

**Exploring the social conditions which govern the
processes of migration and non-migration of highly
skilled Indian professionals to the UK**

Student Name – Sagar Sonawane

Student ID – 159030541

Supervisors

Prof John Goodwin

Dr Grace Sykes

University of Leicester

School of Media, Communication and Sociology

Submission Date 25/11/2022

CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Research introduction.....	7
1.1 Introduction	7
1.2 Research questions	11
1.3 Research objectives	11
1.4 Research problem.....	12
1.5 Significance of the research	15
2 Chapter 2: Literature Review	18
2.1 Global talent migration.....	18
2.2 Highly skilled migrants' careers	22
2.2.1 The case of Indian doctors	23
2.2.2 The case of Indian institutes of technology	25
2.2.3 Local employment conditions for highly skilled Indians	26
2.2.4 Social conditions and migration.....	27
2.3 Understanding highly skilled migration.....	28
2.3.1 Institutional context of migration.....	30
2.3.2 Social capital of institutions.....	34
2.4 Context of migration	38
2.4.1 2.5.1 Components of the macro- and micro-factors of migration.....	39
2.5 Characteristics of the Indian labour market	40
2.6 Opportunities for professionals through migration	41
2.7 Social inequalities of professionals	42
2.8 Theoretical implications.....	42
2.8.1 Institutional theory	42
2.8.2 Social capital theory.....	43
2.9 Social Conditions governing skilled Indians migration and non-migration	44
2.10 Relationship between the highly skilled workforce and labour market.....	45
2.11 Approaches by developed countries to attract skilled labourers	46
2.12 Experiences that govern migration and non-migration	46
2.13 Push and pull factors in the labour market.....	47
2.14 Interrelation between society, labour and the labour market	48
2.15 Skill management and classification in India and the UK	48
2.16 Differences in the learning, training and recruitment between the countries.....	49
3 Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework.....	51
3.1 Introduction	51
3.2 Migration decisions	51
3.2.1 Social capital theory.....	54
3.2.2 Institutional theory	62
3.3 Summary	66
4 Chapter 4: Research Methodology	67
4.1 Introduction	67
4.2 Research philosophy	67
4.2.1 Ontology	68
4.2.2 Epistemology	70
4.3 Research approach.....	74
4.4 Research Methods	74
4.5 Sample size.....	75
4.5.1 Sampling	77
4.6 Data analysis	81

4.6.1	Coding, patterns and themes	82
4.6.2	First cycle of coding.....	84
4.6.3	Second cycle coding	86
4.6.4	Post-coding and pre-writing transitions	90
4.7	Establishing trustworthiness in qualitative research	91
4.8	Summary	94
5	Chapter 5: Analysis and Findings.....	95
5.1	Introduction	95
5.2	Main theme 1 - Social factors as conditions that govern migration decisions.....	96
5.2.1	Social inequity governs the process of migration	97
5.2.2	Social status governing the process of migration	107
5.2.3	Social networking governing the process of migration	108
5.2.4	Family circumstances.....	111
5.3	Main theme 2 - Social factors that govern the process of non-migration	115
5.4	Nationalism as a social pull factor for non-migration.....	116
5.4.1	Social conditions governing the process of non-migration.....	118
5.4.2	Labour market conditions governing the process of non-migration.....	121
5.5	Main theme 3 - Organizational factors as conditions.....	124
5.5.1	The impact of organizational social systems on the migration decisions of highly skilled professionals	128
5.5.2	Career development attraction of the UK governing migration	130
5.6	Main theme 4 - Labour market factors as conditions that govern migration to the UK	134
5.6.1	Comparison of the employment structure of the labour market in the UK and India for highly skilled professionals	135
5.6.2	Social systems in the UK as a condition that governs the migration process..	137
5.7	Discussion	142
5.7.1	Family dynamics	142
5.7.2	Social conditions of a family	143
5.7.3	Political, legal and organizational conditions	154
5.7.4	Professional and social networking factors in the migration and non-migration process	171
5.7.5	Social conditions as a factor of non-migration	175
5.7.6	Social conditions as pull and push factors for migration and non-migration ..	179
5.8	Summary	187
6	Chapter 6: Conclusion, Limitations and Future Direction	188
6.1	Conclusion.....	188
6.2	Contribution	196
6.3	Limitations and future directions	198
7	References	202

List of Figures

Figure 2-1: Institutional theory	43
Figure 2-2: Social capital theory	44
Figure 3-1: Theoretical framework	50
Figure 4-1: Theme development through the first cycle of coding	84
Figure 4-2: First theme development through the second cycle of coding	86
Figure 4-3: Second theme development through the second cycle of coding	87
Figure 4-4: Third and fourth themes development through the second cycle of coding	88
Figure 4-5: From codes and categories to theory	90
Figure 5-1: Social conditions of a family	143
Figure 5-2: Family dynamics demographics	145
Figure 5-3: Family social conditions and response to life events	154
Figure 5-4: Family status	156
Figure 5-5: Family status in the context of pull and push factors	167
Figure 5-6: Push factors	Error! Bookmark not defined.
Figure 5-7: Social conditions of non-migrants	176
Figure 5-8: Pull conditions of non-migrants	178
Figure 5-9: Research Framework, pull and push social conditions of highly skilled Indians in the context of migration	179

List of Tables

Table 4-1: Epistemology, ontology, methodology, methods and techniques	67
Table 4-2: Participant information	80
Table 5-1: Theme 1: Social factors as conditions of migration	96
Table 5-2: Theme 2: Social factors as pull factors for non-migrants	115
Table 5-3: Organizational structure as a condition that governs migration to the UK	124
Table 5-4: Labour market as institutional conditions	134

Abstract

The aim of this research is to explore the social conditions that govern the processes of migration and non-migration of Indian doctors and IT professionals. The current study also explores both the push and pull factors, which are subjective and vary from person to person, depending on social institutional experience. The social conditions and processes are taken as subjective social realities which vary among highly skilled professionals. Data is collected from doctors and IT engineers working and living in India and the UK. The research takes a qualitative approach. Semi-structured interviews are conducted with 38 participants identified through social networks, personal contacts and a purposive snowball sampling technique. Thematic analysis is performed through coding and keywords using NVivo software.

Current research has explored interaction between the institutional framework to explore the impact of families on individual decisions is significant, because of the collectivist nature of Indian society. The findings suggest that the migration and non-migration of highly skilled Indians is based on social conditions and constructed dynamic family factors such as marital status, gender, skill level, linking lives, family obligations, family size, whether the person is a single child, women's role in the family, the decision-making power of the family and life experiences from childhood to maturity. These conditions vary across a lifespans and motivates to gain skills so that family members do not experience future social, organizational inequalities.

The theoretical contribution is to merge institutional and social capital theory to develop a new conceptual framework which explicitly provides knowledge of the institutional and social capital role of social conditions. Institutional settings influence this social capital due to unequal access to institutional resources and job markets. Social capital theory explains the impact of the social conditions of the family as a whole on the migration process of highly skilled professional due to collectivism principal in Indian society.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisors, Prof John Goodwin and Dr Grace Sykes, for your patience, guidance and support. I have benefited greatly from your wealth of knowledge and am extremely grateful that you took me on as a student and continued to have faith in my ability to perform my research.

This project would not have been possible without the support of Prof Henrietta O'Connor, Prof Jason Hughes and Prof Deepak Bhosale, whose guidance from the beginning enabled me to develop an understanding of the research area. Also thank you to my examiners, Prof Thomas Garavan and Dr Katharine Venter, who offered valuable comments and guidance.

Lastly, my family deserves endless gratitude. The support, motivation and encouragement provided by my mother Savita, wife Grutika and lovely sisters Riya and Charu was inevitable and indispensable for the completion of this research.

I also want to extend my thanks to my friends and colleagues at the university of Leicester who provided their support and resources while undertaking this research.

CHAPTER 1: RESEARCH INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The study contributes by developing a framework of social conditions, exploring and explaining the institutional factors which collectively pull or push highly skilled Indian labour to migration or non-migration. Migration is not a secluded event, but a process. In order to fully understand this process, one must look into the decisions and intentions that inform the life trajectories of the individuals who decide to migrate. Literature on migration as a general process (Seminario, 2018; Saar, 2019; Oliinyk et al., 2021; Lo et al., 2021), there is a dearth addressing it taking a piecemeal approach, concentrating on the events which shape the decision to migrate. This includes the events which take place before the migration, during the migration and post migration. Together, these three phases influence migration process, while the migration decision is a lifelong process based on the social conditions of the family of the highly skilled individual (Bailey and Mulder, 2017). This study addresses this grey area of research covering the role of the social conditions of highly skilled migrants which push and pull for migration and non-migration. The research also contextually explores the social conditions in the context of access to institutional and social capital which influences the migration process, with reference to highly skilled Indian immigrants whose skills are highly in demand in the UK.

Highly skilled migrants are those are educated at tertiary level who have work experience and, on that basis, decide to migrate to a developed country such as the UK (Li et al., 2018). The benefit for the developed country is attracting highly skilled human resources without having spent on their education or experience. Van Riemsdijk (2021) takes a human capital approach to studying the migration process, which considers more than just the qualifications of the migrants, taking into account the competencies of the individuals in specific contexts. On the basis of in-depth empirical research, the aim of this study is to examine the social factors underpinning the migration of highly skilled Indians to the UK. It considers the social conditions which shape the decisions of highly skilled immigrants. It also contextualizes the migration process by studying the life events of skilled migrants which motivates the process for migration and non-migration. Wakisaka and Cardwell (2021) state that the life events of skilled migrants involve social, cultural, institutional and economic processes in various geographical contexts.

The migration process, in this research, refers to migration histories, migration decisions, cultural and human capital, access to professional and social networks, the policies underpinning the migration, and the life events of the skilled migrants and their families (Lien and Zuloaga, 2021). Moreover, it involves the social situations which motivate or compel the migrants to leave their home country and move to the UK. The decision to migrate takes place for compelling reasons, such as career development, which link back to the social conditions that hinder or facilitate career growth in India. The focus of various migration theories is on the decisions of the migrants. However, the aim of this research is to explore the entire process governing migration and non-migration. Pepler (2018) examines migration decision making by reviewing the theories and models of migration, developing a framework reflecting the process comprising various plans and phases.

Cangià et al. (2021) devise a theoretical model which implies that migration is not a one-off decision or event. Instead, it involves several decisions chained together which lead to the migration decision. The existing research on the subject suggests that an existing experience of migration provides the necessary impetus for the next migration (Lien and Zuloaga, 2021; Wakisaka and Cardwell, 2021). The research shows that the existing migration experience of highly skilled Indians contributes to their career progress. Purkayastha and Bircan (2021) highlight the integration between national and international migration. Bartolini et al. (2021) observe that internal migration may lead to international migration, based on the social conditions of families.

Kilic and Biffl (2021) observe that the majority of research on the subject is carried out in a western context and that the existing research does not discuss the role of family members in the process (Hercog and Sandoz, 2018), whereas Indian culture is highly family-oriented. The current research states that social conditions influence the migration decision, and that family is a significant part of the social situation of any Indian who chooses to migrate to the UK. Family factors of highly skilled Indian migrants influence their future migration decisions, and hence the current research takes a qualitative approach to exploring the social factors which influence decisions to migrate to the UK. The current research also uses a theoretical framework which emerges from institutional theory and the social capital approach, which helps develop insight into the social conditions of migrants which influence their decisions to migrate to the UK.

The families of migrants help them strategize about the migration process by offering access to capital and networking. Human capital or skilling can be regarded as a migration strategy (Labrianidis et al., 2021). The existing research shows that highly qualified individuals have better chances of being successful in migration (Bolzani et al., 2021; Mendoza, 2021; Nakajima, 2017). Additionally, there are an indirect set of characteristics which migrants use, called cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) which comprise transferable skills such as speaking English (which is taught from elementary level in English-medium schools in India) and shared practice such as common history. Hejkrík et al. (2018) observe that cultural capital is used by highly skilled migrants during various phases of their migration. Hejkrík et al. (2019) point out that migrants bring new cultural capital.

Social capital underpins the migration process, and includes all the potential resources available to a person as part of a social network (Bourdieu, 1986). Social networks enable migrants to enhance their opportunities at the destination by using their contacts to their advantage. They can approach contacts for practical help such as finding employment or affordable accommodation (Ricci et al., 2021; Marques et al., 2021; Tastsoglou, 2022). Thus, social networks are of critical importance for migrants to enhance their position especially in the early process of migration and while deciding whether to emigrate (Tastsoglou, 2022). Both social and cultural capital are critical to developing self-actualization in individuals, which is discussed in this research. Moreover, the different types of capital are interconnected, which is also explored to show that together they give rise to migrant capital on the basis of social capital theory.

It is pertinent to mention here that the successful utilization of these types of capital is only possible when there are favourable immigration policies in place in the country of destination (Marques et al., 2021). Immigration policies can be either enablers or constraints of the migration process as they relate to, for example the level of qualification required, accreditation of qualifications, criteria of admission, spouse migration and residence issues (Ricci et al., 2021). However, the migration process may not offer the same opportunities to everyone, for example female migrants have been found to experience deskilling challenges in the post-migration phase (Tastsoglou, 2022). Moreover, professions usually occupied by female migrants are highly regulated by the state (Axelsson, 2017). Fangmeng (2018) highlights the trailing wife effect, which affects the career prospects of women.

Similar conclusions are reached for non-migrant professionals, i.e. women as spouses often have to hold back their career ambitions because of their husband's job or because of parenting responsibilities (Seminario and Le Feuvre, 2021). Since the decision to migrate takes place within a household, family life and professional careers influence the decision, which can adversely affect the career prospects of women (Carlson, 2018). The social values of the home country also influence highly skilled people's decisions to emigrate (Halvorsrud, 2019). Social capital and professional networks shape the context in which the migration process takes place, co-creating the migration culture for professionals in the home country.

The migration process depends on the life events and experiences of the main migrant and their dependants (Halvorsrud, 2019; Seminario and Le Feuvre, 2021; Carlson, 2018). Carlson (2018) observes that life events serve as the basis for migration behaviour and decisions, and link the life of an individual with their social structure. Castles (2018) highlights the strategic migration of Hong Kongese people to Canada, who generally migrate during their early or middle career and prefer to retire to Canada because of the good quality life there.

The current research is distinguished from that of Teney (2021), which takes a lifecycle approach involving predetermined events recurring in a cyclic manner. This research takes a life events approach which is exploratory, studying the migration process through social factors such as family, social networks and social situations. This shows the diverse patterns and sequences of events creating migration paths to the UK. The exploratory nature of the research helps explore factors such as life experience, the effect of qualification level, changes in the labour market, injustice in the home country, unemployment in the home country, poor career prospects despite high qualification in the home country and childbirth. In this research a biographical approach is taken by the researcher to develop a sound understanding of the complexities underpinning migration behaviour. This takes into account the life course of the migrants and how it impacts their decisions to migrate.

This research explores the social conditions which push and pull highly skilled Indian professionals to migration and non-migration decisions. Indian doctors and information technology (IT) professionals, who have migrated from India through internal company transfers (ITC) or sponsored work visas, and non-migrated doctors and IT professionals working in India are considered to be highly skilled from the research point of view. The research focuses on identifying the push and pull factors that govern the process of migration and non-migration of highly skilled Indians. There is inadequate understanding of which social

conditions and processes govern, or not, the process of migration of highly skilled Indian labour. Social conditions and processes are subjective hidden realities which vary among high skilled labour. Although previous studies explore the professional and social networks which act as facilitators of the migration process, it is essential to know how family dynamics, institutional experiences from birth, social status and social inequality play roles in shaping the experiences that govern the process of migration. In this research study my aim is to explore the conditions that govern the migration and non-migration process of skilled professionals.

The skilled migrants contribute towards the economy by undertaking activities through investment and entrepreneurial projects or through academic and scientific collaborations which benefits both the communities, i.e. the one they come from and the one they are in (Liu, & Shen, 2017). Further, when they return home their experience and exposure bring back a high level of technical skills and knowledge thereby enabling them to contribute towards the economy and culture of the home country (Nifo, & Vecchione, 2014). Moreover, Liu, & Shen (2017) suggested that there is a need to explore the migration factors push them to migrate and how different factors pull them back to their home country. Moreover, Oishi, (2012) indicated that there are different social conditions influence on some highly skilled migrants to migrate while other stays in their home countries, but these social factors are social, political and cultural embedded, these migration factors are subjective nature. The present study is an attempt to explore these hidden social roots of push and pull factors to know the conditions that govern migration and non-migration processes. Based on this, the following research questions and objectives are constructed.

1.2 Research questions

1. How do local social conditions govern the processes of migration and non-migration of Indian doctors and IT professionals to the UK.

1.3 Research objectives

- 1- To explore the social conditions and processes which govern the migration and non-migration of highly skilled Indian doctors and IT professionals to the UK.
- 2- To identify the factors that pull and push highly skilled Indian doctors and IT professionals' migration and non-migration to the UK.

- 3- To identify the role of social conditions in the process of migration and non-migration of Indian doctors and IT professionals to the UK.
- 4- To explore institutional and other life experiences that influence the migration and non-migration of Indian doctors and IT professionals.

1.4 Research problem

This research seeks to explore the social conditions those push and pull highly skilled Indian professionals for migration and non-migration decision. There is insufficient understanding of the hidden social factors that either push or pull migration and non-migration. Indian doctors and information technology (IT) professionals, who have migrated from India through Internal company transfers (ITC), sponsored work visa and non-migrated Doctors and IT professionals working and staying in India are considered to be highly skilled from the research point of view. In the past few year, the trend of skilled migrants coming to western countries has been ever-increasing because of the shortage of skilled workforce and demographic changes (Beechler & Woodward, 2009; Al Ariss & Syed, 2011; Iredale, 2001; Howe-Walsh & Schyns, 2010).

Studying Skilled migration from the perspective of occupational categories or visa attainment limits the full understanding of highly skilled migration process (Yeoh, & Lam, 2016). The global competition for regulations related to migrants, skilled labour, and allocation of the points based system is influencing the way migrants are viewed by migration reports and policy makers (Wang, 2015). Business migrants are considered as favourable, due to there efforts for boosting economy and creating jobs. In contrast, workers with high qualification and skills are regarded as economic capital and are treated no less favourably depending on the skills shortage in the host country like United Kingdom. Bulat A (2019), develops claim that social condition is the primary driver of the science of highly skilled migrants. Another dramatic difference arises concerning the recognition ascribed to the immigrants based on their level of skills and conditions (Khoo et al., 2011). The race of the immigrants and the country of their origin is also influential in this regard. The type of skills based on which a person is regarded as a highly-skilled immigrant varies from time to time and from one country to another (Lo et al., 2019). Past research on skilled migration has not paid significant attention to concrete effects of social condition and change brings on lives of skilled professionals. While some research highlights the positive changes, the critics also point out the social challenges such as

that of inequalities, discrimination, and cultural change (Guarnizo, 1997; Kapur, 2004; Vertovec, 2000; Levitt & Lamba-Nieves, 2011) as Guarnizo (1997) in his research showed that migration results in intensifying and reproducing gender inequality, class inequality, and regional inequality that mean the social circumstances of the home country is also considered as push factors. While the same social conditions encourage process for migration and non-migration. There is need to understand why the same social condition, social policies and organisational policies are pushing and pulling highly skilled of skilled professionals.

The social conditions in India are different compared to the UK; however, some highly skilled professionals still prefer to move to the UK from India on various social conditions (Giulietti et al., 2013; Onyigbuo et al., 2016).

The success of Indian migration varies according to different routes of Indian migrants (Kirk et al., 2017). Moreover, it is also stated by Kirk et al. (2017) that medical doctors and IT professionals migrate on work visas due to their skills, work experience and social positions and status in the home country. Qin (2015) that the success of IT expert migrants is based on the projected real exposure and social norms in the host state after migration. “The emigration of skilled professionals from developing countries, who go abroad in search of better professional and career prospects as well as an improved quality of life in more advanced countries, has been a traditional and major concern for the countries of origin” (Tejada and Bhattacharya, 2014, p. 7). It is also acknowledged by Roberts et al. (2017) that the failure and success of Indian medical doctors are based on their social position in their home or host country. Khadria, (2004) supports the claim that young medical experts and IT experts who want to migrate abroad commonly wish to take professional skills that they think will be considered excellent value when they return to India. Moreover, they also gain a more excellent quality of life due to attractive salaries in their country because of acquiring skills from abroad that adds the benefit in their social statues (Filatotchev et al. 2011 and Khadria, 2008). On the other hand, the findings from the study of Khadria, (2004) stated that most doctors and IT experts form the mainstream of potential experts who want to settle down in host countries, as they rarely observe their career to be valued in India. Some failed professionals return to India due to their social priorities (Sardana et al. 2016). This means that, along with career factors aspirations, economic satisfaction, there are other social conditions which needs to be explored and which are considerable for highly skilled Indian professionals. The preceding discussion regarding the importance of social factors related to highly skilled professionals encourages to know how this condition governs the migration process. What kind of social conditions they

had before they arrive, and what can be the social conditions that leads them from non-migration, as better conditions lead to being better able to resolve the challenges and productivity of highly skilled migrations for a sustainable nation development.

The research sheds light on the factors that act as a catalyst encouraging Indians to migrate to the UK and which contribute to their overall development. Neither the uncertainty arising due to the announcement of Brexit nor the impact of Covid-19 have impacted in demand of skilled professionals in UK Dhanoya (2020),. Every year, thousands of Indians qualify in medicine from private and public institutions in India, making the business of practicing medicine tougher. Junior doctors spend years under senior specialists before handling critical patients alone. According to Trivedy, Mills and Dhanoya (2020), of Indian doctors and IT professionals who pursue careers in medicine or IT from UK universities . If the number of credible and talented professionals, especially IT professionals and doctors, continue to migrate to the UK, India will eventually suffer from a talent crisis impacting the quality of the health and IT sectors and disrupting the growth of the country.

The research explores the reasons for Indian professionals being competitive and the process of growth in a competitive environment. The research emphasizes only the social and economic conditions that act as catalysts to attract skilled labour to the UK. However, the research does not explore or differentiate present and past social and economic systems in the UK to develop a better understanding of the reasons that bring skilled labour to the UK. The initiatives of the Indian and UK governments are not fully explored by the research to allow the reader to analyse the effectiveness of each strategy to retain their skilled labour. Business migrants are vital to boost the economy and create job opportunities, while skilled migrants are an important asset through which businesses are able to achieve their strategies for growth (Zodpey et al., 2018). It is clear that the social and economic condition of migrants are the primary reasons they settle in Europe and the USA. The upgraded lifestyle attracts people from Asia to settle and provide their children a better place to live. Overpopulation in most Asian countries prevents government initiatives properly reaching every citizen, which is not the case in the west. This is another reason skilled people migrate to the UK rather than stay in their native countries. The research shows that different sites have different figures for migrants searching for jobs, especially in the IT and medical fields. As primary research on such a large scale is not possible, the factors, resources and articles help explain why people migrate to other countries in the hope of

advancement after returning from abroad. The research analyses the current initiatives of both countries to attract and retain skilled labour and encourage them to contribute significantly to the economy.

Research also addresses the change in social status and social inequality that Indians often face in the UK. Due to differences in the social structures of the countries, Indians often face difficulties becoming accustomed to the new culture. According to the Khadaria (2010) The changing political scenario in the UK due to the announcement of Brexit may impact the upcoming flow of migrant workers to the country, as the UK has revised the visa programme to allow workers to get a working visa without facing a great deal of hassle (Vargas-Silva and Rienzo, 2019). The UK has introduced the visa strategy to attract skilled professionals, especially from developing countries. The shortage of skilled labour is a significant issue that forces the UK to attract skilled professionals from various countries to meet the labour market demand. This current research is funded by the social welfare department, Maharashtra, Government of India and, being Indian, my values and determination to investigate highly skilled doctors and IT professionals motivates me explicitly to explore my research questions.

1.5 Significance of the research

As a theoretical framework the research takes institutional theory and social capital theory to develop insight into the social conditions governing migration and non-migration process. The importance of this research comes from the fact that the results can give the reader, and other researchers, a perspective on the reasons people from India and other Asian countries move to the UK for medical and IT jobs. Most global companies have their head offices and research centres in the UK, meaning IT workers have an alluring career (Oda, Tsujita and Rajan, 2018). Companies not only provide lucrative salaries but also potential opportunities in the field of research and facilities which natives do not often see in India. Moving to a new country with differences in culture, society and governance and leading a new life is not easy. People habituated in Indian culture find a way of life which is drastically different in the UK. The demand for jobs has increased after the pandemic, with companies unable to work at full capacity, leading to job cuts in many sectors. Social conditions are an important factor considered by migrating Indians, and the differences in social conditions between India and the UK attracts skilled labour. The literacy rate is significantly higher in the UK, with 99% literacy,

as opposed 74%, which shows that access to education in the UK is far more developed than in India. The population growth rate of the UK is only 0.6%, compared to 0.95% in India, another reason the UK has to attract skilled labour from foreign countries to mitigate their labour shortage (Humphries et al., 2019). The job security of technically skilled people remained high during Covid-19, as they had to serve immediate requirements to address the scarcity that arose during the period. The research acknowledges the steps taken by the government to overcome inequalities and increase opportunities for locals to compete with migrants for technical jobs. The government has asked schools to re-strategize their educational systems and teach technical knowledge from the beginning. The government is also working to improve educational centres for professional education around the country to admit people from all around the world. The system should revive education facilities as well as boost the economy. The demand for skilled labour, especially in the field of technology, is set to continue to rise in the future, as most physical work switches to automation or is undertaken with the help of AI (Walton-Roberts and Rajan, 2020).

Other than having access to the one of the most developed education systems, the country also offers good infrastructure and easy access to capital markets which eases the process of setting up a business in the country, in comparison to India. The Indian political system has a deep influence on business outcomes, and unwanted intervention by local political parties often leads to issues that hold back the performance of businesses. Due to the significant loss of talented people from the country, there has been research into their value, analysing the level of contribution they might have added for the improvement of India (Shah and Lerche, 2020). The influx of skills should meet the interests of particular areas, such as IT, infrastructure and financial services which require large numbers of skilled workers. This initiative should be beneficial for the UK and provide the opportunity to recruit skilled labour for projects. Despite seeing such a massive transfer of skills to a developed country, the Indian government is not able to offer better opportunities to talented people to inspire them to stay in the country.

Alongside Indians, skilled workers from North America and Europe see the UK as a destination to develop their skills and talents. People from India migrate to the UK to gain experience from multinational organizations and explore the opportunities that have a significant impact on their skill levels. The research incorporates models and theories to develop a clear understanding of migration and evaluate the present political and economic situation that contributes to the movements of eligible professionals in other countries. A shortage of skills impacts the

performance of organizations and enterprises, and the UK already suffers skills shortages, with 91% of organizations not having the highly skilled employees to successfully complete their projects or achieve their desired business growth (Phillimore et al., 2021). However, it is evident that economic cycles influence all job sectors equally, and a shortage of skills can hinder the growth of particular sectors and put pressure on policy makers to attract the right skills.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Global talent migration

Mahroum (2001) points out that globalization has increased technological advances across the world, hence the need for skilled labour has also increased. It has also resulted in the migration of skilled labour to developed countries in search of a better lifestyle and income prospects. The literature highlights current debate on skilled professionals and social conditions. Some studies state that highly skilled migrants choose to migrate because the benefits in the host country outweigh those in the home country (Sang et al., 2013). However, they still enjoy support from their ethnic community in the host country, which further motivates them to migrate (Raghuram et al., 2010; Al Ariss and Syed, 2011; Zhou et al., 2008). The current research looks into the prominent factors underpinning the migration and non-migration of highly skilled Indian professionals to the UK.

All over the world, health professionals are in high demand due to shortages of skilled workers. This is an area of concern for governments trying to maintain life expectancy and reach the sustainable development goals (SDGs), of which health is a significant requires sustained and universal access to healthcare including an equitable distribution of health services. This target is intended to be achieved worldwide by 2030 (Turchick et al., 2013; Almeida et al., 2012). Doctors, nurses and midwives are crucial human resources for achieving SDG-3. However, there is a shortage of healthcare staff across the world, and low income countries have an acute shortage while being in the greatest need. The situation is further complicated by existing healthcare staff emigrating abroad, which increases the inequitable distribution. This necessitates investigating supply-related disparities of physicians across the world in order to understand the underpinning factors.

The demand for highly skilled Indians is growing all over the world particularly in the high-tech sector. This is evident from the protests in Germany against the governmental policy of recruiting highly skilled migrants when protestors chanted "*kinder statt Inder*", i.e. "jobs for our children not for Indians" (Poros, 2001). This paper debunks the myth of privilege being enjoyed by skilled Indian migrants and instead highlights the factors which motivate them to migrate to other countries, particularly the UK. It highlights the career trajectories and migration histories of skilled Indian migrants, and thus contributes significantly to the existing

body of knowledge, applying the human capital theory to the migration of highly skilled Indians to western countries, particularly the UK.

Skilled migrants in the UK are treated as an asset. In 1997, the first managed migration programme since the 1960s was introduced by the Labour government. The programme was intended to fill shortages of skilled workers in key areas. The sectors addressed by this programme included health, IT, teaching and engineering (Somerville, 2007). A work permit system was introduced which led to immigration. The government then launched the highly skilled migration programme, which was a points-based system intended to attract highly skilled individuals from other countries to the same sectors. Indian migrants were the largest group as of 2005 (Salt and Millar, 2005).

Khadria (2008) points out that emigration is seen as a national asset in India, as the country focuses on producing highly skilled IT experts and encouraging them to go to Silicon Valley. However, this led to what critics call a brain drain, whereby the country loses its highly skilled workers to developed countries. Researchers call them 'IT-astronauts'. Individuals migrate to the developed world and then back to India, resulting in a major flow of human resources and capital between India and other countries (Saxenian, 2000; Van der Veer, 2005; Upadhyia and Vasavi, 2008). This is also called brain circulation, and is believed to be a win-win situation for both India and the developed world, because highly skilled people get the opportunity to advance their careers abroad and then come back to India to contribute to Indian society.

Researchers highlight that skilled middle class people are more prone to migrate than those from the privileged class (Conradson and Latham, 2005; Iredale, 2001; Friesen and Collins, 2017; Favell et al., 2006). However, researchers acknowledge that much of the research in this regard is conducted with respect to migration taking place within Europe, and that there is a dearth of research studying migration from Asia to the developed world, even though migration from these countries has increased significantly from the 1960s onwards (Ong et al., 1992; Csedo, 2008; Ryan and Mulholland, 2014; Nohl et al., 2014; Smith and Favell, 2006). Bauman (2008) draws a difference between the working class and global elite, saying that the former is immobile due to limited opportunities whereas the latter is able to advance. However, the middle class is more prone to migrate and settle abroad, as seen in the case of New Zealand (Friesen and Collins, 2017; Spoonley, 2015). The New Zealand government introduced migration-friendly neoliberal policies to attract highly skilled people from developing countries, which attracted large numbers of migrants from Asia, particularly India (Simon-

Kumar, 2015; Bedford and Spoonley, 2014; Friesen and Collins, 2017; Kurian and Munshi, 2006). The government went beyond the points-based system to introduce a desirable migrants programme to attract highly skilled people (Spoonley, 2015; Simon-Kumar, 2015). Thus, the migration policy in New Zealand is innovative compared to that of Canada or Australia (Bedford and Spoonley, 2014). Friesen and Collins (2017) argue that one can see India either as a victim of the brain drain or a beneficiary of the brain chain, as it supplies the developed world with highly skilled people, some of whom come back to India later in life to serve their home country.

The focus of past and existing conducted research are on the subject is the developed world or world cities (Csedo, 2008; Smith and Favell, 2006; Ryan and Mulholland, 2014). This represents a narrow view of the literature on the subject and the conclusions of such research cannot be generalized to the developing or underdeveloped world. The European Union has free movement of persons, providing a frictionless space for citizens of the member states. The research conducted on migration within the EU cannot be used to trace migration from India to EU countries. Saenian (2006) recommends studying the migration of highly skilled Indians to the western world. Existing research studies the temporary migration of Indians to Europe (Qureshi et al., 2013; Batnitzky et al., 2008; Rutten and Verstappen, 2014), New Zealand (Lewin et al., 2011) and Silicon Valley (Saxenian, 2006), but the current research focuses on the social conditions that governs migration and non migration of highly skilled Indians to the UK.

Researchers find the middle class to be more prone to migration than people from other income classes (Favell et al., 2006; Ong et al., 1992). However, researchers also argue that it is difficult to develop a general theory of migration as it involves interdisciplinary factors (Favell, 2008; Castles, 2010). Castles (2010) suggests that migration theories should integrate insight from multiple approaches, disciplines and contexts. Favell (2008) recommends conducting migration studies outside the developed world, because migration within the developed world is frictionless.

Favell et al. (2006) notes five assumptions underpinning the international migration of the middle class. Firstly, they are easily overlooked due to the excess travel of corporate elites. This leaves them out of the sight of studies or reports on migration. Although some researches take the migration of middle class Indians into account, the focus of such research is the IT sector or male Indian migration to Europe (Saxenian, 2006; Rutten and Verstappen, 2014;

Batnitzky et al., 2008). Ong et al. (1992) point out the increased rate of migration after 1962 due to rapid transportation across the world connecting countries.

Secondly, the migration of the middle class takes place on the basis of demand, i.e. pull factors. This includes cultural and institutional channels and post-colonial factors (Favell et al., 2006). However, it is imperative that the post-colonial connection of language and culture are differentiated as they influence the migrants' choice to migrate to a particular country. Both elements are relevant to the migration of highly skilled Indians to the UK (Friesen and Collins, 2017).

Favell et al. (2006) observe that migration is too easily assumed to be the brain drain, involving only the best people from the home country. However, in reality brain circulation takes place. Friesen and Collins (2017) refer to the brain chain, whereby all levels of skilled people migrate, then some return home after some years. The current research looks into this phenomenon to understand why highly skilled Indians migrate to the UK. Qureshi et al. (2013) point out a common reason for migration from developing countries to developed countries, because people's qualifications are undervalued in their home countries.

Fourthly, the discussion of migration points to a difference between controlled and frictionless migration. Frictionless migration usually takes place between developed countries, whereas controlled migration takes place between developing or underdeveloped countries and developed countries. Favell et al. (2006) observe that migrants from developing and underdeveloped countries have different criteria to enter the host country than migrants from developed countries. The migration policy in the UK is a prime example of this (Spoonley, 2015; Simon-Kumar, 2015).

Finally, human capital represents a universal category of movement as people travel from one place to another. However, countries do not recognize each other's qualifications without conversion criteria. Moreover, social networks are highly important for migrants if they are to get ahead in their host countries. There are also other types of capital which are highly relevant such as cultural capital and social capital. Researchers indicate that social networks are not actively relied upon by skilled Indian persons, because employers are now recruiting directly in India. For this reason, highly skilled Indian migrants do not have to rely on social networks in the host country because they have the opportunity to be hired within their home country

before traveling (Johnson et al., 2006; Rutten and Verstappen, 2014; Qureshi et al., 2013; Batnitzky et al., 2008).

It is important to note that the literature on skilled migration overlooks the marketing of destination countries in developing and underdeveloped countries which attracts highly skilled professionals. The skilled professional is presumed to be someone who has overachieved, and ready with set of skills for migration and non-migration process.

2.2 Highly skilled migrants' careers

The literature on the subject mainly focuses on macro-level issues such as the brain drain, brain gain, brain circulation, foreign remittances and talent flow (Ackers, 2005; Varma, 2007; Baruch et al., 2007; Carr et al., 2005). However, researchers have recently started to look into the hurdles faced by highly skilled migrants in their efforts to establish themselves in the host country. Salaff et al. (2002) and Bauder (2003) point to the inhibiting role of policies in host countries. Almeida et al. (2012) observe that skilled migrants usually face discrimination in host countries in terms of employment, education and career opportunities. This discrimination is made on the basis of ethnicity, cultural background, religion and group identity.

Researchers also highlight the difficulties faced by skilled migrants in terms of career mobility. For example, Raghuram et al. (2010) discuss the plight of South Asian doctors upon arriving in the UK who face an extremely disadvantageous position in the job market and specialization. Ramboarison-Lalao et al. (2011) point out the same with respect to jobs for Malagasy doctors in France, that the jobs offered to them are below their qualification level. Al Ariss and Syed (2011) highlight the underemployment of Lebanese in other professions in France. Robinson and Carey (2000) and Coker (2001) say that migrants are marked on the basis of their ethnicity, and face discrimination and legal hurdles to getting jobs in host countries (Van Laer and Janssens, 2011; Inkson and Myers, 2003; Al Ariss and Syed, 2011; Syed, 2008).

Zikic et al. (2010) say that regulatory bodies in host countries devalue the qualifications and experience that highly skilled migrants gain in their home countries. Kamenou (2008) highlights the role of cultural capital in host countries, saying that highly skilled migrants are perceived to lack cultural resources in host countries. Tuchick and Al Ariss (2013) explore the sources of constraint faced by migrants in host countries, which include networking in host countries, national policies, the employment market, culture and individual constraints.

2.2.1 The case of Indian doctors

Some researchers explore the responses of people to such impediments. Raghuram et al. (2010) observe that South Asian doctors face significant barriers to finding employment in specialized fields, and therefore practice in less popular medical fields such as geriatric medicine, often becoming influential in those fields. Other researchers find a reliance on the social capital of friends and family in host countries to secure short-term jobs and use such jobs as platforms for long-term career advancement (Smith and Nicolson, 2007; Harvey, 2008).

Al Ariss and Syed (2011) highlighted the importance of community referrals used by highly skilled migrants to secure employment. However, this does not apply to highly specialized fields, because ethnic minorities usually lack representation in such fields, as pointed out by Raghuram et al. (2010). Nevertheless, researchers highlight the character strength of highly skilled migrants who are willing to work extra hard in order to make up for their disadvantages in the employment market (Zikic et al., 2010; Frieze et al., 2006; Ravitch, 2002).

When highly skilled professionals from one country move to another, it is known as brain drain for the former and brain gain for the latter. The word 'brain' in this context suggests students or highly skilled individuals, while 'drain' means the leaving of such people from their home country leading to a 'gain' in the host country. The term first emerged in the 1960s, when British scientists emigrated to the US in large numbers (Royal Society, 1963), which later came to be known as the human capital flight. Although some researchers point out that some of the migrants return to their home countries after some years, the UN generally regards migration as one-way movement in which people from developing countries move to developed countries (Gaillard, 1991). Alam and Rahaman (2008) observe that human capital flight usually takes place between developing or underdeveloped countries and the developed world which is in an advantageous position as it acquires highly skilled people while the developing world is disadvantaged by losing their highly skilled people. Koshy and Radhakrishnan (2008) observe that highly skilled migrants have a strong sentiment for returning to their homeland, but few actually return.

The brain drain affects the economic growth of developing countries as they lose technical expertise (Commander et al., 2004). The dearth of skilled labour in developing countries affects their productivity and overall economic growth (Beine et al., 2001). The economic decline in developing countries depends on the extent to which skilled people migrate. Governments also

lose potential tax income from emigrants (Faini, 2007). It is difficult to replace skilled labour because it takes years to develop highly skilled human capital (Yang and Martinez, 2005). Thus, those who replace emigrants are low skilled and take considerable time to develop a high level of skills (Saxenian, 2005).

Researchers use the term 'push' to refer to the factors which cause the brain drain. This term suggests economic, social and political situations in the home country which are undesirable so that highly skilled people are pushed to migrate to countries with better prospects in the developed world (Khadria, 1999; Portes, 1987; Chen, 2009; Dumont and Lemaitre, 2005). The poor conditions in the home country which push highly skilled people out include lack of career opportunities, political instability, rigid regulations, low wages, bureaucracy and nepotism. Corruption is one of the chief factors pushing highly skilled migrants away. Developed countries offer better economic, social and political situations which attract skilled migrants. The lifestyle offered by developed countries is also an attractive factor for highly skilled migrants.

However, push and pull factors do not provide an exhaustive explanation for the migration of highly skilled people from developing countries such as India to developed countries such as the UK. Some developed countries fail to attract highly skilled migrants from developing countries. The key factors of the immigration policy are national security, language requirements and employment policies which maintain employment for locals. Immigrants bring social and cultural capital of their own which blends with the social and cultural capital of the host country.

There is also a reverse flow of migrants who return to their home countries after having spent some years in the host countries. This is called brain circulation. Highly skilled migrants return to their home country to take advantage of the opportunities there, using the experience and qualifications gained in the host country (Wadhwa, 2009). Saxenian (2005) points to an increase in entrepreneurship in home countries due to returning migrants who tend to launch new companies and explore business opportunities in their areas of expertise. A number of developing countries have experienced economic growth due to returning migrants, following which they liberalized their economies to attract both returning migrants and foreign investors, resulting in increased investment in IT and other technology sectors such as biotechnology and nanotechnology. Developing countries have devised lucrative investment policies for overseas citizens to invest there (Lieberman, 2004; Glanz, 2001). Nevertheless, the literature raises

questions about the welfare of developing countries due to the larger number of highly skilled people leaving than coming back.

Returning migrants bring new skills, ideas and ambitions which have significant positive impacts on the economic growth of the home country. Dumont and Lemaitre (2005) observe that, when migrants are working abroad they send foreign remittances home, which generates foreign reserves for the home country. Beine et al. (2008) observe that returning migrants increase the human capital of developing countries. Such people tend to attach supreme importance to education in the home country, meaning they are likely to invest in the education sector. Saxenian (2005) observes that returning migrants are a key source of technology transfer from developed to developing countries. Wadhwa et al. (2007a) suggest that the reason for the entrepreneurship boom in China and India is returning migrants who tend to imitate the strategies and business setups of Silicon Valley. Arora and Gambardella (2005) point out the significant non-traditional growth in the software industry due to entrepreneurship in India. Varma (2007) observes that, even when highly skilled migrants do not return to their home country, they still develop networks with skilled people there, which is useful in terms of technology transfer and investment in business opportunities.

2.2.2 The case of Indian institutes of technology

Sangwan (1990) observes that Indian enrolment in engineering subjects was limited during the colonial rule of the British. However, engineering education was deemed a cornerstone of progress after the independence of the country in 1947. The Indian government established institutes of technology to provide modern education in science and engineering. At first, five such institutions were established, Kharagpur in 1951, Mumbai in 1958, Chennai (1959), Kanpure (1960) and Delhi (1961). Later, two more institutes were established, Guwahati in 1995 and Roorkee (2002). Since 2008, nine more institutes have been established by the Indian government. These institutes are known as Indian institutes of technology (IIT). The admission process to these institutes is highly competitive. To secure enrolment, students must pass the joint entrance exam (JEE) with high marks. Before 2008, up to 350,000 students from all over India applied for admission to these institutes, which had only 4,200 seats. Now there are nearly 10,000 seats as nine new institutes have opened. In 2012, over 500,000 students competed for admission. This has given rise to coaching and training centres which provide teaching and mock exams to students preparing for admission. However, given the highly competitive nature of these institutes, students from poor backgrounds are unable to afford to study there (Varma

and Kapur, 2010). The workload to prepare for admission is estimated to be, on average, six hours of effort in addition to students' usual study routine.

2.2.3 Local employment conditions for highly skilled Indians

IITs are referred to as “institutes of national importance” by the Indian Institute of Technology Act 1956. Central government is the main funder of these institutes. Critics argue that these institutes account for less than 2% of the overall student population but attract 85% of the budget, in comparison to other institutes falling under the purview of the central government. It is also believed that one-third of other higher education institutes (HEIs) do not receive any funding from central government and only half of those remaining are fully funded by central government. This has been called discrimination by central government, as it primarily focuses on funding the IITs (Agarwal, 2007). As a result, other engineering institutes have to increase their fees to remain afloat. The reason for the excellent operation of IITs compared to other HEIs, is the stable funding and fewer students. However, two key Indian industrialists, B. Muturaman (VC of Tata Steel) and N.R. Narayana Murthy (founder of Infosys) have criticized these institutes for their students' lack of analytical skills. Nevertheless, the degrees awarded by these institutes are recognized both within and outside India.

Leslie and Kargon (2006) point to the brain drain taking place in India among graduates of IITs. It is said that, upon enrolment, their spirit ascends to the US and that their bodies follow upon graduation. Varma (2006) illustrates this phenomenon with another popular witticism about students of IITs, that their one leg is in India and the other is in Air India, as they are prone to migrate to other countries upon graduation. The graduates of these institutes choose to settle abroad on the strength of the technical skills they acquire. According to a survey carried out by Pan-IIT Alumni India (2002), of the 200,000 students who graduated from the seven IIT campuses, the majority of whom (60%) were postgraduates and the remainder (40%) undergraduates, 125,000 went abroad (Leslie and Kargon, 2006).

Gaillard (1991) observes that in the early years after the establishment of IITs, the migration of its students upon graduation was dubbed the brain drain. Their decision not to return to India was seen as a permanent loss for the country. It was argued by policymakers at the time that the brain drain was depriving the Indian economy of its skilled personnel. The Human Development Report of the UN Development Programme 2001 estimates that the brain drain causes India a loss of \$2 billion each year (Murali, 2003).

Nevertheless, the brain drain of highly skilled migrants from India to other developed countries debunks the myth that people from developing countries lack the skills needed in developed countries. Indian engineers, doctors and scientists have become a prominent group in the US high-tech sector. They represented 7% of the business community in Silicon Valley in 1998 (Saxenian, 1999), but between 1995 and 2005, 15.5% of start-ups in Silicon Valley were by Indians, which accounted for 26% of engineering and technology companies started by foreign entrepreneurs (Wadhwa et al., 2007b). The majority of these entrepreneurs graduated from IITs, and IITs have been honoured by US Congress (2005) for their contribution to US society.

Now the brain drain phenomenon is called brain circulation, due to a pattern of highly skilled migrants returning. Gentleman (2008) observes that many IIT graduates who left the country upon graduation returned home after some years, although there are no official statistics available in this regard. Wadhwa (2011) observes that in the previous five years there had been a dramatic increase in Indian migrants returning. The development model followed by India between 1947 and 1990 was state-controlled, with public ownership, protectionism and extensive regulation. This reduced the economic progress of the country. However, from 1991 onwards, the country implemented economic reforms and progressed towards a market-based system. Now it is one of the seven fastest growing economies in the world, and since 2000 its average growth rate is 7%. This is coupled with the concrete efforts of the central government to attract engineers and scientists back by offering lucrative investment opportunities. Resultantly, IIT graduates who migrated to the UK are coming back to India.

2.2.4 Social conditions and migration

This research explores the social conditions which govern the process of migration and non-migration of Indian doctors and IT professional to the UK. The discussion explores the social conditions pulling and pushing the migration of highly skilled Indians. The previous literature and research studies on highly skilled migration focus on political, economic and family networks as possible causes of migration (Leung, 2017; Roohi, 2017; Sanchez and Romero, 2010; Yang, 2010, Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton, 1992; Castles, 2010). Research carried out by scholars such as Ho (2011), Cerna (2011), and Docquier et al. (2007) into highly skilled migration covers disciplines such as economics, human resources management and international public relations. Beaverstock (2012) and Ho (2011) state that, while the research conducted into highly skilled professionals considers them economic agents playing a role which benefits both their home and host countries, no one has considered highly skilled

migrants as social agents or considered their social needs other than satisfying the global human capital requirement. This research sees highly skilled professionals from a social perspective as socially and culturally embedded, instead of focusing on the economic conditions as push and pull factors for highly skilled migrants. The thrust of this chapter is to increase the understanding of the current literature on the topic to develop an appropriate theoretical framework for the research.

2.3 Understanding highly skilled migration

The concept of highly skilled migration is highlighted in many disciplines, such as geography, economics, sociology, political science, history, anthropology, demography, law, humanities, media literacy and cultural and social psychology (King, 2012). Many researchers agree that tertiary or higher education is the best way to determine who are highly skilled professionals (Eich-Krohm, 2013). Iredale (2001) defines highly skilled migrants as those who have extensive experience in their field or a higher university degree, who have moved to another country for better employment opportunities. Examples of highly skilled professionals are senior managers, highly skilled specialists, independent executives, specialized technicians, business people, investors, subcontract workers, and key workers (OECD, 1997). It is easy to understand the definition of highly skilled workers by differentiating unskilled and skilled workers.

There are various routes of migration from India. Highly skilled immigrants are qualified for settlement only after securing a job listed on a highly skilled occupation list, being sponsored by an employer, or completing their university degree in the UK. According to Iredale (2016), people often seek a high return on their investment in years of experience in industry or education by moving to another country in search of the most rewarding employment. Io et al. (2017) indicate that we cannot consider all degree holder migrants as highly skilled, because some do lower-level jobs after receiving residence permits. The second route is for those with exceptional talent, professional skills and education who have employment offers before they arrive (Kirk et al., 2017). Highly skilled Indian workers with an IT or medical degree migrate by securing highly skilled jobs and work at a highly professional level (Walton-Roberts et al., 2017). In contrast, highly skilled workers such as doctors, IT professionals and other specialists with designated roles are different, because of their levels of education (Depew et al., 2017), social networks (Cohen et al., 2015), income (Covarrubias et al., 2015; Abraham, 2017), skills (Chacko, 2015) or social status in both their home and host countries (Singh, 2015).

Alternatively highly skilled Indian immigrants can be directly recruited in India based on their current or past experience and educational qualifications in the fields of medicine or IT. These are considered highly skilled migrants for the purpose of this research study. According Yeoh and Lam (2016), Raghuram (2004), Kerr et al. (2017), Walton-Roberts et al. (2017) and Sardana et al. (2016), IT professionals and medical doctors secure a majority of direct recruitment in developed countries, specifically the UK, USA and Australia.

The current study considers highly skilled migrants to be those with a high level of skills and many years' experience in IT or as a doctor. According to social science, migration is a phenomenon with related actions, social processes, arrangements, patterns and results (Lampert, 2015). Highly skilled migration is a challenging concept for theorists, as it involves the movement of knowledge, skills and cultures from one nation to another (Castles, 2010). If the rate of migration continues to grow, it may change the societies, economic situations and characteristics of the nations involved (Hear, 2010). This concept has gained the attention of social scientists and government policymakers trying to devise strategies (Hear, 2010). The skilled migration process raises questions relating to belonging, identity, resources, location, social divisiveness and social cohesion (Rajendra, 2014). However, many countries increasingly focus on retaining talent, such as China, India and Malaysia, which is one of the best examples because it provides opportunities for human intellectual capital according to their skills (Johnston et al., 2013).

There are various perspectives in the literature on the effect of mobility of human capital. The process involves unequal power relationships in terms of knowledge circulation production and usage (Hollanders and Soete, 2010; Caloz-Tschopp, 2010). In essence the emigration of scientists and other highly skilled workers from developing nations to industrialized nations attracts questions and criticisms. Firstly, there are social and economic implications faced by developing nations when their highly skilled labour migrates to other countries. These countries already face shortages of human capital and are further constrained by the migration of skilled labour (Schiff et al., 2006). Secondly, there are positive impacts of migration on the home country through remittances. Skilled migrants serve as a link between home and host countries and are likely to be a source of foreign remittance as well as knowledge when they return to set up businesses using their earnings from abroad (George and George, 2005). This gives rise to the concept of a development nexus, which highlights the positive impact of migration on

families, which is a major motivation for this research exploring the role of collective social conditions for highly skilled Indian migrants.

2.3.1 Institutional context of migration

Ideas regarding the role of institutions in changing society have been adapted for many research questions in social research. For instance, the work of Karl Polanyi is seminal to the understanding of the economy as an instituted process (MacKinnon, 2009). Institutions, in the broad meaning, are formal organizations and the habits and values people have in the workplace that could act as push factors (to migrate) or pull factors (to stay in the organization). Institutions, from the formal organizational perspective, include corporations, government agencies and voluntary bodies. Broader sets of rules, habits and values structuring the actions of people emphasize the practices and behaviours of daily routine and the standards applied (MacKinnon, 2009).

With the help of conceptualization, the approach to institutionalization differentiates institutional environments and institutional arrangements (Roohi, 2017). Institutional arrangements are the forms of organizations which consist of companies, the labour market, governments and political bodies, whereas the institutional environment consists of internal and external elements such as social routines, culture, political regulations and norms (Martin, 2000). The satisfaction level of highly skilled professionals with internal and external institutional settings act, to some extent, as push and pull factors for migration or remaining in the institutional environment. There is a differentiation observed in the approach to institutions acting as communities (similar to institutional environments) and societies (similar to institutional arrangements) (Farole et al., 2010). Consequently, institutions contain both objective structures and the subjective spring of human agency in the human mind, such as norms (Hodgson, 2006). In this regard, local social norms and values in the workplace and society play a role, either positive or negative, to push the highly skilled to migrate or encourage them to stay. However, these social conditions are very subjective in nature and socially constructed, which is why this research explores why the same institutional settings and social conditions push some highly skilled Indians to migrate and some not to migrate.

Institutions, and their changing policies, offer the context in which we place the migration decisions of highly skilled migrants. The policies of the labour market adapt to fluctuations in the host country's economy. According to Cerna (2011, 2014) and Boucher and Cerna (2014),

significant consideration is given to the part played by policies in shaping skilled migration from a macro perspective. Cerna (2014) explains that changes occur in migration policies which primarily rely on the political climate and, to a certain degree, the economic rules governing the market. Likewise, those included in the category of skilled migrants vary by country. Pathways are created by policy for those who fit the needs, while obstacles are created for others.

An excellent example of how policy affects different categories of highly skilled migrants is the setting of a minimum wage. The result of recent changes to the points-based tier system in the UK, in which the minimum wage increased, was a reclassification of eligible candidates for visas (Kirk et al., 2017). On the other hand, the minimum wage to qualify for a migrant visa in other countries has decreased, so that doctoral researchers and nurses can enter the market (Kōu et al., 2015). Even though the European Union supports the blue card initiative for a continuous flow of skilled labour, numerous member nations have not modernized their policies. Almost 40% of the 172 United Nations member nations have the goal of augmenting the number of highly skilled migrants, however only a small number have applied a specific skilled migrant programme (Czaika and Parsons, 2015). The majority of countries employ general immigration regulations and laws for accepting migrants with good skillsets.

Consequently, there is a situation where certain highly skilled migrants do not have the privileges others have in the European Union. The heterogeneity of European highly skilled migrant policies is due to the national labour markets and the flexibility to integrate international employees into the workforce (Cerna and Czaika, 2016). According to Menz (2013) and Chen, Ward and Coulon (2013), the part played by workers in highly skilled migrant mobility is largely ignored, but appears to be gaining attention for research. Governments are under pressure to give preference to nationals who belong to the EU over those from third world countries, even though the majority of highly skilled migrants are from non-EU nations (Menz, 2013).

Highly skilled migrants, in comparison to other immigrant groups, have more significant agency for planning or postponing migration decisions. They have numerous opportunities to move because of their transferrable skills and employment with multinational companies (Qureshi et al., 2013). According to Kōu and Bailey (2014), such moves could connect to the stage of life they are at and their future goals. Dyusters et al. (2015) stress that numerous non-EU organizations establish bases in the European Union or other developed countries or acquire

companies there. Ryan and Mulholland (2014) assert that this results in the mobility of skilled personnel across locations without any change of employer. Intra-company transfers or brain exchange are terms used by Findlay and Cranston (2015) for such transfers in transnational organizations. Patra and Krishna (2015) state that the recent shift of research and development (R&D) facilities beyond the boundaries of the EU to countries such as India points to a movement of jobs to individuals instead of individuals to jobs. Still to be considered is whether this step will result in intra-company transfers of migrants with high skills to the Global South from the Global North (Patra and Krishna, 2015). Green and Hogarth (2017), bring institutional aspects to the forefront of the debate by linking changes in migration policy and the perspectives of employers in the UK. Typically, employers face hardships when they adapt their businesses to changing regulations. It is difficult to find a suitable balance between growing local talent and appealing to the best talent without compromising the global market competitiveness.

Institutions might be mutually integrated in how they impact and shape individual values and habits, but might also impact organizational development (Fine and Milonakis, 2003). This refers to institutions with local social values and norms, illustrating the dynamic nature of institutions and highlighting the importance of carriers of history and the social adjustment of professionals to local institutional social settings (Martin, 2000). This emphasizes formal organizational roles such as organizational rules, policies, regulations, labour conditions, political environments and social arrangements, including social norms, values and routines. It is necessary to understand how these roles impact and establish transnational migration processes as push or pull factors for highly skilled professionals.

The institutional setting has two significant types of factors from a transnational perspective, the formal institutional setting and social networks (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004). The formal setting includes the organizational rules and policies, government rules, policies, power and control, and organizational structure. All these factors are interpreted and communicated by the employees working in the organization, so the interpretation of the formal setting happens informally, which is part of the social setting of the organization. Social networking, which is facilitated by the formal structure of the institution, translates into the push and pull factors for professionals for migration or non-migration decisions. Migrants base their decisions on their awareness and loyalties, as well as the practices connected to their homeland and the society they live in (Faist, 2000). This loyalty is socially constructed and interpreted

through life events both within and outside the organization. A multinational perspective emphasizes the relations between sending and receiving countries, facilitated by formal structures as internal transfers of employees within the organization, or employee's own decisions to migrate or stay (Vertovec, 2003). The web of social networks based on such relations highlights the transnational social space (Faist, 2000). At the same time, internal transfer may be attractive to someone aspiring to be a specific type of person but discouraging for other professionals working at the same level of the formal structure. There may be different social conditions playing roles in their decision to accept an organizational decision to migrate to another country or to stay in the home country. The above developments in institutional conceptualization link back to formal and informal institutional environments. The focus on individual social actors' interactions with internal organizational social actors and external society is directly linked to their everyday routine life. Multinational migration is not a one-time event, but is socially constructed through social interpretation of life events under social conditions. However, even though the decision to move comes from the individual or household, it is still embedded in the broader context of the community and institutional setting (D'Costa, 2006). Multinational companies can provide fast track routes for professional recruitment and further advancement (Levitt et al., 2004). However, professional recruitment is sufficiently static and realistic to attract the required professionals because there is a need to understand their social conditions by taking a comprehensive contextual approach which includes institutional, professional and social considerations.

