as European friends.

Mads stated that as important as travelling is to him, which as previously mentioned is something that takes up a lot of his free time, getting to know local Indian people was a necessity for him because he is a people person. He was unique among the Nordic key informants in forging friendships with Indian people both in and outside of the workplace. His story is relayed below:

Mads' Story

Most of Mads' Indian friends have migrated from other parts of India to work in IT, fashion, banking and such industries. He socializes more or less the same with Indians and expats. They do the typical things like go to restaurants and bars, they go on tours together, go to the theatre, but he says that Bangalore is not big city in terms of culture so there is only the occasional musical or theatre performance, not many concerts. They go bowling as well. His says his social life is very different to what it is in DK; Mads thinks if he met the same people in Denmark they would do different things together. He would do more cultural stuff and travel less. He also has many foreign friends in Denmark and also mostly female friends and this is the same in India.

Mads comments that one of his first noteworthy experiences in India was with a girl at his workplace with whom he had had a really long nice chat on a Friday afternoon/evening. At some point he started to get hungry and so for him it was the most natural thing to do, as one would in Europe, to ask her if she wanted to go out for dinner. He didn't realize that this means something completely different in India. It was fine with her – she understood it wasn't meant in a romantic way. Mads tells me that a simple thing like a guy and a girl going out to dinner should not really be

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done and he finds this kind of strange. He has grown to like it as he likes to provoke people with it, but he really finds it strange for example that a guy and a girl should not be alone together for that much time which is completely different in Europe. These moral things are tough, but he has gotten used to it. It has never caused a problem for him, but it can cause a problem for the woman so he has to be a bit cautious, particularly if it is someone from work as people like to gossip. It can affect her, and the more traditional people's perception of her as well and he does not want to do that.

Mads has found that if he develops a good friendship with someone from work, the relationship has to be kept a long way from work. He says that people will come up with all sorts of things like, 'Oh, you see him out of the office as well, 'You are doing it to promote your career because he is white and management' or 'What are you doing with that white dude because we know that white dudes and their sexual behavior is questionable'. So he tries to keep these friendships as far away from work as possible and just have general short chats with people at the workplace.

Mads tells me that he has really tried to integrate into the Indian way of life. He finds that some people just like to hang around a white man because you have money but they are easy to spot. He says that others are really cool. He explains that people from work are really nice and want to invite him on trips and so on anyway, but he has to be cautious because he doesn't want to hang out with people that he may end up having to fire which is not fun. He has tried to take precautions. Once before going on a trip with a group from work, he checked first to see how they were performing at work. He felt bad about it as it was using privileged information for personal reasons. One day he told this to his good female friend who also works there and then regretted it afterwards, but she was "very cool about it" and said that she would have done the same too. Mads says it is not good to mix things too much.

Mads clearly desired to live a very local life, yet he experienced challenges in creating horizontal relationships at work that could develop into friendships outside of the workplace. These challenges were portrayed as being partly because of gender, partly because of his managerial role and partly because of his 'white man' status. All nonetheless are somehow related to his perceptions of hierarchy. He also appeared to switch between being exercising great caution with some friendships, and then very trusting with others indicating the ambivalence he feels when forging the new friendships. A further point to note is that Mads does not appear to have an agenda over and above getting to know new people – he is not experiencing informational or social uncertainty; he appears simply to be seeking friendship. With regard to horizontal relationships within different human

communities, Mads' social citizenship constellation is perhaps more similar to that which he has at home than many of the other Nordic migrants.

6 Conclusion

The thesis is motivated by my firm belief that in the 21st century, understanding how citizens encounter and respond to difference is key to achieving more inclusive, egalitarian and good societies – societies that work for sedentary country nationals, the mobile workforce, and the migrant denizens. Discourse on how highly skilled migrants encounter difference in society is scarce in spite of the obvious importance of its ramifications if one considers that it is the highly skilled who occupy positions of power and are the chief decision-makers in society. Studying Danish and Finnish highly skilled citizens in Indian cities presents a maximum of contrasts (Dogan and Pelassy 1990) in so far as the socio-cultural and socio-economic histories of the Nordic region and India are so divergent and they have produced very different societies. This thesis thus presents a fruitful opportunity to understand how more privileged sectors of the global migrant population encounter and respond to difference, particularly when those differences are experienced as challenges.

Societies work differently in different places, and so do people. The Nordic countries have frequently been hailed as success stories for their capacity to redistribute income through taxation and transfers (see Kiander 2005: 213) and life chances (see Hiilamo, Kangas, Fritzell, Kvist and Palme 2013: 28-29) as a consequence of their adherence to universalist, egalitarian traditions in the construction of contemporary society (see Kangas and Palme 2005). Some scholars argue that these traditions which achieve a higher degree of equality among the members of society is the reason for the Nordic countries in recent years being recognized as the 'happiest' places in the world to live, and as places where the standard of living and quality of life are high (Wilkinson and Pickett 2010). The Nordic universalist principle of welfare has repeatedly been shown to work well for sedentary Nordic citizens. When they are located in India however, Danish and Finnish citizens are faced with quite different social conditions as they are detached from the formal and informal structures that provided them with the space and a social environment (see Bell 2005) to exercise the citizenship rights, duties and behaviors that facilitate 'happy' (or perhaps 'good') life as they knew it. The idea of universalism falls apart.

In Indian megacities, the Nordic migrants are confronted with society that is organized quite differently both vertically in relation to official institutions such as the state, public authorities and the labor market, horizontally in relation to members of different communities with whom they interact, and also in the physical environment: there is democracy but corruption is widespread; the relations between the sexes differ as a result of long standing traditions that produce marked divisions that from a Nordic perspective ultimately position women with a lower social status than men; there is astounding diversity among the massive population in language, religion, wealth, food, culture and beliefs; the mega cities are densely populated and seemingly chaotic with poor infra-structure compared to the cities of the Nordic region. As wealthy foreign migrants, the Nordic citizens also experience a change in social status, as they go from being a dominant middle-class and an ethnic majority, to being an ethnic minority in the numerous yet minority elite, and society thus responds differently towards them. The distinctive conditions in the new social system both place different demands on them and require different behaviors of them.

When they relocated to India the Nordic migrants of this study entered a social space where they were often forced to negotiate and sometimes re-negotiate their understanding of concepts that had previously strongly defined how they behaved as citizens in their countries of origin, or the country they moved to India from. This study finds that such concepts which include trust, hierarchy, social class and status, mobility and security remain central to their enactment of social citizenship, as Inglehart and Baker (2000) suggest, because culture is both permeable and prone to change, yet at the same time path dependent and rigid. That is not to say that they do not exhibit varying behaviors when confronted with different approaches to these concepts; they do. The migrants 'Nordicness' can thus be understood as a social and cultural psychological condition they are under in India rather than a cause for their actions and reactions to their new environment and social positioning.

The thesis is grounded in social policy. I consequently utilized social citizenship as the overarching analytical frame through which we can understand Nordic migrants' encounters with difference in India. The definition of social citizenship I adopted incorporates a perhaps broader set of dimensions than migrants have been analysed under before: it understands social citizenship as being not only as conventional rights and entitlements to welfare services and benefits (Marshall 1950, 1964) and guarantees of equality of opportunity, but also includes the societal participation of members (i.e. their inter and intra–action people, institutions and

places in the broader surrounding social environment), whether they are permanently or temporarily located in a given society. Social citizenship is moreover *'set in a cultural context of beliefs, assumptions, and predispositions which influence how people behave towards one another and how society functions'* (Taylor–Gooby 2010: 4–5).

The empirical analysis has shown the myriad of different internal (i.e. under the control or influence of the individual) and external (i.e. not under the control or influence of the individual) factors that influence the way the Nordic migrants encounter and respond to difference in the new social environment. Furthermore, it has highlighted that the subsequent way they that they choose to be involved the new social system differs between them. These results confirm my hypothesis that Danish and Finnish highly skilled citizens exhibit varying constellations in their social citizenship as a result of their temporary relocation to India, vertically, in relation to official institutions such as the state and the labor market, horizontally, in relation to the different cultures and people associated with the move, and also in relation to the broader social and physical environment.

I have drawn attention to relational distinctions (Conn 2011) in an attempt to make visible the hugely complex social systems that evolve from the many interactions that take place within and across different clusters of different elements of the Indian system for the Nordic citizens. I approach the study holistically in the Aristotelian tradition and concern myself with the outcomes of the Nordic migrants experience rather than the causes. Furthermore, I adopt Goffman's (1959) understanding that human behavior can be explained partly by predisposition, partly by the expectations of others, and partly by intentions for specific outcomes, both consciously and subconsciously. As such it has been crucial to take an interdisciplinary analytical approach and utilize theoretical concepts from the field of social psychology (e.g. understandings of social and human behavior, group status, status hierarchy, social categorizing) which may contribute to understanding how particular conditions can evoke similar and different behaviors and responses during social interactions and exchanges.

In addition to utilizing these theoretical approaches, I pay due attention to observations made during the fieldwork: it became apparent that the notion and reality of the privileged situation the migrants were in worked both similarly and differently for the migrants – sometimes positively, sometimes negatively – and thus impacted their social citizenship in different ways. Similarly, the ways that they did and did not mobilize, utilize and cultivate their economic, social, cultural (Bourdieu 1984) and erotic capital (Hakim 2010) greatly impacted how they participated in society as social citizens.

Table 7. Institutions and Spaces of Social Citizenship Enactment

VERTICAL RELATIONSHIPS	HORIZONTAL RELATIONSHIPS	ENVIRONMENTS
Welfare state	Social networks	Cyber space
Labor market	Professional networks	House and home
Public offices & institutions	Expat community	Workplace
police	Neighbors	Neighborhood
healthcare services	Family	City, State & Country
foreign registry office	Friends	Natural environment
school	Colleagues	Physical environment
	Staff	roads
	Strangers	parks
		shops
		restaurants

Table 7 above outlines the main institutions and spaces involved in the enactment of Nordic citizens' social citizenship. For several of the key informants of this study, inter- and intra-actions with these institutions and spaces happened across not only Denmark or Finland and India, but an additional country that differs from their country of citizenship for reasons of residency or kinship.

I found that Bauböck's (2010) constellation framework was a highly appropriate analytical tool for identifying how the Nordic highly skilled temporary migrants' social citizenship was negotiated and transformed in relation to these institutions and spaces as it gave room to study the many different relationships and interactions that are taking place according to the definition of social citizenship I outlined above. Rather than continuing the trend of confining citizenship to a particular typology, a constellation approach has been defined by Bauböck as 'a structure in which individuals are simultaneously linked to several such political entities, so that their legal rights and duties are determined not only by one political authority, but by several' (Bauböck 2010: 848). Despite this concept being intended for the analysis of political citizenship, I have utilized the approach to consider social citizenship. As Bauböck (2010) suggests, the framework allowed for the analysis of the intertwining nature of different aspects of citizenship and I was able to highlight in the analysis how a decision in one area impacted another; for example, the results indicate that the choice of where to live can impact the type of social capital one accumulates, and subsequently how a migrants behave both towards Indian 'others' and towards other 'like' people in their communities; it can impact how leisure time is spent, which in turn can have health impacts; and it can limit or increase the exposure to threats to one's personal safety; it can increase or decrease a carbon footprint to name a few examples. Had I limited the study to look at one citizenship typology, it would perhaps have masked the complexities of

the migrants' situation. The disadvantage of the framework however is that there are so many layers and different combinations in the Nordic migrants' social arena that it is a challenge to present the different constellations that the Nordic migrants display coherently.

In the next part of this concluding section I endeavour to do so by summarizing the empirical results in light of the main theoretical concepts utilized and explored and in the context of the three research questions posed.

1. How are the Nordic migrants' social rights affected by their move to India, and how do they deal with the different and possibly new forms of insecurity that arise as a result of the move to India's most advanced global cities?

The empirical analysis shows clearly that the Danish and Finnish migrants' social rights are affected by the move to India in a multitude of ways. With regard to the home-country welfare state, Danish employees and accompanying partners have access to and lose access to basic social security similarly. Their work situation has no bearing, and the decisions are made by the state simply according to residency and the time spent outside of the country. The Danish state can be seen to be gender neutral, yet somewhat draconian with the extent to which they restrict emigrants' freedom of choice of where to live, or rather, where to be registered as living and for how long. The Finnish state meanwhile imposes fewer restrictions on residency, and states that it is flexible in cases of secondment, yet the conditions for the accompanying partner differ quite strongly to those for the employed partner. Home-country labor market attachment or residency are the main conditions for the working partner while the accompanying partner is entirely prohibited from engaging in paid employment in the destination country regardless of residency status. In spite of these restrictions, very few of the key informants were critical of the state or their position. Those who aired their criticisms were Danish and had no intentions of returning to Denmark in the near future as a consequence of their careers and family dynamics. It was more the principle that their freedoms were so restricted that disturbed them, not that they thought they would suffer as a consequence.

Considering these results in light of Husyman's (2006) understanding that insecurities differ depending on the nature of the threat and who or what is being threatened, it is perhaps not surprising that the Nordic migrants show little concern for their loss of legislated social rights if they fail to fulfil the conditions for entitlement. They have high incomes, are highly educated, and have a silent

confidence in their ability to remain employed or gain re-employment when they return home. They do not envisage having to use the system. Nonetheless all of them had faith that if they needed to return home and get support, it would be there for them. There is evidence therefore that a framing effect (Chong and Druckman 2007) has taken place. The Nordic welfare state is generally perceived as a good thing among its citizens. This coupled with the tendency for Nordic citizens to exhibit trust in results in the migrants having positive core associations with the welfare state and envisaging a version of reality that may not come to fruition if or when they decide to return to Denmark or Finland. The stark difference in profile of the migrants who were critical of the welfare state supports Krauss and Chui's (2010) claim that belonging to overlapping social categories impacts what people know, value and believe, which can subsequently differentiate between how they respond to a particular frame.

