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A Channels Framework For The Study of Skilled  
International Migration

by

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy (Ph.D.)

University of Glasgow

Faculty of Science

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## Chapter 7    Using a Channels Framework to Achieve an Understanding of Migration History

### 7.1 Introduction

The influence and effects of different channelling mechanisms on the migration and occupational histories of international migrants was indicated as a main research topic for consideration in this thesis. To achieve this, information regarding migrants' histories was obtained. Respondents were asked to only give information relating to international moves made since they had entered the labour market. Analysis and discussion of this migration history information forms the content of chapters 7 and 8.

Chapter 7 presents a detailed investigation of international movement histories, using a channels framework to analyse and discuss many features of these experiences. Migration history information is also separated by migrant type (where appropriate) to allow for a consideration of this source of variation within the data. Information included relates to the number of international moves undertaken, the destination countries, the duration of international moves, the return of respondents to their origin countries between moves, and the duration of these periods of return. The involvement of spouse/partner and children in accompanying respondents overseas is also detailed.

This chapter, therefore, serves as an introduction to, and detailed discussion of, several features relating to international migration history. Many of the themes and



ideas introduced are continued and developed further in Chapter 8, which contains a detailed investigation of occupational history, again using a channels framework for enquiry and analysis.

## **7.2 International Migration Frequency - Number of International Moves**

An international move was defined as one which involved the respondent leaving his/her country of origin and being employed within the boundaries of another nation state for a period of three months or longer. For example, in a situation where a respondent had been employed abroad on five occasions (visiting five different countries or five separate visits to the same country), either returning to the origin country between moves or moving straight on to another destination, the respondent was treated as having made five international moves for employment.

Data relating to the number of international moves relative to channel of movement are presented in Figure 7.1. The channels of movement used for the tabulations were those indicated by the respondents as the way in which they found out about work abroad on their last (or present) migration. This does not, however, allow for variation or change in the channelling mechanisms used previously in the respondents' international migration history. Evidence of the assumed complexity of channelling mechanisms through time and space indicated earlier in Chapter 5 (which may infer the use of alternate channels

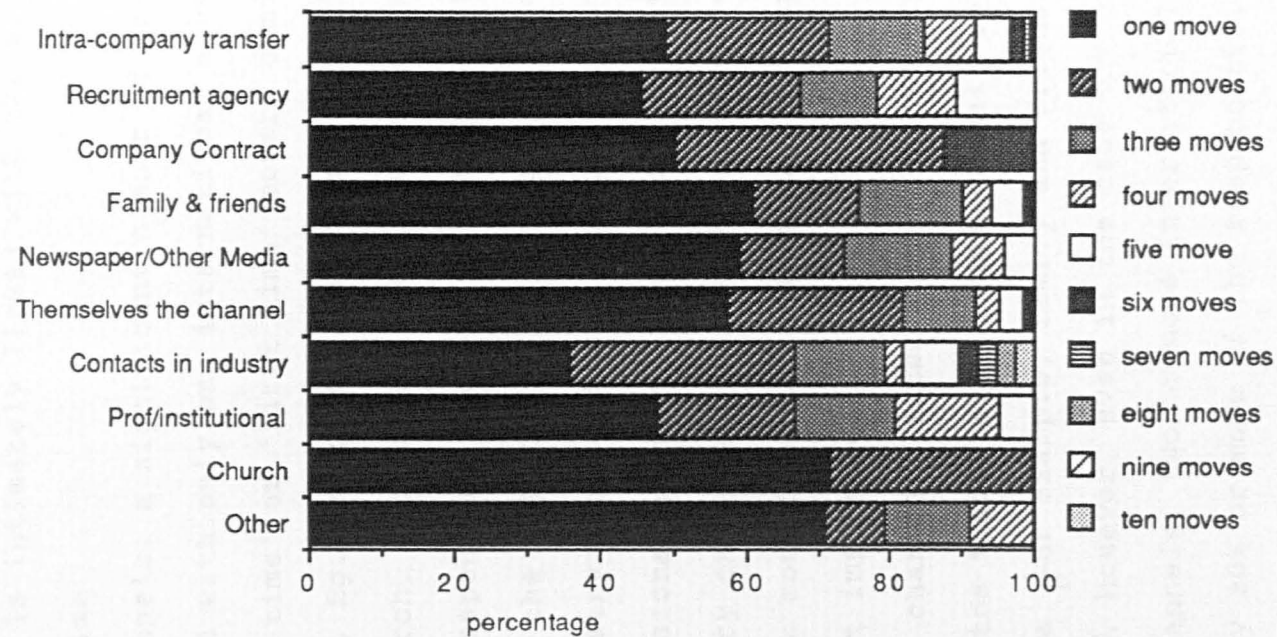


Figure 7.1 Number of International Moves by Channel

at different points in one's migration history) was not available. However, use of present/last channel of migration in the investigation of migration history is valid, as the migration history (past, present and future) of an individual is intimately linked with the situation at the present time.

For all channels, a significant number of respondents had been involved with only one international move for employment. 'One time' or 'first time' movers dominated in certain channels, Eg. newspaper and other media, family and friends, church, and 'other' channels. There were channels where respondents indicating one international move were not in the majority. In the cases of the contacts in industry (only 36% one movers), intra-company transfer, professional institutional, and international recruitment agency channels, it was those respondents indicating two or more international moves for employment that were of most importance.

Some of the channels listed are perhaps most closely associated with the traditional international 'settler' migrant phenomena (for example, family and friends, and 'other' channels). However, even in the case of these more 'traditional' channels, two or more international moves were indicated by 30% or more of the respondents.

It is difficult, using only data related to migration frequency, to draw conclusions from the proportions of respondents in each of the channels who indicated one international move. For example, it would be difficult to

identify those respondents involved with "settler movements" (Petras 1981, P61) who may make only one international move in their migration history, as distinct from other respondents ("skilled transients", Appleyard 1985) who are just beginning their migration history, and who were involved with the first of what might be many future international moves. There are, however, certain other migration history variables which might be included to separate 'settler' and 'transient' movers - for example, destination country and duration of visit (these are discussed more fully subsequently).

If consideration is given only to those respondents involved with two or more international moves, it may be expected that 'settler' migrants have been eliminated (at this higher level of migration frequency) and that the respondents are of a different nature.

For a majority of channel types, the numbers of respondents indicating two international moves were of overall second importance to the one move group, and, in general the number of respondents declined with increased migration frequency.

Certain respondents indicated their involvement with a very great number of international moves for employment. For example, the single largest number of international moves was ten - indicated both by respondents involved with intra-company transfers and 'contacts within industry'. Indeed, respondents involved with seven or more

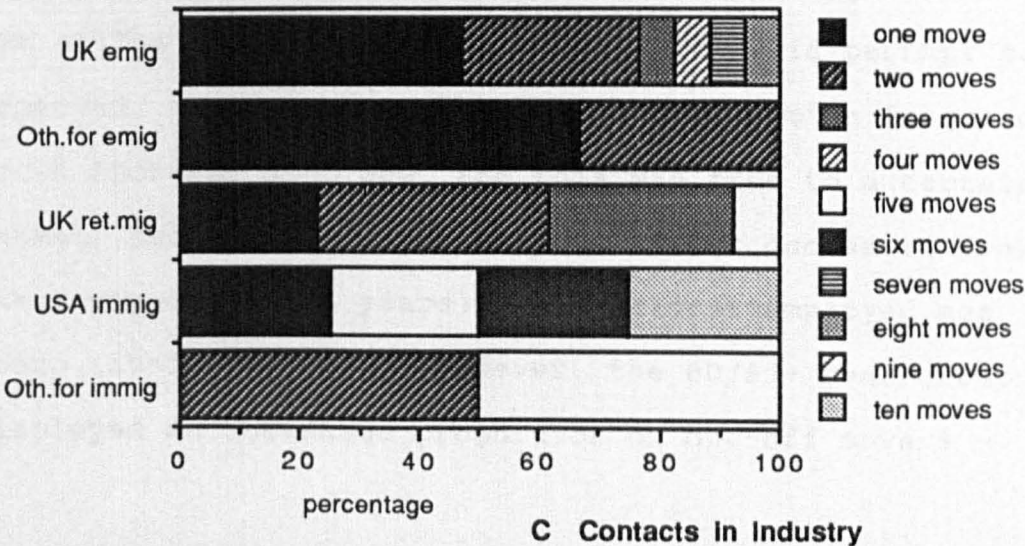
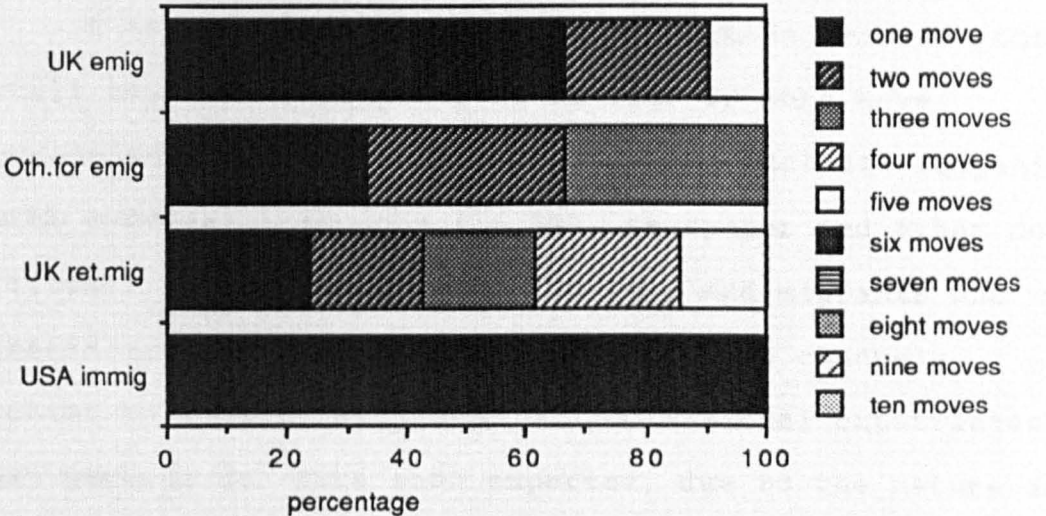
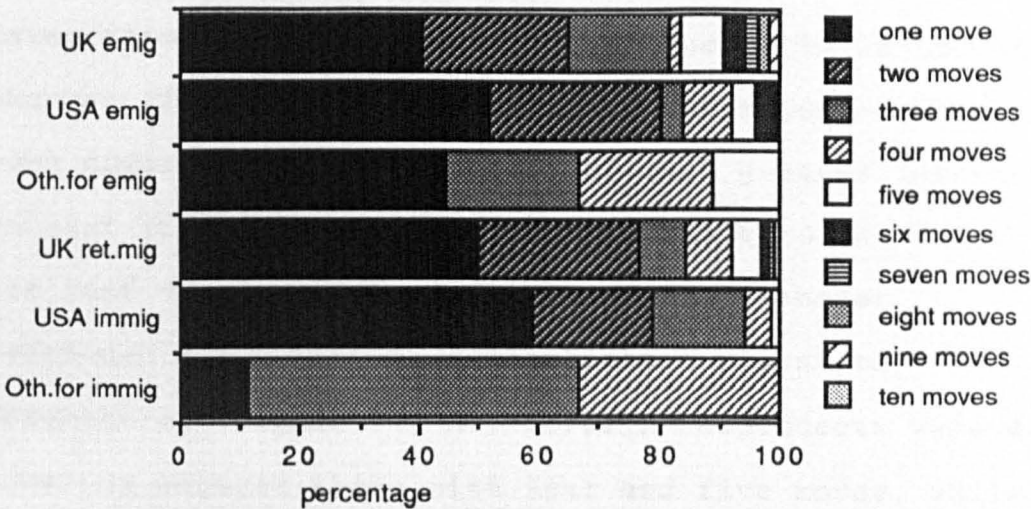
international moves were associated only with these two channels.

Analysis of number of international moves allows for the identification of a professional expatriate subgroup for certain channels. Considering respondents who have made four or more international moves (showing a high degree of international mobility) it was noted that the international recruitment agencies channel contained the largest proportion (21.8%), followed by the contacts in industry channel (20.7%). Two other channels each contained over 15% of respondents with four or more moves - the professional institutional (19.1%) and intra-company transfer (15.2%) channels.

Explanation of the existence of this group of 'chronic' movers within these channels can be related to the mode of operation and selection each represents. For example, the operation of international recruitment agencies, in terms of 'targeting' selection (Eg. in certain geographical locations, age groups, employment skill and experience) will determine the international migration frequency of respondents utilizing this channel. Within MNC's, international migration frequency is based upon career development through a number of secondments or postings in various countries within the international context of the employer.

The migrant types of the 'professional' (meaning most frequently moving) expatriate subgroup defined in this way can be identified using Figures 7.2 A-C. Considering moves

Figure 7.2 Number of International Moves by Channel Type and Migrant Type



channelled by international recruitment agencies (Figure 7.2 B), UK migrants dominated the four and five move categories. For respondents in the 'contacts in industry' channel (Figure 7.2 C) expatriates who reported four or more moves were proportionally of much greater importance amongst USA and other foreign immigrants to Scotland. In the case of the 15.2% of intra-company transfer respondents who indicated the highest migration frequencies (Figure 7.2 A), foreign respondents were most numerous amongst those with four and five moves, while for moves seven to ten UK migrants predominated.

A second group of channels containing smaller (though still important) proportions of four or more move respondents was also identified. These included companies with overseas contracts (12.5%), newspaper and other media (11.6%), family and friends (10.1%), and migrants who were themselves the channel (8.2%). That these channels contained smaller subgroups of professional expatriates may perhaps not have been expected, due to the nature and operation of certain of these channelling mechanisms.

Migration frequency was analysed in relation to the age of the respondents (Table 7.1). It would perhaps be expected, on an a priori basis, that migration frequencies would increase with age, and this was true to a certain extent. The proportion of one-off movers decreased from the youngest (15-24 years) to the oldest employed age group (55-59/64 years). However, the 60/65+ year group displayed an increased proportion of one-off movers -

Table 7.1 Number of International Moves by Age (%)

	15-24 yrs	25-34 yrs	35-44 yrs	45-54 yrs	55-59/60 yrs	59/65+ yrs
one move	85.7	69.4	46.5	39.4	26.8	57.1
two moves	7.1	18.3	22.4	22.1	25.0	14.3
three moves	7.1	7.9	17.1	12.5	17.9	7.1
four moves	-	3.1	6.1	14.4	7.1	21.4
five moves	-	0.9	4.4	7.7	17.9	-
six moves	-	-	2.6	1.0	1.8	-
seven moves	-	-	0.4	1.0	-	-
eight moves	-	0.4	0.4	-	1.8	-
nine moves	-	-	-	-	1.8	-
ten moves	-	-	-	1.9	-	-

#### Chi square Test Results

calculated  $X^2$  value = 130.32  
critical tabulated value for 6 x 3 table,  
10 degrees of freedom = 29.59  
 $H_0$  rejected at 99.9% confidence level

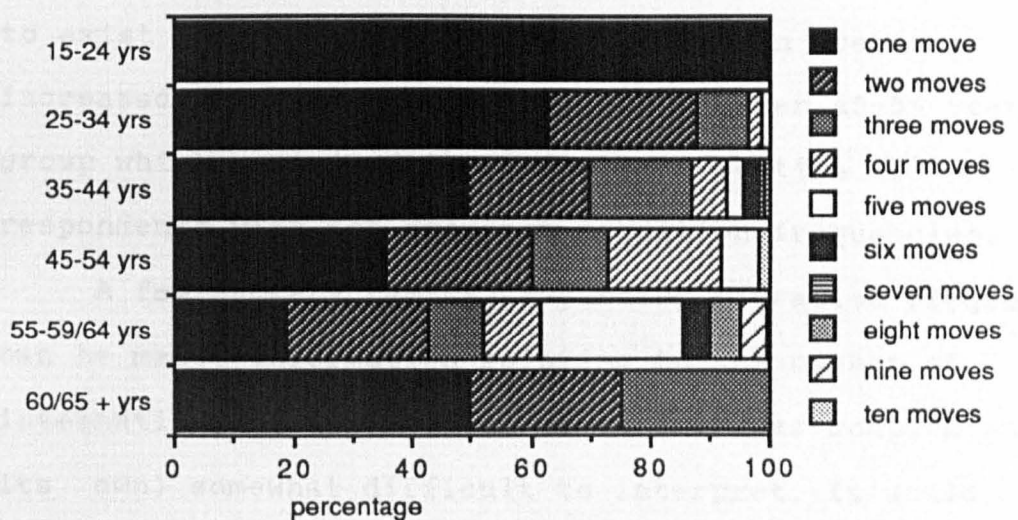
detailing evidence of retirement moves.

The chi square test was utilized as a means of identifying the statistical significance of the relationship between migration frequency and age. Firstly, the data had to be re-categorized to eliminate the large number of 'empty cells'. This was achieved through classification of migration frequency to one move, two/three moves, and four or more moves. The calculated  $X^2$  value was very high, allowing for rejection of the null hypothesis (stating that no statistically significant relationship existed) with 99.9% confidence.

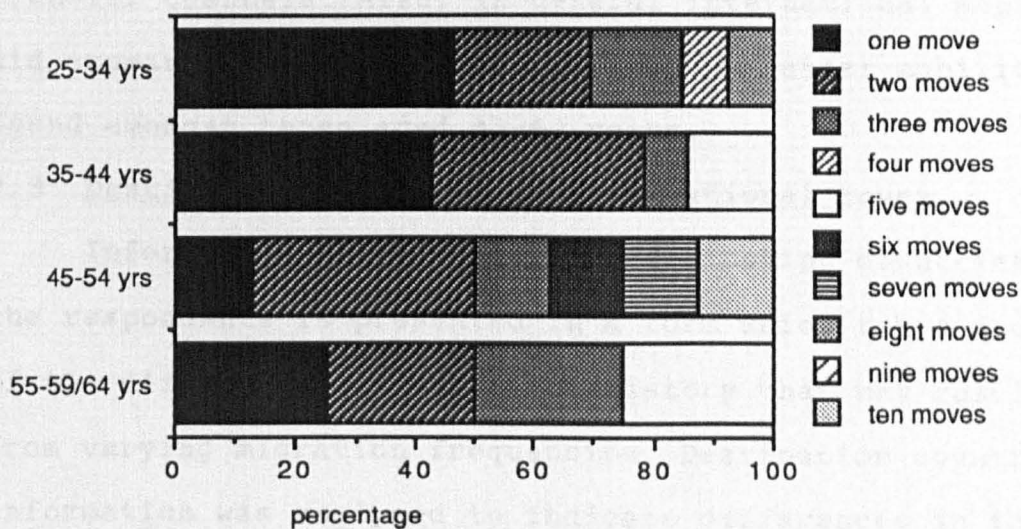
The relationship between number of moves and age for respondents involved with the intra-company transfer channel (Figure 7.3 A) indicated a situation very similar to that noted in Table 7.1. Migration frequency increased



**Figure 7.3 Number of International Moves by Channel Type and Age**



**A Intra-company Transfer**



**B Contacts In Industry**

with age to a certain degree.

Respondents involved with moves through the contacts in industry channel displayed somewhat different features with regard to age and migration frequency than noted previously. In this channel (Figure 7.3 B), there appeared to exist a relationship whereby migration frequency increased with age, but it was the younger 45-54 year group which contained the largest proportion of respondents with the greatest migration frequencies.

A few summary remarks regarding migration frequency can be made. Information relating to the number of international moves of the respondents was complex and (on its own) somewhat difficult to interpret. It would appear that there were certain channels where respondents were more involved with making a great many international moves for employment. The two most important of these channels proved to be the contacts in industry and intra-company transfer channels. Also, in general international mobility did appear to increase with age, with greatest mobility found amongst those aged 45-64 years.

### **7.3 Destination Countries of International Moves**

Information relating to the destination countries of the respondents is presented in a form which takes account of the differences in migration history that may result from varying migration frequencies. Destination country information was analysed to indicate differences in the importance of certain areas of the world as a destination for those of differing migration frequency and channel

type. Such locational information allows for an examination of the specific linkages of Scotland with the rest of the World, permitting comment on Scotlands' position in the world economy and the reasons for the existence of such links.

Summarized destination country information for UK respondents (emigrants and return migrants) who indicated only one international move is detailed in Figure 7.4. Details are given only for those channels which represent the most interesting features of the migration system. USA and other foreign respondents who indicated one move were not included in this figure as, by definition, their destination country was Scotland.

Several of the channels were dominated by just one or two destination areas. Among UK respondents moved through intra-company transfers, 57.5% indicated the USA as the destination for their first move. Information on destination country by migrant type for this channel (Table 7.2 A) confirms that all foreign respondents had been employed in Scotland on their first international move.

Strong involvement with the USA through intra-company transfers is an indication of the very important multinational company links between Scotland and the USA. Scotland is an important location for branch plants and offices of many USA owned multinationals. Official statistics indicate that in September 1989, there were 162 USA companies manufacturing in Scotland (S.D.A 1989).

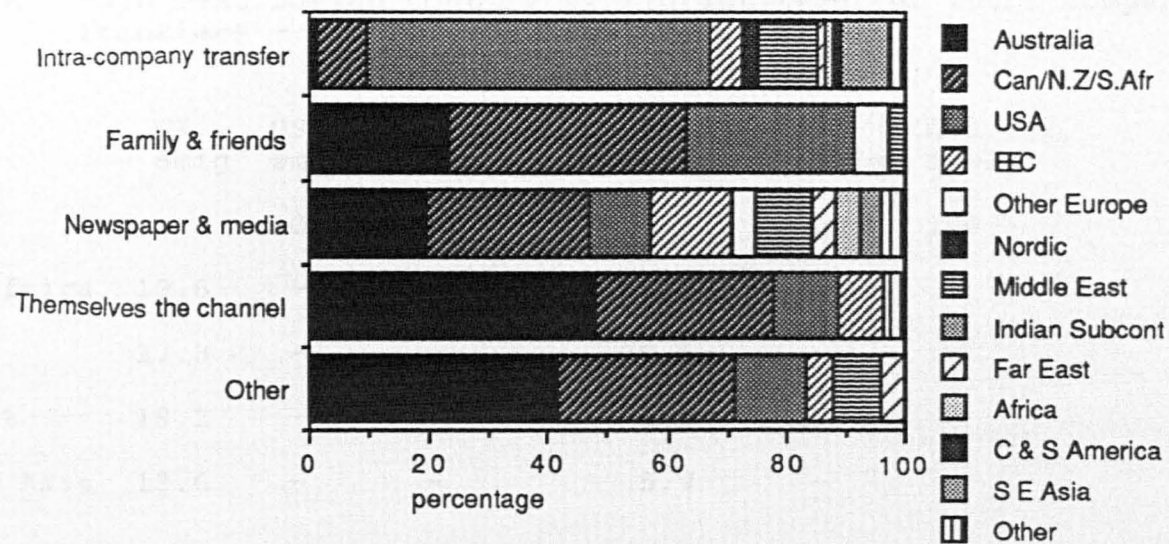


Fig 7.4 Destination Countries - One Move

**Table 7.2 A    Main Destination Country by Migrant Type for Intra-company Transfers - One International Move (%)**

	UK emig	USA emig	Oth.for emig	UK ret.mig	USA immig	Oth.for immig
Scotland	-	100	100	-	100	100
Can/NZ/S.Africa	13.6	-	-	5.9	-	-
USA	27.3	-	-	70.6	-	-
Middle East	18.2	-	-	5.9	-	-
South East Asia	13.6	-	-	5.9	-	-

These multinational companies were mainly involved in the electronics, engineering, oil and chemical industries. White (1989) found that there was a high level of involvement of Scottish local skills at management level in these company offices and plants in Scotland. Employees of these companies have the potential to be easily transferred within the internal labour market between the USA and Scotland (or vice versa).

Information relating to destination countries of UK emigrants from Scotland involved with this company channel (Table 7.2A) indicated that, while the USA (27.3%) was the destination country of single greatest importance, it was by no means the only destination. Other locations accounted for large proportions of these emigrants - the Middle East (18.2%), Canada/S.Africa/N.Zealand (13.6%) and S.E.Asia (13.6%). This destination pattern perhaps reflects the more complex and dispersed nature of recent links between multinational and transnational companies based in Scotland and other regions of the world. This may be, for example, because UK emigrants leave Scotland through involvement with a USA company which also has offices in these other regions. These linkage patterns may also indicate movement of employees involved with certain industries, for example, oil and gas developments. The precise nature of the industries involved will be examined in Chapter 8.

Similar levels of predominance of destination countries to that displayed for intra-company transfers

were also noted in other channels. The destination countries of one-off movers involved with these other channels were however very different to those for the intra-company transfer channel.

Those respondents who were themselves the channel for international movement indicated the importance of Australia (48.1%) and Canada/S.Africa/N.Zealand (29.6%) as destination areas. Similar levels of involvement with these two destination regions were also noted for family and friends and 'other' channels. These channels were therefore associated with the more 'traditional' or 'colonial' settler migrant destination regions, historically linked with much 19th and 20th century migration from Scotland.

Only UK migrants were found to be involved with 'other' channels (Table 7.2 B). A feature of central importance was whether return migrants after making one international visit to these destination regions may be labelled as permanent return migrants (for example, returning to Scotland to retire). Such a question may be answered using other survey data, for example, length of visit information (ie. were visits of a transient nature?) and motivations for migration.

Those in the family and friends channel may be considered as involved with a 'traditional' method of "settler" migration, and consequently it was not surprising to find them going to 'traditional' settler destinations. The links described between Scotland, the

Table 7.2 B      Main Destination Country by Migrant Type  
for 'Other' Channel - One International  
Move (%)

	UK emig	UK ret.mig
Australia	20.0	47.4
Can/NZ/S.Africa	20.0	31.6
USA	40.0	5.3

Old Commonwealth and the USA for these channels, however, are of a very different nature to those links established by multinational companies and intra-company transfers.

The channel type displaying the most diversity in range of destination countries was for those respondents involved with 'one move' through newspaper and other media sources. In addition to moves to Canada/S.Africa/N.Zealand and Australia, this channel also served to establish links with E.E.C countries. This may indicate a trend in which media sources make available information and advertise employment opportunities in other E.E.C countries.

Overall, Figure 7.4 does indicate some diversity in the range of destination countries of UK migrants involved with making only one international move. However, in the case of all channels (except intra-company transfers) there was evidence of the predominance of 'traditional' settler migrant locations.

Destination country information for UK respondents who reported two or three international moves, is detailed in Figure 7.5. The main differences between Figures 7.4



and 7.5 with regard to intra-company transfer moves, firstly relate to the decreasing predominance of the USA as a destination. The Middle East (22.2%), E.E.C (13.7%), and S.E Asia (9.2%) were also of importance. Secondly, world regions not indicated as destinations for 'one movers' in the company transfer channel, had been visited by those making two/three moves. For example, evidence of secondments or postings to Africa, Central and South America, and other European and Nordic countries. This indicates the truly international scale of multinational and transnational operations, linking Scottish skills with plants in many other parts of the world economy. Scotland was linked (directly and indirectly) through MNC's and their internal labour markets with many other national and regional labour markets and economies.

The destination countries of different migrant types involved with the intra-company transfer channel (Table 7.3 ) revealed that while all categories of foreign migrants (immigrants and emigrants) again indicated Scotland as the predominant destination country (all foreign respondents having to have experience of working in Scotland for inclusion in the survey), foreign expats also indicated the E.E.C, the Middle East, Nordic and other UK destinations as of importance.

Dominance of a channel of movement by a single region of destination was noted for the international recruitment agencies channel (Figure 7.5). For UK respondents involved in two or three international moves through this channel,

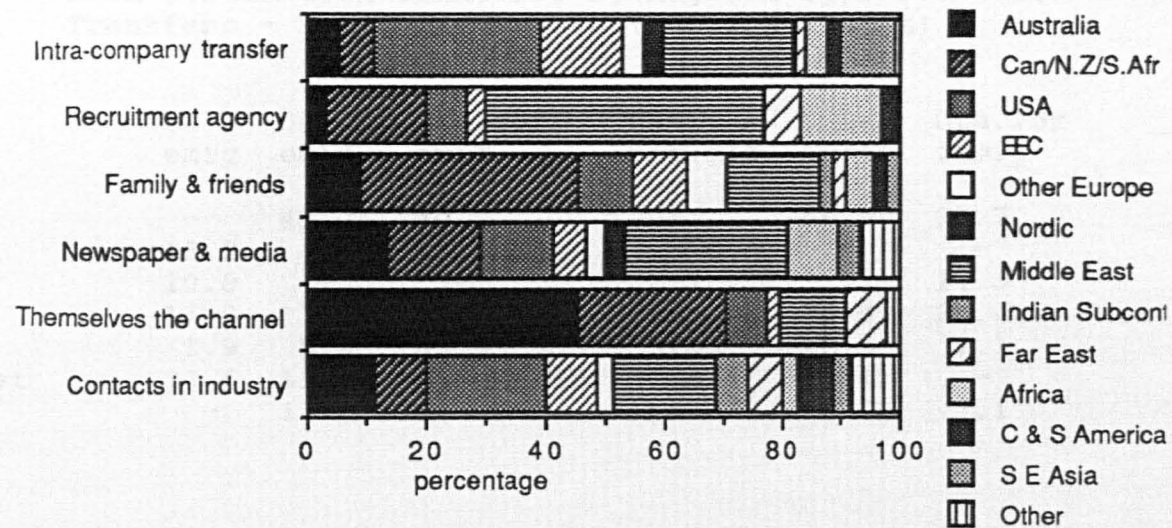


Fig 7.5 Destination Countries - Two/Three Moves

**Table 7.3      Main Destination Countries by Migrant Type for Intra-company Transfers - Two/Three International Moves (%)**

	UK emig	USA emig	Oth.for emig	UK ret.mig	USA immig	Oth.for immig
Scotland	-	41.2	50.0	-	56.9	35.7
Australia	13.2	-	-	-	-	-
USA	20.8	-	-	32.1	-	14.3
E.E.C	17.0	17.6	-	11.5	3.4	21.4
Nordic	1.9	5.9	33.3	3.8	3.4	7.1
Middle East	22.6	11.8	-	21.8	12.1	-
Other UK	-	11.8	-	-	6.9	7.1

it was the Middle East which dominated as the destination region (46.7%). The importance of the Middle East as a destination is related closely to the mode of operation of the international recruitment agencies involved (Findlay and Stewart 1986). These figures support the contention that there was still a great deal of involvement of Scottish expertise in the Middle East.

For UK migrants involved with two or three international moves channelled through family and friends, or who were themselves the channel, it was still the case that the more 'traditional' locations were of most importance (Australia, Canada/S.Africa/N.Zealand), even though the respondents did display greater migration frequency.

Overall, Figure 7.5 (in comparison to Figure 7.4) indicated that respondents in all channels involved in making two or three international moves were associated with a more extensive range of destinations, an illustration of the diversity of economic linkage between Scotland and other world regions.

Information relating to destinations of UK respondents who indicated four or more international moves (Figure 7.6) allows for further discussion and analysis of the migration linkages evidenced, and how the differential operation of the channelling mechanisms influence the destination countries of the respondents involved.

The largest numbers of UK respondents undertaking four or more international moves were involved in movement

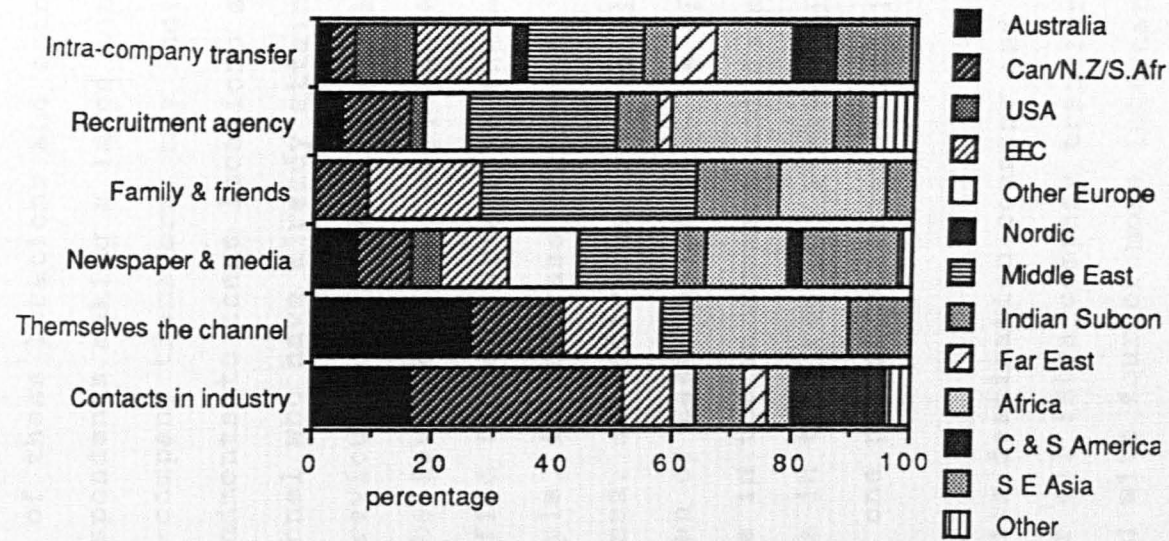


Fig 7.6 Destination Countries - Four or More Moves

through the internal labour markets of international companies. This channel also displayed the greatest diversity of destination locations, for example, the Middle East (19.7%), Africa (13.3%), South East Asia (12.7%) and E.E.C countries (12.0%).

The importance of these locations and economies as destinations for respondents making a large number of moves through intra-company transfers, may indicate that assignments or secondments to these locations are restricted to personnel who have already attained a certain degree of previous international experience. These respondents may be believed by their employer to be most suited to, or qualified for employment in these particular locations. For example, in the case where many MNC's are USA, UK or E.E.C owned, an individual who is fluent in a South American, Asian or Eastern language is of great value and importance in the management and development of business enterprises in that region. These individuals may undertake more than one period of international migration to such locations.

Table 7.4 details destination country and migrant type information for all intra-company transfer respondents involved with four or more international moves. The decreased dominance of the USA as a destination for UK migrant secondments was evidenced. Scotland was, by definition, of importance as a destination location for all USA and other foreign migrants, although differences existed in the involvement of these migrants with other

**Table 7.4 Main Destination Countries by Migrant Type for Intra-company Transfers - Four or More International Moves (%)**

	UK emig	USA emig	Oth.for emig	UK ret.mig	USA immig	Oth.for immig
Scotland	-	26.3	23.1	-	29.4	33.3
Other UK	-	5.3	15.4	-	5.9	-
USA	5.0	-	23.1	12.4	-	16.7
E.E.C	16.7	5.3	7.7	8.7	5.9	8.3
Middle East	28.3	21.0	-	13.6	17.6	-
Far East	6.7	10.5	-	7.4	5.9	16.7
South East Asia	15.0	15.8	7.7	11.1	5.9	-
Central & South America	8.3	5.3	7.7	6.2	17.6	16.7

destination locations. For example, previous employment experience in the Middle East, South East Asia and Central and South America among USA migrants, while the USA was the destination for many other foreign migrants moved by their employing company.

Several channels were previously identified, for one and two/three move UK respondents as dominated by traditional "settler" locations (ie. family and friends, and respondents who were themselves the channel). Four or more move respondents involved with these channels indicated that, while Old Commonwealth locations were still of importance, a greater range of world regions were included as destinations, Eg. the Middle East, Africa and European countries. Similarly, other less 'characteristic' locations were of increased importance as destinations for UK respondents in the newspaper and other media (South East Asia) and international recruitment agency channels (Africa).

Explanation of involvement of these channelled respondents with greatest migration frequency with a range of more 'exotic' locations may relate to that discussed for intra-company transfer moves. These individuals have had much experience of employment in other societies, they may speak a range of languages, and are therefore more easily able to obtain employment in these regions through involvement with whichever channel.

Summarizing destination country information, it was noted that there were differences both between channels in



the destination countries that were of importance, and differences within the channels (Eg. one-off movers compared to four or more movers). Several of the variations between and within channels were explained as resulting from the mode of operation of the channels, and the method of selectivity of migrants practised within each.

A main question for analysis was whether the subgroup of 'chronic' international migrants visited different countries to those of lesser or as yet unknown mobility? The overall picture was one of generally decreasing dominance of channels by one or two locations, and increased variety of destination with greater migration frequency.

Destination country information provided much evidence of the influence of channel type, and Scotland's differential links (expressed through these channelling mechanisms) with different parts of the global labour market. This information thus provided evidence of Scotland's position in the world economy. The economic linkages described which define this position change in importance with number of moves, and the migrant type of the respondents.

#### **7.4 Duration of International Moves**

Discussion of duration of stay information allows for consideration of important questions regarding international migration history. Are the international migrations undertaken by the respondents of a transient or

more permanent nature? Evidence of the transient nature of much skilled international migration was presented in IPS data (Chapter 2). Does the questionnaire survey data conform to this? Can variations in the duration of international moves between the different channels of movement be identified? The existence of variations in length of stay information between those respondents with relatively little international migration experience, and those with high degrees of mobility is also worthy of analysis.

It should be mentioned that definitions of 'transience' and 'permanence' seem rather arbitrary. The researcher decided that international moves of a duration of four years or less were transient in nature. Visits lasting five to ten years displayed increasing permanence, while visits of eleven or more years duration were assumed to identify respondents displaying the greatest signs of permanent or settled behaviour.

Despite these definitions it is also noted that an individual may live and work in a country for twenty years or more and still consider themselves a 'guest worker', intending to return 'home' at some future time. This "myth" of return has been widely reported by migration researchers (Nutter 1986). Other individuals may feel themselves to be 'settled' in a country after living and working there for only a very short period.

Duration of stay information for respondents involved with only one international move (Figure 7.7) must be

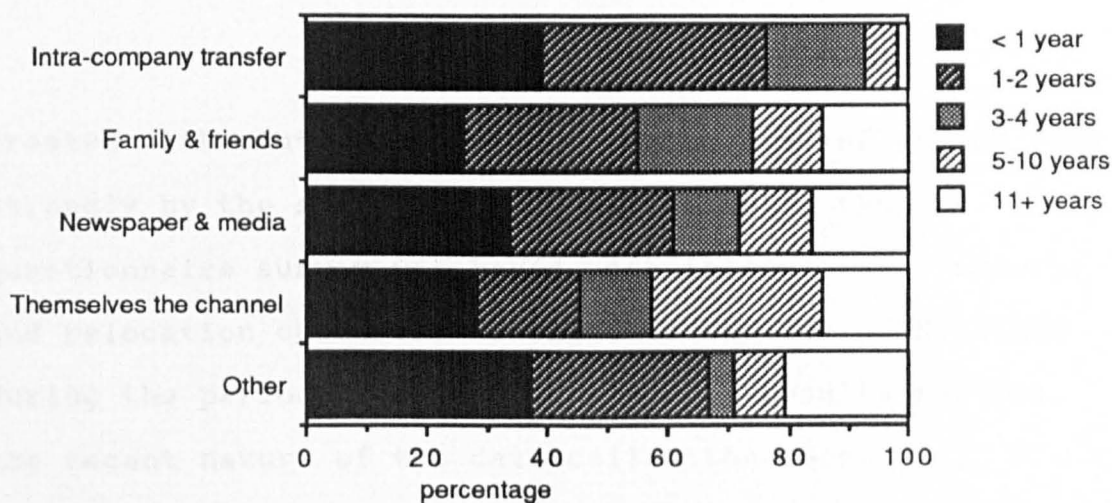


Fig 7.7 Length of Move - One Move

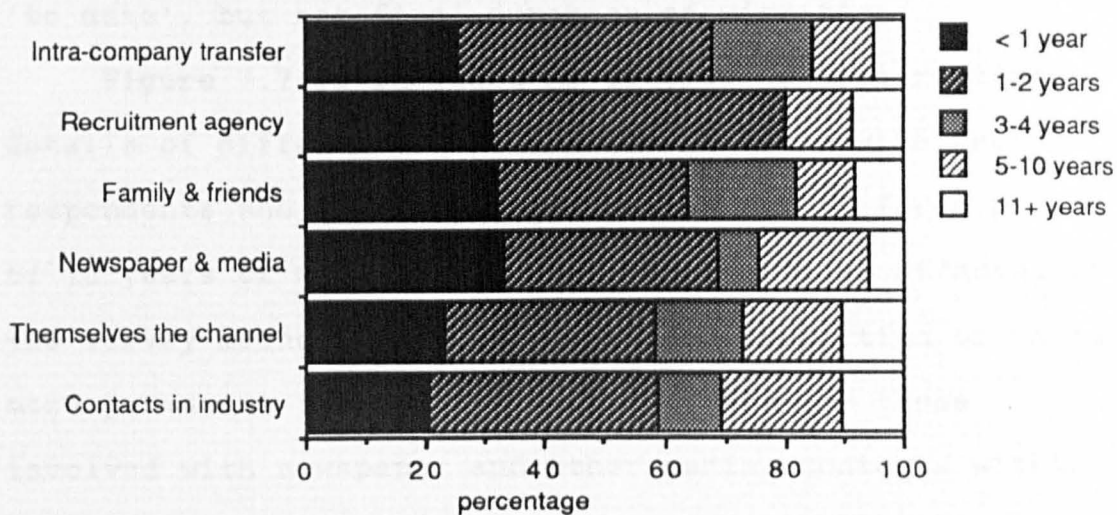


Fig 7.8 Length of Move - Two/Three Moves

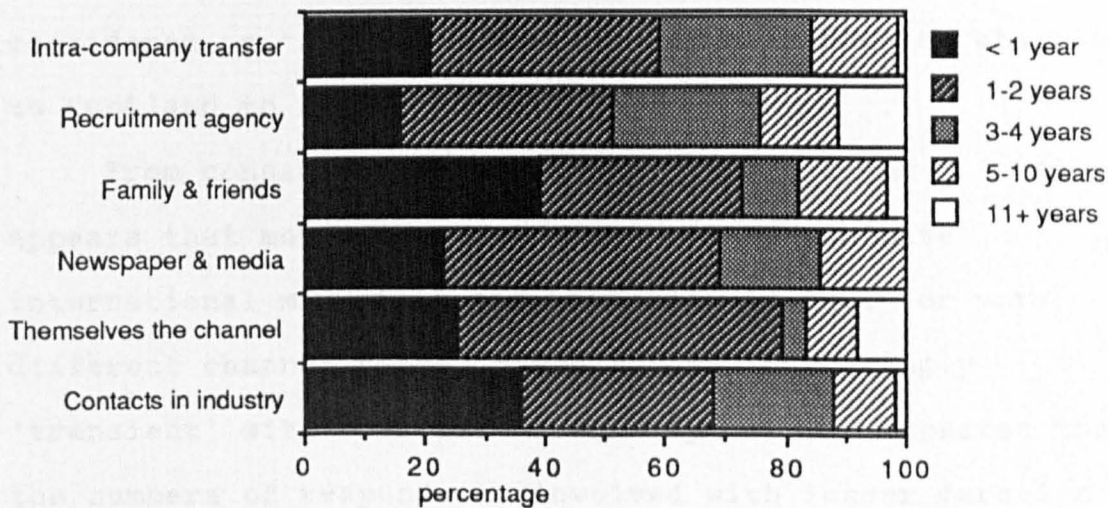


Fig 7.9 Length of Move - Four or More Moves

treated with caution, as these results are influenced very strongly by the survey method. For example, the questionnaire survey was based upon international removal and relocation customers moving into and out of Scotland during the period 1988-1989. The survey results reflect the recent nature of the data collection technique, especially for those respondents who were undertaking their first move abroad at the time of response to the survey. These individuals could indicate length of visit 'to date', but not final duration of migration.

