Wanderlust to Wonderland?

Exploring Key Issues in Expatriate Careers: Individual, Organizational, and Societal Insights

Andresen, Maike; Anger, Silke; Al Ariss, Akram; Barzantny, Cordula; Brücker, Herbert; Dickmann, Michael; Mäkelä, Liisa; Muhr, Sara Louise; Pivin, Benoît; Saalfeld, Thomas; Suutari, Vesa; Zølner, Mette

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PART I
Introduction

1 The vision of the GLOMO project: Introduction and overview

Maike Andresen

STARTING POINT OF THE GLOMO PROJECT

Promoting labor mobility *across Europe* is a central aim of the **European** Community to tackle increasing labor and skill shortages in the EU and foster European integration. Indeed, in light of the increasing numbers of expatriates and refugees moving into the EU, global mobility and international careers are the most relevant theme within the European labor market. Despite a favorable legal framework for mobility, expatriates still face a wide range of **problems and obstacles that hinder international careers** by hampering cross-border labor mobility. Employment prospects for expatriates are fainter than those of natives, and overqualification, that is employment below skill level, is widespread in most European countries (Ho & Turk-Ariss, 2018). Consequently, the growth potential of immigrants is far from realized. Therefore, the European Commission (2015) calls for a more complete picture to face recruitment difficulties or skill gaps. Little is known about international mobility patterns and the length of expatriation episodes (Brücker et al., 2014), as well as retention processes of foreign employees (Andresen, 2015; Nguyen & Andresen, 2021). There is considerable scope to **make existing labor mobility more efficient and beneficial for all parties** involved.

This is the starting point of the Horizon 2020 project on 'Global Mobility of Employees' (GLOMO; see www.glomo.eu). While many valid recommendations have been made in terms of policies on the national, as well as the EU level, more detailed, scientifically sound knowledge about global labor mobility on the (inter)national societal (*macro*) and organizational (*meso*) to individual (*micro*) level is needed. It is necessary to identify the motives and aims, dynamics of, and barriers to **global labor mobility and international careers**. Thus, the impact of careers before migration (*pillar 1*), relevant career capital (*pillar 2*), effects of international (im)mobility, and labor-market outcomes of expatriates in their receiving countries (*pillar 3*) must be explored in depth. Overarchingly, the sense-making process (*pillar 4*) shapes societal and organizational structure (macro, meso) and behavior (micro) and, thus, creates (a new European) reality (see Figure 1). This knowledge gap prevents both policymakers and researchers from making defensible decisions.

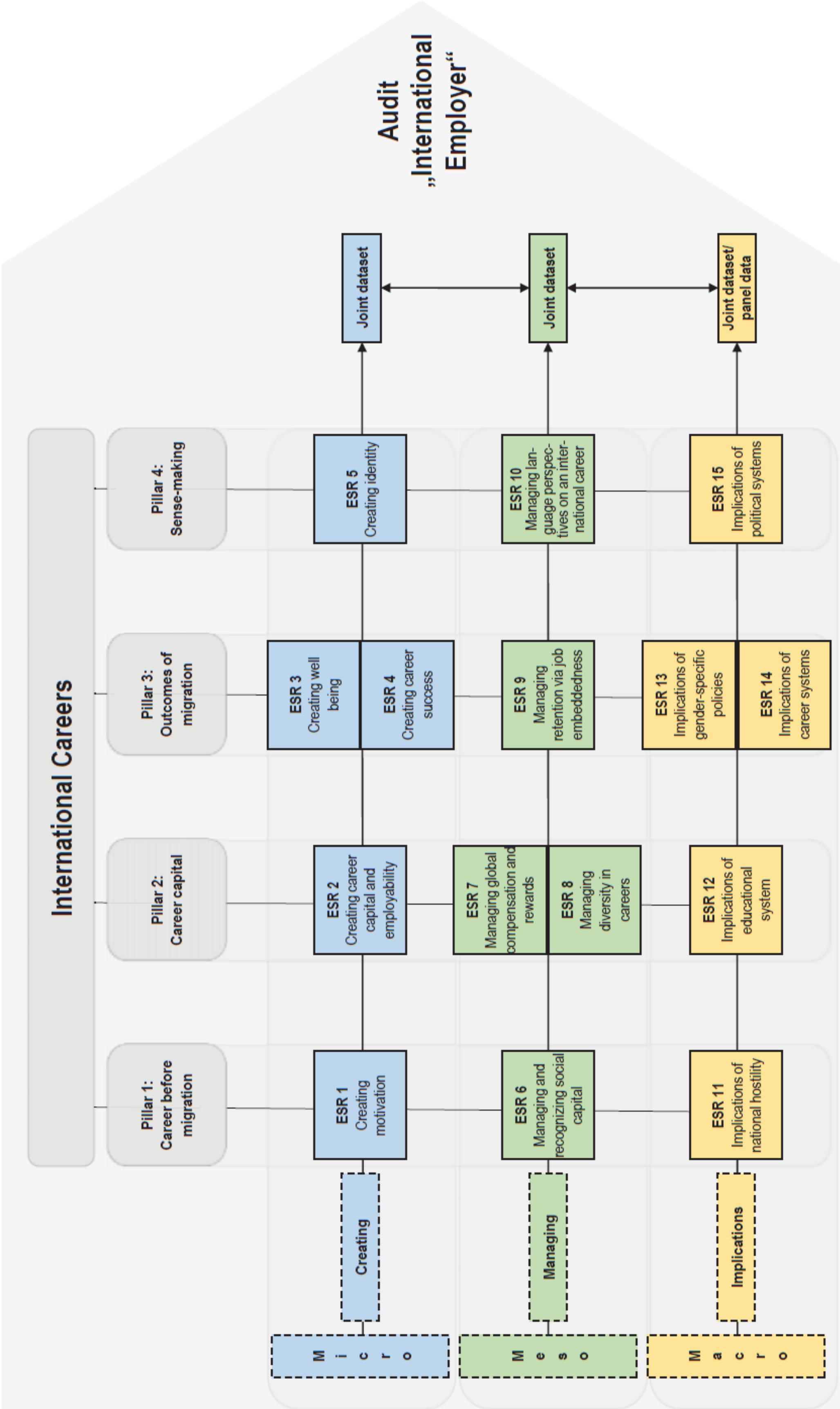

Figure 1: *GLOMO's cross-level research approach.*

GLOMO addresses this gap by going beyond the state-of-the-art in international career research. Based on scientific findings of the 15 research sub-projects, GLOMO creates a cutting-edge interdisciplinary, multi-level framework connecting a broad variety of influences on international careers with insights into a large number of country-specific characteristics. Please also watch our GLOMO video: https://youtu.be/zi4I-v-08xo.

Researchers now acknowledge that international careers can be understood and managed only through an **interdisciplinary analysis** from the micro- over the meso- to macro-level. This can be done by integrating psychological, organizational, sociological, economic, political, and institutional factors in order to gain comprehensive knowledge about international labour mobility and careers in different countries. For this reason, GLOMO's consortium consists of experts with a broad variety of research backgrounds. The Early Stage Researcher (ESR) projects themselves are interdisciplinary and, together, create a well-positioned diverse research landscape on the topic of international careers.

The multidisciplinary and comprehensive research results will be integrated into practice-relevant tools for the **audit "International Employer"** to stimulate and institutionalize sustained intersectoral knowledge transfer in order to foster the practical application of research results and, hence, to increase the innovation capacity of the European industries. The Audit instrument "International Employer" shall help public and private non-academic organizations to create high-quality employment conditions for international employees.

ORIGINALITY AND INNOVATIVE ASPECTS OF THE GLOMO PROJECT

Research on international careers has so far been split into two major research communities: the international (human resource) management community addressing implications of international careers at the micro level (e.g., individuals, households) and meso level (organizations, communities), and the economic and sociological community addressing implications at the macro level (e.g., society, nation). While the levels of analysis of international careers overlap between both communities, the two communities focus on different theories, levels of analysis, and methods in their studies of international careers. This leads to a lack of cross-utilization and cross-citation of research results and confusion in terminology, for example, expatriate, migrant, etc. (Andresen et al., 2014).
Specifically, four major **research shortcomings** are addressed by GLOMO:

(1) Different disciplines focus on **divergent definitions and separate groups of internationally mobile individuals**, leading to disjunction in the organizational and political understanding of issues related to individual mobility. For example, management studies address 'expatriation', which is often considered to have positive effects on the careers of organizationally assigned expatriates (Andresen

et al., 2022). In turn, 'migration' is used in economics, sociology, and politics, and it suggests potential employment challenges and career breaks for migrants (Visintin et al., 2015).

(2) The analysis of **careers of self-initiated expatriates (SIEs) has received little attention** so far. Research on SIEs has focused on a variety of topics, such as cultural adjustment (e.g., Kumra et al., 2021), gender issues (Haak-Saheem et al., 2022), repatriation (Andresen, 2021), motives (Despotovic et al., 2022), and outcomes (e.g., Maharjan et al., 2021). However, the overall results regarding international careers remain unclear, making it difficult to draw general conclusions.

(3) **Migrant/expatriate samples are diverse in professions and educational levels** hampering the interpretability of results. A majority of expatriation and migration studies include mixed professional groups or lack indications regarding professions (Lazarova & Ipek, 2020). While management studies primarily address highly skilled expatriates, migration studies tend to focus on low-qualified and low-educated migrants (Andresen et al., 2014). Understanding the effects of professional, occupational, and educational backgrounds on international careers is highly urgent.

(4) There is a **lack of data from the meso level**. The majority of migration, as well as expatriation studies, are based on individual-related data (e.g., surveys among individuals, household panels) or macro data (migration statistics). Due to a scarcity of studies on organizations and firms, knowledge about the organizational perspective regarding global mobility is scarce.

GLOMO uses these research shortcomings and gaps as its starting point and considers these requirements in the three scientific Work Packages (WPs 1–3), as well as in the research training program (WP 4). The main scientific novelty of GLOMO's approach lies in addressing key unresolved challenges in today's and tomorrow's international career fields by building a cognitive bridge between the economic level and the individual to organizational level involved in international careers and, thus, reaching interdisciplinary fertilization and multilevel analysis. With this approach, GLOMO is a consequently **interdisciplinary network**—one of the very few in the field of international careers. GLOMO's uniqueness comes through bringing together leading scholars in expatriate and global mobility research, thereby ensuring the best possible starting position to target the research gaps and increase the European leading position in this research area.

OBJECTIVES AND OVERVIEW OF THE GLOMO PROJECT

With the focus on global mobility into EU countries and within the EU and its impact on international careers, the **objectives** of GLOMO are to (a) develop a systematic approach to generating knowledge about the employee mobility phenomenon and its implications on international careers, (b) promote researchers willing to work on the topic, (c) train researchers capable of understanding the complex influences on international careers, and (d) suggest relevant implications for action for the European societies and economies.

Through this program and by working on the various individual but strongly interconnected projects (see Figure 1), GLOMO's researchers

1. analyse how successful the cross-border mobility of different kinds of employees in the European mobility space is; these differences concern gender, age, career stage, qualification level, educational and professional background, country of origin, language skills, etc., and
   a. if successful, how the transition between career systems and labor markets proceeds, and which factors on the societal and organizational to individual level enable and facilitate global labor mobility
   b. if unsuccessful, which factors on the micro, meso and macro levels hinder international labor mobility.
2. determine the effects and added value of the European mobility space for individuals (e.g., in terms of careers) and organizations (e.g., in terms of performance), as well as the European community (e.g., in terms of economic returns resulting from a raise of the levels and quality of the employment of migrants).
3. provide further relevant insights that help to manage cross-border labor mobility and international career development in practice. This is achieved by the Audit "International Employer" and follow-up activities to transfer this knowledge by auditing and consulting enterprises, as well as public organizations.

For reaching these objectives, going beyond bi-lateral collaborations, and working in an international network is necessary. GLOMO is such an interdisciplinary and intersectoral network that offers a comprehensive and interdisciplinary joint curriculum for the study of international careers. It connects the most experienced national research facilities within the involved countries.

ORGANIZATION

To tackle the most relevant topics pertaining to international careers, the network is organized into sub-teams working in three strongly interconnected research work packages (WP). Each of these three research WPs draws together five individual sub-projects related to either the micro level (WP1: *Creating* expatriates' individual resources and capacities), meso level (WP2: *Managing* organizational structures influencing international careers and mobility), or macro level (WP3: *Implications* of societal factors and systems affecting international careers and mobility). Further, WP4 is dedicated to the organization of the research training program. The project is paralleled by WP5 focusing on communication and dissemination, WP6 encompassing the project coordination and management, WP7 targeting the development of the audit “International Employer”, and WP8 addressing research ethics. All WPs involve all project partners.

The distinctive characteristic feature of GLOMO’s beneficiaries is its complementary research expertise related to expatriation/migration and international careers, allowing to attain a comprehensive and multidisciplinary view of the global mobility of employees. The following **researchers** are involved in the GLOMO project (see *Table 1*):

Name	**Role(s)**
Prof. Dr. Maike ANDRESEN, University of Bamberg, D	• initiator, concept developer, proposal writer of the research project • project coordinator (03/2017 – 10/2021) • head of project management group • head of supervisory board • leader of WP 6 (coordination and management) and WP 8 (research ethics) • ESR supervisor
Prof. Dr. Silke ANGER, Institute of Employment Research (IAB), D	• co-leader of WP 3 (research) • data manager • ESR supervisor
Prof. Dr. Akram Al ARISS, Toulouse Business School, F	• ESR supervisor
Dr. Cordula BARZANTNY, Toulouse Business School, F	• leader of WPs 3 (research) and 4 (training) • equal opportunities officer • ESR supervisor
Prof. Dr. Herbert BRÜCKER, Institute of Employment Research (IAB), D	• co-leader of WP 3 (research) • ESR supervisor
Prof. Dr. Michael DICKMANN, Cranfield University, UK	• leader of WP 5 (communication, dissemination) • quality manager • ESR supervisor
Prof. Dr. Liisa MÄKELÄ, University of Vaasa, FI	• ethics commissioner • ESR supervisor
Prof. Dr. Sara Louise MUHR, Copenhagen Business School, DK	• co-leader of WP 7 (international audit) • ESR supervisor
Benoît PIVIN, Airbus Group SAS, F	• ESR supervisor
Prof. Dr. Thomas SAALFELD, University of Bamberg, D	• ESR supervisor • project coordinator final reporting (10/2021-08/2022)
Prof. Dr. Vesa SUUTARI, University of Vaasa, FI	• leader of WP 1 (research) • ESR supervisor
Prof. Dr. Mette ZØLNER, Copenhagen Business School, DK	• co-leader of WP 7 (international audit) • IPR commissioner • ESR supervisor

***Table 1**: GLOMO beneficiaries*

The **partner organizations** offer practical insights by providing specific training units. This contributes to a discourse on different professional requirements in both the private sector itself and public research related to global mobility. Second, through secondments, private partners train ESRs in specific complementary skills on-the-job, thereby significantly improving the ESRs' career options. The following partner organizations are involved in the GLOMO project (see *Table 2*):

Partner organization	**Name of contact person**
atrain GmbH, D	Irene BELLODI
European Migration Network (EMN), EST	Dr. Ave LAUREN
Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, D	Katharina ERBELDINGER
German Federal Employment Agency, Brussels Office, BE	Dr. Wolfgang MÜLLER, Janice SCHMIDT-ALTMEYER
International Community Platform (ICP), NL	Nicole VAN HAELST
Philips Electronics Nederland B.V., NL	Jai PATEL
Siemens GAMESA, DK	Deanna RASMUSSEN
The RES-Forum Ltd., UK	David ENSER
University of Essex, UK	Dr. Cara BOOKER
Wärtsilä Finland OY, FIN	Kai KAMILA

Table 2: *GLOMO partner organizations and contact persons*

Also essential in the GLOMO project are, of course, the **Early Stage Researchers**, for whose support and funding the entire Horizon 2020 application was ultimately submitted (see *Table 3*):

Sub-project #	**Name**	**Institution**
01 – Creating motivation	Yustika N. Arifa Blanca Suarez-Bilbao	VU Amsterdam, NL University of Bamberg, D
02 – Creating career capital	Emilija Oleškevičiūtė	Cranfield University, UK
03 – Creating well-being	Tania Biswas	University of Vaasa, FIN
04 – Creating career success	Rodrigo Mello	University of Vaasa, FIN
05 – Creating identity	Kerstin Martel	Copenhagen Business School, DK
06 – Managing and recognizing social capital	Friederike Mathey Inés Escobar Borruel	VU Amsterdam, NL University of Vaasa, FIN
07 – Managing global compensation and rewards	Carlos Politi Giovanna Milani	Airbus Group SAS, F
08 – Managing diversity in careers	Acil Abdul Hadi	Toulouse Business School, F
09 – Managing retention via job embeddedness	Anh Ngoc Nguyen	University of Bamberg, D
10 – Managing language perspectives on an international career	Ivan Olav Vulchanov	Copenhagen Business School, DK
11 – Implications of national hostility	Monique Raupp	Cranfield University, UK
12 – Implications of educational system	Jacopo Bassetto	Institute of Employment Research, D

13 – Implications of gender-specific policies	Teresa Freitas Monteiro	Institute of Employment Research, D
14 – Implications of career systems	Yamila Martin Ferlaino Manh Ha Luong	University of Bamberg, D University of Bamberg, D
15 – Implications of political systems	Monika Bozhinoska Lazarova	University of Bamberg, D

Table 3: *GLOMO Early Stage Researchers*

GLOMO receives fantastic, valuable, and loyal support from its unique **GLOMO Advisory Board** comprising the following outstanding researchers: Prof. Dr. Jaime BONACHE, Carlos III University of Madrid, ES; Prof. Dr. Chris BREWSTER, Henley Business School, UK; Prof. Dr. Marion FESTING, ESCP Europe, D; Prof. Dr. Jan SELMER, Aarhus University, DK.

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This book provides insights into selected aspects of the 15 sub-projects worked on by the ESRs. If interested in more extensive insights into the research results, all researchers involved can be contacted directly (cf. www.glomo.eu). We hope you enjoy reading.

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2 Acting in the spirit of the whole: Expatriate careers between the poles of personal intentions and of company and country policies

Maike Andresen, Michael Dickmann, Vesa Suutari

Expatriation has received a lot of research attention over the years due to the importance of expatriates to organizations as well as extensive impacts such international work experience has on expatriates themselves. To generate a better understanding about expatriation, it is essential to understand things in context, as "Every event and everything must come into being as a result of causes and conditions." (Dalai Lama, 1998). In this chapter we discuss four topics areas that we see as important issues in the international careers of expatriates and that have been studied within the GLOMO project. We also connect the themes of the following chapters with these four areas and briefly introduce the chapters.

First, we discuss expatriates' career paths, the career capital they develop abroad and thus may be able to utilize afterwards, and the impacts of expatriation on the longer-term career success of individuals. Second, expatriates' identities, well-being and embeddedness are discussed. Third, we introduce some key global mobility management challenges that companies face when managing expatriation. Finally, the role of the host country in expatriation is discussed as an additional theme that has received less attention in earlier research.

PART II: EXPATRIATES' CAREER PATHS, CAPITAL, AND SUCESS

Part II of the book deals with expatriates' careers. Expatriate careers are also seen to be prototypes of boundaryless careers in which individuals need to manage their own careers as they move across national and often also across organizational and industry borders (Andresen et al., 2020a; Dickmann et al., 2018). In particular, self-initiated expatriates (SIEs) have taken a lead on their own careers when they have searched for a job abroad on their own initiative (Suutari et al., 2018). Similarly, they need to navigate through their repatriation process on their own when/if repatriating back to their home country (Andresen, 2021). While assigned expatriates (AEs) may get some support for their career moves from the employer organization, also they often report poor repatriation management (Tams & Arthur, 2010). As an outcome, they often make new career moves on their own initiative to improve their career situation (Andresen & Biemann, 2013). Often this means leaving the organization or at least seriously considering job options outside the organization (Suutari & Brewster, 2003).

While it has been argued that the importance of social capital increases with the extent of boundarylessness (Sturges et al., 2000), empirical evidence in the international setting is still fairly limited (Mäkelä & Suutari, 2009). Existing studies indicate that expatriates develop extensive networks (Antal, 2000; Mäkelä, 2007). Such networks are very important in the international boundaryless career context as these networks offer many benefits such as access to information and career opportunities (Andresen, 2021; Mäkelä & Suutari, 2009). In Chapter 3, *Inés Escobar Borruel* explores such individual and organizational benefits that can be derived from the social capital of both assigned and self-initiated repatriates. Besides providing a review of the extant literature on this topic, she presents key findings from 25 interviews with repatriates and HR experts. The findings provide new evidence that repatriates' social capital may enhance career success and the well-being of individuals as well as performance and knowledge transfers.

Global mobility is also found to be a highly developmental and transitional experience for expatriates (Andresen et al., 2015; Dickmann et al., 2018; Shaffer et al., 2012). Thus, an international relocation involves a need to adjust expatriate thought patterns and scripts to effectively interact with people and adapt to situational demands across cultures (Shaffer et al., 2012). Expatriates also often have demanding jobs with a high level of autonomy and thus, expatriation often has an extensive impact on individuals' careers (Andresen et al., 2022; Mello et al., 2022). One of the frameworks that is used to understand the development that takes place abroad is the career capital framework (Sullivan & Arthur, 2006). This framework is applied in two subprojects within the GLOMO project. First, in Chapter 4 by *Emilija Oleškevičiūtė* the career capital framework is applied to explore the way these different types of knowing affect the international transfer of career capital. She does this by bringing real life examples from qualitative interviews with Dutch and Lithuanian self-initiated repatriates who repatriated to their home countries on their own initiative and without organizational support after living and working abroad. Second, in Chapter 5 by *Acil Abdul Hadi* this framework is applied to study how different expatriates develop themselves in the three areas of the career capital framework: their global skills and abilities (know-how), their work motivations (know-why) and their social networks (know-whom). She also provides new evidence on developmental impacts of expatriation based on 27 semi-structured interviews conducted with expatriates and HR-professionals. Her results show that expatriates develop different skillsets, different work motivations and have various approaches in developing their social networks.

As expatriation is such a developmental experience it may also have extensive career impacts. The existing evidence on the impact of expatriation on careers is still quite limited and findings are controverse, thus more research has been called for regarding both subjective and objective career success (Andresen et al., 2022; Suutari et al., 2018) of both repatriates (Chiang et al., 2018) and re-expatriates who continue their international careers (Ho et al., 2016). Furthermore, we have far less evidence on careers of SIEs than of AEs (Mello et al., 2022). Chapter 6 by *Rodrigo Mello* reviews studies addressing both the objective and subjective career success of self-initiated expatriates after their international assignments. In so doing, the chapter provides an overview of the research on the career impact of international assignments on SIEs as measured against career sub-dimensions such as promotions, salary level and career satisfaction, and suggests future research ideas to improve our understanding of SIE careers. In Chapter 7 by *Monika Bozhinoska Lazarova*, the focus is also on careers of a very specific focus group: politicians. The career angle is very different as this chapter looking at the impact that both national contexts and political parties as organizations have on immigrants' political careers. The study provides a descriptive overview of the organizational practices parties in the EU implement to support immigrants' integration.

PART III: EXPATRIATES' IDENTITIES, WELL-BEING, AND EMBEDDEDNESS

Context has always been a key topic that influences the career choices of individuals. This 'space' partly shapes the career agency of individual workers, for instance through social, cultural, and economic factors. But, of course, the 'being' who makes career decisions is partly a product of many, multi-layered factors that include elements such as personality, knowledge, skills, and behaviours as well as career motivations and goals. In addition, the career journey has an element of 'time' that means that career choices undertaken at one career stage might have been different if those had been contemplated at an earlier or later time (Andresen et al., 2020a; Gunz & Mayrhofer, 2017). Just imagine the career choices of a young Ukrainian in 2021 (before the war in Ukraine) and now.

In fact, the massive changes in the space in which careers are played out over time are continuing to exert strong pressures for adaptability and proactiveness for global careerists. There are many developments under way – be they ecological challenges such as global warming, humanitarian challenges such as education and food provision, health threats as pandemics and other illnesses, technological advancement and cyber-security, governmental and policy dangers in relation to extremist ideas and security to name but a few – that lead to substantial changes in the world of work. Where careerists decide to live and work abroad, it normally means to leave established networks and support mechanisms and to seek something new, often in terms of radically different environments, increased learning and adventure (Andresen et al., 2020b; Doherty et al., 2011). While this leads to high density development (Mello et al., 2022), it often results in a range of personal challenges. The GLOMO project has explored a number of these pertinent challenges for global careerists, factoring in issues of space and time, which are the subject of Part III of this book.

Kerstin Martel (Chapter 8) explores the mobile self of global workers embedded in a shifting space over time. Her work uses, as a starting point, individuals' identities, and notes that there are many conceptual and theoretical frameworks being used by authors. Crucially, however, she argues that existing theoretical underpinnings tend to use monolithic categorization and that the very fact that individuals move into a very different space and have the opportunity to rethink and reconceptualize their own selves is important to take account of. She illustrates how the concept of identity can be used in global mobility and migration and that it leads to an understanding that individual global careerists actually go through a process of dynamic identifications. This means that the interplay between (proactive) being, time and space would benefit from a conceptualization that takes account of the unique experiences and actions of global careerists.

One of the often explored challenges to working abroad is expatriate well-being. With the dramatic changes that were brought about by the Covid pandemic from 2020 onwards, the employers' duty of care and the well-being of foreign workers has moved into the focus of interest (Caligiuri et al., 2020). *Tania Biswas* (Chapter 9) picks up the call for more research and explores the well-being of expatriates during the pandemic. She investigates the effects of stressful conditions induced by Covid and explores the impact of well-being measures. Crucially, her work contrasts local and foreign workers and researches various consequences in terms of individual well-being. Amongst the interesting empirical data is that support from supervisors has a positive relationship with life satisfaction and that organizational support is positively related to work engagement, with expatriates demonstrating higher work engagement than their local counterparts when receiving organizational support. Organizations, therefore, are able to substantially impact the work engagement and work well-being of their foreign staff for which they have a duty of care and for which they are often willing to invest to actively manage some of the challenging effects of the pandemic (Dickmann & Bader, 2020).

Due to the complexity of factors associated with the 'being', 'space' and 'time' dimensions that shape global careers, it is important to develop broad-based, context-sensitive research approaches (Andresen et al., 2020a; Mayrhofer et al., 2020). *Anh Ngoc Nguyen* (Chapter 10) draws up a sophisticated framework that factors in individual, situational, organizational and institutional dimensions in order to depict the factors that contribute to the job embeddedness of migrants working abroad. Given that job embeddedness is able to help to predict performance, knowledge sharing and retention at work is clearly useful to have a good understanding of the pertinent factors and how these shape job embeddedness of migrant employees. Her systematic literature review is not just useful for expatriates to understand their own job embeddedness, it also develops valuable insights for organizational leaders to develop approaches that would augment their foreign workers' job embeddedness.

A related theme, the integration of migrant couples in Germany, is the topic of the next chapter, authored by *Teresa Freitas Monteiro* (Chapter 11). Using a large data set the chapter explores the effects of gender, in particular tied women movers, on economic and socio-cultural integration. The work uses a representative survey of the migrant population in Germany which is a valuable empirical addition to other works in the field that are normally based on much smaller samples. The findings are interesting. Tied movers are less likely to be integrated in a socio-cultural or economic sense allowing the conclusion that following your partner to live (and maybe work) abroad creates a higher hurdle to successful integration in the host nation (in this case Germany). Female migrants are less likely to be economically integrated than their male counterparts while no such statistical differences could be found vis-à-vis socio-cultural integration. It is striking that traditional gender norms still seem to be at play.

Together with the underrepresentation of assigned women expatriates the data in Chapter 11 constitutes food for thought for policy-makers and organizational leaders. In Part IV there are further challenges that the GLOMO project identified and developed recommendations for.

PART IV: CORPORATE GLOBAL MOBILITY MANAGEMENT CHALLENGES

The global mobility literature has been able to illuminate the field of working abroad from a wide range of angles (Dickmann & Baruch, 2011). It has outlined and analyzed an array of theoretical approaches, career implications and contextual considerations (Mayrhofer et al., 2020; Mello et al., 2022). Often, the more dangerous, difficult or costly aspects of working abroad have been stressed even though they are not always well-understood or assessed (Bader et al., 2021; McNulty & Tharenou, 2004; Renshaw et al., 2021). The GLOMO project explored a number of key challenges that are hitherto under-researched and worked towards an audit tool that allows some assessment of the status quo and outcomes of organizational global mobility strategies, policies and practices. Part IV of this book illuminates some of these important issues.

Language is often the neglected 'child' in global mobility. For starters, research indicates that organizations attribute a low importance to the capability to speak the host country's language in the selection process of global assignees (Dickmann & Baruch, 2011). Beyond that, the actual language policies in terms of overarching corporate language definition, strategic orientation and local deployment are not frequently explored (Vulchanov, 2020). *Ivan Olav Vulchanov* (Chapter 12) investigates flexible language management amongst international workers in multinational organizations. Crucially, multinational corporations face twin pressures for global integration (where they would use a common language, say English, to standardize their corporate discourse and understanding of issues) and local responsiveness, where, through flexible language management, local adaptation might occur. While some of the strategic configurational choices of multinational corporations have been explored (Bartlett & Ghoshal, 1989) and their associated international HRM implications (Farndale et al., 2010), this has not been the case for corporate languages. Given that international HRM configurations experience centrifugal pressures and show some other shortcomings (Dickmann & Müller-Camen, 2006), one (or several) common languages could be used together with local languages to help balance the conflicting pressures of integration and responsiveness.

Amongst a further challenge for HR departments and policy makers is actually gaining access to good information regarding the effectiveness of global mobility approaches. *Michael Dickmann, Cordula Barzantny* and *David Enser* (Chapter 13) address this challenge directly by introducing the 'International Employer' Audit Tool developed in the GLOMO project. The tool uses three time perspectives. In the 'pre-departure' phase, corporate goals, the global employee value proposition as well as selection and capability issues such as cultural intelligence are explored. The 'on-assignment' phase looks at pertinent themes such as training, learning and career capital development, rewards and performance management. The 'post-assignment' phase assesses workforce flows (including retention) and organizational demographics to inform efforts to improve global mobility approaches. Overall, the 'International Employer' Audit Tool strives to allow corporations to identify good expatriation practices, to benchmark themselves against other organizations and to refine their global mobility approaches. In addition, individuals are likely to benefit from more sophisticated corporate strategies, policies and processes guiding global work. Lastly, policy-makers would gain from access to and an overview of corporate global mobility actions and consequences to rethink and refine institutional provisions. The chapter provides five sample items for each of the areas and points out that organizations that are interested in the tool can access it free of charge on the GLOMO website (www.glomo.eu).

PART V: COUNTRY-LEVEL MIGRATION POLICIES AND THEIR IMPACT ON EXPATRIATES

Expatriation as a specific form of migration (Andresen et al., 2014) and 'planned and well-managed migration policies' receive great attention under the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (SDG 10.7). A policy can be understood and seen as a government's statements and actions regarding a certain issue, such as immigration. However, governments' intentions and recipients' perception of the intentions might deviate and be more or less accurate. Misperceptions may inhibit relationships between governments and expatriates because expatriates who inaccurately interpret governments' intentions are not making adequately informed decisions regarding their behavioural response. To direct their actions and interactions with one another, people need to understand each other with enough accuracy (Bernieri, 2001). Part V of this book on 'Country-level migration policies and their impact on expatriates' examines the impact of expatriates' perceived immigration policies as well as Covid-19 pandemic related policies on their attitudes (perceived hostility and employability) and behaviours (going to and staying in certain countries).

While many studies focus on expatriates' perceptions of the host country, host population, employer, or police, their perceptions of immigration policies have not been adequately researched (Becker, 2019; Ramos et al., 2019). Chapter 14 is devoted to the transformation of migration policy in the United Kingdom in the wake of BREXIT. In view of a limited amount of research addressing the possible problems caused by expatriates' perceptions of institutional changes and narratives as potentially "hostile" (Jongczyk Sédès et al., 2022), *Monique Raupp* aims to contribute to the discussion on the impact country-level policies may have on expatriates and their perception of their host countries. More concretely, she discusses expatriation to the United Kingdom and expatriates' perceptions of being unwelcome in this host country due to its "hostile environment policy", a recent immigration policy, developed in light of the United Kingdom's intentions to leave the European Union (BREXIT). By this, this chapter contributes theoretically to a contextualized discussion of expatriates' international experiences in light of recent world changes (e.g., more nationalist behaviours), and in particular in host environments that are becoming less welcoming for certain international workers.

Jacopo Bassetto (Chapter 15) provides an economic analysis of expatriation flows in response to migration policies. A review of pioneering and recent literature on the economics of migration with a particular focus on highly qualified expatriates is provided. Many countries face constant challenges to attract and retain highly qualified expatriates, both to increase their human capital and to mitigate the negative effects of brain drain. Bassetto first reviews the current trends in migration of highly qualified expatriates, highlighting its main characteristics such as the rapid increase in the last decades, the main geographical directions, and its circularity. Second, he reviews studies that investigate both the determinants and the consequences of the migration of highly qualified expatriates, considering both the individual and the country perspective. Third, he reviews studies that evaluate different types of policies aimed at attracting and retaining expatriates. The focus is on policies that aim at integrating expatriates in the host labor market, such as the recognition of credential and naturalization policies. Finally, the policy implications of these studies for the further implementation and improvement of migration policies are discussed.

The Covid-19 pandemic led the European Union to predict its worst depression ever and involving exceptionally high levels of unemployment (Gamlen, 2020). The high unemployment rates, in turn, were accompanied by declining demand for SIEs by employers, as they were able to draw on a large pool of unemployed domestic workers and were under political pressure to hire them instead of expatriates. Some SIEs therefore took jobs that were below their qualification level or chose not to retrain for new jobs (Gamlen, 2020). Consequently, the pandemic affected the employability of SIEs. Employability is defined as the ability to be employed, including the ability to obtain initial employment, to maintain employment, and to gain new employment if necessary (Hillage & Pollard, 1998). This requires the individuals' capacity and willingness to anticipate and respond proactively to changes in the work environment, such as those that occurred in the wake of the pandemic (Sanders & de Grip, 2004). Thus, an individual's employability depends on both individual and contextual factors. However, whether an expatriate sees opportunities to find and retain employment depends on their perception of macro factors and fit of their own skills (Andresen, 2021). Expatriates will only apply for jobs in another country if they see a chance of success in getting and keeping the job. The net result in the future could be that companies overall will be less dependent on hiring SIEs to fill seasonal shortages and skills gaps in the workforce, and SIEs will show less willingness to go abroad (a reversal of a decades-long trend). Chapter 16 deals with global career perspectives and employability of expatriates in times of health crises. *Cordula Barzantny* explores the challenges that researchers have faced during the Covid-19 pandemic. It depicts examples of transformation and resilience by young researchers. It outlines their changed research context and delineates their observations as well as their personal experience leading to re-imagination and re-conceptualisation of their intercultural situations. Amongst the changes observed was a move towards a stronger focus on mindfulness, sustainability, gender issues and sensemaking in global mobility research unfolding in a radically novel landscape. Overall, the chapter affirms ways how to overcome the hurdles posed by the Covid-19 pandemic.

PART VI: OUTLOOK AND CONCLUSIONS

The title of this chapter 2 is 'Acting in the spirit of the whole'. The contributions in this book illustrate that SIEs are always influenced by the context of all their activities, whereby, due to the (initial) foreignness, the perception of and awareness of this context may be more pronounced among expatriates than among national workers and thus shape their attitudes, decisions, and actions more clearly. We wish all readers of this book relevant new insights and inspiration from the research findings presented as well as from the suggestions for future research questions on SIEs in Chapter 17.

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PART II
Expatriates' career paths, capital, and success

3 Repatriate social capital: An untapped resource at the individual and organizational levels

Inés Escobar Borruel

ABSTRACT

This chapter explores some of the individual and organizational benefits that can be derived from the social capital of assigned and self-initiated repatriates. After a review of the extant literature, a series of qualitative insights are drawn from 25 interviews with repatriates and HR experts. These findings suggest that repatriates' social capital may enhance career success and well-being at the individual level. At the organizational level, social capital may help streamline performance and knowledge transfers. The chapter concludes with some recommendations aimed at repatriates and multinational companies hoping to maximize social capital gains after repatriation.

INTRODUCTION

The social, cultural, and technological transformations brought forth by globalization have pushed multinational corporations (MNCs) to deal with growing levels of complexity and competition in the international arena. In this context, organizations have become increasingly reliant on expatriate employees, who work outside of their home countries at a firm's request (assigned expatriation), or due to other personal reasons (self-initiated expatriation) (Dickmann et al., 2018). Eventually, most expatriates decide to return to their home countries after their time abroad, a phenomenon that is most commonly known as repatriation. Despite the ubiquity of this final phase of the expatriation cycle, repatriates did not receive enough attention from scholars (Kraimer et al., 2016) up until fairly recently. As a result, research on the repatriation stage is still relatively scarce (Knocke & Schuster, 2017), and many questions remain unexplored in the literature. In particular, authors reviewing repatriation research to date noted how only a few studies have tried to connect different repatriation outcomes with specific and likely relevant antecedents, such as repatriates' social relationships (Chiang et al., 2020).

Following the recommendations of Chiang et al. (2020), the present study focuses on the impacts that repatriates' relationships have on different outcomes after they return from an international assignment (IA). Here, repatriates' social relationships are understood as forms of social capital; a sociological concept that encompasses an individual's social groups and connections, as well as the resources that can be accessed through them, and mobilized for different purposes (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Bourdieu, 1986; Lin, 2001; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). In this way, the chapter addresses the gap identified by Chiang and colleagues

(2020), while also extending their proposed scope, by considering all types of social relationships, and not just those belonging to the "work" sphere as originally proposed by the authors.

Prior studies have shown that social capital (SC) contributes to a range of positive repatriation outcomes (i.e., Oddou et al., 2013; Reiche, 2012). Moreover, given the boundary-spanning nature of their work, expatriate employees are particularly well-positioned to accumulate valuable forms of SC across national and organizational boundaries. Despite this, scholarly work on the SC of repatriates is still in its infancy; hence, the present research aims to explore several unknowns regarding the SC of repatriates, with key implications for repatriation management. For instance, what are the outcomes of repatriates' SC for organizations, as well as for individual careers? And what are their managerial implications?

This chapter is structured as follows. First, a review of the relevant literature concerning SC and repatriation issues is presented. Second, a summary of the repatriation outcomes that are connected to repatriates' SC is offered. Third, the methodological section introduces matters related to sampling and research design. In an effort to capture individual and organizational perspectives, the interviews involved both repatriates and HR experts. Next, the findings are described in two areas of focus: organizational, and then individual issues and outcomes. At last, a range of practical recommendations is proposed.

PERSPECTIVES ON REPATRIATION AND SC

This chapter considers two main kinds of internationally mobile professionals, assigned and self-initiated repatriates, who have usually gone on long-term assignments lasting 12 months or longer (Shaffer et al., 2012). Whereas assigned expatriates (AEs) are sent abroad by an organization, self-initiated expatriates (SIEs) choose to work in a foreign country on their own, due to self-directed career goals or other personal reasons (Richardson & Mallon, 2005). The purpose of the chapter is not to establish comparisons between both types, but rather, to capture a wide enough range of repatriation experiences. The reason for choosing to focus on these two categories of expatriates in lieu of other international career categories (i.e., Collings & Isichei, 2018), is driven by the clear differences and effects identified between AEs and SIEs (Chiang et al., 2018). To be clear, the distinction between AEs and SIEs mainly lies in whoever instigated the relocation (the organization or the individual) (Suutari & Brewster, 2000), and the additional organizational support that is typically available to AEs compared to SIEs (Guo et al., 2014). This conceptual clarity is expected to result in more rigorous findings.

In recent years, international career scholars have finally begun paying attention to the issue of repatriation. Even so, there is substantial evidence that firms should improve their management of repatriation issues. As a result, many global firms continue to experience high repatriate turnover rates (Knocke & Schuster, 2017). By way of illustration, Marshall and colleagues (2010) found that most of the companies they surveyed (42) had implemented only two or fewer support practices for repatriates. They also reported that, while 60 percent of MNCs had offered some form of logistical assistance to repatriates, less than 70 percent had offered training and career support services during repatriation. This gap in repatriate assistance signals a major area of improvement.

In line with this reality, some studies have spoken of the "dark side" of international careers; the idea that international experiences may hamper the career success of individuals once they repatriate to their home countries (Arnaez et al., 2014; Inkson et al., 2012; Richardson & Zikic, 2007). However, the evidence in this regard is quite mixed, since positive career impacts have also been reported (for a review of these positive outcomes, please see Mello et al., 2022).

What's more, improper repatriation management also produces several undesirable consequences for organizations. From a knowledge or resource-based perspective, the repatriation process is a great chance for organizations to "harness newly acquired skills, perspectives, and knowledge essential to their competitive advantage" (Bonache et al., 2020). Nonetheless, it seems like this source of opportunities is not being properly leveraged by MNCs. In this sense, one of the most underutilized resources is the social capital of repatriates, more commonly conceptualized in the literature as one of the facets of "career capital" (see know whom career capital, i.e., Dickmann & Cerdin, 2018; Inkson & Arthur, 2001).

The social environment of repatriates is likely to have undergone some crucial transformations while they were abroad, such as trade-offs in personal and professional connections between the host and home countries (Mäkelä & Suutari, 2009). On top of the disruption of community ties caused by geographic relocations (Noe & Barber, 1993), expatriates may also suffer from reverse cultural shock (Howard, 1974), and find it challenging to adapt to a "home" that might look and feel vastly different to how they recalled it.

At an individual level, repatriates are faced with two related problems: first, losing rapport with their contacts at home may have lasting negative consequences for their career success, as well as the social support they may receive after IAs. Both issues could have a lasting impact on their well-being (Andresen, 2021; Mäkelä & Suutari, 2009; Seibert et al., 2001). Second, once they have returned, it can be equally difficult for expatriates to maintain the valuable international ties that they built abroad. A solid international network could eventually become useful in a range of future career scenarios (i.e., relocating abroad once again, obtaining information about international opportunities, international collaboration, finding work meaningful, etc.). Thus, failing to maintain international connections could be an important loss for repatriates.

At the organizational level, overlooking the social resources that repatriates have access to, including their SC, poses several risks, such as not being able to cash out on the valuable knowledge transfers that expatriates continue to exercise after repatriating, and which are linked to their social networks (Reiche, 2012). In addition, repatriate turnover rates could increase. According to Shen and Hall (2009), the more changes in one's social network, identity development, and skills and competencies, the lower job embeddedness repatriates will have with their companies; and thus, the more likely it will be that a repatriate will move on to another organization.

On the positive side, studies have shown that IAs and repatriates' SC carry with them significant benefits, which enable positive and often long-lasting repatriation outcomes. In the following sections, an overview of these positive outcomes is provided, based on the available literature. Organizational outcomes are described first, including improved knowledge transfers (Reiche, 2012) and performance (Ben Hador, 2017). Second, the focus shifts to the individual-level outcomes, including benefits related to career success (Mäkelä & Suutari, 2009) and well-being (van Gorp et al., 2017).

Knowledge transfers after repatriation

When explicitly mentioned in the repatriation literature, SC has been mostly studied in relation to the perceived strategic importance of repatriates for knowledge transfers. There are many good examples of such developments (Antal, 2000; Amir et al., 2020; Barley et al., 2017; Burmeister et al., 2018; Harzing, 2001; Oddou et al., 2009, 2013; Reiche, 2012; Riusala & Suutari, 2004). Be that as it may, an unfortunate drawback in these SC-inspired investigations is that knowledge transfers have been mostly viewed as a desirable organizational objective, and not from the perspective of how they impact individual repatriation outcomes such as career success.

Organizational performance

In the general career context, it has been reported that SC at the personal, intra-organizational and external levels strengthens a range of performance components (Ben Hador, 2017). We know little else about how performance may improve thanks to SC in the specific context of repatriation, but one of the vehicles through which performance may improve is, once again, the process of repatriate knowledge transfers. Unfortunately, global firms do not usually invest in (or know how to manage) repatriates' knowledge-sharing capabilities (Osland et al., 2020). As mentioned earlier, the social connections of repatriates can enhance knowledge transfers. In this regard, Arnett and Wittmann (2014) argued that organizations should increase socialization opportunities with partners to improve tacit knowledge exchanges, for instance, within cross-organizational teams (quoted in Wang et al., 2016).

At least, there is hope in the effectiveness of organizational improvements: it seems like organizational support before and after repatriation does result in better transfers of knowledge, repatriation adjustment, and performance (Furuya et al., 2009). This means that when done right, upgrading organizational policies is a highly impactful way of improving repatriate knowledge transfers, and thus, performance.

It must also be noted that the exploration and exploitation of individuals' external SC at the business unit level may also be a source of new business opportunities for organizations, which could indirectly impact performance at the company level. Still, for this to happen, organizations should encourage employees to develop and nurture their business relations with clients in a personal capacity (Josserand et al., 2017).

Individual career success

Although a significant subset of the repatriation literature has found that IAs are a risk factor for individual careers (Arnaez et al., 2014; Inkson et al., 2012; Richardson & Zikic, 2007), other authors have reached the opposite conclusion by adopting a more long-term perspective (Suutari et al., 2018). A recent systematic review of 55 articles found that, overall, studies had reported more positive than negative career impacts from IAs on repatriates' careers (Mello et al., 2022). Nevertheless, the authors emphasized the need to continue exploring career success issues in the different stages of the expatriation cycle.

Could looking at SC clarify how repatriates may achieve success (or not) after IAs? After all, SC approaches have been extensively used in general careers research (Spurk et al., 2018). However, in the context of international careers, not much is known about the influence of relationships and social networks on career success beyond a couple of theoretical proposals (Ramaswami et al., 2010; Shen & Hall, 2009) and empirical studies (Andresen, 2021; Mäkelä & Suutari, 2009).

What we do know is that maintaining strong connections in the home country is a key factor in achieving a suitable position after repatriation (Mäkelä & Suutari, 2009). Using Granovetter's (1973) influential distinction between strong and weak ties, Mäkelä and Suutari (2009) report that different network configurations typically associated with global careers (an internal network of weak ties, an internal network of strong ties, and an external network of strong and weak ties) result in career benefits for repatriates (respectively, quick access to diverse information, advice, and help and support in personal and professional matters). However, they also note that these SC configurations carry some career and repatriation risks, as there may be unhelpful trade-offs between establishing social relationships abroad and weakening those in the home country. These findings imply that expatriates and their organizations must try to balance the risks and benefits that their international networks and IAs imply, by consciously nurturing connections to the home country. Additionally, Andresen (2021) recently confirmed that social networks were a crucial instrument that French and German self-initiated repatriates used to access job opportunities upon their return; in particular, she found a connection between available SC and the employability of repatriates.

Repatriate well-being

Authors such as van Gorp and colleagues (2017) have adopted a social support perspective to speak about repatriates' well-being and social connections. Although they use different terminology, their approach and their findings are also in line with the concept of SC. Their results suggest that if the support providers in the home country have had a previous international experience, they may be better equipped to assist repatriates. In other words: personal connections, especially those with formerly expatriated individuals, could be useful resources to improve repatriates' well-being.

Additionally, van Gorp et al. (2017) highlight the fundamental role of spouses in repatriates' well-being. In this sense, a remarkable finding was that when repatriates' partners experience repatriation difficulties, this distress might also cross over to the repatriates themselves. Indeed, the job-related arrangements of the spouse are one of the main challenges for repatriates (Riusala & Suutari, 2000). With the evidence currently available, we can only speculate that this would entail some repercussions for career satisfaction and career success, but more research would be welcome in this area.

METHODS

Design and data collection

This study followed a qualitative research design relying on 25 semi-structured, in-depth interviews, lasting between 40 and 60 minutes. The interviews took place virtually, over Zoom or Microsoft Teams (as preferred by the interviewees). Most interviews were conducted between June and July 2021, but additional interviews with HR spokespersons were carried out in December 2021. The great majority of interviewees were members of two labor unions: The Finnish Business School Graduates, and Academic Engineers and Architects in Finland TEK. The participants had been part of a previous survey, in which they had agreed to participate in further qualitative interviews.

A total of 20 repatriates participated in the interviews. Purposive sampling was used to capture a wider set of career realities, and both assigned (13) and self-initiated expatriates (10) were interviewed. In terms of gender, 13 interviewees were men, and 9 were women. Their ages ranged from 32 to 70 years old, but most participants were in their 30s (8) and 40s (8).

In addition, 4 HR experts were interviewed — two of them were also repatriates themselves. When analyzing the repatriation issue from the organizational angle, it is also important to note that many repatriates were now working as managers after their repatriation, and they could thus also reflect on the overall organizational situation concerning global mobility, besides describing their own repatriation experiences.

An interview guide was followed to make sure that all relevant themes were addressed, but participants were given considerable freedom in determining the direction of the conversation. As a result, the content of the interviews was not always the same. In the interviews, several topics were discussed, including the individual and organizational implications of SC, its relevance for expatriation and repatriation, and potential actions to improve the management of relevant resources and challenges.

As the purpose of the research was to understand and reflect on the realities of participants, long and rich responses were preferable. Consequently, the questions that were presented to the participants were open-ended, so that each person could highlight and argue about the issues that appeared most relevant to them.

Data analysis

The method employed to analyze the data for this chapter was thematic analysis, based on the guide by Braun and Clarke (2006). Thematic analysis is a flexible means of analyzing qualitative data that can accommodate a range of research materials and philosophical positionings. For this chapter, the choice of thematic analysis as a method to sort data into themes was also determined by its flexibility and suitability for the analysis of relatively large interview datasets (Nowell et al., 2017).

Once all the interviews had been transcribed word by word, a set of preliminary codes was established, based on insights from the literature review, theoretical frameworks, and the first reading of the whole dataset. The similarities and relationships between codes were evaluated in subsequent readings of the transcripts. In this way, the process of applying the codes to parse the data combined abductive and inductive reasoning.

FINDINGS

Implications of SC for knowledge transfers

Many of the repatriates interviewed for this chapter explained that what mattered most to them in their work was receiving new challenges and being able to maintain some international aspects in their daily tasks. For those who were able to do the latter, the advantages were clear: being in an international environment also meant that their specific knowledge and their social capital may be welcome and perceived as an interesting resource. When the repatriates encountered a receptive environment, they could feel at ease in leveraging their international social capital, which then lubricated knowledge transfers across national or organizational boundaries. In other words, being in touch with international contacts was a source of timely and coveted knowledge, which the repatriates could then leverage for their own benefit and that of their organizations. This was true both for AEs and SIEs. Among other issues, repatriates would reach out to contacts to find out about corporate procedures and solutions quickly and accurately. Having established connections with experts abroad also continued to be an important resource to find out about novel ideas before anyone else and solving problems collaboratively.

> I think it is beneficial to say 'Hey, I do have contacts over there'. If we do want to learn something from the US, like, 'How are they doing this now, and how is that impacting the firm over there?' Of course, it is of benefit. (AE, female, late 30s).

> That's when you hear also some unpublished work and some work is still in progress. In the conferences, you basically learn about this work maybe a year later, when it's already finished (SIE, male, 38).

A case on the extreme positive spectrum was brought forward by an HR consultant, who highlighted the story of a self-initiated expatriate who, after being hired in Finland by a leading tech company, was tasked with teaching international business skills to the other employees, based on what he had learned during his IA, instead of his regular engineering tasks. This activity generated great value for the company. In addition, he wound up establishing new relationships with up-and-coming start-ups by providing them with similar sorts of advice.

Later on, this brought a new set of innovation and knowledge-related benefits for the tech firm:

> "He connected with start-ups, and he was helping them. Through that, he got a lot of joy, because he was able to share his business knowledge, and so on. But at the same time, his company got lovely new ideas, and very good connections" (HR expert No. 1).

Unfortunately, a significant number of interviewees noted how it was mostly other individuals with international experience who were able to appraise their added knowledge and skills; and that otherwise, these tended to be disregarded or simply go unnoticed. In some cases, feeling as though their experiences were not useful or valued seemed to create a growing sense of career dissatisfaction. In such situations, their international social capital, and the knowledge that could be derived from it even after the IA, found no clear pathways to benefit their professional lives, let alone their employers. As evinced in the last excerpt, this is likely to affect not just repatriates' morale, but also, their performance, and their turnover intentions:

> Even though all of these experiences have given me a lot of knowledge... Only those who also spent time abroad and really worked abroad appreciate it, but people who never worked abroad, they don't appreciate it that much. (SIE, female, 30s)

Professionally it's difficult because you feel that you have gained some experience, that you know something that... That could be useful for the business, and then you bump into an atmosphere where your experience is ignored, or belittled, or despised. And then I can tell you that the reason for my other quick departure from *Company A* after the assignment was partly due to this: a collision with the atmosphere, which was not particularly encouraging (AE, male, in his 60s).

Implications of SC for performance

According to the accounts of interviewees, the networks that they had built during their time abroad seemed to enable frequent knowledge transfers that could then result in improved performance, or greater ease in doing one's job. More precisely, it was raised that one of the benefits of SC was accessing intended information or support in a timely and uncomplicated manner, given how participants could identify from their networks who may be best positioned to answer their queries. In other situations, SC was equally useful to derive information-related benefits; for instance, one participant always reached out to contacts in other countries and Finland decide if he was approaching prospective clients, and to be able to prepare appropriately when doing so.