In their home countries the Danish and Finnish migrants have a right to affordable, accessible and comparatively good healthcare. When they travel, they simply buy travel insurance. In India this situation becomes rather more complex. The migrants need insurance in India, when they travel abroad, and also when they travel to their home countries. For those who are deregistered in their home countries or do not fulfil the requirements for basic social security, the latter is an additional insurance they need to acquire. The principle of universalism does not extend to healthcare outside of the national territory and so the migrants find themselves in a position where they are dependent on the employer or their own budget to finance healthcare coverage through providers on the free market. Again, the migrants did not express any concerns about their coverage, although some showed disapproval that the company did not cover the accompanying partner's insurance. Again, I propose that their financial situation was such that this kind of relatively minor expense was acceptable. The more pressing issue was the service they received.

There were a multitude of responses and experiences had when using the healthcare system many of which necessitate discussion again on the issue of framing. Several migrants drew conclusions about and feared the healthcare services in India because of stories that they had heard in their expat networks about other foreign migrants' bad experiences which supports Huysman's (2006) ideas about the significance of framing in the production of security knowledge, and thus fear and trust. The findings support those in other studies of privileged migrant communities, such as Hindman's (2008, 2009a) 'Western' expatriates in Nepal, which show that social interactions with other foreign migrants, for

example at expatriate clubs and other social networks, have a significant impact on foreign migrants' behavior.

In addition, in 2009, in spite of the exploding medical tourism industry in India and the resultant increase in number of high quality private clinics and hospitals, there seemed to be an information gap regarding accessing medical services; many of the migrants did not know where to go for medical assistance when they arrived in India. Consequently, as Farh et al. (2010) predict, the migrants turned to their social networks to gain more knowledge. The way the migrants socialized and the groups they chose to be involved with thus played a crucial role in how some of them encountered the healthcare system. Among expatriate circles there was a great tendency for *'otherizing'* (Afshar 2013) which has the effect of creating a psychological distance between Indian people and society and foreign migrants, and thus a sense of fear rather than any kind of trust. There were some who did not socialize in the typical spaces of expatriate sociality (Norum 2013); they did not speak about any negative reports about the healthcare services, and had very positive things to say about them. This may have been coincidence and it may simply be that personal characteristics or even prior experience abroad or in Asia may have played a greater role, nonetheless, the findings again highlight the attention that must be paid to the relationship between the overlapping social categories that the different migrants belong to or identify with and the subsequent social behaviors they exhibit as Krauss and Chui (2010) suggest.

Another social right that the Nordic families have when in their country of origin is the right to heavily subsidized childcare and free schooling. In India the families again relied on the employers to fund the care and education of the accompanying children. The institutions for pre-school aged children were part of the school structure and had large 'classes' which is a stark contrast to the type of care provided in Denmark and Finland for pre-school children. This difference proved challenging for the children and mothers. The mothers' descriptions of their experiences partially support the correlation Di Masso (2012) identifies between common understandings of normative behavior and particular constructions of place and people-space relations. Even though they are located in an entirely different region of the world that they have not been exposed to before, the mothers had rigid ideas about care, education and the concept 'international' which are entirely based on their experiences in Finland. For two of them their faith and trust in the Finnish system was so strong that it prevented them from seeing, or at least relaying any positive aspects about the schools that their children attend in India, yet neither were motivated to care for or educated the children

themselves perhaps again because they have been conditioned to understand institutionalized care and education as the norm. One of the mothers whose child had faced problems in the Finnish system did express nonetheless that the Indian international system (i.e. the school that was 'more' international with regard the diversity of the pupils) worked better for her son. This difference suggests that the level of satisfaction migrants have with the services provided in the home-country welfare state may also impact how they experience differences abroad. Similar evidence was found in the experience of healthcare services as well with some of the migrants relaying that the care they received in India was better than that which they received at in their home country.

The final aspect of social rights that surfaced during the interviews which led to feelings of insecurity among the migrants pertained to interactions with public offices and officials. In the Nordic region citizens and residence have the right to access information and participate in society within the confines of the law freely. This right is rarely discussed in the discourse on the Nordic welfare state and the ease of access to key offices, institutions, officials and public spaces (at least for citizens who have 'grown up' within the system) is perhaps grossly undervalued. The main challenge that the Nordic migrants faced regarding their interaction with public offices and officials was related to time-use and corruption. In short, the usual practice to get things done quickly involved direct or indirect engagement in corruption and bribery. In accordance with the findings of Hakhverdian and Mayne (2012), in India where there are high levels of corruption, the Nordic migrants who are highly educated show low levels of trust in institutions. There is furthermore evidence that both principal-agent model of corruption and the collective action model can be applied to the Nordic migrants of this study, with the former as the exception and the latter as the rule. Persson, Rothstein and Teorell (2010) suggest that in collective action model actors simply comply with corruption as it is the easiest route, more or less without thought. My data suggests however that there are varying degrees of compliance when this model is followed: some accepted the situation and complied without reprise or frustration as Persson et al. (2010) suggest; some accepted the situation and complied yet with a lot of frustration; and some found alternatives methods to avoid engaging in corruption such as by using their erotic capital or making use of the formal channel of a 'broker' who (through documented payment) cuts through the red tape when dealing with public administration offices for instance. There are thus also both official and unofficial routes to compliance. The question of how the actors

comply with corruption becomes relevant and is more complex than the collective action theory suggests.

As well as turning to formal institutions for support during their time in India, the Nordic migrants make great use of informal channels to deal with the different and new forms of insecurity they face. For the seconded workers and perhaps to an even greater extent their accompanying partners, the sending company or organization plays a crucial role in providing social support, particularly in the early stages of secondment. The employers seem to be divided into three different categories: "hold your hand" employers, "hands off" employers and those with little experience with international secondment. In understanding the Nordic migrants' position, I turn to Marshall's (1950) theory of industrial citizenship. Marshall's understanding of the concept pertained to civil rights and fairness: *'The employer as corporate citizen must pay a wage to sustain a reasonable standard of living, and the worker citizen must reciprocate this fairness with a contribution of labor beyond personal need to the general wealth — the duty of citizenship is to work hard.'* (Marshall 1950: 78, cited in Zetlin and Whitehouse 2003: 775). The goal is to be able to sustain a decent standard of living, for the worker. In the case of the Nordic migrants in India, simply providing a decent wage does is not sufficient, and the additional support they offer differs greatly in its quantity and quality.

The migrants displayed varying needs and varying degrees of needs not only relating to their culture as Walzer (1983) proposes, but also relating to whether they are the employed secondee or the accompanying partner, and whether they were travelling alone or with a family. The accompanying partners became dependent on the employers for support (which materialized in the form of pre-departure orientation visits and cultural awareness courses), yet the employers were not obliged in any way to give it. Some of the accompanying partners nonetheless made demands to their husbands and thus the employers regarding their needs that, in most cases, were fulfilled. During secondment, Marshall's industrial citizenship is thus extended to incorporate both employed workers with official ties to the company and also to non-employed individuals who have unofficial, yet close ties to the company through their partners. In other studies on privileged migrants, many accompanying partners are required to work hard for the employer, as Marshall suggests industrial citizens should, albeit using their emotional labor in supporting their working partner (e.g. Hindman 2007 and 2008, Ariele 2007). Among the accompanying partners I encountered in India however, such demands from the company were only identified explicitly by one and it was not expressed as any kind of burden or 'hard' work.

The experience and inexperience employers had with seconding workers to India was cited as a reason for inadequate social support. Migrants pointed out on several occasions that it is not easy to understand the complexities of life in an Indian city when sitting behind a desk in Denmark or Finland. They often felt that their feedback was received but not entirely understood or appreciated. The Nordic migrants were quite pragmatic about their situation and were able to draw on other capabilities (see the second research question) in order to fill the gaps that were left by the employers.

For some of the migrants, simply having to interact with host county nationals in different settings fuelled insecurity. Whether in public spaces or in the privacy of their home there was a strong tendency among some of the Nordic migrants towards negative homogeneous stereotyping of Indian people. These migrants positioned themselves as having a higher group status than Indian people and, as Malloy et al. (2011) predict, they had a tendency to speak about Indian 'others', the out-group, as if they were all the same. Furthermore, these migrants admitted to being less trusting of Indian people, which confirms the findings of Rubini and Palmonari (2012) that labeling individuals as two different groups, can lead to intergroup hostility as well as intergroup mistrust. The solutions found to prevent these feelings of insecurity revolved largely around avoidance of such situations rather than taking any active measures to overcome their sense of insecurity. Those who did not engage in this dichotomous categorizing had either travelled or worked in Asia before or had an Indian spouse. By contrast, they expressed a strong sense of security, moved more freely around the cities and seemed to get enjoy a wider range of possibilities for social interaction and activity.

Another major source of insecurity faced by the migrants was the threat to their personal safety. While several people commented that they felt as safe, if not more safe in Indian cities as in the cities of Europe with regard to direct threats from other human beings, almost all of them spoke about the dangers of using the public roads and footpaths. Discussion of this topic led again to negative homogeneous stereotyping of Indian people, and also highlighted one of the main differences between the three cities under analysis, namely their different infra-structure. Most noteworthy in terms of research findings in this area though was that the strategy used by all but one of the migrants to decrease this threat was to use personal drivers to move around the city. There are implications for industrial citizenship in so far as it is the employers who often include one driver in the remuneration package, thus requiring the family and couple migrants to carefully structure their days around the picking up and dropping off of the secondee at

work. In addition, using a driver to carry out all chores and activities significantly increases the carbon footprint of the migrants. Similar findings occur regarding the ecological footprint of migrants who consume expensive imported pre-packaged products. The result confirm the findings of Croucher (2012) who highlights the difference between the ecological footprint of privileged migrants and the average local. The Nordic citizens, in spite of their reputation for having close contact to nature and environmental awareness when located in their home countries, appear to marginalize or even ignore their exploitation of the natural which reminds us of Bell's critique that citizens are not 'free-floating' but actually enact their citizenship in an environment. Perhaps unsurprisingly, it was the very same migrants who were critical of the waste and air pollution they encountered in the cities. I propose that this situation may arise, as Goffman (1959) suggests, because the migrants simply conform to the *'traditions of the group'*, namely, they hire a driver because they are approximating the cultural model (Walzer 1983) of the 'expat' in India. Furthermore, by presenting having a driver as a 'basic need', they eliminate the notion of it being a choice and thus the subsequent responsibility that comes with making that choice. There were exceptions though, migrants who went against the traditions and expected behavior of 'privileged' groups by not using a car and driver car or shopping at local vendors, shops and markets.

In summarizing the findings for how the Nordic migrants dealt with job (in)security, I move the conclusion on to discuss the second research question:

2. To what extent do the migrants mobilize, adapt and cultivate different forms of capital and privilege when they encounter difference in their welfare situation, and in the socio-cultural and physical environment in India? In what ways do these capacities and capabilities help and hinder them?

As the previous research on expat wives testifies, the constraints imposed on accompanying partners during secondment, whether they originate from the sending or receiving state (e.g. visa restrictions, restrictions regarding eligibility for basic social security), the employer or the seconded partner (in supporting the husbands career and work-related socializing), are generally perceived as negative and limiting. Similar to Erel's Turkish skilled migrants in the UK, the Nordic women also *'only have limited power over the rules of the game'* (Erel 2010: 645). They have and make choices within the boundaries set for them by these external actors according to their preferences for how to live as well as in accordance with their ability to recognize the value of their own agency. The Nordic women use all of the advantages and capabilities they recognize as being at their disposal, and thus

navigate the rules with ease, proactively work to change the rules, and even disobey the rules in order to achieve work-life satisfaction and happiness during their time abroad. In spite of making quite different choices about how to spend their time (including continuing in their careers, attempting to make a career change, spending more time on leisure activities, doing voluntary work) the accompanying partners were unified in their ability to use their agential privileges to mobilize, adapt and cultivate their cultural capital. In the sphere of work activity, the accompanying partners can be seen to generate Erel's (2010) migrant-specific cultural capital.

Weiss's (2005) finding that the cultural capital the highly skilled mobile workers possess are both characterized by the by the value of resources in relation to one nation state, and are also structured by the spatial autonomy and the quality of spaces to which (migrant) populations have access partially explain the Nordic migrants' experience. In India it works to some migrants' advantage that there is such a large and complex bureaucracy as they manage to engage in paid work in spite of being prohibited from doing so according to the visa they are in India on; the social valuation of white 'Western' highly skilled people is high; access to the internet also facilitated employment. In short, the quality of the space they are in during the migration period has changed, and moreover, both the working migrants and accompanying partners recognized that change. The data supports Weiss (2005) in drawing attention to the spatial aspects of social positions, but she fails to give due attention to the crucial aspect of time: several of Nordic citizens commented that India's economy being in a state of rapid growth presented them with good work-related opportunities. The seconded partners also developed migrant cultural capital that they believed would benefit them in the future because of the transformations occurring in the Indian economy and the limited number of Nordic workers who have experience of the market.

