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Should We Stay or Should We Go?: A Study of Indian IT Migrants in Raleigh-Durham, North Carolina: Deciding to Stay in the United States or Return to India

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SHOULD WE STAY OR SHOULD WE GO?: A STUDY OF INDIAN IT MIGRANTS
IN RALEIGH-DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA: DECIDING TO STAY IN THE
UNITED STATES OR RETURN TO INDIA.

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THESIS

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A thesis submitted in partial
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By

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Lexington, Kentucky

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

SHOULD WE STAY OR SHOULD WE GO?: A STUDY OF INDIAN IT MIGRANTS
IN RALEIGH-DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA: DECIDING TO STAY IN THE
UNITED STATES OR RETURN TO INDIA.

Over the past two decades, an increasing number of IT professionals from India have been migrating to the United States on temporary H-1B or F-1 visas. This thesis offers a case study to address how migrants on such temporary visas decide whether to seek further residency in the United States or return to India. Based on interviews conducted in 2013 and 2014 in the Raleigh-Durham area of North Carolina, I examine the factors migrants consider, as well as how the struggles presented through the visa programs may effect these considerations. I also analyze how mass migration from India has changed the demographics of the suburbs between Raleigh and Durham. Considering the rise of Indian-related commercial and cultural centers, I offer the concept of Li's (1998) 'ethnoburbs' as a way of thinking about how changes in suburban cultural landscape may make Indian migrants feel more comfortable in the area. I also assert some access problems inherent in the 'ethnoburb' model.

Keywords: Migration, Diaspora, Ethnoburbs, Visa, North Carolina

Andrew Ashley

August 18th, 2015

SHOULD WE STAY OR SHOULD WE GO?: A STUDY OF INDIAN IT MIGRANTS IN RALEIGH-DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA: DECIDING TO STAY IN THE UNITED STATES OR RETURN TO INDIA.

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Chapter One: Introduction

During a rainy summer that felt like a monsoon season, I pulled off a quiet old

state highway in Morrisville, North Carolina. Behind a wall of pines sat a recently-built

ornate temple complex, Sri Venkateswara. Despite the ominous clouds and portents of

storms, the courtyard was crowded for the annual Brahmotsavam—the temple's

rededication ceremony. Anticipation and excitement seeped through the crowd because

NC Governor Pat McCrory was giving the keynote speech. Governor McCrory's focus:

the contribution of Indian migrants to the expansion of the state's economy. He lauded

Indians as "integral members of our community" who were often "our" doctors and those

working on "our" computer software. The governor praised the migrants both for filling

a need and becoming part of the American dream. A politician, he emphasized his

friendship and made many quips about his commitment and his competition with his

colleague to the south, the Indian-American governor of South Carolina, Niki Haley.

Governor McCrory's visit to Sri Venkateswara, an attempt to solidify a

relationship with the rapidly growing Indian community, reflects a confluence of global

economic shifts, regional change, evolving immigration policy, and local settlement

patterns. The governor's visit, and even the presence of Sri Venkateswara itself,

demonstrates the growing importance and size of the Indian community in North

Carolina. This is particularly pertinent around the Research Triangle Park, a 7,000-acre

research hub that hosts branches of some of the world's leading technology firms, such as

IBM and Cisco, as well as many smaller companies. I will argue throughout this thesis

Morrisville and Cary, North Carolina, quickly have become two 'ethnoburbs' (Li, 1998),

or suburban enclaves of ethnic groups, adjacent to the Research Triangle Park. Within

this framework, Governor McCrory's comments about losing many of the Indian

community to a great migration to South Carolina seemed humorous political pandering.

It is the Research Triangle Park, a locus of technological industry, and the presence of

three major research universities that have led to high concentrations of Indian migrants

in these communities. As my research will show these IT migrants are more likely to be

wooed by places like Silicon Valley, California; Boston, MA; the Washington, D.C. area;

or Austin, Texas rather than South Carolina. Returning to India, whose own information

technological sector has been growing and expanding into more complicated work, may

also be a consideration for many migrants.

My thesis addresses Indian migration in the information technology field to the

Raleigh-Durham area of North Carolina. With those I interviewed, I examine the original

reasons for migration to the United States, as well as the factors migrants consider in

deciding to return to India or seek further residency in the United States. I situate the

stories and considerations of these migrants into the wider literatures of skilled migration,

ethnoburbs, transnationalism, 'The New South', citizenship, and assimilation. In doing

so, I contribute to work which tries to illustrate the messiness of skilled migration. I

assert the importance of ethnoburbs as phenomena that seem to help many migrants settle

to an area.

For the purpose of this thesis, I will refer to the Indians I studied as migrants. In

part, this is because those I interviewed migrated on the non-immigrant (temporary) F-1,

H-1B, or H-4 visas.[1] Migrant also denotes a more fluid category. Most of those I

interviewed were not fully committed to remaining in the United States for the rest of

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[1] The H-1B visa is often considered a guest-worker visa, since it is a visa given to non-immigrants for a set period of time in order to work in the United States (Aneesh, 2006; Rudrappa, 2009).

their lives, even when they thought remaining was the most likely scenario. I also reject

using the term trans-migrants because for some I interviewed transnational connectivities

were less important.

I framed my research in such a way as to offer some answers to a larger

theoretical question: How do skilled migrants negotiate whether temporary migration

remains temporary or becomes permanent? In order to investigate this I turned to several

literatures on migration and diaspora as well as interviewed migrants. In order to respond

to this larger question, first I ask what factors do Indian IT migrants themselves consider

in deciding to return to India or stay in the United States. What do migrants consider

important? Secondly, I seek to investigate how migrants' experiences of place relate to

the decision of whether they remain temporary or become permanent residents? Thirdly, I

ask how have Indian IT migrants shaped the Research-Triangle Area?

In order to answer these questions, I interviewed 24 IT professionals who have

migrated from India to the Research Triangle. All but two lived in the Triangle during the

time of the interview. Some of those I interviewed had lived in the United States for

decades and had sought citizenship. Others were students in either a PhD or MS program

at Duke, UNC, or NC State. Interviews were semi-structured and conducted in cafes or

over skype. I found skype useful as many of the students did not have great access to

transportation and were often only free for brief times. As interview questions were often

quite personal, I found Skype offered a way to create a space of comfort for the person

being interviewed (in his or her home), without being invasive by inviting myself directly

into their space. Most of those interviewed talked daily with family on Skype, so they

were all comfortable conversing this way. I also went to several community events as

well, and spent considerable time at many of the Indian businesses and "malls" of the area.

As mentioned previously, my research was conducted mostly in Cary and Morrisville, North Carolina. These communities grew up around the publicly- and privately-sponsored Research Triangle Park. Most firms in the Research Triangle Park specialize in high technology activities, particularly information technologies. Indian migration has been an integral part of high-tech industries in the U.S. and this is similarly the case in North Carolina. Indians, an almost non-existent group in the Triangle in 1980, now make up a major part of the workforce for the high-tech industry. Many have settled in Cary and Morrisville. In fact, the influx of migrants from India has been so drastic in the area Morrisville has gone from one Indian family in the 1980 census (US Census, 1980), to over twenty percent of the population being born in India or of Indian heritage (American Community Survey, 2014).

Some of the students I interviewed lived in Durham, Chapel Hill, and Raleigh, North Carolina, the three towns which make the points of the so-called Research Triangle. These students attended UNC-Chapel Hill, NC State, or Duke University in the PhD or MS programs. The Research Triangle Park was built around these cities and their three research universities. Over the past forty years each of these universities has grown considerably, particularly in fields of science and engineering. At the same time, student migration from India has been important in these fields. Students from India also comprise over 50% of the computer science MS program at NC State, as well as much of the electrical engineering and other engineering programs. UNC-Chapel Hill and Duke University's science and engineering programs are not as large as NC State's. However,

many students from India have also come to these programs. Yet, Indians do not tend to make up as high a concentration of the graduate students in these departments as they do at NC State. I will touch on the reasons NC State has become such a hub of Indian students in my fourth chapter.

The racialization of Indian skilled migrants was not addressed in the scope of this thesis. This is not to say that race and racialization does not matter for so-called "model minorities", as it absolutely plays a role in the lived experience of Indians living in the United States (Prashad, 2000; 2012), nor that it is not a crucial concept to thinking about Indian skilled workers in the technology industry (Subramanian, 2000; Xiang, 2006; Aneesh, 2006).

I wish to think of the experience of Indian migrants to the Raleigh-Durham through Sara Ahmed's (2006) concepts of 'reach' and 'orientation'. While racialization does play an important role in how one's reach, or finite capability, is defined, this is also complicated by certain skills, education, and class. However, in this thesis, I illustrate other ways Indian IT migrant's reach is limited. Here the temporal boundaries of the H-1B and F-1 visas, the limitations of spousal visas, and debt accrued through studies all complicate one's reach.

The literature on migration elucidates the relation between my first and second research questions. The literature of skilled migration has been cloaked in the perennial shadow of arguments between brain drain and brain gain. Indeed, temporary skilled visas emerged as lambent policy solutions to these debates, leading to theories of the mutually advantageous brain circulation. The concept of brain circulation has been crucial to ideas of economic co-operation where migrants from sending countries can migrate to host

countries for a time, learn important skills, and then return to their home countries bringing the knowledge with them. In terms of capital accumulation, both countries benefit from this revolving-door migration. However, how does this liminal and temporary acceptance affect the migrant, particular in terms of how a migrant navigates whether to stay in the U.S. or return to India?

To offer my own meager answers to this question, I turn to research on transnationalism, particularly where researchers have examined migrants' emotions of belonging and feelings of exile from their homelands— even if such migration is not overt exile, but a choice to move. It is this emotional attachment which rests at the seam of the persistent symbolic and personal connections migrants maintain.

Personal narratives of migration evince these emotional attachments concurrent with the nation-building and capital-harnessing projects behind temporary skilled worker visas. In other words, these stories scrape behind the benefits of brain circulation and offering intuitions of the migrants' own feelings about the situation, the various aspirations held by a single person or family. My research was designed to look at these anecdotes of those who live or have lived in the temporary visa system. In so doing, I asked migrants about their aspirations for their careers. I also asked if migrants planned to stay into the U.S. or return to India. Many did, in fact, hope to return to India, but felt complications brought on by the temporary visas could prolong their stays in the United States. Though superficially seeming counter-intuitive, older migrants who had become citizens spoke of how the various visa systems unfolded into causing them to seek further residency. Here my contributions follow claims by Ho (2011) of 'the accidental navigator', or how migrants sometimes permanently migrate through an incremental and

gradual process without an initial plan of permanent migration. This is further covered in chapter five.

In order to answer my third question, I argue that middle-class migrants often mimic other middle-class settlements. In other words, many skilled migrants move out to the suburbs instead of into the cities. This follows findings originally postulated by Li (1998) through her concept of the ethnoburb to construe how ethnic enclaves become scattered across strip malls and suburban neighborhoods, instead of congregated in concentrated urban blocks. Cary and Morrisville are prime examples of ethnoburbs, as many Indian migrants have found work or education in the Research Triangle Park or at Duke, UNC-Chapel Hill, or NC State. For this reason, chapter four will be dedicated to more detailed discussion of the Indian community in Cary and Morrisville.

Because of the density of Indians living in this area, many commercial enterprises selling Indian goods have appeared. Indian businesses in Cary and Morrisville are often subtle because they have condensed in strip malls instead of being visible on city streets. Often these malls are anchored by an Indian grocery. Indian grocery stores are important for selling vegetables, spices, dried foods, and other important ingredients not available at typical U.S. supermarkets. They also often sell other cultural merchandise, such as films, and are decorated with Bollywood and other cinema posters. Here my observations are similar to Mankekar's (2002) study of how Indian culture is often commodified and reproduced at the site of the grocery. Along with businesses, several Hindu temples, three Islamic mosques, and one Sikh gurdwara are now located in the area.

The businesses, religious, and cultural centers of these ethnoburbs offer migrants what they miss of India. The proliferation of Indian businesses and cultural centers in the

area has done much to help migrants settle. These have created spaces for the Indian community and have been integral both to Indians' coming to the area and remaining. These offer some insights into how Indians settle in the area and why some decide to stay.

Chapter Two: Conceptual Framework

The New South and Regional Development

Indian IT migrants have become an integral part of the discourse of development of the New South and of the U.S. technology industry (Subramanian, 2000). This thesis is focused on a particular area in the 'New South', the Research Triangle Park, a center of economic and high-tech growth in Raleigh/Durham/Chapel Hill, North Carolina. North Carolina's political, educational and business leadership for the past several decades collaborated strategically to lift the state economically. North Carolina's regional development is important, especially because the U.S. South as a whole has been looked upon unfavorably for many years as a 'backwards' region within the country.

The term "New South" has been used over many generations to speak of the South as always backward and always needing to modernize, as well as to address a "new" state of affairs in the region (Jansson, 2003). Yet, within this framework North Carolina has long stood out as economically pro-active, leading 'the South'. The Piedmont region of North Carolina, in particular, led southern industrialization in areas of furniture production, cigarettes, and textiles (Tullos, 1989). In the latter part of the 20th century the Raleigh-Durham area has also become important in research, education, product development, and technology (Subramanian, 2000).

Current discourse on the New South looks at how the South has become integrated as an important node in the global economy (the South oriented outwards) and a site of increasing international migration (other global points oriented toward the South). Bastions of the old South may still remain, especially in social mores, but these processes have greatly shaped and continue to shape the regional identity of the U.S. South (Peacock, 2007).

The development of the New South can be shown as emblematic of theories taken from New Regionalism, 'globalized' regional development (Coe *et al*, 2004), and relational economic geography. Scholars of the New Regionalist camp have looked at both the dynamic nature of regions and at specificities that make certain regions more competitive (Saxenian, 1996). Certain regions develop comparative advantage over others in the global economy (Saxenian, 1996; Amin, 1999). Amin points to an institutional shift in policy management of regions, from a Keynesian model of top-down government improvement plans to an "an alternative centered on mobilizing the endogenous potential … through efforts to upgrade a broadly defined local supply-base. It seeks to unlock 'the wealth of regions' as the prime source of development and renewal" (Amin, 1999, 366). Amin points out that such a model will amount to very little without continued macro-economic help, and the region's ability to compete on an international scale. Regional competitive advantage draws on the importance of proximity of companies and firms to centers of education and research and development labs (Maskell and Malmberg, 1999; 2002; Nooteboom, 1999, Blanc and Sierra, 1999; Antonelli, 1999; Cohendet *et al,* 1999). Yet, universities and many research labs often draw on macro-economic funding from national and state governments. The macro and micro often exist in relations that assert "economic actions transform the localized material and institutional conditions of future economic action" (Bathelt and Gluck, 2003, 123).

The historical Keynesian model, the approach to develop by expanding the skill of a "broadly defined local" population, a continued need for macro investment, and ability to compete globally speak to much of the development of the Research Triangle

Park (RTP).[2] RTP was designed to create regional competitive advantage drawing on endogenous resources. RTP was built between Raleigh and Durham, North Carolina, and is located strategically in the "Triangle" of three major research universities: Duke University, North Carolina State University, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. RTP draws on the advantage of proximity to university faculty as well as recent graduates. It also takes advantage of the amenities and cultural development of an area that has three major university towns. The Research Triangle Park itself comprises a bounded space of 6,900 acres in Wake and Durham Counties (Link, 1995). It employs upwards of 40,000 employees dedicated to research and product services (Bradford, 2013). The boundaries are porous, however, as RTP's tentacles go outwards to Chapel Hill, Durham, and Raleigh and many research business are adjacent to, not actually in the park. Satellite operations with direct or consequential relations to RTP employ many more in research throughout the triangle.

In the 1950s, North Carolina, like much of the South, had a lower-than-average per capita income. It also suffered from localized brain drain, as students graduating from the universities would leave the state to find jobs suitable for their qualifications (Link, 1995). Governor Luther Hartwell Hodges designed RTP as a private enterprise with official public support. The plans for the park were carried out by his successor Governor Terry Sanford, who after his tenure as governor became a long-time serving president of Duke University. From 1965-1974 major businesses moved to the park, the most important of these being IBM (Link, 1995). As the four major industries of North

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[2] The local population of Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill is broadly defined when thinking about RTP and development because it looks to draw on graduating students of NC State, UNC, and Duke. These students are local populations, in one sense, though they recently moved to the area for school. Increasingly, with the rise of MS students from India, particularly at NC State, this "broadly defined endogenous" populations in expanding in the broadness of its definition.

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Carolina began to fade (textiles, furniture, and tobacco and cigarette manufacturing), RTP became of increasing importance to the state. However, the regional advantage models' drawing on local labor supply would need to be broadly defined to explain RTP. As my research indicates (see chapter four) many of those working in RTP came from outside the area to work. While one could consider the student base local, my research illustrates how many of these students in IT come from India directly to university, particularly those receiving an MS from North Carolina State. Indian computer science students may also not seek employment in RTP because other factors are at play instead of proximity.

While Indian migration might be seen as a haunting in other contexts (Brah, 1996), in the U.S. context this Indian skilled migrants often fall into the discourse on model minorities (Prasad, 2000). I wish to address how these class dynamics and history may be theorized through the concept of "reach" and "the ordinary" to build on critiques of the ease of model-minority migration. The concept of reach is tied to the body: "Bodies inhabit space by how they reach for objects, just as objects in turn extend what we can reach" (Ahmed, 2006, 110). In terms of how racialized prejudice and structural racism exists in the U.S. South and the greater U.S., Indian IT migrants may reach for many dreams that may be extraordinary for other citizens and non-residents of these communities. Reach is constructed through the experience of the ordinary. In parsing out the difference between the nomenclature of ordinary, Staeheli *et al.* (2012) conclude that the term ordinary originates from both the routine and quotidian as well as from social and legal order. The ordinary then rests as a trope for explaining the double-experience of citizenship as encounters with law and everyday life. Immigrants' experiences with the ordinary provide an important node for thinking about the stratification of different

groups of immigrants. Immigrants lack formal claims to citizenship and have no political standing except those granted by societies and states (Ngai, 2004). Yet, certain groups of immigrants, such as skilled Indian migrants, are more privileged in their experience of the ordinary because of political and social standing granted by societies and states. These experiences of the ordinary help constitute the limits of reach for immigrants. Needless to say, immigrants with more capacity to reach may feel more settled in a society.

Class, education, and wealth can often help immigrants lay claims to belonging in certain communities. Writing of wealthy Hong Kong entrepreneurs, Mitchell concluded that wealth and cosmopolitan savvy helped migrants contest, both discursively and through their non-white presence, the normative assumptions of what constituted Canadian liberalism and national identity (Mitchell, 2004). Similarly, for Grewal, Indian IT migrants are a particularly classed category of migrants who contest normative assumptions about U.S. liberalism and national identity. They are desired for their skills; they speak English well; they are educated; they come from middle- and upper-class families. Though race and whiteness are important to the American dream and middle-class identity, Grewal expands this beyond simply racial whiteness to include "a more heterogeneous group that passed as white" which became regulated by the performances of liberal citizenship and consumer culture (Grewal, 2005, 5). People therefore could have multiple national belongings, but still play into the ideas of liberal citizenship and consumer culture. Embodied reality and the way one feels perceived is central to race: "Seeing oneself or being seen as white or black or mixed does affect what one 'can do,' or even where one can go, which can be re-described in terms of what is and is not within

reach" (Ahmed, 2004, 112). However, other factors still hinder these migrants' reaches, as I will discuss later.

Skilled Migration

For the purposes of this thesis, skilled migration refers to migrants who qualify for and use particular visas for their legal entry into a country. In this sense, skills and credentials often become important criteria for migration management. As a result, skilled migration in the U.S. context often occurs through temporary work visas (Subramanian, 2000; Rudrappa, 2009).

Policies regarding skilled migration have become increasingly entangled with national policies for technological innovation and economic development (Koser and Salt, 1997). Often this occurs because the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries lack a skilled workforce to fill demands of a growing sector of the economy (Iredale, 2005). Other countries have a surplus of trained and intelligent workers, but lack the appropriate industrial infrastructure (Iredale, 2005). After the General Agreement on Trades and Services (GATS) of 1995, India formally became one of the world's largest sending countries. Though many countries desire skilled migration, few offer immediate roads to permanent citizenship to skilled migrants (Iredale, 2001). This desired temporary migration creates a notion of circular migration or "brain circulation" (Saxenian, 2005).

This "brain circulation" model complicates migration patterns for skilled workers. On the one hand, skilled migration leads to a preference in mobility that limits the mobility of others. Massey reminds us that "the mobility and control of some groups can

actively weaken other people. Differential mobility can weaken the leverage of the already weak … we need to ask, in other words, whether our relative mobility and power over mobility and communication entrenches the spatial imprisonment of other groups" (Massey, 1994, 63). On the other hand, migration of middle-class migrants who are skilled but not elites is controlled and is not unfettered. While visas for skilled migration preferences one group over others for entry, the brain circulation model still creates a form of spatial entrenchment for many skilled migrants. If we understand the elite migrant as having almost free and unfettered access of movement and the ability to claim rights across states, the middle-class migrant is differently mobile, often with restrictions since their visa is sponsored by an employer, is limited by time, and may offer dependent visas which deny access to work. This thesis examines how these special entrenchments occur even after border-crossing.

Immigration policy and bilateral agreements between countries also determine flows of skilled migrants. But, migrants themselves are the prime agents in skilled migration. Post-structuralist migration theory places migrants as embodied, self-aware, and self-reflexive agents who operate among multiple social, cultural, and linguistic contexts (Silvey and Lawson, 1999). In regards to choosing to pursue citizenship or not, migrants have thought complexly about both the pragmatic and symbolic means to citizenship (Ehrkamp and Leitner, 2006). Migrants' own actions often resist these spatial entrenchments of temporary migration, though sometimes it occurs through discursive practices and rationalizations.

However, before I parcel out theories on transnationality and citizenship, I will contextualize Indians' migration to the U.S. in the field of IT. After all, "geographical

migration patterns are…determined on the one hand by the location decisions of employing organizations and the spatial division of labor they favour, and on the other by a group of eligible people with degrees of skill and experience already acquired" (Salt, 1988, 389).

Skilled migrants mostly come to the U.S. through the H-1B visa system, or as students on the F-1 visa system. A gendered reality exists in the nature of immigration categories, where visas may be allotted predominantly to one gender over another based on premises of femininity and masculinity (Hyndman, 1999). H-1B entry is predominately male with the H-4, spousal visa, often going to women. Though the F-1 visas still mostly go to men, student visas are also seen as crucial ways migrant women enter the workforce (Raghuram, 2013).

The H-1B and F-1 visa programs were created through the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (the Hart-Cellar Act). The Hart-Cellar act was a monumental overhaul of U.S. Immigration policy and regulated legal immigration in the United States. In spectacular fashion, President Lyndon Johnson signed the bill into law in front of the Statue of Liberty. In his speech while signing the Hart-Cellar Act, President Johnson assured the citizens of the United States, "This bill says simply that from this day forth those wishing to immigrate to America shall be admitted on the basis of their skills and their close relationship to those already here" (Johnson, 1965). Johnson offered the new law as a rational solution to the previous immigration system: the national quota system. For Johnson and the Congressional writers of the Hart-Cellar Act, the new laws would end an injustice as well as offer spots in the immigration system for those who brought much-needed skilled labor to the U.S. With patriotic gusto, Johnson claimed the

national quota system "violated the basic principle of American democracy — the principle that values and rewards each man on the basis of his merit as a man. It has been un-American in the highest sense, because it has been untrue to the faith that brought thousands to these shores even before we were a country" (*ibid*). Merit was the social currency of this land. The xenophobia and religious intolerance within the colonies that led to ostracism is blissfully ignored (Kanstroom, 2007). In 1965, the Civil Rights Movement in the United States was in full force. President Johnson and many members of Congress saw immigration reform as an important way to alleviate the stench of racism and racial exclusion in the US.

The Hart-Cellar Act Section 101(a)(15)(F)(i) created the F-1 visa. A recipient was defined to be "an alien having a residence in a foreign country which he has no intention of abandoning, who is a bona fide student qualified to pursue a full course of study and who seeks to enter the United States temporarily and solely for the purpose of pursing such a course of study at an established institution of learning … in the United States" (Immigration Act, 1964, 4). The F-2 visa, section 101(a)(15)(F)(ii), was created to allow an alien spouse and minor children to follow. The 1965 Act 101(a)(15)(H)(i) created the H-1B visa program for "an alien having residence in a foreign country which he has no intention of abandoning … who is of distinguished merit and ability and who is coming temporarily to the United States to perform services of an exceptional nature" (Immigration Act, 1964, 9). Congress evidently intended both visa categories to provide temporary residence to migrants who had no intention of forfeiting citizenship from their home countries.

