ON COSMOPOLITANISM AND INTERNATIONAL ADJUSTMENT: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF SELF-INITIATED FOREIGN WORK EXPERIENCES IN INDIA

A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in the Faculty of Humanities

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Manchester Business School
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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AE</td>
<td>(company-)assigned expatriates (Jokinen, Brewster, Suutari, 2008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPO</td>
<td>Business Process Offshoring (see offshoring), denotes part of a business process in the production of services, such as call centre work, data entry,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BR</td>
<td>Business research (department at Infosupply)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRICs</td>
<td>Brazil Russia India China (Wilson and Purushothaman, 2003; O’Neill et al, 2005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAGR</td>
<td>Compound annual growth rate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPO</td>
<td>Data Process Offshoring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HCN</td>
<td>Host-country national (e.g. Harrison et al, 2004, p. 103)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUDA</td>
<td>Haryana Urban Development Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HR</td>
<td>Human resources (department at Infosupply)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IB</td>
<td>International business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICT</td>
<td>Information and communication technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IE</td>
<td>International Employee (here at Infosupply)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IHRM</td>
<td>International human resources management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILRC</td>
<td>International Language Resource Centre (department at Infosupply in Phase 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IM</td>
<td>International management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IR</td>
<td>Investment research (department at Infosupply)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IT</td>
<td>Information technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITeS</td>
<td>Information Technology enabled Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KPO</td>
<td>Knowledge Process Offshoring (see offshoring), denotes processes and work that requires more knowledge or skill and generates higher value; work in business analysis, intellectual property rights, investment research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LPO</td>
<td>Legal Process Offshoring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MNC</td>
<td>Multi-national Corporations/Companies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MNE</td>
<td>Multi-national enterprises (Dunning, 1993; Bartlett et al, 2008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSO</td>
<td>Marketing, Sales and Operations (department at Infosupply)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MR</td>
<td>Market research (department at Infosupply)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE</td>
<td>Overseas experiences (Inkson et al, 1997)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offshoring</td>
<td>also called outsourcing, denotes contracting parts of a supply chain for products or services to another company, a third-party vendor, or establishing a captive unit in another geographical location (Friedman, 2005, p. 127 and p. 137; Bartlett et al, 2008, p. 230; Sahay et al, 2003, pp. 2-3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outsourcing</td>
<td>see Offshoring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCN</td>
<td>Parent-country national (e.g. Harrison et al, 2004, p. 103)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR</td>
<td>Public relations (department at Infosupply)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE</td>
<td>self-initiated expatriates (Jokinen, Brewster, Suutari, 2008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFE</td>
<td>Self-initiated foreign work experiences (Suutari and Brewster, 2000); here more often used as self-initiated foreign/international employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCN</td>
<td>Third-country national (e.g. Harrison et al, 2004, p. 103)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNCTAD</td>
<td>United Nations Conference on Trade and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNCTC</td>
<td>United Nations Centre on Transnational Corporations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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### Editorial abbreviations

- **Ibid** short for *ibidem* (Latin), meaning “the same place”, used as reference for a source that was cited in the preceding reference or footnote
- **cf.** short for *confer* (Latin), meaning “compare” or “consult”, used to refer to other material or ideas which provide different information or arguments
- **sic** from Latin, meaning “as it appears in the original”
- **[…]** shortened text
Abstract

Cosmopolitanism is widely debated in the literature of business and management and social sciences. It is often seen as a solution to the problem of international employees’ maladjustment. The literature has predominantly examined the experiences of labour migrants and expatriates. In recent years, self-initiated foreign work experiences (SFE) have gained more relevance. Demographically, economically, socially and culturally, SFEs are situated in the “middle” between labour migrants and expatriates. Yet, concomitant discussions of a “middle” of cosmopolitanism and the exploration of everyday life of this middle cosmopolitanism have been rare. Conceptualising SFE processes is vital for a more holistic and effective understanding of international adjustment and cosmopolitanism.

To this end, the study provides an ethnography of SFEs’ everyday lives. In particular, it examines the backgrounds and current experiences of international employees (IEs) in India’s knowledge process offshoring (KPO) industry at work, at home and outside their homes. At work, IEs displayed and created attachments to their work, India and the local through their colleagues and friends. At home, IEs in different company apartments demonstrated various processes of sharing and learning despite cultural and linguistic differences. Outside their homes, IEs engaged in numerous leisure activities revealing IEs’ motivations and ways in which IEs adjusted.

The study offers two findings. Throughout their activities at work, homes and in India, IEs balanced emotions and reasons, negotiated the global and local and self-flexibility and externally required flexibility. IEs also engaged in friendships to various degrees. Both findings of IEs’ activities reveal complex dynamics of SFE adjustment and cosmopolitanism. The findings built the foundation for a new framework to understand SFE cosmopolitanism and international adjustment.
Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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The origins of this PhD lie before 2007 and go back to my BA and MSc. There were a number of people, who inspired me and significantly shaped my interests. In that respect I owe many thanks to John Zavos and Roger Ballard at Manchester as well as Geert de Neve, Meera Warrier, Nick Nisbett and Anne-Meike Fechter at Sussex. Beyond Manchester and Sussex, I am indebted to Mehdi Boussebaa, Nathalie Mitev and Helen Richardson.

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Finalement, mon grand plus merci va à Maxime Lemiere pour ‘being himself’, pour ses rires, son soutien et son amour! Amaaaaazing!
1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

“I don’t want to be “ex-patri”, but I want to be something different... it’s not like from France, then India, China, Chile, Philippines, Romania... doesn’t matter, because cosmopolitan is the best.”

Vincent, aged 27, employed for 2 years at Infosupply in Gurgaon

From July 2006 until July 2007, I worked as an international business analyst for Infosupply\(^1\) in Gurgaon. Infosupply was one of the leading companies in the newly emerging knowledge-process-offshoring industry and employed many international employees on local Indian contracts. Two things struck me during this time. The first was the diversity of my international colleagues and friends and the supposed strangeness of India. Indian staff and other visitors to the company would frequently highlight the diversity of the company’s international employees, and would remark upon how strange India must appear to us. However, to my international colleagues, friends and I - neither the “others” in our group nor India were particularly strange. Instead, we perceived India and our international colleagues and friends as different: not as an insurmountable, alienating difference, but rather in a challenging and inspiring way. Furthermore, the majority of us felt “at home”. The second thing was listening to my international colleagues’ aspirations for an international career and their cosmopolitanism, as Vincent stated above. They were talented, ambitious, curious and serious about their careers, but also interested in experiencing different countries. Moreover, they did so without the help of an international organisation, instead finding jobs for themselves. These two observations prompted me to conduct a literature review on adjustment and cosmopolitanism, and self-initiated international employees in business and management studies.

The literature review found that concepts of cosmopolitanism in the business and management literature seemed to vary from my and my former colleagues’ experience. The social sciences also only partially reflected our experiences. While we were classed as expatriates in India, we did not feel like this and certainly did not have their financial benefits. However, we were also not poor and did not resemble “labour migrants”. Exploring literature in International Human Resource Management (IHRM) categorised “us” as “undertaking self-initiated foreign work experience” (SFE) (Suutari and Brewster, 2000), and as part of an under-explored “middle” cosmopolitanism (Favell et al, 2007). During my time at Manchester Business School in July and August 2007, I wrote a research proposal to explore these different notions of adjustment and cosmopolitanism in the context of “middle SFEs” (cf. Favell et al, 2000; Suutari and Brewster, 2000) and returned to Gurgaon to participate in and observe the lifestyles of IEs in October 2007. This thesis is the result of another 10 months of fieldwork living in Gurgaon with other international employees from Infosupply, the analysis of fieldwork notes, pre-interview questionnaires, plus transcripts from semi-structured interviews.

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\(^1\) “Infosupply” is a pseudonym. Appendix 1 provides further information on my employment at Infosupply.
1.2 Research context

Globalisation, the global distribution of services, offshoring in India and the subsequent need for international employees provided the backdrop for the thesis. However, globalisation is a disputed term (Gupta et al., 2008; Held and McGrew, 2002; Perrons, 2004; Friedman, 2005) and is used here in the economic sense. Economically, the flow of products either in production or for consumption is centuries old (cf. Dunning, 1993; Gupta et al., 2008). What is new is the global distribution of the production of services, which has been facilitated by information and communication technology (ICT) and has created back-offices for service work in low-wage countries (Castells, 2002; Taylor and Bain, 2005). The new business models of the distributed production of services are called business process offshoring (BPO), and knowledge process offshoring (KPO). Within these, clients either build a captive unit of their own or contract the work to third-party national companies (UNCTAD, 2004) in order to take advantage of wage differentials and employees' skills in those countries.

India in particular has spawned these new business models and has benefited from them financially (UNCTAD, 2004; UNCTAD 2009). IT-BPO exports have reportedly grown from 12 billion USD in 2004 (UNCTAD, 2004) to USD 47.3 billion in 2009 (NASSCOM, 2009), reflecting a Compound Aggregate Growth Rate (CAGR) of 25.68 percent. These exports have contributed to India’s GDP and have shaped India’s reputation as an emerging economy (O’Neill, 2001; Wilson and Purushothanam, 2003; O’Neill et al., 2005). Moreover, in the last decade, the Indian service offering has become of increasingly higher value (PR Newswire Europe Ltd., 2006) and third-party vendors have outperformed captive units (Brown and Wilson, 2006). However, offshoring companies require skilled employees (NASSCOM-McKinsey, 2005, p. 16; Kaka, 2009, p. 19; NASSCOM, 2009) with the ability to relate to clients based in the UK, US and Europe. Next to repeated calls to reform India’s education sector, Indian companies have been reportedly recruiting international employees to all levels of the company hierarchy (Evalueserve, 2005; Anonymous, Economic Times, 2008). For international employees, India is increasingly a location in which to acquire skills (Witchalls, 2006) and to begin or nurture a global career (D’Monte and Shinde, 2008; Basu, 2010).

The concept of a global career can be organisationally or individually framed, as international employees can embark on a global career by being sent overseas by their employer (Mäkelä and Suutari, 2009) or by self-initiating their employment in a different country (Suutari and Mäkelä, 2007; Suutari and Taka, 2004). The IHRM literature classifies international employees subsequently as expatriates, with the subcategories of host-country national (HCN), third-country national (TCN) or parent-country national (PCN) (Harrison et al., 2004), self-initiated foreign work experience (SFE) (Suutari and Brewster, 2000) or overseas experience (OE).

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2 The abbreviation SFE stands for self-initiated foreign work experience (Suutari and Brewster, 2000). In this thesis, SFE is used as standing for self-initiated foreign/international employee and self-initiated foreign work experience (see List of Abbreviations).
There has been significantly more research on expatriates than on SFEs or OEs, since international assignments can be challenging and lead to “expatriate failure”.

“Expatriate failure” is the term denoting an international employee’s early return from, or inefficiency during, the assignment and incurs costs to the organisation (Harrison et al, 2004). Much of the literature has focused on exploring maladjustment in the international context. A number of different explanations for maladjustment, as well as recommendations for adjustment (Black, Mendenhall, 1991; Inkson et al, 1997; Harrison et al, 2004; Takeuchi, 2010) have been proposed. Areas commonly explored are the individual employee’s background and skills, as well as the work and non-work environment experienced during the international assignment.

In addition to exploring maladjustment, the literature has attempted to define what makes international employees successful and well adjusted. This has led to discussions on global leadership (Mendenhall et al, 2008), career capital (De Fillippi and Arthur, 1994; Inkson and Arthur, 2001; Suutari and Smale, 2008; Weenink, 2008), skills and flexibility (Felstead et al, 2007; Grugulis and Vincent, 2009; Swan and Fox, 2009), the global mindset (Osland, 2008, p. 4; cf. Levy et al, 2007) and cosmopolitanism (Ohmae, 1992; Kanter, 1995; Filou, 2007; Iniguez, 13 and 18 Sept 2006; Levy et al, 2007).

Cosmopolitanism is the underlying requirement for a successful global career, as will be illustrated in Chapter 3. The concept of cosmopolitanism, as expressed in popular writings and scholarly contributions to the business and management literature reveals a number of development areas, relating to concepts of global and local; individuals’ supposed detachment from the local; and the individuals’ identity as rational company people. The social sciences conceptualise cosmopolitanism on the basis of belonging: cosmopolitan subjects can be migrants as well as (but not exclusively) company people, and the social science literature identifies various ways in which cosmopolitanism expresses itself and draws on the local as well as the global. However, debates (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002) and empirical research in social science (Beaverstock, 2002; Moore, 2004; Walsh, 2006; Nowicka, 2006, 2007; Kennedy, 2004, 2010) require development. Social science literature has struggled to accommodate a mobile middle (Favell et al, 2007) and concomitant ways of attachment and detachment in everyday life (Ley, 2004). Furthermore, there is scant exploration of international employees’ lives at home, which may be crucial to employees’ adjustment to a new location. If brought together, the social science and business and management literature could provide a more holistic view on cosmopolitanism and international adjustment.

India is dominated by third-party vendors recruiting international employees to serve overseas clients. It further attracts international employees due to its growing economy. It is therefore a suitable location to gather insights into the adjustment of SFEs and an understanding of
cosmopolitanism. Moreover, understanding what makes successful SFEs yields insights into processes of adjustment and cosmopolitanism outside of organisationally framed work experiences and thus fills the three developmental areas outlined above.

1.3 Research questions

Running through the debates on maladjustment and the skills required for a successful global career are three issues: firstly, cosmopolitanism, is the underlying notion in the debates on a global mindset, global leadership and career capital, as will be discussed in Chapter 3; secondly, there is a lack of insight into individually motivated, non-organisationally assigned employees, which is outlined in Chapter 2; and thirdly, due to the lack of insights into SFEs, the information on adjustment and cosmopolitanism of SFEs is minimal.

This thesis examines theories of maladjustment and cosmopolitanism in the context of SFEs in India and aims to answer the following research questions:

1. To what extent does the business and management literature on cosmopolitanism adequately capture the experience of SFEs?
2. How does an internationally diverse group of SFEs adjust to working and living in India and what kind of cosmopolitanism does this reveal?

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 describe the backgrounds and surroundings of SFEs in India, analysing their practices and attitudes at work, and during their leisure time.

1.4 Methodology

International business, of which IHRM is a subsection, predominantly uses quantitative research methods, drawing on positivist epistemologies (Section 4.2). Similar to the literature on expatriates, the literature on SFEs uses mainly interviews and surveys drawing on concepts of expatriation research (Chapter 2, Section 2.4.2). By contrast, this thesis draws substantially on ethnographic methods of data collection and analysis. Ethnography has been chosen as a research method because it enables deeper insights into all aspects of adjustment, and provides a grounded understanding of cosmopolitanism. The prior knowledge and access of the author (as detailed at Appendix 1), enabled a rigorous research methodology to be adopted, drawing upon existing ethnographic and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis (Ellen, 1984; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; Fetterman, 1998; Denzin and Lincoln, 1998; Miles and Huberman, 1994). Data included observations, a pre-interview questionnaire to gather biographical and demographic data, semi-structured interviews and casual conversations. The oral and visual data was converted into text and analysed conceptually in three stages. Validity has been achieved through the three stages of analysis, during which the author was aware of her position, as well as emic and etic perspectives. Intracultural diversity and complexity of the findings added to the validity of the research. This research is also generalisable (Fetterman, 1998; Eriksen, 1995) to cases in the social sciences looking at
“middle” cosmopolitanism (Favell et al, 2007) and research on SFEs (Suutari and Brewster, 2000).

The outcome of this methodology is an in-depth understanding of the research participants’ background and current context in Gurgaon and at Infosupply (Chapter 5), as well as a close examination of adjustment and cosmopolitanism of IEs at work (Chapter 6), and in their leisure time (Chapter 7). Overall, this research provides insights into the dynamics of adjustment and cosmopolitanism of IEs and reveals the tensions between the local and the global, emotions and reasons, and flexibility and self-flexibility, which IEs may experience. These three tensions pervade IEs’ friendships. Together, these three tensions and friendships, are crucial to IEs adjustment and cosmopolitanism and reveal new aspects of SFE international adjustment and cosmopolitanism (Chapter 8, Section 8.3). The contributions of this research are theoretical, going beyond existing research in social sciences and the business and management literature; and practical in advising companies as well as future SFEs (Chapter 8, Section 8.4) of their potential experiences.

1.5 Outline of thesis

Following this introduction, the thesis consists of seven further chapters that will answer the research questions. There is a chapter about the concepts in IHRM (Chapter 2) and another outlining cosmopolitanism in the business and management literature and the social sciences (Chapter 3). Following these theoretical chapters is a chapter on ethnographic methodology (Chapter 4). This is followed by a descriptive chapter outlining IEs’ biographical and demographic characteristics, current experiences in Gurgaon, in their households and at Infosupply (Chapter 5). Finally, IEs’ experiences at work (Chapter 6) and during leisure time are examined (Chapter 7). The content and purpose of the research questions for each of these chapters will be outlined here briefly.

Chapter 2 introduces the economic development of India, and in particular examines trends in the Indian offshoring industry. Concepts of IHRM are introduced, to provide an understanding of employee classifications (expatriate, third-country-national, parent-country-national and self-initiated foreign work experience). Definitions of global careers (organisational, protean, boundaryless), are outlined, along with advantageous skills for the global career (global leadership skills, flexibility) and potential challenges during an international assignment (maladjustment). Chapter 2 finds that the emerging literature on SFEs draws upon concepts of expatriation research, and mainly examines employees in developed countries. Maladjustment models for SFEs also draw upon expatriation research (Peltokorpi and Fröse, 2009; Schyns and Howe-Walsh, 2010). In the light of observations gained in India, and the gaps within the IHRM literature, Chapter 2 establishes the need for further research on SFEs in emerging economies, and more importantly a need for understanding the processes of adjustment of SFEs (Research Question 2).
Chapter 3 examines the discourses of cosmopolitanism in the business and management literature and compares them with concepts of cosmopolitanism found in the social sciences. Points of critique in the business and management literature are often resolved by work in the social sciences. However, gaps remain in the insights into a mobile, middle cosmopolitanism. There has yet to be an integration of social science concepts of cosmopolitanism into the business and management literature and the non-rational motivations of international employees remain unexplored. This omission has prompted the research question on cosmopolitanism (Research Question 1).

In an attempt to develop concepts of cosmopolitanism and maladjustment further, Chapter 4 proposes an ethnographic methodology and outlines how this research project has benefited from participant observation, semi-structured interviews and a pre-interview questionnaire to arrive at the findings on SFE cosmopolitanism and adjustment in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Chapter 5 consequently describes the research participants’ backgrounds, living and working conditions. This establishes research participants as examples of self-initiated foreign employees and middle cosmopolitanism (Favell et al, 2007). It will be argued that their living conditions in Gurgaon and working conditions at Infosupply are microcosms of the emerging economy in India and of the global production of services. Chapter 6 will analyse the working conditions at Infosupply by exploring IEs’ practices and opinions. It will be shown that IEs’ cosmopolitanism is more reminiscent of that found in the social sciences. In Chapter 7, IEs’ leisure activities are explored, paying particular attention to on attitudes and practices within company allocated households and concomitant friendships.

Finally, Chapter 8 summarises the thesis and answers the research questions, discussing how the dynamics between the local and the global, emotions and reasons, and flexibility and self-flexibility pervade IEs’ friendships. This reveals more about the unique dynamics of SFE international adjustment and cosmopolitanism. Chapter 8 also outlines the contributions to theory and practice and proposes areas of future research.
2 International employees, careers and maladjustment in the global production of services

2.1 Introduction

This chapter begins by surveying the production of services and examining the offshoring industry in India. Assisted by the development of information and communication technologies (ICTs), India became a preferred location for the production of services in the 2000s. Since its inception, the offshoring industry in India has developed from business-process offshoring to knowledge-process offshoring. This means that services offered have become more complex and of higher value. However, the knowledge and talent required for these tasks has also increased. Due to persistent labour shortages in India as well as client demands for specific languages and expertise, the offshoring industry has looked for international professionals in recent years. International employees are attracted to India for international work experience in an emerging economy and/or as a location where they can pursue their intended career.

The introductory section is based upon the definition of globalisation as an economic construct for the facilitation of cross-border trade of goods and services. The main part of the chapter examines the discourse in international human resource management (IHRM) around career theory and international employees. International employees expect the international experience to contribute positively to their career. The different kinds of career as outlined in the IHRM literature are introduced in the third section with reference to global careers and global leadership. The fourth section discusses classifications for international employees and distinguishes between employees who were sent by a multi-national enterprise (MNE) and those who initiated their own international experience. The growing empirical evidence for self-initiated work experiences raises further questions and research areas. One of the difficulties for all international employees is maladjustment. Maladjustment is also an issue for companies, as expatriate failure is expensive (Harrison et al, 2004). Hence, the fifth section introduces prevalent models of mal/adjustment in the context of expatriates and examines the emerging literature in the case of SFEs before concluding this chapter with the sixth section.

2.2 Globalisation of the production of services, offshoring in India and demand for international professionals

Globalisation is a highly contested concept. Some argue that it is not new but has existed for a long time (globalization 1.0, globalization 2.0 and now globalization 3.0; Friedman, 2005; Kearney, 1995), while some see globalisation as a distinct development and delineate its outcomes in different ways (Gupta et al, 2008; Held and McGrew, 2002; Perrons, 2004; Friedman, 2005). Moreover, some scholars argue that the world is not being globalised, but Americanised (Held and McGrew 2002). This view encompasses notions of flows from West to East and North to South (Wallerstein, 1974) and implies a western/northern hegemony (Escobar, 1995). Gupta et al (2008) call the globalisation of goods “yesterday’s simple
globalization’ dominated by cross-border trade in raw materials and finished goods (ibid, p. 17). They define contemporary globalisation as “complex” (ibid, p. 17) and “growing economic interdependence among countries as reflected in increasing cross-border flows of three entities: goods and services, capital and know-how” (ibid, p. 5). Held and McGrew (2002) see globalisation as denoting “the expanding scale, growing magnitude, speeding up and deepening impact of transcontinental flows and patterns of social interactions” and acknowledge that “the unevenness of globalisation ensures it is far from an universal process experienced uniformly across the entire planet” (Held and McGrew, 2002, p. 1). Perrons defines globalisation, through the World Bank’s definition, as “the global circulation of goods, services and capital, but also of information, ideas and people” (Perrons, 2004, p. 1) and stresses that it is a “summary term for processes that require explanation not an analytical concept” (Perrons, 2004, p. 3). Perrons’ definition (2004) is similar to Gupta et al’s definition 2008), although Perrons (2004) discusses the unevenness of globalisation and is generally closer to the view of globalisation of Held and McGrew (2002). If globalisation in the 20th and 21st century exists (cf. Held and McGrew 2002), the commonalities between different views of globalisation are that it is driven by technology and means an increased flow of goods, services and people, leading to increased interdependence between countries and people (cf Gupta et al, 2008).

“Today’s ‘complex globalisation’ is characterised by “geographic dispersion of internal value chain activities coupled with cross-border trade in intermediate goods and services” (Gupta et al, 2008, p. 17) and is aided by ICT (Castells, 1996; Friedman 2005). Since the 1990s, businesses have increasingly internationalised the production of goods and services (Dunning, 1993; Friedman, 2005; Gupta et al, 2008). Yet Dunning (1993), described a variety of challenges for MNEs in the 1990s such as the “globalisation of service activities” (1993, p. 242 ff.) and found that only banking and financial services (BFSI) and trade-related services were internationalised (UNCTC 1988, in Dunning, 1993, p. 244). Castells observed that ICTs were responsible for the economic growth in regions such as South Asia (1996, p. 113). Friedman also observed that the world’s supposed flatness is driven by a number of political and innovative factors, one of them being the launch of the internet browser Netscape for public usage (2005, p. 60), which was followed by workflow software in the 1990s (ibid, pp. 77-93). Hence, ICTs enabled the spanning of geographic distances while reducing temporal constraints (Harvey, 2004; Castells, 1996) and contributed to the production, consumption and trade of services across borders (Gupta et al, 2008, p. 17).

### 2.2.1 Offshoring

Offshoring is one particular business model adopted in the trade of services (Friedman, 2005; UNCTAD, 2004; UNCTAD 2009). The UNCTAD describes offshoring as the following:

“Offshoring of services can be done in two ways: internally through the establishment of a foreign affiliate (sometimes called “captive offshoring”); or by outsourcing a service to a third-party service provider (“offshore outsourcing”).”

UNCTAD, 2004, p. XXIV
In essence, two prevalent business models in offshoring are “captive offshoring”, in which a geographically distant unit belongs to the company, which offshores the work, or third-party service providers, in which another company in a geographically distant location has been contracted to deliver the work. Outsourcing and offshoring are used interchangeably by many authors (Friedman, 2005, p. 127 and p. 137; Bartlett et al, 2008, p. 230; Sahay et al, 2003, pp. 2-3). The term “offshoring” will be used to describe both models and specify in each case whether the vendor-client relationship is captive or via a third party. The services offered in offshoring are categorised as IT and ICT-enabled services and include the following:

### Table 2-1 - Categories of services affected by offshoring

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service Category</th>
<th>Examples of Service Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IT Services</td>
<td>Programming, systems integration, application testing, IT infrastructure management and maintenance, IT consulting, software development and implementation services, data processing and database services, IT support services, data warehousing, and content management and development</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ICT-enabled services | • Front Office Services: Call centres and customer contact centres (inbound and outbound)  
                         • Back Office Services: Data entry, human resources, payroll, finance and accounting, procurement and transcription  
                         • KPO: Financial analysis, data mining, engineering, research and development, insurance claims processing, architectural design, remote education and publishing, medical diagnostics, journalism |

Source: UNCTAD, 2009, p. 74

India has benefitted from offshoring in terms of increased export revenues. Quantifying this benefit, the World Investment Report by the UNCTAD 2004 notes that:

“Export revenues are considerable, as exemplified by India, where exports of software and IT-enabled services grew from less than 0.5 Billion USD a decade ago to some 12 Billion USD in 2003-2004.”

UNCTAD, 2004, p. XXVI

Due to this growth rate, which exemplifies globalisation based on ICTs and characterises trade in goods and services, the next section will look at the example of India in more detail.

**Offshoring in India**

The 2009 Investment Report states that India took fifth place in a global ranking of “exporters of IT and ICT-enabled services” in 2007 (UNCTAD, 2009, p. 77) indicating that it was the most dynamic country in terms of ICT-enabled services exports (UNCTAD, 2009, p. 78). From 2004-2008 BPO held a global market share of 32-34 percent (UNCTAD, 2009, p. 82). The Indian National Association of Software and Services Companies (NASSCOM) stated that “IT-BPO exports (including hardware exports) reached USD 47.3 billion in FY2009 as against USD 40.9 billion in FY2008, a growth of 16 per cent” (NASSCOM, 2009). Compared to the export revenues of 12 billion USD reported by UNCTAD in 2004, 47.3 billion USD in 2009 demonstrates another significant increase. The trends of this growth will be the subject of this section.
Next to revenues, the consequences of the offshoring business model for India are threefold. Firstly, it enables small and medium private enterprises to participate in the global trade of services. These small and medium enterprises often outperformed non-Indian MNEs and developed into large businesses:

“Rapid upgrades in ICTs have reduced the cost of communication and increased the scope of operations so that relatively small companies can have business relationships and can address markets in different geographical domains.”

Sahay et al, 2003, p. 4

This challenges the view that companies have to be large and from developed countries (Sahay et al, 2003) in order to become global, and expands the traditional global strategies of companies (cf. Perlmutter, 1969; Bartlett and Ghoshal, 2008). In addition, offshoring models are either captive offshoring units or third-party vendors (UNCTAD, 2004). Since 2000, many new companies have been founded as a result of the offshoring trend. In 2008, these new companies (who are often third party vendors), exported 60 percent of their services to the US, 19 percent to the UK and the rest to Europe (NASSCOM, 2009). The Brown-Wilson survey of 2006 lists five Indian companies in the top ten of 50 best offshoring vendors; namely Satyam, Infosys, Patni, Tata Consulting Services and HCL Technologies (Brown and Wilson, 2006). They added that “the Indian IT outsourcing service sector has effectively challenged the dominance of the six global Goliaths” (Accenture, ACS, CSC, EDS, Hewlett Packard and IBM) (Brown and Wilson, 2006). Offshoring has enabled the participation of small companies in the global IT business and the data suggests that Indian third-party vendors consistently outperform captive units from client countries.

Secondly, India’s offshoring services have been moving “up the value chain” and have established innovative service offerings, such as KPO (see Tables 2.1 and 2.2) for instance:

“The concept of business process outsourcing (BPO [see Table 2.1]) [...] suggests software engineers rewriting arcane code in a technology park office in Bangalore, Beijing or some other in the developing world [...] That picture is now changing, as providers of BPO services move [...] toward higher-end services. Experts say these new trends are significant, and they will continue to grow over time. “Activities considered for offshoring have moved up the value chain and begun to touch core functions, such as highly analytical processes,” says Stefan Spohr, a principal in the financial institutions group of AT Kearney, a global management consulting firm in Chicago. “More complex customer services are substituting simple data processing and call centre activities.” Spohr adds that the higher-end functions being performed offshore these days include information research, financial portfolio analysis, customer data mining, statutory reporting and inbound insurance sales, among others.”

Anonymous, Knowledge@Wharton, 2003 [author’s insertion]

A few years later in 2006, the findings of a McKinsey study suggested that

“Although call centres are an important part of India’s service exports, many Indian BPO firms are moving up the business value chain. Architecture planning, engineering design, infrastructure management, and research and development (R&D) are the fastest growing areas of India’s service exports.”

Witchalls, 2006
Moreover, the “Black Book of Outsourcing 2006” ranks the top five in document process offshoring (DPO), KPO and legal process offshoring (LPO) as predominantly Indian third-party vendors:

Table 2.2 - Excerpt from the Black Book of Outsourcing 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LPO</th>
<th>KPO</th>
<th>DPO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Integreon</td>
<td>1. Integreon</td>
<td>1. RR Donnelley/Office Tiger/Astron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Pangea3</td>
<td>2. Evalueserve</td>
<td>2. Integreon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. RR Donnelley</td>
<td>3. Adventity</td>
<td>3. Datamatics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Merrill Corporation</td>
<td>5. EXL Service/Inductis</td>
<td>5. Williams Lea</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: PR Newswire, 2006

This move to offshore more complex tasks to India indicates that offshoring is not only a cost-cutting exercise for many MNEs, but is a strategic business model:

“'business process offshoring is not merely a way to reduce cost by migrating core functions' [adds Spohr of AT Kearney.] ‘It is also a strategic initiative to take advantage of technological advances and the human capital available offshore to fundamentally restructure an organisation’s operating model.’”
Anonymous, Knowledge@Wharton, 2003

With this, AT Kearney analysts see that companies’ decisions for offshoring are driven by “technological advances” as well as “human capital”, acknowledging that offshoring can assist innovation:

“'What we see is that clients, particularly in the UK, look to India, not so much as a source for lower labour costs, but for innovation,’ [says Matzke.] 'This is particularly true for the BPO area where Indian firms are now developing specific niche skills that are becoming much more scalable.'”
Witchalls, 2006

Acknowledging India’s offshoring industry as an area for innovation is an indicator that the offshoring industry in India has moved up the value chain in recent years.

Thirdly, India is an emerging economy, illustrated through export revenues, domestic sales, and direct and indirect employment. It is recognised as a place for production as well as consumption (Wilson and Purushothanam, 2003; O’Neill et al, 2005; UNCTAD, 2009; cf. Chapter 5, Sections 5.3 and 5.4). In 2009, NASSCOM reported that the export destinations and clients of the Indian offshoring industry are the USA with 60 per cent and the UK with 19 per cent in 2008, but acknowledged that the “footprint is steadily expanding to other geographies - with exports to Continental Europe in particular growing at a Compound Annual Growth Rate of more than 51 per cent over FY2004-2008” (NASSCOM, 2009). In addition to this, the domestic market in India reached USD 24.3 billion in 2008, having grown at 5.3 per cent since 2007. Direct employment in the Indian IT sector stands at 2.2 million while indirect employment was estimated to have reached 8 million in 2008 (NASSCOM, 2009). Together, export revenues, domestic sales, and indirect and direct employment created a centre for production (cf. Gupta et
al., 2008, p. 237ff) as well as a market for consumption (e.g. Friedman, 2005). The growth of India’s national economy meant that it was included in the category of emerging economies, the BRICs (Brazil, Russia, India and China; Wilson and Purushothaman, 2003; O’Neill et al, 2005).

In summary, offshoring is the geographical relocation of parts of the production of services and is executed by either captive units of MNEs or third-party vendors. Indian offshoring has shown three trends. Firstly, the companies involved in offshoring range in size from small to large, and the largest companies are predominantly Indian third-party vendors rather than captive units of non-Indian companies. Secondly, since its beginning, the offshoring industry has moved up the value chain and diversified into legal process offshoring (LPO), document process offshoring (DPO) and KPO. With these higher-value services, India is recognised as being a strategic location for many MNEs for cost-cutting, technological advances, human capital and innovation. Thirdly, offshoring has been one of the drivers behind India’s economic growth as a nation through export revenues, domestic sales, and direct and indirect employment. This economic growth contributed to India’s recognition as an emerging economy and inclusion in Goldman Sachs’ influential study on the BRICs (Wilson and Purushothaman, 2003; O’Neill et al, 2005). Finally, this overview has conveyed that India’s development relies on exports and that client countries require certain kinds of knowledge to meet their expectations. Hence, knowledge services and innovations depend on human capital, which the next section examines.

The need for and shortage of suitable human resources in offshoring
Next to technological advances, human capital is one of the key factors for India’s growth (Anonymous, Knowledge@Wharton, 2003). NASSCOM lists the number of “knowledge professionals employed in the Indian IT-BPO sector” as follows:

Table 2-2 - Knowledge professionals employed in the Indian IT-BPO sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Services</th>
<th>FY 2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IT Exports and Services Exports</td>
<td>946 809</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BPO Exports</td>
<td>789 806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Market</td>
<td>500 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2 236 614</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:NASSCOM, 2009

As reflected in the revenues generated by the offshoring industry, these figures show that the majority of offshoring employees work in the exporting market. Further, NASSCOM found that one of India’s assets was its

“Availability of skilled talent has been India’s foremost attraction as a global sourcing country. India’s graduate outturn has more than doubled in the past decade, with addition of 3.7 Million graduates in FY2010, a scale unmatched by any other country. While some gaps in talent suitability exist, they are being addressed through strong provider-level initiatives and industry-led programmes.”

NASSCOM, 2009, p. 7
However, NASSCOM’s analysis in 2009 ignored the findings of its previous report as well as those of other industry observers, which stressed that the biggest hurdle to India’s growth continued to be the availability of employable talent. According to McKinsey, the talent shortage might still impact on India’s market share in 2020, which has been predicted to fall due to competitor countries’ talent pool and India’s inability to match competitors:

“But the country’s share could sink to 40 percent by 2020, from just over 50 percent at the end of 2008, primarily as a result of increased competition from other countries, talent and infrastructure constraints, and an unhelpful regulatory environment.”

Kaka, 2009, p. 19

Kaka’s assessment is congruent with a report by NASSCOM and McKinsey from 2005, which showed that India faced a talent shortage, as only 25 percent of its graduates were employable in MNEs:

“Currently only about 25 percent of technical graduates and 10-15 percent of general college graduates are suitable for employment in the offshore IT and BPO industries respectively. As countries from around the world enter the market and competition for offshoring contracts intensify, India must improve the quality and skills of its workforce. For instance, the country lacks large numbers of workers who are fluent in French, German, Japanese, and Spanish, making China and Eastern Europe more attractive offshoring destinations for Japanese and Western European companies, respectively.”

NASSCOM-McKinsey, 2005, p. 16

As this quote shows, the availability of multilingual staff to serve different client locations was a prime concern. One of the leading KPO firms (Black Book of Outsourcing, 2006), Evalueserve, echoed this statement based on its own study:

“There will be a potential demand for over 160,000 foreign language professionals in the Indian offshoring (IT, BPO and KPO) industry by 2010. [… ] These professionals are required to address the demand for language-sensitive work that can potentially be offshored from Continental Europe and the Far East. [… ] While the IT industry will account for nearly 50 percent of this demand, the BPO and KPO segment are expected to account for the remaining 50 percent. […] However, there could be supply-side constraints on the number of trained language professionals available in India to meet this demand. According to the report, not more than 40,000 Indians with foreign language specialisation will qualify to meet this requirement. Hence, India provides a huge potential for foreigners who have now begun to consider India as an attractive destination for job opportunities. Professionals from all over the world, especially Continental Europe, are beginning to relocate to India to work in IT and BPO companies. The factors, which typically draw foreign professionals to take up assignments in India, are not just exciting compensation packages but also a comfortable lifestyle and multiple growth options. […] This trend of reverse brain gain has already started, with companies like Evalueserve, Progeon [NB Infosys since 2006], Tecnovate, and EXL already recruiting many foreign professionals.”

Evalueserve, 2005 [author’s insertion]

Evalueserve’s study highlights the gap between demand for and supply of suitable talent and highlights the trend of filling this gap through the recruitment of talent internationally. Since 2005, increasing the availability of suitable personnel has been a priority in India. Overall, although the Indian offshoring industry requires suitable talent, the availability of suitable talent has been debated.
**International professionals in India’s offshoring industry**

One solution to the lack of suitable talent has been, as Evalueserve (2005) described above, the recruitment of International employees from client countries. Many Indian offshoring companies have pursued this strategy. Moreover, non-Indian employees viewed employment in India as complementing their CVs and skills and allowing them to circumvent a slow labour market in their countries of origin.

In April 2008, the cover story of the All India Management Association magazine “Indian Management” discussed what it called the “brain gain” of international professionals in India. The article quoted recent research by the company Credence Research and Analytics, which set the number of expatriates in India at “40,000, of which 15 per cent are in top leadership roles” (D’Monte and Shinde, 2008). Infosys, Tata Consultancy Services and Wipro have all recruited international employees directly on campuses in the UK and US (D’Monte and Shinde, 2008). Furthermore,

> “Infosys Technologies, Tata Consultancy Services (TCS), and HCL Technologies, Tech Mahindra, Patni, iGate, iFlex, Mphasis and Moser Baer have at least one foreigner sitting on their boards.”
> D’Monte and Shinde, 2008

International employees are increasingly interested in working in India, as it is seen as a good career move: “India […] has become a prestigious location for overseas IT professionals as exposure to the country is increasingly perceived to embellish the CV” (D’Monte and Shinde, 2008). The enhancement of the CV is particularly useful, since the profiles sought by BPO and KPO industries are becoming more complex:

> “While the BPOs prefer recruiting a language graduate, other skills are priority for a KPO. The KPOs prefer recruiting natives or a person with Masters degree in the language”
> Anonymous, Economic Times, 1 June 2008

In 2010, India became a favoured destination for skilled professionals hit by the European and US job market slowdown:

> “The slowdown in the West has driven many foreign professionals to seek career opportunities in the Asian countries. India has always been a work destination in the region for the past decade or so, but lately, the country is emerging as favorite for foreign professionals due to its growing and resilient economy as well for its English-speaking abilities. […] While growth opportunities on the career front were always existent for foreign professionals, over the last few years the Indian economy has reached a point that offers many exciting opportunities for particularly foreign professionals,” said R. Suresh, the Mumbai-based managing director of Stanton Chase, a global executive search consultancy.”
> Basu, 2010 [sic]

Basu comments on the trend that foreign professionals stay in India and build their lives and careers there. Most early-career professionals aim to increase their skills and use India for learning and development while paying the price of a low income and hard work for a few years (Kazim, 2007). More opportunities at their job are then an advantage and prepare international
professionals for leadership roles such as Chief Information Officer (CIO). The skills required for a CIO role include country experience in India:

“Aside from business opportunities, CIOs cannot afford to ignore India and China in terms of career development. Simon La Fosse, head of the CIO practice at international recruitment consultancy Harvey Nash says the ability to do business in these economies is now seen as a core skill.”

Witchalls, 2006

In summary, while Indian offshoring might lack suitable talent (NASSCOM, 2009; Kaka, 2009), it has turned to recruiting non-Indian employees to the offshoring industry, including in management positions. From an employee’s perspective, work experience in India is a valuable addition to their CV and is especially useful for leadership roles. The following section will draw upon literature in IHRM to understand concepts around international employment.

2.3 Different types of careers

Hall (1976) defined a career as

“the individually perceived sequence of attitudes and behaviors associated with work-related experiences and activities over the span of the person’s life.”

Hall, 1976, p. 4 [sic]

Arthur et al. define a career as “the evolving sequence of a person’s work experience over time” (Arthur et al, 1989, p. 8). IHRM Literature distinguishes between four categories of careers: the organisational, protean, boundaryless and the global. The global career can encompass the former three types of careers. Noteworthy in the four concepts are the role of the organisation and the individual. Organisation and individual represent the two ends of a continuum along or between which individuals move. This section will examine these concepts in turn.

2.3.1 Organisational, protean and boundaryless careers

The organisational career is defined by the organisation and seen as three-dimensional depending on the “moves a person might make inside the organisation”:

“Vertical – moving up or down represents one’s rank or level in the organization;
Radial – moving more (or less) “inside” in the system, becoming more (or less) central, part of the “inner circle” acquiring increased (or decreased) influence in the system;
Circumferential – transferring laterally to a different function, program, or product in the organization.”

Schein, 1971 in Hall, 1976, p. 59

This definition relies on an employee moving within an organisation. It also presumes that the employee stays at one company for a long period of time. Today, the organisational career is still applicable, but has changed in character to accommodate the different geographical spread of a company and the employees’ turnover (Scullion et al, 2007, p. 310). Within organisations, employees are called human resources and are strategically placed to fulfil the organisation’s objectives (Bartlett et al, 2008). Harzing and Ruysseveldt describe how business models influence MNE staffing requirements (2004; p. 48 in relation to Bartlett and Ghoshal, 2000 and p. 59 and p. 252 in relation to Perlmutter’s distinctions). Generally, expatriates are supposed to
enhance “local responsiveness”, “global integration of the MNC” or to develop a “learning and innovation organisation” (Bartlett and Ghoshal: 2008). As organisations change, the organisational career of employees also changes.

In addition to the organisational career, Hall (1976) speculated in the 1970s that there would be an increasing number of protean careers. Hall defines the protean career as

“a process, which the person, not the organisation is managing. […] The protean person’s own personal career choices and search for self-fulfilment are the unifying or integrative elements in his or her life.”

Hall, 1976, p. 20

Hall’s definition remains relevant, because it is still debated theoretically (Briscoe and Hall, 2006) and explored empirically (Crowley-Henry, 2008, Section 2.4.2). In contrast to the organisational career, protean careers are more focused on the individual and greater importance is placed upon “attitudes, identity and adaptability” (Hall, 1976, p. 202). Hall stresses that, along with greater freedom, the protean career requires greater responsibility, which in turn may increase feelings of insecurity and failure (ibid, p. 203). For MNEs, this development requires increased flexibility and diversity (Hall, 1976 p. 203). Briscoe and Hall (2006) add that the protean career attitude can manifest itself to greater or lesser degrees (ibid, p. 6). In that sense, a protean career is “value driven” and “self-initiated” (Briscoe and Hall, 2006, p. 8). The combination of value and initiative reveals the protean career as “dependent”, “reactive”, “rigid” or “protean/transformational” (ibid, p. 8 and p. 9). Within the protean career the individual is changing and is “morphing” (Crowley-Henry, 2008) for their own sake, rather than that of the organisation.

The boundaryless career is seen as the “opposite of organisational careers - careers conceived to unfold in one employment setting” (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996, p. 5). The “boundaryless career” is “typically associated with careers that transcend organisational boundaries” (Briscoe and Hall, 2006, p. 1). Yet Inkson stresses that the “protean career” is the opposite of the “organisational career” and that the concept of the “boundaryless career” arose in the context of a restructuring of General Electric (Inkson, 2006, p. 57). The boundaryless career concept was subsequently reified in a symposium at the Academy of Management conference about “the boundaryless organisation” in 1993 and resulted in a special issue of the Journal of Organizational Behaviour in 1994, expanded into a book by Arthur and Rousseau (1996), who defined the concept as opposed to the organisational career:

“The term boundaryless distinguishes our concept from the previous one—the ‘bounded,’ or organizational career. That view saw people in orderly employment arrangements achieved through vertical coordination in mainly large, stable firms.”

Arthur and Rousseau, 1996, p. 3 and in Inkson, 2006, p. 57

Inkson’s research shows the development of the concept. The concept of the boundaryless career seems not to refer to a lack of boundaries per se but to enable companies to attract flexible employees and make a virtue and necessity of this required flexibility (Halsall, 2009).
Organisational membership, departmental identity and job duties become more ambiguous (Briscoe and Hall, 2006, p. 6). DeFillippi and Arthur stress that “career paths may involve sequences of job opportunities that go beyond the boundaries of single environment settings” (1996, in Arthur and Rousseau, 1996, p. 116). Contrary to traditional career progression, which relied on loyalty to the organisation, stability and accumulation, the boundaryless career is marked by “cumulative career competencies, [which] are embodied in people’s beliefs and identities (knowing-why), skills and knowledge (knowing-how) and networks of relationships and contacts (knowing-whom)” (DeFillippi and Arthur in Arthur and Rousseau, 1996, p. 126). Hence, psychological and physical mobility are necessary for the boundaryless career (Sullivan and Arthur, 2006, p. 20) and are two dimensions for measuring the boundaryless career (ibid, p. 22).

The differences between the protean career and the boundaryless career are debatable. Briscoe and Hall remark that the “two concepts have been used almost synonymously” (2006, p. 7). However, the “protean career” was “originally conceptualised as a direct antithesis to the organisational career”, while the “boundaryless career” (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996) is a result of concepts such as the “boundaryless organisation” initiated by General Electric CEO Jack Welch (Inkson, 2006, p. 57; Tams and Arthur, 2010, p. 629). Hence, while the protean career seems like a movement away from the traditional organisation, the boundaryless career is a move along with a new form of organisation. Its discourse of responsibility and flexibility seem to serve the organisation more than the employee. However, due to the “cumulative career competencies […] knowing-why, knowing-how and […] knowing-whom” (DeFillippi and Arthur in Arthur and Rousseau, 1996, p. 126), the individual is more flexible and perhaps subverts the concept of flexible career into a protean career for her/his benefit.

2.3.2 Global careers

Organisational, protean and boundaryless careers are not necessarily global careers. However, expatriation or SFEs contribute towards a global career. This section discusses two definitions of global career and examines the concept of global leadership.

Two conceptions of the global career

The global career has been conceptualised in two ways. The first conception centres on the organisational responsibilities of the employee and focuses on the centrality of the international element over the long term (Mäkelä and Suutari, 2009, p. 994). This literature focuses on global leadership and the responsibilities of managers (Mäkelä and Suutari, 2009; see also Cappellen and Janssens, 2005; Gregersen et al, 1998; Black and Gregersen, 2000). Since organisational responsibilities within an MNE are key to this career, this approach is reminiscent of the organisational career. Global managers are prepared to

“handle the necessary global integration and co-ordination activities within companies – either in headquarters, area headquarters or in top positions in foreign affiliates.”

Suutari, 2003, p. 186
Moreover, Suutari stresses the differences between the “once-in-a-lifetime” international assignment, which ends with repatriation, and a commitment to a global career, which is lived by “so-called global managers who are committed to international careers for a longer term” (Suutari, 2003, p. 185). Similar, Black and Gregersen (2000) emphasise the difference between domestic and global leadership as the following:

“A domestic leader needs only to put his mind around one country, limited cultural paradigms, one political system, and one set of labor laws. A global leader must stretch his/ her mind to encompass the entire world with hundreds of countries, cultures, and business contexts.”

Black and Gregersen, 2000, p. 174 [sic]

Building a global mindset is a central component in developing global leaders:

“Developing global leaders is a far more complicated challenge than can be tackled with ‘a little bit of training’. It takes time and dedication on the part of the individuals and the company. Much of what global leaders need is a new mindset – a set of global mental maps. Properly designed training can indeed facilitate this remapping process.”

Black and Gregersen, 2000, p. 183

Next to “properly designed training”, Suutari (2003) highlights that international assignments are now viewed as part of global management development. This approach to global careers focuses firstly on the role of the organisation, secondly on the frequency and commitment to a global career through training (Black and Gregersen, 2000) and repeated international assignments (Suutari, 2003) and thirdly, sees “global managers” as the main protagonists of global careers.

The second conception of the global career (ibid, p. 994) examines career anchors (Suutari and Taka, 2004) as well as the impact of several international experiences (Suutari and Mäkelä, 2007). In this conception, the role of the organisation is diminished. This approach defines a career as global “if it involves frequent international relocations” because it “indicates a more permanent commitment to working in an international environment” but “involves periods back in the home country between assignments” (Suutari and Mäkelä, 2007, pp. 644-645). The second approach can be within an organisation as well as part of a boundaryless or protean career for individual reasons (cf. Peltokorpi and Fröse, 2009; Biemann and Andresen, 2010; see section 2.3.2).

Both of these conceptions have gathered contributions in special issues in the Journal of Management Development (2004), the Thunderbird International Business Review (2004), the Personnel Review (2005) and the Journal of World Business (2005). The first three focused on issues surrounding expatriation of organisationally sent employees, which suggests a concern with examining global careers from the organisational perspective. By contrast, the Journal of World Business (2005) examined self-directed expatriates (Richardson and Mallon, 2005; Myers and Pringle, 2005; Vance, 2005) and reworked the view of global careers as national brain drain into talent flow (Carr et al, 2005). In that sense, it takes an individual perspective
In summary, a global career is defined as one conducted within an organisation with leadership roles as a central component or as a series of relocations involving different countries and companies including the home country, with a minor role for the organisation and an emphasis on the individual. Development of the individual's leadership skills during the global career is seen as the responsibility of the organisation in the first definition and of the individual in the second definition.

**Global leadership**

Explicit in the definition of a global career within an organisation is the concept of global leadership, which is linked to the business models of companies. Models of MNEs in International Business (e.g. Bartlett et al, 2008; Gupta et al, 2008) stress, that people drive companies. Employees must ensure that “their company leads the industry in identifying market opportunities worldwide” and pursue them. They are expected to “work relentlessly to convert the global presence into global competitive advantage”, “cultivate a global mindset” (2008, p. 3) and “in developing their global strategies, people must take full account of rapid growth of emerging markets, in particular the rise of China and India” (2008, p. 4). Yet the crucial difference between leaders and global leaders seems to lie in the fact that global companies require “future leaders who have global leadership abilities” (Mendenhall et al, 2001, p. 1). The delineation of competencies and characteristics of global leadership has been difficult, as Mendenhall et al stated in 2001 (ibid, p. 2). By 2008, Mendenhall et al defined global leaders as individuals:

“who effect significant positive change in global organisations by building communities through the development of trust and the arrangement of organisational structures and processes in a context involving multiple stakeholders, multiple cultures under conditions of temporal, geographical and cultural complexity.”

Mendenhall et al, 2008, p. 17

Critical to developing global leadership skills are expatriation (Aykan, 2008, in Mendenhall et al, 2008, pp. 119-136), the ability to work in teams, and to use synergy effects between different team members (Stumpf and Zeutschel, 2008 in Mendenhall et al, 2008, pp. 175- 196). In addition, scholars have stressed the importance of training to develop skills (Black and Gregersen, 2000). Osland (2009) suggests five competencies which should be fostered in students aiming to become global leaders (2009, p. 4): collaborating, discovering, architecting, systems thinking and sense-making. The resultant global mindset is a key aspect of global leadership and is defined as cosmopolitanism (Osland, 2008, p. 4; cf. Levy et al, 2007). Osland points towards the cultural variants expressed in the GLOBE projects as a starting point to understand cultural differences.
The “Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness” (GLOBE) research group at Thunderbird Business School published the findings of ten years of research under chief researcher Mansour Javidan (2006). Its study of 62 societies developed 9 dimensions along which countries were categorised into ten regional clusters (Javidan et al, 2006, pp. 69-70 and 86-88). In order to navigate these differences, the GLOBE project then developed six leadership dimensions in line with the “culturally endorsed leadership theory” (CLT):

- Charismatic / value-based
- Team-oriented
- Participative
- Humane-oriented
- Autonomous
- Self-protective

This approach is similar to Hofstede’s five dimensions of culture. It provides one way to structure and apply training, and to measure positive outcomes. It is also supposed to assist companies in recruiting the right global leaders. Yet it remains questionable how helpful an understanding of “leadership dimensions” are for the development of global leadership skills.

**Skills and Flexibility**

Concomitant to global careers are skills and flexibility as they facilitate changes between jobs, careers and countries and are seen as highly desirable by both employing organisations and employees for different reasons. This section examines the notion of skills and flexibility from organisational and self-flexibility from the employee perspective.

From the perspective of companies, employees’ skills are the crucial component of employees’ labour power (Thompson and Smith, 2007, p. 257). In particular, companies distinguish between generic and soft skills, which include “communication, adaptability and cooperativeness; often associated with the relentless rise in service work” (ibid, p. 257). In 1991, Gallie examined upskilling, deskillling or a polarisation of skills among a sample of employees from 1981 to 1986. While deskillling was not perceived as an issue for employees, the need for upskilling was a more frequent perception, and employees were expected to diversify their skillset (Gallie, 1991, p. 349). An updated study on trends in skills in Britain from 1986-2006 found that the level of skills required as well as the time to learn and train for jobs has increased (Felstead et al, 2007, p. 53). The need to learn at work has also increased (Felstead et al, 2007, p. 70 and 93). For employees the increased need for skills has two concomitant issues: the acquisition of skills through qualifications and the reward for skills.

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3 These are performance orientation, assertiveness, future orientation, humane orientation, institutional collectivism, in-group collectivism, gender egalitarianism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance (Javidan et al, 2006, pp. 69-70).

4 In fact, Hofstede criticised the GLOBE project for being too abstract and for equating national cultures with organisational cultures (2006) and Javidan et al replied defending the GLOBE project (2006). This is not the focus of this review, but misgivings about Hofstede’s dimensions of culture have been expressed by McSweeney (2002), Baskerville (2003) and Baskerville-Morley (2005). Similar criticisms could be levied against the GLOBE project.
In connection with the global distribution of service work (see section 2.1), employees’ skills must include self-flexibility inside as well as across/between companies and countries. From an organisational perspective, flexibility is required within the organisation for the purpose of innovation (Lund and Gjerding, 1996) and staffing (Kalleberg et al, 2003), especially within multinational companies (Cieri and Dowling, 2006 in Stahl and Björkmann, 2006, pp. 15-36). As Swan and Fox note

“flexibility has been used to cover activities such as the design of organisational structures, flexible production, virtual teams, matrix management and project management […], a number of contemporary human resource management practices […and…] the ideal type of worker subjectivity and embodiment, sometimes referred to as ‘mindset’ or ‘capability’, that fits in with or supports these other forms of flexibility.”

Swan and Fox, 2009, p. S149

Swan and Fox’s three uses of the term “flexibility” cover its connotations from an organisational point of view. While employee flexibility is desired by companies to facilitate staffing, too much flexibility is seen as a threat. Flexibility may be viewed as a soft skill and part of labour power; which “is a special commodity unlike fixed capital or raw materials because i. it is embodied within human beings, ii. it cannot be stored or banked; and iii. it has to be extracted through control and consent in “effort or wage bargains” over the sale of labor power as the unique property of the worker” (Thompson and Smith, 2007, p. 257 [sic]). Hence, flexibility can be a benefit or a threat to organisations.

For employees, flexibility is called self-flexibility (Swan and Fox, 2009, p. S149) and its acquisition and reward are as controversial as the acquisition and reward of skills. Swan and Fox find that the ways in which employees become flexible are much debated (Sennett, 1998; McRobbie, 1999) and yet under-researched (ibid, p. S149). Given that organisations require flexibility, but can be threatened by it if they lose it, employees are treading a fine line and need to adopt individual strategies to navigate organisational requirements. In the case of geographically flexible academics, institutional constraints (Richardson, 2009, p. S168), as well as suspicions about transnational quality (ibid, p. S166), inhibit the flexibility of employees (see also Richardson and Zikic, 2007). Yet Richardson (2009), found that the academic requires a surplus of individual initiative, which suggests that “some academics adopt a ‘proactive’ and/or ‘maintenance’ approach whereas others revert to more ‘transformative’ and/or ‘subversive’ approaches” (ibid, p. S168 [sic]). For global managers, flexibility can result in a lack of trust from their employees (Banai and Reisel, 1999, p. 483) as shared nationality can enhance trust based on personal similarity arising from “ethnicity” (ibid, p. 485). These examples show that, despite organisational demands for flexibility, self-flexibility can institutionally hindered (Richardson, 2009) and inhibited by interpersonal differences (Banai and Reisel, 1999).

To summarise, jobs now require increasingly more skills, higher qualifications and time for on-the-job learning (Felstead et al, 2007, p. 70 and p. 93). Organisations also increasingly expect flexibility, whilst not rewarding employees’ flexibility adequately. Employees must also become more self-flexible. How employees acquire self-flexibility and navigate organisational needs for
flexibility is relevant in the context of global careers. There is a complex interdependence between organisations and the individual. Yet, although scholars have hinted at the importance of individual employees, the literature largely focuses on the experience of organisationally framed employees, revealing a need to understand individually driven employees.

2.4 International employees

To understand the individuals’ side of the global career, it is necessary to examine different types of international employee. The first section will introduce employees sent overseas by their organisation and classed as “expatriates”. The next section discusses the concepts of self-initiated work experiences, which are motivated by individuals. SFEs are a growing phenomenon in the study of transnational employees and have been called to be explored repeatedly. Examining recent empirical research into SFEs raises a number of questions.

2.4.1 Expatriates, TCNs, PCNs, HCNs, inpatriates and flexpatriates

Expatriates can be defined as “employees of business organizations, who are sent overseas on a temporary basis to complete a time-based task or accomplish an organizational goal” (Harrison et al, 2004, p. 203). The purposes of the expatriation can be structure reproduction, trouble-shooting, strategic or high profile assignments (Hays, 1974) and more generally in technical and managerial assignments (Harrison et al, 2004, p. 206). Lengths of expatriation can vary from short-term, which is defined as six months to one year, to five years (Harrison et al, 2004, p 205). Mayerhofer et al (2004, p. 1375) also identify ‘international commuter’ and frequent flyer assignments ranging from those done on a weekly basis to frequent unscheduled trips abroad of up to six months as new IHRM tools and categorise them as “flexpatriates”.

The category “expatriate” can be divided according to origin (Harrison et al, 2004, p. 203; Mayerhofer et al, 2004) into

- parent-country nationals (PCN)
- inpatriates
- third-country nationals (TCN)
- host-country nationals (HCN)
- flexpatriates

Parent-country nationals originate in the country of the company’s headquarter. Inpatriates move from a subsidiary to the headquarter. Third-country nationals are nationals of a third country other than that of the headquarter or the subsidiary. Host-country nationals stem from the country of the subsidiary and also work there.

In their survey, Harrison et al (2004, p. 204) found that articles about inpatriates and TCNs are seldom, but that over 95 percent of approximately 60 articles surveyed used the terms PCNs and expatriates interchangeably. Hence, the quintessential expatriate is the “parent-country national”, who spent some or substantial time in her/his organisation’s headquarter and then
transferred to a subsidiary in another country (Hays, 1974; Fukuda and Au, 2002; Peterson, 2003; Vance, 2005). The literature tends to concentrate on the experiences of managers as the survey of articles by Harrison et al found. 72 percent of articles focus on managers and expatriation research stresses predominantly their experience (ibid, p. 206). Expatriation is seen as a way of preparing global managers (Suutari, 2003) for global careers within an organisation.

Yet the focus on organisationally sent and framed international employees seems to contradict the increasing emphasis on the individual in the discourses on the “boundaryless” and “protean” career. Furthermore, despite the literature’s focus on expatriates, Bonache, Suutari and Brewster pointed out that “foreign work experiences” are much more diversified (2001, p. 7).

### 2.4.2 Overseas experience (OE) and self-initiated foreign work experience (SFE)

Employment outside the country of birth and upbringing is taken up by seekers of OE (Inkson et al, 1997) or SFE (Suutari and Brewster, 2000), also called self-assigned expatriates (SEs; Jokinen, Brewster and Suutari, 2008).

Inkson et al (1997) describe the phenomena of seekers of “the overseas experience”, which includes early-career employees who are not yet fixed in their career path. The OE differs from organisationally framed expatriation in a number of ways (Table 2.3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2-3 - Contrasting qualities of expatriate assignment and overseas experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Initiation</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career type</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research literature</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


In particular, Inkson et al (1997) highlight that the overseas experience is characterised by individual development for the purpose of a “boundaryless career” (see 2.3.1). The OE is not purely career-oriented but also a product of recreational and social motivations (ibid. p. 358). It can support a number of themes such as “casting off negative past legacies, finding occupational identity, developing self-confidence, returning with a clearer career focus and increased interest in self-employment” (ibid, p. 364).

Suutari and Brewster (2000) researched SFEs from Finland and found that they are taken up by people in their early career stage as well as by more experienced employees (Suutari and Brewster, 2000, p. 419). Looking at individual backgrounds, current tasks and employer
situations (ibid, pp. 422 – 429) led them identify the following characteristics in comparison to expatriates:

Table 2-4 - Special characteristics of SFEs in comparison to expatriates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Individual variables</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Slightly younger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• More singles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• More females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Spouses work abroad more commonly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Employer and task variables</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Work more often in Europe, although can also be found in distant areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Organisation typically a foreign private company or an international organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Organisations less international</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Project organisation more typical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Temporary contracts more typical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• On average work in lower organizational levels with expert-status more common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Work less often in managerial and marketing functions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Conflicts related to job description less common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Motivation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Interest in internationalism more common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Poor employment situation more common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Repatriation and future career</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Typically the company has not promised a job after repatriation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Some have no plan to return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Repatriation agreement less commonly made prior to departure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Less optimistic that international work experience is valued</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• More willing to accept another working period abroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• More willing to accept more permanent stay abroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Compensation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Negotiations were easier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• High variations in net salary levels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Overseas premium and education/housing allowances less common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Performance-based bonus less common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Assignment and travel insurance less common</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Suutari and Brewster, 2000, p. 429

In comparison to expatriates, SFEs appear to be younger, single, and more likely to be female. SFEs’ employers are more likely to be project-based, and not international companies. An SFE’s position is more likely to be of a lower rank in the organisation, limited to a temporary contract and compensations usually lack perks. SFEs’ motivations are an interest in internationalism and a poor employment situation (cf. Basu, 2010 in Section 2.1). Their future careers seem unclear. Suutari and Brewster (2000) identified six sub-groups, which differed in their circumstances, motivations, salaries and future prospects shown in Table 2.5:
### Table 2-5 - Sub-Groups of SFEs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Young opportunists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Includes young people similar to Inkson et al (1997)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Early phase of their career</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Independent family situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>29% of the sample worked in middle management positions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employed by project-type organisations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Motivated by professional development and career progress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not motivated by economic benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive expectations about job possibilities upon return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Above average expectation of benefits for the international career</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15 % of the sample</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Job seekers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Motivated by poor job prospects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employed by project-type organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Less optimistic about finding a job upon return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Salary is below the average of SFEs without perks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23 % of the sample</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Officials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Slightly older than average SFEs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Employed by international organisations (e.g. EU, UN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Motivated by economic benefits, personal interest in internationalisation and new experiences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Less optimistic about finding a job upon return as skills are non-transferable to national origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Above average salary and benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 % of the sample</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Localized professionals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stayed abroad for long periods, no plan to return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Motivated by local environment, better career prospects, personal relationships or marriage to a local</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low premiums and perks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 % of the sample</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>International professionals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Global specialists, worked in at least two countries previously</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No organisational career, changes employers with jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Higher management positions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Motivated by economic benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not motivated by professional learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Less optimistic and willing to find similar job</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Above average salary including benefits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25 % of the sample</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Dual career couples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trailing spouses having found work abroad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Due to “difficulties in identifying trailing spouses [...] no additional analysis was performed” (ibid, p.434)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unclear size</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Suutari and Brewster’s findings (2000) build on Inkson et al (1997), as they incorporate the category of OE into the categories “jobseekers” and “young opportunists” (2000, pp. 430-431). Also some groups do not seem to represent “foreign” work experiences, as familiarity is established in different ways. It could be argued that “localised professionals” substituted their original working environment with the new working environment, while “officials” work for an organisation resembling MNEs, albeit with a social or political agenda. Furthermore the category of “dual career couples” seems to operate in a framework of personal rather than professional motivations. The subgroups “young opportunists”, “job seekers” and “international professionals” appear to be largely driven by career purposes and are not framed by an organisation (as in the case of “officials”), new country of residence (as in the case of “local...
professions”) or private circumstances (as in the case of “dual career couples”). Suutari and Brewster’s categories can be regrouped into three sections. The first is characterised by finding a new framework to operate in, such as family (“dual career couples”), an international organisation (“officials”) or a new locality (“the local professionals”). The second is independent insofar as they are self-initiating international experiences yet dependent as they rely on the job market (“young opportunists” and “job seekers”). The third group is independent of the job market and employers and seems to move entirely freely (“international professionals”).

