

11th

Iberian International Business Conference

Book of Proceedings

October 2-3, 2015
Porto, Portugal



Iberian diaspora and internationalization processes

Editors:

Susana Costa e Silva (Coordinator)

Leonor Sopas

Ricardo Morais



CATÓLICA PORTO
BUSINESS SCHOOL

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF PORTUGAL – CATÓLICA PORTO BUSINESS SCHOOL
Rua Diogo Botelho, 1327 // 4169-005 Porto, Portugal
T. +351 226 196 200 // F. +351 226 196 291 // www.catholicabs.porto.ucp.pt

Title: Iberian Diaspora and internationalization processes

October 2015

Editors:

Susana Costa e Silva (Coordinator); Leonor Sopas; Ricardo Morais

No responsibility is assumed by the Editors and Publishers for any injury and/or damage to persons or property as a matter of products liability, negligence or otherwise, or from any use or operation of any methods, products, instructions or ideas contained in the material herein.

ISBN: 978-972-99847-5-4

©The Authors (text)

©The Editors (edition)

Sponsors



Supporters



8. The role of satisfaction on labor diaspora dynamics: An analysis of entry and exit of Portuguese nurses

Maria Elo

Turku School of Economics, University of Turku, Finland

Susana Costa e Silva

School of Economics and Management, Catholic University of Portugal, Porto

Abstract

Psychology and management has acknowledged the effect of satisfaction, but in diaspora research the role that satisfaction plays in international mobility is understood mainly on economic macro-level. However, when labor diasporas, economic clusters and other hot spots emerge, they are not following only economic indicators but also individual level drivers. International migration consists of mobile individuals who decide when and where to enter and why to leave while the infrastructure and institutional framework provide the settings for their decision making and comparison. Pull and push forces have been identified, but their explanatory power is more dominant during the pre- and nascent phases of migration. A good example of this movement is Portugal, a peripheral European country, recently intervened by IMF that suffered the deepest effects of Great Financial Crisis (GFC), namely in a specific professional group: nurses. What makes Portuguese nurses to leave their country and become labor diaspora and stay labor diaspora? This explorative qualitative study is among the first that focuses on the role of satisfaction and its effects on labor diaspora mobility and stability. The findings illustrate that satisfaction relates to good working conditions and wages, but also to the possibilities to communicate with locals and other diasporans, and to the family situation. When this perceived satisfaction is lower than the expected satisfaction after migration the probability of migration is high, but when the difference is inexistent or negative migration will not take place.

The study contributes to the discussion on contemporary labor diaspora and brain circulation. It provides in-depth understanding to the dynamics of this form of labor diaspora from empirical research and provides propositions and suggestions for future research.

Keywords

Satisfaction, labor diaspora, expatriates, pull factor, push factor, entry, exit, Portugal, nurses

1. Introduction

Labor diaspora has played an important role in the history. Many economies have utilized labor diaspora resources for their economic growth, The German Economic miracle after the second World War and the United Arab Emirates today being good examples. However, the forms of labor diaspora have transformed from so called low-skilled workers to various even highly-skilled and -educated workers who migrate for work reasons. In migration studies scholars investigate issues of agency, friction, families and capital through a multi-level analysis, for example, the book “The Human Face of Global Mobility” by Michael P Smith and Adrian Favell (2006) illustrates these aspects. In human resource literature the highly-skilled are often referred to as expatriates, but this concept has an underlying connotation of corporate involvement in their migration, i.e. being sent by the company and not employing their own agency. Thus, labor diaspora dynamics may not apply similarly in the cases of expatriates building international career. Expatriates are also considered to be temporally more limited or more task-focused (Inkson et al. 1998). On the other hand, temporal and circular diasporas to cover local needs are particularly important in seasonal businesses such as agriculture. Diasporans are also welcome to fill in jobs that are either not wanted by the native population or cannot be covered by the natives due to resource shortage.

Contemporary labor diasporans are not a homogenous group of workers, instead, they are diverse formations influenced by various context-specific pull and push factors that influence their emergence and dynamics. Additionally, laws, regulations, policies and institutions form the overall structure for migration and respective policies. In Europe, the European Union created a common market for labor, which now enables cross-border workforce mobility. In this context, several service sector and industry resources –issues have been solved by attracting labor diasporans to exploit work opportunities. Especially skilled labor diaspora relates to the discussion on brain drain, as the countries of origin lose their investments in talent and the receiving countries benefit from their resources and gain talent (Tung, 2008). This brain drain may be turned into a virtuous circle (Kuznetsov, 2008, 2006) or what Tung (2008) calls “triangular human talent flow” that allows all participating countries to benefit from the diaspora talent and its effects. Also McLaughlin et al. (2011, p. 54) point out the positive effects of “triple win scenario” and circularity, both temporal and more permanent. Such circular path and repatriation have been proved to have positive effects, but the problem is that labor diaspora is not necessarily internationally very mobile, i.e. after the first entry the exit to return to COO may not take place. This phenomenon has been identified in the context of labor diasporans who entered Germany building the economic miracle- despite their status as Gastarbeiter many of them settled with their families in Germany. Therefore, the analysis

needs to combine the satisfaction and the view of the diasporans as it explores the dynamics of entry and exit.

This study focuses on one of the key areas of concern, the well trained, skilled contemporary health sector workers who migrate especially from the crisis-affected countries of the European South to exploit work opportunities in the European North leaving a talent gap behind. Thus, we selected Portugal as the sending country due to its theoretical relevance and nurses as representatives of one of the key labor types affected. The UK has been selected as the receiving country being one of the key host countries.

The study is structured as follows: first, we review extant literature and present our theoretical framework introducing a model of dynamics and forces influencing the diaspora decisions. Second, we describe the context and analyze the Portuguese nurses' cases. Third, we discuss and present the conclusions of the study.

2. Theoretical framework

The current economic lens on diaspora theory and direction of flows is strongly focusing on macro-level aspects and economic drivers, often concentrating on flows from developing countries to developed countries (e.g. Wescott & Brinkerhoff, 2006; Tung, 2008; Kuznetsov, 2006, 2008; Kuznetsov & Charles, 2006). However, the explanatory forces for these flows may also stem from micro-level context, for example, Zikic, Bonache & Cerdin (2010) studied migrant career orientation in cross-border context and formed a typology of orientations of qualified migrants. In similar vein, the migration and expatriate research has illustrated the meaning of individual agency and motivation.

The term diaspora is applied as it captures the dynamics and embeddedness of the migrants and addresses sentiments and the idea of potential return also theoretically (see more in Brinkerhoff, 2009). Diasporans are migrants who settle in some places, move on, and regroup; they may also be dispersed, but in any case as a group they "are in a continuous state of formation and reformation" (Cohen, 2008, p. 141). Cohen's (2008) labor diaspora term stems more from historical context pointing out its differences to other types of diasporas such as victim or trade diasporas. On the other hand, it is important to notice that the various concepts around migration and diaspora differ ontologically and practically and very often the meaning refers to a collective or a cohort and not just to an individual diasporan. There are several definitions and discussions going-on (cf. Safran, 1991; Brubaker, 2005). Dutia (2012, p. 4) notes, diaspora networks are evolving entities: "In today's context, the size of Diaspora networks and the global reach that they extend due to inexpensive air travel and communications channels are

re-defining their potential. At one point, Diasporas were internationally dispersed networks, but now they have evolved and have become structured and more interdependent than ever before". This is partially enabled by digital means as diasporans organize themselves also digitally (Brinkerhoff, 2009).