It is imperative to explore the institutional setting (political, organizational structure, control system) and social setting (values and norms) which creates a pushing environment for some while pulling others to stay. The approach implemented is aligned with the embeddedness approach which allows formal institutions to focus on networks with the help of transnational migration processes (Vertovec, 2003). However, the transnational migration process through social networking by the professional within the institutional setting still requires a professional and social consensus on the thoughts that push them to migration. Social conditions also matter for the migrant, because some individuals would like to migrate but their social conditions do not allow it, such as single parents in India. There is a need to explore the social conditions and institutional settings together, to understand the social phenomenon of highly skilled migrants from India to the UK. As the basis for discussion, there are major two types of factor, social conditions and the labour market, which are also considered parts of the institutional setting that play vital roles in pushing or facilitating the highly skilled to remain in their home country.

In any particular social group or culture there are social norms, including expectations of behaviour, rules and mindsets based on shared beliefs. According to Gutfleisch, and Andreb (2020) these norms are mostly understood as proper and improper behaviour, social standards that determine the interactions of individuals in everyday life. These standards define which behaviour is acceptable and which is not (Schepers et al., 2007). In wide-ranging contexts, human behaviour is influenced by cultural and societal norms, which include violence and its prevention. An environment created with norms can foster or mitigate violence and its harmful effects (Yamada et al., 2017). Centralized arrangements can result in increased political empowerment and participation by racial minorities (Sacks et al., 2015). Decision making by the head office of an organization, a centralized arrangement, is linked to the social and cultural conditions of an organization and consequently encourages some groups while discouraging other groups (Chamberlain et al., 2016). Commands to all departments and offices of an organization coming from the head office create an institutional leading culture (Schepers et al., 2007). There are some negative impacts on employees as a result of critical decisions made by specialists and executives in centralized positions which become demotivational for the employees and push them in a new direction or to quit the organization (Sacks et al., 2015).

This research explores the role social conditions embedded in organizational culture play as push or pull factors for highly skilled Indians. Institutions changing their policies creates a context within which highly skilled employees make migration decisions. The guidelines and policies about labour migration establish the context at a macro level for both highly skilled migrants and their employers. Labour market principles and policies continuously adapt to economic variation in destination countries. Many scholars highlight the importance of labour market policies in skilled migration at the macro level (Boucher and Cerna, 2014).

2.3.2 Social capital of institutions

Social capital is a concept initially associated with the works of Coleman, Robert Putnam and Bourdieu, and “one of the most successful exports from sociology to other social sciences and public discourse” (Portes, 2000, p.17). Social capital is considered integral to institutions. Bourdieu (1986) defines social capital as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition” (p.248). According to Coleman (1988, p.98), "social capital consists of some aspect of social structure and facilitates certain actions of actors - whether persons or corporate actors - within the structure". Further studies by

Colman are similar to Bourdieu, and consider social capital as a resource within a societal structure. Coleman suggests that the notion can be used as a “panacea for the ills of the modern society”, which was its main critique (Anthias, 2007, p.791; Portes, 2000). To outline this hot debate, it is important to say that Coleman's work is valuable, in the sense that it serves as the foundation for Putman's work. Putnam (2001) calls social capital the "connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them". According to Putnam (2001) social capital is an active social function of interpersonal relationships between people including their understandings, senses of identity, values, norms, beliefs and reciprocities which create meaning from realities, which we call socially constructed realities. Social capital creates social norms, values and beliefs through social interaction within institutions, which is why social networking is given importance in this research. Putman's work has also received criticism from many, as it provides insights into the literature on migration by differentiating between bridging and bonding social capital. Regardless of the importance of Putman's work it has gained acceptance in the domain of political science. There is extensive literature on political participation, with a focus on integration and the political participation of immigrants in receiving societies (Jacobs and Tillie, 2004; Morales and Giugni, 2011).

Studies of migration widely deploy the concept of social capital to examine the role of friendship and kinship networks in easing the migratory process, because new migrants prefer to move to places with developed ethnic communities and a concentration of fellow citizens (Reynolds, 2010; Harvey, 2008, 2012; Haug, 2008; Boyd, 1989). There is, at the same time, a lack of understanding of how institutional social settings within organizations and external social settings construct the migration and non-migration processes. Indeed, there is a need to understand the social phenomena which push highly skilled workers to migrate while pulling others to stay in the home country, which are embedded in institutional social and professional settings. So, understanding social capital helps explore the role of social networks for the highly skilled Indian migrants to the UK. Babar et al. (2019) indicate that the social networks of migrants facilitate new migration decisions by providing information regarding job opportunities, supporting the migration process, providing resources and helping people integrate into destination countries (Portes, 1998; Eve, 2010).

Ryan (2011, pp.708-711) argues that there is "a tendency in the migration scholarship not only to use the concept in very loose terms but also to confuse the sources of social capital – in

particular access to networks – with the resources thus derived, e.g. socioeconomic benefits". It is necessary to focus on the specific relationships, the resources available within networks and their relative usefulness and accessibility. Correspondingly, we investigate the social capital structures and sources of highly skilled Indian migrants. In analysing the resource types available in these networks in the context of their relative effectiveness at facilitating the insertion of highly skilled migrants into specific domains of the labour market, there is need to understand the role social capital plays in the process of migration and non-migration.

Studies of international migration face criticism due to neglecting the actual network formation process, as no migration scholar has worked on this (Ryan and Mulholland, 2014; Wierzbicki, 2004). However, studies conducted by Putman (2000, 2007) and Granovetter (1983) draw a significant distinction between social networking types in the context of bridging and bonding networks (Nannestad et al., 2008; Kelly and Lusia, 2006), or weak and strong ties (Harvey, 2008). The popular literature on migration associates the concept of bonding strong networks with ethnic-based bonding connections, and bridging weak ties represent acquaintances where people are less close (Yu, 2019; Lan, 2011). It would be helpful to know how ethnic-based social networks play their role as push or pull factors that govern highly skilled professional migration and non-migration.

Ethnic-specific bonded networks are not necessarily profitable, because they often result in ethnic ghettoization and enclaves (Ryan and Mulholland, 2014). As bridging ties provide access to information and resources beyond those available in one's own social circle (Granovetter, 1983), they tend to promote social integration and mobility (Poros, 2001). Here, the question arises regarding how to define network structures, with some scholars such as Oliver and O'Reilly (2010) and Ryan and Mullholland (2014) criticizing as too-simple the assumption that "all members of the ethnic community are equally committed to that culture or specific notions of ethnic authenticity" (Shah, 2007, p.20). According to these scholars, this understanding tends to undermine other factors, such as class, which creates a complex hierarchy of distinctions. However, highly skilled migrants are more likely to favour professional networks over ethnic networks, especially when the former provides resources that lead to positive labour market outcomes. According to Harvey (2008), people exploit both kinds of network in order to access the labour market. Based on the concept of network complementarity proposed by Ryan and Mullholland (2014), there is an immediate need to think beyond the bridging and bonding dichotomy to focus on the significant aspects of

networking content. They argue that it is essential to understand the core content of societal ties in order to discover “how and why migrants form networks with particular characteristics” (p.163). This conceptualization runs parallel to Bourdieu’s (1986) view of the complexities of social ties, according to which networking is an outcome of endless effort. Various other factors inevitably shape networking, such as a social class, potentially minimizing access to valuable information and resources (Ryan, 2011).

As this research focuses on the social conditions which govern the process of migration and non-migration, it is essential to know why and how participants develop networks with particular characteristics. There is a need to go beyond other authors and pay close attention to routes of migration and the social circumstances. To understand the modes of social and professional networking which play a role in highly skilled migration and non-migration from India to the UK. Liversage (2009, p.205) argues that “mode of entry plays a central role in shaping both immigrant’s labour market incorporation and networking capabilities and patterns”. While highlighting the opportunities and obstacles which shape access to various networks (Ryan, 2011), this research provides fresh insight into various mentalities associated with specific networks along with their power to facilitate or complicate the outcomes for highly skilled Indians in the UK labour market.

Social ties not only provide valuable information regarding settlement destinations but also show that migration is a consequence of an economic decision-making process and essentially a social phenomenon (Boyd, 1989). Massey et al. (1998) show that social networks are essential in migration decisions and retaining positions in the home country. Migration cost reduces for any new migrant due to the societal capital from social networks (Massey et al., 1998). However, this theory focuses only on the economic characteristics of migrant networks, which is its major critique. The most prominent benefit of social networks is that they facilitate highly skilled migrants and non-migrants in recruitment and finding employment through informal contacts (Alarcón, 1999; Conradson and Latham, 2005; Meyer, 2001). Organizational networks generally predetermine migration trajectories and employment, because of the integration of overseas postings into the policies of multinational corporations (Beaverstock, 2005). The literature on migration faces further criticism for paying less attention to the fusion of social capital as migrants negotiate different types of social resources and ties in different contexts through life events (Ryan, 2011), which become the shared values and beliefs of different social groups. Previous literature focuses on how social capital in the form of social

networking facilitates the migration process, while there is a need to explore how this social networking, in both everyday life and institutional settings, plays a role as a push factor for professionals to migrate and a pull factor for them to stay in their home country. This critical literature review discussion explores the conditions behind the migration and non-migration processes for highly skilled workers.

2.4 Context of migration

Multinational corporations need labourers who can devote time to work across multiple geographical boundaries. These labourers contribute to the global management talent pool through professional expatriate attraction, development and retention. Migration of talent plays a vital role in shaping the workforce. As more careers are pursued at national and international level, the intensity of global mobility is enhanced. According to Segal (2019), independent employee owned relocation firms focus on the migration of talent internationally, while national and government relocation services influence global talent mobility debates. The importance of mobility stems from the diffusion and creation of knowledge, based on tacit and codified extremes. In the broadest sense, migration factors influence the surrounding talent pool and lead to the globalization of research and development and foreign direct investment. The knowledge gained through migration can be transmitted through lectures, documentation, conferences, academic papers and other communication channels. Opportunities for career advancement and better pay greatly satisfy the global talent pool through high quality research infrastructure, renowned scientists and maximum freedom to debate. In contrast, global talent mobility debates are advantageous for industries re-imagining and expanding new talent strategies (Likić-Brborić, 2019). Leveraging talent mobility internationally can offer strong retention rates of employees while building a leadership pipeline to meet the needs of the business. Relative labour market conditions greatly influence the mobility of skilled workers through circular migration, based on family ties and employment opportunities. With the advancement of global mobility, automated tracking is used by companies to access employee location and reduce tax violation risk. The implementation of sound policy, compliance strategies and proper communication channels offers a seamless experience to the global talent pool and benefits global mobility.

2.4.1 2.5.1 Components of the macro- and micro-factors of migration

2.4.1.1 Macro-factors

Political

The history of mankind evolves through mass population movements as the consequence of political will or conflict situations in a cross-cultural context. War, persecution and a lack of political rights influence the migration decisions of the population who search for better job opportunities through the global talent management and recruitment processes (Van Doorn et al., 2020).

Demographic

The increase in urbanization correlates with migration challenges for the global workforce, as measured by the world population. The massive increase in population contributes to rising migration and the recruitment process for the global talent pool of workers and management.

Socio-economic

Human development remains unbalanced across the planet, and the gap is increasing. As a consequence, relative wealth is not equally distributed in the economy and a number of social determinants of the human kind must be considered, among which is the option for migration for anyone labelled as a highly skilled employee.

Environmental

Any shortage of food, water or agricultural resources forces human masses and livestock towards less hostile environments. According to Dohlman et al. (2019), the need for skilled and lucrative job offers greatly attracts professionals around the world considering migration decisions.

2.4.1.2 Micro-factors

Education

A lack of human and economic resources contributes to lower performance in education, due to the efficacy of the brain drain in origin countries. Poor education is a strong reason prompting the migration of individuals towards a better life, especially those in low or middle income countries.

Personal attitude

Migrants in the global talent pool usually have a more pronounced attitude and the initiative to fund a long-distance journey for the recruitment process. A positive attitude towards migration enhances the employment opportunities of the human population and avoids violent conflict for other reasons (Taderera, 2021).

Marital status

Marital status greatly influences global talent mobility, as the likelihood of migration increases for newlyweds as they settle in new places or one partner moves with the other. The labour market influences specific forms of gender violence, levied against access to protection of marital belongings.

2.5 Characteristics of the Indian labour market

Labour includes both physical and mental tasks, such as working in a factory, performing services such as advocacy, or acting as an officer, doctor or IT professional for monetary reward. According to Conrad and Meyer-Ohle (2019), India is one of the fastest growing economies which has harnessed the demographic dividend, due to the lack of job opportunities for the skilled workforce. The following characteristics typify the Indian labour market:

Labour is perishable

The labour in the Indian market is often perishable, as it can neither be created nor stored. Once the labour of an unemployed worker is lost, it is lost forever, reflecting the fact that Indian labour can never be postponed in accordance with tasks nor can be accumulated for the next day's practise.

Less mobility of labour

Compared to goods and capital, labourers in the Indian market are less mobile. Capital can be easily transferred within the Indian market due to great acquisition of inventory, supply chains and the production base, but labourers cannot be easily transported from one place to another (Khanna, 2020).

Reduced supply of labour

As the supply of goods increases in the Indian labour market, there is a high tenacity for reduced labour in compliance with increased wages. The market often prompts all men, women and

children within a labourer's family to earn a livelihood but with low wages. The labourers in the Indian market work alone and value the essence of migration.

Inelastic supply of labour

The Indian labour market has inelastic supply of labourers, where the supply can neither be raised nor reduced based on demand. Labours cannot be made to order within a day, month or year as with other goods and capital services.

Weak bargaining power of labour

There is weak bargaining power in the Indian labour market, as a labourer often sells their own wages, while the employer purchases labour through a wage percentage. Most labourers in India are poor, unorganized and remain ignorant, the cause of ineffective global talent management in the country (Meer and Villegas, 2020).

2.6 Opportunities for professionals through migration

Career progression

A career as a doctor or IT professional is highly valuable in various areas of study and a rewarding endeavour. The higher level of satisfaction they gain plays a vital role in professionalism, as the quality of life of people improves greatly. Considering migration decisions begins when IT professionals remain ignorant of their extensive knowledge in the areas of information communication and technology in front of the population. Such thoughts of migration begin when they feel the necessity to earn more degrees, cure more people or witness humanity in services.

Professional status

Promotion of professionalism greatly impacts the migration decisions of doctors and IT professionals through the contribution of improved social systems and greater job satisfaction. According to Whiting (2021), a high standard of professional status for these professionals can benefit the productivity of global systems as well as the people. The specialist knowledge of doctors is necessary for communicating effective diagnostic and treatment options, and enhancing their professional status. To improve their professional status, IT professionals make migration decisions to build individual career paths and take a proactive approach to reward, due to the stressful conditions they withstand.

Higher income

Achieving a higher income is the desire of every doctor and IT professional, which they take into account when migrating internationally. They often deserve higher compensation as they make a difference in communities by minimizing the pain of patients or launching effective technological alliances. These professionals often create better economic opportunities for the globalized world, a vital uplift of talent through the creation of good jobs and high tax revenues for governments (Oliinyk et al., 2021). Migration decisions are undertaken for necessity rather than choice, to gain an explicitly higher income for doctors or IT professionals, or to obtain maximum economic integrity.

2.7 Social inequalities of professionals

Lack of access to good infrastructure

Social inequality corresponding to a lack of educational or social infrastructure in the environment hinders the career progress of the global talent pool, especially doctors and IT professionals. It blocks the effective pathways of proper housing, schooling and health services, including the necessary basic health and sanitation.

Educational elitism

Elitism in the higher education of IT professionals and doctors restricts them to pursuing tacit knowledge from prestigious universities or local colleges. A wide gap in educational elitism indicates a false sense of self-worth that creates a barrier in the recruitment phase of global talent mobility. Elitism sustains social inequality within the highly skilled professions which subjects them to accepting an entitlement of being mediocre (Krenz et al., 2021).

2.8 Theoretical implications

2.8.1 Institutional theory

Institutional theory deals with the systematic analysis of innovation, in which cultural, cognitive and social functions deploy the resilient aspects of human nature. It relates the processes through which schemes, routines and norms are enforced as established and authoritative guidelines to the practises of human beings. Considering the mobility of the global talent workforce, institutional theory influences the macro-factors of migration under political, environmental, social and economic conditions, as far as the corresponding rules of society. Depending on the nature of the migration context, there is a rise in the homogeneity of

organizational structures that corresponds to the migrating individual dealing with the push or pull system. The new insights of institutions are coherent with the operation of sociological traditional theories that detail the shape and behaviour of enterprises interacting with the global talent pool (Biesenthal et al., 2018).

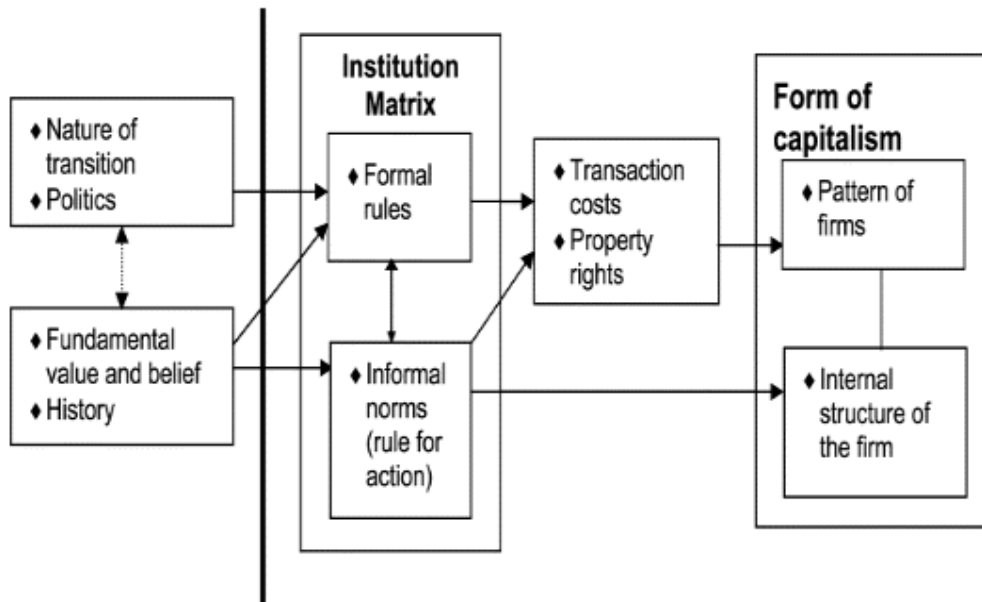


Figure 2-1: Institutional theory
Source: Biesenthal et al. (2018)

Migrating, according to the institutional structure, can reduce uncertainty, transaction costs and the risk of entrepreneurs which fluctuate within the medical and IT professions. The high level of skills and knowledge of such professionals leaves room for arbitrary behaviour of employees and employers, leading to corruption and an objective attitude of the senior-in-charge of the institution.

2.8.2 Social capital theory

Social capital theory considers the social relationships of human beings to be well-defined resources that can lead to the accumulation and development of human capital. For instance, a stable family environment is essential to support a highly skilled worker through educational attainment and gaining credentials. The integration of social capital theory for Indian professionals has productive benefits in terms of social relationships with employers. Linking social groups through hierarchies is advantageous for enhancing the dynamics of knowledge creation for doctors and IT professionals. The most crucial function of social capital theory is deployment of trust that can enable a community of skills and expertise for the global

workforce, managed through its spatial dimension (Ali et al., 2019). It enlightens the bewildering array of pushes and pulls that retain talent in workforces at the international level, as characterized by the collective abilities of social networks.



Figure 2-2: Social capital theory
Source: Ali et al. (2019)

Awareness of social capital allows global talent management to exploit innovation capital within the environment, as an explicit part of personal knowledge capital, to attract highly skilled workers. Social capital theory deals with the micro-factors of migration, where personal attitudes and education determine the social behavioural style of employees in the long run.

2.9 Social Conditions governing skilled Indians migration and non-migration

Indians share a complex history of migration in which the flow has moved back and forth to the UK. Indian migration rose gradually after the Second World War, when a large number of Indians moved to the UK, some with colonial links and others who were soldiers for the British. In the latter half of the 1960s, the movement gradually increased to tap the stable economic freedom people in the UK were enjoying, while India at that time was recovering from famine and poverty (Leaker, 2021). The flow of Indians to the UK was highest in 1968, with 23,000 migrants. Over the next few decades this gradually decreased (Leaker, 2021). However, the internet revolution and increasing standards of education in India, with the introduction of the Indian Institutes of Technology and Indian Institutes of Management, sparked a rise in demand for skilled Indian labour in the western world. Indians tapped the growing demand for doctors, scientists, engineers and nurses. According to Khadria (2018) between 1995 and 2005, over 2 million Indians migrated to the UK. Scarcity of skilled local doctors and the government

approach to continuously enhancing health services and facilities provided scope for Indian doctors to showcase their talent. The medical industry showed tremendous improvement with innovations in health and the integration of IT, in which Indian engineers played an important role. Easier visa options and green card facilities gradually diverted the skilled labour flow to the US. By the end of 2000, half of Europe's Indian population was in the UK (Rakib Ehsan, 2018).

The UK's study environment is not as competitive as India, where most skilled labourers earn their education in crisis, with limited resources. Thus their ability to weather difficult situations and work under extreme pressure is unparalleled in the UK. Skilled local labourers in the UK demand high wages, despite most having a single technical ability. Indian labourers adjust themselves to changing market situations. With multiple degrees and various technical abilities, labourers from India have strong positions in multinational organizations.

2.10 Relationship between the highly skilled workforce and labour market

During the 1980s, the global market in the west demanded cheap labour from Asia and Africa to meet growing production demand while maintaining high profits. India, not being in the position to withhold, became a soft target for the growing UK market and labourers were provided job guarantees and better living opportunities. However, revolution came in the 1990s when the internet started influencing work functions. The government of India made a bold move, assuming there would be growing demand for skilled labour in world market, and Indian institutes started providing industrial exposure and advanced teaching in the fields of management and engineering (Naujoks, 2020). Mass production of skilled labourers from India soon took over the world labour market, especially in the fields of health and information technology. The requirements of developed countries for cheap skilled labour present in the Indian and Chinese markets gradually increased. Organizations in the UK by the late 1990s had started outsourcing to India and China for most products, as it was cheap and they could open markets to make deliveries across the world (International Labour Office, 2011). A growing economy and large market in India drew the attention of multinational companies in the UK, which upgraded the value chain, along with other western nations, to produce high-tech products and make R&D investments in India. The labour market in India showed a move towards innovation and productivity during the 2000s, which gathered investors from around the world to strategize on their business policies and tap Indian resources.

2.11 Approaches by developed countries to attract skilled labourers

The workforce in the UK is organized such that an assurance of stability is provided by the government and businesses do not fear risk. This approach is unlikely to be seen in developing countries where transparency is still a big issue. Alignment between government and private organizations has improved over the years under the influence of global market policies. However, local companies are still unable to pay the prices demanded by workers from developed countries (Hayes, 2021). Moreover, companies abroad provide medical facilities, flexible working, higher incentives and promotional offers which most domestic companies are unable to bear. Even during the pandemic period, when the whole world suffered major business losses and there were shifts in demand and requirements, the UK government secured businesses, extended loan repayments, reduced interest, covered employee salaries and took other steps to ensure labourers in the UK earned a regular income. Another business strategy currently being used by multinational companies from developed countries is giving higher positions to people of Indian origin as well introducing diverse cultures into business operations. The global strategic approach is helping companies from developed countries mix well in developing domestic markets. Giving senior roles to Indians helps companies market their businesses as local customers have greater belief in a product when they see people from their own country in prime positions (Abdurakhmanova and Abdurakhmanov, 2019).

2.12 Experiences that govern migration and non-migration

Immigration to the UK has increased over the last few years, with 11,220 people granted nationality in 2006, when the country issued the highest number of work permits. By 2007, Indians accounted for 40% of total work permits (Oliinyk et al., 2021), and 60% of those permits were for science and technology professionals. The scenario changed after the global recession and locals demanded jobs, many of which were covered by those of Indian origin. The UK government tackled the situation by helping UK labourers compete on the global platform, transforming its educational system and organizing working rules to provide space for locals. Employees moving to the UK on work visas are now limited to between 4 months and 2 years, which can be extended as per requirements. Employees have to return once the work period is over. There have been cases where skilled labourers have opted to work abroad and preferred working within the country, but the majority of workers move abroad in search of promotions that they receive once they return (De Bruyne and Gerritse, 2018). Some

migrants want to experience a longer time in developed countries and use the work experience to bring change to the local market.

2.13 Push and pull factors in the labour market

There are theories put forward evaluating the various reasons people move from their local regions. Most people consider economic reasons to be the primary motivation for such decisions, but in-depth study reveals other factors (SHRM Foundation, 2015). Migration is not a permanent phenomenon, and many employees in the labour market migrate for a certain period and return having acquired the resources necessary to accomplish their objectives. The factors that push labourers to migration include low wages, which is an employment difference between India and the UK, as well as the poverty gap, lack of jobs, lesser health benefits, poor infrastructure, a poor working system, a society not fit to live in, corruption and poor governance. However, sometimes employees make decisions to move to lower capacity regions where the scope for growth is higher or the position offered or remuneration is better than their current position. The pull factors which make people migrate include the opportunity to develop skills, higher wages and higher living standards.

Lee's migration model is presented in 1966 based on the push and pull factors for migrants and immigrants. According to Lee's migration model, push factors (i.e. terrorism, high crime rate, poverty, unemployment, and disasters) are those that can create motivation or no choice for migrants to move from their origin. On the other hand, pull factors (i.e. economic, cultural, political, social, or environmental) are the opportunities that are attracted to migrants for leaving their origin. In recent studies conducted by various scholars 'such as Haas, (2010) involving the push and pull approach, the emphasis is still on economic elements. However, there are also other elements which should be recognized and studied, such as the cultural, social, and other factors and situations of countries Sager, (2016). Palloni et al. (2001) employed economics methodology whereby he tested the theoretical model against empirical data for addressing the question of who is moving and who is not moving by conducting a comparison of ability, motives, and skills.

Push/pull theories relating to migration take on a liberal stance, politically postulating that leaving it to the rationality of the individual worker based on his choice of actions; the migration market should strive to seek a balanced position for itself were under natural movements, lower workers travel to wealthier countries and the over-crowded travel towards

thinly populated areas (Fan & Stark, 2011; Champion & Shuttleworth, 2017). The immigration model of the economic push and pull ignores a score of factors that impact moves within families and community-backed historical relations. Here the problems arise for highly skilled professionals what might be the social push and pull factors that might lead them to migration and non-migration from India to the UK. As Kirk et al. (2017) indicate, the social status of highly-skilled Indian workers acts as a ‘pull’ for them to migrate to developed countries. Morawska, E., (2007) considered it to be a selective process because factors such as gender, age, and social class influence the way people respond to pull or push factors. These conditions are also influential in their ability to deal with challenges. The knowledge of the person, his or her education, family ties, and the potential of the receiving population can also have an impact on migration (Green & Worswick, 2017; Chwaszcza, 2009). On the other Atwell & Mastro (2016) specify that the impact of demographic factors, knowledge, education and social network is situational because these factors impact on immigrants in different ways. This research will contribute to exploring how social conditions and processes pull and push highly-skilled Indians to the UK in migration and what kind of push and pull governs the process of social conditions for non-migrations.

2.14 Interrelation between society, labour and the labour market

Society is a collection of people with certain mindsets and differences of opinion, culture and belief. The people living in a society are governed by certain rules applicable to all. Labour is part of society and its efforts and contributions are reflected in the scope for change and development. The labour market, on the other hand, is a reflection of the specific skills for which there is a demand in society. Any region where doctors, scientists, engineers and labourers with other skills make combined effort to bring change constitutes a society (Somerville and Dhudwar, 2010). However, society creates a demand for labour, and thus the market drives opportunities to upgrade skills or bring innovation, which might create new paths for jobs.

2.15 Skill management and classification in India and the UK

The skill management in the UK is organized by the Technical Vocational Education and Training (TVET) system, which allows professional universities to impart the education which companies require (Kone et al., 2019). The UK market is diverse with companies from around the world invested. However, the process is complex and it is not possible to impart knowledge through traditional teaching systems. Thus, private and public institutions impart knowledge

which aligns with practical work, helping companies employ skilled labour directly without providing further working knowledge. Similar steps are taken in India, where the target market is global and institutions provide knowledge which enables students to compete for jobs. Indians dominate the world IT market, aligning with the future of business operations and bringing in the best companies from around the globe to invest in India and make full use of the resources.

The government of the UK is recovering from the pandemic, with the economy increasing by 0.5% in the third quarter of 2021 and a 4.5% decrease in the unemployment rate (Felbo-Kolding et al., 2019). The primary reason is the actions taken by the government to control the spread of the pandemic along with strong support from the banks which boosted business and ensured a quick recovery. On the other hand, a strong inflow of cash from the goods and service tax enabled India to make global investments and ensure a secure and strengthened economy.

2.16 Differences in the learning, training and recruitment between the countries

The difference between the Indian and UK education systems lies in the process of execution. India stages its learning in three categories: basic learning in which all students are enrolled until the 10th standard; higher secondary where students can choose options based on their areas of interest; and graduation and masters in specified fields. The modern teaching approach focuses on practical exposure to provide an insight into work and prepare students to face the real labour market from day one. UK learning on the other hand has not been able to modernize its teaching or infuse practical working elements into the syllabus. Initiatives from the government to provide skills to youths have become the prime focus. The UK government and local companies prefer to give locals the first chance to apply for jobs. The government has bounded limitations to ensure job security for locals. The Indian environment struggles to meet job demands, as every year thousands of fresh candidates graduate from technical institutions and the government and private companies are insufficient to fill the gap.

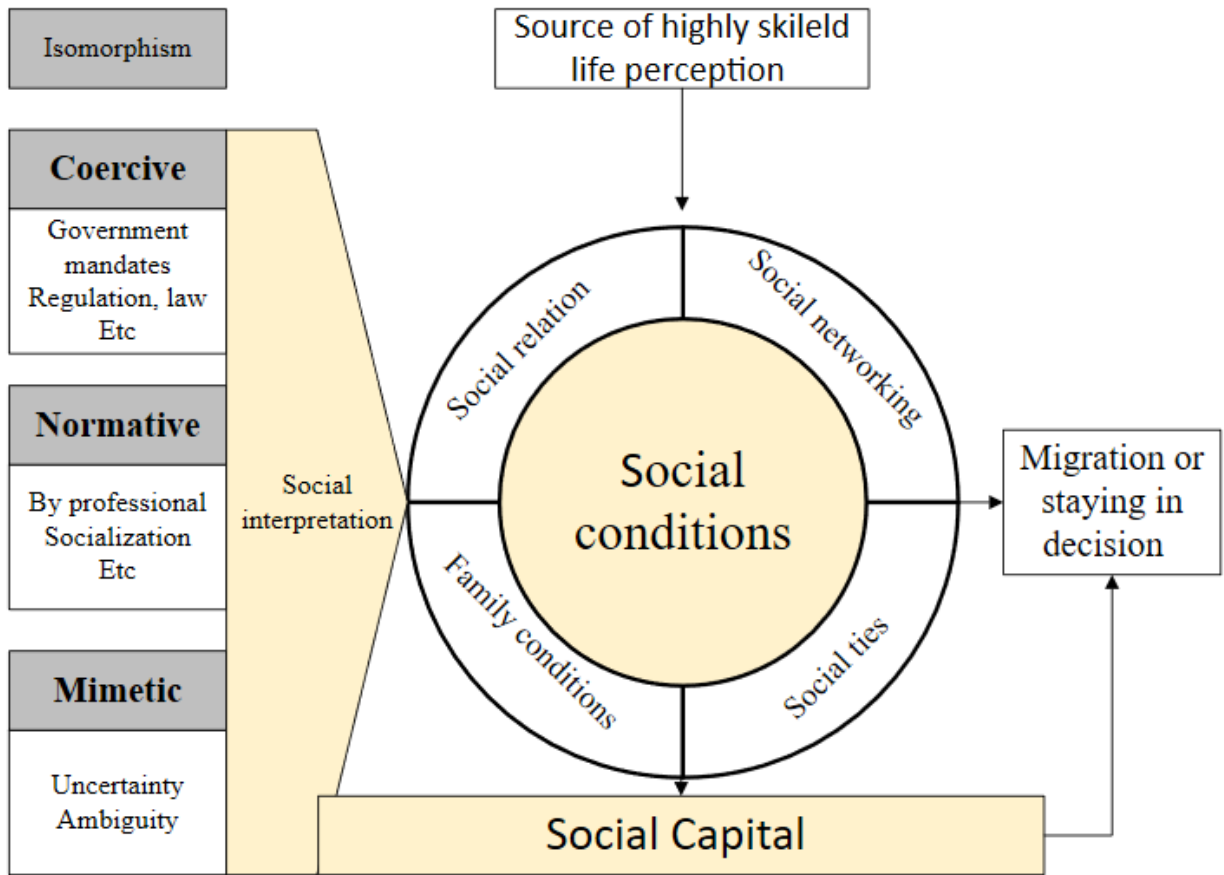


Figure 3-1: Theoretical framework

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This research explores the vital social conditions which govern the processes of migration and non-migration of Indian doctors and IT professionals. Most past research focuses on the economic factors for highly skilled professionals, while there is less attention paid to the social conditions governing migration and non-migration. There is a lack of understanding of why and how the same social conditions and everyday life events shape the final migration or non-migration decision. Undoubtedly, social conditions and social events play important roles in this process. However, institutional social settings also play their part once professionals join organizations. Because the social setting of organizations is one of a confined national culture, the political, legal and institutional policies and professional factors socially interpreted within the organization create socially constructed phenomena for highly skilled professionals that play a role as push or pull factors in the migration and non-migration process. This chapter revisits the relevant migration theories to rationalize the most appropriate for understanding the social conditions in a social and organizational context. However, the initial discussion reflects the social factors associated with migration decisions that are part of the justification for the appropriate theories for this research.

3.2 Migration decisions

Migration decisions are formed over time through a process, and act as transitions in a professional career or family. There are many theories of migration that stress the migration decision itself, whereas our research aims to evaluate the entire process of migration decision making. A framework is provided by Kley and Mulder (2010) that reflects the process of migration decision making containing the phases of consideration, planning and realization. The framework includes the factors of planning the migration, such as the selection of host country, but does not consider why migrants start to think about migrating or the social conditions pushing them abroad. De Jong (2000) presents a general model of migration decision making that contains the assumption of a migration path, structured by prior models of migration, with the decision ultimately shaped by experience. Many studies suggest that a prior experiences of migration increases the probability of a subsequent migration (Massey and Espinosa, 1997; Boyle et al., 1998; Kley, 2011; Mavroudi and Warren, 2013). This study considers the prior experiences of migration which result in new migration, but also career advancement and first-time migration. King and Skeldon (2010) claim that an integrated

system must consist of both internal and international migration, as if one is neglected there can only be a partial interpretation. Internal migration is a conditioning factor for subsequent international migration (Caro et al., 2013). This study captures everyday social conditions and organizational social conditioning as central factors of social capital and push and pull factors.

There is another stream of research focusing on the process of migration which highlights the different strategies adopted by individuals to gain various forms of capital and gain access to several networks (Boyle et al., 1998; Massey et al., 1998; Van Dalen and Henkens, 2007; Nohl et al., 2006; Erel, 2010). One such strategy, referred to as skilling or accumulating capital, links to migration. Several studies suggest that individuals with higher education are more likely to migrate (Boyle et al., 1998; Massey et al., 1998; Van Dalen and Henkens, 2007). However, this neglects life attachments with other actors and social conditions, because not all highly educated people migrate. This means there is much more than education to explore. In addition to the human capital that is directly measurable, migrants also draw on indirect characteristics including their command of the English language, shared practice or common history (Eich-Krohm, 2013; Iredale, 2001; King, 2012; Lo et al., 2017; Guo and Al Ariss, 2015). There are examples of individual highly skilled migrants in Germany using their capital in the phases of migration, especially the non-recognition of skills (Nohl et al., 2006). Apart from the cultural capital migrants bring with them, they also have an active role in creating new forms of cultural capital in their resident country (Erel, 2010). Social capital or actual or potential capital also facilitates migration, which stems from belonging to a social network that may be the reason for the highly skilled professional's social interpretation that shapes their decision (Bourdieu, 1986). For migrants, social networks enhance their migration decisions because they have increased knowledge and contacts in the destination, but social networking is isolated with only highly skilled migrants connected with society, something ignored by these types of researcher.

Social networking provides practical help when migrants move to their destination country and look for jobs (Vertovec, 2002; Harvey, 2011) but how social networking links to overall life events that impact their decisions to leave or stay is often ignored. Social networks play a crucial role in improving migrants' positions, at least in the early stages as they try to settle into a country that is new to them. Two aspects affect the migration decision of an individual, social capital and professional capital. These factors give self-actualization tools to migrants, and research is centrally focused on the theme of how social conditions shape the decision to stay or to migrate rather than how social networks help them find jobs, settle or migrate.

Institutional and social conditions are interconnected and jointly affect decisions to migrate or stay at home.

Some authors say that host country policies are vital, but the research argument here is whether these policies are considered when social conditions are pushing for migration. Immigration policies positively affect the decisions of migrants about whether to move to a specific country, but their role in the decision to move or stay is less clear. The relevant policies include the mechanisms of residence, admission criteria, qualifications and spouse migration (Iredale, 2005), which are essential factors for those ready to migrate. The contingent factor is that every individual migrant might not get the same facilities or opportunities. One factor that plays a differentiation role in migration is gender. There are state regulations for women migrants (Raghuram, 2004; Iredale, 2005) and they may face challenges once they migrate (Kofman, 2012).

There is an additional aspect of the 'trailing wife', regardless of how skilled the female is (Ackers, 2004). There are studies of non-migrant professionals that find that women are likely to end their careers when they become parents (Becker and Moen, 1999). Most often, migration decisions are made inside a household, which is even more likely in the case of females, for whom positive outcomes depend on both their professional career and family life (Willis and Yeoh, 2000), but also on supportive institutions and social values (Gonzales Ramos and Verges Bosch, 2013). This aspect is more salient, profession-wise, in a situation where mobility is an expectation and a strategy (Kofman, 2012) such as academic jobs. Nevertheless, the migration decision cannot be generalized on the basis of gender. The role of gender is subjective in nature because it is directly linked to social conditions. Different social and professional networks form contexts for migration or non-migration in the same society which are different for different professionals. Therefore, the whole life of the professional is needed to understand how life events impact migration decisions.

The migration process includes decision making and depends on the life events of both the migrants and the people linked to them (Mulder and Wagner, 1993; Mulder and Hooi-meijer, 1999). Understanding the backgrounds of highly skilled people provides a broad perspective on situations where migration is the chosen option and embeds individual lives into social structures (Mayer, 2004). For instance, Ley and Kobayashi (2005) show what strategies migrants from Hong Kong to Canada adopt during different phases of their lives. The migrants generally return to Hong Kong in the early phases of their migration for economic reasons, or

chose to retire in Canada because of the higher quality of life. The quality of life in the home country and the social construction or expectation of the quality of life in the host country are significant elements. Ley and Kobayashi (2005) use the term ‘life cycle’, assuming a predetermined sequence that every individual undergoes in the migration decision process. This research concept based on the life events of diverse people as the push or pull factors provides space for personalized migration paths. Any analysis of the migration process must focus on the social conditions of the whole life, rather than taking the migration decision as a single event, like graduating from tertiary education, union formation or dissolution, labour market dynamics or childbirth. The researcher concludes that highly skilled professionals perceive social constructions through social interaction and the interpretation of life events throughout the life cycle. Additionally, institutional social capital, which includes policy, legal and structural control systems, value and norms, is socially interpreted as push and pull factors, a common phenomenon in this research as it adds to the understanding of the complications of migration decisions. However, some theoretical foundation is required in this regard.

3.2.1 Social capital theory

The main intuition on which social capital is based is provided by Adler and Kwon (2002). Economic exchanges, wherein people trade services or goods for money, are characterized as market relationships, whereas social exchanges, wherein people exchange favours, are characterized as interpersonal relationships. Whenever a person grants a favour to another person, that person receives goodwill or credit that is a valuable resource for the future. According to social capital theory, interpersonal relationships produce value by providing such resources which can be used to achieve desired outcomes (Adler and Kwon, 2002). Although the core argument of social capital theory is clear, it seems that scholars hold differing opinions. What does social capital precisely capture? Does the concept represent social relationships or resources? Although researchers do not agree on the concept, they use several conceptualizations to characterize it. Scholars have long debated the various forms of social capital, but one straightforward approach divides social capital into three critical categories:

- **Linkages:** Connections to groups or people further down or up the social ladder (Coleman, 1990)
- **Bridges:** Connections that stretch far beyond the shared sense of identity, to distant associates, colleagues and friends (Burt, 1992).

- **Bonds:** Connections to people based on a sense of shared identity – individuals like us – close friends, family members and individuals who share the same ethnicity or culture (Lin, 2008).

According to the first conceptualization, social capital within organizations is equal to social relationships, defined as the structure of social networks (Inkpen and Tsang, 2005). Reinholt et al. (2011) describe social capital as the relationships which actors maintain, characterized by features such as density, strength and number. Similarly, Burt (2001) refers to social capital as colleagues, friends and more common contacts from whom we get the opportunity to use our human and financial capital. According to Kilduff and Tsai (2003), the most popular conceptualization of social capital is one that focuses on network relationships and their structure, developed within organizations that facilitate the social interpretation of organizational realities. Therefore, understanding social capital helps us explore the social conditions behind the decisions of highly skilled migrants.

Social networks, in the second conceptualization of social capital, are exogenous to its definition. Social networks and social capital are two causally related but independent concepts (Kilduff and Tsai, 2003). Scholars specifically consider social networks to be the cause of social capital (Sampson and Graif, 2009; Kilduff and Tsai, 2003). Inkpen and Tsang (2005) find the roots of social capital in social networks. Gulati and Gargiulo (1999) not only identify social networks as the primary cause of social capital but also specify that social capital is the asset related to the managers' network. According to Burt (2001), network structures explicitly generate social capital. As social networks generate social capital, social networks are exogenous to the definition of social capital. In other words, the conceptualization of social capital is based on social networks. One can identify social capital with the resources that social networks provide. Adler and Kwon (2002) describe social capital as goodwill that is available to people or groups, the source of which lies in the content and structure of the social relationships of the actors. Its influences flow from effect, information and solidarity that make it available to social actors. Social capital is defined by Bourdieu (1985) as an aggregate of potential or actual resources connected with the possession of strong networks of more or less institutionalized relations of mutual recognition or acquaintance that could ignite the thought of migrating abroad.

The third conceptualization refers to social capital as social networks and the resources provided by them (Johnson et al., 2013). We observe two elements in this conceptualization of

social capital, social networks and resources. Social networks here are no more exogenous to the description of social capital. Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) define social capital as the total potential and actual resources available, derived from and embedded in networks of relationships possessed by a social unit or individual. Thus, social capital comprises not only the network but also the assets mobilized by that network. Similarly, Boxman et al. (1991) define social capital as the total number of individuals expected by the individual to offer support and provide resources.

Although authors disagree about the theoretical conceptualization of social capital, researchers find more convergence when it comes to the empirical operationalization of its theoretical conceptualization. Though scholars define social capital differently, they are most likely to measure social capital by taking interpersonal relationships that people develop within organizations into account. It would be helpful to understand highly skilled people's interpretations of the institutional and social realities of their lives in their migration decisions. The resources that social capital generally provides reflect the explanatory methods that connect interpersonal relationships with the outcomes of individual interest (Baum and Ziersch, 2003). However, not all interpersonal relations reflect social capital, which would be considered in the context of migration through the social interpretation of social conditions.

Coleman (1990) defines social capital through its function. Rather than being a single entity, social capital comprises of a wide range of entities that have two characteristics in common: (a) all highly skilled professionals have some aspects of social structure; and (b) they facilitate the actions of people who are members of this social structure. Burt (1992) and Coleman (1990) both acknowledge social capital as the composition of a particular group of interpersonal relations that generate value for people within organizations. Therefore, it would be helpful to understand the social conditions which impact the highly skilled group through the social capital setting, which is why social capital theory is selected for this research.

Social capital theory considers social relationships as resources that may develop and accumulate human capital (Adler and Kwon, 2002). A stable household environment, for example, not only supports educational achievement but also supports the highly rewarded and valued credentials and skills that strongly link with migration decisions. Scholars define social capital in an evolutionary context, as any aspect of social relations that generates reproductive benefits or creates better social conditions for highly skilled professionals. Bennett et al. (2009) acknowledge that people evolve general preferences for companionships but evolve unique

preferences for cues that indicate social capital at higher levels. It is essential to select preferences for this research. Highly skilled professionals have evolved certain forms of social relations. However, observing gender differences, which represent the partition of labour within foraging societies, is also essential. Gender differences, in the context of highly skilled Indian migration, are very subjective. Females, for example, are expected to derive emotional satisfaction from, and value, membership of small social networks containing close personal relationships with strong social ties (de Zúñiga et al., 2017). Women especially foster these kinds of relationships by assisting in caring for children. Therefore, their child rearing responsibilities, skill levels and family circumstances make the migration decision very subjective. It is expected that males benefit more from being members of large social networks where relationships develop with weak social ties, such as fighting parties, political alliances or hunting groups (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). There is tendency for males to benefit from such social capital, as it can confer social status and resources. Therefore, social capital theory is selected as the theoretical framework through which to understand migration decisions. However this theory does not cover the isomorphism of the institutional setting where highly skilled professionals work in their home country.

In society, the existence of social capital can be observed at various levels of hierarchies, which impact on life experience. Therefore, social capital theory has more importance and relevance to this research, because it is one of the research objectives to understand the impact of the life experiences of the IT professionals and doctors on their migration decisions. Therefore, analysing social capital at various levels is authentic for this research.

For analysis of social capital at various levels, there are two ways in which the relevant existing literature can be classified: 1) the macro, micro and meso levels; and 2) collective and individual levels. This research analyses the role of social capital at individual and group level and its impact on migration or non-migration decisions. Social capital, conceived at the individual level, is viewed as an individual good (a characteristic of the individual), which helps us understand the individual's social conditions in relation to the local cultural and social values. However, when it is conceived at a society level, it is viewed as a collective good (a characteristic of the community). In this respect, Kilby (2002) reports the existence of social capital at different levels, as a result of the belonging people feel simultaneously to family, country, community, etc. Adler and Kwon (2002) support this view, arguing that social capital sources lie within social structures wherein actors are located in specific circumstances, such

as the family circumstance. This indicates that social capital is a sum of aggregate and individual elements (Slangen et al., 2004). Though social capital has its roots within groups, members of the group can use it individually or collectively (Sander, 2002). Therefore, this theory is appropriate to understand the migration and non-migration decision of doctors and IT professionals. Contrary to Bourdieu (1986) who conceptualizes social capital as a characteristic of the individual, Coleman (1990) argues that social capital is a component of our social structure. This conceptualization is based at an individual level. Therefore, understanding the role of social structures through considering the individual characteristics appropriate to migrants or non-migrants helps answer the research question of how local social conditions govern the processes of migration and non-migration of Indian doctors and IT professionals to the UK.

By bringing up collective and macro-action concept of social capital together, Fukuyama (1995) and Putnam (1993) view it at collective level. Recent studies on social capital, such as Glaeser et al. (2002) and Newton (2001), report that social capital is not a characteristic of an individual but a social level characteristic. In essence, social capital is conceived as a characteristic of both a society and an individual that push them to migrate or pull them to stay at home, which helps answer the question of what factors pull and push highly skilled Indian doctors and IT professionals to migrate, or not, to the UK?

Yang (2007), Erickson (2004), Glaeser et al. (2002), Flap (2002), Lin (2001), Becker (1996) and Bourdieu (1986) believe that social capital is an individual characteristic, usually referring to it as an individual's capacity to effectively activate and mobilize social connections on the basis of mutual recognition, and maintain it by material and symbolic exchange (Bourdieu, 1986). This perception is based on the assumption that, since an individual generates, maintains and acquires advantages from social capital, it pulls them to remain in their home country to gain the advantage. However this research explores what types of social factors facilitate advantages from society and act as pull factors for IT professionals and doctors. This is why social capital theory is used to observe social capital's role in migration and non-migration decisions.

Furthermore, the fact that individuals achieve their ends by employing social capital strengthens the conceptualization of the social concept at the individual level (Yang, 2007). Instead of emphasizing the constraining impacts of social capital, the key focus of individual social capital is individual active roles. According to Glaeser et al. (2002), individual social

capital has three dimensions: a) it is an asset of the individual; b) this asset has various aspects, some of which are completely intrinsic to certain individuals while others can be amplified through individual actions; and c) people can purposefully use it to augment their non-market and market positions. Social capital plays an important role in accessing resources and the degree of access depends over various factors such as connections, individual strengths and the availability of resources (Sobel, 2002). Therefore, social capital theory shows how social conditions impact the individual and collective, and influence the migration or non-migration decisions of IT professionals and doctors.

The amount of social capital generated is directly proportional to the ability of an individual to activate and mobilize social networks which impacts their ability to gain advantage from society. So individuals use social capital as a pool of additional resources which they accumulate to achieve their personal goals. However, their social conditions impact their ability to access the resources that push or pull them. Such properties of social capital influence the attainment of personal goals for IT professionals and doctors. There are many scholars who conceive social capital at the collective level, such as Van der Gaag and Snijders (2003), Bowles and Gintis (2002), Newton (2001, 1995), Putnam (1993) and Granovetter (1985). According to these scholars, social capital has both community and individual aspects, but they primarily focus on its societal attributes. They refer to social capital as the quality of relationships and networks that facilitate people cooperating and acting collectively (Putnam, 1993).

Taking the view that social capital is a collectively owned and produced good that benefits the entire community rather than just an individual, indicates that social capital is macro-level good, which is an attribute of a community, group or entire nation. If there is equal access people can exercise their own skills to achieve their personal goals. There is a requirement for more than two individuals for the existence of social relationships, which strengthens the concept of collective social capital. It provides both collective and individual benefits, because it exists between actors rather than residing in just one actor, but family circumstance differentiate the one individual from another in terms of access to the available resources. In other words, collective capital is an aggregation of valuable resources of all those members who interact in networks, and can therefore be treated both as an attribute of individuals as well as their relationships and an attribute of regions or countries (Van Oorschot et al., 2006). To represent social capital at a collective level, scholars often use the terms social cohesion, trust

and norms, which are characteristics of relationships and networks which foster collective action and cooperation.

It is generally preferable to consider social participation and social networks when it comes to measuring individual level characteristics, whereas considering shared norms and trust are important for measuring social level characteristics. Social capital is made up of both collective and individual goods, wherein institutionalized social relationships and embedded resources benefit both individuals and society (Paxton, 2002; Lin, 2001; Portes, 1998). It is not the actors in which social capital actually exists but the links between actors. Therefore, we can say that each actor is a potential beneficiary of such networking (Svendsen and Svendsen, 2005) which is why social capital theory is used for this research. Normally, investments made in social capital equally benefit groups and individuals, and therefore social capital is often measured at both community and individual levels. Collective and individual social capital are mostly conceptualized as public and private goods (Aldridge et al., 2002). Social capital theory is used in this research to explore the access to resources which feeds into life experience of doctors and IT professionals and impacts their migration decisions.

The authors who generalize collective and individual level social capital tend to analyse it at the macro, micro and meso levels (Chen, 2005; Turner, 2000). At the micro level, social capital can be viewed through the lens of relationships between households, neighbourhoods and individuals. On the meso level, the focus is on organizations, institutions, groups and communities. At the macro level the focus is the political and institutional environment within states or nations (Grootaert and van Bastelaert, 2001; Bourdieu, 1986). In short, micro-level relationships are between individuals, macro-level relationships are between nations or regions, and meso-level relationships are between firms or groups. As described by Halpern (2005) at the macro, meso and micro levels, social capital is the relationships among people at the social, community and individual levels, respectively. At the micro level, social capital is an individual asset, whereas at the macro level it is a collective asset. However, social capital at meso level is both collective and individual. Therefore, these levels help the researcher explore whether social conditions are pull or push factors for IT professional and doctors making migration decisions.

Micro-level social capital plays an important role in facilitating interactions among neighbours, households and individuals, as it involves networks, values and norms, within horizontal relations among IT professionals and doctors. Meso-level social capital is of high importance

in firms, communities and groups, involving networks of connections and vertical relations within society. Macro-level social capital, on the other hand, contains formalized institutional structures and relationships that not only involve civil society but also the political regime, the government and the rule of law (Bjornskov and Svendsen, 2003; Hopkins, 2002). Therefore, macro-level exploration can help answer the research question concerning the role of institutional and other life experiences in the migration and non-migration decisions of Indian doctors and IT professionals.

This reveals that the forms and nature of cooperative behaviours are the key concern of the micro approach. Unfavourable or favourable conditions for cooperation are the central axis of the macro approach, while the meso approach focuses on the structures that lead to cooperation (PRI, 2005). The value of mutual action, structures which facilitate cooperation, and the values of social cohesion and integration are primary concerns of the micro, meso and macro approaches, respectively. Hence, analysis using social capital at multiple levels is of high importance.

As discussed, social capital has various aspects, the institutional (macro), structural (meso) and cognitive (micro), and a combination of all these aspects hierarchically differentiates social capital. Such collective or individual functioning of social capital at different levels leads to different consequences, and thus has different implications, particularly for IT professionals and doctors who belong to different social groups. Therefore, social capital theory is selected for this research, but focusing on Individuals and groups access to resources to achieve their professional and personal goals, which is directly linked to the institutional policies of any country.

The most significant benefit linked with prestigious institutions is attracting skilled migrants (Ngoma and Ismail, 2013). Factors such as higher salaries, better economic prospects, modern educational systems, better career opportunities, better research facilities, foreign training opportunities, better working conditions, higher qualifications, intellectual freedom, scientific and cultural traditions, political stability, experienced support staff, substantial funding and technological gaps are all attractive to migrants. If the academic institutions are different from those in the home country, the likelihood of training benefits certainly increases (Tuckman, 1970). If a country has a vast number of prestigious institutions, it undoubtedly reduces the number of emigrants from that country (Mixon, 1992). Nevertheless, academic institutions are not enough to explain the social conditions. The institutional context of high-skill organizations

plays a considerable role in migration decisions. Therefore, institutional theory is of importance to this research.

3.2.2 Institutional theory

Isomorphism, in the context of sociology, is defined as the similarity of the structures or processes of one firm to the structures or processes of another. It arises as a result of independent development in the presence of similar constraints, or because of imitation (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) divide institutional isomorphism into three core types: mimetic, normative and coercive. Development that promotes the three forms of institutional isomorphism can also produce isomorphic paradoxes, which hamper such development. Isomorphic paradoxes have a strong association with the accountability, professionalization, remit and resources of an organization (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Institutional theory is the most popular and powerful explanatory instrument for the analysis of organizational behaviour, and helpful to explain highly skilled professionals' behaviour to stay in an institutional setting or migrate from their home country. Classic approaches promote the idea that firms are dominated by personal preferences, interests and the roles of rational actors, whereas new institutionalism promotes the institution's formative role (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Organizational actors tend to pursue their interests institutionally; is the critical postulate in this regard (Greenwood et al., 2008). According to this postulate, the pattern of a firm's actions is shaped by various organizational forces (cultural scripts, norms) instead of instrumental calculations (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Meyer and Rowan, 1977). Therefore, understanding these organizational forces would help us explore the institutional social context in terms of migration decisions. Institutional theory is based on the assumption that, within social environments, the structures and procedures of organizations often reflect environmental expectations, and companies always react to the requirements of their corresponding institutional environments in search of legitimacy (Meyer and Rowan, 1977).

DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) seminal approach to institutional isomorphism considers organizational adaptation and change. They use the concepts of convergence and homogenization due to institutional pressure to explain this organizational change. Rhoades and Sporn (2002) acknowledge that institutional isomorphism is a common theoretical approach to describing how organizational systems become similar. The demand for efficiency and competition inspires organizational changes to a small extent, but normative, mimetic and

coercive isomorphism are the three fundamental mechanisms that cause institutional convergence (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).

Coercive isomorphism originates from external opportunities and the expectations of the legal and cultural environments of organizations. The organization's political influence through laws and regulations explain how legal and government-related factors shape highly skilled jobs and their adjustment in the environment (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Organizations pass laws in order to regulate their structures and processes, which may simultaneously create pressures and expectations to comply that are socially interpreted by professionals leading to social acceptance or rejection by highly skilled professionals. Coercive isomorphism is used to explore the effect of organizational rules and policies which are pull or push factors for IT professionals and doctors making migration decisions. Coercive isomorphism influences the institutional experiences of professionals throughout their lives and has an institutional impact on their migration decisions.

Mimetic isomorphism has its origin in organizational uncertainty and the ambiguity created when organizations have unclear plans for how to overcome the issues they encounter (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983), which also become push factors through the social interpretation of highly skilled professionals. Besides the values of professionalism, normative isomorphism also stems from the emergence of authentic highly skilled professional practices. These professional practices create normative pressure which is also socially interpreted. Mimetic isomorphism helps explain the uncertainty at institutional and organizational levels, which pushes professionals to migrate or pulls them to a non-migration decision. Normative isomorphism helps explain the uncertainty and beauties of institutions in India which impact IT professionals and doctors' migration decisions.

Normative isomorphism within organizations is of interest for understanding how highly skilled professionals endorse their professional norms. The normative isomorphism created by professions is called normative pressure and can help explain the highly skilled social isomorphism to migrate or stay in the home country. One mode is crediting educational achievement, legitimizing the inherent certifying of highly skilled professionals, while inter-organizational networks widening the organization is another mode. During education or highly skilled job practices, all developed norms enter organizations.

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) pay great attention to the expansion and growth of networks, acknowledging that they provide new narratives that could become push or pull factors in the current research context of highly skilled migrants. However, institutional theory is limited to the institutional setting. As discussed above, migration decisions are attached to social conditions throughout the overall life cycle, which is why the final framework developed is a combination of social capital and institutional theory

The three factors taken from institutional theory help explain institutional social conditions. Coercive isomorphism stems from pressures from organizations on which they depend, and the cultural expectations of society. Some are legislative mandates, whereas some derive from the requirements of financial reporting or contract law, and are socially interpreted by highly skilled professionals. Organizations are homogenous in some areas and progressively organized around rituals of conformity to bigger institutions. While memetic forces and uncertainty promote imitation, it is possible to diffuse organizational models through consulting firms or employee interaction. Therefore, social networking between highly skilled employees plays a vital role in migration decisions.