Another important aspect that related to performance was the cross-cultural insights that the participants had acquired thanks to the IA and their social relationships, and which they continued to exploit as repatriates. This related to performance because the need to sustain international interactions did not end when the IA did. In many cases, the work of interviewees continued being highly internationally oriented after repatriating, as they often were team members or managers of cross-country teams. Furthermore, the need to maintain the connections to the home country was emphasized.

> Having a strong network of people within the company, that helps to talk to the right persons and then be able to find out about work-related issues quicker, by knowing contacts in different locations and different roles [...] Yeah, it does help. Both things. The cultural understanding, because then you can relate to people and understand where they come from, what is motivating them and what is important from them. And then being able to reach out to the right person to get things solved. So yeah, I think both are beneficial in terms of performing in the role (SIE, male, 50s).

SC and repatriates' career success

This study sought to understand how repatriates' relationships and career success influence one another after IAs, given the relatively scarce coverage of these issues in the literature (Andresen, 2021; Mäkelä & Suutari, 2009). In this sense, the analysis of the interviews revealed that it is not uncommon for social capital to become a helpful entryway for repatriates to receive opportunities, or to take key career steps that will bring about positive returns in the future.

After a two-year assignment in the US and taking maternity leave, Heini (AE, 38 y/o) shared her new details with contacts in the US, letting them know that she was back to work in Finland. Regarding her network more specifically, she was surprised when a US colleague she had worked with on a project reached out to her: "Hey, you're back working! Are you looking for work? You know, I have something for you in the US". Although she is not planning to go to the US at this time, this clearly had an impact on Heini's subjective career perceptions. As she put it: "It's just good to know that if there was a will, there would be a way". Since she was back, she has received an overwhelming amount of offers, mostly from US-based headhunters, but also from Finland, where her specific knowledge of US regulations is sought after. In this sense, Heini also mentioned how her in-demand knowledge is enabled and updated through her international contacts, whom she often calls or emails to obtain information about specific matters. Her initial salary had increased since the assignment, and a few months later, she was promoted.

Another repatriate, Kaarina (AE, 48 y/o), had a successful and diverse career in top management consulting companies after her assignment in Sweden. She went abroad with a smaller firm, and after repatriating, she was headhunted by a larger firm. Having worked with people from all over the world in Sweden, however, she wanted an even more global organization. She then found her way into one, and found out that although competitive, and global, the consulting sector is "a small world". When she changed companies, she found herself working with many well-known colleagues. In fact, Kaarina shared that she had not gone through formal application processes for any of these career moves. Instead, she relied on her networks.

> Because of how I build networks, I just meet different people and I chit-chat with different people and I always tell them about what I'm doing, what I want to do in the future... You never know (AE, female, late 40s).

Like other interviewees', these cases evince how social capital may facilitate repatriates' career success upon their return. In particular, it seems that extended contacts, or bridging ties (Putnam, 2000), were the most useful in this regard, contributing to objective and subjective forms of career success, such as perceived employability within and outside of Finland.

SC and repatriates' well-being

An overwhelming majority of interviewees highlighted the indispensable role that their partners, friends and family played in providing direct emotional support during expatriation and the repatriation process. In this regard, there were no significant differences between AEs and SIEs. Thus, it was clear that close or bonding connections are effective sources of affective support for repatriates. Oftentimes, close contacts provided key career advice that extended well-beyond family or personal matters. In dual-career couples, which were common, partners often took turns in prioritizing each other's careers. In addition, spouses also often helped repatriates socialize, which was important for well-being.

In addition, there was the perception that organizations can make a difference in well-being, even when hiring a self-initiated expatriate who is coming back to Finland. To illustrate this point, I will share a short excerpt from an interview with a young SIE who was discussing her own positive experience when coming back to Finland and being supported by her company, in contrast to what may happen to others, who may not be met with an appropriate degree of understanding:

> "There are, for example, simply so many leaders that should not be in leadership positions, they have no clue in [...] leading people in a way that they should be led. They are more [so] leading things and processes [rather] than people.
> [...] For people who are saying: "Hey, I am having a hard time adjusting and coming back". Hopefully, they have a good leader who says: "Ok...is there something I can do? Is there something we can do as a company? What can we do?" Not just to say: "Well come on, shut up and let us continue" (SIE, female, in her 30s).

PRACTICAL RECOMMENDATIONS

To summarize some the research findings, repatriates' SC can be a driving force behind enhanced knowledge transfers and performance, which are of particular interest in the context of MNC operations. In addition, repatriates can leverage their bridging SC, or looser relationships, to maximize some aspects of their career success, and bonding SC, in the form of personal relationships (especially with partners) is a usual recourse to preserve well-being, and to receive helpful career advice.

Based on these results, this section offers some recommendations for organizations to improve their management of repatriation-related challenges. Indeed, the benefits that can be derived from SC should be interpreted as an incentive to consider SC as a valuable and versatile resource, that should be ideally included in repatriation support strategies for AEs, or the onboarding of SIEs who become new hires in a domestic organization once they return from a foreign location. Repatriation is a considerable challenge in most cases, and the availability of adequate organizational support can make a tangible difference, determining whether the overall repatriation outcomes will be mostly negative or positive (Kraimer et al., 2009). As Furuya and colleagues (2009) highlighted, receiving organizational support before and after repatriation is linked to improvements in readjustment, repatriate knowledge transfers, and performance.

A typical occurrence that AE repatriates recalled during the interviews was an excessive degree of uncertainty regarding their career progression and the job that would follow the IA. To avoid this, organizations could approach the assignment with an openly developmental approach, more transparently, and from the get-go. After all, managing repatriates at the departure, expatriation, and repatriation stages presents an unmissable opportunity to monitor the full life cycle of social capital and skills acquisition. In this sense, a periodic review could be implemented to track the competencies and networks of expatriates *while* they are abroad; staying in touch with the expatriate in this way would help combat the "out of sight, out of mind phenomenon". In short, regardless of the objectives of each specific assignment, global mobility departments should reframe the experience as something that must develop the expatriates' skills, so that they will unquestionably match the long-term objectives of the home organization when the time to repatriate arrives.

Management of social capital after repatriation

In assessing the SC of both AEs and SIEs upon repatriation, a key obstacle has to do with identifying the potential resources that they may have access to, including the degree and scope of their international social capital. This has to do with the difficulty in measuring SC, which has long been a subject of debate in specialized circles (i.e., Hällsten et al., 2015; Villalonga-Olives & Kawachi, 2015). In expatriation research, it has also been noted that companies do not pay enough attention to the overall development of competencies and SC that takes place abroad (Shen & Kram, 2011).

To overcome the common problems that arise when attempting to measure SC quantitatively, a potential intervention would be to organize qualitative interviews involving the repatriates, supervisor(s), and HR or global mobility expert(s). During these sessions, the repatriates and the corporate representatives could reflect systematically on how the international experience developed the employee's competencies and their social networks. As an outcome, organizations would have a clearer impression of the added value of employees' social capital, as well as the kinds of growth that these professionals may have undergone.

At the minimum, and building upon the findings hitherto discussed, it would be advisable for the sessions to start from identifying the bridging and bonding relationships that have already contributed to the repatriate's career success, support, and knowledge transfers. Such a conversation could help firms estimate the extent of the resources available to their employees. As a follow-up to this discussion, the supervisors and global mobility experts should motivate repatriates to invest in their networks, given the crucial role that such career self-management activities seem to play in the global mobility context.

Repatriate and group coaching

An additional intervention could, to some extent, take inspiration from coaching approaches (Salomaa, 2021; Salomaa & Mäkelä, 2017), and cover their current personal motivations, skills, and career plans to reach a conclusion that will feel meaningful to the participants. Aside from individual coaching, it could be particularly worthwhile to design group or family coaching events, which may also be more cost-effective. In this sense, one HR expert emphasized the importance of supporting spouses in the transitions related to repatriation. As a key bonding relationship for the expatriate, the experiences of family members have a strong impact on expatriates' well-being during repatriation adjustment:

> I always encourage companies to take care of the two pieces of the puzzle. A lot of organizations are just concentrating their efforts on the expat, and the spouse is usually unattended [...] My observations show that there is a lot of pain, depression, and anxiety... (HR expert No. 2).

Time and time again, research participants lent support to van Gorp *et al.'s* (2017) argument that other former expatriates are uniquely positioned to offer them support or at least understand the challenges they face. Many interviewees were of the same impression, as previously mentioned in the discussion regarding knowledge transfers. Following this line of thought, it could be worthwhile to organize repatriate group discussions in which repatriates could share their career strategies and experiences with one another. Offering further credence to such an intervention, the existing literature does suggest that group coaching is a viable repatriation support strategy; in fact, it may be better than individual coaching when it comes to improving repatriates' fraternization and their interpersonal support (Szkudlarek & Sumpter, 2015). At the same time, the group sessions would allow firms to assist a greater number of returning individuals.

Offering new avenues for repatriates to meet other individuals who have gone through similar experiences could also be a helpful way for them to start restoring their domestic social capital, which may be needed after spending some time working abroad in a foreign location (Mäkelä & Suutari, 2009). Some interviewees were worried about how their professional network in Finland had become more limited while they were abroad. In this regard, getting in touch with other repatriates in these group discussions could be a first step in rebuilding their networks and sparking new relationships that may bring them future career opportunities later on.

CONCLUSION

This chapter sheds light on the importance of SC with regard to the repatriation of assigned and self-initiated expatriates, confirming the relevance of SC not only for individual career success but also for the organizations that employ them. It also shows how an SC-based perspective can inform our understanding of repatriation challenges, as well as the career moves and social interactions that eventually pave the way to success.

This contribution differs from previous research in three ways. First, the implications of social capital are simultaneously considered at the micro (individual) and meso (organizational) levels of analysis. Second, both assigned and self-initiated expatriates are included. Third, the chapter is exclusively focused on repatriates, and it pays attention to both SIEs and AEs.

Two practical recommendations are drawn in the chapter based on the findings; namely, the use of qualitative interviews involving the repatriate, supervisor(s), and HR or global mobility expert(s) after the repatriation, and the application of individual or group coaching for repatriates, especially if it involves other peers or former expatriates.

Future research could extend this work by paying attention to complementary, behavioral perspectives, such as personality characteristics, which may somewhat contribute to certain networking behavior and preferences. In addition, future studies could adopt a more thorough longitudinal design to consider how SC develops progressively during the expatriation and repatriation stages. The available research has currently only looked at either one of these phases in isolation (Chiang *et al.*, 2020). In addition, more research is needed in other countries, as only repatriates from Finland were considered in the making of this book chapter.

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4 Career capital as a key to a successful international career: How different ways of knowing affect the international transfer of career capital

Emilija Oleškevičiūtė

ABSTRACT

Career Capital (CC), which is combination of knowing-how; knowing-whom; and knowing-why, stands as a base for individual careers. Knowing-how represents career related knowledge and skills, knowing-whom stands for the career relevant social networks or people that we know, whereas knowing-why is all about career focused energy, motivation, direction, and identity. CC framework suggests that each part of CC affects one another's development and possibly even transfer between different career stages and environments e.g., organisations, occupations, and industries. Research shows that it is possible to individually transfer CC not only between organisations nationally but also internationally. However, the way different types of knowing (knowing-how, knowing-whom, knowing-why) might affect international transfer of CC is not explicitly clear. In this chapter we explore the way different types of knowing affect the international transfer of CC (knowing-how affecting the transfer of knowing-whom and knowing-why; knowing-whom affecting the transfer of knowing-how and knowing-why; and knowing-why affecting the transfer of knowing-how and knowing-whom). We do this by bringing real life examples from the qualitative interviews with Dutch and Lithuanian self-initiated repatriates (SIRs) who repatriated to their home countries on their own initiative and without organisational support after living and working abroad.

INTRODUCTION

International work experience can accelerate and enrich personal growth and professional learning. It can improve skills and knowledge and can increase networking opportunities with like-minded people, as well as further shape individual career aspirations while teaching the importance of desirable (and not so desirable) career directions. In other words, international work experience can enhance the development of expatriates' Career Capital (CC) (Doherty & Dickmann, 2009; Jokinen et al., 2008), which can be considered as a steppingstone into an often successful international career (DeFillippi & Arthur, 1994; Suutari et al.). However, internationally developed CC is valuable only if individuals manage to use it in their later career steps whether these would be in a different organisation, industry, or even country (DeFillippi & Arthur, 1994).

Even though there are various contextual factors affecting the international transfer of CC that do not depend on the individual, such as the organisation the individual is working for and the country where it is located (Oleškevičiūtė et al., 2022), there is something that individuals can do to get the best out of their internationally developed CC. In this chapter we suggest that CC can serve not only as a steppingstone into a successful career but also as a tool leading to the successful application of CC in the first place. For example, an internationally developed social network (knowing-whom) could inspire an individual to pursue a different career path (knowing-why) or help to find a job where they can use their expertise (knowing-how). An understanding of their own desired career goals and destination (knowing-why) could push them to collaborate with like-minded people (knowing-whom). In return, these collaborations (knowing-whom) could help them to find a job where individuals would be motivated to use their skills and knowledge (knowing-how), be that abroad or in their home country. Alternatively, newly acquired knowledge and skills (knowing-how) could be attractive to people that the individuals know (knowing-whom) which could lead to potential work collaborations. International expertise (knowing-how) could also help get the job that matches individual career aspirations inspired during the work experience abroad (knowing-why).

In this chapter we will talk about what happens with the internationally developed CC after expatriates return to their home country. We will discuss the meaning of the international transfer of CC and will study a brief overview of the individual, organisational, and broader contextual factors affecting such a transfer. Finally, and most importantly, we will explore the way internationally developed professional skills and knowledge, social connections, and career related identity and motivation can affect the international transfer of CC. We will do so by looking into some real-life examples from the experiences of Dutch and Lithuanian self-initiated repatriates (SIRs).

This chapter contributes to the CC framework (Inkson & Arthur, 2001) literature by going beyond theoretical ideas and illustrating and explaining the way different types of knowing can affect the international transfer of CC. We provide real-life examples from a qualitative study that investigates SIRs' career experiences. We also contribute to the literature of global mobility of employees exploring the post-repatriation experiences of SIRs. Based on insights from the existing literature and qualitative interviews with SIRs, we provide recommendations for individuals. This might inspire them to get the best out of their international work and to make this experience a turning point for their future careers.

SELF-INITIATED REPATRIATION

SIRs are formerly assigned or self-initiated expatriates who, after living and working abroad, return to their home country of their own volition without any organisational obligations or support (Andresen, 2021). SIRs can either seek new employment upon repatriation (inter-organisational SIRs) or can continue working for the same organisation (intra-organisational SIRs) as long as they initiate their own return to their home country (Andresen et al., 2014). Research shows that SIRs often struggle individually and professionally immediately after the return to their home country (Andresen, 2021; Begley et al., 2008; Ho et al., 2016). Some examples of the dark side of self-initiated repatriation are: difficulties in securing employment (Andresen, 2021), lack of appreciation by the potential local employers (Begley et al., 2008), and experiences of reverse culture shocks (Ho et al., 2016). However, at the same time, there is great potential for SIRs to experience long-term career success upon repatriation (Suutari et al., 2017).

CAREER CAPITAL

CC is an individual asset accumulated throughout an individual's career journey, that consists of three types of knowing: knowing-how, knowing-whom, and knowing-why (Arthur et al., 1995; DeFillippi & Arthur, 1994; Inkson & Arthur, 2001). Knowing-how represents professional skills and knowledge (DeFillippi & Arthur, 1994). Knowing-whom stands for all the career relevant social connections individuals possess such as co-workers, managers, customers, and friends (DeFillippi & Arthur, 1994). Knowing-why is the individual's understanding of their own career motivation, identity, and sense of career direction (DeFillippi & Arthur, 1994).

According to Inkson and Arthur (2001), each type of knowing is interrelated in the sense that the accumulation and formation of one type of knowing can lead to the accumulation and formation of another type of knowing and the strengthening of CC in general. Inkson and Arthur (2001) also suggest that it is up to the individual to decide to consciously and continuously develop their own CC. Individuals must decide which career opportunities they want to seek, with who they want to connect, and what they wish to learn and think is important to pursue. This implies that even though there may be many external circumstances that affect individual careers, independent of the individuals themselves, shaping their own CC is within their power and is their own responsibility.

THE INTERNATIONAL TRANSFER OF CC

The basic premise of boundaryless careers, i.e. careers that are not limited to a single job position, organisation, occupation, industry, or perhaps even country (Eby et al., 2003), is based on the idea of boundaryless or transferable CC (DeFillippi & Arthur, 1994). The international transfer of CC is generally understood as the direct use of CC for the individual career in an organisation located in a country different to the one where the CC was developed (DeFillippi & Arthur, 1994; Dickmann & Cerdin, 2016; Dickmann & Watson, 2017; Inkson & Arthur, 2001; Jokinen, 2010). Some scarce literature also suggests that the international transfer of CC might extend beyond CC being used in one job position/organisation upon relocation to another country (Jokinen, 2010; Oleškevičiūtė et al., 2022). In other words, this means that in SIRs' case, individuals might be able to use their internationally developed CC in later career stages even if they had difficulty using such CC initially upon repatriation.

DIFFERENT WAYS OF KNOWING AFFECTING THE INTERNATIONAL TRANSFER OF CC

There are many factors that can affect the international transfer of CC (Oleškevičiūtė et al., 2022). These can be divided into different level factors: micro (e.g., characteristics of CC, motivation and abilities to transfer the CC, and individual experiences such as the type and duration of expatriation), meso (e.g., organisational attitude towards international employees and their internationally developed CC), and macro (e.g., differences between host and home countries and country specific career structure norms) (Oleškevičiūtė et al., 2022). Later in this chapter we will focus on micro-level factors and more specifically on the way individual career competencies such as knowing-how, knowing-why, and knowing-whom can affect the international transfer of CC.

Below, we will look at real-life examples of the way three types of knowing affect the international transfer of CC in the context of SIRs from different European, African, and American countries to the Netherlands and Lithuania. These examples derive from qualitative interview data collected between February and November 2021. We will specifically look at the four cases of Jonas, Lina, Bram, and Anouk [1]. This allows us to go beyond the theoretical ideas of Inkson and Arthur (2001) and to explore the way different types of knowing affect the international transfer of CC in actuality. Finally, we will discuss the knowledge gleaned about the way individuals can make better use of their internationally developed CC after repatriation to their home country and mistakes they should avoid.

The international transfer of knowing-whom

The international transfer of knowing-whom would mean the utilisation of social connections that were developed during SIRs working abroad, for career purposes, upon repatriation. An example could be them finding a job in their home country because of the recommendations from people they have met whilst abroad. It could also mean international inter-organisational collaborations with

[1] All the names of the SIRs provided in the examples have been changed due to the confidentiality agreement.

their connections made abroad, learning from each other's career experiences in different countries, and getting professional advice or mentoring.

Impact of knowing-how and knowing-why on the transfer of knowing-whom

Here we can see an example of the way individual knowing-how and knowing-why might affect the international transfer of knowing-whom. Jonas is a 31-year-old Lithuanian inter-organisational SIR who has lived and worked in the Netherlands as a research assistant as well as a doctoral researcher in the field of Sociology. Due to personal and professional learnings abroad, Jonas decided to switch his career path (***knowing-why developed abroad***) and has started working as a machine learning engineer in Lithuania. However, Jonas' social connections that were developed in the Netherlands, were mainly in the academic sector (***knowing-whom***), hence possessed mainly academic skills and knowledge (***knowing-how***). Therefore, Jonas was not able to utilise most of his connections developed abroad (***knowing-whom***) in his career back in his home country.

> *"When I made the decision that I would go back to Lithuania. I, maybe consciously maybe not started to now talk more with the people I know here (Lithuania). And people in the Netherlands, the contacts I had there were very professional contacts. Were very tailored to my academic endeavours. So I naturally just shifted them, never really utilized too much of the Dutch contacts."*

> *"If I continued working in academia, on the same topic or something related to what I did for my dissertation I guess I would already have contacts. There's a lot of time and, and you know social capital and whatnot invested and in this field sort of. And now I switched a little bit to data science and to business basically applications. Not really doing research, so the contacts that I have developed aren't as relevant. So that's you know, that's a pity. But I'm happy because this is what I want to do."*

As we can see from the quotes above, Jonas has made a conscious decision to switch career focus and to move to Lithuania (***knowing-why***). This inspired him to take the initiative and change his strategy for acquiring ***knowing-whom*** that will be more relevant for his job position back in his home country. Jonas was not able to utilise most of his ***knowing-whom*** developed abroad as these contacts were mainly coming from an academic background (***knowing-how***) and he was planning to switch to another industry. At the same time, because of his desire to switch career fields (***knowing-why***), Jonas strategically started talking more to the professionally relevant (***knowing-how***) people he knew abroad and those from his home country (***knowing-whom***) who were working in the field he wanted to move into. Even though most of Jonas' connections developed abroad were not utilised upon his repatriation, he managed to utilise some of them that were relevant for his new career path. In the end Jonas was happy with the outcome as he was able to match the ***knowing-why*** that he developed abroad to his current job position in Lithuania.

The international transfer of knowing-why

The international transfer of knowing-why mainly means finding a job position that matches an individual's own career preferences and aspirations that were refined while working in another country. For example, if while working abroad, individuals understand that they prefer working in a lively environment where they can work with other people directly rather than constantly working alone – internationally transferring their knowing-why would mean finding a job in their home country where they could consistently collaborate with other people and work in a team.

Impact of knowing-whom on the transfer of knowing-why

Here we come back to Jonas. It is interesting to see that his decision to switch career paths (***knowing-why***) was initially influenced by conversations with his friends (***knowing-whom***) who were pursuing an academic career in Lithuania. As we can see from the quote below, Jonas' friends' experiences influenced his decision to not pursue an academic career in his home country and to switch to a job with a data science focus in the corporate world.

> *"So I didn't really apply to a postdoc here in Vilnius because some of the PhD students I knew didn't really seem to be too happy about working in the (academic) department. And I've kept a little bit of contact with people there, and now that I'm here, it seems to be... It seems to be the case, so I don't really regret this decision not to pursue a postdoc."*

Impact of knowing-how on the transfer of knowing-why

Below we can see the example of the way knowing-how affects the international transfer of knowing-why based on the experiences of Anouk, a Dutch inter-organisational SIR who has worked and lived in the Czech Republic in the HR sector. Anouk went to the Czech Republic straight after her studies when she was only 22 years old and started working in an entry-level job as she did not have any previous HR related job experience. She worked there for a year and afterwards decided to pursue her career in HR in her home country (***knowing-why***). Anouk was afraid that she would not be able to get a more senior job position in HR in the Netherlands (***knowing-why***) due to her small amount of job experience that mainly focused on administrative HR skills acquired from abroad (***knowing-how***). However, her invaluable inter-cultural communications skills (***knowing-how***) made it possible to get a more senior job position in HR and to pursue her dream job in the Netherlands (***knowing-why***).

> *"I think the first month or two months it was kind of that 'just fake it until you make it' kind of thing – so just trying to work with what they're giving you and just not letting them know that what you did previously was very administrative. I don't really remember anymore - I remember that I was feeling very lucky that I managed to get such a job, like really a grown-up job because, as I really started with this entry level job, it did feel like I made quite a big step leap in terms of my career and so I cherished this and really appreciated it... I still had the things I learnt in university and just being a quick learner makes it possible for you to thrive in a lot of environments or a lot of jobs and then it isn't that much dependent on the actual skills that I learnt in my previous work - it was more like your general skill set - so like processing information quickly and having a bit of a social feeling and having the ability to interact with people from different cultures and like managers from Germany who were very strict and Denmark - so a lot of different people and as long as you have the skills to sort of work with that, then it was fine - so I had an expectation that maybe I will get into trouble because I didn't acquire the skills in my working life up to that point, but in the end that wasn't the most important thing."*

The international transfer of knowing-how

The international transfer of knowing-how means directly using professional skills and knowledge for individual career purposes in a country different from where that knowledge and skills were acquired or developed. In SIRs' cases it would be actively using their internationally developed knowledge and skills for their job in their home country.

Impact of knowing-whom on the transfer of knowing-how

Lina, a 33-year-old Lithuanian intra-organisational SIR, is pursuing a less typical highly dynamic and creative career pathway. She has extensive work experience in conference production and the creative technology design industries and has lived, studied, and worked in Belgium and in the US. Lina's ***knowing-how*** is highly versatile – she is experienced in programming, project management, teaching, theatre performance, and more. Even though her skill set, knowledge, and expertise are so diverse, highly sought after and applicable in multiple industries, Lina wanted to work in a very specific and rare creative technology niche.

"I mean I knew that I could easily get any job I wanted in Lithuania because of my talent and everything but I guess, because I didn't know the community here, I just wasn't sure if the skills that I used in New York would exist at all in Lithuania, so I just had some doubts..."

In order to apply her ***knowing-how*** developed abroad in the specific way she wanted, she depended a lot on her social connections (***knowing-whom***) as she was not sure if her dream job even existed in her home country.

"I had a list of new people I needed to meet - so like I had really strong connections with the Lithuanian community in New York and so before coming back, I talked to them about like 'oh, if I want to work in a museum, who do I talk to about doing so?' and I had a list of people who I didn't know but I would have to meet – and although I didn't have the network in Lithuania my previous network helped me..."

In the end, Lina was able to apply her ***knowing-how*** exactly how she wanted to because of her social connections (***knowing-whom***).

Impact of knowing-why on the transfer of knowing-how

Bram is a Dutch inter-organisational SIR who has lived and worked in Spain, Italy, South Africa, Romania, and the Czech Republic. One of the main reasons Bram went abroad was to learn more about his passions and to figure out what kind of career he actually wanted to pursue (***knowing-why***). During these international experiences Bram worked as a DJ and guest services specialist. Once he started working as a technical support specialist he decided to stay in this field and to continue building his expertise, skills, and knowledge accordingly (***knowing-how***). International work experience also taught Bram more confidence in his skills and abilities and to trust in himself as a professional who can achieve career success if he continues his career journey calmly, patiently, and confidently (***knowing-why***). This attitude (***knowing-why***) helped Bram do his job better and apply his knowledge and skills (***knowing-how***) in a more efficient way in his home country.

"Everything that I've learned over the years was definitely helpful because at the time when I wasn't in a consultancy role, you're talking to clients and from my experience with Dutch clients, there's a lot more pressure and what it really taught me over the years that I was living abroad is to keep yourself calm and give yourself time and accept if something is not possible, accept then that the answer is no, or if it takes a little bit more time it takes a little bit more time - and that really helped me in the move back. ... So it did help me as well in my

work, yes, because it gave me also more perspective and the confidence to relax a bit more and if I'm more relaxed, then the client will notice that I'm more relaxed. ... And they (clients) notice that if I'm still relaxed and they call me and they say it's not working anymore and I respond and say 'okay sure, let's find out what went wrong, let's analyse it and let's fix it' - and so if you do it in a calm tone and in a calm way, you bring it also onwards to them and you then notice that they are also getting more relaxed."

"... personally because I grew a lot and it really changed my mind and thinking about things in different ways instead of just staying within your own bubble, you explore more and see that there are other things and see that there are different ways of adjusting or handling some things – but professionally of course, all the knowledge that I gained over the years, I think the combination of that really made you personally and professionally a lot stronger in a position to support the high demand clients that you have here..."

DISCUSSION

The four cases presented above suggest that it is worth not only continuously developing our CC but also mindfully and actively using it when thinking of, planning, and pursuing our career wherever we go. The example of Jonas shows that knowing-why in terms of the decision to switch career paths can actually limit the utilisation of our social networks (knowing-whom). If our current network is mostly from our previous career field, it will likely possess different knowledge and skillsets (knowing-how) to the ones required for our new job and hence it will not be as relevant. Therefore, when thinking of starting a new career it would be wise to consider connecting with people from that new professional field just as Jonas did. Jonas' experience illustrates that the social connections, whether developed abroad or in our home country before expatriation, could further help to pursue a new career field.

Jonas' learnings from his friends who work in academia (knowing-whom) heavily influenced his decision to switch career paths upon repatriation (knowing-why). This signals the importance of actively talking to friends, colleagues, and acquaintances especially before making big career decisions as this could have a meaningful impact on the way individuals perceive their future career. Whilst Anouk's example suggests that having a strong professional background and expertise and being aware of the strengths and weaknesses of our own internationally developed professional knowledge and skills (knowing-how) can aid with becoming a stronger professional and bring us more confidence in our future career journey (knowing-why). The more prepared that individuals are for what they want, the easier it is to get there.

Lina's experiences teach us of the power of networking. Internationally developed networks (knowing-whom) can help and support individuals in various ways – even if there is no possibility of working with these people directly in the future, they can connect us to others who might be able to help us find a job that matches our individual expertise (knowing-how). Finally, the experiences of Bram show us that living and working abroad can help us with finding our own passion and becoming more confident as both individuals and professionals (knowing-why). In return, this can make people obtain better careers whether abroad or in their home countries. When people know what they want and they trust in themselves that they are good enough and deserve a great career, then they become more resilient and can see the power of their knowledge. Moreover, they can find a job where other people see and value their expertise (knowing-how) and themselves as professionals in general.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Inkson and Arthur (2001) suggest looking at CC the same way people look at financial capital. It is important to constantly invest in it by continuously developing and sharing it with organisations so that in the end it brings profit both for the company and the individual. The more people invest, the more they get back as profit. This chapter suggests that consciously and continuously investing in one's own CC can also serve as a great strategy that in the end can lead to a more successful international transfer of CC.

Cohen, Duberley, and Musson (2009) suggest – there is no such thing as work - life balance as work is not a separate world but an actual part of life. This suggests that there is nothing wrong in making friends at work or asking friends and family for professional advice. Hence, by being more like Lina and Jonas and actively talking to our own social networks, whether colleagues or friends, people can learn that some career paths are not for them. Active networking can also lead to new career possibilities and other connections that can be directly helpful for future career path development. At the same time, if individuals start connecting with the new people in their desired career field, both in the host and home countries, individuals can gain more professional support, advice, a job recommendation, or a new collaboration. By being less like Anouk and by consciously and actively investing in and reflecting on our own professional knowledge and skills, individuals can land their dream job more easily and without pretence, as they already know they are equipped for this position. Finally, by following Bram's example, individuals can settle into a job where their CC and they themselves feel valued if they decide exactly what they want and have confidence enough to achieve their goals. By taking each part of their own CC seriously people can strengthen themselves as professionals no matter which job position, organisation, industry, or country they decide to continue their career journey in.

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5 Career capital in international careers: Insights from-self-initiated and assigned expatriates

Acil Abdul Hadi

ABSTRACT

In today's global knowledge economy, the worldwide demand for human talent is reinforcing international movement of workers and international careers. Global mobility leads to different career paths: the "classical" assigned expatriation where organizations suggest to move employees internationally, and self-initiated expatriation where employees take control of their own careers outside the confines of organizations by autonomously deciding on pursuing a career abroad. Using the career capital framework, the following research aims at understanding how these two categories of global careerists develop their skills and abilities (know-how), their work motivations and values (know-why) and build their social networks (know-whom). The following chapter uses a qualitative methodology and is based on 21 semi-structured interviews with a highly diverse sample of expatriates of various nationalities in different host-locations, across two employing organizations. Results show that expatriates have various experiences in developing their skill sets, their social capital, and in discovering themselves along with their inner motivations and aspirations.

INTRODUCTION

In today's global knowledge economy, the worldwide demand for human talent is reinforcing international movements of workers and, hence, international careers (Beaverstock, 2005). Expatriation or international mobility of employees represent an increasingly important human capital movement that consists of individuals who move and reside in a host country to perform a job in a specific legal context (Andresen et al., 2014). Expatriates are employees who live temporarily outside their country of birth or citizenship to deliver an organizational purpose by either being relocated to a country by their company as an assigned expatriate (AE), or by being recruited directly from the international labor market as a self-initiated expatriate (SIE) (Shaffer et al., 2012).

The total number of expatriates was estimated to be around 66.2 million in 2017, as per the latest available census on expatriates (Finaccord, 2018). These individuals underwent a career move in the hope of reaping the benefits of this decision. This trend in Human Resource Management raises the question of whether these assignments are worthwhile for employees. Therefore, researchers have shown an interest in studying expatriates' career capital (Dickmann & Doherty, 2008; Dickmann & Harris, 2005; Jokinen et al., 2008; Kirk, 2016; Mäkelä et al., 2016; Yao et al., 2013). The following study contributes to the literature on career capital through a deeper understanding of the various ways in which expatriates develop their *skills and abilities,* their *motivations,* and their *social networks* (all three aspects of career capital).

This chapter addresses the career capital of assigned and self-initiated expatriates at the individual level through a qualitative study that was conducted in 2 multinational companies. After a condensed review of the literature on career capital, the construct serves as a lens to systematically illustrate the distinct processes that expatriates relate to when building career capital.

CAREER CAPITAL

Career capital consists of the assets that employees possess and can potentially offer to their employers (Inkson & Arthur, 2001). The career capital framework relies on the fact that an individual's key capital and input is knowledge. The literature on career capital distinguishes three types of knowledge: "know-how" that is, work-related skills and expertise directly needed to perform the job; "know-whom", the social capital and relational networks that can enhance one's career development; and "know-why", referring to values such as self-assurance and sense of purpose regarding the career choices made and commitment to the world of work (Defillippi & Arthur, 1994). Know-why expresses the values and interests that impact their work identity (Inkson & Arthur, 2001). In other words, it takes an internal approach to careers, which is owned by the individual and is subjective (Stephens, 1994). These extensive know-why capabilities promote the learning process and expatriates' performance (Jokinen et al., 2008).

Research in international human resource management shows that there has been a diversification of forms of international work, resulting in multiple types of expatriates (Briscoe & Schuler, 2004; Selmer & Lauring, 2011). The following section will present the different types of expatriates that are included in the present study to understand how they might differ in terms of career capital experiences.

Global mobility, types of international employees and career capital

International assignments are developing into complex forms (Mayerhofer et al., 2004) leading to different career paths (Collings et al., 2007). New types of expatriates do not fit into traditional conceptualizations of assigned expatriates (AE) or corporate expatriates or international assignees - employees sent abroad within the same international company - because the way new types of international employees are attracted, developed, compensated, and retained differs significantly from approaches used in the past (Shaffer et al., 2012). Self-initiated expatriates (SIEs), for example, are characterized by taking control of their career outside the confines of the organization thereby abandoning corporate intervention and its relative security in favor of autonomy and flexibility (Shaffer et al., 2012). SIEs are further divided into “intra SIEs”, that is, global careerists who apply to internal vacancies and “inter SIEs” who are foreign hires (Andresen et al., 2014).

As expatriates have different international work experiences depending on their employment conditions and history, their career capital experiences vary as well (Jokinen, 2010; Jokinen et al., 2008; Suutari & Makela, 2007). Companies where AEs and SIEs co-exist create an “organizational hierarchy” where corporate expatriates with full packages are treated as elites of higher strategic value compared to self-initiated expatriates, possibly creating challenges for the latter in terms of career advancement (McNulty et al., 2015).

The responsibility that organizations have towards traditional expatriates in providing them with a safety net that will support their career capital development does not apply in the case of SIEs. In their work drawing on both research and practice, Collings et al. (2011) highlight the importance of organizational support before, during and after international assignments in creating better outcomes for organizations and individuals alike. Moreover, adjustment also has an important role for career capital accumulation of expatriates (Haslberger & Brewster, 2009). Since corporate expatriates have more organizational support and internal social capital resources than SIEs, their adjustment might be facilitated, possibly leading to better career capital gains. In that respect, Dickmann et al. (2016) have found that AEs benefited more than SIEs from their experiences abroad, with a more positive impact on their career capital. Jokinen et al. (2008) earlier found that expatriation benefited SIEs (and AEs equally) in all the aspects of their know-how and know-why. As for know-whom, SIEs benefited as well but they gained significantly less than assigned expatriates. Rodriguez and Scurry (2014) examine career capital of SIEs in the highly regulated Qatari context to find that macro-level factors are limiting the impact of individual efforts for career capital development.

The previous sections have summarized recent findings about the career capital of different types of international assignees. In the following section, it will be explained how the career capital experiences of expatriates are to be explored under different circumstances (with and without the support of their employing organizations in their decision to move geographically).

METHODOLOGY

The objective of this chapter is to examine the career capital experiences of self-initiated and assigned expatriates (AEs). Only two previous studies compared their career capital. Both were quantitative pieces based on a Finnish sample (Dickmann et al., 2016; Jokinen et al., 2008). The present study, by contrast, is qualitative, exploratory and will use an international sample with various nationalities. The research question that will be addressed in two organizations is: How do career capital experiences of assigned expatriates, and self-initiated expatriates vary?

Two multinational organizations were chosen: one in the energy industry and the other is in the fast moving consumer goods industry. Multinational companies were selected because this is where international mobility programs and global recruitments are most highly developed. Twenty-one semi-structured interviews were conducted with expatriates: eight SIEs, eleven AEs and two current AEs who started their careers as SIEs. The interview protocol was developed following a thorough literature review that identified all major aspects of career capital. The presence of an interview guide ensured that all topics were covered and established a framework for comparisons across participants during data analysis. Four different types of questions were integrated in the instrument: Essential questions around the main research area, extra questions covering the same topics as the essential questions but with a different wording to check for the consistency of answers, throw-away questions such as demographic questions that are not situated at the core of the topic but help pacing and structuring the interview, and finally probing questions that encourage the respondent to elaborate on a previous question (Berg & Lune, 2012).

Interviews were all conducted via Zoom due to the numerous geographical locations of the participants. A consent form was signed by each participant allowing for the conversation to be recorded. As soon as the interview was completed, the automatic transcription was generated on Zoom. The automated transcriptions were then fully rechecked for corrections and completions. Purposive sampling was used because premeditated criteria were given to members of a human-resources team, who helped in identifying both assigned expatriates and self-initiated expatriates across headquarters and subsidiaries. Reaching self-initiated expatriates was done through regular talent management teams, while reaching assigned expatriates was done through global mobility teams. The technique of heterogeneous or maximum variation sampling was chosen to capture various experiences from SIEs and AEs males and females, from different nationalities, professions, and age categories, working in different host countries of the case organizations.

	Industry	Gender	Category	Home country	Host country
1	Company 1	F	Intra-company SIE	Brazil	Finland
2	Company 1	F	Intra-company SIE	Pakistan	UAE
3	Company 1	M	Intra-company SIE	South Africa	Finland
4	Company 1	F	Inter-company SIE	Italy	Finland
5	Company 1	M	Inter-company SIE	South Africa	Finland
6	Company 1	M	SIE & AE	Canada/Romania	USA
7	Company 1	M	SIE & AE	Australia	Norway
8	Company 1	M	AE	Netherlands	China
9	Company 1	M	AE	Brazil	Paraguay
10	Company 1	M	AE	Finland	France
11	Company 1	M	AE	France	China
12	Company 1	M	AE	Finland	Singapore
13	Company 1	M	AE	Germany	China
14	Company 2	M	AE	Lebanon	France
15	Company 2	M	AE	Lebanon	France
16	Company 2	M	AE	France	USA
17	Company 2	M	AE	Syria	France
18	Company 2	F	AE	Brazil/UK	France
19	Company 2	F	Intra-company SIE	Lebanon	Canada
20	Company 2	F	Intra-company SIE	Lebanon	England
21	Company 2	M	Intra-company SIE	Canada/Kuwait	France

Table 4: *Basic information on participants*

FINDINGS

Common know-how characteristics of SIEs and AEs

All expatriates, self-initiated and assigned alike, had developed common core skills and knowledge, such as cross-cultural knowledge or cultural sensitivity that, for instance, helped them in negotiations or in exchanges with internal and external stakeholders, ranging from colleagues to clients. Data from the interviews show that *cross-cultural knowledge* is by far the most apparent skill all expatriates gain, as the following verbatim quote suggests: “I think you learn to look at things differently. You understand what other people don’t understand. For example, the decision making in China - there’s not really a ‘yes’ or ‘no’, and the language as such doesn’t really have a ‘no’ and ‘yes’. They have, I think, six or seven ways to say ‘yes’ and, also even more ways to say ‘no’ but there’s no ‘yes’ or ‘no’ like in English. Nobody in Europe can judge if it’s a ‘no’ or ‘yes’.” The cultural intelligence that international employees develop, is what promoted their *marketability* in their future jobs and gave them an edge compared to other employees. The following Canadian participant shows awareness of this value and uses it to promote his international *employability*. Reflecting on his past corporate secondment in Japan, he stated: “I think it's cultural sensitivity in the context of understanding why colleagues and how colleagues and customers or partners from different countries act. So, I think that's actually a very *valuable* career skillset to be able, especially as a lawyer, who's involved in a lot of negotiations, to be able to have insight into the mindset and motivations of the party you're negotiating with... It's partially, the reason I am in my current job."

Know-how of AEs

A first characteristic of AEs in our sample is their dedication to learn the *local language* of their hosts. Assigned expatriation is often an opportunity to learn a new language or improve one's level in a foreign language, which will serve AEs future career development: "I am a Portuguese speaker, I came to Paraguay, I was speaking up Portunol, you know, it's a Spanish with Portuguese mix. I was not speaking very well, Spanish. I'm using the opportunity that I am in Paraguay to better speak Spanish. In Paraguay, it's good to develop my career you know, and it's going well. Now, I'm a better Spanish speaker."

Second, international assignees have shown *proactivity* in their desire to learn: "It's your responsibility to ask all the questions, don't expect everybody to give everything to you on a silver plate...So they (locals) will try to help us, good, they can, but be prepared to ask."

Third, through their international assignments, AEs develop their *global competence* such as the knowledge of the company's worldwide business structure (Caligiuri & Di Santo, 2001). They develop their *organizational knowledge* about international organizations, understanding, for example, the organization of the headquarters as compared to the subsidiaries. As one participant pointed out: "From a professional point of view, I got a much better understanding of how working life is for people in the network offices, you know, there are things that are quite obvious to me here in Finland or seems like you know, maybe not some big deal, but can be more difficult in a network office." SIEs lack this broad view of the organization unless they are intra SIEs.

Finally, AEs are sometimes sent to open new subsidiaries, promoting their *autonomy,* and accelerating their careers. In one of the cases, the assigned expatriate was sent to open a branch on his own in Paraguay and lacked the support of all the functions: "I'm developing a lot. I'm understanding much more about the company business, how to lead one company and to enhance the knowledge, it's really nice...To be honest, it was a really really good opportunity to grow. For me, as I'm working alone from Paraguay and leading 100% of the business of the country, it's developed me too much. I'm learning too much because when I was working in Brazil with 500 people to support me you know from different areas: HR, business sales, it's easy. In Paraguay, I need to look for 100% of the business."

Know-how of SIEs

Know-how experiences of intra SIEs were further divided depending on the direction and nature of the company move. For instance, expatriates going from small to bigger subsidiaries or to headquarters realized how under-skilled they were: “And I think when you're in Lebanon, we do everything but we don't do it in depth. When it comes to going into details ... we do not have the skills. So when I moved to the UK, I think that was a big shock, because I remember I was so pissed because I got a downgrade, obviously from my job in Lebanon.”

Common know-whom characteristics of SIEs and AEs

All participants (n=21) developed their social networks during their expatriation. SIEs and AEs shared some similar characteristics in that regard. First, they both connect with other expatriates or with people with some international exposure as one corporate expatriate expressed: “One pattern I've noticed is, when I am an expat in a country, I tend to gravitate towards other expats to make friends with other expats and the reason for that is because of the *shared experience*, because they have a *similar mindset*. It's often hard to make friends with *locals* who don't have that broader international experience, who don't understand what it means to live in a different country...I relate more to people with some form of international experience, whether they're from the US and have gone abroad and come back or they've come from somewhere else”. Indeed, shared experiences and values around internationalization formed the basis for the relationships. Similarly, the divergence in interests prevented the development of *relationships with locals*: “There was a misalignment I think between my hobbies my interests and their hobbies and interests and what they spend their time doing”. Another reason mentioned by another AE is “you know, you're always *temporary*. So you don't connect too much with the local people”. SIEs also found difficulty in forming relationships with locals and host country nationals “Even though I've been here three years, I can comfortably tell you I have only one Finnish friend.”

Second, all expatriates started their relationship building in the receiving countries through culturally similar communities, as shared by this SIE “My close friends are Brazilians. There is this group on Facebook: Brazilians in Finland. And I joined that group just to see how it is before my move. And I posted a question there. And she contacted me... And then she added me in this WhatsApp group with a lot of Brazilians...And then I met another Brazilian. She was very supportive. We basically talk to each other every day”. Even if AEs have some preexisting connections at work, they still rely on *national communities* for their personal networking : “Typically, you start by becoming a member of a Dutch community...We had a very good example, by the way, when we started in 2004, in

Shanghai, most of our friends were Dutch 80%, when we gave our farewell party in 2011, there was only one Dutch couple, and the rest were all foreign nationals."

Third, all expatriates highlighted the importance of *proactivity* in developing their social network. A SIE shared her keys and tactics for growing a network of Finnish people, who are rather reserved, the key is: "to be proactive. You know, do the first move, like invite for a coffee, invite for lunch". An AE commented similarly: "You realize after some months, yeah, but if I'm not going out there myself, it will not come to me."

Know-whom of AEs

Assigned expatriates, especially when they are in management positions, focus a lot on their working relationships with *customers*, to the extent of considering customers as their friends. When asked about his friends, this expatriate in Paraguay said: "Friend? No, no, no, I don't have friends in Paraguay. My friends are my customers, you know that we try to increase the relationship with customers every week".

Although AEs were never asked about the impact that their social networks had on their lives abroad, themes around work-related *outcomes* of social capital arose in their discussions. Social capital affected their performance, their problem solving at work, their exposure and ultimately their reputation within the company. Moreover, development of feelings of safety or feelings like "*outsiders*" in the host countries will result depending on the relationships developed.

Local social networks were found to be very useful in supporting AEs in their *work performance* abroad as this German assigned expatriate highlighted. Indeed, he mentioned the importance of *guanxi*, relationships and social networks as they are named in China. It is often seen as a key characteristic of the highly collective Chinese society where harmony between group members is valued and where following group norms is key (Yao, 2014): "In China it's very easy, it's all about relationships, so in China if you have a guanxi with one person, this, you will have forever, so you can reach a good performance by building really good relationships... it's all very normal, it's just to take some effort towards one person and he will support you back."

Moreover, they use their local social network to solve problems they are not knowledgeable about: "Don't believe that you are sitting on all the answers. You need to have your network around you and use that network to solve the problems for you because you are the alien in that country, you are not the one who knows exactly, you're always a little bit outside". Indeed, when it comes to describing assigned expatriates' feelings in host countries communities, they expressed feeling *outsiders* or even aliens.

Furthermore, assigned expatriates benefited from their corporate social resources in the home country as well, as stated by the following in Japan: "Additionally, I still had contact with my partners in the law firm in New York, so there were work-related issues where I needed to get their advice or something like that, they were always available."

Finally, another outcome of the social capital development is *exposure*. In fact, global assignments also provided great visibility in front of top management "Working as an expat in the region gives you a far bigger exposure than to sit in an office in Holland...and especially Shanghai, is of course very popular with our high management...if you want to grow, you need to be exposed".

Know-whom of SIEs

The entire social capital conversation with SIEs brought up different themes and took a personal rather than professional turn. When they move abroad, SIEs leave behind their social network at home without having clear visibility about their return, so they arrive to the host country with a deficit in their social capital or a *social capital loss*: "I have zero friends. Back home, I had a lot of friends...I had to give up all my friends". The social adaptation was hence difficult "I came to Finland and it was a really tough time, I had basically no social life".

Moreover, they could not develop close relationships with colleagues and no one mentioned business partners or customers, like AEs did. SIEs struggled to form friendships with their colleagues such as this Lebanese in Canada: "I would say more *acquaintances*, like you will go have a drink or something. But they wouldn't be the ones that I would call if I have a trouble." and of a Brazilian SIE in Finland "And I have my colleagues from my work, but it's more like a *work relationship*". One of the reasons for that is the language barrier "But they were all Finnish and they were like really Finnish...Well, few of them struggled to speak English."

Some SIEs' move is motivated by the wish to follow and join a spouse or *partner*. The partner's social network then becomes part of the expatriate's social network: "We have a broad friend group. So, it's my girlfriend, her friends, some other friends of ours... Well through my girlfriend mostly". Others have met their partners, who were from the host countries, once they arrived, which facilitated their socialization process: "And like I said, I have my friends, I have my partner, my partner is Canadian, another way to embrace the culture".

Common know-why characteristics of SIEs and AEs

Expatriation is also a journey to *introspection* and knowledge of oneself as this SIE maintained: "You learn a lot about yourself really, so you put yourself in a position that you would never put yourself in, otherwise you will never get the chance to discover things about yourself, how you can cope for example, with I don't know, moving" or as put by this AE: "Sometimes, living alone makes you know yourself better". The foreign stay also contributed to *resilience, confidence* and *personal growth*. Resilience boosted the expatriates' self confidence in his own abilities as the following AE (and previous SIE) and global mover who has accumulated back to back professional experiences across the world declares as the main personal learning: "It's being able to be thrown in a bunch of different environments and kind of learn that you can thrive there, so it's making these changes, sometimes quite drastic changes and the fact that they work out in the end, I think that's really beneficial from a resilience perspective, it really increased my confidence in my own abilities."

Know-why of AEs

One of the findings is that the expatriation decision of AEs goes beyond their own career benefits and involves other family members. For some corporate expatriates, moving countries means that the trailing spouses will have to lose their current jobs; therefore, there is no real financial benefit, such as the following participant expressed: "Rather, the only thing we win is the experience for my son. As a seventeen-year-old to live abroad and study in an international school. I think that will open up his mind a lot. I think that it's a huge benefit for him".

It was clearly stated by an assigned expatriate that his experience in China proved his ethnocentrism or belief that his country is superior to other ethnic groups (Pocovnicu & Vasilache, 2012), to be wrong. He evolved and recognized the effect that his background might have on his own views. As he put it : "Be humble, don't be the world champion when you come, you don't know anything. That's good to remember...Don't believe that you know, just because you have read or seen it, or this is how it works in Finland or North Europe or Europe. The same thing can work in a different way in this country and in this culture". In that sense, this AE have developed *cultural humility*, which is defined as "an interpersonal characteristic that emerges in social contexts that connotes (a) a manifested willingness to view oneself accurately, (b) a displayed appreciation of others' strengths and contributions, and (c) teachability" (Owens et al., 2013, p. 1518). The construct of cultural humility has been placed under the "know why" subentity as the scale item "Recognizing the effect of your own cultural background on your thinking and behaviour" developped by Jokinen (2008) shows that cultural awareness can fall under know-why.

Know-why of SIEs

With very little social support at the beginning, the careers of SIEs take a big toll on them and put some pressure on their minds: "Being alone, in some sense, your career becomes everything...So that was what, I think I struggled with in the beginning, it is that my career took such a big part of my life". Moreover, self-initiated expatriation enabled some *self-realization* that would otherwise have never been possible in the home country: whether it is on a financial aspect "Since I'm here, I've managed to buy a house and I've managed to buy a new hybrid car, you know, things that I would never be able to afford, then I'm not just saying that the money makes, you know, the world go round, but the quality of life ... like you have everything you need here that you need to be happy... in South Africa, it was very different" or on a career development aspect "I mean, at my age, most probably in Italy, I will not be able to do all the things that I had been doing and that I'm doing, so I'm very grateful in that respect, and I really like this work culture. And this may be the main reason why I'm staying really".

Finally, it improved self-confidence. According to an ex-self-initiated expatriate and current corporate expatriate "probably I wouldn't have had the courage to self-initiated move, had I not gone for a corporate sponsored expat experience first, so that was kind of the gateway for me, it gave me the *confidence* in my ability to operate in a new country in a partially supported way".

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to explore career capital experiences of assigned and self-initiated expatriates in the two chosen organizations, pointing out commonalities and areas of divergence pertaining to know-how, know-whom and know-why. Unlike prior studies (Dickmann et al., 2016; Jokinen et al., 2008), this chapter did not aim at quantifying career capital or at measuring who out of the SIEs or AEs gained more capital. Rather the objective was to explore the themes that would emerge in the career conversations and observe how two categories of expatriates perceive and reflect on their experiences through the career capital lens. The results of the study support earlier findings about the benefits of expatriation towards career capital development of SIEs and AEs (Dickmann et al., 2016; Jokinen et al., 2008). International experiences shaped individuals' lives in different aspects, developing their skills, affecting their personal and professional relationships and their work and life motivations.