In economic discussions diaspora concept is discussed as "transnational populations living in a country other than their country of origin, but with ties to the country of origin" (Usher, 2005, p. 47). The evolving and heterogeneous nature of diaspora relates to the idea of Brubaker on diaspora as "project, claim or a stance" (2005, p. 12). According to Brubaker "we should seek to bring the [diaspora] struggles themselves into focus, without presupposing that they will eventuate into bounded groups" (2005, p. 13), which supports the reasoning of this study to understand the satisfaction and dynamics of diasporans struggling and coping with the crisis outcomes.

Diaspora connections and networks are important actors organizing diaspora resources and transferring knowledge and information (Wong & Salaff, 1998; Dutia, 2012; Kuznetsov, 2008; Talib et al., 2012). These networks cover home and host country contexts but also provide access to third diaspora country information as people may access professional digital diaspora networks, for example, based on occupation or location, thus enabling a novel comparison of situations and market specific information. The pool of talent living overseas is playing an increasing role in developing business opportunities and public services in a large number of countries (see Usher, 2005). For example, Aliaga-Isla & Rialp (2012) described how diaspora connections influence the entrepreneurship as antecedents conveying information and knowledge. In similar vein the influence of diaspora may constitute an important factor to consider beyond the individual.

The context in which diaspora decision making happens is relevant as the institutions and regulations govern international mobility and in this case the membership in the EU has opened the borders for mobility of nurses and medical personnel.

Diaspora resources are mainly conceptualized as "transferrable brains", either as brain drain or gain (Wescott & Brinkerhoff, 2006) depending on the perspective, and recently also as circulating resources (McLaughlin et al., 2011). Implicitly this discussion seems to have a connotation of ownership on the brain on the country level as the focal point is much of this research is in the cross-border flow of human resources. However, other scholars such as Rosalie Tung (e.g. Tung, 2008), have emphasized the talent aspect of these resources. McLaughlin et al. (2011, p. 54) point out that the one-directional approach is too limited. They provide considerations for other models of approaching

diaspora resources to better integrate the positive effects of the “triple win scenario” and circularity, both temporal and more permanent.

Globalization, the lowering of immigration and emigration barriers to the movement of people, and the emerging concept of boundaryless careers have all contributed to the phenomenon of brain circulation, also called “triangular human talent flow” (Tung, 2008). The broadening of understanding of the multiple directions of flows also takes a stance that is no longer seen from a single country perspective.

Therefore, the entry and exit behavior of individuals becomes central to understand as the talent flow effects are influencing countries alongside the individual mobility trajectories (cf. Kuznetsov, 2008). The creation of diasporas that consists not of short term expatriates but professionals settling in a new host country -as Cohen’s (2008) labor diaspora- is important to understand as theory has offered very little explanations on these dynamics of staying and remobilizing diasporas.

There are four factors that influence the brain circulation and refer to respective policies (Talib et al., 2012, pp. 240-241):

1. industrial arrangement in home and host countries
2. trust, learning, and entrepreneurship
3. the status of financial infrastructure for start-ups
4. the role of the state

Country of origin (COO) can be less attractive due to push forces such as economic crisis and unemployment, however, Portugal is a developed EU country. Country of residence (COR), like the UK, may pull skilled individuals with its employment advantages and historical diversity. In comparison to third countries like Norway or Germany, the UK benefits also from its language fit as English is taught in the school system. Beyond economic pull and push factors the role of policies is central in formation of migration and diasporas.

Thus, regarding professional groups such as medical professionals and nurses the individual and family level provides the suitable level of analysis as individuals are embedded in a lifecycle that consists of particularly intensive professional development after studying and before pension. Understanding the dynamics of labor diaspora requires analysis of the forces that make this period international.

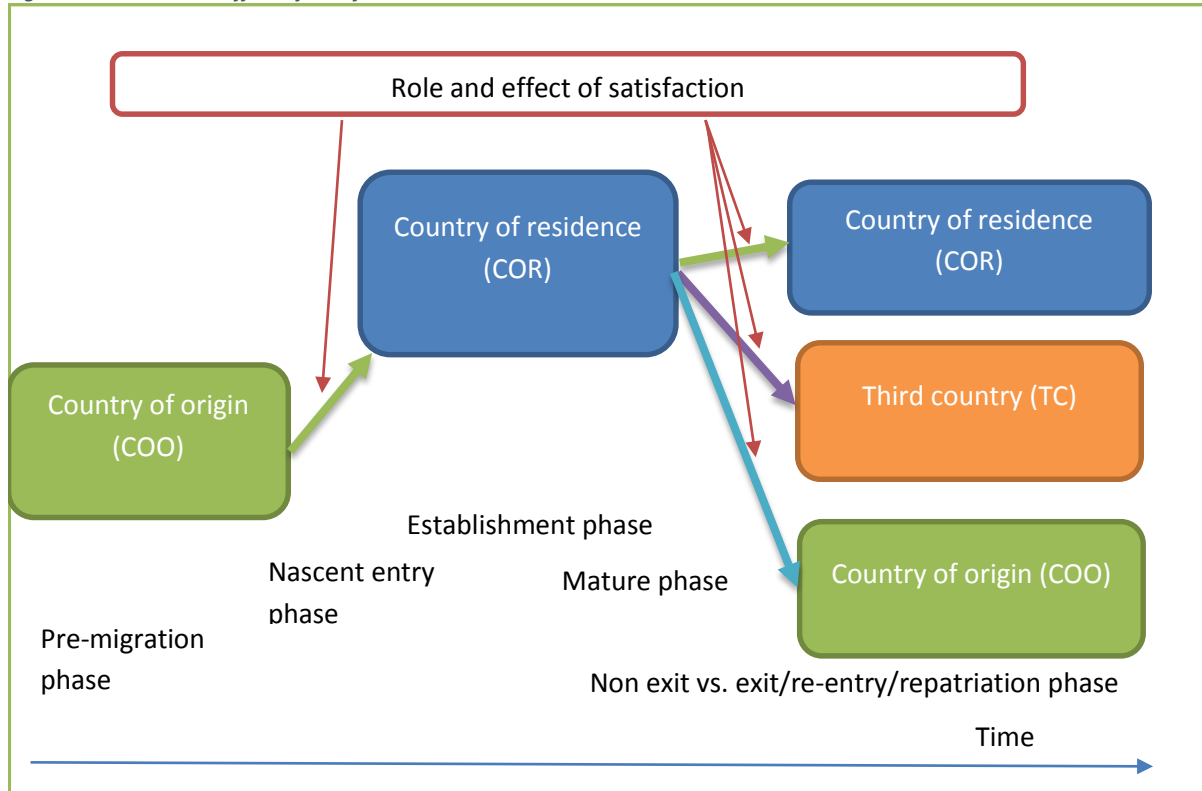
Labor diaspora dynamics and forces have been significantly influenced as the internet and the digitalization has transformed the ways diasporas share and use information and

organize themselves (Hepp et al. 2011). Professional networks, skills matching initiatives, community initiatives, FDI, and lobbying and advocacy represent new methods of diaspora engagement and use of their resources (cf. Usher, 2005, Dutia, 2012; Wong & Salaff, 1998). Novel types of organizations have emerged that link the COR employment opportunities and the COO resources in multiple ways creating an international recruiting system (see more in <http://www.intlnursemigration.org/> retrieved 10.7.2015). Moreover, the decision to exit the COO and enter a new COR is now facilitated by formal and informal sources of information that transmit also perceptions and views of the extant labor diasporas. For example, virtual platforms such as LinkedIn and Facebook provide direct, non-commercial information. This makes analysis and comparison of alternatives easier and enables an interested individual to build expectations on external sources as well, and thus influence their post-migration satisfaction.