It is important to understand that the social structures behind institutions, the institutional values and cultural norms all directly and indirectly influence professional behaviours, which become the whole life experience of the individual in a society. Additionally, there is a need to understand how different individuals and groups experience the institution differently, which is why social capital theory is adopted along with institutional theory. Analyses and exploration of the social capital of society in the context of migration and non-migration decisions, taking political, cultural and social variables into account, is the approach taken to explore the pull and push factors of IT professionals and doctors in India.

Now, it is time to re-orientate the development approach by concentrating on social values, beliefs, norms and institutions, in order to explore the reasons and root causes for migration decisions. This is why the theoretical framework of this research contains social capital and institutions, as the key components of migration and non-migration decisions. Social capital appears to be the key driver of the entire development process of migration decisions, an important interpreter for explaining social and institutional phenomena, and an imperative predictor of migration behaviour. The increasing interest in social capital leads scholars to shed light on its empirical and theoretical aspects.

Broadly speaking, social capital is a collective asset that exists in various forms such as trust, networks, shared norms, institutions and social relationships, and it facilitates collective action and cooperation for communal benefit. Institutional theory explains how social capital helps (or discourages) individuals or groups get access to the resources. The concept of social capital in different disciplines has different determinants, levels, types and dimensions. Social relations generate benefits for both society and the individual, which is the crux of most of definitions of social capital, but different institutions give different types of access to different individuals and groups who can gain advantages from this additional setting, which may be coercive, mimetic or normative. This is why institutional theory is used along with social capital theory to explore the social conditions of the migration and non-migration decisions of doctors and IT professionals in India.

Social networks (voluntary associations, communities, friends and families), trust (institutions and people) and norms of reciprocation (behaviours, values and shared norms) are critical components of social capital which are embedded in the normative factors of institutions. Moreover, social capital is a collectively owned good that is generated through behaviours, attitudes, values and shared norms of individuals, which positively or negatively influence the institutional experience of individuals or groups. Vertical and horizontal social capital, weak and strong ties, linking, bridging, and bonding social capital and cognitive and structural social capital are the most recognized types of social capital directly linked with the normative isomorphism of institutions that explain social networking in society, and have impacts at the institutional level, differentiating individuals in society in their ability to gain access to institutional advantages and become pull or push factors at a later stage, when they become professionals and are able to migrate.

The possibility of social capital existing at different levels (macro, meso, micro, collective and individual) opens up new ways of defining, operationalizing and measuring social capital. Through an institutional lens, social conditions become push or pull factors for professionals becoming migrants or non-migrants once they become professional in India. So, social capital is a concept that does not take into account the basic attributes of traditional capital. Therefore, it is controversial to include the term 'capital' while conceptualizing social capital to include access to resources at an institutional level. Instead of focusing on this deficiency, the majority of social scientists appreciate the important attributes of traditional capital which the concept of social capital shares, to gain institution-level advantages which differ on the basis of

differences in social capital for individuals or groups. There are many properties of social capital which qualify it as capital, for example, its potential to improve economic performance, that it can be accumulated over time, that it can be tied up in the production function, requires maintenance, is appropriable, is convertible and brings future returns. Social relationships are considered an important economic resource that plays a vital role in the production of goods and services or allows people to gain advantage from the specific profession linked to the institutional setting of the country.

3.3 Summary

This chapter revisits the theories relevant to this research. Institutional theory is selected. Isomorphism is promoted by inter-hiring between industrial firms that already exist. Highly skilled professionals have similar educational backgrounds and are expected to approach issues in the same manner. However, they can still react differently on the basis of their external interactions and social condition, which is why social capital theory is merged with this theory to explore the other social conditions of highly skilled professional. As discussed, a migration decision is not a single event but shaped by throughout the whole life of social networking, social ties, family conditions and social relations, which are the sum of the social conditions and which work to push or pull highly skilled professionals to migrate or not migrate.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This research explores the social conditions that work as push and pull factors for the migration and non-migration decisions of highly skilled Indians. It addresses the issue of highly skilled Indian professionals' social conditions and the processes which govern their migration or non-migration to the UK. Indian doctors and IT professionals who migrate from India through internal company transfers (ITCs) or sponsored work visas, and non-migrated doctors and IT professionals working in India are considered highly skilled from the research point of view. This chapter covers a comprehensive discussion and justification of the philosophical position, methods and contribution to knowledge in the context of understanding highly skilled Indian migrants. Firstly, this section identifies the philosophical assumptions that lie behind the research approach. It discusses the methodology along with the justification for taking relativism as the ontological approach and a social constructivist epistemological position. Based on the social constructivist epistemological position, this chapter provides a detailed justification for the inductive research approach and qualitative research method. The data collection and analysis methods are also described in this chapter.

4.2 Research philosophy

There is much confusion among researchers about the distinction between terms such as 'epistemology' and 'ontology'. Hence, in this section, we establish some clarity around these terms (Easterby-Smith et al., 2015). The essence of ontology, epistemology, methodology, methods and techniques is summarized in Table 4-1, below.

Table 4-1: Epistemology, ontology, methodology, methods and techniques

Epistemology	A series of assumptions regarding how to inquire into the nature of the world in the best possible manner
Ontology	The nature and existence of reality related to philosophical assumptions
Methods and techniques	Individual techniques, primarily for collection of data, analysis, etc.
Methodology	A set of techniques used to get insight into a given situation

Source: Easterby-Smith et al. (2015)

The central debate in social science about epistemology and ontology concerns the philosophy of ontology. Ontology is about the nature and existence of reality, whereas epistemology concerns how knowledge relates to theory and facilitates the researcher's understanding of how the nature of the surrounding world can be inquired into in the best possible manner (Walliman, 2018). While developing methodologies for research, both natural and social scientists draw from a variety of epistemological and ontological assumptions (Tracy, 2019). In this chapter, the researcher identifies and justifies a series of philosophical assumptions (epistemological, theoretical and ontological perspectives) that provide guidance in the development of the research design (taking an inductive research approach), data collection methods and techniques of data analysis. Easterby-Smith et al. (2015) state that there is a conclusion at the starting point of the philosophical debate, and use the metaphor of a tree to explain the relationships among the four basic terms.

The techniques and methods adopted for a specific piece of research are highly visible and the most prominent features of the project. They largely depend on the assumptions and decisions made about methodology, ontology and epistemology, which are in the background and less visible. The heartwood or central core of the tree metaphor is ontology, and we gradually work outwards from ontology to methodology. The application and choice of each method links back to the research objective and philosophical position of the research. In this section, I concentrate on the three inner rings: ontology, epistemology and methodology, starting with the ontological position which is the heart of the research.

4.2.1 Ontology

Ontology, the first term, is a central point of the majority of debates among philosophers. In the social and natural sciences there are perfect parallels between all debates, but differences too (Ossifies, 2013). Methodological issues have been debated in the scientific community for longer than there have been social scientists (Bernard, 2017).

The primary debate of social research is around nominalism and relativism (Teater et al., 2017). Relativist ontology is based on the assumption that different people experience and define racial discrimination and social class differently, because they belong to different races or classes and live in different countries and contexts (Guthrie, 2010). Thus, discovering a single reality is tricky because every issue has many perspectives. In other words, the relativist position believes that every observer has his viewpoint. Using this line of reasoning, Collins

(1983, p.88 cited in Saunders et al., 2009) says: "What counts for the truth can vary from place to place and from time to time". Any phenomenon x (such as values, epistemic, ethical or aesthetic norms, the world, experience and judgments) has more or fewer things it co-varies with, and depends on some independent underlying variable y (such as paradigms, cultures, beliefs, language, systems and conceptual schemes), which is one of the standard ways to define and differentiate different forms of relativism (Vargas-Silva, 2012). The type of dependency relativists propose has bearings on the question of definitions. For example, highly skilled migration has relevance to the labour market, and justice has relevance to local norms and the social and institutional system of India. Guarnizo (1997) shows that migration results in intensifying and reproducing gender inequality, class inequality and regional inequality. This means the social conditions of the home country are push factors.

In contrast, the same social conditions can encourage other highly skilled people not to migrate, and pull them back to the home country. Therefore, there is a need to understand why the same social condition, social policies and organizational policies push some highly skilled people to migrate and pull others to stay in their home country rather than migrate. The migration factors for highly skilled professionals change with the change of social realities around the world, and the migration factors for Indian migrant are different from elsewhere. This is the ontological relativist position taken by this research.

Often, the debates on relativism revolve around the unclear but frequently cited concept of cultural relativism. Values and norms originate from conventions, an idea with its roots in the Greek historian Herodotus (c. 484–425 BC), but cultural relativism has gained wide currency in the twentieth century, particularly with the introduction of social anthropology (Cassell et al., 2017). Franz Boas, who is responsible for establishing social anthropology in the US, states: "The data of ethnology prove that not only our knowledge but also our emotions are the result of the form of our social life and of the history of the people to whom we belong" (Boas, 1940, p.636 cited in Hesse-Biber, 2010). Therefore, by taking a cultural relativist ontological position, this research explores the IT professionals and doctors' points of view in order to understand that what type of social conditions are pulling them to remain in the country and what type of social conditions are pushing them to make a migration decision. Taking the cultural relativist ontological position helps explore the role of different cultures in social meaning, as social conditions impact the migrant and non-migrant decisions of the selected professionals.

As noted in the literature review, various ethnic and social factors play a role in migration decisions, therefore taking an ontological position of cultural relativism helps us explore various ethnic groups and the role of ethical issues which push or pull migration decisions in India. The idea behind cultural relativism is that ethical or moral systems are different in different cultures, but all are equally valid. This implies that no system is better than another (Hammond and Wellington, 2013). This view has its roots in the idea that no universal standard of good or evil exists. All judgments about right and wrong are nothing but products of society. The current research takes relativism as a vital lens through which to see socio-cultural reality. Moving away from this view to encompass a relativistic view can be traumatic for the majority of people. This perspective is, however, necessary for the researcher because, as an Indian citizen, the ability to transcend one's own ethnic, racial, cultural, social, political and gender realities is necessary. A highly skilled India citizen is a transcending individual who recognizes no boundaries. Because of the demand for highly skilled Indians, they are free to migrate from India to any host country. Their operating principle of life is compassion, the ability to act on behalf of others to fulfil their expectations from life.

4.2.2 Epistemology

Epistemology concerns the way we inquire into the social and physical world (Walliman, 2018). It is about studying knowledge and relating it to theory; what we know and how we know it (Tracy, 2019). It is the subject of a prolonged debate among social scientists, with a focus on the corresponding merits of contrasting views about how to research the field of social sciences, constructionism and positivism (Sparkes, and Smith, 2014). Positivism assumes that the social world has an external existence and we can measure its properties using objective methods, instead of subjectively through reflection, intuition or sensation (Harper and Thompson, 2012). However, migration and non-migration decisions are socially embedded, and based on social conditions. Therefore, we cannot say that migration decisions are independent of language, culture and social values. Because we have to understand the role of gender, language, ethnicity and family circumstance, positivism as an epistemological position is rejected for this research.

During the second half of twentieth century, philosophers developed a new paradigm, as a response to the limited success acquired through the application of positivist principles to research in social sciences (Keady et al., 2017). It has its roots in the concept that reality is neither exterior nor objective but is constructed by social actors who assign meaning to it in

light of their daily interactions (Keady et al., 2017). Berger and Luckman (1966), Watzlawick (1984) and Shotter (1993 cited in Easterby-Smith et al., 2015) conceptualize social constructionism by focusing on how people make sense of their surroundings, via sharing experiences through language. Habermas (1970 cited in Dews, 1999) refers to the social constructionist approach as an interpretive method. Reality is socially constructed through every social interaction of social actors. The primary focus of this research is the social conditions for migrants and non-migrants, which is constructed via social interaction throughout their own lives and their family lives. Therefore, an epistemological position of social constructionism is taken by this research.

Social constructionism in particular, is a radical reshaping of cultural relativism, with suggestions for understanding the subject matter and methodology of science (Hesse-Biber, 2010). Moreover, social constructionism has relativistic outcomes, because it holds that different societal forces construct different worlds, and there exists no neutral ground to adjudicate between them (Levitt et al., 2003). Constructionism, along with relativistic outcomes, can best be exemplified through the science studies approach proposed by Hammond and Wellington (2013). This is another reason for the selection of social constructionism as a position, because cultural relativism, already justified in the first section of this chapter, is used to explore the different realities behind the same decisions of highly skilled migrants.

Broadly defined, social constructionism has supporters within organizational science (Fairhurst and Grant, 2010). For studying management and organizational phenomena, constructionist approaches are commonplace and on the rise (Matthews and Ross, 2010). These approaches put heavy emphasis on considering a migration or non-migration decision as a co-created reality, particularly the outcomes and processes of interactions among social actors. Symbolic media and discourse, mainly induced by context, are communicative practices which are essential for the processes of social construction. However, essentializing the definition of highly skilled faces resistance because being highly skilled has to be discovered through personal factors such as family context, gender, social experience, politics and social and economic status, which create the social conditions of the highly skilled, rather than them being a single social object. This research focuses on the collected social conditions that push and pull highly skilled Indians to migration or non-migration decisions.

The social constructionist views societal reality and its various aspects as not determined by external factors or objective but determined by people (Teater et al., 2017). Thus, it is suggested that social scientists as well as collecting facts and identifying patterns of societal behaviours in terms of frequency also focus on appreciating the various meanings and constructions people place on them. They should focus on what individuals, collectively and individually, feel and think, and how they interact with others verbally and non-verbally (Levitt et al., 2003). The researcher tries to appreciate and understand the different experiences of highly skilled people that pull or push them to non-migration or migration decisions, instead of searching for fundamental laws or external causes to describe their behaviour. From a social constructionist point of view, human actions are generated as a result of the way they make sense of their social conditions instead of a direct reaction to external stimuli. Therefore, social constructionism is the epistemological position taken by this research to explore the social constructions highly skilled professionals create from their points of view that are factors in their migration decisions.

This research is about human trust, which involves understanding the social conditions that play a role pushing or pulling highly skilled Indian to take migration decisions. Researcher involvement is required to understand the role local social and cultural values play. A detailed comparison of the social constructionism and positivism approaches is given by Naeem and Khan (2019). Human interest is a significant driver of science, and rich data can be collected from a small sample, which can increase the general understanding of the social issue at hand. The researcher is part of the same society as the subjects of the study, a highly skilled Indian, and therefore, the researcher well understands the direct and indirect implications of their words.

According to social constructionism, knowledge is culturally embedded and socially constructed, and these are two closely interwoven factors (Walliman, 2006). Contrary to the objectivist assumption that knowledge is truth, according to which knowledge is objective, can be codified and exists independently from cultural and social values, practice-based epistemology argues that knowledge is, by nature, socially constructed due to which it is open to interpretation and somewhat subjective (Crowther and Lancaster, 2012). There is an increasing trend among social constructionists to endorse the eye-of-the-beholder, an attributional view of society. Social constructionists tend to problematize both inconsistency and variability in the analysis of findings and actors' accounts. Contradictory truth claims may

coexist even in collective social conditions, through the broad aspects of their family, life events, and the social, economic and political conditions that impact their experiences of local institutions, called the social conditions of migration. Therefore, an epistemological position of social constructionism is taken to understand the construction of social realities through experience in society rather than to test laws or theories.

Social constructionism aligns with subjectivism and relativist ontology. Naeem (2019) suggests that any experience-related research topic should be conducted through in-depth inquiry with the practical social actors who are part of the social phenomenon. Therefore, the researcher collects data from highly skilled Indian non-migrants and migrants. Social constructionism assumes that no fixed meanings can be attached to language, but instead its meaning is inherently confusing. This interpretive flexibility or subjectivity of language undermines the social constructionist epistemological position.

Developing a better understanding of knowledge by producing, reading or interpreting it is very important, for which active interference and a meaning-construction process are required (Walliman, 2010). The socially constructed nature of language, however, limits individuals' scope to interpret and modify meaning as does their use of language at a local level throughout their lives. The assumption that knowledge is socially constructed applies to both the production and interpretation of knowledge, so social constructionism is used to produce knowledge through understanding the meaning of language and the social conditions attached to migration and non-migration decisions. The researcher takes part in the overall research process, to interpret the meaning of language and the social factors which relate to the highly skilled Indian migrants. The partially explicit form of knowledge of highly skilled Indians is best exemplified in a written report, in which the author constructs its meaning. However, the reader cannot get the real meaning of ethnic groups, the role of gender in India, or the political, social and economic conditions in India that create collective social conditions for highly skilled migrants or non-migrants. Readers may deduce further meaning from the report. However, we cannot generalize the results on the basis of some reports. Therefore, the researcher's argument is that we must be part of the research to understand the social meaning attached to social conditions. This is an essential aspect of the social constructionist epistemology and has implications for the way knowledge is socially constructed.

4.3 Research approach

Understanding the matter with a subjective perspective is another way of conducting research. In a subjective approach, the researcher personally goes to selected firms and conducts interviews on an individual basis with the staff at those firms (Punch, 2009). By conducting research this way, the researcher can understand the views of all the interviewees about the matter which better reveals what the reality is (Easterby-Smith et al., 2015). Understanding matters from a subjective perspective also enables the researcher to create relationships between social conditions such as pull or push factors. Moreover, it enables the researcher to identify various cultural and social factors that stimulate highly skilled Indian people to move to the UK or live in India. Conclusions may be reached by taking an inductive research approach, because the inductive approach generates new theories or confirms existing theories.

The inductive research approach is used to observe social phenomena. It helps identify relevant factors that hinder or drive phenomena. The current research explores the social conditions that push or pull highly skilled Indians to migration or non-migration decisions. Thus, the various social factors that stimulate highly skilled Indian people to either live in India or migrate to the UK needs to be investigated in depth. To understand this phenomenon, a subjective research approach is adopted by the study. Inductive research is a bottom-up approach which starts from observation and builds to theory. This research starts from researcher observation of why some highly skilled Indians migrate abroad while others stay in their home country. Therefore, the inductive research approach is employed, leading to the building of a final research framework on the basis of the results.

4.4 Research Methods

Qualitative research is broader in its scope, as it includes various methods and approaches assimilated from other disciplines within the social sciences. Despite the diverse nature of this approach, various researchers highlight the most prominent characteristics of qualitative inquiry (Hammond and Wellington, 2013). The main aim of qualitative research is to explore situations from within, by going deep into the local social conditions. It encourages the researcher to take into account the views of those who have experienced the situation.

Hesse-Biber (2010) states that the paradigm of social constructionism provides a foundation for qualitative inquiry in the broader epistemological context. The approach taken to the subject is one of theoretical representation of the subject matter of Indian social conditions, to collect

the individual and collective views of highly skilled Indians about their migration or non-migration decisions, which may include an appreciation of views of those engulfed in the reality, forming part of the qualitative inquiry. This leads to the production of knowledge by developing a deep understanding of the situation. Qualitative research is better defined by an interpretive paradigm, as it focuses on social situations and encourages research in that context (Cassell et al., 2017). Therefore, a qualitative research method is employed to interpret the social norms, meanings, production, orientation and reproduction of the social world of highly skilled Indians, taking into account social practices through the medium of language, which aligns with the social constructionist epistemological position of this research.

Lune et al. (2017) focus on the chief elements of research design, and identify a study as qualitative if it asks questions such as why, what or how rather than how many. Qualitative inquiry enables the researcher to study the social situation in its natural setting, through semi-structured interviews with skilled professionals, asking why and how questions, to obtain in-depth information and understand how different participants find different meaning in the same social conditions. Using these instruments, the qualitative researcher makes sense of the phenomenon of migrant and non-migrant decisions. Qualitative research is flexible. The data collection instruments maintain the flexibility of the research through semi-structured in-depth interviews, observational methods and focus group discussions. Qualitative researchers differ in the extent to which such methods are used (Patton, 2015). Semi-structured interviews are conducted to explore the role of local social conditions in the non-migration and migration decisions of highly skilled Indians.

4.5 Sample size

In qualitative research, the sample size is usually smaller than in quantitative research (Hammond and Wellington, 2013). This aligns with the social constructionist epistemological position because only a small sample size is required to extract in-depth information. One purpose of qualitative research is developing an in-depth understanding of a particular situation or phenomenon, or interpreting the meaning of a particular process, issue, subculture, situation, social interaction or scene. In-depth interviews do not focus on arriving at generalizable conclusions for large populations or on testing hypotheses. Instead, it is an emergent and inductive process (Lune et al., 2017; Iosifide, 2013).

Particular suggestions for the number of participants have been made based on researchers' experience of conducting qualitative research (Lune et al., 2017). Guthrie (2010) observes that conducting interviews with more than about 20 participants generates limited new information from each additional interview. Ritchie et al. (2003) observes that individual researchers who conduct 50 or more interviews find it difficult to manage the complexity of the analytical task. Walliman (2018) suggests that 50 to 60 interviewees is a large number.

Data or thematic saturation can come into play in qualitative research. Its origin is in grounded theory, but its meaning and application have broadened, and it is regarded as the gold standard in qualitative research. It equated with no new themes, no new data and no new codes coming from additional data collection (Tracy, 2019). Morse (2015) observes that saturation is a guarantee of qualitative research. Sparkes and Smith (2014) state that saturation is not suitable for some types of qualitative research, such as phenomenological research. However, other researchers reject the concept altogether.

Harper and Thompson (2012) extend the enquiry to cross-cultural and multi-site research, and find that a sample size comprising 20 to 40 participants is sufficient to achieve data saturation in respect of meta-themes cutting across research sites. Iosifide (2013) claims that, for theory-driven content analysis, data saturation is reached at the 17th interview in respect of all pre-determined theoretical constructs. Lune et al. (2017) recommend two chief principles based on which saturation specifications can be formulated: (a) the researchers should at the very start formulate an initial sample (e.g. ten interviews) for the first round of analysis; and (b) the researchers should devise a stopping criterion, which represents the number of interviews (such as three) after which further interviews are unlikely to yield new ideas or themes.

For a high level of transparency, Teater et al. (2017) suggest that it is imperative to create cumulative frequency graphs, so that the researcher can support their judgment about achieving saturation. Guthrie (2010) suggests employing a comparative method for theme saturation. The results of each new interview are compared with those already conducted, and when no new results emerge, it indicates that saturation has been achieved. The order in which the interviews are analysed can have an impact on the threshold for saturation, depending on the data richness.

Hammond and Wellington (2013) suggest re-analysing and re-ordering interviews to confirm saturation. Cassell et al. (2017) conduct a methodological study to highlight the issue of demonstrating and specifying saturation. The analysis of their interview data shows that code

saturation, the level at which additional issues do not arise, comes after nine interviews. However, meaning saturation, the point at which further nuances, dimensions or insights cannot be identified, comes after 16 to 24 interviews. This means that even though breadth may be achieved relatively soon, particularly for concrete and high-prevalence codes, additional data is required to achieve depth, particularly for codes of a conceptual nature.

Hesse-Biber (2010) observes that sample size can be determined through informational redundancy. When new information is not elicited by the sampling of more units, sampling can be terminated. Hammond and Wellington (2013), considering the logic of informational comprehensiveness, introduce the concept of information power as a practical guiding principle, and recommend that when the sample provides more information power, the size of the sample should be small. If it provides less information power, the sample size should be large. Therefore, the researcher applies the information power concept to extract more information from fewer participants, because the participants are highly skilled professionals. This makes it easy for the researcher to extract in-depth information from a small number of participants, as these highly skilled and highly educated participants have more exposure than the common public. The current research reached its saturation point at 38 interviews.

Although some qualitative researchers avoid the question of the number of interviews required, there is variety among them about the minimum number that is sufficient (Tracy, 2019). A considerable number of chapters, articles and books recommend that the sufficient number of interviews for qualitative research ranges between 5 and 50 (Tracy, 2019). These recommendations stem from nuanced debates, but the response to the question of ‘how many’ is usually vague, such as ‘it depends’ (Tracy, 2019). Various factors are significant in determining the sufficient number of participants, such as the scope of the study, quality of the data, nature of the topic, usefulness of the information obtained from each participant and the education or knowledge of each participant. This is a major consideration for this research, which gets sufficient data from 38 participants.

4.5.1 Sampling

This study follows the assumptions of its constructivist research paradigm. It is exploratory, because it explores the points of view and experiences of highly skilled Indian migrants and non-migrants. The study conducts semi-structured interviews with 38 participants identified using social networks, personal contacts and the snowball sampling technique. The sample size

and method are selected based on previous research studies' recommendations and justifications (Aring, 2015; Muqadas et al., 2017; Suh et al., 2009; Connell, 2004; Oishi, 2014; Castles, 2010).

The interviews follow semi-structured guidelines. These guidelines instruct the process but not the conversation. The interview questions are open, and the respondents can describe whatever they want. The interviews are conducted in a natural setting, the home of the respondents, cafés or other public places suggested by the respondents. The participants are informed before the interviews about the process. The researcher has casual discussions with respondents and other workers to get an awareness of their stories, the reasons for any tension, and their adjustment criteria. All the points made during the discussion are documented after the interview, including the questions and concerns of the researcher.

For detailed interviews, the access to the sources is checked and meetings are held at mutually chosen times and dates. For secrecy, suitable precautions are taken to guarantee the confidentiality of all recorded material. To create trust and form a casual environment, the researcher permits the participants to get in touch for follow-up meeting after the formal interviews. The data gathering halts at the point of hypothetical saturation, at which no new topics could be uncovered (Teater et al., 2017). The investigation uses topical examination to confirm the translation and understanding of the information. The anonymity of the participants is ensured by alluding to them just as participants (Walliman, 2018).

The interviews started in Pune. These were semi-structured interviews, and some were recorded, with the consent of participants. The data collection continued in other cities based on personal and professional contacts. The researcher was involved in travelling, requesting in-person meeting to gather data in both the UK and India. Table 4-2 gives details of the demographic information of the participants from the UK and India. This research takes a qualitative approach, conducted through semi-structured interviews. The researcher was able to receive in-depth information and other aspects of knowledge (Mason, 2002). After collecting the data, the researcher analysed it using thematic analysis (NVivo). This provided the numerous themes which answer the research questions regarding the social conditions and processes that govern highly skilled migration to the UK from India.

The data were collected in two stages, firstly from the UK cities of Leicester, London, Manchester, Birmingham and Cambridge. The reasons for choosing these cities were the

number of IT companies located within them and that they operate their networks worldwide. These are the most attractive cities for highly skilled migrants to settle and work (UK Government, 2017). Kōu and Bailey (2014) suggest that the greatest number of Indian migrants have settled in these UK cities. After selecting the cities, the next step was conducting the interviews with 26 highly skilled Indian doctors and IT professionals. Both males and females were interviewed, aged between 30 and 60, all born in India. The interviewees had migrated to the UK on work visas. The UK has a points-based general work category visa. Some had migrated through company transfers and completed master's degrees or Bachelor of Medicine Bachelor of Surgery (MBBS) degrees in India. Of the 26 participants selected, six were from Leicester and were previous personal contacts of the researcher. These were IT professionals who work as a support engineer, software developer, systems analyst and systems designers at Capital One, Santander, Next and IBM, and three medical professionals working in the National Health Service (NHS) and the British Indian Psychiatric Association (BIPA), as a physician, senior surgeon and psychiatrist. After collecting data from the participants in Leicester, the remaining 20 doctors and IT professionals were selected from the British Association of Physicians of Indian Origin (BAPO), the NHS and BIPA, and the IT companies TCS, Infosys, Wipro and Accenture. These participants were identified using snowball sampling and the social contacts made by the researcher when visiting the NHS and attending social activities organized by Indian migrants in the UK. The researcher divided the participants according to their places of residence, six participants from London, four from Manchester, six from Birmingham and four from Cambridge.

The second stage of data collection was interviews with professionals in India. The researcher approached 26 participants, but only 12 accepted the request. These were highly skilled Indian doctors and IT professionals who had not migrated to the UK and were working in India as doctors, IT software engineers, support engineers, developers and systems analysts. They were aged between 30 and 60 (see Table 4-2). The IT professionals were working in companies such as Infosys, Wipro, Accenture, Tech Mahindra, Capgemini Technologies and Capital One. The doctors were selected from health sector organizations in India, such as the Indian Medical Association, and were surgeons and general physicians. These professionals had completed their MBBS degrees and were aged between 30 and 60. The participants came from various cities in India: Mumbai, the financial capital of India; Pune, known for having a vast IT park and business zone; Bangalore, the Silicon Valley of India; Chennai, known as an emerging IT hub for outsourcing; and Hyderabad, known as 'Cyberabad' and recognized for its

bioinformatics hub, the largest in India (Parthasarathy, 2004). These Indian cities have a growing number of multinational IT companies and are well known for their private healthcare services. A number of doctors and IT professionals travel overseas from these cities for employment.

Table 4-2: Participant information

Participant	Gender	Profession	Education
Migrant skilled workers			
Participant 1	Male	Physician	MBBS
Participant 2	Male	Cardiologist	MD
Participant 3	Female	Gynaecologist	MS in gynaecology and obstetrics
Participant 4	Male	Surgeon	MS in surgery
Participant 5	Female	IT professional	MS in software engineering
Participant 6	Female	Physician	MBBS
Participant 7	Male	IT Manager	Master's in software engineering
Participant 8	Male	IT Manager	M.E
Participant 9	Female	IT Manager	M. Tech
Participant 10	Male	IT Manager	MSc. Engg
Participant 11	Male	IT Manager	Master's in software engineering
Participant 12	Male	Orthopaedic	MS in orthopaedics
Participant 13	Male	IT professional	MS in software engineering
Participant 14	Male	IT Manager	M.E
Participant 15	Male	IT Manager	MSc. Engg
Participant 16	Male	IT Manager	MS IT
Participant 17	Male	Physician	MBBS
Participant 18	Male	IT Manager	MS IT
Participant 19	Male	Physician	MBBS
Participant 20	Male	IT Manager	MSc. Engg
Participant 21	Female	Gynaecologist	MS in gynaecology
Participant 22	Male	Orthopaedics	MS in orthopaedic
Participant 23	Female	Physician	MBBS
Participant 24	Female	IT Manager	MS IT
Participant 25	Male	Physician	MBBS
Participant 26	Female	Physician	MBBS

Non-migrant skilled workers			
Participant 1	Male	IT Manager	M.E
Participant 2	Male	Physician	MBBS
Participant 3	Female	Gynaecologist	MS in gynaecology
Participant 4	Female	Physician	MBBS
Participant 5	Male	IT Manager	M.E
Participant 6	Male	Physician	MBBS
Participant 7	Female	Gynaecologist	MS in gynaecology
Participant 8	Female	Physician	MBBS
Participant 9	Male	IT Manager	Master's in software engineering
Participant 10	Male	Physician	MBBS
Participant 11	Male	Surgeon	MS in surgery
Participant 12	Male	Developer	M.E

4.6 Data analysis

Bryman (2016) suggests thematic analysis as a translator for those speaking the language of quantitative and qualitative analysis, enabling researchers who employ different methods to communicate with one another. Thematic analysis is a highly flexible method of conducting qualitative analysis, because of the academic freedom it provides. It can be modified according to the needs of the study, thereby providing a detailed and rich, yet complicated, account of data (Bryman, 2016). Since thematic analysis does not need detailed technical or theoretical knowledge of other qualitative approaches, it provides an accessible type of analysis particularly for those who are beginner-level researchers (Teater et al., 2017). Researchers who have a large amount of experience in qualitative methods can also find thematic analysis easier, as it requires only a few procedures and prescriptions (Guthrie, 2010).

Thematic analysis is helpful for examining the perspectives of participants, understanding the differences and similarities in their responses, and generating insight (Guest et al., 2012). This method of analysis is helpful to summarize the prominent features in large sets of data, as it enables the researcher to develop a well-structured approach to the data, and thereby produce an organized and clear final report (Cassell et al., 2017). Although there are benefits of using thematic analysis, it is essential to understand the drawbacks of the method (Hesse-Biber, 2010).

4.6.1 Coding, patterns and themes

The current research is conducted with a qualitative and inductive approach. Thematic analysis is performed through coding and keywords using NVivo software. The codes are significant elements of thematic analysis that provide the foundation for the final research model. It is necessary to understand the meaning of codes and themes at this stage to understand the data analysis process. In a qualitative inquiry, a code or sub-theme is a short phrase or word symbolically ascribed to a salient, summative, evocative or essence-capturing attribute of the visual or language-based data (Seale, 2007). There are two cycles of thematic analysis of qualitative data suggested by Saldana (2009): the data portion of coding a single word, paragraph or even an entire page; and the reconfiguration of the codes developed. Feldman (1995) defines coding as a process of linking the data critically to its meaning. In semiotics, the code represents the interpretation of symbols in their cultural and social contexts (Flick, 2017). Although some coding choices tend to be metaphoric, many codes are not (Guest et al., 2012). A code, in qualitative analysis, represents the construct generated by the researcher to translate or symbolize data (Gibbs, 2002). As such, it ascribes meaning to each datum so that it can be later detected, categorized and used in theory building or for other analytical purposes. Flick (2017) indicates that finding a pattern in the codes requires the researcher's own understanding of the overall research and the data in hand.

A pattern is a regular, repetitive or consistent occurrence in data which occurs more than twice (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003). Tracy, (2019) defines a pattern as the relationship between singularity and multiplicity. A pattern represents the multiplicity of elements collected into a singularity of a specific arrangement. Patterns are an indicator of everyday occurrences which identify the salient habits or preferences of people. Using patterns, the researcher can identify people's five Rs: routines, rituals, roles, rules and relationships (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). The researcher uses this five Rs rule in the current data analysis to identify the rituals and routines in the first cycle of data analysis, and the rules, roles and relationships in the second cycle of data analysis.

It is essential to note some caveats in order to understand regularity and patterns in a dataset, e.g. idiosyncrasy is a pattern (Saldana, 2009). Sometimes data are categorized and coded based on what the participants said, but sometimes based on the field notes of the researcher, which include the researcher's perceptions (Bryman, 2016). For example, the participants may share their perceptions with the researcher about their level of job experience, but their attitudes,

values, experiences and beliefs may vary from real practice. Their attitudes can range from being disengaged and bored to being motivated and enthusiastic about their own country, rather than taking local social conditions negatively. Seale (2013) indicates that when one searches for patterns in coded data to categorize them, it is possible to group things together not based on similarity to each other but because they share something familiar, even if there are inherent differences that lead to making one theme out of a combination of different codes.

Some qualitative researchers argue that coding is done for themes (Bryman, 2016). However, this researcher argues that this is a piece of misleading advice, as it confuses different concepts and terminologies. A theme is the result of coding or categorization, and as such is not coding itself. Therefore, the combining of different codes into one theme is based on the researcher's own understanding of the data instead of just keywords. The reason for this is that there does not exist any 'theme coding' method, but there are different types of thematic analysis (Bryman and Burgess, 2002). Initially, data is coded to discern its meaning and label its content as per the needs of the inquiry.

The researcher already has a theoretical framework at hand to provide the foundation for the data analysis. On the basis of the theoretical framework, four themes are generated from the data. Two of the categories are migrant and non-migrant themes. Seale (2013) observes that the difference between the two is that a category represents a phrase or word which describes a segment of the data, whereas a theme represents a sentence or phrase describing a tacit or subtle process. Crowther (2012) observes that, besides systematic analysis, the focus of the qualitative researcher should be on uncovering information through informed hunches, serendipitous occurrences or intuition, which leads to a more robust and fruitful explanation of the context, setting and participants.

The question which arises is which method of coding is most suitable for conducting the research. Saldana (2009) argues that coding must be accompanied and prefaced by careful reading and re-reading of the data, as the researcher's subconscious mind, along with the coding system, develops connections leading to flashes of insight. Feldman (1995) says that at least two coding cycles should be employed, and two different approaches should be taken to enhance the accountability and validity of the results of the research (Donley, 2012).

4.6.2 First cycle of coding

Dey (1993) observes that holistic coding requires the effort of grasping the fundamental issues and themes in the data by absorbing them as a whole (lumper) instead of analysing them line-wise (splitter). This method represents the preparatory approach to data before conducting detailed categorizing or coding through the first and second cycles. It is also possible to conduct a middle-order approach, i.e. between holistic coding and line-by-line coding (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003). There are no restrictions on the maximum length of data attributed to a holistic code. The coding unit can be small or large, from half a page to an entire study (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016).

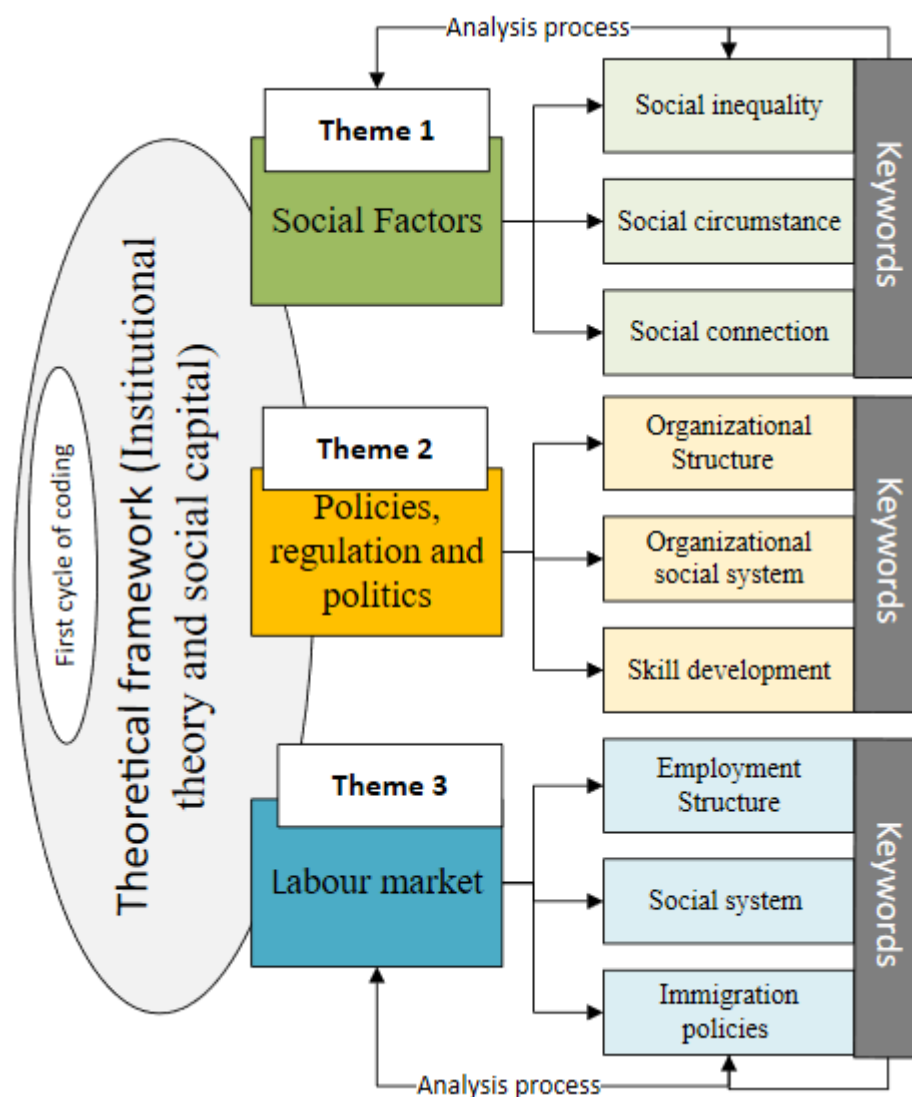


Figure 4-1: Theme development through the first cycle of coding

Holistic coding is used in the first cycle. Holistic coding is useful for beginner-level qualitative researchers who have a theoretical framework in hand and a basic understanding of the required result of coding the data (Donley, 2012). Figure 4-1 shows the codes and themes in detail. Holistic coding is also appropriate for studies with a variety of data, and is applicable where the researcher already possesses an idea about what to investigate (Gibson and Brown, 2009). This method is useful because it is time-efficient when the researcher has to analyse massive amounts of data in a short period (Glaser, 1978). However, it is also important to note that less time spent analysing can yield less substantive results.

In many cases, holistic coding represents the preparatory groundwork for detailed coding (Goodall, 2008). Therefore, holistic coding proves helpful in the first cycle as it is time-saving and the researcher already has a mind-map of the data based on the theoretical framework of the research. Therefore, on the basis of the theoretical framework, three themes are generated based on different codes, and the codes are based on different keywords in the data (see Figure 4-1).

4.6.3 Second cycle coding

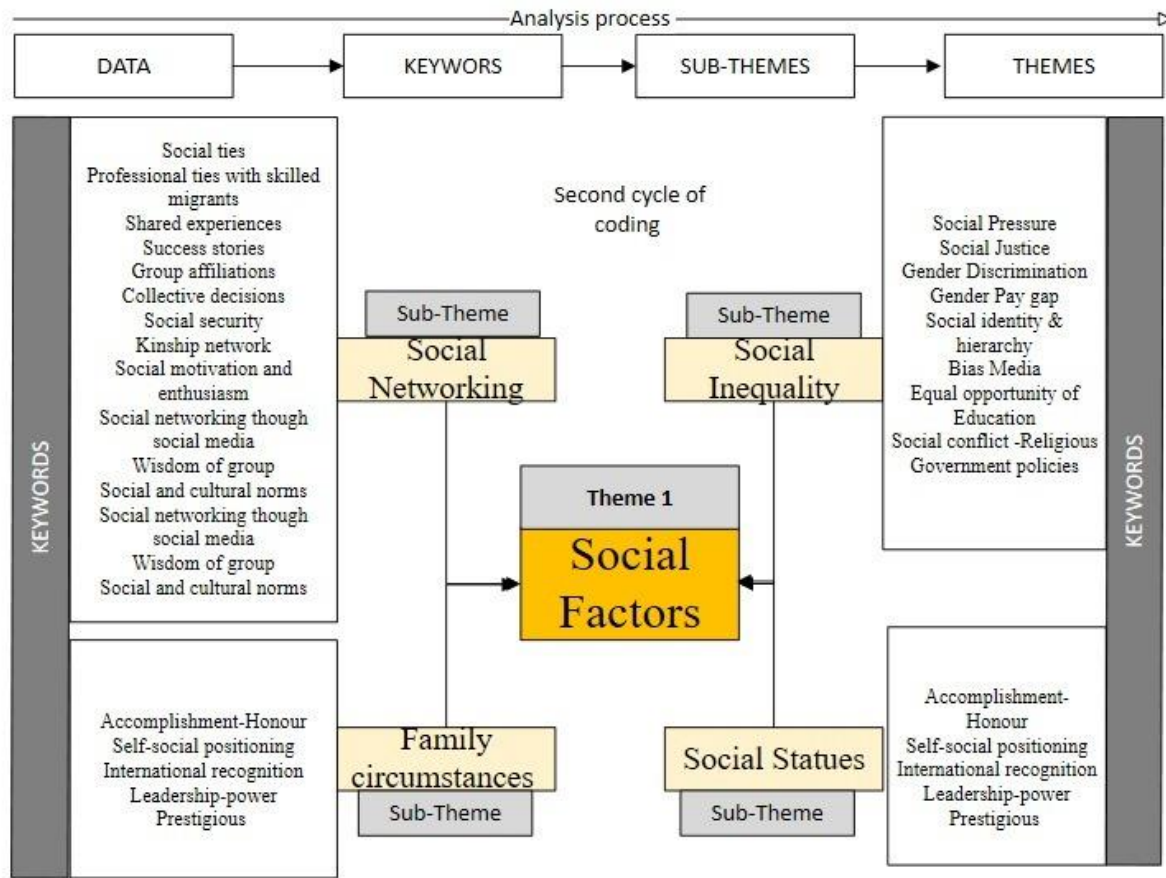


Figure 4-2: First theme development through the second cycle of coding

It is essential to bear in mind that data are not only coded but recoded. The second coding cycle does not need to use one of the six methods highlighted in the research (Saldana, 2009). A researcher may find that holistic coding is sufficient in the first cycle for condensing or tightening the categories or codes into a compact set for analysis (Collins, 1983). Therefore, depending on the method of first coding and the progress of the preliminary data, the researcher may or may not want to go ahead to the second stage of coding (Flick, 2017). Thinking through the analytic notes along with the coding and categorizing process can lead to higher-level concepts, themes, theories and assertions (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003).

Bryman and Burgess (2002) suggest the researcher should make analytical notes that help in the coding process. The researcher made some critical points during the data analysis, and these points cover the essential social condition factors. These play a role in the migration and non-

migration decisions of highly skilled Indians, and the notes refer to the various factors of the theoretical framework. On the basis of the notes, I proceeded to the second cycle of coding. The researcher realized that I had missed the non-migrant theme, which is a significant focus of the thesis. If the researcher has applied the first cycle of coding diligently to the data and transitioned the codes through the second cycle, again and again, taking one or more approaches to analysis, then the researcher should have several major themes, categories or concepts, or at least a theory (Glesne, 2011).

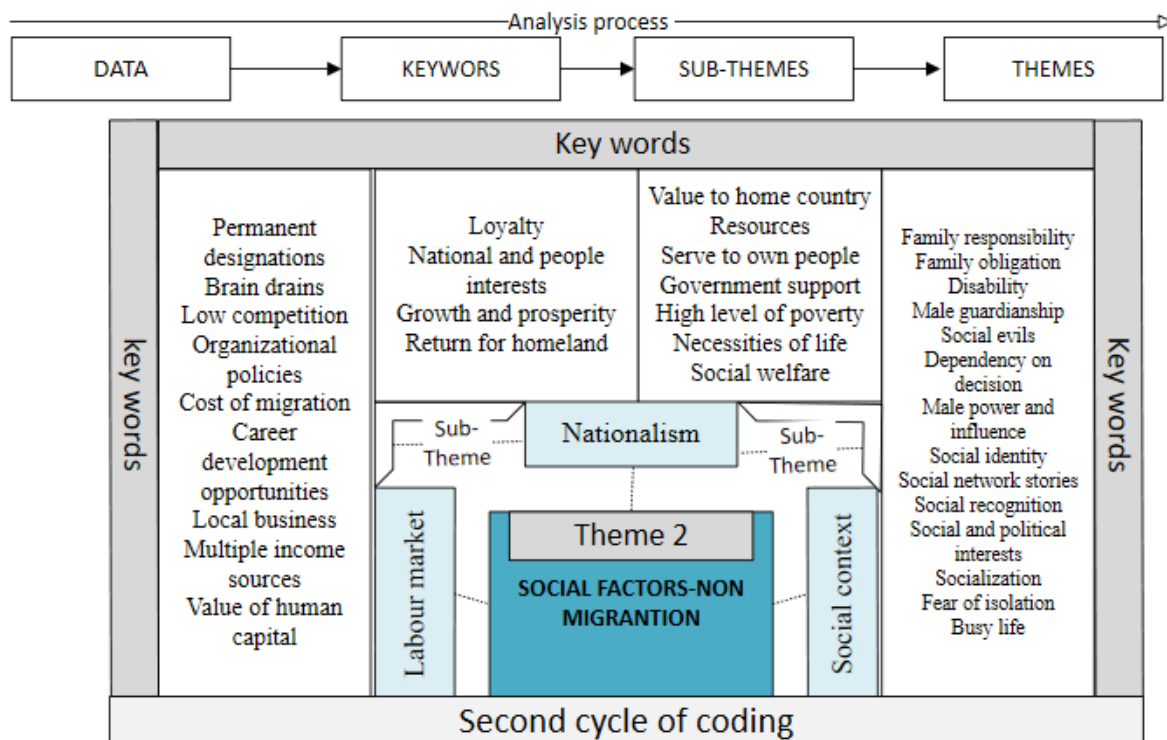


Figure 4-3: Second theme development through the second cycle of coding

The second cycle of coding represents the advanced level of reanalysing and reorganizing the data coded in the first cycle, to extract the non-migrant theme and improve the exiting theme. Each cycle requires the logical linking of *prima facie* unrelated facts or categories relevant to each other, so that a meta-synthesis of the data is developed. Before assembling the categories, the data is recoded in more accurate phrases or words than the original codes. Codes may be merged due to their conceptual similarity, and infrequent codes need to be assessed for their utility in the overall scheme of the coding. Some codes which appear to be of use during the first cycle may be dropped in the second cycle due to redundancy or marginal relevance (Bryman and Burgess, 2002). A second theme, the social factors of non-migrants as pull

factors, emerged from the second cycle through elaborative coding. Elaborative coding is the process of analysing textual data for developing a theory (Gibson and Brown, 2009). It is a bottom-up method, as one starts the coding with theoretical constructs based on existing study and one's contemplation (Glaser, 1978).

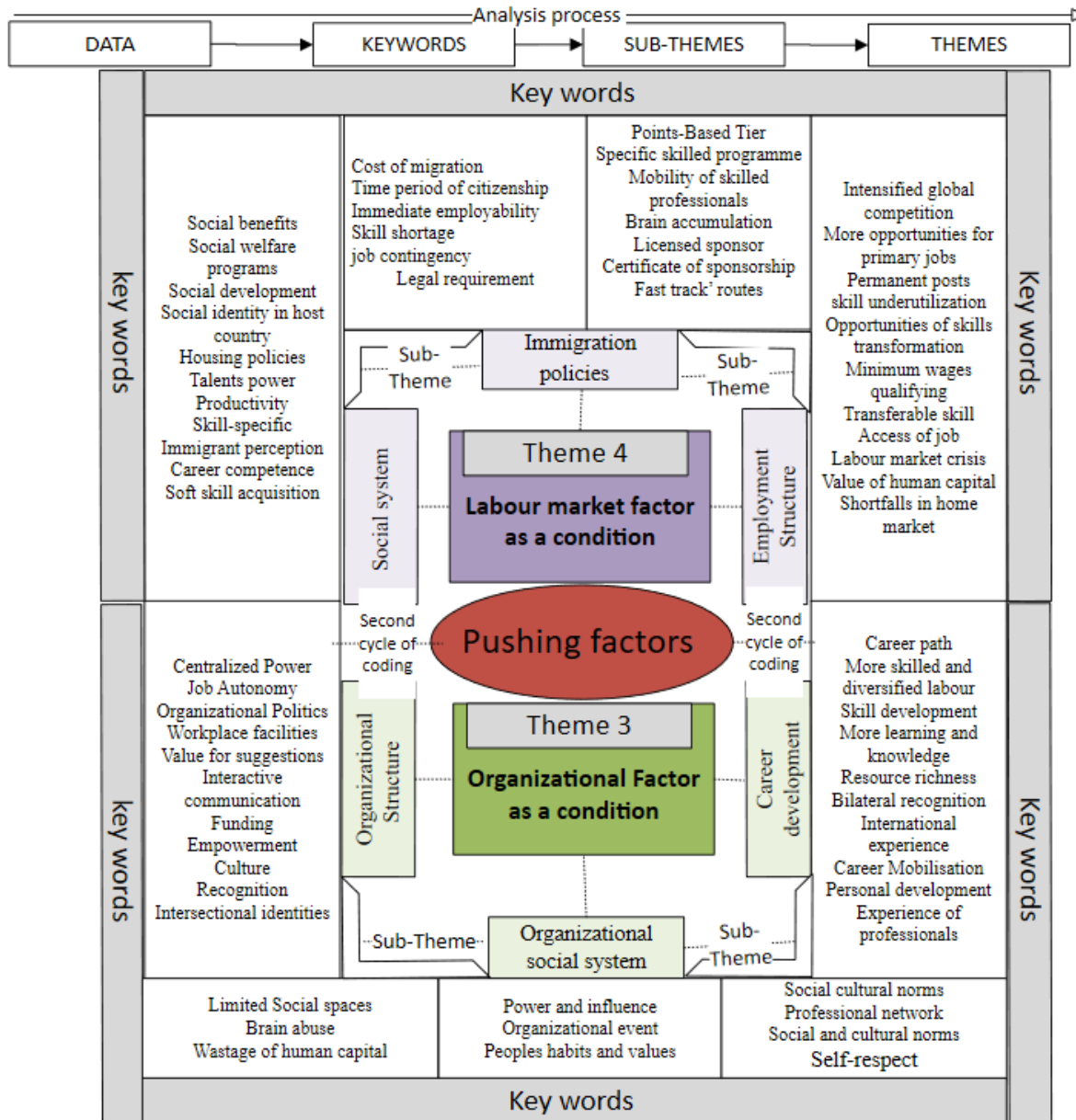


Figure 4-4: Third and fourth themes development through the second cycle of coding

There are four themes (see Figures 4-2 to 4-4) found through the elaborative coding employed in the second cycle. Auerbach and Silverstein (2003) state that the goal of elaborative coding is refining theoretical constructs from an existing study and selecting relevant texts from that study, which the researcher finds through contemplation. Theoretical constructs arise from the

themes of the coded data, which are grouped to develop meaningful units of migrant and non-migrant push and pull factors. Elaborative coding proves useful for qualitative data which builds on existing studies, corroborating them through discussion in relation to the literature in the later discussion stage of the thesis. Basically, the second cycle of coding elaborates on the significant theoretical findings from previous studies, even if there appear to be slight differences between the primary results and existing theory, which is institutional and social capital theory, or in their conceptual frameworks.

The primary purpose of the second cycle method is developing a sense of thematic, categorical, theoretical or conceptual organization from the array of codes from the first cycle. Four themes emerged from the second cycle of coding. The first cycle codes are reconfigured or reorganized to eventually develop a select smaller list of broader themes, categories, assertions or concepts. In the first cycle, the naming of the themes is broad, and there are only three themes. With each successive coding cycle, the number of codes should reduce (Tracy, 2019). Therefore, the five Rs concept is applied (routines, rituals, roles, rules, relationships) (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016) to explore the push and pull factors for migrants and non-migrants. Bryman and Burgess (2002) suggest that familiarizing, identification of themes and indexing should be applied at the first cycle of the study, while charting, mapping and interpretation should be applied in the second cycle; a suggestion applied in this research. Figure 4-5 shows how the keywords, sub-themes and themes were eventually transformed into categories and sub-categories, and then into major concepts and a new theory, model or assertion.

4.6.4 Post-coding and pre-writing transitions

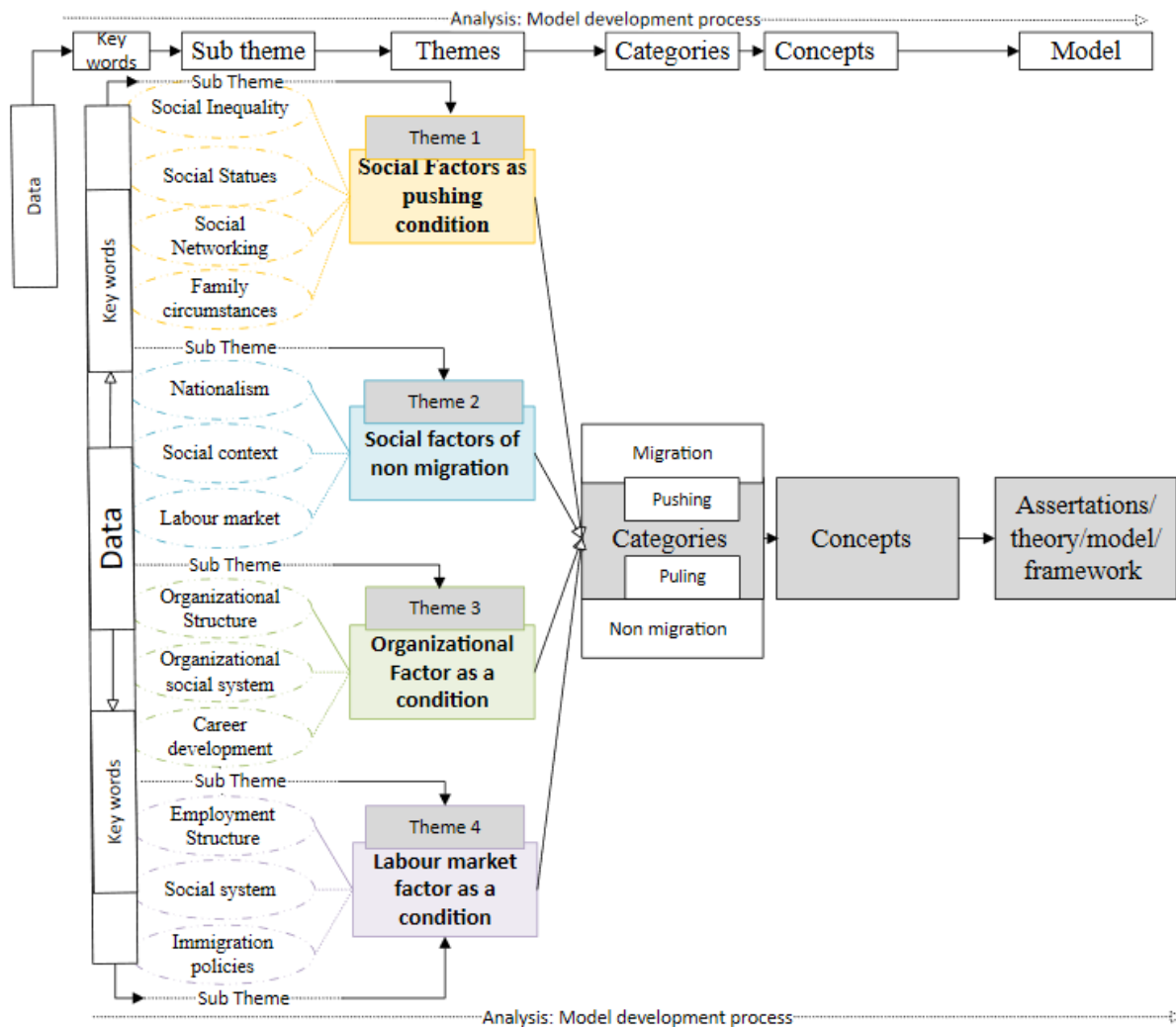


Figure 4-5: From codes and categories to theory

From coding to theorizing

Theoretical coding represents the method to progress from codes to a core category suggesting synthesizing a research framework, model or theory from the data (Bryman and Burgess, 2002). However, theoretical coding is not the sole method of developing a theory. This is a complex topic, yet a few salient strategies can be used to arrive at the necessary outcomes of qualitative research (Gibson and Brown, 2009). The researcher believes that developing a theory from the research is a significant development, but it is alright if the research does not yield a theory or model (Glesne, 2011). Some categories may embody clusters of coded data which require further refinement to develop into subcategories. When a comparison is made of the

significant categories, consolidated in various ways, the researcher comes to understand the reality of the data and progress towards a conceptual, thematic and theoretical model (Bryman and Burgess, 2002). The coding usually follows the streamlined scheme shown in Figure 4-5. However, the central act of reaching a theory is messier and more complicated than illustrated. Gibson and Brown (2009) observe that categorizing enables the researcher to move from data diversity to the shape of data.