The ease of movement within skilled migration frameworks, such as the H-1B and F-1 visa programs, is layered and complex. Many argue the transnational movement of skilled migrants is flexible and fairly easy as skilled migrants fall into a global elite (Ong, 1999). However, many skilled migrants actually come from middle-class backgrounds and occupy middle-class jobs (Xiang, 2002). Meanwhile, structurationists argue that migration is facilitated through networks which help spread knowledge of navigating a migration system and of finding employment overseas (Goss and Lindquist, 1995.). Skilled workers also take advantage of the networks that interweave places of work as Post-Fordist service work becomes outsourced in many sectors (Koser and Salt, 1997). One must bear in mind, though, that social networks do not always develop into institutions, formal or otherwise (Samers, 2010). Other strengths of skilled migrants are their ability to grapple with contracts and learn from being engaged in complicated contractual work (Beaverstock, 2002). Yet international mobility may not be the most cost-effective plan for transnational companies. Relocating employees is expensive and often it is more cost-effective to reorganize the international division of labor, assigning working packages overseas instead of relocating employees (Perthe, 2007). The migrant's agency is then important, because the migrant may benefit more directly from the move than the employer — especially in terms of transnational firms.[3]

One of the reasons skilled migrants move is because of the knowledge that is transferred. Williams (2006) draws on Blackler's (2002) separations of knowledge to show how skilled migrants' 'embrained knowledges' (conceptual skills and cognitive ability) and embodied knowledges (practical skills from seeing and doing) move with

[3] Non-transnational firms have different constraints and motives. But many of the migrants I talked to hoped to work for transnational firms that might facilitate return through the same company.

them. Since this knowledge is indivisible from the individual, the migrant him/herself carries it with him or her. However, the encultured (the meanings that arise from acculturation and socialization) and embedded (contextualized and shared knowledges among a group) only are carried as memories of the knowledge (Williams, 2006). The embrained and embodied knowledges move with the migrant. But in different locations the migrant learns important new embrained and embodied knowledges, as well as the knowledge of new embedded and encultured knowledges to bring back to one's home country or share through a network.

This transfer of knowledge has been cited by development agencies as going beyond 'brain drain'. To development organizations, diasporas act as knowledge banks which networks can rely on to deposit, accumulate, and extract knowledge. A recent UNESCO report pronounced, "Diaspora knowledge networks (DKNs) deeply changed the way highly skilled mobility used to be looked at" (Meyer and Wattiaux, 2006, 4). DKNs subvert the traditional 'brain drain' model and offer 'brain gain' of expatriates' skills. DKNs circulate this gain "converting the loss of human resources into a remote though accessible asset of expanded networks" (*ibid,* 5).

The transfer of knowledge, however, can also be considered brain drain, or human capital flight. Brain drain occurs when a source country loses skilled professionals to other countries (Bagwati and Hamada, 1974). Hirschman (1970) argued that people utilize two logics when deciding to migrate: the logic of exit and the logic of return. Much policy literature on the migration-development nexus tends to reflect the assumption that all social institutions should operate, like the market, on the logic of exit and of choice (Johnson, 1968). Any public policy to increase commitment is seen only as

an impediment to exit. People leave because livelihoods are better in the host country, their profession is more advanced and offers more opportunities, or leave to seek better education in a field (Haque and Kim, 1995). Johnson's thesis insists since a migrant develops through brain drain, the world as a whole benefits. In what has come to be known as the "Brain Drain debates", a less global view was put forth by Don Patinkin. For Patinkin, (1968) developed countries already managed migration. The free-flowing movements of people to benefit human capital only occurred when a host country desired specific workers. In an argument that promoted national development of countries over Johnson's general international development project, Patinkin insisted that countries limit the exit factors by increasing educational opportunities and by developing industry. In order to manage migration on the other end, Patinkin advocated for bilateral agreements between countries.

The arguments around brain drain have evolved over the last 20 years. As Johnson indicated, brain drain, especially in terms of sending some students for advanced degrees, may be a beneficial development indicator (Mountford, 1997; Beine *et al*, 2001). Researchers also began to notice that migrants formed business networks between countries, and some migrants were returning. This culminated in a new discourse, known as circular migration or "brain circulation" (Saxenian, 2005). As Patinkin argued, managing this return has become of particular importance.

New levels of communication and access to information through the Internet have changed how prospective employers recruit prospective employees. Prospective migrants may find out about job possibilities or future schools through friends, but mostly prospective migrants learn of opportunities and about the visa systems themselves

through the Internet (Pethe, 2007). Different migrants also use different techniques to migrate. Filipinos in the health profession often migrate at first on family reunification visas, while engineers and scientists from Taiwan and India tend to use occupational visas or student visas (Kanjanapan, 1995). The reason or status of an initial visa is often revisited, either because of changes in one's life or because it was strategically used as a stepping-stone visa (Kanjanapan, 1995).

Within skilled migration to the United States, India has been the largest sending country. This has been particularly influenced by the IT field (Xiang, 2006; Aneesh, 2006). IT professionals are desired because of the growing software industry and because IT professionals often have skills that can be used in a wide-range of industries, including banking (Khadira, 2001). Until the 1960s, skilled migration from India almost exclusively ended up in the United Kingdom (Khadira, 2001). However, since the reforms of U.S. immigration policy in 1965, the U.S. has become a large recipient of Indian migration. And for the past several decades Indians have been the largest recipients of labor-oriented visas. This is in part due to India's growth of their higher education system. The Indian Institutes of Technology and a few other Indian higher education facilities are some of the best in the world. However, historically Indian universities have produced more undergraduates than post-graduate programs or the job market in India could absorb.

Since 1965, the H-1B visa, often considered a guest worker program, has grown considerably, and Indians make up a majority of recipients. During 2012, 80,630 Indians received H-1B visas out of only 135,350 issued overall. The second highest concentration of nationals to receive H-1B visas were People's Republic of China nationals (11,077).

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This number, though sporadic and sputtering at times, has grown since the late 1990s. In 1997, 31,684 H-1B visas were approved for Indian nationals. Yet, in 1997 80,547 overall visa applications were granted. The last 15 years have seen major expansion of the H-1B visa which has almost entirely been driven by an expansion of visas to people from India. In 1997, 48,863 non-Indian foreign internationals received H-1B visas. In 2012, 54,720 non-Indian foreign internationals received H-1B visas.

Figure 2.1. H-1 Recipients: 1997, 2012.
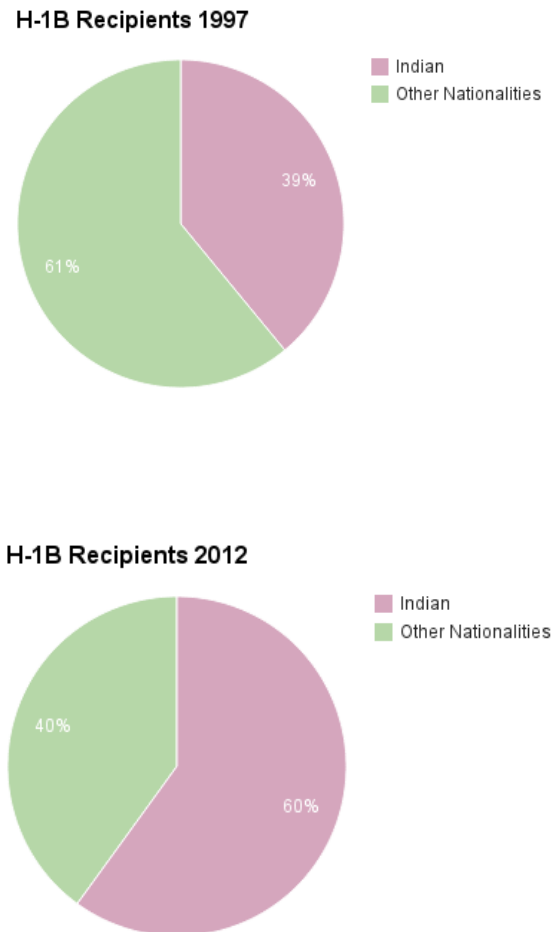
(Source: US State Department, 2012)

After a rapid spike, the number of H-1B visas to Indian nationals hit its highest

number in 2007. However, the number of visas fell considerably in 2008 and 2009, a year

where only 110,367 H-1B visas were issued overall. This could in part be explained by

economic recession which began in 2008. Companies were hiring fewer workers in all

sectors. Yet, continued demand for H-1B visas to Indian nationals shows that despite a

sluggish economy companies continue to invest in foreign workers and facilitate

migration from India.

Figure 2.2. Indian Recipients of H-1B, 1997-2012
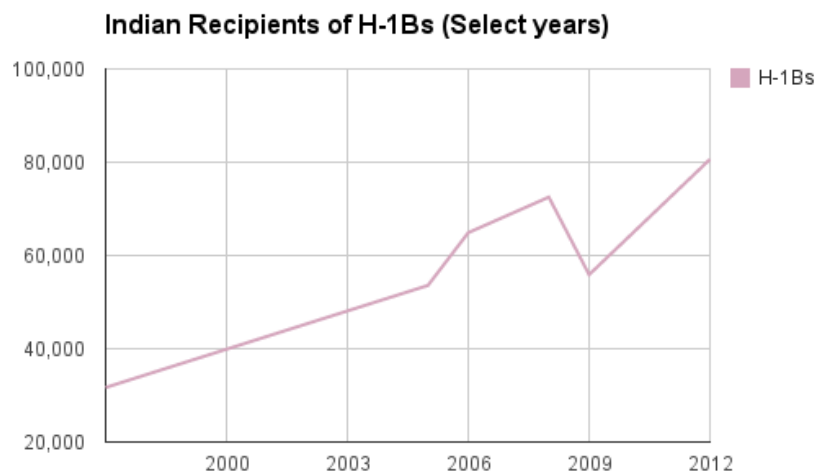
(Source: US State Department, 2014)

Student migration through the F-1 visa program is also an important marker of

skilled migration from India. In 2012, 23,446 Indian nationals received F-1 visas out of

486,000. Though Chinese nationals were the largest recipients of F-1 Visas (189, 402),

India was the 4th largest recipient after South Korea (39,159), and Saudi Arabia (27,932).

Figure 2.3. F-1 Visa Recipients, 2012

F-1 Visa Recipients 2012

Legend:
- Indians
- Chinese
- South Koreans
- Saudi Arabia
- Other Nationalities

5%, 39%, 8%, 6%, 42%
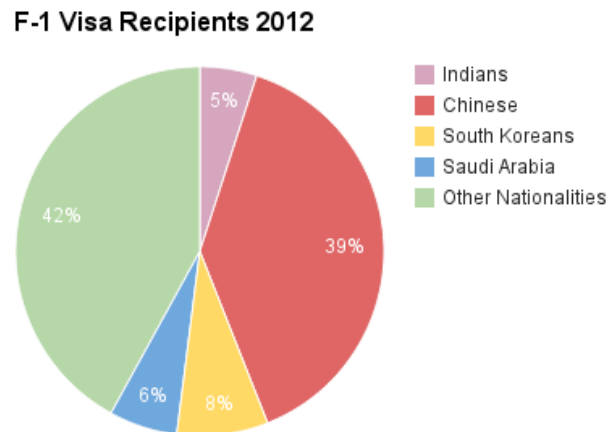
(Source: US State Department, 2014)

The growth of Indian student migration through the F-1 visa has also been extreme in the last 15 years. In 1997, 10,532 Indian nationals were granted F-1 visas. F-1 visas to Indians are also down from their height in the 2000s (34,471 in 2008 and 36,149 in 2009). While this can in part be attributed to the global recession, other factors offer reasons for decline. The Indian government has invested heavily in Indian higher education over the past 2 decades, with gargantuan growth of universities, especially in the last decade. There are simply more opportunities for Indians to receive a high quality education in India. Secondly, the budding of the Indian economy offers more opportunities for college graduates with a large growth in opportunities for those with only a bachelor's degree. The need to go to the U.S. to receive an advanced degree is not the same as it was before 2000. This is especially pronounced among the students of the elite Indian Institutes of Technology. Historically, graduates of the IITs swarmed to the United States after graduation to seek advanced degrees in engineering and software development. However, many of these students are being offered lucrative jobs after

leaving university (Reddy, 2011). The improvement of higher education in India and the high demand for well-paid jobs in India has changed the dynamics of Indian skilled migration as fewer IIT graduates come. While Indian student immigration has declined since 2009, overall F-1 visas have continued to grow. While 331,208 F-1 visas were approved in 2009, 486,900 were granted in 2012. This shows that Indian decline in F-1 visas stands out in the rise of F-1 visas over-all.

Figure 2.4. Indian Recipients of F-1 Visas, 1997-2012.

Indian Recipients of F-1 Visas
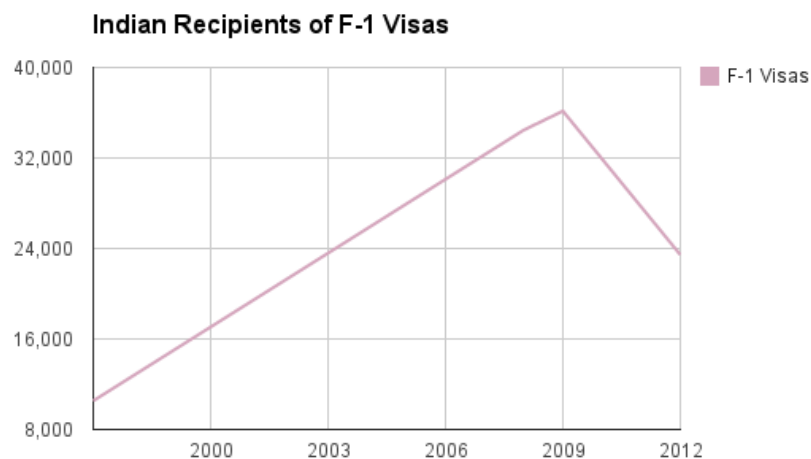
(Source: US State Department, 2014)

Despite the slump of F-1 visas, Indian students' enrollment in Computer Science programs— particularly 3-semester or 2-year MS programs— has continued to rise considerably. The proliferation of computer engineering programs in India has meant many students from second-tier universities (not the IITs or other elite-institutions) are coming to the United States. Many of those I interviewed fell in this category. Though India's IT industry has grown considerably since 1991 (Parthasarathy and Aoyama, 2006), when major economic reforms fertilized growth, the U.S. remains the site for

innovation. Areas like Silicon Valley still serve as pilgrimage sites for young entrepreneurs throughout the world. The United States offers a place of connections and access to capital for young innovators. For others, it offers a place to hone skills and expertise. Though Indian education is of an extremely high quality (often well out-pacing secondary and higher education of mathematics and science in the United States), education is more practical than theoretical[4]. University students memorize books, and work on few applications. In the United States., Indian students do more hands-on learning.

Even though Indians receive far fewer F-1 visas than the Chinese, South Koreans, and Saudi Arabians, there is evidence Indians are far more likely to stay in the United States. Since far fewer Chinese receive H-1B visas, it seems unlikely many Chinese students are seeking work in the U.S. after their studies. While Chinese student migration has grown considerably (rising from 18,089 in 2004 to 189,402 in 2012), approved H-1B visas have remained between 9,000 and 11,000 per year. Clearly, most Chinese students return to China. Most Indian students, however, stay for some time after receiving advanced degrees.

One must look beyond the economic reasons for migration to understand spaces of migrations and migrants' lives since "there is a lot more determining space than what 'capital' gets up to" (Massey, 1994, 60). Economic action does not happen outside of space or culture, but is embedded in everyday activities (Bathelt and Glücker, 2003). One should therefore be cognizant of the feelings and emotions of the labor market (Aure, 2003). Skilled migrants as agents often move for employment purposes, and though their

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[4] This dichotomy between theoretical and practical occurred almost as a litany by those I interviewed showing it is an important difference to those who migrate.

journeys are usually less fettered than other migrants, they do not have an easy path. It is important to look at how skilled migrants grapple with feelings and how this is intertwined with the negotiation of seeking permanent residence or returning to their home country. In order to understand this we must look at how emotions help to form subjectivity and also how power helps to form subjectivities (Butler, 2001). For Svašek, emotions are the "processes in which individuals experience, shape, and interpret the world around them, anticipate future action and shape their subjectivities" (Svašek, 2008, 218). Emotions can extend to think about memories, imaginations, expectations, and aspirations (Svašek, 2008). In looking at the emotional leanings of migrants, it is important to pay attention to that which is often considered non-rational: bodily sensations, mourning, joy, anger, disappointment, and affects (Aure, 2013b). Studies of friendship among migrants (either made in the home country or abroad) have helped explain some of the emotional work behind business and professional networks (Conradson and Latham, 2005). Also, migrants' mobility offers a certain level of possibilities which brings us back to thinking about the importance of reach (Conradson and Latham, 2007; Ahmed, 2006). Migrants can interpret their own mobility reflexively and do not simply respond to demands in the global economy or the global labor market (Silvey and Lawson, 1999).This helps explain some of the struggles of Raleigh-Durham to keep Indian migrants who are being attracted to centers of cutting edge places such as Silicon Valley or Seattle in the U.S. or Hyderabad and Bangalore in India.

One of the impediments faced by skilled migrants is an inability to work in jobs suitable for their skills (Bernstein and Shuval, 1995). Bernstein and Shuval discuss the pain and shame suffered by former Soviet doctors who move to Israel, of whom only a

few can participate in their trained profession. Unlike many migration routes, the H-1B visa program is intended to place a worker in his or her skilled field. However, there are elements of the program which may lead to similar impediments. For instance, a visa holder is tied to a job on the visa program, which may not taking on the best purpose of the visa holder, the visa holder may have trouble changing jobs or receiving promotions, and, at the time of this study, the dependent visa holders (such as the H-4) who also were skilled were not allowed to work.

The purpose of programs like the H-1B visa is to meet a demand that is not met by the supply of IT-trained U.S. citizens. Conversely, the international supply of IT labor is quite high. In some ways, the visa system and circular migration work to create a virtual shortage. Xiang cites an example of a virtual shortage of labor where employers' desire a large reserve population to reach their ambitions for continued expansion (Xiang, 2007). Xiang's work in the IT industry focuses on 'Body Shopping' in Australia, as companies support migrants to obtain visas and then hire them out for temporary work. Yet, in order to manage this pattern and keep supply higher than demand, many employees are "benched". While benched, employees receive considerably reduced wages and are not doing work which requires their skills, often taking secondary jobs like driving taxis (Xiang, 2007). This unskilling or deskilling is a form of 'the multiplication of labor' as there is a collapse between skilled and unskilled work (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2012, 2013).[5]

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[5] In my reading of Mezzadra and Neilson, the multiplication of labor helps explain the confluence of sovereign power and loosened regulatory features which have destabilized many binaries such as core and periphery as well as skilled and deskilled labor. It is useful for rethinking the traditional divisions of labor.

Further, many skilled migrants, especially skilled women, often immigrate as family migrants (Kofman and Raghuram, 2006). H-4 visa "love migrants", or migrants who relocated to be with a partner, have in the condition of their visa not to work at all and often have to forego careers and learn new skills (Aure, 2013a; Raghuram, 2004; Liversage, 2009). I begin to think of these "love migrants" as also going through a form of "benching", as many often migrate with degrees and employable skills, yet are forced to sit out of the labor market.

While many skilled migrants who migrate as dependents cannot initially seek work, they often use complex schemes to rebrand themselves and gain employment (Purkayastha, 2005). Bosniak (2006) argues that traditionally women's ability to find labor outside the home played a major role in their full absorption into society. While this in part explains the skilled migrant's acceptance, through being seen as a good and important worker, one must wonder how the denial of the right to work plays on an H-4 visa holder's feelings of belonging and integration into community. Yet, among those I interviewed, all H-4 visa holders tried to find that work which left them better integrated into the community.

The H-4 visa program often helps reassert women as dependent. Yet, my research bolsters the idea that women on H-4 visas strategize to find employment and enter the skilled workforce. The incorporation of migrant women into the skilled sectors of the labor market alters our understanding of the role of migrant women in social reproduction (Kofman and Raghuram, 2006). Migrant women are present in multiple sites and spheres of reproduction beyond the household. Recognizing the different ways in which they are incorporated into globalized labor markets challenges simplistic representations of

migrant women and draws out a fuller appreciation of their contribution to social

reproduction and welfare in the First World (Kofman and Raghuram, 2006)

Transnationality

Transnationalism often refers to a "social morphology that spans borders", a type

of consciousness marked by dual or multiple identities often resulting in a perpetual

feeling of "multi-locality", a mode of cultural reproduction, a flow of capital through

transnational corporations or migrant remittances, a network of discourse and a site of

politics, and a reconstruction of a place over-there in the present locality (Vertovec,

1999). Yet, this social morphology does not lead to a deterritorialization. Instead,

transnationalist discourse reasserts the continuing significance of borders, state policies,

and national identities even as these are often transgressed by transnational

communication circuits and social practices (Smith, 2001). The back-and-forth reworking

of spatial arrangements and the associated hegemonies that exist in transnational

connectivities can appear as a respatialization which often further entrenches the project

of neoliberal capitalism (Mitchell, 2004). Transnational connectivities and transnational

labor migration illustrate nodes of entry to explore how such hegemonies are nourished at

more scales and spheres than just the nation-state (Mitchell, 2004).

Transnational migration is defined by migrants' linkages to both the places they

have moved to and the places where they go. These interactions are not a two-way point-

to-point, but may spread between a series of sites over various diasporas where migrants

maintain symbolic or personal connections (Ashutosh, 2008). Glick Schiller *et al.* (1995)

emphasize the importance of "transmigrants" or migrants whose daily interactions are

interconnected with people and processes across international borders and whose identity

are configured by more than one approach. These interactions often lead to a

phenomenon, often stated as paradoxical, where the intensification of global

interconnections of economic processes, people, and ideas are accompanied by a

resurgence of the politics of differentiation (Glick Schiller *et al*, 1995). Yet, the

resurgence of the politics of differentiation is never just a simple process of difference,

but itself the outcome of socio-political and economic relations (Brah, 1996). Since

migration is an increasingly common phenomenon, nation-building projects of both home

and host countries, which build political and economic loyalties, have become important

as migrants retain social ties (Glick Schiller *et al*, 1995).

  This relation between migration and nation-building projects also plays out in the

migration-development nexus. This nexus plays out in the intersections between

migration control, immigrant incorporation, and development cooperation. This

management of migration in the migration-development nexus often looks to develop

both the sending and receiving countries, by offering needed skilled employees and

sending them back with new knowledge (Faist, 2008). Such migration is often pushed by

international organizations such as the World Bank and the International Organization of

Migration. It may also play out through bilateral agreements between nations, or more

informal consumerist networks.

  As migration becomes tied to projects of the receiving country, the flows of

wealthy transnational migrants and their capital become central to neoliberal state

formations (Ong, 1999; Mitchell, 2004). Yet, such flows may be disruptive to national

liberal, social, and political narratives as they have developed and become embedded

within the social life of places (Mitchell, 2004). This has often resulted in deep tensions between state practices that facilitate flows through abstract rhetoric and spatial terms and national norms that relate to the localized, territorialized, and embodied practices of a place, skilled migrants claims for belonging have challenged these national norms (Mitchell, 2004).

Grewal shows how biopolitics and geopolitics are brought together through the imaginaries produced by consumer cultures' media worlds, the coercive powers of states, and the possibilities produced by growing nationalisms (Grewal, 2005). Grewal notes that for many skilled Indian migrants "the 'American dream' was a search for a future in which the desire for consumption, for liberal citizenship, and for work came together to produce a certain subject of migration" (Grewal, 2005, 5). Specific processes of governmentality and neoliberalism create a subject that performs through choice and consumption. This is true of both how subjectivity in the U.S. works, as well as how the diaspora works through ideas of consumption. Brah's *Diaspora Space* helps show how these genealogies are intertwined (Brah, 1996).

Transnational connectivities show both how nationalist identity has been complicated through globalization and how national identity has also been surprisingly mobile. Migrants can be crucial in spreading national identity through transnational civil society and remitting ideas of democracy back to their countries of origin (Kapur, 2010). However, unlike Kapur's optimism, Grewal points out that Appadurai's scapes (Appadurai, 1996) of the global arena, or transnational connectivities, do not just foster democracy. Grewal points to the rise of religious fanaticism and right-wing politics that have spread over India as a result of these same connectivities. She also points out that

"consumer citizenship" and multiculturalism are interwoven between civil society and the state. Therefore, civil society is not as separate from the state as we might think.

Grewal discusses the rise of NRI (Non-resident Indians) and the Indian government's motives to claim and privilege diasporic capital, in hopes of getting investment from its elites abroad and repatriation of some of its citizens. The goods consumed offered a way to perform a transnational identity: "The transnational imaginary of the new nationalism was most easily available through the phantasmic life produced by consumer culture" (Grewal, 2005, 99). For Grewal, the Indian-American, though a hyphenated identity, is almost always still subject to the Indian state and is produced in conjunction with the demands articulated by the state's desire for the diasporic subject.