While coping strategies of labor diasporans, their networks and social ties have attracted notable interest the satisfaction guiding their decision making on entry and exit has received less attention (cf. Chung & Tung, 2013; Elo & Jokela, 2014; Gill & Bialski, 2011; Leinonen, 2012; Marschan-Piekkari, Welch & Welch, 1999; Zikic et al., 2010, Author 14874, 2015). We claim that the overall satisfaction of labor diasporans is the key element to their behavior regulating their entry and exit behavior and thus the individual level dynamics of brain circulation.

Therefore, we suggest a theoretical framework (Figure 1) for analysis that assists in explaining the satisfaction effect on the first exit from the origin to the new host country (see COO arrow on the left side) and the respective staying, remigration to a third country, and repatriation to the country of origin (see respective arrows on the right side).

Figure 1. The role and effect of satisfaction



3. Research approach

This explorative study attempts to increase understanding on the labor diaspora entry and exist dynamics through the role of satisfaction. As satisfaction is an evolving state, a stance and claim like diaspora itself (Brubaker, 2005) it is necessary to incorporate its processual nature over time as its effect and role potentially varies on the individual level and regarding the context. For example, Leinonen (2012) has pointed out the diverse origins of satisfaction related to migration that may not stem only from economic benefit but instead from family ties and partnership, which is in line with Granovetter’s (1973) views on social ties. Thus, she considers satisfaction not being a rational, measurable or easily quantifiable influence factor due to its emotional dimensions as “money is not everything”. Contextualization of satisfaction and the entry-exit behavior in the life cycle of diasporans (Elo & Leinonen, 2014) assist in increasing the relevance and reliability of the findings.

Because the phenomenon is complex, dynamic and embedded in various contexts, we employ qualitative research methods and analysis on secondary quantitative studies (cf. Jick, 1979; Ghauri, 2004; Piekkari & Welch, 2004). The purpose is to theorize using satisfaction as an explanatory factor on entry and exit behavior using multiple data and extant cases providing grounding for theorizing (cf. Eisenhardt, 1989; Stake, 1995). Moreover, there is no tested scale available that could enable any quantitative research

approach (Golafshani, 2003). The study is constructed as an explorative study which builds on numerous types of data collection methods and data (Denzin, 1978; Alasuutari, 1995). Secondary data, especially statistical information, is collected and analysed. This data is mainly aggregated and represent country and group (nurses) level data.

4. Discussion and findings on the effect of satisfaction on Portuguese entry and exit behavior

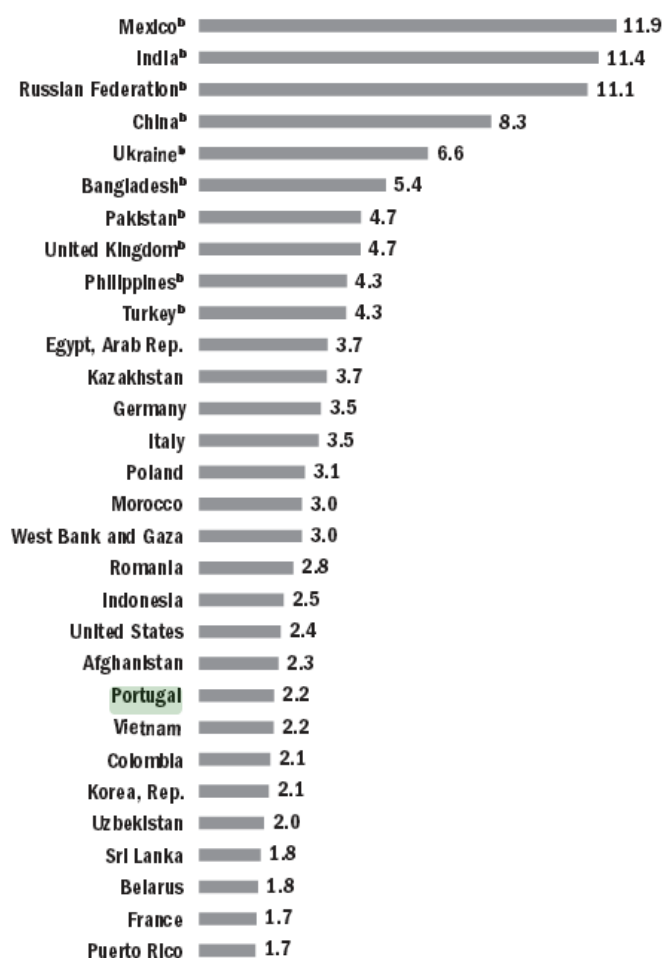
4.1. Contemporary Portuguese diaspora

Talent circulation is within the principle idea of the European Union and thus absolutely crucial for Europe. This became relevant for Portugal in 1986 as Portugal became an EU member but only after the 00s the Portuguese started to fully exploit the full potential of the membership. The circulation of talent increased significantly with initiatives as the Erasmus program fostered by the effect of Ryanair. The equal rights and opportunities of the single market going beyond receiving subsidies stimulated further mobility. Historically, it is worth to notice that there is a connection between Portugal and the UK: Portugal and the UK have the oldest international treaty ever signed between two countries: the Methuen Agreement signed in 1703 and that had to do with exchanges of wine and textiles (as used in the famous example of David Ricardo, the father of comparative advantage theory, which indeed inspired in this agreement). Since then Portugal and the UK have always been trade allies. This particularity of relations made Portugal to follow the UK's example in shifting from EFTA to the EU and not act proactively in applying for the EU membership.

Interestingly, the role of the UK as country of residence for Portuguese seems to have a particularly stabilizing effect on the entry and exit behavior as the analysis of the statistics illustrate in the following section. In fact, it seems that the UK has become a benchmark destination and a location for Portuguese labor diaspora as the majority of the nurse will stay in the UK until they retire or do not plan at all to return. This illustrates the long-term temporal orientation emphasizing the diaspora character of them over any temporally limited expatriate engagements.

There are approximately 2,2 million of Portuguese emigrants worldwide, making this the 22th country with more migrants in 2010, according to The World Bank, Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011 (see Figure 2).

Figure 2 – Top Emigration Countries in 2010.



Source: The World Bank, 2011 (millions of emigrants).

According to Pires et al. (2014), there are three distinct sets of destination countries for Portugal: the ones with older people, in the American continent (Brazil, Canada, USA and Venezuela); the ones facing a return of Portuguese emigration (Germany, France, and Luxembourg), and finally, the new countries, where the young Portuguese population the considered “new destination countries” by younger generations (UK, Switzerland, and Spain). This latter group is characterized by a tendency, initiated after the GFC of 2008, of young and better educated population to look for job opportunities abroad that cannot be found in Portugal.