In other instances, the mobilization of cultural capital resulted in gains in knowledge, yet the gains did not always increase understanding or lead to further accumulation of capital. Examples include reading literature on Indian culture, cultural awareness courses, speaking to Indian people about their religious beliefs and culture, reading Indian news media, through the experience of voluntary and paid work. I suggest that the migrant's subconscious preoccupation with their privileged, thus real or imagined superior status inhibited them from developing Erel's (2010) migrant-specific cultural capital, that is, they were not able to mobilize the additional knowledge gained so that it worked to their advantage. To the contrary, their inability to negotiate the new surroundings using the additional

knowledge gained ultimately led to an increased sense of insecurity because of the persistent recognition of Indian people and culture as being so far removed from what they know and understand to be 'right', that is, *'otherizing'* (Afshar 2013). On the other hand, there were also those who did gain from the additional knowledge they accumulated in these areas in spite of their privileged status. As Rubini and Palmonari (2012) identify, these migrants were able to classify both themselves and Indian people along multiple categorical dimensions and this facilitated a positive negotiation of difference when they encountered it.

There were also wide variations in the ways the Nordic migrants mobilized and cultivated the different forms of social capital. There was strong evidence supporting Farh et al.'s (2010) claim that expatriates are motivated to form *'adjustment facilitating support ties'* when they experience social and informational uncertainty, however, my findings suggest there is a gender element missing from their analysis. The Nordic men I interviewed who were travelling with a partner made next to no mention of their social networks. Those who did, spoke about them in the context of their social lives as a couple or family. None of them relayed that they actively sought out support ties, however some did express that they experienced social uncertainty. The one single male secondee I interviewed was explicit in his description of his social networks, and did not appear to be experiencing any social or informational uncertainties. The picture was drastically different for the women in this study regardless of whether they were travelling alone or the accompanying partner. All of the women spoke extensively about their adjustment facilitating support ties or social networks both in terms of experiencing social and informational uncertainty and in terms of forging friendships and rarely in a familial context.

While there was much strong evidence of the migrants developing bonding social capital, there was very weak evidence of the migrants developing bridging social capital and some evidence of the development of linking social capital as they are defined by Woolcock (2001). In general, when the migrants experienced uncertainties they tended to develop bonding social capital and failed to take advantage of the opportunities they had to develop bridging social capital which, particularly in the case of informational uncertainty, might have been more beneficial to them. Once again it appeared that the migrants struggled to recognize that there could be anything to gain from contact with people who they perceived to be dissimilar to themselves. Institutions such as expatriate clubs tended also to reinforce these ideas. On the other hand, when it came to interactions with people who occupied a far lower group status (Malloy 2011) outside of the community,

i.e., domestic staff, several of the migrants were uninhibited in exploiting those relationships to their own gains. The findings suggest that it is not enough to solely distinguish between relationships between like and unlike persons, and relationships within or outside of the community. Attention should also be given to the impact of group status in the formation and development of social capital, and lack thereof.

The instances where erotic capital (Hakim 2010) was deployed and discussed were few, however I perceive them as extremely important to debate in the context of highly skilled migration from the Nordic region to India. There were two explicit cases where erotic capital played a role in the successful conducting of business: the migrants in question, one male and one female, invoked the third element of erotic capital that Hakim identifies, namely charm, charisma and the an ability to make people like you, feel at ease and happy with you, want to get to know. In the Indian context, this characteristic is a central element to developing good working or business relations – if you are not liked, then it is likely that the business will not succeed; having erotic capital is thus crucial in a work or business context in India. Hakim (2010, 2011) highlights well how erotic capital can lead to an increase in economic capital, and how it increases in value when it is linked to high levels of economic, cultural and social capital. Within expatriate circles my data reveals that for women at least, not possessing erotic capital can impact the ability to engage with key institutions that are potential sources of social support and where social capital can be accumulated. The data, thus confirms Hakim's findings regarding the impact erotic capital can have on the creation of both linking social capital and economic capital. It also reveals the negative impact on social capital accumulation if it is not present in spaces of expatriate sociality such as expatriate clubs.

The Nordic migrants deal with the advantages and disadvantages of having high levels of economic capital differently and this has a subsequent effect on their experience in and of India. When discussing Indian people's perceptions of their wealth, several of the migrants spoke simultaneously about their 'whiteness'. There were Nordic migrants felt that they were victims of homogeneous stereotyping in different settings: when it came to dealing with public officials who expected to be paid bribes, also being charged a higher entrance fee when visiting monuments and when forging friendships, for example. It is noteworthy that this group consisted both of those who engaged in such practices themselves when speaking about Indian people, similar to Fechter's (2005) expatriates in Indonesia, and those who did not. Thus, being in a position of having large amounts of economic capital

presented some migrants with an inability to develop more complex representations of themselves which led to mistrust as Rubini and Palmonari (2012) suggest, however, the former experienced much more intensive feelings of mistrust than the latter. In the most extreme cases the migrants restricted their own mobility, avoiding particular places and limiting their social activities, in short because their perceived change in group status altered the dynamics of their relation to people and space which has implications for Di Masso's (2010) findings. Furthermore, the some of the migrants tended to identify themselves in terms of wealth and skin color as if they were two and the same, consciously or subconsciously, thus blocking out the reality that people of all skin colors, and different wealth are subject to the very same corrupt practices when they deal with public institutions, and that simply being a Nordic citizen situates them in a position of relative wealth compared to the average Indian person, thus they do constitute a very wealthy sector of the resident population. On the other hand there were those who were critical of the 'white wealth' consciousness and the inherent feelings of superiority they perceived that many Euro-American foreigners have. The migrants who made no reference at all to skin color were in the minority.

Perhaps the most explicit advantage to the wealth privilege that the Nordic accompanying partners expressed was the freedom that it (the high salary, having domestic staff, schooling, and housing paid for etc.) offered them to pursue new activities and develop migrant-specific cultural capital (Erel 2010). Even though some of the women spoke about their lives in similar terms to the stereotype of the 'expat wife' as in Fechter and Hindman's studies, I found the group to be unified by their motivation and ability to find solutions to overcome the institutional constraints imposed on them by the sending and receiving states, sometimes according to the new rules of the new system and sometimes not, as Homan's (1973) suggests.

As well as being resourceful and acutely aware of the choices available to them, many of them had specific aims and plans for how to use their time in India. The vast majority was able to mobilize their skills and take advantage of the opportunities afforded them in India's growth economy to enrich their lives both independently and also, to varying extents, with the support of the sending company. For many, but not all, that enrichment included labor market activity. Thus structure and agency played a crucial role in the ability to take advantage of the family's economic position. For some but not others, there were firstly psychological barriers to overcome because of the insecurities that the new situation of financial dependency brought about. These findings open the door for

further investigations into country or regional level differences firstly among accompanying partners and their use of agency, and secondly regarding the opportunity structures in different countries or regions at different points in time.

Some of the Nordic migrants having large amounts of economic capital allowed them to purchase particular goods and services that they deemed necessary for their sense of security and well-being, in spite of that often being at a cost to the environment as mentioned previously. These findings support Karkabi's (2013) characterization of 'North-South' migration as being consumption-led in so far as their consumption requirements seem to dictate how they behaved as citizens of an environment rather than the other way round. I suggest that the majority Nordic migrants' lack of consideration of their own environmental consciousness is an example of what Malloy et al. (1997) refer to as a situation-specific identity. They have an entirely different relationship to the Indian city and social system which, for many of them, is not organized along the same lines that they are used to and their economic privilege among other things (again) alters their understanding of people-space relations (Di Masso 2012) which results in different behaviors to that which they might exhibit in their home towns. There was one interviewee who expressed that she maintained similar patterns of behavior to those she had at 'home', but her home was London, which she found just as busy with traffic, pollution and people as Delhi. Furthermore, her husband worked with environmental issues and she expressed that they had quite a heightened environmental consciousness in general. Thus, their change in financial circumstances did not result in drastically different patterns of consumption of goods and services. Individual traits and regions or cities of previous residence thus may influence migrants' citizenship behaviors in their new destination.

3. Do the Nordic migrants' relationships to space, time and privilege evolve and/or transform as a consequence of the move, and if so, how?

In answering the previous two research questions, much light has been shed on the third and final question posed above. In short, it is evident that the Nordic migrants' relationship to time, space and privilege do indeed evolve and transform as a consequence of the move to India. Furthermore they do so quite differently among the migrants seemingly as the result of different approaches to dealing with the real or perceived constraints of institutional structures (Bilton et al 2002) and physical spaces; the latter are also interrelated. In providing or not providing pre-departure orientation visits and agents to 'assist' with finding the right home for

instance, employers can consciously or subconsciously impact the way secondees and their partners and families use and encounter the city by selecting, deselecting or simply lacking knowledge of particular location-specific information. The Nordic citizens' understandings of their own position of privilege and the corresponding social behaviors that this is perceived to entail (by the self and others) further impacts not only their use of the city, but also as Johnson (2001) might say, how they choose to be involved in the new social system.

The migrants' sense of freedom, security and simple desire to use particular public spaces was inhibited by a variety of factors related to the social and physical environment ranging from their lack of trust towards Indian host country nationals and being racially marked to the exposure to matters relating to infra-structure and noise and air pollution. These factors force us to consider the dynamics of the Indian mega-city at that particular point in time. While the issues relating to the physical environment were largely dealt with by mobilizing economic (Bourdieu 1984) and social capital (Woolcock 2001), the former issues relating to human interaction were somewhat more complex. Rather than perceiving the attention they receive in public as simply a reaction to aesthetic difference, just as majority white populations respond to aesthetic difference in the countries of origin, some of the migrants' focused on their whiteness as something unique that they understood Indian people to be little exposed to, which also seems irrational if one considers the country's colonial history and the resultant long history of a 'white' presence in India. In light of Di Masso's (2010) understanding of the negotiation of space and place, aspects of selective memory and positive homogeneous stereotyping of the 'self' when it comes to understandings of normative behavior is thus missing. I suggest that this may also a plague of privileged populations or at the very least, groups of migrants that understand themselves as having a higher group status than host country nationals in the destination country.

The intra-action of time and spatial challenges at that point in time in India were also reflected in the adjustments the Nordic citizens had to make with regard time-use. One of the Nordic migrants interviewed had moved to Delhi from London and found it easier to get around Delhi. Thus, she did not express any major challenges with the infra-structure and getting around. The longer-term migrants who had Indian partners were similarly relaxed about the adjustments they had made. The majority of the remaining seconded workers and partners meanwhile all noted the major adjustment that they needed to make with how they approached time, for some it was a surprise, for some not. In spite of having substantial cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984), being highly educated, well-travelled,

having access to numerous source of information about India prior to arriving there, for some of the migrants, the adjustments they had to make appeared to come as a surprise. Not all were able to transform their treasure chest of resources, as Erel (2010) refers to it, to facilitate their new position and create migrant-specific cultural capital. Those who had been in an Asia city before were less perturbed by the new situation than others.

A point to highlight though is that even though there was much critique of the infra-structure and way of organizing the city, particularly Bangalore, most of the secondees and their partners expressed a very positive outcome: they noted that this situation has perhaps made them more tolerant because it is not possible to be as rigid when making arrangements because things happen unexpectedly, and also because things in general just take more time, and moreover some expressed that they hoped it was a change that would remain with them upon return to their home country. This suggests an acute awareness to the impact that 'society' has on them when they are in their home countries and thus a perhaps subconscious awareness that their citizenship behavior is prone to change as a result of the social and physical environment they are contained within which supports the inclusion of the environment in a definition of social citizenship (see Bell 2005).

A final important point to highlight pertains to hierarchy, privilege and time. For the majority of the migrants, the transformation of the home space as a place of work for employees and the subsequent additional role of becoming an employer was expressed as something new for most of the migrants. While they said that it was something strange to get used to because of the hierarchy, they appeared to adjust to the new role with relative ease compared to the other nationalities that I spoke to. There was only one migrant who had been exposed to the negative sides of the domestic worker industry in Europe through a friend who worked with victims of exploitation and abuse who refused to have a domestic worker at the time of interviewing. In the follow-up questionnaire however she expressed that she ended up employing a 'cleaner' because the amount of dust which came into the apartment meant that she needed to spend too much time cleaning. I suggest that the being in a position of economic privilege (Bourdieu 1984) may change citizens' approach to hierarchy. When they relocate to India and assume a new status and new privileges, what may be frowned upon and perceived as an arrangement that is too strongly representative of a hierarchical relationship in Denmark or Finland becomes a matter of service provision in order to save 'precious' time. The rhetoric the migrants use to label their domestic workers is also of interest; few used the more hierarchically-neutral terms such as 'cleaner' or

'cook', and many used the term 'maid'. This may have been simply a matter of linguistics, but equally, it may reflect the subconscious association of their new relationship dynamics as master-servant which wholly contradicts the persona of a Nordic citizens as they are framed in the context of their universalist egalitarian welfare society. These findings call for a deeper investigation into the relationship between time, privilege and hierarchy particularly in so-called egalitarian societies in fast-paced service and consumption-driven 21st century urban living.

7 Discussion

By coincidence, midway through my first stay in Bangalore, I met the president of a large expat networking group, Bangalore Expatriate Club (BEC), at a large market in the city center. In his arguably iconic work, Street Corner Society, Whyte (1993: 288–293) explains that the breakthrough in gaining access to the community he wanted to study involved an encounter with a key person called Doc. Several people had suggested that he speak to Doc and the resulting (organized) meeting led to Whyte gaining access to Cornerville, the community he wanted to study. Similar to Whyte, I believe that this chance encounter with the president of BEC, who others had also suggested that I get in touch with, signified a turning point in this study as she introduced me to one of the main spaces of expatriate sociality (Norum 2013) in the city of Bangalore and, as Hindman (2013) refers to it, the '*world of expatria*'.