Transnational Emotions

Places are saturated with affective meanings (Kobayashi and Preston, 2007; Kobayashi *et al*, 2011). The affective nature of place alters identities, but the emotional experiences of a place vary, often according to an individual's family position, personal experience, and socio-economic status. Both affect and emotions are embodied practices constituted within and constituent of specific material conditions. Affect, though, cannot be simply labelled as emotion, as affect happens outside the individual and produces subjects through the traces it leaves upon them (Massumi, 2002, Ahmed, 2004; Mankekar, 2015). In this study, I focus on the reflexive and discursive capacity of places to affect emotional experiences. For transnational migrants, settling at the destination involves a redefinition of place. Transnational migrants do not abandon attachment to a place of origin, but instead connect places within a transnational field. A migrant makes

the connection situating him/herself within an affective context. Though thousands of unnamed migrants who came before have socially constructed the affective context, the new migrant's feelings will be individual and develop his/her own feelings of identity (Kobayashi *et al*, 2011). In my research, my respondent's affective capacity towards a place played a crucial role in their ability to settle in the United States or desire to return to India. While the places my participants have migrated to were constructed by previous Indian migrants, a sense of belonging was not always found because of different individual desires.

As well as the materiality of place and (re)construction of places of origin in a new location, family plays a crucial affective role for the migrants I interviewed. Family relations are crucial to reasons for migration and, often, the decisions of where one migrates (Yeoh and Willis, 1999). Equally, family often remains the strongest node of transnational connections (Kofman, 2004; Pribilsky, 2004). Family then can act as both simultaneously a reason for migration—to better one's family or to help other family members migrate—and a reason for return—longing for family.

Migration and transnational connectivities are important in migrants' psychic life as "Complex forms of subjectivity and feeling…emerge through geographical mobility" (Conradson and McKay, 2007, 167). Psychologists researching migrants find that the "emotional literacy" is important as migrants recognize the emotions of themselves, other migrants, and those of the host-country (Yoo *et al,* 2006). Such emotional literacy may be important for how easily a migrant can culturally adjust. While emotional literacy is significant for forming groups and making one feel included, individuals appropriate different symbolic forms or relate to objects differently based on their own emotions and

emotional experience (Good, 2004; Meintjes and Luter, 1995). Thus, thinking about

intercultural emotional intelligence becomes difficult because emotions are individual

while also shaped by culture. When thinking about the emotions of migrants it is a

common slippage to let the emotions of a person stand in for some sort of bounded

culture that travelled with them (McKay, 2007). This becomes even more difficult when

one imagines how often emotions are misperceived by others who even share a cultural

group (McKay, 2007). People perform emotions in a usually conscious manner. They

suppress some emotions and make others visible, though there is often an unconscious

seeping (Ahmed, 2004). As emotions are performed, they can often be put against

cultural norms as the psychic work that an individual does to shape one's self either in

congress or in conflict with what cultural notions of selfhood should be (Wierzbicka,

2004). Yet, because of different emotional vocabularies and signs it may be foolhardy to

try to stick them into categories. Instead, Wierzbicka argues research should center on the

role of particular emotions in directing the lives of individuals (Wierzbicka, 2004).

"While feelings of non-belonging are part and parcel of human nature and thus not

restricted to migrants', experiences of loss and homelessness can be directly caused by

migrants-specific predicaments." (Svašek, 2008, 213).

For example, McKay (2007) shows how remittances can be offered as both a

monetary gift and an intimate one (also Singh *et al*, 2010). The pragmatic uses of one's

situation are given out of love, not guilt nor shame of being apart. Similarly in my

research, I would like to think of another gift, that of being a trailblazer which is tied to

the entrepreneurial spirit I discuss in chapter five. Some of my respondents answers were

reminiscent of Saxenian's New Argonauts model: the trailblazer entrepreneur who builds

networks and industries to benefit his/her family, community, and nation. However, many follow a much more grounded form of trailblazing. These migrants move to the United States first and offer guidance for other members of their family to migrate.

Citizenship

The phenomenon of transnational migration complicates the traditional assertions of nation-states as the arbiters of citizenship and belonging. Consequently, transnationalism has expanded debates on citizenship such as whether citizenship should become a question of human rights and international law as states denationalize some of what was distributed by the nation (Sassen, 2005) or become articulated and understood through the lens of urban and city life instead of the nation (Favell, 2010). At the same time, transnational studies have also shown a resurgence of nation-state power to grant citizenship and to exclude non-citizens. Taken together, transnational migration studies have been influential in showing the interconnectedness of supranational, national, and subnational territories and how a permutations of these connections produce different, segmented, or stratified forms of citizenship and belonging (Samers, 2010). Migrants themselves may come to desire dual-citizenship, citizenship of the country of migration, or just permanent residency. In this sense, citizenship can become a strategic negotiating point for migrants, though some elite migrants will have considerably more choice in the matter (Ong, 1999).

That citizenship is the most desired, egalitarian, and democratic inspiration is a romanticization (Bosniak, 2006). Citizenship by nature divides society of who belongs

and who does not, and leads us to question *who it is* that counts (Bosniak, 2006). The distinction then between the citizen and the alien is a dilemma of contemporary membership, from which no escape can be found (Bosniak, 2006). A liberal society often chooses to give aliens rights and legal protections (Kanstroom, 2007). But these rights or this alien citizenship has its limits (Bosniak, 2006). In fact, "the law regulating membership has no bearing at all on aliens' status as persons in a variety of spheres of national life" (Bosniak, 2006, 68).

Citizenship is performed at different scales, through an engagement with a place, becomes symbolized by particular landscapes, and is transgressed by the mobility of beings (Desforges, Jones, and Woods, 2005). Within a society, because of race, class, and gender there is unevenness to citizenship (Anderson and Taylor, 2005). Citizenship *status* does not directly overlap with citizenship *rights* (Bosniak, 2006). Since citizenship is performed by ordinary, everyday practices, and goes beyond formal citizenship (Staeheli *et al*, 2012), I argue that sometimes those who are not U.S. citizens may have stronger feelings of belonging or be on a more favorable end of the uneven citizenship debate than some who are formally incorporated in the United States. In part this is because of the relationship between the separation model of citizenship (where citizenship entails rights granted to aliens) and a convergence model where aliens are regulated differently despite presence in the community (Bosniak, 2006). This interplay between models means class allows skilled migrants many rights, but their presence is still regulated and rights are limited (Prashad, 2000; 2012). Elite, and certainly middle-class skilled, migrants do face barriers in belonging and inclusion (unlike some interpretations of Ong [1999]'s argument).

It is not merely the fact of belonging, but unpacking the ways in which belonging is actively practiced by individuals that offers insights into new forms of citizenship beyond formal inclusion (Mee and Wright, 2009). Ho's (2009) use of emotional citizenship helps tie notions of citizenship and transnationality identity to emotions, feelings of longing, absence, and belonging. These feelings are often contradictory but no less play a role in the fashioning of self and of citizenship (Conradson and Latham, 2007). They create a dual-orientation that pushes the migrant both back home and away from home (Ahmed, 2006).

Cities are often studied as sites of citizenship and belonging where immigrants can perform citizenship and mix with other ethnic groups (Nagel and Staeheli, 2004; Isin, 2002; Secor, 2004). Yet, there has been a rising consideration of how rural or suburban areas also become sites where belonging can be found and contested through cultural and religious practice (Shah, Dwyer, and Gilbert, 2013; Dwyer, Gilbert, and Shah, 2013; Bugg, 2013). This is especially true for middle-class skilled migrants who often seek the American Dream as played out in suburban life (Grewal, 2005).

Assimilation

The modern industrialized urban state, especially the United States, exists in a blending of 18th- and 19th-century liberalist and nationalist political ideologies in such a way that 'the nation' is viewed as a people. Therefore, the remnants of ethnic groups or ethnicity are often regarded as dated and inconvenient (Gordon, 1964). However, as Milton Gordon asserted "[t]he sense of ethnicity has proved to be hardy … the sense of ethnic belonging has survived in various forms and with various names, but it has not

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perished, and twentieth-century urban man is closer to his stone-age ancestors than he knows" (Gordon, 1964, 25). This persistence is in large part due to the "social-psychological element of a special sense of both ancestral and future-oriented identification with the group" (Gordon, 1964, 29). Ethnic groups also persist because a people often share what Gordon calls a social structure, or a set of social relations. For those who have settled, the nation-state itself, race, religion and national background all play into the way individuals form identities. These come together more often in combinations than they are thought of as separate.

These combinations and the diversity of ethnic groups provide the fabric for the rich tapestry of American social structure which "may be seen, then, as a national society which contains within its political boundaries a series of *subsocieties* based on ethnic identity" playing out in a "network of organizations, informal social relationships, and institutional activities" (Gordon, 1964, 37). All these ethnic groups and the overlaps between them are contained within the common allegiances and civil, legal, and political responsibilities of American society. The very meetings of these in the national context of the "we", forces one to inquire who is the "we" and how are people known to be constituted as deserving subjects (Bosniak, 2006).

These meetings and overlaps of ethnic groups relate to an important question in American society, that of assimilation and acculturation. For Gordon, structural assimilation — the acceptance of minorities or an ethnic group into wider organizations and networks — is as significant as acculturation — the adoption of cultural trope and the language of the core group — though not as inevitable. However, Gordon indicates that assimilation happens somewhere between the poles of "total assimilation", an ethnic

group takes on all the elements of the dominant group in a country and becomes indivisible, and the "melting pot" where each ethnic group, and the dominant group, blend their cultures together. Yet, place is never static, but always evolving and being shaped by those who interact with and within it (Massey, 1994). As migrants interact and change with some spaces, they play out these complex processes of assimilation (Ehrkamp, 2005).

As actual assimilation lies between "the melting pot" and "total assimilation", one can observe the ideological and political on what defines the mainstream. By focusing on these debates and migrants' or an ethnic group's response, one can understand assimilation "not only as a pattern of sameness, but as a relational process of making sameness" (Nagel, 2009, 401). By "making sameness", Nagel highlights the discursive processes that on the one hand, provide a certain stability of a culture through institutional structures, and on the other are changing, being reinterpreted, and renegotiated. Within this framework, some differences come to matter more than others and lead to deviance, while others become acceptable and encouraged. The question then arises of how transnationalism affects this making sameness. In part, this making sameness occurs through the dialectical relationship between migrants and native-citizens as they construct their identities through political debates and everyday interaction (Ehrkamp, 2006). Such processes also occur through the ways interpretations of alienage force a society to confront normative nationalism in the face of the other (Bosniak, 2006).

Transnationalism also complicates citizenship as we think of people existing in two nations and engaging in the making sameness of both. Overseas Indians, are an important part of the construction of the idea of an Indian nation, both the Indian state

and the Indian economy. Kapur (2010) makes an argument that the loss of talent in India has helped explain part of its development and the success of Indian democracy. Rather than stagnate, the elite of India had the ability to move out and new elites could rise up. These elites who left, however, were able to engage in the discourse of two nations (often the U.S. and India). Thus, as a form of social remittance, democracy and democratic ideals were brought back. Grewal also speaks of performative citizenship through transnational consumption (Grewal, 2005). Yet, the political forms migrants take to assert citizenship remain an important part of assimilation (Ehrkamp and Leitner, 2003). Interviewees discussed how getting involved in political groups, such as Immigration Voice, and calling members of congress about their visas allowed them to perform citizenship and make them feel more American. Such political and social claims for recognition are how one becomes emotionally involved as a citizen and strengthens senses of belonging (Ho, 2009).

In terms of the scope of this research, I also want to draw attention to one's ability to make a home in the United States based on how well a multi-generational family can assimilate. Instead of thinking merely about how children of migrants assimilate, I want to draw attention to the importance of a migrant's parents ability to visit the United States and feel comfortable, if not completely feeling as if they assimilated, or even to completely move to the United States. The older professionals who responded to my study spoke of how important it was for their parents to visit for a full B-2 (tourist) visa. Those whose families felt comfortable in the United States often seemed to come from more educated families with high English fluency, which has often been similarly

reported of other Indian migrant families (Prashad, 2000; Grewal, 2005; Lamb, 2002; 2009; Shankar, 2008; Mankekar, 2015).

New Diasporas

Current migrations are creating new displacements and thus diasporas. Diaspora offers a critique of fixed origin, while taking account a homing desire which is not always for the homeland (Brah, 1996). Not all diasporas have an ideology of return, but there is an orientation towards a real or fictitious homeland. Diasporas complicate politics of locations, because they also invoke dislocations (Brah, 1996). As a result of such dislocations and personal narratives the geographical and psychic space can come to offer different "histories" (Brah, 1996).

Diaspora space is the intersectionality of diaspora, border, dis/location as a point of confluence of economic, political, cultural, and psychic processes. Diaspora space offers an important way of thinking of subject-formation as "[d]iaspora space is a place where belonging and otherness are contested. It also includes entanglements of the genealogies of dispersion with those who 'stayed put'. Diaspora space allows the native to become diasporian as the diasporian is seen as native" (Brah, 1996, 209).

Taking Brah's theories further, Cho proposes to not think of diasporas as people, but instead as emerging from relations to power by turning to and also away from power (Cho, 2005). Diasporas then exist as trace of colonial injustice, and of past histories of racial intolerance or racialized oppression (Cho, 2005; Cheng, 1997). However, Brah asks us to think not only of historic diasporas, but of new diasporas. While there are colonial histories related to Indian IT migrants, this may not offer productive insights into

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thinking about their skilled migration to the United States. Instead, one should focus more on the modes of power at play as well as the dislocations present.

Ethnic Enclaves and Ethnoburbs

Ethnic enclaves are so common, so prosaic they are often taken for granted. Indeed, almost all ethnic communities in all cities tend to form clustering patters (Olson and Kobayashi, 1993; Kaplan and Li, 2006; Hutchison and Krase, 2007). Traditionally, immigrants or other minorities were considered poor, often worked in industrial jobs, had low educational attainment and/or low English proficiency, and thus clustered in less desirable parts of the city forming enclaves of people of similar cultural, linguistic, and socio-economic backgrounds. Many who obtained wealth, raised their social status, or otherwise were considered to have assimilated moved out of these enclaves, leaving the poor and less-educated in the cities (for an example of this traditional view of ethnic enclaves and their dispersal, see Lieberson, 1963; Massey, 1985).

Because of the shift outwards, the new forms of migration, and rising technologies Zelinsky and Lee (1998) posited residential propinquity was no longer a necessary factor of migrant settlement. While this is partially true, as more migrants, particularly high-skilled ones move towards the suburbs, just walking around suburban neighborhoods and apartment complexes in Cary and Morrisville, one can experience what are probably high concentrations of certain ethnicities still. Yet, Zelinsky and Lee's premise — that access to transportation, access to capital, and new forms of communication push towards more diffuse settlements — has relevance.

As Price (2010) argues, since the contribution of Zelinsky and Lee, new forms of technology, such as Facebook or cell phones (and I'd argue, Skype), have made those who want to communicate with others of their ethnic group easier, including people still in India, even when they are not the majority of an area. This has indeed led to part of the reshaping of the ethnic divide. Communication has made friends and family members who live elsewhere seem less distant. However, physical interaction is still crucial, as Price herself notes, as religious centers, communities, and workplaces offer counter-points to the older idea of purely residential grouping (2010). It is the persistent pull of physical interaction which makes ethnic enclaves still demographic realities.

In fact, Zelinsky and Lee's notion of technological innovation and access to transportation has allowed for a continuation of the ethnic enclave model, even as people assuage their desires to live outside of densely urban areas. With access to transportation, particularly the ability to drive and own a car, it is easier for migrants to live outside of a traditional enclave but go to these places saturated with affective meaning as well as people of their similar ethnic group, be they temples, places of work, businesses, or other community centers.

Another crucial shift which could explain the persistence of ethnic enclaves has to do with the shift toward circular or temporary migrants. Permanent migration and assimilation is not always the end goal for migrants, even those of the skilled classes. These skilled workers on temporary visas, entrepreneurs, investors, people working for transnational firms, and international students are often choosing to replicate concentrated ethnic enclaves, though not always in the traditional blighted inner-city neighborhoods (Hong and Yoon, 2014). Instead settlement is often occurring outside the

city in the suburban sphere (Dunn, 1998; Ley and Murphy, 2001; Vo and Danico, 2004)—or what is often called the ethnoburb (Li, 1998). Of course, for many poorer migrants, traditional inner-city enclaves still exist (Poulsen *et al,* 2006). And this is true for the many poorer South Asian migrants who migrate (Prashad, 2000; 2012; Ashutosh, 2008; 2012; 2014). Yet, intriguingly, many lower income South Asian migrants are drawn to settle lower-income housing in these ethnoburbs (Mankekar, 2015).

I argue that the concept of the ethnoburb helps explain settlement of Indians in the Raleigh-Durham area. Wei Li coined the term ethnoburb to address a new pattern of ethnic settlement that converges with the cultural (re)production of ethnic neighborhoods in suburbia instead of urban locales (Li, 1998). Ethnic neighborhoods exist not as bounded ethnic enclaves, but are formed through multifarious connections transcending urban and national space (Dwyer, 2004). Yet, increasingly since the 1990s, migrants have dispersed from urban-concentrated areas, often because of areas of employment moving to the peripheries of the city (Liaw and Frey, 2007). This has meant a concentration of services, centers of community, and spaces of cultural consumption that were formerly concentrated in ethnic neighborhoods have also dispersed.

For Li, an ethnoburb is a suburban community that consists of a large concentration of a specific ethnic group. Li proposes that the ethnic group may not be a majority, as with ethnic enclave neighborhoods within a city. Yet, in an ethnoburb an ethnic group will be a large minority with many commercial enterprises geared at the group. Li sees the ethnoburb's creation tied to changing dynamics at the international, national, and local scales: "Global economic and geopolitical restructuring alter economic relations and the world order, making capital, information, and labor flows

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increasingly internationalized and creating the structural conditions for establishment of an ethnoburb" (Li, 1998, 482). Though on a considerably smaller scale than gargantuan global cities, ethnoburbs no less work as complex layerings of transnational connections and a middling form of transnationalism (Friesen *et al*, 2005).

Ethnoburbs serve as "global outposts" in part because migration of the residents of ethnoburbs often followed global economic shifts and changing U.S. Immigration policy. Often, middle- or elite-class migrants settle in ethnoburbs. Yet, entrepreneurial migrants will engage in kinship or ethnic labor patterns bringing less-skilled migrants to these areas (Ong, 1999; Biao, 2006; Grewal, 2005; Saxenian, 2007). In these instances, ethnoburbs are tied both to global labor markets of entrepreneurial migrants, skilled migrants, and low-skilled migrants.

Ethnoburbs are also significant because they are not only places where an ethnic group lives, but places where an ethnic group conducts specific commercial activities (Li, 1998). Consumption is important to the identity formation and the solidification of transnational groups (Grewal, 2005). The movement of goods, ideas, media, and people are all important for transnational connections (Hannerz, 1996). Within ethnoburbs such places of connection are highly present. These connections also allow the ethnoburb to become an affective site as the expansion of commercial and social services make these municipalities very familiar to immigrants who are anxious to retain their language and sense of culture (Kobayashi *et al*, 2011). Meanwhile, the presence and proliferation of Indian grocery stores, clothing stores, temples, and restaurants "refract sensory engagements with other places, landscapes and natures…[enclosing] shards of other environments" (Tolia-Kelly, 2004, 676). .

Among Indian ethnoburbs, the Indian grocery store becomes an important site of transnationality. At the same time, Indian grocery stores sell more than just food: They sell India (Mankekar, 2002). In what Mankekar describes as 'India Shopping', store owners in the Fremont, California area connect patrons to a wide range of products, media, and ideas from India. For Mankekar, the nodal point of Indian grocery stores as sites of public culture enable us to track how, in Indian America, "'Culture' is reified in terms of loss or fear of loss" (Mankekar, 2002, 81). Grocery stores become such important centers of meaning because "food, in the migrant/diasporic subject's cosmos, becomes —whatever it might have been at its place of origin— tenaciously tethered to economies simultaneously and irreducibly national and moral" (Roy, 2002, 472). The material practices of food and eating viscerally conjure up nostalgia, but their replications may help people find a sense of belonging (Narayan, 1995). Cooking and feasting often have a communal aspect, which is particularly important for migrants seeking community in far-away places (Longhurst *et al.* 2009).

Ethnic groups who live in ethnoburbs are often closer to their places of work than traditional suburban residents. Li concludes that ethnoburbs seem to act as hybrids of traditional suburbs and ethnic-enclave neighborhoods. While they often offer housing for middle- and higher-income professional residents, well-ranked schools, and other tropes of suburbia, they also act as commercial centers for an ethnic group and employ many lower-skilled migrants which help to form a concentrated interweaving of an ethnic group in a specific place. The desires for consumption, liberal citizenship, and good work, meld into the "American Dream" and produce a specific subject of migration (Grewal, 2005, 5). Ethnoburbs become important sites of this middle-class migrant subject.

These dreams, aspirations, and desired relationships constituent of middle-class subject-formation also play out in migrants' relations to material spaces. In speaking about preference for the natural environment of the suburbs of Canada over the urban environment of Hong Kong, Kobayashi *et al.* (2011) noticed the deep connections between a yearning for a particular kind of place and desiring a particular quality of relationship. In their research, migrants spoke of a preference for a natural environment, with trees and green-space which was not present in the austere urban environment of Hong Kong. Yet, these discussions of natural environment were intertwined with the migrant's desired lifestyle and connection with family in Canada. This resonates with my participants' discussions of what they miss about India and enjoy about Raleigh-Durham. Students spoke of missing an urban environment, but when asked what they missed about the urban environment, responses centered around missing meeting up with friends and being close to family. In other words, many of the activities and spaces they missed were tied to people with whom they experienced these activities spaces. Older migrants spoke of their preference for green space over the dense cities of India, though at the same time discussed activities they do with their family and friends. Kobayashi *et al* (2011, 878) conclude "place is not an abstract aesthetic, but rather a nurturing concept". In this sense, ethnoburbs act as this nurturing which is tied to both the American Dream and preferred familial connections.

The ethnoburb serves as an apt description for the development in the Raleigh-Durham area. In reviewing census data over the last 20 years one can see the concentration and growth of Indian communities in two suburbs of Raleigh, Morrisville and Cary.

One important part of an ethnoburb are religious institutions particular to members of the dominant ethnic group. Spaces can be thought of as shaped by a triad of overlapping moments: perceived, conceived, and lived (Lefebvre, 1991). One could expand Lefebvre's notion of space to thinking of migrant spaces of spirituality as: a physical space, a space of representation, and an experienced space (Fridolfsson and Elander, 2012). Therefore, religious institutions offer specific sites of belonging to a particular community, though a religious institution's structure may leave many excluded and unwelcomed (Ehrkamp, 2005). For the Indian community of Raleigh-Durham, Hindu temples offer such specific sites of belonging. They both offer religious and social communities as well as symbolic claims to belonging by their presence. However, my interviews touch on how some temple communities may make certain migrants more excluded than welcomed. Other migrants may be disinterested in religious institutions altogether. Temples, as religious sites, offer sites of belonging, however, to whom the site belongs may be contested. The presence of multiple temple complexes with different theological leanings also increases the probability of most religious people finding a community where they feel comfortable.

Ethnoburbs are important to understanding issues of migrants' decision making because they work as points of transnational connections. Brah's concept of 'Diaspora Space', the intersectionalities as a point of confluence of economic, political, cultural, and psychic processes play out in the ethnoburb. The ethnoburb also stands out as a place of economic development in a region often connected to other signs of economic strength.

The ethnoburb is a space where certain migrants may develop a sense of belonging. It is a bundle of social organizations and material spaces which through practice have helped migrants "place" their identities (Ehrkamp, 2005). Yet, other features are at work when thinking about Indian IT migrant's desire to stay or return. If subject-formation is in part at play through relations to power (Butler, 2006) and policy decisions play another role in forming subjects (Ong, 1999; Grewal, 2005), one can look at how this plays out when thinking about skilled migrants and their encounters with the visa system. Many of these trajectories of migrants seem as haphazard and a part of happenstance as involving any clear plan. Ho (2011) used the term "accidental navigator" to refer to middle-class migrants who tend to incrementally increase their visa stays in order to stay longer in the country. Skilled migrants apply for further visas as they self-fashion through feeling "desired" in host countries (Conradson and Latham, 2005). In the end, this could accumulate and with time migrants often feel more emotionally attached and embedded in their communities, applying for further extensions (Ho, 2011). As my interviews illustrate, such incremental gains are key to understanding Indian IT migration in the Triangle. For those who stay and settle, one can observe their traces on the landscape of the ethnoburbs and cities of the area. With larger and deeper communities, comes more embedding, leading perhaps to longer stays. Yet, I also argue that the "self-fashioning" and "reach" (Conradson and Latham, 2007; Ahmed, 2006) lead many, especially younger migrants, to consider moving to areas of even greater importance in the IT field; or returning to India as entrepreneurs. At the same time, emotional pangs of loss of family also play a crucial role in this negotiation. Perhaps, it is a question of how strong such pulls are, before one gets lost in the game of incremental visa extensions.