**The recurring relevance for the study of SFEs**

Following Suutari and Brewster’s contribution there were three calls for the inclusion of SFEs in review articles by Bonache et al (2001), Brewster and Suutari (2005) and Scullion et al (2007). Bonache et al (2001) found that expatriation lacked a theoretical foundation and an understanding of the changing expatriation policies and companies’ international strategies (Bonache et al, 2001, pp. 3-4). They stressed that new groups of employees like SFEs, UN/EU officials, women and couples were underexamined (Bonache et al, 2001, p. 8). In 2005, Brewster and Suutari focused their outline of a proposed research agenda in IHRM on developing global leadership and staffing MNCs (ibid, pp. 6-7), but stressed that research into SFEs movements had just begun (ibid, p. 12). Two years later, another review article by Scullion et al (2007) celebrated the wide strides that IHRM had taken since its inception in the 1980s (ibid, p. 309) and highlighted four issues framing future research. Firstly, that research in emerging economies such as India, China and East Asia is still missing in IHRM (Scullion et al, 2007, p. 310), especially given the talent shortage faced by India and China (Scullion et al, p. 311). A second issue is the effect of global terrorism on international employees and business travellers (Scullion et al, p. 312). Thirdly, Scullion et al note that global careers are changing as “individual assignees perceive the main value of the assignment as developing individual competence that can be transferred across organisations and that is valued in the external labour market” (2007, p. 313), which is linked to “the emergence of self-initiated international assignments” (ibid, p. 313). Subsequently, they suggest a re-examination of global staffing especially in emerging economies such as Eastern Europe, India and China (ibid, p. 314). In Scullion et al’s contribution, the changing global economic environment, subsequent global staffing by MNEs and individual movements are explicit and urgent. However, the empirical evidence is still thin and often based on survey or structured interview data providing limited insights.

**Empirical trends in the study of SFEs**

In recent years empirical studies of SFEs, which quote Suutari and Brewster (2000), have increased, as shown in Table 2.6 and explained below.
Table 2-6 - Empirical examples of SFE research

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Population and Location</th>
<th>Central Concepts</th>
<th>Contribution</th>
<th>Research Methodology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2005</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Myers and Pringle | Repatriated SFEs/OEs  
- 50 participants  
- 26 f, 24 m | Implications of gender on the benefits of the SFE/OE | Gendered analysis of Inkson and Myers (2003) | Structured interviews  
- Longitudinal development |
| **2008** | | | | |
| Fitzgerald and Howe-Walsh | Female managers in the Cayman Islands  
- 6 participants  
- 2 married |  
- Factors for the decision to expatriate  
- Perceptions & expectation of expatriation experiences | High expectations of the positive contribution of the experience  
- Expatriate discrimination | Interpretative phenomenological approach (IPA)  
- Exploratory |
| Crowley-Henry | US, European and Australian in France  
- 20 women  
- 34-62 yrs old |  
- Trailing spouses  
- Work and family balance  
- Discrimination | Examples of protein careers | "pseudo-ethnographical"  
- Semi-structured interviews  
- Single case study |
| Jokinen et al | 222 Finnish in 42 countries  
- 110 expats  
- 112 SFEs | Career capital of SFEs in comparison to expatriates | Development of career capital | Online survey  
- Hypotheses testing |
| **2009** | | | | |
| Bozionelos | Non-Arabic nurses in Saudi Arabia  
- 206 participants  
- 178 f, 28 m  
- 134 married |  
- Influences on job satisfaction and turnover factors  
- Role of gender | Peer support and protégé experiences is significant for job satisfaction | Questionnaire for Survey  
- Hypotheses testing  
- Descriptive statistics |
| Peltkorpi and Fröse | Expatriates and SFEs in Japan  
- 180 responses,  
- 124 SFEs  
- 56 expatriates |  
- General, work and cultural adjustment processes of SFEs vs. expats | SFEs are equally well adjusted as expats and culturally better adjusted | Survey and questionnaire  
- Hypothesis testing |
| Agullo and Egawa | 26 Indians in Tokyo  
- all male  
- 25-61 years old  
- 16 married |  
- International careers for Indian employees  
- From SFE to immigration | Contributes to career theory in showing dynamics of decisive non-career factors | Semi-structured interviews |
| **2010** | | | | |
| Tzeng | Undisclosed sample | Reasons for & lifestyle of French in London | Middle-class European early-career mobility | In-depth interviews |

---

5 Jokinen et al (2008) use the terms self-assigned expatriate (SE) and assigned expatriate (AE).
6 Peltkorpi and Fröse (2009) call self-initiated foreign work experience (SFEs) “self-initiated expatriates”, (SIE) and expatriates “organisational expatriates” (OE; ibid, p. 1096).
The patterns in these empirical cases are fivefold. Firstly, the majority of the 11 studies looked at SFEs in their destination country, while only three studies (Myers and Pringle, 2005; Jokinen et al, 2008; Biemann and Andresen, 2010) examined SFEs from their original point of view as New Zealanders, Finns or Germans respectively. In the studies that look at the destination country, only three looked at a particular nationality: Tzeng (2010) examined French citizens, Agullo and Egawa (2009) researched Indian nationals in Japan and Al-Ariss and Özbilgin (2010) focused on Lebanese nationals in France. The remaining studies examining destination countries are all based on a sample with mixed nationalities. Examining a nationally mixed group of SFEs in a destination country seems to be the main trend.

Secondly, in comparison to the literature on global managers, which seem to be predominantly male, research on female SFEs is equally represented even at this early stage. Four studies focus on female SFEs (Myers and Pringle, 2005; Fitzgerald and Howe-Walsh, 2008; Crowley-Henry, 2008; Bozionelos, 2009; cf Bonache et al, 2001 discussed in Section 2.3.2). In most other studies in this review, the gender balance in the sample is almost even, which reflects Suutari and Brewster’s (2000) findings that SFEs are more often female than expatriates.

Thirdly, SFEs are still measured in concepts derived from expatriation research. Three studies (Jokinen et al, 2008; Peltokorpi and Fröse, 2009; Biemann and Andresen, 2010) examine differences between expatriates and SFEs and focus on exploring concepts such as career capital (Jokinen et al, 2008), kinds of adjustment (Peltokorpi and Fröse, 2009) and general characteristics of German managers (Biemann and Andresen, 2010). In these three cases,
SFEs seem to outperform expatriates in acquiring equivalent or more career capital, adjust equally and better in all aspects of adjustment or turn out to be better qualified and skilled in international assignments. There are four studies that examined concepts derived from expatriation research: Bozionelos (2009) discussed adjustment of SFEs while Crowley-Henry (2008) discussed concepts like the “protean career” and Agullo and Egawa (2009) and Tzeng (2010) individual career factors. These last four studies reinforce the notion that SFEs are driven by individual factors and move independently. Due to this independent and self-initiated movement, the measures and concepts applicable to expatriates might not apply to SFEs. Instead of comparison and hypotheses testing, an in-depth look at SFEs’ experiences would reveal their conditions and requirements.

Fourthly, the majority of studies looks at SFEs moving from a developed country to an equally developed country (e.g. female managers in the Cayman Islands (Fitzgerald and Howe-Walsh, 2008), French in London (Tzeng, 2010)), for better employment possibilities. Only in three cases are SFEs moving from developing countries to developed countries (Agullo and Egawa, 2009; Bozionelos, 2009; Al-Ariss and Özbilgin, 2010) and these cases are portrayed differently. One case explicitly focuses on the career barriers for Lebanese SFEs and issues of immigration to France (Al-Ariss and Özbilgin, 2010). Agullo and Egawa (2009) stress the opportunities that highly-skilled Indian IT employees find in Japan. Bozionelos (2009) discusses adjustment through peer support and experiences with protégés in the context of International nurses in Saudi-Arabia. None of the studies focus on SFEs moving from a developed country to a less developed country or emerging economy, although this has been noted as an area in need of urgent attention (Scullion et al, 2007, p. 314).

Fifthly, most studies use questionnaires assessing hypotheses and/or semi-structured interviews. One study calls itself “pseudo-ethnographical” (Crowley-Henry, 2008, p. 3), because the researcher lived near her research subjects, but did not engage in the same practices. SFEs seem to be predominantly of mixed nationalities, balanced between female and male and moreover moving independently. Given these particular demographics, studying SFEs ethnographically would reveal more of their particular context, experience and requirements.

In summary, the majority of empirical studies discussed here had a sample of SFEs of mixed nationalities (Pattern 1) and an almost equal gender balance in destination countries (Pattern 2), which were predominantly developed countries (Pattern 4). Methodologically and thematically, scholars used surveys and interviews (Pattern 5) to address issues observed in expatriation research (Pattern 3). However, these empirical cases show that there is a need for new methodologies in the case of SFE research. Instead of surveys, semi-structured interviews and “pseudo-ethnographical” research (Crowley-Henry, 2008; Pattern 5), there is a need for ethnographic research. This would yield insights into the experiences of SFEs and develop SFE-specific measures, instead of perpetuating categories derived in the context of expatriation research.
research (Pattern 3). There is also a need to examine SFEs in emerging economies or less developed countries, as most studies still focus on IEIs in developed countries (Pattern 4). Addressing Patterns 3, 4 and 5 would result in categories better suited to individually moving employees.

### 2.4.3 Summary

This section looked at different categories of foreign employment. It differentiated between the types of expatriates and determined that much of the existing literature uses the terms expatriates and parent-country-national interchangeably and predominantly researched managers (Harrison et al, 2004; Takeuchi, 2010). This section also revealed the high diversity within foreign employment (Bonache et al, 2001, p. 7) and introduced the categories of OE (Inkson et al, 1997) and SFE (Suutari and Brewster, 2000). While the OE is constituted of young early-career professionals, who seek to explore other nations as well as to develop themselves personally, the SFE is much more internally diversified. Suutari and Brewster (2000) identified six subgroups. Three subgroups seem to be focused on work and to move independently (“young opportunists”, “jobseekers” and “international professionals”) rather than substituting their national or organisational framework for new frameworks such as the organisation (“officials”), a new nation (“localised professionals”) or purely private reasons (“dual career couples”). A review of recent empirical literature showed that, in comparison to expatriates, SFEs are younger, of mixed nationalities, seem to include an equal number of women and men and most importantly move independently of organisations. However, the literature and empirical examples have failed to study SFEs ethnographically (see Pattern 5). An inductive analysis of SFEs through ethnography would reveal SFE-specific categories rather than reinforce concepts applicable to expatriates (see Pattern 3). Moreover, to understand globalisation, a focus on SFEs’ motivations and experiences in emerging economies or less developed countries, is necessary (see Pattern 4). Exploring SFE experiences ethnographically in emerging economies would reveal more about SFEs relationships and by implication about individually driven employees (Bonache et al, 2001).

### 2.5 Maladjustment

As the previous sections demonstrate, the literature sees international employment as beneficial for companies. Employees also assume international experience to be beneficial for their careers. Yet international experiences are not without challenges for both companies and individuals. The possibility of expatriate “failure” and an early return from the overseas assignments is well documented in the literature (Harrison et al, 2004). The reason for expatriate failure is commonly described as mal/adjustment (Black, Mendenhall, 1991; Inkson, Pringle, Arthur and Barry, 1997, p. 35; Harrison, Shaffer and Bhaskar-Shrinivas, 2004, p. 2013; Lee and Liu, 2007; Takeuchi, 2010). Much of the literature has been derived by drawing on data from expatriates who were sent overseas by organisations. Thus the literature emphasises the role of the organisation (see Aycan, 1997 below) and very little research has concentrated on SFE adjustment.
This section begins by defining maladjustment before looking at three prevalent models for adjustment in the case of expatriates (Black et al, 1991; Parker and McEvoy, 1993; Aycan, 1997) and two examples of adjustment in the emerging literature on SFEs’ adjustment (Peltokorpi and Fröse, 2009; Howe-Walsh and Schyns, 2010).

### 2.5.1 A prevalent definition of maladjustment

Harrison, Shaffer and Bhaskar-Shrinivas (2004) identify “adjustment as a process” and “adjustment as a state” (ibid, pp. 211-214). Adjustment as a process has been classified into phases of replication, absorption, determination and exploration. This ignores the transnational work context and has limited application in expatriation research (Harrison et al, 2004, p. 213).

Another prevalent concept of adjustment as a process is a U-curve with the phases of honeymoon, culture shock, adjustment and mastery (Harrison et al, 2004, p. 213). The disadvantages and advantages of this model have been unexplored because longitudinal studies are rare (Harrison et al: 2004, p. 214), or have only covered the initial stages of sojourners (Brown and Holloway, 2007; Burnapp, 2006). Of greater relevance is the notion of adjustment as a state’ (Harrison et al, 2004).

Harrison et al (2004) see adjustment as a state to have been predominantly analysed through the negative lens of maladjustment using a framework that consists of stressors, strains and stress (ibid, p. 211). They identify stressors (Black et al, 1991; Parker and McEvoy, 1993) and categorise them into the following four categories containing a number of sub factors:

- personal (host-country language fluency, previous overseas experience, KSAOs (Knowledge, Skills, Abilities and Other Characteristics) training, demographic characteristics of the host country, personality traits)
- work (role clarity, role conflict, role discretion and role novelty)
- family and friends
- environmental

Harrison at al, 2004, pp. 221-229

Stressors have been defined as conceptions that were mismatched with the expatriate’s expectations and result in strains (ibid, p. 229). These strains can be identified to be attitudinal consequences, cognitive consequences and performance consequences for task-based performance as well as relationship-based performance (ibid, p. 235). In the worst cases, strains lead to psychological withdrawal, poor performance and stress. The stress of maladjustment manifests itself in cultural, interaction, and work environments on the overseas assignment.

### 2.5.2 Models of maladjustment of expatriates

The most frequently quoted models that seek to explain the factors contributing to adjustment of expatriates were developed by Black et al (1991), Parker and McEvoy (1993), and Aycan (1997). Black et al (1991, pp. 302-305) developed their model of international adjustment out of a comparison of domestic (ibid, p. 301) and international adjustment literature (ibid, p. 295). In a
review of the international adjustment literature, they found three pre-departure factors (previous experience, pre-departure training and candidate selection) and two post-arrival factors (individual skills and non-work factors). Domestic adjustment mainly focused on organisational socialisation (ibid, p. 301). Finally, a model of the two bodies of literature was compiled (Figure 2.1):

**Figure 2.1 – Black’s Framework of International Adjustment**

Legend: *Italics* = Specifics of International adjustment in addition to general domestic adjustment

Source: Black et al, 1991, p. 303

The model draws a distinction between anticipatory adjustment and in-country adjustment. Anticipatory adjustment is divided into individual and organisational factors. In-country adjustment is also influenced by individual factors (self-efficacy, relationship skills and perception skills), non-work factors (culture novelty and family/spouse adjustment) and organisational factors represented by the categories of job, organization culture and organization socialisation. The role of the organisation is still strong in this model, adjustment with the factors job, organisational culture and organisation socialisation being related to the organisation, but the existence of non-work and individual factors keeps the balance between organisational and individual responsibility.

A second and oft-cited model is the one developed by Parker and McEvoy, who arranged the factors into three different spheres, i.e. individual, organisation and contextual (1993, p. 358), but did not specify the pre-departure and post-arrival phases separately. Within the tripartite
model of work, general, and interaction adjustment (Parker and McEvoy, 1993, pp. 359-364), they assessed selected parameters (ibid, p. 364, p. 358; in bold in Figure 2.2).

**Figure 2-2 – Parker and McEvoy’s Model of Intercultural Adjustment**

Legend: *words in bold and italics*: headings  
*words in bold*: factors examined by Parker and McEvoy (1993)

Source: Parker and McEvoy, 1993, p. 358

Their findings point out that work adjustment seems to be influenced by compensation and promotion possibilities, while general living adjustment is a result of previous experiences and contact with host-country nationals (ibid, p. 374). This is corroborated by the finding that time spent with other expatriates has a negative influence on interaction adjustment (ibid, p. 374). Together these findings led Parker and McEvoy to recommend mixed housing and less socialisation with expatriates (ibid, p. 374). This shifts the responsibility for adjustment away from the organisation, and onto the environment and the individual.

A third model is Aycan’s adjustment model (1997), which examines the characteristics of the individual and the organisation in two phases of pre-departure and post-arrival and measures their impact on general and work adjustment (Figure 2.3).
Aycan’s model simplifies the categories of adjustment by only focusing on employee and organisational characteristics. Yet it includes factors such as family adjustment in the category employee characteristics and thus masks what previously had been listed as non-work (Black et al., 1991) or contextual (Parker and McEvoy, 1993). Similar to Parker and McEvoy, she stresses the importance of appraisals and integration (ibid, p. 449), continuous communication and organisational socialisation (ibid, p. 450) as crucial for adjustment. Finally, the emphasis lies on the role of the organisation for adjustment:

“A successful adjustment was a function of not only the expatriate manager’s personal characteristics, but also of the organisational (both parent and local) support and preparation for expatriates. [...] The adequacy of planning and preparation process in parent and local companies requires a close examination, as it is an equally important source of failure. [...] The parent organization’s approach is asserted as one of the major determinants of overseas success.”

Aycan, 1997, pp. 451-452

Contrary to Parker and McEvoy (1993) and Black et al (1991), Aycan stresses the organisation as the crucial determinant in the expatriate’s assignment’s success.
In combination, these three frameworks are useful in understanding and assessing adjustment through success factors. There appears to have been a shift in emphasis from organisational and environmental factors to individual factors in Parker and McEvoy's model (1993), which was reversed by Aycan (1997), who emphasised the role of the organisation for successful adjustment. These models demonstrate that the emphasis for adjustment shifts between organisational and individual factors. Yet, with the exception of Parker and McEvoy, they predominantly focus on organisationally framed experiences. The experience of self-initiated foreign work experience (SFE) is excluded from most research.

2.5.3 Emerging models of maladjustment of SFEs

SFEs, as discussed in section 2.4.2, and OEs initiate their work experience themselves and thus are independent from a parent company’s human resource department. Moreover the phenomenon of SFEs is growing in India as well as worldwide. Models of adjustment which stress the role of the organisation (Aycan, 1997) are therefore not applicable. Explicit studies of SFEs’ adjustment are rare. Implicitly, contributions discuss barriers (Al-Ariss and Özbilgin, 2010) and opportunities (Agullo and Egawa, 2009). Some also refer to concepts in expatriate adjustment and discuss peer support and protégé experiences as decisive for job satisfaction (Bozionelos, 2010) or non-work social activities such as church groups for adjustment (Fitzgerald and Howe, 2008, p. 166).

Articles by Peltokorpi and Fröse (2009) and Schyns and Howe-Walsh (2010) provide explicit discussions. In a comparison of SFE and expatriate adjustment in Japan, Peltokorpi and Fröse (2009) adapted the same tripartite structure as used for expatriates. They assessed interaction adjustment with host country nationals, general adjustment and work adjustment (ibid, p. 1100-1103). SFEs were found to be better adjusted in terms of interaction and general adjustment than expatriates and adjusted similarly in the realm of work (ibid, p. 1106). These findings are surprising given the lack of organisational guidance for SFEs and lower SFE income in a high-cost country (ibid, p. 1107). As a result, Peltokorpi and Fröse recommend further studies integrating more antecedents explaining the difference between SFEs and expatriates as well as conducting more studies focusing on work adjustment and related work attitudes, such as job satisfaction (ibid, p. 1109). They echo the need for developing SFE-specific models described in 2.4.2.

By contrast, Howe-Walsh and Schyns’ (2010) paper on HRM support for SFEs draws on the rationale of Aycan (1997) and the model of Black et al (1991) in advocating a strong organisational role for SFEs, yet see SFEs as the prototypical enactor of the “boundaryless career” (ibid, p. 263). The proposed model emphasises the role of the HR department in the successful adjustment of SFEs (see Figure 2.4).
Since it is not possible to train SFEs before their arrival, Howe-Walsh and Schyns (2010) propose focusing HR efforts on selection prior to arrival and support for adjustment after arrival. These should encompass the three points of position definition, mentoring/co-teaching and non-work support (ibid, pp. 267-269). Their propositions are “entirely theoretical” (ibid, p. 270).

However, the empirical study by Biemann and Andreason (2010) supports their theoretical findings (ibid, p. 443) and calls for more research into the organisational requirements of SFEs (ibid, p. 444).

2.5.4 Summary

This section has described three models of maladjustment in the case of expatriates (Black et al, 1991; Parker and McEvoy, 1993; Aycan, 1997), and introduced two examples of adjustment in the emerging literature on SFEs (Peltokorpi and Fröse, 2009; Howe-Walsh and Schyns, 2010). Throughout the discussion of these models, the role of the individual and the organisation was highlighted. The three models of adjustment in the context of expatriates emphasise the role of the organisation and ignore individually driven work experiences as in the case of SFEs or apply categories from expatriation research to SFEs. One of the two examples which examined SFE adjustment proposed a strong role for the organisation (Howe-Walsh and Schyns, 2010). This is surprising because SFEs are moving to pursue an independent career and their experience is not organisationally framed. Instead, SFE numbers are growing and an understanding of SFEs experiences in terms of maladjustment (Peltokorpi and Fröse, 2009), barriers (Al-Ariss and Özbilgin, 2010) and opportunities (Agullo and Egawa, 2009) is of vital importance (Scullion et al, 2009; Biemann and Andreason, 2010). Given the more diverse composition of international work experience than organisationally sent expatriates (Bonache et al, 2001), models of maladjustment should be revised to incorporate the experiences of
individually driven employment such as SFEs. An ethnographical approach would reveal SFE-specific categories (Howe-Walsh and Schyns, 2010; see also Pattern 3 in Section 2.4.2).

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter introduced debates around the globalisation of services by firstly introducing the context of India and then examining concepts of international employees in IHRM. India and its offshoring industry exemplify these developments. Offshoring in India has diversified and now offers higher value and more complex services in “knowledge processes”, “document processes” or “legal processes”. Moreover, the example of India’s services offshoring industry revealed that “human resources” are key to this development. In the Indian context, talent shortages and the need for specialised skills have fostered the recruitment of non-Indian, international employees. These international employees are also driven by recent slow growth in their countries of origin, the possibilities of work experience and potential for a career in India.

The concepts that examine these developments in IHRM, are career theory, international employees and maladjustment. Taking each of these in turn, the concepts ‘organisational’, ‘protean’ and boundaryless were discussed, and the global career was introduced, with debates around skills and flexibility. These concepts reveal the categories of the organisation and the individual, which represent different and opposed ends of a continuum along which the individual finds or positions her/himself. These two poles also reappeared in the discourses and categories on expatriates and SFEs and in the models on maladjustment. However, especially in the case of individually driven self-initiated foreign work experiences, the organisation has lesser importance, although research remains limited.

This chapter has revealed that while it has been acknowledged that international work experience comprises not only organisationally-sent employees (Bonache et al, 2001), the literature in expatriation does not represent this diversity (Harrison et al, 2004; Takeuchi, 2010). Inspecting the literature on non-expatriate foreign work experience reveals the categories of OE (Inkson et al, 1997) as well as SFEs (Suutari and Brewster, 2000). It also revealed five patterns unique to SFEs, of which three require further research (Table 2.7; Section 2.4.2 Pattern 3, 4 and 5). Common features of research on SFEs are that the SFE groups are more gender-balanced, are of mixed nationalities and often studied in the destination countries rather than the country of origin. Yet the limitations of SFE research are revealed in Patterns 3, 4 and 5. Firstly, SFEs are often studied through concepts derived from expatriation research (cf. Jokinen et al, 2008; Peltokorpi and Fröse, 2009; Schyns and Howe-Walsh, 2010; Pattern 3) and there is a need to understand SFE-specific concepts. Secondly, SFEs’ movements have been studied mostly from developed to developed country or developing to developed country (Pattern 4), despite Scullion et al’s (2007) call for more research into SFEs in emerging economies such as Eastern Europe, China and India (ibid, p. 314) and the evidence from India’s service offshoring recruitment of international employees. Hence, there is a need to understand SFEs in emerging
economies. Thirdly, the research methods used to understand SFEs are mainly surveys and semi-structured interviews (Pattern 5). These research methods perpetuate conceptions in expatriation research. Ethnographic research into SFEs would enable an inductive understanding of SFEs by inquiring in-depth into their experiences and contexts thus contributing insights into this growing phenomenon (Scullion et al, 2007).

The final section of this chapter looked at the maladjustment that is frequently faced by international employees. In the case of expatriates, “failure” on an international assignment, as represented by inefficiency or an early return, is expensive for MNEs and hence fostered much research to avoid maladjustment and to support adjustment. The most prevalent models in research of maladjustment stem from Black et al (1991), Parker and McEvoy (1993) and Aycan (1997); and represent analyses of factors contributing to maladjustment. The role of the individual and the organisation differs in each of these models, but overall they highlight the role of the organisation. Yet these models serve as reference points for understanding SFE adjustment, as detailed by introducing emergent models of SFE adjustment (Peltokorpi and Fröse, 2009; Schyns and Howe-Walsh, 2010). In adopting models previously used in expatriate research, the emergent models ignore the demographic features of SFEs and motivations reflected in SFE self-initiated mobility. Moreover, SFEs remain an under-researched, yet growing population of international employees and require further research (Scullion et al, 2007). The gaps detected in the models of maladjustment for SFEs are thus similar to the ones detected in the debate of SFE experiences: firstly, there is a need to develop SFE-specific categories, secondly, the context of SFE adjustment needs to be widened to include emerging economies or developing countries and thirdly, to arrive at an SFE-specific understanding of mal/adjustment, the research methodology has to be adopted to be inductive and ethnographic.

The literature surveyed in the three concepts of career theory, international employees and adjustment lacks an understanding of self-directed foreign work experiences. Yet the literature hints at what is required to succeed in a global economy by mentioning the “global mindset” (Section 2.2.2). The next section will identify and examine concepts such as the “global mindset” (Levy et al, 2007) and cosmopolitanism in business and management literature more generally, in order to understand what business and management literature has perceived as necessary skills for a global career.
3 Cosmopolitanism

3.1 Introduction

The cure for maladjustment and requirement for a successful global career is cosmopolitanism, as will be demonstrated in this chapter. Theories of cosmopolitanism have discussed how individuals are citizens of the world in their behaviour and attitudes. This chapter examines elements of cosmopolitanism in the business and management literature and compares these with cosmopolitanism in theory and practice in the social sciences.

This chapter consists of three sections: the first section examines cosmopolitanism in the business and management literature and will end with a critique of the concepts presented in this body of literature. The management guru view of cosmopolitanism and the concepts of career capital and global mindset within business and management literature, exemplified by Ohmae (1992) and Kanter (1995), draw on a particular kind of cosmopolitanism. The main critiques of this cosmopolitanism are selective usage of cosmopolitanism, an emphasis on rational subjects and an emphasis on detachment of cosmopolitan individuals precluding belonging. The second section examines the concept of cosmopolitanism from a social science perspective (e.g. sociology, anthropology, geography, migration studies) and reveals that these debates centre on cosmopolitan belonging, attachment and presence. The third section summarises, compares and analyses the two bodies of literature and consolidates the critique of cosmopolitanism in business and management and the social sciences to determine gaps and derive research questions.

Given that business and management literature draws on social science literature selectively and social science literature has a dismissive view of business and management literature, this chapter makes two theoretical contributions:

1/ It presents a holistic understanding of cosmopolitanism in business and management as well as the social sciences.

2/ It delineates five points of critique and examines empirical cases of social science cosmopolitanism to understand social science literature’s point of view and theoretical gaps.

The explicit critique and gaps further informs the research presented in chapters 5, 6 and 7. The chapter begins with an elaboration on the distinction between business and management literature and social science literature.

Differences between business and management literature and social science literature

Business and management literature and the social sciences can overlap theoretically, methodologically and thematically. However, they also differ fundamentally and therefore can and will be distinguished here.
There are groups within business and management literature which draw on social sciences and philosophy and experiment with new methodologies such as “critical management studies” (Alvesson and Willmott, 1992). Moreover, the discussion of the concept of culture across subdisciplines of business and management studies (e.g. Baskerville, 2003 versus Hofstede, 2003 in accounting; McSweeney versus Hofstede, 2002 in human relations; Myers and Tan, 2002 in information systems) suggests that some discourses around culture espoused by Hofstede, for instance, are being questioned rather than accepted. Furthermore, in international business, qualitative research methods such as ethnography are rare but scholars have tried repeatedly to incorporate anthropological theories and practices into the teaching curriculum (Sherry, 1988; Whiteley, 2001). Finally, in organisation studies, the debate about paradigm incommensurability (Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Jackson and Carter: 1991) and new perspectives (Willmott, 1993 using Kuhn’s theoretical development; Deetz, 1996, adding normative, interpretive and critical perspectives) as well as mixed methods (Mingers, 2001 in information systems) is indicative of the diversity of different methodologies.

There are many scholars within anthropology who have examined business and management concepts in academia or in industry. In academia, anthropologists have examined organisations (e.g. Wright, 1994; Jimenez, 2007) and globalisation (e.g. Kearney, 1995, Lewellen, 2002) from various perspectives. Outside academia, anthropologists have applied anthropology and ethnography in policy research (e.g. Pecoud and de Guchteneire, 2007) or industrial research (Suchman, 2007; Orr, 1998). The Ethnographic Practice in Industry (EPIC) conference is an annual conference bringing together anthropologists in and studying the industrial practice of ethnography (e.g. Bellotti, 2010) and often sponsored by the American Anthropological Association (AAA) and its subgroup the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology (NAPA). These provide indicators of theoretical, methodological and thematic overlaps between anthropology and business.

While remaining aware of these overlaps and without wanting to essentialise each discipline, differences between business and management studies and social sciences can be located in philosophies and practices. Anthropologist Malcolm Chapman and international business scholar Peter Buckley (1996, p. 233 and p. 237) concluded that:

“there are great difficulties in reconciling the theoretical bases of economics and social anthropology. Speaking in broad, crude terms anthropology takes a holistic view of society, uses native perspectives in which subjectivity and interpretation are to the fore and suggests multiple approaches to rationality whereas economics has claims to objectivity, scientific positive approaches and is largely rationalist.”

Buckley and Chapman, 1996, p. 237

This assessment of the difference between economics and anthropology is transferable to the divide between the social sciences and business and management studies in terms of practice. Suchman for example describes the production, marketing and consumption of anthropology in business that anthropology is seen as a superficial tool.
“Anthropology is taken by business as emblematic of the capacity of the social sciences, specifically new methods of observation, to aid in the expansion and deeper penetration of cultures of capitalism. Even more than the social it is the cultural [...] that enters the picture, as the residual category left over after the psychologists and industrial sociologists are done with their work, the mysteries of which it is now the anthropologists’ job to make accessible. [...] Globalization, in sum, brings the exotic Other into one’s line of sight wherever it falls, whether far away or close to home, and the anthropologist is the logical choice to aid in the process of learning to deal with these new multicultural challenges.”

Suchman, 2007, pp. 5-6

Here, Suchman airs another suspicion harboured frequently by anthropologists (Sennett, 2006; Ho, 2009), that business aims to penetrate the “cultures of capitalism”. This reduces anthropology in business to a mere tool, without grasping the theoretical complexity of the social sciences generally or anthropology in particular. Moreover, the social sciences see business and management studies as producing “globe talk” (Robertson, 1992, p. 113) and omitting the “local” (Ley, 2005, p. 152), “every day life” and “human agency” (ibid, p. 154). By using social science for the “deeper penetration of cultures of capitalism” (Suchman, 2007), business and management literature is selective rather than holistic. Kofman (2005) summarised this as “cultural diversity is only useful as long as used for economic growth” (Kofman, 2005, p. 90).

The difference between business and management literature and the social sciences exists in the different motivations of each discipline and subsequent use of methodologies and thematic conclusions. Moreover, they draw on each other in limited ways: business and management literature uses selected discourses to further its understanding of capitalism and the social sciences suspect business and management literature to be producing “globe talk” but no real understanding of how people inhabit a globalised world (Kofman, 2005). Hence, a holistic understanding of social science cosmopolitanism in itself and the critique of business and management literature by the social sciences is a necessary step to understanding cosmopolitanism in these different disciplines and assists in understanding empirical cases.

### 3.2 Cosmopolitanism in the business and management literature

In the business and management literature, cosmopolitanism is represented in two main streams. The first stream consists of management gurus and the second stream consists of concepts discussed in academic peer-reviewed publications.

Firstly, the claims set out in a set of popular management titles are examined. These are exemplified by Ohmae (1992) and Kanter (1995), who extol the benefits of a global elite for companies, while academics like Linda Brimm from INSEAD and Santiago Iniguez from IE Business School highlight the importance of “global cosmopolitans” and “cosmopolitan managers”. While these could be classified as academic literature, it is preferable to follow Jackson’s distinction into three kinds of management gurus: “academic gurus, consultant gurus and hero gurus” (2001, p. 11). This distinction defines management gurus as “those who have a
formal affiliation with an educational institution, invariably a business school, as exemplified by Henry Mintzberg, Rosabeth Moss Kanter, William Ouchi and Michael Porter” (Jackson, 2001, p. 11). The consultant gurus are independent writers and advisers and Kenichi Ohmae falls into this category due to his affiliation with McKinsey. Hero gurus are successful entrepreneurs and managers such as Jack Welch. The work of academic guru Kanter and “consultant guru” Ohmae are explored, because together they represent what Thrift calls “soft capitalism” (1997) and produce what Ley labels “globe talk” (2004, p. 152). Within this “soft capitalistic globe talk”, Halsall examines the discourse of cosmopolitanism for the corporation (rather than in the corporation; 2009, p. S137) which

“set out the necessity for the corporation and its managers to adopt a set of required ‘cosmopolitan’ dispositions, characteristics and attitudes, and are an increasingly prevalent feature of the discourse of a new discourse-led ‘spirit of capitalism’ with its concomitant justifactory regime.”


Secondly, related to the popular literature is the academic business and management literature. Although Huczynski (1994) found that business school academics often felt that they only followed the publications of management gurus (ibid, pp. 37-38)9, the contributions in this second category of academic literature on cosmopolitanism are derived from peer-reviewed journals.

Cosmopolitanism and being cosmopolitan has often been mentioned in the business and management literature, but in a fragmented and unconscious way. Cosmopolitanism was positively associated with strategic operations such as risk management (Earle and Cvetkovich, 1997), innovation (Robertson and Wind, 1983) and knowledge transfer (Kedia and Bhagat, 1988). In these contributions, cosmopolitanism was seen as self-explanatory and is not fully developed. More focus and depth to the term “cosmopolitanism” in the business and management literature was added in the context of debates on global leadership (Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2). In this context, the academic literature has focused first on improving understanding of the cosmopolitan’s acquisition of “career capital” (De Filippi and Arthur, 1994; Inkson and Arthur, 2001), of which “cosmopolitan capital” is a crucial component for success on the global labour market (Suutari and Smale, 2008; Weenink, 2008), and secondly, the acquisition and application of a “global mindset” (Javidan, 2007; Levy et al, 2007) consisting of intellectual, psychological and social capital and drawing on theories of cosmopolitanism and cognitive complexity (Levy et al, 2007).

This section has four subsections: The first discusses popular business and management contributions, the second grapples with academic contributions such as the concept of “career

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9 A case in point is the creation of the concept of the “boundaryless career”, which is connected to the concept of the boundaryless organisation coined by Jack Welch for General Electrics. The 1993 Academy of Management conference held a symposium about the “boundaryless career” which was subsequently turned into a book (Inkson, 2006).
capital”, the third discusses the concept of the “global mindset” and the fourth draws the points of critique together.

3.2.1 Popular discourses in business and management

In popular business and management literature, cosmopolitanism and global traits are common themes. This section looks more closely at selected popular management literature (Ohmae, 1992; Kanter, 1995) and perceptions about global cosmopolitans by Brimm

Ohmae’s exploration of the “borderless world” is based on the assumption that “for a growing population of firms that serve global markets or face global competition, nationality will disappear” (1992, p. 11). Instead of localities, Ohmae sees the global company to be equidistant, of which

“the primary rule [of equidistance] is to see – and to think – global first. […] In fact, the very word overseas has no place in Honda’s vocabulary, because the corporation sees itself as equidistant from all its customers.”

Ohmae, 1992, p. 18

In order to execute equidistance and create a truly global company, companies have to undergo five stages of internationalisation (ibid, pp. 90-91), of which the fifth stage is the highest and most-desired:

“Companies must denationalise their operations and create a system of values shared by the company managers around the globe to replace the glue a nation-based orientation once provided. […] No matter where individuals in an amoebalike structure are, they can communicate fully and confidently with colleagues elsewhere.”

Ohmae, 1992, p. 91

Ohmae’s assessment of a global, equidistant company relies on the creation of company-wide shared values in order to ensure communication between all individuals. Part of that communication and shared values is a common language:

“Moreover it’s not just the official language of business that must be shared in common around the world; so must the corporate “language” – the unofficial culture of the organization.”

Ohmae, 1992, p. 95

To develop this common language and culture, employees cannot

“share a working language by reading the same manual or going to the same one-shot training program. You have to deal with them, time after time, over a period of years. More than that, you have to come from the same professional world that they do, even though you work for the most part in different countries. If your normal frame of reference is the limited context of your local environment, your world will rarely touch or will touch only superficially. Your frame of reference, therefore, must also include, day to day, the universal values you share with your colleagues in every part of the world.”

Ohmae, 1992, p. 95

Ohmae’s requirement for developing the same language and culture is then to “deal with them […] over years”, but most importantly to come from the “same professional world” and the “universal values you share with your colleagues in every part of the world”. His argument seems to be circular, as the shared language is developed in interactions but pre-exists due to an already-shared background and values. His goal as well as starting point are shared values, which are further enforced by “deal[ing] with them, time after time”. Finally, the aim of this shared language is to reveal a global worldview:

“The language you speak – and the worldview it implies – must be global. You really have to believe, deep down, that people may work “in” different national environments but are not “of” them. What they are “of” is the global corporation.”

Ohmae, 1992, p. 96

The global corporation thus subsumes national identities, language and values and replaces them with shared values that contribute to the efficiency of the corporation. At the same time, the corporation is supposed to “invest in its people at all times”:

“[…] the only source of long-term success is people. You are either seriously committed to developing them or you are not. You develop your people in good times and in bad […]”

Ohmae, 1992, p. 98

In summary, Ohmae’s “Borderless World” describes a new world centring on global companies with “equidistant” yet corporate-loyal leaders and employees all speaking the same language and expressing the same worldview.

Similarly, Kanter describes the world as governed by

“cosmopolitans [who] are card-carrying members of the world class – often literally card carrying, with passports or airtickets serving to admit them. They lead companies that are linked to global chains.”

Kanter, 1995, pp. 22-23 [author’s insertion]

While leadership and mobility is implied, for Kanter, the crucial components are “portable skills”, “like mindset” and the “ability to bridge differences”:

“Comfortable in many places and able to understand and bridge differences among them, cosmopolitans possess portable skills and a broad outlook. But it is not travel that defines cosmopolitans – some widely travelled people remain hopelessly parochial – it is mindset.”

Kanter, 1995, p. 23

Kanter sees cosmopolitans to be defined by three Cs:

“concepts – the best and latest ideas, competence – the ability to operate at the highest standards of any place anywhere, and connections – the best relationships, which provide access to the resources of other people and organizations around the world.”

Kanter, 1995, p. 23

Due to these assets, cosmopolitans “gain influence over locals” (Kanter, 1995, p. 23). The difference to locals is manifested further by locals’ lack of mobility: “Locals by contrast, are defined primarily by particular places” (ibid, p. 23). By contrast, cosmopolitans’ relationship with places is one of choice:
“Cosmopolitans often have strong feelings of membership in particular communities. They are not anti-local, they are supralocal, connected with communities but transcending them.”

Kanter, 1995, p. 24

Similarly to Ohmae’s people, who “work ‘in’ different national environments but are not ‘of’ them” (1992, p. 96), Kanter’s cosmopolitans operate “in” these localities, but are not “of” them. Kanter’s cosmopolitans are “supralocal”. Joining the cosmopolitans and the world-class is achieved through joining the global areas that are world-class:

“the route to success for people, companies and localities is to become links in these global chains and to ensure that local activities meet world standards of excellence.”

Kanter, 1995, p. 28

For Kanter, the nodes of a global excellence are entry points to the world of cosmopolitanism. Moreover, “migrant professionals” are now joining the world-class, as Kanter found in the study that produced the book “World Class”:

“Capital mobility has been oft noted, especially in contrast with the greater rootedness of labor. But migrant professionals are now joining migrant workers in an international labor force. […] Companies in my five-city project reported they recruit locally for unskilled workers, nationally for higher-skilled levels, and internationally at the highest levels.”

Kanter, 1995, p. 42 [sic]

The recruitment patterns of companies pose as openings for “migrant professionals” to join the cosmopolitans. Once part of the cosmopolitan elite, Kanter sees belonging as self-enforcing:

“Cosmopolitans have a career and financial stake in finding commonalities or creating a more universal way that transcends the particulars of places, which gives them power and control.”

Kanter, 1995, p. 60

Yet, cosmopolitans also extend global standards through their ability to bridge places and thus seem to be spreading “cosmopolitanism”:

“As cosmopolitans spread universal ideas and juggle the requirements of diverse places, they manage resistance to change from locals who see their power eroding, […] The job of cosmopolitans is to bridge such differences and resolve them so that companies can operate efficiently on a global basis. Cosmopolitanism is a mindset that finds commonalities across places.”

Kanter, 1995, p. 61

Kanter thus places particular importance on the mindset that distinguishes cosmopolitans from locals and moreover makes cosmopolitans more influential and powerful than locals. Both Kanter and Ohmae stress that detachment from places is a crucial characteristic for cosmopolitans.

The idea of power and influence based on skills and experience also pervades views about “global cosmopolitans” in business schools. INSEAD professor Linda Brimm described cosmopolitans as “highly educated, usually multilingual people that have lived, worked and studied for extended periods in different cultures. Their international identity might start at different stages of their lives, but they all have a world view that is profoundly affected by their
experience of living in different cultures” (Filou, 2007). Due to these experiences and the concomitant mindset, Brimm speculates that “global cosmopolitans could become to 21st century organisations what expatriates were to 20th century multinationals” (Filou, 2007). Santiago Iniguez, Dean of Instituto de Empresa Business School, sees “cosmopolitan managers” as “persons who consider themselves citizens of the world and who are able to manage their companies effectively in multicultural contexts for the creation of wealth of their stakeholders and society” and “[who] prioritises cross-cultural skills and understanding of diversity over traditional analytical capacities or technical knowledge” (Iniguez, 13 Sept 2006). Yet, while Brimm sees previous experience as crucial in shaping “global cosmopolitans”, business school academics like Santiago Iniguez see the biggest challenge of business schools being the “transformation of their students into “cosmopolitan managers” (Iniguez, 13 Sept 2006). Iniguez’s recommendations include multicultural classroom experiences, a universal code of behaviour and sharing the regional customs of different student members of a group (Iniguez, 13 Sept 2006, 18 Sept 2006).

To summarise, the popular views of cosmopolitanism expressed by Ohmae (1992) and Kanter (1995) highlight the need for transcendence by expressing the need for cosmopolitans to exhibit “equidistance” (Ohmae) and “supra-locality” (Kanter). Kanter also shows routes into the “world class” such as “links in these global chains” and ensuring “that local activities meet world standards of excellence” (Kanter 1995, p. 28). Moreover she views mobility and bridging as key factors for cosmopolitans and notes that the current (1995) global job market enables migrant professionals to become “world-class cosmopolitans”. Business school professors like Linda Brimm and Santiago Iniguez agree with these popular depictions of cosmopolitans but are more sceptical about how to produce them. Iniguez’s recommendations appear more spontaneous than a product of detailed empirical analysis (18 Sept 2006). They focus on business schools’ role in producing cosmopolitans, while Brimm’s recommendations focus on life experiences (Filou, 2007).

Ohmae emphasises that “global” comes “first” (1992, p. 18) and thus ignores the local. The emphasis on a company-wide language (ibid, p. 91) based on shared values (ibid, p. 95) overlooks that organisations are different for different people, and thus ignores the influence of power, material, and social conditions (Calhoun, 2003). Ohmae’s account sees humans as mere company people, and thus takes neither diversity and heterogeneity nor the influence of the local into account. Kanter’s account of cosmopolitans and locals creates a dichotomy between the two, which is depicted as a struggle. Cosmopolitans manage “resistance to change from locals who see their power eroding” (Kanter, 1995, p. 61). With this, the dichotomy between powerful cosmopolitans and powerless locals is perpetuated and is as undifferentiated as Ohmae. To succeed and not be pulled down and rooted as locals (Kanter, 1995, p. 42), cosmopolitans must and do transcend (Kanter, 1995, p. 24) and ideally, like migrant professionals, join the “international labour force” (Kanter, 1995, p. 42). Similar to Ohmae, Kanter ignores the material and social conditions (Calhoun, 2003), which make up
cosmopolitanism. Like Ohmae, who sees people only as company people, Kanter sees people as only successful when they pursue their careers internationally. Similarly, Brimm (Filou, 2007) emphasises that cosmopolitans are influenced by their living in different societies while Iniguez (13 Sept 2006; 18 Sept 2006) stresses the importance of business schools in shaping “cosmopolitan managers”, but does not describe how this actually looks, feels and works. The points of critique of popular cosmopolitanism could be summarised as:

- The two categories ‘cosmopolitans’ and ‘locals’ create a false dichotomy of losers and winners and omit groups and individuals in between.
- The proposed struggle between the two camps of local and cosmopolitan is equally false, as they negate the possibility of both ‘belonging to a local entity’ and being cosmopolitan’. Hence there might not be a struggle.
- The exclusive focus on labour-related opportunities neglects other motivations, ignores material and social conditions and portrays individuals as purely driven by rational choice.

These points of critique need further empirical examination relating to different categories of international employees. The next two sections will examine the academic literature on career capital and the global mindset.

### 3.2.2 Career Capital

As tools for the boundaryless career, De Fillippi and Arthur coined the concept “career competencies” in 1994 (pp. 117-119), which include the three dimensions of “knowing why, knowing how and knowing whom”. Inkson and Arthur (2001) adopted these categories and coined the concept of career capital, which is based on individual knowledge of three mutually enforcing capitals: knowing how, knowing whom and knowing why. Inkson and Arthur’s contribution outlines the “formation, investment and accumulation” (ibid, p. 52) of these three capitals by exploring the relationships between them. They find that career accumulation is not different from acquiring economic capital: knowledge directs the investment (knowing-why), which is maximised through collaboration (knowing-whom), and own skills (knowing-how) (ibid, p. 56). This is reminiscent of Kanter (1995), who identified the world-class and cosmopolitans through the three Cs: concepts (“the best and latest knowledge”), competence (“the ability to operate at the highest standards of any place anywhere”) and connections (“the best relationships, which provide access to the resources of other people and organizations around the world”) (1995, p. 23). Career capital in Inkson and Arthur’s sense (2001) highlights what investments individuals make to their careers and describes ways in which employees enrich their careers. Similarly to Ohmae (1992) and Kanter (1995), this concept does not acknowledge individuals’ different motivations and aspirations.

In the business and management literature the concept of career capital has been used to understand domestic careers (Starkey, Tempest and McKinlay, 2004; Taylor, 2007), global careers in the case of global managers (Dickmann and Harris, 2005; Suutari and Mäkelä, 2007; Mäkelä and Suutari 2009; Dickmann and Doherty, 2008) and SFES (Myers and Pringle, 2005).
Although career capital is a concept derived from the individual (De Fillippi and Arthur, 1994; Inkson and Arthur, 2001) and is thus an individualist perspective (Suutari and Mäkelä, 2007), scholars have called on business schools to design appropriate curricula for future global careerists’ (Suutari and Smale, 2008). There is a desire to examine the role of mentoring in organisations (Singh, Ragins and Tharenou, 2009), the role of the human resource department in the creation of social capital (Taylor, 2007) and a need to search for organisational responsibilities within the individual-organisational-environmental triangle of expatriate adjustment, to understand influences on the global manager (Cappellen and Janssens, 2005).

**Acquisition of career capital in the case of global managers and SFEs**

Suutari and Mäkelä (2007) explore the career capital of global managers and identify drivers and outcomes for each of the dimensions knowing-why, knowing-how and knowing-whom. Global managers represent the prototype for the global career of the protean or boundaryless, since their skills allow them to move jobs as frequently as they wish (ibid, p. 632). The knowing-why capital of global managers increases more during different global assignments than it would during domestic assignments (ibid, p. 631 and pp. 635-637). Similarly, on different international assignments global managers acquire knowing-how capital more quickly and in greater levels than on domestic assignments (ibid, p. 632 and p. 637). Finally, the knowing-whom dimension also increases and has a cumulative effect on the knowing-how dimension, as knowing the right people accelerates problem-solving and project management (ibid, p. 637). These three dimensions were seen to have an effect on the global career identity of managers. Suutari and Mäkelä (2007) identify six core aspects (ibid. pp. 640-641)\(^{11}\). Suutari and Mäkelä highlight that global managers exhibit protean characteristics due to their experiences and despite their organisationally framed international experiences (ibid, p. 643), but emphasise that careers are neither controlled by the individual nor the organisation (ibid, p. 643; cf. Larsen, 2004). In that sense, global managers (Black and Gregersen, 2000; Suutari, 2003) reveal higher mobility than domestic managers, similar to Kanter’s ideal of ‘cosmopolitans’ (Kanter, 1995).

In contrast to global managers, Suutari and Brewster (2000) show that SFEs are predominantly younger and motivated by ‘internationalism’. However, contributions examining the career capital of SFEs are rare. Jokinen, Brewster and Suutari (2008) examined the three dimensions of career capital in the case of self-initiated foreign employees and compared them to the case of organisationally assigned expatriates. They found no difference in career accumulation between the two groups except the “knowing-whom” dimension, which is markedly larger for organisationally assigned expatriates (ibid, p. 989); but they concluded that self-directed foreign work experience is as good for career capital as organisationally assigned expatriation (ibid, p. 990). This contrasts with Peltokorpi and Fröse (2009, see Chapter 2, Section 2.4.3) who attribute the difference in adjustment between self-initiated employees (SIEs) and

\(^{11}\) These are an awareness of a high level of career capital, a high level of trust in employability, a good global job market perspective, internal career motivations based on interesting work experiences and personal goals rather than promotions and higher salaries, seeking out new work challenges, high global orientation.
organisational employees (OEs) in Japan to SIEs’ level of social adjustment to the host society (ibid, pp. 1100-1102, p. 1106). While their contribution discusses adjustment, they stress that SIEs must have the skills that equip them for adjustment. Peltokorpi and Fröse’s contribution discusses career capital implicitly and questions the role of organisations in the case of SIEs (Peltokorpi and Fröse, 2009) and SFEs (Suutari and Brewster, 2000). The contributions looking at SFEs question the role of the organisation and the rationality of the acquisition of career capital, since SFEs move independently and outside company structures. They show that other skills (Peltokorpi and Fröse, 2009) assist with adjustment and beneficial work experience. Hence, SFE experiences challenge the conceptualisation of career capital as rational and organisationally driven. Due to their self-initiated voyage, SFEs could be considered as more mobile and potentially more cosmopolitan (Kanter, 1995) than global managers who are typically assigned and cushioned by their company. However, given the few examples on SFEs, more research is needed.

The new component for global success: cosmopolitan capital

Iniguez (13 Sept 2006; 18 Sept 2006) stresses the need for “cosmopolitan managers” and Brimm speculates that “global cosmopolitans could become to 21st century organisations what expatriates were to 20th century multinationals” (Filou, 2007). Tharenou aims to identify the factors which drive the aspiration to work abroad and finds that high self-capabilities and high expectations about the outcome of working abroad, coupled with few barriers and opportunities in international companies; are the dominant patterns (Tharenou, 2003, p. 489). However, there are few contributions (Edwards et al, 2003; Rizvi, 2005; Suutari and Smale, 2008; Milhauser and Rahschulte, 2010) examining how to build cosmopolitan skills. The existing contributions identify a particular kind of cosmopolitanism. In the discussion on designing international business studies curricula for boundaryless careers, Suutari and Smale (2008) suggest “one way in which IB curricula could seek to promote this attitudinal stance is to promote cosmopolitanism amongst the students” (2008, p. 186). Overall, these studies emphasise the importance of cosmopolitan capital for a global career.

Weenink’s work (2007 and 2008) on parents equipping their adolescent-pre-university children with cosmopolitan capital for a globalised world is relevant to understanding an organisational context and SFEs. The acquisition of cosmopolitan capital occurs in the context of witnessing globalisation: parents saw “globalization at work and […] are preparing their children for it” (Weenink, 2008, p. 1098). This is comparable to the struggle of employees who aim to enhance their career capital by either going abroad themselves (Suutari and Brewster, 2000) or by expressing a wish to be sent abroad (Vance, 2005). Weenink found that parents saw:

“cosmopolitanism as a form of cultural and social capital, rather than feelings of global connectedness or curiosity in the Other. Dedicated cosmopolitan parents were distinguished from pragmatic cosmopolitans. The former taught their children to explore the world and to take a global perspective on their course of life, while the latter thought that globalizing processes required cosmopolitan competencies.”

Weenink, 2008, p. 1089

To be more precise, Weenink defines
“Cosmopolitan capital [as], first of all, a propensity to engage in globalizing social arenas (in the context of this article, it concerns arenas in which the struggle is for privileged positions, e.g. the labour and educational markets that prepare for positions like that of managers at multinational companies, employees at non-governmental organizations, university teachers or civil servants at the European level).”

Weenink, 2008, p. 1092

Weenink finds two distinct sets of parents revealing two types of cosmopolitanism: the dedicated and the pragmatic cosmopolitans. Dedicated cosmopolitans display a “willingness and the ability to look beyond borders; to regard going abroad some time as normal” (ibid, p. 1094). More than that, “an important feature of cosmopolitanism was not only to be prepared to go beyond borders, but also to be prepared to adapt to the situation, to be flexible” (ibid, pp. 1094-1095) based on the belief “that the world is there to be explored” (ibid, p. 1095). By contrast, pragmatic cosmopolitans

“often had international work experiences and therefore saw the advantages of appropriating an international orientation, mainly learning English at a high level. But they did not relate this to a vision of a world without borders that is open, to be explored for everyone, or to a dedication to cultural openness.”

Weenink, 2008, p. 1096

However, Weenink concludes that especially the view of dedicated cosmopolitans goes against connectedness with one place. In fact,

“the dedicated cosmopolitans see the world as a sort of playground. What they teach their children is in fact a form of disconnectedness: they should not be tied to locality, […] the dedicated cosmopolitans teach their offspring to exploit opportunities, spread their wings and seek the best place to be.”

Weenink, 2008, p. 1098

The view of dedicated cosmopolitan parents is similar to Ohmae’s equidistance (1992) and Kanter’s supralocality (1995). Furthermore, Weenink identifies that the parents interviewed do not have a real interest in diversity:

“Some of the dedicated cosmopolitans indeed displayed Hannerz’s willingness to engage with the Other’ as they emphasized the importance of an open and flexible attitude towards other cultures. However, such an attitude was not always related to an interest in cultural diversity per se, but to the more pragmatic capability to adapt to the situation. Furthermore, it turned out that the multicultural ideal of ‘engaging with the Other’ was not a universal principle for some parents: they indicated they would rather prevent their children from meeting the ethnic minorities at the school their children wanted to attend. Pragmatic cosmopolitans did not mention any interest in cultural diversity. To conclude: it appeared that parents’ orientation to be flexible and open minded towards other cultures is inspired predominantly by pragmatic motives, rather than out of cultural curiosity.”

Weenink, 2008, p. 1099

Weenink contests the notion of dedicated cosmopolitanism because it emphasises “disconnectedness” and lacks an “interest in the other per se” and interest in “cultural diversity” (Weenink, 2008, p. 1099). This perspective will be explored again in the critique of cosmopolitanism (see Table 3.3; Halsall, 2009).
Summary

Career capital is seen to enhance the individual’s capacity to survive and strive in globalisation, whether they are global managers, SFEs, or adolescent, pre-university students. The concept of career capital relies on individuals making investments into their career (Inkson and Arthur, 2001). It presents itself as a rational and calculable concept and appears to exclude other non-rational factors such as non-work factors and economic pressures. In particular, studies of SFEs have challenged the rationality of the concept. In addition, the concept of cosmopolitan capital reveals the selective depiction of cosmopolitanism (Suutari and Smale, 2008; Weenink, 2008). Dedicated cosmopolitans foster detachment in their children and reveal a selective interest in cosmopolitanism, which echoes Kofman’s observation that “cultural diversity [is] only useful as long as [it is] used for economic growth” (2005, p. 90). Career capital relies upon rationality, which excludes non-rational reasons, “neglects human agency” and “everyday life” (Ley, 2004, p. 154). It views cosmopolitanism as a concept based on detachment rather than engagement, which is particularly visible in cosmopolitan capital.

3.2.3 Global Mindset

The concept of the global mindset is an extension of career capital theories and rests on intellectual, psychological and social capital (Javidan, 2007). Concepts of the global mindset (Hitt et al, 2007; Levy et al, 2007) are intrinsically linked to the GLOBE project (Global Leadership in Chapter 2; Javidan, 2007).

Methodologically, this review of literature around the global mindset concept builds upon literature from 2007, as there were very few empirical studies prior to this (Levy et al, 2007, 2007, p. 26). Even after this date, explicit applications are rare, and are based on surveys and linked to improving companies’ efficiencies (Cruse, 2009; Bowen and Inkpen, 2010). Implicit applications look at the global mindset’s role in improving companies’ efficiencies (Bellin and Pham, 2008; Lahiri et al, 2008; Story, 2010); inpatriates (Moeller et al, 2010) and managers adjustment (Ananthram et al, 2010). In 2007, the term “global mindset” was defined as:

“a set of individual attributes that, combined, enable the global executive to succeed in influencing those from different parts of the world to work together to achieve corporate strategies.”

Hitt et al, 2007, p. 2

This section introduces the three components, intellectual, psychological and social capital, which make up the “global mindset” according to the definitions of Javidan (2005) and Hitt et al (2007). The origins of the concept of the global mindset will be examined by analysing three identified strands - cultural, strategic and multidimensional (Levy et al, 2007). In connection with the three strands the underlying philosophies of cosmopolitanism and cognitive complexity will be discussed and critically evaluated.

Components of a global mindset: intellectual, psychological and social capital

As mentioned, the concept of the “global mindset” consists of intellectual, psychological and social capital (Javidan, 2007, p. 5; Table 3.1)

Table 3-1 - Intellectual, psychological and social capital for the global mindset
The numbers following the different characteristics measure the importance of the characteristic in the overall framework of the global mindset. The measures were obtained by first interviewing 50 Thunderbird School of Global Management professors, then interviewing 200 Thunderbird alumni and discussing the findings at a conference about the global mindset organised at Thunderbird before finally interviewing executives through the US-based Worldwide Employee Relocation Council (ERC). The ERC executives were asked to rank each of the parameters on a scale from 0-7 with 7 standing for “extremely important” (Javidan et al, 2007, p. 6). This methodology and the numbers following each category present a tangible understanding of what components a global mindset consists of. The concept of career capital, the conception of the global mindset as measurable intellectual, psychological and social capital is too rational and excludes alternative influences on, aspirations and motivations of individuals. For SFEs, the current conception may not be applicable. In addition to Javidan (2007); Hitt et al (2007) and Levy at al (2007) identified three strands of the global mindset, namely the cultural, the strategic and the multidimensional perspectives (ibid, p. 13) and added further definitions.

**Characteristics of the three global mindset perspectives**

The three perspectives (cultural, strategic and multidimensional) of the global mindset were developed from the 1960s onwards. Today these are used in parallel (Levy et al, 2007). Each one will be discussed in turn introducing it historically followed by a description, settling on a definition and revealing its underlying logic.

The cultural perspective can be traced to the change in administrative complexity in the 1970s (Perlmutter, 1969; Heenan and Perlmutter, 1979). It defined the “global mindset” as

“the ability to develop and interpret criteria for personal and business performance that are independent from the assumptions of a single country, culture or context; and to implement those criteria appropriately in different countries, cultures, and contexts.”

Maznevski and Lane, 2003, p. 172
The cultural perspective has provided an antithesis to the notion of ethnocentricism of an organisation (Levy et al, 2007, pp. 233-240) and has contributed a new focus by exploring cultural diversity and cultural distance. These scholars distinguish between the “traditional international manager” and the “transnational manager” as the latter has “a global perspective characterized by knowledge and appreciation of different countries” (Adler and Bartholomew, 1992 in Levy et al, 2007, p. 238). Moreover, authors like Kobrin (1994) claim that there is a “correlation between the geocentric mindset of the individual and the geographic scope of the firm” (Kobrin, 1994, p. 494), which means that “the global firm and the global organization may be created through managerial perception” (Kobrin, 1994, p. 508).