Figure 7.7 is included as it provides interesting details of differences between the channels with regard to respondents who have lived and worked abroad for a period of 10 years or more (and therefore are not so affected by the survey methodology). The greatest proportion of these more permanent first moves were indicated by those involved with newspaper and other media, contacts within industry, family and friends, or who were themselves the channel. In these channels a large number of permanent moves were undertaken by UK migrants, who may perhaps be considered as "settler" emigrants or respondents returning to Scotland to retire.

From consideration of Figures 7.7, 7.8 and 7.9, it appears that moves of a transient nature dominate international migration and that this is true for very different channel types. Moves became increasingly 'transient' with increased frequency. It was expected that the numbers of respondents involved with longer duration

moves would decrease as international migration frequency increased, and overall this was the case. However, even when dealing with respondents involved in undertaking the greatest numbers of moves there was still evidence that certain respondents had been involved with a visit of a more permanent nature. For example, some 14.4% of migrants in the intra-company transfer channel had made four or more moves of five to ten years duration.

These longer postings appear to reflect the expatriate management policies of the MNC's. Certain individuals who have extensive migration experience may have been placed in more permanent situations by MNC's as a way of stabilizing management and development in certain offices and plants around the world. It was found that USA respondents were most involved with these longer international moves, giving some indication of the management of USA expatriates within international companies. Linking this finding to information relating to destination countries, it is suggested that individuals with the greatest migration experience were posted (on a relatively long term basis) to locations where language or cultural barriers were a problem.

#### **7.5 Total Length of Time Spent Abroad**

Total length of time spent abroad is, of course, closely linked to the number and length of international moves made by the respondents. However, consideration of the details of total time abroad allows for some overall indication of how much of the employment career of

migrants has actually been undertaken out with the labour market of their origin country.

In a similar format to that used previously, details of the total time abroad are presented here for respondents with different levels of migration frequency (Table 7.5). The chi square test forces rejection of the null hypothesis, and allows one to infer that these two elements of migration history are related in a fashion which is highly statistically significant.

**Table 7.5      Total Time Employed Abroad by Number of Moves (%)**

	0-5 yrs	6-10 yrs	11-15 yrs	16-20 yrs	21+ yrs
one move	79.5	9.7	1.6	3.3	5.8
two/three moves	41.5	29.2	11.3	10.3	7.7
four or more moves	11.1	24.7	24.7	18.5	21.0

#### Chi square test results

calculated  $X^2$  value = 177.94  
critical tabulated value for 5 x 3 table,  
8 degrees of freedom = 26.12  
 $H_0$  rejected at 99.9% confidence level

It was largely to be expected from information relating to length of move that employment experience abroad for a majority of one-off movers lasted for a period of five years or less. As number of international moves increased, so did total length of time employed abroad. Two/three move respondents reported that they had

spent a considerable part of their employment career out with their origin country.

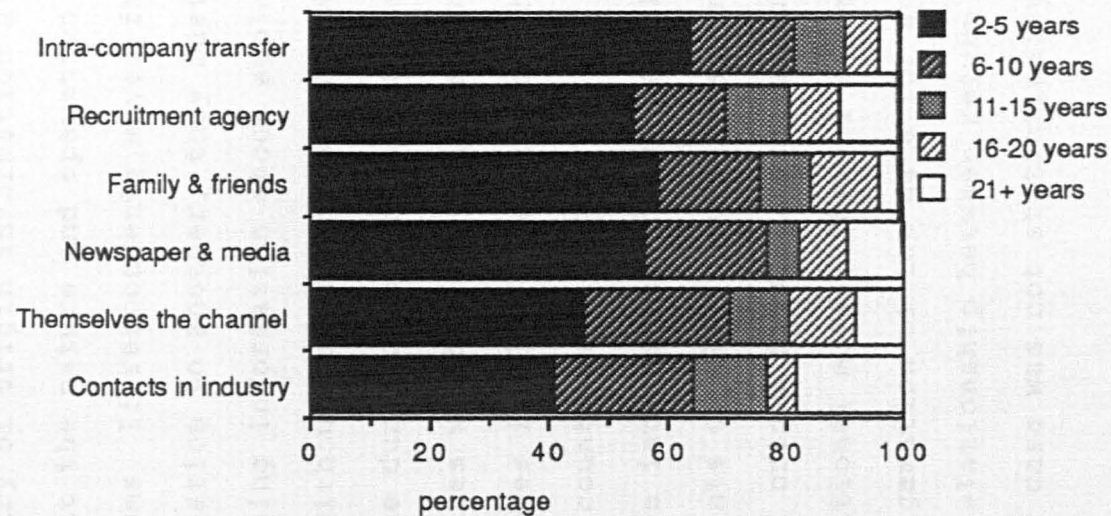
Respondents displaying greatest international mobility had accumulated long total periods of time abroad (6-30+ years). Thus, the employment career of several of these respondents was defined almost totally out with the labour market of their origin country.

It was expected that a decreasing proportion of respondents would be involved with each successively longer time period (Figure 7.10). In fact it was only the intra-company transfer channel which conformed to this pattern, perhaps due to the greater predictability of length of time spent abroad on each international move (Eg. involvement with a series of secondments lasting one to four years). It was noted that only a few respondents in this company transfer channel reported a total of 21+ years abroad. This was despite the fact that this channel contains the highest migration frequencies.

The other channels displayed a more varied pattern of total time abroad, and contained increased evidence of very long periods of employment overseas. This would seem to evidence the permanent nature of some moves undertaken by these respondents of overall lower migration frequency (Eg. family and friends, newspaper and media, and those who were themselves the channel).

#### **7.6 Return To Origin Country Between International Moves**

Issues of importance with regard to the question of return between moves include the effects of propensity to



**Fig 7.10 Total Length of Time Abroad by Channel**



return on the social and economic impacts of skilled international migration in the origin region. Also, does increasing international migration frequency indicate a certain 'nomadism' of lifestyle, with no or only very short periods of return 'home'?

Return to country of origin information also provides further details about the nature and operation of the channelling mechanisms. If respondents moved from one international destination to another, they must have had some means of obtaining information about employment at this new location, without having to return home to arrange the move. The duration of 'home' visits (discussed subsequently) indicates whether the transient nature of the international moves is also a feature of the periods of return to origin countries.

For two or three international moves (Table 7.6), a majority of respondents of all channel types indicated a return to country of origin between first/second, and, second/third international moves. The chi square test (which required amalgamation of the data for application) suggested that the relationship between return home and channel type in this case was not statistically significant.

For almost all channels, the proportions of respondents indicating 'no' return to origin country increased greatly amongst those making four or more moves. The relationship between channel and return behaviour proved to be highly statistically significant for these

Table 7.6 Return To Origin Country Between Moves (%)

	2/3 moves		4 or more moves	
	YES	NO	YES	NO
Intra-company transfer	66.9	33.1	36.4	63.6
International recruit-				
ment agency	70.0	30.0	45.7	54.3
Family and friends	73.3	26.7	34.6	65.4
Newspaper and other media	78.6	21.4	64.9	35.1
Themselves the channel	77.8	22.2	68.4	31.6
Contacts in industry	90.9	9.1	25.7	74.3
Professional institutional	90.0	10.0	53.8	46.2
Other	56.3	43.7	100.0	0.0

Chi square test results

calculated $\chi^2$ value=	10.62	38.90
table size =	8 x 2	8 x 2
degrees of freedom =	7	7
critical value =	24.32	24.32
$H_0$	accepted	rejected 99.9%

most mobile respondents (again requiring amalgamation of the data for application of this statistical technique).

Lowest propensity to return home between moves was displayed for contacts in industry, family and friends, and intra-company transfer moves. The nature of these channels allowed for the arrangement of a further period of employment abroad without necessitating a return home. This increased 'no' response with increased migration frequency was to be expected. With greater frequency of moves and extended international experience, one is less likely to return home (due to constraints of time and employment).

A question raised from this discussion relates to the reasons for return trips home? That certain respondents, who displayed great international mobility, also returned home throughout their migration career - for example, those who were themselves the channel, moving through newspaper and other media, or 'another' channel - may reveal a desire to maintain links with the economy and society of their origin country, or, that further international experience could not be arranged from abroad, but necessitated a period of return.

#### 7.7 Duration of Returns To Origin Country

Duration of return information provides some details of the nature of, and reasons for the home visit, ie. a holiday period, or return for a period of employment. Of main interest was whether return visits were of a similarly transient nature to the periods of time spent in

employment abroad, and whether duration of return varied by channel type and migration frequency.

The most important feature to note with regard to Figure 7.11 relates to evidence that return moves were indeed of a similarly transient nature (1-2 years) to that of moves abroad (Figure 7.8). Employment undertaken during return was necessarily of a 'temporary' nature. The transient nature of the employment at home may have been dictated by the employer or contract, or, may have resulted from a desire by the individual to re-establish economic and employment links in the origin country for a short period before undertaking a further international move.

However, approximately 25-30% of two/three move respondents indicated return moves lasting five years or more. In the case of the intra-company transfer channel these longer periods of return employment were found to be undertaken especially by USA respondents. This period of stability at 'home' may arise from individual desire, contractual arrangements, employer demands etc. and may correspond with life cycle concerns (Eg. secondary school education of children).

Length of return information for respondents making four or more moves (Figure 7.12), indicated that overall, greatly increased proportions of respondents were involved with returns of less than one year. This again shows the transient nature of return visits to origin countries, and an increased level of transience if compared to

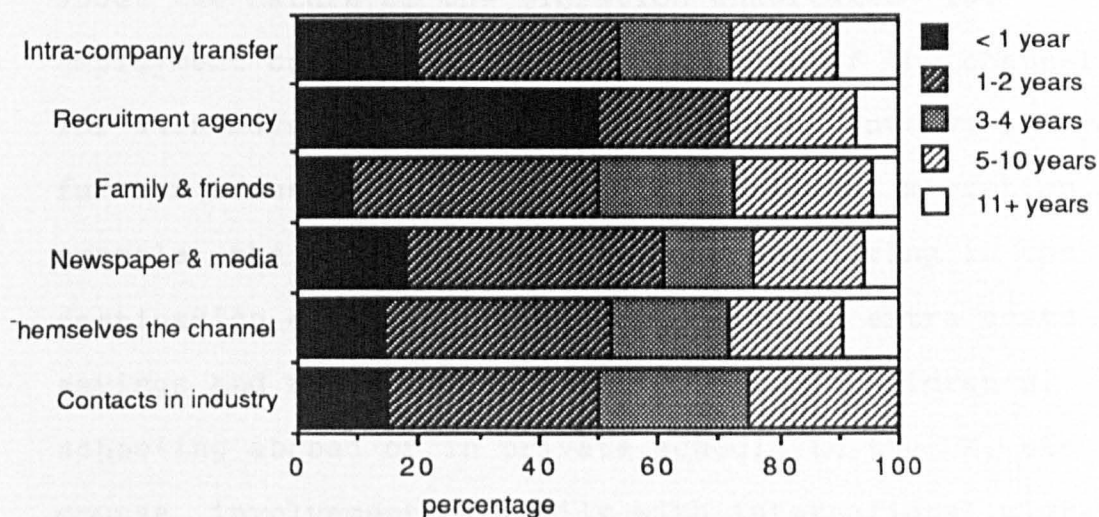


Fig 7.11 Length of Return Moves - Two/Three Moves

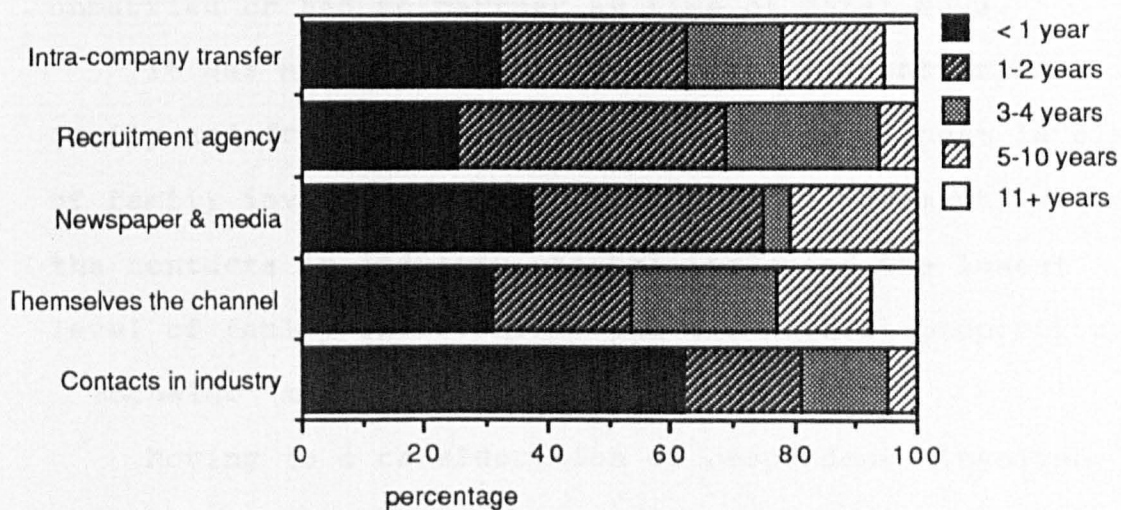


Fig 7.12 Length of Return Moves - Four or More Moves

length of visit abroad information (Figure 7.9).

#### **7.8 Involvement of Family With International Migration**

Details of involvement of spouse/partner and children with international history provides further information about the nature of the migration undertaken (ie. employment contract), and the operation of the channels for such movement. Family considerations involve several further issues with regard to international migration, for example, the extra costs of housing and living in the destination country, the effects of these extra costs on savings and remittances, the problems of children's schooling abroad or in private schools in the UK, etc. Of course, involvement of family with international migration is dependent upon the marital status of the respondents and whether there are any children.

In all channels, for respondents indicating only one move (Table 7.7), if the respondent had a spouse/partner they generally accompanied the migrant abroad. Those indicating 'not applicable' were respondents who were unmarried or had no partner at time of first move.

It was noted that the intra-company transfer, and family and friends channels displayed the highest levels of family involvement with international movement, while the contacts in industry channel indicated the lowest level of family involvement, and the highest proportion of 'bachelor' migrants.

Moving to a consideration of respondents involved with two or three international moves (Table 7.8),

**Table 7.7    Family Involvement With International Migration (%) -  
One International Move**

	spouse/partner			children		
	YES	NO	N/A	YES	NO	N/A
Intra-company transfer	81.5	2.3	16.2	53.1	10.0	36.9
International recruitment agency	76.2	-	23.8	52.4	4.8	42.9
Family and friends	71.4	2.3	26.2	50.0	7.1	42.9
Newspaper and other media	66.1	5.4	28.6	35.7	8.9	55.4
Themselves the channel	77.1	-	22.9	42.9	-	57.1
Contacts in Industry	42.9	7.1	50.0	21.4	-	78.6
Other channels	62.5	-	37.5	25.0	-	75.0

Table 7.8 Family Involvement With International Migration (%) -  
Two/Three International Moves

	spouse/partner			children		
	YES	NO	N/A	YES	NO	N/A
Intra-company transfer	68.9	11.6	19.6	52.0	16.4	31.6
International recruit- ment agency	54.3	5.7	40.0	34.3	8.6	57.1
Family and friends	58.0	14.0	28.0	54.0	12.0	34.0
Newspaper and other media	62.9	15.7	21.4	42.9	15.7	41.4
Themselves the channel	33.3	2.1	64.6	22.9	2.1	75.0
Contacts in industry	51.3	12.8	35.9	35.9	12.8	51.3
Other	62.2	6.7	31.1	44.4	4.4	51.1

Chi square test results

calculated $X^2$ =	50.35	43.81
table size =	7 x 3	7 x 3
degrees of freedom =	12	12
critical value =	32.91	32.91
$H_0$	rejected 99.9%	rejected 99.9%



differences were apparent in comparison with Table 7.7, and also differences between channel types (the chi square test results suggest the statistically significant nature of these relationships).

Highest levels of involvement of spouse/partner were found for moves made through intra-company transfers, and newspaper and other media channels. These two channels also displayed the lowest proportions of 'single' respondents. Secondments or contracts abroad arranged with employers through these channels allowed for accompaniment of spouse/partner. This is not surprising, especially in the case of intra-company transfers where employers frequently offer a comprehensive relocation package for the expatriate and family.

While there had been an overall decrease in the proportion of two/three movers indicating that they had no children from Table 7.7, the proportions of respondents accompanied abroad by children were again found to be less than for those accompanied by spouse/partner, an indication that some children were left behind in the country of origin while parents are abroad.

The highest levels of involvement of children with international migration were found for moves through intra-company transfers, and family and friends, with lowest levels among those who were themselves the channel (a majority of whom had no children). Among the intra-

company transfers, highest levels of involvement of spouse/partner and children with two/three international moves were for USA migrants.

Details for four or more moves (Table 7.9) again indicated the statistical significance of relationships between channel type and family involvement. In general, the figures detail the continued involvement of partners in most channels and decreased single status. However, in the newspaper and other media channel, and for those who were themselves the channel, 'single' status moves dominated.

The involvement of 'batchelor' status respondents with international migration at increased frequency (noted for contacts in industry, newspaper and other media, and among those who were themselves the channel) reveals that a degree of self selection or 'filtering' is of importance in choosing these migrants. The operation of these channelling mechanisms facilitates the movement of an important group of single migrants with increased levels of migration experience.

Respondents involved in intra-company transfers displayed the highest levels of involvement of children. Indicating that it was 'family' contracts that were of most importance in this channel, a factor adding to the costs for the MNC's involved with the international movements of these respondents. The 'family' nature of international migration through this channel was a feature noted also for one and two/three move respondents.

Table 7.9 Family Involvement With International Migration (%) -  
Four or More International Moves

	spouse/partner			children		
	YES	NO	N/A	YES	NO	N/A
Intra-company transfer	83.7	4.0	12.3	54.0	16.3	29.7
International recruit- ment agency	73.3	15.6	11.1	35.6	35.6	28.9
Family and friends	51.5	9.1	39.4	33.3	18.2	48.5
Newspaper and other media	35.4	18.8	45.8	25.0	16.7	58.3
Themselves the channel	33.3	8.4	58.3	29.2	12.5	58.3
Contacts in industry	62.0	2.0	36.0	50.0	8.0	42.0
Other	65.5	-	34.5	51.7	6.9	41.4

Chi square test results

calculated $X^2$ =	84.12	39.13
table size =	7 x 3	7 x 3
degrees of freedom =	12	12
critical value =	32.91	32.91
$H_0$ :	rejected 99.9%	rejected 99.9%

International recruitment agency moves displayed much increased levels of non-accompaniment by wife and especially children at this highest level of migration frequency. This may indicate greater involvement of frequently moving respondents in this channel with bachelor status employment contracts, a characteristic of much recruitment agency work abroad. However, these respondents were involved with sending remittances to a family left behind in the country of origin, which was not the case for single 'bachelor' moves made through contacts in industry, newspaper and media channels, and those who were themselves the channel.

#### 7.9 Conclusions

The main purpose of this chapter was to investigate the influence of the different channelling mechanisms on migration history, and to identify and explain the effects caused by variations in the mode of operation of these channels. It may be concluded that channel type does influence every component of migration history discussed. The migration history data provided by the respondents was complex. However, the information proved very useful in identifying the importance of a channels framework for investigation of these histories. Channels (and the 'process' and 'controls' they embody) are of significant importance in moulding the nature of the migration history of the respondents who gain entry to them and are moved internationally.

Selectivity in the migration process (as reflected through migration history) results directly from the role of migration channels in the system. For example, the limited number of MNC operations in the Scottish economy provide a very structured framework within which the migration history of intra-company channelled respondents are undertaken. These moves are made within the internal labour markets of these companies, and every move made within this channel occurs in a similar way (although the companies will, as was noted, operate different management policies). Each element of the international migration history of these respondents can be explained within the international 'context', 'control' and 'process' which characterize these companies.

The migration history of international recruitment agency channelled movers must similarly be understood and explained within the form of control and selectivity which characterizes these agencies. The 'gatekeepers' of entry to these intermediary agencies, and the form of selectivity (spatial, demographic, employment) that they represent was revealed through their moulding influence upon migration histories

For previously undefined or unresearched channels, migration history details were noted to be of a different character to that found for moves undertaken within the more 'structured' channels. The character of these migration histories was explained as arising from the

varied nature of 'control', 'selectivity' of migrants, and mode of operation of these channels.

## Chapter 8    Using A Channels Framework to Achieve an Understanding Of International Employment History

### 8.1    Introduction

Investigation of migration history is continued and extended through consideration of migrants' international employment records. A channels framework is again utilised as the organizational structure in analysis of this data.

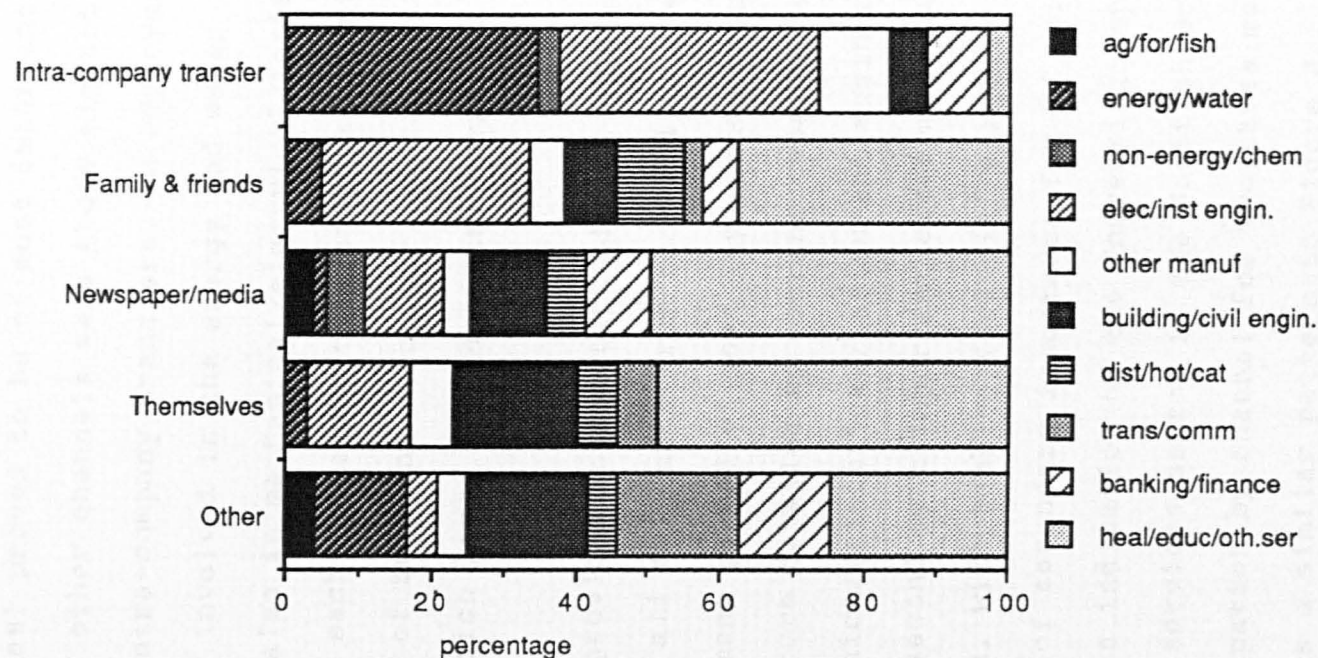
The type and status of employment undertaken is discussed, presented in a form which helps to account for the varying migration frequencies of the respondents. Consideration is also given to the nature of changes in employment which resulted during the migrants' life course.

Information regarding how and when migrants' employment was arranged is included, and evidences the way in which the mode of operation of the channel itself is an active process affecting both the labour markets of origin and destination, as well as the character of the migration stream itself (Salt and Findlay, 1989).

### 8.2    Employment Undertaken Throughout Migration Career

#### 8.2.1    Type of Employment

The importance of various types of employment by channel type for those respondents who had made only one international move is shown in Figure 8.1. This information relates to the type of employment undertaken in the destination country. Only those channels which



**Figure 8.1 Type of Occupation at Place of Destination by Channel Type - One Move**

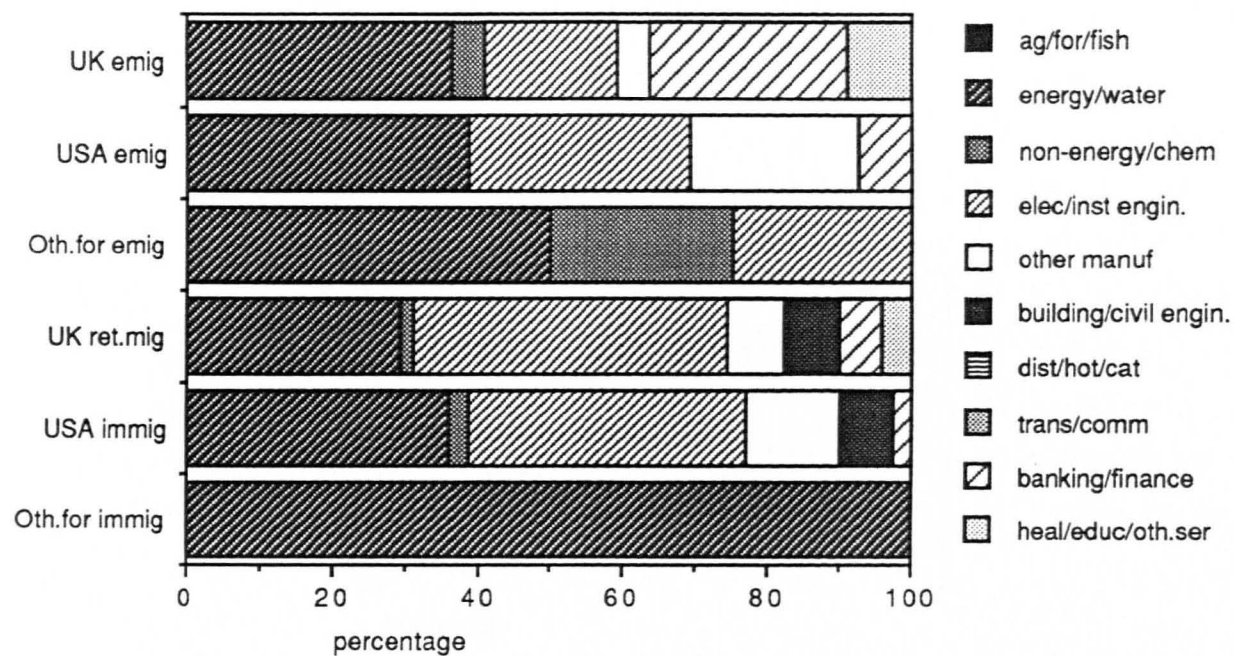


accounted for more than 25 migration moves are discussed.

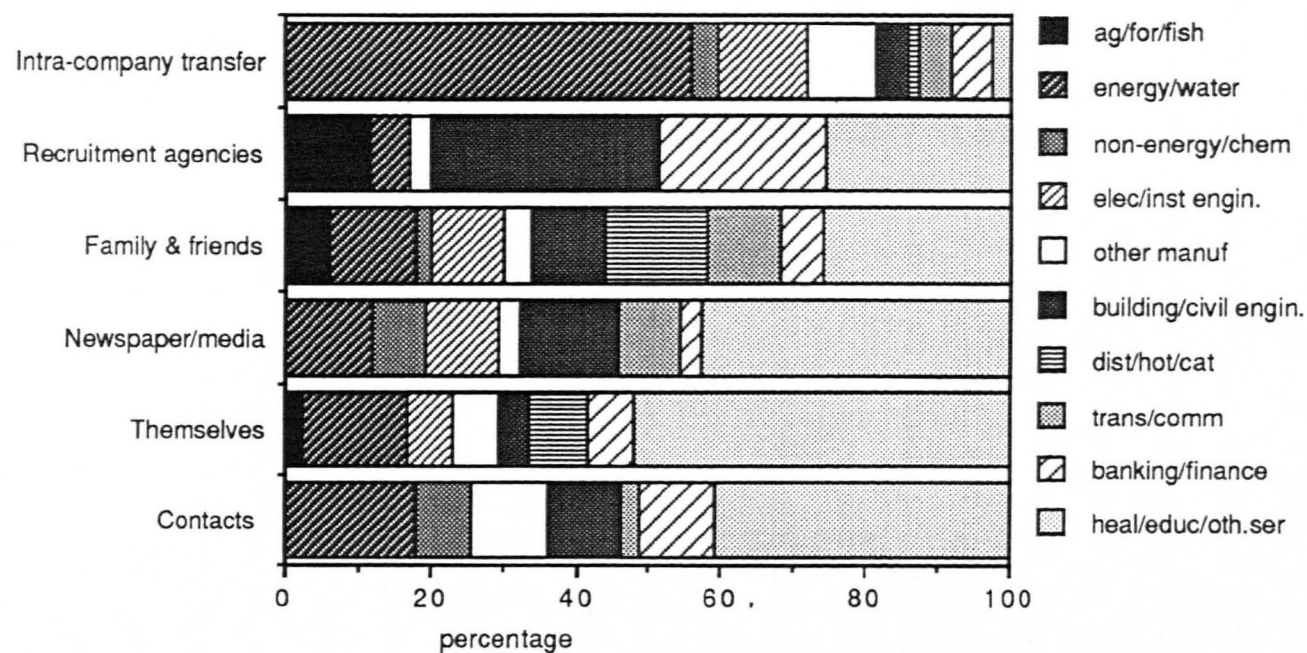
It can be seen that nearly all channels were dominated by one or two employment types. For a large number of the channels, employment in 'health, education and other services' proved to be of most importance. Distinctive from other channels were those migrants moving as a result of intra-company transfers. In employment terms, they were involved in the energy and water industries, and also in mechanical/electrical/instrument engineering (35% each). Clearly this employment pattern reflects aspects of Scotland's economy, and in particular the sectors in which large multinational companies are involved.

Figure 8.2 provides more detail of intra-company transfers. Among all emigrants from Scotland, while energy and water employment proved of most importance overall, employment structure detailed by migrant type was somewhat different. Mechanical/electrical/instrument engineering featured as the second most important employment category for USA emigrants, with banking/financial services employment being of secondary importance for UK emigrants. This is perhaps an indication of the increasing importance of the financial services sector in the Scottish economy.

Type of occupation by channel for two/three movers (Figure 8.3) shows a similar pattern to Figure 8.1. Most migration channels were dominated by health, education and other services employment, but intra-company transfers were once again distinctive. In this case being



**Figure 8.2 Type of Occupation by Migrant Type**  
 - One Move - Intra-company Transfer



**Figure 8.3 Type of Occupation at Destination  
by Channel Type - Two/Three Moves**

overwhelmingly related to transfers of staff in the energy sector in general (and in the oil industry in particular). The only deviation from this general pattern was international recruitment agency moves which were quite diversified in the employment sectors with which they were involved (building and civil engineering, banking and finance, and health, education and other services).

Employment information relating to respondents with the highest levels of international mobility (four or more international moves) is of considerable interest (Figure 8.4), and shows important contrasts with migration behaviour amongst the less mobile.

In the case of newspaper and media channelled respondents, involvement with health, education and other service employment totally predominated. Intra-company transfers were again mainly in the energy/water industry, but of secondary importance was employment involved in banking/financial services.

Amongst those who had moved because of 'contacts in industry', a very significant proportion were involved with the energy/water industries. The same is true for those who had moved as a result of information from 'family and friends'. One might tentatively infer, therefore, that while settler migrants (as imperfectly represented by "single movers"), were likely to be in the education or health services if moving by these channels, amongst skilled transients (as imperfectly represented by those moving four or more times) other types of employment

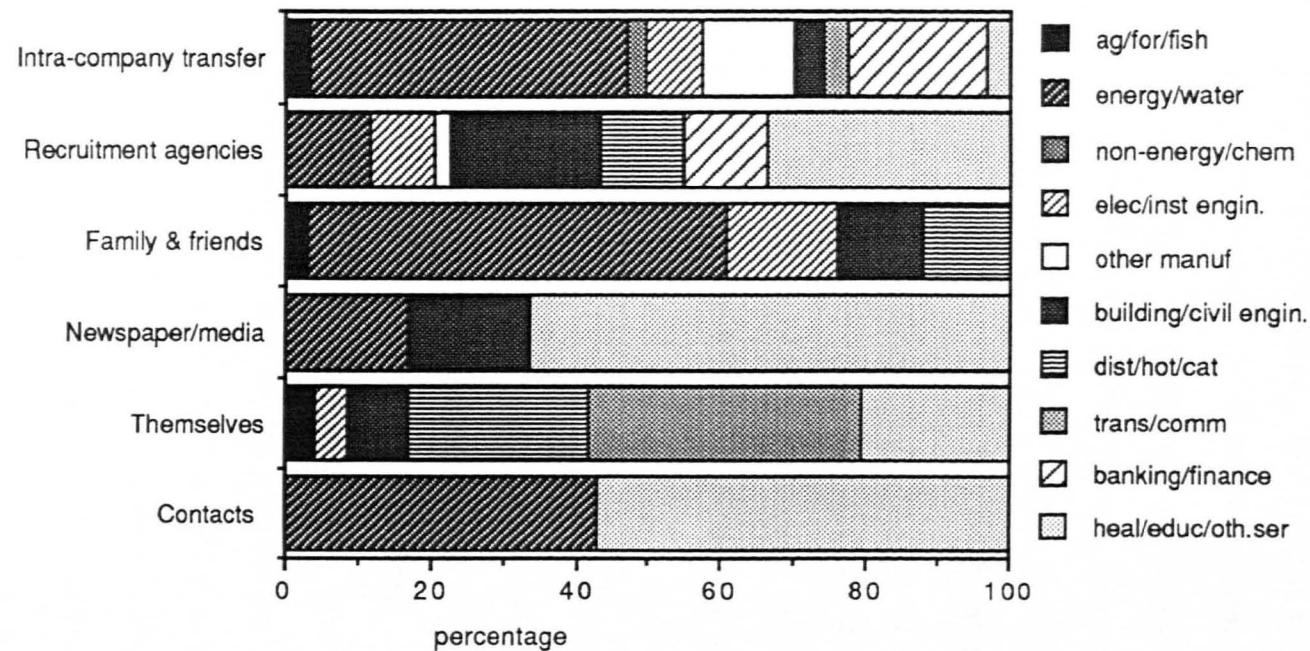
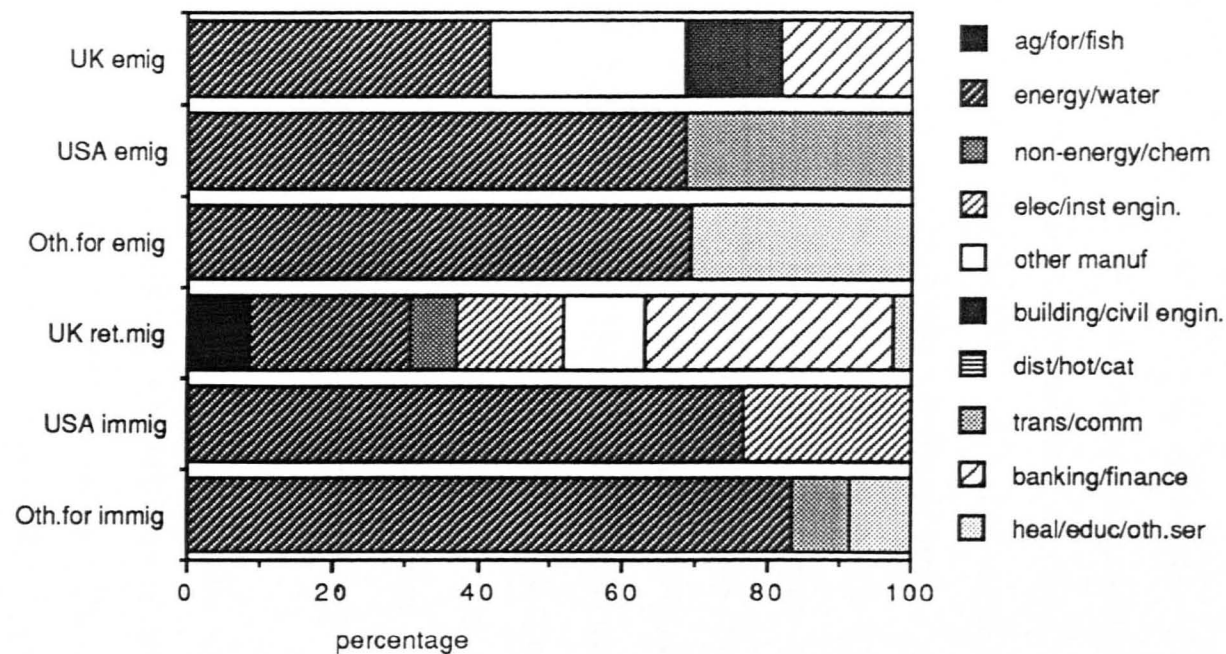


Figure 8.4 Type of Occupation at Destination  
by Channel Type- Four or More Moves

activity were involved. The same would be true, for example, for those people who claimed to have been pro-active in the migration process and 'themselves' been the channel. Amongst this group there emerges a significant number working in transport/communications and in the distributive/hotel/catering trades.

Figure 8.5 gives more detail of the association between employment type and migrant type for the intra-company transfer channel. As would be expected, nationality factors have an influence on the patterns which emerge. For example, return migrants and UK emigrants displayed involvement with banking/financial services employment, while USA and other foreign migrants moving within a company were nearly all in the energy industry.

The findings raise the issue of the directionality of causation, although there are difficulties involved with determining this from the data described. It would appear, however, that while those with little migration experience (one move) were involved in certain employment types (Eg. health, education and other services), other types of employment were found to be most important to international transients. It may be that certain types of employment are accessible only to transients (Eg. require a certain degree of previous international experience) or, demand transient behaviour (Eg. oil industry located in only certain sites around the world).



**Figure 8.5 Type of Occupation by Migrant Type**  
**- Four or More Moves - Intra-company Transfer**

It is significant to note that the employment pattern of respondents moving through intra-company transfers was less affected by level of mobility than for the other channels. This may indicate that the 'transient' nature of certain employment sectors for other channels (Eg. oil and gas, building/civil engineering, distribution/hotel/catering, transport/communication) as revealed in Figure 8.4, was masked at lower levels of mobility by the lower frequency moves in health, education and other services employment.