Chapter Three: Methods

This research is designed to investigate what skilled migrants consider in deciding where to pursue their careers in the technology industry. Specifically, its focus is on what migrants consider important when thinking about pursuing their careers in Raleigh-Durham, North Carolina, elsewhere in the United States, or returning to India. It is designed to investigate what sort of daily activities migrants engage in and what connections they foster both here and abroad. It also investigates how skilled people make migration decisions within a contradictory immigration policy that desires skilled migration while pushing for temporary residency. Finally, this research examines how a region, Raleigh-Durham, NC, has been altered by the development of new technologies and related industries, demographic changes, and the formations of new ethnic enclaves. This research falls into work on transnational lived experience that "interrogates dominant narratives of citizenship and the nation as these are produced and challenged in particular political-economic contexts" (Lawson, 2000, 176).

Research Population

This thesis draws on qualitative, semi-structured interviews with 24 IT professionals who migrated from India. My interviews consisted of in-person and digital interviews, and my interviews were with four subsets of IT professionals: migrant couples who work in IT, single migrants who work in IT, and members of the Indian community who do not work in IT. I also met with faculty at the computer science departments of UNC, Duke, and NC State. I identified potential respondents through making personal contacts with university professors, people on temple boards, and people

at major IT companies. I distributed digital flyers over departmental and company list-servs. Prospective respondents were given my contact information and decided themselves whether to contact me.

Formal interviews were conducted with two identified groups, "professional couples" and "single graduate students". All respondents immigrated on a skilled visa, F-1, H-1B, or H-4 from India. In my particular sample, some were on F-1 visas, while others had obtained citizenship. No one was currently on an H-1B visa or an H-4 visa at the time of the interview, though many had been on it. By the nature of their visas, all were designated as skilled migrants.

Those interviewed were at various levels of their career. Two had retired. Five currently worked in the technology industry. The others were students currently working on their MS or PhD degrees. Most, but not all, of the students had prior work experience before coming to the United States for school. However, the student population tended to be younger and beginning their careers. There were two spouses who had immigrated on a spousal visa. Both were no longer on the spousal visa when I interviewed them. One was now on a student visa, the other was now a citizen. All except for one couple lived in the Research Triangle at the time of the interview.

Informal interviews were conducted with faculty members of the Duke, UNC, and NC State Computer Science programs to gather information on the schools and the changing demographics of their programs. Interviews were conducted with temple organizers to understand more about the history and population of the temples. One interview was conducted with a Christian campus minister who had been working with the international student community for twenty years. This campus minister offers a

luncheon and religious fellowship service targeting international engineering and computer science students. Such interviews were typically conducted in person, though some were over email or the telephone. Often, these led to the informant distributing my contact information to possible participants.

The formal interviews I conducted with research participants happened over two periods. Most of the professionals were interviewed during July and August of 2013. However, many of the students were on internships in the summer or had not yet arrived in North Carolina. In addition, a number of them returned to India over winter break. Most student interviews were conducted in January, 2014

Interviews

I employed semi-structured interviews as the primary research method for this project, since the purpose was to understand intimate processes more in-depth (Herbert, 2009). My project drew on the literatures of transnationalism, citizenship, and skilled migration. Semi-structured interviews offered a migrant the chance to place himself/herself and his/her agency within the contexts of these literatures (Silvey and Lawson, 1999). Within this, I employ Ho's (2011) method of the "accidental navigator" to investigate how migrants think about moving between visa systems and seeking citizenship.

Migrants have thought complexly about their decisions to migrate, to seek citizenship, and to return to their country of origin (Leitner and Ehrkamp, 2006). Asking migrants to speak then about their decisions seemed a prudent way to gather insight into their thoughts of belonging. Semi-structured interviews enabled me to elicit information in a conversational way that brought out nuances in decisions (Valentine, 1997). The

conversational style removes many of the constrictions of firmly structured interviews, but also allows the researcher to direct and guide the conversation (Valentine, 1997). Semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to explore depths, interrogate certain points, or ask for more clarity of respondents (McDowell, 2009). When thinking about how people live transnationally, the sorts of complex questions about identity and subjectivity that arise call for critical in-depth interviews where the migrants places their own stories at the center (Lawson, 2000). Such biographical approaches raise questions about the importance of theorizing migration differently and then employing methods *in relation* to the broader theoretical arguments being addressed (Graham, 1999). Interviews allow for migrants' stories to reveal the empirical disjuncture between "expectations of migration, produced through dominant and pervasive discourses of modernization, and the actual experiences of migrants" (Lawson, 2000, 174). They also offer important details on access to labor markets and social networks, and are not "merely unique individual experiences but, rather, are systematically shaped by social relations of gender, class, ethnicity, and migrant status" (*ibid*). Often listening to the narratives of migrants' stories goes further to reveal the operation of difference.

I was able to research information about respondents prior to most interviews through the professional networking outlet Linked In. Several respondents also had websites, either personal or through their company or university, that I could visit to obtain background information to strengthen my knowledge of the respondent before the interview. I was able to peruse published papers, learn about their specialty or position, and discern their educational background. This is akin to Andy Herod's finding that foreign *elites* often have information available that foreign *non-elites* do not (Herod,

1999). While for the most part, Herod's discussion of elites draws on people who tend to lead firms rather than middle-class skilled migrants, his observations lead one to consider the differences between interviewing *foreign* and *non-foreign* elites. Gaining access to elites is often about serendipity and availability to networks (McDowell, 1998). For this reason I went through informants and informal discussions with people to gain access to a network of people who wished to be interviewed.

While interviewing skilled migrants, the researcher and the respondent often connect over similarities (Harvey, 2010). Especially among the graduate student interviews, I found myself connecting with my respondents in ways I would not have expected (Hopkins, 2007). This is in part because the respondent is well-educated and from a similar class to the researcher, and often has a similar interest in the project (Harvey, 2010). However, Herod observes that with *foreign elites*, cultural differences may be there that need to be unpacked (Herod, 1999). In thinking about return migration, it was important to consider what cultural differences might be, to not make assumptions of understanding, and to push for further clarification.

While time is an important characteristic for all respondents to interviews, professionals often have a rigorously managed schedule (Harvey, 2010). As a result, the location and time of meetings becomes very important and the researcher needs to remain highly flexible (Elwood and Martin, 2000). Particularly, families with small children and the graduate students had very time-compressed lives. Graduate students also lacked transportation, many not having cars. Only three of them were in the Raleigh-Durham area during my initial research visit in the summer.[6] The more senior students were on

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[6] Of those 3, two were interviewed face-to-face. However, when they found out they were both being interviewed they showed up together as they did not want to walk alone.

internships or traveling back to India; the first-year students had not yet arrived in the U.S. For these reasons, I began to experiment with Skype which offers a new virtual space for people to meet who otherwise could not for an interview, usually because of distance (Bertrand and Bourdeau, 2010). Work on Skype has mostly focused on the way Skype allows intimate communication as "Skype with video conveys something of the materiality of the bodies. It is about the hearing, and *seeing* the lived flesh of the 'real' person or people on the screen. It is about being able to observe the expressions, comportment, clothing, movements, and surrounds of other screen" (Longhurst, 2013, 665).

This research utilizes some insights from the field of psychoanalysis, and in this sense it hopes to take the unconscious seriously (Thomas, 2007). Particularly, it draws on people's discussion of their everyday activities and what they miss from India, or their life pre-migration. Doing so, it connects to Freud's theories of the development of the subject's sense of *I* through the subject's identifications with society, other people, and places (Thomas, 2007).

Since this project addresses desires, hopes, and feelings, I became interested in extra-discursive elements of my interviews. Semi-structured interviews often search for "*that* question, the question that directly addresses the heart of the research…[A]t the moment when such a question is posed…speech itself evaporates" (Proudfoot, 2010). Questions in my interview were sometimes met with sadness, tears, sighs, and moments of great excitement. As the interview progressed, the respondent often became more engaged in memories. Sometimes, they did not want the interview to conclude as, many of them told me, these interviews allowed them to recount things they missed. This often

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happened in the debriefing, after the questions, and as I summarized key points for the

respondent to provide further comment or clarification (Kvale, 2005). While I had some

concern about the extra-discursive elements of the interview over Skype, those I

interviewed use Skype daily to communicate with family members. In other words, skype

to them was normal and there was little awkwardness derived from using this medium.

After concluding several informal conversations with informants, I began

interviewing IT professionals. Though I did interview two students early on, most of the

students were interviewed in the second phase of interviews (January, 2014). In total I

interviewed six professionals in IT and fifteen graduate students studying computer

science at area universities. Two of the professionals had retired. The six professionals

had all sought citizenship. Six of the graduate students were working on a PhD. Nine of

the students were seeking an MS.

Table 3.1. Table of Respondents.

Respondents			
6 PhD students	9 MS students	4 professionals	2 retirees
3 couples	4 married, but just one spouse responded	14 single	

I interviewed three couples. One was a professional couple, while the other two

couples were students. Interviewing couples allows for an understanding of families as

units of individuals and one can explore the creation and negotiation of desires within the

family. While interviewing couples is not the same as conducting focus groups, couples

offer insightful moments of confirmation, disagreement, or silence (Secor, 2010). Because many of the events discussed by couples have been experienced together, they speak towards different or similar interpretations of shared experiences. One couple had been dating for many years, but had not married. The other couples were married. In addition, the two retired gentleman appeared for an interview together, as one gentleman brought his friend. Couple or group interviews were often much longer than single-interviews, lasting two or more hours. Single-interviews usually lasted one hour, though sometimes lasted as long as two. All respondents were given pseudonyms. Respondents signed consent forms.

Interview questions were relatively similar for professionals and students. However, interviews with professionals who had sought citizenship proceeded with an assumption that these respondents had a great knowledge of the visa system and thought through nuances of staying or returning. Interviews explored a longer narrative of how they navigated the visa and came to the decision to seek citizenship.

Meanwhile, interviews with graduate students followed from the assumption that their life had been somewhat planned, and that they had begun to think of pros and cons of both staying and returning. These interviews examined their own hopes and desires and their planned career trajectories. At first, broad questions were asked, such as would they return to India, and if so, when. Yet, further questions asked them more specifics following their proposed career and explored the ways they had thought about applying for various visas. This probing helped gain insights into how many students had already begun to think instrumentally in ways that lead the "accidental navigator" model.

Further, the interviews began with narratives of prior work experience, education, and initial reasons for moving to the United States. Particularly, I focused on the reasons that brought people to the Raleigh-Durham area. Moving from there, I began to ask for respondents' thoughts on their career progression, and what factors led them to seek further stay in the United States or return to India. Though this was the crux of my research, I tended to ask a broad question earlier in the interview, and then ask more specific questions about factors further on. These conversations moved to what people missed about India, to what ties such as family, friends, or property they maintained, and generally to try to examine what people seriously consider in thinking of returning. I then began to examine in what activities the respondent participated and what personal networks had been built by the respondent. I also queried what places, such as temples or grocery stores, the respondent had found to help his or her settling in the area.

The movement to include more interviews with graduate students evolved from my initial interviews. As the more mature respondents had already sought and received citizenship, I decided to expand the research project to better understand what students think in the beginning of their careers. Several of the MS students had just completed their first semester in the United States and their responses help illustrate the myriad of desires to move to the United States and the conflicted considerations to stay or return. Through my questions, the students responded more regarding their initial settlements in the area than longer term residents. Many of them had recently moved and felt as if they were still getting acquainted with the area and the U.S. These offered insights into initial transitions that interviews with older residents did not. Questions to graduate students often focused more explicitly on parceling out the differences between draws to the

Raleigh-Durham area and the greater United States. When thinking about the navigation

of the visa process, many students had never changed visa status. Yet, many had

knowledge of processes and strategies to secure visas even though they had not yet tried

to obtain an H-1B, an OPT work extension to an F-1, or an H-4 visa. Their views on visa

obtainment were much more straightforward and clinical than professionals who had

experienced various nuanced levels of the visa system.

While all but one of the interviews with professionals was carried out in person,

the graduate student population was, as mentioned earlier, a major reason for

experimenting with Skype-to-Skype, as opposed to face-to-face, interviews. These

students were technology students and communicating through technology was common

for them. I feel one of the strengths of this form of technology was it allowed us to

communicate for long periods of time without the students feeling rushed. They did not

have to travel anywhere. It also allowed for me to meet with them at hours when one

would not normally conduct an interview as many people had unusual times available.

For instance, one family only had 10 PM EST on a Friday available to be interviewed.

Unanticipated Detours and Reflections

While I knew one always travels out into the field expecting trials and

tribulations, I had at least hoped I would not have to shift my research population. My

initial goal was to understand family migration patterns and how couples negotiate the

decisions together. However, after contacting many informants and spreading word of my

project, few Indian families responded. I did, though, have many responses from students

and people whose spouses were not Indian. I decided then to expand my initial research

question to address broader questions of how skilled migrants think of returning without solely focusing on all-Indian families[7]. Despite circulating my information on company websites, those who replied were not currently on H-1B visas. While interview subjects had been on the visa at some time, I did not interview anyone currently on it. Similarly, no one was currently on the H-4 visa. However, this helped illustrate to me the reasons, ways, and strategies several people on an H-4 visa seek other visas status. One other pitfall was my trip to Sri Venketswara when, after a long conversation with temple organizers, I had set up a meeting during their festival. However, a deluge came down as I was waiting for some of those I was meeting to finish some of the ceremonies. People frantically tried to clean up the ceremony and they no longer had a desire for an interview. These organizers never responded to emails for rescheduling.

During this research, some people who had returned to India contacted me about my study. Two interviews were scheduled, yet both were cancelled. They did not respond to emails for rescheduling.

My initial desire to better understand how people live on the current H-1B and H-4 visa seems scantly addressed in the final product of this research. Interviews offered more insight into what people long for and how they make communities. The student population expanded into thinking about hopes and dreams at the early phase of a career. However, the original question still lingers less examined as no one was currently on H-1B or H-4 visas.

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[7] By this, I mean I interviewed two Indians who were married to non-Indians. One was married to a Chinese migrant, the other a German.

Chapter Four: Skilled Migration, Economic Development, and Cultural Change:

Indian Immigration in the Technology Field in the Raleigh-Durham Area

> "Whereas the United States is deeply enriched by its Indian American Residents…That the House of Representatives recognized the valuable and significant contributions of Indian Americans to American society:…urges all Americans to recognize the contributions of Indian Americans and have a greater appreciation of the role Indian Americans have played in helping to advance and enrich American society" (US Congress, 2005).

> "The Indian community in North Carolina supplies many of our doctors, our entrepreneurs, our software engineers…and you will continue to contribute to our state's growth" (McCrory, 2013).

Introduction

In chapter two I established Indian migration as an integral part of high-tech industries' development in the U.S. and North Carolina, and particularly within the Research Triangle Park. The long-gone tobacco farms and textile mills that once defined the region have been replaced by this burgeoning high-tech sector. Demographics have changed as well. The suburban areas around the park have rapidly developed, populated with many people from elsewhere in the United States and international migrants, mostly from India. Indians, an almost non-existent group in the Triangle in 1980, now make up an important part of the workforce for this high-tech industry. Students from India also comprise over 50% of the computer science Masters' program at NC State, as well as much of the electrical computer engineering program at State and the computer science and other engineering programs at Duke and UNC.

Illustrating this change one of my respondents, Buddhiman, a retired IBM employee who came to NC State in the 1960s as a student, remembered Morrisville "being just a stoplight" when he first settled in the area. Now a growing town, Morrisville has the highest concentration of Indians living in the South. Similarly, Buddhiman recalls Cary as a small town on his arrival. Now it is North Carolina's seventh largest city.

In chapter two's literature review I enumerate the multiple complex processes that lead many Indian IT migrants to consider seeking further residency in the U.S. or to a return to India. In this chapter, I build off of the reviewed literature to examine a few key ideas. In the first part of the chapter, I direct attention to stresses caused by the visa system to see how these play a part in my first research question. I look more closely at how the H-1B and F-1 visa programs come to create a temporal border, causing stress on the migrants' lives. I also assess how H-4 visas can be thought of as creating a form of 'benching' which keeps a certain part of the migrant population out of work.

In the second part of this chapter I turn toward looking at how transnational connections have had impacts toward the decision process and how these connections are crucial to all three of my research questions. I note ways in which those I interview have maintained political and economic connections, often in the form of remittances, to India. I then look at how emotional and cultural ties have helped shape the suburbs around RTP to specifically address my second and third research questions. As many Indians have settled in Morrisville and Cary, these suburbs have become ethnoburbs, or suburban ethnic enclaves. Many Indian cultural and commercial centers have developed. The proliferation of Indian businesses and cultural centers in the area has done much to help migrants settle. These have created spaces for the Indian community and have been integral both to Indians' coming to the area and remaining there. I close this chapter by illustrating several of the sorts of businesses and cultural centers that have appeared in Cary and Morrisville, as well as describing the largest "Indian mall", a strip mall known as Chatham Square in Cary.

The IT Labor Market and Guest Worker Programs

The 'pseudo-commodity' of labor power is both a capacity of the human body and a good which is traded at various geographical scales. Labor power then is an unusual commodity as borders shape the labor market in particular ways. The border sorts migrants between those who can cross legally and those who cannot. The processes of filtering and differentiation that occur at the border clearly shape labor forces in and across variegated spaces (Mezzadra and Neilsen, 2012).

Sometimes, the temporal borders of the visa also create other borders to one's lives. In the case of the H-1B one limitation is the barrier it presents to changing jobs. Though no one I interviewed discussed feeling particularly dissatisfied with their job on the H-1B, internet message boards are often full of complaints of people feeling stuck in a job. The H-1B or F-1 also leaves people in a state of constant anticipation, planning ahead, preparing to renew a visa before it expires. The visa cannot be renewed quickly, so candidates must apply for extensions long-before they would technically need a new visa. In chapter two I began to discuss the accidental navigator, describing how temporary migrants often fall into a permanent migrant status without initial intent to permanently migrate. The accidental navigator becomes such as s/he tries to stay a few paces ahead of the expired visa and the closing border. My research findings show respondents planned their long-term trajectories in advance, though there is always a short-term need for advancing to a longer visa or getting a visa extension to prevent that border from closing. These long-term and short-term goals sometimes work in tension, sometimes in tandem. For many the short-term trajectory (receive the next visa) often worked against a desire of the long-term (return to India).

In this sense the visa and the border imaginary play into the decisions of skilled migrants. This temporal border exists quite differently than holding camps, but the period of waiting highlighted by Andrijasevic (2010) holds sway. Skilled migrants must wait to see if their next visa or visa extension is authorized. In so doing, short-term goals become the center of attention. The process of deciding to stay or go becomes incremental. Respondents to interviews often mentioned a similar trajectory. Almost all student respondents said they would apply for an H-1B visa after they got a job through an F-1 OPT visa extension. Though this extension is good for one year with a 17-month extension available for computer science professionals, almost all student respondents said they would apply for an H-1B visa immediately after obtaining a job. Even students who were very serious about returning to India after 2 years of work in the U.S. spoke of this plan. Only the people who had no desire to stay past the first year of OPT said they would not apply for an H-1B visa. Rahul, a first-year Masters' student at NC State, spoke of wanting to return to India after his F-1 visa's OPT extension expired. Yet, when I asked him if he had thought of applying for an H-1B visa, he responded "you have to apply for [the] visa right away. It takes a long time to get it…if you're doing good work, you want to stay and finish the project…I want to return to India after two years of work, but I don't want to leave in the middle of a project". Many other respondents shared similar sentiments. Respondents may want to return to India, but they did not want to leave in the middle of a project or until they knew they could secure a better job in India.

In the second chapter, I discussed forms of virtual shortages and 'benching' through a practice in IT migration called 'body shopping'. While 'body shopping' (Xiang, 2007), is still uncommon in the United States, I argue other forms of benching do

occur. One particularly long-term form of benching is the spousal visas, the H-4 or F-2

visas. Under these visas spouses are not allowed to work. From my interviews with those

on H-4 visas, this became an incredibly frustrating issue for women who were equally

skilled as their H-1B holding spouses. In some cases, spouses were differently trained.

Aditya spoke of his brother's wife, who was trained as a teacher and could not find

suitable sponsorship in the United States. For Aditya's brother, who received an MBA

and a Masters' in Public Policy from a top U.S. university, and sister-in-law the benching

was a major driver for their return to India. Raj echoed a similar sentiment about the H-4

visa system: "Even now, there are friends of mine, their wives are very, very well

educated and are not able to work. And what that does, well, what I have seen, is people

typically go back to India…they don't want to wait years of their careers. So the U.S. not

only loses the H-4 [visa holder] but the H-1…so it's that brain drain."[8]

Though one is benched on an H-4 visa, opportunities are still available. One can

take course work part-time. This can lead to continuing one's studies, being accepted into

a U.S. university in a postgraduate program, and applying for an F-1 visa. One person I

interviewed followed this fairly straightforward route. Priya married Nitesh after Nitesh

finished his MS at NC State. Nitesh, at this time, was working for Cisco in RTP on an H-

1B visa. Priya came to the US on an H-4 visa. Priya was a well-trained computer

engineer who had received a bachelors and Masters' of technology from the prestigious

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[8] I did not discuss brain drain with Raj. Probably all my interview respondents had an idea of this word. It was interesting here that Raj used it to describe "losing skilled migrants" from the United States as brain drain, since often it is considered brain drain when a country loses those born in its nation. Actually, I believe what Raj here calls brain drain is a great example of brain circulation: when skilled migrants return.

Gujarat University.[9] Yet, in coming to the United States, she could not seek employment. On her H-4 status, Priya could enroll in part-time studies, and did so through the Friday Center for Continuing Education at the University of North Carolina. She began to take courses through the Computer Science department and developed a relationship with some of the faculty. She then applied to UNC Computer Science for a PhD and was offered a funded position with a research assistantship. Assistantships are particularly coveted among Indian computer science students as many of my respondents were paying for their tuition. Priya then received an F-1 student visa replacing her H-4 visa.

Sometimes this benching leads to a period of reskilling or learning new skills. I observed this with one of those I interviewed, the only people who were not living in the Raleigh-Durham area at the time of the interview. Simran, who married her husband Raj and came to the United States, trained in India to be a doctor. Simran actually first tried to come to the United States on an F-2 visa because "[Raj] was not yet on an H-1, he [was] still on F-1 when we got married…my F-4 [F-2] was rejected…we got married right after the 9/11. We got married in November, 2001. I think because of 9/11 they were getting a lot of visas." She recollected, "I had to wait six months back in India while [Raj] got his H-1," which his company had applied for, but was still being processed before she could come to the U.S. on an H-4 visa. "We didn't know", she said "whether I would get H-4. But the lawyer in India said they rarely reject H-4s." Yet, receiving a visa only led to further complications. "On H-4 I could not work", she said, nor did she have the proper certifications to apply to practice medicine in the United States. Or, as Raj put it, "Yes, at that time I was on H-1, so she was on H-4, and you cannot get the same jobs

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[9] In fact, this was a university Nitesh couldn't get into. Priya joked that one of the reasons Nitesh married her was she had gotten into a better university than him and was a better student.

on H-4 as you can get on H-1" which was a roundabout way of saying she could not work.

Simran needed "further qualifications" to practice medicine in the U.S. and would have had "three more years of medical school at least". Simran said at first it was discouraging: "I thought, oh I studied medicine and I can't use my degree! I have to study all over again! And I couldn't figure out what I need to study after this." At this point, Raj had left NC State and was working in Silver Spring, Maryland outside of Washington, DC. She "decided to change her field and become a dietician…and enrolled at the University of Maryland for a degree in dietetics and nutrition"[10] after the couple received advice this would help Simran find employment and get H-1B sponsorship. "We had spoken to the consulate and others", Raj said "and we were assured there were many jobs in this field [with H-1B sponsorship]. But, that was not really correct. It was mostly just to get you in the program. There was an internship to complete the program, and they wouldn't even give an internship without a social security number." When asked if applying for an F-1 would have helped Simran, Raj said "she could have applied, but then she would have had to pay out-of-state tuition…almost double of what we were paying." On an H-4 visa you can pay in-state tuition to public universities. Raj was also suspect of the F-1 visa, as "the F-1 is non-immigrant intent, so it can interfere with further citizenship applications". He was in the process of applying for a green card, himself.

Unfortunately, the University of Maryland degree did not help Simran find employment and sponsorship. She said, "I chose nutrition, but nutrition didn't work.

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[10] Later in the interview, Simran referred to this as "becoming a nutrionist" and "studying nutrition", though she didn't correct Raj for saying dietetics.