All interviewed expatriates benefited from the acquisition of cross-cultural skills involving communication, negotiation or language skills, and improving their marketability (Mäkelä et al., 2016). The findings support previous claims by Jokinen et al. (2008) and Dickmann et al. (2016) where AEs reported significantly more development in the area of organizational knowledge. In fact, the discussions around skills showed that AEs and intra SIEs always had their sending organizational entity as a frame of reference or as a benchmark, therefore this helped in the development of their *global competence* and acquisition of worldwide knowledge of the company business, because they would link and compare different geographical entities. They could also compare and evaluate their own skills' level in the hosting and sending countries, only to find that they were under-skilled when moving to bigger entities. In line with previous findings by Suutari and Maakela (2007), results showed that lack of support, was repeatedly mentioned by assigned expatriates who had moved from headquarters to subsidiaries as a driver or catalyst for their learning experience and their autonomy. Future studies could research if AEs do feel under-skilled (like the above-mentioned intra-SIE) when moving from small to leading subsidiaries or if their moves are better prepared since they are thoroughly planned by human resources teams.

Regarding know-whom, findings have shown that both AEs and SIEs preferred to socialize with internationals rather than locals, and started their socialization process by targeting their national communities in the host country hence relying first and foremost on *bonding social capital* - connections within a group that shares similarities (Claridge, 2018). Moreover, they were all very proactive in building their social networks. Proactive resource acquisition tactics refer to the self-initiated behaviours that individuals engage in to gain work-related information (know how) and establish working relationships (know whom) (Ren et al., 2014). Proactivity in relationship building, originates from the boundaryless mindset of expats, that provides them with an intrinsic motivation to forming interpersonal ties (Zhao et al., 2020).

AEs ackowledged the difficulty of getting close to locals yet highlighted the importance of this relationship with host-country nationals in their work performance, in solving problems, and as a support system in general as suggested by previous studies (Peltokorpi, 2020; Toh et al., 2012). Moreover, they stressed the importance of their corporate network in the home country. Finally, their assignments often gave them visibility and exposure to higher management especially when they were located in the headquarters or in strategic business hubs hence developing their *linking ties* - relations between individuals in different levels in a hierarchy (Claridge, 2018). This is how they linked their social capital to their symbolic capital, which is the perceived value of career capital, its value creation, recognition, transfer and utilisation (Bourdieu, 1986). Power, status and reputation, for example, are significant forms of symbolic capital, and they occur when a form of capital is recognized and accepted as legitimate, valuable and useful (Doherty & Dickmann, 2009; Yao, 2013). Finally, AEs felt as *outsiders* in their host countries much like SIEs in Rodriguez and Scurry's study in the context of Qatar (2014).

The socialization experiences of SIEs were very different, with a much bigger focus on personal and private relationships as opposed to professional and corporate networking. They were first marked by a *loss* of social capital because, unlike AEs, SIEs do not have a lot of visibility regarding their return to their home countries, which made some of them lose their friendships, especially when their receiving countries were very distant from their home countries and when their trips back home were infrequent, especially when SIEs did not benefit from advantages such as return tickets to their homes, like AEs. Second, they struggled to break the formal barrier with colleagues and form friendships at work. Finally, SIEs often follow their spouses or partners, which is sometimes the reason behind their move. Others form romantic relationships with local nationals. In both situations, this process expands their social networks outside work. Corporate assignees, however, usually move with their families, therefore they cannot benefit from the pre-existing social capital of their partners.

A previous study (Jokinen et. al, 2008) found that SIEs developed their know-whom career capital less extensively than AEs. Our qualitative study cannot quantify social capital development but can report that the SIEs interviewed had more restricted professional connections whether with colleagues or with customers. They compensated for these limitations through personal non-work relationships. Jokinen's result (2008) could be attributed to the fact that their measure of know-whom focused heavily on professional network acquisition within the MNC "a four-item scale was used to measure the development of networking skills and social networks within the MNC" (p. 987). We suggest that know-whom should comprise a broader conceptualisation of social capital, including personal networks, to capture expatriates' social networks in all their variety, especially when studying SIEs.

Moreover, in this same study (Jokinen et. al, 2008), the highest developments for both SIEs and AEs were in relationships with people having influential power in the organization. In our findings, relationships with higher management and CEOs were specific to AEs' social development, especially when AEs were in strategic locations and roles, probably because they occupied higher positions.

Regarding know-why, global mobility provided SIEs and AEs with self-awareness, improved confidence, and self-esteem, leading to personal growth. Most importantly, SIEs realized career goals and life "dreams" they otherwise would not have achieved in their home countries. There is a global motivation for SIEs to move to the host country to realize and to pursue a certain quality of life, as opposed to a pure professional motivation for AEs. SIEs also adhere to local values of the host countries, which is probably because they personally chose the destination country while for AEs, it is sometimes a pure business priority or need.

In conclusion, self-initiated expatriation may be rewarding through the acquisition of a very large and transferable spectrum of skills, a developed social network, especially among expatriates and most importantly a sense of accomplishment. The corporate expatriates have a more focused and industry specific set of skills, they keep on growing their pool of already existing corporate connections and keep on climbing the corporate ladder within the company. Whichever path is taken, the international experience has, without any exception in this study, been described as a very positive one.

The originality in this study lies in the inclusion of intra-company SIEs, individuals who initiate their expatriation in a foreign unit of their current employer (Andresen et al., 2014). It is true that they are considered in the SIE category because they are the decision makers behind their global mobility and that the know-why experiences that they expressed are in line with general SIE findings, however in terms of know-how, their experiences are very similar to those of AEs due to their previous professional experience with the same employer. It would be interesting for future studies to further research intra self-initiated expatriates and compare them with inter-company SIEs and AEs with regards to the different career capital aspects because of their special status. Moreover, two interviewees had combined both AE and SIE experiences and could reflect on both.

Of course, the findings of this study have their limitations, such as the small sample size but also the wide heterogeneity in the sample (home countries, host countries, job role, gender, career stage, duration of stay) that limits even further the possibility to draw generalizable conclusions; it exposes however a wide and rich array of experiences, showing how multiple factors and criteria shape each person's unique experience and career capital process, even within the same organization.

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6 The influence of international assignments on the career success of self-initiated expatriates. The 'high-density' nature of global work

Rodrigo Mello

ABSTRACT

Expatriate work is defined as high-density work that affects employees' career outcomes. In particular, self-initiated expatriates (SIEs) are a diverse group that usually stay longer abroad compared to other types of expatriates. This chapter reviews studies addressing the objective career success (OCS) and subjective career success (SCS) of SIEs after their international assignments (IAs). It explores what is the individual career impact of IAs on SIEs is. In so doing, the chapter provides an overview of the research on the career impact of IAs on SIEs as measured against certain career sub-dimensions (e.g., promotions, salary, career satisfaction). It is concluded that SIEs' high-density working experiences influence their career success. That is because their physical mobility, cognitive flexibility, non-work disruption, greater challenge, and autonomy expose SIEs to a greater degree of transitions, whether internal (e.g., identity changes or perceptions of success) or external (e.g., jobs, organizations, and countries). Therefore, perceptions of career success seem to be influenced by a number of those challenges and changes.

INTRODUCTION

Over the past 30 years, interest has grown in global forms of employment as organizations have extended their operations overseas (Briscoe et al., 2021; Chen et al., 2010; Stahl et al., 2002). Despite questions regarding the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on global mobility and remote working (Caligiuri et al., 2020; Jooss et al., 2020; Selmer et al., 2021), the number of international assignments (IAs) has grown significantly over the past year as globalization has taken hold, and their importance to companies and expatriates has grown accordingly (Adams & van de Vijver, 2015; Dan Wang et al., 2021).

Previous empirical studies have found that the work requirements of expatriate jobs are higher than jobs in the domestic-market (e.g., Shin et al., 2007). Consequently, international career scholars have defined global work as constituting a high-density work experience that has substantial effects on the career trajectories, motivation, and career competencies of employees (Kraimer et al., 2022; Shaffer et al., 2012; Tesluk & Jacobs, 1998). Global work may therefore impact career outcomes as IAs require expatriates to relocate internationally and interact with people from different cultures, which may disrupt their work and non-work routines (Kraimer et al., 2022; Peiperl & Jonsen, 2007; Shaffer et al., 2012,).

Overall, working abroad is reported to be both a challenging and highly developmental experience (Mello et al., 2022).

Nevertheless, evidence on the career impact of expatriation is still relatively limited (Brewster et al., 2014; Suutari et al., 2018). In addition, most academic research about expatriates from the 1970s onwards has involved assigned expatriates (AEs). AEs are people on an assignment to subsidiary units abroad that are financed by the company to accomplish an organizational objective (Selmer, 2017). However, as we moved into the twenty-first century, researchers recognized that not all expatriates were AEs as some were not assigned by any organization (Suutari & Brewster, 2000). Expatriates who initiated and financed their own IAs (self-initiated expatriates or SIEs) started to increase in number but were neglected by scholars (Andresen et al., 2012; Mello et al., 2021). It has been argued that SIE careers are even more boundaryless than those of AEs (Biemann & Andresen, 2010). Therefore, the analysis of key empirical evidence may shed light on what we really know regarding SIEs' career success.

Given that background, this chapter aims to shed light on how IAs impact the career success of SIEs, regardless of whether they repatriate or continue living abroad. Studies on expatriates have defined career success as accomplishing desirable, positive psychological, or work-related outcomes following international work experience (Holtbruegge & Ambrosius, 2016; Ng et al., 2005; Suutari et al., 2018). Scholars have divided the measure of career success into objective and subjective forms (Ng et al., 2005). Objective success entails measurable, comparable, and tangible indicators of a person's career situation (e.g., position in the firm hierarchy and salary). Subjective success denotes perceptions of a career based on criteria deemed essential to the individual, including factors such as work-life balance, career satisfaction, or career fulfilment (Arthur et al., 2005; Gunz & Heslin, 2005; Heslin, 2003; Ng et al., 2005).

This chapter provides an overview of key empirical studies addressing the career impact of IAs on SIEs as assessed against certain career sub-dimensions (e.g., promotions, salary, and career satisfaction). First, the chapter outlines the characteristics of high-density global work. Then, the two types of expatriates (AEs and SIEs) are introduced to justify the focus on SIEs in the current research. Finally, career impacts are analysed based on empirical studies addressing SIEs' objective and subjective career success. Some studies indicate negative outcomes (e.g., Begley et al., 2008), and others positive outcomes (e.g., Guo et al., 2013), while some others suggest that there are both positive and negative consequences (Andresen, 2021). Hence, the chapter also aims to uncover the reasons for such diverse findings.

THE HIGH-DENSITY NATURE OF GLOBAL WORK

Before moving to a review of influential studies on SIEs' career success, it is necessary to discuss the nature of expatriate work. This step explains why such experiences have such a pronounced impact on careers. Scholars borrowed the concept of density to differentiate domestic location work from global work (Mello et al., 2022). Density is a word used to describe how much space an object or substance takes up (its volume) in relation to the amount of matter in that object or substance (its mass) (Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 2022). So, density is the amount of mass per unit of volume. If an object is heavy and compact, it is high-density. Scholars have suggested that global work is a high-density work experience. First, based on Peiperl and Jonsen's (2007) characteristics of global work, Shaffer and colleagues (2012) differentiate three aspects of global work: physical mobility, cognitive flexibility, and non-work disruption. Then, Mello et al. (2022) extended the high-density conceptualization by adding two characteristics: task challenge and autonomy.

Physical mobility is defined as the degree to which the work role requires that the employee travel or relocate internationally (Shaffer et al., 2012). The number and length of IAs may provide an objective measure of expatriates' physical mobility and relate to the subjective aspect of being exposed to the stress of mobility when adapting to different cultural and institutional environments. Cognitive flexibility is defined as the degree to which the global work requires role incumbents to adjust their thought patterns and scripts to effectively interact with people and adapt to situational demands across cultures (Shaffer et al., 2012). Cognitive flexibility is related to the job itself, and, therefore, is different from psychological mobility, which is related to individual differences (Shaffer et al., 2012). Non-work disruption differentiates most international jobs from work in the domestic context and is defined as the degree to which the work role requirements disrupt or interfere with the employee's everyday activities and routines outside of work and is a particularly salient element to many international employees (Shaffer et al., 2012). Put simply; it is harder to separate personal and professional life in international career settings than in domestic ones.

The extension of the high-density conceptualization by Mello and his coauthors (2022) considers expatriate job characteristics. The higher task challenge perspective is based on studies arguing that expatriates may have more responsibilities and, thus more demanding jobs than they had previously in the domestic job environment (Solomon, 1995; Suutari & Brewster, 2003). That heightened responsibility may require that expatriates diversify their learning abilities (Mello et al., 2022) to deal with a greater variety of tasks abroad (Bossard & Peterson, 2005; Suutari & Mäkelä, 2009) while operating under different cultural and institutional norms (Mello et al., 2022). In addition, empirical studies often report that expatriate jobs entail greater autonomy owing to distance from the home country (Bossard & Peterson, 2005; Suutari & Mäkelä, 2009). At the same time, expatriates might have less help (Harzing, 2001), whether from HQ in the case of AEs (Reiche et al., 2011) or from personal networking in the case of SIEs (Cerdin & Selmer, 2014; Melo et al., 2021). Figure 2 illustrates the characteristics that make global work a high-density work experience.

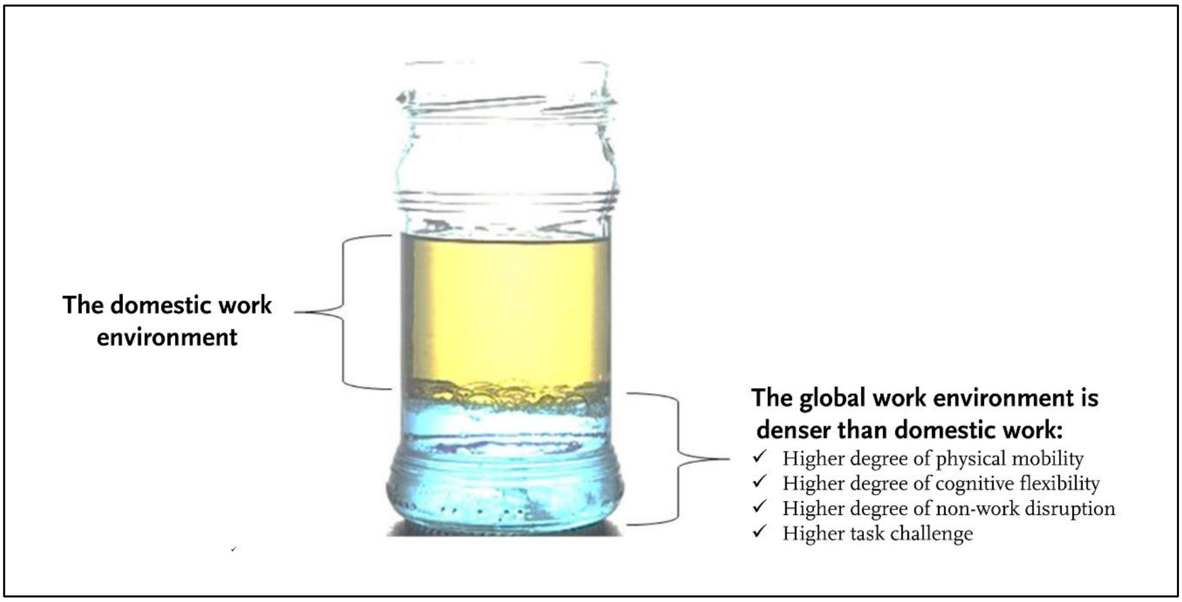

Figure 2: *An illustration of the characteristics of the high-density nature of global work*

Therefore, this chapter argues that such a high-density experience impacts expatriates' career success. The heightened demands on expatriates might be even more challenging for SIEs who have little or no organizational support.

CONTRASTING THE CAREERS OF AEs AND SIEs

During the last 20 years of expatriation studies, scholars have noticed two types of expatriates. Assigned expatriates have been defined as employees whose organization temporarily relocates them to another country to accomplish an organizational goal (Harrison et al., 2004). On the other hand, self-initiated expatriates (SIEs) usually engineer their own expatriation to a country of their choice to pursue personal and career development experiences (Jokinen et al., 2008) often with no definite period in mind (Tharenou, 2013). While these assignments are separate types of assignments, it is important to note that individuals can change from one type of assignment to another. For instance, AEs might not wish to return to their home country and self-initiate themselves into a second IA

(McNulty & Vance, 2017). In research, the focus is typically on their recent assignment, i.e. individuals are classified into these categories on the basis of their recent job.

Regarding motives, groups of AEs and SIEs stress different aspects. For example, researchers found that career factors were seen as important by both AEs and SIEs (Melo et al., 2021). At the same time, location and the host country's reputation were significant factors for SIEs (Cerdin & Le Pargneux, 2010). Lifestyle is an essential career anchor for both AEs and SIEs but is more critical for SIEs (Cerdin & Le Pargneux, 2010). Overall, family-related concerns play a central role among SIEs. They have fewer company-related motives to consider in their decision-making (Richardson, 2006). At the same time, SIEs are likely to be less strongly motivated by the job than AEs (Cerdin, 2013). Further, push factors such as a desire to escape the economic environment of their home country or to escape personal problems are reportedly more commonly among SIEs than AEs (Suutari et al., 2018).

The matter of context encompasses organizations and their geographic locations. It seems that SIEs often work in lower hierarchical positions than AEs (Doherty et al., 2011; Jokinen et al., 2008), and their jobs may not be as demanding as those of AEs (Suutari & Brewster, 2000). Hence, often AEs have more complex jobs than SIEs. In addition, AEs move internationally within the boundaries of one organization, while SIEs typically search for a job in different countries and across different employers (Andresen et al., 2012). Consequently, work experience seems to be part of an AE's organizational career development, supported mainly by HRM professionals. At the same time, SIEs tend to follow an individualized career path, handling all the transfer complications themselves, and are more vulnerable to cultural and institutional constraints (Andresen & Biemann, 2013). That might demand a greater degree of career adaptability to achieve career success (Jannesari & Sullivan, 2019). Therefore, it has been argued that the careers of SIEs might be more boundaryless than those of AEs (Biemann & Andresen, 2010).

Therefore, having different starting points and job experiences abroad may influence expatriates' personal development and growth (Andresen & Biemann, 2013; Suutari et al., 2018) and leads to different career outcomes among the two types of expatriates. Career success outcomes of SIEs have clearly been less studied (Andresen et al., 2020; Brewster et al., 2021; Suutari et al., 2018). Therefore, the following section provides an overview of key empirical studies addressing career success among SIEs.

THE EFFECTS OF IAs ON SIEs' CAREER SUCCESS

The research reported in this chapter identified eight articles addressing objective and or subjective career success among SIEs (see Table 5). Table 6 provides an overview of studies assessing the sub-dimensions of career success.

N	AUTHORS	YEAR	JOURNAL	TITLE
1	Andresen	2018	International Journal of Human Resource Management	When at home, do as they do at home? Valuation of self-initiated repatriates' competences in French and German management career structures
2	Biemanna and Braakmannb	2013	International Journal of Human Resource Management	The impact of international experience on objective and subjective career success in early careers
3	Begley, Collings and Scullion,	2008	Employee Relations	The cross-cultural adjustment experiences of self-initiated repatriates to the Republic of Ireland labour market. Employee Relations
4	Froese and Peltokorpi	2013	International Journal of Human Resource Management	Organizational expatriates and self-initiated expatriates: differences in cross-cultural adjustment and job satisfaction
5	Felker	2011	International Journal of Training and Development	Professional development through self-directed expatriation: Intentions and outcomes for young, educated Eastern Europeans
6	Guo, Porschitz and Alves	2019	Career Development International,	Exploring career agency during self-initiated repatriation: a study of Chinese sea turtles
7	Markkonen	2015	Journal of Global Mobility	Perceived employability development of Western self-initiated expatriates in local organizations in China
8	Suutari, Brewster, Mäkelä, Dickmann, Tornikoski	2018	Human Resource Management	The effect of international work experience on the career success of expatriates: A Comparison of assigned and self-initiated expatriates

Table 5: *Bibliographic sources in the review*

		OCS			SCS		
Studies SIEs	**Number of studies**	**Salary**	**Promotion**	**Job offer**	**Career satisfaction**	**Job satisfaction**	**Perceived employability**
SIEs	4	0	1 (study: 5)	1 (study: 5)	0	0	3 (studies: 3, 6, 7)
AEs/SIEs	4	1 (study: 2)	1 (study: 8)	1 (study: 8)	2 (studies: 2, 8)	1 (study: 4)	2 (studies: 1, 8)
Total	8	1	2	2	2	1	5

Table 6: *Identified studies on the career success of SIEs*

Objective career success

Our review started with studies addressing dimensions of OCS and identified three studies reporting findings on three OCS factors: salary, promotions, and job offer (Biemann & Braakmann, 2013; Felker, 2011; Suutari et al., 2018).

First, Biemann and Braakmann (2013) surveyed a mixed sample of AEs and SIEs among German expatriates in the first five years of their careers. The study concluded that an IA positively impacts the salary of expatriates and repatriates. The study also found the result to be robust when controlling for differences between AEs and SIEs. Unfortunately, the authors did not provide further analysis of those differences.

Second, Felker (2011) explored the experiences of well-educated Eastern European SIEs who moved to Western Europe searching for career opportunities not available in their home countries. Felker conducted 22 in-depth interviews with workers living in Ireland, England, the Netherlands, Poland, and the Czech Republic and found that the SIEs were working in positions for which they were considerably overqualified. Moreover, the respondents did not feel they were offered promotions that matched their expectations.

Finally, Suutari and colleagues (2018) examined the career success of Finnish AEs and SIEs eight years after their initial IA. They found that the two different categories of expatriates had received equal numbers of promotions in that period. The only identified difference was that AEs accepted job offers 75% of the time they were offered whereas SIEs only accepted 50% of the opportunities they were offered to change jobs. Furthermore, the analysis indicates that 72% of AE job offers were internal compared to 47% for SIEs. In the short term, AEs' careers are much more likely to unfold with one employer. In contrast, SIEs tend to look for and change jobs more energetically on their own initiative, as they had when moving abroad. Among the study's respondents, significantly more AEs than SIEs had repatriated to Finland, supporting earlier arguments that SIEs tend to live longer abroad (Doherty et al., 2013).

Subjective career success

Seven expatriation studies address three dimensions of subjective career success (SCS): career satisfaction, job satisfaction, and perceived employability (Andresen, 2018; Begley et al., 2008; Biemann & Braakmann, 2013; Froese & Peltokorpi, 2013; Guo et al., 2013; Makkonen, 2015; Suutari et al., 2018).

First, Biemann and Braakmann (2013) assessed not only the OCS of both AEs and SIEs but also their SCS. The study found that an IA positively impacts the satisfaction of repatriates, and again, that the results are robust when controlling for differences between AEs and SIEs. However, Suutari et al. (2018) found that expatriate type, whether AE or SIE, made little difference to the expatriates' experiences of the impact of IAs on career satisfaction.

Froese and Peltokorpi, (2013) surveyed a mixed sample of AEs and SIEs working in the greater Tokyo area (Kawasaki, Saitama, Tokyo, and Yokohama). They found that SIEs have lower job satisfaction than AEs and argued that this is the case because SIEs more often work under host-country national supervisors.

Finally, five studies analysed the impact of an IA on perceived employability. Guo et al. (2013) interviewed 20 Chinese SIEs who had returned to China after spending at least three years working abroad. Most informants reported increases in their perceived employability stemming from skills development when abroad (Guo et al., 2013). However, Finnish SIEs working in local organizations in China did not view their assignments as contributing to their perceived employability (Makkonen, 2015). Irish SIEs struggled to find Irish employers who recognized their experience as a positive attribute and thus thought their IA was detrimental to their careers (Begley et al., 2008). Among the studies comparing AEs and SIEs, Andresen (2018) reported mixed findings on the career impact of IAs. The study found required employability competence profiles differ significantly in France and Germany, which affects the perceived employability of expatriates. Andresen's study does not, however, compare the position of SIEs and AEs. Finally, Suutari et al. (2018) examined a mixed sample of AEs and SIEs and found no difference in the respondents' perceived external or internal marketability, whether in the home job market or internationally. While some key differences between AEs and SIEs have emerged, there is clearly room for more investigation.

RESEARCH ON HOW IAs IMPACT THE CAREER SUCCESS OF SIEs

This chapter illustrates that empirical studies focused on SIEs indicate variations in their career success. The evidence overall is limited and is affected by some limitations. In addition, despite the evidence of the differences in career outcomes by expatriate type (Suutari et al., 2018), the career impact of undertaking a self-initiated assignment has clearly been less frequently studied (Mello et al., 2021). We identified just eight critical studies, only two of which addressed the OCS of SIEs (Felker, 2011; Suutari et al., 2018). The limited empirical studies investigating SIEs might be because as a group SIEs are difficult to contact. After all, variations in the jobs held by SIEs undermine their identification due to the vast diversity of the SIE group (Cerdin & Selmer, 2014; Selmer et al., in press). Hence, a better categorization of SIEs' jobs seems warranted.

Concerning OCS, international career scholars need to deliver more empirical studies addressing more career success outcomes among SIEs, such as salary (Suutari & Brewster, 2003) and promotions (Suutari et al., 2018), and might even investigate the extent to which SIEs reach top positions and the time taken to do so (Schmid & Wurster, 2017). In summary, OCS among SIEs should be further investigated. Alternative OCS measures could include job security (Nabi, 1999), accumulation of competencies (Shaffer et al., 2012), and even whether expatriates have an office or own a house (Osei-Tutu et al., 2018). Success may also be expressed differently according to the cultural and institutional environment to which people are exposed (Andresen, 2021). For example, in neo-liberalist systems, where the state has a reduced role in society, having children attending costly private schools may indicate OCS values more often than in societies where the education system is a state responsibility and free for citizens. The measurement of career success should be adapted to the career context in which individuals place themselves (Briscoe et al., 2021).

With regard to SCS, SIE research identifies three measures: career satisfaction, job satisfaction, and perceived employability. The evidence is limited and also, to some extent, controversial. Despite the mainly positive view of Guo et al. (2013) of SIEs' perceived employability, other studies seem to present negative or mixed findings. Consequently, further research would be necessary to compare the SCS of SIEs in different contexts.

With regard to career or job satisfaction, empirical studies generally seem to use a unidimensional approach (based on an average respondent score) to explore or measure the general career satisfaction of SIEs (Briscoe et al., 2021). However, career scholars have repeatedly suggested applying a multidimensional approach such as recognition, quality work, meaningful work, authenticity, and development (Shockley et al., 2016; Zhou et al., 2013). Moreover, it is suggested that cross-cultural and/or comparative country research (Briscoe et al., 2021) could be used to explore career success beyond a single country context. The rationale is that giving meaning to a particular career success dimension in expatriates' minds could be affected by different country contexts (Kase et al., 2020).

One of the main questions in the subjective dimension of career success is the importance of a given achievement in a particular context. Individuals might experience a high sense of achievement on a particular dimension without attaching relatively greater importance to it (e.g., salary increments) (Argyris, 1982; Katz & Kahn, 1978). However, Briscoe and colleagues (2021) argued that individuals' particular aspirations might be driven by less objective achievements, such as well-being. The environment could influence changes to a specific meaning ascribed to success (Vos et al., 2020). It seems SIEs stay abroad longer than AEs while immersed in a high-density work experience (Suutari et al., 2018) and that they engage in local networks more intensively (Doherty et al., 2013). They are also a more diverse group (Cerdin & Selmer, 2014) and may, therefore, interpret the various contexts that they are embedded in broadly. Therefore, they may experience a higher variation in the meaning they attach to career success factors and dimensions. In Summary, SIE careers are more boundaryless than AE careers (Biemann & Andresen, 2010), as they may experience a greater degree of transition, which can lead them to change their perception of career success more often than AEs do (Andresen & Biemann, 2013), and develop a global career identity (Kramer et al., 2012; Mello et al., 2022; Suutari & Mäkelä, 2007). Future studies should track these internal transitions to capture what success really means to SIEs.

Finally, this chapter observed how scholars assess SIEs' career success. Most studies address it at a single point in time, with no control groups (e.g., domestic-market employees). Few studies compare the career success of expatriates with the career success of employees in a domestic market (e.g., Biemann & Braakmann, 2013) or establish a comparison point in time, at which expatriates compare their career progress before and after their IAs (e.g., Suutari & Brewster, 2003). When scholars collect data shortly after IAs, they are limited to immediate outcomes depending upon the repatriation itself, and cannot assess the cumulative effects over time (Fuller, 2008; Mello et al., 2021). Further, career mobility is generally considered to be unevenly distributed over an individual's career timeline (Kovalenko & Mortelmans, 2014; Mello et al., 2021). More time sensitive, longitudinal studies would augment our understanding of the relevant phenomena.

CONCLUSION

This chapter provided an overview of the research on the career impact of IAs on SIEs as measured against certain career sub-dimensions (e.g., promotions, salary, career satisfaction). The work of SIEs is so diverse (Selmer et al., in press) and dense (Mello et al., 2022) that it affects their career outcomes. Nevertheless, the evidence is limited and inconclusive (Mello et al., 2021; Mello et al., 2022). So, why do SIEs appear to diverge in terms of career success achievements? This chapter indicates that the high-density working experience influences the career success of SIEs. That is because their physical mobility, cognitive flexibility, non-work disruption, greater challenge, and autonomy expose expatriates to a greater degree of transitions, whether internal (e.g., identity changes or perceptions of success) or external (e.g., jobs, organizations, and countries). Therefore, perceptions of career success seem to be influenced by the volatility of those challenges and changes.

Our work indicates a broad array of practical implications. Organizations should identify and hire SIEs in their local markets, and thus avoid moving employees to countries where the cost of adaptation might be too high (Dickmann & Baruch, 2011). In addition, organizations should track SIEs' (and AEs') internal transitions (e.g., identity, the meaning of success) to retain talent (Mello et al., 2022). Finally, an awareness of the differences among expatriate types may be important to develop support mechanisms. These might, for instance, be supporting individuals who plan their international careers by facilitating an understanding of the challenges they will likely face. This could then be used to identify the resources necessary to succeed (Dickmann & Mello, in press; Mello et al., 2021; Mello et al., 2022). Overall, it would surely be good for career success if organizations were to increase their insights and support levels, enabling individuals to be better prepared and to make superior decisions.

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7 Immigrants' political careers: Opportunities and constraints

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ABSTRACT

What affects the opportunities immigrants have to pursue political careers? Theory on opportunity structures provides evidence on the impact macro structures have on immigrants' underrepresentation in leadership roles of political organizations and in representative bodies. Thus, the national context is a recognized factor affecting immigrants' opportunities to pursue a political career. Beyond the macro factors, the literature recognized the essential role political parties have in recruiting political leaders and providing opportunities for political careers. This book chapter looks at the impact that both national contexts and political parties as organizations have on immigrants' political careers. It explores how national contexts affect the chances of candidates of immigrant origin to get nominated by political parties and elected by voters. Additionally, the study provides a descriptive overview of the organizational practices parties in the EU implement to support immigrants' incorporation. By doing that this book chapter describes the macro and meso level opportunities and barriers to political careers immigrants in the EU are facing. The analysis is based on quantitative methodology using secondary data.

INTRODUCTION

The embeddedness of citizens of immigrant origin in the labour market, welfare state, educational system and more generally, their position in the country of residence may be influenced by their political integration in the country where they or their ancestors have moved to. Successful political integration enables immigrants to have their interests and values represented in public policies and laws and allows them to be part of the political decisions as elected representatives (Hochschild & Mollenkopf, 2009; Hochschild et al., 2013). Although some students of immigration have challenged the direct link between descriptive and substantive representation (Celis et al., 2008; Hero & Tolbert, 1995), political theorists have argued that the presence of minorities in parliaments is essential for the representation of minority interests (Mansbridge, 1999; Phillips, 1995; Wängnerud, 2009). Empirical studies have shown that descriptive representation may enhance substantive representation conditional on strategic incentives arising from electoral systems and parliamentary institutions (Aydemir & Vliegenthart, 2016; Geese, 2020a; Geese, 2020b; Geese & Schwemmer, 2019; Mügge et al., 2019; Saalfeld & Bischof, 2013). Hence, descriptive representation of immigrants as elected representatives in parliaments is a strong indicator for the successful integration of immigrants ensuring the legitimacy of the democratic process in liberal democracies.

In most European countries immigrants are underrepresented in parliaments, meaning that parliaments do not mirror the ethnic diversity of the population (Bloemraad & Schönwälder, 2013; Norris & Lovenduski, 1995). Descriptive underrepresentation of a particular group may indicate systematic obstacles that members of that group face when pursuing a political career. Research on the "immigrant participation gap" identifies that individual characteristics of immigrants can act as barriers to their political participation (DeSipio, 2011; Ramakrishnan & Espenshade, 2001). For example, a lack of resources such as education, money, time, civic skills, language competencies, and knowledge of the political system in the country of residence reduces the chances of immigrants to engage in politics (Brady et al., 1995; Verba et al., 1993). In modern politics, the process of professionalization increased the importance of such resources for MPs and candidates standing for public office (Borchert & Zeiss, 2003). Given such trends in political recruitment and careers (Best & Cotta, 2000), immigrants as a group of citizens tend to be in a disadvantaged position.

Cross-national studies in immigrant descriptive representation indicate that the descriptive representation of immigrants can be influenced by macro-level factors such as laws on membership and integration, constitutional frameworks and political institutions (Bird et al., 2011; Bloemraad, 2013; Bloemraad & Schönwälder, 2013). Moreover, political parties – as meso-level organizations and key collective actors in liberal democracies influencing the process of political representation with their internal practices – may have a significant impact on the opportunities immigrants have to attain elected office (Dancygier, 2014; Scarrow et al., 2004; Zapata-Barrero, 2017). Recognizing the multilevel complexity of factors that explain immigrant descriptive representation, this chapter will provide a descriptive overview of how macro-level factors and political parties as meso-level organizations may affect the micro-level disadvantages associated with being a citizen of immigrant origin and influence the opportunities for immigrants to become elected representatives.

MACRO LEVEL INSTITUTIONS AND DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION OF IMMIGRANTS

How may macro-level institutions reduce the disadvantages of immigrants who seek to pursue a political career? Existing research demonstrates that more open political opportunity structures can increase the chances of immigrants to become political representatives (Bird et al., 2011; Norris & Lovenduski, 1995). As Tarrow (1994, p. 85) explains, political opportunity structures can be understood as various "dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective action". Scholars working on the descriptive representation of immigrants recognize that macro-level variables such as citizenship regimes, electoral rules, and party systems – including the configuration of parties supportive of, and opposed to, the political incorporation of immigrants – can have a significant effect on representative outcomes (Bird et al., 2011). For example, research on electoral systems suggests that systems with proportional representation increase overall turnout and reduce the representational differences between minorities and majority citizens (Karp & Banducci, 2008; Rule & Zimmerman, 1994). Moreover, the institutional framework that defines the rights and opportunities for immigrants in the country of residence can have a significant impact on the overall position immigrants have in the host society.

Comparative research demonstrates that European societies are characterized by notable differences in their immigration, integration and citizenship policies (Helbling, 2013; Helbling et al., 2017). One dimension of integration policies captures those policies that focus on the rights for political participation in the country of residence including voting rights, freedom of association including the right to join a political party, in the existence of appointed or elected consultative bodies giving immigrants a voice, and the recognition of, and financial support for, immigrant organizations. Such policies can be considered as key dimension of the opportunity structure for political participation of immigrants. One institutional mechanism that can ensure descriptive representation of minorities are representational quota, although such institutions are used more frequently in the case of ethnic minorities than for the incorporation of citizens with immigrant background (Hänni & Saalfeld, 2020; Krook & Zetterberg, 2014; Tripp & Kang, 2008). Compared to policies of immigrant integration in employment, education, health care, or laws on non-discrimination, rights of political participation are frequently more restrictive (MIPEX, 2022). For example, the right to hold office and be a representative in national parliament is exclusive to citizens of the country of residence. In the European Union, the right to vote and stand for election at the local and European level is guaranteed to all EU nationals. However, only in seven EU member states (Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden) third-country nationals are allowed to stand as candidates in local elections (MIPEX, 2022). Hence, immigrants with political ambitions who do not naturalize limit their chances for political careers in their countries of residence considerably.

Citizenship regimes may have a direct impact on the size of the pool of potential eligible political candidates with immigrant origin. The decision to naturalize is more attractive, if the costs of naturalization do not outweigh the benefits (Baubock, 2006). Although the decision for naturalization depends on numerous factors, studies demonstrate that more open policies on membership do increase the chances of immigrants to naturalize (Baubock, 2006). Citizenship in general has a positive effect on political participation (Hainmueller et al., 2015) and lack of citizenship is a significant disadvantage for immigrants who pursue a political career.

In addition to the policies that regulate the opportunities for political participation and citizenship, integration and immigration policies can generally improve the political career opportunities of immigrants. Bozhinoska Lazarova, Saalfeld and Seifert (2021), for example, demonstrate that more open immigration and integration policies reduce the negative impact of political socialization in a less democratic country and internal efficacy. These effects, in turn, increase the odds of immigrants to join political parties – which is a key condition for political office and descriptive representation. Hence, policies on immigration, integration and membership can reduce some of the disadvantages associated with an immigrant background and thus improve the potential immigrants have for political career.

	Integration policies					
Country	**Overall Score 2015**	**Overall Score 2020**	**Political Participation 2015**	**Political Participation 2020**	**Access to Nationality 2015**	**Access to Nationality 2020**
Austria	50	46	38	20	26	13
Belgium	67	69	57	65	69	65
Bulgaria	42	40	13	0	21	13
Croatia	43	39	13	10	31	19
Cyprus	35	41	25	25	37	53
Czech Republic	45	50	21	10	49	36
Denmark	59	49	64	70	58	41
Estonia	46	50	21	20	18	16
Finland	69	85	79	95	63	74
France	54	56	53	45	61	70
Germany	61	58	63	60	72	42
Greece	44	46	30	20	34	40
Hungary	45	43	23	15	31	25
Ireland	52	64	73	85	59	79
Italy	59	58	58	25	50	40
Latvia	31	37	13	20	17	24
Lithuania	37	37	16	5	35	22
Luxembourg	57	64	81	85	68	79
Malta	40	48	25	35	34	63
Netherlands	60	57	52	50	66	55
Norway	69	69	82	80	52	50
Poland	41	40	6	10	56	50
Portugal	75	81	74	80	86	86

Romania	45	49	0	5	34	38
Slovakia	37	39	16	5	35	28
Slovenia	44	48	23	30	41	22
Spain	60	60	54	55	48	30
Sweden	78	86	71	80	73	83
Switzerland	49	50	58	55	31	28
UK	57	56	51	45	60	61
Source: MIPEX Project, 2015 and 2020						

Table 7: *MIPEX scores for overall integration policies, policies for political participation and policies for membership in 30 European democracies, 2015 and 2020*

Table 7 compares the scores for the "equality standards" in various integration policies for a sample of European countries. These scores are based on expert ratings collected by the MPG team to construct a "Migrant Integration Policy Index" (MIPEX, 2022). The overall integration score is based on 58 policy indicators covering eight policy areas: Labour market mobility, Family reunification, Education, Political participation, Permanent residence, Access to nationality, Anti-discrimination, and Health. The value for each indicator ranges from 0 to 100 where higher values indicate higher standards of equality for immigrants in the relevant dimension. The values from the individual indicators are aggregated to give one summary score for each of the eight policy areas. In a final step, an overall integration score is calculated from the values for the eight policy areas. The sub-score for political participation is based on indicators on electoral rights, political liberties, the existence and powers of consultative bodies and financial support for political participation of immigrants. The sub-score for access to nationality is based on indicators capturing the eligibility for naturalization, conditions and security of naturalization and restrictions on dual citizenship.

Table 7 shows that countries modified their policies on integration including policies on political participation and membership over time. Between 2015 and 2020, countries like Sweden, Portugal, Ireland, and Finland increased the "openness" of their integration policies including policies on political participation and citizenship (See Table 7). However, changes in the policies have not improved the opportunities and increase the access to rights for immigrants everywhere. Some countries did not make significant modifications in their integration policies while others changed their integration policies from more open to more restrictive (See Table 7). Hence, immigrants experience reforms in the institutional context which may improve, or worsen, their potentials for political careers.

MESO LEVEL: POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION OF IMMIGRANTS

Institutionalized democratic participation and representation in liberal democracies is largely led by the political parties (Bird et al., 2011). Parties are organizations with specific structures, strategies, regulations and procedures. They influence who joins a party and how careers within political parties are structured. Moreover, by offering a path to elected office, political parties represent an essential venue for immigrants' incorporation into the political system.

Not all political parties provide equal opportunities for immigrants to advance a political career. Some organizational characteristics of political parties can improve the chances of immigrants to be nominated and elected (Sobolewska, 2013). Some exceptions notwithstanding, left-wing parties have traditionally been more inclusive toward immigrants and have been more likely to recruit and nominate elected representatives with immigrant origin (Alonso & Fonseca, 2012; Dancygier, 2014). However, ideology alone does not explain the position the party will take toward immigrants (Odmalm, 2011). The parties' positions on immigration and the strategies they use to incorporate immigrants into their organization can additionally be influenced by the preferences of voters, the electoral context, as well as internal party positions (Odmalm, 2011).

The number of elected representatives with immigrant origin in parliaments is largely influenced by the number of candidates with immigrant origin and moreover the number of winnable seats citizens with immigrant origin compete for (Burchianti & Zapata-Barrero, 2017; Dancygier et al., 2021). Hence the recruitment and candidate selection strategies political parties use are crucial organizational factors shaping the opportunities immigrants have to be elected.

In the process of candidate nomination, parties select those individuals who will eventually participate the decision-making process as elected representatives, and it selects the groups who will be represented in parliaments (Pruysers et al., 2017). Candidate recruitment in political parties tends to be shaped by complex processes, which are defined by macro-level structures such as legal, electoral, and party systems; meso level factors such as the parties' rules, ideologies and gatekeeper preferences; and factors on the individual level such as the backgrounds of individuals with ambitions to run for office (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995).

The recruitment process is considered to evolve in two stages: 1) certification or search for eligible candidates and 2) selection of candidates or creating candidate lists (Seligman, 1961). The screening of eligible candidates can be done through diverse canals. Party's membership is a potential pool of eligible candidates. Those who decide to join a party and are willing to engage in party activities are more likely to have a desire for a political career than citizens without party membership (Kosiara-Pedersen et al., 2017; Schlesinger, 1984).

Worked in a party or political organization in the past 12 months	First-generation immigrant	Second-generation immigrant	No migratory background	Total
Absolute numbers and column percentages				
Yes	126 *2.72%*	173 *4.85%*	1,598 *4.16%*	1,897 *4.07%*
No	4,514 *97.28%*	3,393% *95.15%*	36,861% *95.84%*	44,768% *95.93%*
Total	4,640 *100%*	3,566 *100%*	38,459 *100%*	46,665 *100%*
$\chi^2 = 28.12^{***}$ Source: European Social Survey 2018				

Table 8: *Party members by immigrant status in 25 European democracies, 2018*

Table 8 compares the share of party members among "first-generation" and "second-generation" immigrants to the relevant percentage among persons without immigrant origin. The data were calculated from responses to the latest available round of the European Social Survey (2018) and aggregated for 25 European democracies. The question asked in the European Social Survey captures whether respondents worked in a political party or similar organization in the past 12 months before the interview. First-generation immigrants are defined as persons who were born in a country other than the country of residence and were not citizens of the country of residence at birth, while the children of such persons are defined as second-generation immigrants. Table 8 shows that citizens of immigrant origin, particularly first-generation immigrants, are generally less likely to join political parties. Political parties that attract higher number of members with immigrant origin have a larger pool of potential eligible candidates of immigrant background.

An important channel for candidate recruitment are the parties' sub-organizations. For example, women's sub-organizations played an important role in the recruitment of female candidates and contributed to greater representation of women amongst candidates for political office (Childs & Kittilson, 2016; Ponce et al., 2020; Scarrow et al., 2017). Although most parties have sub-organizations, it is not very common for political parties to maintain sub-organizations for ethnic minorities or citizens of immigrant origin. In a sample of 122 parties in 19 countries between 2012 and 2014, 78% reported to have youth sub-organizations, 41% had women's sub-organizations, whereas only 5.7% had sub-organizations based on ethnic/linguistic status and only 3.3% represented religious minorities (Allern & Verge, 2017).

Sub-organization: sub-organization: Ethnic/linguistic group				
COUNTRY	Not Provided	Yes	No	Total
Austria	20	1	4	25
Belgium	29	0	24	53
Czech Republic	15	0	5	20
Denmark	28	0	8	36
France	6	0	2	8
Germany	14	0	14	28
Hungary	17	1	3	21
Ireland	16	0	5	21
Italy	15	1	4	20
Netherlands	34	0	10	44
Norway	21	1	6	28
Poland	18	0	6	24
Portugal	18	0	6	24
Spain	13	0	7	20
Sweden	24	0	8	32
United Kingdom	30	1	6	37
Total	318	5	118	441
Source: ***The Political Party Database Project, rounds 1a and 1b***				

Table 9: *Sub-organizations based on ethnic or linguistic group membership in political parties, 2010-2016*

As demonstrated in **Table 9**, only 5 political parties in the 16 countries included in the survey of the Political Party Database Project reported to have sub-organization based on ethnicity or language. It is important to note, however, that the definitions of citizens of immigrant origin on the one hand and ethnic minorities on the other are different (Bloemraad & Schönwälder, 2013). Although we do not have comprehensive data on sub-organizations of immigrants in political parties, the data from Poguntke, Scarrow and Webb (2020) in **Table 9** suggest that immigrants are not frequently organized as ethnic minorities in in the sub-organizations of European political parties. Where such sub-organizations existed (e.g., the British Labour Party's Labour Party Black Sections consisting of African, Caribbean, and Asian Labour Party members between 1983 to 1993), they have often been temporary (Anwar, 1986*)*. Nevertheless, some party organizations use informal platforms dealing with minority issues (Odmalm, 2004).

Political parties can have formal collaborations with independent organizations and diverse external groups (Allern & Verge, 2017). These social connections parties have potential channels for candidate recruitment. Trades unions, typically associated with social democratic, socialist, and communist parties, have been a traditional pool for the recruitment of candidates of immigrant origin (Messina, 2007). The links parties have with immigrant or ethnic-minority organizations have also been of particular significance in this context. Immigrants who are active in associations and organizations generally tend to have better civic skills and knowledge relevant for political participation (Fennema & Tillie, 2001; Jacobs & Tillie, 2004), which makes them more competitive candidates. Hence parties that establish links with organizations that are attractive to immigrants or promote the interests of ethnic minorities and immigrants may increase the pool of eligible candidates significantly.

Despite improvements in past 20-30 years, the limited pool of eligible candidates on the "supply side" of political recruitment remains a problem contributing to the underrepresentation of immigrants (Noris & Lovenduski, 1995), although some studies demonstrate that progress has been made in some countries and the severity of the problem varies by country (Dancygier, 2021). Recruitment through channels from outside the parties is one strategy parties have used to attract a broader pool of eligible candidates with immigrant origin (Sobolewska, 2013).

The search for eligible candidates is followed by the candidate selection process. The candidate selection can be defined depending on four dimensions: 1) candidacy (Who can present his or her candidacy?); 2) selectorate (Who selects the candidates?); 3) decentralization of decision making (Are candidates selected by a national or a sub-national selectorate?); 4) method of nomination (Nomination by a vote or by appointment?) (Rahat & Hazan, 2001). These dimensions of the selection process can influence the chances immigrants have to be nominated.

Some studies show that decentralized selection processes may reduce the number of minority candidates (Pruysers et al., 2017; Sobolewska, 2013). When the party leadership wants to improve immigrant representation, a centralized selection process can increase the chances of immigrants to be selected (Sobolevwka, 2013). On the other hand, the level of democracy in the party can influence the electoral lists in a way that more democratic practices increase the pool of eligible candidates for public offices by increasing engagement and mobilization (Bolin et al., 2017).

Party rules on candidate selection can be introduced to regulate the profile of candidates. For example, formal quotas have been used to overcome the underrepresentation of women (Allern & Verge, 2017; Childs & Kittilson, 2016). Although parties may seek to ensure representation of citizens with immigrant origin in their pool of candidates and on party lists, parties rarely have quotas for ethnic or religious minorities and immigrants (Allern & Verge, 2017). Moreover, only a few political parties in Europe have procedural rules in their candidate selection procedures for the national legislature that target the representation of ethnic minorities or religious minorities (see Table 10). Some parties might use informal targets or recommendations to increase the presence of some groups (Allern & Verge, 2017). However, none of the parties from Europe included in a survey conducted by Poguntke et al. (2020) reported such informal targets for ethnic or religious minorities and immigrants in the candidate selection process (Appendix Table 1).

Party constitution or rulebook makes specifications in respect of the representation of ethnicity or religion in the process of selecting candidates for the national legislature.				
COUNTRY	Not Provided	Yes	No	Total
Austria	20	0	5	25
Belgium	41	3	9	53
Czech Republic	20	0	0	20
Denmark	28	0	8	36
France	6	0	2	8
Germany	21	0	7	28
Hungary	17	0	4	21
Ireland	16	0	5	21
Italy	15	0	5	20
Netherlands	34	1	9	44
Norway	21	2	7	28
Poland	19	0	5	24
Portugal	18	0	6	24
Spain	15	0	5	20
Sweden	24	1	7	32
United Kingdom	30	3	4	37
Total	357	10	88	441
Source: ***The Political Party Database Project, rounds 1a and 1b***				

Table 10: *Candidate selection rules targeting ethnicity and/or religion, 2010 – 2016*

Few parties that report to have rules concerning ethnic or religious minorities in the candidate selection procedure (see Table 10). When asked to explain the regulation they usually refer to statements in the party statutes that deal with general principles of representation and diversity in the population (see Appendix, Table 11). Only two parties in Europe report to have statutory rules about representation of ethnic, linguistic, or religious minorities on the party's highest executive body and only six parties have statutory rules about representation of ethnicity or languages in the process of selecting party congress delegates (see Appendix, Table 12). Recognizing the differences between citizens of immigrant origin and ethnic or religious minorities, these findings do not speak directly about citizens of immigrant origin. However, the results suggest the use of some organizational tools for the promotion of group-specific rules for candidate-selection that might inform the debate on the opportunities citizens of immigrant origin have in political parties.

Beyond formal rules, scholars have recognized that electoral gatekeepers have a strategic role in the recruitment process (Dancygier et al., 2021; Eriksson & Vernby, 2021; Soininen & Qvist, 2021). Gatekeepers may provide a boost to the political ambitions of eligible candidates, and they influence the selection of candidates (Lawless & Fox, 2005). Some studies suggest that the underrepresentation of citizens of immigrant origin is influenced by discrimination through party elites (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995; Soininen, 2011; Soininen & Qvist, 2021). In the case of Sweden, Dancygier et al. (2021) found evidence to suggest that party gatekeepers have placed immigrants on less desirable list positions. By doing so they reduced the chances of citizens with immigrant origin to be elected. Informal networks within parties may be even more difficult to access for ethnic minorities and immigrants, potentially contributing to de-facto discrimination (Soininen, 2011). Hence, the difficulties immigrants might encounter to integrate into the informal networks in the party may hinder their perspectives for political career.

CONCLUSIONS

Scholars examining the descriptive representation of immigrants and their descendants have made significant progress in identifying factors that explain barriers to political careers for citizens of immigrant origin. Nonetheless, there is still lot to learn on the issue of opportunities and constraints for political careers immigrants are facing in European democracies. What we know from existing research is that immigrants are generally less likely to pursue a political career than the relevant reference groups. Also, immigrants that do harbour an ambition for apolitical career face obstacles that have resulted in the underrepresentation of immigrants in parliaments and other democratic representative bodies. The sources of immigrant underrepresentation stem from a variety of factors across a number of levels of analysis. This book chapter provides a review of the most relevant factors at the macro and meso levels of political systems.

Existing findings demonstrate that the political institutions and the framework of political rights for immigrants in the country of residence can have a significant impact on the opportunities immigrants have to be elected as democratic representatives. The policies states have implemented to incorporate and integrate citizens of immigrant origin contribute to a reduction of the representational gap between the share of immigrants in the population and the much smaller proportion of immigrant-origin representatives in elected office. On the meso level of political parties, research suggests that political parties report very few organizational mechanisms for the incorporation of immigrants in their organizations. However, parties are crucial filters, because there is a considerable variation in the level of immigrant descriptive representation amongst the elected officials nominated by these parties. Although the mechanisms political parties use for immigrant incorporation might not be institutionalized as they are for other minorities, they are obviously very powerful. Future research needs to understand better how cross-level interactions between the macro, meso and micro levels account for the descriptive representation of immigrants and their descendants.