Elements of a model

The researcher believes there are three main characteristics of social science theory: it uses if-then logic to predict action; it highlights the causes of phenomena to explain why and how things happen; and it provides useful guidance and insight to improve social lives (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003). The theory represents an elegant statement which suggests working productively or a way of living. For example, if a person faces social inequality from early life, that person would tend to make a migration decision later in life.

Some theories are provisional only, which is why the language used should support the tentative nature of the proposals. The researcher notes that a remarkable theoretical statement to one person is seen as a weak statement by another person (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). The researcher tries to support each sub-theme with different keywords to strengthen the themes that lead to the final model. As Saldana (2011) puts it, just like beauty, theory is in the eye of the beholder. A theory is closer to a proverb than a story. A theory may be defined as a condensed lesson of wisdom which a person creates based on experience and passes on to the next generation (Seale, 2013).

4.7 Establishing trustworthiness in qualitative research

The cooperation of stakeholders helps put knowledge into practice. Therefore, it is imperative that the current research is acknowledged as familiar by practitioners, researchers, the public and policymakers, and that they regard it as legitimate (Sparkes and Smith, 2014). The findings of the research can be regarded as attention-worthy by achieving reliable results. Sparkes and Smith (2014) refine the concept of trustworthiness, as they introduce the criteria of transferability, credibility, confirmability and dependability to match the validity and reliability criteria of quantitative research. The procedures used to fulfil the trustworthy criteria are known to many, even those who have different ontologies and epistemologies which rely on

methodological techniques and arguments (Keady et al., 2007). Tracy (2010) points out that various criteria have emerged over time to refine the quality of qualitative research. However, the current research uses the widely accepted, original and easily identifiable criteria introduced by Teater et al. (2017) to highlighting its trustworthiness. The researcher believes that these criteria are practical to ensure the usefulness and acceptability of the research, given the major social actors in the scenario. The researcher selects highly skilled professionals who migrate on the basis those skills, and who are currently doing high skilled jobs in the UK. The credibility of the research is determined by the reader or co-researcher coming across an experience they recognize. The credibility is the fit between the views of the respondents and the researcher's representation of their views (Guthrie, 2010).

Cassell et al. (2015) suggest various techniques for addressing the credibility, including persistent observation, prolonged engagement, researcher triangulation, and data collection triangulation. Cassell et al. (2015) argue that in order to maintain external checks on the process, peer debriefing about the research process can be conducted, as it helps enhance the overall credibility. It is helpful to examine the referential adequacy, to check the preliminary interpretations and findings against raw data. Credibility can also be operationalized by the process of member checking, in which the interpretation and findings is tested with the participants (Hesse-Biber, 2010). Therefore, the researcher adopts very credible research approach to the development of the theoretical framework, developed on the basis of the literature review and two appropriate theories (intuitional theory and social capital theory).

The primary data collection questions are developed from the literature and the theoretical framework of the research. This leads the researcher to collect the most relevant data on the social conditions for migration and non-migration. The critical literature review is useful for identifying current research gaps, and it highlights the most important social factors to consider in data collection. Consequently, on the basis of the social constructionist epistemological position, relativist ontological position, selection of qualitative research methods and inductive research approach the model of the research is developed. Overall, the research follows the philosophical fundamentals of the research process that add to the credibility of the research.

Transferability is the extent to which the findings can be generalized. According to Bryman (2016), for qualitative research, this is only possible in the instance of case-to-case transfer. The current researcher is not in a position to identify beforehand the sites to which the transfer of the results of the research would be appropriate. However, the researcher provides thick

descriptions so that those seeking to transfer the results can judge the transferability for themselves (Lune, 2017). The final research framework synthesizes the overall social conditions and role for migrant and non-migrant decisions. All these factors test different aspects of migration, which means there is transferability of the research to generalized results on the basis of family circumstances, which include family size, the skill levels of family members, the skill level of the husband and wife, being married or unmarried, migration decisions and so on.

The researcher needs to ensure the logical progression of the research to maintain its dependability (Hammond and Wellington, 2013). The research should be documented, and this must be traceable. When readers can examine the process of the research, they can better evaluate the dependability (Lune, 2017). One way in which the dependability of the research can be demonstrated is auditing the research process (Patton, 2015). Therefore, the whole research process is discussed and presented in the figures above.

Confirmability means establishing the deriving of the results and interpretations from the data, demonstrating that the interpretations and conclusions are based on the data collected (Saunders et al., 2019). Tracy (2013) observes that confirmability is established when transferability, credibility and dependability are all achieved. Quinlan and Zikmund (2015) observe that, in order to enhance the confirmability, the researcher must use markers, such as the reasons for the methodological, theoretical, and analytical selections, throughout the research so that others can understand why and how the researcher took decisions.

The audit trail pieces provide the reader with the choices and decisions of the researcher about the methodological and theoretical issues throughout the research, giving a clear rationale for each decision. Walliman (2006) observes that research and its results are auditable when a reader can follow the trail of decisions taken by the researcher. Crowther and Lancaster (2012) observe that an audit trail implies that another researcher with the same perspective, data and situation could arrive at comparable, rather than contradictory, conclusions. Maintaining the record of field notes, raw data, reflexive journals and transcripts helps the researcher relate, systemize, and cross-reference the data, all of which represent the creation of an audit trail (Carey, 2017).

4.8 Summary

Migration is linked to intensifying and reproducing gender inequalities, class inequalities and regional inequalities, which means that the social conditions of the home country act as push factors. In contrast, the same social conditions encourage other highly skilled workers to remain the country or even pull them to migrate back to the home country. Therefore, there is a need to understand why the same social condition, social policies and organizational policies push some highly skilled people to migrate and pull others to stay in their home country rather than migrate. The migration factors for highly skilled people change with changes in social realities around the world. The migration factors of Indian migrants are different from those in other parts of the world, hence the relativist ontological position taken by this research. Through cultural relativism, it is helpful to understand the family dynamics, gender, ethnicity, age and life experience of the individuals who take migration or non-migration decisions. All political movements, artforms, religious systems and moral positions are truths and are purely relative to the individual. This can be used to understand the individual realities surrounding people's migration decisions. The current research considers cultural relativism to be an essential lens through which to see socio-cultural reality. Within society there are factors pushing and pulling highly skilled Indians to migrate or not migrate. Moreover, social constructionism as an epistemological position is used to understand the construction of social realities through the experiences of the highly skilled in the society, rather than to test the laws and theories governing the phenomenon.

The current research adopts a subjective approach. Inductive research is a bottom-up approach starting from observation and building to theory. This is the process of this research, which started from the researcher's point of view. The observation was that some highly skilled Indians migrate abroad while others stay in their home country. The inductive research approach is employed to understand the social conditions which make some highly skilled people migrate. This leads to the building of the final research framework on the basis of the results. Qualitative research is flexible. The data collection instruments are of a nature which maintains the flexibility of the research, such as semi-structured in-depth interviews, observational methods and focus group discussions. Qualitative researchers differ in the extent to which they use such methods (Patton, 2015). Here, semi-structured interviews are conducted in an in-depth enquiry exploring the role of local social conditions in the non-migration and migration decisions of highly skilled Indians. A thematic analysis is employed for qualitative data analysis to develop a final research framework.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

As there are two major questions of this research. What are the social conditions and processes which govern the migration and non-migration of highly skilled Indian doctors and IT professionals to the UK? What are the factors that pull and push highly skilled Indian doctors and IT professional's migration and non-migration to the UK? This chapter analyses the qualitative data collected from semi-structured interviews. Thematic analysis of the data is used to answer the research questions. Thematic analysis is widely employed in qualitative research but is rarely appreciated for its usefulness (Walliman, 2018). Moreover, Tracy (2019) argues that thematic analysis is a foundational method of qualitative research as it provides a bedrock for conducting other types of analyses. Various researchers highlight that thematic analysis is a process, not a different method of analysis used to assist researchers (Sparkes and Smith, 2014). Harper and Thompson (2012) state that thematic analysis as a method of its own, represents a qualitative approach to analysis which can be employed across a wide range of research questions and epistemologies. It is a method used to identify, analyse, describe, organize and report themes found in a dataset. There are four significant themes developed through the thematic analysis, and the development process is discussed and justified in Chapter 4.

5.2 Main theme 1 - Social factors as conditions that govern migration decisions

Table 5-1: Theme 1: Social factors as conditions of migration

Key Words	Sub-Theme/Codes	Main-Theme
Social pressure Social justice Gender discrimination Gender pay gap Social identity and hierarchy Bias media Equal opportunity for education Social conflict - religious Government policies	Social Inequality	Social Factors
Accomplishment - honour Self-social positioning International recognition Leadership - power Prestigious	Social Status	
Social ties Professional ties with skilled migrants Shared experiences Success stories Group affiliations Collective decisions Social security Kinship network Social motivation and enthusiasm Social networking through social media Wisdom of group Social and cultural norms	Social Networking	
Family size Gender Family support Linking lives Self-respect Joint family Family interruption Dual rule of female in house Highly skilled - male - female	Family Circumstances	

5.2.1 Social inequity governs the process of migration

Various social factors govern the process of migration of highly skilled professionals. These social factors are divided into three diverse initial themes: social inequality, social status and social networking. According to the data analysis and interpretation of the data, these social factors govern the process of migration to the UK. For example, social inequality is explained as a social push factor because the participants described several social events which changed the lives of themselves and their families. Some doctors were frustrated and thought that if they migrated to the UK they could perform their duties without any social pressure or injustice. A male web developer shared an experience that governed his migration process:

“We (a group of professionals) strongly believe that fair and equal medical treatment is right for every common man, but due to low social identity and status, we experienced discrimination in medical treatment provided by doctors and private hospitals on so many occasions in our lives”.

This shows that there is much discrimination against fundamental human rights in India that pushed professionals to migrate to the UK. An IT professionals said:

“After bringing this discrimination to the notice of higher authorities in the department concerned there was no action or any improvement. It feels disheartening though health care facilities are very expensive and provided based on social status also there are no other facilities provided by government after paying taxes and fees, because there is no strict implementation and control of this practices and behaviour. We had no prior intention to move, but the painful experience gave them feeling to move with our families to the UK”.

This shows two major effects, discrimination in the availability of healthcare and the availability of necessities from the government. The professionals were well aware that they were paying taxes but not getting enough facilities from the government. Consequently, this type of unfair treatment from society and unfair government pushed them to take a migration decision.

The social conditions for migration were shared by a female cardiologist working in a government hospital in India, where a VIP political culture was seen on a day-to-day basis:

“This behaviour distracted me and effected in my daily working most of the times. As reputed government hospital equipped with advance facilities and skilled staff. Most of the bureaucratic and higher officials used to come for treatment, and they use to misuse their power and positions to get treated, and that would reflect on our daily practice”.

Using social pressure, professionals were forced to undertake practices that were not ethical as doctors:

“We have to go the extra mile to provide services to politicians and bureaucrats, which was against the system and morality of the profession, as a person this triggered my self-respect and personal integrity, where I do not want to be a part of this system. I changed and tried working in other hospitals and cities, but the situation was the same. These conditions and situations govern the migration process to the UK. So that I can give justice and fair treatment without any external pressure or burden”.

This shows that professionals have to treat the public differently because bureaucrats and politicians have privilege in society that puts pressure to treat them as exceptional compared to the common public. This type of special attention paid to some privileged people hurt their self-esteem, and made them depressed about the discriminatory behaviour for the common public. We can say that it created injustice in society. Some people struggled to get justice from institutions, and this was directly linked to social push factors. A programme manager said:

“My father was a victim of strong social and political identity dominance that caused his death. My mother fought for justice, but no institution could support that justice. Hence, my mother always wanted me to leave the intolerant society, since after my schooling I was motivated to settle abroad. So, our coming generation cannot see the same uncertainty”.

Again, two significant factors need to be considered, injustice for lower social groups or families that push professionals to move from India, and professionals taking migration decisions because of the painful experiences of family members. The IT manager was disheartened about the conditions of his family due to a specific experience in society, a push factor that governed his migration process to the UK.

The system is manipulated and used to pressure doctors, calling into question the right to freedom of work and respect for highly skilled professionals. The social and political identity of a person was used to put pressure on doctors to provide outstanding healthcare, therefore bringing social pressure and injustice, especially when providing extra facilities. Social equality mattered to them and governed their desire to migrate, looking for equal respect and freedom for work without interference from external pressure. Social and political identities created uncertainty, and the institutions were not strong enough to provide justice.

Gender discrimination is another essential factor in the migration decisions of highly skilled Indians. Gender discrimination and pay differences governed the thoughts of some participants on migration. Despite having high skills, talent and knowledge there are still examples of gender discrimination. A female gynaecologist shared her experience of gender discrimination that governed her migration to the UK:

“It is sad and unfortunate to share my condition, where I worked in India. I have been the victim of gender discrimination in many places and many times. When I used to work in a reputed hospital in a city, I was being bullied and mentally harassed by male dominated management which were supportive and helpful towards males. I have equal skills and talent but always due to internal organizational politics and unnecessarily work pressure, with low salary compare to my male colleague made me switch my job and place. But I experienced the same male dominating culture everywhere”.

This experience reveals that senior management recruited, assigned easier tasks and shared more rewards with male doctors, despite female doctors having better experience and educational achievements. A male-dominated society and working culture promoted gender discrimination and a gender pay gap at the workplace. Therefore, skilled female workers were frustrated with the social and organizational system. Indian society is male-dominated, which creates male favouritism in organizations. Social factors, directly linked to the organizational environment, give priority and superiority to males in the organization.

Indian society is collective, and promotes male guardianship, therefore male dominance is normalized. All professionals expect to be treated equally, but there is organizational injustice with the purpose of giving benefits to male skilled professionals. The social condition shared by a female UX designer pushed her migration to the UK:

“I decided the process on the following condition to move to a better place where I have equal respect and pay based on my skills and knowledge, what I deserve and equal salary based on professional experience, but unfortunately the management manipulate the system and make our rotation for working on night shift, due to the fact of knowing we have family problems and kids”.

Another participant said:

“Social suppression is found in an organized way, there are many stories in my brain which always remind me how my male colleagues are unfairly selected, assigned duties, and promoted even when my female colleagues have better educational background, skills and experiences”.

There were certain negative events or experiences for the highly skilled professionals with their social networks which created the conditions for them to migrate from India to the UK. For instance, gender discrimination and a gender-based pay gap were common due to the male-dominated society in the workplace. Therefore, they were frustrated and thought to move where they should not be discriminated against based on gender. Gender discrimination does not only exist in organizations. It is linked to the family system and social factors of local society. A female network engineer said:

“We have to look after our kids and husband too because of the tradition and cultural obligations for women in society. This restricts our career growth and makes us physically drained due to a lack of emotional support from husband and in-law family”.

This shows that women not only face discrimination in organizations, but are not even happy to make extra effort at home, which pushes them to migrate from the male-dominated Indian society. However, the migration decision making is not in the hands of women, it is a collective decision made with Indian families, as discussed later in this chapter. Social institutional factors govern the process of migration, and are linked to the social structure of society. Consequently, the social structure of the society informs the local institutional culture, which treats some members of the public differently. The institutional impact on highly skilled individuals and their families can also act as a push factor for migration. A male orthopaedic doctor said:

“I was born in the Indian government hospital. Unfortunately, I had a long term disability due to the negligence of the hospital staff and doctors. This impacted my mental and physical health and ability to perform day-to-day activity. There was no support or any further assistance provided for my wellbeing. I did struggle my entire childhood. The pain and anger made me strong and I decided to become a doctor and migrate to the UK. I worked hard to become a doctor with the purpose to get an immigration visa from the UK”.

The immigration process for the highly skilled was linked to the events in their own lives and families. As in the example above, someone received mistreatment during his birth which led to the migration decision for himself and his family. Migration is not usually a single event, nor is it the decision of an individual. The central thrust of this research is exploring the social conditions and factors that govern migration processes to the UK, in the expectation of fair treatment.

The migration decisions of highly skilled Indians are collective in the context of their own life events and in the context of joint decisions by the family, and may be based on any family member's disheartening experience. A male cyber security engineer said:

“My father could not find timely justice as a group of people occupied our agricultural land. My father spent a stressful life and died waiting for years for a final judgement. From that time, I lost my faith in institutions, I worked hard to complete my IT engineering and developed my skills, which helped me to find a job and migrate to the UK”.

Another institutional factor was shared by a male java developer:

“My father was taxi driver and this was the only source of income for our family. Unfortunately, our car was stolen when I was young. We reported it to the police and spent our days and nights with whatever money we had, but failed and were helpless due to an unfair legal system. This situation put us in a financial crisis that left us to struggle for daily bread and butter. After a long struggle we stood up again. I completed my education Then I thought we should migrate and live where social and legal institutions are strong, powerful and capable of providing timely justice”.

Painful experiences with institutions during their early life pushed these respondents' migration to the UK. This could be linked directly to their highly skilled professional lives, or it could have happened at any stage of life and become a significant reason for migration later when they became highly skilled. Institutional factors can result in discouragement in other contexts directly linked to family and friends. These types of events provide options for migration decisions. Systematic corruption governed the migration process shared by a male physician:

“Me and my friends were patriotic since childhood, after scoring merit in science subjects, we applied for civil service jobs. We saw how people with lower grades are selected to system corruption. We failed to secure job positions due to poor family and social status, low social and political connections. This condition governed us to migrate, and we thought to proceed for higher education in the UK and become doctors, from here so our next generation cannot face the same situation”.

Another experience of corruption that governed the migration process was shared by a male radiologist:

“I was in college when a group of high social and political class students bullied me, I was physically harmed which brought many injuries then I complained to the college principle and police but found no timely justice, so it discouraged me and impacted my life for many years. This made me live in fear and downgraded my morale and confidence in society. Somehow, I manage to

complete my MBBS and decided to complete my MS from the UK to settle for safety security and fearless life which can give me confidence to stand in society”.

The conditions shared govern the migration process as they are institutional experiences and vital push factors for migration. These experiences are linked to the caste system and social classes of Indian society. Therefore, we can say that there is more of a trend for migration among the lower social classes because there are more chances of suffering of this kind. Downcast institutional experience can be triggered at any stage, but it impacts collectively on migration decisions because it impacts families and groups within social classes. The doctor shared how social pressure and conflict based on religious identity, affected him and his family professionally and personally. Social inequalities created a hostile environment in the mind of a highly skilled doctor which increased his stress about his family’s security and safety.

The discrimination based on social class can change the image of the whole society in the minds of lower class families in India. Consequently, lower class highly skilled Indians are more motivated and encouraged by their families to migrate to any better country. A male neurosurgeon shared how he was forced to migrate to a safe and secure environment after working in a reputable private hospital.

“The role of social networking used for social pressure proved disgusting for my family. A critical patient died in the emergency department, where I was not responsible for the loss. However, the patient’s family belongs and represents an upper caste and class image in society. They created a hostile environment, and brutally used physical pressure with the help of social group pressure and networks within the community. Along with this, they tried to use false allegations on hospitals and me through social and electronic media that negatively influenced the negative reputation and effected my family members. This event created fear and a feeling of lack of support from society and government”.

This negative factor motivated his migration, because there are no special arrangements for doctors’ security or their family’s protection, especially when severe conditions occur during hospital duty. The conditions described by the professionals reflects how social pressure negatively influences the professional and personal lives of highly skilled workers and these conditions govern migration decisions to places where justice is more equal and without such a stressful working environment.

The social hierarchy governs the process of migration, and highly skilled women face many cultural barriers. They are often treated unfairly based on close social relationships in the workplace. This factor is familiar to both female doctors and IT professionals. It creates a feeling of demotivation and less value for their skills in the workplace. The attitudes displayed towards specific employees leaves them with no option other than to move to a place with a better social hierarchy, to avoid social conflict in the workplace and helps their career growth. A female physician said:

“The culture of social hierarchy is powerful in India in both the government and private sector, as most of the time senior authorities indulge in partial behaviour, who are their relatives, friends of friends, or having any connection with those who can use the system for their benefits. These unfair practices are always discouraging to those who are eligible and capable of certain jobs and tasks but could not get them because more than skills their social relationship, kinship network matters. The discrimination of social hierarchy and social benefits are demotivation forces for me and others due to social and cultural factors, conditions motivated me to think of a better option for my career”.

The hierarchy in society gives rights to those with privilege and treats people differently. Higher caste people are treated differently from lower caste people in society. It is straightforward to understand that migration decisions are not about a single event in life. They are about the different social conditions that different social classes face within the same society:

“It is shocking still people are discriminated against due to their social caste in Indian society. Social caste in India is classified as socially isolated, and there is social and religious pressure not to attend any religious function”.

Discrimination is based on social identity and the social hierarchy. There is still a perception in Indian society that the higher castes do not want any contact with the lower castes. There are too many cases in the Indian government sector and hospitals where lower castes are treated unequally, abused or insulted. Most feel vulnerable. Due to caste reservation privilege, there is a distinct gap between upper caste and lower caste, which reflects the comprehensive division of society. This situation creates social discrimination and social conflict among the castes. This condition what was made a female cardiologist migrate to the UK, where she could maintain her social dignity, position and self-respect:

“I am identified as backward caste in Indian society being highly skilled, and it is a stereotype image in Indian society. Backward caste doctors are not efficient, and they do not have that many capabilities to become excellent doctors because

we completed our education through reservations, so most higher caste patients reject being treated by minority doctors like us and this results in feelings of negative acceptance from society and low social positioning in society”.

Social factors affect the highly skilled migration process, as fair medical treatment is essential for every class and caste of individual. Social inequality leads to disappointment and distress. The highly skilled contribute to society by paying taxes, but there is a lack of equal treatment. There is social pressure to treat those who have certain social identities preferably, which creates social injustice in society. This pushes the process of migration to the UK, where they perceive they can get equal medical treatment and fair practice, there is value to human life, and there is no discrimination based on social class, caste or identity. Due to social discrimination, highly skilled workers migrate to the UK, where social discrimination is not as high as India. They believe that they and their families can get the best healthcare without any social discrimination or social inequality. They migrate to improve their quality of life, due to the better social, environmental and health facilities in the UK. This research focuses on the social conditions governing the migration and non-migration process. Skilled professionals’ families have a migration culture. Personal success stories in his social circle pushed a male web developer to migrate to the UK:

“Many of my family members and relatives are doctors and engineers who completed their education from India but settled in the UK. Therefore, culture of migration is common in our family. My father always motivated and shared the examples of their success stories and prepared me mentally and physically to achieve higher grades and said I must complete my computer engineering from India and further MS studies from the UK as a family tradition and reputation in Indian society”.

Another factor to consider is time, as thoughts about migration develop throughout people’s lives, linked to the lives of their family and relatives in the UK. There is a need to understand the social differences between people from the same class living in India and living abroad. Some classes can have a different life in different countries. This division makes them select the best lifestyle for their loved ones when deciding between migration and non-migration. The father is the main person driving and leading the family, acting as an associate agent for the whole family. The participant above quoted his father’s advice. It is relatively straightforward to see that the migration process is linked with social connections and family members’ social conditions throughout life.

An increasing number of cases of molestation and sexual abuse of teenage girls has created a feeling of worry among families, specifically skilled working professionals, in India, related to children's protection and futures. The attractions of education and child protection are significant pull factors for highly skilled professionals to migrate to the UK. A female IT professional said:

"In past few years, I saw through media and cases happening around how the numbers of children rape cases, sex exploitation and children kidnapping increased in India. The children's safety created stress in our society".

The same participant added:

"We had tough working schedule we were worried about child safety in India. Although my husband is doing an average designated job, he motivated me to apply for UK and I followed my husband advice to move for a better secure future for my daughters. Now we are living in UK society where law is strict related to children's safety. We have a safe future for our children in terms of education, social protection, and social justice in UK".

This explains professional migration from India because of family security, the security of children, especially girls. Again we can say that migration decisions are not linked only to the highly skilled professional's life alone, but also linked to family circumstances. The gender composition of a family also plays a vital role in migration decisions. Other family factors such as family size are essential factors in migration decisions. A migration decision could be more complicated in a large family than a small family. The joint family system, family size, family pressure, the culture of migration, life events, social protection and education for children are some of the factors which govern the process of migration. A male physician said that family size was a condition of his migration to the UK:

"In India, the joint family system and influence is common as we (parents, brothers, sister, wife and children) lived in a single home. Due to male dominance in culture, it is a social sense that males must earn money while females must take care of the home after study completion. Usually, father or husband in our society decided that female work is for the household only. I belong to a low income and large size family. Due to the joint family system as well as the religious and social customs of traditional Indian marriages, my family obligations and tensions increased. My wife always supported and pushed me to settle in abroad as our family size increased (three children) and she had no freedom to do work when we were living with my parents or joint family. Therefore, we migrated to the UK and my wife has freedom for work choices as she is a computer engineer".

From this experience of migration, we can say that the joint family system in India plays a pushing role for the highly skilled to move abroad. In a joint family system, highly skilled people cannot enjoy their lives privately. They would like to spend their lives more comfortably and privately, and consequently they take the decision to migrate from India. This is more prevalent in lower class and low-income families because it is expected that higher class families have enough facilities to live their lives privately. In contrast, low-income families are forced to live together because of their obligations to other family members which link back to their social class and economic conditions overall.

As discussed, girls are not as secure or safe in India as in developed countries. So highly skilled professionals give preference to migration for safety and career security of their daughters. However, we cannot generalize this, because the higher social classes have privilege in society so there is less intention by these families to migrate because they feel much safer, even for the girls in their family. Again, we can say that the social system which includes the social classes plays a foundational role for various types of families to make a migration or non-migration decision. However, the gender composition of the family also plays a vital role in the family's migration decision. The level of skill of the husband and wife is an important condition for migration, as shared by a female cloud solution engineer:

“I am skilled but my husband's skills are lower, due to this we could not find respect due to job redundancy in many places. For our self-esteem and my husband's further career prospects. This condition worked as pushing factor for migration”.

Partners with lower skill levels are potential forces motivating their highly skilled partners to migrate to the UK for quality of life and more job opportunities for low skilled workers. The social conditions of Indian society affect the discussion and level of encouragement within families collectively. Different social conditions have different impacts on the lives of people belong to different social classes with different economic family conditions. Different professionals are treated differently within organizations, and the public are also treated differently within institutions because of social divisions within society. Therefore, we can say that there is social discrimination within society and within institutions. Those families in lower social and economic positions have more challenging experiences with institutions that push highly skilled individuals to migration decisions. However, migration decisions are not single events for the highly skilled, they concern the overall family experience in society. Therefore,

emigration becomes a choice for those families linked to the various life events of the family and their friends.

5.2.2 Social status governing the process of migration

Social class plays a significant role in individuals' lives, because the social status of families determines the response of institutions and society. This theme specifically concerns the role of social status in governing the migration process to the UK and the push factors that motivate it. A male banking domain consultant working with a multinational company who had created a positive image in society and among his friends, found it very competitive to secure a job and a sponsor in UK. He said:

“My employer in the UK offered me a visa and higher position. The status changed my family lifestyle and social positioning in India and the Indian community settled in UK. My family and company supported migration from India, now we are happier enjoying higher social status compared to India”.

His family and company supported his migration, because they were expecting a better life in the UK compared to India. Family support and the promise of a better life were the most important social factors for this migrant to the UK. Highly skilled Indians have more opportunities to move abroad. These opportunity afforded to them for being highly skilled, allow them to gain higher social status as a result. They need their families to be on board with the decision, meaning families are very involved in migration decisions. An IT professional said:

“We are enjoying a happy life here, it means they have motivation for accomplishment, honour, image working abroad, life paths development can motivate the high skilled workers for choosing the migration decision”.

This experience of social condition was shared by a female orthopaedic doctor:

“After completing my MBBS and practising for so many years, I decided to pursue my MS in orthopaedic from the UK. As many of my senior doctors completed their master's degree and have higher position and status in society. Therefore, I came to the UK to pursue my medical degree, after completing my education in merit, I secured a job in UK. I do visit India for conferences or any guest lecture. I have been valued in my hometown now and most of the young doctors have a good impression of my achievement and position in the UK and India, being female”.

Social reputation and international recognition govern the migration process. Completing a degree from a well reputed UK university and upgrading knowledge may enhance learning, experience, performance and career development opportunities. It is clear from this interview that the highly skilled worker dreamed of completing a foreign education with the purpose of getting international recognition and prestige. Foreign education is an essential factor of social status in India, but it can lead to a permanent migration decision once someone has an education from the UK and experience of the local society. Social status plays a vital role in governing the conditions that push migration to the UK.

Social status in the home country and the ability of migration to achieve it are significant factors. Social status, either ascribed or achieved, is significant but the meaning of social status is constructed and can work as a pull or push factor. Most highly skilled workers aim to move to the UK with the purpose to gaining self-social positioning, educational and professional achievement and recognition among friends and family. Highly skilled workers decide to migrate to get unique self-social positioning and create a positive image in their social circle, increasing their recognition and respect. People of low social status in India are more motivated to migrate to gain social status. Social status can also pull some families back to India, as discussed later in this chapter.

5.2.3 Social networking governing the process of migration

Socialization, such as group affiliation through social media and professional connections, governs the process of migration for highly skilled Indian professionals. Successful friends share stories of how they are enjoying life due to high income, good health facilities, social protection and better facilities for children, which ultimately increase their standard of living compared to those living and working in India. These positive stories about the UK motivate the migration process for their professional connections. These conditions and push factors were shared by a male IT professional:

“Most of my friends from university passed out as a software engineers are working and settled in UK, Australia, USA. My social connection to the UK inspired me. As we have similar education and job experience therefore, we deserve to enjoy and experience the same life. This condition motivates migration to the UK. When we came to the UK my social network supported me by offering information related to settlement”.

Social and professional media platforms such as LinkedIn, Facebook and WhatsApp are popular tools for making social ties and sharing achievements. The pull factor of a hassle-free

life and excellent working conditions in the UK governs the process of migration. As one participant explained:

“My Indian school friends and I have social connections with my colleagues through Facebook, WhatsApp and LinkedIn in UK, USA, Germany and other places. Where they were continuously sharing their success stories regarding how they applied for family migration, attended a professional exam, got a desired job and better career development opportunity as well as enjoying a luxurious lifestyle due to wage differential between India and UK and other countries”.

Skilled professionals' connections with the social capital of the UK prove helpful in reducing the costs and risks of migration. Professional connections create social support and provide information. They are ready sources of knowledge, information and strategies. The social capital approach holds that social networks between the destination (UK) and origin country (India) create meaningful information sharing with life partners, ties of kinship, close friends and friends of friends, in a shared social community. A female IT professional said:

“Social connections with skilled migrants are always helpful to get the enthusiasm from those who successfully settled and got a self-social positioning, and family social positioning in a developed nation like the UK. From the start, we (female and male school friends and people doing a job in the same organization) have made up our family mind to settle in the UK. We keep strong social ties with our all friends, friends of friends who have migrated into the UK. We are not happy as we have many bad experiences in India already”.

Another participant said:

“Due to our group affiliations with the UK based social and professional networks. They helped in securing a job and this condition governs the migration decision, and we successfully settled in the UK without taking the stress of migration, exams, initial living space, and a suitable job”.

Close social connections during his university and professional life motivated this participant's migration decision. The interviews reveal that some highly skilled workers migrated to the UK because of the distance from kinship networks such as their fiancés or close friends. A male java developer said:

“I completed my IT degree from reputed Indian institute, but the majority of my close male and female friends are migrated to the UK. Even my fiancé (my love) migrated onsite. The living distance of my partner and close friends enforced me to come into the UK. I got married to my partner, we both work on top

designations in the IT sector and living more happily. I am happy that I took the migration decision and spending a high quality of life in the UK.”

This experience shows that love and affiliation are social factors that govern the migration process from India to the UK. The participant also mentioned close friends' involvement in the migration which brought him closer to his fiancé.

Social gatherings among professional migrants are also opportunities to share personal and professional experience about social culture and norms in the UK. People love to create social ties with those who have the same culture, background, language, tradition, religion and nationality. They are more comfortable with these people, and these ties can save them from social isolation in a new place. This social factor was shared by a male IT professional:

“I have a group of professional networks, and we love to create social gathering at organizational place before and after our job timing. We always tried to share our social and organizational experiences which are useful to enhance our knowledge concerning medical practices as well as social skills enhancement programs. There are many organizational based workshops which proved helpful to understand the social and cultural norms of diversified skilled labour in the UK”.

Professionals networks have similarities, and collective development plans govern the conditions of migration. However, migration is also linked to the labour market of India where there are fewer chances for personal development than the UK. Professional groups share their experiences of being abroad, or of living in India, so we can say that the return migration decision is also made among groups of professionals. A male doctor said:

“Although we worked in UK organizations we found stressful, tight and tough job timings. As a result, our wives and children are more stressed because they came from an environment which is more socialized. We are a group of five Indian professionals who accumulated money, foreign nationality, and experiences and returned to start a private hospital in India. Now we are more comfortable and able to attend social gatherings and have a comfortable life”.

Another participant said:

“So social and professional connections (i.e., successful and well-known Indian born IT managers in the UK) help us to reduce the psychological stress and risks of migration and gave us higher returns. These connections help us to foster social motivation and enthusiasm”.

Social and professional connections played a pivotal role in ensuring the transferability of social capital from India to the UK in these examples. Such relationships are helpful to simplify the immigration, exam, initial living and job search procedures in the UK. As a result, people migrate more easily and create positive stories and experiences for their colleagues living in India. Socialization, based on professional connections, draws comparisons between India and the UK in terms of income, health facilities, quality of life, social status and freedom. It is clear from the above quotes that social networking provides information about the education of children and quality of life. We can say that the definition of quality of life is constructed through social networking, and is different for professionals belonging to different social networks. We can say that those in groups already connected abroad have more chances to migrate to the UK. Social networking plays a role in the way that the meaning of quality of life develops and how family life determines the social status of the family. The results indicate that the socialization of skilled migrants has been increased by social media which has made them more involved in professional and social connections with their friends living and working in India.

The above discussion shows how social networking plays a role in creating social meaning from events in life, usually through direct discussion with close friends on the various aspects of social and professional life. The migration process is not governed by one single event in life, migration intention is developed through seeing the livelihoods of friends. Consequently, group intention to migrate or return can develop because of the similar experience, education or social background of people within groups. Therefore, we can say that social networking plays a significant role in group migration and facilitates the migration process.

5.2.4 Family circumstances

Family circumstances include family size, gender composition and the skillsets of the family members. This theme concerns how, specifically, family circumstances play an important role in migration and non-migration. Collective family social factors play their role as push factors, as shared by a male IT programme manager:

“We are two brothers and five sisters among all, I am the one who was more qualified and experienced. My older brother spends a lot money on my education. I decided to migrate so that I can support my brother and sister in their further education and career growth”.

Various events of life are also socially constructed. A male java developer said:

“I got arranged marriage, my wife was well educated. Due to family obligations restriction for doing a job for my wife, we moved to the UK for job and settlement for her because both of us have family responsibility. I am older in my family, so I have responsibilities of my younger brothers and sisters”.

This example of family circumstances shows how having a migrated family acts as a pull factor for other family members for. A male physician explained:

“My two brothers are already working as doctors in the UK; it will be better for me to join them for a comfortable life”.

This situation highlights how collective society plays a role in pushing highly skilled migrants from India to the UK. This quotation has three significant elements, arranged marriage, females and family responsibilities. The findings tell us that these three factors are essential family circumstances that govern overall migration decisions. In lower economic status families, the conditions for migration of highly skilled professionals are based on the lives and responsibilities of family members.

In joint families, the older males (fathers, husbands, uncles or elder brothers) are more involved in the migration decision process. A female gynaecologist said that after her parents died her responsibility for her younger brother and sister was her priority:

“My uncle supported me for education also advised me to go abroad to fulfil the needs of my younger brother and sister”.

A senior web developer shared how the situation of his family governed his migration process:

“My wife has no independence in a joint family for choosing her personal and professional life it is my father’s decision that females should stay home for household responsibilities. Therefore, my wife motivated me to go where she can make her own choices”.

Family circumstances were shared by a male cloud engineer:

“In a joint family of low skilled individuals most of the financial burden for education, marriage, and other social needs falls on the person who is usually highly skilled. I migrated to the UK to support my family in India”.

A male doctor shared his family circumstances:

“My cousin supported our family when we were financially poor and also helped me to complete my medical education.”

This shows that social capital is an essential factor in India. For some of these participants, receiving social support from their family members and friends became a liability later, once they achieved high skills and qualifications. Non-migration decisions of highly skilled workers are influenced by the people who support them at an early age. These supportive social actors can be their family members or relatives. Later on, these people have a social influence because of the support they gave to the person who has now become highly skilled. There are other family circumstances which show how life events shape migration decisions. A male anaesthesiologist said:

“I was older in my family and my father died when I was in high school, at that time I decided to choose the medical field because of the safe and high return of the nature of the job. My uncle supported me a lot during my education, and he always suggested to go abroad to take responsibility for my younger sister and brother”.

This condition pushed him to migration, and he added:

“After completing my degree now I am happy because my sister and brother are happy in their life and they have good jobs in India because they able to support their education”.

Another male IT developer mentioned how he faced discrimination at school:

“So I always discussed with my first cousin who was living abroad, he always suggested to me to gain IT skills to gain migration opportunities. Therefore, I decided to choose IT profession that allowed me to migrate from India to live in a society where discrimination is not done on a caste basis”.

Most of the interviews linked the life, family circumstances and caste hierarchy of the family with push factors for migration. The most exciting identification is that some of the professionals gained their skills just for the purpose of migration to support their family members. This shows how educational life events linked to family support, push the migration process.

There is a need to consider the importance of the social norms which motivate professionals to look after their families. Indian families are chronically and socially linked, obliged to support each other through the various circumstances of their lives. Therefore, migration and non-migration decisions are collective in nature, because they link many social actors all of whom support the other people in their lives in various circumstances. The quotation above mentions the number of family members and that the participant's sisters were not qualified enough, and

even his older brother was not highly skilled. Consequently, the highly skilled member now looks after the whole family.

The analysis draws the experience of migration back to the local culture of arranged marriage. Social institutions such as marriage and family responsibilities govern the process of migration to the UK. The results reveal that political, social, situational and economic uncertainty are high, meaning families often have discouraging experiences and work hard to ensure that their children do not see the same future. A male IT testing engineer shared how the childhood impact of his father's death caused by religious tension governed his migration process to the UK:

“My family and I could not get institutional, political, social and economic support. We saw the worst scenarios and my mother did very hard work for my study and supported my migration process by providing the best education. Therefore, I decided to gain the required skills. So that this will help me migrate to a developed country like the UK and I can support my family needs”.

The family circumstances of those in lower economic conditions commonly govern the migration process of highly skilled professionals, which again shows a sense of caring by these highly skilled professionals about lives linked with their own.

5.3 Main theme 2 - Social factors that govern the process of non-migration

Table 5-2: Theme 2: Social factors as pull factors for non-migrants

Key Words	Sub-Theme/Code	Main-Theme
Value to home country Resources Serve own people Government support High level of poverty Necessities of life Social welfare Loyalty National and people's interests Growth and prosperity Return to homeland	Nationalism	Social Factors
Family responsibility Family obligation Disability Male guardianship Social evils Dependency on decision Male power and influence Social identity Social network stories Social recognition Social and political interests Socialization Fear of isolation Busy life	Social Context	
Permanent designations Brain drain Low competition Organizational policies Cost of migration Career development opportunities Local business Multiple income sources Value of human capital	Labour Market	

Under this theme, the study reports all the factors which govern the process of non-migration of highly skilled Indians. These social pull factors are divided into sub-themes: nationalism, the social context and the labour market. The study reveals how the high level of nationalism motivates non-migration. In the social context, the study reports how family responsibilities,

obligation, male guardianship, social connection, and social life in India inspire skilled professionals to remain.

5.4 Nationalism as a social pull factor for non-migration

The analysis highlights nationalism as a social pull factor for highly skilled Indian professionals. It acts as a non-migration condition for those motivated to choose the national interest of the country over their interests (i.e. migration for better economic and social benefits). A feeling of a loss of brain capital was shared by a male cyber security engineer:

“Although I have the opportunity to settle into developed countries, I gave value to my home country. I always feel honoured and my duty to serve my country and the people of this country. Today, whatever I have achieved it was not possible without the support of my government, people, and resources of this country. I believe that my country (India) has the first right to take benefits from the skills and experiences”.

The thoughts shared by this participant highlight the value they bring to their home country and serving the people. He believes that the government spent resources and helped him to get the desired education. Some IT professionals and doctors shared the idea that the country’s people and the government supported them in achieving their educational and professional qualifications. They agreed that it was time to return to love and care for their people by serving them. They believed that whatever they have achieved would not have been possible without government and local support, so these people have the first right to their skills and experiences.

A male cardiologist said:

“My country is a developing nation where human capital is low, and level of poverty is high among local people. Most people are unable to get basic facilities such as education, health facilities, water and sanitation, which created hurdle in the prosperity and growth of my country. Therefore, I have opened a charity clinic where I take minor services charges with the purpose of contributing to the social welfare of my people. I never think to move from this country as I have loyalty for the people of this country.”

A doctor specializing in neurosurgery explained:

“I belong to a middle-income family, we had not many resources for education and health facilities. In my childhood, I have seen how my family suffered due to lack of financial resources for getting an education and other necessities of life”.

Another doctor said:

“I decided if I become a doctor, then I always contribute to the social welfare of people by giving them free of cost health services as well as some donation for the education of those people who cannot afford basic facilities. I always feel proud whenever I serve without charges as well as donate some portion of my salary for needy people. I never thought to migrate from this country as I have loyalty and love for the people of my country”.

A female IT engineer said that skilled migrants use the Indian government and the tax money of poor people in public sector universities to lower the cost of their degrees:

“It is more motivating feeling for them to serve the people of their own country who need us in this crucial time.

Similarly, another participant argued that the attraction of money and career could not motivate him to settle into other cities, and he was more than happy to serve to the people of the local city where he was born and started his life journey with the support of a social network:

“That’s why I want to live and work and utilize my skill for nation development. I want to live and serve the people of my country because it is the best way to contribute to the prosperity and growth of my nation”.

These shared experiences show that highly skilled workers are loyal to the social welfare and serving people in their own country. The social conditions for non-migration were shared by a radiologist:

“During my life journey from childhood to doctor, the people of my city supported me to obtain my educational dreams. Now, the time has come to return the love and care to all those people and families who contributed to my successful career. I strongly believe that the attraction of money and career cannot motivate me to settle into other cities in any other country. I am more motivated to serve my social network who contributed to my success”.

India is a developing country with a high level of poverty, low human capital due to the brain drain, a lack of water and sanitation, and many health issues. As a result, most people live below the poverty line and are unable to afford education and health facilities. Many of the participants elected to stay in India and were happy to serve the social welfare by working in charities. Overall, they showed loyalty, love and happiness to serve social welfare rather than settling into other countries for their own interests. How non-migration can develop integration was shared by a male cardiologist:

“There are many people from my social network who have completed their degree from government funding, public tax money, or resources of this country.

However, when the time comes to serve the country, they apply for overseas jobs for settlement. Due to this there is an increase in the brains drain, this leads to low skilled capital”.

The above data sheds light on people who belong to the lower economic families. They have more intention to migrate to support their families, and also want to improve the lives of their families back in India and their children's future. However, this is not the case for all. The above quotation mentions that the professional received a lot of love and support from his family that pulled him to stay in the city to serve the people who helped him become a doctor. Therefore, economic support from society, family and relatives works both ways to push migration and non-migration decisions for skilled professionals.

5.4.1 Social conditions governing the process of non-migration

Social context can influence skilled workers’ decisions, because social factors govern the processes of migration and non-migration. An IT engineer shared how the health of his parents affected the process:

“There was a lack of healthcare and no one to look after my parents when they faced health issues, as they needed to complete for medication, food, and other help”.

Social responsibility and obligation for their parents increases for skilled migrants. If their parents do not want to migrate, there is a moral and social responsibility to help them rather than going to other countries for personal interests.

Another family condition for non-migration was shared by a male software developer:

“I am the only son of my mother. My mother is sick; therefore, I have to look after her health. I had opportunities to settle into other countries, and most of my friends have availed these opportunities. However, my mother declined to go with me, and I could not leave my mother especially when she is unable to take her medicine and food timely. In-fact, it is my moral and family responsibility to care about the health of my mother. I am happy with my mother in India”.

It is very clear from the above quotation that the number of family members and the gender composition are essential factors pulling professionals to look after their families. The participant quoted above stated that he was the only son of his mother, and wanted to look after her rather than go abroad. There is a need to consider that his mother may have been happy to

live in her home country, and therefore these kinds of professionals are careful to look after their parents.

Another condition was shared by a male cloud engineer:

“My mother has died, and my father has permanent disability issue for many years. There is no one other than me who can care for him in this crucial time. So, I never think to migrate to any other country without leaving my father. I am happy as I am running a private clinic in my home where I can look after my father and able to decide my flexible working schedule. On the other hand, in other countries I did not avail opportunities of the private clinic as it requires massive investment and lengthy process”.

Social pull factors govern the non-migration process, as shared by an IT engineer:

“My father died when I was a child. I am only the son, and there are five sisters in my family. As an older brother or male guardian of my whole family, it is my obligation to complete their education to get high skills, search for a good life partner, and pay all the expenses for their social and economic needs. Although I can settle into a foreign country, my sisters cannot come with me. Nowadays, the cases of rape and sexual harassment increased in my country, hence I cannot leave them alone to secure my future”.

This participant said that the private clinic provides more flexibility in his working hours so he can look after his father who is disabled. Conversely, it would not be easy to run a private clinic or adjust his working hours to the needs of his father if he tried to settle in any other country. It seems the participants were happy to look after the health of their parents, especially when there was no one else to look after the family:

“I belong to rich family, and I am the only daughter in my family. My two brothers are doctors who have opened a small hospital in our city. In our family, most of the decisions are taken by males, such as my father and brothers. I have a dependency on their decisions. My brothers want that I should serve in our family hospital rather than migrating to any foreign country. I love my brothers and my family who always supported me. I do not want to go against their wish as they want to see me in my family hospital in India”.

Analysing the interviews reveals that male power and influence is more common in the culture of Indian families. For example, the migration decision for women is dependent on their male family members. Most women accept the wishes of their male family members and work in their local family businesses. A wealthy family status, the social or political identity of a life partner, and social recognition in the local area are some of the reasons to serve the people freely in India rather than choosing the attraction of other countries. One participant said:

“My husband has a strong social and political identity. He has won many elections and been selected as a minister in the Indian government. Due to his interests and social identity in India, I never think to move from this country as people always give us a lot of respect and social recognition. We have a rich family background, and I am practising my duty in a charity hospital freely, as we have not any children as well as feeling secure, comfortable and safe in India”.

This is the opposite to the people discussed before, in that they have much respect in society and hence little intention to migrate to the UK. These higher social and economic classes already have social status in society that gives them institutional privilege, as discussed in the first theme.

A male IT engineer said that the friends in their social network shared stories regarding the busy social and professional life in developed countries such as Australia, Canada and the UK. The social connections of skilled Indian workers may make them choose not to migrate to the UK, because of the challenging or busy life. A female software developer said:

“Many of my friends are settled into Australia, Canada and the UK. They shared how their busy lives have negatively influenced the socialization. They shared that due to maintaining their social status and luxury life, they have become earning machines. They shared that after retirement, there is a fear of isolation as most of the people of their family are busy getting to their dreams. Therefore, I preferred to live in my own country where people have time for social gathering and care for each other. I am earning enough money as well as able to spend more time with my family”.

Another participant said:

“Many of my friends returned from the UK as they missed their parents who are not ready to leave their homeland even when their sons and daughters can sponsor them. I also have the same thinking as I do not want to leave my parents and friends, especially when I have resources, power, respect and status here”.

Another participant said:

“We migrated jointly to the UK but found such low socialization, more financial burden, and tough organizational life, therefore, we jointly took a decision to go back to India where we can take family and social blessing”.

The social ties of professionals with social groups, parents and families motivate them to stay at home rather than to go abroad. Economically privileged families are well established socially, therefore they do not have any ideas of migration in the family because collectively

they are well off in the context of economics and social status. It is essential to consider the gender composition of families, as males have more family responsibilities. The male and female composition of the family impacts the migration and non-migration decisions of professionals. The participant quoted above said that he had five sisters, and responsibility for them, due to the lack of security for females in India.

As identified, some participants prefer to stay in their home country to look after their families rather than go abroad. These social conditions of the family pull back those of lower economic or social status. This explains that the non-migration decisions of highly skilled professionals are based on giving priority to parental care and responsibility rather than their own lives or professional development. Many participants preferred to looking after their parents or families. Some highly skilled professionals stated that, as males, they had to act as guardians for women. It was their responsibility to support their sisters' education and life settlement. It is evident from these interviews that social evils such as sexual harassment and rape have increased in India. Therefore, it is not a wise decision to leave sisters alone and migrate to another country for personal interests.

5.4.2 Labour market conditions governing the process of non-migration

The skill levels of family members and the skillsets of husbands and wives are essential factors governing the migration process. This section discusses the labour market for various skills in India that contribute to the social conditions for families to stay in India or migrate. Indeed, labour market factors are socially constructed, and become the social conditions for lower skilled females to work securely in India. Additionally, it is socially constructed to find a reasonable job for females in India. Therefore, the role of the labour market is directly linked with the social factors of society, which provide different opportunities for males and females. Labour market factors influence skilled workers' decisions not to migrate from India. The participants discussed how high level brain drain creates value for human capital, low competition and permanent designations. A male cardiologist expressed this:

“Many of my friends and I are happy to serve the people of India. There are many permanent designations available for doctors. My doctor friends and I are earning good salaries and other benefits as per the capacity of the local market. We can find jobs in many urban cities, and there is no pressure for transfer because of low human capital and high rate of brain drain in India. I think due to more brain drain the value of human capital increased in the job market compared to the past. Therefore, we never think to migrate into other countries as we are more comfortable to work within our country”.

There are a lot of job opportunities for qualified doctors in the current Indian labour market. These jobs are available in cities where the facilities are better and there is no pressure to transfer. Many Indian migrants settle in Canada, New Zealand and the UK, increasing the brain drain and creating more attractive jobs, especially for doctors. One participant said:

“I have completed my MBBS degree and specialization from the best medical institute of my country. Although the career development opportunities are low still, we are earning handsome perks due to low competition and high brain drain. I have no desire to earn more or achieve further education by migrating to other countries. Most of my friends have chosen to migrate and settle in Canada, New Zealand and the UK but am happy to serve for the people of my country”.

Another participant said:

“I belong to a well-settled family; therefore, my father opened a private hospital for me where I can serve poor people at low cost. My family and I want to serve the people of our country, and we are happy that many families’ economic needs are fulfilled due to this investment”.

From the above quotation it is evident that the economic and social conditions of the family act to support the professionals and encourage them to stay in their home country because the wealth of the family supports the individual family members to stay with them rather than to do the job abroad.

It is common for there to be lawsuits from patients and employers against employees. Practice and prescription methods entail a lot of paperwork:

“Listing these experiences, I made my mind I am happy working where I am. Also, I cannot afford the cost of lengthy migration procedures as I have more family obligations. It is easier and more comfortable for me to enjoy my professional life in India”.

It is interesting to find from the data that some skilled professionals base their decisions on the strict organizational policies and employment rules in the UK, because they feel more comfortable in their own country. This condition pulls them to non-migration. The researcher highlights that these types of professionals belong to the higher social classes with economic status in India. They have institutional privilege that gives them the confidence to stay in their own country rather than migrate. The higher social classes are treated differently by institutions than the lower social and economic classes.

The labour market governed the non-migration decision of one male IT consultant:

“As some professionals are working in a multinational company in India as well as giving time to my family business after job hours. Therefore, I am earning from multiple income sources”.

So, they never thought of settling abroad for any career prospects. Another participant said that they:

“... have only one brother who looks after our family business full time”.

These types of professionals feel responsible for supporting the business or family. They are professionals who are economically and socially strong, and have less intention to migrate. Some earn income from multiple sources (local businesses and excellent jobs in multinational companies), and therefore these types of professionals do not think of migrating. Sources of income and social stability act as pull factors for non-migration

One participant shared how their social network abroad shared stories about strict organizational policies, rules and regulations, and legal procedures for doctors. From the experiences shared, there were familiar stories about lawsuits from employers and patients against doctors in foreign countries, which increased the stress and pressure in the workplace. Conversely, the doctors felt more accessible and comfortable in Indian hospitals as there were many social stories where doctors had freedom of treatment. Social networks governed the migration process for a male doctor who said:

“There are many of my friends working abroad, and they shared how there are tough organizational policies, rules and regulations, and legal procedures for doctors”.

5.5 Main theme 3 - Organizational factors as conditions

Table 5-3: Organizational structure as a condition that governs migration to the UK

Key Words	Sub-Theme/Codes	Main-Theme
Centralized power Job autonomy Organizational politics Workplace facilities Value for suggestions Interactive communication Funding Empowerment Culture Recognition Intersectional identities	Organizational Structure	Institutional Factors
Limited social spaces Brain abuse Wastage of human capital Power and influence Organizational event Peoples habits and values Social cultural norms Self-respect Professional network Social and cultural norms	Organizational Social System	
Career path More skilled and diversified labour Skill development More learning and knowledge Resource richness Bilateral recognition International experience Career mobilization Personal development Experience of professionals	Career Development	

The focus of the previous themes is the social conditions that relate to the whole lives of family and friends. Family circumstances, social factors and the institutional context push or pull migration and non-migration decisions. These institutional social contexts are the social factors which impact on institutional settings for individuals' whole lives. Nevertheless, the focus of this theme is the organizational factors and skills that match organizational structures. The discussion includes the organizational factors that impact highly skilled Indians when they join organizations. Centralized decision making has many adverse outcomes. For example, decisions limited to top management create lower level workplace changes, similar tasks,

wastage of human capital, lack of employee involvement, more chance of unfairness and more chance of work overload.

Organizational politics negatively influenced the career growth and opportunities of a male IT professional:

“I have worked many years in a public organization in India. What I experienced and faced is that the decision making powers are fully centralized and there is high politics and resistance even when the intention is positive like technology and workplace changes in our organization. In fact, the culture of a public organization is promoted collectivism, organizational politics and resistance. Due to these barriers, the wastage of human capital is very high as we are unable to take decision and learn new things. I was worried about my personal development and growth. Organizational structure and infrastructure offer career aspirations and opportunities in the UK”.

It is clear from the above quotation that organizational structure governs the migration process to the UK. Previous themes show how strong political and social institutions impact organizational culture derived through centralized power which pushes highly skilled workers from India. The quote above reveals the strong impact of organizational structure on the migration decision of a highly skilled worker. The organizational structure includes all the factors which negatively influence the working life of highly skilled professionals, who are more satisfied with the organizational experience in the UK than in India.

A female doctor shared how organizational structure governed her migration process, as job autonomy, empowerment and centralized decision making were prominent in the public sector organizations of India:

“I got resentment with this system. This condition governs migration process where the structure is supportive and flexible for every employee equally”.

Similarly, a male doctor said:

“I have ten years of experience in a reputed public hospital in Mumbai. My job autonomy was very limited, and I felt my learning had been stopped as I am doing routine tasks, whereas my friends’ skills are much improved who are working in top hospitals in the UK”.

The working environment in public hospitals is not very supportive, as all decisions are very controlled, and the power always remains at the top. This shows that highly skilled professionals are more interested in autonomy, learning and fair opportunities for personal

development. However, the centralized culture of Indian organizations becomes disheartening as does the lack of opportunities within organizations along with ineffective organizational structure and wastage of their skills and career opportunities.

Recognition and stress in the workplace are also factors that influence the decision making of migrants. Initially, highly skilled workers faced stressful situations due to working condition, as shared by a female front-end developer working under pressure in an IT firm:

“I could not give time to my family and was struggling with work life balance. Due to lot of investment in a house, I couldn’t change my job suddenly but I wanted a stress-free work life with equal opportunity and recognition. This condition pushed me to take the decision of migration to the UK”.

This quote shows how all people have different social expectations of society and organizations. They fulfil their economic needs through their jobs only. The skills level of the wife and husband should be highly respected and they should receive fair treatment within organizations. Some respondents shared how their colleagues exchanged working stories about educational funding, equal career growth opportunities, fairness in the workplace and infrastructure quality, which were important structural features of their employers in the UK. An IT professional said:

“5 years ago I came to the UK with my family. Working in India me and my wife had many ups and down related to working conditions which influenced our career growth. We experienced that the organizational structure such as supervision, allocation of tasks and work overload, and involvement of employee is very limited in organizational tasks. We felt that the system was not employee friendly and had no value for human capital like us”.

A female doctor shared the social factors:

“I worked so hard and through my potential for self-respect, recognition and empowerment at my job but was disappointed and not at all happy because of abusive supervision and traditional workplace practices such as more politics and centralized decision power. This situation was very frustrating and I spent many years in stress. My colleagues admired performance and patience. This condition governs migration process to the UK, that will give self-respect and value for skills”.

The highly skilled workers shared stories with their Indian networks, and more people became interested in migrating due to the high level of employee empowerment, equal opportunities and more promotion opportunities than in Indian organizations. A male anaesthesiologist said:

"I am serving in UK hospitals for 15 years, and I am delighted, especially the way the structure and culture are supportive concerning funding for future research and personal development, the recognition of work and employee empowerment. Equal opportunities and promotion structure is motivating. I shared all organizational experience with skilled professional friends in India that govern them to take migration decision to the UK".

The organizational system is abused by political agents which results in the highly skilled facing a lack of self-respect and autonomy to make decisions on the job, which becomes a frustration for them and a push factor for their migration decisions. Some of the highly skilled participants discussed their autonomy, self-respect and frustration with their colleagues, which became a significant reason for a group to migrate together. This type of discussion during regular jobs also impacts organizational culture and values, because of the increasing trend for migration among highly skilled professionals. The participants argued that they wanted to enhance their skills, learning, knowledge and workplace experience, which is not possible in public sector organizations in India. Therefore, they continuously search for opportunities which can open up new horizons for the future.