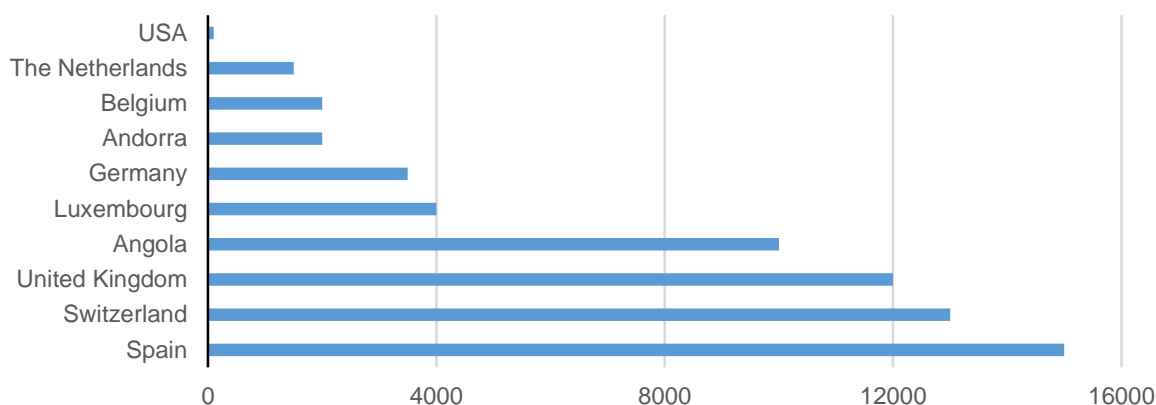
Indeed, a rise in Portuguese self-initiated expatriates is highly noted after 2011, i.e., during the global crisis of 2008-2010. As such, it was estimated that, in 2013, 110 thousand Portuguese people have left Portugal to live in countries like UK, Switzerland, Germany, and also Belgium, the Netherlands and Scandinavian countries (see Figure

2), which are countries that have been receiving the bulk of Portuguese residents that left the country (Pires et al., 2014). One of the professional groups that suffered most with the effects of crisis is nurses. This group had indeed very poor working conditions before the crisis, which went down after that event. Therefore, nurses constitute one of the most affected segment of professionals that had even stronger reasons to look for new opportunities abroad. Indeed, by 2012, 150 nurses were hired by health centers of Lisbon and Tejo Valley and were paid 4 euros per hour. The problem was that, facing a situation in which no jobs were found in the field, many highly qualified nurses accepted the salary, as the alternative was remaining with no job, and, therefore, no experience. According to newspapers¹¹, ARS-LVT (Health Regional Administration of Lisbon and Tejo Valley), salaries were contracted with recruitment agencies at a value ranging from 4.77 to 5.19 euros per hour. This value was agreed even though the initial base value proposed by regional health authority was of 8.5 euros per hour. But several agencies proposed lower values so that the nurses they were representing could indeed have a job, even though this job was just agreed for a period of 3 months. This is just an example of how low the conditions touched in the acute phase of the crisis.

In 2011, according to Ordem dos Enfermeiros (the institution that regulates the nurses in Portugal), the top destinations for nurses were: Spain, the UK, France, Switzerland and Angola (Fernandes et al., 2011) (see Figure 3).

¹¹ Retrived from Correio da Manhã newspaper: <http://www.cmjornal.xl.pt/nacional/sociedade/detalhe/150-enfermeiros-a-4-euros-a-hora.html> in 08 June 2015.

Figure 3– Main destinations of Portuguese emigration, 2001-2008 (Average number of annual entries)

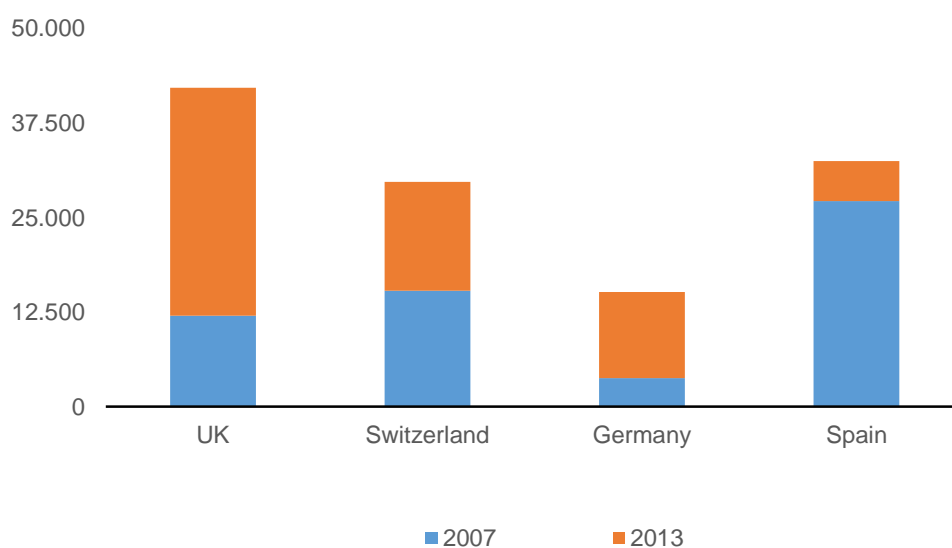


Note: values rounded off to the thousand.

Source: Table elaborated by the Observatório de Emigração, in Pires et al. (2010).

Since 2010, the number of Portuguese migrants has grown at an increased pace, and its destinations have met some changes. For instance, as defined by Pires et al. (2014) the UK has become one of the main destinations, Spain has, despite the massive numbers, decreased, and Germany has raised as destination. These fluctuations were mainly to the Portuguese and the global financial crisis. In the next figure (see Figure 4) we can verify the gigantic growth in the UK Portuguese nurses.

Figure 4 - Top countries of Portuguese emigration: comparison 2007-2013



Note: Switzerland's data refers to the year of 2012.

Source: figure elaborated by the Observatório de Emigração, values gathered from the national statistics institutes.

4.2 Sociodemographic characteristics

Nowadays the distribution of Portuguese emigrants in terms of gender is 52% men and 48% women (see Figure 4). Relatively to the age of the emigrated population, in 2010/11 there are 15% of elder people, 79% of active adults, and 6,5% of people aged between 15-24 years old (see Figures 5 and 6).

Figure 5 – Portuguese emigrants residing in ODCE, by gender, 2010/11

Source: figure elaborated by the Observatório de Emigração, values gathered by ODCE Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries, DIOC 2010-2011, provisional data obtained upon request.