Levy et al (2007, p. 239) argue that the underlying philosophy of the cultural perspective is cosmopolitanism, based on Hannerz (1996) amongst others. Hannerz saw “true cosmopolitans” as “defined by their willingness to engage with the other and an openness toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity” (Hannerz, 1996, p. 163 (in Levy et al, 2007); Hannerz, 1990, p. 239); but based on the competency to “make one’s way into other cultures through listening, looking, intuiting, and reflecting” (Hannerz, 1996, p. 193 [in Levy et al, 2007]; Hannerz, 1990, p. 239). Levy et al (2007) emphasize that despite the behavioural component of travel, the cognitive element is the defining characteristic for a “global mindset” (Kanter, 1995, p. 23). In Levy et al’s (2007) understanding, cosmopolitanism stands for “universalism, impartiality and objectivity, as well as standing above cultural particularism and ‘locals’” (ibid, p. 239) and is revealed by two dimensions: firstly, an orientation towards the outside and “the Other”, which reconciles the global and the local by reconciling between the foreign and the familiar and secondly, “the openness and willingness to explore and learn from alternative systems of meaning held by others” (ibid, p. 240).

The strategic perspective was developed in the 1980s (Levy et al, 2007) and focused increasingly on the benefit of an individual’s global mindset for the organisation (Bartlett and Ghoshal, 1989). The strategic perspective has several parallel definitions for the concept (Bartlett and Ghoshal, 1989; Kefalas, 1998; Govindarajan and Gupta, 2001; Harvey and Novicevic, 2001; Bouquet, 2005). Jeannet (2000) stressed that:

“the executive with the global mindset has the ability to see across multiple territories and focuses on commonalities across many markets rather than emphasizing the differences between markets.”

ibid, p. 11 and in Levy et al, 2007, p. 240

Jeannet also describes the corporate level and sees it as:

“those cultural aspects of a company that define the extent to which the firm has learned to think, behave and operate in global terms.”

ibid, p. 199 and in Levy et al, 2007, p. 240

The strategic perspective looks at environmental complexity and its influence on players within this environment. Thus it “highlights challenges of managing complex operations and integrating geographically distant and strategically diverse business environments, while responding to
local conditions” (Levy et al, 2007, p. 233). This perspective is based on the realisation that the development of a complex managerial mindset is vital for successful operation in a global environment with an insufficient administration. It emphasises that managers must reflect and drive the agendas of a global company and therefore need global cognitive abilities (Bartlett et al, 2003). Most studies focus on the “ability to manage across global dynamics”, while some look at the balance between “global integration and local responsiveness” or “mediating the tension between global thinking and acting locally” (Levy et al, 2007, p. 241; Kefalas, 1998). Integration, responsiveness and coordination of the company are the three aims for companies (Bartlett et al. 2008; Chapter 2). Managers are supposed to contribute to this by being equally integrated, responsive and co-ordinated. The skill to be developed or to possess is “cognitive complexity”, which allows superior information-processing capabilities, balancing the global and the local (Levy, 2007, p. 243).

Cognitive complexity, as the underlying philosophy of the strategic dimension, allows the global executive to perceive and process information (Levy et al, 2007, pp. 242-243). Levy et al (2007) highlight that complications are supposedly beneficial for the company (Weick 1979; Levy et al, 2007, p. 242). Seeing events from multiple perspectives, looking for a wider range of information and assimilating these different perspectives positively contributes to the effective execution of companies’ strategies (Levy et al, 2007, p. 243). While some have told employees to “complicate yourself!” (Weick, 1979 full reference required), others have pointed out that paying attention to conflicting information is counterproductive (Bouquet, 2005). Overall, cognitive complexity is supposed to assist in balancing the “contradictory demands of global integration and local responsiveness” (ibid, p. 243; Bartlett et al, 2008).

Cultural and strategic perspectives were merged in the 1990s to shape a multidimensional perspective (Rhinesmith, 1992; Kedia and Mukherji, 1999; Gregersen et al, 1998). Rhinesmith believed “people with global mindsets as more inclined to see the world from a broad perspective, always looking for unexpected trends and opportunities” (ibid, p. 64). Javidan (2007) draws on the multidimensional perspective, which integrates strategic and cultural perspectives, but also draws upon “information processing” and “managerial performance” (Levy et al, 2007, p. 244; Rhinesmith 1992). This conceptualisation of global mindset is characterised by

1. “an openness to and awareness of multiple spheres of meaning and action”
2. “a complex representation and articulation of cultural and strategic dynamics”
3. “a mediation and integration of ideals and actions oriented to both the global and the local”

Levy et al, 2007, p. 244

This definition draws heavily on the cognitive parts of receiving and processing information but is dependent on cosmopolitanism, as it “brings an open, non-judgemental stance to the perception of information” for a successful, effective performance (Levy et al, 2007, p. 245).
The multidimensional perspective draws on Rhinesmith (1992), who summarized the two cultural and strategic perspectives and also uses their different underlying philosophies. Emphasising the understanding of complex business and cultural variations, the multidimensional perspective is based upon an increased tolerance towards other cultures, a view of diversity as an asset and the ability to rethink boundaries and contradictions (Kedia and Mukherji, 1999).

The three perspectives are summarized in Table 3.2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perspective</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Underlying logic</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>Perlmutter, 1969; Perlmutter and Heenan, 1979; Adler and Bartholomew, 1992; Maznevski and Lane, 2003</td>
<td>“the ability to develop and interpret criteria for personal and business performance that are independent from the assumptions of a single country, culture or context; and to implement those criteria appropriately in different countries, cultures, and contexts” (Maznevski and Lane, 2003, p. 172)</td>
<td>Cosmopolitanism - defined as an orientation towards the Other (Hannerz, 1996) and an openness and willingness to explore and learn from others; cognitive element of the mindset is the defining characteristic for a “global mindset” (Kanter, 1995, p. 23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multi-dimensional</td>
<td>Rhinesmith, 1992; Kedia and Mukherji, 1999; Gregersen et al, 1998; Javidan, 2007; Levy et al, 2007</td>
<td>1/ “an openness to and awareness of multiple spheres of meaning and action” 2/ “a complex representation and articulation of cultural and strategic dynamics” 3/ “a mediation and integration of ideals and actions oriented to both the global and the local” (Levy et al, 2007, p. 244)</td>
<td>Combination of Cosmopolitanism and Cognitive Complexity – an increased tolerance towards other cultures, a view of diversity as an asset and the ability to rethink boundaries and contradictions</td>
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</table>

**Summary**

This section has introduced the idea of the global mindset; firstly as a definition with intellectual, psychological and social capital; and secondly with its three historic perspectives and underlying philosophies. The initial definition of the global mindset and its ranking of different
capitals evoke a similar critique to the concept of career capital, as the concept is too rigid. Ranking the different capitals' sub-characteristics creates a tangible reality of the global mindset, where the sub-characteristics are neither exhaustive, nor holistic, nor clear. The definition of the global mindset and its accompanying capitals essentialise and reify the topic (cf. Javidan, 2007). In relation to the different strands of global mindset and their underlying philosophies, two main points have to be raised. Firstly, the cosmopolitanism portrayed as the underlying philosophy of the cultural perspective is selective. Levy et al (2007, p. 239) draw on Kanter (1995) to add to Hannerz (1996; 1990) and exclude immobile locals from the definition of cosmopolitans. They also ignore the material and cultural conditions of the bearers of a global mindset. Secondly, the depiction of cognitive complexity is contradictory, as complexity is encouraged (Weick, 1979) but undesired if excessive (Bouquet, 2005). This is reminiscent of Kofman (2005, p. 90), who saw diversity as “only useful as long as used for economic growth” and Suchman (2007), who found that business uses anthropology to “penetrate the cultures of capitalism deeper”. The strategic perspective is functionalist and is driven by rational choices made by employees that might not exist in reality (cf. Peltokorpi and Fröse, 2009). The selectivity and basis on rational choice raise questions about cosmopolitanism.

3.2.4 Summary

This section has described cosmopolitanism in the business and management literature and has explored how employees acquire cosmopolitan skills. Starting with popular depictions of cosmopolitanism, Ohmae’s concept of “equidistance” was identified, based on shared values created by working together and having similar backgrounds. Speaking the same language implies sharing the same worldview and reveals that people are “‘of’ the global corporation “. Kanter (1995) stressed the difference between cosmopolitans and locals due to their different levels of competence and mobility. Both Ohmae (1992) and Kanter (1995) stress the crucial characteristic of disconnectedness in their concepts of equidistance and supralocality. Joining the ranks of cosmopolitans is possible by working and living in the right regions, engaging in mobility and acquiring portable skills. Similarly, business schools stress the importance of cosmopolitans for corporate organisations but are wondering how to develop “cosmopolitan managers” (Iniguez, 13 Sept 2006 and 18 Sept 2006).

The academic literature sees career capital and the global mindset as crucial skills for global career success. The first concept outlined was the different career capitals described by De Fillippi and Arthur (1996) and Inkson and Arthur (2001) and looked at empirical cases of career capital acquisition by global managers and SFEs (Suutari and Mäkelä, 2007). Weenink (2008) especially focused on the acquisition of cosmopolitan capital and found that firstly, the concept was successfully fostered through parentage and secondly, that cosmopolitan capital is a selective cosmopolitanism, which builds a sense of disconnectedness as well as a lack of interest in diversity per se. As such the concept of cosmopolitan capital comes close to the disconnectedness advocated by Kanter (1995) and Ohmae (1992).
The second academic concept of the global mindset draws upon three strands, addressing different organisational needs at different historical points (Perlmutter, 1969 and 1979; Bartlett et al, 2003; Rhinesmith, 1992). The underlying logics of these three strands are cosmopolitanism and cognitive complexity. The definition and use of cognitive complexity is selective (Weick, 1979; Bouquet, 2005) and is reminiscent of Kofman (2005), as selectivity is encouraged by a focus on economic growth. The perspective is based upon rational choice. Overall, Levy et al’s (2007) conception of the global mindset, as well as Weenink’s perception of a selective cosmopolitanism based on disconnectedness, raises suspicions about their conception of cosmopolitanism and how individuals act this out. This requires closer examination.

**Critique of cosmopolitanism in the business and management literature**

The previous section presented an analysis of the concepts of cosmopolitanism in business and management literature. Throughout the section several critiques were made, which are drawn together here in five points. Many social scientists have commented on “globe talk” (Ley, 2004, p. 152) or “celebratory writing on cosmopolitanism” (Kofman, 2005, p. 94).

The first critique is of the view that cosmopolitans are “equidistant” (Ohmae, 1992) or “supra-local” (Kanter, 1995). Halsall observes:

> “'cosmopolitans' are not 'defined by particular places' (as 'locals' are). The important feature of this characterization is that attachment to place is associated with implicitly irrational and retrogressive emotions, while the transcendence of place is seen as rational and progressive, as indicated by its association with the semantic field of 'opportunities', 'resources' and 'control'.”

Halsall, 2009, S140

Calhoun adds that:

> “cosmopolitanism is a presence not an absence, an occupation of particular positions in the world, not a view from nowhere or everywhere. All actually existing cosmopolitanisms, to be more precise, reflect influences of social location and cultural tradition.”

Calhoun, 2003, p. 544

In particular, a cosmopolitan presence establishes itself through direct and indirect relationships as Calhoun further outlines:

> “groupness […] is the product of the way in which members are joined to each other in direct or indirect relationships. […] direct ones are those in which the parties are clearly known to each other as persons – mainly, but not exclusively face-to-face relationships. Indirect ones are those in which some sort of mediation is involved that makes the connection without direct interaction and mutual awareness – as one might be related by marriage or by a bureaucratic organization – to people one has never met.”

Calhoun, 2003, p. 548

A cosmopolitan “presence” based on “direct and indirect relationships” is the key distinction between cosmopolitanism in the social sciences and cosmopolitanism in the business and management literature.

The second critique concerns the neglect of local as well as social and material conditions. Ohmae’s emphasis that the “global” comes “first” (1992, p. 18) disregards the local. Moreover,
his emphasis on a company-wide language (ibid, p. 91) based on shared values (ibid, p. 95) neglects the fact that organisations are experienced differently by different people, ignoring the influence of power and material and social conditions (Calhoun, 2003). This critique is linked to the critique of seeing cosmopolitans as equidistant as stated in the first critique. Social scientists have condemned “too much of the celebratory writings on cosmopolitanism [as] not substantiated by empirical evidence” and have seen these writings as “more concerned with generating a new orthodoxy of theorising social life based on the entitled and privileged subject, who enjoys unfettered movement, effortlessly consumes different cultures and places and is free to proclaim multiple identities” (Kofman, 2005, p. 94; author’s insertion). In this kind of orthodoxy “being local may become a sign of social deprivation” (Kofman, 2005, p. 86). This neglects the issue of choice and lack thereof as in the case of “displaced persons, asylum seekers, and those whom economic restructuring has forced into a search for other pastures” (Massey, 1994 in Kofman, 2005, p. 94). Calhoun observed a similar dynamic:

“The new cosmopolitans […] offer no strong account of social solidarity or of the role of culture in constituting human life […] they give little weight to ‘belonging’, to the notion that social relationships might be as basic as individuals, or that individuals exist only in cultural milieux – even if usually in several at the same time.”

Calhoun, 2003 p. 535

Calhoun further found that:

“The point is not simply privilege. It is that a sense of connection to the world as a whole, and of being a competent actor on the scale of ‘global citizenship’ is not merely a matter of the absence of more local ties. It has its own material and social conditions.”

Calhoun, 2003 p. 543

In addition to detecting a lack of empirical evidence in business and management literature (Kofman, 2005, p. 95), empirical evidence in the social sciences has found that the local is important for a transnational elite, whose networks are “the opposite of the expansive and inclusive networks implied by ungrounded and deterritorialised networks” and are “highly localised [albeit] restricted to particular territories” (Beaverstock, 2002, p. 157).

A third critique concerns the supposed antagonism between local and global and the lack of mixture of global and local elements in persons. This may well be the result of the supposed equidistance of cosmopolitans and the neglect of the local in the existing literature on cosmopolitanism. Kanter’s account of cosmopolitans and locals creates a dichotomy between the two, which is depicted as a struggle (Kanter, 1995, p. 61). To succeed and to “not be pulled down or rooted” (Kanter, 1995, p. 42), cosmopolitans must transcend (Kanter, 1995, p. 24) their environment. Moreover, there are no locally and globally mixed groups in between these two groups. A person is either local or global. Kanter perpetuates the dichotomy between powerful cosmopolitans and powerless locals, the winners and the losers (cf. Skrbis et al, 2004), without any groups or individuals in between.
Calhoun found that “much of the new liberal cosmopolitan thought proceeds as though belonging is a matter of social constraints from which individuals ideally ought to escape, or temptations to favoritism they ought to resist.” (2003, p. 535 [sic]). Ley’s analysis of the concepts of globalisation and cosmopolitanism echo Calhoun’s thoughts (Ley, 2004, p. 159) and outlines the reason for the way the local and the global are constructed:

“Globalisation constructs the global as a space that is dynamic, thrusting, open, rational, cosmopolitan and dominant, while the local is communitarian, authentic, closed, static, nostalgic, defensive, (but ultimately defenceless) and the site of ethnic, sexual, regional and other fragmentary identities.”

Ley, 2004, p. 155

Halsall stresses that the global and the local are valorised with the local being seen as “narrow, retrogressive and even primitive attitudes” (Halsall, 2009, p. S140, discussing Kanter). As Ley summarises:

“The category of the local is a problem for the cosmopolitan only when it is filled with everything the cosmopolitan is not. My argument here has been that cosmopolitanism itself is always situated, always imbued with partiality and vulnerability.”

Ley, 2004, p. 162

Ley finds that “in a transnational paradigm, the global and the local may dissolve into closely related versions of each other” (Ley, 2004, p. 156). Hence there is a need to include different scales such as “the regional, the national and the supra-national” (Ley, 2004, p. 155) and recognise that:

“the global is also the local and its expressions, for example in gentrifying neighbourhoods in global cities, are never as practically inclusive or epistemologically universal as they might claim and wish to be. The partisan and the local are always contained within cosmopolitanism and the global.”

Ley, 2004, p. 161

As with the incorporation of the global in the local, the local is in the global, and Kofman found that “there is no reason why diasporic migrants from the South could not fit into Hannerz’s (1990) ‘true’ cosmopolitan, whom he distinguishes from merely mobile people, such as transnationals, tourists, exiles and labour migrants”, because diasporic migrants display an openness to “the Other” and the world.

To overcome the antagonism between locals and globals and the lack of a mixture of global and local elements detected in business and management literature, Skrbis et al, 2004 suggest that:

"our understanding of cosmopolitanism should not be constructed from a series of imaginary, utopian or ideal types; the fluidity and complexity of cosmopolitanism are only likely to be revealed by the empirical study of its mundane reality.”

Skrbis et al, 2004, p. 121

Studying “mundane reality” is particularly salient through new forms of migration such as “middling” as:

one of the effects of globalization has, in fact, been a downward "massification," through the middle classes, of international migration opportunities linked to
careers and education, such that it is by no means only those who might be thought of as "elites" who are able to move."

Favell, Feldblum and Smith, 2007, p. 17

A study of mundane reality should be able to “dig beneath the globalization rhetoric and transcend the facile dichotomy between provincial locals and sophisticated worldly cosmopolitans” (Kofman, 2005, p. 85) and discover different forms of mixtures (Kofman, 2005, p. 86).

The fourth critique concerns the view that humans are rationally driven and measurable company people. “Transcending” localities (Kanter, 1995, p. 24) and joining the “international labour force” (Kanter, 1995, p. 42) is the key to a successful cosmopolitan life. The emphasis on rationality as a single motivation also influences the concept of career capital, which relies on individuals making investments in their career (Inkson and Arthur, 2001). Moreover, most authors measure and compare the acquired career capital (Suutari and Mäkelä, 2007, p. 632 and p. 637). Hence, career capital and the global mindset present themselves as rational and calculable concepts (Javidan, 2007). This view describes only rational human beings and ignores “material and social conditions” (Calhoun, 2003), which influence people and make cosmopolitanism.

“The all purpose lubricant of the (allegedly) frictionless world of elite global mobility is human capital, in which the "human" part is measured in terms of internationally recognized qualifications and quantifiable talent and is every bit as universal and inalienable as human rights. […] the real power of the global mobility myth stems from its individualist faith: the idea that the human capital of education can take you where you want to go regardless of social structure or social reproduction. The globally talented are supposed to be able to make it anywhere, even without local connections or embedded networks.”

Favell et al, 2007, p. 21

The belief that career capital and a measurable global mindset drives and enables humans in the global economy, regardless of social structure and local connections or embedded networks, is thus only part of the story.

This view also excludes other non-rational factors such as non-work factors or the need for an income. Kofman demonstrated that some individuals are forced or excluded from mobility (2005, p. 86). Moreover,

“the terminology- if dependent on education, profession, and migrant status- can leave out key populations: particularly international students who, perhaps more than nearly all other groups, are the quintessential avatars of globalization.”

as Favell et al (2007, p. 16) note. Recently, Kennedy recorded a variety of motivations, barriers and opportunities for young “middling” EU migrants in Manchester (2010, pp. 466-467; p. 469), which are not all rational and motivated by companies. Overall, the issue with career capital is its reliance on rationality and dependency on companies, which excludes non-rational reasons, binds individuals to companies, “neglects human agency” and ultimately “everyday life” (Ley, 2004, p. 154).
The fifth critique is the selective depiction of cosmopolitanism revealed in cosmopolitan capital and the global mindset (Suutari and Smale, 2008; Weenink, 2008; Levy et al, 2007). Dedicated cosmopolitans foster detachment in their children and reveal a selective interest in cosmopolitanism (Weenink, 2008). Also, the sub-characteristics within the concept of a global mindset are neither exhaustive, holistic, nor clear, as authors within the cultural perspective and cosmopolitanism of the global mindset draw on Kanter as well as Hannerz, which is contradictory (Kofman, 2005, p. 87; section 3.2). Moreover, the depiction of cognitive complexity is also selective (Weick, 1979; Bouquet, 2005). This selective use is reminiscent of Kofman (2005, p. 90), who saw the reason for the selective use in the view of business and management that diversity is “only useful as long as used for economic growth” and Suchman (2007), who finds that business uses anthropology to “penetrate the cultures of capitalism deeper” but not as a holistic perspective. The contrast to a holistic application of Hannerz’ definition of cosmopolitanism is revealed in Kofman’s argument for describing migrants - the typical “losers” of the winners-losers binary (Skrbis et al, 2004) - as cosmopolitans:

“There is no reason why diasporic migrants from the South could not fit into Hannerz’s (1990) ‘true’ cosmopolitan, whom he distinguishes from merely mobile people, such as transnationals, tourists, exiles and labour migrants. His cosmopolitans exhibit a culturally open disposition and the ‘willingness and the ability to engage with the cultural ‘Other’. It entails an intellectual and aesthetic openness towards divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity. It often involves the building up of competence and skill, and hence an active rather than passive engagement with Other cultures.”

Kofman, 2005, p. 87

In Hannerz’s own words:

“The perspective of the cosmopolitan must entail relationships to a plurality of cultures understood as distinctive entities. But furthermore, cosmopolitanism in the stricter sense includes a stance towards diversity itself, towards the co-existence of cultures in the individual experience. A more genuine cosmopolitanism is first of all an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other. It is an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity.”

Hannerz, 1990, p. 239

Here, Hannerz emphasises a “stance towards diversity”, an orientation, a willingness and a stance of openness, which is hard to combine with the strategic perspective of Bartlett and Ghoshal (2008). The five points of critique can be summarised as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Points of Critique</th>
<th>Counterpoints</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Critique 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmopolitan</td>
<td>“attachment to place is associated with implicitly irrational and retrogressive emotions” (Halsall, 2009, p. S140)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>detachment,</td>
<td>YET cosmopolitanism is “a presence […], an occupation of particular positions in the world […], all actually existing cosmopolitanisms reflect influences of social location and cultural tradition.” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 544)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>equidistance</td>
<td>“members are joined to each other in direct or indirect relationships. […] direct ones are those, in which the parties are clearly known to each other as persons – mainly, but not exclusively face-to-face relationships. Indirect ones are those in which some sort of mediation is involved that makes the connection without direct interaction and mutual awareness – as one might be related by marriage or by a bureaucratic organization – to people one has never met.” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 548)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ohmae, 1992)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and supra-locality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Kanter, 1995)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critique 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neglect of the</td>
<td>o generates a “new orthodoxy of theorizing social life based on the entitled and privileged subject” (Kofman, 2005, p. 95)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>local and</td>
<td>o disregards the issue of choice and lack thereof (Kofman, 2005, p. 94)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>social &amp; material</td>
<td>o lacks ideas about “belonging” and “social relationships as basic as individuals or that individuals exist only in cultural milieux – even if usually in several at the same time” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 535)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conditions</td>
<td>o “not merely a matter of the absence of more local ties. It has its own material and social conditions” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 543)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o “lack of empirical evidence” in celebratory writing (Kofman, 2005, p. 95)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o some empirical evidence in social sciences (Beaverstock, 2002, p. 257)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critique 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antagonism between</td>
<td>“new liberal cosmopolitan thought” purports that “belonging is a matter of social constraints from which individuals ought to escape, or […] ought to resist.” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 535; cf Ley, 2004, p. 159)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locals &amp; globals</td>
<td>“global as […] dynamic, thrusting, open, rational, cosmopolitan and dominant, […] local […] communitarian, authentic, closed, static, nostalgic, defensive, (but ultimately defenceless) and the site of ethnic, sexual, regional and other fragmentary identities.” (Ley, 2004, p. 155)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and the lack of</td>
<td>“the category of the local is a problem for the cosmopolitan only when it is filled with everything the cosmopolitan is not. […] cosmopolitanism itself is always situated, always imbued with partiality and vulnerability.” (Ley, 2004, p. 162)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mixture of global</td>
<td>YET “the global and the local may dissolve into closely related versions of each other” (Ley, 2004, p. 156)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp; local elements</td>
<td>“The partisan and the local are always contained within cosmopolitanism and the global” (Ley, 2004, p. 161)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in persons</td>
<td>HENCE: to reveal the “fluidity and complexity of cosmopolitanism” […] empirically study its mundane reality.” (Skrbis et al, 2004, p. 121)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ESPECIALLY “downward &quot;massification,&quot; through the middle classes, […] international migration opportunities linked to careers and education, […] by no means only those who might be thought of as &quot;elites&quot; who are able to move.” (Favell et al, 2007, p. 17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AIMED TO transcend the “facile dichotomy between provincial locals and sophisticated worldly cosmopolitans” and “discover different forms of mixtures” (Kofman, 2005)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Overall, these five points of critique identify the main shortcomings of cosmopolitanism in the business and management literature. To fill these shortcomings, it would be necessary to map cosmopolitan “presence” based on “direct and indirect relationships” (Calhoun, 2003; Critique 1); to add empirical evidence about people celebrated by business and management literature (Critique 2); thus adding a “mundane study of reality” (Skrbis et al, 2004) to the trend of “massification” and “middling” (Favell et al, 2007; Critique 3); and to demonstrate other motivations in addition to rational ones (Critique 4).

3.3 Cosmopolitanism in the Social Sciences

The fifth point of critique of cosmopolitanism in business and management was the selective depiction of cosmopolitanism (Table 3.3, Critique 5). This section examines theories of cosmopolitanism in the social sciences and explores a selection of empirical cases on cosmopolitanism in mobile environments, with the aim of returning to the origins of cosmopolitanism and revealing a more holistic understanding of the concept. Mapping theoretical trends in cosmopolitanism reveals three debates, namely a debate around cosmopolitanism and belonging; debates around the cosmopolitan subject; and debates around the display and manifestation of cosmopolitanism. The findings of this section will be used in Section 3.4 to develop research questions.

3.3.1 Theories of Cosmopolitanism

This section will first examine the diversity of the term cosmopolitan in its historic usage, before using existing anthologies of cosmopolitanism to narrow the fields of enquiry (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002, pp. 8-14) and delineate trends in the theoretical literature.
Etymologically, the word “cosmopolite” stems from the Greek components of cosmos (world/universe) and polites (citizen) and describes a person as a “citizen of the world” (Beck, 2004). Historically, the concept reappeared in the enlightenment period with Kant (Nowicka and Rovisco, 2009; Stade, 2007). Fine and Cohen (2002 in Vertovec and Cohen, 2002, pp. 137-162) highlight four cosmopolitan moments in history of which the Stoics and Kant are the first and second, and are complemented by the post-totalitarian moment of Hannah Arendt and finally Nussbaum’s late North-American thought. Before Hannah Arendt’s post-totalitarian moment, Kofman (2005) highlights that the term was used to describe cities like Paris, Berlin and Vienna in the 19th century. In the first part of the 20th century it became used to denote supposedly footloose migrants of Jewish origins since “cosmopolitanism became synonymous with betraying the motherland” (Kofman, 2005, p. 89). Connotations of the term cosmopolitanism have thus been mixed positively and negatively.12

In the 1990s, the (re)discovery of the term cosmopolitanism in the context of globalization (Rappaport and Stade, 2007; see also Ohmae, 1992 and Kanter, 1995) led to significant confusion, as expressed by Breckenridge, Bhabha, Pollock and Chakrabarty (2000); who state that they are “not exactly certain what it [cosmopolitanism] is” (2000, p. 577). Hollinger also notes that “one prominent feature of the new movement is the reticence of most of the discussants about the label” (2001, p. 237). Others have called for a grounding of the term (Skrbis, Kendall and Woodward, 2004) while the majority prefer Robbins’ statement that

“Cosmopolitanism’s advocates […] have most often felt obliged to keep it unlocated in order to preserve its sharp critical edge as well as its privileges.”

Robbins, 1998, p. 2

Anthologies have contributed to capturing the diversity but have not succeeded in defining either the term or the concept, as Skrbris et al (2004) would have wished. The reason for this can be found in the multidisciplinary usage of the term cosmopolitanism, (including philosophy, political science, migration studies, geography, sociology and anthropology) (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002). Cheah and Robbins (1998), for example, focus on norms and realities beyond nation-states. Hollinger lists “vernacular cosmopolitanism [Werbner, 2006], rooted cosmopolitanism [Appiah, 1997], critical cosmopolitanism [Delanty, 2006], comparative cosmopolitanism, national cosmopolitanism [Robbins, 1998], discrepant cosmopolitanism, situated cosmopolitanism [Englund, 2004], and actually existing cosmopolitanism [Robbins, 1998]” (2001, p. 237 [references inserted by the author]). Hollinger (2001) adds that the adjective ‘cosmopolitan’ used in front of democracy allows for even more nuances and applications. Beck and Sznajder (2006) followed this by compiling “A literature on Cosmopolitanism” which focuses on philosophical and political contributions. Nowicka and Rovisco (2009) pose the latest contribution to the topic. They describe three different ways of grouping existing examples of cosmopolitanism by distinguishing between moral, political and cultural cosmopolitanism (2009, p. 3), but overall discuss “actually existing cosmopolitanism”

12 At the beginning of the 20th century, alleged cosmopolitan rootlessness was viewed as negative (Kofman, 2005), while cosmopolitan rootlessness is celebrated at the end of the 20th century (Ohmae, 1992; Kanter, 1995).
As Hollinger summarized “the point of a rooted, situated, national, vernacular, critical and so on, cosmopolitanism is to bring cosmopolitanism down to earth” (2001, p. 237). In selected empirical examples in section 3.3.2 I will examine this point further.

**Vertovec and Cohen’s six views of cosmopolitanism**

Given the wide applications of the term, the rest of the section will attempt to explain angles on cosmopolitanism through Vertovec and Cohen (2002), whose attempt to capture the breadth of the term cosmopolitanism across disciplines remains the most complete and oft-cited anthology in six theoretical views.

The first view sees cosmopolitanism as a “socio-cultural condition” (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002, p. 9) and looks at cosmopolitanism’s social-cultural manifestation (Appadurai, 1996; Geertz, 1985). The hallmarks of this view are its emphasis on cultural creativity and cultural flows, which present a challenge to ethnocentric, racialised, gendered and national narratives and draw on post-modern migration studies and the idea of a diaspora (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002, p. 9). Geertz for instance, saw "the world [as] coming at each of its local points to look more like a Kuwaiti Bazaar than like an Englishmen’s Club" (1985, p.273; Vertovec and Cohen, 2002, p. 9). Breckenridge, et al (2000, p. 577), related historical usages of cosmopolitanism to nationalism, globalization and multiculturalism (ibid, pp. 578 ff). This viewpoint is multi-angled, post-modern and influences analyses towards foci on flows and movements. Critics of this view oppose the idea of “a rootless, global, hybrid cosmopolitanism”, because national and local identities continue to exist rather than being extinguished (Smith, 1995 in Vertovec and Cohen, 2002, p. 9). Here, locals can be excluded or inaccurately portrayed, thus prioritizing culture and neglecting power. (Kofman, 2005; see also View 4 with Nussbaum’s concentric circles criticized by Hollinger, 1995). Also, locals might see more options in the responses to globalisation than a hybriditising, cultural response (Hall, 1996).

A second view sees cosmopolitanism as “a philosophy or worldview” (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002, p. 10) and can be found in the works of scholars such as Pogge (1992), Ignatieff (1999), Beck (1998, 2004, 2006), Derrida (2001) and Appiah (in Cheah and Robbins, 1998, pp. 91-117). These scholars are concerned with refining what the cosmopolitan worldview contains and what moral guidance can be taken from this for political organizations. In their writings they relate to questions of communitarianism, nationalism and patriotism and draw on the philosopher Immanuel Kant. Beck (1998, pp.29-30) called for “a new dialectic of global and local questions that do not fit national politics” (in Vertovec and Cohen: 2002, p.11). Hospitality to strangers and openness is a hallmark of this position (Nowicka and Rovisco, 2009, p. 5), as can be seen by writings of Derrida (2001) on cosmopolitanism and forgiveness. The second view is based on the normative ideal that all humans supposedly belong to one community with shared moral values (Delanty, 2006, p.26; Tan and Yeoh in Binnie et al, 2006, pp.146-167). This view has resurfaced at various points and Fine and Cohen identify Zeno’s, Kant’s, Arendt’s
and Nussbaum’s moments as serving purposes such as providing “a placeless meeting of minds” [Zeno], a “perpetual place” [Kant], “justice” [Arendt] and “an answer to social fragmentation, extreme nationalism and ethnic hostility” [Nussbaum] (Fine and Cohen in Vertovec and Cohen, 2002, p.162). Communitarian critics of this view, such as Waldron, see this as encompassing “all the worst aspects of liberalism – atomism, abstraction, alienation from one’s roots, vacuity of commitment, indeterminacy of character, and ambivalence towards the good.” (Waldron, 1992, pp. 764-765), question whether the detachment supposed fostered by this view is the “cosmopolitan destiny” (Waldron, 1992, p. 767) and examine moral and economic interdependence as an alternative (Waldron, 1992, p. 769 ff.) Fine and Cohen emphasise that belonging is part of cosmopolitanism and hence dispute that cosmopolitanism is non-belonging: “the most persistent attack on cosmopolitanism has been the idea that it provides the opportunity of not belonging” ([sic] ibid, p. 158). The debate about cosmopolitan belonging is fundamental and ongoing, carried out in many empirical studies (Section 3.3.2).

On a more practical level, the third theoretical view is called “Political Project I: Transnational Institutions” (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002, p. 11) and looks at ways to found and run transnational institutions to serve the global civil society. Political institutions represent cosmopolitanism’s manifestation from above or below (ibid, pp.11-12; Beck and Sznaider, 2006). Organizations from above are for example the European Union and the United Nations. The movement from below is reflected in an apparent growth of a “global civil society” (Delanty, 2001 in Vertovec and Cohen; Delanty 1999). In seeing cosmopolitanism as a movement from above as well as below (Kaldor, 1996 in Vertovec and Cohen, 2002, p. 12; Kaldor 2004), cosmopolitanism seems to be everywhere.

The fourth view is called “Political Project II: Multiple Subjects” (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002, p. 12) and focuses on the subjects that make up the global civil society. Following on from studying institutions and a global society, this view mainly explores the affiliations and plural loyalties of these subjects. Nussbaum (1994) stresses that cosmopolites are not “devoid of local affiliations, but surrounded by a series of concentric circles” (ibid, p. 3). These concentric circles extend out from the self and eventually encompass humanity:

“The first one is drawn around the self; the next takes in one’s immediate family; then follows the extended family; then, in order, one’s neighbors or local group, one’s fellow city-dwellers, one’s fellow countrymen -- and we can easily add to this list groupings based on ethnic, linguistic, historical, professional, gender and sexual identities. Outside all these circles is the largest one, that of humanity as a whole.”

Nussbaum, 1994, p. 3 [sic]

The affiliations described by Nussbaum relate directly to concerns raised in connection to cosmopolitanism as a socio-cultural product based on rootlessness. The critique of this view is that it resonates more with the “individual, who[m it] is likely to understand as a member of different communities simultaneously” (Hollinger, 1995, p. 86 in Vertovec and Cohen, 2002, p. 12). Although the fourth view is seemingly against the first view’s celebration of hybrid
rootlessness, it still received similar critique for excluding the local, who is not “of different communities simultaneously”.

The final two views concern “cosmopolitanism as enacted in the outlooks and practices of ordinary people and groups” (Nowicka and Rovisco, 2009, p. 2). Cosmopolitanism as “an attitude or disposition” is a “mode of engaging with the world (Waldron, 1992, in Vertovec and Cohen: 2002, p.13). Taguieff (1990 in Vertovec and Cohen: 2002, p.13) terms this “heterophilia, an appreciation of cultural diversity”. This attitude is based on experience and involves mobility or a “concomitant sense of global belonging” (Tomlinson, 1999, in Vertovec and Cohen: 2002, p.13). Hannerz described it as a “concern for the other, [...] an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other, [...] an openness towards divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity” (1990, p. 239). Moreover, this attitude is linked to cosmopolitanism as “a practice” and “travel” most importantly (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002, p. 13). This view overlooks the fact that mobility is different for different people (Kofman, 2005).

Cosmopolitanism as “a practice or competence” is seen as the ability to “make one’s way into different cultures through listening, looking, intuiting and reflecting” (Hannerz, 1990), and thus participating in many worlds (Friedman, 1990, 1992, 1994). This is the equivalent of being multilingual (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002, p.14) and requires a “competence of both a generalized and a more specialized kind” (Hannerz, 1990, p. 239). With this, Hannerz makes cosmopolitanism “a matter of varieties and levels” (1990, p. 239). In particular, Hannerz sees cosmopolitanism as mastery or surrender: in mastery, cosmopolitans only pick pieces from other cultures, while surrender means the acceptance of the culture as a whole (ibid, p. 240). In the latter, “cosmopolitanism becomes proteanism”, while the cosmopolitan “knows where the exit is” at all times (Hannerz, 1990, p. 240). The ability to choose and to move relatively freely is not without class-based characteristics (Kofman, 2005; Calhoun, 2003), and thus elicits the accusation of an elite status (Calhoun, 2002) or the celebration of a global mindset created by travel (Kanter, 1995).

Table 3-4 summarises Vertovec and Cohen (2002, pp. 8-14) and highlights its relevance to this research:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Views</th>
<th>Selected Authors and Central Point</th>
<th>Critiques</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1/ Socio-cultural Condition</td>
<td>Geertz, 1985; Appadurai, 1996; Breckenridge et al, 2000</td>
<td>o Smith, 1995: celebrating rootlessness and mobility, and cultural creativity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o post-modern</td>
<td>o hybridity and rootlessness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o globalization as human and cultural flows</td>
<td>o Kofman, 2005: excludes local subjects thus privileging culture over power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o cultural creativity</td>
<td>o Hall, 1996: respond to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
- represented different beliefs through time: “a placeless meeting of minds” [Zeno], a “perpetual place” [Kant], “justice” [Arendt] and “an answer to social fragmentation, extreme nationalism and ethnic hostility” [Nussbaum] (cf. Fine and Cohen, 2002)  
- denies non-belonging of cosmopolitanism  
- (Fine and Cohen, ibid, p. 158)  
- examines moral connotations  
- relation of the nation to the globe  
- challenge to nationalism & communitarianism | Waldron, 1992: “all the worst aspects of liberalism”; is detachment “the cosmopolitan destiny?”  
- suggests that cosmopolitanism should focus on economic and moral interdependence instead  
\='< YET: Fine and Cohen would counter this accusation |
- examines manifestations of civil global society in political organizations from above and below | n/a |
| 4/ Political Project II: Multiple Subjects | Nussbaum, 1994  
- adds to belonging from below, thus contributing to View 3  
- challenges ideas of rootlessness in cosmopolitanism in View 1 | Hollinger, 1995: appeals to individuals who are “of different communities simultaneously” and thus excludes locals  
- critique similar to View 1 |
- Waldron: mode of engaging with the world  
- Hannerz: willingness to engage with the “Other”  
- Taguieff: “heterophilia, love for diversity”  
- Tomlinson: global belonging  
- acquired through experience and travel | mobility is different for different people (Kofman, 2005) |
Overall, there are three key debates within these theoretical parts. Firstly, there is the ongoing debate about cosmopolitanism and belonging or detachment (Views 1, 2 and 4). While View 1 espouses the notion that cosmopolitanism expresses itself in rootless, hybrid flows, its critics stress that cosmopolitanism is still local and moreover influenced by power and class rather than culture alone. Similarly, in View 2, the four elements outlined by Fine and Cohen draw on Waldron’s critique of detachment and all the “worst characteristics of liberalism” (1992, p. pp. 764-765). Fine and Cohen would aim to counterbalance this, but the question of cosmopolitan belonging remains open. View 4 and its exploration tackles the issue of cultural belonging by introducing the idea of multiple belonging (Nussbaum, 1994, p. 3). Yet again, Hollinger (1995) criticizes this view as exclusively appealing to individuals’ multiple simultaneous community memberships. The first debate is centred around the individual’s affiliations and discusses whether an individual can actually belong to the locality as well as the globality at the same time or whether a cosmopolitan individual belongs to the globality exclusively and is thus hybrid and rootless.

Views 1, 4 and 6 highlight a debate about who is a cosmopolitan subject. In View 1, Appadurai (1996) and Breckenridge et al (2000) discuss the hybrid subject as quintessentially cosmopolitan. While the critique of this view is that it excludes local individuals and ignores class (Kofman, 2005), View 4 seems to eradicate this by stressing that hybrid belonging includes the local (Nussbaum, 1994). Yet Hollinger insists that the cosmopolitan subject is still someone with numerous links to various communities rather than locals with limited networks. View 6 emphasises that the cosmopolitan person has the ability to participate in many worlds (Friedman, 1990, 1992, 1994) and display mastery or surrender in his/her encounter with different worlds (Hannerz, 1990). The subject is necessarily mobile and “travels” in order to develop a certain mindset. The critique of this ideal cosmopolitan subject is that it seems to emphasise an elite subject, as it does not consider class-based differences in mobility (Calhoun, 2002, 2003; Kofman, 2005). The core of this debate is centred around whether locals, middle class and/or less-mobile individuals with fewer affiliations can be cosmopolitan, or whether cosmopolitanism is a construct reserved for the mobile, widely affiliated hybrid and elite subject. This debate has not arrived at definite answers, and recent demands for research into the “massification” and “middling” of cosmopolitanism has highlighted a need for studying middle class cosmopolitanism (see Table 3.3 and Critique 1 & 2; Section 3.3.2).
Thirdly, there is a debate about how cosmopolitanism is displayed in individuals throughout the different views. View 1 sees it expressed in hybrid, creative, rootless culture. View 2 sees subjects as relating to communities, nations and the world in different ways (Fine and Cohen, 2002; Waldron, 1992). View 4 discusses the political belonging of individuals and appears to challenge View 1 by questioning rootlessness and describing belonging to different levels of locality and globality. Views 5 and 6 see cosmopolitanism as an attitude and competence, assisted by travel and mobility. In this debate the same frictions between a seeming opposition of cosmopolitanism and belonging occur. This friction could be solved by examining the empirical evidence in each case, particularly in the case of middle-class individuals. Examining the middle class contributes to an understanding of “everyday life” (Ley, 2004) and might challenge prevailing perceptions of the rationality of cosmopolitan subjects (Table 3.3, Critique 4).

In summary, the literature is largely concerned with understanding belonging, as pure detachment has been shown to be impossible. However, degrees of rootlessness and hybridity are also being explored in connection with “the cosmopolitan subject”, which is the second point of debate. While the scope of who can be described as cosmopolitan appears very wide, the main characteristic of cosmopolitans seems to be an openness and a stance on diversity. The characteristics of cosmopolitans were the third point of debate. They can reveal themselves in culture, politics, behaviour and/or mindset, but are always seen as established in relationships rather than detachment or rootlessness. Theoretically, looking at cosmopolitanism in the social sciences already refutes the points of critique detected in cosmopolitanism in the business and management literature. Yet there is a lack of empirical evidence in the study of people “celebrated by business and management literature” (Kofman, 2005, p. 95). More recently, there has been a call for an understanding of the mobile “middle class” (Favell et al, 2007) to counterbalance the focus on the elite subject. The lack of evidence from this group constitutes a gap in the literature, which inhibits understanding of “everyday life” (Ley, 2004). Filling this gap assists in understanding the display of everyday cosmopolitanism and adds to the debates around cosmopolitanism in the case of SFEs (Chapter 2).

3.3.2 Empirical cases of cosmopolitanism in mobile environments

Cosmopolitanism in mobility can be explored by looking at examples of mobile employees, who might be presumed to fall into the category of a “frequent traveller” elite (Calhoun, 2002; cf Ohmae, 1992; Kanter, 1995). This mobility manifests itself in different ways for different people. Cosmopolitans can be diasporic migrants (e.g. Pecoud, 2002) or business frequent travellers (Kanter, 1995; Ohmae, 1992; cf Calhoun, 2002 for a critique) but Skrbis et al (2004) note that “the winners-losers dichotomy is increasingly acceptable in the cosmopolitanism literature” (ibid, p. 121). Skrbis et al (2004) particularly highlight that “what gets lost in these bipolar dialectics are the sedentary underclasses and, indeed, the sedentary glocals” (ibid, p. 121). Some examples of cosmopolitanism in mobile environments (Walsh, 2006; Kennedy, 2004, 2010) go beyond the elite to include individuals with different material and social conditions (Calhoun,
2003) and “resist the clichéd opposition of “elite” and “ethnic” migration in a polarized economy” (Favell et al, 2007, p. 25).

Favell et al (2007) argue that:

“A better test case of the supposed liberalization of human mobility in the world economy, then, would be international professional, highly skilled, or technical migrants, whose mobility is linked more to choice, professional career, and educational opportunities. That is, of those who face the least barriers linked to exclusion, domination, or economic exploitation. […] As everyone is aware, such migrants are clearly the most likely candidates to fill the role of genuine transmigrants, privileged as they are by the global economy, recruited by nation-states still keen to slam the doors on many other forms of global migration, and endowed with the kinds of levels of human and social capital most likely to facilitate the real construction of global lives in new national destinations.”

Favell et al, 2007, p. 16

However, they add that authors often see highly skilled migration as “elite” (ibid, p. 16). This terminology leaves out “key populations: particularly international students who […] are the quintessential avatars of globalization” (ibid, p. 16). Yet,

“the image of high-rise corporate downtowns populated by a sharp-suited global elite service industry workforce, but serviced by an army of lower-class immigrant cleaners, shop owners, domestic home help, and sex workers is a powerful [image] that rings true in many contexts. […] But it belies many other forms of migration and work in a mobile global context that would be better seen as “middling” in class terms."

Favell et al, 2007, p. 17

The middling of “migration and work in a mobile global context” is attributed to a

“massification,” through the middle classes, of international migration opportunities linked to careers and education, such that it is by no means only those who might be thought of as “elites” who are able to move.”

Favell et al, 2007, p. 1

Given Favell's assessment of the lacking but useful “middle” cases of cosmopolitanism, this section discusses the examples of mobile environments through recent selected cases. These examples describe the “human face of global mobility” (Favell et al, 2007, p. 25) by examining contributions from the supposed winners’ side (Beaverstock, 2002; Moore, 2004) and by adding new research (Nowicka, 2006, 2007; Walsh, 2006; Kennedy, 2004, 2010) that assists in going beyond the Skrbis et al’s dichotomy (2004, p. 121) by “middling” (Favell et al, 2007).

Beaverstock (2002) examines expatriates’ networking activities in the International Financial Centre (IFC) Singapore. Recruited for their ability to transfer knowledge, Beaverstock traces the different arenas for networking and the interactions between different groups within the city. Expatriates highlighted that “it’s not just knowledge, it’s relationships” (2002, p. 532). Distinguishing between inter-firm and intra-firm networking (Beaverstock, 2002, p. 532), Beaverstock concludes that “major constituents for reproducing both practical and tacit knowledge [are] networks within the global–localised agglomeration of the IFC” (ibid, p. 533).
Beaverstock’s example reveals expatriates’ different networks and questions the assumption that expatriates are detached and footloose.

Moore’s research of British and German employees at a German bank in London’s financial district examines the symbols of nationality. These symbols present information, are locally derived and assist in building the global:

“While some claim that the ‘global financescape’ (Appadurai 1990) is devoid of the sort of collective symbols around which traditional groups rally (Smith 1995), it is in fact strongly focused on the concept of ‘information’. Information in this context consists of sets of facts that, like concrete objects, can be absorbed, conveyed, selected from and dispersed […] Actors in transnational businesses thus become adept at the use of the multivalent properties of symbols, in the form of ‘information’, to present themselves as positively as possible to as many people as possible. It […] allows companies to retain simultaneously local, international and global affiliations and networks, constructing themselves ‘at a variety of nested, articulated and interacting spatial scales’ (Swyngedouw et al. 2003a). Transnational business people are therefore engaged with symbols by the very nature of their environment, in which the ability to present and interpret ‘information’ is crucial to success.”

Moore, 2004, pp. 192-193

Moore shows that the global corporation has different identities through its employees. Moreover, the connection to all networks of global, regional and local natures is crucial to the bank’s global identity and only functions through national and local symbols.

The two examples examined here have shown how highly-skilled global migrants increase their local knowledge through networking (Beaverstock, 2002) and/or employing their nationality and place of residence. These two localities assist in building a global identity (Moore, 2004). Beaverstock (2002) and Moore (2004) present ways in which individuals span the two realms of global and local. More than that, individuals constitute the global through their origins (Beaverstock, 2002; Moore, 2004), knowledge and relationships (Beaverstock, 2002) and symbolic references to their identity (Moore, 2004), which are all local. With this, Beaverstock (2002) and Moore (2004) fill the gap of studying the localisation of the elite (Favell et al, 2007, p. 21). Empirical studies of the mobile middle classes by Nowicka (2006; 2007), Walsh (2006) and Kennedy (2004, 2010) examine how a presence (Calhoun, 2003) is created in cases of mobility or transcendence, supposed supra-locality (Kanter, 1995) and equidistance (Ohmae, 1992).

professionals by making their lives more difficult (2006, p. 205). Social networks of the family and friends are crucial for the continuation of practices, but are also more fragile, since people change (2006, p.219). Having to change one’s usual practice indicates thresholds (Nowicka, 2006, pp. 123-224) and competency in changing practices makes professionals cosmopolitan. However, networks such as employment organisations, friends and family can ease such change. Nowicka’s example highlights the importance of local social factors again and questions the perception that transnational employees are rootless.

In another contribution, Nowicka (2007) explored “how homes are localised” (2007, p. 73). She found that, next to “the idea of territorial binding” (see 2006) home can be seen as a “focal point of particular kinds of relations”. She stressed that

“aspects of life can remain ‘localized’ in a social sense. […] People dwell in and through being at home and away, through the dialectic of roots and routes […] Instead, I explore how mobile individuals achieve security, stability and familiarity under conditions of temporality, flexibility and anxiety characteristic of a mobile lifestyle.”

Nowicka, 2007, p. 72

This means that persons in a household gather “certain forms of relations” (2007, p. 73) and that it is the gathering of these relationships, which makes a house a “home”, because

“Home is not a closed entity; it is open towards its outside and linked to its environment; it is a part of a heterogeneous network, in the language of ANT. To imagine home as part of a heterogeneous network opens up several perspectives.”

Nowicka, 2007, p. 81

Nowicka sees home from two perspectives. The first is to see what humans inside the home do to and with it: “Individuals […] may select people to invite home, or decorate home with objects from elsewhere.” (Nowicka, 2007, p. 82). The second perspective sees home as influenced by outside forces: “policy-makers at all levels, from nation-states to local administration or neighbourhood associations” and unintentional influences due to permeable boundaries (Nowicka, 2007, p. 81). This view highlights mobile professionals’ making of home further and adds the local component to earlier, more theoretical research.

Walsh also explored the domestic lives of young, early-career professionals in Dubai. Focusing on research participant ‘Jane’, Walsh outlined “ways in which expatriate belonging is constituted through everyday practices that are about both detachment and attachment [and focused on] domesticity, intimacy and foreignness” (2006, p. 268). She stresses that “grounding research on transnationalism is about recognizing that it is locally lived and produced, with particular people “making their daily lives across worlds” (Lamb 2002, p. 323 in Walsh, 2006, p. 270). Moreover, “concepts of ‘belonging’ elicit the emotional register of identities, our geographies of the heart” (Walsh, 2006, p. 270). The home is a:

“particularly important space in the negotiation of belonging in expatriates lives […] [Jane’s] geographies of belonging […] suggest identifications are materialized in particular spaces, objects, relationships and bodies. In this way, expatriate
identities, like mobile identities more generally, are framed by simultaneous, interdependent notions of detachment and attachment.”

Walsh, 2006, p. 276

Walsh’s research exemplifies the dynamics between detachment and attachment as well as “particular spaces, objects, relationships and bodies” (ibid., p. 276), which create the home of early-career expatriates in Dubai. Moreover, in “grounding research on transnationalism [as...] locally lived and produced], Walsh opens a path towards exploring the “emotional register of identities, our geographies of the heart” in expatriates’ mobile lives.

Kennedy’s (2004) examination of the friendship networks of building professionals, found that “like transnational migrants, professionals working overseas are embedded in concrete locations into which their activities and relationships are woven” (2004, p.161). Transnational professionals drew predominantly on relationships that constitute a small, localized international network in their leisure time (2004, p. 164 and p. 173). This is due to late working hours, remnants of culture shock and subsequent seeking of equals (ibid, p. 167-170). By deconstructing the social networks of international professionals as the dynamics of a degree of anxiety; late working hours; and need for comfort during free time; Kennedy adds another layer of engagement. Instead of seeing international professionals as automatically transcendent and above and beyond places, he instead focuses on how and with whom they engage. The network that international professionals build enables them to continue moving while being at home anywhere, because international professionals use informal networks and friendships to maintain themselves (Kennedy, 2004, p.164). His examination emphasises the importance of international networks, the creation of these networks in the locality and their continued mobile life after they have been forged.

In 2010, Kennedy explored “the perceptions and experiences of a group of EU skilled migrants working in Manchester in 2005”, which fall into the category of “middling migrants mostly from middle-class backgrounds but not members of a privileged, denationalized elite” (ibid., p. 467). Qualifying the “picture of flexible, highly mobile individuals surfing the waves of global transformations” (ibid., p. 467) by examining motivation, barriers and opportunities, Kennedy explored their “actual experiences abroad” through interviews (2010, p. 467). Kennedy initially speculated that:

“living abroad may also expose migrants to new interpersonal social relationships that become formative influences on which they depend. These experiences may also fuel a kind of personal transformation which involves a greater openness to the cultural ‘other’(s) and a move towards cosmopolitanism.”

Kennedy, 2010, p. 466

and later found that:

“the actual experience of living overseas reported by the respondents, who had fundamentally altered their lives by creating new and often unanticipated openings for pursuing self-realisation strategies. Yet the respondents’ reflections indicated that it was their social relationships with new friends and partners which were central to these changes. People can and do re-make themselves but in deeply interactive social contexts which involve interpersonal commitments.”
Similar to the building professionals in London (Kennedy, 2004), EU migrants in Manchester found that friendships shaped them most, and were thus particularly important. In conclusion, Kennedy notes that the experience:

"propels actors in a more cosmopolitan direction, because they are exposed to other foreigners as well as to local people through the close friendships and/or romantic partnerships they establish which [...] had been central to their life-changing experiences abroad."

Kennedy's example is useful in understanding middle-class cosmopolitanism as described by Favell et al (2007, p. 17). Moreover, friendships were central to opening research participants’ minds and thus making them cosmopolitan. Thus, Kennedy demonstrates how newly made friends influences research participants.

To summarise the five examples in mobile environments, a common factor present throughout was the relationships to the local. This contradicts authors in corporate cosmopolitanism, who argue that detachment and transcendence are a key requirement for cosmopolitanism (Ohmae, 1992; Kanter 1995). Instead, Beaverstock shows that local networks sustain Singaporean expatriates while Moore demonstrates how local symbols of employees are used to establish the global bank and interactions between people. These two cases are examples from the highly-skilled, well-paid elite of international employees. Similarly, Nowicka (2006) described how UN professionals conceptualise space and found that they rely on structural as well as social factors. Relationships between these factors create space and a network. Within this network, Nowicka (2007) also discussed how homes are localised and highlighted the factors influencing a home. Walsh saw young professionals’ homes in Dubai as emphasising the “simultaneous, interdependent notions of detachment and attachment” (Walsh, 2006, p. 276).

Kennedy focused on the friendships of building professionals in 2004 and in 2010 examined the lives of EU migrants in Manchester. His contribution reveals the importance of friendships in fostering cosmopolitanism. The examples in this section debate the elite status of skilled international employees and pay respect to a middling level, and thus elaborating on social and material conditions (Calhoun, 2003).

In relation to Vertovec and Cohen's framework, these examples discuss cosmopolitan belonging and highlight the importance of networks (Beaverstock 2002), national symbols (Moore, 2004), home, friendships and relationships (Nowicka, 2006, 2007; Walsh, 2006, 2007; Kennedy, 2004, 2010). The cases also discuss ways in which cosmopolitanism is manifested and discusses practices in dealing with structural and social factors (Nowicka, 2006), home building (Nowicka 2007; Walsh, 2006) and the building of professional (Beaverstock, 2002) as well as friendship (Kennedy 2004) networks. Overall, the cases contributed to “middling” the definitions of cosmopolitan subjects, but remain exceptional.
These examples are particularly relevant to debates of cosmopolitanism in the context of expatriates and international employees. All strongly argue against aspects of cosmopolitanism, which was marked by a neglect of the local and material and social conditions, emphasised an antagonism between the global and the local and stressed the importance of detachment. The examples show how even mobile individuals remain grounded, and that such individuals are of all material and social backgrounds (including elite and the middle). There is little antagonism between the global and the local and instead the two mutually influence each other, and are reliant on interactions with the local. Both Walsh (2006, 2007) and Kennedy (2004, 2010) set precedence for creating an understanding of “the human face of global mobility” (Favell et al, 2007, p. 25) and present “middling” cosmopolitanism (Favell et al, 2007). These examples are outside of and hence do not inform the literature on cosmopolitanism in the business and management literature. Examples of cosmopolitanism in mobile environments drawing on “middling” cosmopolitanism (Favell et al, 2007) would assist current debates on SFEs and provide an understanding of cosmopolitanism in these contexts.

3.4 Conclusion, gaps and research questions

In this section, the five critiques of cosmopolitanism in business and management literature (Table 3.3) will be reviewed, showing how debates and examples in the social sciences as outlined by Vertovec and Cohen (2002) have addressed these.

As the discussion on empirical cases in social science cosmopolitanism has shown, there remain several gaps to address, which will be summarised here. Research questions from Chapter 2 and 3 will be developed, which inform the research presented in chapters 5, 6 and 7.

With regard to the fifth critique of “selective depiction of cosmopolitanism in cosmopolitan capital and global mindset”, section 3.2 has added definitions and views on cosmopolitanism from the perspective of the social sciences, introducing a more holistic perspective on cosmopolitanism. In particular, Vertovec and Cohen’s “cosmopolitanism as a socio-cultural condition” (View 1) and “philosophical worldview” (View 2) added a critical focus to the uncritical celebration of cosmopolitanism, as well as openness and diversity, in business and management literature. The discussion of the view of “cosmopolitanism as a socio-cultural condition” centres on individuals’ hybridity and rootlessness (Appadurai, 1996). Critics of this view have emphasised that hybridity and rootlessness excludes locals, privileges culture (Kofman, 2005) and ignores alternative responses to globalisation (Hall, 1996). “Cosmopolitanism as a world-view” has focused on historical moments of cosmopolitanism (Fine and Cohen, 2002) and discussed belonging. While Fine and Cohen deny non-belonging in cosmopolitanism, Waldron (1992) questions whether detachment is the cosmopolitan destiny and suggests a focus on interdependence in cosmopolitanism. Together, the two views portrayed in Vertovec and Cohen (2002) reveal the debates and also the diversity of definitions in social science cosmopolitanism. The social sciences’ depiction of cosmopolitanism is more
complicated and expands concepts used in business and management, which see cosmopolitanism as openness to diversity without understanding the full implications of this view. In sum, this chapter has presented a holistic analysis of cosmopolitanism in the social sciences and widened the definition of cosmopolitanism in business and management literature. In doing so, it has discussed the other four points of critique (Table 3.3) and examined empirical cases in the social sciences.

Critique number one of cosmopolitanism in business and management literature as based on “detachment, equidistance and supra-locality” has been counterbalanced by Halsall, who linked the celebration of these three points to the celebration of rationality (2009, S140); and Calhoun, who argued that “cosmopolitanism is a presence, […] an occupation of particular positions in the world” influenced by “social location and cultural tradition” (2003, p. 544). Vertovec and Cohen’s View 1 and View 2 revealed the breadth in debates around the question of detachment. Moreover, the empirical examples explicitly showed the simultaneous existence of attachment and detachment in homes (Walsh, 2006), and the links of mobile professionals with the local (Beaverstock, 2002; Moore, 2004; Nowicka, 2006, 2007; Kennedy 2004, 2010). While the theory and empirical examples of social science cosmopolitanism have counterbalanced the claims of “detachment, equidistance and supra-locality” in business and management literature, that literature needs a revised concept of cosmopolitanism which carries an in-depth understanding of the belonging of international employees.

The second critique was the neglect of the local and social and material conditions in the cosmopolitanism concepts of business and management literature. Kofman (2005) emphasised that the neglect of the local is the result of a focus on elites in business cosmopolitanism. Calhoun (2003) highlighted that this view is a result of the neglect of simultaneous belonging and “its own material and social conditions” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 543). In the social sciences, the local and “material and social conditions” have been discussed in debates on cosmopolitanism as a socio-cultural condition (View 1), as attitude (View 5) and as practice (View 6). However, in mobile environments, debate around a middle (Favell et al, 2007), to add to the prevailing winner-loser dichotomy (Skrbis et al, 2004) has been rare. Exploring cosmopolitanism of the “middle” in its local “social and material conditions” would fill this gap.

The third critique centred on the antagonism between local and global and the lack of mixture of these elements. The underlying logic of the global-local antagonism rests on depictions of the local as “communitarian, authentic, closed, static, nostalgic, defensive, (but ultimately defenceless) and the site of […] fragmentary identities” (Ley, 2004, p. 155; cf Halsall, 2009). Social science scholars on cosmopolitanism view this as untrue and incomplete, as it is devoid of the local within the global, and ignores groups that embody both elements (Favell et al, 2007; Kofman, 2005). Vertovec and Cohen (2002) find this view best criticised in the cosmopolitanism as attitude (View 5) and practice (View 6). Moreover, empirical examples show that mixtures
between the global and local occur frequently, that the local is not defenceless and that global individuals (Beaverstock, 2002; Moore, 2004; Nowicka, 2006, 2007; Kennedy, 2004, 2010; Walsh, 2006) draw on the local for various reasons and in various ways. Since only Walsh (2006) and Kennedy (2004, 2010) discuss a mobile, middling cosmopolitanism, the empirical understanding of middle class belonging remains nascent. An in-depth understanding of the work and home lives of international employees, “everyday life” in Ley’s words (2004), would be particularly beneficial for exploring attachments and detachments to the global and the local. As before, these examples do not filter through to debates in the business and management literature.

The fourth critique of cosmopolitanism in the business and management literature was the emphasis on rational, measurable humans and company people. Critics in social science cosmopolitanism believe that business and management literature ignores “the material and social conditions” of individuals (Calhoun, 2003), their social structure and networks (Favell et al, 2007). Similarly, forced or excluded individuals (Kofman, 2005) and key populations such as international students (Favell et al, 2007) are ignored. Favell et al (2007) recommended adding a “middle” to the dichotomy of elites and migrants studies (cf. Skrbis et al, 2004). Vertovec and Cohen (2002) demonstrated that the discussions around individuals as political subjects and belonging to political institutions stress individuals’ political affiliations outside of business and companies. The cases of cosmopolitanism in mobile environments show that individuals are more than company people and show them as friends (Kennedy, 2004, 2010) and family members (Nowicka, 2006) and thus add “emotional register” (Walsh, 2006). However, only Walsh (2006), and Kennedy (2004, 2010) could be seen to provide a “middling’ cosmopolitanism” (Favell et al, 2007). Overall, social science cosmopolitanism has refuted the depiction of individuals as rational company people, as utilised in the business and management literature. Social science cosmopolitanism is yet to develop insights into the middle of cosmopolitanism (Favell et al, 2007), or to provide examples of mixtures between reasons and emotions and to apply them to business and management literature.