They said if I only stuck to health field completely nobody is going to do my visa. I have to go towards computers. Only if you do something with computers or in the IT field, will companies sponsor your visa." After some time, she re-enrolled in a computer science program in Pennsylvania "where she picked up statistics and picked up, I think you know it, SAS [SAS was founded and has its main office in Cary]…which is used in pharma companies for analysis". It has been quite a shift for Simran, who admits when she came to the United States, "I didn't know anything about computers, absolutely nothing. I didn't even know how to browse properly!" The family had to relocate and Raj worked remotely during this time. "It was fun," they both said, but Simran admitted "I don't think I could have done it if I had the children." After receiving a computer science degree, Simran was able to use her medical training, her "experience and [her] health background" combined with "the programming [she] learned" to get a job with the Center for Disease Control, Institute of Health Statistics. She obtained an H-1B visa after "three-and-a-half years", and not long after Simran and Raj received US citizenship. She states she was "at least happy I can work in a health field."

The H-4 visa acts as a form of benching which I believe is related to the fettered boundaries still inherent in the H-1B visa program I discussed in the second chapter. While it isn't carried out explicitly by a firm to create a virtual labor shortage, it does create a surplus population. It deskills certain people. Also, as respondents to my interviews suggest, certain skills are privileged over others. This is in part regulated by certifications and accreditation, such as those for doctors or teachers, which may be hard for migrants to receive. The fact that some workers are benched while their spouses are not also may lead to a reskilling of the spouse, thus growing the number of people with

desired IT skills. Equally, the benching can be a form of great frustration for those who do not wish to be reskilled. As with Aditya's brother and sister-in-law, this benching can be a major factor related to a couple's decision regarding a return to India. The benching process allowed by the H-4 visa may also contribute to the guest-nature of the H-1B guest-worker program to which the H-4 visa is tied. By deskilling and removing one member of a couple from the labor market, it can create both financial and emotional strains that help ensure guest-workers do not seek immigrant status.

Since 2001, with the perennial threat of terrorism and the rise of Homeland Security, migration to the United States has become more heavily managed. Many management policies preceded September 11th, 2001, yet intensified after September 11th (Coleman and Kocher, 2011). At the same time, guest worker programs became more prevalent and expanded (De Genova, 2009). Before 2001, liberalization of restrictions on highly-skilled immigration was already an issue. Removing restrictions on high-skill immigration was the only major immigration policy issue with the U.S. congressional session that ended in December 2000 (Cornelius and Espenshade, 2001). In part, this is driven by a liberalization of high-skilled immigration to other countries, such as Canada, England, Austria, and Japan (*ibid*).

As other countries have liberalized and expanded their demand for skilled workers and traditional sending countries have expanded their own economies, the U.S. has needed to change its own system to benefit skilled migrants. An example of such liberalization and reframing of the H-1B policy occurred through the American Competitiveness in the 21st Century Act (AC21) in 2000. The bill —sponsored by Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah, who continued to push skilled migration reform over other

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reforms in the 2013 debates on immigration— offered many provisions that still stand. It boldly expanded the H-1B visa program to 195,000 recipients instead of 65,000 until 2002.[11] It allows H-1B holders to begin working on the date they filed for H-1B status, not the date on which their status is approved. It removes anyone working in institutions of higher education, government research organizations, or non-profits from being counted in the cap. Migrants are also legally allowed to remain in the country and continue to work if they applied for a green card status 365 days before the end of their second visa. In other words, migrants who have had a three-year extension to their original H-1B visa may continue to work and reside in the United States if they apply before the beginning of their 6th year. This allows non-immigrant visa holders to transition to immigrants seeking permanent residency before a green card is authorized. During this period, AC21 also allowed migrants to transition between jobs after their H-1B visa expires. Therefore, a migrant whose H-1B status has expired, but who continues to work waiting many years for a Green Card, is free to change jobs. The new employer does not have to apply for a visa sponsorship. In 2006, a memo from USCIS clarified that those waiting for a Green Card may also change geographical location as they search for other employment (Neufeld, 2006).

Most of the policy concerns about the H-1B visa revolve around whether enough visas are offered. Even with an expansion of the Indian economy, and with other countries offering increasingly more guest worker programs themselves, the H-1B visa cap is met within the first week of filings. In 2013, the 65,000 H-1B visas were granted within the first five days of filings, and it is predicted in 2014 the cap will be fulfilled in the first couple of days (Phadnis and John, 2014). Yet, exceptions to the cap abound for

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[11] This was not renewed.

non-profit, government research work, renewals for those who already have visas, or those who have applied for an H-1B status after completing a degree from a US institution. Thus, 80,630 Indians received H-1B visas in fiscal year 2012 – which alone is more than the USCIS cap. However, this highlights many of the troubles faced by H-4 migrants who are seeking sponsorship and employment in fields that are not IT and who received training elsewhere. It also strengthens the reasons why students seek a degree from U.S. institutions. With the 2-year OPT extension to an F-1 visa and easier access to an H-1B visa, international students have an advantage to finding work and sponsorship to a visa.

The visa expansion is directly tied to the rise in Indians in the Raleigh-Durham area. In part, the need for more H-1B visas has been driven by the demand for jobs in the tech sector. Since Raleigh-Durham has a robust tech sector, it is unsurprising many people end up here. Yet, it is still striking how the expansion of the program has corresponded with such a large settlement of Indian migrants to the area. One could predict that further expansion of the visa program will probably result in further concentrations of Indians and Indian-Americans in the area.

It is relevant then to look further into the logic behind the skilled guest worker program. This expansion of the guest-worker program shows that the "dominant metaphysics of anti-terrorism ultimately has had labor subordination as one of its decisive conditions of possibility" (De Genova, 2009, 446). At the same time, the flows of guest workers continue to preference skilled migrants. These skilled guest workers, sometimes called "high-tech *braceros*" (Smith, 1999), *cerebreros* (Alcarcón, 2001), as a play on the *Braceros* project for low-skilled migrant workers, or "cyber-coolies" (Rudrappa, 2009)

are often more visible than unauthorized migrants. In fact, this visibility has at times offered tech workers more of a voice in reform. In my own interviews, one interviewee, Raj, spoke of calling his congressional representative and organizing other migrants to do grassroots lobbying through the organization Immigration Voice, during congressional discussion on immigration reform. In part, this visibility and ability to organize has led to the expansion of the H-1B visa program and H-1B privileges. Yet, such activism on immigration reform is often narrowly focused around H-1B issues and not wider immigration reform (Prashad, 2011).

However, despite visibility and the ability to speak for certain rights, labor subordination has existed in other ways in the case-study of this thesis for those on skilled visas. The demand for skilled migration has always been prefaced on a shortage of suitable skilled US citizens. The methods used for studies citing this shortage or other evidence of across-the-board shortages are questionable (Gurcak *et al*, 2001; Lowell, 2001). Foreign workers are, for instance, more likely to have Masters' or other advanced degrees in their field because companies place more assurance on advanced degrees for people with foreign Bachelors' degrees. For this reason, a lack of U.S. citizens with such advanced degrees may be cited as a shortage (Lowell, 2001). U.S. citizens quite often receive jobs in these industries without advanced degrees. However, the advanced degree, especially from a U.S. institution, is an important tool in the skilled migrants' search for a career.

Over the past decade, there has been a notable drop in the number of students from the prestigious Indian Institutes of Technology applying for MS and PhD positions in the United States. All the professors with whom I talked said that almost all of their

students through the 1980s and 1990s came from IITs. However, as mentioned in the second chapter, this is no longer the case. The "top IIT students applying to [U.S.] PhD programs has slowed down," said Dr. Reddy echoing a phenomenon many of his other colleagues had mentioned to me. IITs are now regarded as some of the most respected institutions of science, math, and engineering in the world. The way Dr. Reddy put it, "computer science is the top major at the top universities; the competition is brutal. I was lucky to get it 20 years ago, I don't know if I would get it now. [the graduates are] the top .01% of the nation!" This is a pervasive attitude about IIT graduates. As a result, many IIT students do not feel the need for advanced U.S. degrees to add credibility to their resumes. U.S. companies, mostly in finance and tech, are hiring IIT students for competitive salaries directly out of their undergraduate programs for their "excellent quantitative skills" (Interview with Dr. Reddy). As Dr. Reddy explained, "they don't want to even go to PhDs in America [anymore]. Even that has gone down…the top ones don't want to do it [Academia]. It's a long road with not a big economic return. So, if you get a high paying job at 21, that is so much more cool than slogging for 6 years for a PhD…but maybe some of them have another reason [and end up in academia]."

Wages, Preparation and 'Work Ethic'

Another reason for a continued emphasis on skilled migrant labor is its connections to labor subordination. Simply, foreign workers accept lower wages than U.S. citizens in IT, which keeps wages from rising quickly in a competitive labor market (National Research Council, 2001). This virtual shortage, which both creates a demand for migrants to come in and fill shortages and manages that migration, caps wages. Yet,

wage suppression is hardly the only reason for companies and universities to covet

skilled migrants.

In interviews with Duke, NC State, and UNC-Chapel Hill Comp Sci professors,

almost all cited socio-cultural reasons for the desire for Indian students. Several

professors discussed the high caliber of science, math, and technology education given to

the students from India. This allowed students to understand broader concepts and to

make connections because of a greater knowledge base. A tradition of rigorous and

competitive exams in high school as well as university left Indian students driven and

motivated. Interestingly, the Indian students I interviewed all repeated almost the same

lines: They had come to the United States because the computer science education in the

United States was more practical. In India, education was "theoretical", by which

students meant it was based on an intense memorization of scientific and mathematical

concepts and formulas for competitive exams. The Indian students often envied U.S.

undergraduates who were working on project-based assignments throughout their

undergraduate careers. It seemed contradictory, but professors thought the best part of the

Indian students' education was precisely what the Indian students had thought slowed

their careers.

Most professors spoke favorably of both Indian students and U.S. students. One

professor at Duke, who also had great experience in industry, addressed socio-cultural

advantages that highlighted why a company might be interested in H-1B sponsorship

over hiring a U.S. student out of college. He remarked on how U.S. students often wanted

considerably more money and would move from job to job to secure better salaries. U.S.

students were also less likely to seek MSs or PhDs because they were more interested in

making a large salary at a firm than doing research. Most H-1B visa-holders or

international students have had more work experience in India before migrating. H-1B

holders also lack the structural ability to flexibly change jobs because it is difficult to

change jobs on the visa. To what degree loyalty versus inability to move jobs on an H-1B

visa keeps Indians at a firm remains a question for further investigation.

Transnational Ties: Economic and Political Impact on India

These Indian skilled workers and students who have helped build the success

story of the Research Triangle area maintain transnational ties to their country of origin.

Traditional countries have been experimenting with ways to formalize the connection

between the government and their emigrants, expanding their sovereign power over

international borders while focusing on individual bodies (Levitt and de la DeHesa,

2003). Unsurprisingly considering the size of its population and its history of skilled

migration, India often receives more financial remittances than any other country (IMF,

2005). In order to formalize this remittance trend, the Indian government has promoted

the Non-resident Indian category since the 1960s, which I believe ties into discussions of

emotional citizenship in the second chapter. The Non-resident Indian category is

important both financially and symbolically for many Indians living abroad. Non-resident

Indian is a tax category for the Indian government. However, it carries many privileges,

such as easier travel back to India with expedited travel visas. NRI accounts have also

been offered by many international banks. Most international investment banks offer

NRIs the ability to connect with their branches in India to offer portfolios with limited

transaction fees between their stock accounts, known as Demat (which is the name of the

Indian dematerialized accounts system as stock certificates are not issued), and the banks in the NRI's country of residency. These formal connections by banks take advantage of diasporic connections and also facilitate further transactions. CitiBank currently offers NRI accounts with no transaction fees between banks, but this is only available to NRIs living in Hong Kong, Oman, U.A.E., Bahrain, Qatar, and Singapore. Several companies offer accounts, often under the category Foreign Currency Deposits or, as in the case of CitiBank's Mantee, a Ruppee checking account which allows investors to hold money between currencies. Several of my respondents spoke of the importance of these Non-Resident Indian accounts. Many students did not have direct investments in India nor did they own property. However, some of the older students and the professionals had bought property in India. Often these were joint ventures with their parents. Arun, an NC State PhD student, spoke of the importance of having an NRI account as "sometimes it is more convenient to have Ruppees". His parents could access and use the Rupees. He also found it useful when renewing his visa. Arun recently helped his father buy a new condo in Kolkata. While professionals often used NRI accounts, even after becoming U.S. citizens, most students, unlike Arun, did not have enough capital at hand to invest. Most of them, after all, were paying for graduate school. However, most said they would be opening NRI accounts when they finished their degrees and got jobs.

Other than property jointly owned with their parents or inherited, those I interviewed did not have investments in India. Yet, the financial burdens of many Indian migrants play out in advertisements for NRI accounts. Banks' advertisements and description of NRI accounts remind their targeted audience of financial and cultural

responsibilities in India, such as helping pay for a sister's marriage or helping their parents financially. These were indeed concerns of those I interviewed.

Non-resident Indians retain important transnational linkages beyond the Non-Resident accounts and formalized remittances. There are also important social remittances (Levitt, 2001) and desires for consumption (Grewal, 2005). As Kapur (2010) points out, these social remittances are important for the Indian political system as well. In 2010, the right to vote was extended to Non-resident Indians who are still citizens of India. However, in order to exercise the right to vote, NRIs must appear in their home constituencies. In order to be politically engaged, NRIs have often been important in funding political parties and in disseminating information about candidates (Kapur, 2010). The rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party, the party expecting to dominate the next Lok Sobha (the Indian Parliament) elections, was in large part due to funding and resources from NRIs. The BJP is a conservative, Hindu nationalist party that has been favored by many Indian migrants to the United States. Ashwin, though a student who hoped to return to India, and therefore, not a typical NRI, encapsulated a common mantra for Indians around the time of the election: "The government [the ruling Congress party] hasn't done development, there is corruption…so corrupt. The BJP will push [more] development…he [BJP leader and now-president, Narendri Modi] did it in Gujarat."[12] Expectedly, the BJP is attempting to change the Indian Election Commissions' rules to allow NRIs to vote as absentees, either by post or through electronic voting (*The Hindu*, 2014). Certainly, many Indian migrants oppose the creation of a conservative, Hindu-nationalist India. NRIs have also been influential in creating new parties to challenge the

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[12] I actually discussed politics with almost no students: A strange absence for which my lack of interviewing skills and getting lost on other details, is totally to blame.

conservative BJP. The new Aam Aadmi Party, a party who runs on a progressive, anti-corruption platform, has benefitted from both large donations and activism from the NRI community. In fact, much of the technical service work for AAP is run out of the Bay Area of San Francisco by NRI software developers. Several people have even quit their jobs to work remotely on strengthening the AAP (Nandakumar, 2014).

Democracy and Activism in Both India and the United States

The narrative of democracy pervaded several of my interviews with older professionals, as respondents were passionate about both democracy and Indian democratic ideals while also concerned about corruption within the Indian government. Buddhiman narrated an origin story of democracy where a government of people was born in the traditional village councils of India. Accordingly, India was the first democracy. For this reason, Buddhiman spoke passionately about the United States and democracy. Buddhiman felt the democratic ideals of the United States were more aligned with his hopes for India when he moved in the 1960s. He contrasted this with the aristocratic and colonial stodginess of the United Kingdom. Throughout his life in the U.S. he had been involved in and followed political discussions in India. He had also become politically active in the United States, as well as an active member of a local Indian community helping start the Hindu Society of North Carolina. Several other respondents referred to being involved and keeping up with politics in India. However, the students were not heavily involved in political activities within the U.S. The older professionals were more engaged in U.S. politics, especially in activism to reform U.S. immigration policy. Raj, now a citizen, spoke about his pride and activism through

Immigration Voice as he was applying for citizenship and advocating for immigration reform to the H-1B and H-4 visa systems. Raj made many calls and wrote several letters to members of Congress in favor of visa reform. Raj's wife, Simran, was a doctor who had been benched by an H-4 visa and had an annoying path to receiving an H-1B after being reskilled. At the same time Raj, himself, felt the Green Card process was muddled: "It's state by state…most of my friends in North Carolina received Green Card in about three years. For us, it took six." The experience, though, offered him roads into advocacy:

> It helped us in one way. We ended up doing a lot of advocacy. I think earlier all of these politicians would put us in the bracket of, well, when they'd talk about immigration reform it was about illegal immigration reform, and at that time we did a lot of advocacy work. I met a lot of my congressman and senators, I went to their offices, to tell them. I became a part of a group called Immigration Voice. Immigration Voice is a nonprofit group that advocates for legal immigration…and that helped quite a bit, not just me, but helped others. The state-by-state [Green Card quotas] was taken away. It is the same [pool] for North Carolina and Maryland. My wife, she suffered from that. [Without the state-by-state pool] we would have gotten our green card much faster…she would have been able to work in the field she was wanted…but she learned other skills…we just wanted them to know H-1 is different. We wanted them to streamline H-1 to Green Card…We're not saying we are entitled to it, we are just saying we have been following the law and would like it acknowledged…we had other changes…the forms to the Department of Labor used to be on paper and could get lost. There was no ability to track it. Now it is online…at least I feel I did my part to help immigration improve.[13]

Indian migrants remain attached to India through finance and investment, through political engagement, and through consumption of culture. Yet, the formal linkage between the migrant and the nation of origin or the nation of residence is complicated by questions of citizenship. Elites are granted certain privileges as citizens of both countries, whether as formal citizenship between two countries or merely rights and privileges guaranteed to non-elites (Ong, 1999). Skilled migrants are not guaranteed all the privileges of elites, but considerably more than many other categories of migrants

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[13] Though there is no space to discuss this further in this thesis, Raj's assertions that H-1B migrants are different and more deserving of Green Cards than "illegal" migrants follows in a tradition where skilled visa workers often do feel themselves privileged and are disdainful of being clumped with other migrants. For many reasons, as we can see, any advocacy they have had in migration reform has often hinged on helping other H-1B migrants in opposition to other migrants (Prashad: 2000; 2012).

(Aneesh, 2006; Xiang, 2007). Dual citizenship is the most recognized formal form of flexible citizenship. Yet, there is no formal dual citizenship with the United States and India (Dickinson and Bailey, 2007). As a result, what is often at stake for the NRI is often 'cultural citizenship' may be maintained through rituals or ideals and passed down to foreign-born children (Punathambekar, 2005). This cultural Indian dual citizenship has often been promoted through a particular Hindu-nationalist construction of Indianness, which often circulates through various media images (Mankekar, 2015). In other words, for those who take U.S. citizenship, it is important to pay attention to emotional citizenship toward India, as well as to pay attention to the emotional citizenship with the U.S. for those migrants who remain Indian citizens.

Cultural Membership and Ethnoburbs

In my interview with Arun and Paro, Arun discussed how he helped his father purchase a condo recently. While it seems hard to imagine a PhD student helping a parent buy a home, this also highlights the combination of family ties, remittances, and the tendency for well-off migrants to have property ties in two-countries.

Family ties become strong linkages to a country of origin and determine formal citizenship and future residency choices (Ho, 2008). These familial ties are metaphorical, reaching into ideas of nationalism and ethnicity, of a pan-national family. Sending-countries often use rhetoric of the national family as reasons why migrants should invest in their country of origin or even return. At the same time, familial ties refer to parents, siblings, and cousins. It is hard to parse between these issues, as often migrants'

activities, through remittances of money, culture, goods, or knowledge, both help their

actual family and the national family (Levitt, 1996).

Consumption seems replicable, family is not. In my interviews, respondents'

immediate response to what they missed about India the most was food. Yet, their

number one reason for returning would be for family. Those who remained in the U.S.

often had families who felt comfortable travelling and perhaps moving to United States,

such as Raj whose parents lives were spread among their children across the United

States, or Dr. Reddy's whose father had moved, which tends to be true for people who

come from often wealthier, well-educated families particularly with high English

proficiency. That migrants seem settled in the U.S. if their parents are able to come easily

or to relocate to the United States was mentioned in my second chapter (Prashad, 2000;

Lamb 2002, 2009; Shankar, 2008). These migrants had parents who spoke English and

siblings or cousins the family could also visit. As Dr. Reddy said of his friends who have

returned, for "a lot [who] have returned to India, family has been the primary

reason…ageing parents, siblings…or just be close to family." Pratima offered a similar

reason, yet highlighting how timing and circumstance can play a major part in whether

families can really reunite:

> I did [consider returning to India] for a short period of time because I had a father who
> was very sick, I mean, he's passed away now…he was a very strong influence in my life.
> One of the major reasons I got to pursue a PhD. And, you know, one of the plans I had
> was that I would go back and, sort of, help with his medical, I mean, he had what they
> thought was Parkinson's disease, but it wasn't that. Parkinsons isn't terminal, and he died
> very quickly…my mom is still in India…she travels to see me and my brother often…he
> is at Google.

For her, the family unit she wanted to return to changed. Her father passed away. And,

not long after, her brother came to the United States as well.

Since many countries, including the United States, do not allow formal dual citizenship with India, migrants are forced to renounce Indian citizenship when taking U.S. citizenship, though, as mentioned in the second chapter, there are many schemes to help maintain NRI attachment(Dickinson and Bailey, 2007). By renouncing Indian citizenship respondents would not have the privileges of Indian citizens if they returned to India. This left many of my respondents thinking they would not seek U.S. citizenship. They worried about taking U.S. citizenship, as it would complicate a return to live in India, something most students considered their dream. Correspondingly, those who chose to seek U.S. citizenship had already determined they would not return to India to live. This was true of the professionals I interviewed, all of whom were now citizens. Also, students who did not want to return to India were determined to seek U.S. citizenship.

The presence and proliferation of Indian grocery stores, clothing stores, temples, and restaurants refract the sight (Tolia-Kelly, 2004), as one approaches and gets an out-of-placeness, though often these places are more discreet then overtly opulent. Depending on one's engagement, however, these presences can exert a refraction over sound, smell, and taste. Ethnic businesses, media outlets, and cultural spaces also represent and act as metonymical signifiers for a loss, whether a homeland, a lifestyle, or loved ones. These presences may be jarring or exciting to U.S. residents, however, they also offer great comfort for migrants as spaces are shaped to remind people of the homes they left. As these work in diaspora space (Brah, 1996), they both orient migrants towards particular material places in their new communities and towards India.

As discussed in chapter two, Morrisville and Cary, North Carolina are ethnoburbs with high clusters of residents from India. Since 1990, the U.S. census has illustrated a rise of Indians living throughout the Research Triangle, yet the most pronounced growth has been in Cary and Morrisville. The demographics and transition are laid out in the table below.

Table 4.1. Indian Population of Places in Research Triangle with Percentage of Total Population

	1990*	2000	2010
All Research Triangle		18,122 (1.9%)	24,781 (1.9%)
Wake County		7,231 (1.1%)	19,935 (2.2%)
Raleigh		2,605 (0.9%)	4,681 (1.1%)
Cary	1,684 (3.8%)	3,268 (3.6%)	8,769 (6.5%)
Morrisville	4 (0.3%)	230 (4.4%)	3,717 (20%)

*1990 Census does not distinguish specific Asian groups; Wake County and Raleigh not counted because they have a significant and diverse Asian population

Wake County (where Raleigh, Cary, and Morrisville are located) was by far the largest to grow in total population. Yet, while the number of Indians doubled in Raleigh, the Indian population went from 0.9% of the total population to 1.1%.

The more significant growth in Morrisville and Cary helps explain how they have become ethnoburbs. Both towns have grown over the last 20 years as a result of Research Triangle Park (Cary is between Raleigh and RTP and Morrisville is the closest township or city to RTP). Cary has developed as a more diverse ethnoburb while Morrisville's most prominent minority is Indians.

By 2000, Cary had more than doubled in size since the 1990 Census. The overall Asian population, including those who self-identify as South Asian, East Asian, Southeast Asian, Central Asian, and Southwest Asian, had grown to 7,643 (8.1% of the town's total population). Indians, though, comprised the largest specific group with 3.6% of the total population. In 2010, 17,668 people reported to be Asian, now 13.1% of the total population. Indians still claimed the largest sub-group, being 6.5% of the total population.

Far more remarkable than Cary's Indian population rise is the town of Morrisville, the site of the Sri Venkeswara temple. Reported by one of my interviewees, Buddhiman, as "just a stoplight" when he first moved to the area, Morrisville had 4 people report themselves as Asian in the 1990 Census. In 2000, only 230 reported as Indian (4.4%). Yet, by 2010, 3,717 people reported as Indian (20%). Despite its small size, the large concentrations of Indians in Morrisville have shaped it as an ethnoburb. Three of the four Hindu temples in the area (The Hindu Society of North Carolina, Shri Swaminarayan Hindu Mandir, and Sri Venkateswara) are located in Morrisville. Such new ethnic enclaves offer a visual representation of the processes of defining what belongs. At the same time, they became a crucial node in negotiating "relations, values, aesthetics, and ways of seeing the world" (Trudeau, 2006, 435). Heritage may be more than just a study of the past. It can be understood as process by which selected material artifacts, myths, memories and traditions become imbued with power for the present (Graham, 2002). This explains in part how material spaces can convey heritage in distant locales. Zoning is used by planners and by government officials to exclude and make certain landscapes acceptable (Trudeau, 2006). In that sense, one can understand the

erection of large temple complexes and the bureaucratic channels through which they passed, as the assertion of acceptance and inclusion of a community.