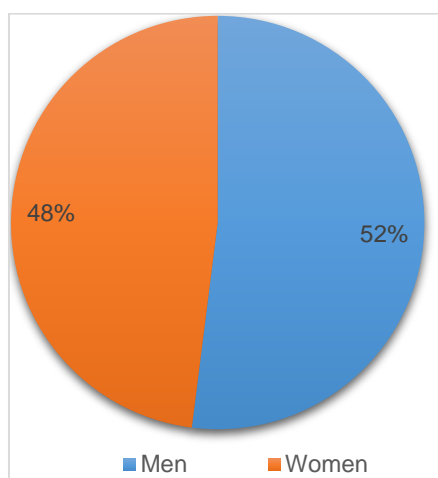
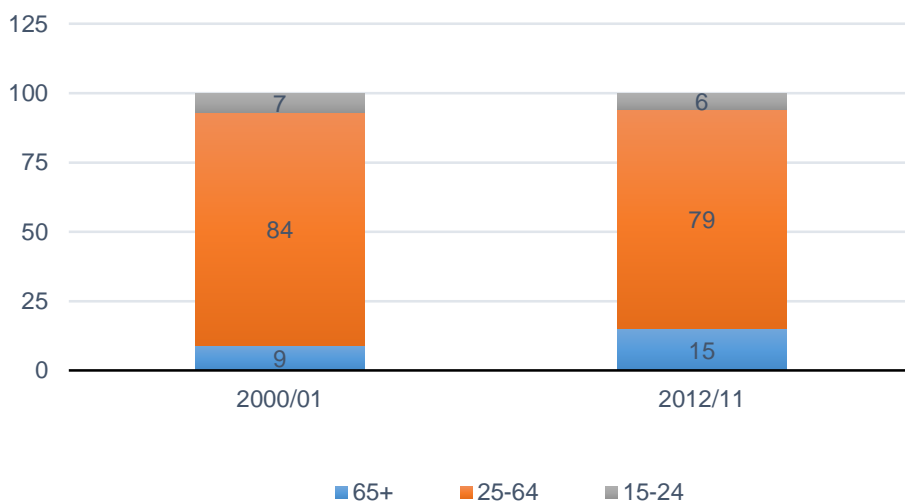


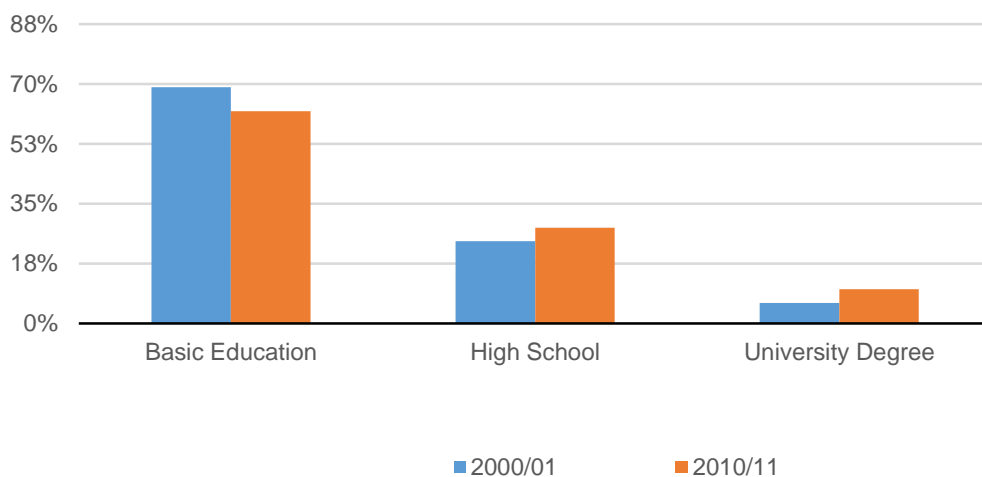
Figure 6 – Portuguese emigrants aged 15 or more, residing in the OCDE, by age groups, 2000/01 and 2010/11, in percentage



Source: figure elaborated by the Observatório de Emigração, values gathered by Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries, DIOC 2010-2011, provisional data obtained upon request.

In terms of education, this new Portuguese diaspora is constituted, mainly, by highly qualified people (with university degrees and good levels of foreign languages spoken). The Portuguese expatriates, in 2010/11 were constituted by 61% of people with primary school, 28% has finished the high school, and 10% of these group had a university degree (see Figure 7).

Figure 7 - School qualifications of Portuguese immigrants aged 15 and older, living in the OCDE, 2000/01 and 2010/11, in percentage

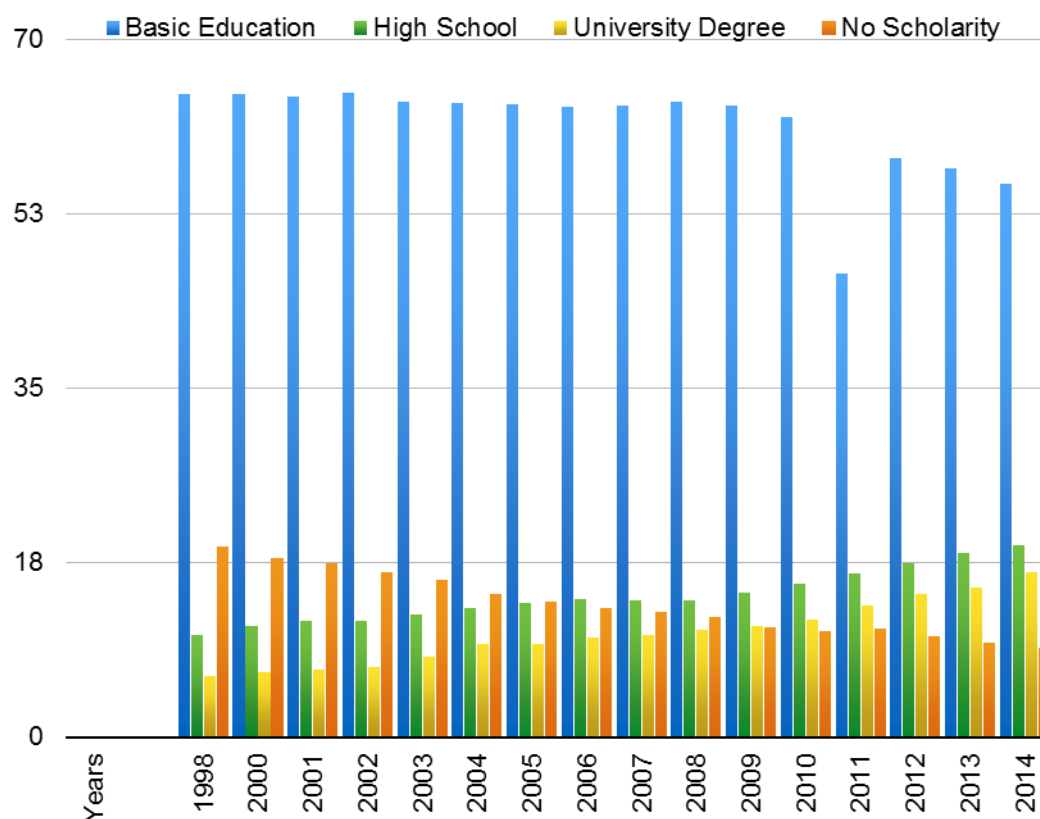


Note: the percentages were calculated excluding the level of education 'unknown'.

Source: figure elaborated by the Observatório de Emigração, values gathered by Database on Immigrants in OECD Countries, DIOC 2010-2011, provisional data obtained upon request.

The growth of graduated expatriates, according to Observatório da Emigração (2015), is highly related with the increased schooling of the Portuguese population in recent decades (see Figure 8).

Figure 8 - School qualifications of Portuguese population aged 15 and older, living in Portugal, 1998-2014, in percentage.