Examining social science cosmopolitanism adds to cosmopolitanism as found in business and management in two ways. Firstly, the depiction of cosmopolitanism as detached from the local (critique 2 and 1) and moreover as an antagonism between the local and the global (critique 3) has been complemented by Vertovec and Cohen’s view of cosmopolitanism as a socio-cultural condition (View 1), philosophical world view (View 2), attitude (View 5) and practice (View 6). Moreover, the views and three key debates in Vertovec and Cohen have revealed a more complete picture than the selective portrayal of cosmopolitanism in business and management literature (Critique 5) and have debunked the conception of cosmopolitans as rational, measurable humans and company people (Critique 4). Secondly, the empirical examples of cosmopolitanism in mobile environments have revealed mixtures of the global and the local, the dependence of the global on the local, and mechanisms of attachment (Kennedy (2004, 2010),

It is necessary to develop insights into the middle of cosmopolitanism, and to apply social science cosmopolitanism to business and management literature. In particular, an in-depth understanding of the belonging of international employees in their work- and home-lives would be beneficial for exploring attachments and detachments to the global and the local. This explores cosmopolitanism of the “middle” in its local “social and material conditions” and answers questions about young SFEs internationals careers.

**Research Questions**

The themes and gaps identified in Chapter 2 are shown in Table 3-5.

### Table 3-5 - Themes and gaps of Chapter 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Gaps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Globalisation, the production of services, offshoring, need for talent, international employees</td>
<td>International employees in offshoring are a recent and under-researched development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Different types of careers Organisational, protean, boundaryless careers Global careers Global leadership Skills and flexibility</td>
<td>Between the poles of organisation and the individual, the experiences of SFEs, who are individually motivated, are underresearched</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>- Different subgroups of expatriates - Overseas experience (OE) - Self-initiated foreign work experience (SFE) - 5 Patterns: Table 2.7; Section 2.3.2</td>
<td>In Table 2.7; Section 2.4.2: - Pattern 3: SFEs are studied through concepts of expatriation research, i.e. the organisation, yet they are individually driven - Pattern 4: movement has been studied from developing to developed countries or from developed to developed country, Scullion et al (2007) called for more research in emerging economies, such as Eastern Europe, China and India - Pattern 5: research methods are surveys and interviews, but no ethnography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>Mal/adjustment Foreign - of expatriates SFEs - specific categories - context needs to be widened to include emerging economies - inductive and ethnographic research methodology needed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The discussion of concepts in IHRM demonstrated that SFEs are an under-researched group of international employees. Moreover, SFEs’ unique demographics and individual voyage patterns necessitates the development of SFE-specific insights and concepts. To date, the predominant
research tools have been surveys and interviews. Ethnography could facilitate the insights required to understand SFEs.

Chapter 3 has demonstrated that both the business and management literature and industry expects international employees to be “cosmopolitan” (Filou, 2007; Iniguez, 13 and 18 Sept 2006; Ohmae, 1992; Kanter, 1995; Section 3.2.1). To achieve cosmopolitanism, international employees are supposed to increase “career capital” and especially “cosmopolitan capital” (Section 3.2.2); and to develop a “global mindset” based on cosmopolitanism and/or cognitive complexity (Section 3.2.3). The conceptions of cosmopolitanism in business and management literature revealed five characteristics which social science cosmopolitanism criticised (Section 3.2.4; Table 3.3):

- C1 - Cosmopolitan detachment, equidistance and supra-locality
- C2 - Neglect of the local and social & material conditions
- C3 - Antagonism between local & global and the lack of mixture in persons
- C4 - Rational, measurable humans and company people
- C5 - Selective depiction of cosmopolitanism

Examining social science cosmopolitanism already addresses the fifth critique by gaining a comprehensive view of cosmopolitanism in theory and empirical cases (Section 3.3). The theory revealed three debates: belonging through attachment and detachment; the cosmopolitan subject; and behavioural strategies of being and becoming cosmopolitan (Section 3.3.1). Empirical cases of mobility revealed an emphasis on examining the individuals’ connection to and with the local and thus belonging; while the subjects were predominantly defined as “winners” or “losers” (Skrbis et al, 2004). Only a few cases aimed to understand the middle of society and examine how “everyday life” (Ley, 2004) “propels actors towards cosmopolitanism” (Kennedy, 2010; p. 480). The biggest gap within social science cosmopolitanism is the lack of exploration of the middle (Favell et al, 2007). In summary, Chapter 3 criticised business and management literature on five points, revealed that the social sciences have different debates which fill some of the gaps in business and management literature, and revealed further gaps in the social sciences:
Table 3-6 - Remaining gaps in the study of cosmopolitanism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Critique in Table 3.3</th>
<th>Social Science Cosmopolitanism</th>
<th>Empirical Cases</th>
<th>Remaining Gaps</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| C 1 Cosmopolitan detachment, equidistance and supra-locality | See Debate 1 | o Simultaneous attachment and detachment  
  o Links to Local | o Revise business and management literature to accommodate soc. sci. definitions |
| C 2 Neglect of the local and social & material conditions | Debate 1: Belonging expressed in degrees of attachment and detachment | o Focus on losers or winners  
  o Rare middle cases esp. in cases examining mobility | o Mobile, middling cosmopolitanism  
  o Work and non-work/home life exploration  
  o “everyday life” (Ley, 2004) |
| C 3 Antagonism between local & global and lack global and local mix in persons | Debate 2 and 3: Cosmopolitan subjects and behaviour | o Mixtures between global and local occur often  
  o Local constitutes the global | |
| C 4 Rational, measurable humans and company people | See Debate 2 and 3 | o Emotional registers  
  o Cosmopolitans as friends and family members | o Understand mixtures between reasons and emotions |
| C 5 Selective depiction of cosmopolitanism | Addressed throughout Section 3.3 | | o Business and management literature needs to draw on soc. sci. |

To fill the remaining gaps, this study will:

- obtain empirical insights into people celebrated by business and management, such as SFEs striving for cosmopolitanism; and
- study “everyday life” (Ley, 2004) and middling (Favell et al, 2007).

To that end the following two research questions are adopted:

1. To what extent does the business and management literature on cosmopolitanism adequately capture the experience of SFEs?

2. How does an internationally diverse group of SFEs adjust to working and living in an emerging economy like India and what kind of cosmopolitanism does this reveal?

Together, the two research questions aim to fulfil the objectives described above. The research questions will be explored again in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. The next chapter will outline the methodology.
4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

All research is guided by “a set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied” (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998, p. 26). This chapter elaborates on this study’s “set of beliefs” and especially on how IEs at Infosupply in India have been studied in their workplaces and during their leisure time. The chapter has four main sections. It first discusses epistemologies in international business research methodologies, then introduces issues in ethnography, before finally outlining how these ethnographic methods inform this study of cosmopolitanism of self-initiated international employees in India, in two sections on data collection and data analysis.

4.2 Positioning the research epistemologically in international business

This research project contributes to debates in international business (IB) using ethnography. This section introduces the different paradigms within IB and positions the research epistemologically within these.

4.2.1 Positivist, interpretive/constructivist and critical paradigms

Research methodologies follow three main paradigms: positivist, interpretivist or constructivist and critical. The positivist paradigm relies on the presumption that there is a measurable and generalisable reality and resembles a natural scientist’s quest for understanding a natural phenomenon (Kuhn, 1962). By contrast, interpretivism or constructivism assumes that social life is different from natural life and thus must be studied with different methods, and that reality is constructed and interpreted (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998, p. 27). Further to these two classic ontologies, postmodernism, post-colonialism and/or post-structuralism are more critical of the purpose of the research as well as the researcher’s role.

4.2.2 Paradigms in international business

The first edition of the Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods for International Business by Marschan-Piekkari and Welch (2004) points out that qualitative methods have become increasingly popular, but that they are still perceived as having minimal value, due to a supposed lack of rigour and validity. As a result, only 10% of research published in the leading six IB journals from 1991-2001 is qualitative (Andersen and Skaates, 2004 in Marschan-Piekkari and Welch, 2004, pp. 466). Two further literature reviews looked at research between 13 The six leading journals in International Business are the Journal of International Business Studies (JIBS); Management International Review (MIR); Journal of World Business (JWB); International Marketing Review (IMR); Journal of International Marketing (JIM); International Business Review (IBR).

14 The remaining 50% are quantitative and 40% generate models or review theories (Andersen and Skaates, 2004 in Marschan-Piekkari and Welch, 2004, pp. 466), thus are presumably positivist.

15 In Marschan-Piekkari and Welch's Handbook to Qualitative Methods (2004), the biggest sections are committed to case study research and interviewing. Ethnography occupies two chapters and critical discourse analysis one chapter in Part IV. Part V discusses research in geographies outside the triad USA, Europe and Japan. Part VI examines trends in publishing.

Yang, Wang and Su (2006) examined aspects of data collection methods in 1,296 empirical articles published in the six leading journals. They found that mail surveys dominated, with 60% of studies using a one country sample base, of which 88.9% are from western countries. 33% use sample frames provided by third parties, and have average response rates of 40% with a median sample size of 180 respondents. Yang, Wang and Su recommend more appropriate data collection methods such as the internet, as it is “less time-consuming [...], more timely and cheaper” (ibid, p. 613); and suggest using “multiple versus single informants to improve [...] the validity of reported relationships” (Kacker, 2002, p. 476 in Yang, Wang and Su, 2006, p. 614). The dominance of surveys in western countries and Yang, Wang and Su’s recommendation to improve validity, financial and temporal efficiency point towards scientific positivist data collection methods.

By contrast, Jack et al (2008) identify IB as a “management subfield” with an “international grasp” and an “eye to the whole of the world”, which nevertheless “has remained firmly rooted in traditional functionalist positivism, with little reflexivity about the claims and consequences of such an epistemological stance” (ibid, 2008, p. 871). Like Marschan-Piekkari and Welch (2004, p. 6), they note that despite a “broad sympathy for critical analyses of International Management”, the opportunities to present these are scarce (Jack et al: 2008, p. 872). The “dominance of functionalist and positivist thinking in this field is perhaps its most fundamental and unrecognised problem” (Jack et al, 2008, p. 873) and can be located in the absence of a political or social understanding of the concept of culture (ibid, p. 876). In the Special Topic Forum (STF) of the Academy of Management Review (Oct 2008), Jack et al introduce old perspectives from organisational science to international management. These perspectives challenge Hofstede’s cultural dimensions, the concept of cultural distance and neo-institutionalism and introduce Gramsci, Homi K Bhabha and discourse analysis (ibid, pp. 878-879), thus demonstrating the “meaning of interdisciplinarity” and bringing in “the other’s knowledge” (ibid, p. 880) to overcome the baggage of “functionalist positivism” (ibid, p. 881). Finally, Jack et al raise the issue of serving the “two-thirds world” rather than the “one-third world” as of pivotal relevance (ibid, p. 881). Jack et al’s (2008) stance is markedly different from Yang, Wang and Su (2006) and reveals the interpretive, critical spectrum of IB.

Yet, the reception of Jack et al’s contribution (2008) in the International Business community is best illustrated with Prasad et al’s “analytical review” (2008), which concludes that Jack et al (2008) will be “cited often” but the “impact on managing challenges in MNCs is likely to be marginal” (ibid, p. 626) and “will render the eight cogent criticisms [...] sterile in today’s growing global economy” (ibid, p. 627). Instead Prasad et al prefer to define international management as concerned with “managing the market factors – land, labor, capital and organisations, or their
contemporary equivalents, in tandem with non-market elements – culture, conflict, or cooperation” (ibid, p. 627 [sic]). Prasad et al (2008) hence return to the positivist, efficiency-motivated epistemology which had been criticised by Jack et al (2008) and propagated by Yang, Wang and Su (2006). Overall, this suggests that the positivist paradigm remains prevalent in international business.

4.2.3 Research methodologies in expatriate and SFE research

Most studies about expatriate, OEs and SFEs (Harrison et al, 2004; Takeuchi, 2010; review on SFE literature in Chapter 2, Section 2.4) have used surveys and interviews to collect data and to explore concepts previously used in expatriate research. In turn, expatriate research has focused on parent-company nationals in management positions, aimed at maintaining or improving their global leadership skills (Bartlett and Ghoshal, 2008; Gupta et al, 2008; Mendenhall et al, 2001, p. 1; Section 2.3.2). Therefore they have used research methodologies which make the research valid, reliable and generalisable. Similarly, concepts of cosmopolitanism in business and management literature such as career capital, global mindset and cosmopolitanism in business and management literature (Chapter 3, Section 3.2) have attempted to measure the concept of “global mindset” in order to apply it to future populations (Suutari and Smale, 2008; Javidan, 2007; Section 3.2.3). Much of the literature has proposed that the acquisition of career capital would be rational (Inkson and Arthur, 2001; Kanter, 1995; Section 3.2.2). These conceptions have raised five points of critique (see Section 3.2.4), one of which is the perception that international employees are rational, measurable, company people. The emphasis on measurable categories such as career capital and global mindset as well as the proposition of pure rationality as a characteristic for international employees suggests the prevalence of positivism amongst studies of concepts of global leadership. An ethnography, which first examines the processes of everyday life and then engages with concepts in IB, would counterbalance prevalent positivist views and add new and deeper insights.

4.3 Ethnography in epistemology and methods

Ingold suggests that “anthropology is at once the most resolutely academic and the most fiercely anti-academic of disciplines” (1996, p.1). In addition, Eriksen defines anthropology as

the comparative study of cultural and social life. Its most important method is participant observation, which consists in lengthy fieldwork in a particular social setting.

Eriksen, 1995, p. 9

Eriksen defines anthropology as using “participant observation” and “fieldwork” to explore social and/or cultural life. Essential to anthropology and ethnography is the exploration of a “field” through “fieldwork” (Fetterman, 1998, p. 33). The “field” is a much-debated concept (e.g. Eriksen, 1998, p. 14; Amit, 2000) and is best defined as the location in which the researcher conducts her/his research (“fieldwork”) for an extended period of time, requiring access, fluency in the local language, rapport with research participants, collection of data such as fieldnotes, interviews and conversations and immersion (O’Reilly, 2009, pp. 2-3). Fieldwork is crucial to an ethnographic methodology. The method “participant observation” is usually an integral part of
the larger methodology “ethnography”, which is informed by different anthropological paradigms. Methodology literature such as Ellen (1984), Hammersley and Atkinson (1995, 2nd edition), and Fetterman (1998) define ethnography in descriptive terms and stress its flexibility. Despite this flexibility, and anthropology’s presumption to enter the field open and observant, rather than with an a-priori checklist, anthropology is theoretically complex and thus “resolutely academic” (Ingold, 1996, p. 1; cf Moore and Sanders, 2006).

This section introduces ethnography in its epistemological stance, outlines key and controversial issues in ethnographic practice and identifies which elements are used to guide this research project.

4.3.1 Epistemologies in anthropology

This section aims to unpack the “academic” complexity (Ingold, 1996) by briefly outlining the history of anthropological paradigms from the 1940s to date. The three main theoretical viewpoints commonly accepted by anthropology are functionalism, structuralism and postmodernism/colonialism (Layton, 1997; Weiner, 1995; Ortner, 1984; Moore and Sanders, 2006).

Anthropology departments were established at the LSE, UCL, SOAS the universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Manchester after the Second World War (Kuper, 1996, pp. 120-122). They were dominated by functionalism (ibid, p. 123). Ethnographies at the time (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952; Fortes, 1949, 1970) focused on “networks” and saw individuals according to their position within such a network and in the currency of “status” (Layton, 1997, p. 37). Functionalism can be summarised as: firstly, “a status [which] is a position in a pattern of social relationships”; and secondly, “a role [that] consists of the form(s) of behaviour associated with status” (Layton, 1997, p. 37 [author’s insertion]). The greatest difficulty of functionalism was to address the issue of social change.

Structuralism within British anthropology in the 1960s was influenced by Levi-Strauss, whose “ultimate concern was to establish facts which are true about the organisation of any particular society or class of societies” (Kuper, 1996, p. 175 and pp. 181-182). Ortner called structuralism “the only genuinely original social science paradigm (and humanities, too for that matter) to be developed in the twentieth century” (1984, p. 135). Although structuralism was hailed as a novelty over functionalism, it continued emphasising dialectics and thus continued to generalise and ascribe functions to parts of a (social) system. Structuralism and functionalism arguably fall into the paradigms of positivism depending on the strength of their preconceived ideas about “reality”, the testing of “reality” and the generalisation of findings to a larger whole (Ellen, 1984, pp. 19-21).

16 “Anthropology” is taken to mean British, not US or European anthropology (cf. Eriksen, 1995, p. 8).
The 1980s and 1990s added the postmodern/colonial paradigm. In connection with the shrinking of the colonial empire, anthropology underwent a crisis of confidence in the 1970s and 1980s. Scholars now began to examine their fieldwork experience. Rabinow (1977, 2007) and Okely (1983; Okely and Callaway, 1992) were part of the self-critical, autobiographical trend that understood reflexivity as the sole focus on the researcher’s experience of fieldwork. At the same time, “the empire started writing back” (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 1995) and “the West” discovered that “they” read what “we” write (Brettell, 1996). Scholars found that it might be equally necessary to “study up and sideways” as well as down (Nader, 1972 in Hymes, 1972); that there are no “people without history” (Wolf, 1983); and that third-world women do not need saving by Western scholars (Mohanty, 1988). This indicated a shift in power, as the legitimacy of the observer was no longer taken for granted, and more importantly, the findings of the observer started to lack authority with “the subjects”, who added their own (valid) interpretation. Overall, the post-colonial/postmodern stance is markedly different from the stances of functionalism and structuralism, which made sweeping theoretical claims alluding to “reality” and finding the “truth” despite having situated their research. Next to the inductiveness described above, reflexivity (Davies, 1999, p. 3) became integral to the research process and insights were situated in, as well as sometimes abstracted to, large societies (Ortner, 1984, p. 135).

This “postcolonial moment”, which weighed heavy on anthropology’s purpose and confidence, was transformed into different directions largely forming a more fragmented postmodern paradigm (Weiner, 1995, p. 14). Thematically, anthropology underwent a shift towards political economy, transnationalism and globalisation (Weiner, 1995; Kearney, 1995). In order to explore new thematics, multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995; Xiang, 2006) as well as ethnographies at home (Pink, 2000 in Amit, 2000; pp. 96-120) became acceptable. In this context, the next section delineates prevalent and controversial elements in ethnography.

4.3.2 Main elements and controversial issues in ethnography

These epistemological developments have had an impact on ethnographic data collection, analysis and presentation. Throughout these phases, ethnographies share key elements as well as some controversial features, which are discussed here in two parts.

Main elements

Ethnographies are hugely diverse, as reflected in ethnographic methodology guides and ethnography sections in qualitative research guides (Ellen, 1984; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; Fetterman, 1998; Denzin and Lincoln, 1998; Miles and Huberman, 1994). Fetterman (1998) summarised eleven main ethnographic elements, which will be discussed throughout:

1. Culture
2. Holistic perspective
3. Contextualisation
4. Emic perspective and multiple realities
Culture is one prevalent focus in anthropology, especially as presented in US cultural anthropology. Culture has been defined in numerous ways (Moore, 2004). Fetterman sees “definitions of culture typically espous[ing] either a materialist or an ideational perspective” (1998, p. 17). Carrithers defines culture as the answer to the question “how do we live?” (1992, p. 1). Next to culture, anthropology emerged out of different societies: The UK developed different trends and used to be known mainly for social anthropology (Eriksen, 1995, p. 8; cf. Kuper, 1996). Further subcategories, arising out of the postmodern stance, are political and economic anthropology. The differences are fluid and should not be overestimated, but these are different nuances of Fetterman’s “culture”. Ethnography has a few additional key concepts, which will be described here in two paragraphs, first introducing research essentials and then items of choice.

Essentially, ethnographies tend to aim to provide a “holistic perspective”, which goes “beyond an immediate cultural scene or event” (Fetterman, 1998, p. 19) of the fieldwork setting. In turn, “contextualisation” goes beyond the “holistic perspective” in examining reasons for, and tentatively explaining, a cultural event in larger contexts. In other words, if one were to see these two points in concentric circles of insights, the holistic perspective covers the first inner circle of research, while contextualisation is the next layer, relating the research to outer entities. The next four categories of “emic perspectives and multiple realities”; “etic perspectives”; “non-judgemental orientation”; and “intra- and intercultural perspective” are intertwined in contributing to a “holistic perspective”. An emic perspective is an “insider’s or native’s perspective of reality” (Fetterman, 1998, p. 20), which tends to differ within a cultural event and produces “multiple realities” depending on the participants. Further to multiple realities produced by emic perspectives, the researcher’s perspective is called the “etic perspective” and adds “the external, social scientific perspective” (Fetterman, 1998, p. 22). In order to achieve emic, etic and thus multiple perspectives, a non-judgemental orientation, meaning the suspension of “personal valuation of any given cultural practice” is necessary, according to Fetterman (1998, p. 23). While the purpose of an ethnography is to understand and describe a group, it risks essentialising a group by attributing one culture to this group. To avoid this, Fetterman advocates outlining both diversity between different cultures (inter-cultural diversity) and diversity within one culture (intra-cultural diversity). Finally, Fetterman also stresses that “operationalism”, specifying how one arrived at one’s conclusions, is vital in order to make ethnography valid and useful.
The final four characteristics are choices in focus, which prevail within ethnographic research. “Structure and function” refers to the social configurations within one group, as well as the social relationships within this group respectively (Fetterman, 1998, p. 25). Description and the recognition of multiple perspectives are essential to understanding structures and functions. Yet, as the discussion of paradigms in anthropology and the paragraph on “culture” showed, structuralism and functionalism are both represented to different degrees within anthropology and it is a choice to discuss one or both. Given that most ethnographies are for readers unfamiliar with “the field”, a thorough description of the structures and functions are useful and are preferred by many anthropologists. “Symbol and ritual”, however are seen as “a cultural shorthand”, with symbols being “condensed expressions of meaning that evoke powerful feelings and thoughts”; and rituals being seen as “repeated patterns of symbolic behavior” (Fetterman, 1998, p. 26 [sic]). These two elements enable anthropologists to understand a culture more quickly, but are not a necessary focus. Similarly, the decision to undertake a micro-level study, taking a “close-up view of a small social unit or activity within a social unit”, and/or a macro-level study, which focuses on the larger picture, provides another choice (Fetterman, 1998, pp. 27-28).

**Controversial issues**

The biggest controversies in ethnographic method are ethics, subjectivity and the role of the researcher, as well as validity and generalisability.

Ethics has been of increased concern for anthropologists since the end of colonialism, which saw the researcher’s powerful privileged position being eroded, and revealed elements of misconduct (e.g. Chagnon, 1968 vs. Tierney, 2000), misrepresentation (e.g. Mead, 1928, 2001 vs Freeman, 1983), and racist attitudes towards “research subjects” (Malinowski, 1967; Sanjek, 1993). These concerns have resulted in the formulation and dissemination of codes of ethics by anthropological associations (e.g. AAA, 1998 for the USA; ASA, 1987 for the UK). Codes of ethics usually outline relations and responsibilities towards “research participants”, colleagues and the academic discipline, host as well as home governments and the wider society. Definitions and their translation are being discussed continuously (e.g. Moos controversy, Gledhill, 2009), but the need to adhere to ethical guidelines is undisputed.

Linked to ethics is the subjectivity of the researcher. Whilst it is widely accepted that ethnography relies on an extended period of participant observation, requiring immersion in a chosen field, the consequences of an eroding objectivity and emerging subjectivity are diversely handled. Some authors of the post-colonial turn (Okely, 1983; Rabinow, 1977) dwell on the phase of immersion, and examine the processes of the researcher in auto-ethnographic accounts. Some authors use their subjectivity to take an overtly political position from which to describe and act on in their research field (Schepet-Hughes, 1995; Burawoy, 2000; Miller, 1995; Xiang, 2006; Escobar, 1995). Some authors would argue for a more objective and scientific anthropology, and urge researchers to step back rather than to become “partisan” (D’Andrade,
Since reflexivity contributes to the “validity” and “generalisability” of the research, it requires more explanation. Davies summarises reflexivity as follows:

“The purpose of the research is to mediate between different constructions of reality and doing research means to increase understanding of these varying constructions, among which is included the anthropologist’s own construction.”

Davies, 1999, p. 6

With this, she advocates the inclusion of multiple perspectives to understand the phenomenon under study in its multifaceted dimensions for different people (Ibid, p. 18). The term “validity” remains controversial in anthropology, due to its positivist and natural scientific connotations. Means of increasing validity include the balancing of emic, etic and multiple perspectives, intra- and intercultural diversity, contextualisation and a holistic perspective (Fetterman, 1998, pp. 16-31). Balancing this complexity with the ability to draw conclusions for the wider audience is the hallmark of valid ethnography. “Generalisability” is a connected and much debated issue due to the situated nature of ethnography and anthropology’s purpose of being a “comparative study of cultural and social life” (Eriksen, 1995, p. 9). However, after having researched a “field” in depth, it often seems so unique that it is difficult to abstract all its aspects, as abstraction seems to simplify complexity into previously existing theories and concepts and to subtract from, rather than add to the findings. Nonetheless, there are some characteristics of any setting that can be compared to those found in other studies. Overall, transparency about sources and means of interpretation (Fetterman, 1998, p. 29) is necessary to comprehend validity and generalisability.

4.3.3 Ethnographic elements in this research project

The discussion of epistemologies in anthropology and key and controversial elements has established how these elements are used in this project’s methodology.

Epistemologically, I take an interpretive and ethnographic stance (see Section 4.2) in describing and analysing IE networks, processes at work, activities and feelings in leisure times and examining the meaning of these for IEs in India. I also compare IEs to the research on SFEs and therefore explore a “middle” (Favell et al, 2007). Hence, I am studying “sideways” (Nader, 1972 in Hymes, 1972, pp. 284-311) rather than “down” or “up”. Relating IEs’ lives to issues of globalisation abstracts their stories to large societal phenomena such as globalisation (Ortner, 1984, p. 135). My relationship with my research participants seems equal: research participants read what I write (cf. Brettell, 1996) and they know that I was once an IE at Infosupply (see
Appendix 1). Hence, this research project and my position are interpretive and ethnographic, drawing on authors from the postmodern paradigm by studying a “middle” in globalisation.

With regards to the key elements outlined by Fetterman, this study implicitly focuses upon “culture” and “rituals and symbols”; and is particularly interested in “structures and functions”. I therefore aim to provide a holistic perspective and contextualisation through emic and multiple perspectives combined with an etic perspective. These are presented in micro- and macrolevel studies representing existing intracultural diversity. I initially recorded and examined everything, with the aim to be non-judgemental. Later I identified prevalent concepts and examined these from a more critical, etic perspective.

The controversial issues of ethics, subjectivity, validity and generalisability have been addressed in a number of ways. Firstly, I dealt with research participants transparently and on the basis of informed consent, with their data being treated confidentially. Secondly, by being honest about having been an IE at Infosupply, and now doing research amongst “friends”, my subjectivity was outlined. Thirdly, by aiming to strike a balance between friend and researcher in a number of ways (see Section 4.4.2 and Appendix 1), I aimed to ensure validity by depicting internal diversity, relating findings to scientific debates and being transparent about the operationalisation. The research can be generalised and outlining areas for future research (see Chapter 8).

These methodological choices occur in the different chapters in a number of ways. Holistic perspectives in theory and empirics are provided in the discussion on cosmopolitanism, where alternative discussions in the social sciences are drawn upon to complement the existing views in business and management literature (Chapter 3). They also appear during the research project, where the research participants’ experiences are situated in Gurgaon, the company and their accommodation. Cosmopolitanism, adjustment at work and during leisure time are also examined (Chapters 5, 6 and 7). The research is contextualised through the description of the global production of services in Chapter 2 and the descriptions in Chapter 5. Throughout Chapters 5, 6 and 7, I allow multiple emic perspectives, while adopting an etic perspective to relate the observations and voices to social scientific concerns and to answer the research questions. I aimed to present the cultural diversity within the group of research participants, but have not achieved intercultural diversity, as no other SFE groups in Gurgaon were examined. By focusing on selected concepts in employment and leisure times, I introduced micro-level studies and connected these with larger themes thus resulting in a macro-level study. Overall, this was a question of continuously focusing in and out to see an issue from different angles.

Section 5.4 in Chapter 5 exemplifies this: While I draw on previous knowledge to describe the company’s history and employment of IEs in 5.4.1, I use a macro-level perspective on the company’s departments and employment of IEs and micro-level perspectives from the interviews with IEs on IEs’ difficulties and reasons for continuation in 5.4.2. Overall, I use multiple perspectives combined with an etic perspective to present a holistic view on Infosupply and its IEs.
perspectives. How this is operationalised in data collection and analysis is the subject of Sections 4.4 and 4.5.

4.4 Data Collection

The data collection had several parts, and took place during fieldwork, where I distributed a pre-interview questionnaire and conducted semi-structured interviews. Throughout the research period participant observation was undertaken, a field diary was initially written, and field notes were taken throughout. This section elaborates on these different elements.

4.4.1 Pilot study and prior literature review

Prior to fieldwork, I had already worked at the company Infosupply for 11 months from July 2006 - July 2007 (see Appendix 1). For my initial PhD topic, I had successfully applied to work as a business analyst at Infosupply in Gurgaon, near Delhi in India. Although I dropped the initial proposal after three months for various reasons and took an intermission from the PhD program, I continued to work at Infosupply. In these 11 months, I also took on voluntary roles next to my official job as business analyst, in which I produced a section on Europe for a cultural presentation used to brief Indian analysts, co-authored a white paper on international employee recruitment and retention and was nominated as spokesperson for international employees, thus overseeing changes and liaising between various stakeholders. With these tasks, I gained an in-depth understanding of the company as well as international employees’ lives.

Upon my return to Manchester Business School in July 2007, I treated my experience as a pilot project, wrote a pilot paper (see Appendix 1) and a new research proposal about insights from Infosupply. During a literature review on international employees’ lifestyles, I was surprised to find little research on young, early-career employees working in emerging economies, except in the literature on SFEs and OEs. I identified this as a growing trend, which is arguably unique in contrast to the well-explored topic of expatriates. The ambitions for international employees at Infosupply were that they became global, international and cosmopolitan. Such aims are also present in discourses of business schools (INSEAD and IE) and management literature (Levy et al., 2007; Inkson and Arthur, 2000). My research question was prompted by a curiosity to discover what kind of culture is created by international employees, and what they take away from their experience in India. Moreover, from an organisational point of view, recruitment and retention were problematic, an issue explored in the white paper I co-wrote with five other international analysts at Infosupply in February 2007. In sum, my previous work experience at Infosupply together with the literature review and proposal informed the fieldwork.

18 This period is summarised in Appendix 1, as it contributes to the findings in Chapter 5 and 6.
19 The first research topic was published in Nayak (ed., 2006): Nationalising Crisis. Atlantic Publishers, Delhi, was presented previously at IDPM/University of Manchester’s “ICTs and Gender” workshop and the Anthropology postgraduate seminar at the University of Manchester in 2006. It was funded by “The Leverhulme Trust Study Abroad Studentship” in 2006.
4.4.2 Fieldwork October 2007 – August 2008

The ethnographic fieldwork was conducted actively from October 2007 to August 2008. I drew upon selected methodology guides such as Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), and Fetterman (1998), as well as skills acquired during an MSc in Research Methods in Anthropology in 2003-2004. As a “bricoleur” (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998, p. 3), I envisaged that the research would use various sources and remain flexible.

Ethically, the research was informed by the guidelines of the ASA and Fetterman (1998). Fetterman outlines seven ethical guidelines for conducting fieldwork (1998, pp. 138-145): asking for permission; being honest; being aware of and honouring trust; using pseudonyms; being reciprocal; adhering to confidentiality in cases of “dirty hands and guilty knowledge” (Fetterman, 1998, pp. 143-144; cf. Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, pp. 119-120); and aiming to work rigorously. The standards of the Association of Social Anthropologists (ASA, 1999), which emphasise equal relations and informed consent with research participants as well as transparency over methods, were also drawn upon. My commitment towards the research participants is reflected in explicitly announcing and adhering to confidentiality and the use of pseudonyms during the research process; and whilst not explicitly stating confidentiality during participant observation, adhering to it in practice. Throughout data collection and during the analysis, pseudonyms were used, honesty was continual and validity was ensured by examining different perspectives to gain a holistic perspective with micro- and macro studies (Fetterman, 1998). By adopting a “constant comparative method”, being aware of “deviant” cases and “comprehensive data treatment” (Silverman, 2010, pp. 278-286), a holistic perspective was enshrined.

**Participant Observation**

From October 2007 to August 2008, whilst no longer working at Infosupply, I continued to live with international analysts, had many friends amongst IEs and attended social functions being invited via email, Facebook and word of mouth. I also listened to the stories of research participants over coffee, dinner, during shopping trips, at parties and on travels. I participated as well as observed, and learned about the work life, home life and social life of research participants.

During the pre-fieldwork phase of working for Infosupply from July 2006 to July 2007 (see Appendix 1), I was a complete participant (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p. 104) and reflected on my actions in a personal diary and with other IEs in chats on MSN Messenger or emails to family. With hindsight, these documents assisted in adding a layer of reflection and observation, and subsequently influenced my directions during the official second phase of research from October 2007 to August 2008. In the second phase I covered the whole range of participant observation roles on a daily basis. I participated fully in home life as well as observing and/or participating in after-work activities. By writing a diary everyday for the first
three months and fieldnotes of salient issues thereafter, my observations were made explicit and were reflected upon.

Essentially, “research among friends” (Silverman, 2010, p. 273) was undertaken. There are risks attached to this approach and I took several steps to counterbalance these risks. Firstly, while doing what is practical and “feeling at home” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p. 115), I risked losing the ability to make judgements. Discussing the difficulties of doing research among friends (2010. p. 273), Silverman concluded that it requires an added awareness of judgements to avoid easy conclusions. To counterbalance this risk, the purpose of the research and my role as a researcher was emphasised in the pre-interview questionnaire. I also sought to balance the sample with non-friends as well as rigorously analysing the findings to check for alternative explanations. My position as friend to some IEs bore the risk of limiting the sample to persons I already regarded as friends. To broaden the sample and to make it more inclusive, I emphasised the point of the research and its ethical standards, namely to treat findings confidentially, balanced and professionally. Thus I managed to gain access to IEs, who were not friends, on a research rather than friends basis. Some IEs, who did not participate in IE activities and kept to themselves, were difficult to include. They could have provided insights into mal- or non-adjustment, but, although they were approached, it proved impossible to conduct research with them (see the Russian Interns in Unitech Section III; see Figure 5-2; Chapter 7, Section 7.3.2). Participants occasionally requested favours (e.g. assistance with applications to Masters or PhDs, job market information in India, UK and Germany) in return for answering research questions. Here, I helped research participants where possible. Finally, I found it difficult to “leave the field” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p. 122), because “the field” had been my “home” prior to and during fieldwork for 21 months and lingered in my life through social networks and email. Gaining emotional as well as geographical distance delayed some of the analysis.

Ultimately, I empathised with my research participants’ lives to varying degrees, which constituted a loss of objectivity. Yet this subjectivity also enabled me to gain insight and to judge findings from multiple perspectives. Overall, the balance between being a friend and a researcher was held through the various ways described above. Together with generating and analysing various sources and perspectives, I believe this research gained validity and generalisability through my “research among friends” (Silverman, 2010, p. 273).

Diary and fieldnotes from participant observation
I kept a detailed diary every day for the first three months (October, November and December 2007). I analysed this manually for themes. My evenings were mainly spent socialising, often starting at 10pm or 11 pm. Another recurring theme was transport and the logistics of private transport. Regardless of the transport situation, IEs habitually travelled a lot. Infrastructure issues regarding Gurgaon and housing occupied a large amount of time. Interviewees were asked how they coped with this when interviewed. As this was a very time-intensive method,
only selected events, conversations and thoughts were recorded during the remainder of the fieldwork.

**Pre-interview questionnaire**
The initial sampling of research participants constituted the entire group of 60 IEs at Infosupply. At the beginning of January 2008, I designed a pre-interview questionnaire to narrow the sample. The purpose was threefold: it informed all IEs of my research topic; gauged interest in participation in the research among IEs; and gained background information on interested participants for the interviews and Chapter 5.

A pilot study was used to gather opinions about the questionnaire, which was subsequently revised according to their comments, before being launched on 4 February 2008 via the official IE spokesperson at the time. The pre-interview questionnaire (Appendix 3) was accompanied by a document on the research background (Appendix 2). Although I spoke about my research at parties and encouraged IEs to fill out the questionnaire, the response rate was poor. Another email was sent by the IE spokesperson on 25 February 2008. During March I continued to advertise the study at parties and by emailing individual IEs asking them to complete the questionnaire. Approximately 50% of responses were received from 30 IEs. I used the pre-interview questionnaire to prepare the interviews, where I asked more in-depth questions. It was also used for Chapter 5 and informally for Chapter 7.

**In-depth interviews**
I had a general list of questions for research participants, which were amended depending on the interviewed participant. Prior to the interview some of the standard in-depth interview questions for discussion were highlighted and emailed to the interviewee. This approach meant that I did not have to collect demographic data and points of IEs’ trajectories (Chapter 5), since the questionnaire did this. It also meant that participants were informed about the questions, although most of the participants admitted to not having read the questions prior to the interview.

During the interview key points of the research participants’ experiences and emotions were examined (Silverman, 2010, p. 190; Chapter 6 and 7). Areas depended on the participant, but always covered all questions of the in-depth research interview questions (Appendix 4). The interviews were thus semi-structured, based on open questions posed in a descriptive way (cf. Silverman, 2010, p. 272) and varied in length and emphasis (Appendix 5). The interviews also provided the opportunity to test perceptions from participant observation. While I drew on my own previous experience as a participant employee from July 2006 to July 2007 (see Appendix 1) for the part on employment (Chapter 6), observations gained during October 2007 to August 2008 (see Chapter 5) were used for the part on leisure activities (Chapter 7).
For interview recording I used the application ‘Garageband’ via the in-built microphone on my Mac computer. I also took written notes of answers and interesting points were taken of all interviews, filling eight A5 notebooks. After the interview, the digital recording was converted to podcast. These podcasts were then transcribed verbatim into interview transcripts and annotated with the handwritten notes where appropriate.

**Extant Texts**

Prior to and throughout the research articles were read on expatriates and non-Indians in India, offshoring, cultural life in Delhi, travel in India, the company, the offshoring industry and anything else that seemed relevant to the experience of IEs in India. These sources were used in Chapter 5 to provide the background description.

4.5 Data analysis

Since the research was interpretive, the analysis aimed to firstly filter the data to arrive at themes and secondly to analyse the data again for these themes as well as to relate the findings to existing theories (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p. 206). There were two phases of analysis: before and during fieldwork, and after fieldwork. Both of these will be described and evaluated here.

4.5.1 Analysis before and during fieldwork

Due to the logistics of the research project, I went into the field with some presumptions and an existing understanding of the literature on globalisation, cosmopolitanism and IHRM and expatriates. During the fieldwork, I conducted some analysis by writing a daily field diary for the initial three months. This analysis fed into the questions for the pre-interview questionnaire and subsequent interview.

The largest part of the analysis was conducted during the writing-up phase from October 2008 to September 2010 when a more detailed understanding of the literature in international business, cosmopolitanism, adjustment and international employees was gained. Only then was a theoretical angle established and developed.

4.5.2 Analysis after fieldwork

Initially, the quantity and minutiae of the data I had recorded was overwhelming, especially when combined with the fatigue of having left “the field” (cf. Silverman, 2010, p. 218). My approach of customising the research questions for each IE meant that each topic had been discussed, but to varying degrees and depths. When undertaking analysis, methods of ethnographic analysis (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; Fetterman, 1998) and qualitative research were used (Silverman, 2005, 2nd edition; Silverman, 2010, 3rd edition). The process of analysis constituted “finding my way through the forest” (Fetterman, 1998, pp. 92-111), “funnelling” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p. 206) and “progressively focusing” (ibid, p. 207) the research questions and answers in description and analysis. I did so by transcribing
interviews, delineating themes from the interviews, analysing the themes further internally, working on the theoretical framework, and examining the data further and from different angles.

**Analysis Phase 1**

This phase contained the transcriptions of interviews, “a careful reading” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p. 210) and developing concepts. The concepts depicted what research participants’ interviews focused upon. This step was necessary, since the interview questions varied with each person (Section 4.4.2, in-depth interviews). It was now necessary to gain an overall view and to know which themes were discussed, and how.

The initial themes were:

1. India and International Employment
2. The setting (Gurgaon)
3. The company (the case study)
4. Descriptions of the people
5. Background
6. Households
7. At work
8. At home
9. In leisure places at parties and during travel
10. Aspirations and motivations
11. Real experiences
12. Views on friendships and other people
13. Connections and networks
14. Keeping in touch with friends and family
15. Going “home” and related experiences
16. Missing other things “at home”
17. Mobility, settling, and cultural knowledge

These themes were listed in separate new documents, and relevant chunks of each interview were copied into these themes, thus fitting individual remarks under each theme.

**Analysis Phase 2**

Following the clustering of interview data into themes, each theme was analysed using conversational analysis (Silverman, 2010, 3rd ed., p. 239). This entailed looking at themes within these by making comments and writing memos.

The data was often contradictory and contained “multiple emic perspectives” plus my own “etic perspective” on one theme. As both the main experience and the contradiction were of interest, it was important to understand what were dominant experiences and what was a singular case. Hence, the data was re-examined to establish trends and understand deviant cases (Silverman, 2010, 3rd ed., p. 281) and to compare within the sample of research participants (Silverman, 2010, 3rd ed., p. 280). Some tabulations were also employed to understand the frequency of one theme (Silverman, 2010, 3rd ed., p. 285). These tabulations were always supplemented by research participants’ explanations from interview data and observations and provided a base rather than an explanation in their own right. This phase aimed to increase the internal validity of the data through balancing emic and etic perspectives, starting to represent the existing intra-cultural diversity and compare micro-studies of households; with the macro-study of Infosupply accommodation through internal comparisons.
Analysis Phase 3

In this phase the different themes and insights gained from Analysis Phase 2 were related to the literature compiled in Chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 5 provides initial orientation to the reader by outlining "the field" (Fetterman, 1998). Within the theoretical chapters 6 and 7, theoretical contributions developed a comparative analysis between my research findings and the literature. The data aggregate from Analysis Phase 2 was reviewed along with original data sources to check detail and understanding.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter began by describing the different paradigms available in International Business and positioning the research as an ethnography among the predominantly positivist IB paradigms. This approach is also consistent with the literature on international employees (Chapter 2) and cosmo-politanism in the social sciences (Chapter 3), which showed that ethnographies might be able to explore "the human face of global mobility" (Favell et al, 2007, p. 25) as well as a "middling" cosmo-politanism (Favell et al, 2007). In turn, this would also enable further insights into SFEs' cosmo-politanism and mal/adjustment.

Following this, paradigms in anthropology were explored and key as well as controversial elements of ethnography were outlined before reflecting on what elements this research study draws on. Finally, data collection and analysis were then summarised.

There are a few shortcomings in my approach. During data collection, I was aware that I did "research among friends" (Silverman, 2010) and counterbalanced this in various ways. The approach provided multiple perspectives and allowed for the collection of broad data. Depth has been achieved through the analysis. Finally, some of the findings initially had an almost anecdotal quality (Silverman, 2010, p. 276), which I counterbalanced by drawing on theory and increasing relevance.

The ethnography presented in this research project has been influenced substantially by the key elements summarised by Fetterman (1998). During fieldwork, I maintained a non-judgemental orientation, collected multiple perspectives and aimed to produce a holistic perspective on the lives of Infosupply's IEs in Gurgaon. The analysis was a continuous process of "progressive focusing" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p. 207), which shuttled between emic and etic perspectives, micro- and macro-levels to portray the intra-cultural diversity of the group of IEs, provide a holistic perspective and contextualising the research to make a theoretical contribution.

Controversial ethnographic concepts such as subjectivity, reflexivity, ethics, validity and generalisability were addressed throughout the research and writing. I am aware of and open...
about my subjectivity and have referred at various points to my position as first an employee and then as a researcher “among friends” aiming to maintain the researcher role. Further, I have been reflexive on this position and my experience. Ethically, I adhered to an equal relationship with my research participants through informed consent and confidentiality. The validity of the research stems from balancing complexity derived through various perspectives with contextualisation in extant texts and theoretical concepts. Although it is not possible to generalise from the findings to other studies due to the situated nature of the findings, the contextualisation also makes it possible to compare the findings with other studies, as will be made explicit in Chapter 8. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 present the results of this methodology.
5 Ethnographic descriptions: research participants’ past and present

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will outline the research participants’ background and current environment of Gurgaon, their households, and the company in which they work. The sections present a thick description in order to gauge research participants’ “presence” and to foster an understanding of the kind of cosmopolitanism of the research participants (Calhoun, 2003, p. 537).

International employees have been perceived as both elitist (Calhoun, 2002) and non-elitist (Hannerz, 1990). Skrbis et al (2004) called this “the winners-losers dichotomy” (ibid, p. 121). In particular, mobility and a “concomitant sense of global belonging” have been understood to represent privilege and elite status (Tomlinson, 1999, in Vertovec and Cohen, 2002, p.13). Yet Calhoun emphasises that mobility applies differently to different people (2002, p.890), and that these differences are “not just to the elite occupational status of those who form the archetypal image of the cosmopolitans, but to the grounding certain material privileges give to the intellectual position […]” (2003, p. 543). In this respect, cosmopolitanism is

“not simply privilege. It is that a sense of connection to the world as a whole, […] has its own material and social conditions” (ibid., p. 543) and “all actually existing cosmopolitanisms […] reflect influences of social location and cultural tradition.”

Calhoun, 2003, p. 544

According to Calhoun (2002) cosmopolitanism can only be understood beyond the dichotomy of privilege and non-privilege. By exploring “material and social conditions” and the “influences of social location and cultural tradition” (ibid. p. 544) the “sense of connection to the world as a whole” (ibid, p. 543) is revealed. Favell et al (2007) identified a “massification” of mobility as a side effect of globalisation (ibid, p. 17) and called for an exploration of the “middling” of migration (ibid, p. 17). SFEs (Suutari and Brewster, 2000), an under-researched group within international work experiences (Scullion et al, 2007), and sectors of the current Indian economy, such as KPO, represent “middling” and concomitant new forms of cosmopolitanism and adjustment.

In order to explore this, the chapter describes the research participants’ experiences in three parts. Section 5.2 describes research participants’ upbringing and their “material and social conditions” as young adults. This identifies IEs as examples of “middling” (Favell et al, 2007), places the research participants in categories of SFEs (Suutari and Brewster, 2000) and rebuts the concomitant allegation of elitism (Calhoun, 2002). Section 5.3 describes research participants’ experiences in India by looking at the town of Gurgaon and the IE accommodation there. Section 5.4 describes their lives in the organisation Infosupply. Overall, this chapter contributes to understanding the “material and social conditions” of IEs’ lives in India and serves as background for Chapters 6 and 7.
5.2 Research participants’ backgrounds

This section introduces the research participants by providing a thick description of their “material and social conditions” and “influences of social location and cultural tradition” (Calhoun, 2003). The first part describes how research participants perceive their parents’ support, introduces nationalities and language skills, and describes their mobility as children and adolescents. This links to studies of cosmopolitanism in children (Weenink, 2008) and the internationalisation of young adults (Tharenou, 2003). These debates have discussed how parents prepare their children for a global, cosmopolitan world and what factors can be commonly observed as driving young adults to seek employment abroad. The second part describes where research participants studied, travelled and worked as young adults, placing the research participants in existing moulds of Self-directed Foreign Employees (SFEs); (Suutari, 2003) and Overseas Experience (OE; Inkson and Meyers, 2003) which are complementary categories to the category of expatriate. Finally and most importantly, the third section places IEs in the debates around alleged privilege through high mobility (Calhoun, 2002). Describing IEs’ backgrounds in detail challenges prevalent perceptions of a winner-loser dichotomy of cosmopolitanism (Skrbis et al, 2004) and explores a “middle” (Favell et al, 2007).

5.2.1 Research participants’ lives as children and adolescents

Perceived parental support

The data analysis revealed that there were various levels of parental support, which suggests that there is no causal deterministic relationship between parental support and the cosmopolitanism of children (Weenink, 2008).

Research participants perceived their parents’ support in several different ways. Some felt that their parents supported and advised them appropriately. Violet’s experience suggests that her parents supported her strongly, because her parents moved from the UK to France to facilitate her education at a French school at the age of 13. Her mother’s vision of her daughter’s successful education was instrumental in their relocation to France. Other IEs perceived their parents as supportive, but despite good intentions, they also perceived them as not providing relevant career advice to their children. Bela’s mother, for example, was very proud of her son’s BA in English, but did not consider what he could do with such a degree; while Bela wished she could have been offered more appropriate career advice. In these instances, research participants often ended up devising their own career path, as in Bela’s case. Finally, some research participants not only lacked supportive parents and concrete plans but also perceived their parents as positive hurdles by transmitting “negative vibes”, as expressed by Vincent.

In summary, the different levels of support identified reveal that not all parents actively worked to prepare their children for a globalised world, as Weenink (2008) had found. Similar to nationalities and languages spoken, varying levels of parental support provide an interesting starting point, but their influence on cosmopolitanism is debatable.
Nationalities and language skills

Both popular (e.g. Filou, 2007; Kanter, 1995) and academic (e.g. Calhoun, 2002) literature views nationalities and languages as essential for mobility. Nationalities are also seen as influencing national culture. In this part, nationalities are seen as accidental starting points for a person’s life, and secondly as influences on language skills.

The research participants came from 13 different nations. France (4), Germany (3), and Turkey (3) were the biggest nationalities present amongst those studied, with the remaining research participants coming from other countries in Europe, Central and Eastern Europe, Africa and South America. Three of the research participants held dual nationality: Russian and Latvian (Juri), Dutch and Turkish (Mehmet) and French and Turkish (Ayesha).

Nationalities affected the languages spoken by research participants. Excluding English, which was the lingua franca, research participants spoke 13 languages between them. Being bilingual is the minimum language capability of all research participants and Table 5.1 presents the nationalities and languages of bilingual research participants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Research Participants</th>
<th>Parents’ Language</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Studies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>Louise</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>French, English</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>Onur</td>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>Turkish, English</td>
<td>Turkish, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>Robert</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>German, English</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>Lorna</td>
<td>English, Gaelic</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwean</td>
<td>Hondo</td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>English, Shona</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>Astrid</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>German, English</td>
<td>German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>Vincent</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>French, English</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chilean</td>
<td>Eva</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Spanish, English</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US-American</td>
<td>Rebecca</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English, French</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The acquisition of three or more languages is noteworthy, with ten of the participants being tri-, quadri- or quintilingual. These languages were acquired either through the origins and movements of their parents, or because they actively sought to acquire further languages during their studies, through work, and out of curiosity (see table 5.2).

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20 French (Fabien, Menelik, Louise, Ayesha, Vincent, Katarina, Simone, Rebecca and Violet), German (Magda, Katarina, Robert, Juri and Astrid), Turkish (Mehmet, Onur, Ayesha), Hindi (Fabien, Bela and Simone), Spanish (Ayesha, Fabien and Eva) and Polish (Juri and Violet) were the main other languages.
Table 5-2 - Tri-, quadri- & quintilingual research participants’ nationalities and education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Research Participants</th>
<th>Parents’ Language</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Studies</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Source of Acquisition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trilingual</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopian</td>
<td>Menelik</td>
<td>Amharic</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Migration, school and studies in France, studied and worked in UK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>Violet</td>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>French Polish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Polish parents, learnt English during school in London, French at school in France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgarian</td>
<td>Magda</td>
<td>Bulgarian</td>
<td>Bulgarian</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Bulgarian German English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Own Studies after school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>Bela</td>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>Hungarian English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Hungarian English Hindi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Learned English during school, studied English, learnt Hindi for work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US-American</td>
<td>Simone</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Studied in France, learnt Hindi for work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Quadrilingual</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>Katarina</td>
<td>Romanian</td>
<td>German English, French</td>
<td>German English</td>
<td>German English, Romanian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Romanian parents, grew up in Germany, learnt English and French at school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch-Turkish</td>
<td>Mehmet</td>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>Dutch English</td>
<td>Dutch English</td>
<td>Turkish English German</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Turkish parents, grew up in Netherlands, learnt Dutch, German and English at school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French-Turkish</td>
<td>Ayesha</td>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>French English</td>
<td>French English Spanish</td>
<td>French Turkish English Spanish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Turkish parents, grew up and studied in France, Sweden and Spain, worked in Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Quintilingual</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>Fabien</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>French, English</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>English French Spanish Slovenian Hindi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Grew up &amp; studied in France, worked in Spain, Slovenia, learnt Spanish, Slovenian and Hindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian-Latvian</td>
<td>Juri</td>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>Latvian Polish, German</td>
<td>German English</td>
<td>Latvian Russian Polish German English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Russian parents, grew up in Latvia, German at school, learnt Polish for girlfriend, studied in Germany and learnt English there</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend: 
*Italicics* indicate tri-, quadri- and quintilingual individuals, who acquired languages through own motivation.
**Mobility as children and adolescents**

Mobility in this context refers to relocations and travel as children. Travel can be further divided into travel with parents and independent travel outside their country of residence. Relocations and travels with parents as well as independent travel indicate how parents equip their children with “cosmopolitan capital” (Weenink, 2008) and reveal “material and social conditions” (Calhoun, 2003).

**Table 5-3 - Research participants’ mobility as children and adolescents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relocations - to a 2nd country other than their country of birth</th>
<th>Parents</th>
<th>Independent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Menelik - 2x</td>
<td>Simone - 1x and temporary</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violet - 1x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Travel - outside of country of residence</th>
<th>Parents</th>
<th>Independent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Astrid → Fabien</td>
<td></td>
<td>Astrid (with Girl Scouts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juri</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rebecca (Europe Tour with School Orchestra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menelik</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vincent (with friend to friend’s African family)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorna (package holidays)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mehmet (to study English at a UK Language School)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violet (resorts and friends)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend: → indicates that Research Participant exists in two categories
*italics* indicate that Vincent was the only one who travelled independently as an adolescent

Table 5.3 shows that three of the research participants experienced relocations as children. Of the three research participants relocated as children, Menelik and Violet experienced this as a change, while Simone spent some years in her father’s birth country, the UK, and continued to speak English.

The majority of research participants, who travelled outside of their country of origin with their parents, travelled on organised tours and packages. Of those who travelled independently as adolescents, only Vincent accompanied a friend to his friend’s family in Africa, while Astrid, Rebecca and Mehmet travelled in groups with specific purpose (i.e. with girl scout groups, with the orchestra, to a language school). Vincent’s experience is thus the most “independent”.

Overall, relocations as children and adolescents were rare. Roughly half of the research participants travelled outside of their country of origin as children. Of these, four travelled without their parents and only Vincent went on a more independent journey to Africa as a minor. If high mobility can be assumed to reveal privilege (Calhoun, 2002), the research participants’ “material and social conditions” (Calhoun, 2003) reveal a lack of mobility and privilege. In comparison to research by Weenink (2008), the research participants were not actively prepared by their parents for a globalised world.
5.2.2 Research participants’ lives as young adults

Higher education

All research participants studied to graduate level and the majority held postgraduate qualifications. The arts, humanities and business/management featured predominantly, with only one research participant (Hondo) having a natural science background. Research participants had different levels of geographical mobility during their studies, which framed their experiences. For many, their education constituted their first opportunity to live, travel and work independently of their parents (see Table 5.4 for details).

Table 5-4 - Research participants’ trajectories as students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Participant</th>
<th>Country of Nationality</th>
<th>BA</th>
<th>Exchange/Internship</th>
<th>MA/MBA</th>
<th>Trajectory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vincent</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katarina</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>USA (Intern)</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>A + B + D1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simone</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>A + D2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onur</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>India (AIESEC)</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>A + B + D2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eva</td>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>A + D1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mehmet</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>UK (exchange) + India (Intern)</td>
<td>(not yet)</td>
<td>A + D1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bela</td>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>A + B + D2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magda</td>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>C2 + D2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayesha*</td>
<td>Turkey/France</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>A + B + D2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabien</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menelik*</td>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>UK (exchange) + India (Intern)</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>A + B + D1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louise</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>India (Intern)</td>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juri</td>
<td>Russia/Latvia</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Netherlands (exchange) + India (Intern)</td>
<td>(not yet)</td>
<td>C2 + B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorna</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>(not yet)</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hondo</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astrid</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violet*</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>France (exchange)</td>
<td>(not yet)</td>
<td>C1 + B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebecca</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>UK</td>
<td>A + D1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend:
* indicates research participants who experienced relocations with their parents (see Table 5.3)

A began and started academic trajectory in one country
B did exchange year or internship in a different country
C1 moved to a different country with the same language for their UG studies
C2 moved to a different country with a different language for their UG studies
D1 moved to a different country with the same language for their PG studies
D2 moved to a different country with a different language for their PG studies
The trajectories of research participants can be clustered into four overarching scenarios reflecting differing amounts of mobility:

- **Scenario 1** - completed their education in one country (A): Vincent, Fabien, Robert, Lorna, Hondo and Astrid chose this option.

- **Scenario 2** - had limited exposure to new languages, but international mobility: Completion of education in one country with internships or exchange years in countries with different languages before return to original country (A+B (Mehmet and Louise); A+B+D1 (Menelik* and Katarina) OR completion of undergraduate studies in one country and post-graduate certificate in another country with the same language (A+D1 (Eva and Rebecca)).

- **Scenario 3** - experienced new countries and languages at every stage: Undergraduate studies in one country and postgraduate certificate in another country with a different language (A+D2 (Simone)), OR undergraduate studies in one country, with an internship in a second country and postgraduate studies in a third country with a new language (A+B+D2 (Bela, Ayesha* and Onur)).

- **Scenario 4** - initial new country and language followed by continuation: undergraduate studies in a country other than their nationality and continued with internships/exchanges or Master (C1+B (Juri), C2+B (Magda), C2+D (Violet*)).

These different scenarios exemplify research participants’ movements during their studies. Their experiences in different countries pose an addition to their initial nationality and are also testimony to the research participants’ choices as adults beyond parental support. The acquired language skills and country expertise were key requirements for their job at Infosupply and enabled them to move between countries. These findings are consistent with Tharenou (2003), who found that “receptivity to international work is likely to have developed, at least partly, early on in an employee’s career” (2003, p. 490).

**Travel as adults**

Most research participants tended to travel for annual holidays, but this varied in terms of geographical distance and levels of independent travel (Table 5.5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern of Travel Mobility</th>
<th>Research Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pattern 1: only in country of origin</td>
<td>Louise, Ayesha, Astrid, Hondo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattern 2: in and outside of Europe, but only once a year</td>
<td>Bela, Lorna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattern 3: in Europe and more than once a year</td>
<td>Magda, Juri, Katarina, Menelik, Onur, Fabien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattern 4: package holidays or visiting friends</td>
<td>Eva, Robert, Violet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattern 5: international and independent travel</td>
<td>Simone, Vincent, Rebecca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattern 6: family visits</td>
<td>Mehmet (Turkey), Katarina (Romania), Violet (Poland), Ayesha (Turkey) and Menelik (Ethiopia)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.5 reveals that the majority of research participants chose not to depart markedly in terms of distance from their home country or frequency of annual holiday. However, a few were more inventive in terms of their willingness to explore. Overall, this seems to suggest that the
research participants are not globetrotting frequent travellers (Calhoun, 2002), but instead travel only once a year and to distances close to their country of origin.

Work experience
Ten of the 19 research participants had experience of full-time employment before they came to India. Four worked in their country nationality, while six had worked in other countries prior to working in India. Their jobs were mainly entry-level professional jobs.

Table 5-6 - Research participants mobility as employees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Participant</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>First Jobs and Location</th>
<th>Student Scenarios and Trajectories *</th>
<th>Change between student and work mobility</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Worked in Country of Birth</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onur</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Trader</td>
<td>Scen. 3: A+B+D2 (Turkey, India, France)</td>
<td>Return to country of birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bela</td>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>Engl. Teacher - Journalist</td>
<td>Scen 3: A+B (+D2) (Hungary, USA, Singapore)</td>
<td>Return to country of birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eva</td>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>Virtual Gallery Owner</td>
<td>Scen 2: A+D1 (Chile, Spain)</td>
<td>Return to country of birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hondo</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Scientist</td>
<td>Scen 1: A (Zimbabwe)</td>
<td>Stayed in country of birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Worked Abroad before India</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simone</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Journalist - France</td>
<td>Scen. 3 - A+D2 (USA, France)</td>
<td>Continued in France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vincent</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Backpacking Hostel - South Africa</td>
<td>Scen. 1 - A (France)</td>
<td>NEW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louise</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Supply Chain Management - Czech Republic</td>
<td>Scen. 2 - A+B (France, India)</td>
<td>NEW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayesha</td>
<td>France/Turkey</td>
<td>Buyer - Turkey</td>
<td>Scen. 3 - A+B+D2 (France/Sweden, Spain)</td>
<td>Discovered origins, but new</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabien</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>French Embassy - Spain, Slovenia</td>
<td>Scen. 1 - A (France)</td>
<td>NEW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebecca</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>French Teacher - France</td>
<td>Scen. 2 - A+D1 (USA, UK)</td>
<td>NEW</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Legend for Student Trajectories (see Table 5.4 Trajectories as Students)*

- **A** began and started academic trajectory in one country
- **B** did exchange year or internship in a different country
- **C1** moved to a different country with the same language for their UG studies
- **C2** moved to a different country with a different language for their UG studies
- **D1** moved to a different country with the same language for their PG studies
- **D2** moved to a different country with a different language for their PG studies

" → " stayed in the same country, same as the country of origin
The comparison to the student mobility of research participants (Section 5.1.2, Table 5.3) who chose their first jobs abroad reveals two patterns. Firstly, all of the research participants who worked abroad in their first jobs, studied in their country of nationality first, and were geographically immobile prior to taking up a job abroad. Two persons from Scenario 1 (Vincent, Fabien) and two persons from Scenario 2 (Louise and Rebecca) then worked abroad. Secondly, only four of six research participants (Vincent, Louise, Fabien, Rebecca) chose a job in a country with a new language and location. They did so because they wanted to learn English in a new context (Vincent), learn Spanish and Slovenian (Fabien), discover a new country by accident (Louise), or to get new experience and build upon existing language skills (Rebecca). The similarities between the four persons are that they all want to acquire new languages and skills while “see[ing] something new”, as Vincent said.

As adults, research participants were less influenced by parental support, and sought to combine exploration with building professional skills and earning money. Fabien summarised this aptly for his job in India:

“I came here mainly for the job… […] if you come here as a tourist how long can you stay? Three weeks because you won’t have time or money: if you have a proper job, you can’t take more leaves or you don’t have money… so that’s when I decided that I will look for work here… […] now from a professional point of view, there are things I can sell on my CV […] otherwise I would have felt guilty or bad… just coming here and doing nothing… and you can put this on your CV and say: yes, yes.. I did that … and that you travel around also looks good.”