APPENDIX

Brief summary of national party rules concerning ethnic or religious minorities and candidate selection.		
Belgium	Democrat Humanist Centre	National executive sets directives regarding balance ethnic origins
Belgium	Ecolo	Statutes specifically mention that the party has to ensure respect and representation of minorities
Belgium	Christian-Democrat and Flemish	Statutes mention the necessity to have a balance of all groups in society on the list
France	Socialist Party	No rules, although party statutes mention that the pool of candidates should reflect the country's 'diversity.'
Netherlands	Labour Party	No strict rules, but are supposed to strive to reflect the diversity in The Netherlands.
Norway	Christian Democratic Party	All of the party's representatives in public office and party officials are committed to and should work for the party's Christian values as defined in Â§1.
Norway	Socialist Left Party	The county branches are encouraged to consider the following in the nomination process: Prioritize minority candidates.
Sweden	Centre Party	The party's procedures requires its nomination committees to take account of various factors, including "diversity" (which means ethnic diversity), in their proposals for party lists.
United Kingdom	Scottish National Party	'The Parliamentary Candidate Vetting and Selection Rules will specify processes for ensuring a balanced list of candidates.' (SNP Constitution, p. 10)
United Kingdom	Liberal Democrats	The Federal LibDems Constitution, 2012,p.30 states: 'In deciding whether to enter an applicant on a list, each State Candidates Committee shall take into account...(c) the need to ensure that the (short-)list contains a reasonable balance between both sexes and different age groups, and includes representatives of different social and economic groups and of ethnic minorities'. It goes on to state (p. 31): 'Subject to there being a sufficient number of applicants of each sex, short lists of two to four must include at least one member of each sex and short lists of five or more must include at least two members of each sex; there must also be due regard for the representation of ethnic minorities.'
United Kingdom	Labour Party	'... targeted action will be taken to increase the representation of women, ethnic minority and disabled members and those from manual and clerical backgrounds on the national panel.' (Rule Book 2010, p. 27).
Source: ***The Political Party Database Project, rounds 1 a and 1b (2010 - 2016)***		

Table 11: *Summary of national party rules concerning ethnic or religious minorities and candidate selection, 2010 – 2016*

Items A92EXCETHTXT and A80CONETHTXT			
	Country	**Political Party**	**Statutory rules about representation of ethnic, linguistic or religious minorities on the party's highest executive body**
1	Norway	Socialist Left Party	Party statutes (Â§ 3-2): Minority representation should be strived for. Party statutes (Â§ 8-2): 2 of the following 10 people will have an ethnic minority background: the 4 ordinary members of the National Executive Committee and the 6 members of the National Council that are elected directly by the party conference.
2	United Kingdom	Labour Party	One member of the NEC is to be elected by the Labour Party Black Socialist Society. This is possible if the membership of the society reaches 2500 and a third of trade unions have affiliated to the society.
	Country	**Political party**	**Statutory rules about representation of ethnicity or languages in selection party congress delegates.**
1	Austria	The Greens	9 members of the sub-organization for ethnic minorities.
2	France	Socialist Party	The statutes indicate that lists should 'try to pay attention to the representation of diversity, notably geographical and sociological, of French society. No specific rule about how this may be implemented
3	Norway	Centre Party	Party statutes (Â§9 - 2): Delegates to the national conference are the party` s MPs in the Sami Parliament, the leaders of the Sami Political Forum in electoral districts, three members of the board of the Sami Political Council.
4	Norway	Socialist Left Party	Party statutes (Â§Â§ 8-2 and 7-3): Among the members of the National Council, which are all delegates, at least two must have ethnic minority background.
5	Sweden	Centre Party	There is a recommendation in the statutes that each election within the party (boards, delegates, external positions of trust and election candidates) should take into account gender, age and ethnicity to create a uniform distribution of assignments and good representativeness.
6	United Kingdom	Labour Party	Members of the Executive Committee of the Black Socialist Society have ex officio representation at the annual Conference.
Source: ***The Political Party Database Project, rounds 1a and 1b (2010 - 2016)***			

Table 12: *Statutory rules about representation of ethnic, linguistic, or religious minorities on the party's highest executive body and party congress delegates, 2010 – 2016*

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PART III
Expatriates' identities, well-being, and embed-dedness

8 Exploring the mobile self: Shifting from monolithic categorisation to dynamic identifications

Kerstin Martel

ABSTRACT

When planning to investigate the topic of *individual identities* through empirical research, a very extensive choice of conceptual and theoretical underpinnings is available. Multiple academic debates in the social sciences and humanities provide distinct perspectives, which sometimes complement each other, but which can as well seem contradictory. Therefore, the specific circumstances, such as those that individuals face when frequently moving in-between places and cultural settings, or across political, institutional and occupational boundaries, require attention when designing 'identity research'. It appears crucial to account for mobile ontologies, i.e., ways of being in the world, which go beyond established life modes in sedentary societies. For example: certain social identity categories, such as social class, gender or profession that are salient in one very particular location, become more or less relevant for the international mover over time, they transform their meaning according to the changing context and to evolving individual situations. Lived experiences, specific events and turning points throughout a life course, such as separations, encounters or professional achievements, become most significant in individual narratives, whereas certain externally ascribed categorizations might fade. Therefore, this chapter draws attention to specificities when studying identities of 'movers', by confronting conceptual framings with paradigmatic changes that are supported by the *mobilities turn*. Whilst building on previous scholarly discussions, I propose to nurture *emic* research perspectives in the future, in order to prevent reductionist and essentializing categorizations of individuals. The here proposed dynamic and multidirectional notion of *mobile identifications* allows for a more thorough understanding of non-linear, non-sedentary individual life courses and, thus, for the appreciation of mobile ontologies.

INTRODUCTION

The quest for a highly qualified workforce resonates stronger than ever across geographies and sectors of activity in various local settings. Representatives of nation states, cities and employing organizations attempt to position locations as appealing places to work and to live, thereby entering into an exasperated competition to attract and retain so-called 'global talent'. Large scale international surveys and rankings evaluate, for example, the 'talent competitiveness' or 'liveability' of countries and cities (EIU, 2021; INSEAD, 2021), and employer branding initiatives try to capture the attention of potential employees at a global scale. Increasingly fragmented talent pools and emerging forms of work relations, such as gig work or platform engagements, are adding to the challenges that employers are facing. Anecdotes about top talents who suddenly resign, in order to settle elsewhere, despite extraordinary compensation packages and utmost promising career trajectories, point to a deficient understanding of "who these international movers really are", as practitioners point out. Indeed, analytical classifications of the international workforce in global mobility studies neglect at times to conceive of identities as dynamic assemblages that are 'in flux' and that lead to *ephemeral identifications*. Essentializing accounts of, for example, national identities or professions limit our comprehension and research horizons. Fixed categorizations of "mover types" can lead to distortions, as they might fail to provide a deeper understanding of a person's *situated belongingness* and relatedness to mobility itself.

What does it take to grasp transnational, 'neo-nomadic' life courses, such as labelled by d'Andrea (2006), in all their specificities and contemporary complexities? How can researchers and practitioners foster their understanding about what is commonly referred to as 'identities' of international movers? Comprehending what one could call 'mobile identities' is an endeavour that does not solely require the critical questioning of static, monolithic identity conceptualizations and underlying theoretical assumptions. First and foremost, broader analytical perspectives, beyond the individual as stand-alone psychological entity, may allow for more extensive explorations and provide thorough socio-anthropological and processual insights (Salazar, 2018). When elucidating life-courses characterized by repeat-mobilities, organizations and other 'social fields' (Levitt & Schiller, 2004), it appears crucial to embrace relational and affective ties across places and beyond organizationally constructed rationales or social norms. This means that the investigation of professional and geographical moves and its evolution over time entails more than condensing apparent features, which can be retrieved from employment data or individual curricula vitae, i.e., through an *etic* approach. Locations, time periods in-between moves, professional positions or frequency of moves can certainly give an indication about 'mobility patterns' and 'global career types' (Dickmann et al., 2018). In addition, social identity categories such as nationality, gender, family status or educational degrees are handy analytical filters, that are often leveraged to circumscribe individual identities, such as demonstrated by Briscoe and colleagues (Briscoe et al., 2018). When complementing such analytical segmentation with cognitive rationales about 'motivations to move', as retrieved in large scale surveys and in various sorts of psychological profiling, the typification of international movers allows, indeed, for general distinctions. However, the resulting ascribed categorizations, conceal the very *mean-*

ing that individuals attribute to their own moves and to nomadic life modes, beyond normatively encouraged scripts that focus on mobilities as a means to achieve "career success", "job performance" or a "global mindset" (Cerdin & Pargneux, 2009; Ramsey et al., 2016; Zhao & Zhou, 2020). Analytical categorizations tend, thus, to reproduce normative, sedentary expectations, thereby limiting the possibility to generate novel insights with regards to mobility-related specificities. They prevent recognizing international movers as distinct societal group, whose world views and views of themselves are marked by their experiences.

Moreover, the organizational context with its career opportunities and its demand for geographical mobility, coincides with socio-economic and political macro environments, as well as with individual life spheres, both of which are constitutive for the international mover's lived experiences and, thus, identifications. As physical moves reinforce the need to face negotiations and arbitrages across multiple life spheres, or "domains of existence" (Bertaux, 2016), individuals are forced to reflect on the *meaningfulness* of their moves and mobile lives in an intersubjective manner, in close relation to "significant Others" (Mead, 1932). Mobility choices are not merely rationale and they are not made in a void. They emerge through dense, entangled life situations and lived experiences 'on the move'. Indeed, the attribution of meaning, as well as *identifications* are influenced by family histories and interactions in context. As Salazar reminds us, mobility research "calls attention to the myriad ways in which people become parts of translocal networks and linkages" (2018, p. 2), and thus, it demands for research epistemologies that consider movement as a social process, which dynamically enacts a person's rapport to the world, to life in general and to work more specifically. Therefore, rather than attempting to explain mobility rationales through an *etic* approach, from an outside perspective, I suggest that an *emic* approach towards "mobile identities" seems more sensible. Such a perspective allows for thick descriptions, whilst giving room for unexpected individual narratives to emerge.

Accounting for the grand diversity of individual life courses and *identifications* which transpire or evaporate along the way, involves to empathetically dive into spheres of mobility, movement and trans-locality and to understand how they are lived by those who are close to it, who are in it and into it. Therefore, rather than conceptualizing *identity* as a static construct or a substance that one can attribute, possess or lose, I propose ways to explore the everchanging assemblage of experiences and events, of encounters that affect the "mobile self", whilst moving physically or imaginarily. Inspired by Villesèche and colleagues (Holck et al., 2016; Villesèche et al., 2018) who explore the relevance of different paradigmatic perspectives on 'identity' for determining adequate diversity, equity and inclusion policies, this essay attempts to propose a more fluid, processual conceptualization of identities in global mobility studies. The goal is to understand *identifications* and their temporal, spatial or situational expressions inductively, without imposing belongingness to pre-defined identity categories and groups (nationality, gender, profession). By paying attention to *how* certain situations and events of international mobility unfold in conversations with international movers, by tracing their ways of attributing *mean*ing and by noting *affective turns* in narratives, one might observe adherence or alienations and therefore generate dense insights. When analysing conversations with movers, it appears helpful to proceed in an iterative manner and to go beyond addressed themes. This allows to reflect on processes and loops that emerge from individual narratives and which point to *multidirectional modes of identification*.

Global mobility practitioners and service providers who accompany individual geographic 'relocations' in various ways, might likewise benefit from momentarily stepping-back from conventional assumptions and operational jargon, whilst nurturing an empathetic understanding of movers. This again would allow to develop additional support services for movers at pivotal stages of their lives. Overall, it appears insufficient and largely unsatisfactory to categorize and to point out commonalities and differences amongst those who are moving or are being moved: despite their similarities they are not alike, despite their distinctive traits and ventures they are connected in manifold ways. Thus, to gain more nuanced insights for theory and praxis, I wish to encourage future investigations on *what it means* for individuals to move, how mobilities *affect* movers and their life and work modes. As follows, I expose different disciplinary understandings of identity and identifications, whilst addressing the limitations of static identity categorizations when it comes to comprehending the mobile self, mobility experiences and related world views. Overall, in the light of future investigations, I wish to draw the reader's attention to alternative perspectives and epistemologies that may provide a deeper understanding of *mobile ontologies* for the field of global mobility research and praxis.

STATIC IDENTITY CONCEPTUALISATIONS ARE NOT FLAWLESS – BUT WHAT ARE THE ALTERNATIVES?

Management and organisation scholars note the inflationary use of the term identity when stating for example that "identity is one of the most popular topics in contemporary organization studies" (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003, p. 1163). Echoing these voices, Corlett and colleagues (2017) recently re-iterated a call to further critically engage with the registers that constitute our own disciplinary assumptions on identity. Others encourage to steadily interrogate and problematize believes and restraining classifications of identity in management and organization studies, by building on well-established knowledge from other disciplines (Coupland & Brown, 2012; Knights & Clarke, 2017). In response to their call, I suggest to not only build the understanding of "mobile identities" on recent studies in the applied sciences, such as migration or management and organization studies, but to pay tribute to decades of socio-anthropological work that addresses globalization related phenomena in late modern societies. Over the past decades social scientists have conducted various debates about the theoretical value, the conceptual clarity, as well as the empirical applicability of the concept "identity". The extensive range of interpretations and applications of the term is due, amongst others, to distinct contextual frames, political influences and different philosophical underpinnings. This article does not allow to explicate paradigmatic distinctions in detail, nonetheless it seems crucial to point to a few conceptualisations that give ground for many contemporary discussions, when exploring empirical implications of the notion "identity" in general and in the context of human mobilities more specifically. Scholars like Descombes (2013), Jenkins (2008) or Sen (2006) encourage us to more systematically reflect on the concept of identity and to explore meanings and underlying assumptions of identity concepts for a specific context and for distinct phenomena, before leveraging them for empirical research or theorizing. The following brief review shall therefore initiate further critical reflections and help to "interrogate the underlying assumptions [regarding identity] rather than re-producing them", as postulated by Corlett and colleagues (2017, p. 351).

Indeed, from a psychological perspective a person's self-concept embraces intra-personal aspects of the self, including values and beliefs, preferences and habits, traits and aptitudes, that make the individual feel distinct from others (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1991; Schwartz et al., 2010). However, one cannot neglect the *social dimension of identity*, the human need to identify with other human beings, to identify with a group or belong to a community, where intra-personal aspects resonate within a collective. Social identity is therefore as much about commonalities as about distinctiveness and difference, or, in Jenkin's words "differences and similarities are implicit in one another; one does not make sense without the other (Jenkins, 1996, pp. 3-5). Understanding identity and identification therefore entails to account for social processes and interactions, as well as for its meaning for "the self". Despite the general agreement about the social dimension of identity, its empirical applications differ across research traditions and according to epistemological assumptions within study fields. Neighbouring disciplines, such as psychology and social psychology relate to distinct, but nonetheless interrelated terminologies. Erikson's (1972) psychological theory on individual psychological development is, for example, built around the concept of a "threefold identity", that corresponds to psychoanalytical perspectives: the identity of the self ('ego'), the personal identity (integration of context) and the group identity (feeling of belonging). He distinguishes between external, "objective" identity marks and individually experienced "subjective" identity marks, which reflects the traditional dualism in Western thought as fostered historically by Descartes and Humes. It seems important to note though that Erikson conceptualises identity as a dynamic process of co-construction and mutual recognition between society and the individual.

In the European tradition of social psychology, social identity theory (SIT) is the most broadly known and frequently cited paradigm in management studies. It coins the notion of "identity", rather than "self" and encourages to explore group interrelations and collectively shared identities (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986; Turner & Reynolds, 2001). Social identity in SIT is being defined as ''that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership'' (Tajfel, 1978, p. 63). This tradition further distinguishes "personal identity" and "social identity" marks in self-categorization theory (SCT) (Turner, 1982; Turner et al., 1987). In comparison, Northern American social psychologists (Burke & Stets, 1999; McCall & Simmons, 1966; Stryker & Serpe, 1982) rather refer to the notion of "self" than "identity" and emphasise the importance of exploring "the self in context", drawing on pragmatist, symbolic interactionalist and social behaviourist thought of the Chicago school (James, Dewey, Mead & Blumer). This tradition pays thereby greater attention to situational influences and its inter-relatedness with internal dynamics, by examining "how social structures affect the structure of self and how structure of the self-influences social behaviour" (Stryker & Burke, 2000, p. 285). Thus, in symbolic interactionism self-awareness and self-images do play a crucial role in mediating all kinds of social relationships and human interactions. Vice versa, social interactions and communication are conceptualised as constitutive for meaning making amongst actors, leading, for example, to closer social ties or to labelling the other (Mead, 1934). Brubaker and Cooper (2000), further insist on relational and processual characteristics, and prefer therefore referring to identifications and categorizations, rather than identity. When claiming that identifications are "intrinsic to social life", they oppose earlier structuralist logics of identity. They reiterate, "how one identifies oneself and how one is identified by others may vary greatly from context to context; self- and other-identification are fundamentally situational and contextual." (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000, p. 14). Moreover, sociologists recognize that an individual might refer to collective social identities, such as nationality, ethnicity, age or gender at times, however, complex and dynamic social interactions, such as mobilities and migrations, contribute to the dissemination, hybridization or confluence of cultural traits and make these categories more or less salient (Axelrod, 1997; Cuche, 1996; Dagnino, 2015; Wikan, 2002). Consequently, increasing fragmentations of life modes and life courses in contemporary societies leads scholars to reflect on individual identities beyond the opposition of structure and agency, by recognizing the fluidity and ephemeral nature of identifications and, thus, of the "mobile self".

Furthermore, hypermodernity and neoliberalism offer, according to post-structuralist thought, an increasing choice and infinite possibilities for individuals to compose with these choices, towards a plurality of existence, as Foucault suggests, where the individual becomes more and more autonomous, reinventing new modes of existence, beyond institutional systems. The late modern being is comprehended as multiple, complex and continuously evolving in its rapport not only to the world, but as well to the self (Baumann, 2005; Lahire, 1998; Maffesoli, 2016). Such contemporary societal complexities, paired with the megatrend of globalization, demand greater reflexivity from individuals, in order to understand and give meaning to their lived experiences. Socio-anthropologists confirm, indeed, the transformation of ways of being and ways of belonging (Levitt & Schiller, 2004) through globalization and migration and observe the advent of more complex social and personal identities. On the other side, for Hannerz (1990), belonging to a "world culture" opens one unique network of social relationships, favours interconnectedness and lets "collective structures of meaning" emerge (1990, p. 239). Abélès (2008) likewise observes individual perceptions of belonging to a global world, beyond attachments to territories or cultural identities, whereas Appadurai (1990) calls out deeply perspectival constructions, "inflected by historical, linguistic and political situatedness of different sorts of actors." (1990, p. 296).

As this brief review illustrates, there are manifold ways of analysing and interpreting individual identities and the "self" in context. Yuval-Davis (2010) underlines quite rightly that the use of different theories of identity is complementary and that it "can add to, rather than detract from, its validity, as long as their boundaries in specific social contexts remain clear." In the given context it seems therefore important to interpret different conceptualizations of identity under consideration of the very phenomenon of 'mobility', where specific research problems guide our reflections about their empirical utility. I therefore suggest retaining the interactional and processual character of identifications in context when exploring highly fragmented and possibly ephemeral identifications and categorizations.

CONCEIVING OF "MOBILE IDENTITIES": SHIFTING FROM THE MONOLITHIC TO THE POLYPHONIC

Although sedentariness is deemed to be the societal norm, the ways in which social identities are constructed through discursive practice, in and to the benefit of local settings and populations, are not necessarily universally applicable. Indeed, locations where the majority of people stays in or nearby a specific location and socio-cultural setting throughout a lifetime may provide rather stable societal and identitarian conditions. In such a setting one may identify others as a member of a particular social class, a professional guild, an organization or a religious or ethnic community, as Lahire (1998) conveys. Perceptible identifiers, such as apparel, chosen words, dialects, or traditions and rituals do not only orient the observer, but they likewise guide individuals' identifications with a social group. However, someone who moves to a given local setting "from the outside", and who even might move on to other places at a later stage, does not necessarily know and understand culture specific meanings in the same way as "locals". From a sociological standpoint and along with Bourdieuan theorizing, they do rarely possess the needed social, cultural nor symbolic capital (cf. Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). To start with, she or he is perceived and probably classified as the newcomer, the foreigner, the stranger. In addition, someone who newly settles in is not as easily "readable" by local fellows and not easily categorizable according to local standards, which may affect self-identifications and potentially broaden the options for "identity strategies" (Pierre, 2003). Under these circumstances, conceptualizing identity as a solid and substantial core of a person's selfhood seems to be somewhat illusionary in fluctuating settings, even more so when the phenomenon of individual movement comes into play: be it social class mobility, occupational or geographical mobility. When movement across borders or socially constructed boundaries of any kind occurs, individuals are exposed to new situations and they interact in unfamiliar settings. They are simultaneously dissolving and fostering relational ties, they may distance themselves from some groups wile adhering to others, which means that identifications are oscillating accordingly. As sociological studies show, the sphere of action and agency of individuals who move between different social or professional domains manifests in intertwined, intersubjective affinities and relations (Sainsaulieu, 2001). Personal resources and experiences are brought into play in unfamiliar settings and allow the individual to identify, or not, with the other in a very specific situation and context.

As stated earlier, in a hypermodern context marked by economic, social and cultural globalisation, by international migration and instant worldwide communication, individuals and groups are increasingly exposed to the Other: unfamiliar life modes, dress codes, modes of interaction and communication in private and professional spheres seemingly intertwine and hybridize with the familiar. While, at the surface, life and work styles across national borders have become more similar, individuals have to continuously arrange with distinct conditions and societal expectations in their local environments and across different life spheres and spaces, as anthropologists demonstrate (Appadurai, 1996; Augé, 2008; Hannerz, 1990). Movers re-invent their life modes, re-articulate who they are and how they narrate their choices and encounters: in a polyphonic and dynamic way, to exist or to resist, as Glissant (1981, 1990) suggests. They multiply their identifications across national and cultural boundaries and develop identity strategies in a more or less conscious manner (Camilleri, 1992; Camilleri et al., 1998; Pierre, 2003), be it in the case of physical or imaginary mobilities. Strategies and relationalities of the mobile individual are multi-layered and in continuous flux, rather than inert. They are constituted and applied translocationally (Anthias, 2012) and situationally.

Whilst constraints, as well as opportunities, are said to emerge from multiscalar contexts, which are imposed on international movers along the transnational chain (Dahinden, 2017), the degree of individual agency to create and develop "identities" remains equivocal. Environmental factors and macro contexts, such as migration regimes or migrant status in a society may favour or inhibit identifications with a place or a nation state and thereby affect ways and feelings of belonging – momentously or constantly. However, only few management scholars investigate processes of mobile identifications beyond static categorizations. Özkazanc-Pan (2019a) confirms that "mobile ontology has yet to impact the ways in which management and organization studies as a scholarly field conceptualizes and studies people, difference and work contexts." (2019, p. 478). Calás et al. (2013), as well as Özkazanc-Pan and Calás (2015), attempt developing a "mobile ontology" from a transnational lens, articulating an optimistic vision of the "mobile self". Indeed, management scholars tend to refer to identity in mobility situations rather in precarious terms, for example when reifying identity as something that is "threatened" (Collins & Bertone, 2017; Petriglieri, 2011), that can "get lost" (McNulty, 2012; McNulty & Moeller, 2017; Shaffer & Harrison, 2001) or is "sacrificed" and "relinquished" (Salomaa, 2018) through international moves.

In order to determine how to conceptualize identities in global mobility studies and how to empirically explore categorizations and identifications of the "mobile self", research epistemologies condition further choices. As such, deductive, explanatory approaches require to establish analytical categories, for example to define associated sampling criteria and to demonstrate how specific "groups" act, decide, move etc. Standardised categorizations allow to a certain extent for comparative studies, such as country comparisons or large-scale longitudinal studies. However, the very grouping of individuals under specific categories in functionalist approaches derives often from a jargon that has developed historically and is strongly influenced by research scales and perspectives, often marked by the lens of the nation-state (macro) or the organizational (meso) lens. With regards to organizational perspectives on global mobility of individuals, one can observe a well-established jargon. However, certain categorizations such as 're-pat', 'inpat', 'expat', 'local+' or permanent transfer are mainly adequate when organizing contractual, compensational or visa schemes administratively. They are poor guides though, when it comes to enlightening the black boxes of mobile life modes from a socio-anthropological perspective, as they omit underlying processual and interactionist dimensions beyond the organizational sphere.

In this regard, McPhail et al. (2012), in line with Cappellen and Janssens (2005), call for recognizing the diversity of international profiles and the variety of social groups and mobility constellations, for a better understanding of distinct needs that occur, for example, within a pool of 'expatriate managers'. Likewise, contemporary typologies that designate international movers on a macro scale as, for example "qualified migrants", reflect economic and political interests as well as legal regimes. Moreover, categorizations in public discourses point to the entanglements between state and economy and have thereby a performative function (cf. Martel, forthcoming). Categories like "migrant", "refugee" or "asylum seeker" have been discursively established over time, but they often leave micro-sociological specificities and individual life courses and constellations aside, which limits alternative segmentations and novel insights. Thereby, semantics, as well as the politico-historical emergence of categorizations deserve to be taken into account (Espahangizi, 2022), so that underlying assumptions become explicit and ascribed social categories, as well as analytical categories can be adjusted accordingly.

Some scholars demonstrate empirically that externally ascribed categories, such as nationality, are not always present nor systematically decisive for individual meaning creation in multicultural settings (Muhr & Lemmergard, 2011). Nonetheless, numerous studies in management and organization studies still tend to ventilate results according to nationality - an approach that anthropologists Wimmer and Glick-Schiller (2003) describe as "methodological nationalism". This does not only provoke stereotypical constructions of the "Other", as well as potential power inequalities in organizations (Barmeyer & Mayrhofer, 2010; Mahadevan, 2011), but it simply assumes without questioning that 'national identity' is central for individual identifications. In order to prevent "methodological nationalism" and other essentializing assumptions, migration and mobility scholars propose indeed alternative epistemologies. Inductive-abductive, socio-anthropological studies require to elaborate research approaches that allow to describe, interpret and comprehend empirical expressions of 'identity', by replacing the concept with analytical cognates, such as belonging, or similar concepts that account for relationality (Dahinden, 2017; Davis et al., 2018). Moreover, Anthias (2012, 2018) proposes to use the notions of location and positionality as they are narrated by international movers. Together with Ghorashi (2004) she affirms that belonging can be trans-locational and that a person can identify with several national, cultural or ethnic identities at the same time. Both scholars leverage location as analytical device, in order to avoid ascribing fixed, standard categorizations to their research subjects. In a similar way, other scholars propose to use the very phenomenon of "mobility" as analytical devise, in order to go beyond sedentarily marked social categorizations. As Salazar quite rightly summarizes, "mobility invites us to renew our theorizing, especially regarding conventional themes such as culture, identity, and transnational relationships" (2011, p. 576).

EXPLORING "MOBILE IDENTIFICATIONS": METHODOLOGICAL HINTS AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

Elliott and Urry (2010) confirm that "the paradigm of mobilities is becoming increasingly central to contemporary identity formation and re-formation", for the sedentary as well as for the mobile individual. Thus, physical mobilities and transnational moves constitute individual realities, self-identifications and perceptions of time, place and of the Other (Augé, 2008; Rosa, 2012). Especially for those who have personal or professional ties and activities in other places around the world, the representations that are ascribed to foreigners and newcomers, such as stigmatizing and categoric identifications can be either reflexively embraced, remain unconscious or be leveraged strategically. Adopting a "mobilities" lens, we can assume that historically or socially constructed categories, like "national identity" may alter their meanings for the transnational mover. How exactly individuals relate to such constructs deserves being explored by taking on the movers' perspective, i.e., an emic research approach. In addition, by experiencing mobility oneself, as global mobility manager or as a researcher, one can enrich understanding and "thicken" descriptions through auto-ethnographic complements, as per Geertz (2000) and as demonstrated by Salazar's (2018).

When initiating research on mobile identifications and ways of belonging, it seems sensible to take a glance at the broader context in order to better comprehend the specific environment of the target sample. How do public, academic, and organizational discourses classify the research subject in a specific spatio-temporal, political or organizational context? What labels are discursively performed and applied from the outside within a given setting, for example the "country of destination" - in the local language and in English? Furthermore, in order to understand processes, loops and oscillations of self-identification of the internationally mobile individual, to grasp "ways of belonging" and "ways of being" (Levitt & Schiller, 2004) of the transnationally acting professional, it seems crucial to recognize along with Callás and colleagues (2013) that the meanings of socially ascribed categorizations such as gender, ethnicity or class change as they travel. This means social identity categories that are projected, for example on foreign workers, depend on societal and cultural norms and traditions. This shows what I propose to call the *dynamic and multidirectional* nature of mobile identifications. According to distinct situations and different societal and cultural backgrounds across locations, individuals are subjected to a multitude of possibly contradicting meanings and interpretations of categories they are subjected to. In addition, while being on the move or settling abroad, individuals are regularly exposed to more or less stigmatizing public discourses or historical and ethical discriminations. This needs to be considered in empirical studies as well as in organizations. By leveraging "mobility" as analytical device, researchers and practitioners can explore how individuals experience their journeys, without referring to standard categorizations that have been forged through a sedentary lens. In conversational settings this means for example to ask for "how" a person experiences / experienced the arrival in a new setting after a move, rather than suggestive questioning, such as "do you rather identify with your home country or your host country?" - For practitioners in multinational organizations this calls attention to the socio-cultural *elasticity of social categorization*s, which needs to be considered in global diversity, equity and inclusion policies.

Thus, the distinction of analytical categories versus categories of practice can be a helpful step towards a deeper understanding of mobile subjectivities. In line with Bourdieu (1977) and Brubaker and Cooper (2000) we can distinguish between *analytical categories*, which are statically applied, such as gender, nationality, age or social class, and so-called *categories of practice* which are enacted and interpreted in social interactions: "categories of practice", as coined by Bourdieu, are "categories of everyday social experience, developed and deployed by ordinary social actors, as distinguished from the experience-distant categories used by social analysts (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000, p. 4). As discussed, labels and categorizations might, nonetheless, be strategically deployed by the individual when narrating mobility experiences. Nonetheless the researcher can ask to reformulate or to further describe what is meant by such or such label. This allows for novel insights on the understanding of the "mobile self" to emerge inductively. Most importantly, during the research phases of data analysis, thematic coding and data interpretation the utilization of specific self-describing categories needs to be related to the situational, cultural and temporal context. The so gained insights go not only beyond standard social categorizations, but beyond the conceptualization of the individual as psychological entity. Through individual narratives one can derive a better comprehension of immediate and extended relationalities and belonging and about societal processes of moving and settling more broadly.

As suggested, an *emic* research approach (Pike, 1993) allows to account for processes of self-identification as they are lived, experienced and narrated by the transnationally mobile individual. For researchers this implies to ask for significant situations and events, meaningful places and encounters, for shifts and turning points that were memorable for the person. Throughout one or several conversations the researcher can explore ways in which movers identify cognitively and affectively with places, people, objects or situations. It allows to sense the person's way of being in the world, of relating to mobility in general and their motions and emotions more intimately. It is worth noting that when applying an emic approach, research questions that aim at exploring mobile identifications shall be detached from analytical categorizations and sedentary, normative reasoning, as mentioned earlier. Similarly, sampling criteria such as nationality, social class or hierarchical position may limit the richness of cases and lived experiences and distort the choice of research subjects to the benefit of those that are "easily categorizable". A purposive sampling approach appears more adequate, as it seeks to identify cases that are extreme in terms of the phenomenon of interest. In our case the phenomenon could for example be described as "life and work courses marked by transnational mobility". As suggested by Patton (2001), extreme cases that are identified through purposive sampling augment the chances of retrieving information-rich data and unexpected insights. The same applies for questions that may guide an open and trustful conversation with the research subject: without referring to analytical categorizations (such as expatriate, labour migrant, returnee or foreigner) and without pointing to social identity categories (worker, manage, engineer, mother) the interlocutor will be given room to narrate in her or his own way. It allows for categories of practice and terms to emerge, as they are used by the individual to self-describe and to describe others. Moreover, concepts that are subjected to different interpretations (e.g., performance, success) or that are outmost abstract (identity, integration) may reproduce employers' perspectives and meta-narratives, which is misleading, when trying to understand the perspective of the person in front of us. Empathetic comprehension will emerge by genuinely listening and attempting to understand meaningful instances, narrated choices and relational entanglements.

CONCLUSION

As discussed, scholars in the field of migration studies have been reiterating for many years the need to avoid essentialist identity conceptualisations and methodological nationalism. Numerous are those who assert that nation state centred perspectives and instrumental, functionalist research paradigms limit scholarly horizons for knowledge creation, oversimplify social realities and distort research insights. Indeed, as the present essay demonstrates, the rapport of an international mover to a place, such as the country of origin or country of residence, is not simply a function of binary linkages between the individual and a location, or between an employee and a subsidiary of a multinational corporation. It entails the contingencies of macro environments, of trans-locational social linkages and networks, of boundary crossings, as well as memories of encounters, significant events and turning points along a life course. This affects not only individual self-identifications and world views, but as well the meaning of work and the personal, momentary rapport to an organization or a profession. As the population of international movers is increasingly translocationally entangled, it is crucial to suspend organization-centered or state-centered logics in global mobility research. Clustering research populations around monolithic categories, such as country of origin / nationality, "repat", "expat" or "international transfer", appears misleading, when attempting to understand various mobility constellations and the meaning of movement for the future global workforce.

Global mobility practitioners can benefit from exploring "the mobile self", i.e. the international employee, without necessarily aspiring to grasp all the complexities of contemporary mobile life modes and identifications to a full extent. When conducting conversations with international movers during empirical studies, I frequently encounter comments such as "This was the first time I ever spoke about my moves, thank you for asking." Making the effort to ask questions, even as global mobility or talent manager, such as "what were the encounters / moments that were most significant during your assignment abroad" or "how do you think that moving to different places has changed the way you see our organization?" allow to go beyond relocation logistics and career related talks and, thus, open-up for novel, qualitative insights that are substantial for strategic talent management. It allows to derive an understanding about potential future intentions and aspirations of individuals, but most importantly it allows to establish organizational learning processes, in times where a grand variety of alternative work relationships and professional pathways is on the rise.

Potential employees, with 'atypical' pathways and neo-nomadic life courses, seemingly by-pass classical societal expectations and social hierarchies of class, professional status and other sedentary rationales that are rooted in local employment relations within the boundaries of the nation state. International movers are "newcomers" from the point of view of the local, sedentary host populations. But they are as well accustomed re-settlers, for whom the meanings of the new places transcend local realities. To explore these realities shall be our research aspiration. They might be identified as but cannot necessarily identify with certain groups. Approaching human mobilities with regards to a start and an end point, e.g. a country of origin and a country of destination, prevents us from acknowledging spaces of in-betweenness and liminal identifications. Instead, by exploring the movement and the distances that movers are experiencing, be it spatial, temporal, cultural or metaphysical, orients investigations towards the continuous process of individual becoming, a route with a direction, but no distinct destination.

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9 Understanding work well-being during COVID-19 pandemic: A study in expatriates and non-expatriates

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ABSTRACT

The study aims at analyzing the relationship between perceived contextual demands, workplace support and work well-being (job exhaustion and work engagement) during the COVID-19 pandemic. This study draws on the Job Demands–Resources (JD-R) model to examine the role of perceived contextual demands and workplace support in explaining degree of job exhaustion and work engagement that employees experience due to the COVID-19 crisis. Moreover, this research examines whether the effect of perceived contextual demands and workplace support in explaining degree of job exhaustion and work engagement can be moderated by expatriate status, that is if the employees are living in their home country or abroad on an assignment. Data have been obtained from sample of 219 members of Finnish trade unions, living in Finland and abroad at the time of answering the questionnaire (June-October, 2020). Our model is investigated using multiple linear regression analysis and the results provided support for the association between perceived contextual demands and job exhaustion. While organizational support is related to increased work engagement, supervisor support is linked with reduction of job exhaustion. Expatriate status (expat/non-expatriates) moderates the positive relationship between organizational support and work engagement, indicating that expatriates receiving more organizational support tend to show better work engagement. The study widens the scope and relevance of global mobility studies during pandemic conditions, providing an overview of employee behaviour under crises and gives organizations an opportunity to be prepared for risky scenarios.

INTRODUCTION

The COVID-19 pandemic has caused a global crisis affecting lives in unprecedented ways. The crisis has brought upon severe consequences on world economy and have produced unique challenges for employees around the world (Kniffin et al., 2021). To maintain business as usual, global organizations had to change their operation strategies by introducing remote work possibilities through teleworking (Anderson & Kelliher, 2020). According to a statistic by International Monetary Fund (2020), the global labour market growth has been contracted by more than 4 percent in 2020, indicating millions of layoffs. This shock has exposed employees towards the risk of developing high stress and anxiety.

While the pandemic has affected both domestic and international employees alike, expatriates are arguably more vulnerable to crises being located far away from the comforts and familiarities of their home country (McNulty et al., 2019). Crises can be defined as an unexpected, unpredictable, and undesirable event caused due to an uncertain reason (Lerbinger, 2012). Crises may lead an organization into "disrepute and imperils its future" (Parry-Jones et al., 2017). Such events tend to cause stress, anxiety and reduced well-being among employees (Fee et al., 2013; Lerbinger, 2012). Even though international assignments are perceived as glamorous and attractive, several aspects of the job are associated with extremely high professional and personal challenges affecting expatriates' health conditions significantly. Apart from health-related impacts of the pandemic, employees' perceptions about living in a foreign country for work in the time of crisis is a thing for concern. Their perception of the living conditions and the resources available can have poorer consequences for different aspects of subjective well-being. The primary objective of this chapter is to analyse the effect of stressful conditions posed by the pandemic in global work context, especially impact on well-being measures (in terms of job exhaustion and work engagement) using the job demands-resources (JD-R) framework. Another objective of the study is to compare the perceptions of expatriates and non-expatriates on job exhaustion and work engagement.

GLOBAL WORK IN TIMES OF CRISES

The uncertain situations arising from the crisis has affected psychological well-being (Garfin et al., 2020; Satici et al., 2020) and psychological stress and depression among the population (Atalan, 2020). With the increased regulations for limited mobility through travel bans and closed international borders, it can be assumed that expatriates are greatly affected by the pandemic (Caligiuri et al., 2020). This research studies "expatriates" in a broader sense that includes employees assigned by parent organizations (assigned expatriates) and people who have moved to a foreign country for work on their own accord (self-initiated expatriates).

Earlier studies have highlighted that expatriates face a "high-pressure situation" at work (Haslberger et al., 2013, p. 333): learning a new language, familiarizing with the new work regulations, adjusting to the nuances of work culture, adapting to cultural differences, maintaining job performance as well as personal/family integration issues (Shaffer & Harrison, 1998; Stoermer et al., 2020). Additional stress arising from external risky situations such as the pandemic can often lead to reduced well-being for instance, reflecting into their engagement at work (see Walter et al., 2011) and burnout.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The job demands-resources model

The JD-R model describes every job has its own characteristics, job demands and resources. *Job demands* (e.g., time pressure, emotional workload, problems in physical work environment) may lead to resource loss, such as health problems and burnout, whereas *job resources* (e.g., work autonomy, support from organization etc.) are associated with resource gain leading to well-being and work motivation.

Job demands are aspects of the job that are negatively valued and requires physical and/or psychological effort from employees, leading to ill-health process (Kinnunen et al., 2011). One of the underlying effects of the theory assumes that high job demands can initiate ill-health or health-impairment pathways by depleting crucial energy and lead to negative work outcomes like burnout and poorer health (Bakker & Demerouti, 2017). Job resources, on the other hand, refers to the physical, psychological, social, or organizational aspects of the job that are of positive effect and is functional to achieve work goals and deal with job demands, (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007). Having sufficient job resources leads via the motivational process to well-being and positive organizational outcomes like improved work engagement (Schaufeli & Taris, 2014). *Figure 3* presents our full model:

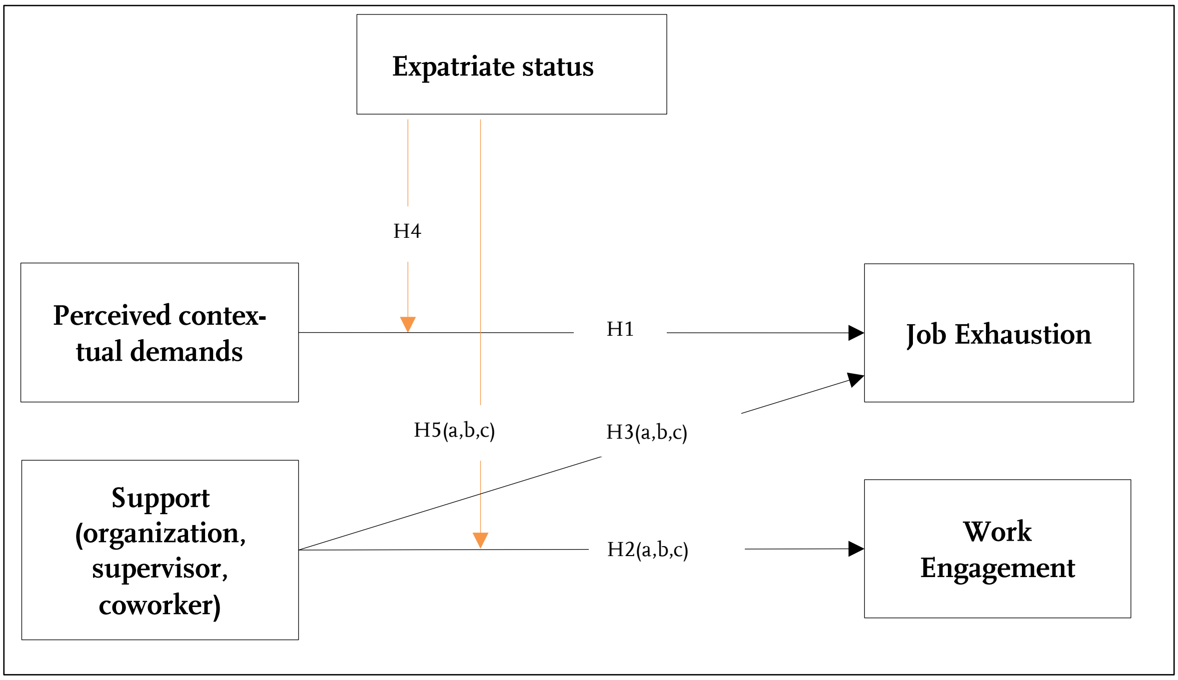

Figure 3: *Theoretical model.*

In this study, researchers identify stressful living condition as contextualized demands from living environment and workplace support as job resource for employees. Perceived contextual demands are referred to as the challenging and emotionally demanding situations that expatriates face while living in the foreign locations (see Caligiuri, 2000; Haslberger et al., 2013). These demands include concerns about health and safety infrastructures in the host location where the expatriates experience adverse living environment. Support from work domain or workplace support includes support provided from the host organization, from the supervisor, and from co-workers. The study draws on the Job Demands–Resources (JD-R) (Bakker & Demerouti, 2017) model to understand the influence of perceived contextual demands and workplace support on job exhaustion and work engagement.

Job exhaustion can be defined as the felling of strain and chronic fatigue resulting from arduous and taxing work and is usually conceptualized as a key element of burnout (Maslach et al., 1996). Work engagement is a positive state of mind associated with work related well-being, characterized by vigour, dedication, and absorption in work (Schaufeli et al., 2002). Work-related vigour is a key dimension of work engagement (see Maslach et al., 1996; Shirom, 2010) and is studied with special interest in this research. Work engagement act as important resource that individuals working in a challenging environment can apply in adjusting to a new role or maintaining a high-performance level (Hemmasi & Downes, 2013; Vromans & van Engen, 2013).

Employees working in demanding high-risk work environments tend to experience psychological and mental concerns evoking health impairment process in them (Nahrgang et al., 2011). Job demands linked with perceived risks often lead to exhaustion (Leiter, 2005) and this is especially true for the concerns regarding the traumatic events related to COVID-19 pandemic (see Ekpanyaskul & Padungtod, 2021). The concerns of health and safety protocols associated with the high-risk pandemic environment should have a direct and positive correlation with job exhaustion.

Hypothesis 1: Perceived contextual demands is positively associated with job exhaustion.

Resources like supportive measures from employees' organizations, supervisors and work network would help maintaining their well-being amid distressing times. Empirical studies have found workplace support as antecedent for work engagement (Saks, 2006, 2019). Adequate levels of workplace support have positive effects on work engagement (see Isakovic & Whitman, 2019) and is an important resource for the employees reflecting their organizational commitment (Kim et al., 2016). Organizational support and supervisor support are found to have positive association with work engagement in employees (Biggs et al., 2014; Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002; Villotti et al., 2014). Recent empirical investigation has confirmed similar associations in expatriate employees (see Arokiasamy, 2021). Several studies have demonstrated the importance of co-worker support on employee work engagement (Ahmed et al., 2019; Halbesleben, 2010; Christian et al., 201; Nasurdin et al., 2018).

> *Hypothesis 2:* Workplace support – in terms of organizational support (H2a), supervisor support (H2b), co-worker support (H2c) – is positively related to work engagement.

Recent studies highlighted the importance of organizational support on dealing with novel demands at work produced by COVID-19 (Eisenberger et al., 2020). Job resources like workplace support should help in reducing the negative effects of job exhaustion (see Bakker et al., 2004; Hakanen, Bakker, & Schaufeli, 2006). Empirical evidence suggest perceived organizational support helps employees to adjust to demanding situations (see Armstrong-Stassen, 2004; Baran et al., 2012) and is inversely associated with exhaustion (Armstrong-Stassen et al., 1998). Support from supervisor seems to reduce exhaustion by helping employees to cope with adverse conditions (see Charoensukmongkol & Phungsoonthorn, 2021; Tayfur & Arslan, 2013).

Studies have demonstrated the negative relationship between co-worker support and exhaustion such that greater co-worker support is linked with lower levels of exhaustion (Ducharme et al., 2007). We predict that workplace support will be negatively related to exhaustion.

> *Hypothesis 3:* Workplace support – organizational support (H3a), supervisor support (H3b), co-worker support (H3c) – is negatively associated with job exhaustion such that in case of deprived workplace support (job resources) may have negative effects on employee well-being, that is, increase levels of burnout.

Expatriate status as moderator

The study also aims to investigate if expatriates and non-expatriates perceive job exhaustion and work engagement differently while experiencing the threats of Covid-19 pandemic. We can draw insights from studies focusing on the impact of crises situations like working in hostile environments e.g., countries with serious concerns for terrorism-related threats or those with political/civil unrest, where regular expatriation-related challenges are multiplied by safety or health concerns (Bhanugopan & Fish, 2008; Wagner & Westaby, 2009). In such cases expatriates at least have some awareness of the difficulties in the host country and has the opportunity to psychologically prepare themselves before the relocation (see Faeth & Kittler, 2017). However, in the natural crises like the ongoing pandemic, expatriates face extreme uncertainty regarding their work and must deal with the changing situation on their own since the primary focus for any governmental policies are on the general population of the country (see Courtney et al., 2020).

The expatriate status, precisely, if the employees are located in their home countries as compared to in host countries on job assignments can be an important moderator for the relationship predicting work wellbeing. Non-expatriates get the opportunity to work with "familiar resources as well as colleagues and external stakeholders and they live in a well-known social context" (Adams et al., 2013, p. 471) as compared to expatriates. The perceived difference in health and security risks between the home and host country can make significantly different impact on the perception of job exhaustion and work engagement among expatriates and non-expatriate employees.

> *Hypothesis 4:* The employment type (expat/non-expatriates) will positively moderate the relationship between perceived contextual demands and job exhaustion such that the demands recognized by expatriates would be higher and moderate the association with exhaustion.

Employees feel motivated to perform at their best even under challenging circumstances when they feel the concern and support from their employing organization (Bakker et al., 2008). This is especially true for expatriates working in a host country, relying on resources from work spheres. During the pandemic restrictions, expatriates enjoying satisfying social relations with coworkers and supervisors can stay engaged with work as they can use the support as psychological resources (Chen, 2019) and increase their work engagement. Closer relationships with supervisors and work colleagues can potentially boost relevant work skills especially for expatriates as they need to ensure their own security and their families' wellbeing in the time of crisis. Guidance from organization in form of structural and informational support along with emotional support from expatriates' supervisors and coworkers can be crucial for expatriates (Kraimer & Wayne, 2004) and might help them stay engaged with their job.

The resources provided to the expatriates and non-expatriates employees can be valued differently while assessing work engagement such that expatriates value the support from their organization, supervisor and coworkers more than their counterparts. Given the need for workplace support for expatriates is higher in order to stay motivated towards their work, compared to non-expatriates, we assume that expatriates with high workplace support are more likely to stay engaged at work.

Hypothesis 5: The employment type (expat/non-expatriates) will moderate the relationship between workplace support – organizational support (H5a), supervisor support (H5b) and coworker support (H5c) - and work engagement.

METHODS

Sample and data collection

The data for the study was collected from the members of the Finnish trade unions, Tekniikan Akateemiset (TEK), and EKONOMIT, which represents educated and highly skilled academic engineers, architects, and business school graduates in Finland. Data was obtained during June-December 2020 using a web-based survey questionnaire. Of the 219 participants, 70.3% were male. Respondents reported a mean age of 46.35 years (SD = 9.6). About 63.9% of the respondents were expatriates living in their host country at the time of data collection and 36.1% were non-expatriates.

Measures

Perceived contextual demands were measured with two items on a 5-point Likert scale anchored with strongly disagree (1) and strongly agree (5) using an international context-risk scale specific to international business travellers developed by Mäkelä, Kinnunen, and Suutari (2015). The items have been modified to suit the expatriation context. Sample items read "When working abroad, I face security risks" and "When working abroad, I am exposed to health risks." The internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha, α) is .751.

Work Engagement was measured with three items (vigour dimension) of the UWES (UWES-9) scale (Schaufeli et al., 2006) with a 7-point Likert scale to assess the feeling of respondents. The items were rated between a range of (0-6) with "0" (zero) indication they never had this feeling and 6 being always/everyday feeling. The internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha, α) is .922. Sample item reads "At my work, I feel that I am bursting with energy".

Job Exhaustion was measured with the five items from Maslach Burnout Inventory–General Scale (MBI– GS; Schaufeli, Leiter, Maslach, & Jackson, 1996). The instrument has a 7-scale scoring system, ranging from 0 ('never') to 6 ('daily'). Sample item reads "I feel overwhelmed at work." The internal consistency (Cronbach's a) of the scale is good: .85

Organizational support was measured with four items on a self-created 5-point Likert scale anchored with very rarely/never (1) and all the time/almost always (5) using a remote work context with the internal consistency (Cronbach's Alpha, α) is .837. Sample item reads "My organization provides clear information about expectations and regulations".

Supervisor support was measured using three items from General Nordic Questionnaire for Psychosocial and Social Factors at Work (QPSNordic) (Dallner et al., 2000); a General Questionnaire for Psychological and Social Factors at Work. The questionnaire is designed as a 5-point Likert scale anchored with very rarely/never = 1 and all the time/almost always = 5 using a remote work context with the internal consistency (Cronbach's Alpha, α) is .826. Sample item reads "Do you receive support and help from your supervisor when you need it?"

Co-worker support was measured with three items from QPSNordic scale (Dallner et al., 2000). The questionnaire is designed as a 5-point Likert scale anchored with very rarely/never = 1 and all the time/almost always = 5 using a remote work context with the internal consistency (Cronbach's Alpha, α) is .825. Sample item reads "Do you get support and help for your work from your colleagues when needed?"

Expatriate status have been used as moderator to see if the perception of work well-being and general well-being are different among them. One item in the questionnaire asked if they are on expatriate assignments abroad (i.e., expat =1, non-expat =0) Controls included the demographical variables, like gender (1=male, 0=female), age (years) as well as family situations, that is, having a partner (no/yes). The analysis also controlled for the change in workload during the pandemic period. One item was introduced in the questionnaire to inquire from the respondents if their quantitative workload has changed during the pandemic ("Compared to the time before the coronary crisis, have your quantitative load – increased/same/decreased?" These background variables were controlled for in the analysis to be consistent with evidence reported in several research articles (see Eby et al., 2005; Fisher et al., 2009).

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

To examine the proposed hypotheses, we performed multiple regression analysis using SPSS. Bivariate correlations between the variables are shown in Table 13.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Age	1									
Family status	.079	1								
Expatriate status	.119	.008	1							

Workload	-.055	-.034	.042	1						
Work Engagement	-.012	-.034	-.096	.011	1					
Organizational Support	.057	.024	-.021	-.029	.399**	1				
Supervisor Support	.005	-.058	.056	-.003	.032	.015	1			
Co-worker Support	-.118	-.044	.012	.025	.004	.021	.129	1		
Exhaustion	-.170*	.175*	.006	.342**	-.059	.040	-.103	-.002	1	
Living Conditions	.035	-.222**	.234**	.116	-.067	-.016	-.180**	-.005	-.184**	1

Table 13: *Correlation table for the variables included in the study*

Hypothesis 1 predicted the relationship between perceived contextual demands and job exhaustion. Our data suggested a statistically significant positive relation (β= 0.201, p = 0.043). which supports our hypothesis H1. Among the three components of workplace support, organizational support is an effective predictor toward increasing work engagement (H2a: β= 0.343, p< 0.001), however, supervisor support (H2b: β=0.580, p=0.162) and co-worker support (H3c: β=-0.044, p=0.642) were not significant. Only supervisor support (H3b: β= -.274, p< 0.01) was linked with reduction of job exhaustion; organization support (H3a: β= 0.012, p=0.278) and co-worker support (H3c: β= 0.002, p=0.935) did not have any significant relation it.