Highly skilled professionals have the intention of professional development and growth rather than economic progress. The organizational culture in India disappoints highly skilled professionals in the context of personal and professional growth. Additionally, recognition and self-respect are essential factors for highly skilled Indians, but the local organizational culture is based on favouritism and is highly political. Highly skilled professionals are not given the autonomy to make their own decisions on the job, but are influenced by political agents in society, which is a terrible experience for many doctors in India.

The research explores the social conditions that govern the migration and non-migration processes of Indian doctors and IT professionals to the UK. The data reveal skilled professional who are not happy with the centralized organizational culture in India, and migrated professionals who are happy with the organization culture, learning opportunities, personal opportunities and professional opportunities in organizations in the UK. Highly skilled professionals want autonomy and power to make their own decisions, because they believe they are highly skilled so therefore should be autonomous to take decisions in the workplace. The culture in India is fully politicized and centralized, such that organizational social conditions are a push factor for migration decisions. The recognition of work and employee empowerment is very high, therefore the level of justice is very high and everyone has equal opportunities for education and promotion.

5.5.1 The impact of organizational social systems on the migration decisions of highly skilled professionals

The primary objective under this theme is to explore the social context of organizations. This section discusses the social system of organizations which impact highly skilled professionals and govern their migration process to the UK. The interviewees shared many factors and conditions related to organizational social systems. The professional network of an employer can be used to understand the people, habits and routines. If there is a high level of social space, colleagues do not try to become involved in the personal lives of others. Discussions within professional networks positively influence social and organizational experiences and knowledge about social skill enhancement programmes. A male IT manager shared how organizational social systems governed his migration decision:

“I have a group of professional networks, and we love to create social gatherings at the organizational place before and after our job timing. We always tried to share our social and organizational experiences which are useful to enhance our knowledge concerning medical practices as well as social skills enhancement programmes. There are many organizational-based workshops which proved helpful to understand the social and cultural norms of diversified skilled labour in the UK”.

This skilled worker's conditions led him to quit a permanent job due to a lack of human capital value and career development opportunities in the Indian labour market. The respondents shared many experiences related to organizational social systems which governed their processes of migration and non-migration. For example, many revealed how social and other welfare programmes enhanced their experiences in diversified workplace settings.

A male physician discussed organizational problems:

“Today, I am satisfied because a few years back, I decided to migrate from India due to organizational problems in a government hospital. I was facing more brain abuse, working under the influence of low skilled superiors with less knowledge and experience”.

This condition left with him with no option but migration to the UK, where a structure based on knowledge and experience could develop his skills. The level of social support, social awareness, future orientation and planning are completely different in the UK and India.

The social freedom experienced by those working in organizations in the UK was quite different from Indian organizational culture. The main reason for migration for women working in India was unequal treatment and uncomfortable conditions:

“I faced a lot of sexual comments, but there were no further steps to stop any disciplinary action. Compared to India, and I am happy working in the UK, over here, rules are strict, and working colleagues have the sense to behave with women. There is an appreciation for our point of view and we are valued respectfully”.

This highly skilled female was satisfied with the organizational culture in the UK due to equal opportunity and a lack of gender discrimination. Another respondent shared how the lack of professional networking in the UK can create issues around language, awareness of the social and cultural setting, stress, tension, social preferences for rental homes, support and many other things, especially for the partner:

“Most of the time we are using the local language as well as more understanding about the social and cultural norms in a city or province where we are born, complete education, and get some job experience”.

Several participants mentioned that they had more respect, autonomy and recognition of their efforts in the UK as compared to India. These participants said that they were happier because of the environment of the organizations in the UK. The mobility of skilled labour can be considered valuable in both India and the UK. Although it is increasing the brain drain or brain abuse in India, it offers the initial outlet for families to improve their standard of living, education and knowledge.

Organizational conditions like brain abuse, high inflation and social polarization are common reasons to raise job competition and social inequalities in India. The rate of highly skilled migration is increasing day by day. It is evident from the interviews that the way their colleagues and other employees look at women makes them feel uncomfortable. A skilled female worker who had registered many complaints against the colleagues who tried to harass her said that the uncomfortable working conditions were the main reason which forced her to migrate. She shared that she felt more comfortable working in a UK-based organization, as people knew the limitations of the workplace, and no one interfered in the personal lives of others. An IT engineer said that, in the UK, people have their own social spaces.

The findings reveal that brain abuse, power, influence, decision making, and waste of social capital are prominent issues for highly skilled workers in India. Corporate and social power remains in a few social, organizational and religious forces, which can use that power either positively or against those who are not doing work as per their wishes. The level of social and organizational fairness is very high, and highly skilled labour are ready to leave their home country.

An incident was shared by male doctor working in a city:

“I believe that brain abuse and wastage of human capital is more prominent as we are unable to create our own ways to complete tasks. The decision power always remains in few hands, the level of brain abuse is very high especially in public sector hospitals in India. Even after migration to the UK, I have seen many ups and downs with respect to understanding social and cultural norms of diversified social capital, but they are happy that their social welfare system has many programmes which helps us to learn about social and cultural programmes without worrying about the financial burden”.

This incident implies that, for professionals, the first issue is autonomy and brain abuse in India. The UK that has generated brain accumulation as more highly skilled labourers arrive with the purpose of improving their skills, specialties, diverse ideas, organizational effectiveness, performance, creativity and innovation. Skilled professionals are ultimately improving the standard of living and quality of life.

5.5.2 Career development attraction of the UK governing migration

The attraction of career development in the UK is due to its international exposure. The country puts the value of learning new technologies and practices, soft skills and personal development over monetary value. India’s highly skilled workers prefer to get an international education and exposure in order to create career development opportunities. Career exposure is a factor in the migration process, as shared by a female gynaecologist:

“I have extensive working experiences and educational achievements of Indian medical organizations. I wanted career growth by completing a post-doctorate from the UK as well as improve my skills in a diversified environment, where there is a diversified high skilled labour force from the reputed institutes of the world, high standards and best medical practice, high level of technology usage, as well as more resource for research, compared to India. I applied for a job as a physician and completed my degree while working”.

This explains the importance of goals and career prospects which govern the process of migration to the UK to achieve higher educational degrees and international exposure. The interviews reveal that Indian educational degrees have bilateral recognition, which makes it easy to have career mobility from India to the UK.

International exposure worked as a push factor for a doctor whose father and brother had been settled in the UK for many years:

“After completing a medical degree and practising for many years in India. My family invited me to join them in the UK. Initially, I could not migrate due to my children's education and my job contract. The purpose of my migration is to get international exposure which can improve skills, career growth and development opportunities. After a few years, I will go back to India and start a private hospital. My intention is to serve and make sure healthcare reaches a rural part of India”.

This factor, highlighting a strong financial background and family status, was a pull factor for this skilled doctor who migrated for international exposure, qualification and experience. This is common in socially, economically and politically successful families, because they have privilege in the society that pulls them to stay in India rather than spend life as an immigrant in another country. The findings highlight the migrant connection with the social capital of the UK which can reduce the cost and risk of migration.

The professional connections in the UK can create social support, especially when they share resources, knowledge, information and strategies. Many respondents said that they were financially stable and happy:

“I am a divorced woman who has the responsibilities to take care of my parents who are old and ill. As a single child of my parents, all the responsibilities are on me. With my parent's care, I wanted to extend my career growth as well by getting international experiences in top organizations in the UK. After working and getting the experience, I am planning to return to India to look after my parents. My parents wanted to live their remaining life in India and wanted me to get married again while they are alive”.

These conditions were shared by male physician working in a top hospital in India:

“Where I saw how my senior colleagues gained experience for years, and then applied for jobs in the UK. Although our pay was high compared to other doctors of hospitals in India, we lacked in international exposure as well as limited use of advanced medical-related technology. My parents and fiancé motivated me to go abroad for a few years, so that I can fulfil my dream to work

abroad. I will return home soon, and I will open a private clinic for poor people where they can take medical treatment at the lowest cost in India”.

This reflects how migration is a collective decision. Initially, this participant was happy with their salary. However, most of the professionals were not happy with the organizational culture. Personal development and career growth is lacking in Indian organizations which pushes the highly skilled to migrate to the UK. Personal development, skills development, career path and resource richness are some of the factors that attract highly skilled labour to migrate from India (a developing country) to the UK (a developed country) either temporarily or permanently.

A highly skilled Indian worker preferred to migrate for international exposure, skills and career development:

“We both (husband and wife) are working in top positions in the IT sector in India. Unfortunately, we always felt that we have not enough experience, exposure and skills compared to those who are below us in educational achievement but migrated to the UK and enjoying better careers than us. Their language, skills, experiences, social life and financial worth increased compared to us. We have applied and got selected in reputed organizations of the UK. These conditions motivated us to migrate to achieve personal skills development that is not possible in India”.

This couple shared how their colleagues’ skills and experience improved, colleagues who were lacking educational and organizational achievements in India. Therefore, they were enthusiastic about improving their own knowledge, skills, learning, education and international experience by getting a higher degree from a reputable medical institute. Improved learning and practical experience from well-reputed organizations, enhancing the relationship with diversified human capital, and exploring new cultures are some of the reasons for migration of highly skilled professionals in India.

There are significant factors to consider in any migration decision, including family responsibility, permission from parents, foreign experience and career development. It is hard for a single child who becomes a highly skilled professional to stay abroad when they might prefer to look after their family. For some of the migrants who were single children, if they migrated the intention was only to achieve personal growth and experience. These kinds of migrants had more intention of going back to India because of their responsibility to look after their parents. The findings highlight how some highly skilled professionals migrate for

international experience in the UK's diversified workforce, with its high standards and best organizational practice, high level of technology and resource richness.

The data reveal limited career opportunities and professional development opportunities in Indian organizations that push highly skilled professionals to migrate to the UK. Indian organizations show high appreciation for anyone with international exposure and foreign qualifications. Therefore, moving to the UK is a short-term migration plan for many highly skilled Indians. However, migrants have the intention to return more quickly if they have high political, social and economic status pulling them back to the home country.

Other family circumstances such as being a single child, having both parents, having the husband's permission and strong social ties are also pull factors towards India. Therefore, high social, political or economic status are considered pull factors. Parental permission, husband's permission and being a single child are also social conditions that cause some of the highly skilled to stay in India.

5.6 Main theme 4 - Labour market factors as conditions that govern migration to the UK

Table 5-4: Labour market as institutional conditions

Key Words	Sub-Theme/Codes	Main Theme
Intensified global competition More opportunities for primary jobs Permanent posts skill underutilization Opportunities for skills transformation Minimum wages qualifying Transferable skill Access to job Labour market crisis Value of human capital Shortfalls in the home market	Employment Structure	Labour Market
Social benefits Social welfare programmes Social development Social identity in the host country Housing policies Talents power Productivity Skill-specific Immigrant perception Career competence Soft skill acquisition	Social System	
Points-based tier Specific skilled programme Mobility of skilled professionals Brain accumulation Licensed sponsor Certificate of sponsorship Fast track' routes Cost of migration Time for citizenship Immediate employability Skill shortage Job contingency Legal requirement	Immigration Policies	

The labour market leads the process of migration and non-migration of highly skilled Indian professionals to the UK. Under this theme, the study reports all the labour market circumstances that influence the decisions of highly skilled labour concerning push and pull factors of migration and non-migration. These labour market factors are divided into three

categories: employment structure, immigration policy and social system. Employment structure relates to the points of view of the respondents about what they experienced, especially tertiary jobs in the context of skill underutilization in the UK. Immigration policies concerns the highly skilled workers' skills, financial positions, levels of experience, levels of partner skills, integration into society and family settlement. All these issues can create stress, fear and tension in the initial period of settlement. Social system concerns how the social system of the UK is considered attractive or a pull factor for the migration of highly skilled IT professionals and doctors.

5.6.1 Comparison of the employment structure of the labour market in the UK and India for highly skilled professionals

A comparison of the employment structure of the labour market in the UK and India is made for highly skilled labour. These are motivational and demotivational factors for IT professionals and doctors, which govern the process of migration or non-migration from India. We see a huge difference in the workforce distribution between India and the UK. The Indian labour market is more dependent on agriculture than the UK, which is dependent primarily on the service sector. This employment structure supports the skilled workforce better than in India, according to a male IT network engineer:

“I experienced that there is highly intensified job competition especially as most migrants are highly skilled labour. But market structure and support from the organization and government is excellent. Compared to India, in the UK I have everything secured even after my job or any financial loss. These supportive measures from the government governs the migration process, to work in a stable and ensured market”.

This experience, shared by a skilled professional, relates to the employment structures of India and the UK, where they receive support from organizations and the government. Other skilled professionals shared the situation of job loss and the search for another suitable job which brought many challenges and financial obligations. However, it is a critical situation for the job market when the highly skilled do jobs which waste their skills, which may be called brain abuse, no matter whether the duration of these primary and secondary jobs is short or long.

A male physician said:

“I have served many years on contract for private hospitals, although I tried to search for permanent posts, the numbers are limited, and the job competition is very high due to intensified global competition”.

Although the UK government has implemented a minimum wage, everyone believed in job rotation, especially when rotation brought financial and career growth benefits. One participant said of job rotation:

“I have more opportunities to transform and learn new skills as per the requirements of team culture and projects, use of technology, mission, and organizational goals”.

The data show that the number of permanent government jobs is very limited in the UK as more people try to get secured jobs. The social and other benefits are high compared to contractual private jobs.

The shortage of human capital is a crisis in India, which negatively influences organizational productivity, performance, innovation and effectiveness. Employment structures were discussed by a male doctor:

“The access to jobs, online recruitment system, and rules and regulations are very fair; therefore, most highly skilled people are interested in migration. On the other hand, the shortfall of skills is increasing as developed countries like the UK have skills accumulation whereas the productivity, innovation, and service delivery of service sector organizations are decreasing in the home country”.

This opportunity for continuous skill up-grading with the support of organizations was also discussed by a female IT engineer:

“Labour market conditions govern the migration process, such as labour market crises, inflation, and rising numbers of the population in India. Another thing is that educational credentials and transferable skills are common among skilled labour because the UK and other countries are modifying their immigration policies as per the requirements of the labour market. So that it can enhance the number of employees as well as the investment in under-developed or less populated areas”.

According to the respondents' experiences, the number of tertiary and quaternary jobs (i.e. doctors and IT sector jobs) is limited, especially in public sector organizations. On the other hand, the number of primary and secondary jobs are very high because there is high demand and low supply. The high number of primary and secondary jobs in the UK creates chances to earn quick money through temporary jobs, and there is a high number of primary and secondary jobs because of labour shortfalls in the market. Once doctors and engineers have some experience in a diversified culture, they find there is more value of human capital as well as

access to jobs. The level of job competition is very high in UK organizations which recruit and replace staff due to maintaining costs and other administrative expenses. The interview data reveal how skilled Indian migrants suffer due to job competition and initial settlement challenges. The highly skilled workers shared how it is challenging to search for permanent jobs in the UK, but job rotation provides learning and skills enhancement.

Due to job rotation, the level of skills, personal development and experiences have improved for skilled professionals. Some respondents said the access to jobs, online recruitment systems, minimum wage system, workplace rules, regulations and policies were more encouraging than in India. However, the accumulation of skills significantly improves organizational productivity, performance, innovation and effectiveness in the UK.

The migration of highly skilled Indian workers has led to a brain drain and skills shortfall in the Indian market, because highly skilled workers prefer to migrate due to the wage differential, career aspirations, improved job experiences, better education and other benefits. The UK labour market is much more attractive for highly skilled professionals than India, because it provides fair recruitment, good compensation, equal opportunities and attractive liberal market factors. The previous themes suggest that the migration process is not governed by a single event in life, but develops throughout the life-cycle of individuals and their family conditions. The pull factors play an essential role in governing migration and non-migration processes.

5.6.2 Social systems in the UK as a condition that governs the migration process

The social system of the UK for immigrants includes details of social communities, networks, the welfare system, housing policy, and the perception of immigration. For example, the respondents mentioned that they found the UK-based Indian community very supportive of skilled professionals. A male neurosurgeon said:

“There are many specific locations or cities in the UK, where the number of immigrants from Asian countries is very high. Initially, I settled in one of those places where my colleagues and other relatives are living. I did not feel any isolation as these Indian communities help celebrate the religious and cultural festivals as well as social gathering every weekend. Furthermore, I participated in these social gathering and found the contact number of many highly skilled professionals who have useful information and knowledge about social welfare programs and housing information”.

An IT developer experienced support mostly from native Indians settled in the UK, and that active participation in social programmes made integrating into society familiar:

“We become the part of their family or society due to similar social, cultural and religious norms, values and practices. My friends were supportive and helpful because they guided throughout my settlement process”.

These factors definitely motivated the respondents and made them feel they were always protected by their people. However, the interviewees fully believed in the corrupt traditional conditions pushing the migration process to the UK. There would also be the reason of social discrimination in India versus the UK. Social connections with Indian communities plays a vital role in the initial settlement period. One male cardiologist spoke about contacts with other professionals who helped them to share local information related to housing, education and career development:

“I migrated due to social quality of life is much advanced in the UK compared to India. The UK based Indian communities loved to help significantly skilled labour as they feel that we have excellent skills and knowledge which can prove helpful when they need us. Due to these factors, the doctor has a unique social identity in the local community because their skills are particular and valuable”.

Another participant said:

“My dream was to buy a house in specific areas in London where many of my professional friends were living with the purpose to enjoy valuable infrastructure facilities, social and economic development. I had to face problems due to much-asked prices and down payments. My friends settled in the UK helped me, supporting financially skilled labour as they feel that we have excellent skills and higher social status”.

Doctors have a unique social identity in the local community because their skills are particular and valuable. This reflects how a unique identity in UK-based Indian society can be based on job designation, level of education, salary, specific skills or valuable knowledge. These factors enhance social identity and the responsibility to contribute positively to the welfare of the local community.

A male cyber security officer said:

“I used to see how working in the UK will add value to your social status and life. There is an influence on others working in the UK that attracted me to migrate and to feel positive emotions working and living in the UK. I think a

highly skilled worker has superior value, social capital and human capital. Although there was high career competence when we applied for a job using a tier 2 visa, still there is a shortage of skilled people in some specific locations in the UK”.

This factor of self-identity and personality advancement govern the migration process. The data show that highly skilled Indians would love to stay in their communities where they feel safer compared to living in the local community. We cannot compare the education, security and social system of India versus the UK.

It is interesting to note that most highly skilled Indians still want to live in the Asian community in the UK after they migrate. This means highly skilled Indians feel more comfortable within this society, another social factor of belongingness. However, there is a need to understand whether these highly skilled professionals face social challenges in India, and whether these social conditions are different in the UK. Considering the data from top to bottom, it is apparent that it is as much about the social attachments within society, which also exists within a community and organizations, which pushes them to migrate to the UK.

Lower social classes, families with more females, and economically poorer families have more intention to move to a safer society. Because they feel safer in the UK compared to India, where they are not supported by local institutions or the government. We cannot separate the social system from the local Institutions of both countries. The social system governs the migration process of many skilled professionals in various ways. These social factors play a role in shaping identity and status, and this includes the culture and beliefs of the specific communities which they belong to in India.

5.6.2.1 Immigration policies of the UK governing the process of migration

The focus of this theme is the social conditions that push or pull the migration process to the UK. The immigration policies of the UK for highly skilled immigrants are discussed. The mobility of skilled labour is valuable for both India and the UK. The highly skilled professional participants shared how the UK tier and points-based visa system, the attraction of internal company transfers (ITCs), quick decisions for skilled migrant visas and attractive financial and non-financial packages have created a motivational platform for migration from India to the UK.

Immigration policies govern the migration process. A programme manager described his immigration offer through the UK points-based visa system:

“I work for a UK-based multinational organization in the Gulf-region. The company offered a tier 2 general visa also they supported and helped me in all the process. I think tier 2 visa track routes are very fast as I got an immigration visa in a month, even my other professional friends have got immigration visa decisions within five days by paying an extra £500. The company pays the cost of migration, such as flight ticket and initial living expenses. Working for many years in the company, I feel finally recognized, transferred where I wanted to be in the early years of my working life”.

Western countries’ immigration policies and procedures attract skilled migrants from developing countries. Companies which support the immigration process play a vital role in migration. Of course the immigration requirements need to be satisfied, as per the rules and regulations, which is an essential factor for some employees because they have economic commitments which can push or pull the migration decision.

A female java developer discussed the mobility of skilled workers under specific skills programmes beneficial for both India and the UK. After securing a job in a reputable company in the UK, the process of immigration was speedy:

“I believe the immigration policies are very friendly compared to the USA and Australia. Many colleagues and I have family obligations such as sending remittances to old parents, and other expenses for family maintenance”.

Many organizations and government bodies outsource and recruit skilled migration in STEM fields, which attract human capital from all over the world. Organizations authorized under sponsor licences are allowed by the UK ministry to issue certificates of sponsorship. The UK ministry responsible for immigration has created a straightforward procedure for licensed organizations to fill jobs for which the skills which are not available, and recruit skilled human capital to improve organizational performance. One participant said:

“When I applied for jobs in these organizations, then one of the licensed organizations sent a job offer letter along with a certificate of sponsorship in which they mentioned that they required my services. My sponsor organization conducted my interview and shared how I can migrate within four weeks to the UK. My employer shared legal requirements such as I cannot join any second profession as per the agreed terms and other responsibilities”.

The UK has generated a brain accumulation, as highly skilled labour arrives with the effect of improving skills, specialties, diverse ideas, organizational effectiveness, performance, creativity and innovation. The skilled labour ultimately improves the standards of living in the UK. The interview data reveal that the cost of migration, the attraction of citizenship, handsome salary packages and the value of human capital are factors that govern the migration process. A male web developer said:

“The time of citizenship in the UK is approximately more than five years. I have got citizenship after eight years. At my initial period, the cost of migration for me and my family is not very high as my organization paid an appropriate salary (£40,000 per year) to me. Whereas the limit defined as an appropriate salary for UK immigration is at least £30,000 per year. I think immigration policies are very supportive and helpful to gather intelligence and offer immediate employability, as I immigrated within one month and started my job”.

The UK policies concerning migration were discussed by a skilled IT professional. The initial tier 2 visa is a work permit for five years, following which an immigrant is entitled to apply for settlement:

“I applied for the settlement visa with family and we are living happily. I received guidance from UKBA and other supporting documentation. My employer mentioned how my skills are productive and unique to the company. I think tier 2 visa is very competitive as there is intensified competition, and many skilled professionals are eager to apply due to these attracting policies of the UK government”.

The conditions described by the skilled doctors and IT professionals show how policies attract and support the migration process. Immigration intentions are not single events but processes that can be influenced by immigration policies. Indeed, the immigration process is governed through social conditions. These conditions relate to the overall life-cycle of individuals, families and friends who have a specific social status in India. However, it is worth noting that the immigration policies, such as the fees, processing time, national process and organizational requirements, are essential to attract highly skilled Indians from international local organizations. Hence, these policies can trigger the immigration process. Although they increase the brain drain and shortage of human capital in India, they also offer initial outflows for families staying in India, which increases the quality of living, education and knowledge of these families.

5.7 Discussion

The two primary questions of this research are: What are the social conditions and processes which govern the migration and the non-migration of highly skilled Indian doctors and IT professionals to the UK? and: What are the factors that pull and push highly skilled Indian doctors and IT professionals migration and non-migration to the UK? The significant findings of the thematic analysis are explored in the previous sections. A discussion follows of the patterns of social conditions that affect the migration and non-migration decisions of skilled professionals, intended to achieve the research objective through answering the research questions. The discussion is conducted in the context of social and institutional factors linked to the social conditions of the two countries, rather than considering the migrants or non-migrants as individual social actors. As the family context is a central aspect of society, the discussion starts with the role of the family in the migration and non-migration process, to explore the social conditions from the family system to the entire society.

5.7.1 Family dynamics

The decision for migration or non-migration is not the result of a single event, nor the individual decision of a highly skilled Indian, it is based on the social conditions of the whole family, their family background and the social, economic and political status of the family. Some studies find that, soon after migration, the birth of a child often takes place (Kulu and Milewski, 2007; Andersson, 2004; Cooke, 2007), although it is not clear whether this is particularly the case among the highly skilled. Kley and Mulder (2010) observe that the decision to migrate starts from life events and perceived opportunities. However, they point to other contextual factors which play their parts, such as social inequalities in the home country, economic development, gender equity and cultural values and norms, which influence the migration trajectory particularly and the course of life generally. So, interestingly, the migration decision links back to birth, where a person is born, their ethnicity, their gender, the number of family members, and the social, political and economic status of the family. These social factors impact the response to life events differently in different families. Figure 5-1, below, shows how differences in the social, economic and political status of families and different ethnic groups are affected differently by the same life trajectories. Hence, the same life events lead to different opinions about society, which lead to migration or non-migration later in life.

5.7.2 Social conditions of a family

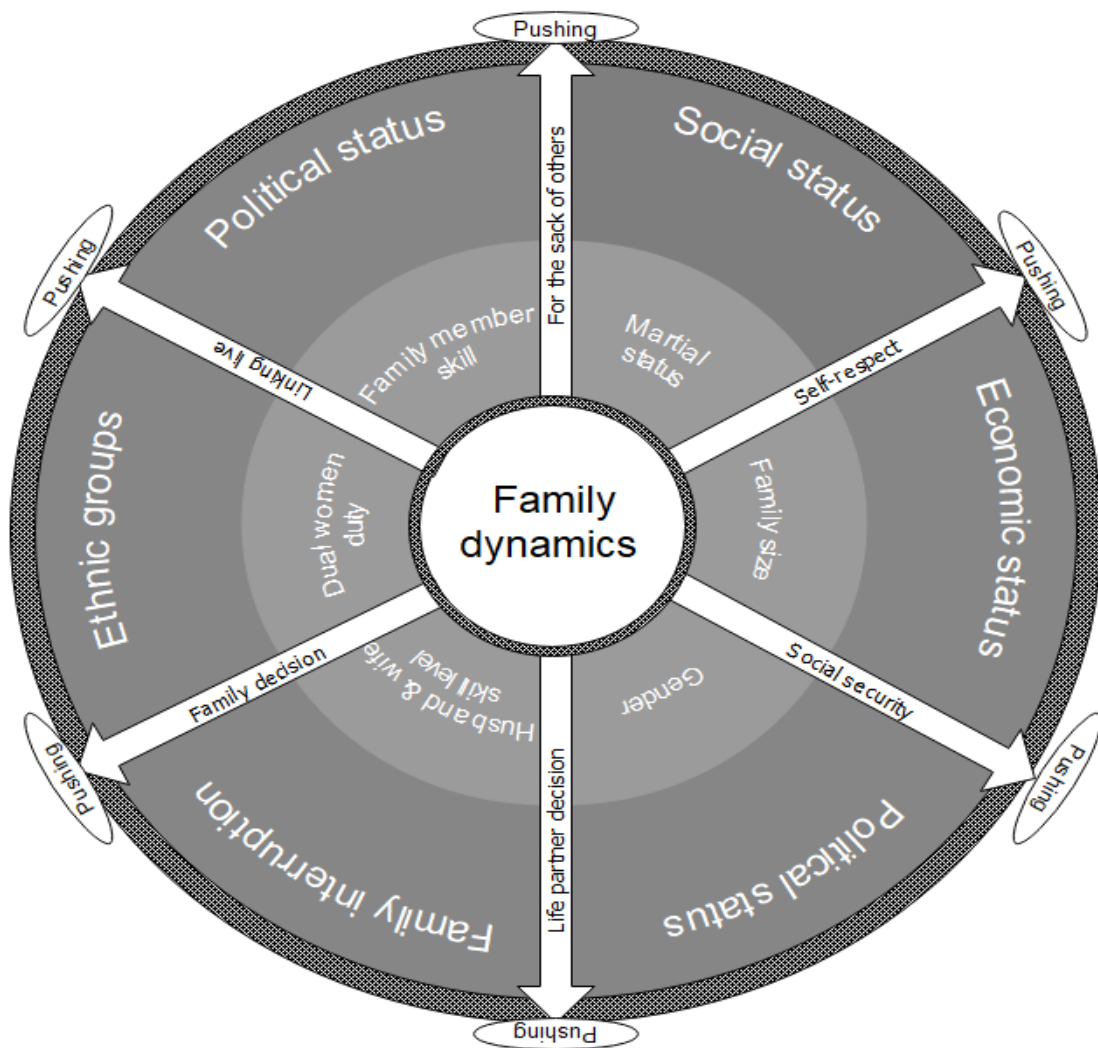


Figure 5-1: Social conditions of a family

Lifetime experiences, from childhood to maturity, influence migration and non-migration. The findings show multiple family, social, environmental, ethnic, economic, and political circumstances which shape the experiences of highly skilled individuals, and govern their migration decisions, as shown in Figure 5-1 and discussed later in this section. The details of the ethnic, social, political and economic statuses of the family are discussed in the next section of this chapter.

As discussed in previous literature, life events act as push factors for professionals to migrate from developing countries to developed countries. However, there is a lack of understanding of how positive or negative life experiences in the home country push them towards a migration decision. There is also lack of understanding of how positive experiences pull them back

towards their home country rather than migration. As shown in the figure above, family dynamics plays a vital role in migration and non-migration decisions. Family dynamics leads to positive or negative social experiences throughout life, which impact the migration decisions of those who become professionals later in life. This research finds five major factors of family dynamics: the political status, social status, economic status, family pressure and ethnic status of the family. The positive and negative experiences of professionals link back to their family dynamics. For example, the highest status ethnic groups have strong political and economic backgrounds which help them gain access to the labour market and give them positive life experiences in society, while lower ethnic groups suffer lower political, social and economic conditions which negatively impact their experiences, in the same society, and become push factors for migration.

The experiences and life events of highly skilled migrants impact their immigration decisions. The life events of the whole family influence their opinion of Indian society and become the root causes of migration or non-migration. In other words, the life events of the whole family impact the highly skilled family members' migration or non-migration decisions. The reviewed literature discusses life events and the ways other life-course trajectories are determined by changes in individual events and actions occurring in life, as described by Elder (1985) and defined as careers choices by Wilkens (1991). However, these researchers take an individual approach to life events which is limited. The highly skilled individuals covered by this research show that migration is pushed or pulled by collective life events or the life experiences of the whole family. Nevertheless, all this research takes life trajectories as an individual perspective, and considers these trajectories to be a single event leading to a migration decision.

There is, however, a complete life cycle with many different circumstances which can motivate or demotivate highly skilled individuals' migration, but family demographics such as gender, family skill levels, the skills of the husband and wife, and the number of family members play a vital role, as discussed later in this section. Therefore, it is essential to understand the life events which influence highly skilled Indian migrants and non-migrants. The response to life events and the experiences of those with different life trajectories, constructed against different social, ethnic and political family backgrounds, is discussed in the next section. This section focuses on the inner section of Figure 5.1, which concerns family demographics, shown in Figure 5-2, below.

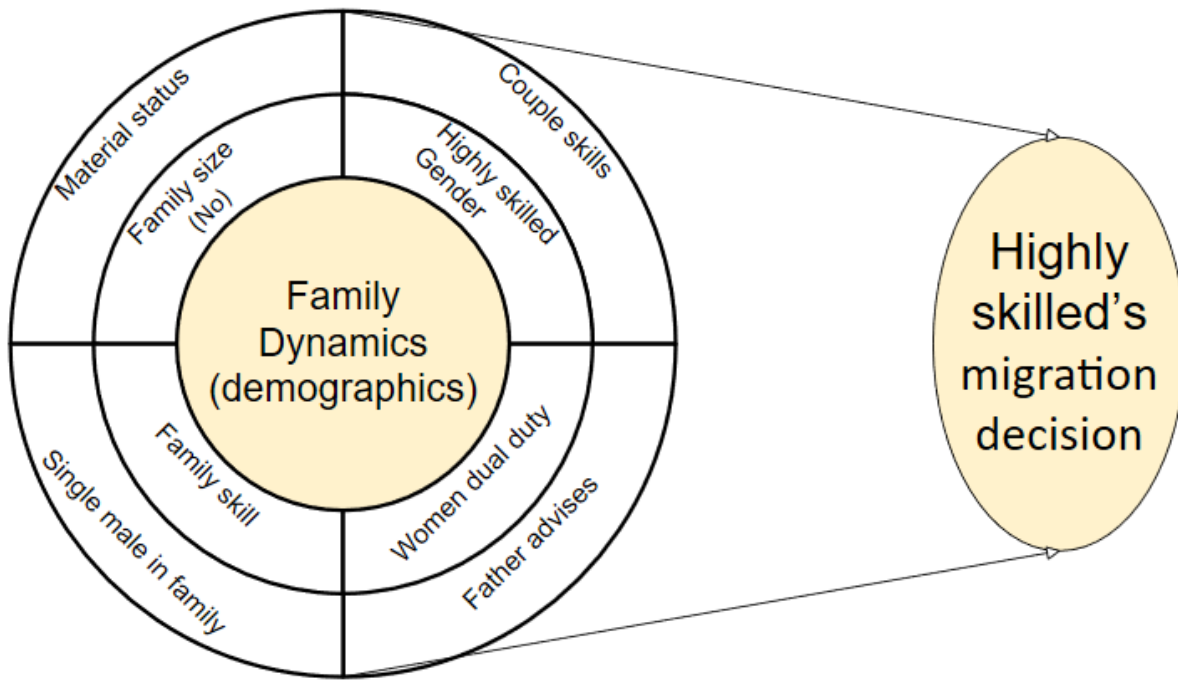


Figure 5-1: Family dynamics demographics

The literature review explains that one of the identities of highly skilled immigrants is their gender identity, which both privileges and discriminates (Kofman, 2014). The literature on skilled immigrants mostly discusses the identity of gender. Keeping in mind the image of a skilled immigrant reflected in the policies of organizations, the image for women is as a co-mover, whereas the image for men is as a leader. So, males more dominantly represent the image of a skilled immigrant (Raghuram, 2008; Kofman, 2014). The difficulties faced by women in the host country, based on norms, are termed cumulative disadvantages (Purkayastha, 2005). Livingsage (2009) and Lee (2007) explain that highly skilled migrant women face enormous family and job challenges in the Global North, compared to men. The context of gender from the data shows that a male family member, such as a father, can decide that his son's wife's responsibility is limited to the household (giving birth to children and kitchen responsibilities). She cannot make independent decisions which govern the migration process. The family norms work as push factors in some families to take a migration decision, and this is most common in low caste or economically poor families. In higher social class and wealthier families, women take the decision but have low intention of migration, not only because of the women's independence but also because of their well-established social, economic and political status in society, that act as pull factors for non-migration.

Kou and Bailey (2014) discuss choices related to family life, essential factors for highly skilled migrants. The behavioural responses and objectives related to migration to other countries of skilled women are connected to the social circumstances around them and the agency they hold (Martin and Ramos, 2015). Unfortunately, there is a lack of life events research conducted in the context of skilled migration (Martin and Ramos, 2015). However, some social conditions are identified by this research, including the number of family members, skill levels of the family members and couple's skill level, which are social factors impacting female and male migration decisions. Martin and Ramos, (2015) identify the reasons behind the lack of information regarding the life choices of migrants in further migration, which is significant to their roles in the host society and how their contributions affect the labour market, family trajectories and destination countries' policies, all of which impact some migration decisions. Hence, the central focus of this research is the social conditions that act as push and pull factors for high skilled migration and non-migration decisions. The migration decision is not only related to onetime events, but based on the social conditions of the family, presented in Figure 5-2, above. The figure shows that linked lives, social security, family decisions and migration adopted for the sake of others are push factors for migration, but decisions are also based on the family demographics, represented by the inner circle.

Family demographics play a major role. The factors include the skillsets of couples, the role of the father in the family, overall family skills, the size of the family, marital status, and single males and females in the family, as shown in Figure 5-2. The first and most important factor is the family dynamics, because the family acts as a seed which influences the migration decisions of highly skilled individuals. The findings reveal a joint family system in India which acts as a push factor. Choudhry (2001) asserts that the family, as an institution, is at the core of Indian social structure. By and large, close family ties established through the joint or extended family system of India play a role in migration decisions. A joint family is defined by Lamb (2011) as any multigenerational household that includes one married adult child or a senior parent with partners. These types of family have much involvement in the education and professional development of family members and influence career choices and migration decisions. In the joint family system, there are some contextual factors such as decision making, gender, family size, social and economic status and future family security that create an intention for migration. In families, male guardians such as fathers, elder brothers, uncles and husbands sometimes have more economic responsibilities, which gives them family authority and power to motivate their highly skilled children to migrate. For example, some families have a culture

of migration where the primary family member (i.e. the father) decides that his son must complete an engineering education in the UK, because there are already success stories of family members educated there.

One highly skilled individual revealed that his wife did not have the freedom or independence to choose their professional and personal lives in a joint family system; hence she motivated her husband to go abroad. The extended family of this highly skilled individual wanted to stay in India, and after some international exposure they returned home to their family. However, the results show that women from high social status families do not want to migrate in numbers comparable to those of low social class. The female who is a single child and who migrates, won't be available to look after her parents.

Social environment factors govern skilled workers' decisions, because the social environment of other countries can either pull towards the homeland or not make them think to migrate from India. For example, a highly skilled individual said that he was the single son of his ill mother, and that although he had many opportunities to settle in other countries, she was not ready to go abroad. This skilled professional preferred to take care of her by staying in India. Another doctor said that his mother's death and the permanent disability of his father forced him to stay at home, where he opened a private clinic with the purpose of taking care of his father. Both these participants believed that it was their responsibility to serve their parents, and they were not able to migrate due to family conditions.

The role of gender is not universal, but the male has more decision-making power in married couples in India when it comes to migration or non-migration. Having children adds a further critical dimension to both family migration and the gender perspective. According to Cooke (2008b), couples tend to adopt egalitarian gender roles until they have children. However, once they have children, they tend to adopt more typical gender norms (male as breadwinner and female as housekeeper). Thus, being the trailing mother or trailing wife negatively influences the employment status of the female partner after migration (Cooke, 2001). As Becker and Moen (1999) and Moen and Yu (2000) describe, the wife has a job instead of a career. This is why gender strategy prescribes specific roles and involves flexible working hours for the primary caregiver (Leung, 2017). According to Moen and Yu (2000), rather than exit the labour market, it is paid work hours that considerably differentiate the gender roles. The results of this study highlight social evils such as sexual harassment and rape, cases of which have increased in India. Some of the highly skilled workers believed that it was not a wise decision to leave

their family members (such as younger sisters) alone. Some non-migrant participants believed that, as a male guardian, it was their responsibility to take care of the women in the family, especially those with no parents who were unmarried. They believed that their sisters needed to get high skills, search for the right life partner, and that they should pay all the expenses for their social and economic needs. They preferred to work in the local area with the purpose of protecting them from social evils.

The findings reveal that even highly skilled women are not fully independent to take their own decisions, as male dominance still promotes male power and authority over women. The migration decision for women is dependent on their male family members. Therefore, most of the women interviewed accepted the wishes of their male family members and worked in local organizations. However, in the case of low skilled male and highly skilled women, females had more power to take migration decisions. Roos (2013) argues that policymakers in organizations should be persuaded to motivate women by recognizing their skills on merit, not just in the role of co-mover. Skilled women are often forced to choose the option of migration when they are treated with discrimination in their parent country. However, if these migrated women face discrimination based on gender in the host country, they may cease working. From a partnership perspective, previous studies shed light on the importance of associating couple migration with the employment and educational trajectories of the female rather than the male partner, observing that migration decisions are more strongly influenced by the male partner's employment and education.

The role of female partners in migration remains as tied movers. In the case of couple migration, the employment status of the female is generally damaged by the migration (Boyle et al., 2001). However, more recently highly educated female partners do not sacrifice their employment status or professional careers, but instead seek opportunities, even in cases of co-migration, and thus become active movers instead of passive agents (Kōu and Bailey, 2014). However, tied staying is more likely to occur than tied moving, which equally affects both males and females (Smits, Mulder and Hooimeijer, 2003; Cooke, 2013). Considering the literature on the migration of families, Cooke (2008) focusses on the concepts of tied stayers and tied movers. Couples and families influence the migration decisions made by male partners, irrespective of the human capital of the partner, as explained by Smiths et al. (2003). Migge and Gilmartin (2016) report that, because of family networks, childcare issues and the burden of care, immigrant mothers find it hard to develop a sense of belonging or socialize in

the host society. The typical household composed of partners, families or couples is an exception according to Mulder and Malmberg (2014), as partners in immigrant families may live far away, and families may be left behind for older parental care, job security or better education for children, especially for skilled immigrants who have potent ties to the home country. Some highly skilled people temporarily migrate to the UK because they are the only child of parents who are old or ill, meaning they have to return to take care of them. The joint family system increases the parental responsibilities, especially when the highly skilled person is the only son or daughter.

The data also shows that poor or low skilled families give financial and moral support to family members who aim to become highly skilled. The decision of the leading family member (i.e. the father) influences the personal and professional lives of the other family members. For example, a father may recommend that a highly skilled person move to the UK for greater earnings, and supporting the family back home. Previous studies show that young women with higher education are more likely to choose their own marriage partners. Simultaneously, greater participation in higher education has significantly increased the marriage age of women in India in particular (Seymour 1995; Maslak and Singhal, 2008; Desai and Andrist, 2010) and Asia in general, over recent decades (Jones, 2010).

Fuller and Narasimhan's (2013) study of South India observes that, although the societal position of Indian females has improved, gender inequality still exists in the division of domestic labour, with husbands' careers prioritized over wives' careers. This type of literature is limited to gender roles in society, so this research shows that the gender inequality also impacts the migration decision of professionals from India to the UK. The trajectories and life courses of individuals are interlinked, called linked lives, especially those who share kin or household relations with significant others. (Clark and Withers, 2007). Family dynamics of skilled immigrants should be discussed, focusing on their role in migration and professional decisions (Geddie, 2013). At the same time, research considers the life events of highly skilled individuals, and finds that perceived social insecurity throughout life is linked to the status of the family. Family status in society is a major factor, including the ethnic, social, economic and political status. Previous research focuses on life events without considering family status, but this research finds that low family status leads to social experiences that push people to migrate once they become highly skilled.

An example from the data is of a highly skilled older brother in a joint family who lost his parents in childhood. His uncle supported him through his education and advised him to help their younger sisters and brothers. Therefore, he settled in the UK and supported his joint family back home who were dependent on him. A highly skilled female worker recounted how her brothers pushed her to join the family business, with the purpose of staying and supporting a joint family in the home country. This shows that strong social ties play a role in the Indian family system, whether they have high family status or low family status. Sometimes highly skilled migrants decide to migrate before becoming professionals. One highly skilled worker said that his father's death and his attachment to a cousin living abroad motivated his migration decision. This means that his migration decision was not only related to his life once he became highly skilled, but linked back to his whole family life in society.

Various studies show that the propensity for migration is dependent on the composition and status of the family. If the family is extensive, people are less likely to move long distances or move at all (Kulu, 2008; Boyle et al., 2008; Whisler et al., 2008; Sandefur and Scott, 1981). Married people are less prone to relocation (Sandefur and Scott, 1981; Clark and Withers, 2007; Whisler et al., 2008). Moreover, couples who move longer distances are more likely to experience the dissolution of their union (Muszynska and Kulu, 2007; Boyle et al., 2008). Fertility is higher among the less educated than the highly educated (Kulu, 2005). In large families, sometimes there are greater family responsibilities for the highly skilled, as many members of the family are dependent on them. Low skilled or unemployed family members have expectations of those who are skilled, increasing their social and economic responsibilities and influencing their migration decisions. Sometimes fathers borrow money or move areas to support the education of a child who wants to acquire high skills, increasing the responsibility of that child to support the family members' social and economic needs. The economic and social needs of sizeable joint families can motivate people to settle where they can earn more and support those back home. One of the highly skilled participants, who was the only son in his poor and large family, had the responsibility for his sisters' education and marriage, as well as financial support for his elderly parents. Therefore, the economic burden of a large family also motivates migration decisions. A comparatively small family with only one highly skilled son or daughter to take care of aging parents, may prefer not to migrate.

The migration decision can be made for the safety and security of children. Depending on the social conditions in society, migrated children may not have to face the same issues as their

parents faced. According to Kulu and Milewski (2007), in the literature on life course trajectories and interactions between families, no consideration is given to international migration, but these approaches are individualist in nature. As a life course approach focuses on the behaviour of households and individuals, this may be the reason a micro approach is typically taken (Seth and Patnayakuni, 2012). These types of studies are limited to describing the roles of life courses on migration decisions. This study finds that these life courses depend on the social circumstances, including the political, social and economic status of the family, as well as the ethnic background. So, this study adds to the literature that the social circumstances of the family impact the accessibility of resources, which is a major root cause of the negative or positive experiences of different families in the same society, which become push or pull factors for the migration decisions of professionals.

According to Hagestar and Dannefer (2001), the micro aspects of the life course approach are criticized for including power relation asymmetry within and beyond national boundaries. One should consider factors on the macro level of the receiving and sending countries, and should not be limited to micro approaches to researching international migration (Seth and Patnayakuni, 2012). For example, a male guardian shared that he did not avail himself of the opportunity to migrate and settle abroad because he had to care for five sisters, at a time when rape and sexual harassment cases had increased enormously. Life events have an importance of their own, but family demographics also play a role as pull factors to stay in the home country.

Compromise about who follows and who moves is dependent on the culture and opportunities available to the partners in highly skilled couples, as explained by Kou and Bailey (2014). Traditions which demanded women follow their migrating husbands have now changed. In recent research, some men are shown to follow women who migrate (Gallo et al., 2006). Grandparents even migrate to support the wellbeing of their grandchildren. It should be recognized, in an intercontinental context, that families should not only be considered as limited to the nuclear family (Van and Glick, 2002). Collective Indian society usually promotes economic responsibilities for men, while women who are exceptionally low skilled are wanted to take on home responsibilities. Therefore, low skilled women motivate highly skilled men to migrate to foreign countries where they can make independent work and life choices.

In Indian culture, marriage is not regarded as a contract between two individuals but rather between two families. Parents are concerned about the marriage arrangements of their children (Mooney, 2006; Gopalkrishnan and Babacan, 2007). Parents arrange about 90% of marriages

in India (Mullatti, 1995). When seeking a marriage partner, the parents and other senior kin keep in mind criteria such as the religion, caste, employment and education of the candidate, as well as the reputation and wealth of the family. In both the Indian diaspora and urban India, there is an increasing trend amongst marriageable males and females, and their parents, to approach matrimonial websites to find a spouse. As parents control all kinds of information related to potential matches, they play the role of gatekeepers, but comfortable and ready access to matrimonial websites has weakened this role (Seth and Patnayakuni, 2012).

The increasing popularity of love marriages or a combination of love and arranged marriages has replaced traditional arranged marriage to a considerable extent (Netting, 2010; Mukhopadhyay, 2012). However, arranged marriage is still a fundamental norm for middle class Indians (Fuller and Narasimhan, 2008). The literature indicates that arranged marriages and love marriages differently affect migration decisions. Specifically, in recent years, love marriages, in comparison to arranged marriages, are seen as increasingly desirable, in addition to the combination of these, which is a significant change in social conditions (Mukhopadhyay, 2017). Nevertheless, for middle class Indians, arranged endogamous weddings are considered the norm, so these families are more easily convinced to migrate to the developed world (Fuller and Narasimhan, 2008; Netting, 2010). This research finds that love marriage couples give equal importance to each other's opinions about migration. The background to love marriages is linked to social and ethnic groups within society, because some ethnic groups allow their children to marry beyond their ethnic group, which facilitates the decisions of these couples to either live in India or go abroad.

Bailey et al. (2004) investigate the relocation decisions of dual-earner couples, in terms of their links with their parents and children. They find that return migration is likely to increase due to intergenerational links. According to Mulder and Malmberg (2014), studies of family migration pay little attention to the incorporation of local ties (e.g. jobs or family close by) of the partner of the migrant. The literature on family migration is west-oriented and thus does not discuss the vital role of extended family and parents (Valk and Srinivasan, 2011), except Mulder and Malmberg (2014). This aspect of family migration is most important in the context of India, as it is the main kinship structure. If a woman is highly skilled while her partner is low skilled with less opportunities, there is less respect for the man in their own family and society, due to the culture of economic responsibility being for men only. Therefore, a low

skilled husband can also motivate a highly skilled wife for migration to somewhere where no one can interfere and they have more job opportunities.

The gender fractionally represented by the literature is the process of mixing of skilled immigrants into the host society, based on the gender relations between immigrants of the same ethnicity and the people of the host society (Docquier et al., 2007; Ho, 2011; Cerna, 2011). Cultural misconceptions emerge when migrants from stiff male-controlled cultures use their inherited gender behaviour in the host society. Furthermore, the sexuality of skilled migrants is not revealed in conjunction with gender schemes (Hibbins, 2005). Migration studies in other countries also highlight the role of gender. Verstappen and Rutten (2014) study skilled immigrants from China working in Australia, and reveal that gay men from China adopt socialization approaches entirely dissimilar to the approaches of gay men in the host country. There is evidence that gender discrimination works as push factor to migrate to other countries for social equality. Skilled migrants belong to a wide range of socio-economic sections of the parent country, which may have disadvantages or advantages. Nations with firm socio-religious hierarchies have vast differences between ethnicities and classes (Johnson, 2014). While migrants who belong to the higher ranks of the social hierarchy might have been honoured with luxurious lifestyles and better education than in their home countries, immigrants who faced discrimination might have encountered many challenges to reach their current standard of living.

In a linked life, the life partner living abroad supports, motivates and guides her partner to choose a career path that can support her in the future. According to Saarela and Finnäs (2013), the higher the education of the female partner, the greater the tendency of the family to work in the host country, but the linked lives of the husband's family also impact the migration decision. The overall family circumstance of males and females is an essential factor in migration, and the people involved in life events and transactions is a major social factor. Therefore, the focus of this research is highly skilled migrants from India and how their social conditions govern their decisions to migrate or stay in India. For example, one highly skilled individual shared how his close friends and fiancé moved before him, and the distance from close friends and his life partner motivated his migration decision. A highly skilled female shared her story of how her family fixed her marriage with a wealthy person in business.

According to Gopalkrishnan and Babacan (2007) and Mooney (2006), marriage is considered a contract between families instead of just individuals. The preferences of the families could

be based on skill, education or caste from both sides. One of the most important issues for parents is arranging a marriage for their children, so the social match highly depends on the parents understanding the expectations of their children. Marriage is a major life event that impacts the circumstances of both families, so the migration decision is much more complex for married professionals than single professionals (Seth and Patnayakuni 2012). However, there are differences in different social, political and economic contexts, discussed in the next section.

5.7.3 Political, legal and organizational conditions

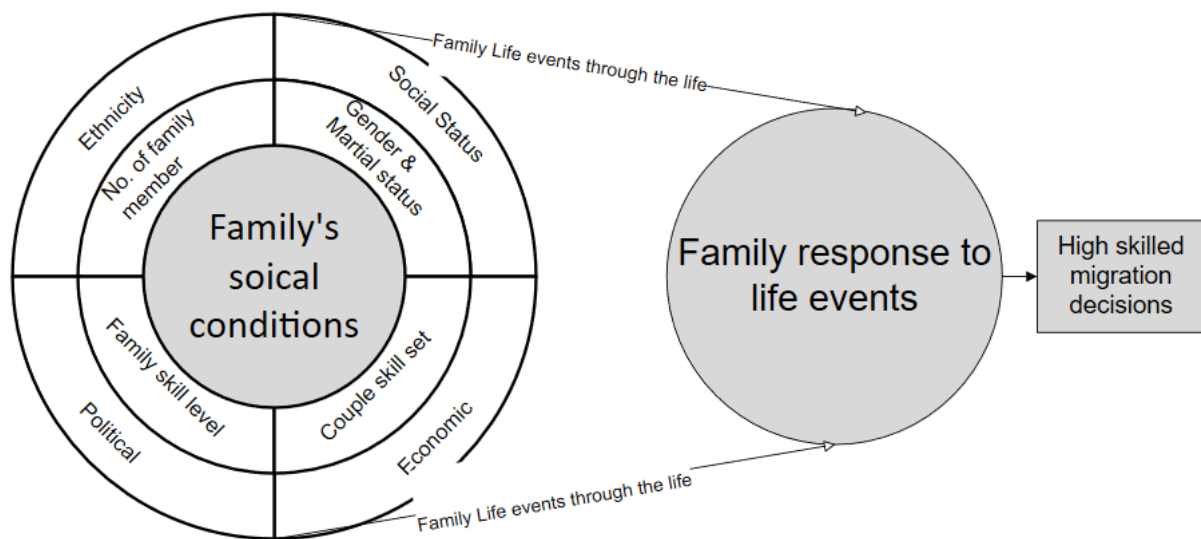


Figure 5-2: Family social conditions and response to life events

Social conditions

Social conditions are characterized by the social and physical situation at the individual, family and network levels (Liversage, 2009; Kōu et al., 2010). They range from homes, schools, work environments and neighbourhoods (at the individual and family level) to the territorial, national and worldwide conditions, which frequently shape conditions locally (see Figure 5-3). Social conditioning includes issues of destitution, lodging, vagrancy, quality of education, joblessness, salary, absence of power, private racial isolation and various types of segregation (Bornat et al., 2011). The second research question is intended to identify the role of life experience as push or pull factors in migration and non-migration decisions. This research finds that life experience is one of the major factors in migration decisions, but also that life experience is linked to the social conditions of the family. The political, economic and social

status, ethnicity and family demographics including the number of family members, the gender ratio in the family, the gender and marital status of the potential migrant, couple skills, and overall family skill level, all impact the response to positive or negative life events (see Figure 5-3). The current literature is limited to the definition of social conditions, but this research explores the social conditions, in the context of life events, that lead to the migration decisions of highly skilled Indian professionals.

Social conditions are subjective realities for highly skilled individuals, and shape their experiences, which influence their migration and non-migration decisions. The social environment of a country can bring social discrimination, as well as strong social ties among groups which can gain advantage from local institutions and resources at the local level. Social values influence the migration decisions. The social environment and the experiences with various institutions faced by highly skilled individuals and their families throughout their lives have a major influence on their migration decisions.

The current literature on social conditions is limited to gaining institutional advantage at the local level. Bailey et al. (2004) state that social, financial and political components are linked to the institutional experience of the individual in society, and that institutions are shaped and moulded by the local political and social conditions wherein individuals live and work. Social conditions incorporate not just people and families but also inequality within institutions (Phelan et al., 2010). The rich get more instructive accomplishment (Simons and Burt, 2011), and political families have more influence on institutions (Zuckerman and Diener, 2017), meaning a different ratio of employment for different social classes and different treatment of social classes at the organizational level (Braveman, 2006). There is inadequate understanding of various institutions and their influence on migration, but this research finds that institutional experience throughout life is linked to the social conditions of individuals. Any negative experience for any family member can trigger the intention of an individual to migrate either at that time or later once they become highly skilled. For example, a highly skilled individual said that hospital staff negligence made him disabled, and he and his family suffered. No institution supported him with his disability, which created a negative experience and pushed him to become highly skilled and leave his country. Another participant shared a family problem in a lack of timely justice increased stress for his father, who lost his life, increasing the problems of his family. This negative experience became a reason to lose faith in Indian

institutions, and as a result he worked hard to become highly skilled and migrate with his family.

The results show that family status is one element of the family condition that changes the effect of social factors on the family. Figure 5-4, below, is developed on the basis of the results of this research, and shows that ethnicity, social status, political status and economic status are significant elements of family status.

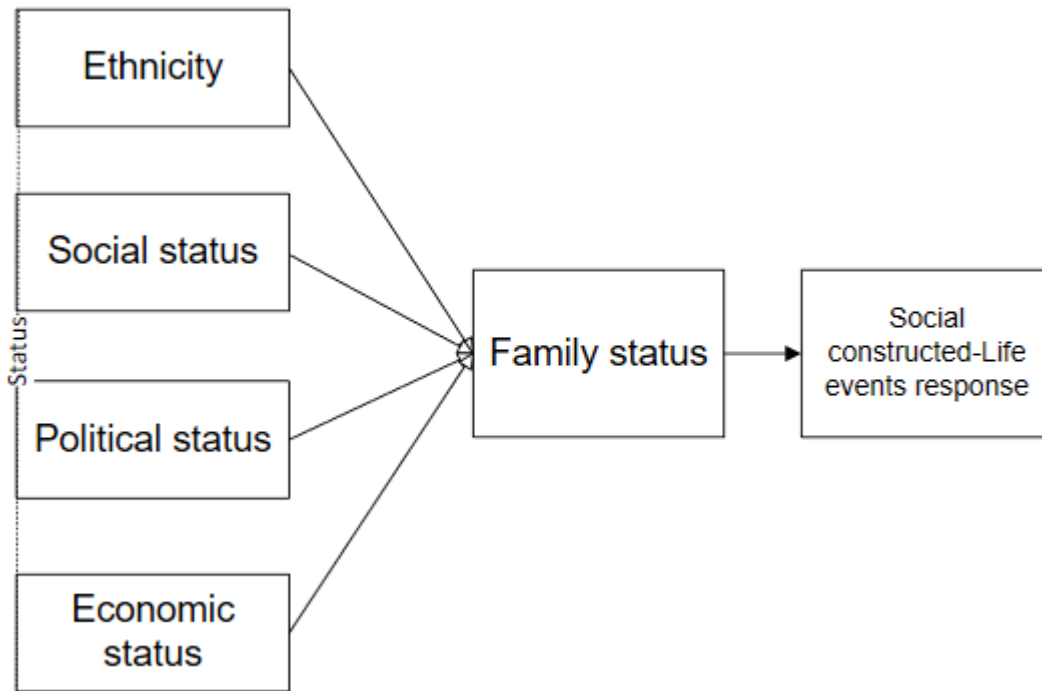


Figure 5-3: Family status

Figure 5-4, developed from the research findings, shows the factors that lead to the social status of a family, and which are an integral part of the social conditions that govern the migration process. The current literature is limited to the migration trends among nations at broad level. Ali (2007) explains that those nations with stronger historical or economic bindings better manifest the culture of migration. Huge diasporas are capable of controlling development efforts and holding intercontinental ties (Levitt, 2011). Other researchers state that, because of the distinction of ethnicity and class between groups of skilled migrants and the diaspora, their conflation is precarious. Semi or low skilled migrants have historically formed diasporic organizations (Portes et al., 2007; Faist, 2008). This research adds to the literature the idea that these ethnicities are related to the social status of the family which is embedded in social factors

(see Figure 5-4) which encourage or discourage highly skilled professionals migration decisions. This research also adds to literature the idea that the reasons some ethnic groups take migration decisions while others prefer to stay is again linked back to their whole family's life experience at social and institutional levels. It also adds to the literature that the ethnic, social, political and economic status of the joint family system influences migration decisions, but family demographics play a role. Many of the participants mentioned that they were the only son or daughter in their family, so they would like to look after their parents and were strongly attached to social values (see Figure 5-4). Family ethnicity, in a collective system, plays a leading role in migration decisions. Improvement in the welfare of families belonging to disadvantaged groups in the home country is highly dependent on remittances.