In researching this thesis, it has struck me that the world of expatria can show marked differences from country to country and even city to city even though as Hindman (2013) highlights, many of the institutions have very similar characteristics regardless of location. In 2009 when the fieldwork was conducted the numbers of foreign highly skilled workers in India was on the rise, yet there was an air of uncertainty among the informants I communicated with as to how their mobile status would be affected by the colossal financial crisis Europe and the US was experiencing. At the same time, the Indian cities were, and still are, going through great social and structural transformations that reflect the increase in the wealth of particular sectors of the population and the Indian economy at large and also the increasing gap between them and India's poor. These phenomena are important to note as unlike in other Asian cities where larger numbers of highly skilled foreign migrants can be found, the plush housing enclaves, the high class international restaurants and hotels, the glitzy shopping centres, the private wards in clinics and hospitals and other services catering to the wealthy, have been and are being developed to cater primarily to the high-earning and well position host country nationals, and perhaps secondarily to cater to the needs of wealthy tourists, and thirdly to cater to the needs of wealthy internationally mobile populations, whose numbers peak and trough depending on economic cycles. The foreign

migrant populations constituted a comparatively small minority of the wealthy residents of Indian cities.

As the analysis shows, this had various implications for the Nordic migrants, and it also had various implications for the research methodologies I employed. Had I secured funding from the time that the research idea was first formulated, I may have embarked on an exploratory field trip to India earlier in the process, thus increasing the amount of time I spent in the field and possibly also the number of key informants I located and interviewed; perhaps I would have utilized other methods such as focus group interviewing, or observing people doing their daily routines. Employing such methods would most likely have yielded a different set of data more in line with the traditions of anthropology. It would not however have been a small sample study, and consequently the data set would have been less appropriate for testing the applicability of the constellation theory (Bauböck 2010) to social citizenship.

At the time of writing, Bauböck's constellation approach to analysing citizenship was a relatively newly introduced framework. As such, a small sample study using qualitative data and both qualitative and quantitative techniques was ideal; as well as allowing a great amount of room for factual verification about the migrants' experiences, the results from the small sample allowed me to demonstrate different examples of my interpretations and understandings of the (social) citizenship constellations that exist among the Nordic migrants. In the Aristotelian tradition, in the concluding section I made no attempt to arrive at broad generalizations about Nordic migrant citizens as a whole as I do not have a representative sample, but rather I explained my empirical findings in terms of the ends or outcomes rather than the causes. Nonetheless, I did draw attention to the different socio-psychological, socio-cultural, socio-economic and environmental factors that create particular conditions in which their social citizenship is enacted.

In order to narrow the scope of the study, I interpreted my understandings through a limited set of theoretical concepts. One of the major contributions to science that this thesis offers is the theoretical approach and the conceptualization of social citizenship in terms of relations between people and institutions in and across different social and physical environments. As Wallace (1971) pointed out, this was simply one way of arriving at the 'truths' I have presented about the Nordic migrants' experiences – which are furthermore impacted by my own fore-meanings and both my positive and negative pre-judgments (Gadamer 2004).

7.1   Strengths and Weaknesses of the Study

As I understand this thesis and social phenomena in general, the strengths one can identify are often also the weaknesses. The two terms are also highly subjective, so it is an insurmountable challenge to identify the weaknesses of my study that others who are wearing different glasses may point out. As such, I continue this section by discussing particular aspects of the research design that I see as strengths, and then consider how they may also be weaknesses, and vice-versa.

The first issue is that of inter-cultural communication. One of the great strengths of my research design is that I the principal researcher am neither Danish nor Finnish, and so have a keen eye for the peculiarities of the two nationalities, without having the inherent or subconscious bias that a country national may have. That is not to say I do not have any. As Gadamer (2004) reminds us, there will be some element of pre-understanding and consequently also pre-judgment. I have spent many years in the Nordic region living and working with Danes and Finns to give me enough *'identification elements'* with both nationalities to enable me to understand the content of their interviews (Duque 2009: 11). On the flipside, the interviews were conducted in English which is neither of the groups' mother tongue and so there may be different nuances in the way the migrants express themselves. English is however the daily language that all the migrant's spoke during their time in India, and so the English-speaking persona who is present during the stay in India, is the object of the research.

A weakness that may be identified by ethnographic researchers, as alluded to previously, could be the length of time spent in the field. Coffey (1999: 39) writes that, *'The primary task of a fieldworker is to analyse and understand a peopled field. This task is achieved through social interaction and shared experiences. It follows, therefore, that fieldwork is dependent upon and guided by the relationships that are built and established over time.'* I only partially concur. Wallace (1971) may agree that Coffey's description of fieldwork and the fieldworker is only one of many possible understandings. It was an active choice to keep some distance from my research subjects and not immerse myself in their lives. The migrants I targeted were only to be in India on a short-term basis and as such, their experiences were also limited. I was acutely aware that if I spent longer periods, for example six months or more, in the field with my key informants, my presence might impact their lives to such an extent that the data set may be too contaminated. The key informants would not just be seconded workers or accompanying partners any longer, they would also be under study and observation over time and thus potentially change their behavior. This suspicion

was somewhat confirmed when one key informant that I interviewed expressed that the questions I had asked were quite thought provoking and would "for sure" impact the way she experiences, and how she behaves during, the rest of her stay.

Another critique that may be found of my analysis by culture experts could be that the key informants who were in India in conjunction with a short-term international secondment may just be experiencing *'culture shock'* (Hofstede 2001: 423-427). I would argue that the focus of the study is not the individual challenges that they face, which are already widely recognized in both academic and non-academic literature, but rather how they deal with those challenges. Furthermore, international secondment is fast becoming regular practice for multinational enterprises and organizations worldwide. Thus, if the seconded workers and their partners are simply experiencing culture shock, a strength of this study is that it contributes to understanding the different strategies that are taken in dealing with culture shock, which can potentially be harnessed by the increasing number of secondees who find themselves in similar situations.

Finally, while I consider taking a holistic approach to the study of Nordic highly skilled temporary migrants' social citizenship constellations using a small sample of cases in India a great strength as it allows me to bind my methodological and theoretical foundations by presenting the different constellations that exist very clearly with the different cases, I believe the study would have been strengthened greatly (and also naturally taken a different form as a whole) had I been able to combine these findings with quantitative data. Nonetheless, as Alasuutari (1995: 175) states, research never ends: *'The End of the Process is the Beginning of Another One'*. A further strength, therefore, is that my study opens a window for future research projects.

7.2   Ethical Considerations

In other research about highly skilled migrants, detailed information about the individual persons have been presented (see for example Koikkalinen 2013: 216–223) which has the advantage of the reader being able to 'see' the interviewee more clearly, and possibly have a greater understanding of the research findings. In these studies, the interviewees have stated that anonymity was not important to them. This was not the case among my key informants, several of whom stated that anonymity was a requirement for their participation. Consequently, due to the comparatively smaller numbers of Nordic secondees in India and the risk of the

characteristics of the informants being recognized (Ryen 2004), the information about the key informants profile is presented disjointedly in Table 3 in order to protect and respect their privacy. I also use pseudonyms for all of the key informants in the empirical analysis. The names were chosen randomly with consideration given to the nationality of the key informant.

7.3   Implications for Migration and Social Policy Research

As stated previously in the thesis, Gadamer (2004:183-184) reminds us that when readers try to understand a text, they can 'rightly think of things that had not occurred to the writers' however the real task of hermeneutics is not to understand more, but rather to understand the true meaning of the book itself. I understand this book and thesis to present both added insights into the phenomenon of privileged migration and also an array of opportunities for future research at the intersection of social policy and migration. In light of this understanding, I conclude the discussion with some thoughts about the implications of the findings for migration and social policy research and also policy making and the policy process.

This study contributes to the growing body of literature on privileged migration in several ways. It draws attention to the particular position of foreign migrants from a specified region of Europe rather than pooling them together with others who originate from across Northern and Western Europe and affluent English-speaking countries under the title 'Western' as many other studies do (e.g. Ariele 2007, Fechter 2007, Farrer 2010, Okpara and Kabongo 2011). I demonstrate clearly how the specificities of their experiences may be related to their own origins rather than simply their assumed unifying economically privileged and thus elite status. In doing so, I open up the field for more consideration of the differences that exist among similar groups of wealthy migrants, rather than focusing on the mainstream similarities.

My findings suggest there has been a generational shift in the activities undertaken by highly skilled accompanying partners who have previously been portrayed in light of the problems that secondment causes, rather than the successes it breeds (e.g. Hindman 2007 and 2008, Ariele 2007, Boncori 2013, Oksanen 2007). In other studies, the working husband and his employer are often placed at the center, and the women's actions and activities are framed as outcomes of his situation. As such they are presented as victims of the secondment process

rather than key agents and subjects of globalization. While secondment remains the starting point of this study, I take accompanying partners' agential privileges, capabilities and ability to mobilize their capital as central features of their stay in India and thus highlight not only their resourcefulness in light of the constraints that they are under, but also their contribution to the machinery of global capitalism.

In the area of inter- and intra-group relations among privileged migrants, my study confirms the findings of literature that highlights how particular groups of foreigners define themselves against one another and even to differing extents against host country nationals (e.g. Norum 2013, Fechter 2007a, Hottola 1999, Hindman 2007 and Farrer 2010). The data reveals however new knowledge of a somewhat unique situation arises for the Nordic migrants and foreign migrants in general in some of India's mega-cities, whereby their homes and social lives inhabit the same physical spaces as a large population of wealthy Indians: they live in the same gated communities, frequent the same restaurants and their children go to the same international schools for example. As such the Nordic migrants cannot be described as living in the same kind of expat bubble that other researchers refer to (e.g. Fechter 2007b, Warinowski 2011), even though in some cases their perception of their lives is that it is contained in a real or imagined world of expatria (Hindman 2012). Furthermore, the relationships they develop with Indian people also vary greatly, less according to the working migrants' job description or reasons for being in the country as Fechter (2007b) finds and more according to where they choose to live.

By focusing on the social citizenship of seconded workers and their partners, rather than lifestyle migrants or self-initiated expatriates for instance, I have deepened the understanding of how these kinds of highly skilled citizens are left in a vulnerable situation in relation to their formal social ties to their home countries, as has only been alluded to without explicit analysis by a small number of researchers (e.g Korpela 2012). The seconded workers and their partners instead become heavily reliant on the sending company for many of their formal and informal welfare needs and thus alters the understanding of the concept of industrial citizenship as Marshall (1950) defined it in the mid-20th century. Discussions on industrial citizenship are entirely lacking in other studies on privileged migration even though the impact of the employers on 'expatriates' lives has been a major focus in business studies research and in the anthropology intensely through the work of Heather Hindman (2003, 2007, 2008, 2013), and to a lesser extent by the vast majority of authors in this field.

Privileged migration as a concept acquired its title for a reason, yet here has been a strong tendency in anthropology with the growth of this body of work of highlighting the downsides to the so-called privileged lifestyles that these migrants lead. To my mind, there is a dangerous undertone that migrants' privileged status – that mostly refers to economic advantage either in relation to their status at home, to the host country national's average wealth, or compares the socio-economic 'wealth' of the sending state to that of the receiving state – is in some way less privileged than it may appear, which results in a great loss of perspective. My thesis indeed highlights some of the downsides to privilege, however I aim to keep some perspective by strongly distinguishing between privilege and advantage and disadvantage. The data shows clearly that privilege is not always synonymous with advantage, but I would like to stress that does not make it non-privilege. Seconded workers and their partners in this study are highly privileged mobile workers in terms of wealth and the social security that money can buy; in terms of their stocks of cultural capital; in terms of their real or perceived elite status during secondment among other things. At the same time, they face both advantages and disadvantages when enacting their social citizenship in India as a result of that privilege, and the length of time they choose to stay abroad.

This leads to a discussion of the universalist principle – one of the cornerstones of the Nordic model of the welfare state. It is clear from this study that the Nordic understanding of universalism falls apart when Nordic citizens are seconded: in the legal framework of rights in Denmark because of residency and in Finland because of work or employment status. Finland's current structure forces a return to the 'old' male breadwinner model of family life for seconded workers and their families. However, in the case of temporary migration to India during a period of intensive growth and structural change, this arrangement benefited family life and presented new opportunities for accompanying partners seemingly because they were active in using their agential privileges. Hence, the return to the model for a limited period of time may have some advantages, at least for the Danish and Finnish migrants of this study. The challenge is how this model can be redefined or reinvented without being so heavily gender biased. In the Danish case, the preoccupation with only permitting short term exit from the country in the context of social citizenship risks alienating migrant populations perhaps particularly if they have strong ties to another country through kinship relations, and thus puts the social contract on shaky ground. The ageing populations and the desire to attract international highly skilled workers and students coupled with the increasing internationalization of business and education, can only lead to an increase in

relationships across cultures and nationalities, and consideration of this must be given if Denmark wants to retain its highly skilled workforce. Certainly among the population of Nordic highly skilled, social citizenship constellations are set to become more and more complex.

The thesis clearly highlights that more attention needs to be given to industrial citizenship in the context of research on highly skilled mobility. When they relocate to a new social system, the basic needs that citizens have not only change, but they change in different ways according to the citizens abilities and desire to adapt to the new surroundings. This makes caring for citizen's welfare needs when they are abroad a near impossible task for nation states, and both the employed worker and their accompanying partners become reliant on the company for their basic welfare needs and additional social support. The concept of industrial citizenship takes on new dimensions and reaches far beyond wage agreements and work environment regulations; one could even argue that the realm of corporate social responsibility needs to widen to include responsibility towards parts of the workforce who, prior to the onset of globalization, relied for the most part on the state for their welfare needs.