Similarly, Rebecca chose jobs on the basis of exploring a new place, enhancing her CV, and having the time and money to explore a new place. This suggests that the reason for not exploring new places previously might have been the lack of money, time or justification.

5.2.3 Summary

Looking at the lives of research participants as children and adolescents has shown varying parental support, language proficiency, and country relocations, as well as mobility. Research participants have diverse backgrounds and do not conform to the stereotype of children that have been prepared for a global world by their parents (Weenink, 2008).

As young adults, research participants showed varying patterns of mobility in their higher education, travels and work. Although they often travel only once a year and to distances close to their country of origin, their experiences in different countries act as additions to their initial, accidental nationality. These experiences are indicative of their choices as adults and shaped their predisposition in coming to India.

These findings are consistent with Tharenou (2003), who found that “receptivity to international work is likely to have developed, at least partly, early on in an employee’s career, […]since..]
those initially not disposed to international work may never consider such work, and those disposed may overcome major problems in order to go” (2003, p. 490). Tharenou further found that “young employees are motivated [...] by their expectations of new cultural experiences, career development, high pay, job opportunities and travel opportunities [...]” (2003, p. 510-511) which echoes the research of Suutari and Brewster (2000) on SFEs and Inkson et al (1997) on OEs.

Finally, both popular (e.g. Filou, 2007; Kanter, 1995) and academic (e.g. Calhoun, 2002) literature views mobility as associated with privilege. Through focusing on aspects of the research participants’ backgrounds, it has been shown that they are not highly mobile, privileged travellers (Calhoun, 2002) and have described their “material and social conditions” to understand their “particular position in the world” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 244). The research participants’ skills, through education and languages, have enabled them to become SFEs (Suutari and Brewster, 2000). In this regard, research participants do not fall into the category of privileged “winner” (Skrbis et al, 2004) nor into that of the unprivileged “loser” (Skrbis et al, 2004, p. 119). The implication is that research participants offer a view on the “middle” of cosmopolitan practices (Favell et al, 2007) and further “cosmopolitan diversity” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 549).

5.3 Gurgaon and accommodation for Infosupply’s IEs

This section describes the research participants’ surroundings in order to understand their experiences. The first aspect is the satellite town of Gurgaon, which exemplifies globalisation. The second aspect is their accommodation in Gurgaon. The third aspect is their employing organisation, Infosupply.

5.3.1 The city of Gurgaon

Gurgaon’s significance for India’s industrialisation is reflected in investment figures. In 2004, Gurgaon was ranked 14th in terms of attracting investment in India, while by 2007, it occupied first place (Patnaik, 2007). These official investment figures and Business Week’s ranking are only glimpses into the many facets of Gurgaon, which is being hailed as “the best city to live and work in” (Pande, 2009) despite the challenges of infrastructure and social disparities.

**Gurgaon’s development 1975-2009**

Haryana is one of 28 Indian federal states and seven union territories. Following the Green Revolution, it was split off from Punjab and founded in 1966 on the basis of the linguistic allegiances of its population, and is one of the youngest Indian states. Economically, Haryana is dominated by agriculture, manufacturing and the services industry. The towns of Faridabad and Gurgaon are generators of state and market capital (Shankaran and Joy, 2009). While Faridabad is a manufacturing hub, Gurgaon distinguishes itself through its focus on services. Historically, Gurgaon benefited from discrepancies in urban planning legislation between Delhi and Gurgaon in 1975 and 1976. Furthermore, in 1977 the Haryana Urban Development
Authority (HUDA) was founded with the incentive of accelerating the provision of housing and land. As a consequence, many companies moved from Delhi to Gurgaon in response to the legislation which allowed unlimited freehold land (Jamwal, 2004, p. 28). Over two decades the population of Gurgaon grew from 37,868 inhabitants in 1961 to 1.15 million inhabitants (Jamwal, 2004, Gurgaon, 2010). Gurgaon’s significance further increased in the mid-1990s, when favourable tax policies attracted investors (Pande, 2009). With more real estate developers constructing offices, Gurgaon became a centre for ITeS, BPO and KPO. By 2001, Gurgaon had the third highest average per capita income on a national Indian sample. Yet it has a more complex reputation amongst locals and faces infrastructural and social challenges.

**Gurgaon’s reputation as a centre for production and consumption**

Locals perceive Gurgaon as consisting of “malls and offices” that provide places for work and shopping. This popular perception echoes political-economic concepts of production and consumption. The production side in terms of employment has been discussed in Chapter 2; this generator of income means that possibilities of consumption exist aplenty in Gurgaon. For example, in 2009, there were 43 malls, despite critics noting that the malls are neither profitable nor supported by the infrastructure (Adiga, 2004). These multiple private amenities for production and consumption situated in a city with a lack of public infrastructure mean Gurgaon’s reputation is also one of an “international city barring some potholes of infrastructure” (Pande, 2009).

**Infrastructural challenges**

The “potholes” are caused by infrastructural problems, such as traffic and transport, water shortages, electricity shortages and air pollution.

Transport within Gurgaon consists of cycle rickshaws, overcrowded, speeding and infrequent buses, and rental cars with drivers. There are no sidewalks and walking is uncomfortable due to the often-hot weather, dusty air, and air pollution. The combination of congested roads, private inverters which are often powered by diesel motors, and air-conditioned malls, means air pollution is high.

Due to private unregulated property development by HUDA, water resources have been exploited and electricity production has not kept pace (Jamwal, 2004). Electricity supply cannot meet increased demand, and power cuts occur daily. Few people can afford electrical appliances or high electricity prices, and do not have homes in which they can consume this private luxury. Access to a private power supply is a necessity, but exacerbates air pollution and social disparities.

In summary, the infrastructural challenges not only spoil the official image of “the best city to work and live in” (Pande, 2009) but feature frequently in the research participants’ tales of their experience. In addition, social inequalities predominate.
Social challenges

Gurgaon’s wealthy population, which is serviced by domestic staff, guards and drivers, reveals a series of disparities. First, there is the inequality between wages, housing and lifestyles. Second, there are consequences in terms of human suffering and crime. Both of these had an impact on research participants’ lives and are therefore relevant to understanding their experiences.

Hamilton Court, one of Gurgaon’s condominiums, provides a useful illustration of inequality. Every apartment has an average of 2.26 domestic staff (Sengupta, 2008). Residents in the condominium benefit from power backup, uninterrupted electricity supply, deep bore wells for water, a dedicated health care clinic, and educational facilities such as a kindergarten and school. By contrast, domestic staff live outside the air-conditioned condominiums without running water, electricity, health care or schooling. The security guards who can be seen at the entrance of condominiums, large houses, shopping malls and offices, also often live in slums and makeshift housing (ibid; Adiga: 2008; author’s observation). The drivers provide transport to and from work for BPO, KPO and IT companies and their employees. Given that there is no public transport, the number of drivers is high. The suffering of domestic staff, guards and drivers is immense and as a result the “Special Economic Zone” of Gurgaon has been described as a “Special Exploitation Zone” (e.g. Gurgaon Workers News, 2010).

Crime in Gurgaon is supposedly high, with “ten thefts and five robberies in a day” (Ray and Baruah, 2007). The police force is underpaid, often demands bribes and only covers one-third of the city’s area (Ray and Baruah, 2007). The car drivers of private companies are often perceived as potential perpetrators of crime. For example, in November 2006 the so-called Maxi-cab gang was caught and in November 2009 convicted for robbing and killing 28 of their passengers. Incidents like these prompted IBM Gurgaon to issue employees with guidelines for travelling to and from work, while Infosupply handed out rape alarms and sprays to female employees21. As a result, most IEs felt unsafe and preferred to share cabs.

5.3.2 Housing

In the period observed, Infosupply maintained several apartments in Gurgaon for its international employees. Upon arrival, IEs were allocated accommodation in shared apartments in Gurgaon. This section discusses the company apartments in three parts. The first part outlines the locations of all apartments, organisational requirements and maintenance issues generally. The second part focuses on apartments with regards to layout, utilities, availability of private transport and inhabitants. Finally, reasons for IEs’ continued stay in company apartments rather than moving into private apartments will be explored.

Locations, organisational requirements and maintenance

Apartments were maintained by Infosupply and were located around office locations:

21 Rape is India’s fastest growing crime (Hindustan Times, 14 Jan 2008).
In Figure 5.1, the green boxes represent the three office locations of the company Infosupply. The largest office was Infosupply I, where almost all IEs worked and which housed the departments of Human Resources (HR), Public Relations (PR), Finance, Marketing Sales and Operations (MSO) and housekeeping as well as most of the operations MR, BR, IR and IP. The other offices were Infosupply II and III, where IEs worked occasionally. Upon arrival every IE was allocated a room in a company apartment and most IEs, except Rebecca, Violet and Simone, remained in the allocated apartment. Infosupply framed IEs’ experience in terms of transport to work, costs and comfort through the allocation and use of these apartments.

During workdays, IEs travelled to the office with company transport, which picked IEs up and dropped them home depending on their department, time zone and their team’s project. IEs began work at either 8h or 11.30/12.30h and finished work at either 18h or 21.30/22.30h. The end of their working day had an impact on socialising, as leisure activities would often begin at 22h or 23h.
Costs for transport and company apartments were borne by the IEs in the second phase of the IE recruitment at Infosupply. In the second phase (see Section 5.3.3 below for a description of the phases), two IEs shared a room with two single beds. This was similar to the paying guest model, which many single Indians use during their first job and meant that two single women or men shared one room in a house operated by a live-in landlord. During the second phase of IE recruitment, the HR department housed IEs in this way and deducted 5000 INR from their salary for the shared room. Similarly, transport was deducted from the monthly salary of 1500 INR. This changed in the third phase of IE employment, during which the research took place, so that IEs were allocated one room each at no deduction from their salary. When IEs decided to share one room during the third phase, each IE received 5000 INR in addition to their monthly salary. If an IE decided to move out of company accommodation, they received an additional monthly sum of 10 000 INR. Transport costs to and from the office were also free. In this third phase, IEs had more financial freedom to move out. Yet very few IEs took this opportunity, for reasons that will be described in Chapter 7.

Most apartments (except General Residency), experienced interruption to their power and water supply, with limited power backup, which was a frequent source of complaint. In addition to this, the apartments were maintained by the facilities department within Infosupply, which was notoriously slow. Repairs took a long time and were often preceded by rude emails from IEs to the facilities department. IE complaints about the power situation and their dealings with the facilities department gave IEs the image of being spoiled and ungrateful. Yet in reality, IEs’ continued tenancy in company apartments revealed that they were grateful to stay in the apartments and found them sufficient. The next section describes the layout, utilities, availability of private transport, and inhabitants of each apartment.

**Apartment layouts, utilities and availability of private transport**

The apartments for this research are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Apartment Layouts</th>
<th>Inhabitants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western Town L95</td>
<td>Ayesha, Fabien, Louise, Magda, Menelik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Residency</td>
<td>Simone, Katarina, Vincent (Magda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Fields I82</td>
<td>Eva, Onur, Mehmet, Bela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Town R4</td>
<td>Juri, Lorna, Robert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summerblossom Field</td>
<td>Violet, Rebecca, [Maha]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unitech Section III</td>
<td>Hondo, Astrid, [2 Russian interns]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend:  
( ) - The person has lived there previously.  
[ ] - The person was not interviewed.

All apartments had similar layouts in terms of size and were subject to similar difficulties with utilities. The apartments were mostly three-bedroom flats with ensuite bathrooms. Most
apartments were located in houses and had a shared living room and kitchen. Summerblossom Field was the only private apartment inhabited by Infosupply employees and was located in a gated community. With regard to utilities, all except the General Residency relied on the public electricity and water systems and did not have large private back-up systems except batteries. This meant that the houses had regular power cuts lasting between one and eight hours daily. In addition, water was supplied via a pump, which had to be switched on during 6-8am and 6-8pm. If a power cut occurred during the slot for water availability, houses also experienced water shortages during the day. General Residency by contrast benefited from the apartment block’s backup system and had access to an unlimited water supply.

The apartments’ locations had a significant impact on transport and thus socialising. In the absence of public transport, IEs hired cycle rickshaws or taxis. The advantage of cycle rickshaws was their availability, but they were the slowest and most exposed form of transport in fast-moving and aggressive traffic. After sunset, unlit cycle rickshaws were even more dangerous. Haggling with the rickshaw driver over price was common practice and verbal abuse and whistles from passing cars and pedestrians made the experience unpleasant. Most IEs became used to these disadvantages, as they did not have a choice. Some locations were better situated for cycle rickshaw rides than others. Summerblossom Field was too far away and necessitated taxis even during daytime, making this an undesirable location for an apartment.

In the evening or on weekends, most IEs would rent a taxi for a fixed fee to go to parties in Gurgaon. In terms of cost, rental for 8 hours and 80 km costed a minimum of 550 INR, which constituted around 2% of IEs’ monthly income. Drivers would often manipulate the distance travelled by using longer routes, so travelling by taxi required constant control by the passengers, negotiating the final price at the end of the journey. Safety was an issue since some drivers were drunk, fatigued, or intrusive towards female passengers. Most IEs adjusted to this as there were no other modes of transport. Also, depending on flatmates in the company apartments, IEs shared taxis.

Western Town L94 was one of the oldest company residences, in existence since 2005. There were two apartments with three bedrooms with attached bathrooms each in a single house on the first and second floor. The number of inhabitants decreased from 12 to 5 inhabitants over the years. In the second phase of IE employment, the rooms were shared, which meant the total number of inhabitants was 12. This also meant significant clashes of character and IEs trying to limit space by locking doors and not sharing food. Western Town L94 also had a rooftop, which was a convenient and popular location for parties, thus the building developed a reputation as the party apartment. It was one of the biggest and liveliest places, frequented often by IEs in their leisure time.
In the third phase of IE recruitment, all rooms became single rooms and the rooftop was rented out to a builder’s family. Eventually, Magda decorated the first floor’s living room with cushions, photographs and books, which made Western Town L94 a smaller, calmer and more homely apartment. In October 2008, the second floor tenancy agreement was terminated by the landlord and Western Town L94 was reduced to the first floor. After rooms became single-occupancy and Magda decorated the living room, the parties became a little less frequent.

General Residency was initiated in January 2007, when the older company apartment, Moti Shiv, was terminated. Of the three residents, Katarina and Vincent moved over from Moti Shiv and lived there for 1 ½ years. Simone was the third occupant. Moti Shiv, with its six inhabitants in three rooms, had had the reputation of a party flat similar to Western Town L94. General Residency was significantly calmer, and threw less parties than Moti Shiv and Western Town L94. General Residency was well located for cycle rickshaws, but given that it had only three inhabitants, with different interests, renting taxis remained problematic.

Green Fields I82 was a single house with two apartments on different floors. Each apartment had three rooms with attached bathrooms. Inhabitants on the top floor changed frequently, while the ground floor was more stable. Onur and Eva shared one room, while Bela and Mehmet occupied the two other rooms. Mehmet was the last addition to the household and only stayed for six months. Eva also was only at Infosupply for an internship, but due to living with her boyfriend Onur, lived longer at Green Fields I82. Bela had stayed at Green Fields for the same amount of time, but did not get along with Onur, Eva and Mehmet. Inhabitants had many arguments and talked negatively about each other behind one other’s backs. Hence, sharing taxis was an issue. At some point, Bela bought his own motorbike and became independent, and Mehmet joined Eva and Onur most of the time. Green Fields I82 did not hold any parties.

Western Town R4 was conveniently located in relation to the office and other apartments. Western Town R4 hosted frequent parties and was a popular after-work destination. Although inhabitants were quite different, Lorna managed to arrange pick-ups with other people or invited people to her house. Robert seldom travelled and Juri arranged taxis with friends from other houses.

By contrast, Summerblossom Field was a private apartment with two IEs and one Indian Infosupply employee, Maha. It was the apartment furthest from the office and other amenities and required taxis at all times. Rebecca and Maha founded the apartment and Violet joined later. Violet differed in her priorities from Rebecca, which did not affect her sharing taxis with Rebecca. Violet stayed because some of her father’s friends lived in the same gated community, which gave her a feeling of familiarity.
Finally, Unitech Section III was one of the newest of Infosupply’s company apartments, and was inhabited by Hondo, Astrid and two Russian IEs. The apartment was located within walking distance of the malls on Mehrauli-Gurgaon Road and on the way to Delhi. The two Russian girls isolated themselves, as they did not like India and so Astrid and Hondo were the only sociable IEs in the apartment. They attended parties, but did not host or organise any parties themselves, and shared taxis to common locations together.

This section describes the circumstances of the apartments in terms of layout, utilities and availability of private transport. Private transport was a significant cost for IEs and therefore sharing taxis with flatmates was integral to life in Gurgaon. The next section will examine the reasons why IEs stayed in company apartments despite the drawbacks in terms of utilities and transport.

**Reasons for IEs living in company accommodation**

The reasons most research participants remain in company accommodation are threefold. First, they include cost, as Fabien mentioned in his survey response:

“I have been looking for flats sometimes, but been put off by two main factors: Initial costs (guarantee, rental in advance, agent commission): until recently, my bank account wouldn’t have permitted such expense all at once. Location/ transport: many places have nothing accessible within walking distance. It's hard to find a place as convenient as South City.”

Fabien’s presumption partially mirrors Violet and Rebecca’s experience of moving out of the company apartment: their new apartment was far outside Gurgaon and necessitated expensive, private transport, whilst having the same disadvantages of poor power supply and water shortages as the company apartments. Most IEs concluded that living in private apartments would have required a surplus in money, time and effort, without providing any benefits.

Secondly, research participants felt taken care of and were grateful for the managed accommodation. Eva, for example, said that:

“It’s nice to know that the company ‘takes care’ of us and all our issues in the apartment. I’m comfortable staying at company’s accommodation.”

Christina echoed this statement in her comparison to Infosupply’s employees in Chile, who have to find, maintain and pay for their own apartments:

“[Here] you get the accommodation. You do not pay anything for it, the price is you have to deal with people like Samia Shastoki [NB: head of facilities]. I was skyping with Frida [NB: a former IE who was transferred to Chile] the other day. She was saying, they are spoiling us so much in India and we do not even realise it!”

Eva stresses that she felt taken care of by the company. Similarly, Katarina expresses that in comparison to Infosupply’s IEs in Chile, China and Romania, IEs in India were being indulged.

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22 A previous inhabitant Anurag had invited many IEs to the apartment and had left at the time of research.
Having to deal with Samia Shastoki and by implication the slow facilities department was a small price to pay.

Thirdly, most IEs explicitly identified likeable housemates and reachable friends as reasons for their happiness. Vincent stated in the survey response to the question, whether he would like to move, that “no, [he was] happy here”. In the interview he had furthermore compared his first house in Moti Shiv with the TV series “Friends”: “I liked the life in terms of living with people and it was a bit like in “Friends”, the TV show, that was interesting.” Lorna has similar sentiments by mentioning her flatmates, room and close friends: “I like my housemates and my bedroom, I’m also relatively close to other friends”. The vicinity of friends is particularly important given expensive private transport and long working hours. Although research participants are very mobile in going out in the evening and travelling on the weekend, friends and harmonious households were crucial for research participants. This will be examined further in Chapter 7.

5.3.3 Summary

This section has described Gurgaon, and IEs’ company accommodation. Gurgaon is a hub in the production of services, in a state that mainly relies on agriculture and manufacturing. While Gurgaon is claimed to be the “best city to live and work in”, problems persist. The challenges include infrastructure issues (water and electricity shortages, transport problems, air pollution), and related living standard inequalities of the poorly paid staff groups who service this economy. Human suffering and crime are high, and these issues influence the experience of IEs at Infosupply in numerous ways.

The company apartments of Infosupply were introduced, and their layout examined, along with their organisational requirements and maintenance. It is clear that the location of company apartments influenced IEs experience of transport, costs and comfort. During working hours, company transport enabled IEs to arrive in the office. In leisure times, IEs had to hire private transport, which was often expensive in relation to their salary. Moreover, the apartments’ utilities were unreliable and IEs often dealt with electricity and water shortages. During the time of research, Infosupply was in the third phase of IE recruitment and thus financially reimbursed IEs for housing, if they moved into private apartments. However, it was revealed that IEs preferred to stay in company apartments for three reasons of costs, convenience and “happiness”. IEs third reason of “happiness” will be explored further in Chapter 7, as it reflects “concepts of the belonging [that] elicit the emotional register of identities, our geographies of the heart” (Walsh, 2006, p. 270) and reveals how IEs adjusted to living in India and a certain kind of cosmopolitanism.

5.4 Infosupply and International Employees
This section\(^{23}\) will describe Infosupply, to provide background information for the analytical section of International employees’ (IEs) experiences in Chapter 6. The first subsection looks at the history and growth of Infosupply from 2000-2009 by looking at organisational growth, recruitment of IEs and the rationale for IE recruitment. The second sub-section looks at the experiences of IEs by describing the departments and their roles, their difficulties and reasons for continued employment.

### 5.4.1 History of Infosupply 2000-2009

Corporate practices at the time of research were influenced by Infosupply’s growth. Hence, an understanding of this is crucial and adds to the understanding of companies’ strategies and their expatriation strategies (Bonache et al, 2001).

**Client and headcount growth 2000-2009**

Two executives, who had previously worked for a globally leading strategy consultancy and an IT company, respectively, established the Indian head office of Infosupply in 2000. The company operates as a third-party provider to clients, offering research services on a project basis or by providing dedicated overseas research centres with full-time employees. Infosupply has four departments providing market research, business research, investment research and intellectual property across industry verticals. Its clients are companies from all industries, consultancies, NGOs and government organisations. Since it does not service any one company exclusively, it is more flexible yet more vulnerable than a captive unit of a MNC. In addition to the operational departments (human resources, finance, information technology and public relations), marketing and sales operations were particularly active in order to secure clients and projects and to facilitate continuous operation.

The company’s growth up to 2009 has been exponential. After the foundation of the company in 2000 in India, it achieved profitability in 2002 and founded further subsidiaries in China, Chile and Romania. Table 5.7 demonstrates this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 2000</td>
<td>Commenced Romania operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 2005</td>
<td>Commenced Chile operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept 2005</td>
<td>Commenced China operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 2002</td>
<td>Achieved profitability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 2001</td>
<td>First major client signed up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 2001</td>
<td>Commenced India operations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 2000</td>
<td>Founded</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Company Website

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\(^{23}\) For Section 5.4.1, previous knowledge was used to describe the company’s history and employment of IEs acquired during my pilot study and pre-fieldwork employment at Infosupply (see Appendix 1). Section 5.4.2 draws on interviews with IEs.
Infosupply’s growth was facilitated by both clients and employees in the Indian headquarter, which delivered projects to its clients from Europe and the Americas. The clients’ companies operated in many different countries and their markets use different languages. When Infosupply conducts research for these companies, up to 50 different languages are required (Infosupply, 2005). This is one of the main reasons for hiring International Employees. The growth of clients and personnel at Infosupply is depicted in Figure 5.3:

**Figure 5-3 - Client and headcount growth 2000-2009**

Comparing the Compound Annual Growth Rate (CAGR) of clients and headcount reveals that the key indicators for the company’s growth were parallel. The number of clients grew at a CAGR of 111%, while human resources had a CAGR of 93% over 4 years from 2002-2006. Moreover, Infosupply’s clients increasingly became non-Indian, often operating in non-English speaking markets, which required Infosupply to hire international employees with multiple languages and cultural expertise.

**History of IE recruitment 2004- 2008**

There were three phases in the recruitment of IEs. These phases can be distinguished as recruitment strategies, place of work, remuneration, and career paths. Infosupply’s rationale for hiring IEs in the different phases changed over time (Table 5.8). In the second phase, IEs felt undervalued and aired that issue in a report to the company. Subsequent changes based on the report led to the third phase.

The first phase began in 2004, when Infosupply recruited international employees (IEs) into the Indian headquarters via the ‘Association Internationale d’Etudiants de Sciences Economiques et Commerciales’ (AIESEC). IEs were employed as a language resource in the International Research and Language Centre (IRLC). The IRLC’s employees originated from France (26%), Germany (23%), other European countries (32%), Latin America (13%) and Asia (6%). They spoke a total of 16 different languages and thus reflected the diversity of Infosupply’s clients.
They were between 22-28 years old and held Bachelor or Masters degrees in business, technology or related fields (Infosupply 2006, p. 5). IEs were employed on 3-6 month short-term or 6-18 month medium-term contracts. As part of the IRLC, IEs worked on projects in all of Infosupply’s departments, doing mainly translation work. IEs were paid intern-level salaries, with the base salary being 21 000 Rs. Transport to and from work was deducted from their salary. Neither flight nor visa acquisition costs were reimbursed.

During the first phase, Infosupply’s management viewed IEs as facilitating effective interactions with clients in non-English speaking markets. To mitigate the risk of only operating in English-speaking countries, Infosupply expanded “into other major regions such as Continental Europe and the Far East” (Infosupply 2006, p. 1). Although the costs of setting up in these markets were higher, prices charged to clients were increased due to the lack of competition (ibid, p. 2). IEs were key to the aim of “effectively transition[ing] the process offshore” (ibid, p. 2), as IEs brought foreign language skills and a “thorough understanding of a local market” (ibid, p. 2). The company saw the situation as a “win-win”: firstly, Infosupply benefited as IEs are “an intelligent and proficient language resource [...] to conduct complex and analytical work in several countries, breaking language and cultural barriers” (ibid, p. 1). Secondly, IEs benefited, as “experience of working abroad, particularly for young professionals, gives them an edge, enabling them to compete in the international market” (ibid, p. 1).

The second phase began in 2005, when the company ended its links with AIESEC and began to recruit employees directly. IEs were employed in market research, business research, investment research, or the support functions of marketing and sales operations, public relations and human resources departments. Salaries were graded according to educational qualifications: 21 000 INR (undergraduate students); 26 000 INR (BA holders, graduates); 30 000 INR (MA holders, postgraduates). In this phase, IEs were also allocated a career manager and competed with Indian colleagues for promotion, on the basis of their six monthly evaluations. Benefits did not change (IEs still shared a room, paid rent and transport and covered their own expenses for flights and visas), and promotions remained rare.

In the second phase, the rationale for IE employment included the company’s need for language skills, greater cultural understanding, and contextual knowledge. Yet the emphasis within Infosupply began to shift. While IEs were still recruited for “a particular skill-set and know-how”, the need to “understand clients’ demands and to fulfil these according to the clients’ expectations” had increased (Infosupply, 2007, p. 5). Infosupply hoped to strengthen in-house individual country expertise in addition to language skills. IEs were also recruited to build the

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24 This was kept confidential by the HR department and many IEs were paid less.
25 This is according to internal research conducted by existing IEs, which was published in a White Paper in 2007 and led to Phase 3 of IE recruitment.
26 For example, the Intellectual Property department requested a German engineer or lawyer, as this would increase their ability to work with the German patent system.
image of a “global company as opposed to an outsourcing company” (ibid, p. 6). The Chief Operating Officer for the Indian headquarters stated in 2006: “We are not only an India-centric company. So to have this mingling of cultures is very, very important to us.” (Infosupply, 2006). The company’s reasons for recruiting IEs in the second phase reflected the need for more contextual knowledge and added cultural ambassadorship, to rebrand the company as a global enterprise. This reflected an increased emphasis on operational and marketing value in the rationale for IE recruitment.

While Infosupply’s discourse was that IEs were valuable to the company, the experiences of IEs did not reflect this. IEs experienced difficulties both inside and outside the company. External problems were India-specific and concerned cross-cultural issues, poor infrastructure and administrative burdens (ibid, p. 9). Internally, IEs had organisational issues: an inexperienced young management team; the usage of IEs as “language resources”27; a lack of long-term career prospects and low remuneration accompanied by poor living conditions in company flats. The difficulties inside and outside the company were expressed in an internal White Paper and led to the third phase in 2007. This phase was marked by changes in IE recruitment, and reflected Infosupply’s changing rationale for the recruitment and retention of IEs. In summary, the following problems of the second phase were partially addressed through solutions in the third phase:

Table 5-8 - IEs’ problems in the Phase 2 and solutions in the Phase 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problems in the Phase 2</th>
<th>Solutions in the Phase 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Outside of the company /Indian Context</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross-cultural issues</td>
<td>Allocation of one single room per IE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor infrastructure</td>
<td>(Not resolved by the company) (transport, power cuts and water shortages remained problems)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative burden</td>
<td>IE in HR dept as central contact and support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inside the Company/ Organisational</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inexperienced, young management</td>
<td>(Not resolved by the company)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Usage of IEs as language resources</td>
<td>Only partially solved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No long-term career perspectives</td>
<td>Transfers to other subsidiaries and opportunities in sales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low remuneration</td>
<td>Salary increases, payment of rent and transport, reimbursement of flight and visa costs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The changes in the third phase impacted on two India-specific problems: the administrative burden on IEs and the infrastructure. There was also an attempt to resolve some of the organisational problems inside the company. For India-specific problems outside the company, the infrastructure of IEs improved through the allocation of single rooms. While transport, power cuts and water shortages remained problems, the availability of private space was noted as a

27 Calling and treating IEs as “language resources” was a legacy from the IRLC-phase of IE recruitment. It meant that IEs were asked to do only non-English language parts of a project.
positive improvement in the interviews. The recruitment of an IE into the Human Resources department provided a central point of contact and eased the administrative burden on IEs, by handling visa extensions and reimbursements. Moreover, the company initiated the appointment of an official IE spokesperson, who served as IE representative\textsuperscript{28}.

Organisational problems inside the company however, were only partially resolved. The first issue of young inexperienced management was not resolved, and IEs’ treatment as language resources was only partially resolved. However, the issue of Infosupply recruiting IEs for a maximum of one year was changed as different career paths began to be offered to well-performing IEs. Some IEs were transferred to Chile, China and Romania or became client executives (CEs) in the sales department and moved back to their countries of origin. The issue of remuneration was addressed by raising IE salaries, paying accommodation as well as transport costs and reimbursing flight and visa costs (Infosupply, 2007, p. 14). IEs were becoming more integrated into the company, and to be judged by their operational performance, rather than merely by their language skills and cultural ambassadorship.

In the third phase starting in December 2006, the company actively sought to increase the recruitment and retention of international employees. The number of international employees was to be increased from 20 to 100 by August 2008 (Infosupply, 2007) and retention of IEs was to be improved through higher remuneration and career paths for IEs. Management continued to evaluate and promote IEs on a performance-basis like their Indian colleagues, but offered IEs opportunities in subsidiaries or as client executives. The expansion of IE career paths indicates that management began to see IEs as long-term employees rather than short-term interns. The base salary was raised to a monthly 30 000 IR for every IE and bonuses were added on the basis of education, work experience and duration of tenure at Infosupply. Costs of rent and transport were covered and Infosupply also reimbursed flight and visa costs on an annual pro-rata basis. The Human Resources department recruited an IE with the purpose of recruiting further IEs in May 2007, and consequently by August 2007 the total number of IEs rose to around 60. However, following the departure of the IE in the Human Resources department in Jan 2008, many of the newly recruited IEs contracts also finished\textsuperscript{29} and in March- April 2008 many of the IEs left.

By the end of the fieldwork period in August 2008, the number of IEs had dropped back to 30. In this context, remuneration, benefits and career paths remained unchanged. Yet IEs, who had

\textsuperscript{28} Spokespersons were nominated and elected by all IEs. The role included maintaining relationships with all IEs, and bringing issues to CEO level in fortnightly calls and infrequent visits. It also gave management a representative to discuss issues, such as IE career paths. The first spokesperson held the post for three months (February- May 2007), as did the second spokesperson, who is the author of this PhD thesis (May- July 2007). Subsequent spokespersons shared the task between two people and had longer tenure (Fabien and Katarina July 2007 – June 2008, Violet and Bela July 2008 – ongoing).

\textsuperscript{29} To increase the numbers of IEs rapidly, the IE in the Human Resources department had mainly recruited interns on 6-month contracts.
arrived in July and August 2007, were not encouraged to renew their contracts in August 2008. From September 2008, Infosupply actively terminated IEs’ contracts and recruitment of new IEs was largely stalled. Infosupply’s new strategy was explained as a means of surviving the recession\textsuperscript{30}. However, salaries for successful IEs, reimbursements and career paths were retained and new roles were created in Chile and Romania. With this, Infosupply saw IEs as employees, rather than international brand ambassadors, and remunerated and terminated them accordingly.

5.4.2 IEs at Infosupply 2007-2008

This section describes IEs’ positions and situation from 2007-2008, in order to provide a description of the context in which research participants work and create a presence (Calhoun, 2003).

\textit{Departments and employment of IEs}

Infosupply had four revenue-generating departments: Business Research, Market Research, Investment Research, and Intellectual Property. No IE worked in Intellectual Property at the time, thus this department is not discussed. The support functions of Marketing and Sales, Public Relations, and Human Resources also employed some IEs, but these were not research participants. Market research was the biggest department both in terms of projects and headcount. It was also least popular for employees for two reasons. Firstly, the department’s projects were mainly concerned with data collection, and provided little scope for analysis beyond basic descriptive statistics. This bored both IEs and Indian employees alike [Magda, Katarina, Astrid]. Secondly, primary research was mainly conducted on the phone by cold calling. Employees found this stressful [Astrid, Magda] as many callers did not want to be interviewed. In addition, continued rejection from callers increased pressure from project managers and supervisors because of unfulfilled quotas [Juri, Magda]. Consequently, market research had a high turnover and was often bemoaned by employees. The IEs working in Market Research were Louise, Magda, Vincent, Katarina, Juri and Astrid. Of these, Katarina, Juri and Vincent remained with Market Research, while the others pursued transfers to the Business Research department.

Business Research was divided into twelve sub-departments, covering energy and utilities, consumer goods and the automotive industry. Revenues generated within Business Research varied according to which industry a sub-department serviced. The work was based on projects aiming to analyse a section of a particular market, or comparing markets. The process included searching databases, search engines and/or cold-calling customers and thus combined both secondary and primary data. The delivery of the results to the client was usually via a PowerPoint presentation, Excel datasheet or Word documents. This allowed Business Research to operate relatively independently of time zones. Business Research had a reputation for being a more analytical department in comparison to Market Research, even

\textsuperscript{30} This was in line with other SFE employers in India. Gerson Lehman Group, for instance, terminated its SFEs contracts in India, dissolved its London office and moved to Dublin (Gerson Lehman Group, 2009).
though some projects still involved primary telephone research and cold calling. On some projects, the lack of specific information required complex searches, as well as developing proxies and making estimations. This analytical aspect was valued and made the work more interesting for IEs. Research participants working in this department were Fabien, Menelik, Ayesha, Eva, Onur, Robert and Hondo. Of these, Robert and Onur were promoted, while Menelik, Ayesha and Fabien left after two years in the company. Moreover, Louise, Magda and Astrid, who were transferred from Market Research, also worked in Business Research. With seven research participants originally starting in Business Research and three research participants having been transferred there, research participants were clustered in this department.

In contrast to Business Research and Market Research, Investment Research had mainly banking and finance clients, and employed mainly economists and econometricians. Information was derived via subscription-based databases such as Bloomberg or Reuters. Financial modelling was more complex and necessitated daily client contact. Due to clients’ locations in New York and London, working hours were suited to the client. In November 2006, the work of Investment Research was gradually shifted from India to Chile, due to more suitable time zones. The work of this department was complex, seen as interesting and many IEs aspired to work there, although only a few did. Moreover, new IEs were given menial tasks, which were perceived as boring as those in the Market Research and Business Research departments [Violet]. However, of the three IEs working in Investment Research, two [Bela and Violet] stayed there for 16-24 months. Investment Research also had a dedicated editorial team, employing native English-speaking IEs [Lorna, Rebecca].

**Positions of IEs at Infosupply**

The IEs interviewed worked in Business Research, Market Research, and Investment Research departments (as editors and analysts). This represents the general departmental distribution of IEs at Infosupply at the time of the research. Skill sets varied depending on the departments’ specialities.
As Figure 5.4 shows, the business analyst/research associate was the lowest ranked role. The next level up was senior business analyst/senior research associate, who would often lead projects, but who could also work alongside business analysts on projects. Team leaders/managers co-ordinated teams and projects, oversaw staffing and project accounts. The group manager reported to the assistant vice president and ran the entire industry vertical. The assistant vice president ran the Business Research department, and all of its sub-departments and reported to the country head of Infosupply. Infosupply called this a “flat hierarchy”, because there were only four positions between business analyst and assistant vice president.

All IEs in the Business and Market Research departments started at junior analyst level and half of all IEs in this department were either promoted and/or transferred to subsidiaries in Chile and Romania. Infosupply claimed one of their core values was being meritocratic, and this was based on evaluation after each project. Evaluations were reviewed cumulatively twice a year between career managers, the group manager and the team leader of a group of employees, and these determined promotions.

Promotions could occur at different times in different departments. In the Market Research department promotions occurred after 6 months, whereas in Business Research promotions occurred after a minimum of one year. Transfers to other subsidiaries were another career option. Promotions and transfers to other subsidiaries worked differently in the two departments. Only those in senior positions in Market Research were transferred to subsidiaries, while in Business Research, transfers to subsidiaries occurred from junior positions as well. The reason for this is that subsidiaries required autonomously functioning and competent employees, who could train new local recruits. The level (junior or senior), on which transfers occurred, provides an indicator of autonomy, competence and the value of IE skill-sets to the company. Analysts in business research had the same value as senior analysts in market research. In Investment Research, there were no IE promotions or transfers to different subsidiaries. Overall, half of IEs were promoted within the Indian headquarter and/or transferred to a subsidiary after fieldwork ended.
Table 5.9 illustrates in which departments, at which level, and for how many months the interviewed IEs worked at Infosupply. It also indicates IEs’ engagement with the company after fieldwork ended.

### Table 5-9 - IEs’ positions, lengths of stay and trajectories at Infosupply

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Business</th>
<th>Investment</th>
<th>Market</th>
<th>Editor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Junior</td>
<td>Senior</td>
<td>Junior</td>
<td>Senior/Quality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fabien</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menelik</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louise*</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayesha</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magda*</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vincent*</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katarina*</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bela</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eva</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onur*</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mehmet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert*</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lorna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juri*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebecca +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violet +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hondo +</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astrid</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend:
- Indicates that the IE held a role in the company’s subsidiaries after their departure from India:
  - Romania and promotion to manager: Vincent, Katarina and Juri
  - Chile and promotion to manager or senior position: Louise, Magda
  - Sales role as junior client executive in country of origin: Robert (Germany), Onur (Turkey)
- Last position in India, on which promotions were based.
- Indicates the length of employment in Nov 2009 since their arrival and indicates that employment at the Indian headquarter of Infosupply continues to date.

**Difficulties of IEs at Infosupply**

During their employment IEs experienced a number of difficulties, which framed their experience: long working hours, misleading job descriptions and the pressure to perform were particularly problematic. The working day was long, with employees contracted to work for 9 hours with a one-hour lunch break per day, so that IEs were at work for 10 hours a day and 50 hours a week. Many worked overtime in addition to this. A further hour was needed to go to and return from work. This poses a significant amount of time being spent in the company in comparison to the European working week, which is officially limited by EU legislation to 48 hours. Most employees resented the 50-55 hour working week and felt it created inefficiency as well as tiredness.
Robert thought that working 10 hour days was inefficient: “I used to work much more concentrated during 8 hours of work than with the 10 hours of sitting around at work.” As a consequence, some IEs wondered how long they could do this for. Rebecca for example said:

“I resent the fact that Infosupply makes us come 10 hours a day […] I am really tired. […] I mean I enjoy my work [but] that is why I could not do it forever…”

[author’s insertion]

Job descriptions often overstated the analytical aspects of the role, while understating data collection responsibilities, and thus were misleading. In reality, IEs often did more menial tasks of data collection with very little analysis, which could be understood as essential KPO work, as Katarina states:

“The thing is, it is outsourcing and in the end it is a KPO […] The clients will not give you the most demanding exciting stuff. They have been through the crappy stuff and that is why they outsource, right? […] I understand when I hear what people sometimes have to do. Even in Business Research, really just calling and just asking for revenues and this and that. Just googling, it is boring but again you can try to get more responsibility, to get a nicer job or you can resign.”

Resigning from the job was one option, but most IEs stayed for the length of their contract and managed to gain experience regardless of the difficulties they faced.

A further difficulty for IEs was the pressure to perform. Magda illustrates her first few months in market research:

“I wasn’t performing at work at all. I had zero interviews per day. And as you can imagine, if we have a deadline and I am everyday with zero! I was very tense…”

Astrid also found the job stressful, whilst feeling guilty for not using her education:

“I didn’t like the work in Market Research because it was only telephoning and it’s quite stressful also for your nerves and for your psyche… If the people say no or if they are rude or something, it’s not because of you - they would do that with all the people who would call them - but somehow you take this personally and I also thought I should use my studies or I should do something more.”

These statements reveal how IEs worked in an environment where the job description did not reflect daily working practices, where their qualifications were under-utilised, and where pressure was exerted to meet performance targets. Magda mentions tension and Astrid refers to stress “for your nerves and for your psyche” arising from the pressure to perform.

In summary, long working hours, misleading job descriptions and the pressure to perform marked the situation of IEs at Infosupply. Feelings of disappointment and constant pressure contributed to feelings of stress and could have led to maladjustment, as Harrison et al (2004) outlined:

31 This quote will be used again in a different context in Section 6.2.2.
“the experience of stress is represented by (mal)adjustment or the psychological (dis)comfort associated with various aspects of the international assignment: cultural, interaction and work” but “[t]hat […] appropriate adjustment is a necessary condition for effective performance […]”

Harrison et al, 2004, p. 211

Harrison et al (2004) map the causal relationship between stress and effective performance as negative, and as a result the consequences are often costly “expatriate failure”, which is indicated by expatriates’ early return from overseas and/or reports of inefficiency. The impact of these concerns was indeed stress and “psychological discomfort”. In Magda’s case, the stress and discomfort also led to a failure in “effective performance”. However, the research shows that IEs did not resign from their jobs, but stayed for at least one year. The reasons for this are located in their hope for promotion and the learning opportunities that any promotion would provide. Overall, IEs continued with their employment despite difficulties, which is reminiscent of findings about expatriate motivations by Parker and McEvoy (1993) and SFEs by Suutari and Brewster (2000).

**Reasons for IEs’ continued employment at Infosupply**

Harrison et al (2004) highlight that stress and maladjustment ultimately manifest themselves in resignation from the job. IEs also saw resignation as an option, and yet resignation was one of the least practiced options. Those IEs who chose to leave Infosupply did so at the end of their contracts. Most IEs eventually argued to be transferred to Business Research (Magda, Astrid, Louise); were promoted and/or transferred to subsidiaries (Katarina, Vincent, Juri, Onur, Robert, Hondo). Others simply tried to make the most of the job (e.g. Violet, Onur, Hondo, Menelik, Eva, Rebecca, Fabien, Simone).

The reason that IEs continued with the job was their hope for promotion and better learning opportunities. This is congruent with Parker and McEvoy’s findings (1993) that remuneration and promotions have a significant impact on expatriates’ decision to stay on an international assignment and thus be more loyal to the company (Parker and McEvoy, 1993, p. 361 and pp. 369- 371). For international employees, learning and professional development were pivotal and were pursued without additional financial benefits. This runs counter to what has been described as the hallmark of cosmopolitanism by Ohmae and Kanter, which is based on transcending places, communities and people, and detachment from the local.

At Infosupply promotions occurred in Business Research and Market Research. Promotions did not present a high increase in salary but presented learning opportunities. In comparison to other international employees in Gurgaon, IEs at Infosupply were paid low salaries. The salary increase from the second phase of IE employment at Infosupply (see 5.2.2) was high in comparison to Indian colleagues, but was not as high as other companies’ IE salaries or the packages of other expatriates. To contextualise this further, Indian employees had to pay for housing and transport from their already smaller salary. International employees at other companies had similar benefits but a higher salary and expatriates had higher salaries, better
medical insurance and higher housing allowances. Parker and McEvoy’s (1993, p. 361, pp. 369-371) assertion that promotions have a positive impact due to the enhanced learning opportunities they provide was highly applicable to IEs at Infosupply. This was echoed by Katarina, who outlined one of the options before resignation as getting “more responsibility, [...] a nicer job”.

5.5 Conclusion

The previous sections have provided a detailed description of research participants’ backgrounds and a descriptive introduction to their experiences in India. These experiences were framed by both the city of Gurgaon and company housing of IEs; and by the organisation of Infosupply. Section 5.3 on the city of Gurgaon and company housing provides the background for Chapter 7, while Section 5.4 on Infosupply and research participants’ conditions in the company provides the background for Chapter 6.

Section 5.2 described IE backgrounds in two phases: firstly as children and adolescents; and secondly as young adults. In addition to the description, Research participants’ experiences were related to debates culminating in the connection of mobility with privilege. Unlike Weenink (2008), who found that parents prepared their children for a globalised world, research participants’ parents showed varying support. They also were not as mobile as children, but were at least bilingual, with English being the lingua franca. The majority of research participants were tri-, quadri- and quintilingual. As young adults, their mobility as students took various forms, while travels as adults were often limited: they were not globetrotting frequent travellers (Calhoun, 2002). Research participants’ choices in their first jobs show that they were curious and inventive, and wanted to “see something new”. These findings are consistent with Tharenou’s examination of students’ disposition to work abroad (2008), and place the research participants in the mould of self-directed foreign employees (SFE, Suutari and Brewster, 2000) and seekers of overseas experience (OE; Inkson et al, 1997).

This is reflected in the issues of accidental and chosen influences on research participants’ lives, which collectively reveal research participants’ “own material and social conditions” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 543) and “[...] reflect influences of social location and cultural tradition” (Ibid, p. 544). This section has also contributed to the ongoing debate on elitism in cosmopolitanism and mobility. Calhoun states that mobility applies differently to each person (2002, p. 890) and that these differences lie in the “grounding [of] certain material privileges [which] give [rise] to the intellectual position [...]” (2003, p. 543). Cosmopolitanism must then be understood beyond the dichotomies of mobility/non-mobility, elite/non-elite and cosmopolitanism/non-cosmopolitanism by looking at the “material and social conditions” as “influences of social location and cultural tradition” (Ibid. p. 544). Outlining the research participants’ backgrounds has enabled a middle position to be added to the dichotomies of mobility, elites and cosmopolitanism (Favell et al, 2007).
Section 5.3 described the surroundings of IEs in India, by describing Gurgaon and company accommodation. Gurgaon provides a significant example of globalisation, having experienced rapid development since India’s liberalisation in 1991. Subsequently, it grew in terms of population and average income and is now known as consisting of “malls and offices” and the “best city to live and work in” (Pande, 2009). Gurgaon’s challenges remain numerous, both infrastructural as well as social and these influence the experiences of IEs at Infosupply in numerous ways. The location of company apartments has also been outlined, showing how these locations impacted on IEs’ mobility at various times during their day. In addition to using office cabs, IEs rented private transport in their leisure time after work or on the weekends, which were either cycle rickshaws or expensive taxis, which had to be shared.

All apartments had similar infrastructure with regard to space, electricity and water supply. Being an IE at Infosupply centred on employment, but included a lot of socialising, despite the constraints of long working hours, poor transport and low monetary resources. While Western Town L84, General Residency and Western Town R4 were occupied by IEs with different interests, these locations had a more or less open atmosphere, and their residents celebrated at home and attended other IEs’ parties together. By contrast, Green Fields I82 and Summerblossom Field were occupied by different people, and were not harmonious. These locations did not host any parties and attended other parties rarely. Unitech Section III was occupied by two very different people, who got along amongst themselves, but never threw a party and merely attended others social events. Section 5.2 serves as background for Chapter 7 on IEs’ lifestyles within their own homes.

Section 5.4 looked at the company Infosupply, which provides an example of the global distribution of services and globalisation. Infosupply grew significantly with a 93% increase in headcount and 111% client growth since its foundation in 2000, with an increasingly international client base. Subsequently, Infosupply has opened subsidiaries in Chile, China and Romania. The increased global presence of Infosupply has enabled the further acquisition of clients and has made Infosupply an attractive choice for employees of Indian and international origin.

The recruitment of IEs can be summarised in three discrete phases. In Phase 1, IEs were recruited via AIESEC into the ILRC; Phase 2 saw the direct recruitment of IEs into the departments as business analysts, but often being treated as interns in terms of their salaries and career opportunities. Within Phase 2, IEs also competed for the same positions as Indian colleagues through evaluations and promotions. In Phase 3, changes were introduced to improve remuneration, benefits and career paths. Another phase appeared to begin at the end of the research and coincided with the recession, as further changes were made to IE
recruitment and retention practices, which addressed remuneration, benefits and career path. This could be considered as the beginning of a fourth phase.

The relationship between the company and IEs changed throughout these phases. The rationale for hiring IEs shifted and broadened from seeing IEs as interns and language resources, to becoming more integrated employees. In the second phase, the integration of IEs into revenue-generating operations began, and this became tighter with changing rewards and remuneration as well as new career paths. Overall, the company’s position in the global market reflects the company’s view of IEs as a resource to be used to compete effectively in global markets. IEs increasingly came to be seen as employees in whom the company invests, and whose “edge” can be used to the company’s benefit.

**Table 5-10 - Infosupply’s phases of IE recruitment**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recruitment</th>
<th>Place of Work</th>
<th>Remuneration</th>
<th>Career Paths</th>
<th>Infosupply’s Rationale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phase 1 2004-2005</strong></td>
<td>AIESEC ILRC</td>
<td>Intern-level, no benefits</td>
<td>None, as contracts were 3-6 months</td>
<td>IEs as business development and language support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phase 2 2005-Dec 2006</strong></td>
<td>Directly In depts</td>
<td>Graded according to education, low, no benefits</td>
<td>Introduction of career management and performance evaluations, treated as Indian employees</td>
<td>IEs as integral to revenue generation and some language support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Phase 3 Jan 2007 – Aug 2008</strong></td>
<td>Directly, hired IE specialist In depts</td>
<td>Base salary of ca. 30 000 INR + depending on experience and length of stay; increased benefits</td>
<td>Continuation of Treatment as in Phase 2 with additional opportunities in sales and in subsidiaries depending on performance</td>
<td>IEs as full employees, competing for assessment, integral to revenue generation, remunerated accordingly, new career paths in sales optional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aug 2008 - now</strong></td>
<td>Directly, without IE specialist In depts</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>Same</td>
<td>IEs’ contracts are more competitive as they are evaluated on revenue generation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The employment experiences of IEs were framed by departments, positions, promotions, transfers and salaries. IEs were predominantly employed in the Business Research, Market Research and Investment Research departments. Within these departments, IEs mainly occupied the lowest two positions in the organisational hierarchy: business analyst/ research associate and senior business analyst/ senior research associate. Promotions differed within the departments and there were a significant number of transfers from Market Research to Business Research. The transfers were due to difficulties that IEs experienced at Infosupply, namely long working hours, misleading job descriptions and the pressure to perform. IEs could
have easily fallen into the mould of maladjusted expatriates as outlined in the literature on mal/adjustment (Harrison et al. 2004; Parker and McEvoy, 1993); but instead they remained and hoped for learning opportunities. The reasons for IE recruitment were located in the company’s client base, and company statements were analysed to understand the rationale for further IE recruitment. This analysis showed that relationships between the company and long-term employees of international origin changed throughout the three phases.

Looking at IEs’ experiences revealed that the majority of IEs were employed in the business research and market research departments and that they stayed for at least one year. There were transfers and promotions at different levels of the two departments. The transfer of staff from market research to business research emphasised the difficulties experienced by IEs. However, whilst even business research was not unproblematic, IEs continued to work there despite such problems. IEs could have fallen into the category of maladjusted employees (Harrison et al. 2004; Parker and McEvoy, 1993), yet their desire for learning opportunities motivated them to continue with their jobs. IEs’ experiences at work will be further discussed in Chapter 6.
6 Analytical Chapter I: Cosmopolitan Belonging in the Workplace

6.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 3, concepts such as “career capital” (Arthur and Inkson, 2001), the “global mindset” (Javidan et al, 2007; Levy et al, 2007), and “cosmopolitanism” (Ohmae, 1992; Kanter, 1995) have become supposed panaceas for countering maladjustment in international work experiences (expatriates, OEs, SFEs; Chapter 2). The concept of cosmopolitanism in the business management literature differs from concepts of cosmopolitanism in the social sciences in their understanding of the human relationship to the environment.

In the business and management literature, a cosmopolitan individual is detached from their surroundings, which is manifested as equidistance and supralocality (Ohmae, 1992; Kanter, 1995). Ohmae described a cosmopolitan’s behaviour as not ‘of’ national environments, but that they are “‘of’ the global corporation” (1990, p. 119). In other words, cosmopolitans at once choose, transcend and are efficient anywhere at any time. These views underscore the literature on the “global mindset”. The cultural perspective based upon cosmopolitanism identifies a global mindset as one which is:

“independent from the assumptions of a single country, culture, or context and to implement those criteria appropriately in different countries, cultures and contexts”

Levy et al, 2007, p. 238

According to Halsall, corporate cosmopolitanism as presented in the business and management literature by Kanter (1995), Ohmae (1990) and Levy et al (2007) views a cosmopolitan individual as undefined by a particular place, as transcending localities and as choosy in their relationships on the criteria of performance, whilst espousing a global world view and belonging to the corporation.

By contrast, in the social science literature “actually existing cosmopolitanism” (e.g. Nowicka and Rovisco, 2009, p. 1) views such detachment as practically impossible, basing cosmopolitanism on a “presence” and “multiple solidarities” (Calhoun, 2003). Skrbis et al highlighted the prevailing “winners-losers binary” (2004, p. 121) and Favell et al (2007) called for an examination of the middle of cosmopolitan subjects. In the context of international employment, OEs and SFEs represent such a middle. Contrary to cosmopolitanism as defined in business and management studies, the debates within social science cosmopolitanism have been characterised by issues of belonging, and the ways in which cosmopolitanism is displayed in individuals (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002; Chapter 3). Empirically, evidence from mobile environments outlined the importance of friendships (Kennedy, 2004, 2010), networks (Beaverstock, 2002), and local symbols (Moore, 2006) to international employees. Theoretically, Calhoun (2002, 2003) contended that “new liberal cosmopolitan thought proceeds as though belonging is a matter of social constraints from which individuals ideally ought to
escape […]” (2003, p. 535) and it could be argued that cosmopolitanism is about presence as opposed to absence. This links to material items, friends and families (Nowicka, 2006), and hooks (Kennedy, 2004), reflecting international employees’ “social location and cultural tradition” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 544).

This chapter shows that IEs at Infosupply provide a counterexample to corporate cosmopolitanism, firstly by resisting the detachment advocated by corporate cosmopolitanism (Section 6.1); and secondly by being attached to places and people and creating a “presence” (Calhoun, 2003; Section 6.2). Thus, they relate to their locality in the ways described by social science cosmopolitanism.

Following on from the discussion in Section 5.4.2 on Infosupply, which described three difficulties (long working hours, misleading job descriptions and pressure to perform), this chapter identifies the reasons for IEs’ continuation at Infosupply. It is clear that IEs wished to belong to both local and global realms, but not as “equidistant” (Ohmae, 1990) or “supra-local” (Kanter, 1995). IEs belong to neither the global corporation (Ohmae, 2000), nor wholly to the local environment. IEs are attached to the local through multiple solidarities (Calhoun, 2003) and have attachments to the global through their aspirations to, and understanding of, work in an international economy. This chapter will also show how IEs engage in new practices and attach themselves to the local environment (Section 6.3).

The chapter shows how IEs were detached and attached in three aspects (see Figure 6.1):

1. As evident in complaints about team changes, low insights and poor leadership (Section 6.2), IEs resisted the requirement for detachment, because they preferred attachment.

2. IEs revealed that they are attached to the idea of work in globalised world (Section 6.3.1), the practice of work at Infosupply (Section 6.3.2) and their colleagues (Section 6.3.3)

3. IEs attachments to ideas, practices and people both locally and globally exemplifies IEs’ “presence” (Calhoun, 2003), and displays cosmopolitanism as modelled in the social sciences (Section 6.3).
As can be seen in Figure 6.1, IEs resist the “ideal of detachment” (Halsall, 2009) purported by the company’s working practices. Following resistance to the “ideal of detachment” in Section 6.2; Section 6.3 reveals that IEs are attached in a number of ways. Firstly, there is an attachment to the idea of India as an emerging economy, and the idea of working internationally. Secondly, they also have a strong commitment to their work at Infosupply, and thirdly, to other IEs and Indian colleagues through informal practices (shared breaks, differences and the need for improvisations). In Figure 6.1, the connections to local entities such as work (6.3.2) and colleagues at Infosupply (6.3.3) outweigh the attachments to the global entities such as an understanding of globalisation (6.3.1).

IEs attachments to the local reveals IEs’ “direct relationships” and IEs’ “presence” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 544) and thus displays cosmopolitanism similar to the definitions in the social sciences. IEs’ attachment to the ideas of work in the global economy seem to reflect “transcendence” (Ohmae, 1995) and aspects of a corporate cosmopolitanism. However, IEs are attached to the

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32 While Indian colleagues are mainly from India and the work takes place in Gurgaon, the work processes are part of the international economy through Infosupply’s clients, who (or whose markets) are located outside Gurgaon. While colleagues and the company are local, processes are global and part of the international economy.
workplace itself rather than to “the global corporation” (Ohmae, 1995). Moreover, IEs’ attachment to ideas of global work reveal how IEs choose to become attached, and that they often have to invent new ways to create a presence and a local. The study provides an in-depth examination of the adjustment processes in the working lives of SFEs, and contributes to an understanding of middle cosmopolitanism.

6.2 IE resistance to the ideal of detachment

“You really have to believe, deep down, that people may work ‘in’ different national environments but are not ‘of’ them. What they are ‘of’ is the global corporation.”
Ohmae, 1990, p. 119

An analysis of the data revealed that a number of themes centred on IEs’ complaints about continuous change in project teams, short-term work with little insight, and poor leadership. This suggests that IEs negated the discourses of cosmopolitanism as found in Kanter (1995) and Ohmae (1993), which were supposed to foster flexibility (Ohmae, 1993; Kanter, 1995; cf. Swan and Fox, 2009) and the ideal of detachment (Halsall, 2009). The analysis highlighted that IEs resist the corporate cosmopolitan “ideal of detachment” (Halsall, 2009), because continuous change in project teams, short-term work with little insight and poor leadership represented a lack of involvement, insight and training. On the contrary, IEs’ motivation for learning opportunities (Parker and McEvoy, 1997) and status as SFEs (Suutari and Brewster, 2000) required involvement, attachment and belonging. IEs’ wish for attachment revealed that they are closer to discourses of cosmopolitanism in social science (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002; Kennedy 2004, 2010). Section 6.2 focuses on the difficulties expressed by IEs and draws the analysis together.

6.2.1 Continuous change of teams

Being flexible and detached is one hallmark of cosmopolitanism in the business and management literature. The flexibility required by the global corporation is supposed to foster detachment from the home department and colleagues, for the benefit of the global corporation. Teamwork was an integral part of employment at Infosupply. Most IEs worked only with Indian colleagues and teams varied in size from 2-15 members. All teams generally remained together for the duration of the project with additional team members being brought in if required. The changes experienced by IEs were two-fold. Firstly, employees were staffed on different teams on a project basis. Secondly, employees were often loaned to other departments to work on a project. IEs experienced more frequent change than Indian employees, as the latter were not loaned out to different departments. The practice of loaning IEs between departments was a legacy of the first phase of IE recruitment (see 5.4.1), when IEs were moved on the basis of their language skills. In the second and third phase of IE employment, IEs were employed in one department but continued to be loaned out to other departments. They experienced greater

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33 Teams usually consisted of people within one department working on projects overseen by account managers. Account managers oversaw several accounts and projects related to these accounts. The projects were managed in detail by a project manager, who compiled the team on a needs basis for one project (see Chapter 5).
intra-organisational mobility by working for several verticals and on various projects, and they were expected to be more flexible than their Indian colleagues.

The additional flexibility is directly related to the ideal of detachment. Some IEs enjoyed the variety that the flexibility brought them (Robert, Menelik), but a substantial number of IEs complained about the frequency of the changes. These complaints display a dislike of the required flexibility and reveal that the consequences of multiple change include confusion and superficial and infrequent contact with colleagues. These complaints contrast with the views of Ohmae (1990), and point to attachment being preferred and practised by IEs (see Section 6.3). This is illustrated through the experience of Rebecca, Eva and Mehmet.

Rebecca mentions that colleagues in the same department would often not see each other due to their placement on different projects:

“We are not working together [when] we are on different teams. We are both in IR2 but I could go the whole day and not see him!”

Eva also expressed how working on different projects and experiencing frequent changes affected team collaboration:

“Because if I am in India, then it is also interesting to work with Indian people. So I did not mind at all [but] people came and collaborated but we were not working together […] everybody is just […] working on the same project but not together.”

Similarly, Astrid initially stated that getting to know people posed a problem, since

“Here, you work together but you are not at the same workstation and when it is only for half an hour or something in your free time or in the evening…”

Astrid states in Chapter 7 that she made friends with some of her colleagues and saw them at the weekend in Delhi. However, since all IEs spent a substantial amount of their time at work, the issue of not seeing colleagues (Rebecca), not working together with the same colleagues (Eva) and not getting to know colleagues well (Astrid) had an impact on getting to know colleagues and limited their learning opportunities (Suutari and Brewster, 2000; Parker and McEvoy, 1997). IE complaints about this underscored their wish to work with the same people for longer. Instead of flexibility and change, they wished for attachment through direct relationships (Calhoun, 2003) with colleagues.

As a result, some IEs gave up on the company. Mehmet changed departments in order to acquire more stability. After three months, he abandoned the search for stable work and attributed the shifts to the fact that Infosupply is an outsourcing company:

“I still will be shifted all the time. I am very sceptical about the company and about the work we do, because eventually it’s outsourcing […] I gave up for this company already, after 3 months…”

Violet, Katarina, Rebecca, Magda, Ayesha, Mehmet and Eva expressed this in the interviews and casually at social gatherings.
The testimonies of Rebecca, Eva and Mehmet exemplify that IEs did not like the practice of continuous change. The frequent changes made it difficult for IEs to work with Indian colleagues for a long period and in some cases led to a withdrawal.

Authors such as Halsall (2009) argue that practices of flexibility and frequent change are conducive to fostering global employees’ skills, and to negate attachment and belonging to a particular place (cf. Ohmae, 1992; Kanter, 1995). Working across different departments fosters the belief that employees “are of the global corporation” (Ohmae, 1990, p. 119). This reveals that the organisational requirements of IEs at Infosupply did not reward IEs for their flexibility and did not allow IEs time for learning (cf Swan and Fox, 2009; Chapter 2). As shown above, IEs working for Infosupply complained about and resisted the required flexibility, because they wanted to be attached and to “work with Indian people”, as Eva stated. This suggests that IEs were not antagonistic about the local (Table 3.3, Critique 2) and did not neglect it (Table 3.3, Critique 1), but wished to draw upon it.