The expatriate status did not moderate the relationship between perceived contextual demands and job exhaustion, so H4 was not supported. Finally, we examined if expatriate status moderated the relationship between workplace support and work engagement, which was partially supported by our data. Interaction between expatriate status and organization support was significant (H5a: β= 12.897, p=0.046), although expatriate status, did not have any moderation effect on the relationship between supervisor support and work engagement (H5b: β= -10.90, p=0.25) and co-worker support and work engagement (H5c: β= -5.1, p=0.44). Expatriates receiving more organizational support tend to be better committed and rooted at their work. The results are summarized in Table 14.

		Path coefficients	t-values	Decision
H1		PCD → JE	2.04*	Supported
H2a		OS → WE	6.223***	Supported
H2b		SS → WE	1.403	Not supported
H2c		CS → WE	-0.465	Not supported
H3a		OS → JE	1.087	Not supported
H3b		SS → JE	-3.225**	Supported
H3c		CS → JE	0.081	Not supported
H4		PCD *ES → JE	-0.733	Not supported
H5a		OS *ES → WE	2.01*	Supported

H5b		SS *ES → WE	-1.155	Not Supported
H5c		CW *ES → WE	-.783	Not supported

Table 14: *Hypotheses testing*
Note(s): (1) PCD-Perceived contextual demands, JE-Job exhaustion, WE-Work engagement, OS-Organizational support, SS-Supervisor support, CS-Co-worker support, ES-Expatriate Status
(2) *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001

DISCUSSION

The global outbreak of COVID-19 has affected work-life and have introduced adverse working conditions for many (including increased working hours, work intensification, job insecurity and stress. Living in stressful environmental with risks of being exposed to heightened security and health complexities does have a significant impact on expatriates' satisfaction with life in general. Drawing on the JD-R model and well-being literature, this study investigated the dynamics of contextual demands, resources, and well-being (job exhaustion and work engagement) of expatriate and non-expatriate employees following the outbreak of COVID-19. This study further aimed to compare the experiences between expatriates and non-expatriates\` in terms of their well-being.

We find that, during the COVID-19 pandemic, perceived contextual demands, i.e., concerns regarding health and safety measures in the work environment emerges as powerful stressors for employee job exhaustion. Our prediction that organization support will be an antecedent for work engagement was also supported. In contrast to expectation, supervisor support and co-worker support did not predict work engagement. While a majority of studies have demonstrated all three facets of workplace support as antecedents of work engagement, some researchers have indeed reported similar insignificant relationship (see Choo, 2017). One viable explanation for employees not finding supervisor or co-worker support as significant precursor could be because of the unique work situation of the employees during the time of data collection. Majority of the respondents were working remotely from their personal workspaces with limited probably communication with their supervisor and co-workers. The primary communications regarding day-to-day changes in policies and work expectation were probably done at organizational level. Hence, organizational support must have played a crucial role for employees to stay motivated and engaged at work.

Only, supervisor support was found to be instrumental in reducing job exhaustion for employees while organizational support and co-worker support did not have any significant affect. Thus, support from supervisors is found to be most instrumental to cope with job exhaustion. A study by Phungsoonthorn and Charoensukmongkol (2019) identifies supervisors to be the main source of social support for employees as they possess the authority to provide rewards, protection, encouragement, and motivation to employees when needed. Hence, during the threats posed by the pandemic crisis, it is possible that the support from the immediate supervisor is valued the most by the employees in order to contain their exhaustion.

We found no moderation effects of expatriate status in the relationship between perceived contextual demands and job exhaustion. The extent to which job exhaustion is influenced by perceived contextual demands was not different between expatriates and non-expatriates. The expatriate status affected the influence of organizational support on the level of work engagement but it doesn't have any effect on the influence of supervisor support or co-worker support. This suggests that expatriates primarily relied on organizational guidance to maintain their work engagement during the crisis. In most cases, expatriates have been working remotely in the host country locations, thus the connections with supervisor sand co-workers might not be as efficient leaving the organizational support as the most crucial resource.

PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS AND MANAGERIAL RELEVANCE

An extension of knowledge in the research framework of perceived risk about living environment, support from organization, work engagement and satisfaction with life in general may provide significant contributions to the talent management responsible for managing international workforce. Based on the results of this study, it is assumed that organizational support plays critical role in enhancing work engagement, thus affecting the work well-being in expatriates.

The study provided an empirical basis for JD-R model to be applicable in examining the relationship between the job demands, resources and well-being in expatriates and non-expatriates during the COVID-19 pandemic. Specifically, the findings empirically illustrate that mass disasters and other natural crisis situations posing higher contextual demands requires special attention from employers in order to facilitate customized resources at the workplace, which can play a vital role in maintaining workers' well-being. Global mobility researchers should focus on developing conceptual underpinnings to understand JD-R framework leading the health impairment process specific for international context with crises management as a boundary condition.

CONCLUSION

As suggested by JD-R model (Bakker & Demerouti, 2017; Schaufeli & Taris, 2014), the external job context has a profound impact on individual's overall experience especially in a crisis situation (Barello et al., 2021; Sokal et al., 2020). It has been long known that employees' working on international jobs believe that organization values their contributions and are interested in preserving their general well-being (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). Scholars have highlighted the importance of supportive organizational culture in improving work attitude and well-being among expatriates (Bader, 2015; De Paul & Bikos, 2015; Harrison et al., 2004). Organizations introducing supportive policies (like flexible workhours, support with new work environment etc.) targeted towards their expatriate workforce can motivate them to keep engaged at work. Expatriates receiving good organizational support are more likely to show commitments towards their work and stay highly motivated towards delivering their responsibilities even during trying times. In this regard, expatriates receiving positive mental reinforcements from supervisors might feel at ease while working in a positive environment. Supervisors can try to maintain strong communication channels with their subordinate expatriates and provide guidance during a time of need. This could be extremely beneficial for expatriate's satisfaction with life in general.

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10 Multi-level factors influencing job embeddedness among migrant employees: A systematic literature review

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ABSTRACT

Job embeddedness has demonstrated impressive power in predicting various work outcomes of migrant employees such as retention, performance, and knowledge sharing. However, the means by which migrant employees become embedded in the host country remains under-researched. In this chapter, we conduct a systematic literature review using 42 empirical studies, thereby revealing the factors contributing to job embeddedness of working migrants at the situational, individual, organizational, and institutional levels. These insights aid employers in receiving countries to facilitate their migrant workers' job embeddedness in a more effective way, hence optimizing the deployment of this talent group.

INTRODUCTION

According to the United Nations, the number of international migrants has increased by 2.5 percent annually since 2015 (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2019). In 2020, there were 281 million international migrants worldwide, of whom 73% were of working age (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2020). Some regions and industries have been highly dependent on foreign workers to sustain their economy and businesses (Guellec & Cervantes, 2002; ILO, 2018). For instance, migrants made up to 40.8% of the total labour force in Arab States and 20.6% of the total number of workers in Northern America (ILO, 2018). Thirty-five percent of the labour force in IT, communication, and financial sectors in Australia and Canada were foreigners (OECD, 2020). Organizations operating in the above mentioned countries and sectors thus would benefit from an effective tool to manage and optimize their foreign workers' capacity, performance, and retention in order to sustain and grow their businesses.

Job embeddedness is a powerful construct that can explain various work outcomes of working migrants. Mitchell et al. (2001) originally developed job embeddedness theory to explain the forces keeping employees in their jobs rather than promoting their turnover. In line with their theory, research proves that job embeddedness has consistently predicted employee retention in both domestic (Jiang et al., 2012) and international mobility contexts (Meuer et al., 2019; Ren et al., 2014; Tharenou & Caulfield, 2010; Yunlu et al., 2018). The impact of job embeddedness, however, has gone far beyond employee retention. For instance, job embeddedness has been shown to significantly promote innovative behaviours (Ng & Feldman, 2010), organizational citizenship behaviours (OCBs) (Lee et al., 2004), and task and contextual performance (Lee et al., 2004; Lev & Koslowsky, 2012) among domestic employees. Similarly, it influences job performance, OCBs (Andresen, 2015), knowledge sharing (Froese et al., 2018; Stoermer et al., 2020), knowledge acquisition (Reiche et al., 2011; Yin & Bao, 2006), and the career prospects (Reiche et al., 2011) of internationally mobile workers. These results illustrate the impressive potential of job embeddedness to predict a wide range behaviours and outcomes among internationally mobile employees.

While outcomes of job embeddedness have been validated in migration contexts, there is far less systematic evidence of the factors contributing to migrant workers' enmeshment. Migrants arguably undergo different embedding processes from that of the domestic population. Specifically, the natives' embeddedness in the country of residence occurs in a more natural way thanks to their being rooted in the society, having established networks and being familiar with local culture (Pawlak & Goździak, 2020). Migrant employees, on the contrary, move across borders (Andresen et al., 2014) and confront profound and distinct barriers in their embedding process. They include, for instance, the cultural novelty and distance between home and host nation (Ren et al., 2014), host country language deficiency (Ren et al., 2014), immigration policies (Humphries et al., 2009), and discrimination (Brunton et al., 2018). Migrants' enmeshment further requires extra effort compared to that of the natives (Pawlak & Goździak, 2020; Ryan & Mulholland, 2014b), and has been linked to cultural intelligence (Stoermer et al., 2020). Hence, current literature suggests that the interplay of multiple levels (e.g., national, societal, organizational, and individual) could also impact migrants' embeddedness abroad (cf. Al Ariss & Crowley-Henry, 2013). However, until now we have not had an overview of these multi-level factors. Thus, we lack a comprehensive view on migrants' enmeshment in the host country.

The lack of a systematic overview stems from two research gaps that currently exist in the literature. First, insights into factors contributing to job embeddedness abroad are scattered across disciplines. Management research primarily focuses on elements associated with the working environment (cf. Linder, 2016) while omitting factors related to private life. Social sciences, by contrast, view embeddedness from the socioeconomic perspective, thus they primarily explain the role of various factors existing outside the work environment (cf. Ryan & Mulholland, 2014a). In short, a lack of interdisciplinary research obstructs a holistic view of job embeddedness in the international mobility context.

The second gap can be found in the literature focusing on migrants' *levels* of embeddedness that generally overlooks the *ways* migrants become embedded abroad. Research emphasizes the importance of investigating the ways in which job embeddedness forms. For instance, literature reviews propose that mere embeddedness levels are not sufficient to predict associated outcomes (Feldman et al., 2012; Holtom & Darabi, 2018; Zhang et al., 2012). Especially in the mobility context, employees show an ability to adopt various ways of immersing themselves in the host country and maintaining their enmeshment (Agha-Alikhani, 2016; Halvorsen et al., 2015). For instance, characters of the network – instead of mere size – seem to be different between migrants who are sent to work abroad by their employers (i.e., assigned migrants) and those who initiate their relocation themselves (i.e. self-initiated migrants) (Agha-Alikhani, 2016; Shen & Kram, 2011). In other words, migrants who have the same level of embeddedness (e.g., number of links) might undertake distinctive embedding ways (e.g., characters of these links) to reach that level. This distinction appears to matter for various behaviours and outcomes. For instance, the ethnicity of the connections – representing the quality rather than quantity of the links – was shown to impact career satisfaction and retention of foreign employees (Cao et al., 2014). Thus, it is important to investigate not only embeddedness levels, but also the ways in which migrant employees become embedded abroad.

To summarize, current research gaps include a lack of an overview that reveals multi-level factors involved in the embedding process of migrant employees and a focus on the mere embeddedness levels while overlooking the factors leading to that state (i.e., the embedding ways). This systematic literature review (SLR) aims to fill these current research gaps. We ask the following research question: “Which factors contribute to the embeddedness of migrant employees in the host country?” And we follow a three-step method to identify these factors. First, we provide the theoretical background of “job embeddedness” and “international migrant employees” concepts. Second, we systematically review relevant literature by putting these two terms together and synthesizing the results to construct a comprehensive framework. Lastly, we discuss the findings by both outlining research gaps and providing several implications for theory, research, and practices.

Thereby, the contribution of our SLR is threefold. First, we contribute an overview of factors involved in the embedding process of migrant employees. These factors are categorized into four levels: situational, individual, organizational, and institutional. This overview identifies various ways in which job embeddedness takes place and evolves in the international migration contexts. These findings improve our overall knowledge about migrant workers’ embeddedness, hence providing a groundwork to adapt job embeddedness measurement in the international migration context. Second, we discuss uncertainty and under-researched topics remaining in the literature and outline directions for future research. Lastly, based on knowledge about factors contributing to migrants’ job embeddedness abroad, we derive several practical recommendations for organizations and practitioners to optimize the embeddedness of their foreign employees. The interdisciplinary insights are particularly beneficial for efficiency of HRM practices specialized for migrant employees (Al Ariss & Sidani, 2016) as they reveal the impacts of both work and non-work factors that contemporary HRM practices might have omitted until now.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

International migrant employees

International migrant employees relocate across national borders, change their dominant place of residence, and legally execute their employment abroad (Andresen et al., 2014). These employees are identified as working migrants in the social sciences (ILO, 1999; United Nations, 1990; Usher, 2004) and as expatriates in business and management literature (Andresen et al., 2014). We use both terms interchangeably. The group of migrant employees shows some diversity resulting from various features, such as the original motives for migration (e.g., career-related or personal), expatriation mode (e.g., self-initiated or employer-assigned), personal differences (e.g. culture, human capital level), and institutional characteristics (e.g. work and residence permits) (Al Ariss & Crowley-Henry, 2013; Andresen et al., 2018). On the individual level, the original motives for migration and personal differences have a likely impact on the ways migrants become embedded (Al Ariss & Crowley-Henry, 2013; Andresen et al., 2018). Situational factors include the cultural distance between home and host nations (Ren et al., 2014) while institutional factors can be residence, work permits (Al Ariss & Crowley-Henry, 2013) and immigrant policies (Stoermer et al., 2020). On the organizational level, assigned migrants are sponsored by their employers and usually receive attractive relocation packages (Dickmann et al., 2018). They typically obtain greater access to organizational resources (Jokinen et al., 2008) and depend strongly on their employers during relocation (Dickmann et al., 2018). By contrast, self-initiated migrants who relocate abroad without organizational support usually commence their employment in new localities without relocation packages and are typically more organizationally mobile than assignees (Biemann & Andresen, 2010). This diversity means that migrants' embedding processes in their host contexts may differ in terms of motivation, speed, and mechanisms depending on their multi-level features.

Job embeddedness

Job embeddedness combines three dimensions and three domains. The three dimensions are links, fit, and sacrifice that apply in three domains including organizational, community, and occupational, or career pathway (i.e. the professional environment existing in a specific location) (Mitchell et al., 2001; Ng & Feldman, 2007; Tharenou & Caulfield, 2010). Links describe social, psychological, and financial connections that employees possess in three domains such as family members, colleagues, friends, social associations, and properties. Fit captures employees' affinity with the characteristics of relevant domains. For instance, there can be compatibility between personal values and corporate cultures, between career capital and job demands or between individual preferences and host country weather, lifestyles, and leisure activities. Finally, sacrifice represents the tangible or intangible benefits that employees forfeit when leaving the embedded web. Benefits may be a secured neighbourhood, job prospects in a specific host nation, or pension plan offered by the employed companies. Job embeddedness exists in not only on-the-job (i.e. organizational, career pathway) but also off-the-job domains (i.e. community embeddedness) (Mitchell et al., 2001; Ng & Feldman, 2007; Tharenou & Caulfield, 2010).

Research on job embeddedness among domestic employees has systematically revealed various *ways* in which they immerse themselves into multiple domains in their country of residence (Feldman et al., 2012; Kiazad et al., 2015). For instance, Kiazad et al. (2015) pointed out multi-level factors contributing to the embeddedness of employees varying from high-performance work practices to community characteristics, to professional communities, as well as the presence of nearby extended family (Kiazad et al., 2015). Similarly, Feldman et al. (2012) revealed that the ways employees become embedded are associated with numerous individual factors, such as self-regulatory focus, proactive personality, career stage, and situational factors, for examples, like characteristics of the nuclear family. Similar research on migrant populations, however, is in the early stages. For instance, the embeddedness of migrant employees is influenced by peculiar factors stemming from the international relocation context, such as cultural distance and novelty, language proficiency, immigrant policies, and cultural intelligence (Ren et al., 2014; Stoermer et al., 2020). Other studies similarly explored various tactics that migrants employed to immerse themselves into a host community and organization (Halvorsen et al., 2015; Ren et al., 2014; Yunlu et al., 2018). The interaction and combination of a wide range of influencing factors forms the embeddedness of migrant workers.

METHODS

Literature search

Our SLR covers empirical studies on migrant employees' embeddedness. We defined four eligibility criteria. Firstly, both quantitative and qualitative research is eligible. Secondly, the respondents are all legal migrant workers or expatriates. Thirdly, the reported period of the studies ranges from 1980 to 2021. This starting point aligns with the turning point when the topic of employee migration began to be systematically studied (Adler, 1981). Lastly, the reporting language of all the studies is English. We included both published and unpublished sources such as academic journal articles, conference papers, theses, dissertations, as well as working papers (Booth et al., 2016).

Primary data was drawn from the EBSCOHost and Web of Science databases covering studies of migrants and expatriates within business, management, economics, sociology, political science, psychology, and the humanities.

Free-text searches were performed using keywords related to migrant, expatriate and embeddedness. The review concentrates on migrants legally performing dependent work in organizations in their host countries. Research focusing exclusively on illegal migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, or entrepreneurs was ruled out. This led to the following search terms: ((embedd*) AND (migrant* OR expatriat*)) NOT TI (illegal migrant* OR undocumented migrant* OR refugee* OR asylum seeker* OR entrepreneur*), yielding 1,157 studies.

We removed duplicate studies. Then, through title and abstract screening, we eliminated papers that were irrelevant to embeddedness, non-empirical, or based on samples that did not fit our research question (e.g., intra-national or rural-urban migrants). In the full-text screening of the 139 studies that remained, we excluded further studies that were non-empirical, irrelevant (i.e., host country job embeddedness was not an identifiable outcome or a correlated variable in the paper), and/or did not meet the sampling criteria. Moreover, studies that did not meet quality standards (due to unclear or inappropriate methods, procedures, data analysis, or research outcomes; see Dixon-Woods et al., 2007) as well as gray articles and conference papers for which full-text versions were unavailable were also excluded. This left us with 42 eligible papers.

Data description

The literature database contains two gray studies (doctoral and master's theses), and 40 peer-reviewed articles published in academic journals. Twenty-one studies were qualitative, nineteen quantitative (of these seven longitudinal), and the remaining studies applied mixed methods using cross-sectional designs.

Two articles sampled low- to middle-skilled populations, three focused on the middle- to highly skilled, 24 looked solely at highly-skilled and three looked at low-skilled; the remainder either included mixed participants (8) or did not specify (2). In terms of expatriation mode, two studies concerned assignees, 20 sampled self-initiated migrants, 7 studied both, and the rest did not indicate.

Data synthesis

We used framework synthesis with the aim of mapping out an extensive framework that would integrate a wide range of variables and their interactions. Starting from a predefined framework (JE), we developed and integrated additional topics inductively into this framework (Barnett-Page & Thomas, 2009). We applied this method for two reasons. Firstly, the included studies are highly heterogeneous in terms of their designs, settings, measurements, and ontologies, and this places limits on the use of quantitative deductive methods such as meta-analysis. Secondly, framework synthesis provides a structure for synthesizing results on the basis of a conceptual framework and allows us to explore related elements further when supportive evidence emerges.

RESULTS

Evidence from reviewed literature demonstrated that the embeddedness of migrant workers establishes and evolves under the influences of various factors at different levels. We summarize these factors based on their levels (situational, individual, organizational, institutional) and impacted domains (organization, community, career) as in Figure 4. We illustrate four levels as four round bubbles where factors at each level are placed inside. Then, factors influencing each community, organization, and career embeddedness are positioned within the respective domains in Figure 4 (square bubbles). Some factors were shown to affect migrants' embeddedness in multiple domains, hence appearing in overlapping areas. In the following sections, we elaborate in more detail about these findings.

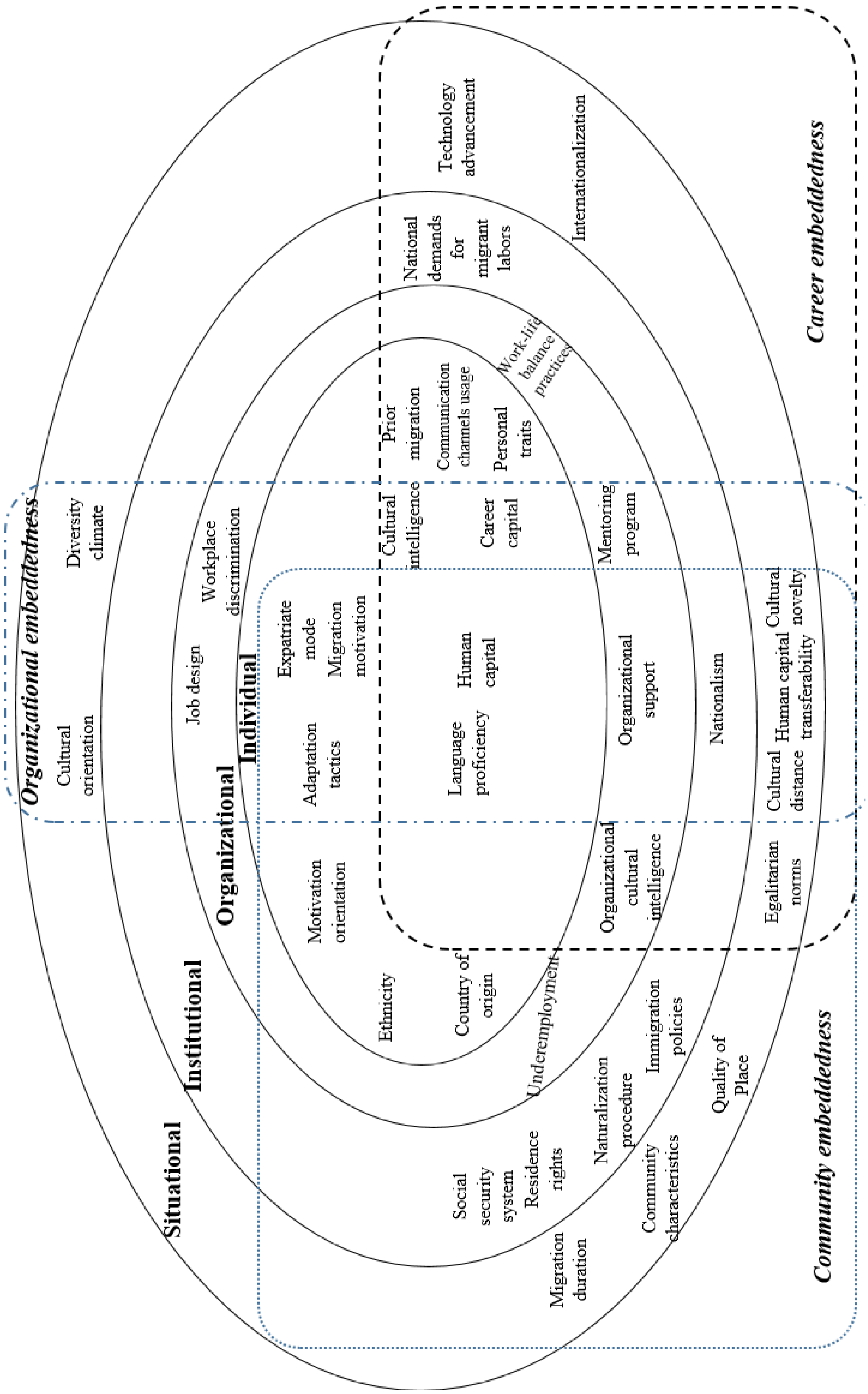

***Figure 4:** Multi-level factors influencing job embeddedness in the international migration context.*

Note: factors are placed in the domains where they influence the embeddedness. Factors influencing multiple domains are placed in the overlapping areas between these domains.

Factors contributing to host organizational embeddedness

Situational factors

Migrant workers relocate across borders, thereby they typically confront cross-cultural barriers such as *cultural novelty* and *cultural distance*. Whereas the former concept refers to the perceived similarities and differences between home and host country in daily life customs and generic features, the latter captures the differences in cultural value dimensions (Ren et al., 2014). These factors appeared as significant impediments to migrants' immersion into host organizations because they hampered migrants' perceived compatibility with values and behavioural patterns in the workplace as well as their relationships with native colleagues (Brunton & Cook, 2018; Ren et al., 2014). At the same time, uncertainty stemming from cultural distance and cultural novelty deterred foreign workers from proactively establishing their organizational enmeshment (Ren et al., 2014). It seemed that host country *cultural orientation* similarly played a role in the embedding process of working migrants. For instance, Stoermer et al. (2020) figured out that cultural intelligence was especially beneficial for migrants' organizational embeddedness when they stayed in a host country with high in-group collectivism. High in-group collectivism is characterized by the loyalty, pride, and cohesiveness of the in-group members (House et al., 2004). This focus on the in-group thus aggravates the discrimination against employed migrants as 'the others' (Stoermer et al., 2020). In this discriminatory circumstance, cultural intelligence becomes notably necessary for migrants to immerse themselves into their workplace. This is because cultural intelligence equips foreign workers with awareness about the role of cultural influences; knowledge about host country cultural norms, values, and behavioural patterns; as well as aiding them to act accordingly in order to fit in with the working local environment (Stoermer et al., 2020).

Aside from cultural elements, the *diversity climate* of the host community – manifesting in appreciation of personal uniqueness and differences in terms of race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, cultural background, etc. – tended to impact migrants' relationships at work (organizational links) (Chen, 2012). A positive diverse climate at the host community possibly facilitates migrant employees' connections at work in two ways. First, it affords migrant workers with a sense of security, inclusion, and equity; thereby encouraging their relationship building behaviours and efficiency (see Ren et al., 2014; Yunlu et al., 2018). Second, it optimizes the positive perception of foreigners and reduces risks of discrimination in local community, thus paving the way for reciprocal relationships between migrant and native workers. Lastly, *transferability of human capital* such as qualifications and working experiences influences the perceived benefits (e.g., salary) and fit between migrants' capital and their job levels. Some of the research, for example, pointed out that a lack of transferability between home and host country often induced the underpayment and underemployment of migrant workers, hence reduced their compatibility in the workplace and sacrifices that they would face in leaving their employers (Cederberg, 2017; Fernando & Patriotta, 2020; Humphries et al., 2009).

Individual factors

Research demonstrates that there was a notable divergence between assigned and self-initiated migrants (i.e., *expatriation mode*) in terms of their organizational embeddedness. Assignees' networks predominantly encompassed intra-organizational colleagues while self-initiated migrant employees' connections were most likely to be established outside the workplace (Shen & Kram, 2011). In general, assigned migrant employees immersed themselves deeper into the host organization, as compared to the self-initiative counterparts (Biemann & Andresen, 2010). These results might stem from the fact that assignees - as compared to self-initiated migrants - have greater access to organizational resources (Jokinen et al., 2008). They possess more valuable organizational knowledge and establish broader networks within the entire corporation (Suutari et al., 2018). These available resources become the invaluable assets that tighten assignees to their host organizations, facilitating the immersion process even further. An alternative explanation is that individual career orientation is responsible for this divergence. Evidence from the literature suggests that assignees and self-initiated migrants pursued divergent career paths. Thereby, the former followed a traditional organizational career track and the latter typically aimed for a boundaryless career (Linder, 2019). As self-initiated migrant workers develop their career across organizations, they appear less motivated to attach to a specific company (Linder, 2019).

Another factor involved in the embedding process of employed migrants is their original *motivation to move abroad*. Migrant workers relocate abroad with a diverse set of aspirations, ranging from economic motives to career advancement, lust for adventure, family ties, and desire for a life change or escape route (Richardson & Mallon, 2005). The literature suggests that what inspires migrants to move abroad has implications for their organizational embeddedness in the host country. For instance, economic-driven migrants aim to maximize the financial benefits derived from their host organizations while potentially omitting the enmeshment in other domains (Jun & Ha, 2015; Pawlak & Goździak, 2020; also see Lo et al., 2012). This way of embedding generally reinforces the perceived sacrifices such as salary offered by the employed companies, thus deepening their immersion into the host company.

In addition, the literature points to diverse *adaptation tactics* and strategies that working migrants proactively utilize to immerse into the host organization. Among them are information seeking, positive framing (Ren et al., 2014), relationship building (Halvorsen et al., 2015; Ren et al., 2014), and participation in social gatherings and events (Beaverstock, 2002; Halvorsen et al., 2015). Information seeking refers to searching behaviours and acquisition of knowledge about situations, organizations and tasks that aid migrants in their efforts to fit the requirements, norms and values in the workplace and link with co-workers (Ren et al., 2014). Building relationships is also necessary for migrant workers to obtain social support (e.g., knowledge about daily life tasks) and interpersonal resources (e.g., psychological well-being) (Ren et al., 2014). These resources serve not only the purpose of networking but also act as important assets precluding migrants from leaving the host organization (Ren et al., 2014). Positive framing describes the cognitive self-control to apprehend situations as gains rather than losses in response to personal choices. Ren et al. (2014) explained that this positive experience energized and motivated migrant workers to integrate themselves into their working domain despite various setbacks. Lastly, the literature illustrates that most international mobile workers sustained and developed their working relationships through both social gatherings at work, such as lunchtime, and after work hours at pubs, bars, restaurants, or parties (Beaverstock, 2002; Halvorsen et al., 2015).

Furthermore, *human capital* appears as a strong influencer on the embeddedness of migrants in their companies. For instance, *cultural intelligence* describes a specific ability encompassing meta-cognition, knowledge, and skills (Thomas et al., 2015). Meta-cognition refers to the general acknowledgement and control over one's cognition, behaviours and learning in cross-cultural circumstances (Thomas et al., 2015). Knowledge describes the ability to grasp cultural differences and recognize the influences of culture in cross-cultural contexts whereas skills enable the appropriate action to meet the cross-cultural demands (Thomas et al., 2015). Cultural intelligence boosted the embedding process of foreign workers in their organization by minimizing the cross-cultural setbacks, creating comfortable connections with colleagues, and generating opportunities through confident interactions in the workplace (Stoermer et al., 2020). Likewise, migrant employees who were proficient in the *host country language* were likely to immerse themselves deeper in their organization (Ren et al., 2014). Language helped foreign workers to nurture relationships with local employees, to cope with uncertainties, and to acclimate to working environments with various cultural and social features (Ren et al., 2014). By contrast, language deficiencies induced notable obstacles for migrant employees as they endeavoured to integrate into the workplace (Cook et al., 2011). Lastly, *career capital* represents the potential for social exchange between migrants and co-workers facilitating "guanxi" or connections at work (Cook et al., 2011; Yang & Lau, 2015). In line with that, research revealed that highly qualified migrant workers were more likely to immerse themselves into their workplace (Cook et al., 2011). By contrast, lower qualified employees are confronted with hindrances, such as precarious working conditions that retarded their enmeshment process in the organization (Cook et al., 2011).

Organizational factors

The embeddedness of working migrants in their organizations inevitably relates to factors existing in the workplace. First, *support provided by organizations* in terms of finance, career, adjustment and on occasion spirituality was shown to benefit migrant employees' immersion into the organization by motivating them in both intrinsic and extrinsic ways (Chen & Shaffer, 2017). Specifically, financial supports promoted controlled motivation among working migrants by increasing their gauge of sacrifice for leaving the host company (Chen & Shaffer, 2017). At the same time, organizations' career assistance and relocation aid facilitated migrants' autonomous motivation, which energized and sustained their embedding process with the company (Chen & Shaffer, 2017). In some cases, foreign employees embraced their organization's support for religious beliefs and ideologies which in turn promoted links between co-workers and supervisors (Halvorsen et al., 2015). Second, the research also highlighted the damage caused by *discrimination* and intergroup conflicts on the embeddedness of migrant workers (Brunton & Cook, 2018). Discriminatory and conflict ridden working conditions – between native and foreign employees – hampered migrants' professional connections and their perception of efficiency, thus straining their links and fit (Brunton & Cook, 2018). Some studies offered solutions for these issues. For instance, designing jobs in a way that promotes professional interdependence between local and foreign employees nourished their working relations (Cook et al., 2011; Fee et al., 2017). It seemed that *mentoring programs* in the host organization similarly improved migrants' teamwork and perceived sacrifice such as promotability (Carraher et al., 2008).

Institutional factors

Research indicated that *nationalist* state policies induced discrimination against migrant workers at the workplace (Bajt, 2016). Migrant employees in highly nationalist state environments often found their wages, benefits, and working conditions were hindered and exploited by the employers (Bajt, 2016), consequentially hampering their embeddedness in the host organization.

Factors contributing to host community embeddedness

Situational factors

Migrant workers appeared to deepen their community enmeshment over *time*. Research indicates that the longer migrants stay in the host nation, the wider and tighter their networks become and the more assimilated to their new environment they become, leading to enriched links and fit (Koelet et al., 2017; Martinovic et al., 2015; Tsuda, 1999). Similarly, the *characteristics of local communities* seems to affect their community embeddedness. Both neighbourhoods primarily occupied by foreigners and highly interactive neighbourhoods enabled migrants to interconnect and broaden their social networks (Beaverstock, 2002). The *quality of place* – including aspects such as housing quality, healthcare, education services, transport, leisure, and infrastructure - contributed to the amenities and ease of daily life, thus fostering a perceived fit of migrant workers in their host community (Kim & Cocks, 2017).
Moreover, the review literature indicates anew the influences of cultural barriers – such as *cultural novelty* and *distance* – on migrants' community embeddedness (Halvorsen et al., 2015; Ren et al., 2014). Differences between homeland and host nation, e.g., in terms of daily life customs and cultural orientation, made it difficult for migrants to feel comfortable and fit in the local society (Ren et al., 2014). Community embeddedness of the women migrants particularly benefited from *egalitarian norms* prevailing in the receiving nations (Pawlak & Goździak, 2020). Gender equality offered internationally mobile women a security that elevated their comfort in the host society and raised the stakes for leaving the receiving nation (Pawlak & Goździak, 2020). Lastly, *transferability of human capital* between home and host country, for example, in terms of qualifications and working experiences, seemed to affect the social status of migrants in their host nation, hence their immersion into the host community (Cederberg, 2017). Migrants living in a country where their human capital was unrecognized often struggled to secure their preferred social class and lifestyle, thereby experiencing jeopardy while embedding abroad (Cederberg, 2017).

Individual factors

Research pointed out various individual factors that played a role in migrants' community enmeshment. First, *expatriation mode* plays a role. Assigned and self-initiated working migrants demonstrated divergent embedding ways (Meuer et al., 2019; Shen & Kram, 2011). While the latter group built their networks outside the workplace, the former tended to connect within the organizations (Agha-Alikhani, 2016; Shen & Kram, 2011). Lack of organizational resources perhaps motivates self-initiated migrants to acquire and accumulate resources (e.g. social and psychological support, information) from the host society and deepens their embeddedness there. Second, *motivations to move abroad* seemed to influence their embedding ways. Economic-driven migrants aimed to maximize their monetary acquisitions, thus typically advancing their organizational enmeshment while omitting the connectedness with local community (Jun & Ha, 2015; Pawlak & Goździak, 2020). This is because the focus on remittance generally precluded them from obtaining the necessary embedding instruments such as time, language learning, and socialization (Jun & Ha, 2015; Pawlak & Goździak, 2020). By contrast, those who desired a permanent life abroad were proactive in establishing their roots in the host society. For example, they built and nurtured relationships with host country nationals (Martinovic et al., 2015). Finally, migrants with prior migration experiences were more prepared and adaptable, thereby paving the way for their enmeshment in the host community (Bürgelt et al., 2008).

It seems that *ethnicity or country of origin* similarly plays a role in the immersion process of migrant workers. For instance, migrants from some ethnicities had more advantages than others in developing ties in the host nation (Martinovic et al., 2015). In the reviewed literature, this fact was associated with the proximity between migrants and host country nationals in terms of their predominant religious beliefs and shared history (Martinovic et al., 2015). Likewise, the components of community embeddedness proved different between working migrants from developed or industrialized countries and those migrated from less developed areas (Khoo et al., 2008). For instance, the former group was more likely to immerse themselves through preferable lifestyle and climate whereas the latter tended to value the progressive socio-economic states in the destination (Khoo et al., 2008, 2011; Khoo et al., 2009).

Other important factors at individual level are *adaptation tactics* and *motivation orientation*. It seems that foreign employees played a notably active role in their embeddedness as they applied a wide range of tactics to immerse themselves into host communities. Among those tactics are relationship building, information seeking, positive framing, and social media utilization. Relationship building refers to a set of behaviours that aim to network and socialize with people in the local community (Yunlu et al., 2018). These acts can include attending community social events and socializing with people outside their household (Yunlu et al., 2018). As a consequence, individuals engaging in these activities were more likely to obtain a wider network and belongingness in the host society (Yunlu et al., 2018). Akin to that, migrants who proactively searched for information perceived less ambiguity in the host society and gained knowledge about its norms and rules, thereby increasing community fit (Ren et al., 2014). The ability to manage positive cognition while confronting adaptation challenges similarly motivated foreign workers to integrate into local life (Ren et al., 2014). Social media was particularly useful in expanding and maintaining social connections in the host community, as it acted as a companion to conventional communication channels (Ryan & Mulholland, 2014b). Lastly, research identified that autonomous motivation promoted the immersion of working migrants in their host community. More specifically, those who were motivated intrinsically possessed more energy to proactively construct their networks and embed themselves into local communities by utilizing various strategies (Chen & Shaffer, 2017).

Finally, learning *host country languages* enabled working migrants to communicate with host country nationals and develop their awareness of societal rules and norms (Ren et al., 2014). Furthermore, it served as an important asset in strengthening foreign employees' ties to their host society, since moving to another country effaced the value of their native language skills (Martinovic et al., 2015). Our reviewed studies revealed various factors related to human capital that affect migrants' community embeddedness. Qualification levels played a role in the ways migrants developed their embeddedness in the host community (Roggeveen & van Meeteren, 2013). Low qualified migrant workers often worked in unfavourable conditions such as temporary, precarious, or shifting jobs; thus, they were confronted with various obstacles (e.g. lack of time and energy) to establish their connections with the locals (Jun & Ha, 2015; Roggeveen & van Meeteren, 2013). By contrast, highly qualified migrant workers were more motivated to acquire social capital in the host nation, thus broadening their connections with the natives (Roggeveen & van Meeteren, 2013).

Organizational factors

Organizational support in terms of adjustment, for instance relocation assistance and language and cross-cultural training, promoted the community embeddedness of working migrants (Chen, 2012). Organizational support provided means for working migrants to adjust in a new environment. It also motivated and invigorated them to establish their connections with their host communities in an intrinsic manner (Chen, 2012). Similarly, organizational family support such as promoting a family-friendly environment and providing benefits for families facilitated the enmeshment of working migrants in their community, especially among women (David et al., 2019). Organizational family support fostered the embeddedness of foreign workers by increasing the embeddedness of their family. Thereby, family members' embeddedness served as a proxy for migrants to connect with the local community, for instance through education and social activities of their children as well as through the social network of their partners.

Likewise, *organizational cultural intelligence* – characterized by HRM practices that are culturally sensitive and supportive – facilitated the adjustment among male migrants and promoted their community embeddedness (David et al., 2019). In contrast, *underemployment* often depleted the social status of working migrants in their community (Cederberg, 2017). Underemployed foreign workers were generally unable to sustain their desired lifestyle and financial conditions, thus obstructing their fit and decreasing their gauge of loss for leaving the host community (Cederberg, 2017).

Institutional factors

Literature indicated various institutional conditions that were associated with migrants' community embeddedness in the host country. *Immigration policies*, for example, were crucial for foreign workers to integrate into their host society. Some policies included opportunities for chain immigration (i.e., reunification with micro- and extensive family members) which in turn developed migrant social networks in the host nation (Tsuda, 1999). Moreover, *naturalization procedures* – the process to obtain host country citizenship – seemed to impact the settlement of working migrants in their host community (Humphries et al., 2009). Strict nationalization laws precluded migrants and their family members from integrating into host society and potentially pushed onward migration to a more preferable destination (Humphries et al., 2009; Kõu et al., 2017). Likewise, *nationalism* existing at the state level often led to discrimination towards foreigners in the host country, barring them from interactions with host country nationals as well as obstructing their inclusion and belonging in the host society (Bajt, 2016). *Residence rights* for migrants similarly acted as a valuable anchor that made their stay permanent (Agyeman & Garcia, 2016; Ette et al., 2016). Lack of residence rights often led to detachment among international mobile workers and promoted migration elsewhere (Humphries et al., 2009). Lastly, *social security systems* were associated with the community embeddedness among migrant employees. Research illustrates that the benefits offered by social security systems, pensions for instance, kept migrants in the host nation (Agyeman & Garcia, 2016).

Factors contributing to host career embeddedness

Situational factors

Research has indicated that *cultural novelty* and *distance* deplete migrants' perceived compatibility with career environments and impair their professional networks (Fernando & Patriotta, 2020; Ryan & Mulholland, 2014b). This relationship possibly stems from the fact that cross-cultural barriers create uncertainty in the working environment. This circumstance demands significant effort from migrants to adapt and fit in (Beaverstock, 2002; Ryan & Mulholland, 2014b). Furthermore, it seems that the more *internationalization* that happened in the host nation, the easier it was for working migrants to build their career embeddedness (Beaverstock, 2002). In these countries, career capital such as expertise or networks was more likely to be transferable, hence it increased the fit between migrants' capacity and their host country demands (Beaverstock, 2002). These countries further provided agencies, such as business associations, that facilitated the professional enmeshment of working migrants (Beaverstock, 2002). Some countries, however, obtained less global recognition, thus the value of international career capital decreased. Migrant workers residing in these countries experienced more barriers in achieving their international career aspirations (Bilodeau, 2010; Mendoza & Guitart, 2008). *Transferability of human capital* further affected the embeddedness of migrants in their career pathway. Those whose qualifications and working experiences were unrecognized in the host nation generally underwent underemployment, degraded job levels, and inferior compensation (Cederberg, 2017; Fernando & Patriotta, 2020). Advanced professional technologies in the host nation, by contrast, elevated the sense of sacrifice for leaving the country among the internationally mobile workers (Fernando & Patriotta, 2020; Poppe et al., 2016).

Another factor related to the career embeddedness of working migrants abroad is the egalitarian norms in the host nation. Career prospects of working migrants, especially women, benefitted from the gender equality in the host country (Pawlak & Goździak, 2020). Equity enabled women migrants to advance their career without systemic discrimination relating to gender roles and efficacy (Pawlak & Goździak, 2020; van den Bergh & Du Plessis, 2012). Indeed, a host society that preserved traditional gender roles – for instance in terms of parental responsibility – forced women migrants to forgo their career advancement for family duties (van den Bergh & Du Plessis, 2012). Country of origin similarly impacts migrants' career prospects abroad. Those migrating from lower status countries were prone to underemployment (Cederberg, 2017; Fernando & Patriotta, 2020; Humphries et al., 2009) and discrimination in the labor market (Cederberg, 2017). These constraints inhibited their career embeddedness in terms of fit (e.g., compatibility) and sacrifice (e.g. income and job status).

Individual factors

Migrants who had *relocated for work previously* were more efficient in networking with other professionals and clients, and in advancing their career abroad (Beaverstock, 2002). It is possible they developed their *cultural intelligence* through these journeys which in turn enabled them to grasp the underlying rules within the foreign working contexts (Beaverstock, 2002). Likewise, *personal traits* such as sociability and self-efficacy provided them with confidence to build and maintain their professional connections in the host country (Ryan & Mulholland, 2014b). The career embeddedness among working migrants seemed to involve various *communication channels* such as social media and informal social gatherings. Migrant workers who employed these means appeared to be effective in broadening and maintaining their career networks (Beaverstock, 2002; Ryan & Mulholland, 2014b). Likewise, those who possessed surplus social capital could employ support from their social ties to advance their career, for instance by acquiring information and knowledge about the working culture in the host country (Beaverstock, 2002).

The embeddedness of working migrants in the international career is further related to their *career capital and human capital*. Occupational expertise and soft skills, for example, represented the sources for social exchange which fostered migrants' working relationships and career success (Yang & Lau, 2015). Highly qualified migrants possessed more advantages to find suitable employment in the host country (Cederberg, 2017), hence augmenting their perceived fit with the international career environment. By contrast, those whose host country language command was insufficient often experienced hardships in job seeking and professional relationship building (Brunton & Cook, 2018; Cederberg, 2017).

Organizational factors

Evidence from the reviewed literature suggests that the mentoring programs in host organizations were especially instrumental for migrants in immersing themselves in their international career. Mentors provided migrants with reliable information, thereby minimizing ambiguity, and increasing their effectiveness in handling tasks (Carraher et al., 2008). They offered social-psychological support and personal coaching that facilitates migrants' productivity (Carraher et al., 2008). As a consequence, migrants benefited from their mentors in terms of enhancing their professional relationships, performance, and promotability (Carraher et al., 2008; van den Bergh & Du Plessis, 2012).

Research similarly points out various kinds of organizational support mechanisms that promoted career embeddedness among migrant employees. For instance, adjustment aids and benefits for families eased the transition and settlement, thus affording working migrants the opportunity to concentrate on their work and elevate their career satisfaction (i.e., sacrifice) (Cao et al., 2014; David et al., 2019). Career support – for instance in the form of training opportunities and career development plans – generated a sense of affinity with the international career pathway and kept them there (Fernando & Patriotta, 2020). Work-life balance practices – such as flexible working hours – enabled migrants to meet both work and personal responsibilities (Fernando & Patriotta, 2020). Thus, they emerged as important benefits that strengthened migrant workers ties to their host country in a professional context (Fernando & Patriotta, 2020). Finally, organizations that were highly culturally intelligent equipped migrant men with the means to adjust better in a new working environment, thereby augmenting their career satisfaction (David et al., 2019).

Institutional factors

National demands for an international labour force – often in some specific industries – paved the way for migrants to broaden their professional network. This is because employers operating these fields often relied on existing personal networks to recruit newcomers, triggering diaspora (Humphries et al., 2009; Tsuda, 1999). State nationalist policies, by contrast, created significant obstacles such as discrimination in the labour market and, hence, precluded working migrants from finding suitable employment and achieving their desired job levels or income (Bajt, 2016).

DISCUSSION

Whereas results from this SLR reveals a wide range of factors that impact migrant workers' embeddedness abroad, there are remaining areas calling for further insights. In this section, we discuss the implications of this SLR for theory and research by exploring research gaps in the current literature and by providing possible directions for future research. The implications for theory and research are illustrated in Table 15. In addition, we propose several recommendations for organizations to facilitate their migrant employees' immersion in the host country.

Embedding domains	Research gaps	Directions for future research
Organizational embeddedness	- Insufficient research on organizational factors - Insufficient research on institutional factors	- More studies on antecedents at organization level (e.g., organizational and supervisor justice) - More research on administrative and legal barriers (e.g., visas, work permits), national economic growth, structural demands for migrant laborers, integration policies
Community embeddedness	- Lack of relevant factors in the measurement of community embeddedness among migrant employees - Insufficient research on personality traits - Insufficient research on organizational factors	- Adapted scale of migrants' community embeddedness incorporating factors such as residency permit status, residence rights, social security benefits, discriminatory or inclusiveness of social climate in the host nation, perceived openness of immigration policies - Further studies on personality traits (e.g., openness to experiences, personal initiative) - Further studies on organizational factors (e.g., work-life balance practices)
Career embeddedness	- Insufficient research on career embeddedness - Insufficient research on institutional factors - Insufficient research on individual factors	- Further studies on career embeddedness of migrant employees (including its outcomes) - Further studies on institutional factors (e.g., immigration policies, economic/ business climate) - Further studies on individual factors (e.g., migration aspirations, expatriate mode)

Table 15: *Research gaps in current research on migrants' embeddedness*

Discussion on factors influencing host organizational embeddedness

Furthering research on organizational and institutional factors

The literature we reviewed revealed several factors that are associated with the embeddedness of migrant workers in their organizations. These factors are widespread across levels. In some cases, the organizational embeddedness of migrants stemmed from the interaction of cross-level conditions such as the combination of cultural intelligence and host country cultural orientation (Stoermer et al., 2020). Various factors are peculiar in the international mobility context, for instance cross-cultural barriers, language proficiency, expatriate mode, migration aspiration, organizational support for relocation and policies focusing on nationalism. Migrant employees undergo complex immersion processes where employment is not the sole relevant domain, but rather a complex situation emerges from a combination of multi-level factors. These complex immersion processes reinforced the necessity to view host organizational embeddedness from an interdisciplinary perspective.

In this light, the current literature clearly illustrates underexplored areas at organizational levels. The lack of studies discerning organizational influencers seems surprising, providing notable proximity between these factors and organizational embeddedness. The role of organizations in the embedding process among migrant employees thus remains largely under researched as compared to systematic evidence obtained on the domestic population (Kiazad et al., 2015). This research gap opens up promising directions for future studies. For instance, organizational and supervisor justice potentially emerges as an important influencer in the ways migrant employees immerse themselves into their organizations. Justice – either performed by an organization or by a supervisor – refers to the perceived fairness demonstrated in the allocation of resources and the outcomes in a given decision-making context (distributive justice) as well as the processes leading to that decision (procedural justice). Justice further encompasses the respect and propriety expressed by the decision-makers (interactional justice) and the ways they use honest and truthful information to justify the outcomes (informative justice) (Colquitt, 2012). Research demonstrates that inequality is a notable issue in the context where international workers are present (Oltra et al., 2013). Therein, inequality may manifest in various ways, from discrimination against particular groups to favoritism towards particular ethnicities in staffing and compensation polices (Cook et al., 2011; Oltra et al., 2013). Injustice strains connections between migrant employees and native workers creating intergroup conflicts (Bajt, 2016; Oltra et al., 2013) and eventually thwarting migrants' links with their co-workers (Brunton & Cook, 2018). It similarly decreases migrants' gauge of sacrifice for leaving the employed companies (Bajt, 2016). Justice assures that migrant employees receive equitable treatment in terms of rewards and salary, interactions, procedure, and transparency. These conditions contribute to a secure, comfortable, and respectful working environment that facilitates the organizational embeddedness of migrant workers.

Akin to that, current literature has patently omitted the influence of institutional factors on the organizational embeddedness among migrant employees. Literature reviews, however, suggests that various influencers on migrants' organizational embeddedness stem from institutional conditions (Al Ariss &

Sidani, 2016). For instance, administrative and legal barriers such as visas and work permits might restrict migrants' access into suitable employment, leading to underemployment or discounting skills entailed in their jobs (Al Ariss, 2010; Al Ariss & Sidani, 2016). By contrast, national economic growth and structural demands for migrant laborers often lead to diaspora (Tsuda, 1999) and foster migrants' social capital and network at the workplace (Cook et al., 2011). Finally, research suggests that political parties form divergent integration policies that affect migrants' means of immersing themselves into organizations. Such policies may hinder language training opportunities and access to job seeking aids (Natter et al., 2020). Further investigation is necessary to uncover the links between these institutional characters and the organizational embeddedness of migrant employees.

Providing supports according to multi-level conditions

There is a wide range of measures that organizations might apply to aid the embeddedness of migrant workers in their workplace. First, organizational support is particularly beneficial for self-initiated migrants to immerse themselves into the company, as their access to resources at work is restricted compared to assigned migrants (Suutari et al., 2018). Further assistance might include suitable job designs and assignments that minimize underemployment and promote interdependent working relationships. Likewise, mentoring programs might reduce adaptation stress, provide information, and ease the immersion process of migrants in their workplace. Second, organizations could play an active role to minimize discrimination towards foreigners in the host country through lobbying with political parties and governments (Al Ariss, 2010). They might work closely with immigration offices to ease the relocation process and administrative requirements for their foreign workers. Third, comparative HRM practices that are specialized for each group of migrants – depending on their background and individual differences – are necessary to foster migrants' organizational embeddedness (Al Ariss & Sidani, 2016). For instance, companies should pay attention to foreign workers from countries with highly distant cultures, i.e., those who face the greatest challenges in adapting to the host country's language and customs. Language and cultural training particularly boost their immersion process within this group of migrants.

Discussion on factors influencing host community embeddedness

Developing community embeddedness scale and call for research on personality traits, and organizational factors

The reviewed literature sheds light on various influencers on the community embeddedness of migrant workers. Moreover, it proposes several implications for theory and research. First, our literature review reaffirmed that working migrants immersed themselves into the host society in various ways. The measurement of community embeddedness therefore requires adaptation in the migrant population (cf. Linder, 2016). For instance, the adapted version might incorporate the residency permit status, residence rights, and social security benefits of working migrants; the discriminatory or inclusiveness of social climate in the host nation; and perceived openness of immigration policies. These factors appear to be distinctive due to the international mobility context, and, therefore, have not been included in the original measurements among domestic populations. Further studies might improve instruments of measurement by encompassing multi-level factors involved in the community embeddedness of working migrants.