Finally, I propose that we cannot continue to speak about social citizenship, particularly in the context of migration, without consideration of the socio-cultural and environmental norms that denizens are used to enacting their citizenship within, and the norms of the society in which they are located because, as the findings show, in many cases one impacts behavior in the other. Migrants' citizenship constellations diversify significantly when they relocate to another country and this has consequences for their vertical and horizontal relationships. I suggest that at the 'evaluation' stage of the policy process, social policy could benefit from turning to theory relating to social psychology, cultural psychology and human geography in order to better understand why social policies work for some migrants and not for others. Inter-disciplinary perspectives, and necessarily, mixed methods approaches are crucial to 21st century social policy analysis.

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9 Appendices

Appendix 1: Questionnaire, Life as an Expat in India

Life as an Expat in India

1. Welcome to the Survey

About the Global Europeans Project
The Global Europeans project focuses on the experience of European individuals and families that have moved for a limited period, to culturally and environmentally challenging regions of the world, in conjunction with secondment. The project brings to light the significance of individual, socio-societal, organizational, national and surpa-national forces that come into play when this move is made.

Participants in this part of the Global Europeans project are currently spending an extended period of time in India in relation to their own or their partner's job, which is originally based in either Finland, Denmark, UK or Germany.

About the questionnaire
The questionnaire should take approximately 10-15 minutes, and consists of a total of 4 sections:
1. WELCOME TO THE SURVEY - this section
2. PERSONAL DETAILS - information about you
3. ON LOCATION IN INDIA - information about your stay in India
4. THANK YOU - possibility for further participation and contact information

Definitions
SECONDMENT = an extended working period spent in another country with a current employer
FIRST LANGUAGE = your mother tongue/native language
HOME COUNTRY = the country where you are usually resident
EXPATRIATION = being situated in a country other than your home country
PARTNER = (unless otherwise specified) a spouse, a registered partner, a boyfriend/girlfriend
FOREIGNER = a person of a nationality other than your own
HOUSEWORK = daily chores such as cleaning & cooking, food shopping. Does not include gardening and maintenance (e.g. fixing furniture, painting etc.)
N/A = not applicable, did not use this, did not experience this

Please note:
- If you leave the survey and come back to it later then remember to save the page you have been working on by clicking 'Next' at the bottom of that page
- In multiple choice questions, a SQUARE indicates that you can choose more than one answer, a CIRCLE indicates that you can only choose one answer
- When there is a larger box for extra information, the space for writing a response is UNLIMITED regardless of the size of the box.
- If you feel more comfortable doing so, please feel free to write your longer answers in your first language (your mother tongue).

Life as an Expat in India

2. Personal Details

1. Please submit the following personal information (NB. 'CITIZENSHIP' refers to the country where your passport is held. In case of dual citizenship, please enter details below and state which one you identify mostly with):

	Age	Gender	Nationality	Citizenship	First Language	Marital Status
I am						

Please specify other nationality/citizenship/language:

2. I am traveling

◯ alone

◯ with partner

◯ with partner and child(ren)

If you are travelling with children, please give details of their gender (boy/girl) and their date of birth (day/month/year e.g. 24/03/2004)

3. The highest level of education I have achieved is (Complete = you have finished this; Incomplete = you are still doing this):

◯ Complete secondary   ◯ Incomplete secondary

◯ Complete vocational   ◯ Incomplete vocational

◯ Complete college   ◯ Incomplete college

◯ Complete university undergraduate degree   ◯ Incomplete university undergraduate degree

◯ Complete post-graduate certificate/diploma ◯ Incomplete post-graduate certificate/diploma

◯ Complete master's degree   ◯ Incomplete master's degree

◯ Complete doctoral degree   ◯ Incomplete doctoral degree

Other (please specify)

4. I originally came to India

◯ with my employer

◯ with my partner's employer

◯ with both of our employers

Comments

5. I am / My partner is

◯ still working for that original employer

◯ no longer working for that original employer

Comments

6. I was / I am

	before secondment	during secondment
in full-time paid work	☐	☐
in part-time paid work	☐	☐
self-employed	☐	☐
in full-time voluntary work	☐	☐
in part-time voluntary work	☐	☐
caring for my children	☐	☐
caring for the household and practical matters	☐	☐
studying	☐	☐
unemployed, looking for work	☐	☐
unemployed, not looking for work	☐	☐

Other (please specify)

7. In the following environments, I mainly speak:

	IN HOME COUNTRY	IN INDIA
At home	☐	☐
At work	☐	☐
In public (e.g. when shopping, at the gym)	☐	☐
When socializing with friends	☐	☐

If you indicate 'another language', please specify the language(s):

8. I have been expatriated to

City/Town:

Province:

Country:

Life as an Expat in India

9. So far I have been in India for

○ 1-6 months

○ 6-12 months

○ 13-24 months

○ 25-36 months

○ more than 3 years

10. I will be in India for a total of

○ 1-3 years

○ 3-5 years

○ more than 5 years

○ an indefinite time period

Comments

Life as an Expat in India

3. On Location in India

1. My motivations for coming to India include

☐ supporting my partner's career decision   ☐ experiencing living in another country

☐ improving my career prospects   ☐ experiencing a change in daily life

☐ taking time out from work   ☐ gaining from tax advantages

☐ experiencing something extraordinary

Please detail any other reasons for your decision:

[text box]

2. Here in India, I would say that

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	N/A
I am experiencing a drastic change in lifestyle	○	○	○	○	○	○
my quality of life is better than at home	○	○	○	○	○	○
I spend more time than usual with friends	○	○	○	○	○	○
I spend more time than usual with the children	○	○	○	○	○	○
I spend more time than usual with my partner	○	○	○	○	○	○
I spend more time than usual at work	○	○	○	○	○	○
I spend more time on housework	○	○	○	○	○	○
my family life is better	○	○	○	○	○	○
my relationship with my partner is better	○	○	○	○	○	○
my working life is better	○	○	○	○	○	○
I feel safe and secure	○	○	○	○	○	○
I have made friends easily	○	○	○	○	○	○
I socialize with Indian friends	○	○	○	○	○	○
I socialize with expats from my own country	○	○	○	○	○	○
I socialize with expats from other countries	○	○	○	○	○	○

Life as an Expat in India

3. I would say that

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	N/A
the company expat package covers our needs	○	○	○	○	○	○
the company has provided a lot of support at work	○	○	○	○	○	○
the company has provided a lot of support outside of work	○	○	○	○	○	○
we are given preferential treatment by officials because we are foreign	○	○	○	○	○	○
I struggle with language barriers	○	○	○	○	○	○
I struggle with the climate	○	○	○	○	○	○
I eat a lot of Western food	○	○	○	○	○	○
I eat a lot of local food	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am homesick	○	○	○	○	○	○
I wish I/we had gone to a different country	○	○	○	○	○	○
I would be happy to move abroad again in the future	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am benefiting my career by being here	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am enriching my life by being here	○	○	○	○	○	○

4. What other changes have you experienced in your home, work and social life? Please give as much detail as possible.

Life as an Expat in India

5. Compared to when you are in your home country, how easy/difficult is it to do the following:

	Much easier	A little easier	The same	More difficult	Much more difficult	N/A
Navigate the city/town	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Use the health care system	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Live in the climate	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Deal with pollution	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Be environmentally friendly	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Be at home	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Have home help	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Shop for food	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Shop for non-food items	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Have cultural and recreational experiences	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Be away from your extended family	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Make new friends	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Develop your career	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Communicate with officials	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Communicate with locals	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Communicate with work colleagues	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Work with your colleagues	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Achieve goals in the workplace	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

Comments

6. What have been the greatest challenges so far during your stay in India?

7. If you do not have children with you, please skip this question and go to the next page.

Do you agree/disagree that the children:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	N/A
are experiencing a drastic change in lifestyle	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
have settled in well	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
feel safe and secure	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
make friends easily	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
have easy access to recreational activities	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
have easy access to cultural experiences	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
are treated well because they are foreign	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
have mainly foreign friends (not from your home country)	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
struggle or have struggled with language barriers	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Struggle with the climate	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
eat mainly Western food	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
eat mainly local food	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
spend more time than usual in school/care	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
spend more time than usual with you	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
are extremely homesick	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
wish you had stayed where you were before	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
would be happy to move abroad again	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
will benefit educationally from the experience of living abroad	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
will benefit socially from the experience of living abroad	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

Comments

4. Thank You

1. How did you hear about the Global Europeans project?

2. Would you be prepared to be interviewed about your experiences?

◯ Yes

◯ No

3. If you answered Yes to the previous question, please leave your contact details below:

Name:	
Address:	
Address 2:	
City/Town:	
State:	
ZIP/Postal Code:	
Country:	
Email Address:	
Phone Number:	

Thank you for completing the questionnaire.

All information submitted is treated as strictly confidential and used solely for academic purposes. Hence, unless otherwise agreed, no real names will be included in any papers or publications related to the project and no identifying information will be shared with other participating individuals or organizations.

Should you have any further questions or queries, please contact Nicol Foulkes on **nicol.foulkes@uta.fi.**

Life as an Expat in India 2

1. Welcome to the Survey

About the Global Europeans Project
The Global Europeans project focuses on the experience of European individuals and families that have moved for a limited period, to culturally and environmentally challenging regions of the world, in conjunction with secondment. The project brings to light the significance of individual, socio-societal, organizational, national and surpa-national forces that come into play when this move is made.

Participants in this part of the Global Europeans project are currently spending an extended period of time in India in relation to their own or their partner's job, which is originally based in either Finland, Denmark, UK, Germany or another EU country.

About the questionnaire
The questionnaire should take approximately 10-15 minutes, and consists of a total of 4 sections:
1. WELCOME TO THE SURVEY - this section
2. PERSONAL DETAILS - information about you
3. ON LOCATION IN INDIA - information about your stay in India
4. THANK YOU - possibility for further participation and contact information

Definitions
SECONDMENT = an extended working period spent in another country with a current employer
FIRST LANGUAGE = your mother tongue/native language
HOME COUNTRY = the country where you are usually resident
EXPATRIATION = being situated in a country other than your home country
PARTNER = (unless otherwise specified) a spouse, a registered partner, a boyfriend/girlfriend
FOREIGNER = a person of a nationality other than your own
HOUSEWORK = daily chores such as cleaning & cooking, food shopping. Does not include gardening and maintenance (e.g. fixing furniture, painting etc.)
N/A = not applicable, did not use this, did not experience this

Please note:
- If you leave the survey and come back to it later then remember to save the page you have been working on by clicking 'Next' at the bottom of that page
- In multiple choice questions, a SQUARE indicates that you can choose more than one answer, a CIRCLE indicates that you can only choose one answer
- When there is a larger box for extra information, the space for writing a response is UNLIMITED regardless of the size of the box.
- If you feel more comfortable doing so, please feel free to write your longer answers in your first language (your mother tongue).

Life as an Expat in India 2

2. Personal Details

1. Please submit the following personal information (NB. 'CITIZENSHIP' refers to the country where your passport is held. In case of dual citizenship, please enter details below and state which one you identify mostly with):

	Age	Gender	Nationality	Citizenship	First Language	Marital Status
I am						

Please specify other nationality/citizenship/language:

2. I am traveling

○ alone

○ with partner

○ with partner and child(ren)

If you are travelling with children, please give details of their gender (boy/girl) and their date of birth (day/month/year e.g. 24/03/2004)

3. My residency situation in my home country is as follows:

○ I no longer have a home address (not registered

○ I am registered as living with a family member or friend

○ I have rented my house/apartment out, but am no longer registered as living there

○ I have rented my house/apartment out, and am still registered as living there

Please specify any further details or alternative arrangements:

4. The highest level of education I have achieved is (Complete = you have finished this; Incomplete = you are still doing this):

○ Complete secondary   ○ Incomplete secondary

○ Complete vocational   ○ Incomplete vocational

○ Complete college   ○ Incomplete college

○ Complete university undergraduate degree   ○ Incomplete university undergraduate degree

○ Complete post-graduate certificate/diploma   ○ Incomplete post-graduate certificate/diploma

○ Complete master's degree   ○ Incomplete master's degree

○ Complete doctoral degree   ○ Incomplete doctoral degree

Other (please specify)

5. I originally came to India

○ with my employer

○ with my partner's employer

○ with both of our employers

Comments

6. I am / My partner is

○ still working for that original employer

○ no longer working for that original employer

Comments

7. If you/your partner are still working for that original employer, which of the following is true:

○ The salary is paid through the Indian office (locally employed)

○ The salary is paid through the European office (employed in Europe)

Please give details of the city/town and country through which the salary is paid:

8. I was / I am

	before secondment	during secondment
in full-time paid work	☐	☐
in part-time paid work	☐	☐
self-employed	☐	☐
in full-time voluntary work	☐	☐
in part-time voluntary work	☐	☐
caring for my children	☐	☐
caring for the household and practical matters	☐	☐
studying	☐	☐
unemployed, looking for work	☐	☐
unemployed, not looking for work	☐	☐

Other (please specify)

9. In the following environments, I mainly speak:

	IN HOME COUNTRY	IN INDIA
At home		
At work		
In public (e.g. when shopping, at the gym)		
When socializing with friends		

If you indicate 'another language', please specify the language(s):

10. I have been expatriated to

City/Town:

Province:

Country:

11. I am currently here on the following visa:

○ tourist   ○ employment   ○ spouse

○ business   ○ student   ○ dependent

Other (please specify)

12. So far I have been in India for

○ 1-6 months

○ 6-12 months

○ 13-24 months

○ 25-36 months

○ more than 3 years

13. I will be in India for a total of

○ 1-3 years

○ 3-5 years

○ more than 5 years

○ an indefinite time period

Comments

Life as an Expat in India 2

3. On Location in India

1. Apart from living in India and my home country, I have lived for an extended period (more than 3 months) in:

- [ ] another European country
- [ ] another Asian country
- [ ] Africa

- [ ] North America
- [ ] South America
- [ ] Australasia

Comments

[   ]

2. Before moving to India:

- ( ) I was living in my home-country
- ( ) I was living in another foreign country

Please specify the country and town/city you stayed in, the length of stay, who you were with, and your reason for being there.