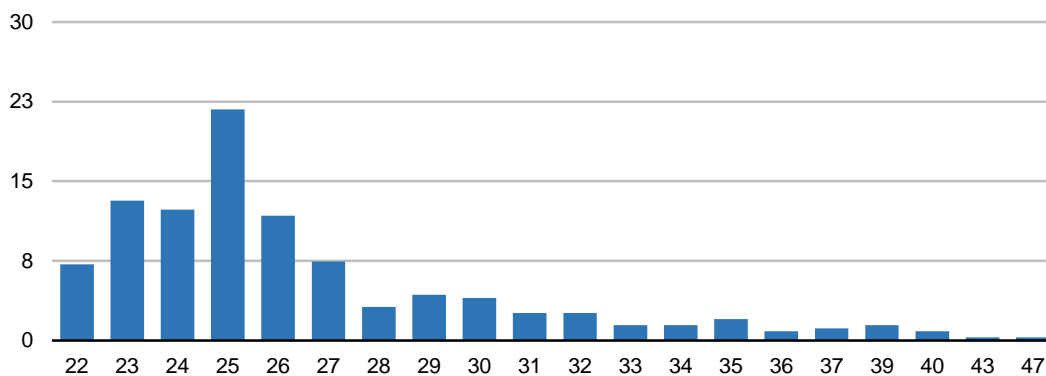
Source: INE; PORDATA.

This aspect of the emigration of skilled and highly trained people, i.e. Portuguese brain drain, has attracted rising the attention of the Portuguese society. From politicians, to sociologists, and so forth, this issue has raised a lot of awareness. As a result of the importance of this phenomenon, in May 2015 Pereira et al. released a report about Portuguese nurses in the UK. In Pereira et al. report, and as result of the report done by Pires et al. (2014), Pereira et al. try to understand the situation of Portuguese expatriates who are highly qualified, and that live in the country that hosts the majority of Portuguese nurses (as registered in the Nursing and Midwifery Council – NMC -, the equivalent of the Ordem dos Enfermeiros of the United Kingdom, in 2014, there were 3,155 Portuguese nurses registered). The number of Portuguese nurses in the UK grew almost 40 times in the last six years (Santos, 2013). This development illustrates strong centrifugal and centripetal forces that generate a contemporary Portuguese labor diaspora of medical professionals in a particular country-context of Portugal and UK- that

does not circulate further as brain circulation as could be expected. The forces influencing the Portuguese entry to the UK are the need of professionals for jobs that are less attractive or not covered by the local nurses, the high level of education for Portuguese nurses consisting of one more year of studies, and practical experience in a hospital environment gained during this year, which is highly appreciated by the recruiting institutions and organizations.

Pereira et al. (2015), traced a profile of the 'typical' Portuguese nurse who decides to self-expatriate to the UK. On average, the typical Portuguese nurse that leaves the country is 25 years old (see Figure 9). The main reasons for this migration are the lack of job placements, the fact that Portuguese nurses are undervalued by their employees: in Portugal, the salary offered is almost three times smaller than the salary paid in the UK. Furthermore, in Portugal, many employees required at least two years of previous experience (Borja-Santos, 2014).

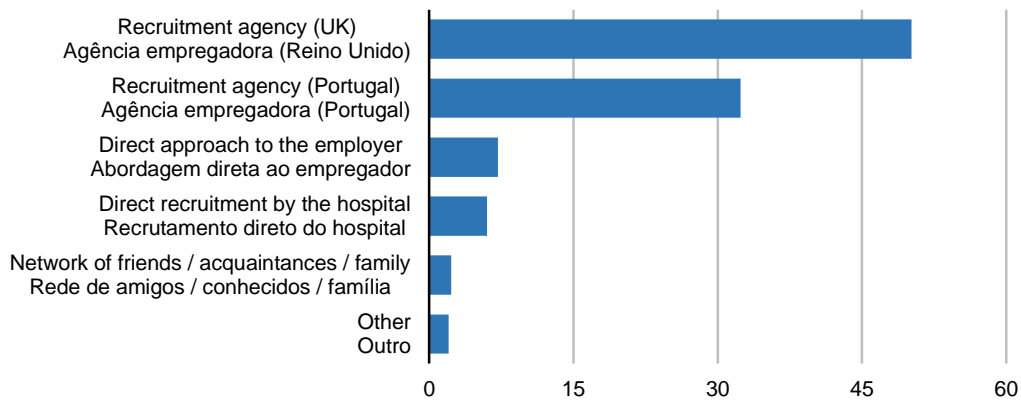
Figure 9 - Portuguese nurses in the UK by age



Source - Chart by OEm, data from the Portuguese Nurses in UK Survey 2014.

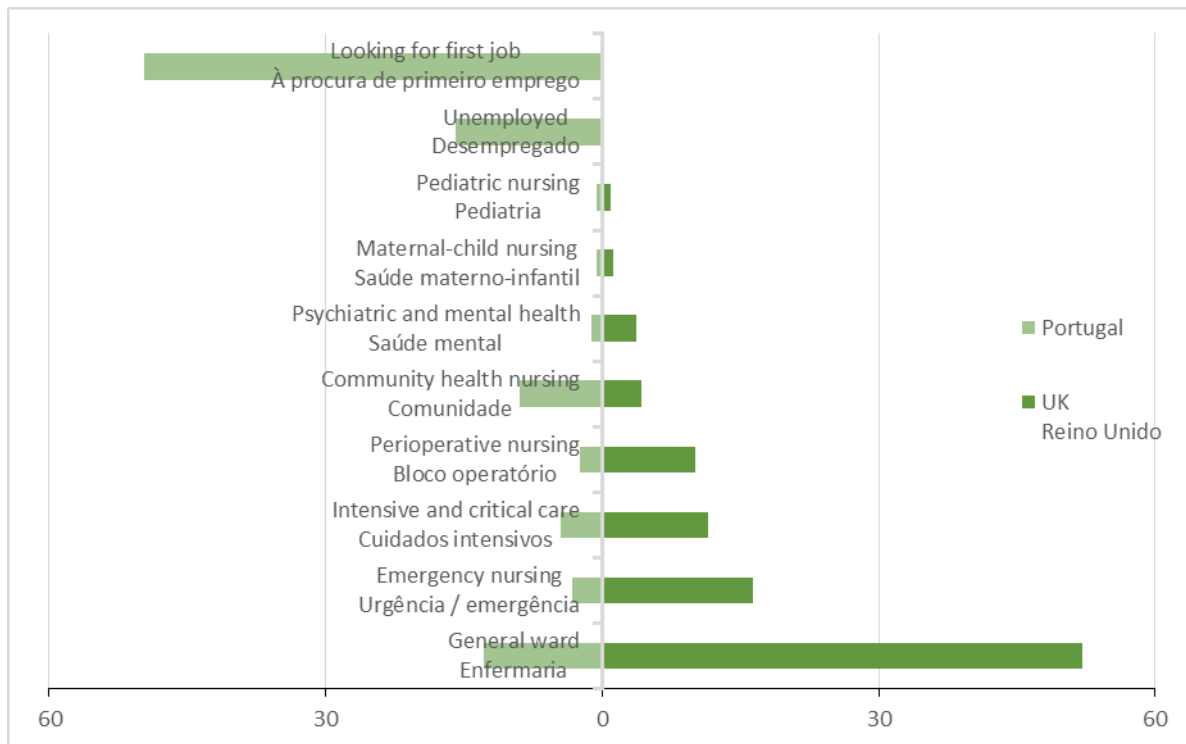
In Figure 10, we can attest the means normally used by Portuguese nurses to find a job in the UK. Pereira et al. observed that 82% of the nurses were employed through employment agencies. Portugal is a paradoxal market of health professionals, because of the high reputation of the Portuguese universities, on one hand; and due to their lack of positions to receive these graduates, on another hand. So, there are problems in adjusting supply of graduates to the demand of the domestic market, which pushes graduates to self-expatriate (Amaral & Marques, 2014). Portuguese nurses are recruited to serve in a diversity of areas within the hospital. However, as we can see in Figure 11, general ward receive the bulk of nurses, followed by emergency nursing and intensive and critical care.