Second, even though research has revealed various influencers on migrants' community embeddedness, it has omitted the notable role of personality traits. Rather than relying solely on the external environment, migrants seem to play an active role in their embedding process (Halvorsen et al., 2015; Ren et al., 2014). Personality traits therefore inevitably influence motivation, ways, and behaviours through which their community enmeshment is shaped. For instance, openness to experiences might promote migrants to adopt cultural and social norms and to overcome cross-cultural barriers more readily, hence increasing their compatibility with the host community. Similarly, proactiveness and persistence as a behavioural approach – representing personal initiative – might energize migrants to integrate into host communities despite various setbacks (Frese & Fay, 2001). Future research is necessary to explore the impact of personality traits in the ways migrants construct their embeddedness in the host society.

Lastly, the scarce evidence of organizational factors within current research demonstrates a research gap. Various practices generated by host companies might influence the ways migrants immerse themselves into the host community. For instance, organizational work-life balance practices – including flexible working time, working from home, on-site childcare, compassion, and bereavement leave – appear to reduce work-life conflict and aid employees as they tailor their work in accordance with their personal situations (Beauregard & Henry, 2009). Migration population – as compared to native ones – often requires extra resources in the immersion process, thus these practices might especially assist migrants in reaching higher levels of embeddedness there. For instance, they can utilize more time for socializing, leisure activities, and relationships with family members (i.e., community links) (Beauregard & Henry, 2009). These factors become particularly relevant within the Covid-19 pandemic when teleworking becomes mandatory in various sectors and settings. In fact, some research on assignees has illustrated that working from home facilitates relationships between migrant managers and their family members (Mello & Tomei, 2021). This situation strengthened their community links. Organizational conditions thus illustrate a promising direction for future research on migrants' community embeddedness.

Strategies to aid migrant workers' community embeddedness

There are various implications for practices that we derive from literature review results. The influence of ethnicity and country of origin on community embeddedness among migrant workers calls for more specialized approaches within organizations. Specifically, organizations might offer a diverse set of services depending on their preferred ways of embedding. For instance, migrants from equivalently developed/ industrialized countries benefit particularly from sports activities, tips for local trips, and socializing events. By contrast, those from less advanced areas possibly prefer support with social security benefits and the integration of family members. On the same note, the more egalitarian norms exhibited in the host society, the more migrant workers – especially those belonging to the minority and disadvantaged groups – feel safe and included, hence increasing their community fit. Organizations therefore can align with authorities to support equality and inclusiveness. Finally, they can motivate their working migrants to immerse themselves into the local community by providing a wide range of support mechanisms, for instance, language and cross-cultural training, relocation, and settlement support (e.g., accommodation and schooling) for both the foreign employees and their family members.

Discussion on factors influencing host career embeddedness

Notable gap in research on career embeddedness and directions for future studies

Even though the research reveals a number of factors associated with the career embeddedness of migrant workers in their host country, the focus on this domain was patently insufficient compared to that in organizational or community embeddedness. This gap demonstrates notable limitations as career embeddedness is a significant predictor of several important outcomes, such as repatriation (Tharenou & Caulfield, 2010). Therefore, further studies are necessary to reach a more comprehensive view on the career pathway of working migrants abroad.

Moreover, it seems that factors contributing to career and organizational embeddedness share a large overlapping part. This might stem from the fact that career and organizational embeddedness are both on-the-job domains (Ng & Feldman, 2007). However, career embeddedness of working migrants is more likely to link with socio-economic conditions in a host nation such as internationalization or egalitarian norms. In this light, the current literature clearly overlooks the institutional influencers on career embeddedness among foreign workers (cf. Al Ariss & Özbilgin, 2010). For instance, the immigration policies in the host country (e.g., work permit, integration program) potentially determines the migrants' accessibility into the host country labor market and opportunities for them to acquire suitable employment (Al Ariss & Özbilgin, 2010). Immigration policies therefore emerge as crucial influences on migrants' immersion in their international career pathway. The economic/ business climate similarly impacts their career embeddedness abroad. A flourishing economy typically demands migrant labor sources, thus forcing the host national authorities to alleviate the immigration barriers and create matching employment opportunities for migrant employees (Smet, 2013). Further research is necessary to capture the relationships between institutional conditions and career embeddedness among migrant workers.

Akin to that, studies have rarely identified the role of individual factors in career embeddedness among migrant employees. However, various factors seem to act as important sources for migrant workers to immerse themselves into their career pathways abroad. For instance, migrants who moved for career advancement exhibit stronger determination to establish their international career prospects (Beaverstock, 2002) whereas those who desired life change or followed their family members often put less effort into immersing themselves into their professions in the host country (Mendoza & Guitart, 2008). Likewise, the expatriate mode might determine the ways migrants become embedded in their working environment. Self-initiated migrants were more likely than assignees to immerse deeply into the career pathway abroad. This is because the former makes their own choice about the destination where they will develop their career whereas the latter relies on their employers' decision (Suutari et al., 2018). Influencers from the national career context thus have more impact on self-initiated migrants than assignees whose careers mainly develop within the company. In addition, self-initiated migrants whose organizational resources are limited need to accumulate support from external sources, such as native professionals outside the workplace. Indeed, research has shown that they possessed wider networks with external professionals compared to their assigned migrants (Agha-Alikhani, 2016).

Further research is necessary to better understand the role of individual elements in the career embedding process among working migrants.

Helping migrants build their career embeddedness abroad

Organizations can implement several measures to optimize career embeddedness among their foreign employees. For instance, they should invest in their migrant employees' career and human capital. In particular, research has demonstrated the effectiveness of intensive training programs (e.g., expertise, soft skills, and language) and career development plan. Akin to that, mentoring programs are necessary to optimize migrants' performance and career advancement. HRM practitioners can incorporate culturally intelligent practices in their working procedures, such as regulating their communication to fit in the cultural background of migrant employees. They could further apply work-life balance practices, such as flexible and teleworking as well as benefits for family members. Third, in terms of macro-level conditions, organizations can liaise with political institutions and authorities to accelerate the egalitarian norms within the host society and diminish discrimination in the labour market.

CONCLUSIONS

Our research provides a comprehensive view of factors that relate to job embeddedness among international migrant workers. The results illustrate that working migrants' embeddedness is formed by various influencers at the situational, individual, organizational, and institutional levels. Thereby, we assert that it is necessary to use an interdisciplinary approach to comprehend job embeddedness in the international migration context. Furthermore, we believe studies can improve upon the measurements used to evaluate job embeddedness in the international migration context by incorporating these multi-level factors.

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11 The integration migrant couples in Germany: The role of gender and the migration motive

Teresa Freitas Monteiro

ABSTRACT

This book chapter highlights the effect of gender and the migration position on the labour market and socio-cultural integration of migrant spouses in Germany. Using a representative survey of the migrant population in Germany, I find that a considerably larger share of females are tied movers, even though they tend to have higher education. This indicates that the family migration decision process is possibly not gender neutral. When looking at post-migration outcomes, I find that tied movers are less likely to be economic and socio-culturally integrated. Hence, being tied mover seems to create an additional hurdle when it comes to integration. While female migrants are less likely to be economically integrated, they are not very different from males when it comes to socio-cultural integration. The negative effect of gender on labour market integration, while holding the migration position and education constant, possibly reflects the role of traditional gender norms. In light of these findings, I conjecture that gender has both a direct and indirect effect on economic integration. Where the indirect effect comes through its effect on the migration position.

INTRODUCTION

This book chapter highlights the relative importance of the family migration position in relation to the labour market outcomes and socio-cultural integration of migrant spouses in Germany. Single individuals choose to migrate if the individual returns to migration outweigh the costs. Couples migrate if either both spouses gain from migration individually (equal movers) or if the gains from one spouse (lead mover) allow compensating the losses of the other spouse, who if single would not have chosen to migrate (tied mover)[2].

There is a clear distinction in the migration driver between tied and lead or equal movers. Tied movers migrate to follow their partner rather than being motivated by their own educational or professional goals. On the other hand, lead or equal movers expect to have positive individual economic gains from migration. Due to their intrinsically different migration driver, I hypothesise that lead movers have higher levels of both labour market and socio-cultural integration than tied movers.

A potential reason for a lower economic integration among tied movers is

[2] The terms tied and lead mover were initially coined by Mincer (1978)

that this group is less likely to be selected on labour market skills that are relevant in the host country (Luthra et al., 2018). By definition, tied movers are spouses who if single would not have chosen to migrate (e.g., have negative individual gains from migration). Hence, we can expect that tied movers have a disadvantage in the host country's labour market when compared to lead or equal movers. Another potential reason is that tied movers have different preferences towards work.

Since tied movers migrated to follow their partner, their predisposition towards settling in the host country is likely to be different from that of lead movers. Furthermore, given the different expected labour market gains between tied movers and lead or equal movers, we can also expect that these two groups will have different incentives to invest in the host country's culture. Namely, lead or equal movers have a higher incentive to invest in the host country's culture because they expect to have higher economic gains.

To empirically access the role of the migration position on economic and socio- cultural integration I rely on a unique representative survey of the migrant population in Germany (IAB-SOEP migration sample). The survey allows me to identify the family migration position (e.g., tied, lead or equal movers) of each migrant spouse and contains a series of pre-and post-migration information which is suited for the analysis.

I start by classifying family migrants according to their migration position and demonstrate how pre-migration characteristics of these types differ. In line with the gender role theories, I find that gender is a main determinant of who is a tied mover. Secondly, using regression analysis I show how the migration position is associated with different economic and socio-cultural integration in Germany and with different time allocations in home tasks. Economic integration ismeasured by the employment status and hours worked. Socio-cultural integration is proxied by ethnic self-identity, German speaking skills and return intentions. As hypothesised, I find that tied movers are less likely to be economic and socio-culturally integrated.

This book chapter heavily relies on the work of Freitas Monteiro (2021a, b), which separately analyses the effect of being a tied mover on labour market integration and household sharing of resources (Freitas Monteiro, 2021b) and on ethnic identity (Freitas Monteiro, 2021a) in Germany. While these papers use instrumental variables to estimate the causal effect of being a tied mover on the outcomes of interests, the methods used in this book chapter are directed towards a broader audience and hence will be simpler, albeit conveying interesting insights. Even though the detailed premigration information contained in the IAB-SOEP migration data enables me to control for several potential confounding factors, the results should be interpreted as associations rather than causal paths. This book chapter adds to previous work by providing a bigger picture of the overall integration pattern of tied movers and their time allocation in Germany.

Most literature in economics has focused on the socio-cultural adaptation of migrants who come from distinct countries of origin or have different citizenship rights (e.g., Battu & Zenou, 2010; Casey & Dustmann, 2010; Constant et al., 2009; Constant & Zimmermann, 2008; Drydakis, 2013; Dustmann, 1996; Georgiadis & Manning, 2011; Manning & Roy, 2010). However, the effect of migrating for economic reasons or family reasons on the socio-cultural adjustment of migrants has been little explored.

The empirical research on tied movers has mostly focused on internal migration (Juerges, 2006; Nivalainen, 2004; Rabe, 2011; Shauman, 2010) and there is little research on international family joint migration, mostly due to data constraints. The few studies looking at international family joint migration find that tied movers have poorer labour market outcomes than lead movers (Adsera & Chiswick, 2007; Krieger, 2019; Le, 2006; Munk et al., 2017) and some suggest that international family joint migration is not fully gender-neutral (Junge et al., 2014; Krieger, 2019; Munk et al., 2017).

In this book chapter, I contribute to the literature by connecting three previous research branches on economic integration, socio-cultural integration and family migration. Unlike many international migration studies, by using the IAB-SOEP migration sample, I can distinguish between tied movers and lead movers. This allows me to exploit how different migration drivers affect not only labour market outcomes but also socio-cultural outcomes. While some of the studies mentioned above have explored how migrating for economic versus family reasons differently affects labour market integration (Krieger, 2019; Le, 2006), there is little evidence on how differently affects socio-cultural integration.

IAB-SOEP MIGRATION DATA AND DEFINITIONS

The data used in this book chapter comes from two samples of the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP). The GSOEP is a representative survey of private households in Germany and has a longitudinal structure. The baseline GSOEP contains a series of self-reported information such as education, employment status, occupation, earnings, health, satisfaction, and attitudes, among others. In 2013 and 2015, two samples of immigrants were introduced, which are jointly named the IAB-SOEP Migration Sample Survey[3]. The two samples target

[3] This study uses the anonymous data of the IAB-SOEP Migration Sample Survey Data. The survey is a joint project of the Institute for Employment Research (IAB) and the Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) at DIW Berlin. Data access was provided via a Scientific Use File supplied by the Research Data Centre (FDZ) of the German Federal Employment Agency (BA) at the IAB. DOI: 10.5684/soep.iab-soep-mig.2015. For data documentation, see Brücker et al. (2014)

individuals who migrated to Germany between 1995 and 2010 from the EU-New Member States and Southern European Countries. The first seven survey waves were carried out between 2013 and 2019, with between 3,000-5,000 persons taking part in each of them. The IAB- SOEP questionnaire includes all core questions of the regular GSOEP in addition to questions that address specific aspects of respondents 'pre-migration history and post-migration aspects. Namely, it allows identifying if a couple was together before migration and which spouse was the lead or tied mover. The questionnaire also allows to distinguish between home and host country education and work experience and it contains information on pre-migration labour force status. The set of (post) migrant-specific questions include variables such as language proficiency, return intentions, German identity, and connection to the home country among others.

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Defining and identifying tied movers

In the seminal paper on family migration, Mincer (1978) noted that even if the family gains in economic terms from migration, at an individual level

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some family members might lose from moving. Mincer (1978) coined the term 'tied mover', which refers to a family migrant who, if single, would not have chosen to migrate.

To identify tied movers, I rely on three questions of the IAB-SOEP migration sample regarding the relationship status before and after migration.

1. Were you in a serious relationship before movingto Germany?	Yes / No
2. Did this relationship continue after you movedto Germany?	Yes / No
3. What played the decisive role in your decision to move here - who was the driving force in that decision?	I was / My partner / Both to an equal extent

Table 16: *Determining who is a tied mover*

Using the first two questions I classify individuals who migrated as a couple as those who replied "Yes" on both questions. Combining these questions with the third question, I then classify each individual who migrated as a couple as a lead mover ("I was"), equal mover ("Both to an equal extent") or tied mover ("My partner")[5].

For the empirical analysis, I group lead and equal movers. The main reason to do so is that both lead and equal movers wanted to move and expected to gain individually from migration. There are also a few cases of equal movers.

Measures of economic and socio-cultural integration

To measure the economic integration of tied and lead or equal movers I use the information on individual employment status and hours worked. For accessing socio-cultural integration I rely on measures of ethnic self-identification, German language skills and return intentions (Constant & Zimmermann, 2008; Constant et al., 2009; Drydakis, 2013; Georgiadis & Manning, 2011). Ethnic self-identification is proxied by two questions. The first one asks respondents how connected they feel to their country of origin and the second asks to what extent the respondent feel German (Campbell, 2019; Casey & Dustmann, 2010; Dustmann, 1996; Georgiadis & Manning, 2011; Manning & Roy, 2010). Both questions allow respondents to choose an answer from a five-point scale, which ranges from 1 "Not at all" to 5 "Very Strongly". For the German language skills, I rely on a question which asks respondents "How well do you know German" and use the speaking scale which ranges from 1 "Not at all" to 5 "Very Well". To measure return

[5] Because this question was not asked in 2013, a proxy was used for individuals without information. The proxy combines 1) a reply from the spouse if available in later waves and 2) information regarding the migration motive. If the individual replied that migrated due to family or partnership (economic or political) reasons and the spouse said that was the lead or equal (tied) mover, then this individual was considered tied (lead/equal) mover

intentions, I create a variable that takes a value of one if the respondent stated that he or she wished to remain permanently in Germany or for more than 15 years.

Additionally, to better understand tied movers' time allocation I use information on hours allocated to homework and childcare.

Working sample

As in Freitas Monteiro (2021a, b) the working sample in this study is based on a repeated cross-section. One reason to do so is that the questions measuring socio-cultural integration are not asked in all waves and there is little variation between the waves in which they are asked. Secondly, the main explanatory variable of interest is having migrated as a tied mover, which is a time constant variable and hence it would be absorbed if using fixed effect estimation.

To obtain the repeated cross-sectional sample, I give priority to the time an individual answers the socio-cultural integration questions. I exclude individuals who migrated when they were 18 years old or younger and those who migrated at 64 years or older since these are unlikely to work.

For the majority of couples, I can observe both spouses, however, in cases, there is information on only one spouse. The final sample, for which all dependent and independent variables are available, is comprised of 1,409 individuals of which 780 are females and 629 are males.

CHARACTERISTICS OF TIED AND LEAD MOVERS

A tied mover refers to a family migrant who, if single, would not have chosen to migrate. This is a tied mover is an individual for whom the individual returns to migration do not outweigh individual costs. However, the family returns to migration, which encompasses the individual returns of each spouse, do outweigh family migration costs.

Returns to migration can be roughly seen as the difference in earnings between home and host country. Hence, individual characteristics affecting labour market earnings will determine their returns to migration. The traditional model in economics predicted that the spouse with lower human capital was more likely to be a tied mover (Mincer, 1978; Polachek & Horvath, 1977; Sandell, 1977). At the time (1970's), it was argued that women were more likely to be tied movers because they tended to have a more discontinuous labour force participation and less market earning power (e.g. motherhood, non-market activities), therefore contributingless to total family earnings.

In this section, I look at couples who have already decided to migrate to Germany and analyse the characteristics of spouses who took the role of a tied mover or a lead/equal mover. Table 16 bellow shows the most relevant premigration characteristics. We see that around 71 per cent of tied movers are female and that about 68 per cent of tied movers were employed in the year before migration. Tied movers seem to be slightly more likely than lead movers to have a university degree from their home country. This hints that the status of lead versus tied mover might be a reflection of intrinsically different preferences towards work.

The high share of females among tied movers, with higher education and who were employed before migration, suggests that migration is not fully gendered neutral [6]. While it is not possible to causally infer on the mechanisms behind this pattern, a potential reason is the role of traditional gender norms. Gender role theories argue that women do not have the same decision power as men within the family because they are socially taught to put family interests first and personal goals second (Bielby & Bielby, 1992; Cooke, 2008). According to the traditional gender norms, husbands take the role of the head of the household and the family breadwinner, while wives are expected to perform the majority of household tasks and take a subordinate position. This would imply that (migration) decision-making within the household is asymmetric with respect to the spouses' gender and that the characteristics of the female spouse are poor predictors of family migration.

This argument departs from the traditional human capital model of Mincer (1978) which is gender-neutral in the sense that it considers how much each spouse contributes to the total family earnings, independently of the gender of the spouse. Indeed, in the late twentieth century, the sociologists Shihadeh (1991) and Bielby & Bielby (1992) argued that women were more likely to be tied movers not because of their lower human capital but because of their prescribed role within societies.

[6] This is in line with the international family joint migration literature which finds that migration is not fully gender neutral (Junge et al., 2014; Munk et al., 2017; Krieger, 2019)

	Lead & Equal Mover	Tied Mover	Total	
	%	%	%	N
Age at immigration	32.54	31.99	32.35	1,409
Gender				
Male	52.45	29.09	44.64	629
Female	47.55	70.91	55.36	780
Region of origin				
EU15+2	12.15	11.04	11.78	166
EU 2004 enlargement	20.79	17.20	19.59	276
EU 2007 & 2013 enlargement	17.91	19.75	18.52	261
Russia & other former Soviet Union	18.23	18.47	18.31	258
Turkey & Arab countries	6.08	9.98	7.38	104
Central Asia	13.65	9.77	12.35	174
Other countries	11.19	13.80	12.07	170
Religion				
No denomination	22.81	24.42	23.35	329
Islamic religion	10.77	13.38	11.64	164
Christian religion	63.86	59.02	62.24	877
Another religious comm.	2.13	1.70	1.99	28
No religious information	0.43	1.49	0.78	11
Employed 1 year BFM				
Not employed BFM	23.99	32.27	26.76	377
Employed 1 year BFM	76.01	67.73	73.24	1,032
Home country education				
No further education	36.14	34.82	35.70	503
Vocational t., apprent. & others	34.54	31.63	33.57	473
Technical or prof. college	9.59	9.77	9.65	136
University	19.72	23.78	21.08	297

Table 16: *Pre-migration characteristics*
Notes: BFM refers to before migration; EU15+2 to an EU15 country plus Switzerland and Norway; Vocational t. to vocational training; apprent. to apprenticeship and prof. college to professional college

Table 17 documents post-migration characteristics by the migration position. Very few migrants, both tied and lead or equal, seem to acquire education in Germany. Given that most spouses migrate with more than 30 years old, it is unsurprising that very few acquired further education in Germany. The number of children present in the household among migrant couples seems to be low, at about 1.2 children per household. Only 19 per cent of couples have a child in preschool and 39 per cent in school. On average, spouses have been in Germany for 9.5 years.

	Lead & Equal Mover	Tied Mover	Total	
	%	%	%	N
Years since migration	9.47	9.54	9.54	1,409
Host country education				
No Vocational t. or uni. GER	98.72	99.15	98.86	1,393
Vocational t. or uni. GER	1.28	0.85	1.14	16
Number of children	1.14	1.16	1.15	1,409
At least 1 child in school				
No child in school	63.22	61.36	62.60	882
A child in school	36.78	38.64	37.40	527
At least 1 child in pre-school				
No child in pre-school	80.81	80.89	80.84	1,139
A child in pre-school	19.19	19.11	19.16	270

Table 17: *Post-migration characteristics*
Notes: Vocational t. refers to vocational training and uni. refers to university

EMPIRICAL MODEL

To look at the effect of gender and migration position on the integration outcomes I estimate the following model:

$$\begin{aligned} Y_{i,o,t} &= \beta_0 + \beta_1 TiedM_i + \beta_2 Ysm_i + \beta_3 YsmSq_i + \eta' X_i + \\ &+ \lambda' Religion_i + \varsigma' HO_i + \pi HG_i + \tau' HH_i + \gamma_t + \delta_o + \varepsilon_{1i}, \end{aligned} \tag{1}$$

Where $Y_{i,o,t}$ is the outcome of interest, as described in the previous section, for individual i from the region of origin o at survey year t. $TiedM_i$ denotes the migration position, it takes the value of one if spouse i is a tied mover and zero if is lead or both movers. X_i is a vector of individual characteristics such as gender, age and age squared. Ysm_i refers to years since migration and $YsmSq_i$ to its square. $Religion_i$ equals zero if an individual is an atheist, one if follows Islamic religion, two if Christian and three if other religion.

HO_i includes variables related to the human capital acquired in the country of origin by individual i. This includes a dummy variable for the employment status one year before migration and a categorical variable referring to home country education. HG_i is a dummy variable for observed human capital acquired in Germany and equals one if individual i acquired vocational training or university after migration. HH_i is a vector of observed household information after migration which includes the number of children, if there is a child in kindergarten and if there is a child in school. γ_t are survey year fixed effects and δ_o region of origin fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the household level.

RESULTS

Table 17 shows the results for the two measures of economic integration and the four proxies of socio-cultural integration using the regression model as described in (1). The reference individual is a male, lead or equal mover, from an EU-15 country or Switzerland or Norway, at the survey year 2013, not employed in the home country 1 year before migration, with no further education beyond the compulsory in the home country, without vocational training or university in Germany, without a child in pre-school or school.

Looking at the results we can see that tied movers are less likely to be employed, to feel German, to have a good command of German and to wish to remain in Germany for 15 years or more, when compared to lead or equal movers. On the other hand, tied movers are more likely to work fewer hours and to feel connected to their country of origin when compared to lead or equal movers. Hence, being a tied mover seems to create a hurdle when it comes to integration.

To make sense of these results we should recall that, by definition, a tied mover is a spouse who if single would not have chosen to migrate. Therefore, it is expected that tied movers have lower earnings potentials in Germany when compared to lead movers. This can be a consequence of a worse skill match or a lack of network in the field of expertise, for instance. Another plausible explanation is that tied movers have intrinsically different preferences toward work.

The different migration motive and expected labour market gains between tied movers and lead or equal movers also means that these two groups will have different predispositions and incentives to invest in the host country's culture. Moreover, the lower employment rates among tied movers mean that, in the long run, this group is less likely to be exposed to people from the host country. Hence, it is expected that tied movers feel less German and have worse German skills when compared to lead or equal movers.

While female migrants are less likely to be economically integrated, they are not very different from males when it comes to socio-cultural integration. Females are more likely to have a good command of German when compared to males. The negative effect of gender on labour market integration, while holding the migration position and education constant, possibly reflects the role of traditional gender norms. While gender seems to have a direct effect on economic integration, it is also likely to have an indirect effect through its effect on the migration position.

As expected, years since migration is an important determinant of integration. Having a university degree from the home country is strongly associated with better labour market integration. Given that very few individuals acquired further education in Germany, this indicator is not a strong predictor of integration.

	Economic		Socio-cultural			
	Hours Worked (1)	Employment (2)	Feel German (3)	Connected Origin (4)	Oral German (5)	Remain Germany (6)
Migration motive (ref: lead or equal mover)						
Tied mover	-3.31***	-0.07**	-0.21***	0.25***	-0.22***	-0.03*
	(1.06)	(0.03)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.02)
Years since migration	0.50*	0.01**	0.08***	-0.03**	0.06***	-0.00
	(0.25)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Years since migration squared	-0.01	-0.00*	-0.00***	0.00	-0.00***	0.00
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Age at migration	0.67	0.02*	-0.02	-0.00	-0.05**	-0.00
	(0.44)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Age at migration squared	-0.01**	-0.00**	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Gender (ref: male)						
Female	-16.33***	-0.28***	0.02	0.09*	0.13***	0.02
	(1.03)	(0.02)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.02)
Religion (ref: atheist)						
Islamic religion	-6.23***	-0.13**	-0.08	0.49***	-0.21*	0.07**
	(2.34)	(0.06)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.04)
Christian religion	-0.60	-0.00	0.07	0.06	-0.03	0.04
	(1.25)	(0.03)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.02)
Another religious comm.	-6.68**	-0.15**	0.07	0.53**	-0.62***	-0.08
	(2.66)	(0.07)	(0.21)	(0.23)	(0.21)	(0.10)
No religious information	-0.80	-0.01	0.21	-0.15	0.34	0.14***
	(6.12)	(0.15)	(0.38)	(0.27)	(0.30)	(0.04)
Employment BFM						
(ref: not employed)	1.76	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.14**	0.00
Employed 1 year BFM	(1.21)	(0.03)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.02)
Home country education						
(ref: no further educ.)	0.88	0.04	0.01	-0.05	0.03	0.01
Vocational t., apprent. & others	(1.28)	(0.03)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.02)
Technical or prof. college	1.91	0.04	-0.19*	0.12	0.20**	0.00
	(1.97)	(0.05)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.03)
University	3.52***	0.08**	-0.16*	0.07	0.45***	-0.07**
	(1.34)	(0.03)	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.03)
Host country education						
(ref: no voc. t. or Uni.)	0.88	0.09	0.45*	0.58**	0.48***	0.01
Vocational t. or university in Germany	(4.80)	(0.11)	(0.26)	(0.23)	(0.18)	(0.08)
Children in school						
(ref: no child in school)	0.92	0.04	0.04	0.01	-0.03	0.04*
Child in school	(1.41)	(0.03)	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.03)
Children in school (ref: no child in pre-school)	-0.93	-0.04	0.14	-0.02	0.05	0.02
Child in pre-school	(1.41)	(0.04)	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.03)
Number children	-2.62***	-0.06***	-0.02	0.01	-0.02	-0.00
	(0.65)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.01)
Constant	29.35***	0.55***	2.28***	4.02***	4.39***	0.72***
	(7.77)	(0.19)	(0.47)	(0.43)	(0.39)	(0.13)
Survey year fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Region of origin fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1409	1409	1409	1409	1409	1409
R^2	0.244	0.163	0.094	0.140	0.201	0.095

Table 18: *Integration outcomes*
Standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$
Notes: vocational t. and voc. t. refer to vocational training and apprent. to apprenticeship, prof. refers to professional and unni. to university

To better understand the potential role of gender norms, I estimate equation (1) on hours of housework per weekday and hours of childcare per weekday. Table 19 shows a self-contained version of the results focusing on the migration position and gender. Tied movers are more likely to spend more hours doing housework and childcare than lead or equal movers, although the latter category is only significant at 11 per cent level. Everything else equal, females spend one more hour doing housework per weekday and another one hour per weekday with childcare when compared to males. Combined with the results from Table 18 these findings point towards the direction of migrant couples following a more traditional male-breadwinner model after migration.

	Hours housework, weekday (1)	Hours childcare, weekday (2)
Tied mover	0.17**	0.22
	(0.08)	(0.14)
Female	1.05***	0.97***
	(0.06)	(0.12)
Survey year fixed effects	Yes	Yes
Region of origin fixed effects	Yes	Yes
Individual Controls	Yes	Yes
Observations	1409	1409
R^2	0.258	0.219

Table 19: *Home-work*
Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

CONCLUSION

This book chapter highlighted the effect of gender and the migration position on the labour market and the socio-cultural integration of migrant spouses in Germany. Using a representative survey of the migrant population in Germany, I find that a considerably larger share of females are tied movers, even though they tend to have higher education. This indicates that the family migration decision process is possibly not gender neutral.

As hypothesized in the introduction, I find that tied movers are less likely to be economic and socio-culturally integrated. Hence, being a tied mover seems to create an additional hurdle when it comes to integration.

While female migrants are less likely to be economically integrated, they are not very different from males when it comes to socio-cultural integration. The negative effect of gender on labour market integration, while holding the migration position and education constant, possibly reflects the role of traditional gender norms. In light of these findings, I conjecture that gender has both a direct and indirect effect on economic integration. Where the indirect effect comes through its effect on the migration position.

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PART IV
Corporate global mobility management challenges

12 Researching flexible language management in international workforces: The potential of critical realist ontology

Ivan Olav Vulchanov

ABSTRACT

Employees often face multilingualism and organisational language policies when engaging in global work. Working in an organisation, which crosses linguistic borders through geographic dispersion and/or employing multilingual workforces, could entail encountering various forms of organisational language management. However, when multiple linguistic contexts are involved, multinational organisations may balance pressures for global standardisation and local adaptation through flexible language management. Here, flexible language management denotes organisational approaches to language, which, either officially or unofficially, apply a common language/s, but does not stipulate in which domains and forms employees should use it/them. While such policies may allow balancing conflicting pressures through the coexistence of common and local languages, their ambiguity has several implications. Leaving the organisational language and its qualities undefined leaves room for varying interpretations and expectations for language use, in turn influencing work collaboration and the careers of employees in an international workforce. By consolidating theoretical insights through a thematic literature review of language-sensitive business and management research, supplemented by sociolinguistic perspectives, this chapter provides a conceptual outline of flexible organisational language management. Furthermore, the chapter proposes critical realism as a suitable layered ontology for researching various facets of the phenomenon. Due to the multidimensional nature of language management as a social phenomenon, and flexible language management in particular, critical realist research strategies are here argued to provide the required contextual adaptation to study practices, norms, and ideology.

INTRODUCTION

Over the past two decades, language-sensitive research in business and management, as well as advances in other disciplines, such as sociolinguistics, have demonstrated that organisations can have a crucial impact on the functioning of their workforce through language management and language policies (Luo & Shenkar, 2006; Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999a; Sanden & Lønsmann, 2006). Particularly in the context of international workforces, expatriation and global work, multilingualism becomes a key contextual characteristic which employees must navigate (Tenzer & Schuster, 2017). In order to manage multilingualism and create a common ground for streamlined communication, organisations have created policy areas which specifically designate a language or languages for internal communication (Piekkari et al., 2005). However, as language is such an inherent part of human action and managing language use through guidelines has been proven difficult (Fredriksson et al., 2006), empirical studies have documented the existence of various forms of language management which either informally or semi-formally demarcate guidelines for acceptable language use (Sanden & Kankaanranta, 2018) – here coined as 'flexible language management'. Given the frequency of such language management solutions, international employees may often find themselves facing unpredictable linguistic conditions and having to navigate a challenging terrain (Aichhorn & Puck, 2017). In order to shed light on this phenomenon and provide the foundation for future language-sensitive management and business research, this chapter conceptually maps flexible language management and its implications for an international multilingual workforce. By adopting this conceptualisation, future research may analyse a broader set of organisational practices which would normally fall outside the scope of traditional language management, such as language policy. Furthermore, in order to propose suitable empirical strategies for researching this phenomenon, the chapter also outlines the main characteristics of critical realist ontology and how it facilitates multi-method language-sensitive research.

FLEXIBLE LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT CONCEPTUALISED

In order to outline the conceptual need for 'flexible language management', this chapter builds on a thematic literature review of language-sensitive international business and management publications. Furthermore, publications from sociolinguistics are considered as a theoretical supplement. As the body of literature considered here is in many respects fragmented (Tenzer et al., 2017; Vulchanov, 2020), the gathering of literature has been cumulative, where database searches have been complemented with manual and thematic literature search techniques, such as reference tracking. With a body of literature distributed across several disciplines and sub-streams, a thematic literature review produces broad theoretical insight for conceptual development, rather than a systematic approach within one single domain.

Before conceptually outlining the term 'flexible language management', a brief introduction to 'language management' is also necessary. Based on management and sociolinguistic language planning literature, Sanden (2015a) offers a three-level conceptual discussion of corporate language policy, a main component of language management. Policy is here defined as "a type of plan, a statement of intent, or more formalised rules and/or regulations within a certain topical area" (2015a, p. 1100), placing an emphasis on the codified and intentional properties of policy. Sanden distinguishes language measures from policy, as "the hands-on activities the management of a firm implements in order to address the language needs of the corporation" (2015b, p. 33). Further conceptualisations of language policy concentrate on inter-unit relationships in an organisational hierarchy, where languages may be deemed as functional in a multilingual landscape of headquarters and subsidiaries, using a mix of parent country languages and local languages (Luo & Shenkar, 2006; Thomas, 2008).

By viewing multilingualism as a potential barrier, where the interface of different languages without a common lingua franca leads to misunderstandings and slowdowns in efficiency, many organisations have attempted to ensure the use of a single language. Often, in large parts of the world, this single lingua franca has been English, due to the language's widespread role as a foreign language on a global basis (Crystal, 2003), and its key role in international business (Tietze & Dick, 2009). It is necessary to differentiate between internal and external communication, as organisations may approach these two areas differently with regards to language management (Simonsen, 2009). On the one hand, the organisation may wish to influence language choices in internal communication if there is a desire to streamline communication and limit interlingual translation. On the other hand, organisations communicate with external stakeholders, such as competitors, partners, vendors, customers, political institutions, or the media. Here, the organisation may choose to influence the ways they are perceived externally, by adjusting their language use to the environment and audience. Many international organisations with sites and offices in multiple countries will thus face a diverse set of local adaptation requirements. However, English here may also become a frequent alternative, due to its associations with international mindedness and global connotations (Lønsmann, 2015). Thus, displayed external English use may be a part of organisational branding.

Scholars have also outlined the interrelation between language management and other organisational domains. Luo and Shenkar (2006) propose to consider the multinational company's (MNC) strategy, structure, internationalisation, subunit form, subunit strategic role and expatriate deployment when theorising which combinations of language/s will figure in an MNC. Although focusing on headquarter-subsidiary relationships and, to some extent, conscious language designs, their theoretical proposals for institutional factor influence on language strategy remain relevant when analysing organisational language policy emergence. Scholars have also indicated the relevance of the alignment between language policy and the MNC' overall communication policy (Simonsen, 2009) and human resources (HR) policy (Van den Born & Peltokorpi, 2010). Thus, theoretically, there is a multitude of elements of MNC activity which are interrelated with language management. However, due to the challenges associated with fully coordinating and interconnecting these areas in day-to-day activities, many of the theoretical recommendations from language-sensitive scholars above are difficult to trace in practice.

Language choice, and the selection between different languages for organisational communication are not the only components of language management. There are several other policy areas and practices which organisations can use to influence the linguistic composition of their workforce. Particularly within human resource management, recruitment and employee training have been highlighted as key tools which organisations apply to influence language use in the organisation (Peltokorpi, 2017). Through language-sensitive recruitment, organisations may include language requirements when hiring and thus make sure that new employees are able to use the language/s which are designated for organisational communication. Furthermore, organisations may offer language training to existing employees in order to upskill the workforce in a language where proficiency does not match the organisational expectations and/or requirements. However, it is important to note that this form of language management does not guarantee language use to occur in a certain language or format, as even if a workforce has the necessary skills to operate in a certain language, language use is still an inherently individual choice which is governed by the social setting (Tietze et al., 2014).

However, extant terminology for the degree of language management formalisation is a potential source of conceptual conflation. Sanden and Lønsmann (2018) define non-formal language policies as the *de facto* organisational use of a given language, as opposed to *de jure* use supported by a document. In legal terms, de jure commonly refers to laws stipulating regulations and possibly, sanctions. Thus, there is further room for nuance, as the distinction between formal and non-formal, or official and unofficial language management, does not necessarily distinguish between the organisational procedures and practices which may make up language management. Therefore, 'flexible' language management is here proposed as a concept which may aid the theorisation of the link between observable linguistic phenomena and challenges in international workplaces and organisational practices aimed at employee language use.

Flexible language management, as coined in this chapter, refers to an organisational approach to language, which either intentionally or unintentionally provides a framework which leaves language use in a multilingual workplace governed by interpretations of practice and norms. This has already been discussed as *non-formalised* or *informal* language policy in the literature, where there is a common organisational language, but it is not backed by policy (Sanden & Lønsmann, 2018). However, there are other forms of language management, where the corporate language is not informal, but its codification and format leaves language use unmanaged. Therefore, this chapter proposes *flexible* language management, as this can encompass cases of formalised language management, which still is undefined enough to respond to conflicting internal and external institutional pressures. Louhiala-Salminen and Kankaanranta's (2012) study describes an emergent informal language policy. This is a key component of flexible language management, as it juxtaposes an incremental, and in some respects automated, emergence of a corporate language to an abrupt top-down introduction. The emergent nature of language policy will naturally depend on the perspective at hand, as organisational mergers unite entities from different settings and different historical trajectories. Thus, one type of language management may have developed in an emergent fashion for one organisational entity but be introduced abruptly for another in a merger situation (Kroon et al., 2015).

A further component of flexible language management is the existence of a language policy which declares an official organisational language but does not specify what this role actually entails. Thus, emphasis lies on the declaration of the status of a certain organisational language, rather than whether this status is known throughout the workforce and what it means for everyday language use (Fredriksson et al., 2006; Lønsmann, 2017). If an international and multilingual organisation operates in several contexts, each with its set of pressures for language use, leaving the official organisational language status undefined allows the organisation to respond to conflicting linguistic pressures, while still maintaining a formal official language.

Therefore, another trait of flexible language management is its adaptability to various contexts. Besides leaving the official language status undefined, organisations may apply a combination of multiple languages, where national languages are used within given geographic contexts, and a common language is used for communication crossing borders and internal organisational boundaries (Luo & Shenkar, 2006). The separation between internal and external communication is crucial here, as an organisation may opt for standardised internal single language use, while showing responsiveness and adaptability to local linguistic contexts where other languages are prominent.

The implications of flexible language management are manifold. First, the advantages in this approach are discussed, after which the challenges and more unpredictable potential consequences are considered. Firstly, a crucial facet of flexible language management is its ability to navigate a complex, and at times, tense, political international organisational environments. Given the personal nature of language use, policy or management directed towards how people should communicate risks entering uncharted and even emotional territory (Aichhorn & Puck, 2017; Bordia & Bordia, 2015). Language use as an identity marker or facet of belonging to a certain demographic group is challenging to manage legally on a national level (Baldauf et al., 2010), let alone in a diverse organisational meso-scale. Various forms of language management, such as policy dictating organisational language use, has been found to meet resistance and even to foster or exacerbate divisions within the workforce (Hinds et al., 2014). When favouring one or a group of languages over other languages which exist in an organisational landscape, an imbalance forms between employees whose language is selected and those who have to function in second languages which they are not proficient in (Neeley & Dumas, 2016). Flexible language management, in the shape of not declaring single languages official, may be applied in such circumstances to avoid stirring up antagonism between different groups of employees and different organisational units based in different linguistic contexts.

Secondly, flexible language management may apply a pragmatic approach by regarding a multilingual organisational environment as an inherently natural part of international operations, where regulation or limitation of this characteristic through policy is not desired (Piekkari & Tietze, 2011). Thus, the focus lies on utilising multilingualism as a resource rather than a barrier (Gaibrois, 2018). This means that responsiveness to the organisation's anchoring in each national and regional context is prioritised. For instance, rather than over-emphasising English skills in recruitment, a potential new recruit's interaction with the local language environment, as well task performance abilities could be prioritised (Tenzer & Schuster, 2017). Furthermore, language training packages, as part of flexible language management, could be contextually, and even individually adapted, so that the organisation can provide language courses to employees based on the individual pattern of interaction with the various groups of the organisation (Tietze et al., 2014).

The conceptual properties of flexible language management match linguistic phenomena documented by prior research. Firstly, language policy left open to individual interpretation means that language use in internal communication will be highly susceptible to language ideologies (Kroskrity, 2004; Woolard & Shieffelin, 1994). Studies in sociolinguistics and language-sensitive management and organisational research have outlined language ideology as beliefs about the commonsensical and naturalised role of language in the world (Lønsmann, 2015; Lønsmann & Mortensen, 2018). Thus, when organisations host diverse bodies of employees located in different countries and regions, different expectations about language use norms in the organisation may conflict with each other. It is necessary to point out that a more rigid form of language management without flexibility does not exclude the existence of language ideologies, as they are an inherent part of social life and individual and group beliefs about acceptable and legitimate behaviour. However, as these ideologies are rarely acknowledged or brought to the fore, when expectations for organisational language use are unclear, language ideologies may play a significant, but hidden, role in shaping employee expectations towards each other's practices and competences. Thus, an undefined official language status leaves room for various interpretations of the accepted domains and practices where an official organisational language is expected to figure.

Secondly, international employees may encounter hidden language-induced glass ceilings for career advancements (Logemann & Piekkari, 2015). In some cases of flexible language management, in this case policy, English is declared as an official language, but other languages, such as those spoken in the country of the headquarters, may still function as a key medium of communication in top management (Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999b). Thus, other languages than the official common language may be a necessary prerequisite for career advancement, as studies have found that strategic information is not always translated so that it is equally accessible to all employees across the organisation. Networking with individuals in influential organisational positions may thus be limited for those who cannot do this in an important, but unofficial organisational language. International employees joining the organisation will not know such important prerequisites in cases of flexible language management, where there is a disparity between official and actual organisational language use.

METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS: CRITICAL REALISM AS A FRAMEWORK FOR RESEARCHING FLEXIBLE LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT IN ORGANISATIONS

The multifaceted nature of language as an organisational phenomenon requires a broad methodological toolkit (Tietze, 2020). Language management, when defined as organisational action directed towards regulating language use, is a practice aiming to regulate a phenomenon which can occupy different modes of reality. The employment of 'flexible language management' as a concept implies that, empirically, scholars come into contact with phenomena, such as practices, norms and ideologies. Thus, by adopting a layered ontological stance, scholars may theorise the interrelation between findings on different modes of reality. Ontologically, critical realism offers a layered view of reality and a dual and interrelated conceptualisation of the agency-structure interplay (Ackroyd & Karlsson, 2014; Fleetwood, 2005). Within the critical realist epistemology, the use of various methods is appreciated for the comprehensive and in-depth assessment of a social phenomenon (Hurrell, 2014). Here, rather than pitting methods against each other and or dismissing them based on perceived shortcomings, focus lies on their strengths in accessing the different layers of reality through the empirical.

A brief outline of critical realist ontology is necessary in order to position the various discussed methods. Although a lengthier discussion is warranted (see e.g. Ackroyd, 2010; Fleetwood, 2005), the central principles which critical realist scholars usually adhere to can be summarised as follows. The world is layered in three layers, where the empirical can be sensed and experienced, while the actual are events and processes – sometimes not experienced. Finally, the real lies at the core of reality and consists of the generative mechanisms and structures which cause and maintain the actual and the empirical. Although crude, this brief presentation indicates that a social phenomenon under scrutiny may appear differently, depending on which layer of the social world it is studied and theorised.

Case studies are among the most popular approaches in critical realism, and have been fronted by some business, management and organisational scholars (Welch et al., 2011). The primary strength of the critical realist case study is its appreciation of context (Welch & Piekkari, 2017), a critical factor when studying language-related phenomena. Language in itself is a historical product of context, which means that the study of organisational practices directed towards its management must also consider various layers of context, such as national, regional, organisational or even group-level idiosyncratic circumstances.

The case study approach allows scholars to apply a toolkit of various methods. Interviews are one of the popular methods in qualitative management research. Given the individual level of language-related phenomena, research of flexible language management topics could be enriched with data revealing individual interpretations of language management and use through in-depth interviews (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015). Here, the researcher, as an outsider, may provoke the individual, or group, justification of the internally taken for granted status of given languages within the organisation. However, it is important that the scholar is aware of what kind of data concerning language interviews give access to. Relying solely on interviews data risks pulling language use out of its natural occurring context, as the obtained accounts are filtered through interviewee perceptions (Smith & Elger, 2014). This means that the accounts describing language use do not necessarily correspond to actual language use, not necessarily due to intentional misleading, but simply the difficulty of giving an objective assessment of something as inherently personal and natural as habits in speech and writing. However, if such accounts are treated as individual-level perspectives, they are potent sources for studying the employee perceptions and attitudes to language management. In the critical realist paradigm, an interview is regarded as a conversation infused with the positions and agenda of both participants. Such a conversation on the empirical level, after corroborated with other interviews, may function as surface-level indicators and patterns of events on the actual level, and structures and mechanisms on the real (Hammersley & Atkinkson, 1995; Smith & Elger, 2014). As an example, when studying employee attitudes to the organisational role of English, or language policy, interviewee opinions and assumptions concerning language use norms in the organisation may be analysed as indicators of underlying language ideologies. The critical realist perspective also facilitates the treatment of expert interviews to be indicative of actual organisational practices and processes. Therefore, interviews with HR or communication professionals are suitable to uncover portions of flexible language management which cannot be accessed through codified organisational documents.

However, accounts of such processes would benefit from being contextualised with the aid of parallel case study techniques, such as ethnography (Rees & Gatenby, 2014) and documents studies (Mutch, 2014). A main strength of case studies is the opportunity to triangulate between various qualitative methods, not necessarily for the sake of full correspondence, but also for obtaining differing perspectives. For instance, the study of language policy documents may provide access to the codified portion of language management but speaking to employees about their knowledge or opinions of language policy, or observing their actual language practice habits, allows the researcher to theorise beyond the empirical level. Particularly given the frequent disparity between language management and practices (Fredriksson et al., 2006; Steyaert et al., 2011), these multiple data points are crucial in uncovering contrasts in the relationship between language management and its organisational environment. Furthermore, in flexible language management, where the data points for official organisational approaches to language may be limited, complementing perspectives which do not rely on documents or employee accounts will allow the researcher to investigate alternative indicators of causal mechanisms.

Besides facilitating the combination of various qualitative methods, the critical realist stance is a fruitful meeting ground for qualitative and quantitative strategies (Brown & Roberts, 2014; Hurrell, 2014; Zachariadis et al., 2013), both as mixed-methods research, but also as complementing studies in different empirical sites shedding light on the same social phenomenon. Given the possibility that the causes and effects of language management may materialise as different empirical events on different modes of reality, complementing qualitative strategies with quantitative studies on larger samples may help uncover and confirm patterns which can be observed on the micro-level in various case study methods, such as interviews or ethnography. On the one hand, studying the foundations of an organisational culture towards language requires a flexible, abductive and in-depth qualitative approach, which is sensitive to themes brought up in micro-level interaction. On the other hand, the effects of a language policy could be traced in widespread employee impressions of the importance of language proficiency, measured through questionnaires.

While several critical realist scholars have applied quantitative methods, there is a wide spectrum of interpretations within this paradigm regarding which role statistical analyses can and should play in uncovering mechanisms and structures. Some perspectives dismiss quantitative studies for detaching a phenomenon from its context through an artificially closed space with predefined parameters studied with questionnaire designs insensitive to intricate and idiosyncratic characteristics of the field (e.g. Sayer, 2000). In the case of language-sensitive research, this view would posit that questionnaire designs, no matter how theoretically informed and validated, would put a straitjacket on individual responses, which are only subjective perspectives on language use norms. Furthermore, critical realist scholars have expressed concerns with the predictive aim of analysis techniques, such as regression analysis. On the other hand, critical realist perspectives encouraging complementing quantitative and qualitative strategies argue that finding a correlational relationship between variables may be an empirical and actual indication of mechanisms on the real layer of reality (Hurrell, 2014). It is however crucial that scholars show an epistemological consideration of what phenomena the variable constructs give empirical insight to and the potential disparity between empirical level indicators and *real* structures.

The role of quantitative methods in the critical realist approach depends on the complementarity between qualitative and quantitative strategies. Thus, the critical realist approach is also a suitable strategy for studying flexible language management, where the effects may be studied on the individual micro-level, or more aggregated, collective organisational levels. For instance, when examining the organisational role of a certain language in a context with flexible language management, detailed data producing thick description are necessary for theorising the individual-level sense-making and reception of language management (Bordia & Bordia, 2015; Lønsmann, 2017). In-depth semi-structured interviews may uncover individual-level discursive strategies for legitimating a certain form of organisational language management, for example through critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2005; Vaara et al., 2006). This is relevant in cases where the language policy is unknown among the workforce, but certain organisational language/s are upheld by practice- and ideology-based reasoning. Thus, interviews will allow the organisational members to display and explain their ideas about the natural role of language in the organisation. In parallel, through ethnographic fieldwork, the researcher may observe language practices in natural interaction and compare linguistic behaviour with the interviewee accounts (Rees & Gatenby, 2014). Here, however, it is important to account for the role of translation in multilingual fieldwork, where the interviewer and organisational members do not share a native language and may thus use expressions in a second common language differently (Marschan-Piekkari & Reis, 2004; Welch & Piekkari, 2006).

While the data described above may yield theorisations of the foundations of organisational languages and flexible language management, there are potential factors which interviewees will not describe, or display in organisational behaviour under observation. When examining the implications of flexible language management, scholars may perform analyses of the statistical relationship and moderation between various constructs measuring employee perceptions concerning language use. Thus, the attitudes to and implications of language management outlined in interviews or observations may also materialise in hierarchical regression analyses as correlations between perceptions of various personal attributes, such as performance or professional competence.

CONCLUSION

Through a thematic literature review of language-sensitive international business and management research (Karhunen et al., 2018; Tenzer et al., 2017), and supplemented by sociolinguistic insight, this chapter outlines flexible language management as a pertinent phenomenon. The conceptualisation explains forms of language management which would fall outside the scope of codified and official language policies in current organisational linguistic landscapes. Furthermore, the methodological discussion of the critical realist philosophy of science facilitates future methodological choices and the theorisation of flexible language management on different layers of reality. This conceptual advancement contributes to the study of forms of language management which do not fall within the categorical confines of clear language policy or active attempts to influence language use in organisations. Thus, by outlining the conceptual properties, I have set out to aid scholars in anticipating which domains of organisational practices may be examined when empirically assessing the broad spectre of organisational language management. The transdisciplinary development in language-sensitive business and management research (e.g., Angouri & Piekkari, 2018; Piekkari & Westney, 2017) is crucial to actualise this agenda. The cross-fertilisation of neighbouring streams of research, such as organisation studies and business and management, but also more distant fields, such as sociolinguistics, bring relevant, but previously separated disciplinary perspectives together.

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13 The global mobility “international employer” audit: Charting the territory

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ABSTRACT

Many authors and global mobility (GM) leaders ask for good data to base their expatriation decisions on. After all, where business insights lack it is rare that organizational decisions are high quality, agile and responsive to changing circumstances. One of the key aims of GLOMO was to develop a tool that helps important GM stakeholders, and in particular senior GM leaders, to monitor, analyse and refine their global mobility approaches. This chapter outlines pertinent GM design considerations in relation to strategic and operational pre-expatriation, on-assignment, and post-assignment decisions. In addition, it gives sample items of important performance indicators so that the reader gains an insight into core GM objectives. It shows how the GLOMO European research project is useful for organizations to improve their approaches to planning and managing the global mobility of employees.

INTRODUCTION

Conducting audits has multiple uses, generally aimed at improving an organization’s speed, quality, or comprehensiveness at tackling issues (Tyson et al., 2011). While a well-constructed audit allows for a self-assessment of management strategies, policies, and practices, it is often used in the spirit of continuous improvement or kaizen (Feldman, 1992). At times, audits are used by organizations to contrast themselves with other firms in their industries and to potentially see where they can emulate good practices elsewhere.

Audits are not value-free and are shaped by societal, industry and stakeholder pressures (Griffith et al., 2015; Waddock & Smith, 2000). In this sense, they are often not completely focused on strategic and operational effectiveness but can also represent broader goals such as the United Nations’ developmental goals or green HRM aims (Jackson et al., 2011; Papadimitriou et al., 2019).

The above shows that it is important to develop and implement audits in order to improve organizational approaches in a wide range of areas as well as to understand their composition, underlying values, strengths and limitations. Unfortunately, there is a lack of publicly available, open access and cost-free management audits in the global mobility arena. One of the key aims of the GLOMO initiative was to enable organizations to improve their planned expatriation approaches. The GLOMO consortium yielded a wealth of insights that have been the starting point to develop a global mobility audit with the aim of easy operationalization for organizations.