[   ]

3. My motivations for coming to India include

- [ ] supporting my partner's career decision
- [ ] improving my career prospects
- [ ] taking time out from work
- [ ] experiencing something extraordinary

- [ ] experiencing living in another country
- [ ] experiencing a change in daily life
- [ ] gaining from tax advantages

Please detail any other reasons for your decision:

[   ]

Life as an Expat in India 2

4. Here in India, I would say that

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	N/A
I am experiencing a drastic change in lifestyle	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
my quality of life is better than at home	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I spend more time than usual with friends	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I spend more time than usual with the children	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I spend more time than usual with my partner	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I spend more time than usual at work	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I spend more time on housework	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
my family life is better	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
my relationship with my partner is better	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
my working life is better	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I feel safe and secure	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I have made friends easily	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I socialize with Indian friends	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I socialize with expats from my own country	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I socialize with expats from other countries	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

5. I would say that

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	N/A
the company expat package covers our needs	○	○	○	○	○	○
the company has provided a lot of support at work	○	○	○	○	○	○
the company has provided a lot of support outside of work	○	○	○	○	○	○
we are given preferential treatment by officials because we are foreign	○	○	○	○	○	○
I struggle with language barriers	○	○	○	○	○	○
I struggle with the climate	○	○	○	○	○	○
I eat a lot of Western food	○	○	○	○	○	○
I eat a lot of local food	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am homesick	○	○	○	○	○	○
I wish I/we had gone to a different country	○	○	○	○	○	○
I would be happy to move abroad again in the future	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am benefiting my career by being here	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am enriching my life by being here	○	○	○	○	○	○

6. What other changes have you experienced in your home, work and social life? Please give as much detail as possible.

7. Compared to when you are in your home country, how easy/difficult is it to do the following:

	Much easier	A little easier	The same	More difficult	Much more difficult	N/A
Navigate the city/town	○	○	○	○	○	○
Use the health care system	○	○	○	○	○	○
Live in the climate	○	○	○	○	○	○
Deal with pollution	○	○	○	○	○	○
Be environmentally friendly	○	○	○	○	○	○
Be at home	○	○	○	○	○	○
Have home help	○	○	○	○	○	○
Shop for food	○	○	○	○	○	○
Shop for non-food items	○	○	○	○	○	○
Have cultural and recreational experiences	○	○	○	○	○	○
Be away from your extended family	○	○	○	○	○	○
Make new friends	○	○	○	○	○	○
Develop your career	○	○	○	○	○	○
Communicate with officials	○	○	○	○	○	○
Communicate with locals	○	○	○	○	○	○
Communicate with work colleagues	○	○	○	○	○	○
Work with your colleagues	○	○	○	○	○	○
Achieve goals in the workplace	○	○	○	○	○	○

Comments

8. What have been the greatest challenges so far during your stay in India?

9. If you do not have children with you, please skip this question and go to the next page.

Do you agree/disagree that the children:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	N/A
are experiencing a drastic change in lifestyle	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
have settled in well	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
feel safe and secure	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
make friends easily	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
have easy access to recreational activities	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
have easy access to cultural experiences	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
are treated well because they are foreign	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
have mainly foreign friends (not from your home country)	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
struggle or have struggled with language barriers	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
Struggle with the climate	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
eat mainly Western food	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
eat mainly local food	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
spend more time than usual in school/care	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
spend more time than usual with you	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
are extremely homesick	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
wish you had stayed where you were before	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
would be happy to move abroad again	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
will benefit educationally from the experience of living abroad	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
will benefit socially from the experience of living abroad	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

Comments

Life as an Expat in India 2

4. Thank You

1. How did you hear about the Global Europeans project?

2. Would you be prepared to be interviewed about your experiences?

○ Yes

○ No

3. If you answered Yes to the previous question, please leave your contact details below:

Name:

Address:

Address 2:

City/Town:

State:

ZIP/Postal Code:

Country:

Email Address:

Phone Number:

Thank you for completing the questionnaire.

All information submitted is treated as strictly confidential and used solely for academic purposes. Hence, unless otherwise agreed, no real names will be included in any papers or publications related to the project and no identifying information will be shared with other participating individuals or organizations.

Should you have any further questions or queries, please contact Nicol Foulkes on **nicol.foulkes@uta.fi.**

Life as an Expat in India 3

1. Welcome to the Survey

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Participants in this part of the Global Europeans project are currently spending an extended period of time in India in relation to their own or their partner's job, which is originally based in either Finland, Denmark, UK, Germany or another EU country.

About the questionnaire
The questionnaire should take approximately 10 minutes, and consists of a total of 4 sections:
1. WELCOME TO THE SURVEY - this section
2. PERSONAL DETAILS - information about you
3. ON LOCATION IN INDIA - information about your stay in India
4. THANK YOU - contact information

Definitions
SECONDMENT = an extended working period spent in another country with a current employer
FIRST LANGUAGE = your mother tongue/native language
HOME COUNTRY = the country where you are usually resident
EXPATRIATION = being situated in a country other than your home country
PARTNER = (unless otherwise specified) a spouse, a registered partner, a boyfriend/girlfriend
FOREIGNER = a person of a nationality other than your own
HOUSEWORK = daily chores such as cleaning & cooking, food shopping. Does not include gardening and maintenance (e.g. fixing furniture, painting etc.)
N/A = not applicable, did not use this, did not experience this

Please note:
- If you leave the survey and come back to it later then remember to save the page you have been working on by clicking 'Next' at the bottom of that page
- In multiple choice questions, a SQUARE indicates that you can choose more than one answer, a CIRCLE indicates that you can only choose one answer
- When there is a larger box for extra information, the space for writing a response is UNLIMITED regardless of the size of the box.
- If you feel more comfortable doing so, please feel free to write your longer answers in your first language (your mother tongue).

Life as an Expat in India 3

2. Personal Details

1. Please tick the appropriate box

○ AA   ○ FF   ○ KK

○ BB   ○ GG   ○ LL

○ CC   ○ HH   ○ MM

○ DD   ○ II   ○ NN

○ EE   ○ JJ   ○ PP

2. Please submit the following personal information (NB. 'CITIZENSHIP' refers to the country where your passport is held. In case of dual citizenship, please enter details below and state which one you identify mostly with):

	Age	Gender	Nationality	Citizenship	First Language	Marital Status
I am						

Please specify other nationality/citizenship/language:

3. I am traveling

○ alone

○ with partner

○ with partner and child(ren)

If you are travelling with children, please give details of their gender (boy/girl) and their date of birth (day/month/year e.g. 24/03/2004)

4. My residency situation in my home country is as follows:

○ I no longer have a home address (not registered)

○ I am registered as living with a family member or friend

○ I have rented my house/apartment out, but am no longer registered as living there

○ I have rented my house/apartment out, and am still registered as living there

○ My house/apartment is vacant, and i am registered as living there

Please specify any further details or alternative arrangements:

5. My residency situation in India is:

	a house	an apartment
I have bought	○	○
The company (in Europe) has bought	○	○
The company (in India) has bought	○	○
I am renting	○	○
The company (in Europe) is paying the rent for	○	○
The company (in India) is paying the rent for	○	○

Other (please specify)

6. The highest level of education I have achieved is (Complete = you have finished this; Incomplete = you are still doing this):

○ Complete secondary   ○ Incomplete secondary

○ Complete vocational   ○ Incomplete vocational

○ Complete college   ○ Incomplete college

○ Complete university undergraduate degree   ○ Incomplete university undergraduate degree

○ Complete post-graduate certificate/diploma ○ Incomplete post-graduate certificate/diploma

○ Complete master's degree   ○ Incomplete master's degree

○ Complete doctoral degree   ○ Incomplete doctoral degree

Other (please specify)

7. I originally came to India

○ with my employer

○ with my partner's employer

○ with both of our employers

Comments

8. I am / My partner is

○ still working for that original employer

○ no longer working for that original employer

Comments

9. If you/your partner are still working for that original employer, which of the following is true:

◯ The salary is paid through the Indian office (locally employed)

◯ The salary is paid through the European office (employed in Europe)

Please give details of the city/town and country through which the salary is paid:

[   ]

10. I was / I am

	before secondment	during secondment
in full-time paid work	☐	☐
in part-time paid work	☐	☐
self-employed	☐	☐
in full-time voluntary work	☐	☐
in part-time voluntary work	☐	☐
caring for my children	☐	☐
caring for the household and practical matters	☐	☐
studying	☐	☐
unemployed, looking for work	☐	☐
unemployed, not looking for work	☐	☐

Other (please specify)

[   ]

11. In the following environments, I mainly speak:

	IN HOME COUNTRY	IN INDIA
At home	[ ]	[ ]
At work	[ ]	[ ]
In public (e.g. when shopping, at the gym)	[ ]	[ ]
When socializing with friends	[ ]	[ ]

If you indicate 'another language', please specify the language(s):

[   ]

12. I have been expatriated to

City/Town: [   ]

Province: [   ]

Country: [   ]

Life as an Expat in India 3

13. I am currently here on the following visa:

◯ tourist   ◯ employment   ◯ spouse

◯ business   ◯ student   ◯ dependent

Other (please specify)

[   ]

14. So far I have been in India for (years/months)

[   ]

15. I will be in India for a total of

◯ 1 year   ◯ 4 years

◯ 2 years   ◯ 5 years

◯ 3 years   ◯ > 5 years

Comments

[   ]

Life as an Expat in India 3

3. On Location in India

1. Apart from living in India and my home country, I have lived for an extended period (more than 3 months) in:

☐ another European country

☐ North America

☐ another Asian country

☐ South America

☐ Africa

☐ Australasia

Comments

>

2. Before moving to India:

◯ I was living in my home-country

◯ I was living in another foreign country

Please specify the country and town/city you stayed in, the length of stay, who you were with, and your reason for being there.

>

3. My motivations for coming to India include

☐ supporting my partner's career decision

☐ experiencing living in another country

☐ improving my career prospects

☐ experiencing a change in daily life

☐ taking time out from work

☐ gaining from tax advantages

☐ experiencing something extraordinary

Please detail any other reasons for your decision:

>

4. Here in India, I would say that

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	N/A
I am experiencing a drastic change in lifestyle	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
my quality of life is better than at home	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I spend more time than usual with friends	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I spend more time than usual with the children	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I spend more time than usual with my partner	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I spend more time than usual at work	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I spend more time on housework	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
my family life is better	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
my relationship with my partner is better	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
my working life is better	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I feel safe and secure	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I have made friends easily	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I socialize with Indian friends	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I socialize with expats from my own country	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
I socialize with expats from other countries	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

5. I would say that

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	N/A
the company expat package covers my/our needs	○	○	○	○	○	○
the company has provided a lot of support at work	○	○	○	○	○	○
the company has provided a lot of support outside of work	○	○	○	○	○	○
I/we are given preferential treatment by officials because I am/we are foreign	○	○	○	○	○	○
I struggle with language barriers	○	○	○	○	○	○
I struggle with the climate	○	○	○	○	○	○
I eat a lot of Western food	○	○	○	○	○	○
I eat a lot of local food	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am homesick	○	○	○	○	○	○
I wish I/we had gone to a different country	○	○	○	○	○	○
I would be happy to move abroad again in the future	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am benefiting my career by being here	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am enriching my life by being here	○	○	○	○	○	○

6. Compared to when you are in your home country, how easy/difficult is it to do the following:

	Much easier	A little easier	The same	More difficult	Much more difficult	N/A
Navigate the city/town	○	○	○	○	○	○
Use the health care system	○	○	○	○	○	○
Live in the climate	○	○	○	○	○	○
Deal with pollution	○	○	○	○	○	○
Be environmentally friendly	○	○	○	○	○	○
Be at home	○	○	○	○	○	○
Have home help	○	○	○	○	○	○
Shop for food	○	○	○	○	○	○
Shop for non-food items	○	○	○	○	○	○
Have cultural and recreational experiences	○	○	○	○	○	○
Be away from your extended family	○	○	○	○	○	○
Make new friends	○	○	○	○	○	○
Develop your career	○	○	○	○	○	○
Communicate with officials	○	○	○	○	○	○
Communicate with locals	○	○	○	○	○	○
Communicate with work colleagues	○	○	○	○	○	○
Work with your colleagues	○	○	○	○	○	○
Achieve goals in the workplace	○	○	○	○	○	○

Comments

7. If you do not have children with you, please skip this question and go to the next page.

Do you agree/disagree that the children:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	N/A
are experiencing a drastic change in lifestyle	○	○	○	○	○	○
have settled in well	○	○	○	○	○	○
feel safe and secure	○	○	○	○	○	○
make friends easily	○	○	○	○	○	○
have easy access to recreational activities	○	○	○	○	○	○
have easy access to cultural experiences	○	○	○	○	○	○
are treated well because they are foreign	○	○	○	○	○	○
have mainly foreign friends (not from your home country)	○	○	○	○	○	○
struggle or have struggled with language barriers	○	○	○	○	○	○
Struggle with the climate	○	○	○	○	○	○
eat mainly Western food	○	○	○	○	○	○
eat mainly local food	○	○	○	○	○	○
spend more time than usual in school/care	○	○	○	○	○	○
spend more time than usual with you	○	○	○	○	○	○
are extremely homesick	○	○	○	○	○	○
wish you had stayed where you were before	○	○	○	○	○	○
would be happy to move abroad again	○	○	○	○	○	○
will benefit educationally from the experience of living abroad	○	○	○	○	○	○
will benefit socially from the experience of living abroad	○	○	○	○	○	○

Comments

Life as an Expat in India 3

4. Thank You

1. How did you hear about the Global Europeans project?

Thank you for completing the questionnaire.