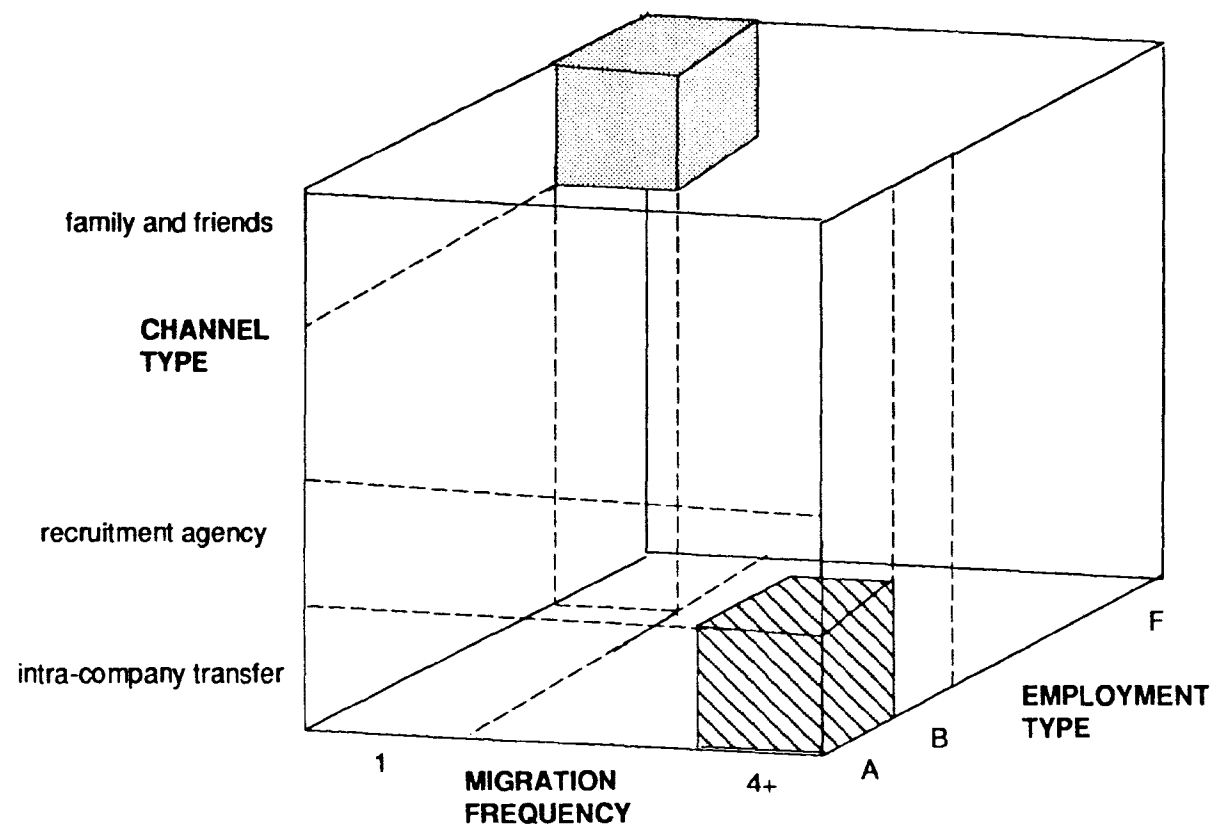
Three employment patterns appear to emerge from the data :- A) certain channels (Eg. intra-company transfer) promote transient behaviour amongst certain employment categories (Eg. oil and gas, banking/finance), these being industries where multinational organizations predominate and where management of these companies requires mobility. B) certain types of employment demand or promote transient behaviour (Eg. oil and gas - due to the world-wide nature of the industry), a transience that is expressed through a number of channels - the channel accessible to the respondent. C) certain types of individual in varied types of employment (Eg. health, education and other services, building/civil engineering) will be involved with transient behaviour, and will undertake international migration through channels which may be re-used by them (Eg. contacts in industry, newspaper and media, themselves the channel).



In summary, studying employment type by channel and migration frequency provides evidence of a number of linkages within the data. Figure 8.6 is a graphical representation of these linkages in the form of a 'block'. For example, the 'hatched' square in the bottom right hand corner of the diagram represents frequent intra-company transfers of employment type A (ie. oil and gas). This channel/employment linkage facilitates or demands many international moves for employment and 'career' purposes. The internal labour market of the international companies is the controlling feature for the circulation of these 'transient skills'.

The top left hand 'dotted' box represents those channels which are hard to use and reuse, and therefore single moves are a majority, in occupations E or F (ie. health, education and other services).

However, in reality, the 'causal' nature of the relationship inferred between transience, employment type and channel is not as simple as that represented. Individuals may fit anywhere within the 'block' (Eg. frequent movers who were themselves the channel in hotel/catering employment). The inclusion of other variables describing the migrant's history and the migration process (employment status, migrant type, country of destination etc) further complicate the 'shape' of the block, and hence the migration linkages. Further analysis of the complex interaction effects and relationships is provided in Chapter 10, with utilization



**Figure 8.6 Graphical Representation of a 'Block' of Causal Linkages**

of a statistical technique to model international migration histories.

### 8.2.2 Status of Employment

Information relating to the status of employment held by the respondents on each move is presented in Figures 8.7 to 8.9. The researcher was particularly interested in discovering whether occupational status was greater for those migrants with the greatest proven international migration frequency. If so, is this increased status to be thought of as implicit in international migration, or, a consequence of the migration experience?

For those who had made only one international move (Figure 8.7), intra-company transfer respondents indicated the highest overall status. Approximately one half of these respondents were employed on their first move at a managerial/administrative level, with a further 45% being of professional status. Only a very small proportion were of lower status.

Most other channels displayed a wider diversity of employment statuses. The 'professional' category dominated the newspaper and media, themselves, and 'other' channels, while those moving via family and friends displayed the greatest overall involvement with lower status employment (28.6% craft/related occupations).

Employment status details for respondents with increased migration frequencies - two and three international moves (Figure 8.8) - reveal certain similarities and differences with the single move

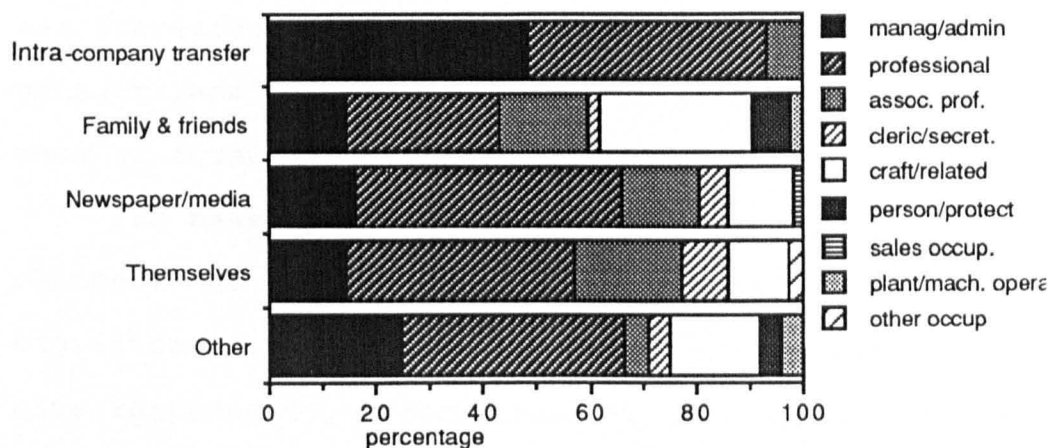


Figure 8.7 Employment Status at Destination - One Move

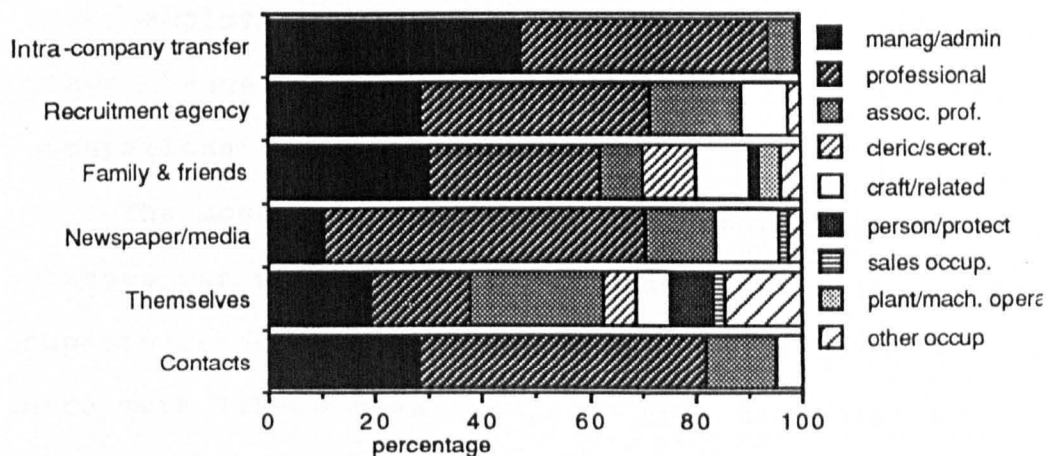


Figure 8.8 Employment Status at Destination by Channel- Two/Three Moves

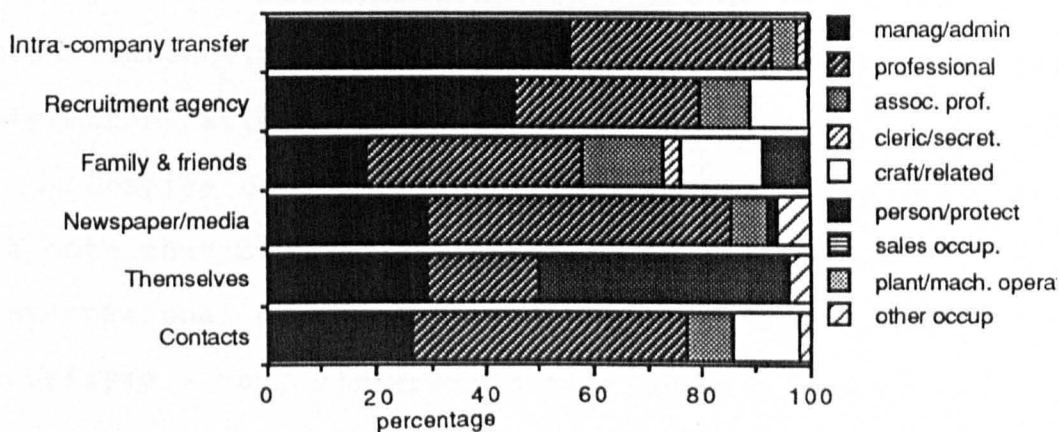


Figure 8.9 Employment Status at Destination - Four or More Moves

respondents. For intra-company transfers, employment status was similar to that for single movers. The proportion of responses from professional status migrants was increased slightly, to a situation where managers/administrators, and professional status employees were of equal importance.

For newspaper and media, and contacts in industry channels the professional status category was of greatest significance, comparable to the situation among single move respondents. Respondents who were themselves the channel display the greatest diversity of employment status while abroad, and much greater involvement with lower employment status categories than for any of the other channels (Eg. 14.6% were categorized as 'other occupations').

The most important issue concerning employment status changes was whether those respondents with the greatest experience of international migration (four or more moves) were more likely than others to hold high status positions. Overall, Figure 8.9 confirms this expectation, and upholds the picture of high status skilled transients moving within multi/transnational companies as one of the most distinctive features, if not the hallmark of skilled migration patterns in the 1980's (Salt 1984).

Despite confirmation of this image, it is important to note that respondents involved in four or more international moves who were themselves the channel displayed a very different situation with regard to

occupational status from intra-company transfer and international recruitment agency migrants. In fact, respondents in this channel displayed high levels of involvement with lower occupational status categories (Eg. personal/protective service occupations). This contrast was also found to be true for moves channelled by family and friends. The explanation of this lower occupational status with increased migration frequency for certain channels is related to their nature and mode of operation. Which clearly allowed for the frequent international movement of lower skilled (hence lower occupational status) individuals.

In general, however, the survey confirms that increased occupational status does relate to increased migration frequency. Detailed explanation of this requires analysis of the organization and mode of operation of the channels, and perhaps inclusion of further data.

The channel displaying the greatest link between occupational status and increased migration frequency was the intra-company transfer channel, reflecting the fact that this channel is the most formally structured, the most highly capitalized and the least diverse in its mode of operation. For many individuals within the internal labour markets of large multi-national companies, there exist formal career development paths, which may involve the experience of employment abroad. Indeed, many potential new recruits to these large companies are asked to indicate their degree of international mobility upon

being interviewed. This indicates that, to a certain extent, advancement of one's career within such a company will depend upon undertaking periods of employment away from one's country of origin and a commitment to participating in a global labour market. That is to say, a situation exists where international migration may be thought of as implicit in increased employment status.

The other channels which displayed degrees of increased occupational status with increased migration frequency (international recruitment agencies, newspaper and media, and contacts in industry channels) are of a less structured form of organization to the intra-company transfer channel. In these cases, the prospects of obtaining certain high status occupations abroad (Eg. project management) may be dependent upon the individual having already obtained a degree of experience of working in foreign situations. The increased occupational status is dependent upon, or a consequence of the previous migration history of the individual.

Despite the two cases discussed above, it is too simplistic to suggest that promotion or increased occupational status is 'implicit' or 'consequential'. For many respondents, increased occupational status may be both a result of an implicit increase due to involvement with international mobility, and also dependent upon their previous migration experience.

Further details which might aid analysis would include information on how individual respondents believe

their 'career' has developed or been affected by their migration experiences. Such information on career development is discussed subsequently in Chapter 12.

Issues related to employment status and migration frequency also have important implications for the study of the global organization of work and the international spatial division of labour. For example, within multinational companies, if consideration is again given to Curson's (1986) model of the organization of a firm (Figure 1.2), the questionnaire responses have provided evidence of the existence of a 'core' group of skilled personnel within these companies who are internationally mobile (committed to the international operation of their employing company). The organization of work within these companies (Eg. internal labour market) allows for (and indeed requires) these skilled moves. Salt (1987b p60) described how recruitment and organization of work for multi-locational employers could be characterized by the view that "the investment in training and experience of existing staff has become something to be guarded, while morale is enhanced by keeping careers moving". Research is required to study the acquisition of skills and career development of those employees within multinational companies who do not move internationally, in comparison with 'transient' colleagues. For example, is the acquisition of skills in another country (ie. different employment culture, varied management problems, different



employees) a pre-requisite for the higher posts within these organizations?

International mobility of skills in the other channels further evidences the 'global' nature of employment - where 'top staff' (in various industries) are 'imported' as and when needed. A lack of skills/knowledge in one location results in the temporary international transfer of the relevant 'experience'. The qualifications/training of the individual are temporarily utilized in another location within the international spatial division of labour.

A main difference between respondents relates to the extent to which continued international movement (Eg. in international recruitment agency, newspaper and media channels) results from a need to obtain 'suitable' employment, while increased status through company transfers are implicit in the organization of work and the internal division of labour the these companies represent. The definition of 'suitable' employment will be affected by the employment opportunities open to the respondent if they remain in Scotland. For example, in certain industries employment opportunities available are restricted in terms of geographical location and in the 'shallowness' of experience available. Respondents must go abroad to obtain certain types of experience or for higher posts. Level of remuneration offered, lifestyle and the desires of the individual will also condition the suitability of employment.

### 8.3 Employment Changes During International Migration

#### History

Information gathered allowed for examination of the actual changes in employment which had occurred during the respondents migration history (the previous section was concerned with relative changes). For example, had individuals always been involved with employment in a particular industrial sector, or did their international migration career contain experience of employment within a variety of industrial sectors? Similarly, what changes could be noted in employment status during the migrants' international history?

Changes of employment type and status - ie. mobility of employment - may be illustrated graphically (Figures 8.10-8.15). The 'mobility' discussed represents not only geographical or spatial mobility, but also vertical mobility within the international labour market. Salt (1987b p60), in a study of labour redistribution policies of employers and their effects on internal migration within Great Britain, described that "an even greater polarization between a mobile elite and an immobile mass is occurring". In the international context of MNC's and TNC's this is similarly true. In this case, vertical mobility operates within the international internal labour market of these companies. Those employees who belong to the 'core' of the company receive great benefits by virtue of their skills and geographical mobility. Amongst contemporary skilled international migrants moving through

all channels (and the segmented international labour markets that these processes represent), the benefits accrued through international mobility (Eg. increased job status, promotion, experience, financial rewards etc.) are far greater than for 'local' staff.

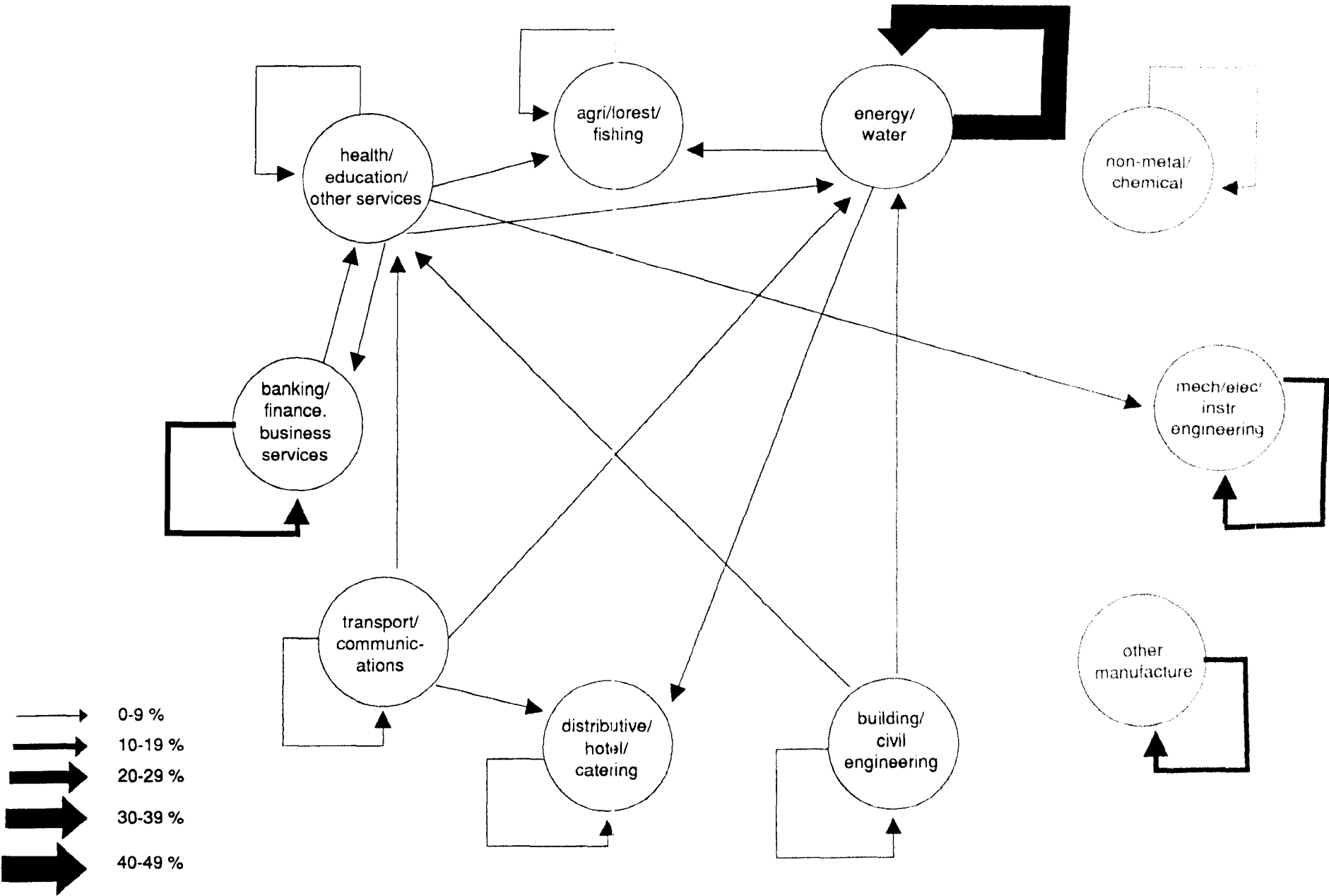
#### 8.3.1 Change in Type of Employment

Examination of mobility between different industrial sectors during migration histories makes possible the identification of 'links' or 'cross-overs' between the employment sectors of the labour market. The graphical representations contain all changes in employment type which were identified from the survey, with larger arrow sizes indicating those of greater importance. Mobility diagrams are only reproduced for certain of the channels.

For intra-company transfers (Figure 8.10) the most important arrow represents 'circulation' occurring within the energy/water sector, which accounted for 40-49% of all international employment changes. Mechanical/electrical/instrument engineering, other manufacturing, and banking/finance sectors indicate a lesser degree of employment 'circulation', each recording 10-19% of total changes. Company transfers provided some evidence of movement between industrial sectors, however this mobility accounted for less than 10% of the overall total.

For international recruitment agency moves (Figure 8.11), the largest arrows were those representing circulation within building/civil engineering and health, education and other services employment (20-29% each).

Figure 8.10 Mobility of Employment Type - Intra-company Transfer Channel





Employment mobility within the banking/financial services sector was also of importance (10-19%). Some movement between industrial sectors was indicated, although each accounted for less than 10% of the total amount of employment change occurring.

Mobility of employment for international moves through newspaper and other media (Figure 8.12) was the most complicated, containing the largest number of 'cross-sector' moves. This revealed that the nature of employment undertaken might vary dramatically from one move to the next. The links evidenced by the smaller arrows between industrial sectors were varied and complex, with movement to health, education and other services from many other sectors.

From Figures 8.10-8.12 it appears that employment mobility during international movement was of a somewhat limited nature. For each of the channels there were certain industrial sectors within which employment circulation predominated. The industrial sectors of greatest overall importance in each channel were those previously identified.

The relative lack of change in employment type between industrial sectors is a further indication of the organizational structure and constraints imposed by the various channelling mechanisms. The greatest levels of employment mobility were found for those channels with less constrained modes of operation (Eg. newspaper and media). Channels with the most structured organization

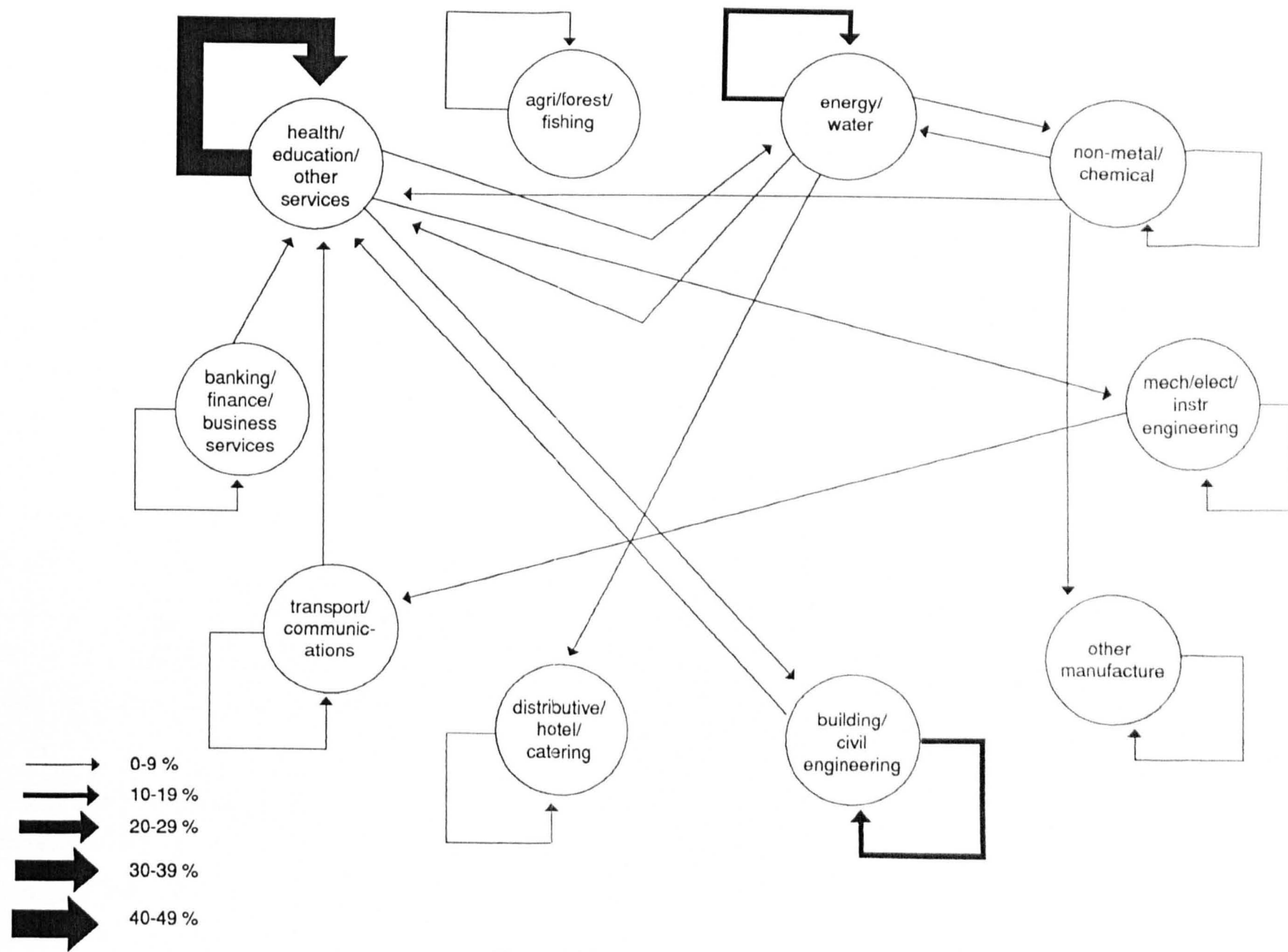


Figure 8.12 Mobility of Employment Type - Newspaper and Other Media Channel

(Eg. intra-company transfer and professional institutional) would therefore be expected to exhibit the least signs of mobility between industrial sectors. Information for the professional institutional channel proved this to be the case, with no changes in employment type (health, education and other services) occurring during the migrants' international career. However, intra-company transfers did not display this exclusivity of employment type. The changes which occurred can perhaps be attributed to the diverse nature of industry and function incorporated within these international organizations.

### 8.3.2 Change in Status of Employment

Similar mobility diagrams were constructed to graphically represent changing occupational status. The main issue of concern was the degree to which actual employment status (as distinct from relative status) was increased during international migration careers. Confirmation of increased occupational status was achieved (Figures 8.13-8.15), with the degree of 'upward' mobility being represented by the 'anti-clockwise' orientation of arrows.

For intra-company transfers (Figure 8.13), circulation within the managerial/administrative (40-49%) and professional (30-39%) categories were of greatest importance. This indicated the overall high level of occupational status amongst these respondents. There was movement between occupational status, describing 'upward' mobility. The majority of 'cross-status' links represent



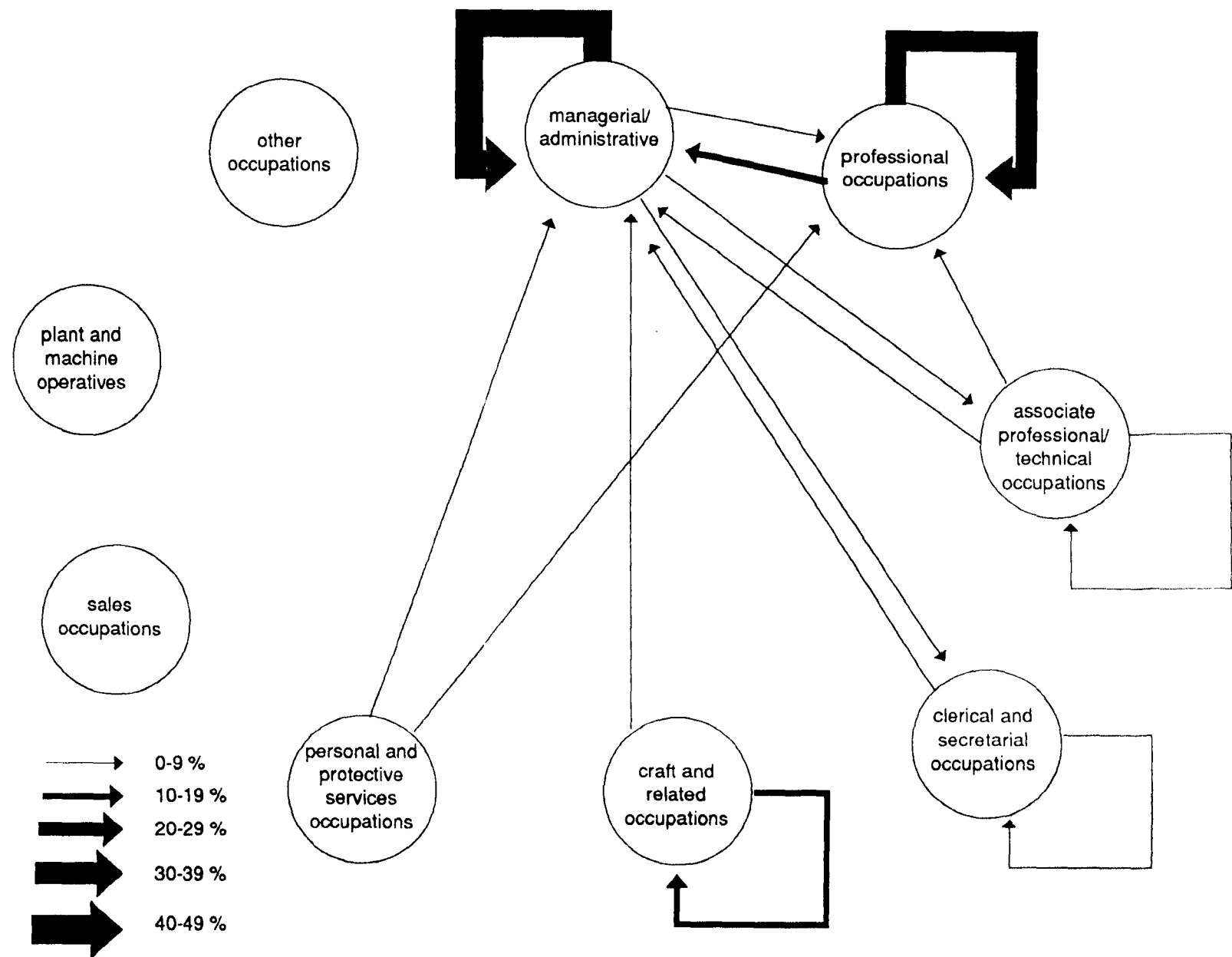


Figure 8.13 Mobility of Employment Status - Intra-company Transfer Channel

relatively small proportions of the total number of moves (0-9%), although changes from professional to manager/administrator status did account for some 10-19%. This was the only arrow of change (as distinct from circulation) of any mobility diagram to account for more than 10% of all moves. Other movement within this channel was dominated by change to managerial/administrative status.

The pattern of occupational status represented for family and friends moves (Figure 8.14), described a situation where circulation within professional status was of most importance (30-39%). Movement between occupational categories was complex, although generally involved increased status. This channel presented evidence of 'long-distance' status changes - for example, between other occupations and managerial/administrative, craft/related and managers/administrators. The newspaper and media channel (Figure 8.15) was also dominated by circulation within the professional occupation category. Movement between status types was varied, generally involving increased status, but not exclusively so.

Therefore, changes in employment status during international migration career were found to involve mainly 'upward' movements. Certain channels were characterized by high levels of involvement of the very skilled, with much of the subsequent international mobility involving circulation within these highest occupational categories (Eg. intra-company transfer,

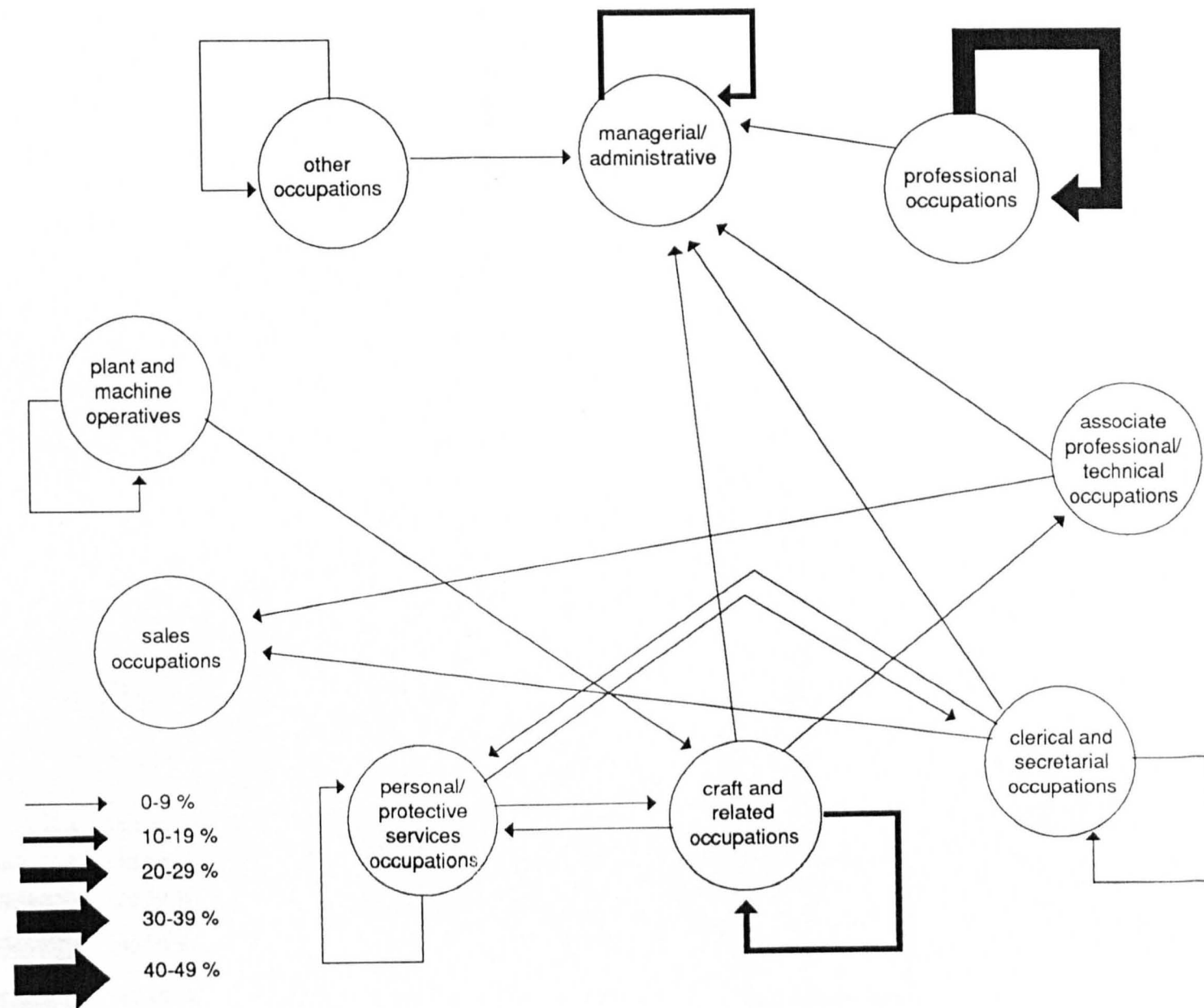
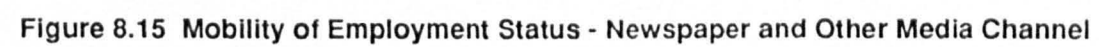


Figure 8.14 Mobility of Employment Status - Family and Friends Channel



**Figure 8.15 Mobility of Employment Status - Newspaper and Other Media Channel**

professional institutional, contacts in industry, and international recruitment agency channels). Other channels contained greater involvement of migrants in jobs with a lower employment status (Eg. family and friends, themselves the channel), but with degrees of upward mobility from these lower categories during subsequent migration.

#### **8.4 Most Recent Job History Information**

##### **8.4.1 Employment Abroad Arranged Before Leaving Scotland**

Emigrants from Scotland were asked whether employment at their most recent destination was arranged prior to leaving. Results of chi square tests comparing 'yes' and 'no' responses with a number of variables, are detailed in Table 8.1.

Information regarding prior arrangement of employment abroad provides further evidence of the organization and operation of the migration channels, and shows the 'moulding' influence of the migration process itself. The channels containing the largest proportions of positive responses were the intra-company transfer (90.4%), international recruitment agency (87.5%), professional institutional (100%), contacts in industry (75%), and newspaper and media (72.7%) channels. Each of these channels allowed individuals to have prior knowledge of the employment situation in their destination country, and to arrange employment which was taken up upon arrival. The methods through which this was achieved were, however, very different.

**Table 8.1 Chi Square Test Results - Employment Abroad  
Arranged Before Leaving Scotland**

	calc. $\chi^2$	d.f	critical value	H <sub>0</sub>
channel type	52.74	7	24.32	rejected 99.9%
employment status	54.06	2	13.82	rejected 99.9%
destination country	61.31	11	31.26	rejected 99.9%
organizational structure of employer	19.25	3	16.27	rejected 95%
migrant type	4.59	2	13.82	accepted
employment type	13.67	9	27.88	accepted
type of employer	5.95	3	16.27	accepted

Nearly all individuals leaving Scotland through company transfers had precise details of their employment arranged in advance. In this case, the individual's knowledge of the employment situation and arrangement of employment was carried out within the confines of the international internal labour market of the employing company. Migrants were made aware of overseas vacancies or opportunities through their employer (e.g. through the personnel departments of these large companies, from superiors/colleagues etc.), with application to and subsequent acceptance of an overseas post occurring internally to the organization. The individual might compete with colleagues for an overseas post, but once appointed would remain within the multinational company. International moves undertaken in these circumstances

generally occur 'smoothly', with the migration process being 'lubricated' within a network of employer support, perhaps involving a package of relocation benefits.

Similar 'internal' international moves also occurred within the professional institutional channel. In this case, however, the individual was not involved with the internal labour market of an international company, but with the specialized labour demands of international institutions (Eg. government organizations, universities, etc). International movement through institutional channels also provided individuals with a 'support' network to aid relocation.

Considering the other channels where high levels of prior arrangement of employment existed, it is true to say that arrangement of employment in these cases was 'external' to the individual's employer in Scotland. The migrant obtained information relating to employment abroad from various sources. The 'ease' of arranging overseas employment, as well as many other features of the migration process (Eg. housing, schooling, spouses employment) was much less than for the intra-company transfers.

For international recruitment agency, newspaper and media, and contact in industry moves, prior arrangement of employment was dependent upon the more 'active' involvement of the individual migrant. For example, contact must be made with a number of relevant recruitment agencies to obtain information on overseas employment. The

individual must remain in contact with colleagues who have knowledge of overseas employment opportunities. The individual must be involved with employment searches through advertisements or information in other media sources. Information available to them on the overseas labour market, allowed for their participation in the international recruitment processes.

For these migrants, the 'ease' of migration was dependent upon the employer abroad. Certain employers offered support for international relocation, while other individuals had to arrange all aspects of their international move on their own.

In two channels a majority of respondents had not previously arranged employment in the destination country : those who were 'themselves the channel' (58.1%), and those moving through family and friends (52.8%). A further one third of respondents involved with the 'other' channels also indicated no prior employment arrangements. These individuals obtained employment only once they had reached their destination. The initial move from Scotland was not reported as being made in order to take up fixed employment abroad.

In the case of the 'family and friends' channel, an original motive given for absence from Scotland was to visit family and friends already living abroad. Once abroad, an employment search was undertaken, which resulted in the holiday visit being extended. The individual might have gone to visit friends/relatives with



the explicit intention of finding employment, or applied speculatively for work while abroad. The help and support of family/friends was invaluable in aiding the individual to take up the position and extend their stay.

A similar situation was reported by respondents who were themselves the channel. These individuals had left Scotland, for example on holiday, and had undertaken to find employment once in their destination country. Newspaper and media sources at destination, job centres, speculative letters etc. were methods used to secure employment. These international moves proved to be the most 'difficult' of any channel, with the individual being forced to be very 'active' in arranging all aspects of the migration move and subsequent employment search, with negligible aid from employer or support from family and friends abroad.

A statistically significant relationship was also proven in the case of employment status, the main issue of contention being that more negative responses were expected from respondents of lower occupational status. Overall, this did prove to be the case, larger numbers of associate professional/technical or lower status employees indicated that employment was not arranged prior to move.

The main theme for investigation regarding the organizational structure of the overseas employers was whether 'local' employers had recruited migrants after their arrival in the destination country. This was established, although some one fifth of multinational

company respondents (one quarter of transnational company employees) indicated that a job had not been arranged prior to leaving Scotland. Thus, these respondents were recruited by multinational or transnational companies upon arrival at their destination. International migration was undertaken through a channel other than company transfer.

The countries of the E.E.C, the USA and Middle East revealed lower than statistically expected levels of response from migrants who had not previously arranged employment abroad. Low proportions of negative responses were also noted for Far Eastern and South East Asian destinations. These were destinations where intra-company transfers, professional/institutional and international recruitment agency channels were previously indicated as dominant.

For those going to Australia, negative responses were of much greater importance than would have been expected on a statistical basis (observed 55.7%, expected 27.6%). Other destination areas displaying high negative responses were Canada/New Zealand/S.Africa. These were the destinations most involved with movements via 'family and friends', and by those who were 'themselves the channel'.

It is interesting to note that there was no statistically significant relationship proven between the different migrant types. Differences in, for example, channel type were more important in the explanation of a 'yes' or 'no' response than whether the respondent was a UK or foreign emigrant (possibly return migrant to USA).

Similarly, no relationship was proven between employment type or employer type when abroad.

Details of previous arrangement of employment before leaving Scotland provided information which reveals that access to employment abroad is affected by a number of variables. The links between these variables (e.g. channel type, employment status, destination country and organizational structure of overseas employer) may be inferred as a 'block' of interaction and causality in a similar fashion to that described in Figure 8.6. For example, higher occupational status respondents moving within certain channels (e.g. intra-company transfers) to certain locations (e.g. USA) were more likely to arrive at their destination with their employment pre-arranged.

#### **8.4.2 Employment In Scotland Arranged Before Return**

UK return migrants were asked to indicate whether a job in Scotland had been arranged prior to leaving their last country of residence. Problems with identification of type of migrant and questionnaire length meant that this question was not asked of foreign immigrants to Scotland. However, it was anticipated that the majority of immigrants to Scotland would indicate that employment here was arranged before arrival. This was proposed because of the strict restrictions on immigration into the UK, the work permit system, and because these respondents were noted to be overwhelmingly involved with company transfers.