The GLOMO audit tool is geared to be used by global mobility (GM) departments and firms who assign their qualified employees to international ventures and operations. Its fundamental perspective is that expatriation and other forms of international work have three important, interrelated segments: pre-departure, during and post-assignments phases. Key elements of the pre-departure phase are concerned with the overall strategic planning of the organization to facilitate the achievement of important international goals either for the organization overall or for its foreign operating units (Dickmann & Mueller-Camen, 2006; Farndale et al., 2010). However, other GM goals are in relation to designing and presenting a GM employee value proposition (EVP) that is attractive to potential expatriation candidates and actual assignees (Dickmann, 2020a; Dickmann, 2020b). Furthermore, such an audit tool also has to be relevant and useful to a variety of company sizes (from SMEs to large Multinational Corporations (MNCs) and to expose desired standards for global mobility from the employer's and employees' sides. More in-depth information is presented below.

THE PRE-DEPARTURE PHASE: SHAPING THE ORGANIZATION FOR GM SUCCESS

Global Mobility and the Employee Value Proposition

Multinational corporations (MNCs) of various sizes strive to use global mobility to their competitive advantage. Some of the aims they pursue include filling vacant positions quickly, to transfer knowledge, to generate overall learning for their operations, to invest in their global leadership pipeline or to effectively integrate and monitor their worldwide operations (Harzing, 2001; Perlmutter, 2017). Given that many MNCs find it hard to source the 'right' talent for global assignments it is the employee value proposition that organizations need to pay attention to. The GLOMO audit tool explores the global EVP or organizations looking at the quality of the EVP and its impact on the reputation of the MNC as well as its ability to attract and engage global talent. The audit tool comprises items with answer categories that measure the extent of use / implementation / existence or importance. Below, we will always give five examples per sub-section.

Sample Item 1: My organization has a reputation as a "global player".
Sample Item 2: Global mobility / international assignment opportunities are a crucial part of our EVP.
Sample Item 3: We advertise international assignment opportunities in our job descriptions when hiring domestically.
Sample Item 4: Our organization evaluates our EVP with a view to attracting and engaging global talent.
Sample Item 5: Global mobility is a competitive advantage and incentive for employees to work for our organization.

There are a range of practical implications that could be based on the actual data that a company may gain from employing the audit tool. The first sample item data will have to be interpreted vis-à-vis its global ambitions. If the MNC aims to be in a position to be recognized as a major global player, poor data may indicate that it needs to think about how it approaches its international operations, how much it may need to invest and how it could build its reputation as a global player. Some research indicates that even major companies often do not do enough to use international career opportunities for their staff to build their reputation and EVP in the marketplace. For instance, French CAC and German DAX companies often do not mention international assignment opportunities in their job vacancies or on their websites (Point & Dickmann, 2012). The broader issue is whether and how MNCs consciously use global assignments and international working and learning to shape their EVP, i.e., the way they are being seen from potential job applicants and existing staff. Several items above aim to provide food for thought to organizations to monitor and evaluate their approaches vis-à-vis constructing an attractive EVP successfully. Where this is thoughtfully undertaken it is likely that companies have a competitive advantage domestically and abroad. It is also crucial to actually 'live' what you have promised as an organization. This will not only increase the engagement of staff with their employers but also increases the chance to have sophisticated, well-thought through company approaches to global mobility.

Cultural intelligence

Larsen (2004) has outlined that the mutual dependency between organizations and individual assignees is particularly high in expatriation. Once an MNC has an attractive global EVP, it depends on its staff to perform well abroad. Cultural Intelligence is crucial to the cultural adjustment of assignees and to the success of their work abroad. Going beyond a tight MNC perspective, the GLOMO audit tool concentrates on assignees and their cultural intelligence. We know from research that culturally agile/intelligent expatriates do not only perform better when working abroad but are also more content with living in their host country (Caligiuri, 2013). Therefore, assessing cultural intelligence in expatriate selection would be a good idea and several professional instruments exist on how to do so. Nevertheless, the GLOMO project wanted to facilitate such an assessment either during the selection of assignees or post-hoc in an audit. Furthermore, such an audit tool, nourished by recent GM research, also offers a contribution to setting a standard that is evolving with the recent expectations and requests of employees and organizations.

Obviously, other selection criteria including professional capabilities and experience, the situational context of the candidate and the readiness of her/his family to move abroad as well as some personality factors should not be neglected in selecting assignment candidates. The GLOMO items exploring cultural intelligence are:

Sample Item 6: I enjoy talking with people from different cultures.
Sample Item 7: I have the ability to accurately understand the feelings of people from other cultures.
Sample Item 8: I think a lot about the influence that culture has on my behaviour and that of others who are culturally different.
Sample Item 9: I can change my behaviour to suit different cultural situations and people.
Sample Item 10: I am aware of the cultural knowledge I use when interacting with someone from another culture.

The various items aim for some key elements of cultural intelligence and the willingness to interact with locals. They distinguish intellectual, behavioural and emotional dimensions in expatriates' cultural intelligence and preferences. Not only are people who are self-confident and extroverted often more able to adjust to the host context, expatriates who are actively engaging with locals, who want to learn from others and who can accurately reflect on their own preferences, attitudes and behaviours often fit in better. Individuals who score highly on these audit items are likely to be better able to adjust to other cultures and to 'thrive' abroad than those who do more poorly in this assessment. Where a job has a strong need for local understanding, culturally appropriate behaviours and is characterized by many cross-cultural interactions, being culturally agile is highly important (Baruch et al., 2013; Caligiuri & Caprar, 2022). Furthermore, culturally aware employees and international assignees may also better mediate between host and third- or parent-country nationals. Moreover, when they return, they can share intercultural knowledge gained abroad back home. In effect, engaging in the audit to explore the overall and regionally specific composition of expatriates in an organization may give valuable insights into a host of issues, including local-global interactions and performance of assignees.

Having looked at several issues that will be key in the design of the overall GM approach and its selection of culturally savvy assignees, this chapter now focuses on audit measures that look at key issues when working abroad.

THE ON-ASSIGNMENT PHASE: MAKING IT HAPPEN

On international assignment: The expatriate experience

Much of the available literature concentrates on pre-departure and post-return considerations in global mobility or focuses on assignees' experiences when working abroad. These experiences could stretch to the macro-context of working abroad in terms of institutions, political, economic, social, or legal environments or individual issues such as career patterns or cultural fit of assignees. The preceding chapters of this book have outlined a large array of important issues. Nevertheless, for an MNC, topics such as training and learning, performance, and rewards, are crucial in its management of assignments (Dowling et al., 2013).

Training, learning, and career capital implications

Learning and talent development are key to organizational success. Developmental activities need to be geared to specific learning areas in order to aid individuals in acquiring the necessary knowledge, skills, or behaviours. Of interest is first to explore general culture training (e.g., cultural self-awareness). In addition, investigating didactic training (e.g., providing general country information or help with cultural assimilation) that allow individuals to increase their level of host country insight seems useful. Context-specific trainings (e.g., case studies of host environments, language training, specific cultural preference of people in the destination country/region, preparation for interactions and cross-cultural negotiations) are also important to think about in terms of enhancing expatriates' skills and understanding. Lastly, the provision of experiential trainings (providing simulations, role plays or virtual reality training means) is important. The audit tool explores a broad range of training and development approaches.

Career capital (DeFillippi & Arthur, 1994) and investments into the acquisition of the three ways of 'knowing' are crucial concepts for individuals' careers. 'Knowing how' are the skills, knowledge and behaviours that make people successful in how they fulfil their work. 'Knowing whom' are the networks that careerists have and utilize and the subsequent reputation that they enjoy. 'Knowing why' is the motivational energy that individuals bring to the world of work (Inkson & Arthur, 2001). These three ways of 'knowing' are interrelated and mutually reinforce themselves. For instance, individuals who are highly motivated (knowing why) are often so interested in their work that they are acquiring many capabilities (knowing how) to perform well in their jobs. This will make them more interesting (knowing whom) to network with and they are likely to enjoy a good reputation. Working abroad in terms of assignees' work networks, competencies and motivations are crucial for their global career journeys.

Sample Item 11: Our trainings contribute to a general personal and professional development of our international assignees.
Sample Item 12: Looking at your company's cross-cultural training before / during international assignments the organization offers general culture training.
Sample Item 13: Looking at your company's cross-cultural training before / during international assignments the organization offers culture-specific training.
Sample Item 14: International assignees are supported in acquiring career capital beyond the international experience itself.
Sample Item 15: International assignees receive individual support / coaching to increase their career capital.

The actual GLOMO audit tool offers some more specific items but listing these would stray too much into the detail. The interested reader can find further information on *www.glomo.eu*. MNCs and other international organizations that use the tool can identify their provision of training and career capital acquisition support. Thereby, organizations are in a position to identify what areas they are coving in terms of enabling their assignees to understand and successfully deal with their host culture and the various job and professional networking demands they are exposed to. They may, furthermore, use the tool as a benchmark for expected and desired practice that may enhance employer's attractiveness and the quality of assignment planning and support for internationally mobile employees.

Rewards to support organizational goals and to finance assignees

International assignments often do not come cheap. While the actual costs are dependent on the specific context of a particular assignment – factoring in the living costs in the host country, security measures, hierarchy of expatriate, the assignee's personal situation in terms of family and other obligations, etc. – one thing that writers agree on is that assignments are expensive. Sending persons abroad is, therefore, a substantial investment in order to fulfil major corporate objectives. Often, MNCs want to invest in their global leaders of the future.

In addition, international moves present tax and social payment compliance challenges in the country of origin and destination of the assignees. Because laws and regulations vary substantially around the world, it is no wonder that compliance is one of the core challenges for GM professionals (Dickmann & Baruch, 2011). Therefore, any international work needs to be compliant to the social regulations, tax regimes and work / living permits of the host country while factoring in international and home country laws to protect the interests of the company as well as the individual. The GLOMO audit incorporates this important dimension with a range of items.

Sample Item 16: Employees on international assignment are retained in the home country pension plan (or get equivalent benefits abroad).
Sample Item 17: If desired by the international assignee, my organization offers support for their international tax filings and returns.
Sample Item 18: In general, international assignments are appropriately rewarded financially by my organization.
Sample Item 19: Our organization offers additional allowances (e.g., disturbance allowances) for employees who travel frequently as part of their role.
Sample Item 20: Our organization offers individualized / flexible benefits packages to globally mobile employees.

Of course, costs are not the whole picture. The benefits of an assignment and the overall GM approach should be assessed to adequately understand the organizational value of expatriation (Renshaw et al., 2020). Organizations are notoriously weak at really understanding such value because they are rarely assessing the benefits systematically or in a way that is capturing the various positive effects (McNulty, 2015). Using the GLOMO audit tool may alert organizations to either areas that they are not offering support or to the coverage and consistency of reward elements. For instance, if working abroad is normally rewarded appropriately in an organization but this firm identifies countries / positions where this is not the case, remedial action is necessary. After all, such implicit reward unfairness can lead to disengagement, early return, the perceived violation of the psychological contract and difficulties to source successors.

Performance management helping goal attainment

While some performance appraisal approaches have been challenged in recent times, actual performance management has not been called into question. Managing the performance of international assignees in the quest to pursue the global goals of the MNC is essential. Obviously, this needs a clarification of whose goals assignees need to pursue – amongst others these could be aims of the head office, of the organizational function or of the local host. Designing a global performance management approach with the aim to assess and to improve global performance management is important. The GLOMO audit tool helps organizations to evaluate their approaches.

Sample Item 21: Each international assignment has a clear goal definition.
Sample Item 22: The performance evaluation of international assignees involves stakeholders from both home and host country.
Sample Item 23: Performance during international assignments is tracked systematically.
Sample Item 24: Each single assignment, once completed, undergoes a standardized debriefing with success evaluation.
Sample Item 25: We use metrics / analytics to monitor overall performance of global mobility programs.

These items clearly identify some underlying assumptions as to what approaches are likely to improve performance management. First, assignment-specific goals should exist. Second, in order to gain international alignment of objectives, the literature clearly outlines that both home and host country should be involved in goal setting and monitoring. Third, the items imply that performance should be systematically recorded, analysed, and rewarded. Fourth, assignees should have high quality debriefs in order to increase the incentives to fulfil the objectives and to facilitate individual growth. Lastly, all performance evaluations should be linked to the overall IHRM and GM objectives and should be contrasted with the overall performance of the GM programme. As such, a systemic approach reviewing the pre-departure, on assignment and post-return achievement and mapping them onto departmental objectives and time horizons can increase the sophistication of global mobility work.

Given a good strategic GM set up and assignees capability and willingness to culturally adjust or cope with the local environment, these key areas – talent development, career capital investment and global careers, performance management and rewards – are the bedrock of GM success while working abroad. But the expatriate cycle outlines that repatriation and post assignment work is also essential to cement the success of global mobility. The GLOMO audit tool also illuminates activities in these areas.

THE POST-ASSIGNMENT PHASE

Demographics

Demographics aim to give us information on the context and situation of an MNC. The demographics allow a better interpretation of the data and over time the tool will allow us to have a more complete picture of GM approaches in certain industries, organizational size pattern and head office locations. The pre-departure and post-assignment phase are to some extent intimately connected as an evaluation of the demographics and together with the workforce flow data can give valuable insights on how to shape strategic and operational GM goals. In addition, the GLOMO audit tool uses the demographics to explore important diversity indicators related to gender, language and diversity management in global careers.

Sample Item 26: How many employees are currently on international assignment?
Sample Item 27: In which industry/ies is your organization active?
Sample Item 28: What is your organization's percentage of female international assignees?
Sample Item 29: To what extent are global mobility and diversity management integrated in your organization?
Sample Item 30: Do you have a corporate language policy?

While many demographic indicators do not carry a notion of evaluation – size, industry, percentage or size of expatriate workforce – some data has a more normative notion. For instance, if GM and diversity management is not integrated in the organization's overall management (or if there are no attached goals) then it is unlikely that these areas may benefit from senior leaders' attention and refinement. In addition, the call to increase the number of women assignees and to offer more global career chances to women is not new (Adler, 1984). For decades too few women are company-assigned expatriates and global diversity is suffering (Dickmann & Baruch, 2011). It is often astonishing that MNCs do not seem to tap all available talent sources sufficiently and appear to ignore more inclusive approaches.

Workforce flow

The expatriation cycle is intimately connected to the workforce flow. The expatriation cycle provides a blueprint for the strategic planning of organizations in global mobility. In essence, analysing workforce needs and planning a global leadership pipeline underlies the business case which is fundamental for international assignments. Global workforce planning stretches across the three areas of the expatriate cycle but is most important in the pre-departure and post-return phases. Given that we have argued that the post-return phase is the time to best evaluate the GM programme and to refine it, we have put some key performance indicators into it. For instance, the achievement of talent mobility objectives, repatriation planning and post-assignment job allocation are placed into this highly analytical phase.

Sample Item 31: My organization maps and tracks talent mobility needs based on future requirements.
Sample Item 32: Talent mobility objectives (e.g., personal development, knowledge transfer) are systematically tracked.
Sample Item 33: My organization plans for international assignees' repatriation right after the assignment starts.
Sample Item 34: We have a pool of potential candidates for international assignments we approach when there is an opening.
Sample Item 35: Our strategic workforce planning is fully integrated with global mobility.

These items provide an insight into the strategic processes associated with GM in a particular organization. For instance, where organizations do not have a potential candidate pool for assignments, they will find it harder to have a planned approach to global leadership. While such organization can resort to open posting of international vacancies, it will make it more complex (but of course not impossible) for them to have a global leadership development programme. In addition, where organizations do not plan repatriation with foresight, they are more likely to experience higher repatriation turnover as candidates might be disappointed by the job opportunities that they encounter. One of the major challenges following an international assignment is often that returned employees' expectations are not fulfilled regarding promotions, enhanced pay and professional development after the return and employees may not wait for more than a year after return for things to meet their expectations before, they join a competitor.

Concluding thoughts

As stated in the key aims of the GLOMO initiative, this European research project should be useful for organizations to improve their approaches to planning and managing the global mobility of employees. The research can inform and enhance policies as well as practices for firms and institutions of any size and sector. In order to crystallize some of the operationalizable knowledge, the research also started to develop a GM audit "International Employer" as a useful and workable tool for organizations and their GM managers. The practical objective of the GLOMO consortium to improve GM following the rich insights from several years of research with 15 Early-Stage-Researchers (ESRs). This was conducted even throughout the Covid-19 period which raised new questions about global work (see e. g. Collings & Sheeran, 2020). Overall, the GLOMO audit tool reflects that international mobility assignments have three important, interrelated phases: pre-departure, main mobility, and post-assignments phases.

The GLOMO Audit tool has been based, informed, and enriched by the research of the fifteen Early-Stage Researchers (ESRs) of the GLOMO project between end of 2018 and early 2022. It has been developed and enhanced with several rounds of revisions and also corporate corroboration and tests. The aim was to obtain an instrument that is applicable to public and private non-academic organisations of various sizes. The audit tool is geared to help organizations to offer high quality employment conditions for international employees and hence can constitute a performance support instrument as well as a contribution to employer attractiveness for internationally mobile employees. David Enser, the CEO of RES Forum, a major GM professional networking organization headquartered in the UK, commented that "the GLOMO tool is an important step for organizations to understand what they want to achieve with their global mobility and how they are progressing on that crucial journey to higher quality GM". In addition, the tool may also serve the employer brand vis-a-vis international assignments of employees (Mihalcea, 2017).

A first draft of the audit tools has been tested with Airbus as the corporate beneficiary of the GLOMO research project. Following the test and discussion of the instrument, the instrument was improved to address identified weaknesses. Subsequently, several partner organizations in the project (including IPC from the Netherlands; The RES FORUM, UK; and Siemens Gamesa in Denmark) plus other smaller companies and consultants across Europe have been involved to further refine the tool.

Beyond the empirical research for the audit tool, a GLOMO workshop in April 2022 (still fully on-line because of Covid-19) served to inform members of industry, politics, the general public, managers, and entrepreneurs about the contents and functioning of the audit "International Employer". It also helped to further implement adaptations for SMEs and public organizations. During the workshop the tool was perceived as useful in benchmarking, and it is widely expected that it inspires good global mobility practices. Furthermore, such an audit tool could be refined by up-to-date GM research in the future, also offering a contribution to a more perennial outcome from the GLOMO research project. This would continue to support the initial intention of the project with the Audit "International Employer" which was to stimulate and institutionalize sustained intersectoral knowledge transfer, to foster the practical application of research results and, hence, to increase innovation capacity of European and worldwide industries.

Overall, the audit tool 'International Employer' is perceived as providing relevant insights that help to manage cross-border labour mobility and international career development in practice. It can be used for corporate preparation, benchmarking of good mobility practices as well as an ongoing research tool to continue gathering global mobility data informing theory and management practice. Beyond a tangible and operational output as a tool from the GLOMO doctoral training and research project, the audit tool could also be employed for possible anticipation of GM challenges and preparation to continuously improve strategies, policies and practices in this important area of global work. It is certainly helpful to better master these turbulent and crises times.

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PART V
Country-level migration policies and their impact on expatriates

14 “Am I welcome in this country?” - Expatriation to the UK in times of BREXIT and its “hostile environment policy”

Monique Raupp

INTRODUCTION

Deciding to work abroad and live an international life away from one’s home country is not an easy task in itself. Expatriates are driven by many motivational factors such as an exciting new culture to experience, new professional challenges and opportunities, and a whole new world. When expatriates decide to embrace this new chapter in their lives, they will probably expect a positive and welcoming attitude from this new country they want to call “home”. Why would this not be the case? After all, they regard themselves often as able to substantially contribute to their new home. However, what if living abroad is not turning out how they envisaged this? Many expatriates actually do not feel as welcome in their new country – Many feel that the host country does not actually seem to want them. Could it be that a country, such as the United Kingdom, that might be seen as a top expatriate destination from professional and multiculturalism points of view, actually suffer from a diminished reputation in the eyes of some expatriates due to recent political events? Could such a development make these foreign professionals reconsider their international experience?

In this chapter, we will discuss expatriation to the United Kingdom and the feeling of being unwelcome related to the country’s “hostile environment policy”. This potentially unwelcoming new immigration policy was already in place before the United Kingdom’s (UK) exit from the European Union (BREXIT). This policy might have been developed to target a particular group of illegal immigrants, but its implications are affecting a much larger pool of internationals – including expatriates. Expatriates are legal workers temporarily residing in a foreign country pursuing a career-related objective They have relocated internationally either with the support of an organisation, as a self-initiated move, or have been hired directly in the host country (McNulty & Brewster, 2017).

Currently there is a scarcity of research addressing the issues of how expatriates might be threatened by such institutional changes and narratives (Sedes et al., 2022). Thus, this chapter aims to contribute to this timely and emerging discussion on the impact these policies may have on expatriates and their perception of their host countries.

With the view to explaining why the UK's hostile environment policy was originally created and how it is being applied, we first must define what we consider as a "hostile" environment in this chapter. Then, we will look at real-life stories and experiences of expatriates in England, as well as their views on this expatriate-hostile environment policy and what it means for their experience in the country. Finally, we will compile recommendations for individuals and organisations on how to combat these hostile threats arising from the government and the country's society.

HOSTILE HOST ENVIRONMENTS TO EXPATRIATES

Characterising an environment as being "hostile" generally means that the environment is considered as being difficult or unsuitable for someone to live in. This difficulty can, for example, be related to a "hostile" or "unfriendly" reception (Cambridge dictionaries, 2020). This chapter looks at hostile environments from the perspective of expatriates, more specifically, at their perceptions of their host country's "hostile" characteristics.

Expatriation literature discusses different categories of hostile host environments and their characteristics. One category includes physically hostile environments, such as countries with high-levels of "human-made threats" stretching to conventional crime and terrorism (e.g., Faeth & Kittler, 2017; Harvey et al., 2019; Stoermer et al., 2017). A subsequent category consists of psychologically hostile environments, where different forms of discrimination are felt by expatriates for various reasons such as their nationalities and cultural characteristics, gender, race, and sexual orientation (e.g., Altman & Shortland, 2008; Moeller & Maley, 2017; Napier & Taylor, 2002; Rodriguez & Rigway, 2018). another category is concerned with institutionally hostile environments, which are comprised of multiple forms of threats such as legal barriers and hostile regulations towards expatriates (e.g., Fee et al., 2019; Forstenlechner, 2010; Mujtaba & Cavico, 2012; Paetkau, 2009).

A "hostile host environment" to an expatriate does not imply that one form of threat will be exclusive from the other. On the contrary, it is common that multiple hostile threats are present in a singular environment, sometimes interacting with one another. This is the case when we look at the UK through a "hostile host environment" perspective, in the light of its own "hostile environment policy". The institutional threats to be discussed in this chapter are centred in the country's Home Office[7]'s "hostile environment policy", its detailed regulations and constitutive national-level narrative "against (certain) immigrants". These are further unpacked to also include psychological threats related to discrimination due to an individuals' "foreigness" (e.g. nationality(ies) and foreign characteristics). This is related to the government's national level "hostile" narrative, but is seen in individual interactions between certain host country nationals and expatriates.

[7] "The Home Office is the lead government department for immigration and passports, drugs policy, crime, fire, counter-terrorism and police" (Home office, n.d.).

THE UK'S HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT POLICY AND BREXIT

The UK has a long history of foreign individual immigration. Accentuated within the last 30 years by the country's population in 2019 comprising over 14% of foreign-born individuals. Of these, 38% came from other EU countries (Migration observatory, 2020), as at that time the UK was still part of the EU. According to the Migration Observatory (2020), by 2019 the main reason for non-EU nationals to immigrate to the UK was for family (49% of them). By 2019 a similar percentage (48%) of the EU population who moved to the UK that year, moved for work (Migration Observatory, 2020), taking advantage of free movement within EU countries and no work visa requirements.

Among the UK's foreign-born population, expatriates are an important part of it. Although usually motivated by work, expatriates are also commonly driven by personal goals such as experiencing a new culture (Arifa et al., 2021). The UK has historically been an attractive country to expatriates coming from a variety of countries. However, this attractiveness has seemingly diminished in the past decade, after the country's government developed a "hostile environment policy" relating to immigration to the UK. From the aforementioned European context, as argued by Sedes et al. (2022), this has threatened the relocation of EU self-initiated expatriates (SIEs[8]) to the UK and has raised a lot of uncertainties for EU SIEs residing in the UK prior to the referendum.

Over 10 years ago, during Teresa May's role in the Home Office, the UK began working with the narrative of "removing (foreign) people who should not be here" (Yeo, 2018, p. 2). This is when it developed a "hostile environment" immigration policy that preceded the country's exit from the European Union (BREXIT). Despite the government's allegation that they only wanted to create a "really hostile environment" to irregular immigrants, research has already shown that this policy is having effects beyond illegal immigrants and might incentivise discrimination against other types of foreigners (such as expatriates) and ethnic minorities (Holloway, 2018). Theresa May made an interesting comment in a speech delivered in 2016 saying that *'if you believe you are a citizen of the world, you are a citizen of nowhere'*. It seems that this institutional change might have indeed also targeted a more elitist type of international worker - such as SIEs (Sedes et al., 2022) and other types of expatriates.

[8] Individuals who expatriate to another country on their own initiatives, for personal and professional purposes (Suutari & Brewster, 2000).

THE RISE OF THE PERCEPTION OF AN "UNWELCOMING COUNTRY" TO EXPATRIATES

Recent literature has already provided arguments for implications of the policy to foreign-born individuals, beyond illegal immigrants, as was initially intended with the policy development. Redclift and Rajina (2021, p. 208) argued that BREXIT's institutional threats and host government's narrative might lead to foreigners (both legal and illegal in the host country) "being made to feel 'unwelcome', or having life become so difficult, that returning to Bangladesh is the only option". This was also stressed by Jones et al. (2017) who argued that soon after the vote, several reports were distributed around social media and the press of British Muslims being told to '*go home now*'".

Sedes et al. (2022) provide an extensive discussion of European SIEs experiences in and perceptions of the UK in the light of BREXIT. In their findings, they argue that many SIEs "interpreted the referendum result as a threat not just to their perceived mobility, but also in part to the way they saw themselves, leading many to subsequently express a desire to distance themselves from the UK" (Sedes et al., 2022, p. 35). Many of these expatriates have also noticed hostility targeted at them that they never faced before the BREXIT process. Additionally, some of their interviewed SIEs were shocked with the idea of being clearly treated "like a foreigner" in the future and were now identifying less with the UK (Sedes et al., 2022).

Next, we will present three real-life stories[9] of expatriates in England during the times of BREXIT. They will illustrate some of the negative implications BREXIT and its hostile environment policy is having on some expatriates. This data was collected through semi-structured interviews with the expatriates who are currently living or have recently lived in England, and were held in the year of 2020, via Zoom. This data is part of larger EU sponsored research[10].

STORY 1:
"THE CONCERNING RISE OF NATIONALIST POLITICS AND ANTI-IMMIGRATION NARRATIVES"

Gustavo is a Brazilian who decided to move to England due to his own motivations, both personal and professional. His expatriation happened through a local-plus expatriation type[11]. Wanting to have an experience working and living abroad, he considers his expatriate experience in London as generally being a positive one. He and his wife have embraced the cultural experience in England and

[9] Due to confidentiality purposes, we used fictitious names for the expatriates.
[10] https://glomo.eu/
[11] Individual expatriated with the support of a home organization, but hired on a local contract (McNulty & Aldred, 2013).

like to travel to other countries. While he is happy with his work in a multinational company, Gustavo has been increasingly concerned over the past three years by some political changes in England:

> ***"I do worry (...) with the rise of nationalist politicians, or this kind of nationalist politics that came up kind of, you know, after BREXIT. And there's this kind of mentality of "UK first, and foreigners are the reason for...", you know, immigration is one of the big reasons for BREXIT****. And it's always on the agenda. It's always on the news. I think in general, there's a bit of* ***hostility from parts of the British media and part of the British establishment****, if you will, against certain types of immigrants. Against immigration in general, and certain types of immigrants. And I think that is something that in the long term worries me. It concerns me. (...) You see stuff in the news and you read stuff in the media. And I think that's what worries me.* ***As people, you know, in the past couple of years, people be more outspoken about their reservations in relation to immigration and in relation to people from outside. The rise of far right movements, or even far left movements, there are really, you know, based on nationalist identity politics, Britain first, you know, these kind of things that worries me. That's something that worries me".***

He stressed that he has been seeing a change in the overall narrative of the UK's government, and the British society who agree with it. These negative narratives haven't just begun in recent years, but his perception of the degree of their expression seems to have increased.

> ***"When you start seeing people on TV saying, you know, bad things about immigrants or saying bad things about people who are not from here****. And you start seeing that come up more and more again, I think it kinds of, you know,* ***gives you the balls to do the same thing****."*
>
> *"I think someone was saying in the media "look,* ***London doesn't feel like an English city anymore"****. So, it doesn't. It's as international city. And I* ***think it bothers a lot of people****. Bothers a lot of people. People feel that they're losing something, you know, there's something there, an essence that's being stolen from them. I don't know. I don't know where it comes from. But* ***I certainly feel that there's a rise in anti-immigration rhetoric. Both in the media and in politics. And that's something concerning****."*

Although Gustavo is an expatriate working in a large international organisation, and a legal resident of the UK, he is still being psychologically impacted by this country's "hostile" narrative. He is not the only one being impacted by this perceived threat, as we can see in the following stories.

STORY 2:
"THE LOST ADMIRATION FOR THE UK AS A GOOD ENVIRONMENT FOR FOREIGNERS"

Pedro is a single SIE who was also born in Brazil, but who has expatriated to England as an EU national, thanks to his Portuguese dual citizenship. Before the UK left the EU, the country had the additional attractiveness to EU national expatriates of not requiring a visa to work or live there. This was one of the factors that attracted Pedro, aside from its economy, the language being one he spoke, and good professional opportunities. Nevertheless, after over four years living and working in London, this pre-departure admiration seems to be decreasing, and Pedro is questioning his future in the country:

> ***"I had an admiration for the UK, you know, and it really decreased that to a point where I don't admire the country****. I don't think it's a horrible place, and by any means, I really don't think so. (...) But it really, really kind of,* ***it makes me think that maybe the UK is not really a place to admire****. It's just another place, you know, it's a place like anywhere else. (...)* ***I still think it's a high quality place for foreigners to move in, but it is a quality that I think it's been decreasing. Because of BREXIT****. (...) The* ***country itself is becoming less welcoming. The whole hostile environment policy that the foreign office has here. The whole idea that the main posture of the government is to be hostile to foreigners. Something that is the very opposite of being a good environment for foreigners. (...) It diminished my will to stay****. So, when I first moved in and everything was going fine, I thought "okay, I finally found my place. I really like living here...". And I still like my life here. But* ***now, I think about living in other places, which two years ago I was not thinking."***

He has already experienced discrimination at work multiple times, because he is a foreigner. The discrimination typically relates to him, as a foreigner, taking a job away from an unemployed UK professional. Even though these instances did not have practical consequences to him or his job, they were psychologically hostile factors that have strongly impacted him emotionally and behaviourally:

> *"I know of (...) instances of people in the team that I was working with, going to management and asking* ***why were they hiring foreign (professionals) when, you know, there are British people in the market for them to hire****. And I know the person. I know personally the person who asked this. It was someone that would go out with me and drink beer in a Friday night "happy hour"" (...) This particular person who was criticising why was I hired, because he...* ***that person had a daughter, who is a lawyer and was unemployed. And was personally offended***

> ***by the fact that they hired a foreign person****. (...) I don't think he had anything personal against me. It's not that. It was more the frustration of seeing, you know: "oh, here is my daughter, a real British person in the UK, she cannot find a job. And then you have this guy from Latin America, coming in here and, you know, swooping in, and getting the job".* ***That old "foreigners are coming in and taking our jobs" logic."***

Incidents like these, and his perceptions of the entire BREXIT narrative and consequences to foreign-born individuals, built up negative perceptions of his expatriate life and experience in a country that he once thought he might one day call "home".

> "**I feel less welcome. And I feel like the whole, the economy of the country** ***is going to go to a bad place very soon****. (...) Once BREXIT starts dragging it down,* ***it's going to make it even worse for foreigners because of the targeting that I talked to you about. "Oh, you are a foreigner and you have a job. I'm British, and I don't have one"****. And this is one of the main drivers of BREXIT for a lot of people. Not everybody, of course. (...) But this one, I think, is an argument that is going to get worse, worse and worse. And [it]* ***makes life for all foreigners more and more and more miserable by the day".***

This increasing feeling of being unwelcome by his host country and its nationals shows evidence of how the consequences of the UK's "hostile environment policy" is going far beyond its initial target. This can also be seen in the next example story.

STORY 3:
"AN UNWELCOMING COUNTRY FOR EU NATIONALS"

Olivia is a female SIE, born in Belgium, who spent four years living and working in England with her partner, before deciding to repatriate to their home country in 2019. They decided to move to the UK to pursue their professional development. With the added benefits of it being close to their home countries for ease of regular travel, the UK also did not have a complex relocation process, and both, she and her partner, spoke English. They moved to the country amidst the BREXIT discussions. After the referendum and the decision to leave the EU, the uncertainty during the drawn out discussions of withdrawal terms caused concern to the expatriate couple, and their future in their new country:

> *"When they actually got the vote, I was like, "****what does it mean for us?****". (...) "So I was like, "Yeah, what's next then? Because we are European. We are in*

the UK. So what's next?". And like the ping-pong thingy happening in the newspapers and stuff like that. It was like, "yeah, we still don't know what's gonna happen".

These new concerns are impacting previously "friendly and smooth" self-initiated expatriations of EU nationals, such as Olivia and her partner. They have led to feelings of not being welcomed by a country that has voluntarily decided to quit a union of European countries. In their particular case, even though nothing has effectively impacted their legal situation in the UK, this uncertainty and increasing feeling of being unwelcome was enough to make them decide to leave the country and return to Belgium.

> ***"We felt like, as Europeans, we weren't as welcome as before****. And so... they kind of didn't say anything to us personally, but we felt like, okay,* ***we weren't welcome anymore****. (...) There were a lot of people saying, "****Ah, Europeans are stealing our jobs****", and stuff like that. And so, yeah, we went back, we were like, "okay,* ***we are done with the UK****".*

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

This chapter aimed at providing an evidence-based discussion on the impact of institutional and psychological threats on expatriates. More specifically, on how anti-immigration narratives and policies might impact the perceptions and experiences of some expatriates. This seems to be particularly the case for expatriates who really wish to engage with their host cultures, going beyond professional experiences and pursuing personal experiences. These could include learning about and living the new culture, finding host country national friends, and being part of their new "home". As seen in our findings, these threats might negatively impact expatriates' "sense of belonging" and feeling of being welcomed into these host countries, which might potentially be perceived as being institutionally and psychologically hostile.

Whilst the context of this chapter is of a hostile host environment from an "anti-foreigner" perspective, it is important to remember that this lens does not mean that every expatriate will perceive their host country in this way. Some will not perceive these "threats", or will not be affected at all. The perception of a "hostile environment" will vary according to *who* is experiencing it. Depending on the expatriates' individual characteristics, as well as the context they are immersed in, the same host country may or may not be perceived as being "hostile". In the three example stories discussed in this chapter, the expatriates had strong personal motivations to expatriate, such as experiencing a different culture. This makes their involvement with their chosen host society and culture even more important, and consequently the importance of feeling welcomed (Arifa et al., 2021). However, considering those who are negatively affected by these expatriate threats - such as those in this chapter's example stories - it is important to raise awareness of this potential obstacle in an expatriate's life.

We thus theoretically contribute to the important contextualised discussion of expatriates' international experiences, in environments that might be perceived as being less hospitable for certain immigrants (Sedes et al., 2022). In a practical sense, we raise the awareness of possible threats of expatriation to institutionally hostile environments. This allows individuals to have a clearer understanding of potential threats they might face, and make an informed decision regarding their international experiences.

Key recommendations & Takeaways:

- What would you consider as a threat to your expatriate experience?
- Would these threats be a deal breaker for your expatriation intentions, or would it be something you would try to overcome or adjust to? If it is the former, you might want to re-think your destination. If it is the latter, you should form a plan before your departure on how to cope with these potential threats.
- Think moving to a potentially hostile environment through, and prepare accordingly – individually, with the support of your available networks (e.g., family, friends, other expats), and with the potential support of organizations.
- With all of that in mind as yourself: **should I stay or should I go?**

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15 The economic analysis of migration flows in response to migration policies

Jacopo Bassetto

ABSTRACT

This chapter reviews pioneering and recent literature on the economics of migration with a particular focus on high-skilled migration. High-skilled migration is a growing phenomenon that has recently attracted large attention both in the media and in academia. Many countries face constant challenges to attract and retain high-skilled migrants, both to increase their human capital and to mitigate the negative effects of brain drain. In this chapter I first review the current trends in high-skilled migration, highlighting its main characteristics such as the rapid increase in the last decades, the main geographical directions, and its circularity. Second, I review studies that investigate both the determinants and the consequences of high-skilled migration, considering both the individual and the country perspective. Third, I review studies that evaluate different types of policies aimed at attracting and retaining migrants and. I focus on policies that aim at integrating migrants in the host labor market, such as the recognition of credential and naturalization policies. Finally, I discuss policy implications of these studies for the further implementation and improvement of migration policies.

INTRODUCTION

With the advent of globalization and the interconnection between countries and labor markets, migration flows have evolved in their density, roots and characteristics. According to the most recent Eurostat data, in 2020 around 3.3% of EU citizens live and work in an EU country different from their country of origin (European Commission, 2021). 2.7 million individuals entered the EU from non-EU countries, adding up to the more than 20 million individuals who live in Europe but have a non-EU citizenship (European Commission, 2021) Since 2015 Europe has also been the destination of a large number of refugees from Middle-Eastern countries, fleeing from conflicts and natural disasters. From these broad statistics, it appears immediately clear that migrations are a key phenomenon in European countries, and a crucial topic in their policy agenda.

Migration phenomena are far from being static, and in the last decades they changed both in magnitude and type. From the years of mass migration, through the labor migration of the post-war years until the recent mobility, migration flows have strongly changed. If at the beginning of the previous century entire families of Europeans were moving to distant destination seeking fortune and chasing the American dream (Abramitzky et al., 2012), in the 60s and 70s it was mainly men, low-educated workers, from Southern European countries going for predefined periods as “guestworkers” in the growing continental economies (Martin & Miller, 1980). The 80s and 90s were characterized by family reunifications and refugee flows from the ex-Jugoslavia and – more rarely – from the dismantled Soviet Bloc (Barsbai et al., 2017; Dustmann et al., 2017).

Today migratory phenomena are again rapidly changing. For example, in recent years migrants are younger and more highly educated. High-skilled migrants represent the largest group of emigrants in many countries: they are indeed more prone to emigrate than their lower educated counterparts. In this regard, Figure 5 displays the percentage of high-skilled distinguishing between natives and emigrants. The x-axis reports the share of high-skilled natives relative to all natives (i.e., individuals living in their own country of origin). The y-axis reports the share of high-skilled emigrants among all emigrants from each country of origin (i.e., individuals from one origin country living abroad)[12]. Most of the countries place themselves above the 45° line, suggesting that, among the high-skilled, the group of emigrants is larger than the one of natives (stayers).

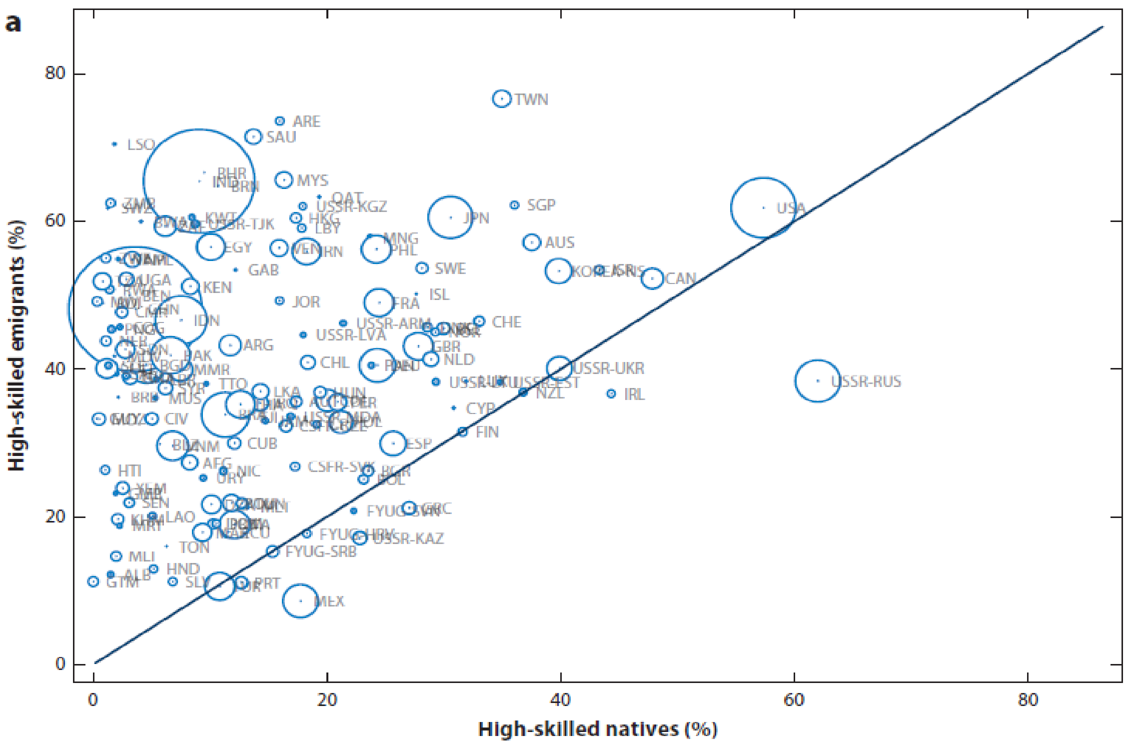

Figure 5: Percentage of high-skilled emigrants and natives by country. Source: Kerr et al. (2017).

[12] Circles highlight the size of the population in each origin country, where larger circles indicate larger populations.

From 1990 to 2010, the migration of high-skilled migrants increased by 130% and reached 28 million mobile individuals worldwide. At the same time, also between developed countries the movements of high-skill human capital have grown and evolved. In Europe, for example, about 2.3% of highly educated active EU-28/EFTA citizens have been living in an EU or EFTA country other than their country of origin for up to ten years (European Commission, 2014). Figure 6 shows the distribution of educational levels in the pool of recent (2013 data) movers within Europe, for different origin countries.

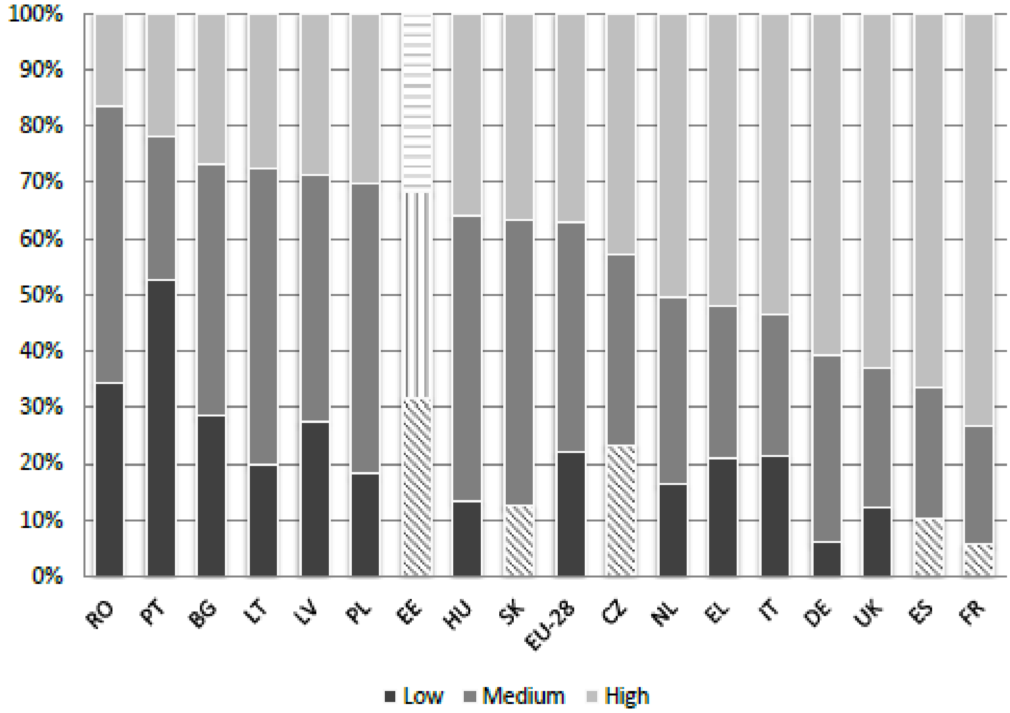

Figure 6: *Distribution of active recent EU-28/EFTA movers across different levels of education, by citizenship. Source: EU-LFS (European Commission report on intra-Europe Mobility, 2013).*

This trend has been favoured by the expansion of higher education, together with its internationalization (e.g., Erasmus program and similar), the sinking of transportation costs, the possibility to access freely labour markets, and the need for specialized labour in many destination countries (e.g., health care specialists and engineers). Migration flows are also more temporary and circular. Individuals do not only move multiple times between destination and home countries, but also move across destination countries. Finally, in recent years many countries have experienced an increase in the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers. Conflicts in Africa and Middle East, as well as numerous natural disasters and climate shocks have brought many people to leave their countries and seek shelter in European countries.

All these changes have raised a number of challenges for origin and destination countries, from the distribution of refugees during the 2015 Refugee Crisis, to the selection and integration of immigrants in the labour market, to the effects that migratory phenomena have on natives' attitudes, labour market prospects and political behaviours, to contrasting brain drain phenomena. Migration is a fundamental aspect of societies as it not only affects the life and career of mobile subjects, but it also has broader implications for the singular country internal dynamics (sending or receiving) and for international equilibria. These implications, moreover, are surely economic, but also social and political, as the growth in populist and xenophobic ideas and movements has demonstrated. It is therefore necessary to adopt multiple lenses and multifaceted points of view in order to investigate the numerous aspects of migration and their evolution over time.

For this reason, together with migrations themselves, also the study of migrations has become increasingly diffuse, and many disciplines are contributing to study different aspects of migration. In recent years researchers from demography, to whom the topic of migration traditionally belongs, but also from economics, sociology and other social sciences have been publishing a prolific number of works. Sub-disciplines such as economics of migration (Borjas et al., 2019) and sociology of migration have expanded both the number of approaches, techniques, and the scope of the topics investigated. In this chapter we take a close look to the study of high-skilled migration from an economics perspective. First, I summarize common data sources for the study of high-skilled migration. Second, I review studies on the macro-perspective focusing on recent migration trends, on the race to attract high-skilled human capital, and on the determinants and effects of high-skilled migration from the perspective of sending and receiving countries.

DATA AND METHODS FOR THE ECONOMETRIC ANALYSIS OF MIGRATION FLOWS AND MIGRATION POLICIES

Data

Before turning to reviewing the recent economic literature on cross-country migration, in this section we describe data and methods used for the study of cross-country migration. With respect to the data, we distinguish between data on migration flows and on migration policies. Table 20 reports information on databases for the study of migration flows at the country-level. These data are recorded from different sources (mainly administrative sources on registration and deregistration of citizens as well as passenger surveys) in each country and harmonized. They cover a large number of origin and destination countries and span wide time windows. The richness of the data allows to construct precise migration flows across both for one country and between countries. Let's take the example of Germany in 2010 and the DIOC-E datasets. With small data elaborations, one can obtain the following pieces of information: i) the total number of incoming individuals from all other countries present in the dataset; ii) the total number of outgoing individuals to all other countries present in the dataset; iii) the number of incoming individuals from each single country; iv) the number of outgoing individuals to each single country. The information contained in the datasets also allows to disaggregate these flows by migrants' characteristics, such as age groups, gender, or educational level.

It is important to also mention a few limitations. First, while the time coverage is wide, the frequency of the data is low, so that the time between flow data varies from one year to ten years. Not all datasets have information on the educational level of mobile individuals and where this variable is present it might not be accurate. While the study of high-skilled migration is possible, one should be careful in acknowledging this limitation. Third, the datasets here reported do not have information on the stock of migrants in each country. While this does not represent an issue for the study of migration flows, it might be necessary to enrich the datasets with data on the stocks of migrants, for example to compute measures of flows relative to the migrant population in the destination and/or origin countries.

The second type of data is data on migration policies. Compared to migration data which are often collected by either destination or origin countries, data on migration policies must be retrieved from administrative documents and communications. For this reason, these data are rarer and part of single research projects. Two recent examples are the dataset on migration policies and bilateral agreements collected and used by Czaika and Parssons (2018), and the dataset on employment bans for refugees in Fasani, Frattini and Minale (2021). An exception is the DEMIG dataset on migration and visa policies which covers a large number of policy changes for many countries and across several years. This data source is described in Table 2. Empirical research operationalizes migration policies in two ways. The first approach constructs policy indices that measure the restrictiveness of immigration systems (Boeri et al., 2012; Mayda, 2010; Ortega & Peri, 2014). In this case, a value of 0 is assigned to the index for a particular country in period 0. This value is increased or decreased by 1 should a policy in a particular year be deemed to be more or less restrictive. This approach can be used to assess how within variation in the intensity of migration policies affects migration to a specific country. For this reason, this kind of variables focus on the intensive margin. The second approach uses a binary variable that equals 1 if a particular policy is in place in one given year or

0 if the policy is absent. This second approach, which focuses on the extensive margin, is useful to exploit both within- country and across-countries variation.

Dataset	DEMIG
Description of Data	DEMIG C2C (country-to-country) database contains bilateral migration flow data for 34 reporting countries and from up to 236 countries over the 1946–2011 period. It includes data for inflows, outflows and net flows, respectively for citizens, foreigners and/or citizens and foreigners combined, depending on the reporting countries. The DEMIG C2C database was compiled through extensive data collection and digitalisation of historical national statistics as well as current electronic sources. It provides a unique opportunity to construct migration flows from many origin countries to the 34 reporting countries, as well as return flows
	DEMIG TOTAL reports immigration, emigration and net migration flows for up to 161 countries covering various periods of time from the early 1800s to 2011, disaggregating total flows of citizens and foreigners whenever possible. The database allows for quantitative analysis of the long-term evolution of international migration.
Download of data	https://www.migrationinstitute.org/data/demig-data
Main webpage	https://www.migrationinstitute.org/data/demig-data
Dataset	OECD Migration Statistics (DIOC/DIOC-E)
Description of Data	
	Bilateral flows, disaggregated by age class and gender, educational level
Additional Information	The datasets contain also additional information, such as acquisition of citizenship.
Time coverage	DIOC is available for 2000/2001, 2005/2006, 2010/2011, 2015/2016
	DIOC-E is available for 2000/2001, 2010/2011
Spatial coverage	DIOC: 34 destination countries and more than 200 countries of origin. DIOC-E: 100 destination countries and more than 200 countries of origin.
Download of data	https://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm
Main webpage	https://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm

Dataset	EUROSTAT Migration Statistics
Description of Data	
Additional information	The datasets are constructed based on reports for each country. Eurostat harmonizes the sources. Particular attention should be paid to country-specific limitations.
Time coverage	2007-2018
Spatial coverage	All EU countries
Download of data	https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migration_and_migrant_population_statistics
Main webpage	https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migration_and_migrant_population_statistics
Dataset	IAB Brain Drain dataset
Description	IAB brain-drain dataset: Contains data on the total number of foreign-born individuals aged 25 years and older, living in each of the 20 considered OECD destination countries, by year, gender, country of origin and educational level. Educational levels are distinguished in low, medium and high skilled.
	Migration by gender: Total number of foreign-born individual (all age groups as a whole), living in each of the 20 considered OECD destination countries, by gender and country of origin.
	Emigration rates: Proportion of migrants over the pre-migration population (defined as the sum of residents and migrants in each source country), by gender, skill level and year. Age group: 25 years and older.
Time coverage	1980-2010, with 5 years intervals
Spatial coverage	Australia, Austria, Canada, Chile, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, and United States
Additional Information	The data come from population censuses from all countries included. Data for years between two censuses are interpolated (see guide for specific information)
Download of data	https://www.iab.de/en/daten/iab-brain-drain-data.aspx
Main webpage	https://www.iab.de/en/daten/iab-brain-drain-data.aspx

Dataset	Data for Integration (D4I)
Description	The Data for Integration (D4I) dataset has been obtained through a spatial disaggregation of statistics of the 2011 Census, collected from national statistical institutes. The results of the spatial processing of the original data is a uniform grid showing the concentration of migrants in cells of 100 by 100 m in all cities of eight European countries (France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, the United Kingdom).
Time coverage	2011
Spatial coverage	France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, the United Kingdom
Additional information	The data are disaggregated in country of origin, macrogroups of countries of origin, EU vs third country
Download of data	https://ec.europa.eu/knowledge4policy/migration-demography/data-integration-d4i_en
Main webpage	https://ec.europa.eu/knowledge4policy/migration-demography/data-integration-d4i_en
Dataset	DEMIG POLICY
Description	The dataset tracks more than 6,500 migration policy changes. The policy measures are coded according to the policy area and migrant group targeted, as well as the change in restrictiveness they introduce in the existing legal system.
Time coverage	1945-2013
Spatial coverage	45 countries around the world
Dataset	DEMIG VISA
Description	The database tracks annual bilateral travel visa requirements. It contains over 4 million data points. The information tracked includes a) country of visa issuance, b) nationality of the traveller, c) year for the visa requirements, d) policy measure (visa entry and/or exit permit).
Time coverage	1973-2013
Spatial coverage	237 nationalities, 214 countries

Table 20: *Datasets on migration flows*

Methods

The literature on the effects of migration policies is broad and so are the empirical approaches in the econometric analysis of these policies. We consider here only two cases.