All information submitted is treated as strictly confidential and used solely for academic purposes. Hence, unless otherwise agreed, no real names will be included in any papers or publications related to the project and no identifying information will be shared with other participating individuals or organizations.

Should you have any further questions or queries, please contact Nicol Foulkes on **nicol.foulkes@uta.fi.**

Appendix 2: The Threat of the Police

During an expat after–party which was taking place at a house with a rooftop terrace in one of the central districts of Bangalore, one of the neighbors called the police and complained about the noise. The music was being played at a low level and there were about 15 people there. It was after 12 midnight. In Bangalore at that time, I was told that it was not permitted to have parties outdoors after 23.00. But the South African host had explained that the neighbors were not very agreeable and sometimes called the police. It was nothing to worry about though because all the police usually needed was a monetary bribe and they would leave. This time was different. We remained on the terrace while the host and a couple of friends went downstairs to talk to the police. After a short while, someone came upstairs and told us we had to come down. Upon seeing the police, I suddenly became aware of my color (I was the only non-white person at the party) and felt nervous. The police asked us to line up near the doorway. The police officer who appeared to be in charge simply asked people, fairly politely, where they were from. When he reached me however his whole demeanor and tone changed and he became more hostile, quizzing me about where I am from and what I am doing here, where I am staying. Thankfully, his questioning, although lengthier than with the other guests, was fairly brief and the group of them (there were four) left shortly afterwards, not before receiving a substantial bribe. The roof-top party was over. I stayed for a little longer and then made my journey home using the driver I had hired for the evening.

Appendix 3: Gender Troubles

The train station was busy and there were long queues to purchase tickets. Brett told me the train journey would be about 40 minutes so I bought a ticket for the first class carriage as I did not want to arrive all hot and sweaty. It was 31 degrees Celsius that day. When I arrived at the platform however, I was informed by conductors that there was no first class carriage, so I took my place in the ordinary carriage, which was very simple, mostly old steel and the ceiling was lined with small fans. It was very charming somehow, as it was a familiar scene from television and just nice to be with a bunch of ordinary people. I was dressed very discreetly with long cream cotton trousers and a long–sleeved brown linen shirt. Nevertheless some men did not stop staring. I did not mind at all and I simply tried to avoid their stare. At some of the stations men herded in, literally like cattle, shoving each other out of the way to get their desired position on the train, but I kept my ground: second person in from the doorway – I needed the breeze. I was fortunate that there were two, twenty–something, quite well-dressed young men standing in that doorway for the duration of my journey. At some point I asked them which stop we were at, and I had the feeling they were really looking out for me. A few beggars got on and one of them, a pregnant lady with her child, would not leave my side and persistently tapped my wrist. I don't mind, and am very good at simply looking away. One of the boys ended up giving her a coin and told her to leave me alone (in non–aggressive, Indian body and sign language). Another time when the train was packed with a herd, the other lad nudged a man away from me as he kept on leaning on me because there were so many people in the carriage. Really kind chaps – they did it all so gallantly, not looking at me once for a thank-you or any form of appreciation. Of course they also told me when my stop arrived and all I could do was give them a big smile and a big thank you, which I hope they understood meant 'thank you very much for everything'.

On another train journey to the same destination two days later, I found myself in a carriage full of only females. It also seemed to me that on this day it was a majority of women on the platform as well. It was about 6pm, and many traders bundled onto the train as well, selling food, hair clips, purses – lots of plastic. I took my position by the doorway and found it so curious that today it was all

women so I asked a young woman standing next to me. She began by telling me that it was because everyone was leaving work, and this was a crowded train to be on etc. and I said to her that two days ago it had been only men at around 3.30pm. Then she smiled and said that that was because I was in the male carriage! Whenever I visit India I forget about this differential treatment of men and women on public transport and in public spaces. Similar situations arose at airport security check, where there are different queues for men and women, as well as on the bus where the seats at the front are prioritized for women.

On the third field trip, I had arranged a pre-interview with a male German informant who I had spoken to about my project at a regular Friday meet–up for the Bangalore Expatriate Club. We had arranged to meet at a restaurant in a district that was approximately 25km from where I was staying, which is a long distance to travel in evening traffic. I had great communication problems with the auto–rickshaw driver, who, in short, did not understand at all where I was asking him to go, but kept on saying 'yes' and driving in different directions. I called my informant, Jan, in the hope that he could explain more, but he did not have any greater luck. After about one hour, I deserted the auto–rickshaw after paying him, and then took two different buses (and one more hour) to reach where I needed to go. When I arrived, one and a half hours late, Jan had left as he thought I was not coming, even though when we spoke I emphasized that I was. I called him and he came back again. The meeting was supposed to be for me to brief Jan more about the project, however Jan seemed to be more interested in me personally than in the project. After a very short time, I decided to abandon the attempt to recruit him as a key informant, remained polite, ate a snack and made the journey home. I felt frustrated on my way home because the journey I had made to meet with Jan was very exhausting, and then I came home with 'nothing'. In fact, I came home with a great number of different encounters from which I learned a great deal about myself and my research sites and subjects.

On the follow–up trip I took in 2012 I stayed for five nights at hotel in Bangalore. I booked through airbnb.com and had thought that I had booked private accommodation. I was surprised to find that I had booked a hotel and thankfully the staff were very friendly and the hotel itself was of a standard that met all of my needs (cleanliness, comfort and internet access) for the time that I would be there. All of the staff were male. On several occasions the service staff would knock on the door and enter my room without waiting for me to respond. The third time this happened, I called down to speak to reception to ask them to ask the staff to wait for a response from me before they entered as it was making

me feel uncomfortable. The phone call had the desired affect and the staff would wait for a response after knocking thereafter. At the same hotel towards the end of my stay, an employee coming to my room one the evening. It was reasonably late as I had had dinner and was getting ready for bed. As a result of our language barriers it took me a couple of minutes to understand that this young man was asking me for my telephone number. When I understood this, I became slightly angry and felt a little exposed. At the same time, I tried to respond in a way that showed my dissatisfaction without being aggressive as the man was very humble and polite. After he left, I was not sure of what to do because I did not want to get the man into trouble as he may have risked losing his job, yet at the same time, I felt it important to let the management know that this was happening. I decided to wait until the morning and speak to the hotel manager face to face. When I did, I did not tell him exactly what happened, but explained that as a single woman travelling alone, I found it very uncomfortable having male staff in my room and perhaps he could inform his staff that they should be more considerate to this.
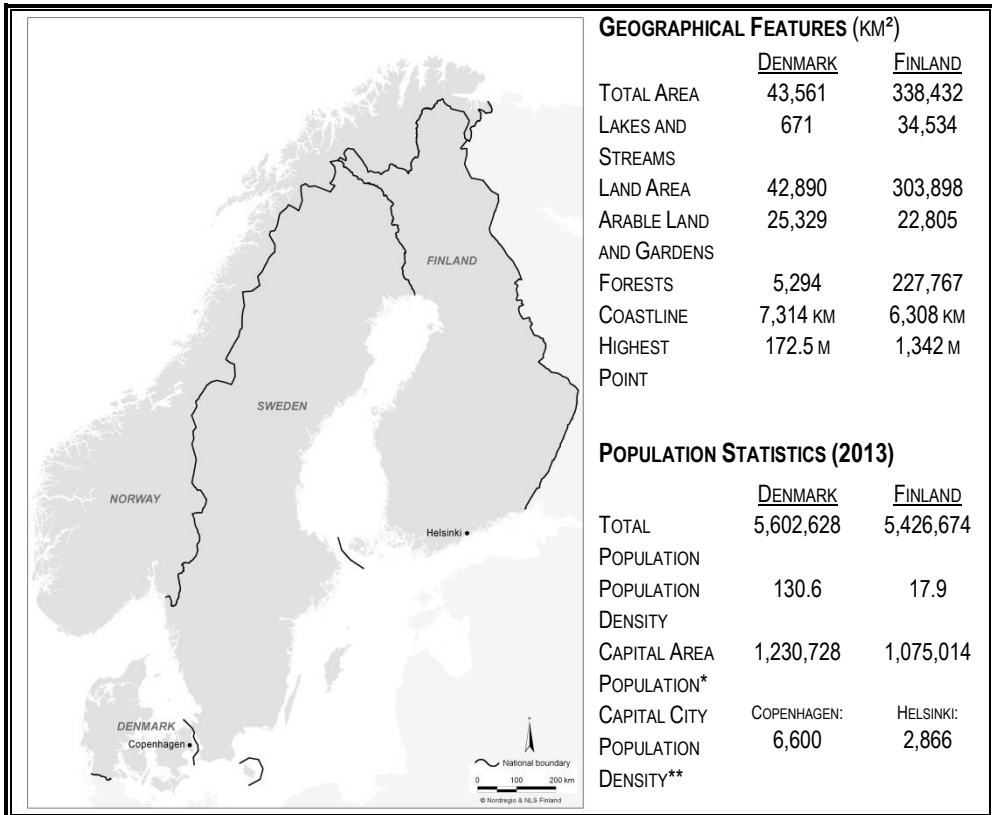
Appendix 4: Interview Challenges

The first challenge I faced was during my first fieldtrip to Mumbai. When I arrived at the key informant's office, he was not available. In spite of the explanations that were given, I suspected that he, Aden from Germany, had possibly forgotten about our meeting. Aden's secretary told me that she had failed to inform him of the time and date of the meeting, and that it was "totally" her fault. She then proceeded to tell me that it has been a bad week for her as one of her family members was critically ill and so she had actually just popped in to do some bits. Aden was out at another "very important meeting" (which was said in a tone of "a more important meeting") and would not be back today. I explained that I had travelled from Denmark to have the meeting and it was rather frustrating that this was the case. I asked if we could hold the interview the next morning at 9am, and the secretary agreed, without checking with Aden first which surprised me. I then left my number with her and later on that evening she called to confirm the appointment, which I had understood was already confirmed. I spontaneously asked the secretary if I could use a computer, telephone and get somebody to drive me to the station in order to interview a Danish key informant, Brett, instead if he was available. Not only was Brett available, but he would not have been able to meet me the following day as we had planned.

The driver, who appeared to be employed by the company, took me first to the hotel and then to one of Mumbai's main train stations, Churchgate. The office, hotel and train station were located within about two–square–kilometers in the southern part of the city, and the traffic, though busy, was not very congested in comparison to Bangalore so it was no problem for them to do it. I took the train north to Juhu Beach, an area that is known for its vast beach as well as for being the most affluent area in Mumbai and home to many Bollywood stars. From the station I took an auto–rickshaw (approximately 15 minutes) to Brett's apartment, which was located in a quiet residential area, where the interview took place. The following day I successfully completed the interview with Aden in the morning and in the evening I returned to Juhu Beach as Brett had invited me for dinner. He had also invited a Danish journalist who had also interviewed him recently.

On one occasion, one of my prospective key informants cancelled our meeting and we were not able to reschedule. We had arranged to meet one evening at a small exclusive shopping center. The prospect communicated to me several times that she was still at work and would be late and finally, after a couple of hours, conceded that she would not be able to make it. As it was evening, I simply went for something to eat at the center while we communicated via sms, and then returned to my accommodation afterwards. In spite of consciously preparing myself for meetings not to go as planned, I felt somewhat irked by how the evening turned out because I had been asked to wait, which meant being out alone into the later hours of the evening, and then in the end had to return home without any interview data. I made several further attempts to arrange an interview with this prospect however we did not end up meeting, mainly as a consequence of her work demands that required working when the financial markets were open in other parts of the world, and as such irregular working hours.

The last interview arrangement that did not go as planned was the result of poor communication between me and my auto–rickshaw driver, and a series of misunderstandings between me and my informant who I believe had more romantic intentions for our meeting (see Appendix 3).

Appendix 5: Geography and Population of Denmark and Finland

GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES (KM²)

	DENMARK	FINLAND
TOTAL AREA	43,561	338,432
LAKES AND STREAMS	671	34,534
LAND AREA	42,890	303,898
ARABLE LAND AND GARDENS	25,329	22,805
FORESTS	5,294	227,767
COASTLINE	7,314 KM	6,308 KM
HIGHEST POINT	172.5 M	1,342 M

POPULATION STATISTICS (2013)

	DENMARK	FINLAND
TOTAL POPULATION	5,602,628	5,426,674
POPULATION DENSITY	130.6	17.9
CAPITAL AREA POPULATION*	1,230,728	1,075,014
CAPITAL CITY POPULATION DENSITY**	COPENHAGEN: 6,600	HELSINKI: 2,866

*'Finland' includes Helsinki Espoo and Vaanta; 'Denmark' includes Copenhagen, Frederiksberg, Albertslund, Brøndby, Gentofte, Gladsaxe, Glostrup, Herlev, Hvidovre, Lyngby-Taarbæk, Rødovre, Tårnby and Vallensbæk municipalities and urban parts of Ballerup, Rudersdal, Furesø, Ishøj By and Greve Strand.

** City of Copenhagen and City of Helsinki only.

Sources: Statistics Finland and Statistics Denmark; Haagensen (2013); Statistics Finland; Statistics Denmark; Map provided by Nordregio and amended by Alison Rayner.