There are a plethora of Indian restaurants, grocery stores, and shops throughout Cary and Morrisville, where, according to Dr. Reddy, "even 20 years ago, finding Indian food was a rare thing". Because of the density of Indians living in this area, many commercial enterprises selling goods imbued with cultural meaning have appeared. Suburban ethnic enclaves remain different than those in metropolitan areas. Ethnic neighborhoods and commercial districts within cities are often dense and visible, like the Chinatowns of many cities. Yet, the suburbanization of middle-class Indian-Americans has often resulted in more diffuse and suburbanized commercial centers. Indian businesses in Cary and Morrisville are often subtle because they have condensed in strip malls instead of being visible on city streets. These businesses have not clustered in parts of the more metropolitan cities of Raleigh and Durham. Part of the invisibility of these businesses results from the suburban emphasis on the automobile, as opposed to the larger cities where people walk around and become immersed in densely packed shops dominated by an ethnic or national group. Businesses in Cary and Morrisville do concentrate on specific shopping malls. Three major anchors of the Indian commercial community are Patel Brothers, a Chicago-based chain Indian supermarket with 35 branches nationwide, and Triangle India Market, a large, locally-owned grocery store, both in Cary, and Apna Bazaar, a locally-owned warehouse-style grocery in Morrisville (though there are more than a dozen Indian groceries in the area). Patel Brothers and Triangle India Market are located about three-tenths of a mile from each other in small shopping malls offset from East Chatham Street, Cary. While Chatham Street is the main

street of Cary, Patel Brothers and Triangle India Market are approximately a mile from the center of downtown. As mentioned, Indian grocery stores are important for selling vegetables, spices, dried foods, and other important ingredients not available at typical U.S. supermarkets. They also often sell other cultural merchandise, such as films, and are decorated with Bollywood and other cinema posters (Mankekar, 2002).

Patel Brothers is a large, conspicuous complex that looks like most supermarkets. It has a large parking lot and shares part of its building with Khanna and Sons Jewelers, an Indian Jewelry store. Patel Brothers also plays an important role in the Indian student community. Patel Brothers offers home delivery of groceries for orders of one-hundred dollars or more. None of my student respondents had cars. Few had close friends who had cars as well. In order to get the food they crave, respondents spoke of pooling money with their roommates and other Indian students who lived nearby. Together they quickly had orders over one-hundred dollars and would have shipments delivered.

Triangle Indian Market, a large Indian grocery store, has an extensive library of Indian films. Triangle India Market not only offers films Hindi films, but also has an extensive array of Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Bengali films showing the regional diversity of both its clientele and the Indian community in the Triangle area. It also has a wide-selection of sweets, breads, batters, and other freshly-made food products available from local women. The proprietor also manages to secure special items such as mangoes and other rare seasonal fruits as well as pickles he claims are "air-lifted" directly from India. Unlike Patel Brothers, Triangle India Market rests in a large shopping complex where almost all of the stores have been taken up by Indian businesses. Chatham Square, where Triangle India Market is located, has come to be called Cary's "gateway to the

world" (Cummings, 2011). The Square seems more a portal to India than a gateway to the world. Yet, a listings of businesses in the Square in 2008 shows that there was a Korean Barbecue restaurant, a sushi restaurant, a Mexican restaurant, a *taqueria*, and a *panderia.*[14] Since 2008, there has been an increasing India-fication of the Chatham Square. Korea Garden Steakhouse still remains, but the Latino businesses disappeared, as did the sushi.

As Chatham Square has become a commercial center for the Indian community of Cary and Morrisville, it makes visible regional divisions in cultural consumption that allow for so many businesses to thrive. The perplexingly named Chefs of India Presents Suchi Hyderabadi Cuisine shows how regionalism fragments consumptive desires. Hyderabad, the capital of Andhra Pradesh, is one of the centers of the Indian High-Tech industry (Parthasarathy, 2004). Many migrants to the Triangle come from Hyderabad. Despite the regionalism suggested in the name, Chefs of India focuses on a pan-Indian menu, serves halal dishes, and has special nights dedicated to Punjabi and Qawwali, a branch of Sufism, music perhaps illustrating the history of Hyderabad as a center of Islamic culture in historic and contemporary India. My respondents from Southern India claimed they found the Chefs of India food to be inauthentic and were not reminded of home while eating there. Biryani House of Indo-Pak food is another restaurant in the square. It similarly caters to a North Indian-style of cuisine. Mithai: House of Indian Desserts specializes in Bengali desserts and snacks. It is run by a former computer engineer from Bangladesh. Cool Breeze's window advertises South Indian treats and snacks. Indeed, Cool Breeze offers a completely vegetarian, South Indian menu of snacks

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[14] Available at http://www.city-data.com/forum/raleigh-durham-chapel-hill-cary/237847-chatham-square-cary-full-ethnic-food.html

and light meals. Specializing in Indian street food and South Indian vegetarian options,

Cool Breeze fills the niche for the food many of my respondents missed the most. While

the other two restaurants in the square focus on a standard Indian-American option that

hopes to lure in a broader U.S. clientele, Cool Breeze is indicative of a large population

of Kannadas, Telugus, and Tamils in the area who support this more regional café. In

fact, the last five years have seen a huge increase in vegetarian-only Indian restaurants

and cafés across Cary and Morrisville. There are ten such restaurants now with more

seeming to open up all the time.

The proliferation of Indian businesses that are not restaurants helps mark

Chatham Square as site of consumption in an ethnoburb. An Indian specialty jewelry

store and three Indian clothing stores, Kalathri Indian Art and Fashions, Palika Bazaar

and Indus Fashions, also mark major sites of culturally-related consumption. The Kala

Kendra Center for the Arts which offers Payal, a form of Indian dance, lessons is another

distinctly Indian cultural activity available in Chatham Square. Yet more quotidian

businesses that cater to Indians have opened: Chandni's Spa Salon, Shamim Beauty

Parlor, and Billu Barber. These businesses have opened up in the square embedding a

particularly Indian identity on services such as haircuts or tax-filing. Billu Barber

particularly stands out as an image of the India-America that exists in Chatham Square.

Billu Barber refers to an eponymous 2009 Bollywood film starring superstar Shahrukh

Khan. In it the central character, Billu, is a poor barber in a rural Indian village.

Chatham Square is only one node of Indian commercial activity. Throughout Cary

and Morrisville there are Indian clothing stores, dance schools specializing in various

Indian regional classical dances, groceries, cafes, and many other businesses. Some

Indian businesses are even less visible and more suburban, such as the popular Kainth Fashion Hub, which runs out of a suburban home in Cary. There are even highly specialized and specific businesses such as Vedic Gardens, a plant nursery which only sells plants from South Asia which can thrive in the North Carolina climate. The Indian community has also laid claim to non-Indian business. For many years, the Galaxy Theatre, an independent theatre, in Cary showed films in Hindi and Telugu. Despite success, the Galaxy was closed in 2012 to be torn down for a Harris-Teeter, a regional chain grocery store. A local computer engineer, who had shown Indian movies while a graduate student in Texas and who knew film distributors, approached the manager of a local Carmike Theatre in Morrisville. Carmike Theatres then launched a pilot project in Morrisville to show films in Hindi, Telugu, and Tamil, though Telugu and Tamil films seem to be the most popular. Carmike has now expanded this to many other cinemas around. The Regal Cinema in Cary has begun to show Hindi films as Regal Cinemas also expanded nationally to show Indian Cinema in some locations. Many of my respondents spoke of going to the Carmike in Morrisville as one of the activities they partake in that made them feel at home, which corresponds with descriptions of the importance of Indian cinemas to the ethnoburbs of the Bay Area of California (Shankar, 2008; Mankekar, 2015). Transportation to Morrisville is often not easy for the students I interviewed from NC State.

Other forms of media have linked the Indian community of the Triangle and strengthened both the spread of information and the consumption of ethnic culture. Ethnic-based newspapers have been important historically at forging transnational connections between migrants and their countries of origin, as well as spreading

information among a diffuse ethnic group (Lindaman, 2004). Significantly, the Indian community of the Triangle has a monthly periodical, *Saathee*. This magazine advertises for Indian businesses and announces cultural events in the area. It also has news articles pertaining to both news in India as well as news within the U.S. and the greater Carolinas (as monthly editions also cover events in Columbia, South Carolina, and Charlotte, North Carolina stretching its distribution and readership beyond the Triangle area). Perusing the classifieds one can see how informal employment opportunities for seamstresses, nannies, and housekeepers are prevalent. It is not a stretch to imagine many H-4 and F-1 visa-holders who cannot have a formal job, find employment via *Saathee*. Yet, one also comes across advertisements perhaps less common to non-Indians. For instance, a recent issue of *Saathee* advertises "Gujarati Speaking live-in Nanny needed for family in Cary, NC. Vegetarian cooking and Light housekeeping". While live-in domestic servitude may seem an antiquated concept in the United States, it is commonplace in India among the middle- and elite- classes (Dickey, 2000; Qayum and Ray, 2003). In India, domestic service often echoes traditions of patronage and duty of the upper-classes to employ others. Residue of the caste system still dictates who is employed in service. Through transnational connections one can also imagine such job postings in *Saathee* reaching out to people in Gujarat who are looking to move to the United States. One can see how linguistic and regional divisions affect employment and hiring practices. The copious listings for unskilled work, especially for housekeepers for hotels, also highlights Li and Ong's comments on upper- and middle-class migrants buying businesses and then employing low-skilled migrants through ethnic networks. Companies outside the Carolinas often advertise regularly in *Saathee,* as well as a perennial classified ads for

job-board websites such as *H1visajobs.com* and *H1Bjobsonly.com*. These job-boards help

people link with job postings that would support H1-B sponsorship.

Saathee was founded by two brothers Divakur and Samir Shukla in 1998. Samir

owned a record store in Charlotte for a decade, and Divakur, a graduate of NC State,

worked as a DJ for a local Charlotte station. Divakur, with whom I met during this

research, also hosted a weekly Indian music and variety show on a local cable channel in

the Triangle from 1998 until 2013. The television show has since discontinued, however,

there are still Indian media outlets, such as NC State radio station's (WKNC) show Geet

Bazaar, which plays a mixture of Indian current and classical music on Sunday mornings,

as well as passing on information of the myriad of Indian cultural events going on in the

next week. It is hosted by Afroz Taj, a professor from the University of North Carolina.

Another way Indians have begun to change the communities of Morrisville and

Cary is the expansion of temple complexes to the area. Drawing on the discussion of

religious spaces as offering a spiritual space and a site of belonging, I assert that these

Hindu, Sikh, and Muslim spaces of migrants disrupt or change this area of particularly in

the "bible-belt", where protestant churches are the normative religious buildings. These

temples are also conceived spaces, places that are purposefully built to offer worship and

religious guidance from a particular tradition as well as interpreted and delivered by a

priest or religious elders. Lastly, temples are places where people experience deep

emotions of belonging through practice of their religion and gathering with a larger

community to celebrate festivals. Temples also provide spaces of community gathering.

In the last twenty years, several of these temples have appeared in the area, the

BAPS Shri Swaminayaran Mandir, the Hindu Society, Sri Venkateswara, and Sri Shirdi

SaiBaba (as well as the Mosque in Morrisville and the Sikh Gurdwara in Durham, though in this thesis I only focus on some of the Hindu temples). The temples usually serve different communities. Sri Shirdi SaiBaba, inaugurated in 2011, took an old church building and still looks like a Protestant church on the outside. The Hindu Society of North Carolina is the oldest temple in the area, built in 1986. Though it was built to appear as a traditional temple, the cultural hall is not a highly ornamental structure. It offers worship for a variety of deities. Buddhiman was a founder of HSNC and is still on the leadership. He spoke of the Hindu Society's desire to be flexible to a wide-variety of worshippers. In many ways, this speaks to the need to help many people find a place of worship as, in 1986, the Indian community was still very small in the Raleigh-area. The BAPS temple in Morrisville is also discreetly placed, only a mile away from HSNC. It is in a bland building.

The most opulent and largest temple complex is Sri Venkateswara dedicated in 2011. Sri Venkateswara was constructed to resemble the Sri Venkateswara temple in Tirumala, one of the most iconic Hindi pilgrimage sites. Tirumala is in the far south of Andhra Pradesh outside of Tiruputi, and sits inside the large Sri Venkateswara National Park between Chennai and Bangalore. More so than the other temples in the Raleigh-Durham region, Sri Venkateswara changes the landscape of the area surrounding it.

While temples are an important part of social life among Indian communities abroad, not all people spend much time at temples. Among my respondents, few went to temple regularly in the U.S. Some of this had to with feelings of unfamiliarity at certain temples. Pratima, a software engineer married to a German-American who moved from Kolkata and is now a U.S. citizen, had had a second Hindu wedding ceremony at the

Hindu Society of North Carolina. Despite her wedding there, she often went more for "nonreligious events" like "Indian Independence day celebrations" or "to take the children, so they can see". She preferred the HSNC over Sri Venkateswara where she felt uncomfortable as "it was more Southern Indian while [the Hindu Society of North Carolina] was more Northern Indian…and even though Bengal isn't really North/South, I tend to agree more with the people at [HSNC]." One of the major differences of communities was also linguistic, as Pratima says "I mean I speak Hindi, I don't speak Tamil or any of those [South Indian] languages which makes it easier to go to places that are more like that." Arun and Paro, two NC state students also from Kolkata, shared a similar sentiment when they spoke of going to Sri Venkateswara. Arun and Paro said they preferred going to the Hindu Society of North Carolina because of its "diversity and openness". According to a discussion I had with Sri Venkateswara's public relations representative, the temple is visited by many migrants from South India.[15]

When temples are located in ethnoburbs it is more difficult for them to become the center of community for all Indians living in the region, particularly if many do not have access to a car. Sri Venkateswara, BAPS, Sri Saibabi, and HSNC do not offer

[15]One of the shortcomings of my project was I never could crack open exactly what the differences always were between HSNC and Sri Venkateswara, and in the last few years, though I have spent ample time at each, I have still only experienced it as an outside observer. Both Buddhiman and Rakesh, the two retired gentleman I talked to, were from South India (Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, respectively), both spoke Dravidian languages (Telugu and Kannada) and both helped found and attended HSNC. Buddhiman remained one of the leaders of the board. There were many other South Indian families who were frequent attendees of HSNC. My general take from informal discussions I have had since I conducted this research is that Sri Venkateswara does tend to be mostly people of South Indian descent, while HSNC, in part because it is older and was formed as the first temple many years before SVT, just has a more diverse population. SVT may often be considered more conservative. However, both temples were very helpful during my research, members of the both boards were very supportive, and both welcomed me during festivals. For the last year, members of SVT's Kannada Kali also welcomed me to their children's classroom to learn Kannada on Saturdays. I was a very unusual student indeed.

transportation to services or activities. Because they are located in suburban locations not accessible by bus from the NC State, UNC, or Duke campuses, students have trouble accessing them. While Duke employs a Hindu chaplain to offer religious and spiritual guidance to its students, neither UNC nor NC State have such an employee. However, access to temples was also not important to many respondents. As Dr. Reddy put it, he had been to a Morrisville temple (probably HSNC) "once, in 1993." Arjun, a Masters' student, noted "I do not go temple much here...it's no different from in India. I don't go to temple there either". This was a sentiment shared by many student respondents who said they never went to temple, unless it was to attend with their mother. Others, however, did feel disconnected from temples in the area. Bhawani, a Masters' student, said she would like to go to temple often, but "it's not quite approachable. It's down in Cary so…Saturday/Sundays when we actually have time, there is no work[ing bus] line."[16] Bhawani said she would like to go to temple much more often if she had transportation as she went to a temple in India "once a week, at least," and recounted how pleasant it was to visit hercousin in Pittsburgh where she could easily get to the temple in her cousin's car: "I went twice while I was there, to the Venkateswara temple there…it was such a nice experience, peace and all that, and nice Indian food!"

Festivals, tied to religion but also culturally important to many respondents who described themselves as nonreligious, were always mentioned as something missed. Though Maitri, the Indian Graduate Student Association at NC State, did put on events for some major holidays, these students felt it was not really reminiscent of what they missed in India. The students who spoke of missing temples and Indian religious festivals the most were also the students who were most eager to return to India. Almost all older

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[16] There is actually no bus route any day of the week to get to Sri Venkateswara.

and student respondents had attended the large Cary Diwali festival, as well as Maitri's smaller on-campus celebration. For the older respondents, the Cary Diwali festival was a major point of pride. Buddhiman insisted I must go as it was the social event of the Triangle Indian calendar. Dr. Reddy was excited about the event, and mentioned it was attended by the Triangle's congressional representative, David Price, and the mayor of Cary. Pratima also spoke of taking her children to the event. Yet, to the younger students, it was a moment that could hardly compare with the Diwali festivals they had left behind in India. My belief is that this festival is a great moment of pride for those who have lived here and made a home in the United States, a great recreation of festivals they miss in India, yet, a preservation of culture still in the United States. Cary Diwali illustrated to some respondents how the area respected them, as the town of Cary sponsored the event. However, for students who had not been here as long, it did not compare to their memories of festivals in India.

Conclusion

In summary, a number of complex processes have led many skilled migrants from India to the Research Triangle region of North Carolina. The demand for tech workers which exceeds the supply of both the U.S. and the regional labor market, the important role of the technology sector in the growth of the regional, national, and international economy, and the presence of three major universities with technology training set the conditions to draw Indian students to the region, as well as other skilled migrants. U.S.

immigration policies favorable to skilled migrants enable the influx of both temporary and permanent migration.

Sometimes, however, these policies which promote skilled migration also lead to difficulties in migrants' lives. This chapter examined several ways in which the temporal borders created by the visa system constrain migrants' flexibility, push them to seek longer temporary stay which may lead to permanency, and the formal or informal ways migrants work to resist the hardships of the visa system. While many Indian migrants have been vocal in asking for visa reform, my respondents offered a more common way of overcoming hardships: adapting to fit into the visa framework. In my interviews, those who were on the H-4 visa but wished to work changed their professions or sought educational credentials to help them get transferred into an F-1 or H-1B visa. This is often not easy, but the struggle to get a different temporary visa may entangle migrants and they may end up staying longer than initially anticipated. This offers another facet of the accidental navigator trope. Of course, some who may wish to stay longer in the U.S. or immigrant permanently find that they cannot seek the employment they prefer on the H-4 system and decide to return to India.

Throughout this thesis, I have stressed the blurry lines of temporary and permanent migration and asserted that intent can evolve over time. In this chapter I tried to sketch the changing communities of Cary and Morrisville and the rise of Indian cultural and commercial centers. Changes to the landscape and the development of cultural familiarity through places in ethnoburbs have been important for making many members of the Indian community feel at home. This feeling of comfort coupled with

their opportunity for work and obtaining permanent status has helped a proportion of those who originally come as students to make the decision to relocate permanently.

In the next chapter I build on this sketch of an ethnoburb to illustrate how it is a part of a group of people deciding to stay in the United States, or at least in the Raleigh-Durham area.

Chapter Five: Deciding Whether to Stay or Go

Introduction

> "I would have higher status if I went to India…my friends, they have cooks, drivers, servants. They live in mansions…I come home and eat something from the freezer!" – Dr. Reddy

In previous chapters I discussed how many Indians are coming to the area to fill jobs in IT. I also reviewed literature on transnationalism, skilled migration, assimilation, the performance of citizenship, and the suburban migrant settlement (ethnoburbs). In chapter four I discussed how migrants are affected by the visa system. This chapter focuses on the lived experience of migrants, especially in learning how migrants decide whether to seek further residence in the U.S. or return to India. The quality and nature of visas, the educational experience itself, the internship location and experience, the exposure to research and teaching, the debt accrued, and the jobs available both in the U.S. and India: each of these become a diverting element in the professional pathway each student migrant navigates as they move toward the ultimate decision of staying in the U.S. or returning to India.

The professional pathway ultimately merges with a much more emotional and personal pathway, where family, religion, food, culture, customs, and familiarity that fill the non-working hours balance with professional goals. The degree to which those elements may be found in or replaced by similar elements in the "new" community result in accommodation and migration or a return to the familiar parent country. In chapter four I discussed the role of ethnoburbs in helping migrants construct a sense of place. In chapter five I build on Kobayashi *et al*'s (2013) assertion that places are saturated with

affective meanings, but the emotional experiences at play varies according to an individual's personal experience and socio-economic status. Ethnoburbs, and the cultural centers and businesses that emerge in them, are tied to feelings of belonging. However, migrants respond quite differently to the cultural landscape of ethnoburbs.

I argue that these narratives play a crucial role in understanding how migrants decide to remain in the U.S. or return to India. Drawing on the work of Huang *et al.* (2008), I assert that for some temporary migration was always considered a stepping stone for permanent migration, while for others permanent residence occurs through convenience of applying for a further visa for immediate work advantages. This parallels a phenomenon asserted by Ho (2011) known as the accidental navigator. My respondent's narratives also offer critical extensions to how citizenship is performed (particularly through emotional citizenship), how people live transnationally, and how assimilation occurs. I argue that the personal pathway often dominates the reasons for staying though this is based on the individual. As many of my respondents indicated, if people purely acted out of professional interest, many more would return to India. And many do return or desire to return to India for such professional advantages as some of my respondents share. Yet, many remain in the United States.

I opened this chapter with a quote from one of my interviews which highlights the discussions of this chapter. Dr. Reddy, an academic, had no intention of returning to India permanently. He had just returned from a conference in India when I spoke to him, "a journey [he] makes many times a year". The son of a professor, he grew up on the campus of IIT-Delhi. He described an idyllic youth surrounded by academics and in a university enclave, secluded "in a self-contained campus from the frenetic pace of Delhi."

He came to Berkeley in the late 80s for graduate school and married "my office mate", a fellow migrant and graduate student—whose own family had moved to California from Taiwan before she started her undergraduate work at UC-Berkeley. The family has now settled in Chapel Hill, though it took many years for them both to get jobs here. "It is hard enough to get one job here," Dr. Reddy said, "but two! We have been very lucky." Over time, his father also received a university post in the United States and migrated after Dr. Reddy. Visiting his office at UNC, his links to India were present in the room, most notably in the form of an internet phone intended for international calls. Two calls from India occurred during the interview. He also still has family, including a brother, who lives in India. Yet, despite this constant connection and his flying back-and-forth from India to meet colleagues, Dr. Reddy does not plan to permanently return.

He joked when asked whether he had ever considered or would consider returning to India. He answered no, but then mused how his colleagues who had returned often got well-respected positions in industry or in academia. "Mid-career people [are in high demand]. The IT has boomed, but [colleagues] were telling [me] you get a lot of fresh [young] guys, but mid-career, or, like, let's say mid-40s, so people with that experience there is a shortage." As a result, "there are companies in India that will match or almost match your American salary---at that level, give you a big office, because they need that expertise. So if you have 10-15 years of working in a top organization in America, you get a *very* good offer in India because you become, you know, this very unique capability." These colleagues who returned lived a more luxurious life than he; their income in India went further as they were "getting American salaries in India, with Indian cost of living, with Indian cheap labor, they live like kings!...Even a middle-class

family has four helpers." They could afford nice houses in gated communities, and with the nature of domestic labor in India, they could pay many employees to offer them a life of ease. "And," he insisted:

> it's also a great challenge! [Especially for the people coming to set up offices for big American companies like Google and Microsoft], be in my own country, be with my own family, but start-up in Indian conditions with a different set-up, different set of requirements, and make-it happen! For my friends who went to work in the Google India office, or the Google Microsoft office, it works out well.

It was a very different lifestyle than the American academic who works long, scattered hours and returns home to fix his or her own dinner late at night. The point of Dr. Reddy's joke which opened this section was that it seemed less glamorous to choose such a life in the United States. Yet, Dr. Reddy, like many other migrants I interviewed, had chosen just that path. Despite certain opportunities in India, migrants settle in this country over time, often because they form and raise a family here and become tied to their job and community.

Dr. Reddy's story helps bring a personal narrative to several theories that I will discuss throughout this chapter. It is a biography that complicates notions of brain circulation (Cao, 1996; Saxenian, 2005). Dr. Reddy is not planning to return, yet, he mentors many people who do. His regular trips to India and the internet phone on his desk left Indian-based projects constantly present. While he remains in the United States, his body floats back and forth temporarily. With modern technological communications, his mind also travels. His brain circulates. Social remittances and intellectual labor cross oceans with a phone call. He maintains constant transnational connections (Hannerz, 1996). Dr. Reddy does not entirely fall under Ho's accidental navigator (2011), as he admits he was always skeptical of returning to India when he first came as a student to

Berkeley. In marrying a non-Indian, Dr. Reddy became considerably less likely to return to India. With his father's own migration to the United States, the separation from family was further resolved. He admits he no longer engages in many Indian cultural activities, and is "not that religious." Yet "in October or November I get lots of emails for the beginning of Diwali…and they have a cultural show and show and dance, so I do take my kids there…to expose them to what it is like." This Diwali festival, as briefly mentioned in the last chapter, is actually put on by the town of Cary and happens at the community center, not at the temple, is distinctly secular and is usually attended by the mayor of Cary and Congressman David Price. This is really one of the few forays into Triangle Indian cultural life Dr. Reddy expressed.[17] While age and career timeline plays an important factor in how resolved a feeling of loss and nostalgia in migration is, even people far in their careers were not as certain of never returning as Dr. Reddy. Though, his deeply rooted transnational connectivities do illustrate how he is still very much oriented towards India.