The first is a one country one policy scenario. We take the example of Bassetto and Ippedico (2021), who evaluate the effect of introducing tax deductions for high-skilled individuals who come back to Italy after a period abroad. In particular, in 2010 Italy responded to the brain drain phenomenon introducing a set of tax deductions for high-skilled migrants residing abroad. The scheme only applied to a subset of Italians abroad, i.e. Italians that had at least a university degree, born after 1969 and who had resided abroad for at least two years. If we are interested in investigating the effect of tax deductions on the inflow of migrants eligible for the tax incentives, we can estimate the following Difference-in-Difference (DiD) model[13]:

$$logN_{c,e,t} = \lambda_t + \gamma Treated_{c,e} + \eta Treated_{c,e} * \ Post_t + \epsilon_{c,e}$$

where Nc,e,t is the number of returnees in birth cohort c, with education level e relocating to Italy in year t, Treatedc,e =1(c≥1969)∗1(e=college), i.e. indicating the groups eligible for the tax incentives, and Postt=1(t≥2011), i.e. indicating the years when tax incentives were in place. Under the parallel trend assumption, namely, that absent tax incentives the eligible and non-eligible groups would have had similar trends in the likelihood of returning, η identifies the reduced-form, intention-to-treat (ITT) effect of eligibility for tax incentives on return migration.

This empirical approach – which has been extended to many other setups – exploits the differences in eligibility criteria to identify a group of treated and a group of control, to analyse the effect of the policy on the eligible (treated) group.

While effective in casually estimating the effects of a single policy, the previous approach might fail in considering that different countries enact policies at different times and all these policies might work to increase or reduce the flows towards or from one specific country. The second case we consider is therefore a scenario with many countries and many policies. The empirical research in migration economics has been adapting gravity models from the trade economics literature, substituting the inflow/outflow of goods with the inflow/outflow of individuals. These models allow to estimate the effects of policies taking into account dyadic characteristics of countries, such as language proximity. Combining data on migration policies, bilateral migration flows and other dyadic characteristics, it is possible to estimate the effects of migration policies on both the quantity

[13] See Bertrand et al. (2004) and Angrist and Pischke (2009) for a thorough discussion of the Difference-in-Difference methodology

(scale model) and quality (selection model) of migrant inflows. In their paper on migration policies and migration flows, Czaika and Parssons (2017) estimate the two following equations, respectively, for the quantity (log number of high-skilled migrants) and the quality (share of high-skilled migrants):

$$\begin{aligned}\ln n_{odt}^{HIGH} = {} & \beta_1(\ln W_{dt}^{HIGH}) + \beta_2(\ln A_{dt}) - \beta_3(\ln E_{dt})\beta_4(P_{dt}) \\ & - \beta_5(X_{od})\beta_6(\ln M_{odt}) - \beta_7(P_{odt}) + \delta_{ot} + \varepsilon_{odt}^{HIGH}\end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned}\ln\left(\frac{n_{odt}^{HIGH}}{\Sigma_z n_{odt}^{z}}\right) = {} & \beta_1(\ln W_{dt}^{HIGH} - \ln W_{dt}^{AVERAGE}) + \beta_2(\ln A_{dt}) \\ & - \beta_3(\ln E_{dt}) - \beta_4(P_{dt}) - \beta_5(X_{od}) - \beta_6(\ln M_{odt}) - \beta_7(P_{odt}) \\ & + \delta_{ot} + \varepsilon_{odt}^{HIGH}\end{aligned}$$

where z refers to skilled migrants (z = high (H), low (L)). The subscripts o, d, and t refer to origins, destinations, and time, respectively. W signifies wages, and A refers to countries' amenities. Migration costs are broadly conceived as comprising time-varying economic factors at destination Edt, which include the prevailing unemployment rate and the total population; time-varying destination-specific migration policies Pdt; time-invariant bilateral factors Xod that include geographical factors, physical distance between origins and destinations, and whether country pairs share a common border, as well as cultural factors, common languages, or a colonial heritage; and time-varying migrant networks Modt. Time-varying bilateral and multilateral policies are represented by Podt. ∂ is the error term, and origin-time fixed effects, δot.

STATE-OF-THE-ART RESEARCH ON MIGRATION FLOWS AND POLICIES

Origin, destination, and migration flows

In recent years the number of high-skilled individuals (both students and graduates) moving from one country to another has been increasing, both in absolute terms and relative to the lower educated groups. Nonetheless individuals do not move randomly around the globe, they rather follow quite clear pathways. Among the emerging patterns there is a concentration of movements from a broader range of countries (both developing and developed) to a narrower set, especially the USA, Canada, Australia, while at the European level there is a strong agglomeration of high-skilled migrants in the UK (European Commission, 2016). In general, OECD countries host two-thirds of the worldwide pool of high-skilled migrants (OECD, 2013). Moreover, based on the occupation, sector or industry they work in, high-skilled migrant workers tend to cluster in single areas of a country. An example is the large group of Asian scientists and high-tech experts who moved to the Silicon Valley, a phenomenon which provides first-hand evidence on the fact that concentration phenomena are even stronger in the upper tail of the talent distribution (Borjas & Doran, 2012). Concentrated migration patterns are also typical of the migration of university students (also defined as raw talent migration) who decide to spend an entire cycle of studies in a foreign country. Also, in the contest of student mobility agglomeration is even clearer for the top performers who, for example, move often to the American Ivy Leagues or England's best colleges. Besides economic reasons, there is also other reasons that make OECD countries preferred destination countries, such as more generous welfare systems, or more democratic and welcoming societies, and more stable governments. Given the magnitude of inflows and outflows, countries can be then classified as either net importer, net exporter or as displaying a balance between incoming and outgoing high-skilled migrants. For example, the UK and Germany for Europe, and Australia, Canada and the USA on the global stage are net importer. European net exporters are, among others, Lithuania, Romania (European Commission, 2016).

Besides this agglomeration phenomenon, other recent trends have been detected. Above all, the notable increase in the migration of high-skilled women (Kerr et al., 2017), who between 1990 to 2010 increased by 152%, from 5.7 to 14.4 million, and the rise in shorter-term and circular migrations (Kerr et al., 2016). Additionally, as stated earlier, since the number of high-skilled migrants increased relatively more than the number of lower-skilled migrants, not only the direction and magnitude of the migrants' group have changed, but also its composition: the share of high-skilled has increased relative to that of lower-skilled migrants (Arslan et al., 2014; Docquier & Rapoport, 2009).

Macro-determinants of migration

Given the patterns and the composition of high-skilled migration, research has focused on understanding the reasons behind such peculiarities. In this section I review the country level determinants. It is important to state here that I focus on the determinants of voluntary migration, therefore not considering the causes of forced migration (such as climate shocks, conflicts, ethnic persecutions). These may be distinguished between dyadic and single-country characteristics (Czaika & Parsons, 2017). The former ones are features which countries have in common or through which they are interconnected. Among these, language, presence of colonial heritage and geographical proximity tend to be two important factors both in workers' mobility and students' mobility (Aparicio-Fenoll & Kuhn, 2016, 2017, 2018; Chiswick & Miller, 2015), although the high-skilled still cover longer distances compared to lower-skilled migrants (Arslan et al., 2014). Sharing the language or the borders allows immigrants to experience lower migration and integration costs. Tight trade relationships also increase the flow of high-skilled, especially across developed countries. Both high-skilled staff and senior managers are indeed frequently transferred with firms' headquarters across countries throughout their careers (Kerr et al., 2017). Other dyadic characteristics that have been proven relevant in explaining migration flows are the network size of immigrants from the origin country, the presence of colonial heritage (Czaika & Parsons, 2017). A particularly relevant immigration-driver is the *relative* wage differentials (Rosenzweig, 2010), which may be also seen as a dyadic characteristic. For the mobility of university students, the relative costs and performance of the educational system also represent a key factor entering the migration decision (Beine et al., 2014; Grogger & Hanson, 2011, 2015). On the other hand, single-country characteristics consist, among others, of the level of unemployment, the high-skilled wage level and the size of the population at destination.

A different kind of determinant is the presence of the bilateral agreements and unilateral policies. Among unilateral policies, immigration policies are introduced and modified with the aim of attracting high-skilled workers[14]. These policies can be divided in supply-driven (ex. point-based systems), where no prospective employment contract is required during the visa application procedure, and demand-driven, for which an employment contract is requested in order to enter the host country. Recent research results point to the fact that *only* supply-driven immigration policies can meaningfully attract high-skilled workers (Boeri et al., 2012; Czaika & Parsons, 2017), and this contributes to explain why Canada and Australia are net importer of high-skilled human capital. Other policies influence migration flows: bilateral agreements on mobility, on the recognition of degrees (this is important to favour students' mobility on one side, and integration of high-skilled workers on the other side as shown in Anger et al. (2022), on the transfers of social security arrangements. These all work in the direction of reducing the indirect costs of mobility. Finally, with regards to high-skilled female mobility differences in women's rights between sending and receiving countries have been found relevant (Blau et al., 2011; Neyad & Young, 2014).

Consequences of migration: A country level perspective

Although it is empirically difficult to isolate the single effect of each determinant on the flow of high-skilled migrants, the literature generally agrees on which the main determinants are and on the direction of their effect. Less clear are the consequences of high-skilled migration for both the sending and the re-

[14] With the exception of mobility within Europe, which is subject to the freedom of movement of people across European countries' borders.

ceiving countries, and for the international equilibria. For many years researchers, who due to due lack of crucial data had to rely heavily on theoretical considerations only, affirmed that high-skilled migration would have induced a brain drain in sending countries (Becker et al., 2004 for the case of Italy; Docquier & Rapoport, 2009), while host countries would have experienced a temporary or permanent brain gain. Although this might still be largely true and confirmed by empirical evidence, especially for a restricted set of countries (Docquier & Rapoport, 2012), the picture is much more complex and the effects of skilled migration much more heterogeneous. In general, skilled immigration should contribute to the economic growth of recipient countries insofar as it increases the share of skilled workers in the population (Boeri et al., 2012). In particular, a crucial factor is the integration of skilled migrants into their labour markets and their relatively rapid assimilation (Friedberg, 2000). This generates positive spill over effects via skill acquisition and learning by doing also of native workers as well as competitive pressures on the latter to acquire more skills (Boeri et al., 2001). On the other hand, the positive self-selection of high-skilled migrants should deprive the origin country – often already relatively more disadvantaged – of complementary skills, business leaders, role models, professionals essential for the human capital sector (ex. teachers, physicians), providers of public services and so forth (Doquier & Rapoport, 2012; Kerr et al., 2017). Nonetheless, beyond the canonical view of brain gain and brain drain, researchers have been increasingly focusing on the positive effects of high-skilled migration for sending countries, and on the negative ones for receiving countries. On the one hand, high-skilled migration might indeed represent a source of brain gain also for source countries: if skills acquired abroad are more valuable in the home country rather than in the host country and migrants have therefore incentives to remigrate (Dustmann et al., 2011); if feedbacks effects in terms of technology diffusion, remittances (transfer channel), induced trade and foreign investments are present (Boeri et al., 2012; Gibson & McKenzie, 2012; Mayr & Peri, 2009); if foreign-trained individuals promote democracy – an institutional channel - in the home country (Spilimbergo, 2009). On the other hand, in receiving countries the overall brain gain effect might hide a high degree of heterogeneity across sectors and regions due to agglomeration patterns of the high-skilled. Moreover, differences in the quality of educational systems could lead to the immigration of individuals who are relatively high-skilled with respect to the skill distribution at origin, but average or low-performing in the host country.

Finally, it should be noticed that recent trends in migration patterns further increase the complexity of welfare calculations for sending and receiving countries. Brain circulation, characterized by the short-term and transit migrations typical of today's high-skilled workers, and chain migration involving at least a third receiving country, could indeed mitigate or strengthen the brain gain and brain drain effects.

Besides consequences for single countries a crucial, but largely understudied aspect is the effect that high-skilled migration has on the international equilibria, especially with regards to the distribution and re-distribution of costs and benefits. An example: assuming there is no brain circulation and that individuals migrate after completing their university studies at origin, receiving countries tend to free-ride on sending countries' educational systems (Demange et al., 2014), with the risk of triggering a reduction of investments in education in source countries. At the same time, receiving countries accumulate foreign-trained human capital, but they also bear the welfare costs raising the need for coordination in the social security systems[15]. In this respect, policies of redistribution of costs and benefits, such as the European Social Cohesion policy framework, might be further developed in order to split the burdens of high-skilled migration more equally. Finally, considering a more political perspective, the effect that high-skilled migration has on the overall perception of immigrants and on the political legitimation of the EU should not be neglected.

POLICY DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

While some governments worry about restricting immigration, integrating incoming immigrants in their labour markets and societies, predicting the effects that migrant inflows might have on natives' employment and political attitudes, other governments worry about containing emigration, recalling emigrants, predicting the effects that migrant outflows might have on the economy and society.

No matter which perspective is taken, whether migrants themselves are considered, or natives at destination, or stayers at origin, migratory phenomena entail challenges and opportunities for both destination and origin countries. For this reason, it is fundamental to deeply understand the determinants of migration, the effects that migration has on migrants themselves, on natives and stayers, and more in general on countries. At the same time, it is crucial to seek evidence of how governments and supranational organizations may intervene to better integrate immigrants in their labour market and societies, to re-attract emigrants or benefit from the network of nationals abroad, to attract new immigrants and welcome successfully refugees and climate migrants.

In the last decades studies on migration in the social sciences have grown exponentially. Many of these are the starting point of my dissertation. In this chapter I revise the theoretical and empirical literature on migration economics, focusing on three aspects that form the basis for my empirical analysis. First,

[15] http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?langId=en&catId=84.

I focus on the determinants of migration, on the understanding of which are the personal motives, which are the conditions for individuals to decide in favour or against migration, which are the contextual drivers that push or pull them into migrating. Second, I review studies on the consequences of migration for the migrants, answering what happens to their labour market outcomes, their integration into host societies, and which factors improve or hinder their integration. I also review which are the consequences of migration more broadly, for countries, which is eventually the drivers to implement policies that attract and integrate immigrants, but that also might ban and discriminate them. Understanding the effects of migration and integration policies becomes a fundamental priority for countries and governments, not only in destination but also in origin countries. For this reason, this chapter also revises the available data and the methodologies that may allow to evaluate these policies.

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16 Global career perspectives and employability of internationally mobile employees and researchers in times of sanitary crises (Post-Covid-19 reflections)

Cordula Barzantny

ABSTRACT

This paper is based on the unexpected and paradoxical impact of Covid-19 in the middle of the GLOMO research and doctoral training project since February 2020. The GLOMO project was initially scheduled from 09/2018 to 12/2021; 15 Early Stage Researchers (ESRs), coming from 12 different countries around the world, were welcomed in seven universities in six European countries working on a collaborative and interdependent research design. Covid-19 accounted for drastic changes in the field of global mobility and revised practices in organizations. The research conditions for the scholars, universities, the organisations and partners of these projects have been impacted heavily by this sanitary crisis, hence also completely annihilating global career perspectives and the employability of internationally mobile employees as core of the project. Nevertheless, the crisis is also leading to global mobility changes with focus on enhanced mindfulness and sustainability as well as gender issues. Thanks to high reactivity of all parties involved, the GLOMO research project shifted to new questions and research considerations with a strong emphasis on remote and digital work facing lockdowns, confinements, travel bans... As a creative consequence elaborated by the ESRs, we can observe transformative and resilient examples from young researchers and their research settings and observations as well as their personal experience on how to re-think their intercultural situations and to overcome the hurdles posed by the Covid-19 pandemic. Such reflections have added extreme deconstruction but also creative and intercultural adaptation of the intended research project to address the paradox and still produce respectable outcomes.

INTRODUCTION: THE CONTEXT - PASSION AND VISION OF A GLOBAL MOBILITY EUROPEAN RESEARCH AND DOCTORAL TRAINING PROJECT

The story started on 2014 when several management scholars interested in international mobility and expatriation decided to call for a first academic conference on Self-Initiated Expatriation that then took place in spring 2015 at TBS[16]. The conference gathered an international audience of mobility and international HRM[17] experts and academics, while the idea to inquire further about SIE, i.e., international mobility of individuals by way of their own initiative and motivation rather than being assigned by an organisation. SIE represents an increasingly

[16] Toulouse Business School, France.

[17] Human Resource Management

complex phenomenon resulting from globalized business, internationalizing supply chains, [18] progress in international treaties which grant freedom of movement across borders, and the needs of MNC's[19] for global talent, among other factors. Research focusing on self-initiated expatriates (SIEs) has been increasing during recent years and the impact and management of SIE on business are still to be clarified with needs to develop theory further (Andresen et al., 2020). With the exchange of viewpoints among scholars three core levels have been identified, the micro, individual level, the meso or organizational level as well as the macro, institutional, and societal level.

This is where the idea of a joint, transnational, and multi-level research and doctoral training network was born, helped by calls for proposals for European-wide research in the social sciences to create and stimulate knowledge about how to make labour mobility more efficient and beneficial for all parties involved. Following a meandering process of writing and coordinating an EU research and European, Innovative Training Network (ITN) grant proposal with a submission in 2017, a satisfactory achievement about 97.6% for all evaluation criteria was obtained. Considering that acceptance rates for all submitted ITN projects in 2017-2018 in the Social Sciencies have been at 4.8% in 2017-2018, the consortium was extremely fortunate with the obtention of 3.95 mio € funds for 15 earl-stage researchers (ESRs) across four academic years between 2018-2021.[20]

GLOMO – GLOBAL MOBILITY OF (QUALIFIED) EMPLOYEES – A EU H2020 MARIE SKŁODOWSKA-CURIE PROJECT

Chaper 1 already outlines the idea, content and objectives of the GLOMO project (see also Figure 1 in chapter 1). At the individual level, international mobility affords many choices and opportunities, and these individuals subsequently go on to benefit from a hopefully always positive career experience. Management studies have described the career capital of SIEs in terms of education, professional experience, and networks of contacts, focusing on the more privileged SIEs. It is, therefore, necessary to also consider the lesser privileged individuals with respect to skills, physical (dis)ability, ethnicity, and gender, from among the population of internationally mobile individuals. (Examples of GLOMO contributions: Biswas, Mäkelä, & Andresen, 2021; Escobar-Borruel, Suutari, & Mello, 2022; Oleškevičiūtė, Dickmann, Andresen, & Parry, 2022; Suarez-Bilbao, Andresen, Crowley-Henry, & Connor, 2022.)

[18] Roy D. Voorhees, Emerson L. Seim & John I. Coppett (1993). 'Global Logistics and Stateless Corporations', *Transportation Practitioners Journal 59*(2): 144-51.

[19] MNC- Multi-National Company – a company having activities in at least two countries, generally for corporations with a quite international, even global presence in many countries around the world.

[20] https://www.horizon-europe.gouv.fr/sites/default/files/2021-12/itn-statistiques-h2020-5191.pdf

At the organisational level, SIEs are likely to possess a keen understanding of both local and global markets; have knowledge of foreign languages and cultures; and are likely to be more cost-effective than traditional expatriates, given the travel and living expenses, salaries, and taxation regarding financial issues incurred by corporate expatriates. Thus, it is of great importance that companies have a clear sense of the nature of SIEs and how best to manage them. (GLOMO publication examples: Abdul Hadi, 2022; Andresen, 2021; Nguyen & Andresen, 2019, 2021; Vulchanov, 2020.)

At the international and institutional level, SIE concerns the relationships between countries and the evolution of law, in particular employment legislations. Scholars aiming at understanding global careers must consider the contextual nature of talent management of the expatriate workforce within their respective historical, geographical, institutional, and organisational settings. (Examples of GLOMO output: Bassetto & Freitas Monteiro, 2022; Bozhinoska-Lazarova, 2020; Freitas Monteiro, 2021; Luong, 2022; Raupp et al., 2022.)

GLOBAL MOBILITY AND INTERCULTURAL EXPERIENCES IN HARD TIMES: THE EFFECTS OF COVID-19 ON AN INTERNATIONAL MOBILITY RESEARCH PROJECT

GLOMO strives for excellence by arranging research collaborations on different levels. First, several disciplines are cooperating with supervisors and ESR, not only from management expertise, but also other social sciences like psychology, economics, and political sciences. Furthermore, all ESR benefit from intersectoral and international secondments, one to an academic partner, a second one foreseen with an industry or institutional partner organization across Europe. Secondly, the ESR research projects are strongly inter-related, thematically as well as through shared data collection and usage. To foster further cooperation and mentoring various joint training programs, seasonal doctoral schools and discursive workshops are offered, where ESRs, supervisors and mentors come together to advance their knowledge on international careers. Thus, this research collaboration is aimed at producing high quality scientific output with publications but also impact for companies, institutions, and the wider society. Third, the interdisciplinary nature of the GLOMO ETN brings together an intensive exchange within and across the three levels (micro, meso and macro) and four pillars (careers before migration, career capital, outcomes of migration and sensemaking) of analyses (see Figure 1 in chapter 1) linked to the project's scientific conference participation (EURAM[21] 2019, 2020, 2021 among others) as well as the virtual communication strategy (social networks and see also: www.glomo.eu).

[21] EURAM - European Academy of Management annual conference

The interdisciplinary and synergetic approach of the GLOMO project should lead to critical perspectives and an enhancement of existing research in the field of global mobility, expatriation and migration of qualified employees while qualifying the young scholars to various international career roles at the same time (expert in international careers, self-manager, international professional, researcher, professional academic and boundary spanner). Moreover, confirmed scholars are involved as members of the project's Advisory Board and as visiting researchers for the various events, sharing their critical views, expanding perspectives, and challenging results.

Such an exciting, international project offered each ESR already very individual intercultural situations, since they were globally recruited from 12 different countries for this European venture, welcomed in seven universities in six European countries. They experience intercultural situations, privately as well as in their research, furthermore, accentuated by academic and corporate secondments planned in the overall research project for the intercultural and international experience.

With the impact of Covid-19 in the middle of the project since February 2020 across Europe and the world, the consortium accounts for drastic changes in the field of global mobility and revised practices in organizations. The research conditions for the scholars, universities, the organisations, and partners of these interrelated projects have been impacted heavily by the sanitary crisis, leading to global mobility changes with focus on enhanced mindfulness and sustainability but also gender (see i. e.: Søndergaard, 2001), work-life balance (see Cohen et al., 2009) and health issues (see also: Collings & Sheeran, 2020).

GLOBAL MOBILITY RESEARCH UNDER LOCKDOWNS AND PHYSICAL CONFINEMENTS

Global Mobility in pandemic times became physically impossible and entered a remote work and on-line paradox situation. The Covid-19 pandemic brought national to global lockdowns with large parts of the population around the world confined since early 2020. Under the pandemic threat organizations have reduced their global mobility flows and various business sectors shut down completely (tourism, aviation, hospitality, culture & entertainment events....). Most of the ESRs of the GLOMO project found themselves in another country in the middle of their first academic secondment. Following a disintegration of the formerly single European Schengen Area with national lockdowns and sanitary crisis policy not (yet) coordinated among the 27 EU Member States, travel became almost impossible and horridly expensive for the last days before complete lockdowns decreed in many countries. This affected internationally mobile workers as well as students around the world and made large way for digital remote working solutions.

It also requested different and stronger support modes from senior academics and supervisors to care for their students and ESRs, often isolated in small student housing, in a different country, sometimes without linguistic knowledge of the local language adding more stress and anxiety to the understanding of the daily changing situation (on anxiety, uncertainty and affect see: Gonzalez, 2014; Griffin & Grote, 2020, Sadler & Miller, 2010; Watson, 1988; Wetherell, 2012), notably in the first days and weeks of the Covid-19 outbreak per country. Furthermore, it was nearly impossible to start any empirical fieldwork with companies to collect global mobility data as foreseen for the GLOMO project, therefore, the ESRs and supervisors had to go into a deep reflection how to work out strategies to save a global mobility project in times of lockdowns and travel bans.

Covid-19 accounted for extreme changes in the field of global mobility and revised practices in organizations. The conditions for scholars, universities, organisations, and partners have been impacted heavily by the pandemic, hence also completely annihilating global career perspectives and the employability of internationally mobile employees as core of the project.

Family situations became immediately stressful in remote work situations, since schools and childcare facilities also were closed during lockdowns and confinements, leaving the supervisors, mainly mothers, with the issue of home schooling and attending their small children plus cooking and other household chores that could no longer be outsourced. As one of the GLOMO ESR research projects studied: work-private life conflicts and expatriation-specific demands are reflected in reduced expatriate performance and willingness to stay (Biswas et al., 2021).

Fortunately, electricity and IT equipment were present in Europe, so that work activities could resume for large parts, even if remote working days seemed longer and endless with chains of Zoom meetings and phone conversations. Hence, the crisis is also leading to global mobility changes with focus on enhanced mindfulness and sustainability as well as gender issues, not only always negative (for the rather negative, *bordering* effects, see: Wemyss & Yuval-Davis, 2020). Thanks to high reactivity of all parties involved, the GLOMO research project shifted to new questions and research considerations with a strong emphasis on remote and digital work facing lockdowns, confinements, and travel bans... Furthermore, all meetings and doctoral training events since February 2020 needed to be reverted and re-organized to a full on-line mode until Spring 2022. Because of adaptation delays, the project outcomes have also to be shifted to August 2022 instead of December 2021 with full cooperation of the EU Research Project Officer, but without extended funding.

> *"In the European Economic Area, and particularly the Schengen Agreement Area, mobile employees have moved between countries, searched for work and settled in accordance with the existing framework guaranteeing free movement on the background of citizenship. The uncoordinated and seemingly arbitrary national level restrictions of movement following the COVID-19 pandemic have, during 2020, created shifting and at times paradoxical entry conditions for individuals who lead mobile lives. Mobility rules have been drastically reshuffled through closed borders, bilateral agreements and travel corridors, questioning the validity of the Schengen Agreement and setting the scene for "cross-border immobility". (Martel et al., 2022c)*

After the first shocks and frustrations because of the pandemic, the ESRs started to reflect on their personal experience and possible adaptations, reassessing their intercultural situations and how to overcome the hurdles posed by the Covid-19 pandemic. Despite the physical distance among ESRs, supervisors and all other parties involved, cooperative and collective coping appeared with positive influence on the research project under paradoxical scrutiny. For example, a group of eight ESRs studying global mobility and labor migration from a variety of disciplinary perspectives, all with prior international mobility experience, had left their previous countries of residence in 2018 to join the EU funded research project, located in different European cities. They could be classified as highly qualified, privileged migrants. But the Covid-19 pandemic suddenly forced everyone not to travel anymore. Hence a new collaborative, auto-ethnographic study was born (methodologically inspired by Denshire, 2014; Järventie-Thesleff, 2016; Karra & Phillips, 2008), conducted in 2020 with regular, weekly online meetings to exchange and "*refaire le monde*" and virtual, dialogue, self-interrogations, and group reflections (Ouattara, 2004; Pullen et al., 2020; Richard-Frève, 2017). Based on an emic approach, in line with Chang, Ngunjiri and Hernandez (2013), the ESRs applied an iterative process of data collection and analysis. The weekly conversations naturally emerged as a safe space for exchange and understanding, as we were facing similar situations, despite staying at different places (Martel et al., 2022b). "*Suddenly, as the privilege of "always being on the move", "always socializing and networking" disappeared due to closed borders and pandemic threats, we experienced anxieties and isolation and had to re-evaluate our perceptions on life, work and international mobility." (Martel et al., 2022a) "The very purpose and meaning of our broader research endeavors and employment perspectives suddenly faded away. Moreover, we realized more than ever before, what it means to us to be allowed to move and travel freely as opposed to being separated from significant others on other continents in the long run." (Martel et al., 2022a). [inspired by* Acker & Haque, 2015; Alvesson, 2003, 2009; Anteby 2013; Elliot et al., 2016; Gosovic, 2018]

COVID-19 RELATED EVOLUTION OF RESEARCH ON GLOBAL MOBILITY, PHYSICALLY ON HALT BUT INTELLECTUALLY ACTIVE AMONG THE GLOMO PROJECT – POSITIVE ADAPTATION

Several pieces of work by the ESRs during the sanitary crisis might be described by others as a "sidestep", a "hobby project", a "shadow activity" (Martel et al., 2022a), but for them it represents "*a recollection of shocks and wonders, a sentence of precious, ephemeral instances, that* they *have shared and hidden for over 9 months.*" (aka resilience: Chen & Bonanno, 2020; Nuget, 2014; insiders and outsiders: Merton, 1972).

Many firms have begun to use the increased freedom that international remote work can give to allow their employees to work, often for a short period, at a location of their choice. This means that some forms of global work, for instance, lengthening a foreign holiday, have become more prominent. As countries and societies increasingly learn to live with the pandemic, global mobility streams are picking up again. This implies that the many exciting, practical insights from the GLOMO project continue to be relevant for policymakers, senior managers, global mobility professionals and individuals. Hence, there are theoretical and practical contributions of the GLOMO project also in times of pandemic crises, and this book title is a vivid testimonial of those.

As a creative consequence elaborated by the ESRs, we observe transformative and resilient examples from young researchers and their adapting research settings and attempted field studies show how to overcome, adapt and transform the challenge of the Covid-19 pandemic. Such reflections have added extreme deconstruction but also creative and intercultural adaptations of the intended research project to address the paradox and still produce respectable outcomes. Most of the academic conferences reverted also to full on-line format, so that the research production and critical peer evaluations continued following a first adaptation period in 2020.

The whole importance and symbolic of free movement became salient since mobile individuals alike the GLOMO project researchers base their life choices on those established principles of physical and spatial freedom. Hence the individual case studies of each ESR became interesting, since they attempted to travel during the pandemic for professional and professional reasons linked to quite complex combinations of citizenships, residence, and affiliations with various institutions and locations across and beyond Europe (at least four continents!). This resulted in very different situations and singular cases where the pre-crisis base for movement had been replaced by novel and continuously changing constraints[22]. Previously very active European movers like hyper-mobile PhD candidates, the ESRs became hyper-reflective pandemic intimates (Bourdieu, 1990; Cotterall, 2013, Horowitz, 2017; Mo, 2019; Nietzsche, 1908). Also, this situation was positively transformed and continue to give way to experiential research output inside the GLOMO framework.

SOME LESSONS FROM THE SANITARY CRISIS FOR GLOBAL CAREER PERSPECTIVES AND EMPLOYABILITY OF INTERNATIONALLY MOBILE EMPLOYEES AND RESEARCHERS

Beyond the great disruption of Covid-19 pandemic, the GLOMO project researchers continued to systematically generate knowledge about the mobility phenomenon and its implications like success factors, effects and added value, adding new perspectives with the Covid-19 restraints and possible adaptation.

The supervisors, peers and partner continued to provide (remote, on-line) training to develop the 15 ESRs within GLOMO, albeit on-line, helping them to explore the complex multidisciplinary phenomenon of mobility. Indeed, this adaptation permitted to continue exploring and suggesting relevant implications for individuals, organizations, European societies, and economies.

All people committed to the GLOMO project experienced intercultural situations for themselves, privately as well as in their research, furthermore, accentuated by academic and organizational secondments foreseen, but no longer possible in the overall research project and for the intercultural and international experience. In most cases, remote solutions were negotiated and experienced as resilient responses to the sanitary crisis. Beyond a certain delay, resilient examples from young researchers and their adapted research observations as well as their personal experience on how to re-think their intercultural situations and to overcome the hurdles posed by the Covid-19 pandemic have added extreme deconstruction but also creative and intercultural adaptation of the intended research project (for resilience see also: Bonanno, 2020). It goes without saying that also the digital skills got a boost during these pandemic times and make evolve the teaching and learning tools, important for higher education but also scientific endeavours through meetings, on-line workshops, and conferences. We will see future hybrid configurations to allow people to bridge distance and time, as the final GLOMO conference, held at Bamberg University 11-12 April 2022 testified.

[22] One possible research outcome among others: *'By examining the travel restrictions implemented in EU states during the COVID-19 pandemic, we aim to build on theory of society membership criteria.' (Martel et al., 2022b,c).*

Similar observations and adaptations are recorded for the corporate world of work and though the various empirical research that the GLOMO ESRs maintained and adapted through the Covid-19 crisis (Barzantny et al., 2022). Hence, all parties involved can be proud of the continuity approach in such times of crises and extreme paradox for global mobility.

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PART VI
Outlook and conclusion

17 Future research on self-initiated expatriation: Emerging topics

Anh Ngoc Nguyen and Maike Andresen

INTRODUCTION

Recent decades have witnessed the growth of research on self-initiated expatriates (SIEs) in the field of management literature. Further, the aspects researched on SIEs have been continuously expanded. Even though valuable insights have been gained, several areas require further scrutiny (Andresen et al., 2021b). Emerging issues, for example, are human trafficking from the perspective of management research, seasonal flows of SIEs linked to certain business activities (e.g. tourism, agriculture), digital transformation, overlooked destination and home countries of SIEs, specific groups of international workers (e.g., international volunteers, musicians, athletes, etc.), refugees and asylum seekers, self-initiated expatriation in extreme or risky situations and crises, the role of emotions, and identity. These ideas originated from the participants of the second Conference on Self-Initiated Expatriation, organized by the GLOMO project at the University of Bamberg, Germany, from April 11–12, 2022. In this paper, we take the directions discussed at this conference as inspiration and explore four significant areas: digital transformation, emotions, overlooked destination and home countries in the current research, and identity. These future research avenues have recently attracted the attention of various scholars, demonstrating their value to enrich our knowledge of SIEs, especially in today's world (Andresen et al., 2021b; Bucher & Deller, 2021; Cooke et al., 2021; McNulty & Brewster, 2020; Moulaï et al., 2021).

We proceed as follows. First, we provide an overview of the topics, including a definition and a short literature review. Second, we explore and elaborate on various directions for future research on each topic. We then conclude the chapter by summarizing the key insights. Table 21 gives an overview of the state-of-the-art in research and future research avenues.

Topics	Definitions	Brief overview of the state-of-the-art	Future research avenues
Digital transformation	The incorporation of digital technology and data in all aspects of organizations' operations to promote business, refine/change the business processes, and increase revenue.	- SIEs' use of social media to receive social support - Digital applications specialized in supporting global mobility challenges - Virtual working	- The role of host country's digitalization levels - Impacts and future of virtual collaboration/working - Impact of Artificial Intelligence (AI) on global mobility
Emotions	- A complex whole of various components, including appraisals, facial and body expressions, physiological and nervous system activities, and instrumental behaviors. - Can be conceived as a linear combination of two dimensions. The first dimension is whether the emotional states are pleasant or unpleasant (i.e., valence), and the other is whether the emotions trigger activation or deactivation (i.e., arousal or alertness).	- Role of emotions (primarily unpleasant) in SIEs' work outcomes and adjustment - Emotional intelligence	- Emotional acculturation - Examination of diverse emotions (especially pleasant and emotions at different arousal levels)
Under-researched countries of destination and origin	Countries where SIEs come from and relocate to that are underrepresented in current research on SIEs.	- Limited studies employing samples coming from a specific country, often concentrated on developed, wealthy, high-status nations - Insufficient insights into destination countries with a low proportion of foreigners/SIEs	- Motivations to relocate to hostile countries and countries with a low proportion of SIEs (e.g., Africa, Middle East, except Gulf countries, and South America). - SIEs' adjustment, embeddedness, retention, and career outcomes in these countries / a specific country among them
Identity	Diverse approaches: - Perceived belongingness to a cultural group (i.e., cultural identity) - Definition of self in the work context (i.e., career identity) - Gender - An open approach adaptable to global lifestyles that pertain across countries (i.e., expatriate cosmopolitan identity)	- Several ways SIEs define themselves and implications for their outcomes	- Systematic reviews of SIEs' identity that take all current approaches into account - Antecedents of identity structure - Self-fulfilling prophecy among SIEs in terms of identity

Table 21: *Summary of emerging topics and future research avenues*

DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION AND ITS IMPACT ON GLOBAL MOBILITY OF SIES

The technological revolution has become an essential feature of our times. Especially in the last few years following the COVID-19 pandemic, we have witnessed a remarkable acceleration in digitalization, which has reformed not only the way individuals work, the infrastructure and operation of various organizations, but also national economies (Kraus et al., 2022). Digital transformation refers to the incorporation of digital technologies and data into all aspects of organizations' operations to drive business, refine/change business processes, and increase revenue (Kraus et al., 2022). However, literature on the impact of digital transformation on SIEs is clearly underdeveloped (Bucher & Deller, 2021).

Evidence shows that technology also plays an essential role in the lives and work of expatriates. Many expatriate newcomers and their families use social media as a tool to obtain social support, seek information, learn about the host culture, and for comfort before and after their relocation (Nardon et al., 2015; Sahakiants & Dorner, 2021). We identified several digital applications developed with the sole purpose of assisting expatriates with specific issues (e.g., tax consultation, cultural training), partially replacing the conventional roles of global mobility service providers (Sahakiants & Dorner, 2021). Virtual working became particularly common during the pandemic, during which also SIEs worked primarily from home (Arslan et al., 2021) and many others repatriated prematurely due to health and security concerns (Koveshnikov et al., 2022). However, working remotely via an online platform faced obstacles such as Internet availability and stability, data protection, information overload, and psychological well-being (Sahakiants & Dorner, 2021).

Given the emerging trends of digital transformation in the context of SIEs, certain aspects need further exploration. First, the impact of digital transformation on SIEs may vary depending on the level of digitalization of the host nations. For instance, in some countries, digitalization has reached a level of stability and prevalence that has created a digital society that allows people to interact virtually and benefits many stakeholders, including organizations and workers (i.e., smart cities, digital nations) (Kraus et al., 2022). Expatriates residing in these nations are more likely to perceive the impact of digital transformation on their daily and working lives than those living in less-digitalized locations.

Second, virtual collaboration often raises questions about trust issues, its applicability in specific occupations or contexts, and its impacts on group cohesion and organizational commitment. Digital means have shown, particularly during the pandemic, to improve communication and team spirit among virtual workers, thereby mitigating problems of physical isolation (Rudolph et al., 2021). Similarly, trust can be built by creating transparency around shared goals and encouraging unofficial communication via a common secure and reliable communication platform (Hertel et al., 2005). Literature reviews propose that some types of teams nevertheless require certain face-to-face interactions, such as highly interdependent groups (Hertel et al., 2005). Thus, the frequency of business travel and short- or long-term assignments can be expected to decrease, but the global mobility of employees is likely to remain, especially for SIEs.

The swift and constant advancement of technology requires continuous observation and examination by researchers. For instance, recent research indicates that the use of artificial intelligence (AI) for traditional leadership tasks (e.g., disciplinary and mentoring tasks) offers some advantages (e.g., transparency, integrity) compared to human agents (Höddinghaus et al., 2021). Further, the literature also suggests the integration of AI into various other HRM functions as well, such as recruitment and decision support, for instance, by providing employees with comprehensive organizational information, thereby reducing the burden on managers and experts alike (Gil et al., 2020). Thus, the global mobility situation could change depending on the expansion of AI in management. Implications may include, for instance, reduced demand for unskilled and even skilled SIEs in digitalized nations, as well as for short- or long-term expatriate assignments in smart companies.

EMOTIONS – A BLIND SPOT IN CURRENT RESEARCH ON SIES

In research, emotions are generally considered for their complexity, including appraisals, facial and body expressions, physiological and nervous system activities, and instrumental behaviours (Fischer et al., 1990; Hatfield et al., 2014). According to the circumplex model of affect, all emotional states can be conceptualized as a linear combination of two dimensions: first, whether the emotional states are pleasant or unpleasant (i.e., valence), and second, whether the emotions trigger activation or deactivation (i.e., arousal or alertness) (Posner et al., 2005; Russell, 1980). For instance, amusement is a state comprising moderately pleasant feelings and strong activation of the nervous system. In this respect, amusement differs from other emotions such as serenity, which are characterized by the same pleasant valence but lower alertness (Posner et al., 2005).

Emotions play a significant role in SIEs' work outcomes. Most studies on emotions scrutinize them in terms of their valence. The focus is often on unpleasant emotional states (e.g., anger, hopelessness, stress) and their effects on work outcomes, such as work adjustment, performance, effectiveness, and career optimism (Lauring & Selmer, 2018; McNulty & Moeller, 2018; Selmer & Lauring, 2013b; Stoermer et al., 2020; Wurtz, 2018). In contrast, evidence of pleasant affect (e.g., hope) is scarce, with limited studies such as those by Selmer and Lauring

(2013b) or Harvey et al. (2009). The literature has also explored the role of emotions in the adjustment process of SIEs, with the regulation of emotional expression seen as one dimension of adjustment (Gullekson & Dumaisnil, 2016; Haslberger et al., 2013; Selmer & Lauring, 2013a). Many scholars have shown similar interests in emotional intelligence, which appears to facilitate cross-cultural adjustment (Arokiasamy & Kim, 2020; Koveshnikov et al., 2014). Nonetheless, the current literature is clearly insufficient to capture the various aspects of SIEs' emotional experiences and their consequences.

An example of an overlooked area is emotional acculturation, or the process of regulating emotional patterns to fit in the host country's culture (Leersnyder, 2017). Similar to cultural distance, people from different countries feel different sets of emotions (i.e., patterns) that are congruent with their cultural values and contexts of interaction (Leersnyder et al., 2013). For instance, emotions related to social detachment (e.g., pride, frustration, anger) are more common and powerful in the European/American culture, whereas socially engaging emotions (e.g., shame, guilt, gratitude) are more prevalent in the East Asian culture (Leersnyder et al., 2013). These patterns related to the type of emotions are consistent with the cultural dimensions of individualism and collectivism that characterize these two cultures (Leersnyder et al., 2013). When SIEs come into contact with a new culture, their emotional patterns tend to alter over time to fit in the patterns of the natives in that context (Leersnyder, 2017). The difference between emotional acculturation (Leersnyder, 2017) and emotional adjustment (Haslberger et al., 2013) is that the former entails actual change in the experienced emotions (or more accurately, sets of emotions) (i.e., deep acting), whereas the latter primarily encompasses control of emotional expression (i.e., surface acting) (Haslberger et al., 2013; Leersnyder, 2017). While surface acting has potentially negative consequences, for example, for well-being (Diener et al., 2020; Sanz-Vergel et al., 2012), emotional acculturation seems to facilitate long-term mental and somatic health (Diener et al., 2020; Leersnyder, 2017). Thus, improved person–environment fit could result from both processes but sustains longer and produces superior outcomes in the case of emotional acculturation (cf. Diener et al., 2020). This leads to further questions about the antecedents of emotional acculturation and the moderation effects of context (e.g., work versus private life).

Another area that requires researchers' attention is the study of a broader range of emotions, considering both their valence and arousal dimensions. Pleasant emotions are an interesting direction for future research on self-initiated expatriation, particularly concerning work outcomes (Diener et al., 2020) and the well-being (Fredrickson, 2000) of SIEs. Emotions can lead to different outcomes depending on the level of alertness. For instance, pride, interest, and gratitude have the same pleasant valence, but they have divergent underlying functions, goals, and focus, resulting in different work attitudes and performance; pride, but not interest or gratitude, has been shown to promote psychological empowerment (Hu & Kaplan, 2015). In the case of SIEs, high arousal emotions, such as amusement, might improve work outcomes that require persistence and initiative (Cheng & Wang, 2015), while deactivated, pleasant emotions, such as calm or relaxation, might help SIEs cope with demands and stress. It is further valuable to discuss the functional aspects of emotions. Here, the judgement of positivity and negativity should consider the actual functioning of emotions in a specific context. For instance, anger, which is an unpleasant emotion, can be positive when it serves prosocial motives, for instance, to address injustice (Diener et al., 2020). Against this background, SIEs' unpleasant emotions might lead to certain positive outcomes, provided they are congruent with the emotional patterns of the host country's culture (Leersnyder, 2017) and effectively support the achievement of goals (Tamir & Ford, 2012).

COUNTRIES OF DESTINATION AND ORIGIN IN SIE RESEARCH

Notably, space has emerged as a prominent subject for future research on SIEs (Andresen et al., 2021a). The influence of home and host country has rarely been addressed in the literature. Studies employing samples from a specific country are limited and often refer to countries with large proportions of people seeking international life or experiences, such as Australia (Tharenou & Caulfield, 2010), Finland (Mäkelä et al., 2016; Suutari & Brewster, 2003), Lebanon (Al Ariss & Özbilgin, 2010), and New Zealand (Carr et al., 2005). Literature reviews demonstrate a clear preference for individuals from wealthy and high-ranking nations with high global mobility of workers (Lazarova & Ipek, 2021). In contrast, professionals from less-developed countries who initiate their relocation and also pursue international careers are researched significantly less often or are labeled differently (e.g., migrants) by management scholars (Lazarova & Ipek, 2021).

Likewise, there is substantial research focusing on destinations attracting a large number of international talent, such as Gulf countries (e.g., Saudi Arabia, Qatar, United Arab Emirates) (Bealer & Bhanugopan, 2014), East Asia (e.g., China, Japan, Korean, Hong Kong, Macau, Singapore) (Froese, 2012; Lo et al., 2012; Peltokorpi, 2008; Stoermer et al., 2020), and Western Europe (Al Ariss & Özbilgin, 2010; Cao et al., 2014; Varma et al., 2021). The proportion of foreigners in the host country might have implications for SIEs' adjustment and work outcomes. For instance, moving to a country with a low proportion of foreigners might create specific challenges (Andresen et al., 2021a). Research suggests that the motivation to relocate to a specific location is related to its characteristics (Froese, 2012). Nonetheless, we have obtained few insights into the pull factors (e.g., career norms) of countries where the number of SIEs is low.

In this light, further research is needed on ‘overlooked’ countries of destination and origin, which can reveal the impact of the home or host country—as well as their specific combination, for instance, the special relationship between Germany and Israel—on various outcomes of SIEs. Some countries of destination and origin that are notably rare in SIE research are Africa, the Middle East (except Gulf countries), and South America. So far, studies on expatriates in these destination regions have mostly been limited to samples of assigned expatriates, most of whom worked as senior managers or experts in large organizations (Ado et al., 2021; Dickmann & Watson, 2017; Faeth & Kittler, 2017). These destinations often show comparatively high levels of terrorism, crime, corruption, and discrimination (Dickmann & Watson, 2017; Faeth & Kittler, 2017; Greppin et al., 2017). While the literature has explored assigned expatriates’ motivations for moving to hostile countries (e.g., career development) (Dickmann & Watson, 2017), we have generated little knowledge on the group of SIEs. There is a research backlog given the growth in the SIE population along with new Emerging Market Multinational Enterprises (EMMNEs) in these regions, such as Chinese SIEs and EMMNEs in African countries (Jackson & Horwitz, 2018). SIEs, who typically do not receive organizational support similar to that provided to assigned expatriates, may face more hostility in these contexts, leading to more negative experiences (Harry et al., 2019). They further face difficulties in communication, gender equity, and knowledge transfer with local people (Harry et al., 2019; Jackson & Horwitz, 2018), raising questions about their adjustment, embeddedness, retention, and career outcomes there. SIEs’ experiences are expected to differ given different levels of socio-economic development, immigration friendliness, and hostility in each country. For example, SIEs’ adjustment, settlement, and career success in Mexico may be easier to manage than that in South Africa due to the comparatively harsher conditions (e.g., xenophobia) in the latter (Harry et al., 2019; Mendoza & Guitart, 2008). Studies that focus on the specific country characteristics can therefore be insightful.

Regarding countries of origin, there is insufficient research on SIEs from different developing countries. On the one hand, individuals in this case often face challenges at the macro level, such as immigration policies and the recognition of their qualifications and work experience (Al Ariss & Özbilgin, 2010). On the other hand, studies also show that home country-related positive stereotypes promote SIEs’ career resources in the host countries (Bozionelos, 2019). Thus, it is beneficial to explore the impact of home countries while also considering the diversity of these developing nations. In particular, the positive impact of developing country backgrounds on SIEs’ careers is a promising direction for further research.

Another area is the career outcomes of SIEs from developing countries after their return to their home country. The home countries of these individuals often suffer from a 'brain drain,' as SIEs' knowledge and skills are lost if they choose to remain abroad. Their international experience nonetheless becomes valuable when they repatriate, increasing their employability and marketability to employers in their home country. This perhaps distinguishes them from SIEs coming from industrialized and high-status countries, as their international work experiences gained in less-developed regions are not necessarily valued by companies upon their return to their homeland (Andresen, 2021). Similarities or differences in home and host country career norms become intriguing fields of research, as they outline different "ideal" pathways in which SIEs' careers evolve within international relocations (Andresen, 2021).

IDENTITY

The topic of expatriates' identity and belonging has drawn the attention of scholars in recent years. Specifically, research on expatriates has explored identity from diverse perspectives, where expatriates' identity refers to perceived belongingness to a cultural group (i.e., cultural identity) (Li et al., 2021), the definition of self in the work context (i.e., career identity) (Kanstrén, 2021), gender (Yu & Ren, 2021), or an open and adaptive approach to global lifestyles that pertain across countries (i.e., expatriate cosmopolitan identity) (Adams & van de Vijver, 2015). The diversification of approaches to studying expatriate identity is a trend in the recent literature. Researchers have explored the implications of the ways SIEs define themselves on various outcomes, such as mobility patterns (Moulaï et al., 2021; Scurry et al., 2013), adjustment (Selmer & Lauring, 2014), and career capital (Rodriguez & Scurry, 2014). Overall, research on this topic is at an early stage, with scholars attempting to understand how SIEs make sense of the self at multiple contextual layers. This endeavour may be fuzzy from a theoretical perspective, as current studies to date have not built a structured identification and classification of all approaches to the identity of SIEs. Furthermore, it remains unclear under which circumstances these types of identity exist in an individual or a specific group of SIEs. In this light, there are areas that demonstrate promising directions for future research. First, systematic reviews of SIEs' identity that take into account all current approaches will enlighten the self-structure of SIEs and lay an essential groundwork for further research. For example, while multiple identities might coexist within an SIE, their salience and implications for work outcomes differ distinctively (Yu & Ren, 2021).

In addition, certain situations, personalities, occupations, or career orientations might form specific sets of identity. This leads to our second area, which deals with the antecedents of identity structure. To date, there are few studies that focus on factors that contribute to the identity of SIEs. A few examples, such as Selmer and Lauring (2014), suggest that childhood experiences play an essential role in how SIEs structure their cosmopolitan identity. However, we are not fully aware of the role of other factors, particularly organizational factors (e.g., types of employer companies, industries) or individual antecedents (e.g., personality, educational experiences, cultural intelligence).

Finally, it can be interesting to study identity not only as an intra-perceptual but also as an interpersonal phenomenon, where SIEs might form or alter their identity according to the expectations of others (i.e., self-fulfilling prophecy). In the case of SIEs, the cultural/social norms of the host country might encourage or suppress certain identities. For instance, host country norms or anti-LGBT laws may force SIEs to conceal their identity in terms of sexual orientation or transgender status, impeding their psychological and physical well-being (McPhail & McNulty, 2015). Research into the self-fulfilling prophecy among SIEs, thus, becomes beneficial for some vulnerable groups such as LGBT and females (e.g., in countries with salient traditional gender norms).

CONCLUSION

This chapter outlines four notable areas that recently emerged in research on SIEs, namely digital transformation, emotions, under-researched countries of destination and origin, and identity. Although these research areas are essential to comprehend the life and work of SIEs, especially during the contemporary digital era, we have obtained little evidence on these topics. The brief overview of each area, followed by some promising research questions, aims to indicate directions for future research.

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Expatriation has been a topic of much research recently. The important role expatriates play in the internationalisation of an organisation and the resultant effects of such a work experience on the expatriates themselves, have fuelled the interest in this domain. This edited volume serves to provide fresh and timely insights into four areas, covering the individual, over the organisational, to the macro-level. First, the career paths of the expatriates, which not only garners them the career capital they may be able to utilise later in their career but also, the impacts of such an experience on their longer-term career success are in focus. The second block concerns the expatriation phase itself. A critical look is taken into the expatriates' identity and how it changes over time. Moreover, it discusses factors influencing the expatriates' well-being, embeddedness, and sociocultural integration during their time abroad. Third, some key global mobility management challenges that organisations face, when managing expatriation, are introduced — such as flexible language management and how to become an international employer. Finally, insights are provided into the role of the host country policies – more specifically hostile environment and migration policies – on expatriate attitudes and behaviour, which has received less attention in previous research. All four areas are finally brought together to present a rich overview of future research questions that shall stimulate researchers and practitioners in their further deliberations.

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