6.2.2 Short-term work with little insight

Similar to “continuously changing teamwork”, “short-term work with little insight” was an integral part of work processes at Infosupply. The company saw the experience as giving “young professionals […] an edge [and] enabling them to compete in the international market” (Company Statement, p. 1). This is reminiscent of Kanter’s key characteristics for cosmopolitans: “concepts – the best and latest knowledge and ideas; competence – the ability to operate at the highest standards of any place anywhere; and connections – the best relationships, which provide access to the resources of other people and organizations around the world” (1995, pp. 23-24 [sic]). Both company and global mindset discourses aim to equip international employees with the competence “to operate at the highest standards of any place anywhere” (Kanter, 1995, pp. 23-24). Infosupply’s working practices necessarily involved transcending tasks and flexibility, since changes were necessary to meet clients’ demands, which resulted in short-term work and provided few insights into the clients’ strategic operations. This reflects the organisational requirement for flexibility in the service industry (Thompson and Smith, 2007; Chapter 2). Yet many IEs expressed their wish for longer-term involvement and strategic insights. This wish for involvement runs counter to labour processes due to the global distribution of the production of services (see Section 2.2), in which employees are supposed to function everywhere to the highest standards (Ohmae, 1992; Kanter, 1995).

Some IEs attributed the reason for short-term work to Infosupply’s positioning in the global supply chain of services, as Katarina demonstrates:

“The thing is, it is outsourcing and in the end it is a KPO and it is not a BPO and it is not a call centre […], but it stays outsourcing. So obviously, you can have good projects and you can have bad projects. The clients will not give you the most

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35 This point was raised in interviews by Violet, Astrid and Magda, but casual conversations at social events revealed this was a frequent complaint.
demanding exciting stuff. They have been through the crappy stuff and that is why they outsource, right? So again, sometimes, I understand when I hear what people sometimes have to do. Even in Business Research, really just calling and just asking for revenues and this and that. Just googling, it is boring. [...]"

Katarina attributes this tediousness to the fact that Infosupply was an offshoring back-office company that only executed work perceived as undesirable by clients. Many other employees were aware of Infosupply’s position in the global supply chain of services. Nevertheless, they still complained about the lack of opportunity to gain more strategic insight.

Violet mainly did “rapid research”, which meant that members of her department were on call for a bigger client, who posted requests for information and expected the department’s reply within five hours. Requests differed daily, but were always focused on a small section of the bigger project that the client worked on, but which Infosupply had no access to. This exemplifies employment in the global economy, since rapid research led to short-term projects. Violet’s statement expresses her wish to work on long-term projects:

“ [...] Then you just have sometimes company profiling which can be more interesting. We need have to do a bit more analysis ... sometimes it [rapid research] can just [...] pick up the figures and financials which is not really that interesting, if you do not know what they quite mean [...]”

Violet wants to work on long-term projects to gain insights into the entire operation in order to gain competence and improve her skills. To gain skills, Violet wanted attachment.

Similarly, Magda complained that her work in Market Research only used her German skills, but not her Russian or Bulgarian language skills, or her Masters degree. She felt that in Market Research her “performance was zero” (see Chapter 5.4.2). Whenever Magda saw longer-term projects in Business Research, she thought: “I want to do this!!” Finally, she was transferred to Business Research and performed well. Other people noticed the change in her feelings about her work, as Eva remarks: “then she changed to Business Research with a better group manager and then right now she doesn’t complain anymore.” Magda’s example underscores the importance of longer-term involvement for better IE performance and development.

Both Violet and Magda echo what other IEs mentioned in casual conversations (Menelik, Astrid, Robert) and what was witnessed during observation and the author’s own experience. The complaints about short-term work reveal a resistance to Kanter’s notion of operating “at the highest standards of any place anywhere” (Kanter, 1995, pp. 23-24). Kanter’s key characteristics for cosmopolitans seem inapplicable to SFEs and the IEs quoted above. For many SFEs, work on long-term projects and the opportunity to become involved in and attached to projects, is necessary to gain skills and cosmopolitanism.

36 This quote was also used in Section 5.4.2.
Katarina, who revealed that she learnt the most on a long-term project, illustrates the role of attachment:

“The biggest learning has been in the project I have been in now because it involves client interaction. It involves handling different teams, coordinating a lot of stuff so I feel I have matured most or I have learned most in this long-term project. Also because I have a very good career manager who is also the project manager of this project who I personally like.”

Her experience contrasts with those of others, who work on short-term projects with few insights. Katarina attributes her learning to the long-term project, but also mentions her project manager and career manager who enabled her to gain insights and “mature”. This highlights how important senior colleagues were for IEs, and how, in order to gain from the relationships with senior colleagues, IEs had to build up a rapport with them.

“Continuous change in teams” and “short-term work with little insights” are connected in the sense that they relate to perceptions in the business and management literature concerning what is required to work successfully in the global economy. As Katarina observed and Chapter 2 demonstrated, employees in this environment have to be “supra-local” (Kanter, 1995) and believe that they “are ‘of’ the global corporation” (Ohmae, 1990, p. 119).

However, IEs’ complaints reveal that they would prefer greater analysis and strategic insight (Violet), which implies longer term relationships and greater attachment (Kennedy, 2004; Beaverstock, 2002). The positive impact of long-term relationships was illustrated by Katarina when she described what she had learned in the process of client interaction and team management aided by her career manager. Hence, IE complaints refute cosmopolitanism in business and management terms, especially in its need for detachment (Table 3.3, Critique 3). Instead IEs wished for greater attachment.

6.2.3 Poor leadership

Most IEs felt that for an international experience to be of value to an international career, it has to provide learning opportunities (Suutari and Brewster, 2000, p. 430). As in Katarina’s case, these were ideally assisted by senior colleagues. The assistance of senior colleagues was built upon the basis of good relationships, which in turn could only be achieved through an attachment to colleagues. In this section, IEs’ complaints about poor leadership will be outlined. Through their complaints IEs revealed that they disliked detachment and preferred good leaders and strong attachment. However, good leadership was often lacking and the majority of IEs37 disliked this.

37 Bela, Mehmet, Magda, Menelik, Eva, Fabien, Rebecca, Violet and Juri explicitly discussed poor leadership in interviews, whilst Ayesha and Robert raised it in casual conversations. Onur, Louise, Hondo, Lorna, Simone and Astrid did not complain. Katarina and Vincent had had good experiences.
Rebecca relates the experience of poor leadership directly to her lack of learning and feelings of wanting to leave the job:

“I did not like my boss at all. He did not manage anything. He was just there […] When I first came here, I signed a [one]-year contract and then I saw pretty quickly […] I will stay a year max because I do not know how much I can really learn from this.”

Similarly, Fabien mentioned how his boss was a “nice person, but a bad manager because he was not very good at motivating people and lacked integrity”. Incidences of poor leadership left IEs wondering about the level of professionalism at Infosupply, as Violet expresses in this segment on cancelled events such as training and a town hall meeting:

“You expect training and there is nothing organized and as such, the communication is not really very clear between people on what is happening and you are sometimes left dangling like at the town hall meeting. At the time it does not take place, I would expect a note maybe saying I am sorry, no town hall, we are going to have to reschedule because I am busy. Nothing comes. We are left dangling and we do not know what is happening, it is like is this serious? […]”

Violet’s concern stems from poor communication regarding training and cancelled meetings and uncertainty about whether events would take place. Her impression was that this was “unprofessional” and as a result, Violet felt disappointed, excluded and less productive:

“I mean […] It is not living up to my expectation […] it’s not just that I am curious about these meetings but why are we not included in these? Just so it does not create this feeling of suspicion and the effect of lowering productivity levels in the sense that no one takes me serious. That’s the effect that it has …”

With this, Violet links official events through management and poor communication to her lack of ambition and lower productivity, as she feels that she is not being taken seriously. However, Violet became more attached by taking up the role of spokesperson for IEs. Through her involvement, she showed that she, like other IEs, preferred to be attached and to form “direct relationships” at Infosupply (Calhoun, 2003).

By contrast to Rebecca and Violet, Juri was promoted to the quality team shortly after joining Market Research and made an effort to become a different senior colleague after promotion. His case illustrates that his new position gave him the power to change issues. He describes how the promotion altered his position:

“Before I was really pissed off […] I could not do anything at all. And quality gave me … sort of power, maybe not to change a lot of things but certainly express some of my opinions […] [Now] no one is shouting. Before they were screaming and it was stressful. (laughs) But before I was working under them and my opinion did not matter.”

[author’s insertion]

Town hall meetings were held every six months or on a needs basis. The name townhall lends itself to notions of democratic consensus and indeed Infosupply citizens, as they were called, were urged to be at the town hall meeting. Town halls provided the opportunity for managers, assistant vice presidents or the upper management to announce news without debate. When the townhall time became inconvenient, it was cancelled without consulting or informing other ‘citizens’.

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Juri states that the promotion gave him the power to express his opinions. He also iterates that his previous position was close to the bottom of the hierarchy and thus stressful. The fact that now “no one is shouting” is indicative of the previously poor style of management.

Juri’s experience is similar to Rebecca’s, in that they both expected their managers to instruct them and to do so correctly:

“And the people who are taking interviews are – they do not know how to do it. They can read, they can tick and choose the right option but they do not understand what they are doing and it is not their fault actually. It’s the managers who are supposed to explain them […]”

In this quote, Juri expresses that employees’ mistakes were the result of managers not explaining processes sufficiently. In Juri’s view, management’s instructions were integral to employees’ performance. If managers are not instructing well, it is stressful, since they “shout”, whilst they are actually “supposed to explain” to employees. IEs represent Suutari and Brewster’s category of “young opportunist”, who are mainly interested in the learning experience for a future job (2000, p. 430). IEs also wanted to get involved as well as build good relationships with colleagues. As a senior member of staff, Juri’s role lay in training and instruction. With this, his observations and moreover attachment to the work after his promotion, changed his own and others’ experience at Infosupply.

In summary, Katarina’s experience was positive, as she had a conducive relationship with her career manager, who supported her and made use of her skills. Rebecca, Fabien, Violet and Juri also expected to learn from the experience of working at Infosupply, and expected their senior colleagues to lead by example and to provide professional forms of communication. Their explicit statements reflect many IEs’ experiences of poor leadership at Infosupply. These complaints reflect IEs’ desire to learn, (Suutari and Brewster, 2000; Swan and Fox, 2009), which corresponds with their classification as SFEs. The complaints also emphasised IEs’ resistance to “the ideal of detachment” (Halsall, 2009), by expressing a wish for quality instruction, good relationships with senior colleagues and attachment. Through this, IEs’ attitudes and behaviour seem to refute the neglect of the local (Table 3.3, critique 1) and the necessity for detachment (Table 3.3, critique 3), and instead highlight a wish to be more attached and to draw on the local.

6.2.4 Summary

This section focused on three organisational practices of “continuous change in project teams”, “short-term work with little insight” and “poor leadership”, which were raised frequently by IEs. These organisational practices represent flexibility, detachment and cosmopolitanism as found in Kanter (1995) and Ohmae (1993), and the global mindset literature (Levy et al, 2007). IEs’ complaints constitute an argument against these practices. They suggest that IEs did not neglect the local (Table 3.3, critique 1), saw no antagonism between the global and the local
(Table 3.3, critique 2), and did not find detachment conducive to their working lives (Table 3.3, critique 3).

IEs’ complaints correspond with IE motivations to gain learning opportunities (Suutari and Brewster, 2000), since IEs intended to use their experience at Infosupply to gain professional experience. IEs’ ambitions to learn and gain professional experience is particularly apparent in the complaint about “poor leadership”. Here, IEs wished for greater insight, stability and instruction from senior colleagues. In a global economy which has fostered, demanded and actively created detachment (Ohmae, 2000, Kanter, 1995), IEs resisted the discourse and practice of detachment and instead chose attachment as a way to achieve learning.

IEs’ actions bring them closer to the understanding provided by social science cosmopolitanism, which is based upon involvement and attachment (e.g. Vertovec and Cohen, 2002; Kennedy, 2004). In this discourse of cosmopolitanism, IEs’ attachment to teams and colleagues highlights that “professionals working overseas are embedded in concrete locations into which their activities and relationships are woven” (Kennedy, 2004, p.161), thus making “cosmopolitanism […] a presence (Calhoun, 2003, p. 544). Moreover, as Beaverstock (2002), Moore (2006) and Kennedy (2010) showed, “the local” is required to constitute the cosmopolitan. In the case of IEs at Infosupply, involvement and attachment within teams, in projects and with senior colleagues was important, as they were seen as conducive to work and learning opportunities.

### 6.3 Propensity of IEs towards attachment

In Section 6.2, IEs revealed a desire for greater instruction and attachment, more insights into the projects, and better leadership. They also wanted less change in teams. This section looks at the ways in which IEs created attachment, by identifying “indirect and direct relationships” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 548). This section will show that, while IEs were influenced by past experiences and future goals, the majority of IEs’ relationships lie in the present. This demonstrates how “professionals working overseas are embedded in concrete locations into which their activities and relationships are woven” (Kennedy, 2004, p.161) and create a local “presence” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 544). This section continues the critique of corporate cosmopolitanism’s key characteristic of “transcendence” (Ohmae, 1993; Kanter, 1995) and specifically focuses on cosmopolitanism through plural solidarities (Calhoun, 2003, p. 546). Moreover, this section shows to what ends IEs are attached and how IEs relate to the local. It also explores how IEs navigated their organisational requirements in order to achieve individual aspirations. It contributes to debates on cosmopolitan displays (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002; Debate 3), and research into SFEs (Suutari and Brewster, 2000) as well as the everyday life of “middle” cosmopolitan subjects (Favell et al, 2007). This section raises implications for theories on cosmopolitanism, adjustment and global careers.
Attachment to India, the workplace and Indian and international colleagues were the most prevalent themes raised by IEs. A minority of IEs took the job to work and travel, while others took the job as an internship. The majority of IEs however, were attached to the job at Infosupply for different reasons. These can be delineated from the testimonies of Vincent, Hondo, Menelik, Onur, Eva, Simone, Katarina, Rebecca, Violet, Fabien, Louise and Astrid. The three emerging themes that represented attachment were: the idea of work in India as an emerging economy; IEs’ attachment to work; and IEs’ relationships to Indian and other international colleagues. Whilst the idea of working in India reflected their global aspirations, IEs’ interest in their work reflects an attachment to their future career aspirations. IEs were also connected to Indian and international colleagues and through these were attached to the workplace and the locality (see Figure 6.1).

6.3.1 Attachment to the idea of working in an emerging economy

Many IEs were interested in working for Infosupply in order to gain experience of working in an emerging economy (see Chapter 2 and Chapter 5). Ayesha for example, wanted to work in consulting and saw the “booming economy” of India as a good place to commence her learning. Bela had similar ambitions and expectations from India. Mehmet chose India for his internship because of its fast-developing economy, and Louise had returned to India as she believed she would be able to “make it anywhere” after “making it” in India. Hence, the work at Infosupply was also appealing due to its location in an emerging economy.

Some IEs, like Menelik, Hondo and Vincent, were interested in replicating the business model of Infosupply in Africa or other countries. Their attachment to their jobs at Infosupply was based on their idea of India as a struggling yet succeeding country. India was seen as a place in which to acquire transferable skills. In one way, Hondo’s, Menelik’s and Vincent’s views on India are inspired by their views of their role in the global economy. This resembles Calhoun’s indirect relationships (2003, p. 548), as they feel connected to persons who are not tangibly and expressively connected to them. Through this feeling Hondo, Vincent and Menelik seem to transcend their position. However, this section also argues that they are grounded and connected to their present location and time, which enables them to achieve their personal aspirations.

Hondo used to be a scientist in Zimbabwe and saw doing business research in life sciences as a “niche.” Moreover, he stated that “[he had] really enjoyed this experience”. He saw himself as a “pathfinder” for a similar business in the service industry in Zimbabwe:

“This kind of service industry can also be done in Zimbabwe […] There is nothing really special about this. It is not like the invention of the bread slice or something.”

Hondo developed personally by adding business research skills to his skills as a scientist, as well as learning from India’s experience. Since he used the time to widen his scientific skill set into a business research/management skill set, he now sees himself as a catalyst for
developing this industry in Zimbabwe. Hondo is attached to the idea of India as a successful model for an emerging economy. In a sense, he was therefore attached to the locality of India for the sake of the locality of Zimbabwe, rather than transcending both. Moreover, in the process he developed his own personal and business skill set.

Similarly, Menelik’s experience in India was based on the opinion that

“India can be seen as model for African development and it can be adopted in the future, [...] so it’s better to have this exposure with India in a developing country [than working in London for example]”

Hondo and Menelik’s experience was motivated by more than gaining professional skills, as they had a wider goal of building a business in their respective countries and was based on their past experiences of living elsewhere as well as Africa. They were motivated by their attachments to their past and future, but lived in the present in order to link these. This is reminiscent of Calhoun’s “indirect and direct relationships” (2003, p. 548) and reveals “their own material and social conditions” (2003, p. 543).

Vincent’s experience was a little different. Initially, he was attached to the idea of working in India as an emerging economy, then he became bored. He later adapted and found people who inspired him and showed him new aspects of India. The phases he underwent show that there was an initial perception of the idea of India as an emerging economy, which reveals an “indirect relationship”. This later gave way to the “direct relationship” of being inspired by his work colleagues and their tenacity. Here, Vincent describes the contrast between his initial enthusiasm and his subsequent lack of enthusiasm after six months:

“In the beginning I liked it, you’re in India, emerging economy... where really things are happening... because emerging India is here, it’s Gurgaon. I liked Infosupply. Booming, emerging, and always new things... and you go to the office with a suit and a shirt [...]. So I liked the life in terms of living with people and it was a bit like in “Friends” the TV show. It was interesting, meeting so many people, going to parties with ten different nationalities. In the beginning I enjoyed but after sometime, I have to be honest, I found the life in Gurgaon very dry.”

In Vincent’s case, enthusiasm for the place, and the feeling of being part of a hub that is “booming” and “happening” provided an impetus for his initial enthusiasm. The similarity of his life to the TV series “Friends” and parties with different nationalities were meeting his expectations and thus defined his initial experience. After six months his enthusiasm curbed, but inspired him to stay in Gurgaon:

“I would have [...] gone somewhere else, Argentina... Africa... anywhere...for me it was clear, going to India was going to India, was going to China, it was going to Singapore, it was not India in particular, it was doing something different... moving differently... I could have found another job for example in South Africa like when I left South Africa, I was quite sure that I would come back and I really wanted to

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39 Menelik, who grew up in Kenya and France, then moved to his country of birth, Ethiopia. He has been running his own consultancy firm since November 2009.
come back to South Africa. I liked the country very much. Anyway, I found another job in Asia and then India…"

The notion of “doing something different” is important, because it reveals an attachment to Vincent’s understanding of India as an emerging economy as well as his role within it. Finally, added to the attachments to past experiences, expectations, and future plans in the global economy, another idea of India was revealed by his colleagues at Infosupply and inspired Vincent:

“in India, man, I like this thing… I can change my ambitions, if I come from a modest background, I can still become someone… I like it… [...] they’re [Indians] hungry… you know they wake up in the morning and there was this thing of… if I have to explain to a class or something what is India, I will give this example… here’s a guy and he has the god of knowledge… every morning, he prays like that before opening his PC… He’s my Indian colleague and that thing of praying to the goddess of knowledge… I like this image… I like it, like it. If you’re hungry in life, I like it. Indians have this feeling that they know that it’s their age… their chance, their turn now… and you can really feel that… it’s their turn and they’re optimistic… because they know that it’s now… and I like this…”

Vincent’s experience in India was that Indians are driven, focussed and single-minded. This inspired him and corresponded with his own ambition to “do something different”. Ultimately, this made him stay in “dry Gurgaon”, as he calls it. His initial view of India, which revealed an attachment to a global aspiration of working in an International context, gave way to the hard realities of “dry” Gurgaon, and finally to his views of his colleagues’ tenacity. Overall, Vincent was still interested in “doing something different” but was now attached to the working attitude of his colleagues and created a “direct relationship” to this, rather than to the image of India as a booming economy, which was his initial “indirect relationship”. It contradicts the view of cosmopolitanism of detachment (Critique 1 and 2 in Table 3.3) of purely rational company beings (Critique 4 in Table 3.3), found in business and management literature.

In summary, the experiences of Hondo, Menelik and Vincent reveal how they see India as a learning environment, due to its global position and transferable applicability. Moreover they are able to see themselves as potential agents of change in Africa (Hondo and Menelik) and to do “something different” (Vincent). By doing this, they connect the world to themselves and the local context. As Calhoun states:

“Indirect [connections] are those in which some sort of mediation is involved that makes the connection without direct interaction and mutual awareness – as one might be related by marriage or by a bureaucratic organization – to people one has never met.”

2003, p. 548

Calhoun’s theoretical stance is reflected by Hondo and Menelik. They plan to use their current experience for their future careers in Africa or other countries. This renders their aspirations temporally and geographically removed. However, while at Infosupply, they also used the immediate presence to inspire them, as Vincent outlined. In summary, their connections reflect the multiple “direct or indirect relationships” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 588), which make up “the presence” of IEs’ attachments. In particular these examples refute the neglect of the local
(Critique 1 in Table 3.3), cosmopolitan detachment (Critique 3 in Table 3.3), reveal how local and global elements are mixed within persons (Ley, 2004) and suggest that the global draws on the local. These attachments provide a counterpoint to corporate cosmopolitanism and the celebration of the “ideal of detachment” (Halsall, 2009) and, more importantly, reveal how IEs relate to the local.

6.3.2 Attachment to the workplace

Most IEs were attached to their work and thus the workplace itself. As stated in 6.2.1, most IEs were interested in gaining work experience in India, but also interested in enhancing their skills. However, attachment to the workplace is different from attachment to “the global corporation”, which Ohmae stressed as a characteristic of cosmopolitanism. IEs at Infosupply resisted being “of the global corporation”, instead wishing to be more attached to their home department and colleagues, emphasising their identity as “young opportunists” (Suutari and Brewster, 2000; Chapters 2 and 5). They also wanted to increase their learning (Swan and Fox, 2009; Chapters 2 and 5). IEs are attached to the local practices of the workplace as well as the localising practices of the workplace. IEs were attached to their workplace and were committed to working hard. They worked hard because they wanted to get different jobs after their time at Infosupply. This attitude was acquired in the past. Paradoxically, in order to gain skills and flexibility in the future (Swan and Fox, 2009), IEs wanted to be stable in the present. IEs' commitment to the local workplace, finding solutions to difficulties through forging links with colleagues, and making improvisations show how attached IEs were to the local and how they created their local conditions.

The statements that illustrate this point are provided by Onur, Eva, Simone, Violet and Rebecca. They reflect that IEs were dedicated to their work through adopted practices (such as using the internal instant messaging service MSN in different ways or by skipping lunch). Rebecca reveals how she changed her expectations with the arrival of a new boss and thus acquired a sense of future for her work. Violet, however, remained uncertain about her future, but actively requested feedback and gained more information to understand her role and prospects within the department. With this, she created local practices of involvement and attachment. Violet’s focus on her workplace is strong, as her connections to IEs and Indian colleagues in the third part of this section will reveal.

Onur, Simone and Eva exemplify IEs' commitment to the workplace through their attitude at workplace. Onur stated that:

“when I am at work, I am not very social. I am at work. Even when I feel, now I am getting inefficient, then I don’t even go for lunch when I have to work…”

Similarly, Eva prioritised work over breaks, although she was doing an internship and was not interested in promotion. She summarises her attitude here:
“I am not very much a break person. [...] basically if I am doing something, I want to finish that and I have a certain way of working [...] While I am doing something, I am already like you know—then I just continue until I feel the time that my body is asking for a break...”

Simone’s focus on work also restricted her usage of electronic communication systems such as Messenger, which is often used socially:

“With Messenger I respond straightaway and if I am really busy I put it on the “do not disturb”-thing and then you don’t get that notification right away. Also if [...] I don’t really feel like being distracted then I put it on “away”... so I set it up in different ways so that people don’t feel like upset if I don’t respond right away [...] When people ping me, I tell them I am chatting to someone else or I have a call ... I try and keep it under control [...]”

In doing so, Simone adjusted her availability to different patterns of work and prioritised finishing a task over social contacts or new commitments. In summary, Simone, Eva and Onur’s focus on work is similar despite their different motivations for being in India. Onur was more serious about his role, as he hoped to go to Chile or China with the company. Eva did a 6-month internship for her MA from Spain and was also running an online gallery in a Chilean time zone—work that began when her work at Infosupply finished. Simone saw Infosupply as an opportunity to be in India and to combine work with travelling.

Together these three reflect the spectrum of IE motivations and practices to focus on the workplace, despite difficulties in feeling attached to the company. Instead of being attached to the “global corporation” (Ohmae, 1991), IEs were attached to the local practices at the workplace as well as localising workplace practices. The notion of “global transcendence” (Kanter, 1995) was overcome by local “presence” and “material and social conditions” (Calhoun, 2003). Attachment to the workplace lay in their future aspirations and past work attitude, which were acquired during education. These past experiences and future aspirations represent “indirect relationships” as they are temporally removed. By contrast, their focus on work in the present at Infosupply Gurgaon reveals a “direct relationship” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 548) and details their “material conditions” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 543).

Rebecca and Violet’s focus on work was strong as they managed to determine what personal gains they could draw from their involvement in the department. In doing so, they again translated “indirect relationships” in the future to present “direct relationships” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 548). Rebecca expresses here how the work in editing investment research is keeping her engaged:

“But then, we got a new boss and he is much better and he gives me the opportunity to do more interesting projects and he knows I like to write so he gives me editing equity reports ... I mean I find the work interesting but it is not my

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40. Simone left Infosupply shortly after the interview, worked for an Indian travel magazine for a year as a junior editor, then changed to an Indian music magazine as editor and is currently editing a popular travel guide on India. She is still in Delhi (October 2010).

41. Eva stated: “I think it is because I studied in a British school in Chile. They were very, very strict. [...] I guess it came from my school. I feel like I need to comply with the rules.”
passion! But, I learned a lot about finance and the things that I did not know before and part of our job is on our own to read and learn the basics of financial modelling. So I have learned a great deal. I still have a lot more to learn but it is not the most thrilling [...] I do not always want editing, I want to write my own things. So he tried and [...] he and this other guy who heads our team and then some other teams [...]. They have a clear vision for financial publishing and the company... they have some pretty ambitious plans and I think that because of their plans, there will be opportunities for me.”

The changes precipitated by her new boss included “pretty ambitious plans” that opened up opportunities for her to write her “own things” instead of editing. This change ensured that she was willing to continue at Infosupply, hoping that her “opportunities” increased. Rebecca prioritised her own work over that of the company and would have resigned under the old conditions and with the old boss. Hence it was only through the local particularity of the new boss that Rebecca became attached to her workplace.

By contrast, Violet was uncertain about her future in her department and therefore actively sought the advice of her boss:

“I have been trying to talk to her, the manager. In terms of rapid research [her team at the time of the interview], I do not think, I can stay there for a year. I would go nuts. [...] They said, they want people of different nationalities and handling different accounts and expecting to grow and they are thinking now that they would be able to deal with consultants directly and they will be able to work on more hands-on projects long-term but I do not know if this is true, if this can happen. [...] But our Group Manager is supposed to go to Europe to get more work and we will see what happens and then apparently the volume of that is supposed to explode. So I am thinking, do I stay or I make known I want to work on long-term projects? It depends on what I am going to do that I want to get out of it [...] Stay in Infosupply, get a more senior position or get as much as I can out of it in terms of knowledge and move elsewhere?”

Violet was very proactive in gaining an understanding of how the team worked now and in the future. She also critically assessed the information she gathered and then decided on her action. Violet’s ability to communicate and the subsequent assessment of her departmental future motivated her to stay. Both Rebecca and Violet were attached to the workplace as long as the company could fulfil their aspirations and advance their knowledge. They are not detached from the company, but remain attached through personal relationships such as Rebecca’s new boss and Violet’s group manager, which reveals how they transformed “indirect relationships” from their past and for their future into “direct relationships” in the present (Calhoun, 2003, p. 548), thus creating a “presence” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 544).

This section has illustrated how Onur, Eva, Simone, Rebecca and Violet were attached to their workplace, but not the global corporation (Ohmae, 1993), through the “plural solidarities” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 546) revealed in “indirect and direct relationships” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 548). While Onur, Eva and Simone express attachment to daily practices of work, Rebecca and Violet revealed that their relationships to their boss and the subsequent growth possibilities motivated them. Their attachment derives from their past backgrounds, as well as future aspirations. These represent “indirect and direct relationships” by belonging to global or local realms (see
Figure 6.1) and constitute “social and material conditions” (Calhoun, 2003). The findings in this section suggest that IEs are attached to the local and that they built new relationships with the local. Through these new attachments, IEs reveal a cosmopolitanism akin to that in the social sciences.

### 6.3.3 Attachment to Indian colleagues and other IEs

The attachment of IEs to Indian and other international colleagues reveals that IEs built direct relationships to their immediate surroundings. By doing this, IEs negate the “supra-local” characteristic ascribed to them by Kanter (1993). IEs also do not transcend (Ohmae, 1993) but are building a “presence” with its “own material and social conditions” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 543). The relationships to colleagues fall into the category of direct relationships, which are “those in which the parties are clearly known to each other as persons – mainly, but not exclusively face-to-face relationships” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 548). These relationships require IEs to get involved and attached rather than to transcend. The relationships are part of the local context rather than the global realm (see Figure 6.1).

Despite frequent team changes, IEs often established attachments to Indian colleagues in breaks, and even difficult interactions based on differences and friction contributed towards building relationships. Furthermore, the failure of official support functions, such as a complaints procedure, a well-matched buddy network and a lack of accurate information, IEs improvised and established “direct relationships” (Calhoun, 2003) as part of their working lives, which formed their “material and social conditions” (Calhoun, 2003).

**Shared Breaks**

Breaks were one point of contact with colleagues. Although some IEs did not want to go for breaks with their colleagues, many used their breaks to connect with colleagues, and benefited from these interactions. As a result, IEs lay the foundations for friendships outside of the workplace (see Chapter 7).

Fabien said that he used to either instant message to invite other people for lunch or

> “in my new team, I changed my seat to a new bay, they usually have lunch together. One guy just stands up and asks: Lunch? And then you go or you don’t…”

Most of the time Fabien joined his new colleagues. This was similar for Louise, who changed from Market Research to Business Research. She describes her colleagues in business research as

> “Trying to do a lot together. They are always waiting for each other. For example, if he [one colleague] hasn’t sent his request, then ok, let’s wait for five minutes and then go! They have a very good spirit. They are very cool people.”

In both Fabien and Louise’s case, the colleagues in one department waited for each other to go for lunch and take breaks, which enabled them build relationships with one another. After
changing departments from Market Research to Business Research, Astrid continued to meet her old colleagues, because she knew their routine:

“Yesterday for example, I went back to tower A to the German team, because I know that they have a break between 3.30 and 4.30pm.”

IEs also met some Indian friends at the weekend (see Chapter 7, Section 7.4.2). Fabien for example said that:

“I learnt so much when I just go one afternoon with an Indian friend somewhere... you learn so much about ooohh wow, that’s why people do that!”

Fabien, Louise and Astrid’s testimonies highlight that despite the continuous changes in teams and transfers to other departments, IEs managed to build relationships and routines with colleagues. Some team members’ attitudes, such as suggesting lunch (Fabien), waiting for delayed colleagues (Louise), meeting with old colleagues (Astrid) or meeting outside of work (Fabien; Chapter 7, Section 7.4.2), supported these practices. In summary, shared breaks are a sign of IEs’ attachment to colleagues through “direct relationships” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 548).

**Differences and insights**

Differences and tensions between colleagues enabled IEs to gain a better understanding of themselves and their co-workers. Most IEs faced friction with colleagues, as poor leadership was a component of employment at Infosupply (Section 6.2). Here, Rebecca and Katarina describe how differences arose out of interactions with colleagues, but were overcome by further interaction and attachment.

Rebecca outlines that despite their differences, she likes her team. In this excerpt, she asserts herself while accepting a different way of doing things:

“I thought one colleague was a bit nosy like she was always – if I would open up my drawer, she would look in it or she would always look at my computer screen. But otherwise, she was nice, so I did not make a big deal. But people do that here a lot. And, I asked them, like there was a guy the other day, who was reading behind me and I did not even know. I saw him and said: that’s pretty rude, let me know if you are reading over my shoulder! What if I am looking at something I do not want you to see? But, I think that is just different ideas about privacy in India…”

In this instance, Rebecca asserts her views on privacy but also speculates about different Indian ideas on privacy. With this, she attempts to rationalise her colleague’s behaviour as something that has to be accommodated. In this instance, she also states that her colleague was “otherwise […] nice”, which made it easier for her to accept her differences. That she sees the “otherwise” is a result of her “direct relationship” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 548) with colleagues at work.

Similarly, Katarina expresses how an incident with a difficult colleague caused her to reflect upon and eventually modify her behaviour. In the first quote she describes the initial issue:

“I got my feedback form and […] it is all 1 and 2 and there is one 3: “needs to be more professional when giving feedback to team members” because […] I mean
Bini again thinks that is a cultural thing, that I am too German at times, too blunt, too direct. I know that I sometimes snap, I tend to sometimes shout a bit at people but just because there are bad results. I do not lose my patience very easy but then with some people I do. [...] Too pushy and too rude. I mean in things like the way I write my emails, the way I sometimes talk to people, he says, I know it is fine in your culture and I know you do not mean it in a rude way but for an Indian, it is too direct, it is too in their face. [...] it is interesting to get this sort of feedback. “

Katarina reduces the differences to cultural differences, but also stresses that she valued this feedback, because she resented silence more than negative feedback:

“[...] sometimes that drives me nuts here [...] just tell me, it is okay, just say something. My main problem with crumbly biscuit guy42 is that he does not talk to you. There is hardly any interaction. He just sits and that is what makes me pissed.”

Katarina’s conclusion about her difficulties with colleagues was that this was an interesting and necessary experience:

“Professionally, it is an interesting experience. I mean Bini keeps telling me, see Katarina at the end of the day it is not about how well you are going to excel and blablabla if you want to be successful in your career, in the end it is about people. You need to learn how to handle different people [...] Bini was telling me after this shouting incident with the biscuit dude... like wherever in the world you will work, you will not be able to pick people that you like and you will always have people in your team superior to you or under you in the hierarchy who are pissing you off on a personal level or a professional level. [...] he keeps telling me that this a very important part of maturing and of becoming professional that you need to learn how to get something done without shouting at them and without being rude to them but somehow...”

The relationship that she had with her senior colleague, Bini, helped her to understand her difficulty, and to find a solution to getting “something done without shouting and without being rude”. In the following quote Katarina summarises what she sees as useful instructions from Bini. His feedback and Katarina’s ability to observe him made her finally appreciate the experience and to change:

“He has this thing of ... and he’s very good with it. He somehow knows how to speak to people and which buttons to push so that at the end of the day they do the job. So all these things that drive me nuts here at the end of the day I almost believe that it’s good to see, it is interesting to see.”

Overall, Katarina stresses how the initial problem was solved through feedback from her senior colleague. Katarina further outlines that the opportunity to observe Bini and to learn from his behaviour was crucial for her development. Her ability to listen and adapt to the feedback offered by her superior also shows that she prefers to be involved and attached. Through these “direct relationships” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 548), Katarina and Rebecca learned from the local and created a local “presence” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 544).

Improvisations and coping strategies
IEs were also creative in developing different ways of attachment, in addition to the official channels, as demonstrated by Simone, Hondo and Violet. The alternative to these ways of

42 “Biscuit dude” or “crumbly biscuit guy” was the nickname of Katarina’s colleague, who according to Katarina was generally passive and silent. When they missed the deadline for a project, Katarina shouted at him, which resulted in the feedback of 3 on her evaluation.
attachment would have been withdrawal and complaints, which could have ultimately resulted in stress, maladjustment and detachment. Instead, IEs created “direct relationships” that did not exist previously and thus established new ways of attachment.

A small, yet often-practiced way of creating relationships and attachment was the use of the instant messaging system MSN. While Simone usually focused on her work and restricted her use of MSN, when things were upsetting, she used it to relieve the pressure:

“Usually when some things happen on my team … ‘oh my god, he just did this … I can’t believe’ … bitching, usually bitching [...]”

With this, the official channel of discussing the situation with the person concerned was circumvented or delayed. In the meantime, the IE concerned diffused the issue and at times received advice from the person they were “bitching” to.

Another example was the allocation of buddies to new IEs. The human resources department usually appointed buddies to new IEs to assist them when settling in. In most cases, the buddies were ill-matched, because they worked in another department, on another shift, lived in different houses or were distant from the new IE in other ways. Hondo’s buddy was distant from him and he had to find another person to answer his questions:

“No, no, Mehdi was my buddy, but then with Juliane, we used to sit in the same bay… she was really nice actually, whenever I ask anything to her, she used to help. I would say Juliane, are you free? Then she said, ‘okay, I have one minute…’ [and I’d ask her:] ‘how can I do this?’ and then she said, ‘okay, ABCD and E’. Actually, I think I saw more of Juliane than Mehdi.”

Hondo explains how the experience of having a buddy in a different department, who did not know much about Hondo’s department and who was unavailable to him, made him bond with another IE in his own department. There was an ongoing debate with HR about their practice of allocating buddies, but permanent positive changes rarely occurred. In the meantime, IEs formed their own attachments, such as Hondo’s attachment to Juliane, and thus created “direct relationships” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 548) themselves.

Finally, Violet demonstrates how she formed attachments to different colleagues and initiated routines. In the following quote, she expresses how she valued regular chats on MSN and in person to increase her understanding:

“I like to chat and talk especially on Messenger but I stop by [face-to-face] and say ‘how are you, how are you doing’ [...] also with some people in my team about lack of communication sometimes, learning and complaining about the team, as in why are things not better, why are they excluding us, what is happening, that kind of thing, Is it me? Is it the team? Trying to get another point of view so to speak. The other guy, he is Indian but he studied in the UK, I ask him: Is it an Indian thing, is this special to our team, how did he find it? When you were working in the UK, was it different? And just trying to sum up where they are coming from..."
Having face-to-face conversations kept Violet connected to her colleagues in the department and also made her question her own views, whilst gaining a broader perspective. Another form of attachment is illustrated in the way that she discussed things with her IE peers and the HR department during breaks and lunch:

“We tend to wander off at 11:00 to get a fruit juice and then on my way back, I talk to C. and update on human resources and other things. Whoever else I may see to have a break or sometimes I am almost falling asleep and I need to walk away from my desk. Then there is lunch break. We mainly meet, sometimes it varies between Lorna or Robert or H. or B. or M. or the Indian colleague in our team or S. maybe or that kind of is mixed … A. maybe if he is around…”

At the time of the interview, Violet held the extra-curricular position of IE spokesperson. In the beginning she had wondered if she could take things at Infosupply “seriously”. As her actions demonstrate, she decided to speak to her group manager about the department’s plans and strategy and have daily chats with fellow department members, the HR department and other IEs. Now, instead of withdrawing, she has decided to take on the role of IE spokesperson:

“I want to get involved and that’s why I am also spokesperson because I want to try and achieve something. I do not even think it would be possible for anything to materialise but at least I’ve tried. I manage to do this, but we will see what happens. Whether I am doing that and getting something out of it and I sometimes hear that what I am doing is pointless.”

Violet is unsure how much she can change, but the fact that she decided to try, despite her doubts, is a sign of her getting involved and wanting to work with whatever structures and people she encounters. Her involvement is also marked by connections to different people: people in her department, other IEs and the HR department.

This section demonstrated IEs’ attachments to Indian and international colleagues as “direct relationships” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 548). Lorna, Eva and Katarina, Fabien, Louise and Astrid mentioned sharing breaks as a means of establishing connections. Differences and tensions, with other staff members, as found by Katarina and Rebecca, ultimately helped individuals to develop. When official structures failed, IEs were forced to improvise to fulfil their need for attachment, as Simone, Hondo and Violet described. The resulting “direct relationships” and “plural solidarities” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 544) refute the idea that international employees are “transcendent” (Ohmae, 1990) or “supra-local” (Kanter, 1995). They also demonstrate how IEs navigated organisational practices and created connections to the local.

6.3.4 Summary

Contrary to the “ideal of detachment” proposed by corporate cosmopolitanism (Halsall, 2009), Calhoun stated that “a sense of connection to the world as a whole […] has its own material and social conditions” (2003, p. 543). To understand this sense of connection it is necessary to understand “plural solidarities” (2003, p. 546), which are organised in “direct or indirect relationships” (2003, p. 548). The

“direct [relationships] are those in which the parties are clearly known to each other as persons – mainly, but not exclusively face-to-face relationships. Indirect ones
are those in which some sort of mediation is involved that makes the connection without direct interaction and mutual awareness [...] to people one has never met.”
Calhoun, 2003, p. 548

These direct relationships can be networks (Beaverstock, 2002), friendships (Kennedy, 2004, 2010), homes (Walsh, 2006; Nowicka, 2007) or local symbols (Moore, 2006). All of these are local and thus contradict the concepts of cosmopolitanism in business and management studies (Ohmae, 1992; Kanter, 1995), which see supra-locality as a necessity for cosmopolitanism (Table 3.3). By contrast, this section has shown that IEs’ attachments in different areas to various ends in the local and global realms, thus build direct or indirect relationships.

Firstly, Hondo, Menelik and Vincent drew inspiration from their present in India through their colleagues and observations. The ways in which they viewed their colleagues reveals an appreciation of the local. Moreover, their connections reflect the multiple “direct or indirect relationships” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 588) and “social and cultural conditions” (ibid., p. 543), that influenced the cosmopolitanism displayed by IEs at Infosupply. Through their attachments they pose an alternative to corporate cosmopolitanism (Critique 1 and 3 in Table 3.3), and achieve a mix of the local and the global (Ley, 2004).

Secondly, IEs were attached to their workplace, and were not “of the global corporation” (Ohmae, 1992). These two notions differ, because, although IEs worked hard (Simone, Eva, Onur); they would have left Infosupply (Simone), if it were not for their backgrounds (Eva) and their future aspirations (Onur, Violet and Rebecca). As demonstrated in Figure 6.1, this reveals that IEs have “plural solidarities” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 546). IEs like Violet forge new relationships and therefore draw upon the local. Through these practices, IEs reveal that they negotiate organisational requirements and fulfil their individual aspirations through attachment.

Thirdly, attachments to colleagues were established through shared breaks as well as through differences. When official structures failed, IEs were forced to improvise to fulfil their needs. Their active involvement fostered friendships outside of work (Hondo, Astrid, Fabien), helped their professional development (Rebecca and Katarina), and allowed them to find new ways of achieving their goals (Simone, Hondo, Violet). IEs’ practices revealed that they learned most from affiliations and attachments of the “direct” kind (Calhoun, 2003), which can be located within the local realm in India (see Figure 6.1).

6.4 Conclusion

IEs’ complaints and actions showed that they exhibited cosmopolitanism in the social science sense by appearing to belong to both the local and global realms, but by creating a presence in the local realm (Calhoun, 2003). They used their local experience to constitute their future in the global. By analysing IEs’ resistance to corporate practices (Section 6.2), (which were linked to requirements of flexibility in the global economy), it has been demonstrated that IEs are not
“transcending” (Ohmae, 1990) or “supra-local” (Kanter, 1995). Analysing IEs’ multiple local and global attachments (Section 6.3), has shown how IEs create a “presence” (Calhoun, 2003).

IEs’ attachments were summarised in Figure 6.1. Figure 6.2 provides additional theoretical findings and reveals what kind of cosmopolitanism IEs display and what connections they make:

**Figure 6-2 - Cosmopolitanism of IEs through global and local presence**

In Section 6.2, the complaints about team changes suggested that IEs are not antagonistic towards the local, but rather want to draw upon it. In that sense, they refute business and management cosmopolitanism’s assumption of a necessary neglect of the local and an antagonism between the global and the local (Table 3.3, Critique 1 and 2). The complaints suggested that IEs wanted to be attached to projects and the concomitant insights for longer, due to their ambition for learning. Corporate practices and the business model within Infosupply did not allow for this. This contradicts the need for detachment as proposed by authors of cosmopolitanism in business and management studies (Table 3.3, Critique 3). IEs’ problems with perceived “poor leadership” also suggest that IEs wanted to be attached and therefore did
value the local. This emphasises IEs’ desire for attachment. In sum, section 6.2 suggests that IEs display social science cosmopolitanism (e.g. Vertovec and Cohen, 2002, Binnie et al, 2004; Kennedy, 2004). IEs’ attachment to teams and colleagues highlights that “professionals working overseas are embedded in concrete locations into which their activities and relationships are woven” (Kennedy, 2004, p.161), which makes “cosmopolitanism […] a presence” (Calhoun, 2003, p. 544). IEs wish for involvement and attachment within teams, projects and senior colleagues reveals the necessity of the local to build the global (cf. Beaverstock, 2002; Moore, 2006; Kennedy, 2010).

Section 6.3 attempted to show how IEs were attached. IEs’ “attachment to the idea of work in India as emerging economy” rebuts the neglect of the local (Table 3.3, Critique 1) and detachment (Table 3.3, Critique 3). More importantly, it shows the mix of global and local (Ley, 2004) and the ways in which IEs prioritise and relate to the local in order to reach the global. IEs attachment to the workplace highlighted that it was their “indirect relationships” to their past and future (Calhoun, 2003), which initially contributed to their commitment to the workplace. By forging relationships with colleagues, IEs became more attached. In a theoretical sense, IEs therefore built “direct relationships”, which in turn built their local “presence” (Calhoun, 2003). Finally, IEs’ relationships to Indian colleagues and other IEs, despite frequent team changes, revealed that they benefited from shared breaks, worked through differences and learned from them, as well as improvising wherever official structures failed. This suggests that IEs forge new relationships and create the local. Hence the multiple ways (Section 6.3) in which IEs navigated around the organisational requirements of Infosupply (Section 5.4.2 and Section 6.2) to achieve their individual aspirations of learning for a global career (Suutari and Brewster, 2000; Swan and Fox, 2009), showed that IEs benefited most from the “direct relationships” and friendships in the local (Calhoun, 2003).

In conclusion, while IEs have global ambitions, they require, seek and create the local in a number of ways. IEs often complained about official organisational requirements (Section 6.2). Nevertheless, they worked hard and showed a strong attachment to their workplace, which was influenced by local “direct relationships”. Similarly, their initial ideas of working in India as an emerging economy, transformed from indirect and transcendent ideas to local ideas gained through experience. Finally, IEs’ attachments to Indian and other international colleagues revealed IEs “direct relationships” and illustrated how IEs improvised new relationships when needed. Overall, this suggests that the local is pivotal for IE experiences; it shows how IEs mix the global and the local and moreover, how they create their “presence” (Calhoun, 2003), thus showing that IEs’ acted in cosmopolitan ways similar to those defined in the social sciences.
7 Analytical Chapter II: Attachment to and within households

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of IEs’ everyday lives outside the workplace. In doing so, it provides a holistic view of their lives in India and contributes to the understanding of adjustment and cosmopolitanism by SFEs in emerging economies.

The maladjustment literature mostly focuses on expatriates’ working lives, mentions the role of non-work life selectively and presumes that expatriates have spouses (Black et al., 1991; Parker and McEvoy, 1993; Aycan, 1997; Takeuchi, 2010; cf. Chapter 2, Section 2.4.1). Maladjustment has been commonly defined as the result of stress caused by new circumstances, which inhibit expatriates’ usual practices and questions their attitudes (Harrison et al., 2004). Overcoming stress and being relaxed are markers of successful adjustment. Moreover, models of adjustment analyse expatriates’ experiences in three neat categories, namely background and previous experience, work, and non-work. These have been rarely examined (Black et al., 1991; Parker and McEvoy, 1993; Aycan, 1997). The emerging literature on SFE maladjustment processes uses expatriation research (Peltokorpi and Fröse, 2009; Schyns and Howe-Walsh, 2010; Chapter 2, Section 2.4.2) and completely ignores non-work activities, and the differing demographic characteristics of motivation, age and marital status (Suutari and Brewster, 2000; Chapter 2, Table 2.5 and 2.7). SFEs have been found to be individually motivated, younger and more often single than expatriates (Suutari and Brewster, 2000). As their non-work lives do not consist of families and spouses, there is a growing need to explore the non-work dimension.

In the debate about cosmopolitanism and international employees, the business and management literature views employees as detached from the local and as rational company people (Ohmae, 1992; Javidan, 2007; Levy et al., 2007; Suutari and Smale, 2008). Social science, however, views cosmopolitans as negotiating attachment and detachment, verging on the side of belonging rather than detachment, mixing the global and the local (Beaverstock 2002; Moore 2004) and as being friends (Walsh, 2007; Kennedy, 2004, 2010) and family members (Nowicka, 2006). These roles are undertaken in addition to being rational company people (Kanter, 1995). The empirical cases provided by Nowicka (2006), Walsh (2007) and Kennedy (2004, 2010) are rare examples of “everyday life” (Ley, 2004) and “middling” cosmopolitanism (Favell et al., 2007).

Exploring the “everyday lives” (Ley 2004) of SFEs offers an insight into the adjustment and cosmopolitanism of self-initiated employees, and fill gaps in the literature on maladjustment and cosmopolitanism. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the world of non-work (Black et al., 1991; Parker and McEvoy, 1993; Aycan, 1997) in the case of SFEs.
Taking the six apartments described in Chapter 5 as units of analysis, this chapter examines individual inhabitants’ attitudes, activities and relationships within and outside their homes. Outside their apartments, Infosupply and Gurgaon framed IEs’ experiences. The company initially allocated IEs to different households. Gurgaon’s lack of public transport curtailed individual mobility and increased the importance of these households. Long working hours at Infosupply seemingly limited the time available for socialising. These factors posed environmental and organisational constraints to IEs’ experience at Infosupply. IEs had little choice over flatmates and scarce leisure time in a limited spatial radius. Each apartment accommodated IEs with different nationalities, languages, ages and educational backgrounds. The six apartments were therefore culturally and linguistically diverse. The common denominators of inhabitants were the shared use of English and employment at Infosupply.

Despite obstacles outside, and diversity inside the apartments, most IEs enjoyed each other’s company, made friends, between and outside households and benefited from these friendships with international and Indian friends in their leisure time. This is reminiscent of Kennedy’s finding in the case of EU migrants in Manchester:

“[Moreover,] the respondents’ experiences suggest that living abroad propels actors in a more cosmopolitan direction […] because they are exposed to other foreigners as well as to local people through the close friendships and/or romantic partnerships they establish which […] had been central to their life-changing experiences abroad.”

Kennedy, 2010, p. 480

Kennedy sees friendships as contributing towards his respondents’ learning and cosmopolitanism (Kennedy, 2010) by increasing their ability to engage with individuals from different backgrounds. Friendships are “direct relationships” (Calhoun, 2003) and display cosmopolitanism in a social science sense (Nowicka, 2006; Walsh, 2006; Kennedy, 2004, 2010), by refuting the antagonistic relationship between the local and the global as well as the concept that detachment is a necessity of cosmopolitanism (see Table 3.3). This chapter reveals how IEs adjusted to living and working in an emerging economy and navigated the barriers described above to achieve their individual aspirations and to make friends.

The chapter improves the understanding of SFE adjustment beyond the emerging work of Schyns and Howe-Walsh (2010) and Peltokorpi and Fröse (2009), and exemplifies the “everyday life” (Ley, 2004) of middle cosmopolitanism (Favell et al, 2007) by presenting attitudes and practices of cosmopolitanism (Kennedy, 2004, 2010). In this chapter, adjustment and cosmopolitanism are not linear or causal, but are revealed to be correlated and intertwined. Adjustment, involvement and attachment are prerequisites for IEs’ interactions and cosmopolitanism, but at times cosmopolitanism (in the sense of the ability to handle differences) seems to constitute adjustment. Both cosmopolitanism and adjustment are expressed in IE attitudes and practices in their leisure time, both inside and outside their households. Inside their households, IE attitudes revealed notions of sharing, which had a number of subthemes such as honesty, respect, involvement and difference. It has to be acknowledged that IEs
differed in background, languages and preferences and households dealt with these differences in a number of ways. Whilst most households admitted to finding differences inspiring and a source for learning (Section 7.3.1), or at least tolerated them (Section 7.3.2), some households did not overcome differences and relationships were strained (Section 7.3.3). Next to sharing practices and activities, it seems that shared attitudes facilitated IEs’ involvement with each other. Dealing with these differences reflects different kinds of adjustment and the nuances of cosmopolitanism. Outside households, IEs engaged in practices that enabled them to meet new friends as well as spend time with existing friends. Different activities held different potential for meeting and making friends. Moreover, friends were both the means to and end of activities to varying degrees. The dynamics and processes involved in these activities again reveal processes of adjustment and cosmopolitanism. Overall, IEs were well adjusted and felt content to varying degrees and in varying areas inside and outside the company apartments. The contentment and adjustment was achieved and expressed in different ways.

**Figure 7-1 - Introductory Outline to Chapter 7**

This chapter begins by analysing IEs’ leisure activities (Section 7.2). Shared attitudes and activities within households in three prevalent processes are then examined (Section 7.3). IEs felt that an important reason for remaining in company apartments was “happiness” (cf. Section 5.3.2). Different levels of contentment are examined in Section 7.3 and reveal that one of the concomitant notions is “sharing”, which is expressed in different levels of attachment and friendship. Section 7.4 examines leisure activities between and outside households and friendships and discusses how IEs overcame barriers to engage in activities they deemed appealing. Sections 7.3 and 7.4 aim to understand how relationships are built between IEs.

### 7.2 Leisure activities: mundanity, sociability, solitude and frequency
This section introduces IEs’ leisure activities identified during fieldwork to examine the issue of non-work of SFEs (Black et al, 1991; Parker and McEvoy, 1993; Aycan, 1997; Schyns and Howe-Walsh, 2010; Peltokorpi and Fröse, 2009). This analysis reveals a number of characteristics. Some activities appeared mundane and could have been practised in any geographical location and household. However, the location of Gurgaon, the requirements of IEs’ employment, low salaries and little public transport had an impact on these activities. Leisure activities can be split into social and solitary activities. The analysis shows that social activities within houses were of high importance for IEs, as most IEs mentioned meeting friends at home, or going to other houses to meet friends on a frequent basis. The analysis also reveals differing frequency as well as outliers of activities. This section highlights provides an outline of leisure activities as a foundation for analysing adjustment and cosmopolitanism of SFEs in India through their “everyday life”, building on the work of Ley (2004).

IEs engaged in the following activities: housework, travelling, sports, going out\(^{43}\), watching TV/movies, reading, using a computer, meeting friends and shopping. These activities seem mundane and do not reveal any difference in activities practised in many other locations. However, due to Gurgaon’s infrastructural and social challenges (Chapter 5, Section 5.3.1), the company’s random allocation of households (Chapter 5, Section 5.3.2) and Infosupply’s long working hours and low salary (Chapter 5, Section 5.4.2), these activities occurred despite multiple obstacles and reveal successful adjustment (Harrison et al, 2004). These activities present “everyday life” (Ley, 2004). These normally ordinary activities become extra-ordinary through their location. They therefore present various processes of adjustment and cosmopolitanism.

The majority of activities were social and happened frequently. Activities that were mostly practised monthly or on weekends were “travelling” and “going out”. “Going out” usually consisted of visiting restaurants, pubs, clubs or meeting Indian or international friends in Delhi. Most IEs’ went “shopping” weekly or on weekends. IEs also “watched TV or movies” and practiced “sport” on a weekly basis. The most regular social activity was “meetings friends”. In contrast to “going out”, “meeting friends” occurred at home or at other people’s homes, and included various kinds of parties. Activities that were practiced daily and alone were “using the computer”, “reading” and “housework”\(^{44}\). This finding supports Kennedy’s (2004; 2010) in his examination of the friendships networks of young, single SFEs in London and Manchester (2004; 2010). It stands in stark contrast with literature on expatriates, which emphasises conflicts with spouses and families in the non-work area realm (Harrison et al, 2004; Takeuchi, 2010). Exploring IEs’ friendships is thus essential to understanding SFEs’ adjustment and cosmopolitanism and hence is the main subject of this chapter.

\(^{43}\) “Going out” encompassed visiting restaurants, pubs, clubs and is further discussed in Section 7.4.

\(^{44}\) Housework consisted of tidying up, cooking and washing up, as all houses had a maid, who brushed and swept the floors and did laundry every morning.
There were also a number of activities which were practised by one or very few participants. These included “painting and being depressed”, “listening to music”, “Knowledge Olympics” and “spending time with the boyfriend/girlfriend”. The people practising these were Ayesha, Juri and Vincent respectively. While Juri often shared his knowledge and appreciation of music with other people at social gatherings, and Vincent discussed his ideas with Menelik, Ayesha practised “painting and being depressed” alone. “Spending time with the boyfriend/girlfriend” was practised by three people, namely Eva, Vincent and Louise. This illustrates that the majority of IEs were single (cf. Suutari and Brewster, 2000) and were engaged in more social than solitary activities.

IEs’ seemingly mundane leisure activities were identified by analysing pre-interview questionnaire data in conjunction with interviews. They exemplify the “everyday life” of IEs and provide a distinct contrast to expatriate adjustment (Harrison et al, 2004; Takeuchi, 2010), as they reveal the importance of social activities and friendships (Kennedy, 2004, 2010). In addition to the more mundane activities of reading, housework, and watching TV, the activity of “meeting international or Indian friends” was practised regularly by IEs, often on a daily basis. This indicates that “meeting international and Indian friends” is of prime importance to IEs. Other sociable activities were “shopping”, “travelling” and “going out”. How IEs managed to undertake these activities despite structural and environmental conditions, and to build friendships will be examined further in sections 7.3 and 7.4.

### 7.3 Nuances of adjustment and cosmopolitanism within households

Despite being given an apartment upon arrival, IEs’ continued tenancy in company apartments revealed that they chose to stay in the apartments. Next to costs and a feeling of being taken care of, most IEs mentioned “happiness” as a reason to stay (Chapter 5, Section 5.3.2). The ways in which IEs negotiate the random allocation of their houses, lack of public transport and long working hours, to engage in activities and develop friendships, adds nuances to the understanding of cosmopolitanism and adjustment. In the transient environment of temporary work experiences (Nowicka, 2006), homes appear to be created through the sharing of attitudes and activities. This section reveals how IEs adjusted to “everyday lives” (Ley, 2004) in India, how they conceptualised and built “homes”, and what kind of cosmopolitanism this reveals.

Each household’s inhabitants displayed differing levels of contentment, and engaged in leisure activities with each other to different extents. Sharing did not seem to form a basis for adjustment, as some households operated on the basis of a respect for difference and a lack of shared activities, emphasising the importance of shared attitudes. Sharing attitudes was a prevailing notion, and the non-sharing of attitudes proved an obstacle to adjustment within the household. Overall, the analysis suggests that differences did not prove obstacles, but were

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45 “Knowledge Olympics” is a competition held annually by Infosupply to encourage employees to submit innovative projects on a topic of their choice.
sources of learning in the majority of households. As much as IEs appeared to enjoy shared activities, it seems that they preferred shared attitudes. The analysis of households suggests that there were three prevalent attitudes towards sharing with different concomitant practices.

Sharing in attitude and practice created involvement and potential for attachment. These attachments present firstly adjustment and secondly cosmopolitanism. This section describes and analyses different processes of involvement and attachments in terms of different attitudes and practices of sharing, thereby advancing an understanding of the dynamics of SFE adjustment (Schyns and Howe-Walsh, 2010; Peltokorpi and Fröse, 2009) and illustrating a social science cosmopolitanism (Calhoun, 2003; Kennedy, 2010).

7.3.1 Shared attitudes, shared practices

In the first process, inhabitants of Western Town L94 and R4 shared activities as well as attitudes about sharing such activities. Notions of sharing contributed to IEs' sense of “being at home”, which exemplifies that IEs had adjusted. Their feelings of learning from one another, shows that they had overcome and had learned from their differences. This process displays a particular kind of cosmopolitanism, relying on involvement and attachment.

Western Town L94

The inhabitants of Western Town L94 (Menelik, Ayesha, Magda, Fabien and Louise), placed a high importance on sharing. Menelik liked L94 since “the flat feels like lived in, like family-life”. Menelik attributed this to his flatmate Magda, because

“She made this perfect Bulgarian breakfast or she created the living room and all the ideas she comes up with is always to gather people and create good vibes.. She and Frida 46 are the two key persons who turn the house into a family.. a home.”

The Bulgarian breakfast was organised by Magda by bringing back kilos of cold meats, cheese and litres of wine from a visit to her parents’ home in Bulgaria and inviting other IEs for breakfast. Most IEs stayed until the evening to share her home country’s delicacies and to celebrate her return. Many of the inhabitants of Western Town L94 agreed with Menelik’s statement. Sharing food and time was essential to the positive atmosphere in Western Town L94.

Inhabitants reflected on Western Town’s L94’s atmosphere in contrast to their previous experiences. Louise conceded that while “you can live with people but they don’t become friends, Fabien, Menelik and Magda for example became my friends.” Louise usually describes herself as “not good at making friends and meeting new people. I am more of a loner.” Similarly, Ayesha and Magda had previously lived in Green Fields I82 and General Residency respectively. Magda enjoyed L94 more than living in General Residency, because it was a

46 By the time of research, Frida had moved to the Chilean subsidiary of Infosupply. Frida is also mentioned in Section 7.1 by Katarina.
“Huge contrast: I got closer to Frida… and to Louise and Farah47… they were nice! With Fabien I had a few financial problems in the beginning but it was ok then. Very nice guy! And things were put on the table: you don’t like me, you tell me now. And I don’t have any feedback, when I lived in General Residency.”

Here, Magda highlights that being “close” to people, openness and honesty were extremely important to her. Ayesha’s emphasis was also on living with “nice people”:

“I mean if I am going abroad, if it’s only to work and have a career, I can have my career in France or in Turkey, but what I am looking for is also people… nice people…. learning from the other people… sharing with the other people… sometimes it’s difficult and I am not saying that every day is great, but it’s also very nice to be .. to come from the work, take your shower, to cook, to sit in the balcony and to relax… I mean you feel alive, you feel like…’ooohh…it’s nice’…”

What distinguished Western Town L94 for Louise, Magda and Ayesha was the aspect of sharing. Ayesha stressed the emphasis on “learning from the other people” and “sharing with the other people”. Fabien echoes this notion as he does a lot of socialising at home, “just hanging out and talking and being with the people”. Fabien was explicit that it is not about an activity, but the people themselves: “I have nothing in mind, but just want to be with them.” This suggests that residents in Western Town L94 enjoyed living in India because of “learning from” and “sharing with” the people around them, and that this is what made their house “into a family… a home”, as Menelik stated. This contrasts with Louise and Ayesha’s previous experiences. The repeated emphasis on home and just spending time with others shows that IEs in Western Town L94 overcame their differences and adjusted well. Moreover, their good relationship allowed them to become involved, attached and hence become cosmopolitan.