Brain Circulation

As mentioned in chapter two, brain circulation (Cao, 1996; Saxenian, 2005) has come to replace brain drain. In brain circulation, people go from their country of origin for a period of a few to several years, learn new skills and make connections, then return to the country of origin. This return of the prodigal son has been noted as particularly successful in the Indian context (Kapur, 2010; Saxenian, 2005; Aneesh, 2006). The

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[17] I actually found that he took his children to festivals in Cary particularly noteworthy because, as he said in his interview, "Yes, I heard there is a temple in Morrisville. I think someone may have taken me once, in 1993." In other words, he was, as he confessed, not particularly interested or aware of the growth of Hindu religious institutions. There are now four temples in the Morrisville/Cary area.

management of temporary migration is an important part of brain circulation. While the F-1 and H-1B visa systems may push migrants to return to India, interviews with students brought out other reasons for staying or going. Two major threads came out during these interviews. One thread, which I will discuss below was an entrepreneurial spirit which tied to discussions on brain circulation. In the second thread, which I will discuss in the next section, I argue is how migrants weigh the differences between those people, places, and things they left in India and the lives available to them in the United States.

The spirit of entrepreneurialism is popular throughout the technology industry. After all, technology is known for its culture of start-ups, for constant innovation. As India moves from low-level service work to more research and development work, the start-up ethos has become an important part of the Indian technology industry as well. Many of my respondents noted that though the firms they worked in were often old-fashioned and rigid, newer firms carried a more laid-back atmosphere. Indian tech companies have often sent people to the U.S. and the idea of social remittances and skills have long been important to the growth of Indian tech firms. However, this has changed in recent years as tech firms have moved into R and D and hire more students directly out of India (Parthasarathy and Aoyama, 2006). Aditya, for example, had worked for a few years in research and development directly after graduating with a bachelors from IIT-Kharagpur. Yet, his colleague Prasanth had worked for several years in a service oriented job, correcting other peoples' coding errors. Prasanth was unable to find work he found intellectually stimulating until he got his MS from IIT-Kharagpur. Both of them now have come to Duke for their PhDs.

Though higher-skilled, more prestigious, and more interesting work is available to computer engineers who have graduated from elite schools such as the IITs, most often find it necessary to get a further degree in the U.S. to open doors to better employment. As with Aditya, Raj had been working for IBM India for a few years before moving to the U.S. in 1999 on R and D, yet still came to the United States for school.

> Andrew: And while you were working in India, were you working more on service-oriented tasks or product design?
> Raj: Out there [in India], out there, out there I was still developing products out there…so I have been in, like, R and D even in India as well. So out there we used to primarily…take projects from other IBMs around the world and we would collaborate with their staff out there. So we would get a product to work on, which was basically would be something, part of a larger product, and then we would take ownership of developing that part out in India….Back then, many people were working on support, but I wanted to be in development.

Raj said continuing to work in research and development, though, was one of the reasons he came to the United States. He thought getting a degree in the United States and working here would offer more exciting opportunities to do innovative work. Raj informed me, though, the Indian IT landscape had changed significantly since when he was there, when I mentioned many people I talked to who had more recently moved from India, complained of boring service work:

> Raj: Even right now it's more [more developmental work, less service work]. A lot of development has been outsourced to India, where it used to be service, now more [development] is done, a lot of development itself is in India. So one bad thing is the US is losing out of a lot of technology and it is happening more in India these days.

Yet, as Aditya, Prasanth, and many others I interviewed noted who migrated 10 years or more after Raj left India, they were doing service-based work in India. These more recent migrants issued similar feelings to why Raj came to the United States in 1999. For instance, Bhawani, a master's student, had moved from Mumbai where she was "doing a lot of coding…very basic tasks," and felt she needed to move to the United States

because "the quantity and quality of work I did not like that much so I thought I could increase my knowledge and get better work". She echoed the sentiment of many of the students who felt that moving would allow them to do more innovative work, even as many also saw the opportunity to move back to India to bring more innovative work and opportunities to those still working back home. Perhaps some of the discrepancy between Raj's idea of the IT jobs and India and that of the students who more recently moved is attributed to the view that generations have of their presents, pasts, and futures. Those coming out of university in the last few years do not know what the computer science world was like in India in the late 90s, just as Raj doesn't know what many young technology workers just out of university are getting into in India like he knew the experiences of his own generational cohort. However, I feel what is interesting here is how the demand for certain work and certain opportunities plays into the discussions of circular migration, and of what different opportunities migrants' feel is offered by moving to the United States and moving back, or not moving back, to India.

Going to work and study in the U.S. to improve ones' chances of employment back home, an important reason for brain circulation, was echoed in different ways by most of my respondents. Yet, the entrepreneurial spirit manifests as well. Students hoped to bring back their knowledge to help innovate and influence India more directly. More than just finding better work, many students expressed a desire to revolutionize and change India. After working in a boring job, Prasanth, in his 2nd year at Duke, said: "[I study networking.] Networking is not big yet in India…I hope to go back to India. There is a lot of growth in networking…Service-work is dull [I did it for two years]. I want to give people better work". For Prasanth, bringing his knowledge of networks back to India

would help foster a company to employ people in jobs he saw as unattainable when he

entered the market. Prasanth's belief that networking was a field which could still grow

in India was confirmed by Raj, who worked in networking in the United States. Raj said:

> Yes, I would say that has been the case. I think more it has been due to, for example, in
> networking when I joined primarily the people who recruited guys from Masters' in
> networking or computer science at that time would be going to network management
> firms like Cisco and Juniper and, or basically, you'd have, I forgot a few of them…so
> many of these have merged as they are not doing that well, so…now a lot of the software
> for these products is being developed in Israel and even India….It's mostly been in the
> U.S.A…But more will be happening in India [than the U.S.A] soon…it helps for people
> who have a master's over just certifications…like bachelors students…there is some
> coding behind it, but having a Masters' shows you know the theory behind the skills [and
> can take this knowledge and build on it].

The desire to bring skills, connections, and knowledge back to India to start new ventures

was also seen as a way to better one's own life. Many students, especially those in

professional MS programs, saw returning after a few years as a great way to attain a

better job and/or to start a company. Undoubtedly, the students had read narratives of

NRIs who returned to great wealth in a similar way to the colleagues of which Dr. Reddy

spoke. Ashwin encapsulated this entrepreneurial spirit when he spoke of wanting to start

a company. He was a 1st-year MS student, and hoped to find an internship in Silicon

Valley. He would use this time to begin to make connections for his future-start up. After

his internship, he would finish his degree in one more semester and then begin work[18]. I

asked him whether he hoped to return to India to start his company and he replied,

"When I get a good idea [I will return]…No, I will start the company here then return. It

is easier to start it here [in Silicon Valley] then move to India…Yes, because of finances

[access to financial capital and start-up investments]". Ashwin already had plotted how

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[18] The three-semester MS program was popular to many of the Indian students at NC State who
did not seek research positions. It would allow them to graduate sooner and start work. It also
meant paying for one fewer semester.

he could incubate an idea for a start-up. He hoped to position himself in Silicon Valley where he would have access to other entrepreneurs, cutting-edge work, and access to investment. His timeline for return was constructed around a desire to build his company in this environment, and then move it to India.

The entrepreneurial spirit also orients computer science students to particular places within the United States. As mentioned in the second chapter, orientation and reach are closely tied (Ahmed, 2006). Ashwin's dreams to be in Silicon Valley follow an important orientation back to India. For Ashwin, as for other students, the desire to return to India connected to first reaching for an intermediary place in the United States.

The entrepreneurial spirit, however, remains only a fragment of peoples' desires to stay in the Raleigh-Durham area, move elsewhere in the United States, or return to India. Places are saturated with affective meanings, though how these meanings become constructed and affect migrants is highly individual (Kobayashi *et al*, 2007). Yet, through the narratives of my respondents, one could see how a sense of place is directly tied to a sense of belonging. Whether or not cultural services offered in a place help migrants feel a sense of belonging will have to do with access. At the same time, depending on a migrant's age and life course, attributes of a place may be desirable to some, and undesirable to others. However, it is important to note that discussions of a place and the environment are often subtlety interconnected with people, often family, one enjoys or misses and the memories of shared activities (Kobayashi *et al*, 2007). For this reason, students who have recently migrated are more likely to be unsettled in a place while older migrants who have lived here longer and started families will be more tied to a place.

None of the MS students I interviewed wanted to remain in Raleigh-Durham. However, professionals I talked to had received degrees from one of the three universities in the area. It is hard to make profound conclusions with such a small representative sample, but most MS students may aspire to move to more-cutting edge places in the United States such as the Bay Area, Seattle, or Boston. Many, though, will end up making their decision based on where they find employment. Studying in the Raleigh-Durham area, students have more proximity to connect with local employers. Many professors have connections to companies in the area and help former NC State, UNC, or Duke students move to jobs in the area. These personal connections may make employment opportunities more prevalent since one can assume that the traditional centers have students competing from all over the country and world. However, many students who had interned felt their internships would or could lead to further employment at a company. For instance, Acharya, a 2nd-year MS student, reported he already accepted a permanent position at the start-up where he interned the previous summer.

The typical centers of the start-up ethos such as Palo Alto and Silicon Valley, California, or Seattle, Washington do draw many of the students for internships including many of my interview respondents. While these work environments were transitory for the summer, many felt more at home than in Raleigh, Durham, or Chapel Hill especially when the internships were located in larger cities, as the urban environment was more reminiscent of home. "Raleigh is too quiet…." said Arnab, a 2nd-year MS student, "In India...I am used to noise." As Bhawani, who was from Mumbai and wanted to move to New York said,

> Raleigh is like quite depressing and quite boring, no people on the roads, no buildings, and is too silent. It is a good place to stay and study, but I won't like to work here…I want people out, I want people on the roads…[here] it feels like I am in the forest!...In Raleigh, nothing is approachable. And unless we have a car, we cannot do anything.

Many of the respondents shared similar sentiments. For instance, Sagar, a 2nd-year MS student at NC State said, "in India I just…go outside, meet friends [who are never far away in the city] and we can buy street food [from vendors]". The city here is a lively place where one converses with neighbors. In Raleigh or Durham students note how few people there are on a street. Arnab like other students noted differences in cities where they went for their internship, but still these larger US cities were considerably quieter than the dense urban settings of which they were accustomed in India.

Although in Raleigh, for example, they live in apartment complexes near NC State close to the downtown area there is so much land and green space separating homes and people, even downtown Raleigh seems quiet and sparsely populated contrasted to their native cities, where a population dense environment is noisy and chaotic. In India, respondents describe being able to go out and dance, to meet up with friends by walking a few blocks, to easily buy street food, quite different than the car-based graduate student environment of Raleigh, Durham, and Chapel Hill. Even though many students had congregated in the specific apartment complexes, there was a feeling of alienation from the liveliness of the city. "In Seattle, it was better," Arnab said. When asked whether it was more like his native city in India, he replied it was "not the same", but it was "more like" the frenetic city he missed.

My respondents' unease at being in a quiet area did not just refer to the relatively small Southern cities of Durham and Raleigh. Many respondents felt the larger metropolises were also still. The noise and smell of congested Indian cities are different

than even the largest of U.S. cities. However, in the places where students spend their internships, they often feel more socially connected than they do when they are tied to the campuses in Raleigh, Durham, or Chapel Hill. When they are in the work environment, their workplaces and homes are often closer to the homes of other workers. They are proximate to cultural amenities, such as those found in the ethnoburbs. In part, this is because college campuses are distinct and unified environments separated some distance from the suburban locations typical of developing ethnoburbs. Public transport does not carry people from NC State, UNC, or Duke to the temples or shopping complexes of an ethnoburb such as Morrisville. No student I talked to had either a car or a license. Because of this lack of access to the suburban environment when in university-oriented student housing, students do not tend to connect with the ethnoburbs around them. They are more likely to connect in places where they have internships and the ethnoburbs of these areas. On internships, it seems, students truly begin to consider what it would be like to live in the United States, especially as the communities where most of them find positions offer more familiar experiences. Vijay, a 2nd-year MS student at NC State, spoke of how connected he felt while working in the Bay Area. Not only was he surrounded by other Indians, but there was an amateur cricket league he could play in. While there are amateur cricket clubs in the Triangle area also, Vijay was unaware of these. Even though such cultural activities are available in the Triangle, many students shared that they had not the time with their course work, information about them, or transportation to enjoy them.

Temples and religious communities are also theoretically available to students in the Triangle universities but the issues are similar. In India, the students had a tradition of

participation in religious activities of festivals even if religion has not been a major focus in their lives. As Shibashis recalls, a 1st-year MS student at NC State, "[In India] I went to temple with mother or to festivals with family." Similar participation had been part of the lives of many students. However, for students like Bhawani, a 1st-year MS student, the lack of access to temple and a temple community was a great dissatisfaction. Some students had been once or twice, but found it difficult to get from the campus to the suburban temple locations. Others had never been able to go at all. Even students who did not consider themselves religious or spiritual, reported missing traditional festivals and celebrations greatly.

Despite very limited access to the greater Indian communities located in the suburban ethnoburbs, it is important to note that Indian students have formed some degree of community in their campus locations by virtue of proximity and concentration. Indian students make up an extremely large portion of all the computer science departments in the area. In the case of NC State, an MS computer science, computer engineering, or electrical engineering cohort may be comprised of 70% students from India. As Akash, a 2nd-year MS student put it, going to class was like "being in India." In a quotidian sense, Indian students have found communities through roommates and neighbors who are also in their program. All students interviewed lived with other Indian students, most with two or three as roommates. In their apartment complexes there are generally several groups of Indian students. If we can think of ethnoburbs as suburban clusters, this clustering of students from India leaves us with an ethno-campus. While overall NC State is not dominated by Indian immigrants but by U.S.-born students from North Carolina itself, many of the technology and engineering programs are

predominately international with the highest concentration being students from India and China. As engineering and science fields, particularly computer-related fields, have been an area of growth for NC State, the many of the classroom buildings are not actually located on the traditional or main campus. Instead, these departments are housed on a newer secondary campus, the Centennial Campus, separated from the main campus by a considerable distance, creating two very distinct campus experiences and populations. Walking around Centennial Campus or the close apartment complexes does feel like a different sort of ethnic enclave.

Indian students have also formed their own campus groups. All NC State students were members of and had participated in the activities of Maitri, the Indian graduate student association. Maitri is taken for the Hindi word for friendship. It was founded to offer a network for students on the NCSU campus, as well as to help new students acclimate. All but one of the MS students at NC State took advantage of Maitri's guide program. Through the guide program, Maitri works to help new students have housing for a week, with established Maitri students, when they first move from India. Maitri helps students find housing as well as potential roommates after coming to the United States. Maitri also helps students create bank accounts, ferrying students to local banks and assisting in the process, as well as generally helping students get acquainted with the area. Throughout the year Maitri provides celebrations for festivals and provides other special events. While many students such as Bhawani said the festivals "made me feel like I was in India," the same students often spoke of these festivals, with more than a hint of sadness. Later in our interview, Bhawani recollected on how the festivals, particularly Diwali, around NC State didn't really compare:

[What I miss most is] the food! And the festivals, yeah, the community gathering and everything. The lights, and how people can come up, and so much noise they make. I just love it!...In India we usually have crackers, and Indian sweets, and food! A lot of people, new clothes, and family and everything. Out there [meaning at Maitri's NC State Diwali festival] there were just Indian students, we had new clothes which we got, and a lot of sweets, but yeah, just a bit of that...it was an Americanized version of Diwali.

The festivals, even as they enjoyed them, also reminded students of the much larger ones they were missing in their native cities.

Maitri though offered some students a sense of community. Ashwin had taken an active role in Maitri as a website manager. Other students participated in some selected activities. Arun and Paro, a PhD student couple, were more active in Maitri earlier in their NC State careers, but had since drifted away. They felt it was a rapidly changing group of MS students and they no longer knew anyone who was an active member. However, all respondents said they would be offering, and many had offered in the past, to house new students, appreciating the help the guide experience had provided in their initial transition.

These student communities while distanced from the larger Indian community found in the ethnoburbs, help many students resolve some of the loss of leaving their homes. Food was by far the most common item cited by my interviewees as the "thing" most missed, especially because of the significant differences between the U.S. and Indian diets. Many students were vegetarians and felt they could find little vegetarian food available near them. Even non-vegetarians complained that food in the U.S. was bland and tasteless because the traditional Southern diet uses very few spices and not the spices traditionally used in Indian cuisines. As a result, many of the male students had learned to cook for the first time since coming to NC State. Most admitted they and their roommates had learned through watching YouTube videos. There is no Indian grocery

store close enough to walk to from any Triangle university campus, nor are they easy to access by bus. To resolve the need for specific supplies to cook traditional foods, students were able to get their groceries from a Patel Brothers in Cary which delivered for orders over 100 dollars. Roommates would pool their orders with other students in order to reach the minimum delivery fee. Students also spoke of watching Indian films with friends and neighbors. Films were easy to obtain off the internet, providing another social activity. A few students spoke of going to the new Indian cinemas in Morrisville and Cary. However, once again, this was not something most students could do frequently because of a lack of transportation. While there was a sense of a very close-knit community among the Indian NC State computer science students, there was also a sense there was not much contact with many others than their student peers. The suburbanization of the ethnoburbs seemed remote from campus. On the other hand, while working on internships students were exposed to a larger Indian community in the cities where they worked. If students had internships in the Raleigh-Durham area, it seemed during this time they became more connected with the ethnoburbs than during their student semesters.

Brain Circulation and the 'Accidental Navigator'

Brain circulation does not imply a person moves to a country and then always returns to their country of origin permanently. While Dr. Reddy exemplified one who maintains connections with the country of origin without returning, Buddhiham offered an example of a person who returns to the country of origin and then migrates back to the receiving country. Buddhiman came to NC State as a student in the mid-1960s with the immigration reforms. "Morrisville was just a stoplight" he says of how the area has

changed. Cary, too, was almost unpopulated at this time. After finishing his degree at NC

State he returned to India to work for IBM India. He says he was unsure of whether he

would return to the United States or not when he went to India. However, Indira Gandhi's

administration and Minister of Industry George Fernandes accused U.S. multinational

companies like IBM of violating the 1973 Foreign Exchange Regulation Act meant to

decrease foreign investment in India. In 1977, IBM decided to close its India offices.

"That day, I went to my boss's office and said 'I want to go back to the U.S.'" said

Buddhiman. He then moved to IBM's offices in Austin, Texas where he lived until

returning to North Carolina to work at the IBM office in RTP. Buddhiman had been

influential in the Indian community in the Triangle. His wife and he had been one of the

first Indian families in the area. They settled in the suburbs long before they were Indian

ethnoburbs. He helped found the Hindu Society of North Carolina and remains an active

member of the temple leadership. While his story was a unique one, it speaks to the

serendipitous nature underlying many of the reasons for migration. As Ho's (2011)

accidental navigator suggests, sometimes people remain in the United States because they

keep applying at each step for the next visa until they have settled. At the same time,

major decisions such as losing a job may push transnational migrants to return. However,

connections made when in the United States may lead migrants to return to the United

States after returning to India.

I think one of the complications of the brain circulation model for international

students is that the students accrue large debts for their degrees, which may tie them to

the United States. This is particularly common for students working on terminal Masters'

degrees. If students worked before pursuing an MS, their savings deplete quickly in the

United States. Dr. Reddy said "I spend a lot of my time raising money, so I can support my students on the visas," but these fellowships tied to grants support mostly PhD students. The funds are thinner than the demand. Dr. Reddy said "I spend all my time fundraising. You come in here, I am always stressed about funding. And you says, 'why you always stressed about funding'. My students. I am supporting them...that's half my life…there have never been so many students." Unsurprisingly, the funds are barely enough to pass around to PhD students. MS computer science students are usually not on fellowship. It is a professional degree, for which most students pay considerable amounts. As international students, students from India pay international rates and fees. As part of an F-1 visa the students cannot take part-time work, unless it is through the university. Some students I interviewed had obtained research assistantships after their first year.

Many Indian students at NC State with student employment work in the dining halls. "The work is dull…I was so [mentally] tired afterwards [school] work was difficult…I quit," said Ganesh who decided the little money he made in the dining halls was not worth the drain on his studies. Bhawani also worked for the dining services and spoke of the boring, repetitive nature of the work. This tedious and unpleasant work added to her sense of unease at NC State.

Dining halls are not the only positions opened to students, though the possibilities are limited. Other students work as tutors either in math or physics. Unlike the students working in the dining halls, tutors spoke of great satisfaction with their jobs. It provided a chance to interact with undergraduate students and develop skills as teachers. The work was also within their focus of interest and allowed them to use knowledge they had learned. Because the nature of the computer science industry most students start their

graduate work after a period of employment. Sending skilled workers to dining halls is similar to the deskilling faced by benched workers in body shops where they take on unskilled labor, collapsing the separation between skilled and unskilled labor (Xiang: 2007). Those working in the dining hall do work that does not help them with their studies. Tutors do more cognitive and skilled work. However, those on research assistantships have the double-advantage of extending their expertise in modes beyond the classroom, while also receiving tuition-waivers and stipends.

PhD students were all on research assistantships and worked closely with professors on projects which expanded their interests. Three of the MS students I talked to were also on research assistantships. These were older students who received assistantships after the first semester or first year. They had also come to NC State as full-paying students and had worked hard to receive a rare Masters' level stipend assistantship.

Duke and UNC do not offer many professional MS programs, instead focusing on students seeking traditional research PhDs. Since PhD students from all three universities are almost always on assistantships, most graduate without the fear and worry of great debt. Arun and Paro, both PhD students finishing up at NC State, pointed out how they had been able to save money from assistantships and financially help their families. They had already been able to save money for retirement. Arun had helped his father purchase an apartment Also, the absence of debt often allows young PhDs greater ease than MS students in choosing to return to India if they wish. Since loans are accrued in U.S. dollars it is easier to pay them off while working in the U.S. The accrual of, and the payment of student debt extends their stay in the U.S. beyond the university

experience and increases the chances that the student may ultimately make the transition to locate permanently in the United States.

Debt ties people to the United States for longer than they initially intended. It also limits the immediate financial benefits acquired by obtaining a degree for the migrant and his/her family. Many of the professional MS students spoke of planning to marry after they finished their Masters' and find employment. Currently, none of those students were dating. They were planning to have their parents arrange their marriages for them. As they were graduating, possibly encumbered by debt, these students were also planning to start families. The married older professionals I interviewed had married after receiving their Masters'.[19] The spouses who migrated came on H-4 visas and, thus, were unable to work. This is likely to be the path the arranged spouses of my student respondents will follow to enter the United States. Whether or not facing debt, these students will be supporting two people on one salary. This could, on the one hand, limit their flexibility to return to India if they are paying debts, saving money, or sending money back to their family in India. On the other hand, if their spouse is established professionally or preparing to work or the couple feels they would like two incomes, it could push people to return to India. Though my respondents were extremely thoughtful and had well-planned visions for their futures, one could see how dreams and plans might become redirected by realities and other priorities. For instance, Ashwin's entrepreneurial dreams would be complicated by both the debt he faces as a fee-paying student and his desire to marry directly after finishing his degree.

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[19] This was true for all except Pratima and Dr. Reddy who married non-Indians they met in graduate school and Buddhiman and Rahul, the retired gentlemen I interviewed, who migrated as already-married students.

In the second chapter I drew on theories of transnational emotions, belonging, and Milton Gordon's concept of assimilation. In this chapter I provide some empirical evidence from my interviews which suggests how people settle to an area overtime, following Kobayashi's (2011) work on the different feelings of belonging of Hong Kong migrants to suburban Vancouver, Canada. It also highlights how Indian IT migrants orient themselves, and to where they can reach.

Indian IT migrants come from across India and speak a variety of such languages as Kannada, Tamil, Telugu, Hindi, or Bengali or other regional Indian languages. At the same time, almost all of those I interviewed had parents who spoke English (the colonial language) fluently, or reasonably so. In many ways, those whose family speaks English well are at an advantage to settling in the United States over other people coming from India with less familial English fluency. In the course of this section, I will stress the importance of language itself in helping one settle. Most of my interview respondents came from middle-class families. They all had high competency in English before they migrated. Many had been taught in English at secondary school and at university. Yet, not all their parents spoke English well. Some did not speak English at all. My respondents' familiarity and comfort with English and their parents' familiarity with English played a crucial point in how comfortable they found themselves in the United States.