Immigration for middle class families is an opportunity to achieve a higher rank in society, and this class does not rely on remittances. Migration emerges as a norm for skilled workers in middle class society, for the sake of higher education and career. Meanwhile, skilled migrants, due to their class status, may not recognize this conceptuality. Disadvantaged ethnic groups have more intention for migration to achieve status in society, but that is not the only reason. These ethnic groups also face social issues. For example, healthy political families are happy to live in their own culture, as they have a strong family background and garner social respect. Some such families have highly skilled workers who prefer to live jointly and happily in their own home country. Families with high status in their local culture prefer to not migrate from their own country or even the local area. However, it seems that some economically established families have a migration culture. A participant was one of two brothers who had already migrated to the UK, and as a result the third highly skilled brother also migrated.

According to Bourdieu (1984), in a space created by socio-economic and cultural inequalities, the social position of social groups gives them the intention to migrate to gain status for the family back home and find a fairer social system for themselves and their children. Low skilled worker their families spend their whole lives in poverty and without help, a disheartening experience which motivates them to migrate to find better social and economic conditions for their families. Highly skilled workers see the poverty of local people, and sometimes develop an intention to serve low income families in India. A female doctor said that the rich background of a joint family and the strong political identity of her husband motivated her to stay in India. Another highly skilled worker said that he belonged to a low-income family, and could not afford the cost of migration due to his family obligations, therefore he did not think

about migration from India. Another highly skilled worker was doing his professional duties while operating his family business in the evening. He did not want to leave his family business, even he had the opportunity to work abroad.

The current literature on life course is limited to life events and their impact on migration decisions, but this research explores how life course is based on social status in a societal context and the social and institutional experience of whole families rather than migrants as individuals. The interpretation of how migrations are affected by differences in age is the primary goal of the life course approach, as discussed by Clark (2013). The various events connect an individual's life, but it is identified by this research that the same life events do not necessarily direct the same migration decisions, because family status and demographics play their roles as push or pull factors. Willekens (1991) indicates that these variations are either event dependent or state dependent. Which means that if an event occurs in one life trajectory, it decreases or increases the chance of its occurrence in another trajectory that creates a negative perception that leads to reaction to avoid such events in the future (Willekens, 1991). Other trajectories may have relevant events such as marriage, leaving the parental home, enrolling in education, childbirth, leaving the labour market for marriage or education, or joining the labour market. Migration events are considered to be the outcomes of positive or negative trajectories which are long, and include the event of return migration. Varma and Sabharwal (2016) indicate that the past events of skilled immigrants and their effects on their current trajectory should be examined along with the current events and statuses, as explained by Feijten (2005). Therefore, this research goes beyond the life trajectory impact on migration to explore how different life trajectories are linked to the social conditions which are collective and subjective, and to the local social, political, economic and demographic statuses of families.

In the context of family security, there is limited protection available for highly skilled workers (doctors and IT specialists) in India. They worry for their families, especially about something critical happening in the emergency department of the hospital, which creates physical risk for doctor and their families, as discussed in the institutional section of this research. This social condition governs migration to the UK, where there are better protections and support for them and their children. The workplace issues of highly skilled labour are discussed in an institutional context, but only discussed here in the context of family security and the future.

A lack of access to welfare is countered by receiving care from the family. This caregiving does motivate return migration or onward immigration. Members of the family sometimes

migrate to give care (Mazzaucato, 2011; Kou and Bailey, 2014; Wong, 2014; Konzett, 2016). Child safety has become a significant issue in Indian society. Highly skilled individuals do not feel secure in terms of family protection, which is a push factor for migration. Kou and Bailey (2014) state that families may be left behind to care for elderly parents, for job security or for better education of children by skilled immigrants who have potent ties with the home country. Compromise on who follows and who moves is dependent on the culture and the opportunities available to the partners in highly skilled couples (Kou and Bailey, 2014). This research finds that family demographics and the social status of the family also impact on whether there are better career opportunities abroad or in the home country. The life events of families, as institutional experiences, can push the individual to become highly skilled in order to migrate, which links back to low family status and family encouragement to migrate. A highly skilled worker shared the story of the death of his father during his childhood. He received no support from society or family members. He thought about migrating because there would be no support available for his family after his death. In cases where there is no support from family members or social ties, bad experiences, stress about family protection, and security act as push factors for highly skilled Indian professionals. However, these feelings are developed through negative life experiences of the whole family, not related to the individual, therefore, this research finds that migration decisions are not single events because migration intention develops through the course of life.

One of the objectives of this research is exploring the role of the institutional experiences of families which become push or pull factors. Differences in social status are the foundation for negative or positive institutional experiences. This research finds that the institutional or organizational environment for skilled doctors and IT professionals governs their migration decisions. The current literature is limited to understanding how the power structures of organizations impact migration decisions in the workplace. Power and resources are centralized in Indian institutions, which link back to local social systems. Drees and Liehr (2015) define a social system as a complex arrangement of human connections associating from numerous points of view based on local social and political systems. Inside a solitary association, the social framework remembers all the individual's interactions with the outside world (Rodríguez-Pose and Ketterer, 2012). In a social system, two major points need to be considered, the attitude of one individual and the effect on others. Whether these effects are enormous or little, all of them are commonly associated. However, the literature is limited to how social and political factors impact an institutional setting and the interaction of individuals

working at different levels of an organization. This research finds that these institutional settings are linked to the social status of the family, the job, and getting the maximum advantage from the migration process.

Any social framework involves trade, its members make a contribution to it and gain a yield from it. Social frameworks can thus be said to be interfaces with the environment, social actors use the system differently while living in the same society (Sadjed et al., 2015). Political and social identities have a strong influence, especially in the public sector of India, acting as push factors for low status families and pull factors for high status families. Workplace practices are not at an advanced level, and the top-down communication approach minimizes employee empowerment and participation in decision making, which restricts career development and growth. The overall organizational structure and workplace environment, especially in public institutions, creates negative experiences, and consequently some highly skilled workers quit and move out of the workplace. The results reveal that there is no formal or informal practice of discussing annual performance or other things with the employee, and most top management, political authorities and supervisors show favouritism, which is demotivational and goes against the organizational justice system, creating frustration and acting as a push factor for highly skilled Indian workers.

The current literature is limited to explaining how different social factors impact the ability get basic rights in a society. Zapata-Villa et al. (2018) state that the uniformity among people in pride and rights can be seen as a reason for non-segregation. The idea of value, which means dealing with all people equally, the functional meaning of equality, in the field of human rights, separated from balance under the steady gaze of the law, is widely discussed (Yamin, 2009). Issues regarding discrepancies in wages can be overcome by expanding education and the standard of instruction, especially for people from low and socially impeded classes, so they get better chances to avail themselves of better occupations (Brown and Lauder, 2006) which could lead to migration decisions. The low status families of highly skilled migrants are more interested in migrating because of the organizational structure, infrastructure, career aspirations and opportunities offered in the UK. Some employees said that they had heard through their social networks that employees have more empowerment and influence on the workplace in the UK. They searched for ways to migrate abroad. Therefore, social inequality also reflects the organizational culture and structure that pushes highly skilled members of low status families to migrate.

The current literature is evidence of the various factors which play an essential role in migration other than financial reasons, such as salaries, joblessness, purchasing capacity, immigration law and policy and religious factors (Peridy, 2010). This research explores the factors behind migration. There is limited literature available on the issue of gender bias in organizations acting as push factors for migration, accepting that most women move for family reunification reasons as spouses, mothers or daughters of male migrants (Zlotnik, 2003). However, in the current decade, there is a developing trend for free transit for women, which has encouraged them to migrate (Grieco and Boyd, 1998; Cerutti and Massey, 2001; Erulkar et al., 2006; Docquier et al., 2009). Considering the non-monetary determinants of female movement, past investigations classified it into three categories: personal elements such as age, conjugal status, job, position in the family, instructive status and business experience; factors related to the family such as number of members, joint or nuclear and social position; and cultural variables such as network standards and social qualities. These factors determine whether a woman can relocate and, if so, how and with whom (Grieco and Boyd, 1998). Some women said that top management is male dominated, linked to local social values where there is male dominance in the society. Therefore, women from disadvantaged ethnic groups have more intention to migrate than those from high status families. Incidents of gender discrimination and bullying increase women's intentions to migrate. The findings reveal that the male dominated society and the public sector working culture promote gender discrimination and a gender pay gap. This leads to female workers being dissatisfied and searching for better alternatives. Becoming skilled professionals gives them better chances to excel.

A male dominated society and working culture can suppress women in an organized way. In the interviews, there were many stories which highlighted how male colleagues unfairly selected, assigned duties to and promoted men, even when their female colleagues had better educational backgrounds, skills and experience. The negative attitude towards women and discriminating culture governed the process of migration of many Indian women to the UK. Some health professionals said that they and their colleagues were victimized at work, especially when anyone from the elite political or social class died.

The current literature is limited to explaining media's role in raising social issues, but this research finds skilled Indian doctors and IT professionals face issues of media bias linked with the social status of families. One participant raised the issue of the media's social and political influence which had created a stressful situation for them in the workplace and in family life.

They were disheartened to work in India because of their low economic status. Baron (2004) indicates that media plays a particular role in shaping social problems in the current social structure. Media impacts the way individual factors such as quality of association or degree of political inclusion elevate discernment, yet little consideration is paid to relational factors such as conceptual comparability (Eveland and Shah, 2003).

Baron (2004) states that “inclination and the subsequent incredulity diminish the interest for news, which leaves the issue of whether benefit boosting news associations would endure predisposition in their news reports and whether it would continue with rivalry among news associations”. The bias sustained by the media leaves most individuals disappointed and discomforted, which turns to hatred and eventually pessimism, a push factor for some of the highly skilled individuals. Media dominance is linked to organizational politics in India.

The culture of social hierarchy is robust in India in both the governmental and private sectors, as most senior authorities indulge in partial behaviour in favour of their relatives, friends, friends of friends, or anyone having any connection with those who can use the system for their own benefit. Many highly skilled Indian workers are dissatisfied with institutions, and make efforts to migrate to where institutions are impartial, capable, supportive and resourceful. Van Wey et al. (2005) state that the culture of an association is based on the perspectives, paradigms, norms and beliefs that the members of the association share. Its key individuals might deliberately form this culture, or it might develop over time. Either way it is a vital component of the workplace environment (Bresnahan et al., 2002). This hierarchical culture is immaterial and we cannot directly observe it, however it is also unavoidable. Hierarchical culture respects highly delivering and imaginative people, remunerating such individuals well, and recognizing them as good examples to copy (Parrado et al., 2005). This is another factor which encourages skilled professionals from low social status families, linked to their social values, to seek better economic conditions, because some family members living abroad act as examples for them to follow.

The expectations placed on skilled professionals become even higher if they belong to disadvantaged ethnic or economic groups. Negative organizational social experiences usually come about when people have low social or political dominance, which is based on the current expectations of institutions, and fail to get equal power in the workplace. At the same time, others have high social expectations which shape their negative experiences of jobs and give them low levels of faith in institutions. Indian institutions are not very strong, capable or

resourceful, and often unable to deliver timely, appropriate and fair services to citizens, whose experience of the quality of the services and expectations become push factors to move abroad.

For example, one highly skilled individual interviewed shared the story of how his family suffered due to an unfair legal system following a robbery that ruined their financial position and had an impact on their personal lives, which motivated them to migrate. The police and government could help them, which put the thought in his mind to make every effort to migrate to where institutions were powerful and capable of providing timely justice. This was his institutional experience which led him to seek a highly skilled wage even when he was not highly skilled.

Social equity means social and political equalization of interests in the public eyes. Social equity implies primary access to resources for the general public (Phelan et al., 2010). Social equity is a basic rule on which any society depends. It is based on balance, freedom and organization (Simons and Burt, 2011). The essential point is the growth of the individual through the improvement of character. The idea of social equity is a progressive one, which gives importance and value to life and makes the standard of law dynamic (Zuckerman et al., 2017). Indian culture, which addresses financial and social imbalance by enacting the law, accomplishes economic equity with no vicious clashes. A participant stated how he and his college friends applied for civil services job due to their patriotism and interest in the serving nation. However, despite being eligible they were not selected due to their limited social and political connections. This demotivated them at first, but they struggled to become doctors and migrate to a country where the next generation would not experience the same situation. This shows that family status, which includes ethnic, political and social background can be an element of social inequality, a reason for institutional discrimination, and a push factor for migration.

As discussed in the literature review there are various social classes in India. Dalits considered to be "untouchables", undergo the most terrible persecution anywhere on the planet. Dalits lie at the base of the conventional Indian framework, actually considered "dirtying to the touch" (Still, 2008). Those of low family status, despite being highly skilled, are likely to face institutional inequality and discrimination based on social inequality. There are chances for these families to migrate abroad, but their family demographics impact their decisions, discussed later in this section.

The current literature only explains how different nationalities face different challenges in the host country after migration. Almeida et al. (2012) indicate that migrants are often subject to discrimination in the selection and recruitment processes of various organizations. They argue that such discrimination is generally based on the group identity of migrants, including their ethnicity, cultural background, religion and name. The literature highlights how skilled migrants are disadvantaged severely with regards to career mobility. For example, Raghuram et al. (2010) point out that when doctors first arrived in the UK from south Asian countries, they were disadvantaged in terms of job access, career mobility, and high status specialties (Kyriakides and Virdee, 2003). But there is a lack of understanding of the role of social groups from the same society making migration decisions because of local social conditions.

According to Beaverstock (2012), research is primarily aimed at revealing the consequences of immigration rules, the effects on the economy and the return on developing skills, but does not focus on social conditions or the life events that push people to migrate. Therefore, the scope of these studies is limited, as they only cover the economic aspects of highly skilled immigrants, which shows that these workers move only for the sake of high returns on their services, ignoring the social conditions which act as push factors.

The migration of highly skilled workers is dependent on the three aspects which are given due importance here. Firstly, the political, cultural and social aspects of migrants with high skills is recognized along with their economic aspects which identify them based on gender, class, ethnicity and race (Ho, 2011). Secondly, the migrants' life events and choices (e.g. retirement plans, becoming partners, home acquisition, becoming parents) are considered (Ho, 2011). This research explores these topics from a broader perspective as they have impacts on migration decisions in the future. Migrants' lives are naturally connected to those who have importance to them, whether left behind or accompanying them. Thirdly, institutional social conditions (Docquier et al., 2007; Cerna, 2011) affect highly skilled migrants, even though they lack the institutional and employer perspective. The existing literature ignores the institutional experience of the individual and collective which link these three factors together. Because family status is directly linked to everyday life events and the institutional experience of families, which work as push or pull factors for migration or non-migration, the findings reveal that negative institutional experiences create more negative perceptions when people are young. Therefore, they might decide to leave the country at an early age. For example, one participant said that he and some friends had been patriotic since childhood. Therefore, they

studied science subjects in college and applied for high ranking civil service jobs. Unfortunately, they saw how people with lower potential were eligible, but due to low income, social status or political connections, were not selected in the examination. This condition motivated them to become doctors and emigrate from India, thinking that the next generation should not face the same struggle. From another perspective, a highly skilled individual said that his college colleagues beat and injured him. He did not receive justice from the college management or police, which created a negative perception of the institution and he decided to move after completing his education.

Social inequality is directly linked with wellbeing. When we talk of continuous development in the world, the first concepts that come to mind are healthcare, clean water, satisfactory sanitation and quality food (Sadjed et al., 2015; Mulder and Hooimeijer, 1999; Mulder and Wagner, 1993; Dykstra and Van Wissen, 1999). Whereas the social determinants of wellbeing, social and monetary conditions in homes, neighbourhoods, schools and working environments are less considered, but have the most significant impacts on wellbeing that push the highly skilled to migrate to developed countries. Some individuals shared the disheartening experiences of low social status. They experienced discrimination in medical treatment provided by doctors and private hospitals. They complained about it but could not achieve any satisfactory outcomes. Therefore they felt demotivated and built negative perceptions of their organizations. There is more social pressure to serve those people who have respected social and political identities. This social pressure creates social injustice at the organizational level and within society generally. This situation supports the process of migration to the UK, especially when people perceive they are not free to serve based on their values and learning.

The political, social and economic local culture facilitates the organizational structure, its effect on wellbeing, its making, its impairment and its propagation through social definition (Bresnahan et al., 2002). Social definition is characterized as the arrangement of people into groups with various relative positions in hierarchical structure depending on status, race, gender, handicap and many other elements related to social, monetary and political assets, with various degrees of impact, acknowledgement or distinction (Elder, 1975, 1994). As indicated by the participants, senior management recruited, assigned easy tasks to, and shared more rewards with male doctors, even when female doctors had better experience and educational achievement. Male dominated society and organizational structures promote male networking and opportunities, which creates distributive injustice and gender-based discrimination.

There are various factors which play essential roles in migration other than financial reasons, salaries, joblessness, the purchasing capacity of individuals, immigration law and religion (Peridy, 2010). Some individuals shared stories of molestation and sexual abuse of teenage girls which enhanced the feeling of worry about their children in India. The social hierarchy governs the process of migration, as highly skilled women face many cultural barriers and sense being treated unfairly based on the close social relationships in the places where they work. This factor is familiar to some of the organizations discussed by the participants, creating a feeling of demotivation, less value given to skills and preference given to close relatives. This attitude towards specific employees left them with no option other than to move to a better social hierarchy and culture. Biased media reporting, character assassination and harmful incidents in the workplace added to their intention to leave their homeland.

Bourdieu (1986) notes that cultural capital might exist in three broad types, institutionalized (qualifications), embodied (habitus) and symbolic (cultural objects and goods). Although Bourdieu's approach is criticized for overlooking gender issues, Erel (2010) argues that cultural capital is differentiated within a migration group by the key factors of gender, social class, education, ethnic background and professional status. However, the researcher does not consider these institutional cultural capitals to be pushing highly skilled workers to migrate from their home country. Having a wealthy family or high status, the social and political identity of a life partner, and social recognition in the local area are some of the critical factors for highly skilled individuals' decisions to serve for their country's people. For example, a highly skilled female doctor said that her husband was a politician, and they belonged to a wealthy family. Therefore, she was serving in a charity hospital and never thought to migrate away from India.

Some social networks increase skilled professionals' attention on migrating from India, while others lead to disheartening experiences abroad which become pull factors. For example, some participants with social networks abroad heard negative stories regarding strict organizational policies, rules, regulations and legal procedures for doctors. There were familiar stories about lawsuits from employers and patients against doctors in foreign countries which increased the stress and pressure within institutions. Meanwhile, health professionals are more relaxed in Indian hospitals and there are many social stories where doctors were forgiven for their mistakes as a cultural norm. However, they do not have the institutional support to protect them from high status families or a biased media. A bad professional experience can trigger

migration thoughts among highly skilled professionals. In the case of any harmful event in life, social networking with people abroad increases knowledge and information, which creates opportunities for highly skilled Indian workers to take optimal decisions regarding migration.

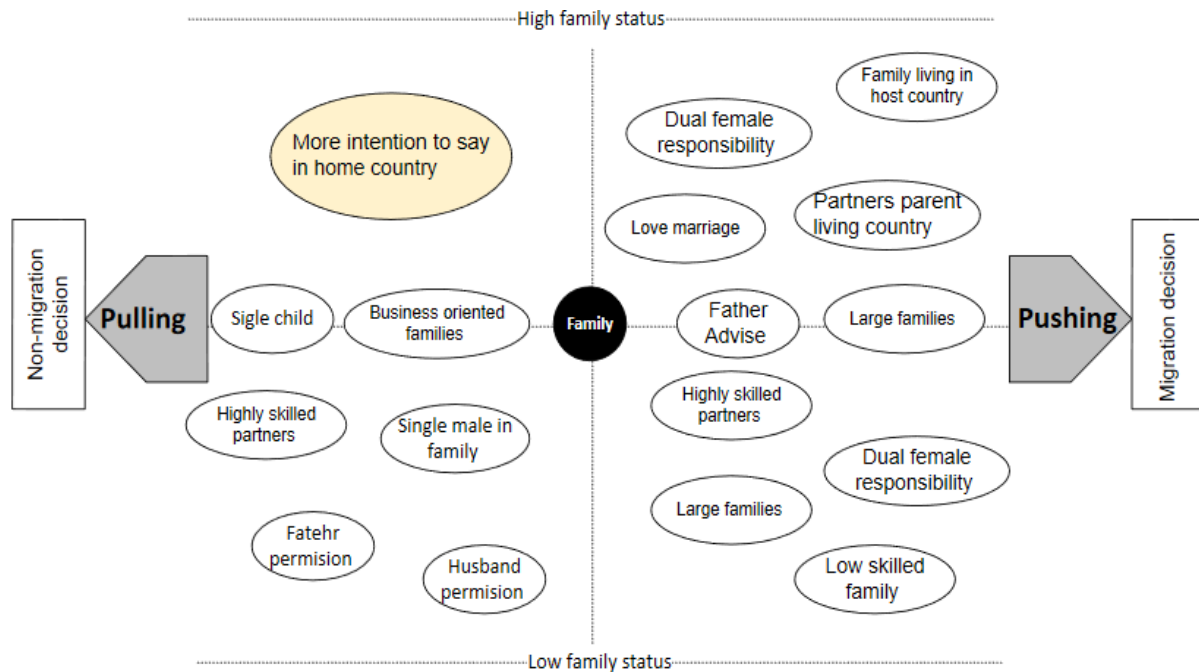


Figure 5-4: Family status in the context of pull and push factors

Figure 5-5 shows the push and pull factors on the basis of family status (ethnic, social, economic and political), and family demographic factors. The linked lives factors, such as children’s education and safety, family economic needs, the need for a male guardian, emotional attachment with a future life partner, and having to look after parents and sisters, can create uncertainties and ambiguity for highly skilled individuals. For example, a divorced female participant initially went abroad for career exposure but had to return because she was the only child of her parent and could not compromise her parent’s health for her bright future.

Whether the potential migrant is married or not creates different motivations and influences migration decisions. The ethical social, economic and political family status are social conditions of those with linked lives, and family dynamics also play their role in migration decisions. The skill levels of those linked lives are also essential factors, such as the number of highly skilled family members and the skill levels of the husband or wife. India is a country where the family holds a central position in any social organization (Choudhry, 2001).

The joint or extended family system produces and maintains close family relations and ties. Joint family is defined by Lamb (2011) as “any multigenerational household including at least one senior parent and one married adult child (generally a son) with a spouse”. In one case, both the husband and wife were highly skilled and had opportunities to settle abroad, but the husband had to take care of his younger sisters after their parents’ death and so chose not to migrate. Thus, a single child and a single male in the family are more likely to stay in their home country. A divorced lady said that she went abroad for a temporary period but soon returned because she was the only child and had to take care of her elderly parents. Hence, being a single child in the family is a pull factor for the highly skilled migrant to stay in India. This means that the number of family members is one of the social conditions for the highly skilled to take migration decisions. However, there are some cases where professionals leave their parents for the sake of their children, because they might have bad experience within society. In India, there is a common trend amongst people of 65 and over to live jointly with their children or grandchildren. The 2011 census data shows that 42.9% of the Indian population lives in a household of 6 to 8 persons (Census of India, 2011). The fertility rate during the same period was 2.5 (World Bank, 2014). Therefore, it is identified that large family size works as a push factor for migrants who have enough family members to support the family back home.

Patrilocality is a common feature of the family system in India. This aspect of the system focuses on extending the family and highlights the males’ centrality through various mechanisms such as patrilineal succession and patrilocal residence (Seymour, 1995). After marrying, a wife is not only expected to move to a joint family household but comes to be regarded as a vital member of her husband’s family (Mines and Lamb, 2002). In this way, the life course of the female is strongly linked to her husband, his parents and his other family members in the case of a joint family (Roohi, 2017). A large family is also a push factors in a migration decision, especially where most of the family members are low skilled. Hence, high status large families have less intention to migrate. Additionally, the father’s advice is found to be both a push and pull factor for highly skilled Indians.

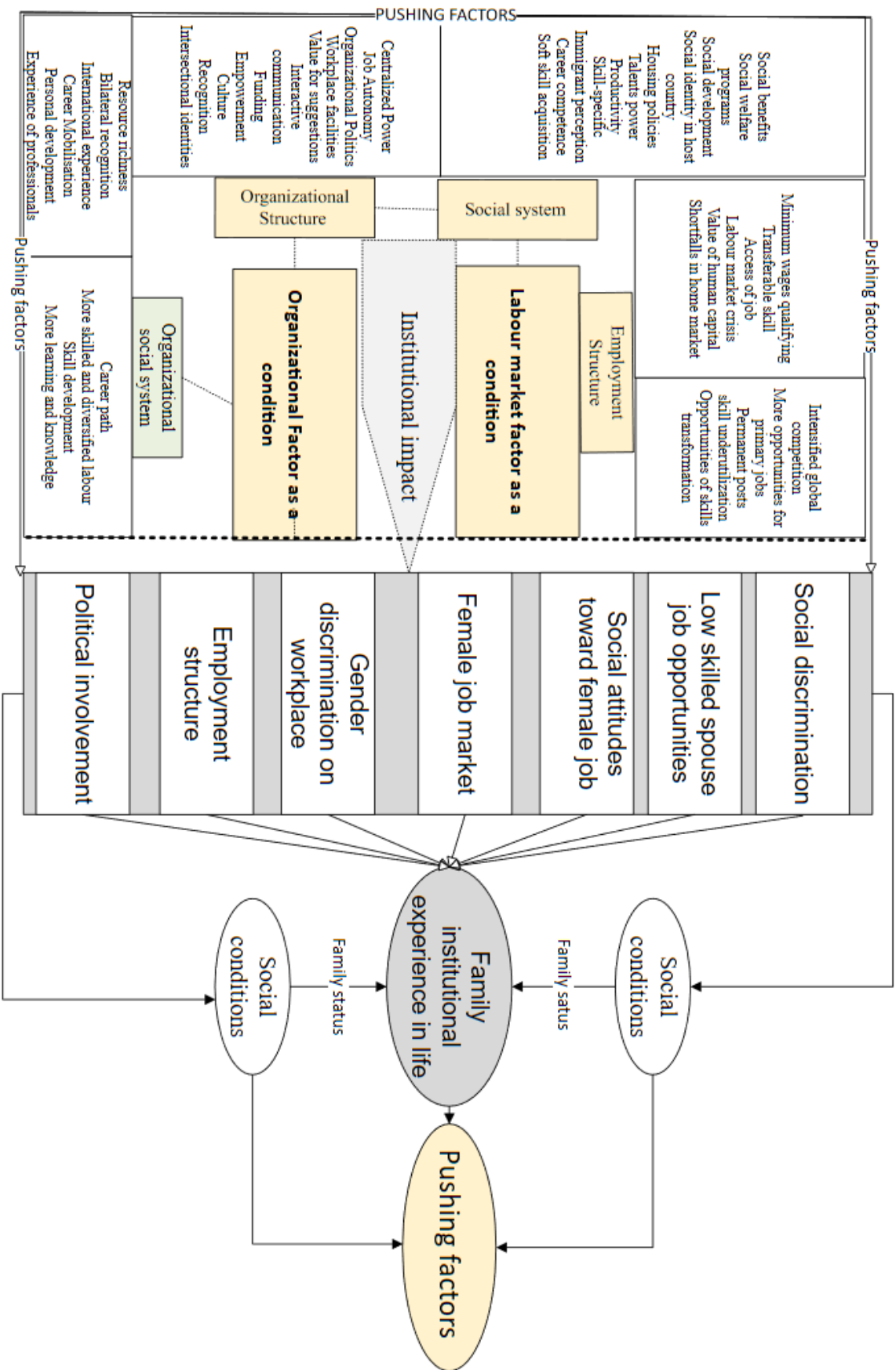


Figure 5-6 shows how institutional social factors create social conditions that push highly skilled migrants from India to the UK. The figure shows that the social system of the country is linked to the institutional social system, labour market and institutional structure, which create gender discrimination in jobs, negative attitudes toward women, employee discrimination on the basis of family status and political involvement in the organization, which push low status highly skilled workers to migrate. Gender is a social construct which underpins the arrangement of the relationship between men and women. The processes, causes and effects of migration differ among people with regard to gender. Thus, examining the phenomenon of migration from a gender perspective means studying the differences in migration behaviour by gender and the inequalities which arise.

The literature on gender difference focuses on gender discrimination in the workplace (Baudasse and Bazillier, 2012; Kanaiaupuni, 2000). In Indian society the male is always more highly regarded, but there are critical social institutions explored in this research which mean that daughters, sisters, mothers and wives play a role in migration. By defining the behaviours and decisions that are acceptable for each gender and due to the restriction of independent access to resources, power and social institutions, the migration decision is affected around females. However, the male has a different role in the family on the basis of local social norms.

This research contributes to knowledge on the transfer of norms, also studied by Lodigiani and Salomone (2012), Spilimbergo (2009), Bertoli and Marchetta (2013), and Beine et al. (2013). Lower status families are more likely to migrate due to local social norms and cultural restrictions. Migration appears to be a transmission channel of norms which results in challenging gender inequality at home, as skilled workers migrate to countries with a lower level of discrimination. Facchini et al. (2013) and Gindling (2009) point out that gender issues are less touched upon by researchers. Nejad (2013) and Nejad and Young (2012) take into account the institutionalized gender inequality in the member countries of the OECD. The current research takes into account the gender role in both migration and non-migration decisions. An example is a skilled brother who remained in India to look after sisters, due to safety and security issues in society. Additionally, this research finds institutional discrimination taking place in social institutions which works as a push factors for migration decisions. Institutional discrimination is also an issue in the UK, but there is a difference in the nature, intensity and effect on skilled workers.

Sometimes certainty, clear objectives, joint actions, and shared goals create a situation which can influence the migration decision. For example, the participants related many experiences concerning political leadership, which illustrate that institutions in the UK are more vital, capable and impartial than in India. They said that social and political identities do not influence workplace practices and institutions are strong enough to provide justice. They were excited to work where they were more empowered and stress free. Yuval-Davis et al. (2005) indicate that the focus on institutional racism is warmly welcomed as a fundamental shift from the focus on minority community management and the official emphasis on the behaviour of individual racists to the normality of the racism prevalent within British society (Bourne, 2001; Cole, 2004; Gillborn, 2005).

The majority of the findings parallel the so-called health immigrant impact; the idea that immigrants, generally from developing countries, who arrive in a destination country, have better health than the native population and better than anticipated socio-economic characteristics. A relatively rapid deterioration has been observed in this health advantage relative to the native population, regardless of significant socio-economic improvement (Newbold, 2005; Ronellenfitsch and Razum, 2004; Uretsky and Mathiesen, 2007; Vissandjee et al., 2004). The findings highlight that most of the skilled Indian workers were well aware that India is a developing country with a high level of poverty, low human capital due to the brain drain, lack of water and sanitation, and other health issues, meaning most people live below the poverty line and are unable to afford education and health facilities. Many of the participants elected to stay in India and were happy to serve the social welfare by working for charities. While there is immigrant health discrimination in the UK, the extant literature usually makes the comparison between the health of native people in the host country and that of foreign migrants.

5.7.4 Professional and social networking factors in the migration and non-migration process

This research identifies the institutional experience of the family throughout life, which is based on social status related to institutional factors, as having an impact on the family perception of society and society's perception of the family. Individuals and their close relations are faced with many institutions throughout their lives, which can build either negative or positive institutional experiences. These experiences can be either disheartening or positive and can act as push or pull factors for migration. It is essential to understand how an

individual is influenced before and during the journey to become highly skilled. The father of one of the highly skilled participants was the victim of social violence when he was a child. He faced a lack of institutional support and justice and this helpless situation affected his personal life, showing how institutional conditions govern the migration process. Another participant said that cases of child trafficking, rape and molestation were increasing in India, and institutions could not support the victims. So, family protection and security issues also push migration. This section discusses how social factors govern the process of migration and non-migration for skilled professionals.

Social ties not only provide information regarding destinations for settlement but also act as means to interpret migration as a social phenomenon. When a migrant uses their social capital, the cost of migration is reduced, emphasizing the significance of social networks. Nevertheless, this idea mainly focuses on the economic elements of migration. One of the chief benefits of social networks for highly skilled migrants is recruitment, but they also facilitate and transform social norms within groups, as each comes to understand the issues of the of the other. Organizational networks usually predetermine migration and employment trajectories, as multinational companies integrate overseas postings as part of their employees' professional careers (Beaverstock, 2005). Social networking within society influences organizations in terms of their social and cultural values, which in turn shape people's experiences, but different meanings are given by different groups to the same events. This research identifies that the meanings of different events in life are developed differently by specific groups. The experience shared by four friends within a social network and committed to each other, was one of social disparity during their early education and organizational jobs, with high quality education and good jobs going to the rich and those with political and social connections in India. They found this disappointing and collectively applied to migrate with their families, due to experiences at an early age (education) and a mature age (jobs). However, their institutional background was linked to their family status.

On the other hand, a group of professionals who migrated to the UK found a stressful work environment and little time for family socialization. The five friends planned to return to India and start a private hospital. Now they are more comfortable as they have started their hospital and have more time for socialization and family. Highly skilled organizations and institutions work as pull factors for highly skilled Indians, pulling them back to their home country or not to take the initial migration decision.

Institutional social events in people's lives construct their experiences and thoughts which lead to actions in their future. For example, a highly skilled individual discussed how a group of seven health professionals saw injustice at their jobs, which was a disheartening experience, especially when they complained but no action was taken. They took a joint decision to migrate because of these negative experiences. They said that they had no prior intention to move, but the painful experience gave them the idea to move to the UK with their families.

Another highly skilled worker said that he applied for a very prestigious civilian job along with his friends, but they were not selected because of their low income, low family status, and low social and political connections. They mutually decided to leave the country so that their children would not have to face similar discrimination.

Social networking also came into the migration decision of a group of Indian professionals who met during their education, training and organizational jobs. They also faced disheartening experiences due to social and political networking. Social networking with friends who had settled abroad and shared their success stories (high income, children's education, health facilities, high quality of life and unique social status) created a feeling in the highly skilled Indian individuals that they had similar education and experience but low quality of life by comparison to their friends, a push factor for them.

Another highly skilled individual said that social media such as WhatsApp and Facebook promoted social interactions and strong social ties among friends settled in the UK. They frequently shared their social and professional achievements with friends back home. These UK-based professionals shared their success stories with their school friends which motivated them to take the initiative, and some Indian friends from school followed them to the UK. These professional friends also helped them minimize the stress of migration, such as the initial exams, finding a place to live and looking for a suitable job. Social media facilitates the social capital approach because it strengthens the social and professional connections of UK professionals with their contacts back home. They share resources, knowledge, information and strategies to guide them towards migration and success in the UK.

The findings reveal that social networks between the destination (UK) and home country (India) facilitate information exchange among life partners, ties of kinship, close friends, friends of friends, shared social community and popular social characters. For example, an IT professional said that school friends and IT professionals in the same organization shared

success stories of UK friends with their families, with the purpose of mentally preparing for migration. They exchanged information with professional friends in the UK so that they could migrate more easily. The social connections between IT professionals helped their families make up their minds and reduced the psychological stress and risk of migration. This social and professional networking helped with the migration, exams, initial living and job search procedure. As a result, people migrate more easily and create positive stories and experiences for their social connections who live in the places where they completed their education, training, joint entertainment activities and jobs.

On the other hand, social networking presents some negative experiences of other countries which discourage highly skilled individuals from leaving India. For example, a highly skilled individual said that socially connected friends in Australia, Canada and the UK shared stories about harsh working conditions, poor socialization, financial burdens and greater responsibilities. These shared experiences decreased his intention to leave his country. Another participant said that his friends had returned from the UK because they could not leave their parents and their parents were not ready to join them. He said that family and close friends were everything for him and he was not ready to leave them at any cost. Countries like the UK have busier and more target-oriented lifestyles due to financial burdens and the need for career development. These targets reduce the socialization and increase stress for some highly skilled Indians, who collectively decide to return to India where they can resume their everyday lives.

The findings reveal that the social distance from kinship networks, such as a fiancé or close friends who settled in the UK, motivated back-home connections to join them. These kinship networks motivated the migration decision. On the other hand, a group of Indian IT professionals faced more issues in the UK concerning fear of job loss, work overload, more employer control, strict schedules and little time for their families. They took the experience as a way to save money, with the purpose of starting their own IT software house in India. In this case, the similar job experiences of a group based on nationality and professional skills pushed to return to their home country. People usually love to create social ties with those who have the same culture, background, language, religion, traditions and nationality. A group of doctors returned from the UK because they found a more stressful work environment and challenging job timings which influenced their social lives. These five doctors accumulated money, foreign nationality and experience, and returned to their home country to start a private hospital. They said they now have more time for their social lives than they did abroad.

5.7.5 Social conditions as a factor of non-migration

Overall, the primary data indicates that people value loyalty, love, happiness and serving social welfare above settling in other countries for their own interests. Most of the respondents who wanted to live in their own country had a belief in serving the people who needed them. The attraction of money and career did not motivate them to move to other cities, and they said that they were pleased to serve to the people of the local area where they were born and started their life journeys with the support of social networks and institutions. The macro-level elements are classified as constraints or opportunities in a social context. The primary resources are the qualifications and skills required for a particular job. A significant restriction stems from the composition of the household. The more people it is composed of, the more complex the migration decision would be. Mincer (1978) coins the term ‘tied movers’ to refer to those migrants who move with their partners to advance the partner’s career, giving up their own job ambitions. Women make up the bulk of this group, as they experience downward mobility following migration (Clark et al., 2002; Boyle et al., 2008; Cooke, 2008). However, economic considerations are not the only or chief motivation for migration as a family. Pittman and Blanchard (1996) recommend that the relative resources of both partners should be taken into account, leaving space to discuss the gender and power relations within the family. Ackers (2004) argues that economic elements are applicable for single and young migrants, whereas for those in later stages of life such as those with children or partners, family considerations are more relevant. At a macro level, the opportunities include the availability of particular jobs for highly skilled people and advantageous immigration policies, while the barriers are the constraining elements.

The study reports that most of the people interviewed preferred to migrate to developed countries as they were economically motivated, while the people remaining in India could enjoy more permanent posts, career development opportunities and value for human capital. However, the chief aim of policies designed to attract the highly skilled appears to be importing ‘workers’ not ‘people’ (Castles, 2006). Migrants are considered in the context of economic efficiency only (Ho, 2006). Ryan and Mulholland (2014) suggest that there is a tendency to underestimate the human face of elite migrants. Researchers point out that it is imperative to take into account family dynamics when devising a migration policy, but this is often overlooked in the desire for economic efficiency (Harvey, 2011; Clark and Withers, 2007). Larsen et al. (2005) observe that highly skilled immigrants do not necessarily base their

decisions on economics, but also their expectations and values as individuals, which are linked to their life events, which is also the finding of this research.

The negotiation of family life and employment remains a core issue for migrants (Liversage, 2009; Cooke, 2007). For example, some skilled professionals said that there were many cities with more job opportunities, but there was no pressure to transfer because of the low human capital and high rate of brain drain in India. Consequently, these conditions govern non-migration. They said that there are now more permanent posts available for doctors in Indian institutions. Research investigating the migration of Indian scientists from India to the west shows that there are limited job opportunities for scientists in India. Indian research institutions are unable to attract highly skilled individuals, and the monetary rewards offered by the Indian research institutes often fall below global standards, and particularly below those offered in the west (Balram, 2001; Ackers, 2005). Metcalf et al. (2005) observe that, compared to other groups whose tenure is generally short-lived in the UK, staff from the Asian subcontinent are regarded as a long-term solution for UK higher education.

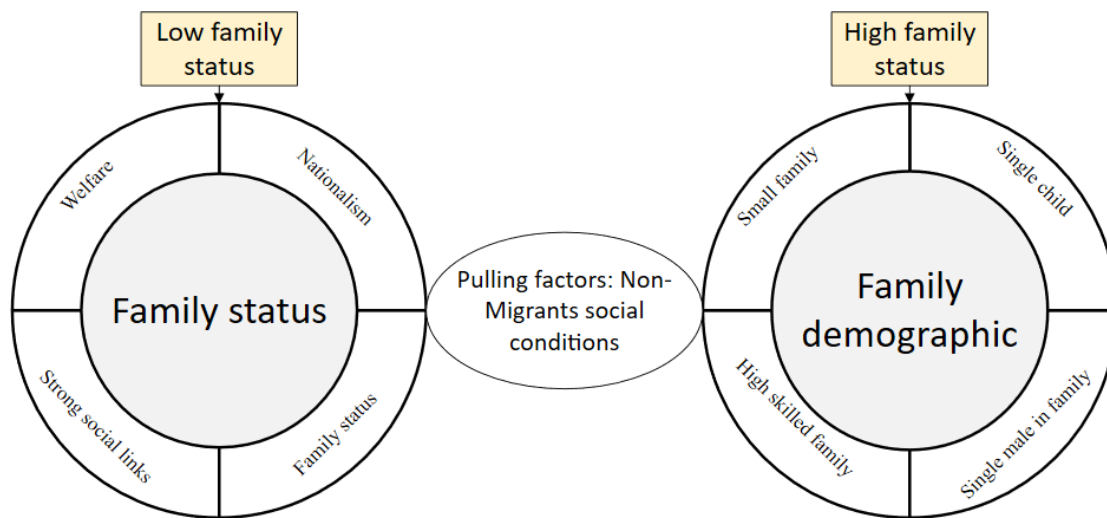


Figure 5-5: Social conditions of non-migrants

The results reveal that some of the highly skilled individuals interviewed belonged to low-income families, and spent their childhoods in economic and social insecurity which influenced their migration decisions. One highly skilled individual said that he belonged to a low income family and could not afford the cost of migration due to the financial obligations of his family. This condition governed his non-migration decision. On the other hand, some highly skilled professionals shared their intention to live and serve low-income families in India. Some

believe that they had seen many families who had spent their lives in poverty, but their children became highly skilled due to government funding, social and institutional support, then moved from India. Seeing this created a feeling that they would never migrate because local people and institutions had a right to their skills and knowledge. Similarly, some highly skilled individuals from rich family backgrounds wanted to serve the poor at an economical cost, and had invested large amounts of money to serve them by giving them job opportunities and opening hospitals to treat poor people at low cost.

The literature suggests that migration is not just motivated by economic factors such as income inequality, rates of unemployment and the cost of living. There are also other factors underpinning the phenomenon of migration, such as regional factors, climate change, education, migration policies, social issues and political instability (Peridy, 2010). The literature on migration generally overlooks gender dynamics, assuming that women usually migrate for the reunification of families only (Zlotnik, 2003). However, a growing number of women are becoming part of the migration phenomenon, shifting the focus to gender dynamics (Cerrutti and Massey, 2001; Grieco and Boyd, 1998; Dumont et al., 2007; Erulkar et al., 2006; Docquier et al., 2009). Existing studies which consider the non-economic factors underpinning the migration phenomenon distinguish between three classes of factor:

- Individual factors: marital status, age, position in the family, employment experience and education level.
- Family factors: structure, size and status of the family.
- Society factors: cultural values and community norms which determine the probability of women migrating to other countries and whether they migrate on their own or with someone (Grieco and Boyd, 1998).

Some female professionals discussed their decisions to migrate due to gender and pay gap discrimination. Working in an equal opportunity society increases certainty and ability to achieve objectives. They said that western countries such as the UK were more suitable workplaces as jobs were not commonly assigned based on social relationships, political influence, favouritism or kinship networks. The discrimination based on social hierarchy and political connection in India was a demotivational force pushing them to migrate from India. Some social castes in India are socially isolated and classified as taboo. There is social and religious pressure on them not to attend any religious functions. They are socially discriminated against due to their social identity and the social hierarchy. Highly skilled professionals from

such castes are often keen to migrate to places where they can find freedom for their social, cultural, religious and workplace practices.

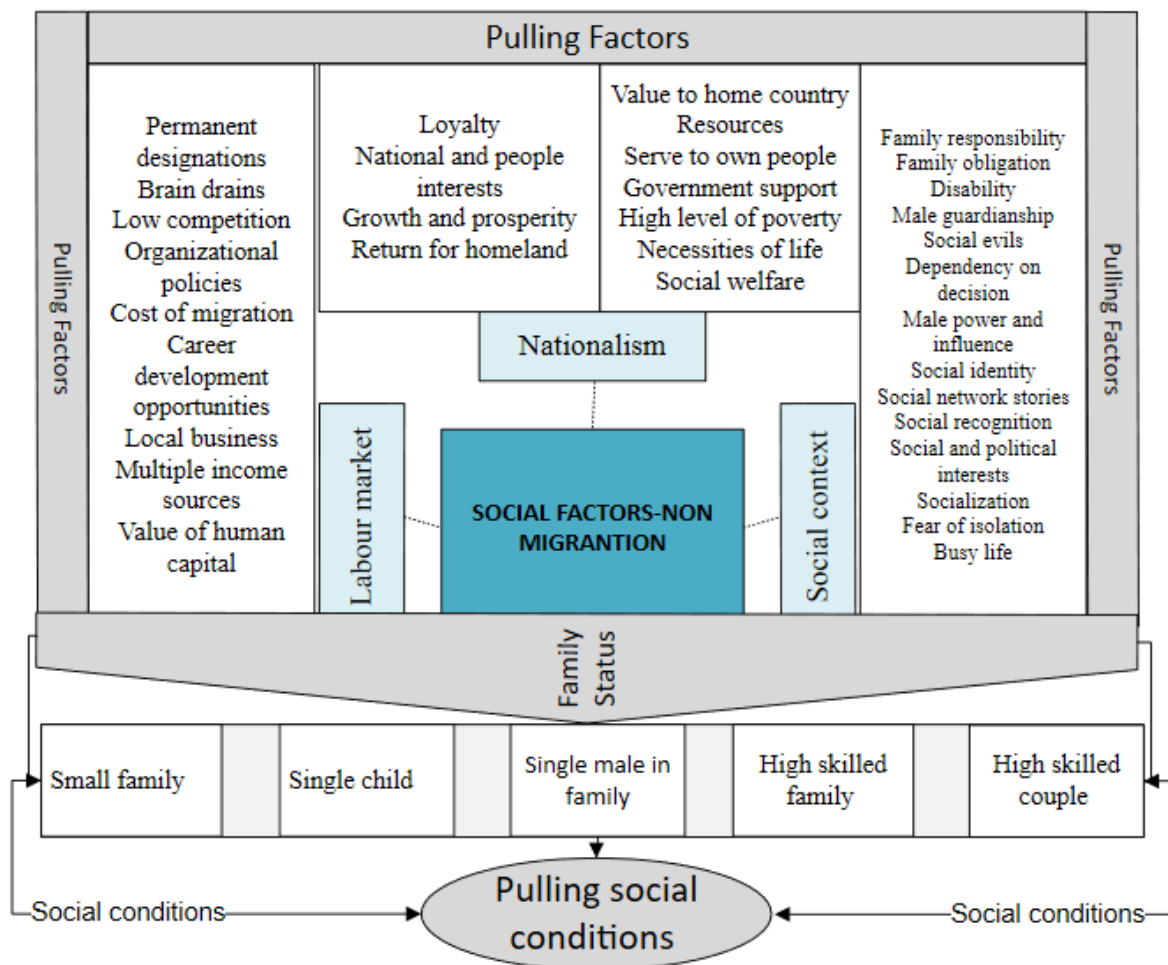


Figure 5-6: Pull conditions of non-migrants

The findings show that the critical factors for highly skilled individuals to remain in India include a rich family, the social and political identity of a life partner, social recognition in the local area and a desire to serve for the country's people. For example, a highly skilled individual said that her husband had high social and political status. They were wealthy and giving services freely to their local community. Furthermore, they always felt safe, secure and comfortable in India, and never thought about migrating for career or money. Another highly skilled worker said that they had a family business as well as working in a multinational organization. She never thought about migrating as she had a strong social and political background and was happy to live in the country. Her higher family status was a reason not to migrate. The highly skilled respondents said that social and institutional lives in foreign

countries were challenging, such as accumulating money and getting foreign nationality. One returned to start a private hospital in India, and now felt more comfortable and able to attend social gatherings. They had a comfortable life and could influence their highly skilled networks, so the high status family worked as a pull factor and a source of institutional confidence that motivated them to stay in the home country.

5.7.6 Social conditions as pull and push factors for migration and non-migration

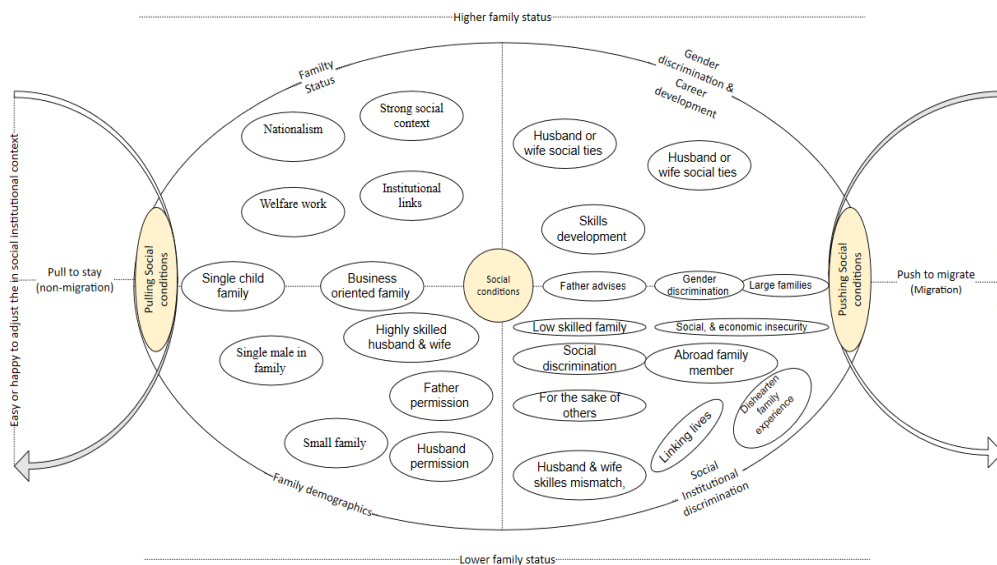


Figure 5-7: Research Framework, pull and push social conditions of highly skilled Indians in the context of migration

Both economic wellbeing and social status garner respect in society. One can acquire these positions through accomplishment, which is known as accomplished status. based on one's capacity, ability and steadiness. That acquired from the family is known as attributed status. This form of status is fixed from birth and exists in almost all social orders. It is dependent on sex, age, race, ethnicity and family. For example, an individual introduced as being from an affluent family naturally portrays characteristics of notoriety, ability and high qualities. They have numerous desires growing up, and are handed numerous social jobs as they are part of the family, furnished with each of these attributes and qualities, which become the social power of the family.

One's occupation can exemplify a status that might be attributed or accomplished. It may be accomplished through formal learning and the ability to be socially stable in a higher situation or hold a position inside the occupation. There is a common trend for migration in cases where both the husband and wife are highly skilled. Power gained through the economic, political or social stability of the family is a significant driver of migration and non-migration.

Family status plays a vital role in migration and non-migration, but it would not be right to say that all people from high status families intend to stay in the home country or that all low status families intend to migrate. Figure 5-9 shows some factors for both types of families encouraging them to stay in India. The findings reveal that family responsibility, obligation, male guardianship, social connection and social life in India create motivation and intention to live and serve the local area where they were born, studied and became professionals. For example, some professionals believe that their government and people helped them, especially when they had low social status. Now they have status, respect and loyalty to their local area, people and country. They ignore opportunities to settle in other countries. They have strong beliefs and values that, whatever they experienced was not possible without the government and local support, so these people have the first right to their skills and experience. The main priority is not career mobilization or personal development but serving people and their families. Many of the low status professionals interviewed mentioned that their family demographic was the reason for non-migration. They were happy in their own country and had strong social ties to their surroundings, so they did not want to go abroad. Additionally, a single child in a family may have to look after their parents instead of go abroad.

For example, a husband and wife who were highly skilled had opportunities to settle abroad, but the husband was a male guardian for his family and had to take care of his unmarried sister.

Significantly, domestic violence and harassment cases are increasing, especially towards single or divorced women. A highly skilled individual said that his close friends migrated with his fiancé to get married. This emotional and social attachment created uncertainty and pushed his migration. Finally, there is the social condition of having linked lives. One respondent was a male guardian who lost his parents in childhood. His uncle supported his education and advised him to help their younger sisters and brother by settling in the UK and sending back economic support.

One respondent faced discrimination on religious grounds along with social inequality and low institutional and family status. This condition motivated the migration process. She migrated to fulfil her family's economic needs. Complexity, ambiguity and uncertainty can be high, especially when there are no strong social or cultural values, or the political and institutional systems are not strong. One highly skilled professional found that, when he and his family encountered tough times, they could not get any institutional support. This situation of insecurity for their children led him to become highly skilled and leave this country to change the family's destiny and create a secure future for the next generation. His insecurity was linked to his low family status in India. We can say that the institutional context is not limited to highly skilled institutions, indeed the institutional context is an overall family experience, with a different institution that pushes highly skilled professionals to migrate at a late stage. Additionally, a mismatch of husband and wife skills can push migration. A low level of wife skills pushes migration because of the poor opportunities for females in India.

A high status family might also migrate because of family advice, such as the father's advice, which is also common in low status families. High status families also move because of large family size or the dual responsibilities of the women in society which is a common push factor for both high and low status families. Gender discrimination and institutional discrimination against low status families are identified as common push factors as they are disheartening experiences. The literature neglects gender dynamics as an aspect of migration. There are, however, some exceptions, as some researchers look into gender inequality as a driver of female migration, but only discrimination in the workplace. Kanaiaupuni (2000) finds that highly skilled women are more likely to migrate than low skilled women or highly skilled men. The reason underlying this is the gender discrimination which women face and the little rewards or resources they have access to in their home country. As such, they have more to benefit from migration, compared to highly skilled men who have better access to power and

resources in their own country. Indian women also have lower empowerment within the family, which also pushes them to migrate. Baudasse and Bazillier (2012) highlight the non-economic motivations underlying migration. They focus on gender inequality in the workplace as one of the chief non-economic motivations for migrating to countries with better gender equality. Social and institutional discrimination for low status families and especially women are major drivers. Thus, a decrease in social discrimination in the home country also decreases the motivation for migration. High gender discrimination at all institutional levels is likely to result in the migration of women to other countries where there is better gender equality.

The decisions of highly skilled people to migrate to the UK also take place due to discriminatory practices within social institutions as such practices impede their political, economic and social expectations. The migration phenomena is affected by gender norms in society. If the role of women is highly limited they are likely to migrate to countries where their role can be appreciated in more walks of life. There are two ways whereby discriminatory social institutions pave the way for women to migrate to other countries. Firstly, the need to escape the gender discriminatory environment in the family, society or institution motivates migration. For example, incidents of sexual harassment, sexual violence, domestic abuse and the stigma attached to widowed and divorced women all result in women wanting to escape suffocating environments, resulting in migration (Jolly and Reeves, 2005). Studies conducted in Southeast Asia suggests that women's migration is due to forced marriage and family pressure (Lam and Hoang, 2010). Erulkar et al. (2006) in their study of Ethiopia, find that 23% of migrating women migrate to escape early and forced marriage. Hofmann (2013) argues that social discrimination norms in society and at home might even push men to migrate. Cerise et al. (2013) observe that girls are expected to marry early, limiting their educational and job opportunities, and making women dependent on a male partner for their income. According to a report by the International Organization of Migration (2005), Moldovan women have limited chances to migrate due to gender inequality in social institutions, giving them minimal access to resources. Jolly and Reeves (2005) observe that women even have limited transport opportunities. These types of factors become push factors for those with higher skills which facilitate their ability to migrate.

Secondly, systematic family status inequality in social institutions is another reason women and men migrate. For example, Jolly and Reeves (2005) find that young men are likely to migrate because they would otherwise be recruited as soldiers. They often do not want their

children to face the same situation. The economic literature does not adequately cover the role of discriminatory social institutions in migration. A few qualitative and sociological studies highlight the role of gender norms in decisions concerning migration, but these studies do not include social discrimination against the family as a whole that push high skilled migration. Diner (1983) highlights discriminatory social norms as one reason women migrate, but does not mention how social discrimination pushes the highly skilled to migrate. Diner (1983) argues that social security is equal for males and females, as both migrate looking for better opportunities. Historically it has been impossible for families to give dowries to daughters, and perhaps could only give one daughter a dowry, which led to unmarried sisters looking for alternate opportunities such as migrating to the US (Hofmann and Buckley, 2013).

Sjaastad (1962), considered migration to be an interest of humans as important as learning. Both learning and migration are choices that involve numerous aspects. The financial achievement of the individual migrant depends on his or her degree of learning, ability to transfer aptitudes to the host nation and other abilities to enhance these skills. The various incidents in the lives of all family members push highly skilled professionals to migrate, because it is easy for them. Additionally, early disappointment with institutions by the family governs the process of migration. Gender discrimination in families and the dual role of women is also a factor in high status families, but they are also motivated to learn new skills. Learning and training are essential factors in the migration process.