Figure 10 - Portuguese nurses in the UK by job placement



Source - Chart by OEm, data from the Portuguese Nurses in UK Survey 2014.

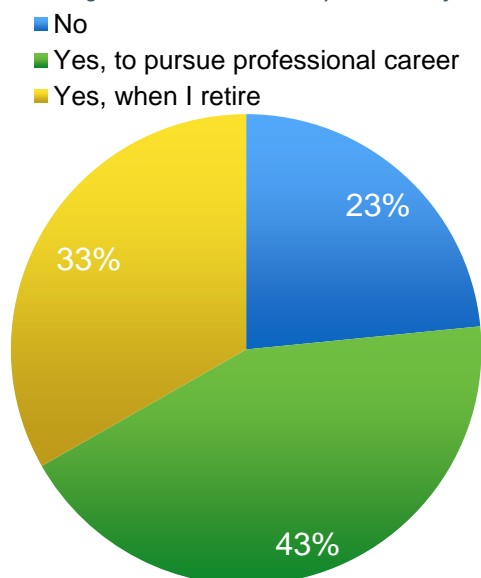
Figure 11 - Portuguese nurses in the UK by labour force status and nursing specialties (trajectories)



Source - Chart by OEm, data from the Portuguese Nurses in UK Survey 2014.

Another interesting fact about Portuguese nurses abroad is that they do not intend to return to Portugal before retirement (see Figure 12). In fact, less than half – only 43% - admit to return in case of finding at their home country a compatible job. 57% do not have plans to return, which makes this expatriation experience more long-lasting than it could be expected.

Figure 12 - Portuguese nurses in the UK by intention of returning to Portugal



Source - Chart by OEm, data from the Portuguese Nurses in UK Survey 2014.

5. Discussion and conclusions

5.1. Theoretical implications

Brain gain and circulation is limited from the perspective of Portugal, while brain drain dominates the situation. This behavior of staying in the UK is theoretically interesting as other alternatives (re-entry) exist within the EU-level. In addition to the individual level behavior the phenomenon of diaspora nurses is deeply linked to a formation of a professional labor diaspora community, therefore, it is not explainable only by theories of self-initiated expatriation. The main assumption that labor diaspora is driven by economic gain and benefit is complemented with novel insights, which suggest that on individual level the gain and benefit is reflected through the overall satisfaction consisting of work and private life satisfaction. Stability, good working conditions and respect of professional qualifications were important, not just higher wages. Moreover, the satisfaction generated by the circumstances that included good communication possibilities, social environment and other Portuguese colleagues was a potential issue providing reasons to continue diasporic work life. Indications of group based exit behavior after studying illustrated notions of collective characteristics in behavior and emerging of collective labor diaspora (e.g. Ali, Tagi, Krishman, 1997).

On the other hand, the socially embedded character of individual diasporans reduce the individualism in decision making and insert “external” i.e. family and COO originating forces that influence the decision making regardless of the situation in COR and the diasporan’s personal satisfaction over work and circumstances. Serious illness, disability and other such radically negative developments may influence the effect of satisfaction

by reducing it from distance. Thus, the decisions to repatriate had collective influence factors that could be also labelled negative COO pull factors.

5.2. Methodological implications

Methodologically such labor diaspora and satisfaction are complicated. First, the definitions are often static while the life of diaspora evolves over time. For example, a single nurse may have left as a SIE and entered into the new community as a labor diasporan among other countrymen. Second, the methodology needs a better conceptualization of the pull and push forces as they are not just country-originated, but also depend on the perspective and have different levels of analysis. Third, the dynamics of labor diaspora are linked to various levels (i.e. micro-meso-macro) too, and each of these levels act independently of each other. Particularly the micro-level family issues matter greatly even if they do not stem from the actual work. Fourth, methodological issues on data collection and analysis require additional discussion and empirical support. Since satisfaction is a concept that is perceived and reflected individually and also constructed in the socio-cultural and temporal setting, it is highly important to collect data qualitatively with open-ended questions and more emic-style approach, so that the responses are not limited in scope or pre-directed. There are considerations limiting the reliability especially when unsatisfied and problem loaded labor migrants are interviewed as success stories are more acceptable and even expected, while problems and return may be socially less acceptable or considered as failure. Thus, it is vital to ensure a non-discriminating atmosphere and secure high standards of research ethics.

5.3. Managerial implications

Organizations dealing with labor diaspora and their employers need to understand the holistic life-cycle of the diasporans and attempt to increase flexibility in family and COO issues that may develop into critical events of individual lives. They already have organized solutions that provide a collective style labor diaspora allowing social ties to be “imported” with the employees, and there are attempts to match well the professional level of expertise with the tasks and the professional development plans. This supplements the discussion on expatriate ties and their usage (Harvey, 2008). However, the focus needs to be broader and include the maintenance of family and social ties in the COO. The largest concern of these diasporans was the wellbeing of their family members who stay in the country of origin. This is particularly vivid if the crisis-hit society is unable to cover their needs. The findings illustrated that although good conditions and wages were a significant stimuli for COO exit it might be more limited in its effect

concerning the re-entry or repatriation as then the satisfaction is reflected from a more holistic point of view.

5.4. Policy making implications

There are two arenas of policy making that are involved here, COO and COR that could enable triple win scenario. COO is expected to provide easy access for its foreign-based diasporans who wish to repatriate, even incentives for repatriation. If families are established in diaspora they need special instruments to encounter no barriers or impediments when returning as various family-systems differ. In particular, social security, pension, taxation and other systems influencing the life-cycle and professional career are often complicated and not clear in implementation or interpretation. This creates uncertainty and planning difficulties. Moreover, it has been evident in expatriate research that since diasporans have families, the family members (spouses) need employment opportunities too and the children respective educational services. Potentially, the school system needs to offer repatriation-solutions also when Portuguese is not the primary language. This family embeddedness and its complexity is often not included in receiving country institutions and policies, thus creating individual and family problems inhibiting both entry and returning. Mixed marriages, regional gaps of skilled professionals and lost generations are issues that policies need to address in terms of diaspora management.