Furthermore, Western Town L94 shared various social activities. While Magda, Ayesha and Louise enjoyed shopping in Gurgaon’s malls and in Delhi, all five inhabitants enjoyed “meeting Indian and international friends”. Fabien specified that this activity was only about “being with the people”. Hence there were “quite often: social gatherings, hanging out with flatmates”, which often resulted in houseparties (see Section 7.4). Louise also stated that she liked to “hang out at home, cook, watch movies, surf the web… I’m a lazy girl and like to sit on the sofa.” Louise mentioned that she does not make friends easily, but that she became friends with her flatmates. Having friends at home and inviting other IEs prevented loneliness and added to her and other inhabitants’ adjustment. Magda mentioned that she preferred that “things were put on the table” at L94. The combination of honesty and simply spending time together seemed to have brought inhabitants closer and built strong friendships.

The fact that IEs at Western Town L94 were as different as those in all the other apartments, that they all shared the attitude of wanting to spend time together, as well as shared many activities, reveals that they overcame their differences. This reveals that they adjusted to their environment and built a home with friends (e.g. Louise) and created “family life” (e.g. Menelik) in an otherwise transient environment. Through this involvement and attachment they learnt from

47 By the time of research, Farah had moved to London to work for another company.
one another and displayed a cosmopolitanism based on attachment and thriving on difference. Their patterns of adjustment and cosmopolitanism add insights into the dynamics of the adjustment of SFEs, who are younger, single and often receive lower salaries than expatriates. The ways in which IEs thrived on difference are much more explicit in Western Town R4.

**Western Town R4**
Western Town R4 was similar to Western Town L94, since the inhabitants Lorna, Juri and Robert shared the attitude of sharing and also shared many practices. However, the inhabitants of Western Town R4 were aware that they were all different and that their only similarity was that they lived together. While Western Town L94 overcame this implicitly, Western Town R4 were explicit about their differences and the effect it had on the inhabitants. This illuminates the process of how differences contribute to adjustment and cosmopolitanism raised by Kennedy (2010). Lorna summarised:

“We are totally different people but we still get along. Like Robert and Juri get on as well… but I often wonder, if I was not living here, would I have hung out with them a lot? […] This house- I think it is homely. I think it is a cosy house and I get on with Robert and Juri … and I like my room and I think it is a good location […]”.  

Lorna’s statement reveals that, despite differences, the house was homely and she got on with Juri and Robert.

Juri stated that he felt lucky and content to have his flatmates:

“We are absolutely different, all three of us which is actually… makes it quite interesting because of all our different characters. But, I am really lucky with my flatmates, they are really nice housemates!”

Juri’s statement suggests that he was happy about his flatmates precisely because of their differences and their quality of being “nice”. Robert stressed that he liked that Juri was an honest and balanced person. Robert also enjoyed the company of Lorna, with whom he shared activities. While all three acknowledged their differences, they managed to not only get along and live alongside each other, but displayed attitudes of mutual respect and interest, which can be seen as a prerequisite of attachment and cosmopolitanism. Here the process of how differences contribute to attachment is clearer than in Western L94. Moreover, these differences were viewed as a source of learning.

In pre-interview questionnaire responses and in interviews, the three stressed enjoying the same activities and moreover indicated each other as partners in the shared activities “conversations”, “parties and socialising”, and “films”. Robert mentioned that he enjoys Lorna’s company because of her personality and her love of films and media:

“She studied media design, she likes films a lot, she consumes films, she produces films. She has a very nice personality!”

Despite occasional arguments, Robert and Lorna got along well by sharing an activity and generally respecting each other. Lorna summarised their activities in the following statement:
“[…] we still have similarities. With Juri I could talk about like music and about traveling and you do not have trouble with conversations. We still like having parties and he likes socialising. And on that level I better get on with him. And then with Robert I just relax and watch a DVD or have a chat about things…”

Lorna and Juri shared “meeting international and Indian friends” and often threw parties. While Robert did not like the music and smoking very much, he tolerated and often joined the parties.

Although Robert and Juri did not share any activities or interests except “conversations”, there seemed to be little tension between them. This could be attributed to mutual honesty and respect. Robert valued Juri’s honesty: “he tells you exactly when he doesn’t like something. We have never fought over anything, while with Lorna I had quite some arguments”. Similarly, Juri respected Robert for being different and enjoyed conversations with him:

“For example like Robert, he would just like completely different opinions and everything, different interests which I would find bullshit for years and more. But now, okay, you respect, he’s got a big interest and he goes really deep in that as well. He really appreciates and okay, you respect that, he has done something. He develops himself, that is like the main point: develop something like whatever the fuck your interest or passion is.”

For Juri, it was essential that his flatmates had “something interesting, that they are interested into something, [that] they have passion for something.”

In summary, Western Town R4’s inhabitants acknowledged and stressed their differences, but also reveal that they shared attitudes and practices. Lorna, Robert and Juri felt at home and were adjusted to their households. Moreover, the honesty, respect and interest they had in each other allowed them to learn from each other and thus become more cosmopolitan. This finding goes beyond Kennedy (2010) by illuminating a micro-process of the influence of friends.

Summary

These two examples have demonstrated how IEs overcame household differences and the random allocation of company apartments, to create “homes” in transient environments. In Western Town L94, inhabitants were explicit that they made friends at home by being honest, that they enjoyed spending time together, and learned from each other. This attitude was also reflected in their practices and shared activities. Western Town L94 was similar to Western Town R4 in that they both shared attitudes and practices. However, Western Town R4 also showed that inhabitants respected and were interested in each other’s differences, treated one another with honesty and enjoyed each other’s company. This seems to be an additional aspect of sharing an attitude and hence practices. Sharing attitudes and practices was a prerequisite for involvement and adjustment. Learning from each other enabled cosmopolitanism.

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48 This is similar to Bela’s point, who said that his flatmates could not give him anything new.
7.3.2 Shared attitudes, unshared practices

In the following two households, General Residency and Unitech Section III, IEs shared the attitude of non-sharing activities. Although IEs respected, tolerated and liked each other; claiming to be content and feel at home, they preferred separate activities and their own independence. These two households stand in contrast to the domesticities illustrated in Western Town L94 and R4. Therefore they present different ways of adjusting and being/becoming cosmopolitan.

General Residency

At General Residency the inhabitants (Katarina, Vincent and Simone), shared the attitude of non-sharing and subsequently did not share activities, food or time with each other. The practice of non-sharing was not suitable for everyone and previous inhabitants had felt excluded. Magda, for example, had initially lived in General Residency, but had moved out due to feeling excluded:

“Vincent and Katarina were working too much. I felt uncomfortable being there, because Vincent didn’t make any effort, Katarina at the time started going out with Gorshan and I was excluded from this group. I felt I wasn’t wanted […] I felt like a fish out of water, completely alone. My only circle of friends was at Western Town L94 and that’s why I moved here [Western Town L94].”

By contrast, Simone described the shared activities in General Residency as “we watch TV sometimes or I read but… I don’t generally hang out with them… I close the door.” Simone wanted to move to Delhi, but not because she felt excluded from the household:

“I wanted to be in Delhi, because I expected to take over this new job […]. Another reason why I wanted to move to Delhi was because I felt a little burnt out and was sick of Gurgaon and I wanted to be close to music and galleries. That sort of trapped feeling that you have sometimes here. I’ve been here for long enough.”

When explaining her decision to move to Delhi, Simone mentioned her feelings of being trapped in Gurgaon, cultural activities and a new job in Delhi. Flatmates were unimportant in this decision. Hence, Magda and Simone appear to have differing expectations. While Magda wanted to share a space, activities and ideas in her home and finally did in Western Town L94, Simone had her own visions and ideas and was more interested in her surroundings. Subsequently, Magda found a home in Western Town L94 while Simone moved to Delhi. These actions fulfilled their individual aspirations, which lay outside their home, and show that a non-sharing attitude did not suit everyone.

For Katarina and Vincent, the house was based on the notion of non-sharing. For Katarina, flatmates were important to some degree and were

“sort of just people where you feel good with. It is important that everybody does their own thing and then it is maybe not too close because also you are working together, you are living together, travelling together, you party together so there needs to be some sort of balance, […] Vincent does very much his own thing. It is not that I want to live with people and then constantly sit with them and hang around with them and spend every night with them.”
Katarina’s opinion, that a house had to provide a balance for inhabitants rather than inhabitants being too close, was based on her assertion that she would now be living alone, if she lived in Germany, but that due to the “intense life” in India, she wanted some company in the evenings:

“In Germany, I […] would not want to live with people anymore. I would want to have my own flat but here in India, I would not want to have my own flat. I think I need a social net of flatmates, who I like as friends. I would not want to be alone in the evenings here. [because] the life here, I find it pretty demanding at times. So at least at home, you need good people and you need good vibes somehow, it is sort of a balance thing. Because otherwise, you would freak out, at least I would.”

Her individual aspiration of having her own flat by now and living alone was hampered by her perception of the life in India as being stressful and her subsequent need for “good people” and “good vibes”. Katarina seemed to have adjusted her individual aspiration of having her own flat in Germany to the reality of life in India. Her independent flatmates Simone and Vincent were useful for this adjustment, as they produced provided “good vibes” and a balance. Katarina also enjoyed meeting people outside her household:

“I am always very happy when I visit it [Western Town L94]. Still I am not sure if I would want to live there.”

[author’s insertion]

Overall, flatmates and going out played into Katarina’s idea of a balanced household. Katarina’s explanation illustrates how she modified her expectations to the context in India. This balance shows a different way of adjustment, where she goes to places like Western Town L94 whenever she wants, but is also glad to live in General Residency, as it presented an approximation of the home she would want to have in Germany.

The balance between individual freedoms, a respite from life in India at home, and going out was also essential for Vincent. Previously, he had lived in Moti Shiv and enjoyed it: “I liked the life in terms of living with people and it was a bit like in “Friends”- “Friends” the TV show… That was interesting!” Moti Shiv (as will be described in more depth in Section 7.4), used to be one of the apartments with the most parties. Living in General Residency made Vincent realise that he preferred living with fewer people and hosting fewer parties. He liked the house because “it was more like a normal apartment with people that I liked before”. About Katarina as a flatmate he mentioned:

“she takes care of things, she understands jokes and humour, she does her things and does not care about my life… in a good way!”

Vincent’s views about Katarina reveal a mutual appreciation for the balance they maintain in spending time by themselves and with others.

Overall, Katarina’s adjustment to life in India, and subsequent arrangements with Vincent, reveal different levels of attachment to that in Western Town L94, and provides another facet of SFE adjustment. The two permanent residents, Katarina and Vincent, were content with their arrangements of independence. The third resident (previously Magda and at the time of
research Simone), seemed to pass through the apartment, feeling more or less excluded depending on expectations, and did not appear to stay long. General Residency’s domesticity rested on the expectation of non-sharing and “doing their own thing”. All inhabitants also had friends outside the house. Rather than sharing many activities, they shared an attitude of non-sharing and respect for one another’s differences. This is different to the close-knit domesticity of Western Town L94, and is also present in the domestic life of Unitech Section III.

**Unitech Section III**

This apartment was inhabited by Astrid, Hondo, and two IEs from Russia. It had previously included Anurag, who had organised many parties. Astrid had hoped to become friends with the Russian IEs, but ultimately did not get along with them. After Anurag’s departure and the Russian IEs’ arrival, the common activities within this house were very few. However, Hondo and Astrid got along well on the basis of respecting each other’s differences, and shared taxis and meeting friends.

Hondo credited Astrid with being an “understanding flatmate, good character”. Astrid said that: “I think it was mainly good and we understand each other very well.” Crucial to their understanding was a shared respect for each other’s differences. Hondo said that he disliked people who did not respect differences and tried to create an artificial similarity on the basis of working for Infosupply as IE:

> “Actually there was this guy who asked me, so Hondo, why do you not want to travel here? Then I told him I just do not feel like. And he was persistent and then it really got on my nerves and [...] then I just told him, okay what is your name? Then he told me his name and then I said, what is my name? And then he told me my name and then I said can’t you see we are just two different individuals? Why should you expect that I should like to do what you – why should I be interested in what you are interested in? [...] I think, he got the picture with that. [...] Although we might be called IEs at Infosupply, we are totally different.”

Astrid felt comfortable living with Hondo, but hardly ever spent a full day at home:

> “When I am at home I can’t stay the whole day at home. I have to go somewhere even if it’s for lunch to the mall, or to Delhi.”

In doing so, she acts like Katarina, who meets friends outside the home. She also remarked that she enjoyed Anurag’s parties:

> “Anurag and me we were totally different people I think. But we understand each other because Anurag was the person who had many contacts and also brought sometimes a lot of people to that flat. This was good!”

When Anurag left, Hondo and Astrid were the only occupants before the two Russian IEs moved in. Astrid recounts here how she felt and how life with the Russian IEs turned out to be boring:

> “I was happy because the room of Anurag was empty for a long time [...]. At first [...] we were just like, we can do this together and this together... but because they also don’t like India very much, they don’t go out and [...] somehow they stay in...”

49 The Russian interns shared Anurag’s old room, did not like India or their internships.
Astrid did not enjoy the company of the two Russian IEs, missed her previous flatmate a little, but also liked and respected Hondo. She engaged in many activities such as “going out” and “travelling” outside the house, made and met friends through these activities and thus adjusted to life in India and Gurgaon. She also continued to share activities with Hondo.

Between Hondo and Astrid, shared activities were “meeting international and Indian friends”, “watching TV” and sharing transport to go out on the basis that they respected each other’s differences. Astrid would have liked to live in a livelier home, but accepted the situation. Unlike Western R4, they did not thrive on their differences, but still respected them and each other. Similar to General Residency’s inhabitants, they kept a balance between sharing activities. Astrid and Hondo relied on building friendships with people from outside the house, and they shared cabs meet them, which reinforces the finding that the economic need to use private transport brought IEs together.

**Summary**

In these two examples, adjustment was achieved through sharing the attitude of non-sharing activities in the households. Both Katarina and Vincent, and Astrid and Hondo respected each other’s differences, and shared the attitude of respect but not leisure activities. The other inhabitants were similarly independent (Simone), felt excluded (Magda) or excluded themselves (the two Russian IEs). Exclusion and inclusion in activities were two side effects of the shared attitude of non-sharing activities. Yet, although Magda had moved out to Western Town L94, Simone planned on moving to Delhi, and Astrid missed her flatmate, the inhabitants of General Residency and Unitech Section III claimed to feel at home, engaged in many activities outside of the households and thus adjusted. This exemplifies the importance of sharing attitudes, but not necessarily activities, for adjustment. It also shows that when sharing did not occur inside the apartments, most IEs went outside to meet friends. Overall, the respect for differences and mobility in satisfying needs by going outside the household reveal cosmopolitanism.

### 7.3.3 Unshared attitudes, unshared practices

Green Fields I82 and Summerblossom Fields provide a third example of adjustment and cosmopolitanism. In these houses, IEs shared neither attitudes or activities. Activities were shared only between some inhabitants and demonstrate exclusions and inclusions. There were a number of issues revealing unshared attitudes and activities. These issues could be the cause as well as the effect for not sharing attitudes and activities. For one, private transport, which enabled IEs’ mobility, presented a way to unite IEs in the case of Summerblossom Field (Rebecca and Violet sharing cabs), but led to division in the case of Green Fields (Bela increasingly relying on his motorbike). Food was another issue that caused divides in both households. In Green Fields, boredom and new insights became a divisive issue. The processes, by which these issues became important, show how these IEs did not manage to overcome their differences and in the negative examples reinforced the importance of sharing
attitudes, which was central to the successful adjustment and cosmopolitanism in the previous examples.

**Green Field I82**

In addition to the aforementioned attitudes of sharing and non-sharing, in some houses, attitudes in general were not shared and IEs had different expectations. These different expectations then caused resentment and prevented adjustment at home, as the example of Green Field I82 illustrates. This example further suggests that sharing the same attitudes was crucial, as the attitudes seemed to have had an effect on leisure activities and revealed processes of attachment and detachment. There were several issues which appear to have contributed to the detachment of Bela from Mehmet, Onur and Eva. These include boredom, food and private transport. Bela’s boredom and engagement in an NGO in Delhi, the issue of Bela regularly stealing food from Mehmet, Onur and Eva, the fact that Mehmet, Onur and Eva enjoyed cooking and eating together and finally, Bela’s possession of a motorcycle reduced involvement and attachment, and fostered detachment. Yet, unlike General Residency and Unitech Section III, the differences in these areas were accompanied by resentment. from Eva and Mehmet on one side and Bela on the other. This provides an example of how IEs handled differences and adds to the influences of friends on SFEs (Kennedy, 2010).

Green Field’s inhabitants were Mehmet, Bela, and the couple Onur and Eva. The atmosphere in the house was acrimonious as Eva in particular disliked Bela for repeatedly taking food and drink from the communal fridge without replacing them:

“He takes things - he uses his word I am privatising somebody else’s food. I don’t know, maybe it was unintentional, [...] but it is not right and I told him like many months ago can you please not do this because it is not nice to me. He said, oh oh oh oh I am sorry and then he comes back with a carton of milk and gives it to you but then he does it again.”

While Onur still described Bela as “friend” in his pre-interview questionnaire, Mehmet listed him as a person he disliked, because he “drinks my juice 😇”. Although the response was adorned with a ‘smiley’, the fact that he mentioned it highlights the importance of the issue, which came to dominate the mood in the house. Eva expressed her views as:

“We try to respect each other’s space and he does not bother too much—he just comes in, he says hi and he goes to his room, he comes out and goes to the kitchen, comes back to his room. [...] I believe we have this relationship and he has it with everyone. He is polite, he kind of... talks in a proper way, he is like a normal person.”

Eva’s use of the pronoun “we” is indicative of the groups which had formed inside the house. “We” included Eva, Onur and Mehmet and excluded Bela, who was “he” in Eva’s account. Moreover, except for the casual theft of food and beverages, Bela struck Eva as “a normal person”. Bela assessed the situation as “we live together but no, it’s not a good example, because I am pissed off with my flatmates... I am really pissed off!” Overall, the household’s inhabitants did not appear to be content, which is also reflected in their shared activities.
Green Fields was defined by shared activities between Eva and Onur; Eva, Onur and Mehmet; or Onur and Mehmet. Bela was seldom included. Eva and Onur met during their employment at Infosupply and became a couple while sharing a house. Eva stated that “spending time with my boyfriend” was a daily activity of three hours. Food appeared to be the unifying factor between Mehmet, Onur and Eva. Mehmet mentioned that he would often go to a Lebanese restaurant with Onur and Eva, and that Eva “cooks very nice”. Onur and Mehmet played badminton together. Both stated doing this two to three times a week. Mehmet also stated that Onur helped him to understand the country, as “he [Onur] explains why India is India.” The three of them also shared cabs.

In contrast to his flatmates, Bela owned a motorbike. The way he used his private transport illustrates the dynamic in the household, which led to detachment. He increasingly relied on his motorbike, as he became more “pissed off” with his flatmates. Initially he bought the motorbike after some of his friends had left India, and he decided to distance himself from the international community in order to understand more of the country:

“That was more or less the point when I got my two wheeler and since then I am deliberately searching more the contact with Indians and especially with that NGO... and not the international community... which doesn’t mean that I don’t speak with them. It’s just not a priority...”

Bela felt increasingly tired of sharing his knowledge with newcomers. For example, when Mehmet arrived, Bela tried to show him around:

“With my newest flatmate.. Mehmet .. I had the patience and I made him sit on the two-wheeler, I showed him around everything and I explained to him whenever he was upset, I was trying to comfort him, hours and hours...”

Bela highlights that he tried to help and explain things to Mehmet numerous times, but in the end, ran out of patience.

“I don’t have more patience to explain this all over again to somebody new... to whomever just comes here.”

Bela’s impatience with newcomers’ lack of knowledge is evident in this quote. Bela also felt that his flatmates did not give anything back to him: “They can’t tell me anything new. Full stop. This is it.” Bela’s statements reveal why he felt “pissed off” with his flatmates, suggesting that he gradually stopped sharing knowledge and distanced himself to experience more of India and also to preserve his patience. In the end his comments suggest that he felt as if he shared knowledge but did not receive anything in return. This example shows that Bela’s new interest in the NGO was facilitated partly by purchasing his own mode of transport, which reduced some of the structural problems of transport. His behaviour was further reinforced by his boredom with his flatmates. The combination of other interests, the availability of private transport, and boredom contributed to Bela detaching himself from his flatmates and contributed to an acrimonious household.
The overall picture of Greenfield I82 was that, while Bela was actively distancing himself from his flatmates, he also tried to connect with them by explaining things to Mehmet, but eventually stopped. His flatmates also resented him for his continual use of their food. While food in the form of cooking and eating out together at restaurants connected Mehmet, Onur and Eva, food was a source of division between the others and Bela. Bela felt that he gave knowledge and time to Mehmet for example but that his flatmates did not give him anything back: “They can’t tell me anything new. Full stop. This is it.” Although Bela repeatedly took food, with respect to new insights, he was metaphorically starving. In this example, Bela is giving knowledge and taking food and his flatmates are withholding “anything new” as well as their food. As a result, Bela resents them and they resent Bela. In the end, they shared neither activities nor attitudes and Bela was excluded by his flatmates as well as excluding himself. These different attitudes and practices reveal different processes of attachment and detachment. The examples of General Residency and Bela in Greenfield I82 suggest that non-shared attitudes were divisive and resulted in detachment.

Mehmet, Onur and Eva were united by food, either cooking and eating at home or going out together, while Bela was separated by his continuous taking of food. While Bela’s private transport allowed him to separate and detach himself, sharing transport was something that brought Eva, Mehmet and Onur together. Finally, while Bela felt he shared knowledge, he also felt bored. The ways in which these three aspects reveal detachment and attachment contribute to the understanding of adjustment processes of SFEs (Peltokorpi and Fröse, 2009; Schyns and Howe-Walsh, 2010). A similar dynamic was present in Summerblossom Field.

**Summerblossom Field**

Summerblossom Field was a private apartment inhabited by Violet, Rebecca and a female Indian Infosupply employee called Maha. Rebecca and Maha had found the flat and Violet moved in because friends of her father lived in the same gated community. The relationships in Summerblossom Field were characterised by Rebecca and Maha’s attempt at sharing and Violet’s resistance to sharing. However, Rebecca and Violet still shared private transport, which is a difference to Green Fields, where Bela used his own transport. The friction in attitudes of sharing suggests different levels of attachment and hence different nuances of adjustment and cosmopolitanism.

For Rebecca, the house provided “more stability and we share food and do things like that, so it makes more of a family feeling.” Sharing and helping each other is integral to the notion of a “family feeling”. This is reflected in Rebecca and Maha’s sharing of food, despite Maha’s vegetarianism. However, there were difficulties, as Rebecca acknowledged:

“Maha works a lot. Maha and I try to cook things, but she is a better cook than I am in terms of Indian things, obviously. I am better at western things … [but] we share […] Violet does not share. She did not want to… […] And, sometimes it has been an issue with Violet like we are not a boarding house, we all have our own room
and we are all separate, but I think I really want this place to be our home. And, we help each other and share things.”

[author’s insertion]

The difficulty seemed to arise from different expectations, as Rebecca wanted “this place to be our home”. Rebecca describes how she and Maha share through their making up a meal (“Indian things” and “western things”), while Violet decided not to join in. Violet further explains that:

“I like to cook with prawns, fish, and then Maha can’t eat anything and I feel it is not quite my fault and if I ever eat, it is not fair on the other person. I just think to avoid issues, certain issues, sometimes, there are some things you just cannot share.”

Moreover, Violet seemed to have different ideas about making the apartment “homely”:

“We have a lack of furniture so it does not feel very homely. I do like to listen to some music. I do like a bit of television. But it sometimes feels maybe a bit empty. We get on ok, I suppose, but it would be nice if there was a bit more life.”

In Violet’s view the apartment was less homely and lacked life, because furniture, audio and television equipment were missing. This is markedly different from Rebecca’s view, who believed sharing things and cooking made the house homely.

Violet also mentioned other reasons for her non-sharing. These were her upbringing, long working hours and the different character traits of her flatmates. Violet saw her attitude as a result of her upbringing in a small family and having a high turnover of friends, which led to her “needing to be independent”:

“Maybe because I never had the chance to be in one big family like that and I am used to being by myself. […] I need to be independent so maybe that is where I am coming from. I like to do things together but then I do not have that part of me having to rely on someone else. […] I am just used to having such a high turnover of friends. You have friends, they go, they come and you have new friends and…”

This statement suggests that her attitude might be a result of a regularly changing environment and her reaction to dealing with frequent changes. Secondly, the issue was a result of the history of the household, as Rebecca and Maha found the flat and Violet moved in later. Rebecca said that there were issues about the rent for Violet’s room, and the sharing of food and resources. Violet also felt restricted by different working schedules and Rebecca’s character:

“I mean it would be nice if we sit and talk but that does not happen because we work different shifts. Maha, she is doing her own thing and Rebecca comes back

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50 This contrasts with how other people, such as Ayesha, Menelik, Juri and Onur, dealt with frequent change. While they made the most of their time and shared, Violet chose to withhold. However, outside the house and at work, she participated and got involved.

51 Rebecca described it as: “She wanted to pay less rent, because her room is smaller… and Maha was like, ‘No. We are splitting it equally.’ It is probably because Maha has the biggest room. She did a lot of work to find this place and she is the one who handles all the problems, because she is Hindi-speaking. And, it is still like all of us have a decent size of room […] I do not want to quibble over it!”

52 Rebecca narrated the purchase of the fridge, which brought out the assumption of and differences over shared items: “Violet still does not want share food when we got the refrigerator. We are buying the refrigerator and she is like, ‘Okay, there will be three shelves, one for each person! Hold on tiger!’

53 Rebecca: “We keep track of bigger things, like the internet. We make sure to split this equally.”
late. Even then, I would not say we get on like a house on fire. [...] We do not have that kind of relationship where we talk about stupid, silly things and Rebecca is a bit more serious, which is fine, but sometimes it is nice to be a little bit lighter [...]"

In Violet’s view, long working hours are counterproductive to the inhabitants getting on together. She feels that her upbringing, and wish to talk about “stupid, silly things” is not possible, due to Rebecca’s seriousness. Hence, she attributes their different attitudes to differences in character traits and as a result of the company’s long working hours, which prevented them from overcoming their differences and beginning to share.

There was no shared activity between all three of them. Yet, despite the differences of being American and Indian and eating meat and being vegetarian, Rebecca and Maha managed to find commonalities when sharing meals. Violet on the other hand found it acceptable to not share food but do “things together” in other areas:

“If you cannot quite get on with the people you are with, you still can have your own food and things but occasionally come together and do things together. For them, it is an issue [and] crosses other things out and doing things together. “

Violet and Rebecca shared taxis together when going out, which can be attributed to the remote location of their apartment.

Overall, Summerblossom Fields’ inhabitants had different expectations as to what made a house a home. Rebecca and Maha wanted to share items, and Violet did not want to. Violet explained her attitude as a result of her upbringing, different working schedules and characteristics while Rebecca’s comments indicated that the reasons for the issue lay in the history of the apartment’s foundation. As Violet highlighted, these different expectations spilled over into areas in which they could have occasionally shared. However, they did not affect transport and sharing taxis. Similar to Green Fields, the apartment revealed the different attitudes that IEs could not overcome. In contrast to Green Fields, Violet seem to exclude herself less than Bela, who had explicitly announced and practised his exclusion. In Summerblossom Fields, Violet still shared taxis with Rebecca and the separation was not as pronounced as in Green Fields. This further suggests that resolving the limitations of transport was instrumental in keeping IEs together. It could even be concluded that the forced circumstances of having to rent cabs together in order to maximise a low salary, actually contributed to IEs’ attachment.

**Summary**

The households of Green Fields and Summerblossom Fields were similar in that inhabitants shared neither attitudes nor many activities with each other. There were three issues revealing IEs’ attachment and detachment, namely food, transport and knowledge. The processes and dynamics around these three issues revealed attachments between inhabitants through sharing food (Mehmet, Onur and Eva; Rebecca and Maha) and transport (Mehmet, Onur and Eva; Rebecca and Violet) as well as divisions and therefore detachments between inhabitants in
terms of transport (Bela), knowledge (Bela), and food (Bela; Violet). IEs in Green Fields and Summerblossom Fields did not manage to overcome these issues. Moreover, while General Residency and Unitech Section's inhabitants had shared the attitude of non-sharing and felt secure, Green Fields' and Summerblossom Fields' inhabitants did not feel at home and appeared to resent each other. This atmosphere reveals the importance of respect for differences as a shared attitude for adjustment and building a home with “friends” and “family life”, as in the case of Western Town L94, or with a “balance”, as was the case in General Residency. Since the processes in Summerblossom Fields and Green Fields led to friction, they also inhibited adjustment. Yet, as I will show in Section 7.4, Bela and Violet adjusted to India by engaging in activities outside the household.

7.3.4 Summary

The dynamic between inhabitants in each house created the overall atmosphere. The inhabitants of each house were very different and were allocated to the apartments by the company. Yet the inhabitants were mostly content in their accommodation, and thus adjusted, or otherwise moved out or met friends outside, thus displaying different degrees of cosmopolitanism. The analysis of the atmospheres and the processes expressed in attitudes and practices has revealed a number of insights into the “everyday life” (Ley, 2004), adjustment and cosmopolitanism of SFEs (Kennedy, 2010).

Firstly, there were a number of sub-issues in the processes of sharing or non-sharing attitudes and/or practices. In Figure 7.2, the key issues of the first group are summarised:

Figure 7-2 - Summary of Shared Attitudes and Practices

Legend: **Bold** and *Italics* Subthemes of attitudes and practices
In the first group of Western Town L94 and R4, the shared attitude contained the subthemes of openness, honesty, sharing time after work, wanting to learn from people and mutual appreciation of differences. Shared practices included parties/socialising or meeting friends and travelling, as well as movies and conversations. The outcome of this was that IEs felt at home with “friends” and “family life”. In this sense IEs felt adjusted, as they felt relaxed rather than stressed (cf. Harrison et al, 2004). Moreover, they learned from each other through their shared activities and attitudes and benefitted from their differences. This illustrates more of the processes of SFE cosmopolitanism (Kennedy, 2010).

Another example of adjustment and cosmopolitanism was provided by households with shared attitudes and unshared practices, as summarised in Figure 7.3:

**Figure 7-3 - Summary of Shared Attitudes and Unshared Practices**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shared attitudes, unshared practices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attitudes</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stressful life in India (Katarina)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own flat in Germany (Katarina)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good flatmates, good understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Hondo, Astrid, Vincent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adjustment</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= adapting to circumstances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unshared Practices</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visits WT L94 (Katarina)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excludes herself (Simone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not spend a full day at home (Astrid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting friends Outside, Travelling, Moving out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Balance</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good People inside the flat (Vincent, Katarina)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Felt excluded</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Magda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Legend</strong>: <strong>Bold</strong> and <strong>Italics</strong> Subthemes of attitudes and practices</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the second group, which shared an attitude of non-sharing activities, notions of exclusion and inclusion began to show. The subissues of a non-sharing attitude were respect of/for differences and an initial expectation of living independently and therefore maintaining a
balance between spending time at home and going out. In General Residency and Unitech Section III, this was reflected in the few activities between inhabitants, and inhabitants going out to meet friends. In the second group, IEs felt adjusted at home and engaged in other activities outside the house. These activities added to their cosmopolitanism in ways explained in Section 7.4.

The third example was the non-sharing of attitudes and practices (Figure 7.4):

**Figure 7-4 - Summary of Unshared Attitudes and Practices**

The third group was divisive as they shared neither attitudes nor activities as an entire household. The issues that caused divisions were food, transport and knowledge (Bela); as well as background and circumstance (Violet). IEs in Summerblossom Field and Green Fields were unable to respect each other’s differences and still live together, and resented each other instead. In Green Fields, Bela actively excluded himself, while in Summerblossom Field Violet still shared cabs with Rebecca. These two households revealed a potentially negative case of adjustment within the households. Yet, by engaging in many activities outside the house, most inhabitants still adjusted and learned from other people. Overall, these divisions caused resentment and detachment more than the initial non-sharing of practices but sharing of attitudes (see General Residency or Unitech Section III) or the sharing of attitudes and
practices (Western Town L94 and Western Town R4). In Western Town, IEs’ attachments reveal their cosmopolitanism as thriving on differences, becoming friends and adjusting to life in India exactly because of this. The different ways in which IEs learned from each other in the different households illustrate nuances of “cosmopolitan belonging” in the “everyday lives” (Ley, 2004) of SFEs (Suutari and Brewster, 2000). These different processes show different ways in which IEs lived together, well-adjusted and benefitted as described by Kennedy (2004; 2010).

The different processes present within households suggests that most households functioned because of, rather than despite of, the differences of their inhabitants and the outside circumstances of random allocation, lack of public transport and long working hours. In this sense, IEs overcame the differences in households by wanting to “share with” and “learn from” other people, as Ayesha put it; or by wanting to keep “a balance”; as Katarina phrased it. When IEs overcame their differences, they felt at home and had adjusted to their apartment, flatmates and life. This kind of adjustment also reveals different types of involvement. These different types created different kinds of attachments and exemplified social sciences cosmopolitanism with “direct relationships” (Calhoun, 2003). While Ayesha for example actively shared and wanted to live with “nice people”, for Katarina it was fine to interact with nice people when she was outside the apartment, as long as her flatmates lived their own lives at a reasonable distance. Bela and Violet were outsiders in households that did not overcome their differences. As adjustment and involvement was limited in Green Fields and Summerblossom Fields, Bela and Violet sought involvement outside of their respective households. Overall, involvement either in the household or outside of it contributed to adjustment (cf. Schyns and Howe-Walsh, 2010; Peltokorpi and Fröse, 2009) and moreover enabled cosmopolitanism by learning from others (Kennedy, 2010; Calhoun, 2003).

Secondly, two further issues of relevance require further discussion in Section 7.4: namely “outsiders” and the activity “meeting friends”. Households which did not share attitudes and activities (Summerblossom Field and Green Fields), contained “outsiders” such as Violet and Bela. How these outsiders navigated the household members, adjusted and made friends will be explored in Section 7.4. Moreover, the leisure activities in each house varied widely but appeared to have one dominant activity common to all houses. Similar activities include shopping (Western Town L94 and Green Fields) and food related activities (Green Fields: going out for Turkish food or cooking and Summerblossom Field: cooking). Activities that occurred in all houses were related to meeting friends (Western Town L94, Unitech Section III), sharing taxis to go out (Summerblossom Field), parties and socialising (Western Town R4). To that end, the category of “meeting international and Indian friends” is the most significant one and will be examined in Section 7.4.
7.4 Leisure activities and friendships between and outside of houses

This section discusses leisure activities outside of and between households. These are “shopping”, “watching movies or TV”, “travelling”, “going out” and “meeting friends”. Especially for outsiders in households, such as Violet and Bela, and for inhabitants in households which shared an attitude of non-sharing (General Residency and Unitech Section III), leisure activities outside the house proved important. For all IEs, activities outside the households contained both barriers and attractions, which reveal IEs’ adjustment and cosmopolitanism.

Gurgaon’s lack of public transport, long working hours and a low salary at Infosupply were the main obstacles experienced by IEs. The random allocation of company apartments had an impact on transport, as most IEs (except Bela), relied on sharing cabs. The ways in which IEs overcame these barriers reveal how they adjusted to the situation in order to lead their lives as they wished. The activities remained appealing due to a variety of reasons expressed in IEs’ attitudes towards and practices of these activities, which also relate to adjustment and cosmopolitanism. Achieving stress-free lives meant that IEs were well-adjusted (Harrison et al, 2004), thus adjustment imposed a state of mundanity (cf. section 7.2). However, this adjustment was often already cosmopolitan, as it required IEs not only to adapt to India but to alter their practices from those of their country of origin (Hannerz, 1990), as is particularly evident in the activities “shopping”, “going out”, and “houseparties”. Moreover, the people with whom IEs undertook these activities were culturally, linguistically and nationally diverse, and engaging with them revealed cosmopolitanism (Kennedy, 2010). In this way, these activities intertwined adjustment and cosmopolitanism.

Through these activities IEs wanted to make and meet friends. Moreover, the activities were made easier due to having friends. Each activity, but especially “travelling”, “going out” and “meeting friends”, reveals a different way of overcoming obstacles and barriers and illustrates the ways in which IEs adjusted to living in India, and were cosmopolitan.
This section first introduces the leisure activities “shopping” and “watching movies or TV”, before delving into more detail for the activities “travelling”, “going out” and “meeting friends”. As IEs’ leisure activities between and outside the houses were influenced by organisational and environmental barriers, how and why IEs negotiated these barriers to achieve their individual aspirations shows processes of adjustment and cosmopolitanism.

### 7.4.1 Solitary activities made sociable through friends

“Shopping” and “watching movies/TV” could be practiced alone or with other people. IEs would use these two activities to spend time with their existing friends. Also, the analysis shows that friends provided both the ends as well as the means for this activity, as friends provided relaxation and assistance in navigating obstacles such as expensive private transport, boredom and pushy sales staff. Therefore, these activities and friends contributed to successful adjustment and also add a new dimension to the category of “spouse” as found in expatriate adjustment (Harrison et al, 2004; Takeuchi, 2010).

**Shopping**

“Shopping” was an activity most IEs engaged in either with housemates or with other IEs. It often occurred in conjunction with and prior to going out. Some shopped for food regularly (Mehmet, Onur, Fabien), while others would go clothes shopping. Katarina joined Magda, Ayesha and Louise from Western Town L94 in renting a cab to go to Delhi for shopping. “Shopping for clothes” seemed to be a predominantly female activity, where the joint rental of cabs reduced costs.
In addition to the barrier of transport, “shopping” was not universally liked. Rebecca for example, stressed that she found shopping boring. Others, like Astrid, disliked shopping due to the pushiness of sales staff:

“Sometimes when you go shopping […], the streets are all very narrow and from every side someone’s coming and saying come to my shop and I don’t want to look at the things even because I am afraid that they would push me in. Once I just wanted to see some shoes and they don’t want to let me out of the shop. I don’t like this, when I only want to look and then I don’t want to buy it… they don’t accept a no.”

Yet, when Astrid went out with her Indian friends, she did not mind pushy sales staff. Katarina, Louise, Magda and Ayesha shared taxis, further suggesting that friends were important to overcoming the existing barriers of transport, boredom and pushy sales staff. Theoretically, this reveals that navigating obstacles in Gurgaon and India was facilitated by friends, and that friends were therefore instrumental to adjustment to India.

**Watching Movies or TV**

Usually, “watching movies or TV” was an activity practiced alone or with housemates. Hondo and Astrid mentioned watching TV together. Many inhabitants in Western Town L94 and R4 also mentioned watching TV or movies together in the evening. In Summerblossom Field, Violet found that a TV would make the living room livelier. In General Residency, Katarina and Vincent sometimes watched TV, but Simone did not join them. At times, this activity was also practiced across households, which turned the activity into a social one.

Robert and Lorna for example would visit another IE’s flat in Western Town to watch the series “Gilmore Girls” on DVD together. It was an advantage that Lorna and Robert lived in the same house and therefore could take a taxi home together. On weekends, some IEs watched movies in Delhi. Louise often went to the cinema with her boyfriend and/or other IEs. Violet also liked watching movies and often took Lorna and Rebecca along. Watching movies thus became a social activity Moreover, sharing transport facilitated this activity.

**Summary**
The activities of shopping and watching movies or TV became sociable through friends, while friends also were the reason for the activity. These two activities may seem mundane, but the fact that IEs engaged in them despite the barriers that they presented reveals their adjustment to India. In the literature on expatriates, spouses would take on the role of assisting adjustment in this way (Harrison et al., 2004; Takeuchi, 2010). Here, friends helped IEs to adjust by helping them to overcome barriers as well as enabling them to relax and avoid stress (possibly preventing maladjustment). The role of “friends” presents a new category for SFE adjustment, further deepens the indicative research of Kennedy (2004; 2010) by adding detailed processes of friendships and thus adds to emerging models by Peltokorpi and Fröse (2008) and Schyns and Howe-Walsh (2010).

### 7.4.2 Social activities

The activities “travelling”, “going out” and “meeting friends” at houseparties were predominantly social activities, where meeting friends was the primary purpose. Meeting or making friends was the expressed aim. Yet, also in this case, friends made the activity easier, safer and cheaper. Each of these activities had different obstacles and subsequently the different ways of navigating these obstacles represents different types of attachment. In this respect, friendships were crucial to IEs’ adjustment and further contributed to their cosmopolitanism by adding new knowledge and generating curiosity. As Bela stated above, he was bored with his flatmates, as they did not give him “anything new”. On the contrary, Ayesha stated that she enjoyed “learning from the other people” and Juri said that he liked Robert because he tried to understand topics in detail. These statements indicate that IEs were curious about and wanted new and different insights. This corresponds with social science literature, which lists curiosity as integral to cosmopolitanism (Hannerz, 1990; Beck 2006). In the activities “travelling”, “going out” and

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54 Juri stated in Section 7.3.1: “for example like Robert, he would just like completely different opinions and everything, different interests which I would find bullshit for years and more. But now, okay, you respect, he’s got a big interest and he goes really deep in that as well. He really appreciates and okay, you respect that, he has done something. […]"
“meeting friends”, this preference is revealed yet again, and further reveals the different degrees of cosmopolitanism.

**Travelling**

Many IEs travelled often on weekends or for longer periods during holidays, although IEs were often tired and had little free time due to long working hours. In addition, salaries were too low to buy frequent flights, and only allowed for cheaper but slower options such as trains, cars and buses. Given India’s vastness, seeing destinations far away meant spending nights in the back of Toyota Qualis or cars whilst riding over potholed roads with hazardous traffic. Despite this, many IEs travelled frequently. This section demonstrates how IEs balanced curiosity, finances, time and tiredness to make or spend time with friends.

Many IEs saw travelling as a form of compensation for their work, and as a way to satisfy their curiosity. Since Gurgaon was a town with many infrastructure and social disadvantages, some IEs saw travelling the rest of India as a compensation for their stay and work in Gurgaon and as a way to get to know India and all of its diversity. Onur, for example, saw travelling as a compensation for hard work:

> “Compensation over here is travel... you go to Udaipur, Goa, Leh, Srinigar, something like that. There are so many places you can visit. So you say, in the week, I will work, never mind the city life and during the weekend I will be travelling. I think that’s the compensation over here.”

Katarina also mentioned that travelling gave her the opportunity to see India, rather than mistaking Gurgaon for everything Indian, as one IE did:

> “I completely understand when people do not like it [Gurgaon]. But then he [another IE] does not travel. He has hardly seen anything of India from the time he has been here and I think he makes the mistake of thinking that Gurgaon is India and it is not. Gurgaon, I do not like it but India is so beautiful!”

Travelling also fuelled curiosity as Astrid, who had travelled a lot in India, expressed here:

> “I’d like to see more of India, because there are still so many things to see. I have been a lot to big cities, but I haven’t been as much to nature sights. I’d like to see Nainital or Nagaland or something like that. Now I am somehow fascinated by China and Japan. It’s a totally different country, but I think Nagaland is a bit more connected to China...”

The curiosity displayed by Onur, Katarina and Astrid reveals that IEs were interested in seeing more of India, and that they were cosmopolitan as defined by Weenink (2008), Hannerz (1990) and Beck (2006). The ways in which they pursued their interest revealed how well they adjusted, as travelling required overcoming a number of barriers. For example, the costs for longer journeys (especially at night and with drivers being hired for an entire weekend) were high, and made sharing transport costs essential. These high costs prevented IEs from travelling often, as Violet states:

> “I do not go travelling every second weekend because it is expensive. If it is by train and if it is involving flights, it is not worth it for two days. It’s too expensive.”
Despite the high costs, most IEs admitted to initially travelling almost every weekend, then becoming tired. Astrid illustrates this point, when she says that “and on weekends... the last time I stayed at home was one month ago. I travelled a lot on the weekends but I felt very tired.” In sum, although travelling was seen as compensation for working in Gurgaon and fed a curiosity to get to know India, the decision to travel was further influenced by time, money and tiredness.

The ways in which IEs overcame these barriers to pursue their interests reveals ways of adjustment and again emphasises the role of friends in various aspects. When IEs travelled, they tended to prefer travelling with others. The selection of travel partners suggests that travelling allowed the making of new friends as well as spending time with existing friends. Travelling with the right people also allowed for relaxation and otherwise led to tensions. IEs’ experiences with their travel partners are illustrated as an example of adjustment. Some IEs made new friends during travelling, as was the outcome of Ayesha’s travel with another IE, Shirin. Despite her initial reservations, Ayesha was positively surprised:

“I spend two weeks with Shirin from morning to night and believe me: before, I didn’t want to speak to her, because I had this impression that she didn’t want to listen... I had this impression that it was her, her, her and only her. [...] and when we went to holidays, it was great! It was great in the sense [...] it was a huge interaction: her speaking, me speaking, we speaking… her joking, me joking, we joking … her laughing, me laughing... it was like 50-50. She gives and she wanted to receive and I gave... and I wanted to receive and she gave… and I mean it was what I was looking for in people...”

Due to their joint interaction, they enjoyed each other’s company. Yet sometimes, travelling together was not conducive to making friends. When Katarina and Svea travelled, Katarina was disappointed:

“With Svea especially I always have the feeling it is always, as if she was like a spectator but she is not really there. [...] She watches and she asks questions [...] but it is more like bystanders or like... you know? They are there but they are not really interested. Fabien [...] said the same thing. They thought like after this trip we’ll know her a bit better, but they did not!”

In this quote, Katarina highlights that she found Svea to be not very lively and that she and Fabien felt that they did not get to know Svea. In the worst cases, IEs were disappointed by each other and discovered that they preferred travelling with friends, as Katarina describes here:

[It’s not that] we are internationals and let us travel together! I really enjoy spending time with them and we are not talking about the office, we are talking sort of normal crap that friends talk to each other. I feel relaxed around them! Maybe in the end it is unique people who [...] understand your humour. You do not spend time with them because you have to, because I am white and you are white and we both want to travel and so okay let us travel together, but it is really people I want to hang around on the weekend with you.”

The important factors for Katarina’s enjoyment of a trip were relaxation and sharing a similar sense of humour. She found that travelling with Svea was not very enjoyable and subsequently

55 Svea was another IE living in a company appartement not discussed here.
travelled with Magda, Fabien and Menelik. Friends were instrumental to the experience of travelling and influenced how enjoyable a journey it was. Similarly, Eva preferred to travel with an Italian friend Veronika, whom she otherwise would not have time for:

“And we can talk about other things when we travel together and then we had a lot of time together. Sometimes for me, it was… I was very tired all the time working a lot and I needed my space. I needed to do my work. I wanted to spend time with Onur, that for me was more important, and there were times for social gatherings. Maybe that would be once a week.”

In this instance, Eva used travel to nurture her relationship with an old friend whom she otherwise would not find time for, rather than travelling with fellow IEs.

In summary, IEs travelled out of a feeling of compensation and curiosity whilst navigating finances, time and tiredness. IEs selected their travel partners to overcome difficulties in travelling but also to make new friends or to spend time with existing friends. Ayesha for example, travelled with IEs she initially did not like and came away positively surprised. Katarina and Fabien, however, had travelled with people they hardly knew, were disappointed and thus became more selective, because Katarina had realised that her good experience is not only about travelling but also about the friends she shared a sense of humour with and could relax with. Eva was selective about whom she travelled with and preferred to accompany old friends. The barriers, appeals and the role of friends are summarised in Figure 7.7:

**Figure 7-7 - Summary chart of travelling**

The activity of travelling suggests that IEs’ decisions were based on both rational and emotional considerations and that IEs were interested in relaxation, and the people they travelled with as well as the location. This shows that making new friends or spending time with old friends was pivotal. Travelling with the right people contributed to adjustment by overcoming obstacles and enabling relaxation, as well as enabling IEs to see more and become cosmopolitan by gaining new knowledge, satisfying as well as fuelling their curiosity. These dynamics contribute to understanding how single SFEs on lower salaries than expatriates adjust to the country of their employment beyond Peltokorpi and Fröse (2009) and Schyns and Howe-Walsh (2010).
further elaborates on the roles of friends beyond Kennedy (2010) and exemplifies how SFEs satisfy their curiosity and wish for knowledge, illustrating their cosmopolitanism (Hannerz, 1990; Beck, 2006).

**Going out**

Going out in this context means going to restaurants, bars, pubs and clubs or NGOs in Gurgaon and Delhi. The barriers to going out were the availability of transport, the logistics of cab-sharing with people from different houses, frequent protests and traffic jams, lack of activities on offer and the cost. However, IEs overcame these, especially at the weekend, when most IEs would go out in Delhi.

The purpose of going out differed, reflecting the diversity within the IE group, and contradicting the homogenous portrayal of international employees (Kanter, 1995; Levy, 2007). Some IEs went out to meet and do things with other non-IEs. Vincent for instance, visited many lounges, bars and clubs with his girlfriend. Simone went to Delhi to meet up with Indian friends and to go to events. Bela went out to meet Indian friends, whom he met through volunteering at a local NGO, which he took up in a deliberate move to spend more time with Indians and at the same time as he bought a motorbike. Astrid and Hondo met Indian friends in Delhi. This section illustrates the to going out, explores how IEs circumvented these barriers, and examines what this reveals about their adjustment and cosmopolitanism. Overall, practices around the activity of “going out” suggest that IEs wished to get involved and spend time with other IEs, at an NGO and with Indian friends. To that end they improvised and were often assisted by friends.

Some of the barriers named by IEs were the logistics of cab sharing, traffic jams and road protests, unattractive activities and costs of private transport. These did not prevent IEs from going out, but had to be overcome. According to most IEs, the logistics of cab sharing were difficult, as Katarina explains here:

“Getting there for the majority of the times is pain in itself. Order a cab […] and they’re late and […] you have to pick up people on the way. Then everyone is late choosing their favourite lipstick – pink or red? [laughs] - it is going to take forever! And before you actually hit the road, you are two hours late and your motivation has plummeted. You just want to be somewhere, have cold beer and chill!”

Moreover, traffic jams and road protests were a frequent source of delay and prevented some IEs from going out, as Violet stated:

“Tomorrow people were talking of going to Backwaters, but with this strike\(^\text{56}\) thing, it is definitely out. The last time I tried was with the Olympic torch [traffic jams due to protests from the Tibetan-Buddhist refugee community when the Olympic torch for Beijing passed through Delhi on 17 April 2008]. We were stuck for three hours!”

\(^{56}\) The interview took place in May 2008, when Gujjars protested for inclusion in a backward caste quota and threatened to block roads. The Gujjars’ protests were most severe 27-29 May 2008 (Anonymous, 29 May 2008). At the time, Louise was also leaving India and the protests had an impact on her leaving dinner, which was moved from a restaurant to Western Town L94.
“I would just do more different things than here. Here you can go into Delhi for the day, and then, invariably end up at Connaught Place. [...] Just going out to a club or just going out to the malls… Sometimes I feel like with my friends at home, I do a bit more. And again, it is partly Gurgaon…”

Onur echoed Rebecca’s sentiment as he missed events such as festivals and jazz concerts:

“Transport in Istanbul sucks but still… going to jazz concerts, types of cafes, festivals and things like that. These things I miss!”

Most people missed some things that they had enjoyed in their previous countries. The costs of going out could also be a restraining factor. An evening out could cost a minimum of 700 INR, given costly transportation and entry fees to clubs. Overall, IEs went out either for dinner, to clubs, bars and clubs, to volunteer in an NGO (Bela) or to meet Indian friends (Astrid and Hondo).

Despite these obstacles, many IEs went out at the weekend to restaurants, pubs, clubs and bars in Delhi or Gurgaon. Ayesha used to go out with Eva before Eva started dating Onur and became more settled: “What I loved with Eva, when she was single, was going out. Going out and meeting new people!” While Frida still lived at Western Town L94, Frida and Ayesha would go out Salsa dancing. Now Ayesha would go with Mehmet or other people from Western Town L94, not Salsa dancing but to “meet new people”. Mehmet, Eva and Onur also went out for dinner, often sharing cabs and meeting others. Rebecca, Violet and Lorna often carpooled and went to restaurants or clubs.

Katarina usually shared cabs with other people like her close friend Juliane, to go to Delhi for shopping, dinner or to a lounge or club. Carpooling significantly reduced costs and was practised by almost everyone, simultaneously increasing the enjoyment of “going out”, as Ayesha describes it. In that respect, similar to travelling with friends, friends were a means to but also the point of going out, and also enabled “meeting new people”. Moreover, the fact that IEs sought to meet local people shows that they were not antagonistic to the local as suggested by Kanter (1995). Instead their aspiration to connect with the local presents IEs as wanting to mix with the local and therefore identifies them as closer to cosmopolitanism in the social sciences (Hannerz, 1990).

Another example of going out and mixing with locals was Bela’s volunteering for an NGO. Next to the work for the NGO, which helped him understand India better and feel as if he gave something back, Bela’s colleagues from the NGO gave him many insights and were friends for the future, as he remarks here:

“I spend a lot of time with my Indian friends at this NGO… we also deal with private stuff and we go and have little snacks together to JNU [Jawaharlal Nehru University]… These people are like little keyholes for me or more like a pillar between a bridge which is built between Hungary and India or between my Hungary and my India, but at least it could be built… now there is a bit of a post-it, which is saying to me.. coming back to India is an option..”
Bela’s work provided insight and encouraged him to “build bridges” with Indians for the future. His way of adjusting to India and gaining knowledge lay in building attachments to Indian NGO colleagues. In that sense he mixed with the local population, refuting the proposition of a global-local antagonism in cosmopolitanism (Kanter, 1995) and instead displaying an attached and globally-locally mixed cosmopolitanism (Calhoun, 2003).

Some IEs learned more about India by meeting with their Indian colleagues socially at the weekend. Hondo and Astrid often met friends in Delhi, as Astrid describes here:

“Mostly I spend my time with internationals but also have some Indian friends with whom I meet on weekends [...] From my Indian friends I can learn a lot about their culture. Anuba I met two times or something in Delhi. First I went to a friends’ place and then we went shopping and with Marika I also went to Delhi…”

Astrid’s incentive is to learn about “their culture”. This incentive is strong enough for her to even go shopping with her friends, even though she usually does not like Indian shop owners’ pushiness (Section 7.4.1). Similarly, Hondo stated that some of his work colleagues (Kevin, Neha, Namrata and Munigam), have taught him a lot about India:

“Kevin helped me to integrate into the Indian society since he is Indian. Neha and Namrata share jokes and tips on what’s hot and not and took me to my first Hindi movie and Munigam taught me my first Hindi words.”

Hondo further explained what he meant by “integration” and how Kevin had helped him:

“He helped me to understand the dynamics of the Indian society. The different cases that are there, why people are behaving in a funny way... stuff like that. He helped me understand everything. He explained to me the caste system... although he’s a Christian and doesn’t believe in the caste system…”

Yet, despite Kevin’s explanations, Hondo often experiences something new:

“I think understanding is actually quite important... although it has improved but obviously on a weekly basis there is something that surprises me. But I think now I have an appreciation of the dynamics of the Indian society...”

Hondo stresses that his interactions with Indians helped him to understand more and thus become a little more integrated, as he put it. Astrid and Hondo exemplify how meeting Indian colleagues influenced IEs insights into India.

In summary, the activity of “going out” included visiting restaurants, bars, pubs and clubs, volunteering for an NGO and meeting Indian friends in Delhi. In order to do this, IEs had to overcome a number of obstacles such as low availability of public transport, the logistics of cabsharing, frequent protests and traffic jams, lack of activities and costs. As this section showed, most IEs engaged in cab-sharing and hence overcame the lack of public transport and minimised costs of transport. To circumvent the sometimes tricky logistics of cabsharing, IEs would chose existing friends from other houses. The findings suggest that IEs found activities they engaged in and seem to have benefitted from in terms of adjustment as well as cosmopolitanism in a couple of ways.
IEs’ statements revealed that friends were important to share transport with, which arguably made friends a necessity. Yet, friends were often also the aim of the activity, as Ayesha expressed: “meeting new people” was integral to her idea of enjoyment and although Eva’s company was “loved” in this regard, she continued “going out” and “meeting new people”. In Bela, Hondo and Astrid’s case, Indian NGO colleagues and Indian work colleagues respectively shared insights into India with them and helped them “integrate”, as Hondo put it, and “build bridges” for the future, as Bela noted. This reflects different ways of adjustment and cosmopolitanism. Here, IEs mixed with locals and became attached as well as gave back (Bela). Overall, friends were both the outcome and the aim of IEs’ activities and not only helped them to overcome obstacles, but also motivated them (see Astrid’s dislike of shopping, but her engagement in shopping with Anuba). Moreover, the activities that IEs engaged in revealed a desire to spend time with friends as well as an interest in India and learning from India (Hondo, Astrid, Bela). In these ways, going out contributed to IEs’ adjustment and cosmopolitanism.

A visual summary of the activity “going out” is provided in Figure 7-8:

**Figure 7-8 - Summary chart of going out**

Barriers were overcome with friends, who contributed to *adjustment*. Mixing with locals, getting involved with an NGO and meeting Indian friends increased *cosmopolitanism*.

**Barriers**
- Logistics of cab sharing
- Traffic jams
- Road protests
- Activities on offer

**Appeals**
- Meet people
- Mix with locals

Friends assist in overcoming barriers in different ways

**Friends**
- for cab-sharing and meeting locals
- for building bridges and giving back to India
- for understanding and integrating (Astrid, Hondo, Bela)

The cost of going out remained an obstacle. An alternative to going out, which circumvented expensive food, drinks and entry fees, was meeting people at their home or inviting people to houseparties, as the next section describes.

*Mixing international and Indian friends at houseparties*

“Meeting international or Indian friends” mainly meant meeting friends at houseparties. Parties can be categorised as first; farewell; birthday; nationally themed; and after-work. Where there was no occasion for a party, a reason was sometimes invented: like “NOTHING-day” (derived from “No Other Thing Happening In No-mans-land Gurgaon” (NOTHING)), and invited other IEs.
This section describes IEs’ feelings and rationale about house parties, and also analyses the logistics, different types of parties, and outcomes of parties for IEs. The findings suggest that parties had several functions such as relaxation, celebration, sharing time and gossip, or knowledge. In these ways, parties contributed towards adjustment by providing IEs with a sense of comfort and stress relief. Moreover, parties familiarised IEs with different cultures and languages, and therefore contributed to making IEs more knowledgeable and cosmopolitan. These differences generally served as a source of inspiration or learning and sparked IEs’ curiosity further. Theoretically, meeting friends at houseparties and beyond reveals several ways in which IEs navigated environmental constraints to participate in and organise parties; illustrates how IEs adjusted to life in India; and ultimately suggests that their cosmopolitanism was grounded in the friendships that they made. The aim of this section is to explore the role of house parties in IEs’ lives in India and to show how parties assisted in adjustment and cosmopolitanism.

Although parties were generally well attended, a minority of IEs did not like frequent parties. Robert for example, lived with Juri and Lorna and attended most parties, but said that

“Parties I didn’t like this much were actually Juri’s parties. Firstly, the music didn’t appeal to me and secondly, the people, which came, [...], it was difficult to find a common basis with them. Jorge for example: very nice guy, but we’re lacking a common basis.”

For Robert, although he acknowledged Jorge as a “very nice guy”, finding a common basis with him was difficult. Rebecca expressed a similar sentiment:

“I usually go if there is parties and stuff and I enjoy talking with people but it is not always the best place to really get to know people.”

Some IEs, like Bela, eventually stopped attending parties:

“You see the same faces over and over again.. and after half a year, you’re kind of thank you... I had enough… it’s nothing new [...] I want to see more faces, I want to see more!”

Bela describes how he got bored with parties after the initial six months. Finally, Eva illustrates how she found the timing and content of parties exhausting:

“Just hanging out with the beer all the time, it is not my definition of fun at all… and I am usually starving because I was working the whole day and I could not have lunch. Especially the times that we were leaving the office at 10.30pm... We were having dinner by 1am and going to bed by… No! I do not want to push my limits! Every now and then, that is okay but they are doing things like I do not know, two times a week ... and that’s too much.”

The combination of a lack of food, alcohol, late hours and little sleep more than twice a week was not appealing to Eva. Her statement should be viewed in the context of the long working hours for IEs at Infosupply. Eva’s resentment of the timing and content of parties is a consequence of the demands of the workplace. Overall, some IEs found parties superficial, boring and exhausting. These feelings were partly informed by the group of IEs and the repetition that house parties posed, but also by the demands of a boring day at Infosupply. The
confined social space of the same IEs, and Infosupply’s long hours, constitute the obstacles for house parties.

Despite these obstacles, house parties remained a constant and well-attended feature of IE life. Even Bela, who was bored with house parties, explained the rationale for house parties as

“We can’t always go to Agni [a club in The Park, a Delhi 5 star hotel] for 2000 Rs…and use the cabkiller cabs [reference to the Maxi cab serial killers gang, cf. Section 5.2.1 Social challenges] .. so it’s houseparties!”

Bela’s analysis of the rationale for house parties includes the cost of clubs and unsafe private transport options. He attributes the rationale to outside pressures. By contrast, in Violet’s view, house parties provided the easiest meeting places for most people:

“There are house parties all the time! Someone’s birthday, someone is leaving, someone is arriving, and someone is… It is an excuse to go out and be with people, to meet with people. At work we don’t have the time to talk with people. I am happy just to see people. And I am not happy to stay at home and read a book…”

Violet describes how her work does not leave her time to “talk with people” With this, she adds meeting people and talking to them to the reason for parties outlined by Bela. Both their statements echoed IEs’ belief that house parties were a result of costly and unsafe excursions to Delhi, and that they provided the opportunity to meet and talk with people at little cost. This suggests that house parties were a way of IEs to socialise despite outside pressures of the town Gurgaon, and the company Infosupply. This reflects functions in terms of adjustment and cosmopolitanism. These initial rationale shifted in emphasis in the different kind of parties.

The logistics of house parties included invitations, location, transport, drinks and food. Invitations were usually sent by email to all IEs via the IE distribution list, or people were invited individually, depending on the type of party. IEs worked in dispersed locations in Infosupply, but email reached everyone. Most IEs would go to parties straight after work, which usually finished at 21.30h or 22.30h depending on Central European Time. IEs used company transport to arrive at the party location and shared cabs with other IEs at the party to get home. This arrangement overcame the persistent transport problems in Gurgaon. Most parties stipulated “bring your own” (BYO) drinks. Hence, most drivers of company cars stopped at a nearby off-licence before dropping IEs at the party location. IEs usually ordered takeaways or had snacks provided by IEs at the party location.