**Table 8.2 Chi Square Test Results - Employment In Scotland Arranged Before Return**

	calc. $\chi^2$	d.f	critical value	H <sub>0</sub>
channel type	64.72	7	24.32	rejected 99.9%
employment status	24.35	2	13.82	rejected 99.9%
type of employer	23.95	3	16.27	rejected 99.9%
organizational structure of employer	23.15	3	16.27	rejected 99.9%
country returned from	38.28	11	31.26	rejected 99.9%
employment type	25.81	9	21.67	rejected 95%

Responses were again analysed using the chi square test, calculated for a number of variables (Table 8.2). In this case, a statistically significant relationship was proven for each variable, indicating that return migration to Scotland is a process where prior arrangement of employment was differentiated to a greater degree than was the situation for emigrants.

Only in the intra-company transfer channel did a majority of returnees indicate that a job in Scotland was pre-arranged (observed 84.5%, expected 58.2%). The operation of this channel (as discussed previously for emigrants) would entail arrangement of employment for the return migrant 'internally' within the company. As with emigration from Scotland, return through this channel would occur with relative 'ease', with much 'support' and

aid with re-integration provided by the multinational or transnational employer.

Foreign immigrants to Scotland would receive similar benefits when moving within the confines of the company's internal labour market. International migration would be 'eased' and 'lubricated' by the company, with the immigrant receiving support and relocation assistance.

The other channels contained greater proportions of UK return migrants indicating that no employment in Scotland was arranged before departure from their last country of residence. This negative response was of most importance among individuals involved with the newspaper and media (82.8%) and international recruitment agency (76.9%) channels. High levels of negative response had been expected, and equate with the modes of operation of these channels.

A majority of respondents who were involved in obtaining employment abroad through international recruitment agencies were employed on a contractual basis. When the contract ends, if not renewed or another contract obtained, then individuals will return home and begin an employment search in Scotland or re-apply for further overseas employment (perhaps using international recruitment agencies again).

Similarly, much of the employment arranged through the newspaper and media channel was on the basis of fixed term contracts. When the contract ends, the individual might want to return home, or is forced to return due to

inability to have the contract renewed, and must begin an employment search for work in Scotland or abroad.

Positive responses were of most importance in those industrial sectors previously identified as being in large part controlled by MNC's and TNC's. This was especially true for the energy/water (84.4%), and mechanical/electrical/instrument engineering (70.3%). Levels of arrangement of employment in Scotland prior to return were lowest for employees in the distribution/hotel/catering (30.8%) and building/civil engineering (40.0%) industries - ie. international recruitment agency channelled moves. A majority of returnees involved with health, education and other service employment also gave negative responses to this question.

Analysis was carried out for a number of other categorical variables (Table 8.2) in relation to the pre-arrangement of work before returning to Scotland. They are not, however, presented in detail here since they were largely as anticipated and consistent with the patterns which have been described above for emigration from Scotland.

### **8.5 Conclusions**

The purpose of analysis in this chapter was to extend research into the selective influence of channelling mechanisms on migrant employment history. This has been achieved, with evidence being found, for example, of migration channels acting as selective filters with regard

to different industrial sectors and degrees of migration frequency.

Analysis of patterns of mobility in relation to employment type and status revealed, however, many similarities between different channels. While the actual industrial sector or occupation categories of most importance within the channels did vary, there was only limited evidence of movement between employment type or status categories. Most mobility involved the 'circulation' of employment within industrial or occupational status classifications. Mobility diagrams of occupational status did reveal that in all channels, the majority of changes that occurred were in an 'upward' direction. The final section of the chapter also showed that some channels are more likely to be associated with the prior arrangement of employment for migrants before leaving or returning to Scotland.

This summary of some of the results of the chapter therefore serves to underscore that selectivity in the migration process is neither a chance event, nor is it guided by some neo-classical 'hidden hand'. It results directly from the intervention of migration channels in the system. They act as filters, ordering and selecting who migrates and under what circumstances. This conclusion reinforces the broader conclusions of earlier chapters, that analysis of the influence of channelling mechanisms is very valuable and is of the greatest importance in

·  
furthering the understanding of migrant characteristics  
and the nature of migration histories.



## Chapter 9    Channel Type and Differential Migration

### Trends

Occupational information from the author's survey is used in this chapter to investigate the view that migration trends reflect the regional economic circumstances within which they occur. Much of the information collected relating to international migration was of a time specific nature (Eg. year of international move). Thus, the data provides, to an extent, a record of some aspects of Scotland's recent economic history, reflecting how changing world economic circumstances have affected Scotland through its involvement with certain parts of the world labour market (Thrift, 1986a). While this evidence might be constructed in such a way as to support the well rehearsed arguments that structure or context constrain process, the migration history data also informs one about the bi-directionality of the relationship : namely the moulding influence of the migration process itself.

The main issue for consideration here is how migration channels link differentially to the global labour market, and consequently result in distinctive migration trends through time. Only a small number of channels were selected for study, chosen because they represent variability in historical evolution, diverse modes of operation and control, and involvement with different parts of the world labour market.

## 9.1 Intra-Company Transfers

"The business enterprise with world-wide horizons is not a recent invention, by any means" (Dicken 1986 p57). The development of trans-national and multinational companies had a long history prior to the Second World War (Chandler 1980, Wilkins 1970, 1974). But it was after this period that transnational investment 'took off' and that multinational companies gained their present general economic significance as an extra-national network of inter and intra-firm linkages spreading rapidly over the globe (Taylor and Thrift 1982). This growth was especially prolific between the 1950's and 1970's (Dicken 1986).

However, the mid-1970's witnessed the onset of economic turbulence and changes in the world economy. Taylor and Thrift (1986) have noted that one of the chief vehicles of this re-structuring of both the national, and the international economy that links them all together, was the multinational company.

Several questions arise from this brief description of the historical evolution of multinational companies (and the internal labour markets that they represent). What have been the results of the post-war growth of these companies in the Scottish economy? What do the growth of multinational companies in a global economy mean for the Scottish context of skilled international migration? Given an understanding of how this channel operates, why have effects upon employment trends and destinations occurred?

The distinctive nature of, and changes in Scotland's links with international 'capital', as represented by the internal labour markets of multinational companies, are revealed from the employment trends of the researcher's UK survey respondents involved with this channel (Table 9.1).

It should be noted that the data in Table 9.1 (like that in Table 9.6 - 9.8) is based on retrospective migration histories. Like all trend data of this kind, care is required in its use. In particular it should be remembered that the record becomes less reliable for time periods distant from the time of the survey. This is not only because of imperfections in recall by migrants, but because of the non-recording of moves in these earlier periods by migrants who have subsequently died or for other reasons were not represented in the sampling frame. Despite these problems, Tables 9.1, 9.6, 9.7 and 9.8 provide a most useful opportunity to consider temporal migration trends.

The employment trends shown in Table 9.1 are indicative of a period of important international economic change for large multinational companies. These companies were developing and undergoing many transformations, for example in the organization of work and the international spatial divisions of labour that they represent. In the Scottish situation, the relative importance of international moves concerned with banking/financial services (the main sector where business operated at an international scale and resulted in intra-company

**Table 9.1 Migration Trends, Intra-company Transfer Channel, Most Important Destinations, Employment Type and Status (%)**

UK RESPONDENTS

	pre'70	71-75	76-80	81-85	86-89
<u>Destination</u>					
Africa	18.6	8.1	11.8	6.1	0.9
E.E.C	18.6	13.5	13.7	11.2	6.1
Can/N.Z/S.Africa	11.6	5.4	7.8	5.1	3.5
Middle East	14.0	21.6	25.5	20.4	14.9
USA	7.0	18.9	13.7	23.5	44.7
South East Asia	7.0	13.5	5.9	13.3	9.6
<u>Employment Type</u>					
energy/water	9.3	18.9	35.3	43.0	44.7
mech/elec/inst. engineering	2.3	16.2	15.7	17.3	22.8
other manufacturing	20.9	24.3	13.7	10.2	8.8
banking/finance	34.9	18.9	9.8	14.3	14.9
<u>Employment Status</u>					
manag/administrative	65.1	45.9	37.3	56.1	50.0
professional	20.9	35.1	45.1	38.8	45.6
associate prof/ technical	7.0	13.5	15.7	5.1	4.4

(columns do not sum to 100% since only selected characteristics have been included)

source : author's survey data

transfers prior to the 1970's) decreased, with development and expansion of 'new' international sectors of the economy - in particular oil and gas, and computing.

The 1970's witnessed the beginnings of the Scottish oil industry, and the subsequent involvement with related international companies and labour markets. Employment in Scotland wholly related to North Sea oil and gas was 27,100 in 1976, but had increased to 61,400 by 1986 (Scottish Office, 1988). Such development has involved very substantial investment in exploration, development

and production - much of which has come from outside the UK economy.

Power (1976) has detailed the importance of US oil company investment in North Sea oil production. Further evidence of this reliance on foreign controlled oil companies, particularly American ones, was provided by MacKay and MacKay (1975). Corti and Frazer (1983) have described how many Britons were forced to work abroad before the discovery of North Sea oil, but were attracted back by the opportunity to work in the UK. "It was regarded that the nation should have direct access to such expertise, rather than be dependent on it being available through the multinational operators" (Corti and Frazer 1983 p220). Table 9.1 would tend to suggest that UK expertise in the oil and gas industries has been utilized not only in the Scottish context, but, through company transfers, has operated in an international environment - particularly in the USA.

In manufacturing industries, the post war period was characterised by the rapid growth of overseas owned manufacturing plants in Scotland. Sinclair (1982 p66) has described how the "foreign multinationals' contribution to new manufacturing jobs (in Scotland) grew from 53% in 1954-59 to 74% in 1969-74". Table 9.2 indicates the increased share of manufacturing employment in Scotland within overseas owned plants.

Employment in overseas owned manufacturing plants in 1989 was estimated to be around 78,000. This represents a

**Table 9.2 Share of Manufacturing Employment in Scotland  
in Overseas Owned Plants (1950-1989)**

year	no. of plants	% of all manuf. employment	employment ('000's)
1950	64	4.3	27.9
1955	73	5.9	40.3
1960	108	8.7	57.8
1965	156	10.5	70.5
1970	242	16.6	112.9
1975	335	18.1	112.9
1980	358	18.7	97.5
1985	348	19.3	72.4
1989	354	22.2	78.1

(Source : Industry Office, Scottish Office 1990)

decrease from a post war high of 113,000. However, throughout the period, the proportion of the Scottish manufacturing workforce employed by these overseas companies has increased. Table 9.3 reveals that the most important size bands for these manufacturing units are those with 200+ employees - large 'branch plant' sites.

**Table 9.3 Overseas Owned Plants in Scotland and their  
Employment by Employment Size Band ('000's),  
1950-1989**

year	11-24	25-49	50-99	100-199	200-499	500+
1950	0.2	0.3	0.8	1.5	3.2	21.8
1955	0.2	0.3	0.7	1.5	3.6	34.1
1960	0.2	0.5	1.4	2.4	4.1	49.2
1965	0.3	0.8	1.2	4.3	10.8	53.0
1970	0.5	1.3	2.6	5.2	14.3	89.0
1975	1.0	2.0	3.4	8.5	18.8	79.1
1980	1.0	2.2	4.0	9.7	21.5	59.2
1985	1.1	1.9	4.3	9.8	18.4	36.9
1989	0.9	1.9	4.2	10.9	22.9	37.5

(Source : Industry Office, Scottish Office 1990)

**Table 9.4 Overseas Owned Manufacturing Plants in Scotland in 1950-1989 :**  
by Industry Grouping (employment in '000's)

	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1989
metals and mineral extraction	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.5	1.3	2.5	2.8	2.3
chemicals and man-made fibres	0.6	0.9	1.3	2.2	4.6	6.0	6.4	5.6	6.1
metal goods	0.6	0.5	1.2	1.4	3.3	3.5	1.9	1.5	2.0
mechanical engineering	14.1	18.6	24.2	23.2	27.1	27.0	18.3	11.6	8.8
electrical and instru- ment engineering	7.2	14.3	21.4	28.8	46.4	38.5	34.6	27.2	28.4
transport equipment	-	-	0.5	0.8	9.1	10.7	8.9	2.0	5.0
food/drink/tobacco	2.3	2.6	3.3	5.9	8.3	8.8	8.2	5.6	5.8
textiles/leather/ clothing	1.3	1.6	2.9	3.2	5.4	7.0	5.7	3.5	4.8
paper/printing/ publishing	1.4	1.5	2.3	2.5	3.6	3.8	5.3	6.3	8.5
other manufacturing	0.3	0.3	0.5	2.3	4.7	6.2	5.8	6.6	6.4

(Source : Industry Department, Scottish Office 1990)

Transnational investment has tended to be concentrated rather more in some types of manufacturing than others. In a Scottish context, since 1950, the largest number of plants under overseas ownership has been consistently recorded in electrical and instrument engineering (computing) - Table 9.4. This is reflected in Table 9.1 by the increased importance of intra-company channelled moves involved with mechanical/electrical/instrument engineering employment.

The dominance of North America in overseas owned manufacturing plants in Scotland is a long standing and continuing feature of investment from abroad (Table 9.5). In 1989, 57% of employment in overseas manufacturing plants was for USA owned companies.

**Table 9.5 Overseas Owned Plants and their Employment by Country of Ownership, 1950-1989 (employment in '000's)**

year	EEC	Rest of Europe	Canada	USA	Japan	Other
1950	2.6	1.6	2.6	20.9	-	0.3
1955	4.2	1.5	4.2	30.1	-	0.3
1960	4.4	1.6	4.8	46.8	-	0.3
1965	5.7	2.7	7.0	54.8	-	0.3
1970	9.9	4.4	8.1	89.8	-	0.5
1975	11.1	6.0	8.4	86.6	-	0.7
1980	17.4	5.0	7.4	66.6	0.3	0.8
1985	9.2	7.3	6.4	47.3	1.1	1.1
1989	10.9	10.4	4.9	45.2	2.7	4.1

(Source : Industry Department, Scottish Office 1990)

Thus, the two sectors of the Scottish economy where multinational company involvement is greatest have very



strong links with USA investment and control. The expatriate management policies of such companies (for example, the utilization of international technical skill at the 'core' of the company) is evident from Table 9.1. The USA was the destination of 44.7% of all moves recorded by the researcher amongst intra-company transfers during the 1986-89 period.

Other global factors can be noted to have had an influence on the Scottish dimension of employment trends in this channel. The oil industries of the Middle Eastern region had developed rapidly from 1907 onwards, but during the 1970's the large 'international' USA owned oil companies were leaving this region (related to the OPEC oil crises of 1973). Other multinational companies became involved with Middle Eastern economies at a time when this region was experiencing rapid growth. Skilled staff were required in this region during the 'setting up' of operations (Eg. Middle Eastern offices of international banking), although this region has decreased as a destination during the 1980's.

## **9.2 International Recruitment Agencies Channel**

Roberts (1986), in a description of the historical development of labour recruitment agencies in the UK, noted that some agencies have existed for a very long time. However, the real growth in recruitment agency activities came in the post war period. This development occurred at international and national level, and extended to provide advice and information not only on employment

but on many other aspects related to mobility, for example, housing market, schools, spouse's job opportunities, etc. (Gould 1987b).

Findlay and Garrick (1990 p179) have described how this international recruitment agency channel was "brought into existence as a result of rather different forces from those driving the internal labour markets of multinational companies". The motor of economic growth (in certain parts of the third world and Middle East), as distinct from economic development, was noted to have created demand for specific skill categories which were not immediately available within the indigenous labour forces of these countries (Findlay and Stewart 1986).

Information detailing time specific employment trends of UK respondents involved with this channel (Table 9.6), provides evidence of the importance of Middle Eastern and African destinations. The importance of building/civil engineering and health, education and other services employment reveals the skills which were targeted (in Scotland) by international recruitment agencies during the rapid development of more adequate industrial and service infrastructures in these parts of the world. The importance of these Scottish skills for the Middle East region was also evidenced by Findlay (1988) and Findlay and Garrick (1990). Roberts (1986) indicated that without the expansion of recruitment agency services, much of Middle Eastern development would not have happened, as up to 50% of all UK skilled emigration to the Middle East was

**Table 9.6 Migration Trends, International Recruitment Agency Channel, Most Important Destinations, Employment Type and Status (%)**

UK RESPONDENTS

	pre'80	81-85	86-89
<u>Destination</u>			
Africa	25.6	11.5	22.2
Middle East	15.4	50.0	22.2
Canada/N.Zealand/ S.Africa	12.8	15.4	11.1
<u>Employment Type</u>			
energy/water	5.1	7.7	14.8
building/civil engineering	23.1	38.5	3.7
banking/finance	15.4	11.5	25.9
health/education/ other services	38.5	23.1	33.3
<u>Employment Status</u>			
manag/administrative	48.7	23.1	44.4
professional	35.9	26.9	48.1
associate prof/ technical	7.7	30.8	3.7
craft/related	7.7	19.2	7.4

(columns do not sum to 100% since only selected characteristics have been included)

source : author's survey data

controlled by this channel.

Under realist philosophy, it can be argued that this channel has largely been brought into existence by the type of labour demand which resulted from rapid economic growth in certain parts of the developing world. Roberts (1986) argued that recruitment agency development occurred as a response to a problem. The problem identified was the overseas demand for highly skilled labour where no 'conduit' or channel existed for this demand to be met.

The development of international recruitment agencies did not create international labour demand, but arose from such demand. While 'structure' affects 'process', 'process' (in this case international recruitment agency channelled moves) reciprocally affected 'structure' (as represented by the international labour supply to these developing regions).

The influence of 'process' on 'structure' has been noted to be very different in the case of international recruitment agency channelled movers from other regions of the UK. This relates to the 'stereotyped' images which these recruitment agencies hold of regional labour market specialisms in the UK (Lewis 1987a). For example, Gould (1990) identified the selectivity for maritime related employment for many UK emigrants to developing countries from the Merseyside region.

In the most recent period 1986-89, Table 9.6 evidences a broadening of the range of destination countries for international recruitment agency migrants, and a rather different form of labour demand. Much of these most recent changes can be attributed to the "current economic down turn" (Birks, Seccombe and Sinclair 1986) in the Arab Gulf, and the subsequent reduction in demand for foreign labour. One symptom of this down turn has been the end of the construction boom (which occurred due to a fall in investment in construction projects, and the completion of many large infrastructural developments). The end of this boom may be dated, 1985-

1990 in Saudi Arabia, 1986-1987 in Kuwait, 1983-1984 in the United Arab Emirates (Birks, Seccombe and Sinclair 1986), and is reflected in the decreased importance of building/civil engineering employment amongst UK respondents.

Growing international demand for labour, and hence the activities of international recruitment agencies, specializing in health and education, and financial services was evidenced among UK respondents in the 1986-1989 period. This echoes the view expressed by Roberts (1986) that demand for 'service' skills would be on-going.

### 9.3 Newspaper and Other Media Channel

The activities of newspaper and other media have a very long history in the 'channelling' of international migration. This channel exists as a way of providing information on overseas opportunities to a wide audience. Articles and employment adverts related to overseas migration opportunities provide a useful way of diffusing information and raising interest among many people. This channel has been utilized by governments, businesses and individuals as a way of promoting the international migration of certain 'desired' skills.

The provision of information through media has become, in some instances, the *raison d'être* for the existence of certain magazines and news sheets. For example, 'The Settler' magazine (the magazine of the 1820 Settlers Association) exists to assist immigrants to establish themselves in South Africa. This aim is

comparable to that of 'Australian Outlook', 'New Zealand Outlook', 'Canada News', and 'South African News' (established 1927).

Organizations and publications to inform and serve skilled transient expatriates have developed more recently. For example, Expats International - established in 1979 (the publishers of the 'Home and Away' magazine utilized as a contact source in this research) and 'Resident Abroad', a monthly magazine for expatriates produced by the Financial Times (established 1980).

Information detailing time specific employment trends (Table 9.7) revealed that during the 1970's and early 1980's, the importance of the Middle East as a destination for newspaper and other media channelled UK respondents mirrored the trend noted for international recruitment agency movers. During the 'boom' time of involvement in the Middle East, newspaper and media employment trends reflect the labour demand which could be satisfied through this channel - health, education and other services and building/civil engineering skills. This channel, however, facilitated the international movement of lower status labour in comparison to the previous two channels.

The most recent period of UK emigration through the newspaper and media channel reflects the decline of the Middle East as a destination.

**Table 9.7 Migration Trends, Newspaper and Other Media Channel, Most Important Destinations, Employment Type and Status (%)**

**UK RESPONDENTS**

	76-80	81-85	86-89
<u>Destination</u>			
Middle East	33.3	31.0	10.0
Can/N.Z/S.Africa	19.4	13.8	10.0
Australia	5.6	-	38.0
E.E.C.	13.9	6.9	16.0
USA	2.8	3.4	14.0

Employment Type

energy/water	16.7	13.4	2.0
building/civil engineering	19.4	17.2	12.0
banking/finance	-	3.4	10.0
health/education/other services	44.4	51.7	46.0

Employment Status

manag/administrative	13.9	17.2	10.0
professional	52.8	51.7	60.0
associate prof/technical	13.9	20.7	10.0

(columns do not sum to 100% since only selected characteristics have been selected)

source : author's survey data

#### **9.4 "Themselves the Channel"**

The concept of migration channels is founded upon the observation that fewer and fewer international migrants themselves directly obtain jobs, work permits or residence visas. The organization and control of many international moves is undertaken by some 'intermediary agency'.

However, evidence was obtained that some skilled international migrants were "themselves the channel" for their international move, which would suggest that these individuals were directly involved with the arranging of

Table 9.8 Migration Trends, Themselves The Channel, Most Important Destinations, Employment type and Status (%)

UK RESPONDENTS

	pre'75	76-85	86-89
<u>Destination</u>			
Australia	13.8	43.8	58.6
Can/N.Z/S.Africa	20.7	28.1	21.4
Middle East	-	15.6	3.4
<u>Employment Type</u>			
building/civil engin.	3.4	9.4	20.6
distribution/hotel/ catering	6.9	15.6	10.3
transport/communications	24.1	9.4	3.4
health/education. other services	44.8	37.5	41.4
<u>Employment Status</u>			
manag/administrative	20.7	34.4	13.8
professional	34.5	18.8	20.7
associate prof/ technical	17.2	12.5	27.6
craft/related	3.4	6.3	13.8
personal/protective services	6.9	15.6	10.3
other occupations	10.3	6.3	13.8

(columns do not sum to 100% since only selected characteristics have been included)

source : author's survey data

employment, permits and visas, housing etc. While in the past a majority of UK emigrants would have indicated this 'individual' channel, for contemporary skilled international migration this channel facilitates only a minority of international moves. The decreased importance of this channel has been as a result of new controls on international migration - political controls, the structuration and segmentation of labour markets and the



organization of work, access to overseas opportunities confined to the selectivity operated through certain channels etc.

Table 9.8 shows the economic trends identified for this migration channel. While the Middle East was briefly of increased importance as a destination during the 1976-1980 period, the 'boom' in this region was not as easily identifiable as for previous channels. More 'traditional' settler emigrant locations have on the whole been predominant, with health, education and other services the employment sector targeted by, or open to these respondents. The international migration of labour of lesser skill is distinctive of the migration process in operation, but not characteristic of the context of international labour demand for skilled personnel during this period (as represented in the other channels) .

### **9.5 Conclusions**

Migration trends and employment patterns were described for two reasons. Firstly, to try to indicate the way in which channels link differentially to the global labour market and thus are differentially constrained. These links are neither homogeneous nor static, and are reflected in the varied migration trends displayed by the channels through time. Description of the migration trends has shown that context (and changes in context) has governed the operation of international migration processes.

Secondly, to try to inform the bi-directionality of the relationship that exists between 'structure' and 'process' - namely the moulding influence of the channel itself. This was expressed, for example, in the Middle Eastern 'boom' of industrial employment, especially for the international recruitment agency channel. It is argued that this channel may have been largely brought into existence by this type of labour demand. The operation of international migration agencies (Eg. through targeting of employment type etc) subsequently had an influence in moulding the international context and nature of labour supply.

Change in context (ie. international organization and development of multinational companies, 'new' international industries, international divisions of labour) and process (ie. expatriate management policies) could also be identified for the intra-company transfer channel. The characteristics of 'context' and 'process', and the relationship between these in a Scottish setting are very different to those in other regions of the UK - for example, London and the South East of England (Salt 1984, 1986b, 1988, Beaverstock 1990). This can be related to the differential role of 'international capital' and multinational company labour in these two regional economies. The nature of head office operations at the 'core' of the UK economy is very different to that at the 'branch plant' operations of multinational companies in Scotland. Thus the 'process' which operates to facilitate

movement through the internal labour market of these companies will differentially mould the 'regional' nature of the skilled international migration which occurs.

International migration to 'traditional' settler locations by less skilled individuals who were 'themselves the channel' reflects the influence of the migration process in operation, and not the contemporary international migration context of labour demand for highly skilled transient international migrants. The patterns of international migration noted for these respondents suggests that they have some 'control' of their situation which is distinct from the 'control' and 'moulding' influences exerted by intermediary agencies in other more structured channels.

## Chapter 10    Developing Statistical Models of Skilled International Migration

### 10.1    Introduction

Analysis of the migration and employment history data of the questionnaire respondents has been a process undertaken in several stages. The previous chapters (6-9) each dealt with aspects of migration history, with explanation of the observed patterns being linked in several respects to channel types.

The next stage of the data analysis attempts to promote understanding of the complex interaction effects and relationships that exist within and between the data, with the use of certain advanced statistical techniques. The value of a model developed using statistical techniques is that it provides a summary of the most important features in a data set, together with an indication of the level of unexplained or random variation. Thorough appraisal of data demands the formulation of statistical models thought capable of explaining variation in the data, and permitting the derivation of a set of fitted or predicted values.

Advanced statistical analysis involving categorical data (the form of much migration history information) was until relatively recently an area of weak or underdeveloped statistical methodology (Wrigley, 1985). However, there are now available a number of approaches for the analysis of such data. The researcher selected a stepwise regression technique capable of handling

categorical data as the main statistical tool in her analysis. Other statistical modelling methods were considered (e.g. log-linear modelling) but proved to be inappropriate.

## 10.2 Modelling Techniques

The main subject for analysis was the frequency of international labour moves. This dependent variable was regressed against the national status of the individual, the channel of international movement used, and a range of other inter-related socio-economic variables.

The diverse nature of the data (e.g. number of moves and age information was on an interval scale, occupational status details on an ordinal scale, and, employment type, channel type and country categorized on a nominal scale) required careful consideration of different forms of linear modelling techniques. Three techniques for modelling were studied, all of which it was believed would have resulted in similar types of explanation.

Log-linear modelling is particularly appropriate for categorical data analysis, allowing for the identification of the most important relationships within a data set (Gilbert, 1981). Recoding of the data into categories or counts, however, results in the loss of much important original information. Also, the limited size of the researcher's sample of international migrants severely constrained the techniques which could be used. The sample size proved to be too small in relation to the relatively large number of categories of response on several of the

variables. For example, questionnaire respondents had indicated involvement with some ten channels of international movement, ten industrial categories of employment, and experience of a very large number of different countries. While such information may be (and indeed was) recoded to a certain degree, reduction in the data for application of log-linear techniques would have led to serious losses in the quality of the information. For these reasons, both log-linear modelling and logistic regression analysis (most useful for bivariate responses) were rejected as inappropriate statistical techniques. Generalized linear modelling techniques, however, were considered suitable (Congdon 1989, Fingleton 1984, McCullagh and Nelder 1983). These have the ability to be 'tailored' to give more flexibility and incorporate a variety of types of data. The most appropriate computer software for the application of such regression modelling analysis proved to be GENSTAT5.

Those variables in the analysis that were qualitative or categorical in nature (Eg. migrant type, channel type, employment and country) were included in the modelling process as 'factors'. A separate constant term was fitted for each level of the classification of the variable, which is incorporated as a series of parallel regression lines for the response or dependent variable (in this case, number of international moves for employment). Interest was focussed on the way that the dependent variable was affected by the factor variables. The object

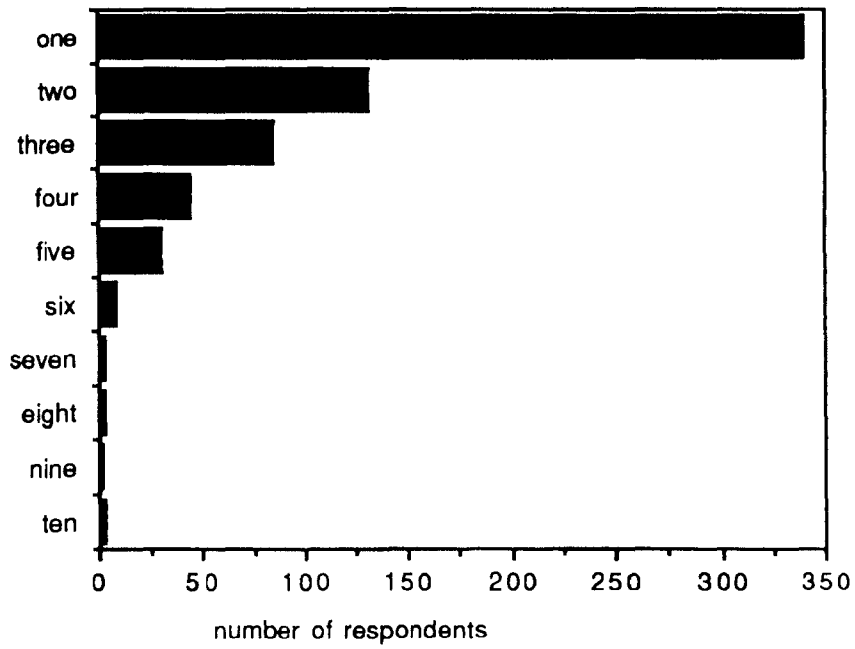
of the analysis was therefore to identify variations in the response variable due to its interactions with the various factors "since these identify a cause with an effect" (Upton, 1981 P36). The use of the factorisation function allowed for the transformation of categorical data and its inclusion in the regression model. The mixture of data available to the researcher was thus able to be used without loss of quality of the information in the modelling and subsequent prediction procedure.

Stepwise regression is a procedure for selecting one 'optimum' regression equation from several possible combinations of explanatory variables. Selecting the best subset of explanatory variables is a trade-off between the prediction and explanation functions of the model - between making the best prediction possible (which suggests using a large number of variables to obtain reliable estimates), and keeping the model as parsimonious as possible (allowing for clearer interpretation and explanation of the interactions between variables). The basic approach of stepwise regression is to add variables to the regression equation in accordance with their marginal contribution to the percent of explained variance in the response variable. The explanatory variable with the highest correlation to the response variable is included in the model at the first stage or step. The other explanatory variables are then considered for entry and addition to the model based upon their contribution to the percent of explained variance in the response

variable. At each stage or step in the stepwise procedure the 'value' to the equation of each parameter or explanatory variable is recalculated. The advantage of this method is that a variable entered into the equation at an early stage which is inter-correlated with variables entered later may be dropped from the model. Hence the stepwise procedure yields a 'best' statistical selection or model from a set of explanatory variables.

Consideration of a histogram of the number of international moves of the respondents (Figure 10.1) indicated that this data did not conform to the normal or Gaussian probability distribution. A majority of respondents had indicated only one international migration for employment, and as the number of moves increased to two, there was a sharp decrease in the number of respondents involved. Greater frequencies of international moves were indicated by lesser numbers of respondents, with a 'tail' of relatively 'rare' occurrences for migrants involved with five or more international moves. The 'shape' of Figure 10.1 is recognisable as a Poisson curve, and hence could not be modelled or predicted by a 'normal' linear regression function (Lovett and Flowerdew 1989). The 'Poisson' modelling operation of GENSTAT5 was utilised after the "number of moves" information had been slightly transformed to conform more closely to the properties of a Poisson distribution. This involved the creation of a new variable, where the value one had been subtracted from all levels to produce a new range of





**Figure 10.1 Number of Respondents By Number of International Moves**

values from 0 to 9.

Thus the appropriate statistical modelling technique (Poisson stepwise regression with the inclusion of factorized variables) was calculated and applied.

### 10.3 Results

Modelling of the data was undertaken in order to establish the most important factors determining the number of international moves of the respondents. The explanatory variables included in the statistical procedure were age of respondent, channel of international movement, type of employment of the individual (this being the type of job undertaken during last international migration), status of the job, migrant type information, and country of last employment.

The process of fitting a model may be regarded as a way of replacing a set of data values with a set of fitted values. In general, these values are not exactly equal, and the question arises as to how much discrepancy exists. At each step or stage of the modelling procedure a number of statistical measures relating to the significance and goodness of fit of the model are produced. These measures included details on the deviance of the model, a generalized measure of the discrepancy of the model from the original data. Other important statistical indicators included a measure of the dispersion of the data (a check of the Poisson nature of the data), and 't' values produced for each variable (or each level of a factorized variable). These 't' values give a measure of the

importance of each variable in the explanation of the variation noted in the number of international moves.

Within discussion of the results of the modelling procedure, only those 'best fit' models which proved to be of statistical significance (in terms of the critical values of deviance, dispersion and 't' values) are given consideration. The level of importance of each of the variables within a model is indicated in terms of the proportion or percentage of deviance in the functional relationship explained by the inclusion of that parameter. The level of residual or unexplained variance in the model is a very important feature of the modelling procedure which will also be indicated.

Techniques for checking the model for its goodness of fit included a consideration of the residual values. These residual values may be plotted against the fitted values, if the fit of the model is good then the pattern of plot expected is null - a straight line (e.g. that there is no relation between the fitted and residual values). This check for a patternless set of residuals was undertaken and verified for each of the models.

Perhaps the most interesting information obtained from the modelling procedure is the set of predicted values, giving an indication of the greatest (or least) number of international moves which the model predicts will occur within each of the variables or categories. The most important predicted values of each model are indicated and further discussed below.

### 10.3.1 Overall Model

The modelling procedure was first 'run' to establish the 'best' model parameters for determining the number of international moves when all respondents were included. The optimum model (summarized as Table 10.1 a) revealed that age of the respondents was of overall most importance in the explanation of international experience (8.4%), with increased number of moves most strongly correlated with increased age of respondent. This relationship is not unexpected. After inclusion of the age parameter, of next most importance was an interaction term combining the effects of age and employment (6.0%). At each successive 'stepping' of the modelling procedure, country (3.2%), occupational status (1.8%) and channel type (1.5%) were identified as of lesser, but still significant importance to the model.

Table 10.1a Results For Overall Model

variable

age	8.4%
age.employment type	6.0%
country	3.2%
occupational status	1.8%
channel type	1.5%
residual/unexplained variance	79.1%

There are some issues of concern with regard to the results of this modelling exercise which should receive consideration. The model produced was of relatively

complex design, incorporating five of the six variables which could have been included (it is interesting to note that migrant type differences were not included as being of importance in the explanation of number of international moves). However, each of the variables accounted for a relatively small percentage of the total explanation of the relationship - with the variables country, job status and channel type appearing as somewhat marginal to the model (although still included as significant). The low proportions of explanation offered by each of the variables is evidenced by the relatively large (79%) unexplained residual variation.

Concern with these issues, however, need not detract from confidence in the resulting model, and the interesting conclusions, explanations and further questions which may be postulated from a study of the results. The relatively low explanatory power of the model may be due to a number of factors. Firstly, there is the very nature of the topic under study. Migration (as with many other geographical and social science phenomena) is recognised as a difficult and highly complex process for appraisal and study. The somewhat low level of explanation of variations in number of international moves may have been due to the dependent variable being affected by a number of other parameters or variables which were not included (or could not be included) in this modelling exercise. Secondly, and a factor referred to previously, is the relatively small size of the sample undertaken

during this research. A larger, more comprehensive survey (with greater resources) might have yielded similar results with greater explanatory power.

Thirdly, (and related to the second point), the respondents to the questionnaire tended to be of a 'clustered' nature, predominantly involved with a small number of destinations, specific job types and specific channel types. This may be indicative of the very nature of the phenomena, but as this study tried to broaden the spectrum of attention for skilled international migration, perhaps a larger, more evenly stratified sample (e.g. in terms of age of respondents, channel for international movement, country of international experience, type of employment, migrant type) could have been attempted and a similar modelling technique undertaken.

Lastly, it should be remembered that respondents completing the questionnaire did so at different stages in terms of their respective international migration careers. Such a partial or distorted view of migration history will affect the information obtained with regard to international migration frequency (e.g. very many respondents contacted had made only one move), and the prediction of factors which influence or explain the propensity to move. There are, however, methodological difficulties regarding identification and contact with migrants at the end of their migration career (hence final number of international employment moves known), or for implementation of a longitudinal research survey (which

would also provide more precise migration history information).

The 'best' model solution may easily be used to form predictions about the number of international moves which would be made under certain circumstances (e.g. combinations of the explanatory variables and the different levels within each). In the case of the model produced for all respondents, the conditions under which the greatest number of international moves would be undertaken are summarized in Table 10.1 b. Only selected parts of the predicted values table for the model have been transcribed (those circumstances promoting the highest numbers of international moves) due to the length and complexity of the information it contained.

Age in the prediction table was fixed at its mean value (25-34 year group) in order to reduce the complexity of the predicted information and for easier understanding of the roles played by the other explanatory variables. Certain employment types featured more prominently than others with regard to the greatest numbers of international moves - the two most important being the energy/water industries and banking/financial services employment.

The regions which featured most commonly for migrants making a large number of international trips were the East (including S.E Asia and Japan), Africa, countries of the Middle East, European/Scandinavian and 'other' destinations.

Table 10.1 b Summary of Predicted Values From Overall Model

age fixed 2.992

energy/water employment - managerial status

	Company transfer	Int.rec. agency	Family/ friends	News/ media	Thems- elves	Contacts	Other
Aust/Can/N.Z./S.Afr.	2.48	2.43	2.49	2.52	2.59	3.59	2.28
USA	2.06	2.02	2.07	2.09	2.14	2.85	1.92
Europe/Scandinavia	2.64	2.58	2.66	2.69	2.77	3.87	2.42
Middle East	2.94	2.87	2.96	2.99	3.09	3.39	2.68
Africa	3.19	3.11	3.21	3.25	3.36	4.83	2.90
East	3.23	3.15	3.25	3.29	3.40	4.90	2.93
Scotland	2.33	2.28	2.34	2.37	2.43	3.33	2.15
Other	3.07	3.00	3.09	3.13	3.23	4.62	2.79

banking/financial services employment - managerial status

	Company transfer	Int.rec. agency	Family/ friends	News/ media	Thems- elves	Contacts	Other
Aust/Can/N.Z./S.Afr.	2.36	2.31	2.38	2.40	2.47	3.38	2.18
USA	1.97	1.94	1.98	2.00	2.05	2.70	1.84
Europe/Scandinavia	2.51	2.46	2.53	2.55	2.63	3.64	2.31
Middle East	2.79	2.72	2.80	2.83	2.92	4.12	2.55
Africa	3.02	2.94	3.04	3.07	3.17	4.53	2.75
East	3.05	2.98	3.07	3.11	3.21	4.59	2.78
Scotland	2.23	2.18	2.24	2.26	2.32	3.14	2.06
Other	2.91	2.84	2.93	2.96	3.05	4.33	2.65



Employees of energy/water industries displayed consistently the highest number of predicted international moves, involved with all channel types and destinations.

As may have been expected, managerial/administrative status employees were in every case predicted to make more international moves than other groups, with professional status second, and the 'other' lower status jobs involved with fewest moves. Increased job status therefore related positively to increased international experience.

The predicted information for channel of international movement indicated, overall, the channel with the highest levels of international movement was the contacts in industry channel. This channel accounted for a large number of moves regardless of employment type, destination country, and employment status. The highest average number of moves was predicted for migrants in this channel who were at a managerial/administrative level of employment in the energy/water or banking/financial services industries and involved in international migration to the countries of the East and Africa (4.90, 4.83, 4.59, 4.53).

All other channels of international migration displayed somewhat lower levels of predicted values for number of international moves - especially for certain countries and employment types. It is interesting to note that many of the channels displaying the greatest predicted values for international movement are those

which up until this time have received little previous research attention.

Thus the modelling procedure undertaken to explain the international experience of all respondents proved to be useful, substantiating many of the issues discussed in previous chapters. In order to fully exploit the usefulness of the modelling technique, a number of other 'optimum' models were fitted to various subsets of the data. This was simply done using GENSTAT5 and allowed for a fuller investigation of relationships existing within the data.

#### 10.3.2 Modelling Procedure Restricting For Age

Further modelling was undertaken to establish the most important explanatory factors determining the number of international moves of specific age subgroups of the population. Three 'optimal' models were derived from information relating to the numerically most important respondent age groups (25-34 years, 35-44 years, 45-54 years). These are summarized in Tables 10.2 a, b and c.