Beyond English competency, the Indian skilled-migrant has often found success in the United States because the stereotypical middle-class American dream is often reaffirmed by middle-class Indian values. This dream is based in a consumerist culture which has often been propelled in India through its connection to the diaspora (Grewal,

2005). The settlement of Indians in the suburban ethnoburbs of Cary and Morrisville, as opposed to the cities of Raleigh and Durham, illustrates the connections between these migrants and the narratives of suburbia in the American dream.

In communities, such as the ethnoburbs of Cary and Morrisville, successive years of Indian migration have resulted in eventual development of cultural centers which help more people feel comfortable. To put it simply, people can converse with others in their native languages. They can recreate cultural activities. As these communities grow stronger, it may be easier for migrants to mitigate their lost homelands. The orientation is still strong, but the need to return may become less prevalent.

People also come to miss comforts and familiarity. Yet, some of these may have as much to do with youth and life trajectories. As noted earlier in this chapter, the issue of noise, of liveliness of a community changes over time. For instance, many students reported missing the noise and frenetic nature of their native cities in India, yet, this longing may have as much to do with missing friends and family related to the noise as it does the noise itself. To me, this theory, which I draw mostly from Kobayashi *et al.* (2011)'s description of how different migrants related to suburban trees and green space differently mentioned in the second chapter, became more obvious talking to older migrants who have started a family. Nitesh and Priya, who had a toddler, remarked on how they preferred the quiet of Chapel Hill. Nitesh admitted that at first when he moved to the United States, about ten years ago as a MS student at NC State, he missed the hustle and bustle of India. Priya still missed the communal nature of India and the wide-availability of street-food snacks. Yet, both Nitesh and Priya felt the quieter atmosphere of Chapel Hill was better for raising a family. Nitesh had worked for 6 years for CISCO

in RTP before returning to NC State for his PhD. The couple had made many friends in the area who also now had young children. Though they went out with friends on evenings after work, it was less and less as children began to dominate their lives. The quiet nature of U.S. suburban life had become something desirable.

Similarly, Pratima, had come to enjoy the suburban life more than the hustle and bustle of her native city of Kolkata. Having been in the U.S. for 14 years, she had come to enjoy the quiet suburban nature of Cary as well describing it as ideal because it was "warm…I like space, living up to the greenway…you have the trees. I didn't have that growing up. I want my children to have that." She, like Priya and Nitesh, spoke a similar narrative of her children growing up in a quiet suburban neighborhood. Yet, while Nitesh commuted most days to NC State, and had commuted from Chapel Hill to RTP while working, Pratima spoke of the need to be proximate to one's work and other services, such as schools and stores.

> Pratima: The greenway that backs up to our house is connected, connected to the [elementary school] where our kids go. So we can bike there. We have done that. Well, I am working, so I can't. You can go to some stores. But we don't really do that. My husband bikes there, to the Harris Teeter, you know, if you are buying a few things...mainly exercise.
> Andrew: It's nice having the flexibility to bike these places?
> Pratima: Yes. I just don't like the idea of getting in a car, driving somewhere, so I can go on a hike. I want to walk, I want to be able to get out and walk…. We are connected to work. We can bike to work. Everyone biked growing up, everyone bikes in Kolkata,
> Andrew: Do you often bike to work?
> Pratima: No never, we always have to take the children to [school or], go quickly.

The desire to bike to work or to the grocery store remained a reason for choosing one's living arrangements. It was a factor for Pratima and her husband choosing to live where they did. However, it was a desire that hardly played out in actually biking to work. Pratima related the desire to her growing up in Kokata. It seemed to offer her some comfortable reminder of her childhood, especially as she thought she was unlikely to

return to India. While a PhD student she met a German-American and married. She was a U.S. citizen. She said she had no intention to return to India, especially after the death of her father which had occurred while she was in graduate school. She had considered leaving the U.S. but only to move to Germany. Because of German citizenship laws, though, she felt she could never really fit in Germany as she did in the United States. She did not often partake in Indian cultural activities in the area. The desire to bike to work as she had grown up biking around Kolkata was the only thing she directly linked to missing India.

Pratima was hardly the only person who spoke of biking to work. Though it did not come up explicitly in our conversation, I noted a bicycle in Dr. Reddy's office. Raj, another professional, also spoke of biking to work every day in Silver Springs, Maryland for "5-6 months during the year…the summer months". His wife, Simran, though, did not bike to her work saying "I have to take the kids…they go to a CDC sponsored daycare" at her work. Li's (1998) finding on ethnoburbs illustrates that migrants tend to form ethnoburbs in part because it is near their work. My interviews with professionals demonstrates that, unlike typical patterns of U.S. suburbanization, migrants, at least some middle-class Indian migrants, often do have a longing to be close to their employers so they can bike to work. This might be emphasized in residential patterns, even if people do not actually bike to work. Similarly, one could see how the students who long for their native cities where meeting friends meant just walking out into the street, may play into a later desire to live near one's place of employment and cluster around other migrants from one's culture. When people are young, they desire the exciting atmosphere of the cities. For migrants who have lived in major Indian metropolitan areas, the atmosphere is

even more dense and chaotic than U.S. cities. Though as people grow older and start to have families, they may grow accustomed or prefer the slower-paced and quiet life they originally disliked.

Food is also something my interview subjects spoke of as missing and tried to recreate. Food becomes an important emotive activity. As discussed in the second chapter, both Roy (2002) and Longhurst *et al.* (2009) contend food is both visceral and helps bond communities. The ritual of cooking reminds one of one's family, and the smells and tastes help soothe an absence of family and familiar surroundings. Food can even help bring migrants of different cultures and non-migrants together, as well. As Bhawani noted, she had bonded with her only close "American" friend in graduate school over food. The American friend, Bhawani, and Bhawani's other Indian roommates switched hosting dinners:

> [She invites us over to] tell us about her culture, to cook nice food for us…most of the time we cook Indian food. She likes Indian style[-food] and spices, ah, it's great! One time on Thanksgiving, we celebrated our first Thanksgiving with her [and all went to her family's house]…We cooked an Indian dish and they all loved it! Although, she runs for the water instantly, all the spices, but she likes it.

Food then helps solidify community, as well as bring other groups together. Yet, because of the ethnoburbs, the Indian students gathering together, and ability for students to learn to cook their own meals, food is replicable. Family is not, though migrants try to do so virtually through skype or phone calls.

In interviews it became clear that family ties become strong linkages to a country of origin and determine formal citizenship and future residency choices (Ho, 2008). These familial ties are metaphorical, reaching into ideas of nationalism and ethnicity, of a pan-national family. Sending-countries often use rhetoric of the national family as

reasons why migrants should invest in their country of origin or even return. At the same time, familial ties refer to parents, siblings, and cousins. It is hard to parse between these issues, as often migrants' activities, through remittances of money, culture, goods, or knowledge, both help their actual family and the national family (Levitt, 1996).

In my interviews, respondents' initial reaction to what they missed about India the most was food. Yet, their number one reason for returning would be for family. Those who remained in the U.S. often had families who integrated quite well into the United States, could communicate with family members often while away, and usually had family move to the United States as well. It is naïve to assume that while living in India people always visited their family as much as they would like. "I see my family twice a year…It's as much as when I was working in India!...It's very hard to travel in India. It takes many hours by train or bus….you get few holidays," said Prasanth, a 2nd-year PhD student. However, the notion that he saw his family twice a year now that he lived in the U.S. was not entirely accurate. He had not returned to India in the year he had been a student at Duke, though he intended to visit over winter break as well as summer. Yet, it is considerably less expensive and less time consuming to travel across India than to travel from India to the United States. It is important than to see how linkages develop and family ties can be maintained in the United States.

Most student migrants spoke to their family at least once a day. Many spoke to their family twice. Older migrants with children spoke to their India-based family during weekends. New forms of communication allowed people to talk to family as frequently as they would at reasonable or no cost. Usually students communicated through Skype or Google Hangouts, though sometimes they used devices like MagicJack or calling cards to

call the landlines if their parents did not have as reliable internet, or if the students themselves were not at home. Bhawani said she talks to her family "daily, sometimes twice-a-day…usually through a video call on Hangouts or if I am not at home I will call them on my cellphone. I use a 'Dial 91' card for India calling" which costs her about 10 cents-a-minute.

Indian Standard Time is nine and a half hours ahead of Eastern Standard Time. As a result, migrants need to plan carefully when they can call their parents. This usually happens in the morning and night for migrant students which is usually as their parents are preparing to go to sleep or start their day. "I joke…I ask my parents how was the day [to see how the day will be for me]…they are a day ahead of me," said Sagar stating that the time difference allows him to pretend his parents can forecast his day. The time difference, while difficult, is hardly insurmountable. The students all stated the ability to talk and see (through WebCam-based conversations) their family members made them feel more connected to their family.

The real impact of family, though, comes in the family's ability to visit the U.S. as well. The professionals who I interviewed who settled here have parents visit frequently. Their parents speak English. They also have siblings now in the U.S. so the parents can travel between households during a travel visa. Raj and Simran, the professionals now living in Maryland, spoke of how when Raj's family used to visits they can travel to see other relatives on the East Coast and his three sisters who live throughout the United States. This is ideal because Raj's parents can see all their grandchildren and oscillate between places, so they neither have to stay in one place for

the whole travel visa nor does any family have to house them the whole time. In fact, his

parents are now residents of the United States themselves.

> Raj: They were in India, but now they are residents of the United States as well.
> Andrew: Yes, I was wondering since all their children are here. Do they also live in New
> Jersey [where two of Raj's sisters live]?
> Raj: They live with all of us [the four siblings, who live throughout the U.S.] so they, just
> like, stay 3 months with each in everyone's house. So that way they have some change.
> Like, in India they have lot of a social group which they miss out here. So with being
> with all of us they get a change of [pace], get to spend time with all of their grandkids.
> And then they also visit India every once in a while. So they were here for the last three
> years, and are in India for the last four months. So typically they go and stay for maybe a
> year or so [in India] and then come back.

However, the students whose parents did not know English were worried about their

parents' ability to easily travel. In Raj and Simran's case, Simran's parents "do not speak

English very well", nor do they have as much family living in the United States as Raj's

parents. Simran's only sibling, a younger sister, still lives in Belgaum, Karnataka near her

parents, unlike all of Raj's siblings, who live in the United States. As a result, Simran's

parents came less often and stayed for shorter periods since "they don't want to feel

totally dependent, where they can't move around". Instead, Raj and Simran visit her

parents "every 2–3 years".

Other students spoke of how their parents were often disoriented and felt

uncomfortable when they visit, only staying a few weeks and not the 6-months of a travel

visa. Several students' parents do not even speak a major Indian language well and have

trouble getting visas or passports. Vijay, a 2nd-year MS student, spoke of his parents'

difficulty in visiting. Vijay was from a small village in India and his parents did not even

speak a major-Indian language well: "My parents can't visit until I return…I want to help

them fill out the visa….they speak a village language. It takes months to get [an official

who can give them a test in their language to get a passport]…I will have to be there to

help." Such difficulties may make students feel more separated from their parents and more eager to return to India.

Conclusion

In chapter five I focused on the narratives of respondents. Through these narratives, I observed the messiness of planning to return to India or seek further residency in the United States. Unsurprisingly, almost all respondents were conflicted. Almost all maintained strong connections with and missed many people and things from India, yet simultaneously enjoyed the lives they had made in the United States.

I asserted three critical theories to help explain how migrants decide whether to return to India or stay in the United States. One, known as the accidental navigator (Ho, 2011) illustrates how shifting from visa to visa ends up creating a stalled return which may inevitably lead to permanent settlement. During this time, migrants who may have wished to return become more immersed in their lives in the United States. At the same time, connections with family and friends in India loosen as older parents die or relationships drift apart. Tied to this, I find struggles with the H-4 visa may compel one member of a family to take further schooling and/or change fields which will tie the family to the United States for longer. I also assert that debt accrued by international students for their Masters' degrees may make it hard to return to India. Simply it is easier to pay off debt while receiving United States wages. As many of my male respondents said they wish to marry (or older ones had married) after completing their Masters', this debt is also being paid off as they begin to start a family, often supporting someone who cannot work on an H-4 visa. Several young respondents who had great ambition to return

to India, either because they sensed entrepreneurial prospects and career advantages from

returning to India or because they missed family, friends, and a way of life, may find

themselves staying here longer than they initially planned.

The second theory I have illustrated, following Kobayashi *et al* (2011), is that

while places are saturated with affective meanings, the meaning places are given change

over the life-course of migrants. Things that are strange at first may become familiar and

cherished over time. I believe ethnoburbs, the third theory or rather concept that I

explored below, play an important role in how suburban communities can become

saturated with affective meanings for migrants.

The rise of ethnoburbs and shifts in the suburban landscape then help other

migrants adapt to the new environments. For instance, the ability for migrants to get both

fresh and dried produce to make traditional foods helps many feel more comfortable in

their new homes. My student respondents had even illustrated how such food helped

create a community, as young men learned to cook from YouTube videos and then took

turns providing food for each other. This comfort and community would be harder to

fathom in programs with fewer Indian students and in places with fewer Indian groceries.

Finding comfort in the changes in cultural landscape also seem to move in tandem with

theories of assimilation.

There are, however, shortcomings to the ethnoburb model. While there are Indian

Graduate Student Associations at each university in the Triangle, students often spoke of

feeling separated from the greater Indian community in the suburbs. The Triangle is more

suburban than urban, and lacks networks of public transportation and population density.

The three universities are separated by significant distances and are not well connected by transportation. None of my student respondents could drive in the U.S. and few of them knew another Indian student that could. Those who wanted to go to temple, engage in cultural events or even go to a Hindi film at the Morrisville Cinema, found transportation difficult if not impossible. As a result, many students felt more connected when their internships were in truly urban areas, such as Seattle and San Francisco, leading many of them to want to leave North Carolina after graduation for these larger tech cities.

Chapter Six: Conclusions

A number of complex processes have led many skilled migrants from India to the Research Triangle region of North Carolina. The demand for technology workers which exceeds the supply of the U.S. and the regional labor market both in sheer numbers and in the use of workers who are preferred by employers because they are cheaper; the important role of the technology sector in the growth of regional, national, and international economies; and the presence of three major universities with technology training have all been instrumental in bringing skilled migrants of India to Raleigh-Durham. U.S. immigration policies favorable to skilled migrants enable the influx of both temporary and permanent migration. These policies make migration easier for skilled migrants than unskilled migrants, particularly unauthorized migrants who live shadowed lives.

Once Indians migrate to the United States for either education or work, they face a decision: to stay here for longer than their initial visa or return to India. My thesis is about the migration factors that influence people and their families in their decision to stay in the United States or return to India. Within this, I examine how people have been affected by temporary work or student visas, spousal visas as well as what might have influenced some of my older respondents to have sought permanent residency through green cards or citizenship. I also asked respondents about other variables, such as debt or family and marriage ties, all of which play a part in their decisions. Lastly, I examine the cultural landscape of ethnoburbs and try to understand the ways such ethnic communities add to a migrant's familiarity and comfort with a place as variables influencing residency. Finally, I discuss two particular theoretical frameworks for studying these observations

from my research. One of these is to expand on Ho's (2011) theory of the accidental navigator. The second is to think about Li's (1998) concept of the ethnoburb.

The immigration reforms of 1965 and subsequent skilled visa legislation have made it possible for many skilled Indian migrants to come to the United States. The same policies, however, which promote skilled migration also lead to another set of difficulties in migrant lives. Visa programs like the H-1B or F-1 grant entry for migrants, yet as temporary visas they create temporal borders. Such temporal borders created by the visa system constrain the migrant's flexibility and induce a level of anxiety and fear, which I believe contribute in part to the accidental navigator theory of skilled migration. In order to keep such borders from closing around them, or, in a less metaphorical sense, in order to remain legally in the United States, migrants must apply to renew a visa or shift from one visa to another. Since one must apply for a visa well in advance of its expiration, many of my respondents spoke of applying for a visa or planning to apply for a visa almost immediately after receiving a new visa or renewal. Constantly chasing the next visa often pushes migrants to seek longer temporary stay which may lead to permanency. The chance always remains that a new visa will not be obtained, thus making it impossible for the migrant to find sanctioned employment in the United States.

While the H-1B and F-1 visas have a temporal border which drives a migrant's decisions, the spousal visa programs also have their own set of difficulties. The H-4 and F-2, spousal visas for the H-1B and F-1 programs, do not allow carriers to work. Single-incomes can cause a strain on young families. Equally, many spouses come with a desire to work on their own. Many are educated in their own right, but cannot seek a job on the H-4 visa. How do these visas play a role in families deciding to remain longer in the U.S.

or return to India? My respondents offered some insights which were discussed at length in chapter four.

Many Indian migrants have been vocal in asking for visa reform, particularly with allowing spousal visas to offer social security numbers and to authorize employment. Yet, my respondents offered a more common way overcoming hardships: adapting to fit into the visa framework. In my interviews, those who were on the H-4 visa but wished to work changed their professions or sought educational credentials to help them get transferred into an F-1 or H-1B visa. Such transitions are rarely easy. The struggle to get a different temporary visa may entangle migrants to the U.S. resulting in the migrants staying longer than initially anticipated. Such struggles and entanglements offer another facet of the accidental navigator trope as one does not intend to permanently migrate but slowly extends one's "temporary" stay.

Some who may wish to stay longer in the U.S. or stay permanently become discouraged since they cannot seek the employment they prefer on the H-4 system. As a consequence, they decide to return to India. One of my respondents Aditya discussed his sister-in-law who could not find a job as a teacher as no schools would hire her and support her H-1B visa. She and her husband decided to return to India in part because she could not work as a teacher in the United States.

Throughout this thesis, I have stressed the blurry lines of temporary and permanent migration and asserted that intent can evolve over time. The struggles migrants face on the visa system are emblematic of these blurry lines. As migrants keep changing visas or seeking renewals, their stay in the U.S. often increases incrementally until they have been here so long they no longer think of returning. At the same time,

shifting from an H-4 visa to an F-1 or H-1B is often a laborious process which sometimes takes several years of education and could result in a major career change. Once this investment of time has been made it may seem more unlikely a couple will want to return to India.

Many H-4 visa holders invest time and energy to find a new career or seek further education to obtain a better visa status. Sometimes, they also invest money to pay for this education. Similarly, most student migrants who arrive on F-1 visas pay heavy international fees for their education. While some students receive scholarships or fellowships, most do not. Education in the United States, particularly education for international students, costs considerably more than in India. A few of my respondents said their parents were helping pay for their education, but most were paying for their own education with loans. Most students felt they would be able to secure well-paying IT jobs which would help them pay back their loans. It will be difficult for many of these students paying back their loans as quickly while receiving salaries in India. Being paid by companies in the U.S. with U.S. dollars is going to help pay back U.S. university loans better than comparable salaries in rupees in India causing many students to stay in the U.S. at least until their loans are paid.

Most respondents spoke to me of getting married after they finished their Masters' degree. Many couples I interviewed were married after the husband received his Masters'. It is hardly a stretch to see a common narrative then: young migrant graduates in debt, marries, his/her spouse comes over on an H-4 visa, and the family has a single-income while they try to pay off debt. Such a trajectory shows how paying off school debts while supporting two people could prolong a couple's plans to stay in the United

States. At the same time, if the couple has children their temporary stay will probably be further elongated. As children born in the United State receive citizenship, births offer another potential anchor to a family in the United States.

The visa, then, plays a crucial role in how Indian skilled migrants come to the U.S. and determines in part the trajectories of a migrant's stay. In sum, the longer the temporary stay the more likely it becomes a permanent stay.

Another important part of what I investigated revolved around how migrants form communities and how that formation of community becomes another anchoring variable. The rise of suburban ethnic enclaves, or ethnoburbs, particularly in areas where there have previously been few Indian migrants, offers communities for newer migrants to settle and feel more at ease.

In this thesis, I sketched two such new ethnoburbs, the communities of Cary and Morrisville, outlining the rise of Indian cultural and commercial centers. The formation of these ethnic enclaves and the development of cultural familiarity have been important for making many members of the Indian community feel at home. This feeling of comfort coupled with their opportunity for work and obtaining permanent status has helped to convince proportion of those who originally come as students to relocate permanently.

In chapter four, I described in detail several of the commercial centers that have opened, the different temples that have emerged just in the last decade, and some of the media and cultural amenities which are based in the Cary and Morrisville areas. This was hardly an exhaustive account, but it shows how many Indian businesses have begun to spring up to provide Indian groceries and other products as well as other services, such as barbers, salons, dance classes, and even plant nurseries which are owned by Indians and

attract an Indian clientele. Even major national chains have begun to cater to the Indian community of the area, as Morrisville Carmike Cinema has started showing Hindi, Tamil, and Telugu films while the Morrisville Wal-Mart has stuffed its shelves with Indian foods. Such savviness of national corporations demonstrates their research to understand the new local market.

In chapter five, I focused on the narratives of respondents, tying together the various ways people approach the migration decision-making process. Through these narratives, I observed the messiness of planning to return to India or seek further residency in the United States. Unsurprisingly, almost all respondents were conflicted. Almost all maintained strong connections with and missed many people and things from India, yet simultaneously enjoyed the lives they had made in the United States.

To reiterate, I asserted two critical theories to help explain how migrants decide whether to return to India or stay in the United States. One, known as the accidental navigator (Ho, 2011) illustrates how shifting from visa to visa ends up creating a stalled return which may inevitably lead to permanent settlement. During this time, migrants who may have wished to return become more immersed in their lives in the United States. At the same time, connections with family and friends in India loosen as older parents die or relationships drift apart. Tied to this, I find struggles with the H-4 visa may compel one member of a family to take further schooling and/or change fields which will tie the family to the United States for longer. I also assert that debt accrued by international students for their Masters' degrees may make it hard to return to India. Quite simply, it is easier to pay off debt while receiving United States wages. As many of my male respondents said they wish to marry (or older ones had married) after

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completing their Masters', this debt is also being paid off as they begin to start a family, often supporting someone who cannot work on an H-4 visa. Several young respondents who had great ambition to return to India, either because they sensed entrepreneurial prospects and career advantages from returning to India or because they missed family, friends, and a way of life, may find themselves staying here longer than they initially planned.

The second theory which helped explain my empirical data is that of Kobayashi *et al*'s work which helps elucidate how migrant's feelings about a place can change over time and depending on their age. This, I believe, is tied in some part to how skilled Indian migrants end up following a semblance of the American dream, congregating in suburbs and forming ethnoburbs.

There are, however, access issues to the ethnoburbs for many, particularly students in Raleigh, Chapel Hill, or Durham. While there are Indian Graduate Student Associations at each university in the Triangle, students often spoke of feeling separated from the greater Indian community in the suburbs. The Triangle is more suburban than urban lacking networks of public transportation and population density. The three universities are separated by significant distances and are not well connected by transportation. None of my student respondents could drive in the U.S. and few of them knew another Indian student that could. Those who wanted to go to temple, engage in cultural events or even go to a Hindi film at the Morrisville Carmike Cinema, found transportation difficult if not impossible. As a result, many students felt more connected when their internships were in truly urban areas, such as Seattle and San Francisco,

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BA   University of North Carolina, Department of Comparative Literature and Program in
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Professional Experience
2014-2015   Research Associate at MetaMetrics Incorporated, Durham, North Carolina.

2012-2014   Graduate Teaching Assistant, University of Kentucky, Department of Geography

2011 – 2012   Associate Editor for *Southern Cultures,* UNC Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

2011   Researcher for the John Bingham Project

2010   Burch Fellow, researcher on race relations, deindustrialization, and life in the
               Northwest of England

Awards and Honors
  University of Kentucky, Graduate Teaching Assistantship, 2012-2014.
  Burch Fellow, 2010
  North Carolina Fellow Class of 2011

Teaching Assistant Courses
  Geo 162: Global Environmental Issues. Course Instructor, Dr. Tad Mutersbaugh, Fall
  2012.
  Geo 160: Lands and People of the Non-Western World. Course Instructor, Dr. P.P.
  Karan, Spring 2013.
  Geo 160: Lands and People of the Non-Western World. Course Instructor, Dr. Lynn
  Phillips, Fall 2013, Spring 2014.

Conference Presentations
  Feeding the Diaspora: New Indian Foodways in the United States. *Association of
  American Geographers Annual Meeting.* Chicago: 2015
  Discussant on Political Ecologies of Race in the U.S. South. *Dimensions of Political
  Ecology Conference.* Lexington: 2014
  Transnational Indian migration in IT: How skilled migrants negotiate seeking residency
  or returning. *Association of American Geographers Annual Meeting.* Tampa: 2014

Professional Affiliations
  Association of American Geographers

Language Proficiencies
  Spanish, proficient level
  Kannada, beginner level
  Telugu, beginner level