Appendix 6: Geography and Population of India

GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

TOTAL AREA	3,287,263 KM²
LAKES AND STREAMS	314,070 KM²
LAND AREA	2,973,193 KM²
ARABLE LAND	47.87% OF TOTAL LAND AREA
PERMANENT CROPS	3.74% OF TOTAL LAND AREA
HIGHEST POINT	8,598 M
COASTLINE	7,000 KM
LAND BOUNDARIES	14,103 KM
BORDER COUNTRIES	BANGLADESH, BHUTAN, BURMA, CHINA, NEPAL, PAKISTAN

POPULATION STATISTICS (2011)

	INDIA	BANGALORE CAPITAL OF KARNATAKA STATE	DELHI*	MUMBAI CAPITAL OF MAHARASHTRA STATE
TOTAL POPULATION (% GROWTH SINCE 2001)	1,210,200,000 (17.7)	8,499,399 (97.6)	16,314,838 (65.1)	18,414,288 (53.7)
SEX RATIO (WOMEN PER 1000 MEN)	940	914	867	861
POPULATION (0-6 YEARS)	158,700,000	870,743	1,912,253	1,743,997
POPULATION DENSITY	382	8,200	11,600	32,300
LITERACY RATES	74.04	89.56	86.43	90.78

*Delhi is officially recognized as the National Capital Territory of Delhi and has its own elected legislative assembly and executive council of ministers. Delhi is divided into nine main districts, and further sub–districts, towns and villages. New Delhi is one of the nine main districts and is the center of the government of the National Capital Territory of Delhi, as well as the capital of India and seat of the executive, legislature and judiciary branches of the government of India.

Sources: 'Geographic Features' from CIA (2014); 'Population Statistics' from Census of India (2011) and Demographia (2014); Map provided by Nordregio and amended by Alison Rayner.

Appendix 7: Guiding Questions Referred to in Interviews with Key Informants

Welfare and Wellbeing:

FAMILY, FRIENDS, RELATIVES, PEERS, DISTANCE, ENVIRONMENT, POLLUTION, RECREATION, WORK, DOMESTIC WORKERS, ATTITUDES AND VALUES OF PEOPLE, CULTURE, LANGUAGE, CLIMATE, CULTURAL AWARENESS, EXPAT PACKAGE, ORIENTATION VISIT

1. How would you briefly describe your lifestyle in your home country?

2. What have you left behind?

3. What were some of the considerations you made when making the decision to go abroad?

4. Did you have any preconceived ideas about how it would be in India?

5. How did you prepare for the move to India, individually, as a couple, as a family, as an employee, the children?

6. What factors do you feel contribute in a positive and negative way to your wellbeing in India? In which ways? Are they different things or the same things as when you are at home?

7. Do you feel your welfare is protected? How does this compare with at home?

8. Do you consider how your social and political rights in your home country are/will be affected by moving to India? Do you vote? Are you a member of a union? Do you claim any benefits? Do you know what your social rights are when you are in India?

Social and Working Life:

SOCIAL NETWORKS, FREE TIME, SPORT, WORK, SPOUSE, FAMILY, MEALTIMES, INTERNATIONAL/EXPAT/WORK/ LOCAL COMMUNITY, GENDER, HIERARCHY, PUBLIC SPACE, SOCIALIZING, CULTURAL ACTIVITY, NATIONALITY, WORKING CONDITIONS, HOME OFFICE, LOCAL OFFICE

1. How did you meet new people?

2. Would you say that you belong to any kind of community?

3. Do you socialize more or less than usual? What is the reason for this? Who with?

4. Do you have any major challenges in the workplace? Why? Give examples.

5. Do you feel you have increased your skills set?

6. Do you think your gender affected your stay? If yes how? What are the advantages/disadvantages of being male/female?

Attitudes, Values and Identity

FAMILY, FRIENDS, DOMESTIC WORKERS, HOME, DISTANCE, THE ENVIRONMENT, CLIMATE, RECREATION, WORK-LIFE BALANCE, WELFARE STATE, IMMIGRATION, INTEGRATION, RELIGION, GENDER CORRUPTION, POVERTY, HUMAN RIGHTS, TRUST, EQUALITY, FRIENDSHIP, COMMUNICATION, HIERARCHY

1. Do you think you have changed any of your fundamental attitudes or values? What is stronger, weaker, are there new things?

2. Do you think you have changed in yourself as a result of being in India?

3. Do you think your cultural heritage and previous experiences have affected your stay so far? How?

4. What do you miss about your home country? What don't you miss?

5. What do you think you will miss about India? What won't you miss?

Appendix 8: Expatriate Clubs

<u>BEC – Bangalore Expatriate Club</u>

I met the president of BEC by coincidence while shopping at one of Bangalore's busiest market areas. We were two of the very few visibly foreign people at the market that day. We greeted one each other and began to talk. She was American, so was not able to take part in the project as a key informant, but she was extremely helpful to me throughout my stay with reaching prospective participants, welcoming me to this side of the Bangalorean expat community, and sharing her knowledge and experience of life in Bangalore. I attended informal social gatherings organized by BEC as well as smaller get-togethers arranged by groups of 'friends' who would socialize together outside of the official meet-ups. BEC also organized events such as art exhibitions and auctions for charity. However it seemed to be more reputed for its more party–oriented and informal social events.

There was a regular meet-up on Friday nights at the poolside bar of one of the five star hotels in the city. I attended several of these meet-ups in order to try to recruit key informants. At the Friday night meet-ups, the socializing revolved strongly around alcohol. There were often special 'offers' for members of BEC, for example, women could get two drinks for the price of one, and the evenings, which finished at 11pm latest because of state regulations, were often followed up by an after–party at one of the members' homes. Having worked for many years in the hospitality industry, being in bar/party atmospheres and small talking with relative strangers was not alien to me and I found it easy to mingle. At the first meet-up I attended, the American president of the club introduced me to several people, and on subsequent visits, either I approached others, or they approached me to introduce themselves. This process was a commonality I shared with my research subjects at this and some of the other network meetings I attended: we both wanted to meet new people, just for different reasons. I believe this commonality contributed to some of my informants' willingness to participate in the research whether by giving interviews or by informing others about my project.

It perhaps also had an impact that the attendees were also in my age bracket, typically in the age range 25 to 40 years old, with the vast majority in their early

thirties. This group can be likened to Fechter's (2007) 'young global professionals'. The main difference to Fechter's research subjects was that the vast majority were Europeans, and the others I came into contact with were from countries on different continents, with a noticeable contingent from South Africa. Another difference was that while nobody I spoke to had children, there seemed to be an equal balance between those in relationships (married and unmarried) and singles.

In general everyone I spoke to was positive and curious about my work. Several people offered to be interviewed, several people light–heartedly said they did not want to be interviewed, and many tried to find others for me who might be interested. Many of those who volunteered were, unfortunately, from countries outside of my area of interest. Nonetheless, the BEC meet-ups and after–parties would not be my choice of activity, were I living in India. As such, each time I attended, I felt that I had to gather all my strength and pull hard on my resources in order to mingle successfully enough and get an insight into this side of being an expatriate in Bangalore.

OWC – Overseas Women's Club

One of the key informants I met through my connection to BEC introduced me to another expatriate network, the OWC, which ended up being another good place for recruiting key informants for this project. In contrast to BEC, OWC attracted both younger and more mature women (men were also welcome to the regular Thursday coffee morning meet-ups, yet I only ever saw one man there in all of my visits). The age range was around 30 years and above, and the expats were a majority of what Fechter (2007) refers to as traditional family expatriates and a smaller minority of young global professionals. Many of the women I spoke to had children either in India with them, or living elsewhere. Six of the informants I conducted formal interviews with I met through my connection to OWC were married women with accompanying children, while none of the four women I interviewed formally who I met through BEC had any children at all.

The OWC started out in the 1960s as a small group of foreign women who used to get together once a month at one of their homes 'to share their experiences over a cup of coffee or tea'. According to Susheela Thomas, a managing trustee of the club and frequent contributor to the member's magazine, The Rangoli, it was when economic liberalization hit India that the club's membership and activities started to grow rapidly. The monthly meetings circulation turned into a newsletter and eventually the member's only magazine, The Rangoli; volunteering for charity

work became a central part of the club; funds were also raised through the sale of a cookbook and an expat guide to Bangalore called In and Out of Bangalore; and social events such as the RoadTrip, where members travel and visit something/somewhere new in India, and LunchBunch, where members meet at different restaurants around the city for lunch, were incorporated; lastly the club needed to have a regular meeting place for members. In 2009, all of the aforementioned changes were still in place and there was also a calendar produced by the members for sale.

Central to many expatriate clubs for women worldwide is the regular coffee morning meet-up. In 2009 the coffee mornings were held on Thursday mornings in the Library Bar at the opulent Leela Palace Hotel. There were volunteers with badges marking them as such who were 'employed' to meet, greet and assist new members. An area of the lounge was occupied by other volunteers selling the guide book, cookbook and calendar, and others dealing with the charity side of the organization, the social activities and other more practical support such as helping members find drivers and other domestic workers. The coffee mornings I went to were well attended and well organized with a strong focus on the needs of the members. As with the Delhi Network coffee mornings, the main 'activity' undertaken during the meet-ups was mingling and chatting with other attendees. At both coffee mornings time was set aside for a brief welcome from the President of the club, an introduction of the new members, reflection on any events that had taken place since the last coffee morning and a reminder about future events and other announcements.

As well as attending the coffee mornings, I attended one Lunch Bunch which was held at a restaurant called Caperberry, which has since won several awards and accolades. The lunch was attended by over 50 women and the restaurant had arranged a special menu and presentation of the food for the group. I also attended one professional women's meeting that was held at one of the OWC members' homes. This meeting was attended by both working and non-working OWC members. One of the attendees told me that the purpose of the meetings was for professional women to get the opportunity to socialize in an environment of peers, as opposed to the regular OWC coffee mornings which attracted different kinds of women. I did not meet any Nordic women there.

<u>DABGO – Danes Abroad Business Group Online</u>

Two of my key informants in Bangalore were members of the DABGO networking group. The group had a regular meet-up at the offices of the Danish Trade Commission in the center of Bangalore. I had written to DABGO prior to my second field visit to Bangalore to ask whether I could attend one of their meetings. At that time my only institutional affiliation was with my university in Tampere. My request was denied on the grounds that the meetings are strictly for members only. At the time of interviewing the two member informants during my third visit, I was sitting as a guest researcher at Copenhagen Business School. One of my key informants said that he would ask the other members if I could join a meeting. This time my request was successful and I suspect that it was because of my recent prestigious Danish institutional affiliation.

The networking group was strictly professional in so far as it was purely business related issues that were discussed at the meetings. The group aimed to share knowledge about doing business in India and support one another's activities in which ever manner they could. At the meeting I attended I was introduced and asked to say a few words about myself and my project. Some people asked questions and others relayed some of their experiences of India. Once a month the group would organize an informal evening meal out, and I also participated in one of these evenings, where I recruited two more interviewees. One of them became a key informant and arrangements with the other person did not end up working out.

<u>Delhi Network</u>

While the Delhi Network (DN) is open to all different nationalities, it does not attract the large numbers one might expect (in January 2014 the Delhi Network had approximately 500 members). as the large volumes of expatriates from different countries leads to nationality–based expatriate clubs and networks being established. The American Women's Association (www.awadelhi.com), the French expat club (www.delhi–accueil.com) were very popular and I was told that there were various groups, some church–based, for German expats too. Established in the 1980s, DN is a non–profit organization dedicated to supporting expatriates living and working in Delhi. It is run by volunteers and has a president, vice president, treasurer and secretary. The regular Tuesday morning meet-up was held at the Hyatt Regency Hotel which was located on a busy ring road in Delhi (The

coffee morning now takes place at the Eros Hotel in Nehru Place)I always found the trip to get there rather unpleasant because it was situated on such a main road. On one occasion when I came for my follow–up visit I did not have much cash with me and there was a charge to come in for non–members. I was directed to a cash machine in a more or less deserted complex nearby on the same side of the ring road as the hotel. When I finally found the cash machine, it did not accept foreign credit cards and so I had to make my way to a petrol station on the other side of the ring road where there was supposedly another cash machine. Thankfully there was an underpass, but it was not a pleasant walk with lots of dust, very noisy traffic and slightly perilous slip roads to navigate. It took about 45 minutes in total to return with the required cash amount, and I thought, perhaps unreasonably, that it was quite extreme to ask people to make such a 'journey' for the sake of a few rupees.

At the coffee mornings, tea, coffee and nibbles were offered to members who attended. On the third Tuesday of every month there was an extended meeting usually with a guest speaker. My first meeting happened to a third Tuesday, and I joined a group of mostly women in listening to journalist Sam Miller present his new book, *Delhi. Adventures in a Mega–City* (Miller 2008). I sat next to a more mature British woman who kindly took me under her wing and introduced me to others throughout the morning. She agreed to give me a formal interview at a later date. DN was at that time very similar to the OWC, both in the demographics of the members it attracted and in some of the activities that they undertook. Even though I met many people who were happy to talk to me about their experiences, I found the DN meet-ups much more stilted and far less relaxed than the OWC. While the demographics were similar to OWC, possibly with fewer young global professionals, the profile of the members was different. At DN many women were accompanying partners who worked in foreign embassies and international non-governmental organizations as well as international businesses; the membership was dominated by people originating from English speaking countries; and, the rooms DN used, the hotel itself and its location were not as inviting as the location for the OWC coffee mornings in Bangalore.

On a follow–up visit in 2012, there seemed to be many more different nationalities present and even though the vast majority was still female accompanying spouses, there were more younger professional women. In a conversation with the then president of the organization, I was informed that the membership had indeed changed in profile with a more diverse cross section with different nationalities; the events were also more structured so that working people

could participate; and there was a focus on activities that men would also like to take part in. The club had adapted to the needs of its members and the changing profile of expatriates in the city.