Of the three models dealing with age subgroups, only one achieved a level of explanatory power greater than that for the overall model. This related to the 45-54 year age group. In this case employment type and channel type were included as of explanatory significance, at much increased levels to those of the overall model. The predicted values of this model indicated the highest numbers of international moves for banking/financial services employees involved with the contacts in industry

Table 10.2 a Results Restricting For Age - 25-34 year group

variable

employment type	6.3%
channel type	7.5%
residual/unexplained variance	86.2%

summary of predicted values

	Company transfer	Int.rec. agency	Family/ friends	News/ media	Thems- elves	Contacts	Other
energy/water	1.80	2.38	1.72	2.33	1.93	5.45	1.87
mech/elect. engineering	1.27	1.47	1.25	1.45	1.32	2.51	1.30
other manufacturing	1.14	1.24	1.13	1.23	1.16	1.77	1.15
buliding/civil engineering	1.30	1.51	1.27	1.49	1.34	2.64	1.32
banking/financial services	1.43	1.74	1.39	1.71	1.50	3.39	1.47
health/education/ other services	1.21	1.36	1.19	1.35	1.25	2.17	1.23
other employment	1.41	1.70	1.37	1.68	1.48	3.27	1.45

Table 10.2 b Results Restricting For Age - 35-44 year group

variable

country	8.4%
residual/unexplained variance	91.6%

summary of predicted values

Aust/Can/N.Z./S.Africa	1.77
USA	1.71
Europe/Scandinavia	2.29
Middle East	2.61
Africa	2.17
East	2.95
Scotland	2.06
Other	3.12

Table 10.2 c Results Restricting For Age - 45-54 years

variable

employment type	13.3%
channel type	10.3%
residual/unexplained variance	76.4%

summary of predicted values

	Company transfer	Int.rec. agency	Family/ friends	News/ media	Thems- elves	Contacts	Other
energy/water	3.09	4.38	2.24	2.24	2.76	4.99	1.74
mech/elect. engineering	1.82	2.33	1.49	1.49	1.69	2.57	1.29
other manufacturing	1.26	1.42	1.15	1.15	1.22	1.50	1.09
building/civil engineering	2.42	3.30	1.84	1.84	2.19	3.71	1.50
banking/financial services	4.24	6.25	2.92	2.92	3.73	7.20	2.15
health/education/ other services	2.65	3.67	1.98	1.98	2.39	4.15	1.58
other employment	2.58	3.55	1.94	1.94	2.33	4.01	1.56

(7.2 moves) and international recruitment agency (6.25 moves) channels. Banking/financial services employees indeed displayed the highest numbers of international moves through all channels, with predicted numbers of moves for energy/water employees of secondary importance. Involvement with the contacts in industry channel was found to 'boost' the number of international moves predicted for employees of all industrial categories.

The best fit model for 25-34 year olds also involved job type and channel type as the most important explanatory variables. As was the case for the older age group, the contacts in industry channel was predicted as the most important for respondents involved with the greatest number of international moves. However, in this instance the highest prediction was made for energy/water employees (5.45 moves). Indeed for all channel types, the predictions for the number of moves of energy/water employees were significantly above all other industries.

The explanation of the number of international moves by respondents aged 35-44 years was somewhat different. Variation in last country of destination was identified as the most important parameter (8.4%). Analysis of the predicted values from this model (Table 10.2 b) revealed the highest numbers of international moves for Eastern, Middle Eastern and 'other' areas.

Many of the details of the best fit models obtained for the age subgroups corresponded well with the overall model (Eg. job types, countries of last destination and

channel types of greatest importance). The disaggregation of information about age allowed therefore for the uncovering of subtle differences between the age groups in the explanatory power of certain of the variables.

### 10.3.3 Modelling Procedure Restricting For Employment Type

Variations in the type of employment undertaken by respondents during their most recent international migration were indicated as of secondary importance in the overall model in explaining or determining variations in international experience. Further modelling was again undertaken to establish the most important parameters determining international movement by employment subgroups. The best fit models providing significant statistical results are summarized in Tables 10.3 a (energy/water), b (building/civil engineering), c (banking/financial services) and d (health, education and other services). These provide an interesting continuation of the modelling procedure, and comparisons with the overall and age restricted model results.

Of the four models obtained from employment subgroup information (the four of most statistical significance) it may be noted that three 'solutions' attain levels of explanatory power greater than that noted for the overall model. Indeed, of all the models fitted (including restrictions for country of last destination), those explaining the number of international moves of respondents involved with the banking/financial services

Table 10.3 a Results Restricting for Employment Type -  
energy/water employment

variable

age 9.8%  
occupational status 4.4%  
age.channel type 9.3%  
  
residual/unexplained variance 76.5%

summary of predicted values

	age fixed 2.913						
	Company transfer	Int.rec. agency	Family/ friends	News/ media	Thems- elves	Contacts	Other
managerial/ administrative	2.46	2.91	4.04	3.50	2.42	4.38	3.41
professional	2.00	2.30	3.07	2.70	1.97	3.31	2.64
other status	1.43	1.56	1.89	1.73	1.41	1.99	1.70



Table 10.3 b Results Restricting For Employment Type -  
building/civil engineering employment

variable

country 33.0%

residual/unexplained variance 67.0%

summary of predicted values

Aust/Can/N.Z./S.Africa	1.47
USA	2.00
Europe/Scandinavia	3.00
Middle East	1.86
Africa	2.00
East	4.20
Scotland	1.60
Other	1.00

Table 10.3 c Results Restricting For Employment Type -  
banking/financial services employment

variable

age 25.5%

country 22.8%

residual/unexplained variance 51.7%

summary of predicted values

age fixed 2.778

Aust/Can/N.Z./S.Africa	2.12
USA	1.28
Europe/Scandinavia	1.41
Middle East	2.22
Africa	1.00
East	2.95
Scotland	2.50
Other	2.13

Table 10.3 d Results Restricting For Employment Type -  
health, education and other services

variable

age	3.6%
channel type	7.1%

residual/unexplained variance 89.3%

summary of predicted values

age fixed 2.994

intra-company transfer	1.84
international recruitment agency	1.64
family and friends	1.28
newspaper and other media	1.85
themselves the channel	1.62
contacts in industry	2.45
other channels	1.66

and building/civil engineering industries contain the lowest proportions of residual or unexplained variance.

In Table 10.3 c (banking/financial services) it is indicated that age of respondents and country of last migration destination were the two parameters of most explanatory significance. It appeared that number of international moves increased with age, while the most important predicted values relating to country of last destination were the East (2.95 moves) and Scotland (2.50).

In the case of building/civil engineering employees (Table 10.3 b), only one parameter (country of last destination) is included in the model - as determining approximately one third of the variation in number of international moves. The relationship for employees of this industry is strongest (greatest number of moves) for Eastern (4.20) and European/Scandinavian (3.00) countries.

Three explanatory variables (a more complex model) were indicated as important for energy/water employees (Table 10.3 a) - age (9.8%), employment status (4.4%) and an interaction term describing the relationship between age and channel type (9.3%). For employees in these industries it appears that managerial/administrative employment will result in more frequent international movement than any other status group. This was so for a wide range of channel types - contacts in industry, family and friends, newspaper and media and 'other' channels. High levels of international movement for employees of professional status were also predicted for the contacts in industry and family and friends channels.

The last model of employment type to prove significant was that for health, education and other services (Table 10.3 d), where age (3.6%) and channel type (7.1%) were included. This model had much less explanatory power than the other employment subgroups, with only some 10% of variation explained by the inclusion of these two parameters. This low level of explanatory power may be due, in part, to the more varied and complex nature of the respondents associated with this particular employment type.

#### **10.3.4 Modelling Procedure Restricting For Last Country of International Migration**

A final group of models relating to frequency of international migration were restricted in relation to last country of residence. The models with significant

results are summarized in Tables 10.4 a-f. What is immediately noticeable is that the explanatory power of these restricted models was again, in general, greater than that obtained for the overall model.

The model offering the overall greatest level of explanation was that explaining number of international moves for those whose last move had been to European and Scandinavian countries (Table 10.4 c). Employment type accounted for approximately 37% of the variation in number of international moves indicated by respondents involved with these destinations. Manufacturing employment was of very great significance (on average 5.00 moves).

The parameters of most importance in the explanation of the number of international moves for respondents whose last migration involved employment in Scotland (Table 10.4 f) indicated a more complex pattern of causality. Three variables - age (10.5%), job type (12.9%) and channel type (9.1%) - were included in the partial model produced. The predicted values described energy/water employment as of overall significance for all channels, with banking/financial services involvement being listed second. The greatest numbers of moves were predicted for these employees using the newspaper and media channel (4.47 and 3.83 moves respectively) and the contacts in industry channel (3.20 and 2.74 international moves).

For respondents whose last migration involved employment in Eastern countries, the level of unexplained or residual variance remained at a level of less than 70%.

Table 10.4 a Results Restricting For Last Location  
Country - Australia/Canada/New Zealand/South  
Africa

variable

age 9.1%  
channel type 7.2%

residual/unexplained variance 83.7%

summary of predicted values

age fixed 2.785

intra-company transfer	1.90
international recruitment agency	1.74
family and friends	1.57
newspaper and other media	1.51
themselves the channel	1.72
contacts in industry	2.86
other channels	1.38

Table 10.4 b Results Restricting For Last Location  
Country - USA

variable

channel type 13.6%  
occupational status 16.4%

residual/unexplained variance 70.0%

summary of predicted values

	manag/ admin.	prof.	other
intra-company transfer	2.04	1.29	1.27
international recruitment agency	1.23	1.07	1.06
family and friends	1.15	1.04	1.04
newspaper and other media	3.10	1.60	1.55
themselves the channel	1.55	1.16	1.14
contacts in industry	3.50	1.71	1.66
other channels	5.01	2.14	2.06

Table 10.4 c Results Restricting For Last Location  
Country - Europe/Scandanavia

variable

employment type 36.6%

residual/unexplained variance 63.4%

summary of predicated results

energy/water	2.67
mech/elect. engineering	1.13
other manufacturing	5.00
building/civil engineering	3.00
banking/financial services	1.33
health/education/other services	1.56
other employment	1.67

Table 10.4 d Results Restricting For Last Location  
Country - Middle East

variable

age 19.6%

residual/unexplained variance 80.4%

summary of predicted values

15-24 years	1.66
25-34 years	1.95
35-44 years	2.37
45-54 years	2.97
55-59/64 years	3.84
60/65+ years	5.10

Table 10.4 e Results Restricting For Last Location  
Country - East

variable

channel type 30.4%  
residual/unexplained variance 69.6%

summary of predicted values

intra-company transfer	3.09
international recruitment agency	3.00
family and friends	3.75
newspaper and other media	1.00
themselves the channel	4.00
contacts in industry	2.25
other channels	1.17

The variable offering the greatest explanation in this case was the type of channel through which the international migration had occurred (30.4%). A variety of channel types revealed predicted values for international movement at high levels - themselves the channel (4.00 moves), family and friends (3.75 moves), intra-company transfer (3.09) and international recruitment agencies (3.00).

The model restricted for respondents indicating the USA as their last destination (Table 10.4 b) achieved a level of explanatory power of approximately 30% with the inclusion of channel type and job status variables. Predicted values in this case indicated managerial/administrative level employees of all industrial categories to have a greater tendency toward international migration, particularly when involved with 'other' (5.01 moves), contacts in industry (3.50) or newspaper and media (3.10) channels.

Table 10.4 f Results Restricting For Last Location  
Country - Scotland

variable

age 10.5%  
employment type 12.9%  
channel type 9.1%

residual/unexplained variance 67.5%

summary of predicted values

	age fixed 3.024						
	Company transfer	Int.rec. agency	Family/ friends	News/ media	Thems- elves	Contacts	Other
energy/water	2.14	1.90	2.70	5.47	2.47	4.20	2.16
mech/elect.	1.41	1.33	1.62	2.62	1.53	2.16	1.42
engineering							
other manufacturing	1.28	1.22	1.42	2.11	1.37	1.79	1.29
building/civil	1.39	1.31	1.59	2.54	1.51	2.10	1.40
engineering							
banking/financial	1.98	1.77	2.46	4.83	2.26	3.74	1.99
services							
health/education/	1.33	1.26	1.49	2.29	1.43	1.92	1.33
other services							
other employment	1.94	1.74	2.40	4.67	2.21	3.62	1.95



The two other models by country of last destination, for the Middle Eastern region and the countries of Australia/Canada/N.Zealand/S.Africa, proved to have less explanatory power (although the results were still significant). Variation in the number of moves by respondents involved with Middle Eastern countries was explained mainly by age (Table 10.4 d). In the case of Table 10.4 a (Australia/Canada/N.Zealand/S.Africa), both age and channel type were indicated as of importance, with international movement through contacts in industry (2.86 moves) and intra-company transfers (1.90) having the highest predicted values.

#### **10.4 Conclusions**

The modelling procedures undertaken proved to be very useful and informative. The overall model produced was of a relatively complicated nature and with a generally low level of explanatory power for reasons which have been discussed.

While age of respondent, type of employment, country of last destination, occupational status and channel type variables each had relatively low levels of explanatory power in the overall model, the level of explanation offered by certain of these variables was much increased during the partial or restricted modelling which followed. The three most important variables in the overall model (age, job type and country) were separated into their component levels or categories with resultant increases in the power and goodness of fit of the models.

It was a significant feature of the overall model that channel type was included as statistically significant and an important explanatory variable. Inclusion of channel type in this way substantiates the view that a channels framework is helpful in the study of skilled international migration. As with the other variables, channel type when included as an explanatory term in the partial or restricted models was responsible for a much increased proportion of the deviance.

With special reference to channelling mechanisms, the models showed that the greatest number of international moves were in channels which had received little previous research attention. The predicted values from the models were generally highest for the contacts in industry channel. Lower but still important levels of movement were recorded for intra-company transfers and international recruitment agency channels. Thus, while the most studied channels may account for the greatest numbers of international migrants, certain other mechanisms may be important in channelling those who move most frequently.

## Chapter 11    Motivations For International Migration

### 11.1 Introduction

It may appear, at first, that questioning an individual with regard to why they have undertaken an international migration would be relatively straight forward. This is however not the case, with explanation of motivations for international migration conceptualized in many different ways. Neo-classical theories of migration explain movement in terms of a 'structurally oriented' approach (Böhning 1984). From this perspective international movements are often described in terms of individuals seeking to maximize their 'differential economic advantage'. When making migration decisions, "differences in net economic advantages, chiefly differences in wages, are the main causes of migration" (Hicks 1963, P76). The desire of an individual to move is explained as due to employment opportunities and/or higher wages in the destination area.

Models developed to explain and predict migration (mainly internal migration) were grounded on the assumption that the economic motive was the dominant stimulus to relocation (Blanco 1963, Goodrich 1936). Such models, based upon 'objectively' measurable characteristics of origin and destination regions, reflect regional differences in economic conditions such as employment opportunities, income levels or costs of living (Greenwood 1968, Sjaastad 1960).

Explanation of the desire for migration, has been sought not only at the macro-level of aggregated migration decisions but also at the micro-level in relation to individual migration behaviour (Golledge 1980). Micro-scale 'behavioural' approaches included 'subjective' variables instead of, or in addition to, traditional 'economic' indicators (Cebula 1979, Desbarats 1983, Fuller and Chapman 1974, Lloyd 1976, Wolpert 1965, Zodgekar 1990). Most recently (from a managerial perspective) explanation of motivation for international migration has been extended to include the concept of movement for career purposes (Salt 1984).

In order to explore these and other ideas relating to motivations, respondents were asked to indicate their views on a number of motivational questions relating to their international migration experience. Choices of motivation were listed, and to try to gain a fuller appreciation of the many determinants of migration, respondents were asked to specify any other motives (not listed) of importance to their decision to move. The list given contained a wide variety of economic, family, employment, career and behavioural motivations. No limit to the number of motivations which could be used to describe an international move was set. Authors of previous behavioural studies of internal migration have expressed concern with distinguishing between 'reasons for leaving' and reasons for choosing a particular destination, or, between 'primary' and 'secondary'

considerations (Halfacree 1990, Roseman and Williams 1980). However in this analysis, respondents were asked to indicate all important motives, and not asked to place in rank order the importance of the motives chosen.

There are of course problems associated with the collection of such motivational information, and with the retrospective nature of the questions asked. The decision to migrate is a complex one, with many issues of importance.

"The feelings associated with migration are usually complicated...the decision is typically very difficult to make...usually involving mixed emotions. Migration tends to expose one's personality.... express one's loyalties, and to reveal one's values and attachments (often previously hidden). It is a statement of one's worldview...a very cultural event" Fielding (1991).

With such complicated qualitative or 'soft' information it is very difficult to include in a list the multiplicity of issues and reasons which may be important in deciding whether to move or not, and where to move. The motivations of respondents which result in an international move may be encompassed in a small number of (or indeed one of) those listed. However, in order not to prejudice the data by compelling individuals to indicate a specified number of motivations, respondents to the researcher's survey were left free to describe the full complexity of the important issues which were of concern to them during their migration decision. For many individuals, the migration decision is taken after consideration of a number of interrelated issues of equal

relevance at that specific time. These related issues often cannot subsequently be assigned a precise measure or rank of importance.

A further matter for concern is the tendency of respondents to any questionnaire (not only with migration information) to try to give what they believe to be the 'right' answers. Individuals thus prejudice their answers by considering what they believe the researcher expects. This may be because the descriptions or reasons of greatest importance in accounting for their behaviour do not appear on the list provided, and because respondents wish to 'fit' within the research framework they may therefore be unwilling to specify their own reasons. It is also true that individuals may not have previously analysed or articulated the reasons for their actions, or may be reluctant to do so, and hence may simply 'tick' certain responses without any real thought being given to the matter.

The retrospective nature of motivational or attitudinal questions are an issue which would imply that some caution is required in interpretation of the results. To answer such questions respondents must rely on memory. There is much documented concern over the use of questionnaire methods, where a considerable length of time (years, months or weeks) has elapsed since the decisions being investigated were taken. During this period, many changes or alterations will have occurred in the migrant's 'life', and it may be difficult for an individual to truly

remember issues of importance in the past. The intervening period results in a degree of reconstruction and re-evaluation of the issues (Schuessler 1982, Silverman 1985, Smith 1975). However, problems of the timing of questioning/interviewing of individuals is a feature of much research in the social sciences. It is an issue which in many cases cannot be practically resolved, and so this form of retrospective questioning of the individual must be used.

The 'best' research methodology for obtaining details of motivations would be personal interviews with the respondents during or proximate to the time when the migration decision was taken. This interview method would allow for better understanding of why the migration occurred, with investigation of all important motivations (which may not be revealed through a later questionnaire) and details of the individuals 'situation' (economic, personal, employment, family, etc) at the time of deciding to move. Such a research methodology is desirable but impractical in the case of obtaining information regarding skilled international migration.

The migration motivations of immigrants to Scotland were examined, with a list of varied motivations to choose from - covering both 'negative' and 'positive' reasons for the move. Similarly, UK migrants living and working in Scotland were asked to indicate their most important motivations for return.

The question asked relating to first and last move motivations was intended to generate information regarding reasons for undertaking the initial and the most recent international emigration from the origin country. This information was obtained with a view to identifying any changes in emigrant motivations which might have occurred over time. There was, however, some uncertainty regarding the interpretation of this question by the respondents. It is believed that certain respondents may have indicated the motivations for their most recent international move (e.g. a return home) instead of reasons for last emigration from their origin country. Thus, the information must be treated with caution.

During analysis of the results there were certain important issues which were considered. For example, did individuals really choose to undertake international migration, or were they in some way 'chosen' for such a move? The individual's perceptions of why he/she had moved may not therefore necessarily represent all underlying forces. Other questions investigated included : "Do motivations vary between the different channel types, by age group, employment details, countries of destination and origin?" " What explanations can be offered for variations in motivation?" " How do these motivations relate to wider behavioural, economic, social and political considerations?"



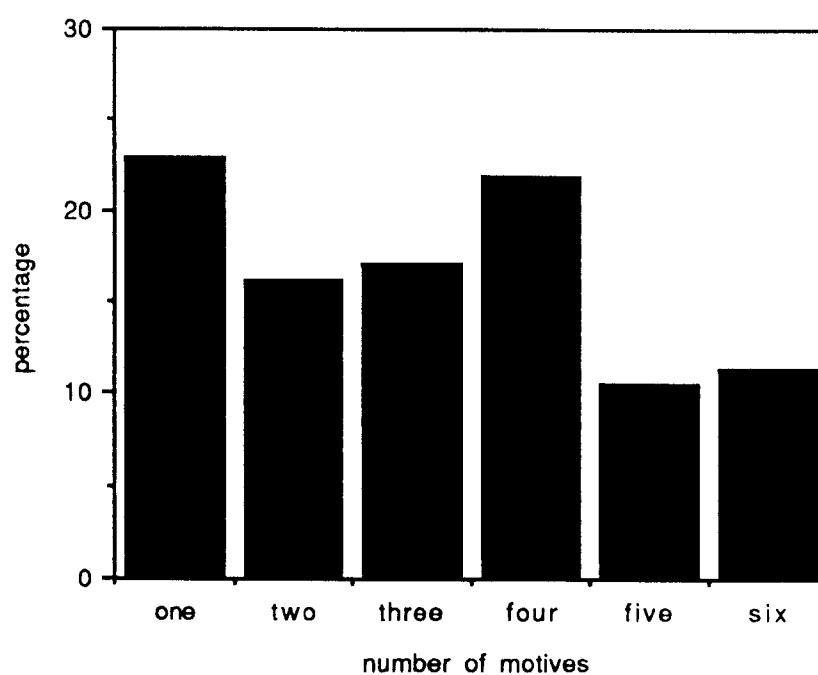
## 11.2 Motivations For International Moves to Scotland

### 11.2.1 Motivations for Immigration to Scotland

Figure 11.1 shows the number of reasons given for migration by those in the survey who were immigrants to Scotland. Immigrants seemed to describe a complex mix of motivations for their movement. More than 20% of respondents gave five or more reasons for their migration behaviour.

Table 11.1 lists each motive in turn. 'Transfer by employer' was the most frequent response (19.9%), closely followed by issues of 'career development' (18.4%). 'Gaining experience' (15.4%) and a 'desire to travel' (15.1%) were also significant. The importance of the 'transfer by employer' motivation was indicative of the significance of multinational and trans-national employers for many immigrants, and implied that many intra-company transfers had occurred.

The "circular" nature of the respondents' reasoning is therefore evident in this aspect of the questionnaire analysis. It would appear that, to some extent at least, respondents were giving their means of migration as a partial explanation of their motive for movement. This interplay of "actor" and "context" is of course a real one, but its analysis for the social scientist is problematic.



**Figure 11.1 Immigrant Motivations : Number of motives listed by respondents**

Table 11.1 Immigrant Motivations

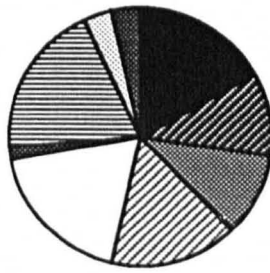
	%
transfer by employer	19.9
better job	10.9
higher wages	8.5
desire to travel	15.1
to gain experience	15.4
for training	1.8
career development	18.4
political reasons	0.3
armed forces	0.3
family reasons	4.8
other motives	4.5

The age of respondents was, not surprisingly, found to relate to motivations (Figure 11.2). With increased age, 'transfer by employer', and 'family reasons' were listed more often, while desire to travel, the search for wider experience and career development were of reduced importance.

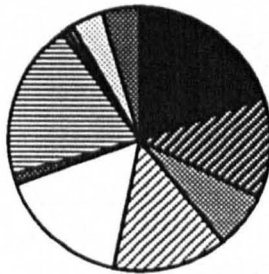
Because of the dominance of immigration from the USA relative to all other origins, the importance of energy/water employment, and because of the significance of intra-company transfers, meaningful cross-tabulations of motivations against origin country, employment type and channel type were not possible.

Cross-tabulations by employment status were, however, interesting and showed marked associations (Figure 11.3). 'Desire to travel', 'to gain experience', 'family reasons' and 'other' motivations were all of greater importance for professional persons than for those in managerial/administrative jobs. Inversely, 'transfer by employer',

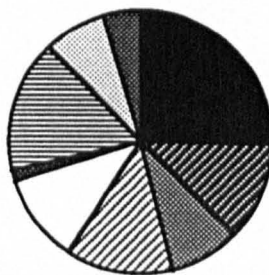
Figure 11.2 Immigrant Motivations by Age



25-34 years

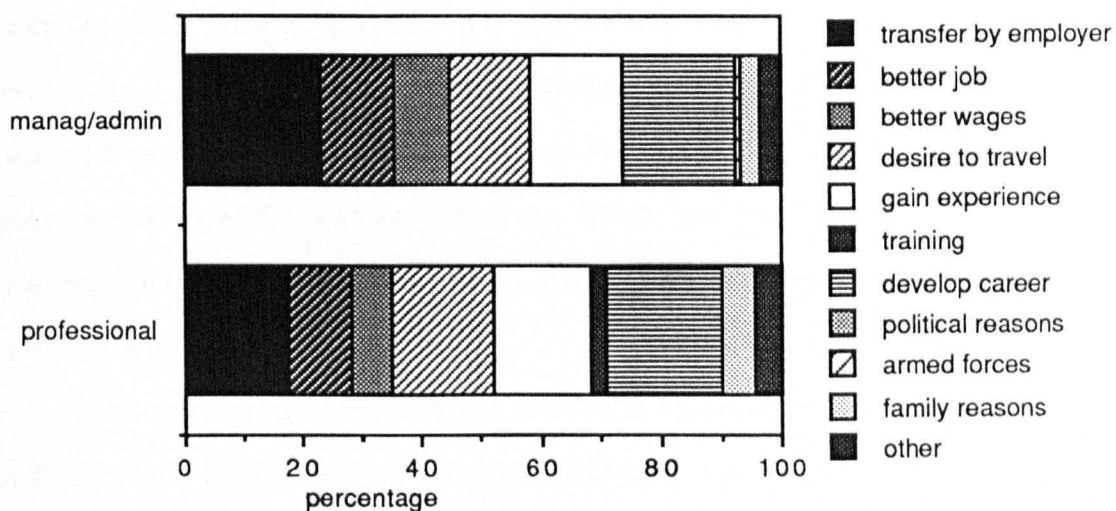


35-44 years



45-54 years

- transfer by employer
- ▨ better job
- ▩ better wages
- ▧ desire to travel
- gain experience
- for training
- ▨ develop career
- ▩ political reasons
- ▧ armed forces
- ▨ family reasons
- other



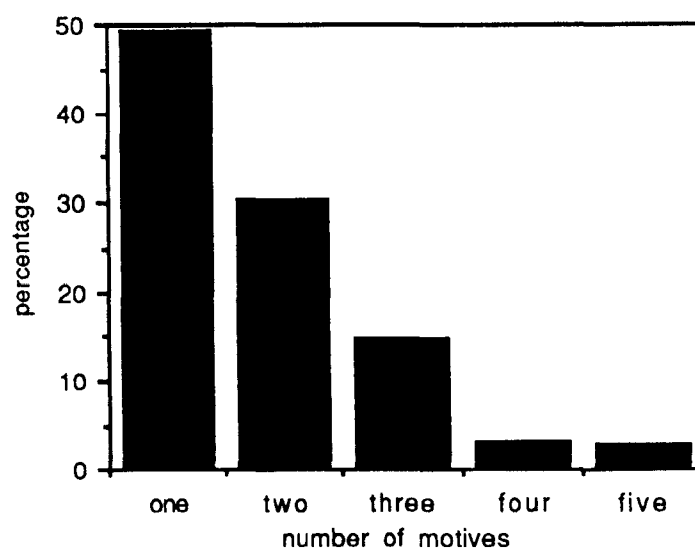
**Figure 11.3 Immigrant motivations by occupational status**

'better job' and 'higher wages' were of increased significance for managers.

#### 11.2.2 Motivations for Return Migration

The number of reasons given for returning to Scotland is plotted in Figure 11.4. By far the majority of returning migrants (approximately 50%) indicated only one motivation, with decreasing proportions of respondents explaining their return in terms of larger numbers of motives. While the maximum number of return motivations was five, the data would suggest that for most return migrants the decision to come back to Scotland was a relatively simple one, with only one or two issues of critical concern.

Summarized details of return migration motivations (Table 11.2) present an interesting picture of the reasoning and perceptions of these individuals. 'Family reasons' were listed most often in explaining return migration. Other responses accounting for 10% or more of the total included 'transfer by employer' (15.7%), 'career development' (15.2%), 'end of contract abroad' (14.7%) and 'other motives' (11.6%). The most commonly specified of these 'other' motives were "the better quality of life in Scotland", "political problems in the destination country" (most especially in the case of South Africa), "a desire to bring up children in Scotland", and "better education in Scotland". Many respondents expressed the importance of less tangible positive aspects of living in Scotland.



**Figure 11.4 Motivations For Return : Number of motives listed by respondents**

Table 11.2 Return Motivations

	%
end of contract abroad	14.7
retirement	7.0
transfer by employer	15.7
family reasons	25.6
no desire to work abroad	2.2
better job in Scotland	6.5
career development	15.2
better wages in Scotland	1.5
other motives	11.6

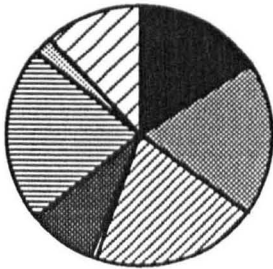
Not surprisingly age and motivation for return migration were related (Figure 11.5). Thus the 'retirement' motive for return was of greatest concern for the older age group, while 'career development' and 'transfer by employer' motivations decreased dramatically in importance with increased age.

Figure 11.6 reveals great variation in the importance of the return motivations within and between employment types. For example, 'transfer by employer' was of much greater importance in explaining the return of energy/water employees (35.4%), than for those in mechanical/electrical engineering industries, where one might have anticipated that intra-company transfers by MNC's would have been at least as critical.

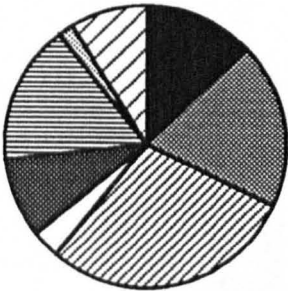
Return home due to 'family reasons' was of great significance for those in hotel/catering, health/education and other services, banking/financial services and building/civil engineering. This may in part reflect contract type, with 'bachelor only' status being common



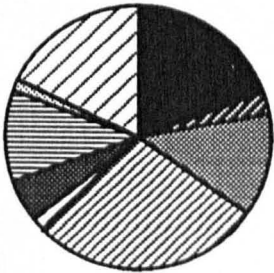
Figure 11.5 Return Motivations by Age



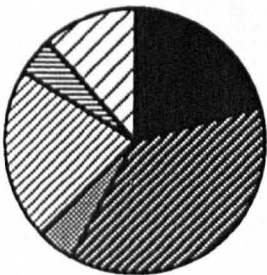
25-34 years



35-44 years



45-54 years



55-59/64 years

- end contract abroad
- ▨ retirement
- ▩ transfer by employer
- ▧ family reasons
- no desire work abroad
- better job
- ▤ develop career
- ▦ better wages
- ▧ other

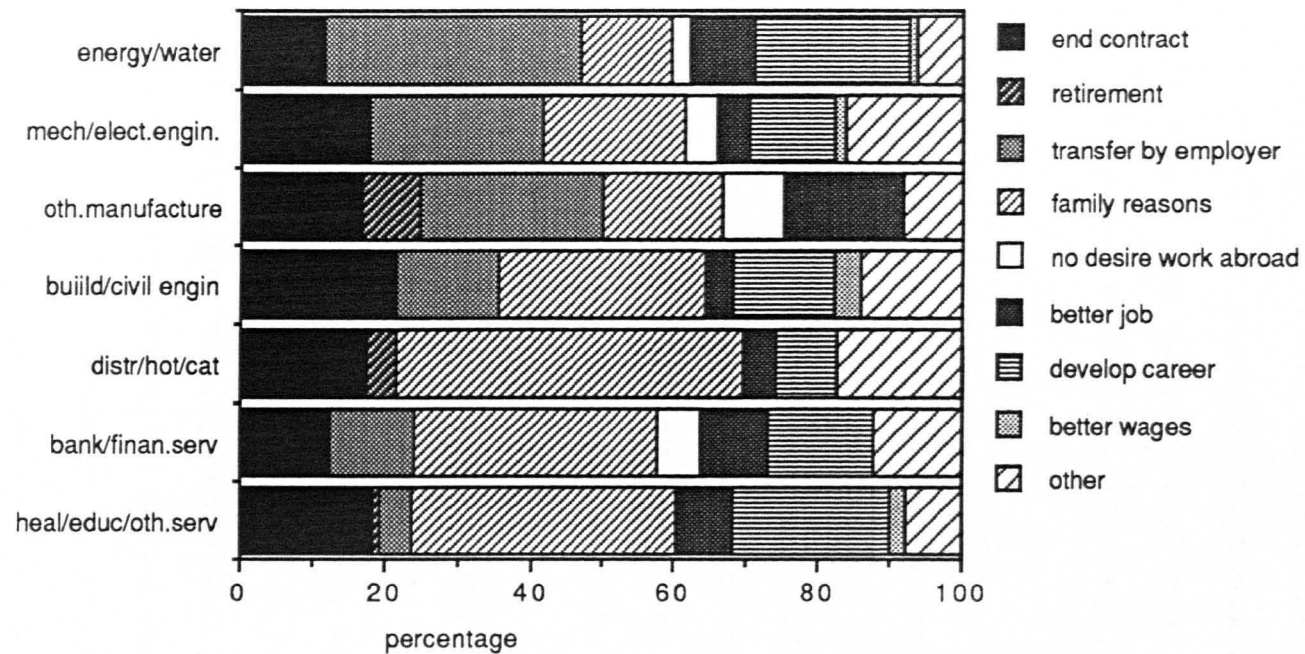


Figure 11.6 Return motivations by employment type

in these activities. The fixed term nature of employment contracts is evident for building/civil engineering jobs.

The survey appeared to suggest that there were clear differences in the reasons for return migration relative to country of last employment. For example, 'family reasons' were indicated as the main cause of return migration by respondents returning from Australia, and Canada/N.Zealand/S.Africa. Return migration from other countries was not dominated to anything like this same extent by any one motivation (Figure 11.7).

Associations between return migration motives and channels were evident (Figure 11.8), and reflected the 'circular' nature of the respondents reasoning. For example, family reasons were indicated as a motive for return by 44.4% of those who were themselves the channel for international movement, and by 35.9% of those who had made their initial move via family and friends.

Associations between employment status and return migration behaviour were similar to that described for immigrants to Scotland.

### 11.2.3 Summary

In summary, the differences in motivation for movement to Scotland (immigration and return migration) have revealed interesting features of the effects of context and process upon the reasoning of the migrants. The immigrant motivations may perhaps be described as more 'international' in nature than those of return migrants,

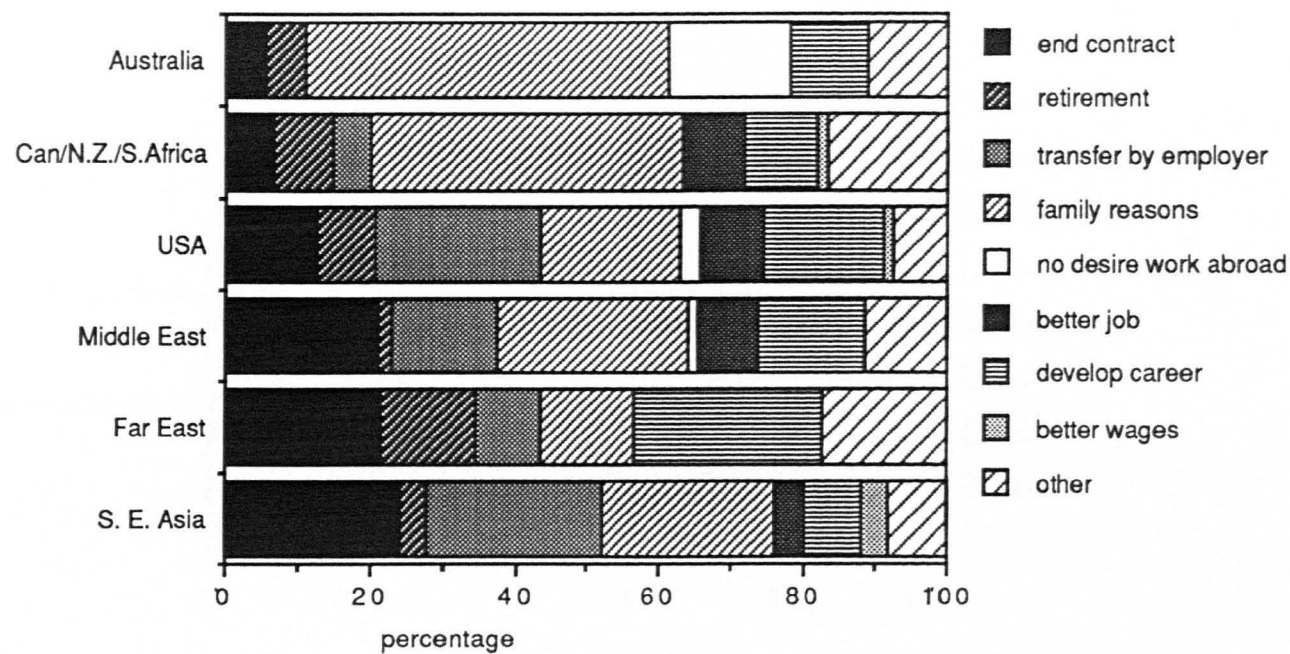


Figure 11.7 Return motivations by country of last employment

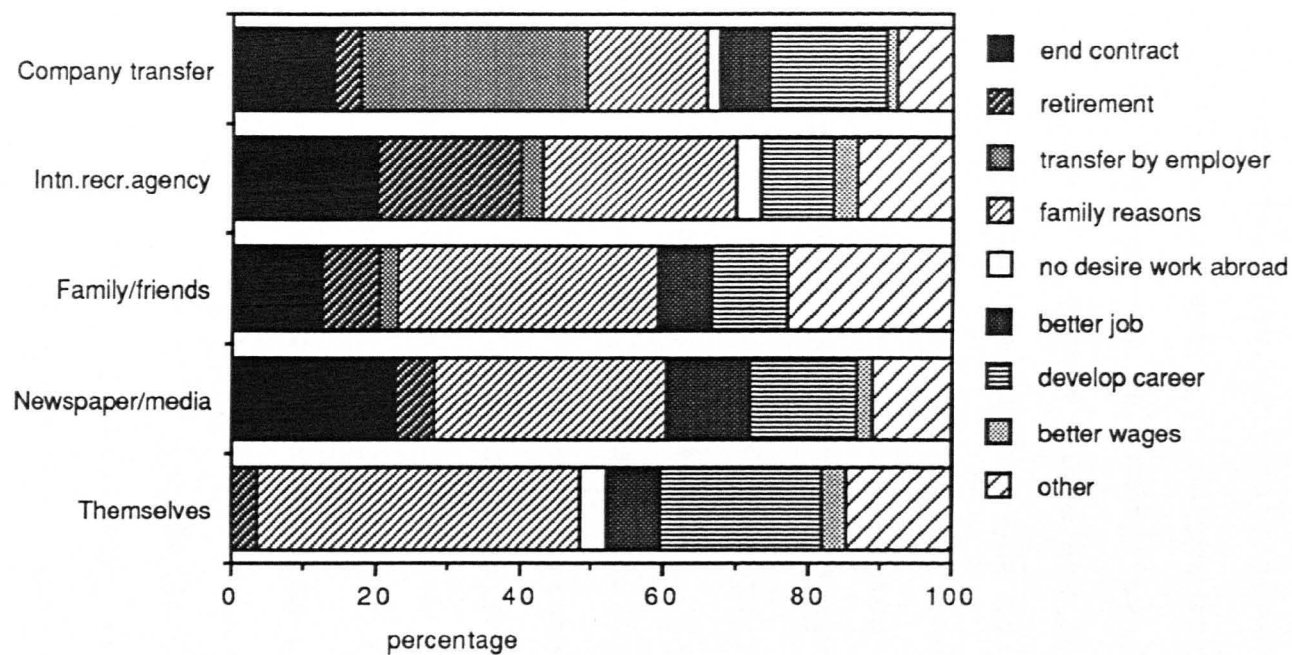


Figure 11.8 Return motivations by channel of international movement

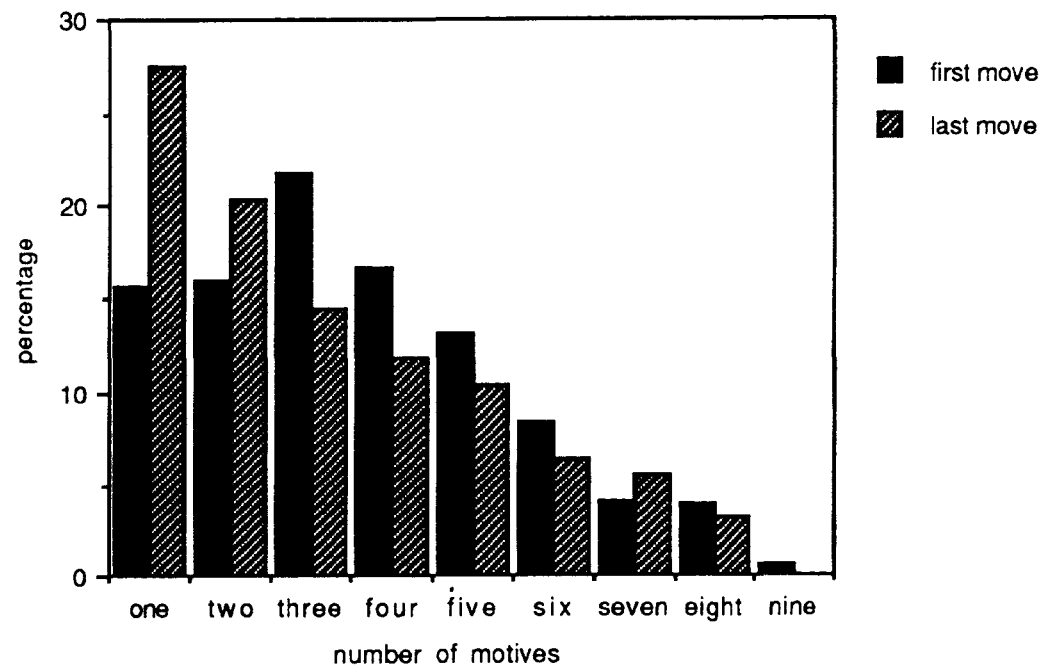
with less reference by immigrants to any 'Scottish' dimension to their visit (e.g. quality of life in Scotland, desire to visit the country). This may be due to the context of and processes affecting much immigration to Scotland (predominantly MNC employees, from a limited number of overseas locations, involved with specific types and status of employment).