References

- Ali, A., Tagi, A., & Krishman, K. (1997). Individualism, collectivism and decision styles. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 137(1997), 629–637.
- Amaral, S., & Marques, A. P. (2014). *Emigração Portuguesa de Profissionais de Saúde:(Di) Visões em torno de um fenómeno emergente*. CICS-Publicações/eBooks.
- Borja-Santo, Romana. 2014. “É mais fácil emigrar do que ser enfermeiro “num país sem sonhos”. Público. (<http://www.publico.pt/sociedade/noticia/sara-e-claudia-dizem-que-e-mais-facil-emigrar-do-que-ser-enfermeiro-num-pais-sem-sonhos-1679981>)
- Brinkerhoff, J. M. (2009). *Digital Diasporas – Identity and Transnational Engagement*. Cambridge University Press.
- Brubaker, R. (2005). The ‘diaspora’ diaspora. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28 (1), 1–19.
- Chung, H. F. L., & Tung, R. L. (2013). Immigrant social networks and foreign entry: Australia and New Zealand firms in the European Union and Greater China. *International Business Review*, 22, 18–31.
- Cohen, R. (2008). *Global Diasporas. An Introduction*. 2nd Ed. London: Routledge.
- Denzin, N. (1978). *The Research Act*, Chicago, Aldine
- Dutia, S. G. (2012). *Diaspora Networks. - A New Impetus to Drive Entrepreneurship*. Innovations, Global Entrepreneurship Congress 2012, <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2373984>
- Eisenhardt, K. M. (1989). Building theories from case study research. *Academy of Management Review*, 14(4), 532–550.
- Elo, M., & Jokela, P. (2014). Social ties, Bukharian Jewish diaspora and entrepreneurship: Narratives from entrepreneurs. In C. Rapoo, M. L. Coelho, & Z. Sarwar (Eds.), *New perspectives in diaspora experience*. Oxford: Inter-Disciplinary Press, <https://www.interdisciplinarypress.net/online-store/ebooks/diversity-and-recognition/new-perspectives-in-diasporic-experience>
- Elo, M & Leinonen, J. (2014) *Entrepreneurship and Elite Migration – Dynamics of Life in Diaspora, Participation, Integration, and Recognition: Changing Pathways to Immigrant Incorporation*, Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland
- Fernandes, Raul (coord.), Beto Martins, Bruno Maurício, Daniela Matos, Dulce Ferreira, Luís Afonso, Márcia Gouveia, Maria José Goulart, Paulo Dias, Pedro Melo, Pedro Silva e Tânia Morgado. *Ordem dos Enfermeiros*. 2011. *Situação Profissional dos Jovens*

Enfermeiros em Portugal.
<http://www.ordemenfermeiros.pt/documentosoficiais/Documents/SituacaoProfissionalJovensEnfermeiros2011.pdf>

Ghauri, P. (2004). Designing and conducting case studies in international business research. Handbook of qualitative research methods for international business. In R. Marschan-Piekkari & C. Welch (Eds.), Handbook of qualitative research methods for international business (pp. 109–124). Edward Elgar Publishing, DOI 10.4337/9781781954331.00019

Gill, N., & Bialski, P. (2011). New friends in the new places. Network formation among the Poles in the UK. *Geoforum*, 42, 241–249.

Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. *The Qualitative Report*, 8(4), 597–607.

Granovetter, M. (1973). The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78, 1360–1380.

Hepp, A., Bozdog, C., & Suna, L. (2011). *Mediale Migranten* (pp. 239-252). VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Harvey, W. (2008). The strong or weak ties? British and Indian expatriates finding jobs in Boston. *Global Networks*, 8, 453–473.

Inkson, K., Arthur, M. B., Pringle, J., & Barry, S. (1998). Expatriate assignment versus overseas experience: Contrasting models of international human resource development. *Journal of world business*, 32(4), 351-368.

Jick, T. D. (1979). Mixing qualitative and quantitative methods: Triangulation in action. *Administrative science quarterly*, 602-611.

Kuznetsov, Y. (2008). Mobilizing intellectual capital of diasporas: From the first movers to a virtuous cycle. *Journal of Intellectual Capital*, 9(2), 264–282.

Kuznetsov, Y. (2006). *Diaspora Networks and the International Migration of Skills. How Countries Can Draw on Their Talent Abroad*. Washington DC: World Bank Publications (WBI Development Studies).

Kuznetsov, Y. and Charles, S. (2006) *Global Mobility of Talent from a Perspective of New Industrial Policy. - Open Migration Chains and Diaspora Networks*. Research Paper, UNU-WIDER; United Nations University (UNU) No. 2006/144.

- Leinonen, J. (2012). "Money Is Not Everything and That's the Bottom Line": Family Ties in Transatlantic Elite Migrations. *Social Science History* 36 (2), 243–268.
- Marschan-Piekkari, R., Welch, D., & Welch, L. (1999). In the shadow: The impact of language on structure, power and communication in the multinational. *International Business Review*, 8(4), 421-440.
- Observatório da Emigração. 2014. Portuguese Emigration Factbook 2014. Lisbon: Observatório da Emigração and Rede Migra, CIES-IUL, ISCTE-IUL. doi:10.15847/CIESOEMFB2014. <http://www.observatorioemigracao.pt/np4/1207>
- Pereira, Cláudia, Nuno Pinto and Rui Pena Pires. 2015. Portuguese nurses in the UK 2014. OEm Fact Sheets, 3. Observatório da Emigração, CIES-IUL, ISCTE-IUL. DOI: 10.15847/CIESOEMFS032015-pt-en
- Pires, Rui Pena, e outros (2010), Portugal: Atlas das Migrações Internacionais, Lisboa, Tinta-da-china.
- Pires, Rui Pena, Cláudia Pereira, Joana Azevedo and Ana Cristina Ribeiro (2014), Emigração Portuguesa. Relatório Estatístico 2014, Lisboa, Observatório da Emigração e Rede Migra, Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (ISCTE-IUL), CIES-IUL, e DGACCP.
- Piekkari, R. and Welch C. (2004). *Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods for International Business*. Cheltenham, UK Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.
- Safran, W. (1991). Diasporas in Modern Societies. - Myths of Homeland and Return. *A Journal of Transnational Studies* 1 (1), 83–99.
- Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications
- Salmi, A. (2010). International research teams as analysts of industrial business networks. *Industrial Marketing Management*, 39(1), 40–48.
- Santos, Lina. 2013. "Há 40 vezes mais enfermeiros portugueses no Reino Unido". *DNPortugal*. (http://www.dn.pt/inicio/portugal/interior.aspx?content_id=3161759)
- Talib, N. A., Sofian, S., Mohamad, N. A., Senin, A. A., Kadir, H. A., Yusof, H. M. and Hassan, I.-E. (2012). Leveraging Malaysian diaspora for cluster development initiatives. *Business Strategy Series* 13 (5), 239–247.
- Teferra, D. 2005. Brain Circulation: Unparalleled Opportunities, Underlying Challenges, and Outmoded Presumptions. *Journal of Studies in International Education* 9 (3), 229–250.

Tung, R. L. 2008. Brain Circulation, Diaspora, and International Competitiveness. *European Management Journal* 26 (5), 298–304.

UNPD (United Nations Population Division). 2009. Trends in Total Migrant Stock: The 2008 Revision. New York: UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

Usher, E. (2005). The millennium development goals and migration (No. 20). United Nations Publications.

Wescott, C. G., and Brinkerhoff, J.M. (Eds.) 2006. Converting Migration Drain into Gains – Harnessing the Resources of Overseas Professionals. Asian Development Bank.

Wong, S., & Salaff, J. (1998). Network capital: Emigration from Hong Kong. *British Journal of Sociology*, 49, 358–374.

Zikic, J., Bonache, J., & Cerdin J-L. (2010). Crossing national boundaries: A typology of qualified immigrants' career orientations. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 31, 667-686.

Unpublished: 14874 (2015) COPING STRATEGIES OF SELF-INITIATED EXPATRIATES: AFRICAN IMMIGRANT NURSES IN THE UK Egos conference paper, Athens, 2-5.7.2015