The locations with the most parties were Western Town R4 and Western Town L94. Vincent explained how during the first phases of Infosupply’s recruitment of IEs, Moti Shiv and Western Town L94 were the prominent hubs for IEs:

“The Western Town people and the Moti Shiv people… we used to know each other very well, so if you were not coming to a party there was like the social pressure that … ‘why you didn’t come?’, ‘why didn’t you come to my thing?’ For us it
was WESTERN TOWN like.. THE place where you sleep for the first night, where you meet all your new friends…”

Vincent’s description reveals that the connection between the initial two company accommodations, Western Town L94 and Moti Shiv, was very strong. Moti Shiv’s tenancy agreement was not renewed, and the new flat in General Residency was quiet with Vincent, Katarina and Simone living independently. Western Town L94 continued to be a party hub, which was reflected in the role of Western City L94 as the place to meet “all your new friends” and “social pressure” if a person did not come to a party. At the time of this research, inhabitants like Magda were instrumental in bringing people together, as Menelik mentioned. Fabien also mentioned that people would also simply “hang out” every evening and others would join them spontaneously. Another party hub was Western Town R4, due to Juri’s knowledge and taste in music. In R4, Lorna was crucial in bringing people together, while Juri created the atmosphere. Western Town L94 and R4 were also the households wherein inhabitants enjoyed sharing and thrived on their differences (Section 7.3). The atmosphere of sharing then appeared to have spilled outwards to attract other IEs.

The function and purpose of each party altered slightly depending on the type of party it was, and its participants. However, all parties contributed towards IEs adjustment. Moreover, given that IEs at Infosupply were diverse in terms of background, language and experience, parties constituted one way to learn more about different cultures and contributed to IEs cosmopolitanism (cf. Kennedy, 2010).

With regards to first parties, most IEs got to know friends at parties. These parties were not especially designed for a new IE and could have any theme from birthday, farewell, national occasions and after-work drinks. Most IEs vividly remember their first party, as Lorna expressed:

“I remember my first party. Everyone was smoking and drinking, and I was like this is not what I expected. I did not know that there would be so many young people and interesting people! And then - yes, I can see myself being friends with them!”

Lorna expressed how she found it inspiring to meet so many different people and that it encouraged her to learn more languages. Similarly, Vincent mentioned that he initially enjoyed the parties: “Meeting so many people, going to parties with 10 different nationalities. In the beginning I enjoyed […]” These parties enabled new IEs to get to know other IEs outside her/his household and workplace and in that respect, parties established future friendships, and thus contributed to IEs’ adjustment.

Farewell parties and birthday parties largely gathered existing friends. Sometimes the parties had a theme and attendees were asked to dress up or to bring particular food. Farewell parties

57 Lorna stated that: “I think if you meet so many different people you learn a lot about yourself.. it’s about where you are […] I want to know more and speak languages fluently”
providing the opportunity to saying goodbye to one person in particular. Birthday parties were mostly celebrated at home and sometimes outside with a dinner or club night. On both occasions, the closest friends organised a birthday cake, card and gift or a leaving gift and a brief speech. The organisation of buying a leaving gift usually brought participants and friends closer together.

There were also many nationally themed parties. These contributed to IEs’ cosmopolitanism by exposing IEs to different cultures. At the Mexican party invitees were asked to dress with one item that they considered Mexican and to bring tequila. The Mexican host attempted to decorate the flat the way she would have done in Mexico, made Mexican food and played Mexican party music. At the Bulgarian breakfast, Magda brought many food items from Bulgaria and explained and shared them with her friends, who stayed the entire day stretching the breakfast to dinner. St Patrick’s day was a similar occasion, on which Lorna invited all IEs to Western Town R4 to celebrate, which then turned into a French breakfast with a few IEs picking up fresh croissants from one of the five-star hotels in Gurgaon. When Jorge returned from Portugal, he invited around 10 friends, made Bacalhau, shared port, played Fado and talked about his country. The conversation included a discussion on Portugal’s former colonies Brazil and Angola, from there meandered into a comparison to Kenya and Ethiopia provided by Menelik, which was supplemented with experiences of Lesotho provided by Vincent. At Christmas, one IE organized a German Christmas with homemade Glühwein (mulled wine), gingerbreads and cookies as well as bought Spekulatius (butter biscuits spiced with clove and cinnamon and made with brown sugar) and Dominosteine (chocolate covered cubes with layers of gingerbread, marzipan and fruit jelly). Another Christmas party asked everyone to bring a typical Christmas dish and drink from a country they had lived in, plus a small present to play Secret Santa with all invitees. On these occasions, party guests thought about what to bring, talked about the decorations and shared stories about other cultures, languages, countries and nationalities.

Although these stories were interlaced with class origins, politics, age and personal tastes, it familiarised others with places they might not have experienced before, or made them feel at home. The effect was similar to that of the activity “travelling”: IEs felt comfortable and adjusted; and became both more knowledgeable and curious, and thus cosmopolitan (cf. Kennedy, 2010, p. 480).

After-work drink parties provided another reason for IEs to gather. As Astrid noted:

“Because here, you work together but you are not at the same workstation and then it is only for half an hour or something in your free-time or … in the evening.”

After-work parties had the main function of allowing IEs to catch up with one another. A participant, who did not work at Infosupply, at a drinks party observed:

“They all know each other and it's a work-party. Anyone who is not Infosupply is not interesting enough. Plus they are all very extrovert, bright and in the prime of
their lives. It’s a very fast party, there were no real conversations or quiet corners. Everyone was moving around all the time, saying hi to everyone, having bits of conversation, gossip, sharing jokes, drinks and cigarettes.”

To the outside observer, the party seemed fast-moving and concerned only with work. Contemplating these observations, the authors’ notes read:

“Everyone knows that they are only here for a short period of time. So this is to try to have as much fun as possible. On another level the party offers solace and refuge, as it is a place to be oneself to a certain extent. It’s an alternative space to the outside India, which is quietly observing, staring at the white supposedly rich kids. Also, you can vocalise things that you can’t, when you are sober, can blame it on booze and might get away with it, as the other person is suitably intoxicated as well. That minimises embarrassment and gives you a space to be goofy. The same thing that might happen to graduates with their first jobs, but no mortgage or spouse, on a Friday night in London perhaps.”

Parties appeared to be spaces where one could be oneself, hide in alcohol or play a different persona to perhaps escape troubling situations. Whilst contradictory, everyone went through these different phases in the course of a party. The difference to “a Friday night in London” was the environment of Gurgaon, the long working hours at Infosupply and the national, linguistic and experiential diversity in the group of IEs. After-work parties not only provided a source of affordable entertainment without long, expensive, unsafe transport to Delhi, as Bela summarised, but enabled conversations to take place that were not possible at work. In that way, after-work parties are testimony to IEs’ adjustment in organising them as well as using them to relax. Moreover, due to the diversity amongst IEs in terms of background, languages and cultures, after-work parties also constituted a way to learn more about the different cultures and experiences of IEs, and fostered adjustment and cosmopolitanism.

Since after-work parties were open to everyone, they also provided the opportunity to meet Indian colleagues socially. Yet the Indian colleagues attending parties were exclusively male and becoming friends required more than attending parties. Parties however, presented a starting point as Katarina illustrates here:

“I mean there are some of these Indians who will always be there in parties and then there are some people who are really more like friends… Suraj, Manchit would definitely fall in this friend category.”

This quote reveals that IEs initially got to know Indian colleagues at parties. IEs and Indian colleagues became friends outside of parties and through mutual friends. With regards to Manchit, Katarina was scared of him at first, as he was a senior colleague:

“I was working with him and I was very scared of him because he was very strict and he was pissed with me… So first he was my project manager. Then I was in Western Town L94 and Valerie was living in Western Town so one evening he was picking her up to go to some restaurant or something. I was really surprised to see him and then he started being at parties and then I got to know him and then he sort of became a friend. But first I met him at work and […] I was scared of him.”

The relationship with Suraj came into being in a similar way as he was dating another IE, and Katarina describes that they got to know each other on the company’s offsite:
“That was faster than with Manchit. With Suraj […] I did not meet him as a colleague in the first place but sort of yes as a colleague but not in a project or something but in an offsite setting where people were camping, rafting, drinking. With Suraj, I do not know if it was easier… and then he was with Lauren who was living in Moti Shiv and he was in Moti Shiv all the time. So that went pretty smooth…"

Katarina’s description of making friends with Suraj and Manchit was echoed by many IEs. IEs met Indian colleagues first at the workplace, then at parties or in the context of social functions such as the company offsite. When they became friends, IEs and Indian friends spent time with each other on a one-to-one basis or in small groups. For instance, Hondo and Astrid went out to meet their Indian colleagues. Similarly, Menelik, Fabien, Lorna, Rebecca and Simone had Indian friends from work whom they first invited to parties and then spent more time with. This illustrates that IEs initially noticed Indian colleagues at work, with parties providing another layer of introduction, but these had to be complemented by other activities such as working offsite together or spending quality time with one another. In this way, seemingly mundane and hedonistic house parties added another level of meeting “locals” and widened IEs’ circle of friends to include Indian colleagues. This section has expanded the insights of Kennedy (2010) and illuminated the role that houseparties play in facilitating adjustment and cosmopolitanism.

In sum, the activity “meeting international and Indian friends” was complementary to “going out” and consisted mainly of house parties with different occasions. Figure 7.9 summarises this and is explained below:
Figure 7-9 - Summary chart of “meeting international and Indian friends at houseparties”

Different parties contributed to IEs' *adjustment* and *cosmopolitanism* in different ways. Crucial to these ways and adjustment and cosmopolitanism were overcoming barriers and again friends.

### Barriers
- Different lifestyles
- Superficiality
- Repetition
- Late hours

### Logistics
- Find time
- Find a location
- Invitations
- Solve transport problem
- Buy drinks and food

### Appeals
- Affordable
- Safe
- Relaxation, Stress-Relief, Comfort
- Celebration
- Sharing time, gossip or knowledge
- Curiosity

### Initial Introduction outside of work and households

#### Adjustment

- Selected guests
- Celebrating life events with friends

#### Cosmopolitanism

- Sharing cultures
- Feeling at home
- Learning and curiosity

#### Relaxation, Stress relief

- Open to everyone
- Share time, knowledge, meet people

### First parties

#### Adjustment

- Initial Introduction outside of work and households

### Birthday and farewell

#### Adjustment

- Selected guests
- Celebrating life events with friends

### Themed parties

#### Cosmopolitanism

- Sharing cultures
- Feeling at home
- Learning and curiosity

### Afterwork parties

#### Adjustment

- Initial Introduction outside of work and households

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House parties overcame the obstacles of unsafe transport and expensive clubbing in Delhi. While some IEs found house parties superficial, boring and exhausting, the majority of IEs appreciated house parties as a means of avoiding expensive clubs and unsafe roads as well as providing opportunities to meet people.

Beyond this, different kinds of parties were appreciated for a variety of other reasons. First-parties were entry points for IEs beyond their household and workplace, which widened their social circle amongst IEs and challenged their assumptions. Birthday and farewell parties had the explicit function of celebration. These parties mainly invited friends, who were brought closer together through planning and executing the event. Themed parties and after-work parties contributed to both cosmopolitanism and adjustment of IEs. Nationally themed parties shared depictions of the host’s culture with other IEs of different backgrounds. In doing so, IEs experienced new nationalities, habits and cultures beyond those which existed in the present. After-work parties helped IEs to adjust by providing comfort and a way to relax and also served as meeting points and knowledge for IEs. Beyond parties, IEs met Indian colleagues outside work in Delhi. Overall, parties were a place where IEs could relax, make as well as meet friends and were thus integral to IEs adjustment to India by creating a kind of belonging. Parties also exposed IEs to new people, insights and cultures and hence contributed to IEs' cosmopolitanism.
7.5 Conclusion

Chapter 7 has provided examples of relationships in households, leisure activities and friendships in the study of SFEs. IEs at Infosupply provide an example of SFEs, building on the work of Suutari and Brewster (2000) and exemplifying middling cosmopolitanism, building on the work of Favell et al (2007). Previous research has found that SFEs are often younger and more often single than expatriates. SFE salaries are also often lower. Yet emerging models of SFEs adjustment (Peltokorpi and Fröse, 2009; Schyns and Howe-Walsh, 2010) draw on models derived from expatriate adjustment (Black et al, 1991; Parker and McEvoy, 1993; Aycan, 1997) and moreover do not explore adjustment, work, non-work and previous experiences. In terms of cosmopolitanism, the business and management literature has portrayed cosmopolitans as detached, rational company people (Kanter, 1995; Ohmae, 1992; Levy et al, 2007; Suutari and Smale, 2008). This stands in contrast to social science cosmopolitanism, which emphasised a mixture of the global and the local, emotional as well as rational motivations, belonging and attachment rather than detachment, and saw international employees as family members (Nowicka, 2006) as well as friends (Kennedy, 2004, 2010). Overall, there is a gap in the current literature on the adjustment processes and resultant cosmopolitanism of SFEs.

In an attempt to fill this void, this chapter has examined IEs “everyday life” (Ley, 2004) outside work, with an emphasis on understanding relationships at home, in leisure activities and friendships. The experiences of IEs are framed by long working hours and low salaries at Infosupply, a lack of public transport in Gurgaon and the random allocation to company apartments. These households consisted of mixed nationalities, languages and cultures. As a result, IEs had no choice over their housemates, little time and money and faced obstacles in terms of transport. Despite these barriers, IEs claimed to be mostly “happy” in their respective households and attempted to create friendship with their housemates and other IEs. Within this context, this chapter aimed to understand how these friendships were built and what they meant to IEs.

A visual depiction of the content and new additions to existing gaps is presented in Figure 7.10 and summarised below:
In Section 7.2, the category of non-work was defined, by introducing and analysing IEs’ leisure activities. Although these activities may appear mundane, it has to be remembered that they occurred in the context of a difficult environment. IEs’ engagement in these activities meant that they had adjusted. Another striking point about non-work activities was participants’ emphasis on social activities. This indicates the importance of friendships and reinforces Kennedy’s point about the importance of friends for cosmopolitanism (2004, 2010). The processes of adjustment and the roles of and practices with friends were the themes of Section 7.3 and Section 7.4.

Inside households, IEs appear to have three kinds of attitudes and practices. The first two households, Western Town L94 and R4, exemplified issues of shared practices and attitudes. In particular, “differences”, “respect and interest”, “honesty” and “involvement” contributed to IEs adjustment, in the sense of feeling comfortable, and cosmopolitanism, in the sense of learning from each other (Figure 7.2). By contrast, in households where IEs shared attitudes but not practices, namely General Residency and Unitech Section III, IEs felt adjusted and “balanced” as well as appreciating each other as “good” flatmates (Figure 7.3), although some IEs also felt excluded. In these households, IEs respected one another’s differences. IEs often spent time outside the household and engaged in “travelling”, “going out” and “meeting friends” (cf. Section 7.4.2). A final example was provided by Green Fields and Summerblossom Field, where IEs shared neither attitudes nor practices (Figure 7.4). In these households, IEs were unable to overcome differences, which were described by Bela as relating to knowledge and described by Violet as relating to long working hours, backgrounds, and conflicts around the sharing of food. The issue of transport assisted in bringing IEs together in the case of Summerblossom Field,
but not in Green Fields. The last example revealed Bela and Violet as outsiders and described how activities outside the household were important for outsiders. Overall, all IEs seemed to be well-adjusted in the sense that they managed to feel comfortable either at home or engaged in outside activities to fulfil their needs. This reveals different nuances of adjustment beyond the existing expatriation models (Black et al., 1991, Parker and McEvoy, 1993 and Aycan, 1997) and the emerging models for SFEs (Peltokorpi and Fröse, 2009; Schyns and Howe-Walsh, 2010). This chapter also considers SFEs' circumstances, such as a lower salary, younger age and single marital status (Suutari and Brewster, 2000), and the unique environment of Gurgaon, thus heeding Bonache et al's (2007) call for SFE research in emerging economies. In addition to this, households with shared activities and practices allowed IEs to learn from each other and thus showed how friendships advanced cosmopolitanism beyond Kennedy (2004, 2010).

Outside and between households, IE engaged in a number of activities, namely shopping, watching TV or movies, travelling, going out and meeting international and Indian friends. Activities outside households were still influenced by long working hours, low salaries and lack of public transport, but IEs were selective in choosing the people to assist them in navigating these hurdles. This further illuminates SFE adjustment beyond Peltokorpi and Fröse (2009) and Schyns and Howe-Walsh (2010), and considers SFEs' unique circumstances. Friendships were more obvious in activities outside households. For outsiders within houses such as Bela and Violet, activities and friendships outside were particularly important. Yet, while friendships enabled IEs to overcome difficulties they also were often the purpose of an activity, thus revealing and fostering IEs cosmopolitanism (Kennedy, 2004, 2010). In Section 7.4.1 on "activities made social through friends", it was demonstrated that some activities were made possible through, and organised because of friends. In the case of shopping, Astrid for example did not usually enjoy shopping, but engaged in it with her Indian friend. Other IEs shared cabs together, which minimised costs, suggesting that this activity would not have been possible (or only possible at a higher cost) without friends. The role of friends becomes even more evident in Section 7.4.2, where the activities of “travelling”, “going out” and “meeting international and Indian friends” predominantly had meeting friends as the aim of the activity. These activities contributed to IE adjustment and cosmopolitanism in different ways. When going out, friends were essential for transport, but sharing time with existing friends or meeting friends in Delhi or Gurgaon (Bela, Astrid and Hondo) was the aim and enabled mixing with locals as well as understanding India and giving something back. This contradicts cosmopolitanism in business and management literature (Kanter, 1995; Ohmae, 1992), as IEs wished to be involved and attached and were curious (Hannerz, 1990). Cosmopolitanism based on involvement was also a hallmark of most parties. Superficiality, late hours and seeing the same people repeatedly were some of the drawbacks of parties for some IEs (Robert, Bela, Rebecca), while for most, parties represented a safe and cheap place to catch up with other IEs, meet Indian colleagues and experience new foods and stories from other countries. Other party occasions contributed to IEs’ adjustment by enabling the celebration of birthdays and farewells, and contributed to initial integration through “first parties”, and general relaxation at after-work parties.
Overall, unlike cosmopolitanism as defined in business and management literature, IEs’ cosmopolitanism drew and relied upon “everyday life” (Ley, 2004) and attachment to households, activities and friends. IEs’ cosmopolitanism was influenced by honesty, respect, differences and involvement as well as curiosity. Adjustment was intertwined with cosmopolitanism as friendships enabled greater insight and enabled relaxation and alleviated stress (Harrison et al, 2004). This chapter has added processes and nuances to SFE adjustment and cosmopolitanism and thus has contributed to various debates in both the business and management literature and the social sciences.
8 Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

Vincent’s statement at the beginning of Chapter 1 about not wanting “to be ‘ex-patri’”, because “[…] cosmopolitan is the best”, was echoed by many IEs at Infosupply. This research has revealed the pattern of cosmopolitanism and international adjustment displayed by IEs, and by implication, SFEs. These patterns are not represented in the literature of either business and management studies or the social sciences. The empirical chapters of this thesis have explored notions of cosmopolitanism and adjustment in the description (Chapter 5) and analysis of both work (Chapter 6) and leisure time (Chapter 7). This chapter has three objectives. First, it will explicitly state how the research questions were answered. Then how IEs combined the seemingly contradictory the concepts of emotions and reasons, flexibility and self-flexibility, global and local will be discussed. These concepts’ relevance to IEs’ friendships will then be outlined. These findings have both theoretical and practical implications, and also open up areas for future research.

8.2 Answers to the research questions

The research questions posed in the introduction were:

1. To what extent does the business and management literature on cosmopolitanism adequately capture the experience of SFEs?
2. How does an internationally diverse group of SFEs adjust to working and living in India and what kind of cosmopolitanism does this reveal?

The first research question was answered in two stages. By examining concepts of cosmopolitanism in the business and management literature and supplementing and critiquing the concepts from this literature with concepts and empirical examples from the social sciences, it was shown that cosmopolitanism in the business and management literature can be critiqued in five aspects. The business and management literature espouses detachment, posits an antagonism between the global and the local, neglects the local and social and material conditions, perceives cosmopolitans as purely rational human beings and company people, and is very selective in the definitions of cosmopolitanism it uses. Social science literature partly addressed these critiques, but a number of areas for exploration of cosmopolitanism remained. There was still a need to revise the definitions of cosmopolitanism, to understand the mobile middle cosmopolitanism, and to explore and define the everyday life at work and at home of SFEs, as well as the mixtures of rational and emotional actions (see Table 3.5).

The examination of the work and non-work life of IEs at Infosupply outlined in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, has concluded that the experience of SFEs was not covered by the business and management literature’s concepts of cosmopolitanism. It also expanded social science concepts of cosmopolitanism in a number of ways. Chapter 6 has showed that IEs resisted
demands for flexibility and continuous change, and complained about poor leadership. They showed that they did not want to be detached or to transcend, and looked for opportunities and leadership from which they could learn. IEs’ practices reveal tensions between the global and the local, emotion and reason; and flexibility and self-flexibility; as well as detachment and attachment. In sum, the empirical examples in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 refute concepts of cosmopolitanism proposed by Ohmae (1992) and Kanter (1995), and demonstrate new concepts for the understanding of “middle” cosmopolitanism in connection with IEs emotions, relationship to the global and the local and their friendships, which transcend the existing social science conceptualisations made by scholars such as Walsh (2007) and Kennedy (2004, 2010).

The second research question was answered in the three chapters examining the background of IEs, and their current living and working conditions in Gurgaon at Infosupply; and their habits at work and at home. At work, it was shown that IEs adjusted to life in India because they wished to form an attachment to India, their workplace and their Indian colleagues, which together constituted the local. It was demonstrated that IEs found differences in thoughts and behaviours with other IEs and Indian colleagues conducive to their learning. In that sense, IEs have multiple direct and indirect relationships (Calhoun, 2003), are not antagonistic towards the local, but instead draw upon the local during their time at work and at home. IEs’ adjustment utilises differences and relationships to the local. With these, IEs’ adjustment reveals their cosmopolitanism. This thesis has provided explicit examples of how IEs relate to differences, and relationships and thus has expanded social science cosmopolitanism.

Outside of work, IEs were fairly content in their company apartments. This illustrated in greater depth how IEs adjusted and what kind of cosmopolitanism this revealed. In particular, it was shown that IEs’ friendships were direct relationships formed on the basis of difference, honesty, respect, interest and involvement. There were also some insurmountable differences around leisure activities, which were discussed in detail. Ultimately, this thesis has shown that friendships assist in overcoming barriers to an activity but are also often the aim of the activity. The ability to engage in leisure activities in India, reveals that IEs had adjusted to the country and achieved normality in their lives. As most IEs were curious about their surroundings, they often ventured out (going out, travelling, shopping) and invited others in (meeting international and Indian friends at house parties). IEs were attached to their activities, their friends, and their desire to learn. In sum, by examining the work and leisure environments, new concepts of the SFE experience were revealed, advancing concepts of international adjustment beyond Takeuchi (2010) and Schyns and Howe-Walsh (2010) and cosmopolitanism beyond Walsh (2007) and Kennedy (2004, 2010).

8.3 Discussion: Three tensions and the centrality of friendship in SFE adjustment

This thesis’ contribution lies in the exploration of international adjustment and cosmopolitanism at work and home in the lives of middle SFEs (Skrbis and Woodward, 2004; Favell et al, 2007)
through the example of IEs at Infosupply. This examination revealed that international adjustment and cosmopolitanism occur in the context of attachment and detachment. The analysis revealed the importance of friendship along with three tensions in middle SFEs adjustment. These tensions were self-flexibility and the company’s requirement for flexibility, emotion and reason and the tension between the global and the local. It has been shown that there is a dialectical relationship between these three as IEs negotiate their days at home, and their time at work. Figure 8.1 illustrates the relationships of the concept further:

**Figure 8-1 - New framework for SFE international adjustment and cosmopolitanism**

The analysis in this thesis has focused on the home and work lives of IEs in Gurgaon as the setting for international adjustment and cosmopolitanism. In both spheres, IEs’ journey towards the accomplishment of attachment and detachment was evidenced through the dialectic of friendship, global-local, reason-emotion, and flexibility. The larger circle on the right of the figure reveals that IEs adjustment is negotiated through these various tensions. The tensions reveal a complexity of seeming contradictions of reasons and emotions, self-flexibility and flexibility, global aspirations and local practices. These tensions were played out in the adjustment stories of the IEs, who negotiated them in different ways. One key finding of the thesis was the centrality of IEs’ friendships, which were underpinned by these three tensions, and which had a major impact on the adjustment and cosmopolitanism of the individual SFE. Due to this impact, friendships in the home and work arena spilled into SFE international adjustment and cosmopolitanism as displayed in the Figure 8.1. The ethnographic findings cast doubt on existing concepts of detached flexibility, rationality and globality proposed by much of the business and management literature. The process by which IEs negotiate their adjustment is far
from predictable and rational. IEs were in a constant state of improvisation, which strongly resembled what Ciborra calls “bricolage” (2002). These concepts and the tensions between them will be examined each in turn. Then the overarching importance of friendships will be discussed. Finally, the new meanings, that this IE bricolage reveals, will be discussed.

8.3.1 Emotion and Reason

Cosmopolitans are perceived as rational company people by much of the business and management literature (Ohmae, 1992; Kanter, 1995; Levy et al, 2007; Halsall, 2009). The social science literature has portrayed cosmopolitans as “mixed”, but there has been an insufficient exploration of the middle (Favell et al, 2007). Emotion and reason can be seen as drivers of cosmopolitanism. The IEs analysed in this thesis existed in a tension between emotion and reason.

At work, they sometimes became irritated or expressed feelings of insecurity, and questioned the behaviour of their colleagues and managers. Some IEs, like Juri and Mehmet, lost respect for their bosses and the organisation. They completed their work, were promoted or obtained a good reference after leaving. Juri eventually acquired more power in his new position and led his team differently. This example reveals an initial emotion that he rationally evaluated and translated into behaviour. Another example was provided by Katarina, who initially perceived that a colleague was not doing his job satisfactorily. Katarina’s reaction was to shout at him, which strained their work relationship and did not encourage him to perform better. In this instance she allowed her emotions to determine her thoughts and behaviour. After some reflection she learned from the experience and changed her behaviour. Both instances reveal that IEs were emotional, but reflected upon their emotions and subsequently changed their behaviour. Moreover, as Violet demonstrated, insecurity about job role, the future of the job and concerns about the value of her work and her time in India was a frequent source of anxiety. Overall, IEs displayed many emotions but balanced these with reasons and rational reflection. This demonstrated that the perception of SFE adjustment must include reason as well as emotion.

At home in their company apartments, IEs had different experiences few of which were linked to logic and reason. For instance, Fabien initially stated that he stayed in company apartments because it was cheaper, an explanation linked to reason, but on another occasion mentioned that he enjoyed spending time with his flatmates, which revealed his underlying emotions. Similarly, Vincent stated that he was just “happy here”. Ayesha, who sometimes spent time alone to “paint and be depressed”, nevertheless said that she particularly enjoyed coming home, taking a shower and then sitting on the balcony, because "you feel alive, you feel like ‘oooh... it's nice...". However banal and mundane these IEs’ statements might appear, they reflect the emotional aspects of living in shared company apartments. In sum, IEs oscillated between emotion and reason. Their emotions influenced their actions and by extension their adjustment.
As this research demonstrates emotions actually became an alternative lens through which IEs viewed the world (Ciborra, 2002). In doing so, emotions substantially influenced IEs’ adjustment and cosmopolitanism. Thus this thesis has provided a counterbalance to predominantly rational accounts of international employees depicted by Ohmae (1992) amongst others. The focus on the existential condition of the SFE is made accessible through the ethnographic data on IEs moods, feelings and affections. This dismisses notions of SFEs as detached robotic beings (Ohmae, 1992) rationally adapting to changing circumstances. This thesis presents the dialectic between reason and emotion that shapes SFE encounters with the world. Their emotions, mood, feelings, anxieties and affections define their situation and thus shape adjustment.

8.3.2 Flexibility and self-flexibility

IEs must also balance the tension between externally required flexibility and their own self-flexibility. Flexibility is seen as a requirement for a global career (Mendenhall et al, 2008). Scholars (Swan and Fox, 2009; Sennett, 1998; McRobbie 1999) have emphasised the tension between the self-flexibility of employees and company-required flexibility. Self-flexibility has been defined as the pliancy chosen by employees, while flexibility is imposed by companies. One of the reasons why IEs came to India was to use their inherent flexibility and aim for to develop a global career. They did not want to be “ex-patri”, but cosmopolitan. Living and working in many different countries was part of this aspiration. This required self-flexibility and IEs were aware of the need to be flexible.

However, despite aspiring to a global and cosmopolitan lifestyle, at work IEs complained about the degree of change imposed by Infosupply. They wanted to be more stationary and more importantly, local during their time in India. They saw being local and continuous as a requirement for learning and desired greater involvement in the local. This involvement decreased their initial self-flexibility. This reveals another tension of wanting to be global and flexible versus wanting to be local and inflexible. Infosupply needed IEs to be flexible, because it has global clients in different time zones and a fast project turnaround. Thus IEs had to work long hours and were moved around on various projects. This ran counter to IEs’ wishes and created a tension between IEs’ desire to be posted on long term projects to gain in-depth insights, and the company’s requirement for flexibility, which tended to lead to superficiality.

This tension was revealed by a plethora of improvisations amongst IEs. Some IEs, like Katarina, had good project and career managers, which helped them to stay on projects for longer. Other IEs, like Violet, enquired informally to see whether she could be placed on longer-term projects. In that sense, she actively sought out networks to limit the company-imposed flexibility. Other IEs decided to accept the company-imposed flexibility and immerse themselves in their work to maximise their learning (Eva, Simone and Onur).
At home, IEs often restricted their self-flexibility to their friends. This became evident in IEs attending many house parties but not venturing out if instead they could see their friends. Friendships also enabled IEs to travel or shop together. Friendships therefore increased IEs’ self-flexibility. The tension between flexibility and self-flexibility in the domestic sphere is similar to that in the workplace. However, at home, IEs were able to limit or increase their self-flexibility, although flexibility was at times imposed by the conditions found in Gurgaon (weather conditions or travel difficulty at night for example). IEs’ friendships reflect their own flexibility and by extension reveal IEs’ complex mixture of attachment and detachment.

Overall, the tensions between self-flexibility and flexibility in IEs’ work and home lives displayed a particular kind of cosmopolitanism and international adjustment. This is linked to the tension between the global and the local, as IEs attachment to the global propelled them onto a global trajectory, but IEs realised that they had to be local in order to become global.

### 8.3.3 Global - Local

Global and local influences present another tension in the lives of IEs. Similar to flexibility and self-flexibility, the tension between the global and the local reveals what IEs are attached to. Their backgrounds were largely influenced by the local, as the majority of the sample grew up in one country and very few of them relocated to different countries with different languages before adulthood (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1). Most IEs were not exposed to many languages in childhood (see Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3), but learned more languages whilst at school or during their studies. The majority of IEs used their studies or first jobs to go abroad (see Tables 5.4 and 5.6). During their early adulthood, most IEs became more global and their ambition shaped them into becoming cosmopolitan.

Career ambition led most IEs to apply for jobs in India and to move to Gurgaon. Gurgaon is a quintessential modern city based entirely on the delivery of global services. Paradoxically, IEs in Gurgaon were not solely global, but were instead predominantly local, as they wanted to be involved in the local environment and in some cases drew upon it for inspiration. Vincent, for example, whose background growing up on the outskirts of a French city surrounded by violence and low ambition, could have predestined him for a life of low ambition, wanted to be “not just ex-patri, but cosmopolitan”. Nonetheless, his curiosity about India slowly turned to boredom after his first six months in Gurgaon but was reawakened by the enthusiasm of his hard-working, optimistic colleagues. Vincent’s story exemplifies many IEs trajectories: IEs used to be local, embarked upon a global career, but still valued the local. Vincent’s example is typical of middle SFEs background, experiences and ambition.

Outside the workplace, while many IEs enjoyed sharing the global outlook of their peers, they also enjoyed speaking in their mother tongue and engaging with their new Indian friends. The involvement and appreciation of these different local and global dimensions are two points
between which IEs travelled. IEs’ attachment to the global and the local in varying degrees, transcends existing theories of cosmopolitanism and international adjustment which up to now have emphasised a sole attachment to the global as a prerequisite for cosmopolitanism.

8.3.4 The importance of friendships

SFEs have been usually examined through the lens of expatriates (Takeuchi, 2010). This literature misses the different life parameters of SFEs, including the tensions mentioned above. SFEs are mostly single and travelling alone, and therefore place a greater emphasis on friendship. These SFE parameters are reflected here by IEs. IEs’ friendships were based on a need for attachment to provide happiness and reduce their insecurity. This need for friendship both restricted and enabled IE’s flexibility, and revealed IEs’ global-local and emotional-rational tensions.

IEs balanced emotion and reason in their friendships through their rational desire for attachment and their wish to meet people and explore their environment. Yet, this rational desire was often dictated by the emotions felt towards the people that IEs engaged with. For example, when IEs travelled, some chose their travel partners without prior knowledge, but more often on the basis of practicality. Some of them were positively surprised while others were disappointed. The surprises and disappointments are emotional, which IEs later reflected on and interpreted rationally. It therefore appears that the initial rationale for travelling together was interrupted by emotion. If the emotion was positive, IEs tended to reinforce their initial reasons for choosing travel partners randomly. If the emotion was negative, IEs revised their initial rationale and chose travel partners on an emotional basis in future. In sum, while the need for travelling and sharing transport was rational, this was interrupted by emotions in different ways. Reasons and emotions thus interacted with friendship in numerous ways.

Friendship enabled IEs to be more flexible, as in the case of travelling or going to parties in Delhi. However, friendships also restricted flexibility as they made it more comfortable and acceptable to stay at home and “sit on the sofa”, as Louise mentioned. Conversely, in Bela’s case, the disharmony in his household led him to find another way to be flexible and he became more flexible after his acquisition of a motorbike. There existed a dual tension between flexibility and non-flexibility, which influenced friendships as well as friendship reciprocally influencing flexibility. Similarly at work, friendships provided the temporary relief of insecurity and frustration, as well as facilitating the informal flow of information that had an impact on flexibility.

Local-global origins and ambitions influenced IEs friendships in the workplace, where they worked on global projects for far distant clients, and worked with international as well as Indian colleagues. At home, IEs could spend time with people from their own country and speak their first language. However, most IEs continued to speak in English, in order to allow others to participate in the conversation. In that sense, the local that would have been presented by the
colleagues from their country, was intersected by the global. When IEs were amongst themselves, they would often switch back to a language other than English, such as German, French, Turkish or Spanish. Yet, even when they did this, each of their conversation partners added a global element, by virtue of their previous experiences and reference points. In that sense, the global became part of the local.

Overall, these three tensions influenced friendships, which in turn played a role in processes of attachment and detachment. Most friendships increased attachment, as IEs were more likely to participate in an activity when their friends were involved. Conversely, IEs were rational enough to work with non-friends at Infosupply, and curious enough to meet new people during their leisure time. As a whole, friendships were dependant on the relationship to the underlying tensions, revealed IEs attachment and detachment, and overall contributed to IEs’ international adjustment and cosmopolitanism.

8.4 Theoretical and Practical Implications

The findings and the framework described above have an impact on the theory and practice of international adjustment and cosmopolitanism. Theoretically, the findings have contributed to an understanding of mobile middle cosmopolitanism. They reveal elements of everyday life as well as the mixtures of rational and emotional, flexibility and self-flexibility and global-local (see Table 3.5). This thesis transcends the winner-loser dichotomy outlined by Skrbis and Woodward (2004), and addresses the missing middle (Favell et al, 2007).

Examining IEs at Infosupply ethnographically expands the existing views on SFEs presented by the business and management literature in a number of ways. Firstly, it reveals how the importance of the domestic sphere contributes, beyond existing research by Walsh (2006, 2007) and Kennedy (2004, 2010). Secondly, the findings expand the dynamics of friendship. Thirdly, the findings reveal further tensions from those previously identified in the literature, (namely global versus local, emotional versus rational and flexible-self versus flexible). These tensions illustrate the shifting dynamics of adjustment and cosmopolitanism, unlike the frameworks provided by Black et al (1991), Parker and McEvoy (1993), Aycan (1997) and Howe-Walsh and Schyns (2010). The findings presented here offer a more holistic understanding of SFEs and provide further insights that could be incorporated into existing theories of international adjustment of SFEs, strengthening the work of other researchers such as Howe-Walsh and Schyns (2010), Kennedy (2004, 2010) and Walsh (2006, 2007). The theoretical implications also have implications for practice.

In terms of the implications for practice, the research has revealed how emotions are integral to the process of adjustment and cosmopolitanism. HR professionals and supervisors should be aware of this and should be encouraged to consider how best to offer support whilst enabling
SFEs development. The thesis has also revealed the importance of engaging with the local in both the work and domestic environments to enhance international adjustment and cosmopolitanism. Therefore, companies facing attrition problems and the potential maladjustment of SFEs, could establish processes to foster and encourage employees to engage with local colleagues and immerse themselves at a local level. Connected to this, practitioners should reflect on issues of flexibility, as the “right” amount of flexibility varies and needs to be determined on an individual basis. Finally, the centrality of friendship shows how friends both in the workplace and the domestic environment clearly contribute to processes of adjustment and are invaluable for single, young SFEs. Overall, since adjustment can be especially problematic in international employment, this work offers insights into successful SFE adjustment, and is therefore of relevance to the HR departments of international companies employing SFEs.

8.5 Areas for Future Research

Areas for future research arise both out of the concepts not covered by the research, and from new themes discovered by the research. The concepts not covered by this research emerge from the methodology.

8.5.1 Concepts not covered by this research

Methodologically, the sample in this research project aimed to illustrate self-initiated international employment in India’s burgeoning KPO-industry as an example of globalisation and the concomitant production of services. With this, it begins to fill Bonache et al’s (2001) demand for a better understanding of the fit between companies’ strategies and international employment. However, while the situated example presented here is in-depth and has a wide scope, studies of, and comparisons with other companies, countries and employees would be needed to assert, question and refine the findings presented here and therefore add greater nuance to the study of SFEs.

Theoretically, this research has selected to use definitions of cosmopolitanism and international adjustment, as they occurred in the business and management literature, research participants’ statements and the social sciences, and therefore required exploration. While greater insights into everyday life and middle cosmopolitanism, processes of the three tensions and the influence of friendship have been provided, other theoretical frameworks beyond cosmopolitanism may offer insights into explaining other aspects of SFEs, increasing knowledge of international adjustment.

8.5.2 New insights to be developed on the basis of this research

This research project has contributed empirically and theoretically to understanding middle cosmopolitanism and SFE adjustment. In particular, it has contributed to an understanding of the middle, dynamics between the local and global, emotional and rational, and flexible and
self-flexible, as well as friendships. It has also illustrated the interaction between adjustment and cosmopolitanism. These new findings could be explored further in a number of ways.

Exploring concepts of the local would allow both scholars and practitioners to widen the concepts of SFEs’ international adjustment, and thus allow SFEs an improved international experience. Through research in different contexts and with different research participants, the meaning of the local could be substantially enriched.

The role of friends and friendships could provide another area of exploration, as early-career, globally flexible employees are taking longer to find a spouse and are thus subject to a new set of issues surrounding attachment and adjustment.

As this research has provided a snapshot of IEs’ lives and examined their adjustment and cosmopolitanism, it would be interesting to explore the interactions of international adjustment and cosmopolitanism further in different contexts, and with different SFE populations. This would help to understand the different correlations between the two theories and practices.

All potential future areas of research would serve to understand SFEs better and thus provide a greater understanding of a growing population of international employees.
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Appendix 1 – Pilot study and pre-fieldwork employment at Infosupply

This section elaborates on my first year in Gurgaon as an International Business Analyst at Infosupply from 2006-2007. The insights gained during this year substantially influenced my ability to understand my research participants’ work lives during the main phase of data collection, from 2007-2008. This section covers my entry route into Infosupply, arrival at home and at work, change of research priorities, social life with parties and friends, life at work with projects, extracurricular activities, role as an IE spokesperson, as well as travels and finally exit. This appendix supports Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

Entry Route

I entered Infosupply through the pilot study for another PhD project. In that context, I visited Gurgaon and met with HR representatives of Infosupply in March-April 2006. I also interviewed HR managers of other Top-2058 KPO, BPO and ITeS companies in India as a part of this pilot study. The initial PhD project “Social transformation and reproduction in the lives of young women working in ITeS/ call centres in Delhi”, aimed to investigate how working in ITeS and earning a comparatively high salary affected young Indian women’s lives. To that end, I interviewed HR professionals to understand the company’s perspective and also to explore the possibility of ethnographic research by working at each company. In April 2006, I successfully applied to the Leverhulme Trust Study Abroad Studentship and secured fieldwork funding. In May 2006, I applied to various companies as a full-time employee while disclosing my ethnographic research intentions. My application was successful with Infosupply. The selection process had three rounds, testing language skills and problem solving through cases. It was conducted over the telephone. All new IEs were allocated a buddy, from whom they had email contact before their arrival and who picked them up from the airport. My buddy was an IE from Germany. With funding and a place for ethnographic fieldwork in place, I prepared for my departure in July 2006.

Arrival at home and at work

When I arrived in Delhi on a Friday morning, my buddy and her friend Katarina were there. On the way back, we briefly stopped at a market to buy my food and provisions. Then my buddy and Katarina left for the office, while I stayed in the company apartment (Western Town L94) to settle in. I shared the room with a German IE, who was due to leave in two weeks. Sharing rooms was the normal procedure, and the rent was deducted from my monthly salary. The same evening of my arrival, there was a party for a French IE, where I got to meet many people. On the weekend, I accompanied my new flatmates on a shopping trip to Delhi, which helped me buy some necessities for the house, and gave me the opportunity to meet some IEs. At this point, I discovered that the salary offered to me was that offered to graduates, while postgraduates usually receive a higher salary.

The following Monday, I went to the office with the IEs from Western Town L94 and met HR representatives to sign the contract. At this point I successfully negotiated a higher salary. My initial training began after lunch and included an introduction to company hierarchy and departments, clients, outputs as well as more specific about the standards of our expected output and databases and e-learning platforms to be used. Some of the sessions were cancelled and were never rescheduled. The training concluded with the presentation of a research project conducted by the new employees: on the Wednesday we were split into groups and were asked to work on a sample project, which each smaller group presented to the entire group of new employees on the Thursday. After training, I was allocated a desk, had a computer configured and was introduced to my department in Business Research. Each international and Indian employee was inducted to the company through this one-week programme. From the Monday following the introductory week, I was fully involved in projects.

Change of research priorities

58 I compiled this list according to headcount and revenues on the basis of industry information.
59 Katarina is repeatedly mentioned in the research. When I met her, she had been in Gurgaon for 3 ½ months. She left Gurgaon in Feb 2008 (see Table 5-9).
By December 2006, I had uncovered a number of unresolvable obstacles to my proposed research topic. Ultimately, I believed myself to be unable to draw justifiable conclusions, and feared falling into orientalist platitudes (Mohanty, 1988). I therefore decided to take an intermission from my PhD, to withdraw from the funding provided by the Leverhulme Trust, and to work as a business analyst at Infosupply. During my time at Infosupply, I developed an interest in a new research topic, which this thesis presents.

At home

Life at home in the company apartment Western Town L94 was enjoyable, as there were always interesting people to talk to and relax with. However, there were three reasons for me to move out into a private apartment. Firstly, leaving the job at Infosupply would have meant both a cancellation of my visa and the loss of my accommodation. I could organise the conversion of my visa, but would have found it difficult to find new accommodation at short notice. Secondly, I disliked sharing a room, which was Infosupply's company policy at the time. Thirdly, I disliked that the kitchen was often dirty, that people ate my food and that there were parties almost every night. Overall I felt that I needed more independence from the company, as well as greater cleanliness and privacy. After a month, I heard that a flat in a private house in Sunder Niketan had a vacancy and moved there. The flat contained a Taiwanese woman and another empty room. Some time later, one of my former flatmates from Western Town L94 moved into the empty room, and when the other room became vacant, another Infosupply international employee joined us. In 2006-2007, this was the only private apartment occupied by Infosupply employees. We had many infrastructure problems, as there was no power backup, water shortages were frequent and the landlord was slow to deal with repairs. In terms of making friends and holding parties, we threw parties occasionally, but less often than Western Town L94. We also attended many parties and shared transport. My flatmates and I became close friends and I also made friends outside of our flat. Moreover, the flat was cleaner, as we took better care of it and had different cleaning personnel. Having my own accommodation meant that even if I left Infosupply, I would not have to leave my home. I stayed in this apartment for my first year of full-time employment at Infosupply from 2006-2007 and during the second year of fieldwork from 2007-2008.

At work

Projects at work
I worked in business research and was staffed in one industry vertical, but I rotated around many different industry verticals on a project basis. In the beginning, I found the projects difficult. I found myself constantly loaned out, often working on many different projects and with different teams in one day and mainly working on the German sections of any one project. I experienced different leadership styles, but it took me a long time to make friends at work. After a few months, and coinciding with my decision to postpone my PhD, I became more vocal in requesting to work on full projects, including those in English. I sent my CV to my team lead and departmental manager, asking to be staffed on full projects. I also regularly asked what kind of projects were coming up and asked to be staffed on them based on my industry expertise and skills. As a result, I managed to work on lengthy, in-depth projects. I also experienced long working hours and tiredness, but overall was not as exhausted as some of my colleagues. I was able to participate in extracurricular activities, travel and to attend parties.

Extracurricular projects
In addition to the projects which were part of my job description, I also took up voluntary projects and roles within Infosupply. One project was to contribute to a briefing document about the different countries in Europe for Indian employees.

Another project was an internal Infosupply paper exploring how Infosupply could benefit from a “brain gain” to India. The project was initiated by my buddy, myself and four other IEs to compete in a company-wide contest for innovative ideas. We wanted to examine the current recruitment and retention of IEs, analyse IEs’ reasons for working at Infosupply and make recommendations for increasing the recruitment and retention of IEs at Infosupply. We conducted 20 interviews with management (from CEO and country head in India to group managers and team leaders), the HR Department and IEs, with semi-structured interview questions. This research allowed us to understand issues surrounding recruitment and retention
from different perspectives. We subsequently developed a strategy which addressed both management IEs' needs at little extra cost. We also made recommendations to HR to improve processes of recruitment and retention of IEs. In the process, we also understood IEs' difficulties better and disseminated this understanding to management while proposing solutions. The paper took approximately two months to complete, and we were shortlisted to present our findings to the country head. We did not win the competition, but our recommendations were fully implemented and resulted in a new phase of IE employment (see Section 5.4.1 and Table 5-10), which was hugely satisfying. Subsequently, I was nominated and elected spokesperson for IEs and in that role consulted with various departments and the CEO about IE issues.

**Exit from employment at Infosupply**

One month before I intended to leave Infosupply, I submitted my notice. I also attempted to negotiate part-time employment with Infosupply, but was unsuccessful, as part-time employment is not permitted on any Indian employment, tourist or research visa. My time at Infosupply and the internal paper gave me many ideas about a new PhD topic. I decided to continue with my PhD at Manchester Business School and return to Gurgaon for fieldwork. I also decided to keep my room in Sunder Niketan and paid the landlord rent for the period of my absence. My flatmates stayed on and we remained in touch during my time in the UK.

**Conversion of findings into a new research topic**

Following my year at Infosupply, I summarised my findings in a pilot paper, in which I outlined my change of research priorities, Infosupply’s structure and the position of IEs. This pilot paper formed the foundation of the research proposal, which laid out the academic concepts to be explored in the research project. Within my proposal I investigated various topics in the available literature, before developing preliminary research questions and investigating them during ethnographic fieldwork that took place between October 2008 and August 2009. This pilot paper was later used as background for Chapters 5 and 6.

**Use of the first year as a Business Analyst for fieldwork and thesis**

My first year as a business analyst at Infosupply equipped me with a first-hand understanding of the difficulties and opportunities faced by my international colleagues. It also allowed me to access a network of friends, which continued into the second year as a researcher and during fieldwork. I used these two resources in different ways.

The first-hand understanding provided a rough guideline for exploring the issues that other IEs might face. My knowledge and experience also helped me build a rapport with new IEs, as I had the credibility to have done and succeeded in what they were doing. My network of friends kept me involved in Infosupply parties and travel, and allowed me to get to know new IEs. However, as mentioned previously in Chapter 5 Section 5.4.2, the network was also not inclusive of non-adjusters, and hence the sample struggles to reflect views on non-adjustment. This makes the current study one about adjustment in its various nuances and dynamics, as I outlined in Chapter 8.

In addition to my first year at Infosupply, I drew on three sources, which I found during my first year and which are also listed in the bibliography of this thesis in disguised form:

1. Infosupply, 2005, 160 000 language professionals needed in Indian offshoring industry by 2010.
2. Infosupply 2006, International Research and Language Centre (IRLC) at Infosupply.
3. Infosupply, 2007. The Reverse Brain Drain: How can Infosupply take advantage of this growing trend to build an effective International workforce?
4. Infosupply company website

These sources provide the foundation for information in Chapter 5, Section 5.4.1, while the interviews provide the foundation for the information in Chapter 5, Section 5.4.2.

Reflections upon ethnography and validity and usability of findings

This account of my first year serves as a reflection on ethnographic fieldwork. The research topic arose out of my experience at Infosupply and the voluntary work I did in addition to my job description. Anyone interested in a similar approach would require practical as well as academic knowledge. Even after the choice of topic, living in Gurgaon and with IEs required
certain personal characteristics beyond other PhD skillsets. I would suggest that persistence, creativity, adaptability and courage are required to understand, design and conduct a research study on SFEs. In my case, an added advantage was my age and lifestage, which made it easier for me to blend in as an SFE and also be mobile enough to conduct the research. However, these advantages also restricted alternatives. For example, being in Gurgaon and immersing myself in the lives of well-adjusted IEs meant that I was not in Mumbai or Shanghai to understand another population of SFEs. Even in Gurgaon, I did not interview all SFEs, but mainly the Infosupply IEs. Despite this, my first year, my official fieldwork year from 2007-2008, and my access to certain IEs resulted in a situated, multi-perspective study of IEs on adjustment and cosmopolitanism, which achieves validity due to its many perspectives and nuanced analysis which can be compared to other populations.
Appendix 2 – Research background

Introduction to PhD Research

Making a Cosmopolitan? International Employees in 21st Century’s India

Conducted by Martina Mettgenberg (PhD Candidate, MBS)

Theoretical Foundations

Globalization can be seen in economic and cultural terms. A related term is the term “modernization”, which many scholars have seen as being part and a result of globalisation. Both of these concepts are disputed, as scholars argued that individuals have never been modern (Bauman: 1998, Gupta: 2000), or that globalisation has ignored the local (Osella: 2000). Processes of becoming and being modern or global have been grappled with in many anthropological accounts but mainly from the outside and or the perspective of the economically disadvantaged or elites. Moreover an assessment of whether the world is subject to globalisation and modernization and the ways in which this is achieved obliterates the processes of becoming modern/global and the role of individuals.

To address this gap, this research will examine effects of globalization and modernisation by looking at processes of acquiring cross-cultural knowledge and experience, which are called processes of cosmopolitanisation (Beck: 2006, Nowicka: 2007, Bhabha et al: 2000). The concept of cosmopolitanism has a long history and manifold meanings. Next to being a political concept and perceived to be an ideology rather than reality, it has often been associated with elites. Yet, in this project, processes of cosmopolitanisation are embodied by transnational actors, who belong to a global middle-class in terms of education and economic standing and as such are using global opportunities to enhance their career prospects.

Methodology

This questionnaire is the first step to mapping International Analysts networks. Following this first step are in-depth interviews with 15-20 selected participants. These insights will be compared with existing literature and result in producing new insights into existing concepts. The outcome of this questionnaire and interviews will be analysed and will form the basis of a PhD thesis to be completed in July 2010.

Ethical Standards

The research is subject to the guidelines of the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth (ASA; http://www.theasa.org/ethics/guidelines.htm) and complies with the “Notes on Ethical Issues and Plagiarism” issued by Manchester Business School in 2006.

The interest of the researcher lies in understanding networks in order to question concepts such as globalisation and cosmopolitanisation. Any sensitive topics will assist in defining these, yet will not be used against the participants or leak from the researcher. To this end, it adheres to keeping data confidential and anonymous.

With regards to the survey, the researcher acknowledges that anonymity cannot be granted in the first reply and would moreover make follow-up questions difficult, but thereafter the researcher commits to keeping responses confidential and finally anonymising the responses.

The researcher also offers research participants the right to see transcripts of interviews to alter the content, withdraw statements, to provide additional information or to add glosses on interpretations. However, the researcher points out that confidentially will be maintained by altering names throughout and by abstracting to make individuals unrecognisable. It is hoped that participants would assist the researcher in understanding the above issues.

Credentials of the Researcher

Martina Mettgenberg is a 2nd year PhD candidate at Manchester Business School (UK). As a member of the Manchester Accounting and Finance Group (MAFG), she is supervised by Professor Debra Howcroft and Dr Brian Nicholson and an active member of the sub-division Financial and Digital Innovation (FDI, see http://www.mbs.ac.uk/research/finance-digital.aspx) and CRESC (www.cresc.ac.uk). She also organises events in Critical Management Studies
(e.g. CMS5 http://www.mbs.ac.uk/research/organisationstudies/cms5/index.aspx) and has published book reviews and one book chapter.

The outcome is facilitated by Martina’s skills, which were acquired during a MSc in Social Research Methods in Anthropology at the University of Sussex, which developed missing skills tested in fieldwork for her BA (Hons) thesis, for which she conducted an ethnographic study in Manchester. After the MSc she applied these skills in several professional engagements for Amnesty International in London, MIDAS in Manchester, Infosupply in Gurgaon and currently for Kinetic Cubed in Manchester. Moreover she completed her MPhil in Accounting and Finance thus adding skills in accounting research and bridging the gap to corporate applications of ethnographic research.

She is contactable on +91 98 9918 9916 and martina.mettgenberg@dom01.mbs.ac.uk.
Questions for
“Making a Cosmopolitan? International Employees in 21st Century India”

Please note that all the information is being kept confidential.

When you return your filled-out questionnaire, please do NOT REPLY TO ALL, but MANUALLY FILL IN the email address into the address bar:
martina.mettgenberg@dom01.mbs.ac.uk

For the purpose of follow-up questions, I have to ask for your name at this stage, but ensure that this will be anonymised. However, please be assured that this will not re-appear in my academic submissions or publications towards the PhD or will be passed on to anyone else or other IAs. This is confidential between you and me.

If you have any questions or unclarities, do not hesitate to contact me:
Martina Mettgenberg
+91 98 9918 9916
martina.mettgenberg@dom01.mbs.ac.uk

Demographic Questions

0 What is your name? ______________________________________________________

1 Are you M / F ? (please circle)

2 How old are you? ______________________________________________________

3 Which languages do you speak? To which level? (Please specify in brackets)
   ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________

4 What is your education? ______________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________

5 Which country did you come from when you came to INFOSUPPLY?
   ______________________________________________________

6 What is your passport nationality?
   ______________________________________________________

7 How long have you been at INFOSUPPLY India? How long do you intend to stay at INFOSUPPLY India?
   ______________________________________________________

8 Have you travelled before? Where? How long? How (Backpack, resort, package holiday?)
   ______________________________________________________
9 Have you lived in another country except the country of your birth before (which one(s))?

For how long?

How, in what capacity?

10 Do you plan on settling in one country or do you prefer to keep on moving? Which one(s)?

Parents
11 What nationality are your parents?

12 Have they always lived in their country of birth?

If no, where else did they live or come from?

Do they travel a lot?

Accommodation in India
13 Where do you live?

14 Have you ever lived somewhere else during your stay at INFOSUPPLY?

15 Do you want to move? Y/N

Where to?

Why?

Work
16 Where in INFOSUPPLY do you work?

17 Have you worked somewhere else in INFOSUPPLY before?

18 What are your working hours? When do you start and finish?

Do you do overtime or stretch?

How often? Daily/weekly/monthly

19 Do you have experience of being on beach? Y/N

How often does this happen?

What do you do?
**Breaks and Lunch**

20 How many breaks do you take? ______________________

21 When do you take breaks? ______________________

22 What do you do in these breaks (e.g. eat, smoke, kill time/overcome boredom etc)? ______

23 Whom are you with?

- Housemates ______________________

- Other Internationals ______________________

- Indian Colleagues ______________________

- Other (who – describe your relationship) ______________________

**Leisure Activities**

24 How do you spend your spare time outside the working hours?

- List at least three activities (add more rows if you want to add more activities)

- Estimate how much time/how often you engage in these

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Time spent/Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24. 1</td>
<td>______________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. 2</td>
<td>______________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. 3</td>
<td>______________________</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Friends and Activities**

25 Who are your friends?

- List as many as you like, but at least three.

- If possible, please rank them in order to preference with 1 being the one liked most and 3 being the one liked less and state what you’d do and/or why you like them

- If ranking is not possible, cross out 1, 2, 3, but please state what you’d do together or why you like them.

- If you wish to list more than 3, simply add rows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship/Activity</th>
<th>in your house</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25. 1</td>
<td>______________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. 2</td>
<td>______________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. 3</td>
<td>______________________</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
26 Is there anyone you dislike?

- List as many as you like by simply adding rows.

- Please list a reason.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in your house</td>
<td>26. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>among Internationals</td>
<td>26. 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in INFOSUPPLY</td>
<td>26. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in India</td>
<td>26. 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Lifestyle**

Please also describe when you do what.

27 Do you smoke?

Cannabis?

Drink?

Use other drugs?
Other
28 How would you define the people you spent time with?

In other words, what is your definition of friend, acquaintance, lover, girl-/boyfriend?

_____________________________________________________________________________
_____________________________________________________________________________

29 Is there anything you would want to add, that has not been covered here?

_____________________________________________________________________________

Follow-Up Interviews
30 As stated in the introduction, there will be a row of follow-up interviews. Would you be willing to participate in a follow-up Interview? If so, please let me know your mobile number, email address and tell me how long you will stay in India.

Mobile ___________________________________________ ____________________
Email ____________________________________________ ___________________
Length of Stay ____________________________________ ___________________________
Appendix 4 – Standard in-depth interview questions

In-Depth Questions (in bold font)
(Supplementing pre-interview questionnaire)

Demographic Questions
Where do you come from?
What is your passport nationality?
Have you travelled before? Where? How long? How (Backpack, resort, package holiday?)
Have you lived in another country except the country of your birth before? For how long and how, in what capacity?
What nationality are your parents?
Have they always lived in their country of birth?
Do they travel a lot?
How often have you gone “home” since you are in India?
Once

Is this sufficient?
What do you do when you go home?
Do you miss anything about your home or place of origin?

Have your parents visited you?

Do you feel far away?

How old are you?
What is your education?
What are your aspirations wrt to job and place of dwelling?

How does India fit into this?

Accommodation
Where do you live?
Have you ever lived somewhere else in Gurgaon?

How and if do you like it and why?

How much time do you spent at home?

What do you do when you are at home?

Whom do you talk to?

Is there anyone you don’t or do like particularly? (favourite and least favourite)

Work
Where do you work?
What are your working hours?
Do you do overtime/ stretch?
How often?
Do you have experience of being on beach? How often does this happen and what do you do?
Describe how you work

IT:
How many programmes and windows do you have open at a time? (do you use MSN/Reuters? How fast do you respond to Outlook emails? Would you be working in Excel, Word, PPT or all three of these?)

If IM programmes:
With whom do you chat?
How many conversations do you have at any one time or throughout the day?

Why?
What do you chat about?

Team
How big is your team?
What is the composition of Internationals/Indians?

How do you experience team managers and supervisors generally?
What relationship do you have towards them?

What relationship do you have with the people in your department of group?
Is there anyone that you do not or like in particular?

Breaks and Lunch
How many breaks do you take?
What do you do in these breaks?
Whom are you with?
Housemates
Other Internationals
Indian Colleagues

How do you agree to meet?

How do you greet each other? (cheek kisses, handshake, hug, wave?)

Is this something new to you or not? Do you do this at home?

Hobbies and Interests generally
How do you spent your sparetime outside of working hours?
Tell me about your hobbies and interests

What makes you happy?
What do you hate?

Friends
For each question:
Go through the list of IAs ➔ housemates ➔ same nationality ➔ language ➔ habits such as smoking, smoking-up, drinking, more ➔ preference in music and lifestyle

Whom are you friends with?
- in your house
- among Internationals
- in INFOSUPPLY
- in India
What do you do together?
Describe planning and event itself

Do you go to their house or do they come to you?
Do you go somewhere else?
Where do you go? How long? How (vehicle)?

**Foes/ Whom do you dislike**
Whom don’t you like?
- in your house
- among Internationals
- in INFOSUPPLY
- in India

Why?

People you are not interested in at all

Whom do you find ok, but don’t go out of your way to accommodate or meet with?

**Weekend**
What does an ideal weekend look like for you?
Do you have ideal weekends in your country of origin?

How do you plan your weekend here? (email, ppl in your house, other friends?)

What do you do on the weekend?

Whom with?

What parties do you go to?

Describe how you’d travel?

Whom do you travel with?

Do you enjoy it?
What do you not enjoy?
What would you do differently?
## Appendix 5 – Interview Schedule

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Survey Response</th>
<th>Interview</th>
<th>Length (hr.min.sec)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Western Town L94</strong></td>
<td>Ayesha</td>
<td>March 4, 2008</td>
<td>March 30, 2008</td>
<td>1.37.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Magda</td>
<td>February 5, 2008</td>
<td>May 11, 2008</td>
<td>3.15.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Menelik</td>
<td>March 17, 2008</td>
<td>May 7, 2008</td>
<td>2.45.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fabien</td>
<td>February 13, 2008</td>
<td>February 28, 2008</td>
<td>1.40.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Louise</td>
<td>February 25, 2008</td>
<td>April 30, 2008</td>
<td>1.09.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>General Residency</strong></td>
<td>Katarina</td>
<td>May 1, 2008</td>
<td>May 6, 2008</td>
<td>1.41.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vincent</td>
<td>May 14, 2008</td>
<td>May 15, 2008</td>
<td>2.48.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Simone</td>
<td>January 22, 2008</td>
<td>January 23, 2008</td>
<td>50.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Green Fields</strong></td>
<td>Bela</td>
<td>May 23, 2008</td>
<td>June 1, 2008 and June 15, 2008</td>
<td>51.04, 22.30, 2.18.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eva</td>
<td>April 17, 2008</td>
<td>April 18, 2008</td>
<td>1.47.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Onur</td>
<td>February 4, 2008</td>
<td>March 1, 2008</td>
<td>48.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mehmet</td>
<td>May 13, 2008</td>
<td>May 20, 2008</td>
<td>2.46.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Western Town R4</strong></td>
<td>Juri</td>
<td>February 6, 2008</td>
<td>March 5, 2008</td>
<td>1.24.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert</td>
<td>February 5, 2008</td>
<td>April 14, 2008</td>
<td>1.31.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lorna</td>
<td>February 25, 2008</td>
<td>April 16, 2008</td>
<td>1.08.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Summer-blossom Field</strong></td>
<td>Violet</td>
<td>May 22, 2008</td>
<td>May 22, 2008</td>
<td>2.10.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rebecca</td>
<td>February 5, 2008</td>
<td>May 21, 2008</td>
<td>1.54.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unitech Section III</strong></td>
<td>Hondo</td>
<td>May 19, 2008</td>
<td>May 20, 2008</td>
<td>1.31.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Astrid</td>
<td>May 12, 2008</td>
<td>May 20, 2008</td>
<td>1.27.26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>