The supply of labour from Scotland (and subsequent return) displayed much greater involvement with a variety of channels, employment types, destinations etc. The motives given for return migration were of a 'simpler' nature than for immigration, and revealed the importance of a positive Scottish dimension. Explanation of return home was similarly characterized by the interaction effects of 'actor', international labour market context and international migration process.

### **11.3 Motivations For First and Last International Moves**

#### **11.3.1 Number of Motivations Indicated**

Prior to considering the motivational responses indicated for first and last moves, attention is focussed on the question of how many reasons for international migration were given (Figure 11.9). Overall, relatively few respondents identified only one essential reason for either their first or last international move. In the case of first move, approximately 85% of respondents gave more than one reason for migrating. Most people indicated two, three or four reasons, while some listed as many as nine. The high proportion of respondents indicating more than



**Figure 11.9 Motivations For International Migration :**  
**Number of motives listed for first/last moves**

one motive for moving corresponds with many previous internal migration studies (Clark 1986, Halfacree 1990, Johnson and Salt 1990, Roseman and Williams 1980).

The number of reasons given in explanation of people's last international move was somewhat different. Compared with first move, there were many more who offered only one reason. This suggests that while initial international emigration was undertaken for a complicated variety of interrelated reasons, later moves reflect a very different type of behaviour. Decision making for later moves often reflects only one essential reason for movement.

Motivations for first and last migrations are summarized in Table 11.3a. The motive of greatest importance for the first move was 'career development' (17.0%), with 'desire to travel' (16.8%) a close second. The motives of gaining wider experience and 'higher wages' each accounted for a further 10% or more of first move motivations.

Regarding reasons for people's last international move, again considerations of 'career development' (16.4%) were indicated most frequently, but only one other motivation accounted for 10% or more of responses : 'transfer by employer' (11.3%). It appears therefore that the last move motivations were less 'clustered' around any particular response, but that the migrant's motivation was moderately simple by contrast with initial moves.



Table 11.3 Motivations for First and Last International Moves

a)	% first move	% last move
better job	8.4	9.0
higher wages	11.2	9.5
career development	17.0	16.4
family reasons	3.6	8.5
unable to get job in origin country	1.4	1.8
desire to travel	16.8	8.0
transfer by employer	7.9	11.3
to gain experience	13.8	7.9
only way to get a job	0.6	0.8
better use of skills/experience	4.3	8.2
job responsibility	7.1	9.4
dissatisfaction with previous job	4.6	3.9
other motives	3.1	5.3

$R_c$  calculated = 0.648

$R_c$  tabulated = 0.506 (95% confidence level)

b)

1st move	ranked motivations	last move
1	career development	1
2	desire to travel	8
3	to gain experience	9
4	higher wages	3
5	better job	5
6	transfer by employer	2
7	job responsibility	4
8	dissatisfaction previous job	11
9	better use of skills/experience	7
10	family reasons	6
11	other motives	10
12	unable get job in origin country	12
13	only way to get job	13

As with first motives, it would appear that a 'negative' job situation in the origin countries was, overall, not an important issue - with 'only way to get a job' (0.8%) and 'unable to find job in origin country' (1.8%) being mentioned by very few respondents.

It was decided to use the Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient to check the degree of similarity in the motivations for first and last migration. This was an unusual use of this test since normally it is used to test for the significance of association. In this case, it was used with the explicit purpose of discovering the weakness of association (ie. the inverse of the usual application).

In comparing first and last motivations a correlation coefficient of 0.648 was achieved (Rs tabulated at 95% confidence level : 0.506), suggesting a relatively high degree of correlation between these two sets of motivational information.

The information presented would lead one to the conclusion that although over time international migrants become more single minded in their reasons for moving, the underlying motivation pattern remains largely unchanged. It should be noted, however, that the correlation coefficient suggests that a one to one relationship does not exist. This is self evident from comparison of the ranks in Table 11.3b.

### **11.3.2 Differences in Motivations for Migrant Types**

Given the general conclusions stated above it remains interesting to examine whether the same relationships hold

true for sub-groups within the population. In order to ascertain the level of dissimilarity in motivations between the migrant types, the Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient value was calculated for each group (Table 11.4a).

It was noted that the highest measure of similarity of motivation was calculated for USA immigrants to Scotland (0.932), while the lowest correlation coefficient existed for UK return migrants (0.471). Indeed for the latter group the rank correlation was not statistically significant, suggesting important changes through time for this group in their motivations.

The figures indicated in Table 11.4b relate to the ranked importance of each motivation by migrant type at first move (left hand column) and last move (right column). Only those motives ranked 1-5 at first or last move are included (as in all subsequent tables). However, ranked values above 5 are included where necessary (for example, motive ranked 1 at first move but rank 9 at last move, and visa versa).

Of greatest overall importance for USA immigrants was 'career development' and 'transfer by employer' motivations. Explanation of the importance of the 'transfer by employer' motivation relates to previous discussion on the importance of certain employment types (energy/water) and intra-company transfers for the international movement of these respondents. This 'transfer by employer' motive was also ranked as the most

Table 11.4 Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient For  
First/Last Move Motivations By Migrant Type

a) Migrant Type

UK emigrants	$R_s = 0.635$	significant 95%
Foreign emigrants	$R_s = 0.766$	significant 99%
UK return migrants	$R_s = 0.471$	not significant
USA immigrants	$R_s = 0.932$	significant 99%
Other foreign immigrants	$R_s = 0.570$	significant 95%

b)

<u>first move</u>	<u>top 5 ranked motives</u>	<u>last move</u>
UK emigrants		
1	desire to travel	6
2	career development	1
3	higher wages	2
4	to gain experience	9
5	better job	5
8	better use of skills	3
7	job responsibility	3
Foreign emigrants		
1	career development	1
2	desire to travel	9
3	to gain experience	4
4	transfer by employer	2
5	job responsibility	3
9	better job	5
8	family reasons	5
UK return migrants		
1	desire to travel	9
2	to gain experience	6
3	career development	1
4	higher wages	6
5	better job	4
5	transfer by employer	3
11	family reasons	2
7	job responsibility	5

Table 11.4 b) continued

USA immigrants

1	career development	2
2	transfer by employer	1
2	to gain experience	4
4	desire to travel	3
5	job responsibility	6
6	higher wages	5

Other foreign immigrants

1	desire to travel	3
2	career development	3
3	to gain experience	2
4	higher wages	3
5	family reasons	7
7	transfer by employer	1
10	job responsibility	3

important reason for the last move of other foreign migrants. Among UK return migrants, while it was true that 'transfer by employer' was of increased importance relative to first move, it was ranked at a lower level than for the two immigrant types discussed above.

Among emigrants from Scotland (living abroad at the time of completing the questionnaire), 'career development' was the single most important factor. The main difference between the UK and other emigrant groups was that 'transfer by employer' was ranked of second importance for foreign emigrants, while it was not a motivation mentioned as of any great significance by UK emigrants. Similarly, while 'higher wages' featured as the motivation of second rank for UK emigrants at last move, this was not mentioned as of importance for foreign emigrants.

Difficulties in applying the Spearman's rank correlation coefficient (e.g. the problem of multiple tied ranks) made it impossible to extend the subsequent analysis to all migrant sub-types. Instead it was decided to amalgamate the data set, identifying aspects of the specific motivational behaviour of migrant sub-types (UK emigrant and UK return migrants) where possible. This may have caused some 'blurring' of the differences, but allowed for further examination of the effects of other variables upon changing motivation from first to last moves.

### 11.3.3 Number of International Moves

Respondents who had made 2 or 3 international moves were compared with those with experience of 4 or more (Table 11.5a). The results of the Spearman's rank calculations indicate a much higher degree of similarity between first and last move motivations amongst those who had made only two or three moves (0.911) than for respondents with greater migration experience (0.509).

This pattern of correlation was mirrored in first and last move motivations of UK return respondents, with decreasing levels of symmetry of motivation noted for those with the highest levels of international experience. UK emigrant respondents, however, indicated much greater similarity in motivation for first and last move - little affected by level of international experience.

Explanation of this may relate to the nature of the move described as 'last' by these return migrants. As

Table 11.5 Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient For  
First/Last Move Motivations By Number of  
International Moves

a) Number of International Moves - All Respondents

two or three  $R_s = 0.911$  significant 99%

four or more  $R_s = 0.509$  significant 95%

Number of International Moves - UK Respondents

UK EMIGRANTS

two or three  $R_s = 0.614$  significant 95%

four or more  $R_s = 0.639$  significant 95%

UK RETURN MIGRANTS

two or three  $R_s = 0.832$  significant 99%

four or more  $R_s = 0.346$  not significant

b)

top 5 ranked motives

first move

last move

UK EMIGRANTS

two or three moves

1	desire to travel	6
2	career development	1
3	higher wages	2
4	to gain experience	10
5	better job	3
9	job responsibility	4
8	better use of skills	5

four or more moves

1	desire to travel	7
2	career development	1
3	higher wages	2
4	better job	6
5	to gain experience	7
8	better use of skills	3
9	job responsibility	4
6	transfer by employer	4

Table 11.5b) continued

## UK RETURN MIGRANTS

<u>first move</u>		<u>last move</u>
two or three moves		
1	to gain experience	3
2	desire to travel	4
3	career development	1
4	higher wages	8
5	better job	2
9	family reasons	5
four or more moves		
1	desire to travel	9
2	to gain experience	10
2	career development	1
4	higher wages	4
5	better job	8
5	job responsibility	3
7	transfer by employer	2
12	family reasons	5

indicated previously, the motivations required from respondents were to relate to last emigration from origin country. However, it is believed that some UK return respondents may have indicated the motivations for last move as their motivations for return to Scotland.

However, this cannot be the only explanation for the pattern of motivations indicated. If this were the case then UK return respondents who had made only 2 or 3 moves would also be expected to display similar significant differences in first/last move motivations. While the changes in motivational rank between first and last move for two/three move respondents did follow a similar trend to four/more move return respondents, the changes were



much less marked. Thus, frequency of international move has had an important effect on the last move motivations indicated by respondents. Those with greatest migration frequency were more likely to indicate company transfer or family reasons for last move, with decreased significance given to desire to travel or to gain experience.

#### 11.3.4 Age of Respondents

Considering the influence of age upon migration motivations (Table 11.6a), it appeared that the similarity or degree of correlation between first and last move decreased with respondent's age (0.702 for 25-34 year olds, and only 0.311 for 55-59/64 year olds). Table 11.6c reveals that a similar pattern emerges when Rs values were calculated for UK emigrant and return migrant categories.

The motivation of greatest overall importance to all but the 55-59/64 age group was 'career development'. As one would anticipate desire to travel was of decreased importance as a last move motivation for all age groups. Equally unsurprising was to find that this was much less so for the younger 25-34 year cohort. 'Gaining experience' was also of generally decreased importance for migrants' last moves, with the largest reduction in rank for the older groups.

The greatest rank increases in significance between first and last international moves was in relation to transfer by employer and moves for family reasons. This was true for almost all age groups. Transfer by employer did not, however, feature in the top five ranked motives

Table 11.6 Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient For First/Last Move Motivations By Age

a) Age

24-34 years	$R_s = 0.702$	significant 95%
35-44 years	$R_s = 0.708$	significant 95%
45-54 years	$R_s = 0.456$	not significant
55-59/64 years	$R_s = 0.311$	not significant

b)

<u>first move</u>	<u>top 5 ranked motives</u>	<u>last move</u>
25-34 years		
1	desire to travel	3
2	career development	1
3	to gain experience	7
4	higher wages	5
5	better job	3
10	family reasons	2
35-44 years		
1	career development	1
2	desire to travel	9
3	to gain experience	4
4	higher wages	3
5	transfer by employer	2
10	family reasons	4
45-54 years		
1	career development	1
2	desire to travel	8
3	higher wages	5
4	to gain experience	10
5	better job	3
6	transfer by employer	1
6	job responsibility	3
55-59/64 years		
1	career development	3
2	higher wages	6
3	desire to travel	7
4	better job	7
5	gain experience	12
9	transfer by employer	1
6	job responsibility	2
11	family reasons	3
7	use of skills	5

Table 11.6 continued

c) Age

	UK emigrants $R_s$	UK return migrants $R_s$
15-34 years	0.824 signif 99%	0.583 signif 95%
35-44 years	0.619 signif 95%	0.465 not signif
45-54 years	0.542 signif 95%	0.656 signif 95%
55 years +	0.465 not signif	0.438 not signif

of the younger 25-34 years cohort. This and the importance of the 'desire to travel' motive for these respondents, perhaps indicated that they believed themselves to be more independent, and in charge of their migration decision than did older groups.

#### 11.3.5 Employment Type

The Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient was also calculated for different employment categories (Table 11.7). Once again this was only possible for the major employment types, because of the problem of tied ranks.

Employees in energy/water industries at the time of their first or last move displayed the highest level of stability in their migration motivations (0.902). Although other industrial sectors had lower correlations, even in the case of health/education and other service sector (the lowest  $R_s$  value) the correlation of motivations remained statistically significant and therefore suggested considerable stability. In view of the generally high

**Table 11.7 Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient For First/Last Move Motivations by Employment Type**

Employment Type

energy/water	$R_s = 0.902$ significant 99%
engineering/computing	$R_s = 0.687$ significant 95%
other manufacturing	$R_s = 0.857$ significant 99%
building/civil engineering	$R_s = 0.689$ significant 95%
banking/financial services	$R_s = 0.806$ significant 99%
health/education and other services	$R_s = 0.636$ significant 95%

level of the statistical correlation reported above, it is not necessary to evaluate patterns of motivation change.

#### 11.3.6 Destination Country Of International Migration

The same methodology was applied to the data set in relation to the country of destination indicated for first and last moves. In this case the correlation coefficients did show a much greater spread, suggesting that geographical factors do significantly affect the stability of migration motivations. Table 11.8a suggests that immigrants to Scotland have the most similarity in motivations between first and last moves (0.924). Amongst UK emigrants the destination region displaying the highest level of stability in motivations was the Middle East (0.797), closely followed by destinations in South East Asia (0.752). Those moving to Canada/N.Zealand/S.Africa displayed the least similarity (0.495).

Table 11.8b indicates that there have been only minor changes in the relative importance of the top five ranked motivations between immigrants to Scotland on their first

Table 11.8 Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient For  
First/Last Move Motivations By Destination

a) Country of Destination

Scotland	$R_s = 0.924$	significant 99%
Australia	$R_s = 0.693$	significant 95%
Canada/N.Zealand/S.Africa	$R_s = 0.495$	not significant
USA	$R_s = 0.647$	significant 95%
EEC	$R_s = 0.658$	significant 95%
Middle East	$R_s = 0.797$	significant 99%
South East Asia	$R_s = 0.752$	significant 99%

b)

<u>first move</u>	<u>top 5 ranked motives</u>	<u>last move</u>
Scotland		
1	career development	2
2	gain experience	3
3	desire to travel	5
4	transfer by employer	1
5	job responsibility	4
Australia		
1	desire to travel	4
2	higher wages	2
2	family reasons	7
4	to gain experience	9
4	career development	1
8	use of skills	3
7	other reasons	4
Canada/N.Zealand/S.Africa		
1	desire to travel	8
2	career development	2
3	to gain experience	10
4	higher wages	4
5	better job	5
7	family reasons	1
8	other reasons	3

Table 11.8b) continued

## USA

1	career development	1
2	desire to travel	8
3	to gain experience	5
4	transfer by employer	2
5	higher wages	9
10	family reasons	3
6	better job	4

## EEC

1	career development	1
2	desire to travel	6
3	to gain experience	8
4	higher wages	4
5	transfer by employer	2
7	job responsibility	3
7	use of skills	5

## Middle East

1	career development	1
2	desire to travel	6
3	higher wages	2
4	to gain experience	8
5	transfer by employer	6
7	job responsibility	3
6	better job	4
8	use of skills	4

## South East Asia

1	career development	3
2	desire to travel	4
3	higher wages	4
4	better job	6
4	transfer by employer	1
7	job responsibility	2

and last visit. The motivations listed were indicative of the involvement of multinational and transnational companies in skilled international migration to Scotland, the company transfer and career development motives evidence Salt's (1984, 1986b, 1988) managerial perspective of international migration. These individuals describe

employer or company 'control' of their international movement, especially as they undertake more international moves. Thus international moves within the internal labour market of large companies involved with certain sectors of the Scottish economy are not only the channel through which these international moves are undertaken, but such structural controls become a partial explanation of the motivations of these respondents. The effect of this company structure and process, and the expatriate management policies that are represented may be further evidenced from the other motivations indicated as of importance - career development, increased experience and responsibility within the company. The only migration motive of a 'personal' nature to be ranked among the top five motives for immigrants to Scotland was their desire to travel. This motive was of decreased importance throughout the international career of these respondents.

A similar increase in the importance of the company transfer motive was noted for UK emigrant moves to South East Asia, the E.E.C and USA. The relatively high levels of stability noted for these areas may be similarly descriptive of the 'controls' (structure and process) on the skilled international migration which has occurred.

The motivations for international movement to Canada/N.Zealand/S.Africa can be similarly understood in relation to 'actor', 'context' and 'process' relationship. The motivations indicated for first moves to these locations were, in large measure, related to those

indicated for other destinations (USA, Middle East, Australia, and E.E.C.), which would seem to indicate that the initial international migration motivations of skilled UK migrants to many countries were of a comparable nature. Those individuals who were subsequently involved with international migration to Canada/N.Zealand/S.Africa, however, indicated very different motives to first move to these locations, and to last moves to other locations.

For example, company transfer was not indicated as an important motivation, these migrants believing their movement to be out with the 'control' of employer and the processes that large MNC's represent. The channels employed in international movement to these locations were very different to those for skilled international migration to Scotland, or the USA etc. The channels of importance were those which had previously received little research attention (family and friends, newspaper and media, themselves the channel). For respondents involved with international movement to Canada/N.Zealand/S.Africa it would appear that the perception of 'control' of movement remains 'internal' to the individual, and is not dictated by process constraints such as employer demands etc. The use and re-use of these channels for more frequent international moves to these locations may explain the importance of motivations other than 'employer' and 'internal labour market controls'.



### 11.3.7 Occupational Status

In terms of occupational status, stability of motivations was greatest for respondents who were employed at managerial/administrative level at the time of their first and last move (Table 11.9a). Correlation values for the employment status groups for UK emigrants and return migrants displayed a somewhat different situation (Table 11.9c), with lowest status respondents achieving higher correlation values than for professional status.

Overall, while 'career development' was identified as of greatest importance for managerial/administrative and professional occupations (Table 11.9b), this was less so for the 'other' status group (ranked 4th and 3rd). Motivations of relatively increased importance among managerial/administrative and professional respondents being 'transfer by employer', 'increased job responsibility', 'better job' and 'higher wages'. This would appear to indicate that with higher employment status, individuals are more likely to interpret their migration moves as a function of their position in the labour force and acknowledge the role of employers in their international migration career.

### 11.3.8 Channel Type

In terms of channel type, the highest degree of stability between first and last move motivations existed for the intra-company transfer channel (0.898), with international recruitment agencies (0.837) and 'other' channels (0.842) also displaying high levels of similarity

Table 11.9 Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient For  
First/Last Move Motivations By Occupational  
Status

a) Occupational Status

managerial/administrative  $R_s = 0.843$  significant 99%

professional  $R_s = 0.705$  significant 95%

other  $R_s = 0.653$  significant 95%

b)

<u>first move</u>	<u>top 5 ranked motives</u>	<u>last move</u>
managerial/administrative		
1	career development	1
2	desire to travel	6
3	gain experience	6
4	transfer by employer	2
5	job responsibility	3
7	better job	4
6	higher wages	4
professional		
1	career development	1
2	desire to travel	9
3	to gain experience	3
4	higher wages	3
5	better job	3
5	transfer by employer	2
other		
1	desire to travel	4
2	to gain experience	8
3	higher wages	2
4	career development	3
5	better job	7
6	family reasons	1
8	use of skills	4
10	other motives	4

Table 11.9 c) continued

c)	UK emigrants $R_s$	UK return migrants $R^c$
managerial/ administrative	0.832 signif 99%	0.690 signif 95%
professional	0.547 signif 95%	0.568 signif 95%
other	0.671 signif 95%	0.661 signif 95%

(Table 11.10a). The lowest correlation values were for persons moving through family and friendship links (0.491) and the professional institutional channel (0.496). These channels proved to have no statistically significant associations between motivations for first and last moves.

The detailed reasons for migration varied by channel type, providing further evidence of the importance of understanding the functioning and modes of operation of these channels. For example, it is interesting to note that 'higher wages', while a relatively important feature of the decision for first migration moves in all channels, is actually of increased concern amongst last move motives for all channels except intra-company transfers and those moving through links established by family and friends. However, higher wages were not such an important motive for working abroad as previously evidenced for international recruitment agency channelled respondents (O.R.S 1984), where 76% of respondents indicated 'high salary' as a motivation which "pulled" them abroad. The

Table 11.10     Spearman's Rank Correlation Coefficient For  
First/Last Move Motivations By Channel Type

a) Channel Type

intra-company transfer      $R_s = 0.898$      significant 99%

international recruitment  
agency      $R_s = 0.837$      significant 99%

family and friends      $R_s = 0.491$      not significant

newspaper and other media      $R_s = 0.689$      significant 95%

themselves the channel      $R_s = 0.761$      significant 99%

contacts in industry      $R_s = 0.593$      significant 95%

professional institutional      $R_s = 0.496$      not significant

other channels      $R_s = 0.842$      significant 99%

b)

<u>first move</u>	<u>top 5 ranked motives</u>	<u>last move</u>
-------------------	-----------------------------	------------------

intra-company transfer

1	career development	2
2	transfer by employer	1
3	desire to travel	6
4	to gain experience	4
5	higher wages	7
6	job responsibility	3
7	better job	5

international recruitment agency

1	career development	1
2	desire to travel	2
3	higher wages	4
4	to gain experience	6
5	better job	2
8	better use of skills	4

family and friends

1	higher wages	4
2	to gain experience	10
2	desire to travel	8
4	career development	2
5	better job	3
6	family reasons	1
7	use of skills	4

Table 11.10 b) continued

newspaper and media

1	desire to travel	9
2	career development	1
3	higher wages	1
4	to gain experience	7
5	better job	3
9	family reasons	4
7	use of skills	4
8	job responsibility	4

themselves the channel

1	desire to travel	4
2	career development	1
3	to gain experience	6
4	family reasons	1
5	higher wages	4
9	use of skills	3

contacts in industry

1	desire to travel	7
2	to gain experience	5
3	career development	1
4	higher wages	3
5	better job	7
8	other reasons	2
6	job responsibility	4
7	use of skills	5

professional institutional

1	career development	1
2	desire to travel	6
3	to gain experience	9
4	better job	4
4	job responsibility	9
7	use of skills	2
6	higher wages	3
8	dissatisfaction with previous job	4

other channels

1	desire to travel	2
2	career development	1
3	higher wages	2
3	to gain experience	4
5	better job	8
7	family reasons	4

inclusion of 'dissatisfaction with previous job' as an important motive for the last move of professional institutional channelled respondents was of interest. This motive did not feature in any significant way in other analyses. It was perhaps indicative of the disillusionment and dissatisfaction of many individuals involved with the education and health services in the UK.

#### 11.3.9 Conclusions From Analysis of First/Last Move

##### Motivations

Consideration of the motivations for first and last international moves has been undertaken in this chapter to illustrate the changing importance of reasons for emigration. While in many cases the motives for the first and last moves were relatively similar, some significant differences have been revealed. Use of the Spearmans Rank Correlation Coefficient reinforced the view that there was general stability in peoples' motivations, but that changed perceptions of migration did occur for certain groups.

By way of conclusion it is therefore useful to synthesize the overall patterns which have emerged. The one motive indicated consistently and most frequently for almost all respondents was career development. The importance of this motive revealed by the survey therefore substantiates Salt's (1984) view of career path migration as a useful framework for analysis. However, many of the respondents to this survey were not involved with large companies, nor saw themselves as moving within a large

internal labour market or in a structured career development plan or 'ladder'. Nevertheless, for these individuals, the development of their career (in a less structured and planned way) was still an important reason for international migration. Ideas of the importance of 'career', and the mechanisms or paths which lead to development and general upward movement of a migrants' career are valid but constrained. Career operates as a motor to migration not only in the very structured situation within MNC's but also between the internal labour markets of different companies, and the regional and national labour markets of different countries.

The importance of 'career' motivations for international migration applies therefore to a wide variety of situations in relation to employment type, age, country of destination, migrant type and channel type.

The 'desire to travel' and 'to gain experience' were generally of decreased importance relative to a migrant's last international move. Of generally increased importance were factors such as 'transfer by employer' (for certain groups), 'family reasons' (for other groups), and issues relating to better quality work circumstances.

#### 11.4 Conclusions

In concluding this chapter there are two issues to be considered : whether respondents indicate their real reasons for international migration, and which factors are perceived to exercise a degree of control over the international migration experience. These two questions

are linked, and raise the issue of the interpretation of causal factors in behavioural research of this kind.

International migration is not a simple process which can be explained by asking why the move took place and arriving at a relatively straight forward list of reasons. To interpret the decision to move as being in any sense self-contained, discrete or objectively rational is to succumb to what Thrift (1986c) has termed the 'intellectual fallacy'. Promoting such a model of human agency requires that agency to be a

"cognitive drone....a string of internal programmes responding to an external environment....governed by some 'inner', on-board computer" (Thrift 1986c p87).

The discursive or constructionist model of human agency (Shotter 1984, 1985, Giddens 1984 'Theory of Structuration'), however, requires us to conceive of actions such as international migration within their context. In other words, any given action must be interpreted in relation to a multiplicity of other actions that the migrant is engaged in. All of these actions mesh together through everyday behaviour and are not the object of the reflective consciousness of those involved with them all of the time.

In this model of human agency, intentions are seen to motivate the accounts which people can give of their actions. These intentions should be seen as vague indeterminate "signposts" (Thrift 1986c) of action rather than as rigid determinants. The real reasons for international migration are, therefore, those that the



migrant perceives or admits to be of importance at the time of any particular international move.

A further issue for consideration was the degree of control of international migration which the respondent indicated - this can be examined through a consideration of whether the migrant thinks he/she has chosen to move or whether they interpret their move as a response to externally imposed pressures. This question is asked with the intention of identifying the perceived influence of 'structure' and 'process' upon migration decision. 'Control' (which implies involvement of some 'external' or 'underlying' force) was imperfectly articulated through 'signpost' motivations which described the employment context, the economic situation in the home region, contractual issues and state control (e.g. transfer by employer, unable to get job in origin country, only way to get a job, end of contract abroad, armed forces).

For example, transfer by employer was indicated by many respondents who perceived their means of international migration as a partial explanation for their move. These respondents perceived that some 'control' of their migration experience was attributable to the employer context. In this case, international movement for training or relating to career development may also indicate control because in certain instances (if career path migration ideas are accepted) individuals within large international companies are employed on the understanding that certain periods of training and career

development must be undertaken abroad. However, in this case control by the employer may not be overstated, as the individual has made the choice to undertake employment with such a company, indicating a willingness to move internationally. Indeed the individual may deliberately seek employment in such circumstances, the individual using the context of 'structure' and 'process' to facilitate their desire for international movement (although destination, living conditions, employment type - the specificity of the migration experience - will be constrained by employer).

The degree to which such motivations may be labelled 'control' is uncertain. Undoubtedly structure and process factors are of importance for the international moves and motivations of skilled personnel. The previous chapters have described the selectivity of the channelling mechanisms in "allowing" for the international migration of individuals with certain employment skills and experience, or certain age and gender characteristics, moving to certain destinations etc. But should channels perhaps be considered as an 'influence' on international migration motivations and perceptions, where decisions are constituted within the "whole hurly-burly" (Thrift 1986c p87)?

With regard to the analysis currently undertaken, the migration decision is constituted by the moulding influence of "actor" ('being'), "structure" ('constraining context') and "process" ('gatekeepers controlling access

to channel') interactions. The perceived importance of these moulding influences upon decisions, as revealed through motivation information presented in this chapter, varies greatly from one migrant to another and through space and time.

## Chapter 12 Career and Skilled International Migration

### 12.1 Introduction

Motivations for international migration indicated by the respondents (discussed in Chapter 11) outlined the complexity of reasons behind skilled moves. One feature that was identified from the discussion as being of very great importance was career development. This was a motivation for international migration among a majority of respondents. Clearly, consideration of the concepts of career and career development are of critical importance to an understanding and interpretation of the contemporary processes of skilled international migration.

The concept of 'career' is one which is difficult to define. One dictionary definition is that a career is "a course of professional life or employment, which affords opportunity for progress or advancement in the world" (Oxford English Dictionary 1961). Career is closely related with employment history, implying development of occupation usually in a generally 'upwards' or 'improving' direction. The term has been traditionally used in a class sense, referring to employment in the professional classes (hence middle class). Sociological studies have emphasized that the attitudes and behaviour of an individual to work are of significance in defining career (Hall and Hall 1976 p2). The sequence of job changes describing one's career must, according to Wilensky (1960 p554), have order - defining career as a "succession of

related jobs arranged in a hierarchy of prestige, through which persons move in an ordered, predictable sequence".

Problems with the meaning and definition of the concept of career were identified by Salt (1984 p641), who concluded that (despite definitional problems) such a concept "is valuable in helping to understand much labour migration". The career path could be identified as "the route taken by the employee through the sequence of jobs (tasks), occupations (collections of tasks), employers and locations" (Salt 1986b, p5). Thus, mobility between jobs resulted from either task or locational change, and occurred within an employing organization or in movement between organizations. Salt (1984, 1986b, 1988) hypothesized that during an individual's career, critical points would occur at which the propensity to move was increased and labour migration resulted. These critical points related to both the characteristics of the demand side of the migration system (e.g. available jobs, the organization of work by the employer), and the supply side (e.g. attitudes to work and employee behaviour). Thus, for Salt (1986b p6), "geographical migration patterns are....determined on the one hand by the location decisions of employing organizations and the spatial division of labour they favour, and on the other by a group of eligible people with degrees of skill and experience already acquired". These were described as the elements of a system driven by the "need for employers to fill vacancies with the right sort of skills, and by the

desire of employees for careers which present possibilities for promotion, job satisfaction and general improvement in lifestyle" (ibid).

A 'career path' or 'managerial' perspective of skilled international migration has been developed and discussed in relation to the international moves of individuals within the internal labour markets of large multinational and trans-national companies. Considerable research attention and literature relates to the international movement of these individuals and the integral development of their career (Eg. Beaverstock 1990, Dyer 1976, Guerrier and Philpot 1978, Hall and Hall 1976, Milkovich, Anderson and Greenhalgh 1976, McKay and Whitelaw 1977, Salt 1984, 1986b, 1988).

This study has shown that career development was a motivation of concern for a majority of international migrants. The career concept is important therefore in explaining the international migration of individuals as they proceed up a company career ladder, but this should be seen as only one category of 'career' movement. The overall migration situation is much more complex, and concern with career advancement should be recognized as an important migration motivation for those moving through much less rigid or structured channels (Eg. newspaper and other media channelled moves, those arranging international migration for themselves, etc).

Many of the ideas discussed with regard to career and labour migration by Salt (1984) are of relevance to all

skilled international migrants, and not only to those moving within an internal labour market. The way in which migration relates to career development will vary, however, from one migration channel to another. Out with the labour markets of large companies migrants experience a complex environment, where the career development of individuals is of a much less continuous or planned nature, and cannot be mapped within a bounded ILM or organizational framework.

In order to investigate issues of concern with regard to the concept of career and skilled international migration, respondents were asked an important group of questions under the heading 'career issues' - relating to the importance of career prospects for the individual, and the effects of working abroad on their career development. Answers to both of these questions were measured on an ordinal scale.

While all respondents indicated an answer to these questions, only skilled international migrants who were living in Scotland at the time of the survey (e.g. UK return migrants, USA and other foreign visiting immigrants) were asked to give some further detailed indication of the perceived effects of working abroad on their career development. This was due to constraints on the length of the questionnaires being sent abroad. This more detailed inquiry in to the ways in which the experience of working abroad was perceived to have helped or hindered in career development was much less structured

than other aspects of the questionnaire. The questions were open ended, and respondents were free to indicate any issues of importance to them.

Consideration must be given throughout the discussion of career to the interpretation of this term by the individual respondents. There is no overall consensus definition of career, its meaning being affected to a great degree by the attitudes and perceptions of the individual. However, such difficulties of definition and interpretation do not invalidate the importance of the concept - with career a commonly used term (in modern usage a less class restricted idea) described as including various employers/jobs/occupations held throughout one's working life, and with each successive change commonly resulting in promotion (changing job title), increased responsibility and/or prestige, greater job satisfaction, and often increased wages.

## 12.2 Importance of Career Prospects

Information obtained regarding career prospects (Table 12.1), indicated that for a great majority of respondents (74.8%) career was considered to be 'important' or 'very important'. The chi square test statistic was utilised as a means of comparing career prospects with a number of other variables. The null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) postulated that there was no statistically significant relationship between perceptions of career prospects and the other variables. The greater the calculated chi square value, the less likely that  $H_0$  is



Table 12.1 - Importance of Career Prospects

	% respondents
very important	35.5
important	39.3
some importance	15.9
minimal importance	4.3
not important	5.0

correct.

Comparison of the calculated chi square value ( $X^2$ ) with the critical value for this statistic (at the appropriate degrees of freedom) resulted in the rejection of many of the null hypotheses formulated (Table 12.2).

The most significant relationship (with by far the highest calculated  $X^2$  value) was identified for importance of career prospects and age of the respondent. Generally, the importance of career prospects decreased with increasing age. This relationship was not unexpected, with prospects for improving career naturally of greater importance at the earlier stages of one's working life, decreasing towards retirement. However, it should be noted that even in the older age categories (45-54 and 55+ years) career prospects were described as important or very important overall.

The statistical analysis splits employment type into two groups in relation to career prospects:-

- those where observed values were higher than expected (under  $H_0$ ) for the 'very important' and 'important' categories, and lower than expected for some/minimal/no importance descriptions (e.g. energy/water,

Table 12.2 - Chi Square Test Results : Career Prospects

	df	X <sup>2</sup>	
age of respondent	12	103.615	reject H <sub>0</sub> 0.999
job type	21	59.565	reject H <sub>0</sub> 0.999
employer type	9	37.747	reject H <sub>0</sub> 0.999
migrant type	16	33.042	reject H <sub>0</sub> 0.99
channel type	21	33.396	reject H <sub>0</sub> 0.95
job status	8	17.270	reject H <sub>0</sub> 0.95
no. international moves	8	12.517	accept H <sub>0</sub>
organizational structure of employer	9	10.157	accept H <sub>0</sub>

mechanical/electrical engineering, banking/financial services employment), and,

- a group which had the opposite pattern of observed and expected values, with lesser proportions than expected describing career prospects as 'very important' or 'important' (e.g. other manufacturing, hotel/catering, health/education and other services, building/civil engineering employment).

Explanation of the differences between employment types may perhaps be related to the domination of some employment categories by large MNC's, and hence by intra-company transfers resulting in structured career development plans. It may be that individuals with high career aspirations seek employment with these types of company because they appreciate the career development structure, and that career development may involve some

time working abroad. Other employment types may be predominantly involved with less structured channels, with no formal career development path, allowing for greater variation in the type of individual moving and hence rather different career aspirations.

Such explanation is further corroborated with regard to the relationship between career prospects and employer type. Detailed examination of the chi square information revealed that a significantly higher percentage of individuals employed by family and friends or other employers indicated little concern with career prospects. Conversely, few respondents employed by private companies indicated that career prospects were of little or no concern.

Regarding migrant type, both the UK return migrant and the USA emigrant groups contained higher levels of minimal/no importance responses than expected under H<sub>1</sub>. Respondents who indicated a low significance for career prospects were, however, under represented for UK emigrants and USA immigrants. Explanation can be linked to the nature of international migration described by these respondent groups. Generally UK emigrants (USA immigrants) were younger, at an earlier stage in their employment and migration careers, and hence career prospects were of greater importance than for the older UK return migrants or USA emigrants (frequently return migrants to the USA).

The relationships between career prospects and two other variables were accepted as statistically significant

with 95% confidence - channel type and job status. Considering channel type, intra-company transfer was the only channel where greater than expected numbers of respondents (under  $H_0$ ) indicated career prospects as very important, with significantly fewer respondents indicating some/minimal importance. This is perhaps a reflection of the recruitment and personnel management strategies of the large employers involved with this channelling mechanism. For example, if career development opportunities within the ILM are improved by international experience, then those who undertake international moves may be those who are most ambitious and for whom career is of greatest importance. Those company employees of less ambitious nature may not be involved in working overseas.

In almost all other channels (especially family and friends, newspaper and other media and contacts in industry) 'very important' and 'important' responses were under represented to some degree (in relation to levels expected under  $H_0$ ), while 'some', 'minimal' and 'no importance' descriptions were at higher levels. This indicated that while career concerns were of great significance to a majority of individuals involved with these 'other' or less researched channels, there also existed significant numbers for whom career prospects were of lesser importance, and whose motivations for international migration were more importantly linked with other factors.

For the highest status employees (managerial/administrative) it was true that observed responses were significantly greater for the highest level of importance of career concerns. However, significant numbers of managerial/administrative employees had indicated career prospects as of 'no importance'.

With regard to professional status respondents, most indicated career prospects as 'important', although a higher than expected proportion under H described career as of minimal importance. It was interesting to note that the lowest status group of employees did not contain significantly greater proportions of respondents indicating career prospects as of low importance.

Two other variables were compared with career prospects results but were not found to be statistically significant - number of international moves, and organizational structure of employer. Acceptance of the null hypothesis with regard to the organizational structure of the employer is of interest as it provides evidence of the importance of the concept of 'career' for all privately employed migrants, and not only for those working within companies with extensive spatial organizations.

### 12.3 Effect of International Migration Upon Career Development

Respondents were invited to indicate the overall effect of international migration upon their career development using an ordinal scale which allowed for

description of positive, neutral and negative effects (Table 12.3). A large majority, some 87% of respondents, believed that working abroad had resulted in positive effects (to a greater or lesser degree) upon their career development.

Table 12.3 - Effect on Career of International Migration

	% respondents
helped very much	50.0
helped to some extent	36.5
neither helped nor hindered	9.4
a hindrance	4.1

A more detailed analysis of the nature of the perceived effects of international migration upon careers was obtained with further use of the chi square statistical test. Considering the chi square values ( $\chi^2$ ) which resulted (Table 12.4), there were many fewer relationships which proved to be of a statistically significant nature (Ho rejected) than was found for information relating to career prospects.

The most significant relationship was found between the importance of career prospects to the individual and their response regarding the effect of working abroad upon their career development. Generally, the greater the importance placed upon career prospects, then the greater the perceived positive effect of international experience upon career development.

Table 12.4 - Chi Square Test Results : Effects of International Migration on Career Development

	df	X <sup>2</sup>		
perceived importance of career prospects	12	68.370	reject H <sub>0</sub>	0.999
job status	6	24.660	reject H <sub>0</sub>	0.999
no. international moves	6	24.391	reject H <sub>0</sub>	0.999
migrant type	12	23.451	reject H <sub>0</sub>	0.95
channel type	21	28.119	accept H <sub>0</sub>	
job type	21	29.626	accept H <sub>0</sub>	
age of respondent	9	15.791	accept H <sub>0</sub>	
employer type	9	9.564	accept H <sub>0</sub>	
organizational structure of employer	9	9.847	accept H <sub>0</sub>	

For two other variables, calculated X<sup>2</sup> values allowed for rejection of H<sub>0</sub> with 99.9% confidence - job status and number of international move characteristics. A large number of lower status employees indicated career development to have been 'neither helped nor hindered' by their international migration experience. Higher status managerial/administrative employees significantly indicated international migration effects on career development to have been very positive, although a slightly higher observed than expected (under H<sub>0</sub>) number of this group indicated international movement as 'a hindrance'.

Considering the international experience of the migrants, it was noted that while those who made the most

frequent international moves revealed that career development had been helped very much, there were also significant numbers indicating their considerable international experience as a hindrance to career development. This perhaps suggests that while some of the most frequent movers do not believe international migration to have had beneficial effects upon career, it is principally due to the negative career effects experienced that they keep moving (this is discussed more specifically in the following section regarding more detailed indications of career effects).

The null hypothesis describing no statistically significant relationship between migrant type and effect on career was rejected with 95% confidence. UK return migrants significantly described international movement as a hindrance to career development, while USA emigrants displayed the same pattern at a less significant level. Differences in effect on career for the different migrant types can again be attributed to the different migration systems each describes, moving at different stages in life cycle and through different channels, etc.

All other chi square tests calculated proved to describe relationships which were not statistically significant at a 95% confidence level. These 'negative' findings are of interest. For example, acceptance of the null hypothesis with regard to channel type suggests that there is no statistically significant relationship between any channel type and perceptions of the overall nature of



effects of migration on career development. This corroborates the point made earlier in the chapter about the need to see international migration in relation to career development for all categories of migrant and not only for those moving within the ILM's of MNC's.

#### 12.4 Detail of Career Development Effects

Respondents resident in the UK at the time of completion of the questionnaire indicated more detail of the perceived effects of international migration upon their careers. Based on an open-ended question, respondents stated what they believed to have been the most important effects.