5.7.6.1 Highly skilled Indian migration as a channel for norm transmission

It is difficult to establish chains of causality, making it challenging to explain how exactly social inequality leads to institutional inequality and its continued existence. The standard explanation suggests economic growth is one of the determinants of gender inequality (Forsthe et al., 2000). The positive impact of economic growth has widely highlighted income growth that is insufficient (Dollar and Gatti, 1999; Ferrant, 2015). Gender equality is dependent on how formal institutions and markets evolve and interact with household decisions (World Bank, 2012). Rees and Riezman (2012) ponder whether gender equality has had any positive effect on globalization, as developed cultures influence developing and underdeveloped cultures. The current research explores the migration literature concerning the transfer of norms. Migration involves the exchange of norms, not just people. Spilimbergo (2009) observes that student migration from less democratic countries to highly democratic countries

promotes democracy in the home countries, because the migrants look for social and institutional justice for themselves and future generations. While high-status families are found to be more interested in learning new skills and getting work experience in the UK, as highlighted by some of the participants, it is highly debatable in the literature whether, when migrants return to their home countries they develop entrepreneurial capabilities and contribute to the economy (Demurger and Xu, 2011; Piracha and Vadean, 2010; Wahba and Zenou, 2012). Bertoli and Marchetta (2013) and Beine et al. (2013) observe that returning migrants tend to influence the perception of innovative ideas in their home countries and serve their countries through advanced skills. There is a different trend in high status and low status families. There is more return migration by high status families, but that is not the concern of this research. The research does not focus on this aspect of migrants curbing gender discrimination, which is less studied in the literature on migration which usually focuses on economic factors.

Many studies concern various aspect of females, and low family empowerment at the regional or micro level. They highlight the potential channels through which social and institutional equality can be promoted through migration. Hadi (2001), for example, observes the significant positive impact of male migration over women's empowerment only in the migration decision. This research finds that male dominance over female works as both a push and push factor. For example, a brother of five sisters said he did not want to leave them behind, so he decided not to leave. Caring for his mother was another factor in his non-migration decision.

Gender discrimination also takes place within families, for example women have to look after the children, and this is common to both low and high status families. Understanding gender is equally important to both male and female migration and non-migration decisions. The studies that concern other features of female empowerment in social institutions at the regional or micro level explore the changes in women's positions through these indicators: the decision-making capacity of women, the labour market, social protection, their relational role (sister, mother, daughter, wife), dowry practice and girls' education. The findings reveal that, in addition to increasing the living standards of their offspring and left-behind kin by sending remittances, men's out-migration also tends to "modify their social behaviour through the diffusion of secular ideas into the traditional values of the sending communities" (Hadi, 2001). Households with female migrants are highly concerned with their daughters' education, but this research shows that both men and women are concerned about their children's, especially their daughters or sisters', education.

Paris et al. (2005) investigate how male migration influences gender roles within farming households in Uttar Pradesh. According to the women interviewed, the gendered division of labour had shifted and they now had to undertake many men-specific activities. For migrant families, wives have more decision-making power as they have to decide how much money to invest and what crops should be grown. I find that wives have more power once they gain high skills. It seems that fathers tend to assume new and additional gender roles upon the migration of their spouses, such as taking charge of children and housework (Mulder, 2014). In both high status and low status families, the father's role can work act as a push and pull factor for migration and non-migration.

This research suggests that Indian migration tends to promote social and institutional equality in the home community via three channels. First, the remittances and various other forms of benefit for the community and household make female emigration benefits more obvious, which creates incentives to maximize women's potential to migrate via improvement in female access to power, resources and opportunities. The females who send off remittances, for example, receive more respect in their community and family (Jolly and Reeves, 2005). Furthermore, parents who rely heavily on remittances sent by their daughters seldom force them to return home to marry (Temin et al., 2013). Similarly, women gain more decision-making powers and increased financial independence once they emigrate (Peleah, 2007). The linked lives with highly skilled migrants have some expectations of them. The remittances sent back to the family could prove to be a stabilizing factor for the migrant in the UK, because once the migrant fulfils the expectations of their family they are achieving their objectives. Social institutional inequality is a push factor for highly skilled Indians, and therefore, any social discrimination in the UK could become a reason for return migration.

Secondly, social remittances tend to shift attitudes away from discriminatory practice. Social remittance exchange happens when skilled professionals start working once they have acquired skills. These remittances are exchanged through e-mails, telephone calls and blog posts (Levitt, 1998). Migrants carry new practices, narratives and ideas that influence the norms and social institutions of their countries of origin and could encourage new skills in India. The social networking and strong social ties of highly skilled Indians attract other highly skilled Indians, but can also change the social ideas in the home country.

Finally, international migrants have the potential to modify power structures in the household and wider organizations in India. Typical gender roles and family status can be challenged

through migration. In the absence of one spouse the entire burden of labour lies on the shoulders of the other, along with more decision-making power (Jolly and Reeves, 2005). In India and similar countries where low status families are more likely to migrate, left-behind females of high status families have more significant decision-making powers about their daily choices and get to make crucial decisions. However, at the same time, it forces them to think about the brain drain of the country because low status families are more likely to migrate. In contrast, high status families are not interested in using their skills, because the researcher finds that many of the highly skilled are working in their family businesses or politics, but these numbers are low, and they belong to high status families. The resultant new position that low status families hold reflects more access to political and public space, and may translate into lowering discrimination in the social institutes in India.

The greater bargaining power of women and low status families in institutions produces a virtuous circle, because there is an increasing trend among women to spend more resources on their daughters than their fathers would (Duflo, 2003). In Bangladesh, Hadi (2001) observes a positive association between male emigration and the decision-making power of women and girls' education in migrant families. In addition, remittances also have a substantial impact on increasing female agency in family structures and changing perceptions of gender roles. On receiving remittances, women have more control over resources, that attracts women to migrate from India through gaining skills. Migration is about transformation and looking for desired social norms and social status.

Better access to healthcare facilities abroad and economic remittances allow women to set up businesses and keep girls in education for longer, improving their family status back home and encouraging other female family members to learn skills and improve their lives. Migration, in summary, may influence discriminatory social agencies based on the local social norms of India. This implies the transmission of norms to the sending country from the host country, but leaves a sign of disappointment for others in society, even they have soft skills. The correlating sign is, however, expected to vary depending on the level of discrimination in the destination community, because some literature highlights institutional discrimination in the UK. In light of these expected correlations, low status family migration is likely to have some impact on the inequality at home, with a more significant impact on women's migration because of the first transmission channel, or they might face other types of social discrimination which would be different from what they face in India.

5.8 Summary

The decision to migrate is not the result of single event or an individual decision of a highly skilled Indian. It is based on the social conditions of the whole family, constructed against the family background, in the context of the social, economic and political status of the family. The experiences and events occurring in the lives of highly skilled migrants have impacts on their immigration decisions. The life events of the whole family create their opinions about Indian society, which become root causes of migration or non-migration decisions. In other words, the life events of the whole family impact the highly skilled family member's migration or non-migration decision. These are lifetime experiences which start from childhood to maturity and influence migration and non-migration decisions. There are multiple family circumstances, social environmental, ethnic, economic or political, which shape the experiences of highly skilled workers and influence their migration decisions. In a joint family system, there are contextual factors such as decision making, gender, family size, social and economic status and family security which create the intention to migrate. In a decision making and gender context, male family guardians such as fathers, elder brothers, uncles and husbands sometimes have more economic responsibility, which gives them family authority and power. This can motivate their highly skilled children to migrate. For example, some families have a culture of migration, where the primary family member (i.e. the father) decides that his son has to complete his engineering education in the UK because there are already success stories of other family members who have done so.

The findings reveal that highly skilled females are not fully independent to take their own decisions, as male dominance promotes male power and authority to influence women. Therefore, the migration decisions of women are dependent on their male family members. Therefore, most of the women interviewed accepted the wishes of their male family members, and worked in local organizations. Social ties with society play a significant role in responses to institutional inequality which becomes a reason for joint migration or non-migration decisions.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTION

6.1 Conclusion

This study aims to understand the social conditions and processes which govern the migration and non-migration of highly skilled Indian doctors and IT professionals to the UK. The first question of this research is how local social conditions govern the process of migration and non-migration for Indian doctors and IT professionals to the UK. The results of the study highlight life experiences which start from childhood to maturity, and how these experiences influence migration and non-migration decisions. The findings indicate that the decision to migrate does not occur due to a single event. Migration decisions are based on the social conditions of the family. These dynamic family factors include male and female skill level, whether there are several people in a family who are skilled, linking lives, marital status, gender, women's role in the family, family obligations, single children, family size and the family influence in decision making. For example, in a joint family system, there are some contextual factors such as decision making, gender, family size, social and economic status, and family security that create the intention for migration. Furthermore, linking the lives of a life partner, the fathers decision, family obligations, and the family's future are shown to be significant push factors for highly skilled Indian labour.

Qualitative research is helpful for visualizing the way self-actualization, migration culture and future migration plans give rise to the migration process for highly skilled Indian migrants to the UK. The migration process is governed by the social conditions of the home country as well as those of the destination country. This influences the expectations of migrants. The social conditions also influence the personal and professional resources of the migrants and shape their migration paths. Although the focus of much of the literature on migration is on human capital, the focus of this research is highly significant. Since work experience and qualifications are usually insufficient to migrate successfully, knowledge of the labour market in the country of destination and direct contacts with potential employers are highly useful for migrants to achieve success in their migration. These contacts are particularly useful in the post-migration phase when the migrant has arrived in the country of destination. Social networks set the strategic direction for the migrant as they help the migrant gather social, financial and human capital (Hooijen et al., 2017).

The current research particularly highlights migration as a strategy used to enhance career prospects at home and globally. Migrants are motivated to migrate to a developed country, due to unequal access to the job market in the home country. They migrate to another country to gain better qualifications and work experience, then return home to get a high paying job. This increases their competitiveness in the job market. The findings of the current research are in line with those of Guhlich (2017), that international migration is treated as a routine pathway to acquire new knowledge, skills and experience. Moreover, migrants acquire international exposure and develop multicultural knowledge. International geographical mobility is increasingly seen as part of career development by highly skilled migrants. De Lange (2018) observes that communities in which migration is treated as a career pathway see migration as part of professional behaviour.

The decision to migrate depends on the interaction between institutional settings and the migration culture of the home country. In the context of migration from India to the UK, the effect of families on the individual's decision to migrate to the UK cannot be ruled out because of the collectivist nature of Indian society. Indian society is marked by family life and thus familial elements influence a person's life decisions, including those related to migration. Zhang (2019) argues that the UK was an escalator region which temporarily facilitated the upward mobility of migrants, even though the immigration policies were highly welcoming.

The current research takes a cultural and social capital perspective on the process and finds that developing new skills, career advancement and lifestyle were some of the prominent social and cultural factors underpinning the migration decisions of highly skilled migrants from India to the UK. Another significant finding of the research is that the financial motive is not the sole or main purpose of migrating to the UK, despite being one of the reasons. Instead, non-financial motives outweigh financial ones, as pointed out by Kirk and Bal (2020). The stereotype of the trailing wife, where the wife compromises her career prospects to migrate because of her commitment to family life, is largely not applicable to this group of migrants, because they have better opportunities to develop careers in the UK than in India. At home they have little or no opportunities due to cultural or family norms, whereas in the developed world they have the opportunity to excel (Salamanca, 2018). They are facilitated by soft immigration policies, so the spouse of a highly skilled migrant on a dependent visa is allowed to work full time. This facilitates female migrants and undermines the stereotype of the trailing wife.

As discussed, the family life of the migrant plays a pivotal role in influencing the individual's migration decision. The family experience of an individual is shaped by the cultural and social norms of the society. Maslova and Chiodelli (2018) observe that migration is a cultural process in its production, expression and impact. The current research gives rich biographical accounts of migrants in order to understand the significance of the link between national and international migration. An individual is placed into a 'migration mode' by internal migration, which introduces the individual to becoming adaptable to a new place, which they can use as experience to migrate internationally.

The individual intending to migrate collects capital to complete the migration process. The institutional setting influences this migrant capital due to unequal access to institutional resources and the job market. Although visa regimes for highly skilled immigrants are not found to be of defining significance in the initial phase of migration, since the institutional setting influences the visa regime (e.g. post-study work visas were called off for some time by the Conservative government), visa regimes may influence the migration decision, even in the early phases when such regimes are likely to undergo change (Teney, 2021). Föbker and Imani (2017) recommend shaping immigration policies to see individuals not just as a labour force but as migrants, because state level decisions influence the life choices of migrants. Having regard to family life experience, one can fathom the critical role of migration in the family life of Indian migrants to the UK. It is important to understand the migration of highly skilled individuals beyond the concept of a labour force and human capital. It is important to understand the concept of migration from the perspective of the expectations and life experiences of the migrants.

The literature gives accounts of the complex family life of migrants (Bygnes, 2017). However, the focus is generally on the family life of couples only. There is a dearth of literature discussing family life from the perspective of the parents or siblings of the migrating couple. Therefore, the current research studies these aspects of migrants' family lives, which elicits understanding of the migration mechanism. Shmihelska, (2020) observes that the relocation decisions by dual-earner couples is made on the basis of their links to their parents and children, and return migration is likely to increased due to intergenerational links.

The literature on the subject is west oriented and thus does not explore the complexity of family life in the east, where family means parents, siblings, children and extended family (Grigoleit-Richter, 2017). Indian culture is family oriented, following a central kinship structure. The

current research highlights the life choices of Indian migrants who migrate to the UK. Their choices influence their future migration decisions. This is only possible by taking a qualitative approach to explore the phenomenon in depth. The qualitative approach enables the researcher to study the family aspects of Indian migrants in order to understand the social conditions engulfing the migrants acting as enablers or constraints of migration decisions. The current research provides insight into how the family lives of highly skilled Indians influence their decisions to migrate to the UK.

The current research takes a qualitative approach to explore how the family, including parents, children, partners and even the extended family, influence the migration decisions of highly skilled Indian migrants. The findings show the impact of the social conditions of the family as a whole on the migration decisions of highly skilled Indian migrants, because Indian society is highly family oriented involving the extended family in a collectivist society. Social conditions provide for the rich involvement of the family in the life decisions of a person. Thus, the decision process to migrate becomes more complex due to the involvement of more people. The difference between Indian and western contexts is that in India migration is a family phenomenon including even the extended family, whereas in the west it is an individual or household phenomenon.

Koikkalainen (2017) recommends studying the migration process in its entirety. This necessitates studying the impact of the family on the entire migration process. However, existing research only studies this impact at one phase of the migration. Keles (2022) recommends analysing the patterns of multiple decisions instead of just the geographical moves. The current research analyses the impact of the broader family, including the parents, children, spouse and extended family, on the migration decisions of highly skilled Indian migrants. Firstly, the migration norm in the family is conveyed to the individual by the family members, including through educational choices. Secondly, social norms and family expectations shape and inform the migration decisions of highly skilled migrants. Finally, return migration, which is also a migration decision, is influenced by family factors such as caregiving for parents.

The current research finds different roles played by different actors at the family level which shape the migration decisions of the highly skilled Indian migrants. The social norms in India are family oriented, and family members influence the individual throughout his or her lifecycle, thereby influencing his or her choices relating to education, career and other personal

and professional issues. It is the same factor which triggers the return migration phenomenon, i.e. returning to India after spending years in the UK to care for parents. The spouse of a person also influences his or her life choices. Although men are known to have a dominant hand in deciding to migrate, subsequent phases also involve the active role of their female spouses. Moreover, women in this case are not akin to the trailing wife, because they have better social and employment opportunities in the country of destination, due to which they are better able to utilize their knowledge and skills.

Migration from India to the UK exposes the highly skilled Indian migrants to western culture, which is very different from Indian culture, being individualist in nature compared to a collectivist Indian culture (Kirk et al., 2017). Highly skilled migrants are able to engage in activities independently as they are not surrounded by family members influencing their life choices. This enables them to direct more time to their academic and professional commitments. Geographical distance also reduces the frequency and intensity of parental advice. The burden of conforming to social norms is no longer there, due to their distance from home country and their presence in an altogether different country which emphasizes individual freedom. However, parents are a source of support for highly skilled migrants. Nevertheless, the sense of belonging to a family is not affected, and is beneficial to them as they use the social network linked to their family and extended family to explore opportunities in the UK at various stages of their migration life.

Western society emphasizes individual freedom, whereas Indian society is highly family centric. Thus, migration from India to the UK is in essence migration from collectivism to individualism or from family centric life to individualistic life. Moreover, from a gender perspective, women have more freedom in western society than Indian society. However, highly educated women in Indian society may enjoy a better life than lowly educated or uneducated women due to pressing social norms in India. The migration positively influences the life decisions of females, even if they migrate as wives, because they are no longer under the burden of family expectations or the social norms necessitating conformity to strict gender roles. The current research finds that the social condition or class of the family, as well as their experience in society, influences the migration decisions of its members. Therefore, the current research finds that the family conditions of a person influence their migration decisions and such conditions can either enable or constrain migration decisions. Highly skilled Indian migrants start the migration process at an early stage of life. They often take another migration

decision in life, i.e. return migration, when they migrate back to India, also due to family social conditions, to take care of their parents.

The social conditions of highly skilled Indian migrants seen through the lens of institutional and social capital is the significant theoretical contribution of this research. The results reveal that the social conditions include family dynamics, organizational culture, the labour market and institutional behaviour towards the community. This study contributes by deeply exploring and explaining family dynamics in the context of highly skilled workers migration and non-migration decisions. The unique contribution of this study is exploring family dynamics, starting from birth, of an individual, shaping the positive and negative experiences that govern the process of migration. The study highlights family demographics which can, collectively, either push or pull the highly skilled Indian to migrate or not. The family demographic features which influence migration decisions are male and female skill level, linking lives, marital status, gender, women's role inside and outside the family, number of people in the family, who is highly skilled, family obligations, single children, family size and decision-making power in the family. For example, a highly skilled worker said he did not move because he was a single child, and had to take care of his ill mother. Linked lives mattered to him.

On the other hand, a highly skilled worker said he moved because he had a social circle and fiancé abroad. Linking life is a subjective reality, which acts as a push or pull factor for highly skilled Indian labour. Family demographic factors can collectively push or pull highly skilled Indian workers. The second factor of the social condition is family status which includes the social, ethnic, political and economic status of the family. It is essential to note here that neither family status nor family dynamics independently influence migration decisions, rather it is the collective factors that influence the decision. Schemmel (2019) states that confident self-respect plays a pivotal role in having a flourishing, meaningful and satisfying life, and the people having this type of self-respect enjoy these traits of living. On the other hand, people who have fragile or damaged self-respect or who live without it, have frustrated, deformed, constricted lives, and do not avail themselves of opportunities for happiness, self-completeness or self-realization (Gurel-Atay et al., 2010). This is mostly the result of weakening emotion. When self-contempt or shame is the enduring flavour of life, we have feelings of meaninglessness, abilities are nominal, and there is little value in activities based on character (Penny, 2013). When the persistent and profound sense is pathetic, like dirt or inadequate, worthless feelings destroy everything, and happy living is not possible with these type of

feelings (Clucas, 2020). The exciting findings of this study are that these social conditions influence migration decisions differently. For example, low status highly skilled workers migrate more than people from high status families. It is essential to understand that these are not universal practices. For example, people with lives linked to an ill father or mother returned from abroad, while some people discriminated against ethnicities migrated with the purpose of gaining self-respect, which is of significant importance for human beings.

Some families migrated for the sake of others, such as because they had to take responsibility to pay family obligations. In other cases, a father decided for his highly skilled children; a fiancé living abroad pulled her life partner from India; a low skilled husband took the decision that his highly skilled wife should migrate from India; and some highly skilled people migrated because they felt their children were not safe due to the high number of rape cases. These are subjective realities, which vary among highly skilled workers, but work as both push and pull factors. Family dynamics and family status are the most critical collective social factors which influence the migration decisions of highly skilled workers.

Most previous studies select the organizational factors which reveal what highly skilled workers experience in the workplace and how it is associated with their migration decisions (Mihăilă, 2019; Labrianidis and Vogiatzis, 2013). However, this significant study's contribution is that it selects those factors which shape the institutional experiences of highly skilled workers since birth. The results of this study reveal that the social status, ethnicity, political status and economic status of the family collectively make up the family status, which is linked to the institutional response to the whole family. For example, the complete life journey from enrolment in school to joining the workplace brought disheartening institutional experiences to some, that influenced their migration decisions. If a family feels social and institutional insecurity, they are likely to migrate abroad. Gender discrimination in society, as well as in the workplace, plays an essential role in pushing professionals from India. Institutional experiences are part of a life journey starting in childhood, which influences the migration decisions of highly skilled workers.

The second primary intention of this study is exploring the factors that push and pull highly skilled Indian doctors and IT professionals' migration and non-migration decisions. The findings reveal that collective Indian society gives power and resources to men, who have economic responsibilities. Women who are low skilled prefer to live at home and have home responsibilities. As a result, low skilled males and females motivate their highly skilled partners

to migrate to foreign countries where they can have independence to make work and life choices. If the female partner is highly skilled while the male partner is low skilled, there is low respect and more curtained lectures for the male which motivates them to migrate abroad due to their social circle and joint family system. The results reveal that the migration decision is associated with the individual's experience since birth, family ethnicity, gender, number of family members, and the social, political and economic status of the family which act as both push and pull factors. Social inequalities, religious freedom, and political and social identities are also factors which create motivation for migration decisions.

Disheartening institutional experiences prove to be push factors for highly skilled Indian workers. An IT engineer saw how his father was unable to find justice; another said that he was not selected for a civil service commission due to poor political and social connections; and another was beaten by his college colleagues. There is no justice for families of low social status. These are some of the disheartening institutional experiences which created a motivation for individuals to become highly skilled then move abroad to places where institutional justice is higher. Gender differences in terms of partner, family member, family responsibility, skill level, and institutions prove to be both push and pull factors. For example, the linked lives of a partner or social circle prove to be a pull factor.

For one participant, being the single son of ill parents acted as a vital pull factor for his non-migration decision. Family status, institutional discrimination and gender roles are significant forces which are hidden but act as strong push and pull factors for highly skilled Indian workers. These three forces explain the hidden root causes of migration, but these are researched in previous studies.

The findings of this study reveal that some individuals prefer to migrate due to their economic dreams which are not possible to fulfil in India. On the other hand, the human capital remaining in India can enjoy more permanent posts, career development opportunities and value for human capital, because some highly skilled workers migrate for economic benefits. Some individuals' preference to stay in India is because of the brain drain, which increases the value of human capital in the job market. Some non-migrants said that patriotism, the welfare of local people, the high status of their family and responsibilities for linked lives were essential reasons they did not migrate from India.

This study contributes to the understanding of both push and pull factors for highly skilled Indian workers. Interestingly, it finds that family status, which includes social status, ethnicity, political status and economic status, is the hidden factor which influences the migration decisions of highly skilled workers differently. Overall institutional discrimination in India due to gender, social or political affiliation, favouritism and nepotism powerfully act as push factors for highly skilled Indian workers. Gender empowerment is a notable factor, because it enhances the migration rate of highly skilled Indian workers. Interestingly, this study extracts some notable findings. For example, institutional social norms, such as institutional discrimination act as a significant push factor. At the same time, privileging social norms such as respect for those of high social political status acts as a pull factor. Therefore, we can argue that migration is the transition of social norms. Furthermore, gender inequality within society, institutions and the family creates motivation for migration from India. Girls' insecurity due to their gender in India, and the social and institutional security of girls in the UK, act as push and pull factors. Gender differences in terms of partners, family members, family responsibilities, skill levels and institutions prove novel and interesting points, because these factors act as both push and pull factors. Family status, institutional discrimination and gender roles are significant forces, which are very hidden, but which act as strong push and pull factors for highly skilled Indian workers. These three forces explain the hidden root causes of migration decisions, but are rarely covered in previous research studies.

6.2 Contribution

This research explores how and why highly skilled migrants decide to migrate from India to the UK. Most previous studies provide an understanding of how professional and social networking factors influence the migration decision. However, these social and professional connections are facilitators of migration rather than pull or push factors for migration. There is inadequate understanding, especially of the social conditions and processes which govern the migration of highly skilled Indian workers. The social conditions and processes are subjective realities, which vary among people. The present study selects social constructionism to uncover social conditions of doctors and IT professionals governing migration and non migration.

Defining the social conditions that govern the migration process through social capital and institutional theory is a complicated concept, comprising multiple dimensions and encompassing the social and cultural values of the local society, which creates different levels of access to local institutions in the same society. The main idea of applying social capital

theory to migration and non migration process is incorporating the socio-cultural elements to explain the economic development outcomes and access to institutional capital. Moreover, institutions also have their own elements, including political forces, social networking and uncertainty, which give different levels of access to resources to different groups in society, referred to as family status in this research. It is increasingly debated by development specialists, academics and policymakers in India, but dealing with the social capital embedment at an institutional level is hurting highly skilled individuals. The concept goes back a long way, to the times of classical economists such as John Stuart and Adam Smith and sociologists such as Max Weber who highlight the cultural dimensions of economic development. Therefore, the theoretical contribution of this research is combining the social capital and institutional theories together to understand the push and pull factors governing migration and non-migration process of skilled professionals in India.

As the concept of social capital is found in norms, trust and informal networks and it regards social relations as valuable resources, social capital is defined as a multidimensional concept comprising a wide array of beliefs, values, norms, obligations, trusts, networks, relationships, memberships, friends, information flows, civic engagements and institutions which foster collective actions and cooperation for mutual benefit of the people, thereby contributing to socio-economic development. This research is a real application of social capital theory which explains how social capital becomes the social conditions for Indians which link their life events and lead towards migration and non-migration decisions once they become highly skilled. The application of the multidimensional concept of social capital theory comprising a wide array of beliefs, values, norms, obligations, trusts, networks, relationships, memberships, friends, information flows, civic engagements and institutions to the migration and non-migration decisions of highly skilled professionals is another theoretical contribution of this research.

The application of institutional theory to explore the process of skilled migration phenomenon among Indian professionals is another theoretical contribution of this research. The research explores how institutional factors, which include uncertainty and ambiguity in gender policies, political pressure and social networking at the institutional level, discourage people and push them to migrate. Meanwhile it gives extra advantages to others, linked to the social and cultural values of society. Therefore, the real application of institutional theory is another theoretical contribution of this research.

This study develops a conceptualization of the social conditions that govern the process of migration, based on social capital theory and institutional theory. The theoretical contribution of this research is this merging of two frameworks. This theoretical framework is applied to the results to explore the social conditions through the lens of institutionalism and the social capital of society.

The practical contribution of this research is that it provides in-depth knowledge of the push and pull factors of skilled Indian migrants, so the India government can tackle the brain drain issue in India. Additionally, the India government can attract highly skilled migration back to the country by dealing with the social and institutional issues and improving the economic development of the country. This study also provides rich knowledge about the reasons skilled Indians migrate to the UK which could facilitate decision making to attract the required skills by offering benefits and social conditions suitable for skilled professionals

6.3 Limitations and future directions

Limitations

Every type of research philosophy has its own limitation and strengths. This study uses a social constructionism epistemology which facilitates the interpretation of data as per the understanding of the participants and the researcher's experience. However, this research cannot be generalized because the social constructionist position of the research means data is collected from a limited professionals in small number of participants. The findings of the study are not entirely free from researcher bias, because as a social constructionist the researcher is involved in the research process. This research takes rich data, from which it interprets local social values in the context of the migration and non-migration process relating to different events in life. This study explores the social conditions of family dynamics, institutional experience and labour market factors based on a limited number of interviewees, in the unique social context of highly skilled Indian workers. Therefore, the data collection is limited by the data collection tools. The findings of the present study cannot be generalized to the broader skilled population. The family dynamics and institutional behaviours in the community as well as the institutional experiences from birth highlight novel relationships which can be tested using a positivist epistemology in future studies by selecting multiple data sources and data analysis techniques, with the purpose of validating the results of this study.

Future directions

The first future direction that studies could take is researching highly skilled labour from different countries in diverse professional fields, to get more rich insight. A larger group of Indian professional could be studied with the purpose of testing the confirmability, transferability and generalizability of the findings of this study. Institutional inequalities pay a role as push factors for highly skilled migrants, but these social inequalities may be experienced at any stage of life or by other linking lives. Therefore, future researchers could conduct research into the root causes of social inequalities and adopt appropriate theories to understand the institutional social settings as a whole in order to devise an effective context-specific framework to advise Indian local institutions how to deal with these institutional equalities. The results of such social institutional studies would help reduce skilled migration from India and attract return migration to deal with brain drain and provide positive environment in labour market.

It is highlighted in the literature and also mentioned by some participants that highly skilled Indians also face social inequality issues in the UK. Therefore, the third future research direction is comparative analysis of the institutional social inequalities of both countries that would lead to an understanding of the immigration issues in the UK and further improve Indian and UK institutions how equality, diversity and inclusiveness is practiced.

This research only focuses on exploration of the push and pull factors of Indian migration and non-migration. Future research could be conducted into the social difficulties highly skilled migrants face in the post-migration period and how they perceive the social conditions abroad as compared to India. Some highly skilled professionals migrate temporarily with the intention of improving their skills. Therefore, the fourth future direction could be exploring the labour market and skills development opportunities for the highly skilled, through comparative analysis of the UK and India. This research should also include an exploration of temporary migration shifting to permanent migration. This type of research could explore the migration conditions of the host country which cause the shift from temporary to permanent migration. Gender plays a vital role in migration, and female migration encourages other women into education and migration. Therefore, future research could explore the social conditions of women and the role of their networking in encouraging skilled female migrants from India to the UK.

There is a dearth of research on migration from the employer's perspective. Employers in host countries have to deal with highly skilled foreign workers for whom they might have to make unusual adjustments. It is therefore imperative that employers' views are taken into account when highly skilled labour immigrate, and the impact they have on the workplace environment and culture. This gives rise to diversity arguments, such as the impact of diversity in the workplace. It needs be asked whether such employment generates rich advantages for employers. Future studies could highlight the challenges faced by countries welcoming migrants, for example managing the resistance among local people against migrants, the idea that migrants are stealing jobs and other opportunities, and managing the demands of the industry. Nationalism is growing across the world, and each country deals with it differently. However, nationalist sentiments affect the acceptance of migrants by communities in host countries and there can be resistance from locals. There is a dearth of research studying migration in the Asia and Pacific region compared to migration taking place from east to west.

Migrants also face tremendous changes in social conditions and culture. Indian culture is collectivist whereas British culture emphasizes individual freedom. This causes culture shock to migrants, and thus future research could study the impact of culture shock and whether it contributes to further migration decisions, such as return migration. Future studies could explore the national, international, individual, organizational and familial processes underpinning the migration process, because existing research usually focuses on one phase of migration, while the current research focuses on multiple phases and recommends that future researches look into the multiple processes underpinning each phase. This would substantially increase the understanding of the migration process as a whole. Future research could also look into the differences in family life in the pre- and post-migration phases, and the impact on subsequent migration decisions, such as return migration. The findings of the current research indicate that the concept of family life needs to be understood outside the parameters of western understanding, because the borders are relatively higher in Indian culture. Since family life has a significant impact on the migration decisions of highly skilled Indians, any understanding of the migration process is incomplete without completely understanding the impact of family life on migration decisions.

Future studies could address the numerous challenges that receiving countries face, such as striking the right balance between meeting industry demands appropriately and handling local resistance. Growing nationalism across the world casts a shadow on Asia and the Pacific, but

manifests and is tackled differently in each receiving country. Such differences call for further study. The research into highly skilled migration in Asia and the Pacific is still at a nascent stage, compared to North America and Europe. It is my hope that this special section will spur further research into highly skilled migration among scholars and researchers.

Future research into highly skilled migration could investigate how employers adapt to changes and how they find innovative solutions to counteract policy changes. By taking the employer's perspective, we can understand the demand side of skilled migration and the employer's evaluation of importing a skilled workforce and their contribution. With transnational companies the emphasis is not so much on the local contribution, but the global talent pool that employers possess and the advantage this brings to the organization. Such knowledge will help us examine the role of employers in attracting, retaining and nurturing talent from abroad.

REFERENCES

- Abraham, R. 2017. Informality in the Indian labour market: An analysis of forms and determinants. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, 60(2), 191-215.
- Abraído-Lanza, A. F., Chao, M. T., & Flórez, K. R. (2005). Do healthy behaviours decline with greater acculturation? Implications for the Latino mortality paradox. *Social Science & Medicine*, 61(6), 1243e1255.
- Ackers L. 2005. Moving people and knowledge: scientific mobility in the European Union. *International Migration* 43(5): 99–129.
- Ackers, L., 2004. Managing relationships in peripatetic careers: scientific mobility in the European Union. *Women's Stud. Int. Forum* 27 (3), 189–201.
- Adelman, C., 1998, *Women and Men of the Engineering Path: A Model for Analyses of Undergraduate Careers*(Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education).
- Adler, P.S. and Kwon, S.W., 2002. Social capital: Prospects for a new concept. *Academy of management review*, 27(1), pp.17-40.
- Adovor, E., Czaika, M., Docquier, F. and Moullan, Y., 2021. Medical brain drain: how many, where and why?. *Journal of Health Economics*, 76, p.102409.
- Adya, M.P., 2008. Women at work: Differences in IT career experiences and perceptions between South Asian and American women. *Human Resource Management: Published in Cooperation with the School of Business Administration, The University of Michigan and in alliance with the Society of Human Resources Management*, 47(3), pp.601-635.
- Agrawal, A., Kapur, D., McHale, J., Oettl, A., 2011. Brain drain or brain bank? the impact of skilled emigration on poor-country innovation. *J. Urban Econ.* 69 (1), 43–55.
- Agrawal, S., Taylor, F.C., Moser, K., Narayanan, G., Kinra, S., Prabhakaran, D., Reddy, K.S., Smith, G.D. and Ebrahim, S., 2015. Associations between sociodemographic characteristics, pre-migratory and migratory factors and psychological distress just after migration and after resettlement: the Indian migration study. *Indian journal of social psychiatry*, 31(1), p.55.
- Agunias, D. R., & Newland, K. (2012). *Developing a road map for engaging diasporas in development: A handbook for policymakers and practitioners in home and host countries.* Geneva and Washington D.C: International Organisation for Migration and Migration Policy Institute.
- Ahsan, A., & Abella, M. 2014. *International migration and development in east Asia and the pacific.* Herndon: World Bank Publications.
- Akakpo, C. E. G., & Lenard, P. T. (2014). New challenges in immigration theory: An overview. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 17(5), 493-502.

- Akwawua, S., & Pooler, J. A. (2016, February). An intervening opportunities model of US interstate migration flows. In *Geography Research Forum* (Vol. 20, pp. 33-51).
- Al Ariss, A. and Syed, J., 2011. Capital mobilization of skilled migrants: A relational perspective. *British Journal of Management*, 22(2), pp.286-304.
- Al Ariss, A., (2010). Modes of engagement: migration, self-initiated expatriation, and career development. *Career Development International*, 15(4), pp.338-358.
- Al Ariss, A., Koall, I., Özbilgin, M., & Suutari, V. (2013). Careers of skilled migrants. *Journal of Management Development*, 32(2), 148-151.
- Al Ariss, A., Koall, I., Özbilgin, M. and Suutari, V. (2012), "Careers of skilled migrants: towards a theoretical and methodological expansion", *Journal of Management Development*, Vol. 31 No. 2, pp. 92-101.
- Alam, G. M. and Rahaman, M., 2008, The impact of migration on development: A comparative study between skilled and semi/unskilled emigrants. *Journal of Business Studies*, 4(3), pp. 117–131.
- Alarcon, R., 1999. Recruitment processes among foreign-born engineers and scientists in Silicon Valley. *American Behavioural Scientist*, 42(9), pp.1381-1397.
- Ali, S., 2007. 'Go West Young Man': the culture of migration among Muslims in Hyderabad, India. *J. Ethnic Migration Study*. 33 (1), 37–58.
- Almeida, S., Fernando, M., & Sheridan, A. (2012). Revealing the screening: Organisational factors influencing the recruitment of immigrant professionals. *International Journal of Human Research Management*, 23, 1950–1965.
- Altbach, P. G., 1991, Impact and adjustment: Foreign students in comparative perspective. *Higher Education*, 21(3), pp. 305–324.
- Altbach, P. G., 2004, Higher education crosses borders. *Change*, 36(2), pp. 18–25.
- Appleyard, R. T., 1989, Migration and development: Myths and reality. *International Migration Review*, 23(3), pp. 486–499.
- Amstutz, M. R. 2015. Two theories of immigration: Mark R. amstutz argues that, today, a communitarian approach must take priority over a cosmopolitan approach. *First Things: A Monthly Journal of Religion and Public Life*. Analysis." *Social Forces* 80 (3): 981–1004.
- Anand, S. and Bärnighausen, T., 2004. Human resources and health outcomes: cross-country econometric study. *The Lancet*, 364(9445), pp.1603-1609.
- Andersson, G. 2004. "Childbearing after Migration: Fertility Patterns of Foreign-born Women in Sweden." *International Migration Review* 38 (2): 747–774.
- Anthias, F. (1999) Institutional racism, power and accountability, *Sociological Research Online*, 4(1). Available online at: <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/resources/shef.ac.uk/4/lawrence/anthias.html>

- Anthias, F., (2007), 'Ethnic ties: social capital and the question of mobilizability', *The Sociological Review*, 55 (4): 788–805.
- Antman, F.M., 2012. Gender, educational attainment, and the impact of parental migration on children left behind. *Journal of Population Economics*, 25(4), pp.1187-1214.
- Aring, M., 2015. *ASEAN Economic Community 2015: Enhancing competitiveness and employability through skill development*. ILO
- Arnold, G. (2015). *Migration: Changing the world* (1st ed.). GB: Pluto Press.
- Arora, A. and Gambardella, A., 2005, The globalization of the software industry: Perspectives and opportunities for developed and developing countries. *Innovation Policy and the Economy*, 5(1), pp. 1–32.
- Arslan, C., Dumont, J.-C., Kone, Z., Moullan, Y., Parsons, Ç., Özden, C., & Xenogiani, X. (2014). A new profile of migrants in the aftermath of the recent economic crisis (OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Paper No. 160). Paris, France: OECD.
- Ashton, D. N., & Maguire, M. J. (1984). Dual labour market theory and the organisation of local labour markets. *International Journal of Social Economics*, 11(7), 106-120.
- Ashton, D., Brown, P., & Lauder, H. (2010). Skill webs and international human resource management: lessons from a study of the global skill strategies of transnational companies. *The international journal of human resource management*, 21(6), 836-850.
- Asis, M.M.B., 2006. The Philippines' Culture of Migration. Migration Information Source, Washington. <<http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.cfm?ID=364>>
- Astin, A. and Astin, H., 1992, *Undergraduate Science Education: The Impact of Different College Environments on the Educational Pipeline in the Sciences* (Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute).
- Atwell Seate, A., & Mastro, D. 2016. Media's influence on immigration attitudes: An intergroup threat theory approach. *Communication Monographs*, 83(2), 194-213.
- Auerbach, C. and Silverstein, L.B., 2003. *Qualitative data: An introduction to coding and analysis* (Vol. 21). NYU press.
- Axelsson, L. (2017). Living within temporally thick borders: IT professionals' experiences of Swedish immigration policy and practice. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43(6), 974-990.
- Baas, M. (2010). *Imagined mobility: Migration and transnationalism among Indian students in Australia*. GB: Anthem Press.
- Babar, Z., Ewers, M., & Khattab, N. (2019). Immobile highly skilled migrants in Qatar. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(9), 1553-1570.
- Babar, Z., Ewers, M., & Khattab, N. (2019). Immobile highly skilled migrants in Qatar. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(9), 1553-1570.

- Bachmann-Medick, D., & Kugele, J. (2018). *migration* (1st ed.) De Gruyter.
- Bagguley, P. and Hussain, Y., 2007. *The role of higher education in providing opportunities for South Asian women* (Vol. 2058). Policy Press.
- Bailey, A. and Mulder, C.H., 2017. Highly skilled migration between the Global North and South: gender, life courses and institutions.
- Bailey, A. J. 2009. "Population Geography: Life course Matters." *Progress in Human Geography* 33(3): 407–418
- Bailey, A. J., and P. Boyle. 2004. "Untying and Retying Family Migration in the New Europe." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30 (2): 229–241.
- Bailey, A. J., M. K. Blake, and T. J. Cooke. 2004. "Migration, Care, and the Linked Lives of Dual earner Households." *Environment and Planning A* 36 (9): 1617–1632.
- Bakewell, O. 2010, "Some Reflections on Structure and Agency in Migration Theory", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 36, no. 10, pp. 1689-1708.
- Balaz', V., Williams, A., 2004. Been there done that: international student migration and human capital transfers from the UK to Slovakia. *Popul. Place Space* 10 (3), 217–237.
- Balram, P. (2001). Redirecting migrations: Reversing the brain drain. *Current Science*, 80, 805–806.
- Banerjee, S. 2006. "Higher Education and the Reproductive Life Course. A Cross-cultural Study of Women in Karnataka (India) and the Netherlands." PhD diss., University of Groningen. Amsterdam: Dutch University Press.
- Banks, J. A. (2017). *Citizenship education and global migration: Implications for theory, research, and teaching*. US: Casemate Publishers & Book Distributors.
- Barasa, E. W., Cloete, K., & Gilson, L. (2017). From bouncing back, to nurturing emergence: Reframing the concept of resilience in health systems strengthening. *Health Policy and Planning*, 32(suppl_3)
- Baron, R.A., 2004. Social skills. *Handbook of entrepreneurial dynamics: the process of business creation*. Sage, Thousand Oaks, pp.220-233.
- Barré, R., Hernández, V., Meyer, J.-B., & Vinck, D. (2003). Scientific diasporas: How can developing countries benefit from their expatriate scientists and engineers?. Paris: Institute de la Recherche pour le Development.
- Bartis, E., & Mitev, N. (2008). A multiple narrative approach to information systems failure: A successful system that failed. *European Journal of Information Systems*, 17(2), 112-124.
- Bartolini, L., Gropas, R. and Triandafyllidou, A., 2017. Drivers of highly skilled mobility from Southern Europe: escaping the crisis and emancipating oneself. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43(4), pp.652-673.

- Baruch, Y., Budhwar, P.S. and Khatri, N., 2007. Brain drain: Inclination to stay abroad after studies. *Journal of world business*, 42(1), pp.99-112.
- Bates, C., & Carter, M. (2017). Sirdars as intermediaries in nineteenth-century Indian Ocean indentured labour migration. *Modern Asian Studies*, 51(2)
- Batra, R. and Reio Jr, T.G., 2016. Gender inequality issues in India. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 18(1), pp.88-101.
- Battisti, M., Felbermayr, G., Peri, G., & Poutvaara, P. (2017). Immigration, search and redistribution: A quantitative assessment of native welfare. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 16(4), 1137-1188.
- Batzinsky, A., McDowell, L. and Dyer, S. (2008), "A middle-class global mobility? The working lives of Indian men in a west London hotel", *Global Networks*, Vol. 8 No. 1, pp. 51-70
- Baudassé, T. and Bazillier, R., 2014. Gender inequality and emigration: Push factor or selection process?. *International Economics*, 139, pp.19-47.
- Baudassé, T., Bazillier, R. and Issifou, I., 2018. Migration and institutions: Exit and voice (from abroad)?. *Journal of Economic Surveys*, 32(3), pp.727-766.
- Bauder, H. (2003). "Brain abuse", or the devaluation of immigrant labour in Canada. *Antipode*, 35, 699–717.
- Baum, F.E., 2003. Ziersch: Social capital. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 57, pp.320-323.
- Bauman, Z. (2008) *Globalization: The Human Consequences*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bazillier, R. and Moullan, Y., 2012. Does Employment Protection Influence Migration Flows toward OECD Countries?. *Revue economies*, 63(3), pp.491-499.
- Beaverstock, J.V. (2005), *Transnational Elites in the City: British Highly-skilled Inter-company Transferees in New York City's Financial District*. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31, pp. 245– 268.
- Beaverstock, J.V., 2011. Highly skilled international labour migration and world cities: Expatriates, executives and entrepreneurs. In *International handbook of globalization and world cities*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Beaverstock, J.V., 2012. Highly skilled international labour migration and world cities: Expatriates, executives and entrepreneurs. *International handbook of globalization and world cities*, pp.240-250.
- Becker, G.S., 1983. A theory of competition among pressure groups for political influence. *The quarterly journal of economics*, 98(3), pp.371-400.
- Becker, P.E., Moen, P., 1999. Scaling back: dual-earner couples' work–family strategies. *J. Marriage Fam.*, 995–1007.

- Beckley, A. L. (2015). Deterrence versus marginalization: Evidence from immigrant offending. *Race and Justices*, 5(3), 278-300.
- Bedford, R. and Spoonley, J. (2014) 'Competing for Talent: Diffusion of an Innovation in New Zealand's Immigration Policy', *International Migration Review*, 48/3: 891–911.
- Beechler, S. and Woodward, I.C., 2009. The global “war for talent”. *Journal of international management*, 15(3), pp.273-285.
- Beine, M., Bricongne, J.-C., & Bourgeon, P. (2013). Business cycles and international migration among OECD countries (CESifo Working Paper No. 4379). Munich, Germany: CESifo Group.
- Beine, M., Docquier, F. and Özden, Ç., 2011. Diasporas. *Journal of Development Economics*, 95(1), pp.30-41.
- Beine, M., Docquier, F. and Rapoport, H., 2001, Brain drain and economic growth: Theory and evidence. *Journal of Development Economics*, 64(1), pp. 275–289.
- Beine, M., Docquier, F. and Rapoport, H., 2008. Brain drain and human capital formation in developing countries: winners and losers. *The Economic Journal*, 118(528), pp.631-652.
- Beine, M., Docquier, F. and Schiff, M., 2009. *International migration, transfers of norms and home country fertility*. The World Bank.
- Bennett, T., Savage, M., Silva, E.B., Warde, A., Gayo-Cal, M. and Wright, D., 2009. *Culture, class, distinction*. Routledge.
- Berger, P.L. and Luckmann, T., 1966. The social construction of reality. *New York: Anchor*.
- Bernard, A., M. Bell, and E. Charles-Edwards. 2014. “Life-course Transitions and the Age Profile of Internal Migration.” *Population and Development Review* 40 (2): 213–239.
- Bernard, H.R., 2017. *Research methods in anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Bertoli, S. and Marchetta, F., 2015. Bringing it all back home—return migration and fertility choices. *World Development*, 65, pp.27-40.
- Bertoli, S., Fernandez-Huertas Moraga, J., 2013. Multilateral resistance to migration. *J. Dev. Econ.* 102 (C), 79–100.
- Bhagwati, J. N. and Hamada, K., 1974, The brain drain, international integration of markets for professionals and unemployment: A theoretical analysis. *Journal of Development Economics*, 1(1), pp. 19–42
- Bhagwati, J. N., 1976, *The Brain Drain and Taxation: Theory and Empirical Analysis* (Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Company).
- Bhagwati, J., & Hanson, G. (2009). *Skilled immigration today: Prospects, problems, and policies*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

- Bhargava, A., Docquier, F., Moullan, Y., 2011. Modeling the effects of physician emigration on human development. *Econ. Human Biol.* 9 (2), p172–183.
- Bhopal, K. 2011. “‘Education Makes You Have More Say in the Way Your Life Goes’: Indian Women and Arranged Marriages in the United Kingdom.” *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 32 (3): 431–447.
- Bielby, W. T., and D. D. Bielby. 1992. “I Will Follow Him: Family Ties, Gender-Role Beliefs, and Reluctance to Relocate for a Better Job.” *American Journal of Sociology* 97 (5): 1241–1267.
- Bijl, R., & Verweij, A. (2012). *Measuring and monitoring immigrant integration in Europe. Integration.*
- Bin Yahya, F., & Kaur, A. (2010). *The migration of Indian human capital: The Ebb and flow of Indian professionals in Southeast Asia.* Routledge.
- Bin Yahya, F., & Kaur, A. (2011). *The migration of Indian human capital: The ebb and flow of Indian professionals in southeast Asia.* London: Routledge.
- Biswas, R.R., 2014. Reverse migrant entrepreneurs in India: Motivations, trajectories and realities. In *Indian Skilled Migration and Development* (pp. 285-307). Springer, New Delhi.
- Bitsani, E., & Kavoura, A. (2011). Organizational networks, migration, and intercultural relations in Trieste, Italy. *International Journal of Culture, Tourism and Hospitality Research*, 5(1), 26-37.
- Black, R. and King, R., 2004. Editorial introduction: Migration, return and development in West Africa. *Population, Space and Place*, 10(2), pp.75-83.
- Black, R., King, R., Litchfield, J., Ammassari, S. and Tiemoko, R., 2003. Transnational migration, return and development in West Africa. *Sussex: Sussex Centre for Migration Research.*
- Bloch, A. (2017). *Sex, love, and migration: Post socialism, modernity, and intimacy from Istanbul to the arctic.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Boas, I. (2019). Social networking in a digital and mobile world: The case of environmentally-related migration in Bangladesh. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*,
- Bode, K. & Arthur, P.L. 2014, *Advancing digital humanities: research, methods, theories,* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Boeri, T., Brücker, H. and Docquier, F., 2012. *Brain drain and brain gain: The global competition to attract high-skilled migrants.* Oxford University Press. Page no-
- Bollard, A., McKenzie, D., Morten, M., Rapoport, H., 2011. Remittances and the brain drain revisited: the microdata show that more educated migrants remit more? *World Bank Econ. Rev.* 25 (1), p132–156.

- Bolzani, D., Crivellaro, F., & Grimaldi, R. (2021). Highly skilled, yet invisible. the potential of migrant women with a STEMM background in Italy between intersectional barriers and resources. *Gender, Work, and Organization*, 28(6), 2132-2157.
- Borjas, G. (1987). Self-selection and the earnings of immigrants. *American Economic Review*, 77, 531–553.
- Bornat, J., Henry, L., Raghuram, P., 2011. The making of careers, the making of a discipline: luck and chance in migrant careers in geriatric medicine. *J. Vocat. Behav.* 78, p342–350.
- Boucher, A., and L. Cerna (2014). Current Policy Trends in Skilled Migration Policy. *International Migration* 52(3): 21-25.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bourdieu, P. (1985). The social space and the genesis of groups. *Theory and Society*, 14, 723–744.
- Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J.C., 1990. *Reproduction in education, society and culture* (Vol. 4). Sage.
- Bourdieu, P., 1986. The forms of capital. In: Richardson, J.G. (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. Greenwood Press, New York, pp. 241–259.
- Bourdieu, P., 2000. *Pascalian meditations*. Stanford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P., 2001. *Masculine Domination* (R. Nice, Trans.): Stanford University Press.
- Bourne, J. (2001) The life and times of institutional racism, *Race and Class*, 43(2), 7–22.
- Boxman, E.A., De Graaf, P.M. and Flap, H.D., 1991. The impact of social and human capital on the income attainment of Dutch managers. *Social networks*, 13(1), pp.51-73.
- Boyd, C. (2003) *Migrants in New Zealand: An Analysis of Labour Market Outcomes for Working Aged Migrants Using 1996 and 2001 Census Data*. Wellington: New Zealand Immigration Service.
- Boyd, M., (1989), ‘Family and personal networks in international migration’, *International Migration Review*, 23 (3): 638–670.
- Boyle, P., Halfacree, K., Robinson, V., 1998. *Exploring Contemporary Migration*. Longman, Harlow, Essex.
- Boyle, P., T. J. Cooke, K. Halfacree, and S. Smith. 2001. “A Cross-national Comparison of the Impact of Family Migration on Women’s Employment Status.” *Demography* 38 (2): 201–213.
- Boyle, P.J., Kulu, H., Cooke, T., Gayle, V., Mulder, C.H., 2008. Moving and union dissolution. *Demography* 45 (1), 209–222.

- Bradbury, H., & Lichtenstein, B. M. B. (2000). Relationality in organizational research: Exploring the space between. *Organization Science*, 11, 551–564.
- Bresnahan, T.F., Brynjolfsson, E. and Hitt, L.M., 2002. Information technology, workplace organization, and the demand for skilled labor: Firm-level evidence. *The quarterly journal of economics*, 117(1), pp.339-376.
- Brian, K., 2007. OECD Insights Human Capital How what you know shapes your life: How what you know shapes your life. OECD publishing.
- Brown, P. (1999). Globalisation and the political economy of high skills. *Journal of education and work*, 12(3), 233-251.
- Brown, P., & Lauder, H. (2006). Globalisation, knowledge and the myth of the magnet economy. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 4(1), 25-57.
- Brown, P., & Lauder, H. (2012). Globalization, knowledge, and the myth of the magnet economy. In *The Knowledge Economy and Lifelong Learning* (pp. 117-146). Sense Publishers, Rotterdam.
- Brown, P., & Tannock, S. (2009). Education, meritocracy and the global war for talent. *Journal of Education Policy*, 24(4), 377-392.
- Brown, P., Ashton, D., Lauder, H. and Tholen, G., 2008. Towards a high-skilled, low-waged workforce? A review of global trends in education, employment and the labour market.
- Brown, P., Lauder, H., & Ashton, D. (2010). *The global auction: The broken promises of education, jobs, and incomes*. Oxford University Press.
- Brücker, H., Hauptmann, A., Jahn, E. J., & Upward, R. (2014). Migration and imperfect labor markets: Theory and cross-country evidence from Denmark, Germany and the UK. *European Economic Review*, 66, 205-225.
- Bryman, A. and Burgess, B. eds., 2002. *Analysing qualitative data*. Routledge.
- Bryman, A., 2016. *Social research methods*. Oxford university press.
- Buga, N. and Meyer, J.B., 2012. *Indian human resources mobility: brain drain versus brain gain*.
- Burt, R.S., 1997. A note on social capital and network content. *Social networks*, 19(4), pp.355-373.
- Burt, R.S., 2001. Closure as social capital. *Social capital: Theory and research*, pp.31-55.
- Butler, K. (2001). Defining diaspora, refining a discourse. *Diaspora. A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 10(2), 189–219.
- Buzby, A. (2016). Locking the borders: Exclusion in the theory and practice of immigration in America. *International Migration Review*

- Caloz-Tschopp, M. C. (2010). Scientific diasporas, migration and development. A perspective from philosophy and political theory. In G. Tejada & J. C. Bolay (Eds.), *Scientific diasporas as development partners. Skilled migrants from Colombia, India and South Africa in Switzerland: Empirical evidence and policy responses* (pp. 21–136). Bern: Peter Lang.
- Cangià, F., Davoine, E., & Tashtish, S. (2021). (im)mobilities, waiting and professional aspirations: The career lives of highly skilled syrian refugees in switzerland. *Geoforum*, *125*, 57-65.
- Cao, X., 1996, Debating brain-drain in the context of globalization. *Compare*, *26*(3), pp. 269–284.
- Carlson, S. (2018). Intra-European mobility and the formation of a European society? German mobile graduates' early careers in trans-/national professional fields. *Innovation (Abingdon, England)*, *31*(4), 464-483.
- Caro, E., Bailey, A., van Wissen, L.J.G., 2013. Exploring links between internal and international migration in Albania: a view from internal migrants. *Population, Space and Place*,.
- Carr, S., Inkson, K., & Thorn, K. (2005). From global careers to talent flow: reinterpreting 'brain drain'. *Journal of World Business*, *40*, 386–398
- Carrington, W. and Detragiache, E., 1999, International migration and brain drain. *The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, *24*(3), pp. 163–171.
- Cassarino, J. P. (2004). Theorising return migration: A conceptual approach to return migrants revisited. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, *6*(2), 253–279.
- Cassell, C., Cunliffe, A.L. and Grandy, G. eds., 2017. *The SAGE handbook of qualitative business and management research methods*. Sage.
- Castles, S. (2003) Towards a sociology of forced migration, *Sociology*, *37*(1), 13–34.
- Castles, S. (2018). Social transformation and human mobility: Reflections on the past, present and future of migration. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *39*(2), 238-251.
- Castles, S. 2006. "Guest workers in Europe: A Resurrection?" *International Migration Review* *40* (4): 741–766.
- Castles, S., & Miller, M. J. (2009). *The age of migration*. UK: Palgrave-Macmillan.
- Castles, S., 2002. Migration and community formation under conditions of globalization. *International migration review*, *36*(4), pp.1143-1168.
- Castles, S., 2010. Understanding global migration: A social transformation perspective. *Journal of ethnic and migration studies*, *36*(10), pp.1565-1586.
- Castles, S., De Haas, H. and Miller, M.J., 2013. *The age of migration: International population movements in the modern world*. Macmillan International Higher Education.

- Census of India. 2011. "Data Sheet: Figures at Glance." http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/hlo/Data_sheet/India/Figures_Glance.pdf.
- Cerise, F.P., 1974. Expectations and reality: a case study of return migration from the United States to Southern Italy. *Int. Migr. Rev.* 8 (2), 245–262.
- Cerise, S., Francavilla, F., Loiseau, E. and Tuccio, M., 2013. Why discriminatory social institutions affecting adolescent girls matter.
- Cerna, L., 2011. *Selecting the Best and the Brightest. Policy Primer.* University of Oxford
- Cerna, L., 2014. Attracting High-Skilled Immigrants: Policies in Comparative Perspective. *International Migration*, 52(3), pp.69-84. h cities. *Geo Journal*,
- Chacko, E. (2015). Hybrid sensibilities: Highly skilled Asian Indians negotiating identity in private and public spaces of Washington, DC. *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 32(1), 115-128.
- Chamberlain, S. A., Hoben, M., Squires, J. E., & Estabrooks, C. A. (2016). Individual and organizational predictors of health care aide job satisfaction in long term care. *BMC Health Services Research*, 16(1), 577.
- Champion, T., & Shuttleworth, I. (2017). Are people changing address less? an analysis of migration within England and wales, 1971–2011, by distance of move. *Population, Space and Place*, 23(3)
- Chanda, R. and Sreenivasan, N., 2006. India's experience with skilled migration. *Competing for global talent*, pp.215-256.
- Chang, I., Liu, C., & Chen, K. (2014). The push, pull and mooring effects in virtual migration for social networking sites. *Information Systems Journal (Oxford, England)*, 24(4), 323-346.
- Charsley, K. and Shaw, A., 2006. South Asian transnational marriages in comparative perspective. *Global Networks*, 6(4), pp.331-344.
- Chen, E., Ward, R. and Coulon, A., 2013. Employers' Role and Influence in Migration: A literature review.
- Cheng, Y. J. (2014). Bridging immigration research and racial formation theory to examine contemporary immigrant identities. *Sociology Compass*, 8(6), 745-754.
- Chisholm, R. A., & Lichstein, J. W. (2009). ing dispersal, immigration and scale in the neutral theory of biodiversity. *Ecology Letters*, 12(12), 1385.
- Choudhry, U. K. 2001. "Uprooting and Resettlement Experiences of South Asian Immigrant Women." *Western Journal of Nursing Research* 23 (4): 376–393.
- Chwaszcza, C. (2009). The unity of the people, and immigration in liberal theory. *Citizenship Studies*, 13(5), 451-473.
- Clark, W. A. V., and S. Davies Withers. 2002. "Disentangling the Interaction of Migration, Mobility, and Labor-force Participation." *Environment and Planning A* 34

Clark, W. A. V., and S. Davies Withers. 2007. "Family Migration and Mobility Sequences in the United States: Spatial Mobility in the Context of the Life Course." *Demographic Research* 17: 591–622.