Approximately 79% of respondents indicated some positive reward to the development of their career through experience of working internationally. A further 12% indicated negative consequences, with approximately 9% replying that they believed international movement to have led to both positive and negative career development effects. The detail of the description of the career consequences proved complex, with some 47 statements related to positive and 26 to negative aspects. Similar constructs were combined to reveal the most important perceived effects (Table 12.5 and Table 12.6).

Some 27% of the respondents who indicated positive consequences upon their career development stated that their time working abroad had allowed them either to gain or broaden their experience, or to undertake different work to that available in their origin country. The

Table 12.5 - Good Effects on Career Development

	%
gain experience/broaden experience/different experience to that available in origin country	27.0
new skills/education	16.4
broader perspective of business/company	9.5
other culture/country	7.7
promotion	7.1
personal development/self confidence/initiative ambition	6.7
job responsibility	6.4
broaden outlook on life	6.1
different work techniques/environment	5.4
management experience	3.5
made contacts abroad	2.0
greater opportunity abroad	1.8
something different for C.V.	0.3

increased experience afforded to them while abroad was perceived by respondents to have in some way aided their career development, and was by far the most important positive effect indicated. The importance of new or different work experiences was mentioned by another 3.5% of respondents for whom the management experience gained while abroad was specifically identified as important to their subsequent career advancement.

The gaining of new skills and education (16.4%) was the second most important aspect of the positive effects on career, while the development of a broader perspective of the world business environment or company structure was also perceived to have had favourable consequences (9.5%).

This increased understanding of company structure and world opportunities was of greatest importance for intra-company transfer channelled respondents, for whom career development and international migration occur within the geographical confines of their employing company. Knowledge of the world business environment or more specific experience of another country will increase the value of the employee to the company, perhaps resulting in further promotion or future international migration opportunities.

Many of the descriptions of positive consequences for career development related to the gaining of what may be described as 'intangible personal attributes'. For example, a significant proportion of individuals described the effects of international migration as leading to personal development, increased self-confidence and ambition (6.7%), and that working abroad had broadened their outlook on life (6.1%), and offered an insight into other countries and cultures (7.7%).

Only 7.1% indicated working abroad as having directly helped their career through immediate promotion. This is not to say, however, that the skills, experience, responsibility and development of personal attributes provided to respondents during their time abroad has not also subsequently resulted in their promotion. Career and advancement were perceived in a variety of ways by the individuals, with the development of many personal attributes (and subsequent effects on career) as of

greater importance to many individuals than any immediate improvement in their employment prospects through promotion.

Turning attention to the negative effects on career development (Table 12.6), there were two features which dominated. Respondents said they were removed from promotion opportunities in their origin country while abroad. This accounted for some 30% of the negative responses given. This 'removal' resulted in problems such as being offered jobs at a similar level to that before departure upon return to origin country. One particular objection to being removed from the promotion system in the country of origin was that on return, migrants often found that former colleagues or work-mates (who were believed to be "less competent" or "not so good at the job") and who had not gone abroad (respondents believing them to be "not good enough to work abroad") had been promoted during their absence, and were now at a higher stage in career development or on higher wages.

Other problems with employers/work environment on return to the UK accounted for 28% of negative comments. These included difficulty in obtaining employment upon return ("employers unwilling to accept overseas experience" or "unwilling to employ an expat"), and a number of complaints related to the UK way of working. Working practices in Scotland on return were described as "too formal and restrictive", "class dominated", and

Table 12.6 - Bad Effects on Career Development

	%
away from promotion opportunities in origin country	30.4
problems with UK employers when return/ non-recognition of experience/difficulty getting a job	28.3
tendency to lose touch when abroad e.g. technical advances	19.6
problems readjusting back to Scottish way of life	8.7
lower business standards in Scotland	5.4
interfered with organized training	3.3
no employer/job continuity	3.3
career in a rut/tied to one company	1.1

problems experienced in assimilating back into a Scottish workforce - "other employees too lazy, too busy watching the clock for tea breaks", "the union rules and own initiative is frowned upon". Further negative effects were described as resulting from the tendency to lose touch when abroad, particularly being unaware of technical advances and developments occurring within the industry (19.6%). This was particularly a complaint of respondents who had undertaken relatively long term contracts in developing countries.

A number of other negative concerns were voiced. Return migrants indicated that there were problems (both for themselves and their families) in readjusting to the way of life in Scotland (8.7%). There was unhappiness with the quality of life available to return migrants by comparison with expatriate lifestyles abroad. Respondents

commented on "the greater freedom to do what you liked" in other countries, and the "higher standards of living and expectations of living" that they had experienced abroad.

One further comment was from immigrants who indicated that they found business standards in Scotland to be much lower than in their country of origin (5.4%), and that working here was perceived as having negative consequences for the development of their careers.

Taking account of the detailed positive and negative career development effects discussed above led the researcher to investigate return migrant and immigrant views in relation to a number of possible explanatory variables. The results of a series of chi square tests are summarized in Table 12.7. The tests were carried out to analyse whether any significant concentration of good or bad effects existed within subgroups of the return migrant and immigrant populations.

For a number of variables the null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) could be rejected. The most important relationship was found with regard to the perceived overall effect on career development, with a very high calculated  $X^2$  value (252.514). The most important component of this relationship was the significant negative effects (observed 31, expected 4.34) detailed by respondents who indicated international migration to have been a hindrance to career development. This feature was not unexpected. However, it was interesting to find that certain respondents who indicated that career development was

Table 12.7 - Chi Square Test Results : Number of Good and Bad Effects of Migration Identified

H<sub>0</sub> - there is no statistically significant relationship between the number of good and bad effects indicated for each variable

	df	X <sup>2</sup>		
career development	3	252.514	reject H <sub>0</sub>	0.999
career prospects	4	25.065	reject H <sub>0</sub>	0.999
job status	2	19.446	reject H <sub>0</sub>	0.999
channel type	9	20.102	reject H <sub>0</sub>	0.95
employer type	3	8.414	reject H <sub>0</sub>	0.95
age of respondent	5	11.289	reject H <sub>0</sub>	0.95
migrant type	2	5.823	accept H <sub>0</sub>	
job type	7	12.048	accept H <sub>0</sub>	
no. international moves	2	5.465	accept H <sub>0</sub>	
organizational structure of employer	3	1.119	accept H <sub>0</sub>	

helped very much by the time spent working abroad also gave details of what they perceived to be negative effects on their career.

In the case of the importance of career prospects indicated by respondents, there was found to be a significant over representation of detailed negative consequences on career development among respondents for whom career was of minimal concern. The low importance given to career prospects by this group is perhaps due in part to the negative effects they perceived in relation to international migration and the past development of their career. Among respondents indicating career prospects as

'very important', few reported negative career development effects. These results provide further evidence of the complexity of the 'career' concept. The importance of this concept is a personal 'state of mind' which may vary over time, affected by past events, attitudes, perceptions, and many other factors.

The last variable for which a statistically significant relationship was identified with 99.9% confidence was employment status. The greatest contribution to the calculated  $\chi^2$  value was found to be due to significantly greater than expected indications of bad career effects among professional status employees. Much of this dissatisfaction with career development was attributed directly to the negative effects of working abroad.

The reasons for this may be hypothesized, although not truly revealed by the questionnaire data. It may be that negative feelings were more in evidence among professional employees because their careers have not yet advanced to managerial status. One professional respondent complained that because of a lack of employer continuity he had not had the chance to proceed up a company ladder to managerial status. As he was good at his job in a professional capacity, he was always employed at this level and could not gain managerial experience. Certain of the negative effects on career development proved more important for professional employees than for others, for example, lack of organized training, non-recognition of



experience gained abroad (while managerial experience was more readily accepted), and losing touch with technical advances.

The positive nature of effects on career development indicated by lower status and highest status employees may be due to the very different meaning and scale of career aspirations and development between the groups considered. Career aspirations and hence the description of a successful career must have different meanings for each individual. For example, 'career' may be a more important concept for professionals. Other individuals (Eg. lower status) may measure their success in terms of income or continuity of full time employment. Hence, the personal attributes and experiences/training gained overseas may be indicated by this group as positive career effects. For others, career aspirations may relate to appointment in a post in management. Professional status respondents are positioned somewhere between these two groups in terms of what they believed to be 'career development', and what they perceived to be the negative effects (not yet at managerial level) of international migration.

For three further characteristics (channel type, employer type and age of respondent) significant relationships between good/bad effects were proven with 95% confidence. In the case of channelling mechanisms, the most important component of the chi square relationship was the significant negative career effects reported by newspaper and media channelled respondents. While overall,

newspaper and other media channelled movers indicated international experience as beneficial to career development (Table 12.4), the detail of the open-ended comments reveal that international movement through this unstructured process resulted in considerably greater negative descriptions.

Explanation of why this should be can be related to the subset of respondents from whom detailed descriptions of career effects were obtained. UK return migrants composed the majority of respondents involved with the newspaper and media channel. These return migrants were previously identified (Table 12.4) as those individuals who perceived international migration to have had the greatest negative results. The principal reasons for such negative attitudes may relate to the respondents specific characteristics - their greater involvement with the services sector, their professional status, their older age, etc.

Problems with certain groups of UK employers upon return was evidenced from the relationship described for employer type characteristics. Government employees, those working for family and friends, and the 'other' employees category were more likely to make negative statements about the impact of migration on their career than was the case for private sector or self-employed respondents.

The relationship between effect on career and age revealed that with increased years, a significantly

greater proportion of respondents indicated negative career effects. This relationship was not unexpected.

#### 12.5 Conclusions

One of the main topics of study for this thesis was a consideration of the importance of the concept of career and career advancement for understanding and interpreting the contemporary processes of skilled international migration. The main conclusions of this investigation and the future research issues raised, may be discussed through summarizing the main aspects of the survey findings.

Generally speaking, career prospects were shown to be a concept of importance for the majority of respondents. However, a consensus definition of 'career' and 'career development' was difficult to obtain, and respondents were not asked to indicate their understanding or definition of the terms.

Significant differences in definition and in the importance of career prospects were identifiable from more detailed analysis of the responses. The concept of career prospects was perceived to be of greater importance for employees of certain industries, at certain ages (and hence linked with stages in life cycle), for certain types of migrant, working with certain types of employer. Channel type and job status (incorporating some indication of education and employment experience) were also very strongly associated with the importance of career prospects.

The findings may be seen, to some extent, to confirm the expectations of other researchers (e.g. Salt's ideas of 'career path' migration within MNC's). However, the findings also require that the contributions of previous academic studies of career and skilled international migration be qualified. The importance of career prospects for MNC employees is only one category of 'career' movement, where the overall situation is more complex. Future research must consider how career prospects and aspirations vary between channels, and how they are affected by a number of other important personal and contextual variables. The use of a managerial perspective for 'high-level manpower movements' by Salt (1984) - a framework which incorporated and linked channel and career concerns - is valid, but as represented for only one international migration process and one form of organizational career is too simplistic.

Are individuals involved with other channels less ambitious, or, do they see career as a more complex and ill-defined concept (involving moves between jobs/employers/occupations) than those for whom career is defined within their employing company? An understanding of what 'career prospects' actually mean to different individuals in the context of international migration is an issue which may be tackled by future research. For example, are career prospects measured by individuals in terms of job title/promotion, money, responsibility or other rewards? Do the perceived career prospects of

international movers differ from the aspirations of non-movers? Are these non-movers constrained to a career within the boundaries of a regional or national labour market through choice? Such an enquiry could consider perceived career prospects for movers versus non-movers in a number of settings - within MNC's, and more generally for employees where less structured channels for international movement would operate for a move abroad. Salt (1984) hypothesized that during an individual's career, 'critical points' occur at which the propensity to move is increased and labour migration occurs. The specificity of these 'critical points' requires further examination, with regard to the situation of the individual (e.g. channels open to the respondent, employment characteristics, age, family size etc). Why do 'critical points' in some careers not result in international mobility, but regional moves/occupational changes/etc?

While the perceived importance of career prospects were found to vary significantly, the greater uniformity of response to the 'effects on career' inquiry indicated that no matter the degree of importance placed upon career prospects by various 'types' of international migrant, the overwhelming perception or belief was that experience of moving internationally had in some way contributed positively to the overall career development of each individual.

This finding would appear to confirm the expectations of previous literature regarding the perceived 'upward' direction of career development. However, perceived positive career effects were noted for respondents involved with channels other than the intra-company transfer. Use of the concept of 'career paths' for understanding the processes of contemporary skilled international migration must therefore be extended to include a greater diversity of moves than previously researched and mapped.

An important contribution of this research regards the findings relating to descriptions as to what the positive and negative effects on career development have been. This afforded some new insights into what career and career development might be perceived to mean for different groups of migrants. The results showed (in a rejection of the previous academic literature) that the effects of international migration upon career development were perceived in only a few cases to relate directly to promotion or increased salary. Career and advancement were perceived in a variety of ways by the individuals, with the gaining of experience and development of many personal attributes (and their subsequent effect on career) as of greater significance.

Thus, this research leads to the conclusion that many of the expectations of other researchers with regard to career and international migration are valid, but require much qualification and extension. The 'real' situation

with regard to career and an understanding of the skilled international migration processes is much more complex than has previously been acknowledged. It requires consideration of a multiplicity of constraints affecting the migrant's perception of career prospects and aspirations, his/her realization of career development, and the processes of international migration by which career development is achieved.

## Chapter 13    Future International Migration

### 13.1    Introduction

Consideration of the past and present international migration patterns of the individuals has provided supporting evidence for the extension of existing ideas concerning skilled international migration. Hence, the international mobility of the respondents was found to be dependent upon and affected by a number of factors. It is a contention of this chapter that potential future mobility is similarly affected by these factors, due in large part to continuing international social, economic and political constraints and the past experiences of the migrants.

The main questions under investigation in this analysis of the findings regarding future mobility relate to the construction of a logical relationship (or set of relationships) which can be accepted as describing the way that migrants' perceptions of future events are structured. Perception of future mobility was investigated in relation to three issues :- level of perceived future mobility (indicated at an ordinal scale), motivations for future mobility, and the channel(s) anticipated as a means of obtaining future employment.

Hypotheses may be set up to allow attention to be focussed on a restricted set of characteristics which seem (from the previous data analysis and researcher intuition) to be logically related to migrants' perceptions of the process of future mobility. It was a contention that



future mobility (as perceived by the migrants) would be affected by structural and process contexts, and personal and family constraints.

The phenomenon of 'transience' in skilled international migration, as examined in relation to 'past' mobility, may also be perceived by international migrants for their future. For example, it can be hypothesized that migrants with experience of the operation of certain processes of international migration - intra-company transfer and contacts in industry channels - will describe higher levels of anticipated future mobility. Similarly, increased levels of future transience may be anticipated if migrants are considered within their employment context - employment type (e.g. energy/water, banking/financial services), occupational status (e.g. managerial/administrative), employer type and organizational structure (e.g. multinational company). It may be suggested that older respondents will expect less future movement than younger colleagues. Such expectations arise logically from consideration of the details of migrants previous international migration history, and an examination of the 'controls' on such experience.

Migrants anticipating some degree of future mobility were asked about the motivations they perceived to be of greatest importance for such moves. Comparison of perceived future motivations with those relating to 'past' mobility allow for the examination of temporal effects.

The relationships between perceived future motivations, migrant characteristics and other variables may be hypothesized. For example, (relative to the importance of channelling mechanisms as a framework of 'control' and/or 'influence') it was expected that migrants who had experience of company transfer would significantly indicate 'transfer by employer' as a perceived future motivation. This reason for future mobility is similarly suggested as of importance for energy/water employees, those involved with MNC employers etc. Concern with future motivations again raises the issue of 'control' in international migration (and in this case perceived future mobility) by process and context.

Unfortunately it was not possible to ask all respondents about perceived future channel(s) of movement due to length of the questionnaire and postage cost difficulties. The results of this enquiry are of very great importance in providing supporting evidence for the utility of an extended channels framework for interpretation and explanation of contemporary (and future) skilled international migration.

It was anticipated that channel information perceived for future moves would provide further details of the information, evaluation and action dimensions of decision making in skilled international migration. It was expected that future international moves would be undertaken with reference to previous channel experience. Although it was believed that the degree of reference would vary between

channels, migrants involved with intra-company transfer in the past being most likely to indicate perceived involvement with a similar process for future migration. Relationships linking perceived channel of international movement with a range of demographic, familial, employer and socio-professional variables were expected to confirm the methodological and theoretical basis of Chapters 5-12.

Testing of hypotheses using chi square statistics was undertaken to decide whether or not an assertion about the relationship between variables/experiences was valid. These tests were extended through the development of a hierarchical categorical model, describing the most important aspects influencing anticipated future movement, and allowing for prediction of perceived levels of future mobility.

Before moving on to an examination of future mobility data, a note of caution is necessary. All information on future mobility describes only what migrants 'perceive', 'anticipate' or 'desire' for their future, and may not actually be acted upon. In interpreting such data, the researcher must not confuse 'perception' with 'action'. However, such data is of intrinsic value in allowing the examination and explanation of potential migration relationships.

## **13.2 Anticipation of Future International Migration**

### **13.2.1 Frequency of Future Moves**

The overall situation (represented in Table 13.1) was that the largest group of respondents didn't know or could

Table 13.1 Anticipation of Future International Movement

never	17.2
once	8.2
rarely	19.1
frequently	14.6
very frequently	1.7
don't know	39.2

not anticipate their future international mobility (39.2%). Responses to the scale of perceived mobility - 'once' to 'very frequently' - allowed for the conclusion that future transience was anticipated by some 16% of migrants. Approximately one quarter expected to move only once or rarely in future.

An important issue to raise prior to more detailed discussion of information relating to anticipation of future international mobility is the respondents' understanding and interpretation of the question asked. The wording of the question related to the 'anticipation of moving internationally again in the future'. It is uncertain whether respondents indicated their anticipated future mobility or their **desired** future mobility. Both interpretations, however, allow for investigation of future migratory potential.

It is similarly important to note that only future international moves undertaken for 'employment reasons' were included in the question. This was to avoid the complication of inclusion of other types of international movement. This also proved to be a complex issue, due to

the inclusion by some respondents of future 'retirement' migration.

### 13.2.2 Chi Square Test Results : Anticipation of Future International Migration

Investigation of 'causal' relationships with perceived future mobility revealed a large number of statistically significant associations at high levels of confidence (Table 13.2). Highlighting the main features of these relationships allows for the construction and explanation of the patterns of anticipated future mobility. Anticipated future mobility was highest for 'other foreign' and USA immigrants. They held the expectation of at least one, and for many individuals, frequent or very frequent international moves in the future.

In general, as level of proven international mobility increased, there was a corresponding rise in anticipation of further frequent or very frequent international moves. This is to say that there existed a strong temporal autocorrelation function. The factors which allowed for or encouraged high degrees of international mobility, also fuelled the anticipation of similar future movements. Individuals who had undertaken only one international move indicated more frequently than would be expected on a statistical basis that they did not know about their future international mobility.

Overall, as age of respondents increased, there was a corresponding reduction in the anticipation of future

Table 13.2 Chi Square Test Statistics : Anticipation of Future International Migration

	df	X <sup>2</sup>		
migrant type	16	43.234	reject H	99.9
no. international moves	10	45.588	reject H	99.9
age of respondent	15	82.601	reject H	99.9
channel type	24	83.848	reject H	99.9
employer type	12	37.040	reject H	99.9
size of employer	12	74.553	reject H	99.9
employment type	28	176.912	reject H	99.9
job status	10	44.675	reject H	99.9
location in Scotland	20	62.040	reject H	99.9
location country	24	69.914	reject H	99.9
marital status	8	6.059	accept H	
no. of children	15	13.719	accept H	

mobility. This relationship was as hypothesized and may be related to the fact that with increased age individuals become less willing or able to undertake change and adapt to new situations.

Future transience was anticipated by many of those who had moved internationally through intra-company transfer. This would seem to relate to their perceptions of the system through which they had experience of moving. Explanation for this situation can be extended through consideration of present type and size of employer. Highest levels of anticipated future movement were indicated by employees of private companies. Generally,

the larger, more international the company or business (implying movement through company transfer), then the more likely that employees anticipated future moves. Anticipated international mobility among individuals involved with MNC's is dependent upon the organization of work and international division of labour within these extensive companies. The personnel management and career development ladders/strategies which exist within these companies 'promote' the international mobility of a highly skilled core group to a much greater extent than other staff.

A further significant feature with regard to employer type was that self employed respondents frequently indicated that they never intended to move abroad again. For these respondents, development and management concerns for their businesses involve a reduction in future international mobility. Individuals at present employed by government were the group who were most uncertain of future movement.

Perceptions of future transience were very much greater for respondents involved with the energy/water industries. Employees of all other industrial groups were much less likely to anticipate high levels of mobility. This was perhaps unexpected in the case of employees in mechanical/electrical engineering industries (computing), when it is considered that many important employers within these industries are MNC's, and most similar to the energy/water situation. Such differences perhaps reflect

the disparate personnel management strategies of these large industries. The lowest levels of anticipated future movement were noted for respondents who were either unemployed or retired at the time of the survey.

As hypothesized, respondents of higher occupational status (managerial/administrative) displayed greatest perceived future mobility levels. Amongst lowest status employees, 'never' responses were most significant.

The spatial corollary of social, economic and political effects upon future mobility will now be discussed for Scotland, and in an international framework. Within Scotland, the most distinctive area proved to be Aberdeen and the Grampian Region, where many indicated an anticipation of working abroad frequently or very frequently in the future. This mobility can be related to the domination of this region (in terms of the survey responses) by multinational oil and gas companies.

In a wider international context, countries could be broadly divided into two groups relative to anticipated mobility. Anticipation of future movement was greatest amongst respondents presently located in the Middle East region, while the Far East, Europe/Scandinavia and the USA also displayed high levels of expected mobility. The industrial, economic and social environments of these regions allow for and indeed promote expectations of more frequent transitory moves in the future.

The second discernible group of international locations were those with low levels of future



international mobility - Australia and Canada/N.Zealand/S.Africa. Migrants to these countries perceived, anticipated or desired very limited or no future international mobility, reflecting the 'settled' nature of migration to these destinations.

It was considered that expectation, anticipation or desire for future international mobility would be affected by the respondents familial concerns - marital status and the existence of and size of their family. However, cross-tabulation with these factors did not prove to be statistically significant.

### 13.2.3 Modelling Anticipation of Future International Moves

A computer modelling exercise was undertaken to evaluate in more detail the patterns described above. A step-wise regression procedure was used to determine the most important factors explaining expected levels of future international migration (Table 13.3a). This is a modelling procedure adapted for use with categorical data and was outlined in detail in Chapter 10.

Regarding level of anticipated future migration, the optimum explanatory model was found to be that which included only two predictive terms - employment type and channelling mechanisms - explaining some 24.7% of the overall variance. Checks on the level of t-values calculated for each category of variable, and the normal distribution of the residual values when plotted against the fitted values indicated support for the optimum nature

Table 13.3a Model : Anticipation of Future International Migration

variable

employment type	17.3%
channel type	7.4%
residual/unexplained variance	74.3%

Table 13.3 b Predicted Values of Future International Migration From Model

	ICT	IRA	F&F	N&M	Them.	Cont.	Oth
energy/water	2.61	2.23	1.68	2.04	1.70	2.56	2.11
elec.engin	1.82	1.43	0.89	1.24	0.90	1.77	1.31
oth.manuf	1.59	1.20	0.66	1.02	0.67	1.54	1.08
build/civil.eng	1.63	1.24	0.70	1.06	0.71	1.58	1.12
bank/fin.serv	1.49	1.10	0.56	0.91	0.57	1.43	0.98
health/edu/serv	1.99	1.60	1.06	1.42	1.07	1.94	1.49
other empl.	1.77	1.38	0.84	1.19	0.85	1.71	1.26

ICT - intra-company transfer  
 IRA - international recruitment agency  
 F&F - family and friends  
 N&M - newspaper and other media  
 Them. - themselves the channel  
 Cont. - contacts in industry

of this model.

The derived model was used to provide predictions of levels of anticipated international movement (summarized in Table 13.3b). By far the highest levels of future mobility were predicted for those individuals involved with energy/water employment. This relationship was especially significant for those employees who had

undertaken international movement through intra-company transfers, contacts in industry and international recruitment agencies. The predicated values for future international movement confirm many of the expectations described at the beginning of this chapter. However, in comparison with the findings of Chapter 10, it was interesting to note that international migration processes (channels) were of greater importance to the explanation of perceived future mobility than was the case for actual proven migration history.

The predicted values revealed that intra-company transfer respondents perceived greater numbers of future international moves than for contacts in industry migrants. This is a reversal of the situation described in the predicted values which resulted from the model describing the past migration experience of these respondents (Table 10.1b).

The employment type with the next greatest levels of predicted mobility was health, education and other services. Banking/financial services employees, who were expected to indicate high future mobility (from details in Chapter 10) were not found to do so. The low levels of future mobility among contacts in industry and banking/financial migrants may be attributed to factors such as their greater average age.

### **13.3 Motivation For Future International Migration**

Respondents indicating that they 'never' anticipated migrating again were excluded from subsequent analyses.

Those who described some degree of future mobility or who were unsure about the future, were asked to indicate the main motives they might have for prospective moves. A list of thirteen motivations was supplied, with respondents asked to pick out all motives considered to be of importance. They were free to specify any motivations not appearing in the list. As previously, the motivational information was not ranked.

Approximately one fifth of respondents (Table 13.4) indicated that only one motivation would be of importance in explaining their future moves, while 46% of respondents indicated four or more motivations - perceiving a complex mix of concerns affecting their future migratory decisions.

Table 13.4 Number of Future Motives

	%
zero	1.3
one	19.0
two	15.0
three	19.0
four	16.4
five	13.8
six	8.5
seven	4.6
eight	2.0
ten	0.2
eleven	0.2

### 13.3.1 Frequency of Future Motivations

From investigation of the frequency with which the various future motivations were indicated (Table 13.5), it may be concluded that motivations for future international moves confirm previous research regarding the importance of the concept of 'career' for skilled international migration. Many respondents anticipate their career development in the future as including further periods of employment overseas. An issue arising from this would be whether these respondents perceive that future career development is best achieved through international mobility? As with previous migration motivations, it was difficult to decide whether respondents were indicating that future career development was implicit in or dependent upon undertaking international moves.

Issues regarding the 'implicit' or 'dependent' nature of career development can be further discussed, along with the issue of perceived future control of migration, with regard to those 12% of respondents indicating employer transfer as a reason for their anticipation of future mobility. Is the migration future of these employees already perceived to be in some way 'mapped out' and controlled? Can career development within a MNC environment be dependent upon undertaking periods of international migration abroad, or, do non-movers experience similar levels of career development? Many of these issues can not be tackled within the present research, and remain considerations for future study.

**Table 13.5 Frequency of Indication of Future Motivations**

	%
only way to get a job	2.8
better job in terms of skill and responsibility	12.2
better wages	11.1
desire to travel	14.3
to gain experience	10.8
for training	3.1
career development	15.3
political reasons	1.5
personal/family reasons	7.7
end of contract	4.0
transfer by employer	12.2
retirement	2.8
other reasons - please specify	2.2

The motivations which received little support were those which described somewhat 'negative' reasons for undertaking migration. For example, to go abroad if it was the 'only way to get a job'. This would suggest that the respondents view future mobility in a positive way. A view that was further evidenced by the importance attributed to 'desire to travel'.

### **13.3.2 Chi Square Test Results : Future Motivations**

The main features of the many valid statistical relationships (Table 13.6) will be outlined and explained. Respondents channelled previously through intra-company transfers displayed (as for first and last motives) evidence of the circular nature of their reasoning, describing the migration process as a significantly important partial explanation for perceived future mobility. While employer transfer could be expected as a reason for future mobility for respondents who had moved

Table 13.6 Chi Square Test Statistics : Future Motivations

	df	X <sup>2</sup>		
channel type	72	294.708	reject H	99.9
age of respondent	44	326.503	reject H	99.9
migrant type	48	110.267	reject H	99.9
anticipation of future international migration	36	71.362	reject H	99.9
employment type	72	171.779	reject H	99.9
job status	24	65.377	reject H	99.9
type of employer	30	235.667	reject H	99.9
organizational structure of employer	33	77.641	reject H	99.9
no. international moves	24	38.514	reject H	95
number of children	48	70.600	reject H	95
marital status	24	23.819	accept H	
location in Scotland	55	54.077	accept H	
location country	66	59.792	accept H	

through company channels, this reason also featured at a less significant level in explaining future mobility for respondents with experience of other channels. This 'transfer by employer' motive was most noticeably indicated by international recruitment agency, family and friends, and newspaper and media channelled respondents. Explanation of this requires that respondents who utilized other channels on previous international moves view 'transfer by employer' through ILM's as an organizational process which has or may become available to them. This

may indicate that individuals who wish to undertake employment abroad actively seek employment within the ILM of multinational companies as they recognize the greater international migration opportunities that such a structure represents.

For company transferred respondents, a motivation that was indicated less frequently was personal/family reasons. This motivation as a description of future mobility was of much greater importance for all other channel types. Such a lowered level of personal/family concerns for company employees does not imply that they do not care for the effects of such moves upon their families, or consult their families with regard to the move. The personal/family motive will have different meaning for each individual. Perhaps family and friends channelled respondents were revealing their perception of undertaking international movement in a similar way in future. For other channels, concern with personal/family issues may imply a negative description of what the future in Scotland (or other location country) is perceived to hold for the individual/family.

Certain future motivations appeared to be of a 'young' nature, for example, 'career development', 'higher wages' and 'for training'. 'Retirement' and to a lesser degree 'transfer by employer' motives were noted to increase in importance with increasing age. This indicates that with increased age, future mobility was more significantly attributed to the demands of employer.



Unsurprisingly, USA respondents were linked with high levels of 'transfer by employer'. UK emigrants, however, indicated more frequently than expected from the statistical basis that 'personal/family' reasons were of importance, and similarly that they had a concern with 'political matters'. While overall (Table 13.5) political reasons as a future motivation were indicated as of relatively minor importance, the chi square test revealed a significant concern with this motivation for the future mobility of these emigrants. The detail of these political concerns were revealed in comments related to their dislike of Conservative government policies and their effect on Scotland and the UK.

Employer transfer was perceived as a highly significant reason for those who anticipated future transience. Involvement with transfer through the ILM's of international organizations may result in the perceived anticipation of frequent future mobility due to the career development ladder, organization of work, international division of labour and personnel management policies that these companies encompass. While it may also be argued that those who desire international mobility will actively seek employment within these structures as a means of utilizing the 'easy' migration opportunities that this represents.

Inter-related with these findings was that company transfer was of great significance for energy/water employees (industries where large MNC's and company

migration processes dominate). Political concerns were noted to significantly influence the future mobility of certain service employees (those individuals most affected by government changes in the National Health Service and education system).

The hypothesized importance of the internal labour markets for the international movement of highest skilled individuals was established. This confirmed the significance of international companies as a force for, and control upon, the international migration of the highest status individuals.

As logically anticipated, transfer by employer was a highly significant reason for migration amongst private company employees. With decrease in size (MNC's to small local employers) the importance of 'employer' concerns was diminished. Trans-national company employees did not, however, display significant links with employer transfer as a future motive. These 'smaller' international organizations have offices/plants in only a few countries, and may have only a limited number of 'core' personnel who need to undertake tasks (managerial, financial etc) overseas. The lesser need for international mobility between the more self-contained facets of the TNC is a function of their organization of work and international division of labour. Functional specialization of personnel and production (common in MNC's) may not be a beneficial process in trans-national company organization due to their lack of sufficient 'size'.

As proven international mobility increased, the future importance of career development for migrants decreased significantly. Life-cycle dimensions were also important with regard to the effects of children upon future motivations. For example, it might have been expected that the presence of children would have resulted in a certain degree of 'inertia'. There appeared to be little evidence of this, although respondents with the largest families were noted to be most likely to indicate a future move if it was the 'only way to get a job', while respondents with no children indicated migration to be linked 'actively' with the gaining of experience.

### **13.3.3 Comparison of First/Last/Future Motivations**

Comparison of information on future motivations with those for past moves proved difficult, due to the slightly altered list of motivations included to explain future moves. Differences in the lists for first/last and future international moves were inserted to test the reading and interpretation of questions related to motivational issues. While no direct comparison of the data is possible, certain comments can be made with regard to variations in the frequency with which different motivations were given throughout the international migration histories of the respondents (Table 13.7).

The career development motive was indicated most consistently as of significance, although as a motive for future moves such concerns were of a slightly decreased level of importance.

Table 13.7 Comparison of First/Last/Future Motivations

	% first	% last	% future
better job	8.4	9.0	-
better wages	11.2	9.5	11.1
career development	17.0	16.4	15.3
personal/family reasons	3.6	8.5	7.7
unable to get job in origin country	1.4	1.8	-
desire to travel	16.8	8.0	14.3
transfer by employer	7.9	11.3	12.2
to gain experience/training	13.8	7.9	(13.9)
only way to get a job	0.6	0.8	2.8
better use of skills	4.3	8.2	-
more job responsibility	7.1	9.4	-
dissatisfaction with previous job	4.6	3.9	-
other motives - please specify	3.1	5.3	2.2
better job in terms of skill and responsibility			12.2
to gain experience			10.8
end of contract			4.0
retirement			2.8
for training			3.1
political reasons			1.5

Desire to travel featured at a high level of importance as a motivation for first move (16.8%), but was of greatly decreased importance as a reason for the last moves undertaken (8.0%). The increase in the importance of this motive for future moves can be related to the inclusion of future motivation information for all respondents. Last motivation information was obtained only from those respondents involved with two or more previous international moves - older respondents, with greater international experience. A similar situation to this was revealed for motivations related to training and experience.

Employer transfer was included in all questionnaires, with increased numbers giving this as a reason for moving from first through last to future moves. This pattern of response describes the increased importance of this concern through time (e.g. many first international moves were undertaken a number of years ago - with transfer by employer more important to the skilled international migration system operating now) and throughout migrants careers. Generally there was much increased awareness of this 'process' for future international migration.

'Other' motives specified by the respondents were noted to be of decreased importance with the passage of time. This was due to respondents being unable to perceive what types of 'other' factors would affect their mobility in future.

#### **13.4 Channels For Future International Migration**

Respondents were asked to anticipate how they would obtain future overseas employment. A number of channelling mechanisms were listed, and respondents could specify any others which they believed would be of importance. Migrants indicated the channel (or channels) which they perceived as being most likely to facilitate their future international employment mobility.

Respondents who indicated more than one channel to describe future mobility (Table 13.8) provide evidence of the level of migrants' understanding of the operation and use of the system of channelling mechanisms. Approximately 45% of migrants indicated that they would consider, or try

**Table 13.8 Number of Future Channels Indicated**

	%
zero	1.2
one	54.2
two	30.0
three	14.6

to arrange future moves through a number of different channels. They would obtain information from, or make contact with a number of different channel types as a way of increasing the likelihood of undertaking a future international move and/or of obtaining satisfactory conditions for such a move. The 'spreading' of channelling options can be understood as a way of maximizing information obtained regarding international employment and migration opportunities.

#### **13.4.1 Frequency of Future Channels**

The channels perceived as facilitating future mobility displayed a very different degree of importance to those utilised by people for their last migration (Table 13.9). Intra-company transfers remained the most important (30% of future moves). International recruitment agencies were, however, of increased importance with regard to their role as an anticipated future channelling mechanism, accounting for 20% of future channels indicated, while actually utilized in the past by only 8% of migrants in the sample. Thus many more individuals would in future contact and consider arranging employment abroad through the operation of international recruitment

Table 13.9 Frequency of Future Channels Indicated

	% past	% future
intra-company transfer	28.9	28.0
international recruitment agency	7.9	20.3
temporary job with company only for overseas placement	0.3	1.3
family and friends	12.1	12.4
newspaper and other media	18.4	27.7
themselves the channel	14.4	3.7
contacts in industry	6.6	5.0
professional institutional	3.6	1.3
church	0.3	0.3
other channels	7.5	-

agencies than have previous experience of undertaking a move through this channel.

Why has the perceived importance of this channel for international migration (as evidenced for future moves) not translated into successful international mobility in the past? This can be explained with reference to the role of international recruitment agencies as 'gatekeepers' for the control of skilled international migration. While many individuals may contact and register with these agencies, previous data analysis described the selectivity of skilled international migration facilitated through such agencies. Only certain 'types' of individual will prove successful in arranging international mobility in this way, due to the selective role of these agencies in the international migration system.

Similarly, increased proportions of respondents indicated 'newspaper and other media' sources as a channel which they might use for future mobility (18.4% of moves in past, 27.7% anticipated future moves). Consideration of

employment advertisements in newspaper and other media sources was therefore perceived by the individuals as an increasingly important way of obtaining knowledge of overseas opportunities. However, as previously indicated, caution is required in the interpretation of any issue related to perceived future mobility. For example, more people may say that they will use this channel, but a) will they? b) why didn't they in the past? c) even if they try to, will they succeed in transforming this from being an 'information source' into an actual mechanism for movement?

The proportion of respondents who indicated that they could perceive 'themselves as the channel' for movement was much reduced for the future (3.7%) in comparison to those acting in this way in the past (14.4%). The conditions under which individuals may be pro-active in arranging and undertaking the process of international migration will be very specific and unpredictable. Respondents appeared to be unable to anticipate this situation arising in future.

All other channels remained at a somewhat similar level of importance for past action and perceived future mobility (indicating that identification of the framework of international channels in operation as more complex than that described by previous research was appropriate), except in the case of indications of 'other' channels. Some 7.5% of respondents indicated 'other' channels for their last international move, a grouping of miscellaneous



forms of mobility which was not indicated as anticipated for future moves. The reality of international migration (as described by past channels) was more complex, and occurred in many different ways to that anticipated for the future.

#### 13.4.2 Chi Square Test Results : Number of Future Channels

Respondents previously undertaking international movement through intra-company transfer significantly indicated their future movement as involving consideration of only one channelling mechanism (Table 13.10). Those migrants who had moved within their company did not perceive the need to involve themselves in knowledge of a number of channelling mechanisms to maximize their options and opportunities for career development and international mobility. Perceived future involvement with a number of migration channels was a more important factor for those respondents who had previously moved through the family and friends, and newspaper and other media channels. These previous moves were undertaken through channels of a much less structured and more varied nature than transfer through the ILM of an employing company.

Supporting evidence for these findings was revealed from the future motivations of respondents who indicated different numbers of future channels. Employer transfer was significantly a consideration for those involved with only one channel of future movement.

Table 13.10 Chi Square Test Statistics : Number of Future Channels Indicated

	df	X <sup>2</sup>		
channel type (past)	14	36.320	reject H <sub>0</sub>	99.9
type of employer	4	21.930	reject H <sub>0</sub>	99.9
no. international moves	4	14.471	reject H <sub>0</sub>	99
job status	4	12.934	reject H <sub>0</sub>	95
future motivations	24	39.452	reject H <sub>0</sub>	95
employment type	12	17.706	accept H <sub>0</sub>	
migrant type	4	2.992	accept H <sub>0</sub>	
age of respondent	6	5.793	accept H <sub>0</sub>	
organizational structure of employer	6	7.325	accept H <sub>0</sub>	
anticipation of future international migration	6	12.068	accept H <sub>0</sub>	
marital status	4	5.147	accept H <sub>0</sub>	
number of children	8	12.442	accept H <sub>0</sub>	

For government employees, consideration of more than one channel for future mobility was especially significant. This can be explained through the implicit involvement of these employees with less structured channels in the past (where international mobility is 'unpredictable'), and their perception of a similar situation for the future. The gathering of information and the decision making which facilitate international movement, appears to be undertaken with reference to a number of mechanisms 'open' to the individual.

While managerial/administrative employees indicated consideration of only one channel, lower status respondents revealed the most significant level of 'maximizing' behaviour. Such behaviour can be explained as due to the semi-or-unskilled nature of their employment. While there is international demand for the most skilled personnel, more restrictions have been placed upon the movement of lesser skilled individuals. The types of employment for which these migrants are suitable will be less likely to afford international attention and advertisement. Hence, the 'net' of information gathering necessary to enable international mobility must be spread wide, incorporating the less structured channels whose modes of operation may be more likely to facilitate the migration of the less skilled.

#### 13.4.3 Chi Square Test Results : Type of Future Channel

Discussion and explanation of the association between past involvement with and future anticipated use of channels (Table 13.11) is aided by consideration of Figure 13.1. This figure was constructed using past channel as a basis from which anticipation of future channel(s) were mapped. Of great significance was the number of respondents who indicated the intra-company transfer channel for last move and who perceived it for future mobility also. Those involved with this company channel in the past, in very large degree only anticipated utilization of the same mode of international movement for the future. The relative constancy of involvement with

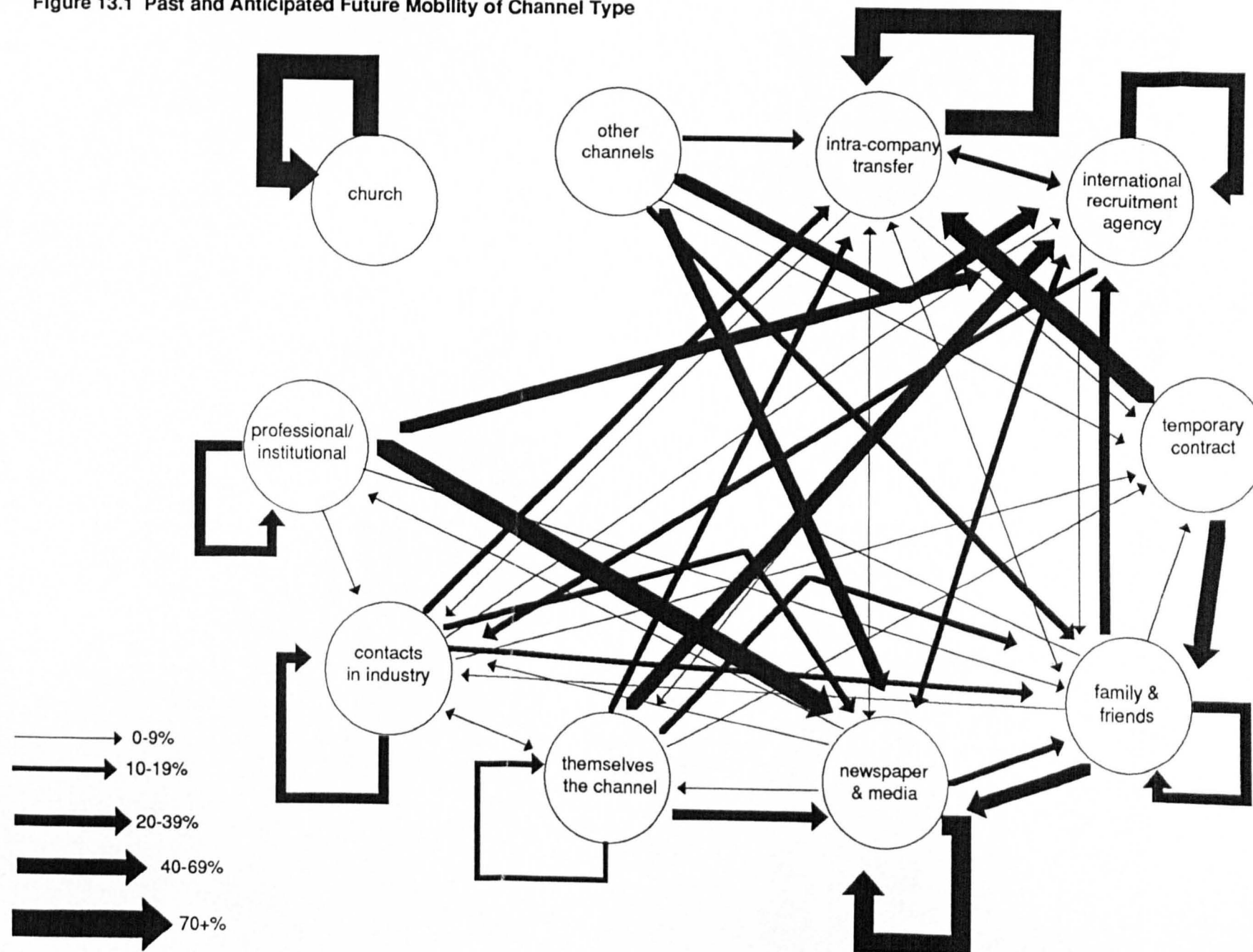
Table 13.11 Chi Square Test Statistics : Types of Future Channel Indicated

	df	X <sup>2</sup>		
channel type (past)	35	320.530	reject H <sub>0</sub>	99.9
employment type	30	123.275	reject H <sub>0</sub>	99.9
job status	12	44.019	reject H <sub>0</sub>	99.9
type of employer	12	78.566	reject H <sub>0</sub>	99.9
organizational structure of employer	12	63.501	reject H <sub>0</sub>	99.9
future motivations	60	132.725	reject H <sub>0</sub>	99.9
location country	24	83.262	reject H <sub>0</sub>	99.9
no. future channels indicated	14	82.562	reject H <sub>0</sub>	99.9
migrant type	12	27.886	reject H <sub>0</sub>	99
anticipation of future international migration	18	31.718	reject H <sub>0</sub>	95
age of respondent	12	12.208	accept H <sub>0</sub>	
no. international moves	12	11.787	accept H <sub>0</sub>	
marital status	12	12.095	accept H <sub>0</sub>	
number of children	18	14.536	accept H <sub>0</sub>	

this particular channel is visible from the large proportion of circulatory mobility mapped in Figure 13.1. If or when future international movement occurs (and many in this channel did indicate an expectation of high levels of future movement), then it was perceived that such mobility would operate through the internal labour market of their employer.

All other channels displayed patterns of association of a very different nature to that for the intra-company

Figure 13.1 Past and Anticipated Future Mobility of Channel Type



transfer channel. Circulatory mobility within these channels was of a lower magnitude, many migrants not anticipating utilization of the same channel in future. The size and direction of the arrows indicated that respondents involved with all other channels described some future concern with the newspaper and media and/or the international recruitment agencies channels (see also Table 13.9). The complexity of anticipated involvement with many future channels was extended to include (at varying levels) the belief that future mobility may indeed be facilitated through the intra-company transfer channel. Although, in general these individuals did not perceive themselves to have access to the restricted, structured channel available to MNC employees.

Energy/water employment was identified as very closely associated with anticipated future moves through intra-company transfers. The high level of involvement of these employees with this company channel for future mobility is due to the importance of large MNC's within these industries internationally (Eg. the oil industry in Scotland). Employees anticipate future international moves and career development to occur within the ILM of their employing company, as was the case in their previous moves. Due to the relative 'security' and predictability of operation of this channel and the development of their career within the company framework, individual respondents do not perceive or desire future mobility through other channels.

These findings were backed up with evidence that employees of the largest private companies strongly anticipated future mobility to be by intra-company transfers. Consideration of individuals employed by smaller, more local private companies revealed that they perceived future moves being mainly via the newspaper and other media channel.

Employees of service industries, generally government employees, significantly represented their perceived future concern with the newspaper and media, and contacts in industry channels. Thus these respondents displayed important levels of anticipated involvement with the least structured channels.

Unsurprisingly, managerial/administrative status employees anticipated involvement with the intra-company transfer channel for their future mobility. However, this company channel was of much lesser importance for the future mobility of the lowest status employees, where expected movement was via family and friends.

Not surprisingly the 'transfer by employer' motive for future movement was of greatest importance for those anticipating future involvement with intra-company transfers. However, this 'transfer by employer' motivation was indicated to some degree in all other channels, indicative of a desire or hope of future employment with a large company within which international mobility might be assured.



The spatial corollary of process effects upon future mobility will now be discussed. Anticipation of intra-company transfer channelled moves was most significant for respondents living and working in the USA, while they were of much lesser concern in Australia and Canada, N.Zealand, S.Africa. In these 'settled' migration locations, family and friends, newspaper and other media, and contacts in industry channels as methods for future mobility were of increased importance.

Respondents indicating frequent or very frequent future international moves were found to be most likely to indicate their future involvement with the intra-company transfer channel. This a very similar pattern of relationship to that for past channels.

Similarly, the relationship between future types of channel and the number of future channels indicated need only be mentioned briefly to avoid repetition of previous discussion. Those respondents who perceived future movement through the intra-company transfer channel were most likely to indicate only this one channel. However, respondents anticipating future international movement involving certain of the other channels (especially international recruitment agencies, newspaper and media) indicated concern with two or three channels, reflecting their attempts to widen their options and/or ensure their future mobility.



### 13.5 Conclusions

This chapter has sought to examine the way that migrants' perceptions of future events are structured. A number of hypotheses were set out and many of them were confirmed. Evaluation of these hypotheses involved deciding whether or not the assertion about certain relationships between perceptions, events and experiences were valid. The decision to accept/reject the hypotheses was, in the researcher's view rather subjective, although masked by the use of apparently objective statistical techniques.

In this case, hypotheses regarding future mobility, future motivations and future channels were formulated from the findings of previous chapters - for example, with regard to the influence of employment, employer, location, personal characteristics etc. Although a number of relationships were substantiated by the statistical evidence, simple ecological association is in itself never proof of causality. Relationships are not simply one way but usually multiple (Abler, Adams and Gould 1972). The researcher must be able to construct a logical network - a conceptual context - which makes it reasonable to accept the propositions.

It was evident that individuals' perceptions of future migration (potential, motivation and channel) were significantly different from one another and stem from different circumstances. The tying together of statistical associations with logical explanations with regard to

migrants' perceptions of the future would appear to validate the theoretical basis of this thesis, that an extended migration channels framework - and the processes, gatekeepers and controls on international mobility that this encompasses - provides a formal conceptual structure for understanding and explaining past and perceived future skilled international mobility. This over-arching context forms the logical basis within which to accept and explain the multiplicity of relationships of future migration, and to stimulate or predict unsuspected relationships.

While perceptions of the future can never explain future actions, the study of mechanisms of migration allows for an investigation of 'causality' and 'control' in anticipated or desired mobility. The information regarding perceived future migration confirmed the theory that channels and those who control them (the differential selectivity that they represent) are prime determinants of international migration. The internal dynamics of the migration channels significantly structure the pattern of perceived international migration opportunities, and selectively mould the characteristics of future international mobility.

However, the existence of migration channels by no means reduces the role of potential migrants to that of a passive response to their environment. Migrants interpret their future behaviour as an active response to career opportunities, family concerns, employment opportunities, etc. Ultimately, the degree of control, the type of

selectivity operated, and the outcome - the 'action' - will vary between the modes of operation of the channelling mechanisms, affected by critical constraints imposed by forces operating at other levels.

## Chapter 14    Conclusions

### 14.1    Introduction

A main conclusion of this research relates to the utility of a channels framework for the understanding and explanation of skilled international migration. Studies of labour migration which concentrate on the selectivity of migrants (e.g. age, employment type etc.) are of interest but do not provide an overall explanation of the phenomena. Similarly, studies which consider only 'structure' in the broad sense make useful and valuable contributions. However, a channels framework adds a new dimension to explanation of labour migration, and gives explanatory power at another level. Explanation under a channels framework includes the individual level, the 'structural' context and the functional level - the level at which the migration processes, mechanisms and controls operate.

Other main conclusions arise from the aims and objectives of this thesis which were described in Chapter 1 and Chapter 3. A migration channels framework was applied, extended and adapted in explanation of the historically and geographically specific context of Scottish skilled international migration. Very varied channels were found to operate in the Scottish context of SIM - several of which had not previously received research attention (represented in Figure 5.4). The channels framework functioning in this context was found to be of greater complexity than that described for

Scotland by Findlay and Garrick (1990), and by Salt (1984, 1986b, 1988) in the context of the South East of England. It was revealed that there were important differences in involvement with the channels for each of the migration flows studied.

The nature of 'selectivity' represented by the various channelling mechanisms with regard to the characteristics of the migrants involved with them was evidenced. Variation in migrant characteristics could not be explained only in terms of citizenship, but necessitated understanding and explanation offered at the level of the international migration processes themselves. The 'selectivity' could be closely linked with the organization and mode of operation of the channels.

This was similarly the case with regard to the international migration and employment history of the individuals. Chapter 10 included a modelling exercise in which a number of parameters were detailed as of importance to the explanation of international experience (age, employment type, country of destination and employment status). These characteristics offered a 'template' which could be used for understanding international migration history. However, the explanation offered was only partial, and became a more logical and useful 'illustration' of the process when a channels dimension was included.

An assessment of the importance and effects of the concepts of career and career advancement upon SIM was

also an aim of this research. Previously, 'career' had chiefly been studied with reference to those skilled individuals involved with movement through the internal labour market of their employing company (Salt 1984, 1986b, 1988), and it was a contention that the overall situation was more complex than this. Salt's idea of 'career-path' migration was borne out, although found to be only one context of career and career advancement.

A majority of migrants in all channels indicated the importance of their career in undertaking international movement. While the career development of individuals involved with large international companies operates and can be mapped within the boundaries of the internal labour market, the careers of those involved in movement through other channels is less structured and predictable, and will involve several different employment contexts.

#### **14.2 Theoretical Issues**

Woods (1985) framework for a general theory of migration (Figure 1.1) provides a convenient point of reference for a discussion of the theoretical issues embodied in this research. This framework provides a useful, although not universal approach to the explanation of migration. Each of the separate elements required for theoretical explanation are included (for example, the structural context, the behavioural response and the actual patterns of migration which can be noted).

Discussion in Chapter 1 revealed that a number of theories for the explanation of international labour

migration have been put forward, but each has concentrated (to a greater or lesser extent) on a particular 'box' within this framework. Woods, as with many other theorists, does not manage to fluently link together the elements of his framework. There are arrows between the elements of the 'general theory', but these arrows are not explained and therefore remain in some respects 'black boxes'. The channels framework constructed during this research (building upon the previous work of Findlay 1990, Findlay and Garrick 1990, Gould 1987b, 1990, Johnson and Salt 1980, Salt 1984, 1986b, 1988) provides a way of linking some of these 'boxes' and sheds some light on the processes taking place.

For example, Woods (1985 p3) stated that the behavioural response (decision making and implementation) of the individual "is conditioned but not determined" by the structural context. Investigation and understanding of the channels operating (and the mode of control and selectivity that each embodies) within the economic, social, cultural, political and legal contexts of the particular migration system under study allows for explanation of the 'conditioning' which may arise.

It was not the intention of this research to produce a 'general theory' for the study of SIM, and this has not been achieved. However, a channels framework has a key role in the explanation of which persons from the large pool of potential migrants are selected for migration, and

how the skilled international migration system is controlled and directed.

There are four elements which must be considered within a good intermediate model of labour migration. Firstly, the model must admit that labour migration occurs within political, economic and social structures. Secondly, any model needs to accommodate migrants' motivations and the objectives of the 'gatekeepers'/ managers of the migration system. Thirdly, the model must allow for interaction between different dynamics in the system (i.e. the interaction of human agency and structural forces). Lastly, the model must consider the scale and spatial context, and be sufficiently flexible to allow for the fact that explanation at one scale or in one particular historical context may not be adequate at another scale or in another historically specific situation. A channels framework (as a mode of understanding and explanation) goes some way towards meeting these criteria. While neo-classical and Marxian interpretations of political, economic and social structures differ, both would validate the investigation of the functional and operational control of SIM by 'intermediary' agencies.

#### 14.3 Geographical Context

Previous research in Britain (Findlay and Gould 1989) identified the need for greater depth of understanding of skilled migration at the level of localities and regions. In particular, studies of migration in the so-called



'peripheral' regions were called for, in order to discover whether skill transfers from these areas mirrored, or differed significantly from those being witnessed in the economic 'core' of the UK - the South East.

This view is echoed in the work of Henderson (1989 p22) who, in researching the nature of globalization of production of semiconductors, noted the need for 'theorized histories' which are not so spatially abstract as Fröbel et al's (1980) work on the new international division of labour. He noted that "the dynamics and implications of industrial restructuring need to be grasped not only in relation to the particular territorial unit, but also in relation to the way in which the industrial branch, or complex of activities, in the given location fits into the structure of the world economy" (Henderson 1987 p37). Henderson believed that this could be best achieved by the creative application of the NIDL thesis.

It is a contention here that migration channels can be expected to reflect aspects of the geographical specificity of the labour market locations in which they have evolved, as well as the historical, political, social and economic context of their development. What does this research reveal about the Scottish context of SIM, and the operation of a channels framework within this context?

Scotland can be described as a 'deindustrializing' or 'reindustrializing' (Henderson 1989 p9) or a 'post-industrial' (Foster and Malley 1988) region. Employment

opportunities in the 'traditional' sectors of the Scottish economy (steel, ship building, coal mining etc.) have declined rapidly in the post-war era. The cheapness and quality of engineering and technical labour available in Scotland (Henderson 1989), as well as a large pool of unskilled labour made this a desirable region for investment by MNC's (e.g. in the electronics and oil and gas industries).

However, the role of international firms in the Scottish economy is very different to that in the economic 'core' of the UK or within the economy of the country from which the company originates. The decision making and control of these industries are spatially removed from Scotland (which functions mainly in a manufacturing role) and may be located in London, New York, Tokyo, etc. The importance of branch plants (and the internal labour markets that they represent) for SIM in the Scottish context was evidenced in the research, both for the importation of foreign expertise and the exportation of 'Scottish skill'.

Thus 'formal' channels of SIM, operating through the ILM's of MNC's do function and are of importance in the Scottish situation (for certain migration flows, in certain industries, and in certain locations). The nature of their operation is a function of the organization of work and the role of these industries within the Scottish economy.

However, in a UK situation, intra-company transfers are of greatest significance for SIM in London and the South East - the 'core' or 'world-city' location of many of these international companies. The role of MNC offices in this 'core' region is very different to that of Scottish branch plants, and involves many more industrial sectors (for example, banking and financial services).

Other 'formal' channels of SIM which were of significance in the Scottish situation were international recruitment agencies, and small and intermediate sized companies with overseas contracts. For example, it has been shown that international recruitment agencies hold certain stereotyped images of the specialisms of regional labour markets (Findlay and Stewart 1985, Findlay and Garrick 1990, Gould 1987b, 1990, Roberts 1986) and are therefore more likely to recruit specific skills in certain areas. There was some evidence of recruitment of engineering/technological skills from the Scottish labour market, and also education, medical and health professionals. However, it was noted that the data sources may have led to under-representation of this regionally specific channel.

Similarly, Scotland's 'peripheral' nature may have been revealed through the moulding influence of companies with overseas contracts. It was a contention stated earlier in this thesis and elsewhere (Findlay and Garrick 1990 p180) that "smaller and medium sized companies in the 'peripheral' regions of the British economy are more

likely to have been "forced" to look abroad for work as a strategy for survival, than similar companies located in the prosperous South East". This was not found to be true in terms of the flows of SIM analysed in this research, although problems with description of this channel may have 'blurred' its real significance.

Of significance in detailing Scotland's 'peripheral' position and defining its regional labour market was the information relating to the importance and variety of 'informal' channels operating. For highly skilled international migration in the British context, it is expected that the importance of such informal channels at the 'core' location would be lessened, as anticipated, expected or desired mobility (both for individual career development, and in terms of the organization of work and international division of labour) would be facilitated through the operation of the more formal channels, and especially through the internal labour markets of international companies. The importance of this company channel has been evidenced in the work of Salt (1984, 1986b, 1988) and Beaverstock (1990).

However, this does not imply that informal channels for the international movement of the highly skilled do not operate at the 'core'. For example, Shuttleworth and Kockel (1990) <sup>provided</sup> <sup>of</sup> evidence skilled Irish immigration to London through informal and friendship networks. However, such processes are of less numerical significance at the 'core', and may be related to specific migration streams.

The importance of informal networks and indeed clandestine moves for the international migration of lower skilled labour to 'core' or 'world cities' was described by Sassen-Koob (1986).

Informal channels for the international migration of the highly skilled are, however, of significance in a 'peripheral' labour market where career prospects are limited and/or 'shallow', where the individual can not anticipate a move abroad with their employer (employers at local, regional or national level rather than international), and where the role of MNC's is functional (manufacturing) rather than organizational (administrative, decision making) or innovative (research and development).

Thus, the structure of the channels framework in Scotland can be attributed to its position in the structure and dynamics of the international division of labour. Flows of skill transfer will be dis-aggregated in relation to the forces which determine their access to international employment opportunities. This will differ from that which characterizes other 'peripheral' regions (Eg. Ireland, as studied by Shuttleworth (1989) and Shuttleworth and Kockel (1990)) and 'core' economies.

If the framework discussed is valid, then it would suggest that, at an intermediate level of analysis, explanation of skill flows in other spatial contexts can be achieved by investigating the development, operation and control of specific migration channels within

geographical, historical, economic, social and political confines. Control and access to migration channels in specific geographical contexts therefore becomes of particular interest, both as a means of interpreting the significance of specific high level manpower movements, and as an indicator of the ways in which power conflicts between one part of the world labour market and another are resolved. Future research is needed to substantiate the geographical importance of a channels framework, through further application, adaptation and extension of these ideas in other regions.

Appendix 1 - Questionnaire of Return Migrants and  
Immigrants to Scotland

To be answered by the head of household

A) MIGRATION HISTORY

This section of the questionnaire is concerned with your experience of moving internationally since entering the labour market.

1. Could you please complete the following table. Only include moves which lasted 3 months or longer. It will be assumed that at the end of each move you have returned to your country of origin, unless you indicate otherwise.  
NOTE : status of job refers to whether managerial, supervisory, etc.

	origin country	destination country	year	length of stay yrs, mnths	job type	job status
1st move						
2nd move						
3rd move						
4th move						
5th move						

(Please continue on a separate sheet if necessary)

2. Could you fill in this table with information as to whether your spouse/partner and children accompanied you on these international moves. The number of the move in this table corresponding with the previous table in Question 1. Your answer should be Yes, No or Not Applicable (if not married or no children at the time of movement).

	1st move	2nd move	3rd move	4th move	5th move
Did your spouse/ partner accompany you?					
Did your children accompany you?					

(Please continue on a separate sheet if necessary)



3. Could you please indicate in the table below the most important motives for your first and last moves. (Please tick ALL applicable boxes).

	1st move	last move
better job		
better wages		
career development		
personal/family reasons		
unable to get job in origin country		
desire to travel		
transfer by employer		
to gain experience/training		
only way to get a job		
better use of your skills		
more job responsibility		
dissatisfaction with previous job		
other motive - please specify		

#### B) PRESENT SITUATION

(IF CURRENTLY UNEMPLOYED, go to Question 8)

4. IF CURRENTLY EMPLOYED, in which of these sectors are you working?

- a) agriculture, forestry fishing ( )
- b) energy and water supply ( )
- c) metal manufacture and chemicals ( )
- d) metal goods, mechanical, electrical, instrument engineering ( )
- e) other manufacturing ( )
- f) building, civil engineering ( )
- g) distribution, hotels and catering, repairs ( )
- h) transport and communications ( )
- i) banking, finance, insurance, business services ( )
- j) health, education and other services ( )

5. a) please specify, what is the exact job description or type of job? .....

b) please specify, what is the status (level of skill and experience) of this job? (Eg. manager, supervisor, professional etc) .....

6. Are you currently -

- a) an employee of a PRIVATE company/business? ( )
- b) a GOVERNMENT employee (local or national)? ( )
- c) SELF-EMPLOYED in your OWN company/business? ( )
- d) working in a company/business owned by FAMILY OR FRIENDS? ( )
- e) OTHER - please specify .....

7. If you answered a) PRIVATE company in Question 6, how would you describe your current employer?

- a) large multinational company (offices in many countries) ( )
- b) transnational company (offices in a few countries) ( )
- c) large local company/business (offices in one country) ( )
- d) small local company/business (offices in one region) ( )

8. If UNEMPLOYED, how long is it since you were last in paid employment? .....

9. IF AN IMMIGRANT TO SCOTLAND, what were your main motives/reasons for coming to live and work here? (Please tick as many motives as were important to you)

- transfer by employer ( )
- better job - in terms of skill and responsibility ( )
- better wages ( )
- desire to travel ( )
- to gain experience ( )
- for training ( )
- to develop your career ( )
- political reasons ( )
- armed forces ( )
- personal/family reasons ( )
- other reasons - please specify .....
- .....

10. IF A RETURN MIGRANT TO SCOTLAND, what were your motives/reasons for returning to live and work here? (Please tick as many motives as were important to you)

end of contract abroad	( )
retirement	( )
transfer by employer	( )
personal/family reasons	( )
no desire to work abroad	( )
better job - in terms of skill and responsibility	( )
to develop your career	( )
armed forces	( )
better wages	( )
other reasons - please specify .....	( )
.....	( )

11. How did you find out about work abroad? (Discuss relative to your last migration)

a) job placement by international recruitment agency	( )
b) intra-company transfer to a foreign assignment	( )
c) temporary job with a company only for the period of overseas employment	( )
d) job information/contract arranged by family and friends	( )
e) job arranged by government immigration organization	( )
f) newspaper or media advert	( )
g) other - please specify .....	( )

12. IF YOU ARE A RETURN MIGRANT, was your job in Scotland arranged prior to your return? (Please indicate)

Yes / No

### C) CAREER ISSUES

13. How important are career prospects to you? (Please tick)

very important	( )
important	( )
some importance	( )
minimal importance	( )
irrelevant	( )

14a. Do you think that working abroad has helped in your career development?

very much	( )
to some extent	( )
neither helped nor hindered	( )
a hindrance	( )

14b. In relation to question 14a, please state in what ways working abroad has/has not helped in the development of your career.

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

15. Please indicate whether your current employer has stated at some time that your contract may involve a spell of work abroad.

Yes / No

#### D) PERCEPTUAL QUESTIONS

This section of the questionnaire is concerned with your perceptions of yourself, the countries in which you have worked, and your employers in these countries.

16. What are your views of the countries you have worked in or are currently working in? Please comment on any of the topics listed below (plus any others that you feel are relevant) as a help to giving your description.

the working environment, social environment, political environment, economic environment, quality of life, the people, the countryside, the climate

Name of country	Your views/perceptions
-----------------	------------------------

-----	-----
-----	-----
-----	-----
-----	-----
-----	-----

17. Is there a country (or countries) where you would like to live and work again or for the first time?

Please list them here.....

18. Is there a country (or countries) where you would not like to live and work again or for the first time?

Please list them here.....

19. Please indicate (tick) what effects you think international migration has had on you in terms of

	good effect	no effect	bad effect
attitude to work			
attitude to further travel			
attitudes to other peoples and cultures			
ability in foreign languages			

20. Please indicate (tick) what you would say have been the effects of international migration on your family (particularly children), in terms of

	good effect	no effect	bad effect
education			
attitudes to other peoples and cultures			
attitudes to future work			
attitudes to future travel			
ability in foreign languages			

21. Do you anticipate that for employment reasons you will be moving internationally again in the future? (Please tick)

never	( )
once	( )
rarely	( )
frequently	( )
very frequently	( )
don't know	( )

22. What would be your main motives for any future moves?  
(please tick as many as are applicable)

only way to get a job	( )
better job - in terms of skill and responsibility	( )
better wages	( )
desire to travel	( )
to gain experience	( )
for training	( )
to develop your career	( )
political reasons	( )
personal/family reasons	( )
end of contract in Scotland	( )
transfer by employer	( )
retirement	( )
other - please specify .....	

23. Would you please indicate your response to each of these statement -

- a) expatriates generally make major financial gains from the international migration experience  
agree strongly/agree/disagree/disagree strongly
- b) expatriates are exploited by companies and the international system who move them round the world  
agree strongly/agree/disagree/disagree strongly
- c) companies and expatriates gain mutual benefits from international migration  
agree strongly/agree/disagree/disagree strongly
- d) the poor employment situation in Scotland means that for many people, going abroad is the best way to find a job  
agree strongly/agree/disagree/disagree strongly
- e) the economic situation in Scotland means that many companies have to look for work/contracts abroad in order for them to survive  
agree strongly/agree/disagree/disagree strongly
- f) I would prefer to find a job that used my skills and experience in Scotland  
agree strongly/agree/disagree/disagree strongly
- g) I would prefer to work abroad again rather than in Scotland  
agree strongly/agree/disagree/disagree strongly
- h) the advent of a single European Market in 1992 will lead to more international migration for employment  
agree strongly/agree/disagree/disagree strongly

E) PROFILE CHARACTERISTICS

24. In which country were you born?.....

25. Of which country (countries) are you a citizen?.....

.....

26. Are you -        MALE / FEMALE

27. Please indicate your age -    15-24    25-34    35-44    45-54

55-59/64    60/65+

28. Please indicate your marital status -    single/married/  
separated/divorced/widowed/  
unmarried couple

29. How many children do you have?    none/ 1/ 2/ 3/ 4/ 5+

30. What is the age of your youngest child?    0-5    6-9    10-14

15-19    20+

31. What is the age of your oldest child?    0-5    6-9    10-14

15-19    20+

-----

Thank you for completing this questionnaire. Please find enclosed a stamped addressed envelope for returning your response to the University. If you wish to add anything further regarding your experiences of working and living abroad this would be very much appreciated. If you would be willing to help further, please fill in your name and address below.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP

Your name and address.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

## Appendix 2 - Questionnaire of Emigrants



ARE YOU SCOTTISH AND LIVING/WORKING ABROAD? or HAVE YOU EVER LIVED/WORKED IN SCOTLAND?

If you can answer yes to either of these two questions, I would be most grateful if you could assist me by completing the following questionnaire. I am conducting a survey into the international migration of skilled personnel, with particular reference to the Scottish situation.

To be answered by the head of household

**A) MIGRATION HISTORY** This section of the questionnaire is concerned with your experience of moving internationally since entering the labour market.

1. Could you please complete the following table. Only include moves which lasted 3 months or longer. It will be assumed that at the end of each move you have returned to your country of origin, unless you indicate otherwise. NOTE : status of job refers to whether managerial, supervisory, etc.

	origin country	destination country	year	length of stay	job type	job status
1st move						
2nd move						
3rd move						
4th move						

(Please continue on a separate sheet if necessary)

2. Could you fill in this table with information as to whether your spouse/partner and children accompanied you on these international moves. The number of the move in this table corresponding with the previous table in Question 1. Your answer should be Yes, No or Not Applicable (if not married or no children at the time of movement).

	1st move	2nd move	3rd move	4th move
Did your spouse/partner accompany you?				
Did your children accompany you?				

(Please continue on a separate sheet if necessary)

3. Could you please indicate in the table below the most important motives for your first and last moves (Please tick all applicable)

	1st move	last move
better job	( )	( )
higher wages	( )	( )
career development	( )	( )
personal/family reasons	( )	( )
unable to get job in origin country	( )	( )
desire to travel	( )	( )
transfer by employer	( )	( )
to gain experience/training	( )	( )
only way to get a job	( )	( )
better use of your skills	( )	( )
more job responsibility	( )	( )
dissatisfaction with previous job	( )	( )
other motives - please specify .....		

4. In which DISTRICT or TOWN in Scotland did you live before moving to your present residence?.....

#### B) PRESENT SITUATION

5. a) please specify, your current job description or type of job

.....

b) please specify, the status (level of skill and experience) of your current job (Eg. manager, supervisor, professional etc)

.....

6. Are you currently -

- a) an employee of a PRIVATE company/business? ( )
- b) a GOVERNMENT employee (local or national)? ( )
- c) SELF-EMPLOYED in your OWN company/business? ( )
- d) working in a company/business owned by FAMILY OR FRIENDS? ( )
- e) OTHER - please specify .....

7. If you answered a) PRIVATE company in Question 6, how would you describe your current employer?

- a) large multinational company (offices in many countries) ( )
- b) transnational company (offices in a few countries) ( )
- c) large local company/business (offices in one country) ( )
- d) small local company/business (offices in one region)

8. How did you find out about work abroad? (Discuss relative to your last migration)

- a) job placement by international recruitment agency ( )
- b) intra-company transfer to a foreign assignment ( )
- c) temporary job with a company only for the period of overseas employment ( )
- d) job information/contract arranged by family and friends ( )
- e) job arranged by government immigration organization ( )
- f) newspaper or media advert ( )
- g) other - please specify .....

9. Was a job in your present country of residence arranged prior to your departure from Scotland?

Yes / No

10. How long do you expect to remain in the country where you are currently living and working? (Please indicate)

1yr    2-3yrs    4-6yrs    7-10yrs  
10+yrs    lifetime    don't know

11. Do you anticipate that for employment reasons you will be moving internationally again in the future? (Please indicate)

never          once          rarely          frequently  
very frequently          don't know

12. What would be your main motives for any future moves? (please tick as many as are applicable)

- only way to get a job ( )
- better job - in terms of skill and responsibility ( )
- better wages ( )
- desire to travel ( )
- to gain experience ( )
- for training ( )
- to develop your career ( )
- political reasons ( )
- personal/family reasons ( )
- end of contract in Scotland ( )
- transfer by employer ( )
- retirement ( )
- other - please specify .....
- .....

13. How would you anticipate finding out about future work abroad?

- a) job placement by international recruitment agency ( )
- b) intra-company transfer to a foreign assignment ( )
- c) temporary job with a company only for the period of overseas employment ( )
- d) job information/contract arranged by family and friends ( )
- e) job arranged by government immigration organization ( )
- f) newspaper or media advert ( )
- g) other - please specify .....

### C) PERCEPTIONS

This question is concerned with your perceptions of Scotland, the countries in which you have worked, and your employers in these countries.

14. What are your views of the countries you have worked in or are currently working in? Please comment on any of the topics listed below (plus any others that you feel are relevant) as a help to giving your description.

the working environment, social environment, political environment, economic environment, quality of life, the people, the countryside, the climate

Name of country	Your views/perceptions
Scotland	

### D) CAREER ISSUES

15. How important are career prospects to you? (Please indicate)

very important      important      some importance  
minimal importance      irrelevant

16. Do you think working abroad has helped in your career development? (Please indicate)

very much      to some extent      neither helped nor hindered  
a hindrance

E) PROFILE CHARACTERISTICS

17. In which country were you born?.....  
(Eg. Scotland, England etc)

18. Of which country (countries) are you a citizen?.....

19. Are you -                      MALE   /   FEMALE

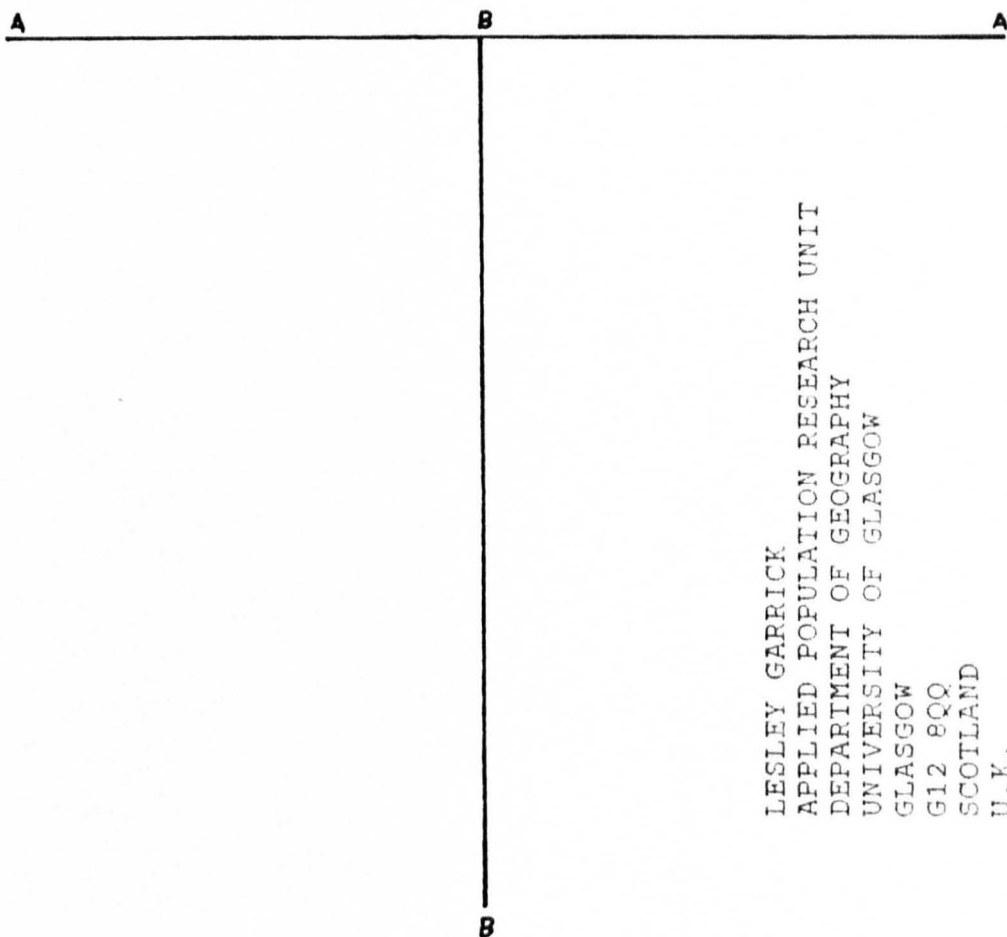
20. Please indicate your age - 15-24   25-34   35-44   45-54  
   55-59/64   60/65+

21. Please indicate your marital status - single/married/  
   separated/divorced/widowed/  
   unmarried couple

22. How many children do you have?   none/ 1/ 2/ 3/ 4/ 5+

Thank you for completing this questionnaire. I would be most grateful if you could fold along lines A and B, seal the questionnaire, and return it to me at the address printed below.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP



LESLEY GARRICK  
APPLIED POPULATION RESEARCH UNIT  
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G12 8QQ  
SCOTLAND  
U.K.

### Appendix 3 - Home and Away Questionnaire

ARE YOU BRITISH AND LIVING/WORKING ABROAD? or HAVE YOU EVER LIVED/WORKED IN BRITAIN?

If you can answer yes to either of these two questions, I would be most grateful if you could assist me by completing the following questionnaire. I am conducting a survey into the international migration of skilled personnel, with particular reference to the UK situation.

To be answered by the head of household

**A) MIGRATION HISTORY** This section of the questionnaire is concerned with your experience of moving internationally since entering the labour market.

1. Could you please complete the following table. Only include moves which lasted 3 months or longer. It will be assumed that at the end of each move you have returned to your country of origin, unless you indicate otherwise.  
NOTE : under JOB TITLE please indicate JOB TYPE and JOB STATUS

	origin country	destination country	year	length of stay	job title
1st move					
2nd move					
3rd move					
4th move					

(Please continue on a separate sheet if necessary)

2. Could you fill in this table with information as to whether your spouse/partner and children accompanied you on these international moves. The number of the move in this table corresponding with the previous table in Question 1. Your answer should be Yes, No or Not Applicable (if not married or no children at the time of movement).

	1st move	2nd move	3rd move	4th move
Did your spouse/partner accompany you?				
Did your children accompany you?				

(Please continue on a separate sheet if necessary)

3. Could you please indicate in the table below the most important motives for your first and last moves (Please tick all applicable)

	1st move	last move
better job	( )	( )
higher wages	( )	( )
career development	( )	( )
personal/family reasons	( )	( )
unable to get job in origin country	( )	( )
desire to travel	( )	( )
transfer by employer	( )	( )
to gain experience/training	( )	( )
only way to get a job	( )	( )
better use of your skills	( )	( )
more job responsibility	( )	( )
dissatisfaction with previous job	( )	( )
other motives - please specify .....		

4. In which DISTRICT or TOWN/CITY did you live immediately before leaving Britain? .....

#### B) PRESENT SITUATION

5. a) please specify, your current job description or type of job .....

b) please specify, the status (level of skill and experience) of your current job (Eg. manager, supervisor, professional etc) .....

6. Are you currently -

- a) an employee of a PRIVATE company/business? ( )
- b) a GOVERNMENT employee (local or national)? ( )
- c) SELF-EMPLOYED in your OWN company/business? ( )
- d) working in a company/business owned by FAMILY OR FRIENDS? ( )
- e) OTHER - please specify .....

7. If you answered a) PRIVATE company in Question 6, how would you describe your current employer?

- a) large multinational company (offices in many countries) ( )
- b) transnational company (offices in a few countries) ( )
- c) large local company/business (offices in one country) ( )
- d) small local company/business (offices in one region)



8. How did you find out about work abroad? (Relative to your last migration)
- a) job placement by international recruitment agency ( )
  - b) intra-company transfer to a foreign assignment ( )
  - c) temporary job with a company only for the period of overseas employment ( )
  - d) job information/contract arranged by family and friends ( )
  - e) job arranged by government immigration organization ( )
  - f) newspaper or media advert ( )
  - g) other - please specify .....

9. Was a job in your present country of residence arranged prior to your departure from Scotland? Yes / No

10. How long do you expect to remain in the country where you are currently living and working? (Please indicate)

1yr 2-3yrs 4-6yrs 7-10yrs 10+yrs lifetime don't know

11. Do you anticipate that for employment reasons you will be moving internationally again in the future? (Please indicate)

never once rarely frequently very frequently don't know

12. What would be your main motives for any future moves? (please tick as many as are applicable)

- only way to get a job ( )
- better job - in terms of skill and responsibility ( )
- better wages ( )
- desire to travel ( )
- to gain experience ( )
- for training ( )
- to develop your career ( )
- political reasons ( )
- personal/family reasons ( )
- end of contract in Scotland ( )
- transfer by employer ( )
- retirement ( )
- other - please specify .....

13. How would you anticipate finding out about future work abroad?

- a) job placement by international recruitment agency ( )
- b) intra-company transfer to a foreign assignment ( )
- c) temporary job with a company only for the period of overseas employment ( )
- d) job information/contract arranged by family and friends ( )
- e) job arranged by government immigration organization ( )
- f) newspaper or media advert ( )
- g) other - please specify .....

### C) CAREER ISSUES

14. How important are career prospects to you? (Please indicate)

very important      important      some importance  
minimal importance      irrelevant

15. Do you think working abroad has helped in your career development? (Please indicate)

very much      to some extent      neither helped nor hindered  
a hindrance

### D) PERCEPTIONS

This question is concerned with your perceptions of Britain, the countries in which you have worked, and your employers in these countries.

16. What are your views of the countries you have worked in or are currently working in? Please comment on any of the topics listed below (plus any others that you feel are relevant) as a help to giving your description.

the working environment, social environment, political environment, economic environment, quality of life, the people, the countryside, the climate

Name of country.....	Your views/perceptions
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....
.....	.....

### E) PROFILE CHARACTERISTICS

17a. In which country were you born?.....  
(Eg. Scotland, England etc)

17b. If British, in which DISTRICT/TOWN were you born?  
.....

17c. Of which country (countries) are you a citizen?.....  
.....

18. Are you -                      MALE    /    FEMALE

19. Please indicate your age - 15-24    25-34    35-44    45-54  
   55-59/64    60/65+

20. Please indicate your marital status -  
single/married/separated/divorced/widowed/unmarried couple

21. How many children do you have?    none/ 1/ 2/ 3/ 4/ 5+

Thank you for completing this questionnaire. I would be most grateful if you would return it to me at the address printed below.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP

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