Clark, W.A., 2013. Life course events and residential change: Unpacking age effects on the probability of moving. *Journal of Population Research*, 30(4), pp.319-334.

Clarke, L. and Winch, C. eds., 2007. *Vocational education: International approaches, developments and systems*. Routledge.

Clemens, M.A., Pettersson, G., 2006. A New Database of Health Professional Emigration from Africa. Working Papers 95. Center for Global Development

Clucas, C. (2020). Understanding self-respect and its relationship to self-esteem. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*, 46(6), 014616721987911-855.

Cohen, L., Duberley, J., & Ravishankar, M. N. (2015). Examining the interplay of career, migration and national cultural identity: The case of Indian scientists. *International Migration*, 53(5),

Cohen, M.S. and Zaidi, M.A., 2002. *Global skill shortages*. Edward Elgar Publishing. Pp.119-122

Cohen, R. (1997). *Global diasporas: An introduction*. London: UCL Press.

Coker, N. (Ed.). (2001). *Racism in medicine: An agenda for change*. London: King's Fund Publishing.

Cole, M. (2004) 'Brutal and stinking' and 'difficult to handle': the historical and contemporary manifestations of racialisation, institutional racism, and schooling in Britain, *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 7(1), 35–56.

Cole, P. (2015). At the borders of political theory: Carens and the ethics of immigration. *European Journal of Political Theory*, 14(4), 501-510.

Coleman, J. S., (1988), 'Social capital in the creation of human capital'. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94: S95–S121.

Coleman, J.S., 1994. *Foundations of social theory*. Harvard university press.

Collins, J. (2008). Coming to America: Challenges for faculty coming to United States' universities *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, 32, 179–188.

Combes, P.-P., Duranton, G., Gobillon, L., 2008. Spatial wage disparities: sorting matters? *J. Urban Econ.* p723–742.

Commander, M., Kangasniemi, M. and Winters, L., 2004, The brain drain: Curse of boom? a survey of the literature, in: R. E. Baldwin and L. A. Winters (Eds) *Challenges to Globalization: Analyzing the Economics* (Chicago: National Bureau of Economic Research), pp. 235–272.

- Connell, J., 2004. The migration of skilled health professionals: From the Pacific Islands to the World. *Asian and Pacific migration journal*, 13(2), pp.155-177
- Connor, P. and Ruiz, N.G., 2019. Majority of US public supports high-skilled immigration. *Pew Research Centre*, 22.
- Conradson, D., and A. Latham. 2005. "Friendship, Networks and Transnationality in a World City: Antipodean Trans-migrants in London." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31 (2): 287–305.
- Cooke, T. J. 2001. "'Trailing Wife' or 'Trailing Mother'? The Effect of Parental Status on the Relationship Between Family Migration and the Labor-Market Participation of Married Women." *Environment and Planning A* 33: 419–430.
- Cooke, T. J. 2008. "Migration in a Family Way." *Population, Space and Place* 14 (4): 255–265. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 1659
- Cooke, T. J. 2013. "All Tied Up: Tied Staying and Tied Migration Within the United States 1997 to 2007." *Demographic Research* 29: 817–836.
- Courgeau, D., 1985. Interaction between spatial mobility, family and career lifecycle: a French survey. *Eur. Social. Rev.* 1, 139–162.
- Covarrubias, M., Lafortune, J., & Tessada, J. (2015). Who comes and why? Determinants of immigrant's skill level in the early xxth century us. *Journal of Demographic Economics*, 81(1), 115-155.
- Craig, G. M. (2007). 'nation', 'migration' and tuberculosis. *Social Theory & Health*, 5(3), 267-284.
- Crompton, R. (2006). *Employment and the family: the Reconfiguration of work and family life in contemporary societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Crowther, D. & Lancaster, G. 2012, *Research methods*, 2nd edn, Taylor and Francis, Hoboken.
- Csedo, K. (2008) 'Negotiating Skills in the Global City: Hungarian and Romanian Professionals and Graduates in London', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43/ 5: 803–23.
- Czaika, M. and Parsons, C.R., 2015. *The Gravity of High-Skilled Migration Policies*.- International Migration Institute. University of Oxford. Working Papers № 110.
- Czaika, M. and Parsons, C.R., 2017. The gravity of high-skilled migration policies. *Demography*, 54(2), pp.603-630.
- Czaika, M., de Haas, H., Villares-Varela, M., 2018. The global evolution of travel visa regimes? *Popul. Dev. Rev.* 44 (3), p589–622.
- Czarniawska, B. and Sevón, G., 2008. The thin end of the wedge: Foreign women professors as double strangers in academia. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 15(3), pp.235-287.

- D'Costa, A. P. (2006), *The International Mobility of Technical Talent. Trends and Development Implications*.
- D'Costa, A. P., & Bagchi, A. K. (2012). Transformation and development: A critical introduction to India and China. In A. K. Bagchi & A. P. D'Costa (Eds.), *Transformation and development: The political economy of transition in India and China* (pp. 1–28). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Daaleman, T. P., and G. H. Elder, Jr. 2007. "Family Medicine and the Life Course Paradigm." *The Journal of the American Board of Family Medicine* 20 (1): 85–92.
- Dannefer, D. and Settersten, R.A., 2010. The study of the life course: Implications for social gerontology. *The SAGE handbook of social gerontology*, pp.3-19.
- Daugeliene, R. and Marcinkeviciene, R., 2009. Brain circulation: theoretical considerations. *Engineering economics*, 63(4).
- Daugėlienė, R., 2007. The peculiarities of knowledge workers migration in Europe and the World. *Engineering economics*, (3 (53)), pp.57-64.
- De Haas, H. (2006). *Engaging diasporas. How governments and development agencies can support diasporas involvement in the development of origin countries. A study for Oxfam Novib*. Oxford: University of Oxford, International Migration Institute.
- De Haas, H. (2008). *Migration and development: A theoretical perspective*. Working Paper 9. Oxford: University of Oxford, International Migration Institute
- De Haas, H. (2012). The migration and development pendulum: A critical view on research and policy. *International Migration*,50(3), 8–25.
- De Haas, H. and Miller, M. J. (2014) *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. London: Palgrave.
- De Haas, H., 2010. Migration and development: A theoretical perspective *International migration review*, 44(1), pp.227-264.
- De Jong, G.F., 2000. Expectations, gender, and norms in migration decision making. *Population studies*, 54(3), pp.307-319.
- De Lange, T. (2018). Welcoming talent? A comparative study of immigrant entrepreneurs' entry policies in France, Germany and the Netherlands. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 6(1), 1-18.
- Deepak, A. C. 2005. "Parenting and the Process of Migration: Possibilities Within South Asian Families." *Child Welfare* 84 (5): p585 <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/16435652>.
- DeFillippi, R.J. and Arthur, M.B., 1994. The boundaryless career: A competency-based perspective. *Journal of organizational behavior*, 15(4), pp.307-324.
- Delius, P. 2014, "The Making and Changing of Migrant Workers' Worlds (1800-2014)", *African Studies*, vol. 73, no. 3, pp. 313-322.

Dellas, H. and Koubi, V., 2003, Business cycles and schooling. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 19, pp. 843–859.

Démurger, S. and Xu, H., 2011. Return migrants: The rise of new entrepreneurs in rural China. *World Development*, 39(10), pp.1847-1861.

Depew, B., Norlander, P., & Sørensen, T. A. (2017). Inter-firm mobility and return migration patterns of skilled guest workers. *Journal of Population Economics*, 30(2), 681-721.

Desai, S., & Banerji, M. (2008). Negotiated identities: male migration and left-behind wives in India. *Journal of Population Research*, 25(3), 337-355.

Desai, S., and L. Andrist. (2010). "Gender Scripts and Age at Marriage in India." *Demography* 47 (3):667–687.

Desiderio, M.V., Schuster, A. (Eds.), (2013). *Improving Access to Labour Market Information for Migrants and Employers*. International Organization for Migration, Brussels.

Dev, S.M., (2018). Inequality, employment and public policy. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, 61(1), pp.1-42.

Dey, I. (1993). *Creating categories. Qualitative data analysis* (pp. 94-112). London: Routledge.

Dimaggio, P. J. & Powell, W. W. (1983). "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields," *American Sociological Review*, 48 (2), 147-160.

Diner, H.R., 1983. *Erin's daughters in America: Irish immigrant women in the nineteenth century* (Vol. 101). JHU Press.

Dix, J. (2013). A Q&A with the chair of the open networking foundation's migration group: Q&A with the chair of the open networking foundation's migration group. *Network World (Online)*,

Docquier, F. and Lodigiani, E., 2010. Skilled migration and business networks. *Open Economies Review*, 21(4), pp.565-588.

Docquier, F. and Marfouk, A., 2006. International migration by education attainment, 1990–2000. *International migration, remittances and the brain drain*, pp.151-199.

Docquier, F., & Rapoport, H. (2012). Globalization, brain drain and development. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 50(3), 681–730.

Docquier, F., Lohest, O. and Marfouk, A., 2007. Brain drain in developing countries. *The World Bank Economic Review*, 21(2), pp.193-218.

Docquier, F., Lowell, B.L. and Marfouk, A., 2009. A gendered assessment of highly skilled

Doherty, N., & Dickmann, M. (2009). Exposing the symbolic capital of international assignments. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 20, 301–320.

Dollar, D. and Gatti, R., 1999. *Gender inequality, income, and growth: are good times good for women?* (Vol. 1). Washington, DC: Development Research Group, The World Bank.

Donley, A.M. 2012, Research methods, InfoBase Publishing, New York.

Drees, L. and Liehr, S., 2015. Using Bayesian belief networks to analyse social-ecological conditions for migration in the Sahel. *Global Environmental Change*, 35, pp.323-339.

Dreher, A. and Poutvaara, P., 2005. Student flows and migration: An empirical analysis.

Drèze, J., & Sen, A. (2013). *An uncertain glory: India and its contradictions*. New Delhi: Penguin.

Du`vell, F., & Jordan, B. (2010). Immigration control and the management of economic migration in the United Kingdom: Organisational culture, implementation, enforcement and identity processes in public services. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 29(2), 299-336.

Dubey, S. and Mallah, V., 2015. Migration: causes and effects. *The Business & Management Review*, 5(4), p.228.

Duflo, Esther. 2003. "Grandmothers and Granddaughters: Old-Age Pensions and Intrahousehold Allocation in South Africa." *World Bank Economic Review*, 17(1): 1–25.

Duleep, H.O., Regets, M.C., 1996. Admission criteria and immigrant earnings profiles. *Int. Migr. Rev.* 30 (2), p571–590.

Dumont, J. C. and Lemaitre, G., 2005, Beyond the headlines: New evidence on the brain drain. *Revue Economique*, 56(6), pp. 1275–1299.

Dumont, J.C., Martin, J.P. and Spielvogel, G., 2007. Women on the move: the neglected gender dimension of the brain drain.

Duncan, G.J., Newman, S.J., 1976. Expected and actual residential mobility. *J. Am. Inst. Planners* 42, 174–186.

Duncan, S., Edwards, R., Reynolds, T., & Alldred, P. (2003). Motherhood, paid work and partnering: Values and theories. *Work Employment and Society*, 17, 309–33

Dustmann, C. & Weiss, Y. 2007, "Return Migration: Theory and Empirical Evidence from the UK", *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 236-256.

Dustmann, C. and Glitz, A., 2011. Migration and education. In *Handbook of the Economics of Education* (Vol. 4, pp. 327-439). Elsevier.

Dykstra, P. A., and L. J. G. van Wissen. 1999. "Introduction: The Life Course Approach as an Interdisciplinary Framework for Population Studies." In *Population Issues: An Interdisciplinary Focus*, edited by L. J. G. van Wissen and P. A. Dykstra, 1–22. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.

E. Yamin, (2009), "Shades of dignity: Exploring the demands of equality in applying human rights frameworks to health," *Health and Human Rights: An International Journal* 11/2 (2009), pp. 1–18; P.

Easterby-Smith, A., Thorpe, R., and Jackson, P, A., 2015. *Management and Business Research*. 5th edn. London: Sage.

Echeverría, G. (2020). *Towards a systemic theory of irregular migration: Explaining ecuadorian irregular migration in Amsterdam and Madrid*. Cham: Springer.

Ehrenberg, R., 1992, The flow of new doctorates. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 30(2), pp. 830–875.

Eich-Krohm, A., 2013. Twenty-first century trends in highly skilled migration. *The Routledge International Handbook of Migration Studies*, Londres, Routledge, pp.153-165.

Elder, G. H., Jr. 1975. "Age Differentiation and the Life Course." *Annual Review of Sociology* 1 (1): 165–190.

Elder, G. H., Jr. 1985. "Perspectives on the Life Course." In *Life Course Dynamics: Trajectories and Transitions*, edited by G. H. Elder, Jr. , 23–49. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Elder, G. H., Jr. 1994. "Time, Human Agency, and Social Change: Perspectives on the Life Course." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 57 (1): 4–15.

Elder, G. H., Jr. and J. Z. Giele. 2009. "Life Course Studies: An Evolving Field." In *The Craft of Life Course Research*, edited by G. H. Elder, Jr., and J. Z. Giele, 1–24. London: The Guilford Press

Elie, J., Lieber, M. and Lutringer, C., 2011. Migration and Development: The Policies of China and India with regard to their Overseas Communities. In *International Development Policy: Energy and Development* (pp. 181-195). Palgrave Macmillan, London

Ellinas, C., Allan, N., & Johansson, A. (2017). Dynamics of organizational culture: Individual beliefs vs. social conformity. *PloS One*, 12(6),

Emirbayer, M. and Johnson, V., 2008. Bourdieu and organizational analysis. *Theory and society*, 37(1), pp.1-44.

Enders, J. and Kaulisch, M., 2006. The binding and unbinding of academic careers. *Wenner Gren International Series*, 83, p.85.

Erel, U., (2010), 'Migrating Cultural Capital: Bourdieu in Migration Studies', *Sociology*, 44 (4): 642–660.

Ernest Ravenstein (1985) The Law of Migration available at https://cla.umn.edu/sites/cla.umn.edu/files/the_laws_of_migration.pdf

Erulkar, A.S., Mekbib, T.A., Simie, N. and Gulema, T., 2006. Migration and vulnerability among adolescents in slum areas of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 9(3), pp.361-374.

- Escobar, J. I., Hoyos Nervi, C., & Gara, M. A. (2000). Immigration and mental health: Mexican Americans in the United States. *Harvard Review of Psychiatry*, 8, 64e72.
- Eskelä, E. (2018;2017;). Housing pathways of skilled migrants: Indian professionals in helsinki, Finland. *Housing, Theory and Society: Housing and Resilience*, 35(4), 474-494.
- Eve, M., (2010), 'Integrating via networks: foreigners and others', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33 (7): 1231–1248.
- Eveland Jr, W.P. and Shah, D.V., 2003. The impact of individual and interpersonal factors on perceived news media bias. *Political psychology*, 24(1), pp.101-117.
- Facchini, G. and Lodigiani, E., 2014. Attracting skilled immigrants: An overview of recent policy developments in advanced countries. *National Institute Economic Review*, 229(1), pp.R3-R21.
- Fadeyi, A.O., 2016. Social Economic Factors in Cross-Border Labour Migration in Nigeria. *Department of sociology, Faculty of Social Sciences, Lagos State University, Ojo*.
- Fairhurst, G.T. and Grant, D., 2010. The social construction of leadership: A sailing guide. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 24(2), pp.171-210.
- Faist, T. (2000), Trans nationalization in International Migration: Implications for the Study of Citizenship and Culture. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23, pp. 189–222.
- FAIST, T. (2008), Migrants as Transnational Development Agents: An Inquiry into the New Round of the Migration-development Nexus. *Population Space and Place*, 14, pp. 21–42.
- FAIST, T. (2010), Towards Transnational Studies: World Theories, Transnationalism and Changing Institutions. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36, pp. 1665–1687.
- Fan, C. S., & Stark, O. (2011). A theory of migration as a response to occupational stigma. *International Economic Review*, 52(2), 549-571.
- Fangmeng, T. (2018). Globalization and transnational academic mobility: The experiences of Chinese academic returnees by qiongqiong chen; return migration decisions: A study on highly skilled Chinese in japan by ruth achenbach. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal : APMJ*, 27(2), 242-245.
- Farole, T., A. Rodriguez-Pose & M. Storper (2010), Human Geography and the Institutions that Underlie Economic Growth. *Progress in Human Geography* 35, pp. 58–80.
- Fassio, C., Montobbio, F. and Venturini, A., 2019. Skilled migration and innovation in European industries. *Research Policy*, 48(3), pp.706-718.
- Favell, A. (2008) 'Rebooting Migration Theory: Interdisciplinarity, Globality and Post disciplinarily in Migration Studies' in Brettell, C. B. and Hollifield, J. F. (eds) *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*, pp. 259–78. London: Routledge
- Favell, A., Feldblum, M., & Smith, M. (2007). The human face of global mobility: A research agenda. *Society*, 2(44), 15–25.

Fawcett, J.T. and Arnold, F., 1987. 19: Explaining Diversity: Asian and Pacific Immigration Systems. *Centre for Migration Studies special issues*, 5(3), pp.453-473..

Feijten, P., 2005. Union dissolution, unemployment and moving out of homeownership. *European Sociological Review*, 21(1), pp.59-71.

Feldman, M.S., 1995. *Strategies for interpreting qualitative data* (Vol. 33). Sage.

Fernando, W.D.A. and Cohen, L., 2016. Exploring career advantages of highly skilled migrants: a study of Indian academics in the UK. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 27(12), pp.1277-1298.

Ferrant, G. and M. Tuccio (2015), "How do female migration and gender discrimination in social institutions mutually influence each other?", *OECD Development Centre Working Papers*, No. 326

Fielding, A.J., 1992. Migration and social mobility: South East England as an escalator region. *Reg. Stud.* 26 (1), 1–15.

Fields, G. S. (2009). Segmented labor market models in developing countries.

Filatotchev, I., Liu, X., Lu, J., Wright, M., 2011. Knowledge spillovers through human mobility across national borders: evidence from Zhongguancun Science Park in China. *Research Policy* 40 (3), 453–462.

Findlay, A. and Cranston, S., 2015. What's in a research agenda? An evaluation of research developments in the arena of skilled international migration. *International Development Planning Review*, 37(1), pp.17-31.

Findlay, A., D. McCollum, R. Coulter, and V. Gayle. 2015. "New Mobilities across the Life Course: A Framework for Analysing Demographically Linked Drivers of Migration." *Population, Space and Place* 21: 390–402.

Findlay, A.M. and Stewart, E., 2002. *Skilled labour migration from developing countries: annotated bibliography*. International Migration Programme, International Labour Office.

Fine, B. & D. Milonakis (2003), From Principle of Pricing to Pricing of Principle: Rationality and Irrationality in the Economic History of Douglass North. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45, pp. 546–570.

Fisher, M. H. (2013). *Migration: A world history*. US: Oxford University Press.

Flick, U. ed., 2017. *The SAGE handbook of qualitative data collection*. Sage.

Flowerdew, R., and A. Al-Hamad. 2004. "The Relationship between Marriage, Divorce and Migration in a British Data Set." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30 (2): 339–351.

Föbker, S., & Imani, D. (2017). The role of language skills in the settling-in process - experiences of highly skilled migrants' accompanying partners in Germany and the UK. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43(16), 2720-2737.

- Föbker, S., & Imani, D. (2017). The role of language skills in the settling-in process - experiences of highly skilled migrants' accompanying partners in Germany and the UK. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43(16), 2720-2737.
- Föbker, S., Temme, D., & Wiegandt, C. (2014). A warm welcome to highly-skilled migrants: How can municipal administrations play their part? *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie*, 105(5), 542-557.
- Foner, N. (2001). *Islands in the city: West Indian migration to new York* (1st ed.). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Foote, K. E., Li, L., Monk, J., & Theobald, R. (2008). Foreign-born scholars in us universities: issues, concerns, and strategies. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, 32, 167–178
- Forsythe, N., Korzeniewicz, R.P., Majid, N., Weathers, G. and Durrant, V., 2003. Gender inequalities, economic growth and economic reform: A preliminary longitudinal evaluation. *Employment Paper*, 45, pp.6-12.
- Fossland, T., 2013. Negotiating future careers: A relational perspective on skilled migrants' labour market participation. *The Journal of Management Development*, 32(2), pp.193-203.
- Frederiks, M., & Nagy, D. (2016). *Religion, migration and identity: Methodological and theological explorations*. Boston: BRILL.
- Freitas, A., Levatino, A. and Pécoud, A., 2012. Introduction: New Perspectives on Skilled Migration. *Diversities*, 14(1).
- Fricker, M., 2007. *Epistemic injustice: Power and the ethics of knowing*. Oxford University Press.
- Friedman, T. L., 2007, Laughing and crying. *New York Times*, 23 May, p. 23.
- Friesen, W. and Collins, F. L. (2017) 'Brain Chains: Managing and Mediating Knowledge Migration', *Migration and Development*, 6/3: 323–42.
- Frieze, I. H., Hansen, S. B., & Boneva, B. (2006). The migrant personality and college students' plans for geographic mobility. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 26, 170–177.
- Froy, F., 2013. Global policy developments towards industrial policy and skills: skills for competitiveness and growth. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 29(2), pp.344-360
- Fuller, C. J., and H. Narasimhan. 2008. "Companionate Marriage in India: The Changing Marriage System in a Middle-class Brahman Sub caste." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 14:736–754.
- Fuller, C. J., and H. Narasimhan. 2013. "Marriage, Education, and Employment among Tamil Brahman Women in South India 1891–2010." *Modern Asian Studies* 47: 53–84.
- Gaillard, J. and Gaillard, A. M., 1997, The international mobility of brains: Exodus or circulation. *Science, Technology & Society*, 2(2), pp. 195–228

- Galli, F., & Russo, G. (2018). Immigration restrictions and second-generation cultural assimilation: Theory and quasi-experimental evidence. *Journal of Population Economics*, 1-29.
- Gallo, E., 2006. Italy is not a good place for men: narratives of places, marriage and masculinity among Malayali migrants. *Global networks*, 6(4), pp.357-372.
- Gardner, K., and F. Osella. 2003. "Migration, Modernity and Social Transformation in South Asia: An Overview." *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 37 (1-2): v-xxviii.
- Gardner, R.W., De Jong, G.F., Arnold, F., Carino, B.V., 1986. The best-laid schemes: an analysis of discrepancies between migration intentions and behaviour. *Popul. Environ.* 8, 63-77.
- Garrett, M.D., Baldrige, D., Muus, K., Baker-Demaray, T., Benson, W.F. and McGuire, L.C., 2010. Native migration: in search of the missing cohorts. *American Indian and Alaska Native migration and the loss of caregivers in native communities. Pimatisiwin: A Journal of Aboriginal & Indigenous Community Health*, 8(1).
- Gauri, V. and Brinks, D.M., 2008. *Courting social justice: judicial enforcement of social and economic rights in the developing world*. Cambridge University Press
- GCIM—Global Commission on International Migration. (2005). Migration in an interconnected world: new directions for action. Report of the Global Commission on International Migration. Geneva: GCIM.
- Geddie, K., 2013. The transnational ties that bind: relationship considerations for graduating international science and engineering research students. *Population, Space and Place*, 19(2), pp.196-208.
- George, A., Lalani, M., Mason, G., Rolfe, H. and Rosazza Bondibene, C., 2012. Skilled immigration and strategically important skills in the UK economy. *Migration Advisory Committee*.
- George, S. M., & George, S. M. (2005). *When women come first: Gender and class in transnational migration*. (1st ed.). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- George, V., George, V., & Wilding, P. (2002). *Globalisation and human welfare*. Macmillan International Higher Education.
- Ghosh, B., 2006. *Migrants' remittances and development: myths, rhetoric and realities*. International Organization for Migration (IOM).
- Ghosh, J., 2009. Migration and gender empowerment: Recent trends and emerging issues.
- Ghosh, S., & Ghosh, S. (2014). A passage to Canada: The differential migrations of south Asian skilled workers to Toronto. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 15(4), 715-735.
- Gibbs, G.R., 2002. *Qualitative data analysis: Explorations with NVivo*. Open University.
- Gibson, W. and Brown, A., 2009. *Working with qualitative data*. Sage.

- Gillborn, D. (2005) Education policy as an act of White supremacy: Whiteness, critical race theory and education reform, *Journal of Education Policy*, 20(4), 485–505.
- Gindling, T.H., 2009. South–South migration: The impact of Nicaraguan immigrants on earnings, inequality and poverty in Costa Rica. *World Development*, 37(1), pp.116-126.
- Giulietti, C., Schluter, C. & Wahba, J. 2013, "With a Lot of Help from my Friends: Social Networks and Immigrants in the UK", *Population, Space and Place*, vol. 19, no. 6, pp. 657-670.
- Glanz, J., 2001, Trolling for brains in international waters. *New York Times*, 1 April, p.93.
- Glaser, B., 1978. Theoretical sensitivity. *Advances in the methodology of grounded theory*.
- Glesne, C., 2011. *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction* 4th Edition. *Boston, MA*.
- Glick, J.E. and Van Hook, J., 2002. Parents' residence with adult children: Can immigration explain racial and ethnic variation?. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 64(1), pp.240-253.
- Glick-Schiller, N., Basch, L. G., & Szanton Blanc, C. (1992). Transnationalism: A new analytic framework for understanding migration. In N. Glick-Schiller, L. G. Basch, & C. Blanc-Szanton (Eds.), *Towards a transnational perspective on migration: Race, ethnicity, and nationalism reconsidered* (pp. 1–24). New York: New York Academy of Sciences.
- Gmelch, G., 1980. Return migration. *Annual review of anthropology*, 9(1), pp.135-159.
- Goldacre, M., Davidson, J., & Lambert, T. (2004). Country of qualification, ethnic origin of UK doctors: Database and survey results. *British Medical Journal*, 329, 597.
- Golsorkhi, D., Leca, B., Lounsbury, M., & Ramirez, C. (2009). Analysing, accounting for and unmasking domination: On Our role as scholars of practice, practitioners of social science and public intellectuals. *Organization*, 16, 779–797.
- González Ramos, A.M. and Bosch, N.V., 2013. International mobility of women in science and technology careers: shaping plans for personal and professional purposes. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 20(5), pp.613-629.
- Goodall, H. L. (2008). *Writing qualitative inquiry: Self, stories and academic life*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, Inc.
- Gopalakrishnan, N., and H. Babacan. 2007. "Ties that Bind: Marriage and Partner Choice in the Indian Community in Australia in a Transnational Context." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 14 (7): 507–526.
- Granovetter, M., (1983), 'The strength of weak ties: a network theory revisited', *Sociological Theory*, 1: 201–233.
- Green, A. (1999). East Asian skill formation systems and the challenge of globalisation. *Journal of Education and Work*, 12(3), 253-279.
- Green, A. and Hogarth, T., 2017. Attracting the best talent in the context of migration policy changes: the case of the UK. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43(16), pp.2806-2824.

- Green, A., Hogarth, T., Barnes, S. A., Gambin, L., Owen, D., & Sofroniou, N. (2016). The UK's skill system: training, employability and gaps in provision.
- Green, A.E., Hogarth, T. and Shackleton, R.E., 1999. Longer distance commuting as a substitute for migration in Britain: a review of trends, issues and implications. *International Journal of Population Geography*, 5(1), pp.49-67.
- Green, D. A., & Worswick, C. (2017). Canadian economics research on immigration through the lens of theories of justice. *Canadian Journal of Economics*
- Green, F., & Ashton, D. (1992). Skill shortage and skill deficiency: a critique. *Work, Employment and Society*, 6(2), 287-301.
- Green, F., & McIntosh, S. (2007). Is there a genuine under-utilization of skills amongst the over-qualified? *Applied Economics*, 39(4), 427-439.
- Green, F., Ashton, D., & Felstead, A. (2001). Estimating the determinants of supply of computing, problem-solving, communication, social, and team working skills. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 53(3), 406-433.
- Green, W., & Myatt, P. (2011). Telling tales: A narrative research study of the experiences of new international academic staff at an Australian university. *International Journal for Academic Development*, 16, 33–44.
- Greenwood, R. (2008). 'The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism,' Los Angeles: Sage.
- Grieco, E.M. and Boyd, M., 1998. *Women and migration: incorporating gender into international migration theory*. Center for the Study of Population, Florida State University.
- Grigoleit-Richter, G. (2017). Highly skilled and highly mobile? examining gendered and ethicised labour market conditions for migrant women in STEM-professions in Germany. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43(16), 2738-2755.
- Groene, O., Klazinga, N., Wagner, C., Arah, O.A., Thompson, A., Bruneau, C. and Suñol, R., 2010. Investigating organizational quality improvement systems, patient empowerment, organizational culture, professional involvement and the quality of care in European hospitals: the 'Deepening our Understanding of Quality Improvement in Europe (DUQuE)'project. *BMC health services research*, 10(1), p.281.
- Grossman, M., 2010. Diaspora knowledge flows in the global economy.
- Grossmann, V. and Stadelmann, D., 2013. Wage effects of high-skilled migration: international evidence. *The World Bank Economic Review*, 27(2), pp.297-319.
- Guarnizo, L.E. (1997), The Emergence of a Trans-national Social Formation and the Mirage of Return Migration Among Dominican Trans-migrants. *Identities* 4, pp. 281–322.
- Guest, G., MacQueen, K.M. and Namey, E.E., 2012. Introduction to applied thematic analysis. *Applied thematic analysis*, 3, p.20.

- Gulati, R. and Gargiulo, M., 1999. Where do interorganizational networks come from?. *American journal of sociology*, 104(5), pp.1439-1493.
- Gunasekara, A., Grant, S., & Rajendran, D. (2019). Years since migration and wellbeing among Indian and srilankan skilled migrants in Australia: Mediating effects of acculturation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 70, 42-52.
- Guo, C. and Al Ariss, A., 2015. Human resource management of international migrants: Current theories and future research.
- Gurel-Atay, E., Xie, G., Chen, J., & Kahle, L. R. (2010). Changes in social values in the united states: 1976–2007: “Self-respect” is on the upswing as “A sense of belonging” becomes less important. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 50(1), 57-67.
- Gutfleisch, T., & Andreb, H. (2020). Perceptions of Society’s necessary standard of living: Are perceptions determined by what people have, or do they reflect a social consensus? *Social Indicators Research*, 149(2), 467-502.
- Guthrie, G. 2010, Basic research methods: an entry to social science research, SAGE India, New Delhi.
- Hadi, A., 2001. International migration and the change of women's position among the left-behind in rural Bangladesh. *International Journal of Population Geography*, 7(1), pp.53-61.
- Hagestad, G., and D. Dannefer. 2001. “Concepts and Theories of Aging: Beyond Microfication in Social Science Approaches.” In *Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences*, edited by Robert Binstock, and Linda George, 5th ed., 3–43. New York, NY: Academic
- Halfacree, K. H., and P. J. Boyle. 1993. “The Challenge Facing Migration Research: The Case for a Biographical Approach.” *Progress in Human Geography* 17: p333–348
- Hallett, T. (2003). Symbolic power and organizational culture. *Sociological Theory*, 21(2), 128-149.
- Halvorsrud, K. (2019). The maintenance of white privilege: The case of white south african migrants in the UK. *Ethnicities*, 19(1), 95-116.
- Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1994). *Ethnography: Principles in practice* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Hammond, M. & Wellington, J.J. 2013, *Research methods: the key concepts*, Routledge, London.
- Han, K. J. (2013). Income inequality, international migration, and national pride: A test of social identification theory. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 25(4), 502-521
- Han, L. (2011). *The global auction: the broken promises of education, jobs, and incomes*.
- Hanlon, B., & Vicino, T. J. (2014). *Global migration: The basics*. London: Taylor and Francis.

Harley, S., Muller-Camen, M. and Collin, A., 2004. From academic communities to managed organisations: The implications for academic careers in UK and German universities. *Journal of vocational behavior*, 64(2), pp.329-345.

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

Harvey, W. S. 2008. “The Social Networks of British and Indian Expatriate Scientists in Boston.” *Geofo-rum* 39 (5): 1756–1765.

Harvey, W.S., 2011. British and Indian scientists moving to the United States. *WorkOccup.* 38 (1), 68–100.

Harvey, W.S., 2018. Conclusion: The comparative political economy of talent, identity and ethnic hierarchy. In *The Political Economy of Brain Drain and Talent Capture* (pp. 141-149). Routledge.

Hatfield, E., Salmon, M. and Rapson, R.L., 2011. Equity theory and social justice. *Journal of Management, Spirituality & Religion*, 8(2), pp.101-121.

Haug, S., (2008), ‘Migration networks and decision making’, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 34 (4): 585–605.

Head, K., Mayer, T., Ries, J., 2010. The erosion of colonial trade linkages after independence? *J. Int. Econ.* 81 (1), 1–14.

Heering, L., Van Der Erf, R. and Van Wissen, L., 2004. The role of family networks and migration culture in the continuation of Moroccan emigration: A gender perspective. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30(2), pp.323-337.

Hejkrlik, J., Horký-Hlucháň, O., & Němečková, T. (2018). Tertiary scholarship schemes as institutionalised migration of highly skilled labour: The mixed evidence of development effectiveness from the czech republ. *Mezinárodní Vztahy*, 53(4), 5-19.

Hejkrlik, J., Horký-Hlucháň, O., & Němečková, T. (2019). Tertiary scholarship schemes as institutionalised migration of highly skilled labour: The mixed evidence of development effectiveness from the czech republic. *Mezinárodní Vztahy*, 53(4), 5-19.

Hennink, M., Hutter, I., Bailey, A., 2011. *Qualitative Research Methods*. Sage, London,etc..

Hercog, M., & Cangia, F. (2021). Skills on the move: Highly skilled migrants in switzerland and beyond. *Population Space and Place*, 27(5),

Hercog, M., & Sandoz, L. (2018). Highly skilled or highly wanted migrants? Conceptualizations, policy designs and implementations of high-skilled migration policies. *Migration Letters*, 15(4), 453-460.

Herrera-Sosa, K., Hoftijzer, M., Gortazar, L., & Ruiz, M. (2018). Education in the EU: Diverging Learning Opportunities?.

Hesse-Biber, S.N. 2010;2014;, *Mixed methods research: merging theory with practice*, 1st edn, Guilford Press, New York.

- Hiller, H.H., McCaig, K.S., 2007. Reassessing the role of partnered women immigration decision-making and migration outcomes. *J. Soc. Pers. Relationships* 24 (3), pp457–472.
- Hing, B. O. (2010). *Ethical borders: NAFTA, globalization, and Mexican migration*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Hjern, A., Wicks, S., & Dalman, C. (2004). Social adversity contributes to high morbidity in psychoses in immigrants: a national cohort study in two generations of Swedish residents. *Psychological Medicine*, pp34.
- Ho, C. 2006. “Migration as Feminisation? Chinese Women’s Experiences of Work and Family in Australia.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32 (3): 497–514.
- Ho, E.L.E., 2009. Constituting citizenship through the emotions: Singaporean trans migrants in London. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 99(4), pp.788-804.
- Ho, E.L.-E., 2011. Migration trajectories of ‘Highly Skilled’ middling transnationals: Singaporean trans migrants in London. *Popul. Place Space* 17, 116–129
- Hodgson, G. M. (2006), What are Institutions? *Journal of Economic Issues* 40, pp. 1–25.
- Hofmann, E.T. and Buckley, C.J., 2013. Global Changes and Gendered Responses: The Feminization of Migration from Georgia. *International Migration Review*, 47(3), pp.508-538.
- Hollanders, H., & Soete, L. (2010) The growing role of knowledge in the global economy. UNESCO Science Report 2010 (pp. 1–27)
- Hooijen, I., Meng, C., Reinold, J., & Siegel, M. (2017). Competition for talent: Retaining graduates in the euregio meuse-rhine. *European Planning Studies*, 25(12), 2212-2231.
- Hopkins, L. and Levy, C., 2012. Simply the Best? Highly-skilled migrants and the UK’s knowledge economy. *The Work Foundation, London*.
- Hoskins, M., Sung, J., & Ashton, D. (1989). Job competition and the entry to work. University of Leicester, Department of Economics.
- Hosper, K., Nierkens, V., Nicolaou, M., & Stronks, K. (2007). Behavioural risk factors in two generations of non-Western migrants: do trends converge towards the host population? *European Journal of Epidemiology*, 22, 163e172.
- Howe-Walsh, L. and Schyns, B., 2010. Self-initiated expatriation: implications for HRM. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 21(2), pp.260-273.
- Hsiao, F. S., & Hsiao, M. C. W. (2004). Catching Up and Convergence: Long-run Growth in East Asia. *Review of Development Economics*, 8(2), 223-236.
- Hsieh, H. (2012). Challenges facing Chinese academic staff in a UK university in terms of language, relationships and culture. *Teaching in Higher Education*, 17, 371–383.
- Huppertz, K. (2009). Reworking bourdieu’s ‘capital’: Feminine and female capitals in the field of paid caring work. *Sociology*, 43, 45–66

- Hurgobin, Y., & Basu, S. (2015). "oceans without borders": Dialectics of trans colonial labour migration from the Indian ocean world to the atlantics ocean world. *International Labour and Working-Class History*, 87, 7.
- Hussey, P.S., 2007. International migration patterns of physicians the United States: a cross-national panel analysis. *Health Policy* 84, 298L 307.
- Iellatchitch, A., Mayrhofer, W. and Meyer, M., 2003. Career fields: a small step towards a grand career theory?. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 14(5), pp.728-750.
- Inglehart, R. (1977) *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Amongst Western Publics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Inkpen, A.C. and Tsang, E.W., 2005. Social capital, networks, and knowledge transfer. *Academy of management review*, 30(1), pp.146-165.
- Inkson, K., & Myers, B. A. (2003). "the big oe": self-directed travel and career development.
- Iosifides, T., 2013. *Qualitative methods in migration studies: A critical realist perspective*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd..
- Iredale, R., 2001. The migration of professionals: theories and typologies. *International migration*, 39(5), pp.7-26. .
- Iredale, R., 2005. Gender, immigration policies and accreditation: valuing the skills of professional women migrants. *Geoforum* 36, 155–166
- Iredale, R., 2016. High-Skilled Migration. *Encyclopaedia of Migration*, pp.1-10.
- Iredale, R., Guo, F., & Rozario, S. (2003). *Return migration in the Asia Pacific*. Cheltenham and Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Jacobs, D. and Tillie, J., (2004), 'Introduction: social capital and political integration of migrants', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30: 419–427.
- Jain, R. K. (2012). *Nation, diaspora, trans-nation: Reflections from India*. London: Routledge India.
- Jiang, X., Di napoli, R. D., Borg, M., Maunder, R., Fry, H., & Walsh, E. (2010). Becoming and beigan academic: The perspectives of Chinese staff in two research-intensive UK universities. *Studies in Higher Education*, 35, 155–170.
- Johnson, H.G., 1967. The international circulation of human capital. *Minerva*, 6(1), pp.105-112.
- Johnson, J. M. and Regets, M. C., 1998, International mobility of scientists and engineers to the United States– brain drain or brain circulation? Issue Brief, NSF 98–316 (Arlington, VA: National Science Foundation).
- Johnson, K. (2014). Theories of immigration law. *Arizona State Law Journal*, 46(4), 1211.

- Johnson, P., & Papageorgiou, C. (2018). What Remains of Cross-Country Convergence.
- Johnson-Hanks, J. (2002), "On the limits of the life cycle in ethnography: toward a theory of vital conjectures", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 10 No. 4, pp. 865-80.
- Johnston, M. F., Karageorgis, S., & Light, I. (2013). Mexican population growth in new US destinations: Testing and developing social capital theories of migration using census data. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 39(9), 1479-1505
- Johnston, R., Trlin, A., Henderson, A. and North, N. (2006), "Sustaining and creating migration chains among skilled immigrant groups: Chinese, Indians and South Africans in New Zealand", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 32 No. 7, pp. 1227-50.
- Jolly, S., Reeves, H. and Piper, N., 2005. Gender and migration: Overview report.
- Jones, G. W. 2010. "Changing Marriage Patterns in Asia." Asia Research Institute Working Paper
- Jones, T., & Mielants, E. (2015). *Mass migration in the world-system: Past, present, and future*. London: Routledge.
- Kalra, G., & Bhugra, D. (2013). Sexual violence against women: Understanding cross-cultural intersections. *Indian Journal of Psychiatry*, 55(3), 244.
- Kamenou, N. (2008). Reconsidering work-life balance debates: challenging limited understandings of the life component in the context of ethnic minority women's experiences. *British Journal of Management*, 19, S99–S109.
- Kanaiaupuni, S.M., 2000. Reframing the migration question: An analysis of men, women, and gender in Mexico. *Social forces*, 78(4), pp.1311-1347.
- Kandel, W., and D. Massey. 2002. "The Culture of Mexican Migration: A Theoretical and Empirical
- Kangasniemi, M., winters, L.A. and Commander, S., 2007. Is the medical brain drain beneficial? Evidence from overseas doctors in the UK. *Social Science & Medicine*, 65(5), pp.915-923.
- Kapur, D. (2010). *Diaspora, development, and democracy: The domestic impact of international migration from India*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University
- Kapur, D., & McHale, J. (2005). *Give us your best and brightest. The global hunt for talent and its impact on the developing world*. Baltimore: Brookings Institution Press.
- Kapur, D., 2002. The causes and consequences of India's IT boom. *India review*, 1(2), pp.91-110.
- Kapur, D., 2004. Ideas and economic reforms in India: the role of international migration and the Indian diaspora. *India Review*, 3(4), pp.364-384.
- Katseli, L., Lucas, R., & Xenogiani, T. (2006). *Effects of migration on sending countries: What do we know?* Working Paper 250. Paris: OECD Development Centre.

Kaufman, G., and P. Uhlenberg. 1998. "Effects of Life Course Transitions on the Quality of Relationships Between Adult Children and Their Parents." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 60: 924–938.

Kazlauskienė, A. and Rinkevičius, L., 2006. The role of social capital in the highly-skilled migration from Lithuania. *Inžinerinė ekonomika*, (4), pp.69-75.

Ke, W., & Wei, K. K. (2008). Organizational culture and leadership in ERP implementation. *Decision Support Systems*, 45(2), 208-218.

Keep, E. and Mayhew, K., 2004. The economic and distributional implications of current policies on Brown, P., Hesketh, A. and Williams, S., 2004. *The mismanagement of talent: Employability and jobs in the knowledge economy*. Oxford University Press on Demand. higher education. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 20(2), pp.298-314.

Keles, J. Y. (2022). Return mobilities of highly skilled young people to a post-conflict region: The case of kurdisch-british to kurdistan - iraq. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 48(3), 790-810.

Kelly, P. and Lusic, T., (2006), 'Migration and the transnational habitus: evidence from Canada and the Philippines', *Environment and Planning*, 38: 831–847.

Kerr, S. P., Kerr, W., Özden, Ç., & Parsons, C. (2017). High-skilled migration and agglomeration. BOFIT Discussion Papers, 2017(7), 1.

Kerr, S.P., Kerr, W., Özden, Ç. and Parsons, C., 2016. Global talent flows. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 30(4), pp.83-106.

Khadria, B. (2004), "Migration of Highly Skilled Indians: Case Studies of IT and the Health Professionals", OECD Science, Technology and Industry Working Papers, 2004/6, OECD Publishing. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED503924.pdf>

Khadria, B., 1999. Of dreams, drain and dams—Metaphors in the Indian emigration of talent. *India International Centre Quarterly*, 26(3), pp.79-90.

Khadria, B., 2006. India: skilled migration to developed countries, labour migration to the Gulf. *Migración y desarrollo*, (7), pp.4-37.

Khadria, B., 2008. India: skilled migration to developed countries, labour migration to the Gulf. In: Castles, S., Wise, R.D. (Eds.), *Migration and Development: Perspectives from the South*. International Organization for Migration, Geneva.

Khoo, S.E., Hugo, G. and McDonald, P., 2011. Skilled migration from Europe to Australia. *Population, Space and Place*, 17(5), pp.550-566.

Kilduff, M. and Tsai, W., 2003. *Social networks and organizations*. Sage.

Kim, C. & Lim, G. 2017;2016;, "Immigration and domestic wage: an empirical study on competition among immigrants", *Applied Economics*, vol. 49, no. 34, pp. 3351-8.

- King, N. (2004). Using templates in the thematic analysis of text. In C. Cassell & G. Symon (Eds.), *Essential guide to qualitative methods in organizational research* (pp. 256–270). London: Sage.
- King, R. (2000). Generalizations from the history of return migration. In B. Ghosh (Ed.), *Return migration: Journey of hope or despair?* (pp. 7–56). Geneva: International Organization for Migration
- King, R. (2002). Towards a new map of European migration. *International Journal of Population Geography*, 8, 89–106.
- King, R., 2012. Geography and migration studies: Retrospect and prospect. *Population, space and place*, 18(2), pp.134-153.
- King, R., Skeldon, R., 2010. ‘Mind the gap!’ Integrating approaches to internal and international migration. *J. Ethnic Migr. Stud.* 36 (10), 1619–1646.
- Kinra, S., Andersen, E., Ben-Shlomo, Y., Bowen, L., Lyngdoh, T., Prabhakaran, D., for the Indian Migration Study Group. (2011). Association between urban life-years and cardiometabolic risk: The Indian migration study. *American Journal of Epidemiology*, 174(2), 154-164.
- Kirk, K. M., & Bal, E. W. (2019). Stimulating flexible citizenship: The impact of dutch and Indian migration policies on the lives of highly skilled Indian migrants in the Netherlands. *Journal of Citizenship and Globalisation Studies*, 3(1), 1-13.
- Kirk, K., Bal, E. & Janssen, S.R. 2017, "Migrants in liminal time and space: an exploration of the experiences of highly skilled Indian bachelors in Amsterdam", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 43, no. 16, pp. 2771.
- Kirpal, V. and Gupta, M., 1999, *Equality Through Reservations* (Jaipur: Rawat Publications).pp67
- Kley, S. A., and C. H. Mulder. 2010. “Considering, Planning, and Realizing Migration in Early Adulthood. The Influence of Life-course Events and Perceived Opportunities on Leaving the City in Germany.” *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 25 (1): 73–94.
- Kley, S., 2011. Explaining the stages of migration within a life-course framework. *Eur. Social. Rev.* 27 (4), 469–486.
- Kobayashi, A., Preston, V., 2007. Transnationalism through life course: Hong Kong immigrants in Canada. *Asia Pac. Viewpoint* 48 (2), 151–167.
- Kofman E. 2000. The invisibility of skilled female migrants and gender relations in studies of skilled migration in Europe. *International Journal of Population Geography* 6(1): 45–59.
- Kofman, E. 2004. “Family-related Migration: A Critical Review of European Studies.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30 (2): 243–262.
- Kofman, E., 2012. Gender and skilled migration in Europe. *Cuadernos de relaciones laborales*, 30(1), pp.63-89.

Kofman, E., 2014. Towards a gendered evaluation of (highly) skilled immigration policies in Europe. *International Migration*, 52(3), pp.116-128.

Kofman, E., Raghuram, P., Iredale, R., Hibbins, R. and Purkayastha, B., 2005. Gender and skilled migrants: into and beyond the workplace. Themed issue. *Geoforum*, 36(2), pp.149-222.

Koike, K. (2002). Intellectual Skills and Competitive Strength: is a radical change necessary? *Journal of Education and Work*, 15(4), 391-408.

Koikkalainen, S. (2017). Finnish highly skilled migrants and the European economic crisis. *Baltic Journal of European Studies*, 7(2), 168-181.

Konzett-Smoliner, S., 2016. Return migration as a ‘family project’: Exploring the relationship between family life and the readjustment experiences of highly skilled Austrians. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(7), pp.1094-1114.

Koskela, K. (2019). Intersecting experiences: Class, gender, ethnicity and race in the lives of highly skilled migrants in Finland. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, 9(3), 311-328.

Kōu, A. and Bailey, A., 2014. ‘Movement is a constant feature in my life’: Contextualising migration processes of highly skilled Indians. *Geoforum*, 52, pp.113-122.

Kōu, A., & Bailey, A. (2017). ‘Some people expect women should always be dependent’: Indian women’s experiences as highly skilled migrants. *Geoforum*, 85, 178-186.

Kōu, A., van Wissen, L., van Dijk, J., & Bailey, A. (2015). A life course approach to high-skilled migration: Lived experiences of Indians in the Netherlands. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41(10), 1644-1663.

Kou, A., Van Wissen, L.J.G. and Bailey, A., 2010. More than brains only: The life course of highly skilled migrants. *Demos: bulletin over bevolking en samenleving*, 26(Special issue European Population Conference 2010), pp.10-12.

Kritz, M.M., Lim, L.L. and Zlotnik, H., 1992. *International migration systems: a global approach*. Oxford University Press, USA.

Kugele, & Jens. (2018). *Migration: Changing concepts, critical approaches* (1st ed.) Walter De Gruyter.

Kulu, H. 2005. “Migration and Fertility: Competing Hypotheses Re-examined.” *European Journal of Population/Revue européenne de Démographie* 21 (1): 51–87.

Kulu, H. 2008. “Fertility and Spatial Mobility in the Life Course: Evidence from Austria.” *Environment and Planning A* 40 (3): 632–652.

Kulu, H., and F. C. Billari. 2004. “Multilevel Analysis of Internal Migration in a Transitional Country: The Case of Estonia.” *Regional Studies* 38 (6): 679–696..

Kulu, H., and N. Milewski. 2007. “Family Change and Migration in the Life Course: An Introduction.” *Demographic Research* 17: 567–590.

Kumar, P., Bhattacharya, U. and Nayek, J.K., 2014. Return migration and development: Evidence from India's skilled professionals. In *Indian Skilled Migration and Development* (pp. 263-284). Springer, New Delhi.

Kyriakides, C., & Virdee, S. (2003). Migrant labour, racism and the British national health service. *Ethnicity & Health*, 8, 283–305.

Labrianidis L, Vogiatzis N. 2013. Highly skilled migration: what differentiates the 'brains' who are drained from those who return in the case of Greece? *Population, Space, and Place* 19: 472–486.

Labrianidis, L., Sykas, T., Sachini, E., & Karampekios, N. (2021). Highly educated skilled migrants are attracted to global cities: The case of greek PhD holders. *Population Space and Place*,

Ladson-Billings, G. (1998) Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a nice field like education?, *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 11(1), 7–24.

Lamb, S. 2011. "Ways of Aging." In *A Companion to the Anthropology of India*, edited by I. Clark- Decès, 500–516. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 2803

Lampert, J. (2015). Democratic inclusion and the governance of immigration. *Social Theory and Practice*, 41(1), 51-76.

Lan, P. (2011). White privilege, language capital and cultural ghettoisation: Western high-skilled migrants in Taiwan. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37(10), 1669-1693.

[Landale, N.S., Guest, A.M., 1985. Constraints, satisfaction and residential mobility: Speare's model reconsidered. *Demography* 22, 199–222.](#)

LaRaine Ingram, K. (2019). Power and culture in human-centric innovation ecosystems. *Journal of Management and Training for Industries*, 6(2), 1-16.

Larsen, J. A., H. T. Allan, K. Bryan, and P. Smith. 2005. "Overseas Nurses' Motivations for Working in the UK: Globalization and Life Politics." *Work, Employment and Society* 19 (2): 349–368.

Lauder, H., Brown, P., & Ashton, D. (2017). Theorizing Skill Formation in the Global Economy. *The Oxford Handbook of Skills and Training*, 401

Leckie, J. (2007) *Indian Settlers: The Story of a New Zealand South Asian Community*. Otago: Otago University Press.

Lee Cooke, F. 2007. "Husband's Career first': Renegotiating Career and Family Commitment among Migrant Chinese Academic Couples in Britain." *Work, Employment and Society* 21 (1): 47–65.

Lee, M., Piper, N., 2003. Reflections on transnational life-course and migratory patterns of middle-class women – preliminary observation from Malaysia. In: Piper, N., Roces, M. (Eds.), *Wife or Worker? Asian Women and Migration*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., Oxford–Maryland, pp. 121–136.

- Lee, N. and Clarke, S., 2019. Do low-skilled workers gain from high-tech employment growth? High-technology multipliers, employment and wages in Britain. *Research Policy*, 48(9), p.103803.
- Lee, S., & Chien, Y. (2017). The making of 'skilled' overseas Koreans: Transformation of visa policies for co-ethnic migrants in south Korea. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43(13), 2193-2210.
- Lee, E. 1966. A Theory of Migration. *Demography*, 3(1): 47–57
- Leslie, S. and Kargon, R., 2006, Exporting MIT: Science, technology, and nation-building in India and Iran. *Osiris*, 21(1), pp. 110–130.
- Leung, M.W., 2017. Social Mobility via academic mobility: reconfigurations in class and gender identities among Asian scholars in the global north. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43(16), pp.2704-2719.
- Leuven, E., Oosterbeek, H. and Van Ophem, H., 2004. Explaining international differences in male skill wage differentials by differences in demand and supply of skill. *The Economic Journal*, 114(495), pp.466-486.
- Levecque, K., Lodewyckx, I., & Vranken, J. (2007). Depression and generalised anxiety in the general population in Belgium: a comparison between native and immigrant groups. *Journal of Affective Disorders*, 97, 229e239.
- LEVITT, P. & N. JAWORSKY (2007), Transnational Migration Studies: Past Developments and Future Trends. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 33, pp. 129–156.
- Levitt, P. (2001), *The Transnational Villagers*. London: University of California Press.
- Levitt, P. and Lamba-Nieves, D., 2011. Social remittances revisited. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37(1), pp.1-22.
- Levitt, P., & Glick-Schiller, N. (2004). Conceptualizing simultaneity: A transnational social field perspective on society. *International Migration Review*, 38(3), 1002–1039.
- Levitt, P., 1998. Social remittances: Migration driven local-level forms of cultural diffusion. *International migration review*, 32(4), pp.926-948.
- Levitt, Peggy, Josh DeWind, and Steven Vertovec. "International perspectives on transnational migration: An introduction." *International migration review* 37, no. 3 (2003): 565-575.
- Lewis, S., Izraeli, D. N., & Hootsman, H. (1992). *Dual earner families: International perspectives*. London: Sage.
- Ley D, Kobayashi A. 2005. Back to Hong Kong: return migration or transnational sojourn? *Global Networks* 5(2): 111–127.
- Li, W., & Lo, L. (2012). New geographies of migration?: A Canada-U.S. comparison of highly skilled Chinese and Indian migration. *Journal of Asian American Studies*, 15(1), 1-34.

- Li, W., Sadowski-Smith, C., & Yu, W. (2018). Return migration and transnationalism: Evidence from highly skilled academic migration. *Papers in Applied Geography*, 4(3), 243-255.
- Lieberman, J. I., 2004, Offshore Outsourcing and America's Competitive Edge: Losing Out in the High Technology R&D and Services Sectors
- Lien, D. and Wang, Y., 2005. Brain drain or brain gain: A revisit. *Journal of Population Economics*, 18(1), pp.153-163.
- Lien, D., & Zuloaga, E. (2021). The effects of language on the gender patterns of highly skilled migration. *The International Trade Journal*, 35(1), 60-78.
- Lissoni, F. (2018). International migration and innovation diffusion: An eclectic survey. *Regional Studies*, 52(5), 702-714.
- Liu, Y. and Shen, J., 2017. Modelling skilled and less-skilled interregional migrations in China, 2000–2005. *Population, Space and Place*, 23(4), p.e2027.
- [Liversage, A., 2009. Vital conjunctures, shifting horizons: high-skilled female immigrants looking for work. Work Employ Soc. 23 \(1\), 120–141.](#)
- Lizardo, O. (2004). The cognitive origins of Bourdieu's Habitus. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 34, 375–401.
- Lloyd, C. and Payne, J., 2002. Developing a political economy of skill. *Journal of Education and Work*, 15(4), pp.365-390
- Lo, L., Li, W., & Yu, W. (2017). Highly-skilled migration from china and India to Canada and the united states. *International Migration*,
- Lo, L., Li, W., & Yu, W. (2019). Highly-skilled migration from china and India to Canada and the united states. *International Migration*, 57(3), 317-333.
- Lodigiani, E. and Salomone, S., 2012. Migration-induced transfers of norms. *The case of female political empowerment. IRES Discussion Papers*, 1.
- Lowell, B.L. and Findlay, A., 2001. Migration of highly skilled persons from developing countries: impact and policy responses. *International migration papers*, 44, p.25.
- Lowell, B.L. and Great Britain. Department for International Development (DFID); International Labour Office. Social Protection Sector. International Migration Branch, 2002. Some Development Effects of the International Migration of Highly Skilled Persons.
- Lowell, L., & Gerova, S. G. (2004). *Diasporas and economic development: State of knowledge*. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University, Institute for the Study of International Migration.
- Lu, Y. (2008). Test of the 'healthy migrant hypothesis': a longitudinal analysis of health selectivity of internal migration in Indonesia. *Social Science & Medicine*, 67, 1331e1339.
- Lune, H. and Berg, B.L., 2017. *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*.

- Lutsey, P. L., Diez Roux, A. V., Jacobs, D. R., Jr., Burke, G. L., Harman, J., Shea, S., et al. (2008). Associations of acculturation and socioeconomic status with subclinical cardiovascular disease in the multi-ethnic study of atherosclerosis. *American Journal of Public Health*, 98, 1963e1970.
- Luxon, T., & Peelo, M. (2009). Academic sojourners, teaching and internationalisation: The experience of non-UK staff in a British University. *Teaching in Higher Education*, 14, 649–659.
- Mackinnon, D. (2009), Institutional Geographies. In: R. KITCHIN & N. THRIFT, eds., *International Encyclopaedia of Human Geography*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Macpherson, W. (1999) *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry*. Cm 4262–I (London, Stationary Office).
- Madziva, R., McGrath, S., & Thondhlana, J. (2016). Communicating employability: The role of communicative competence for Zimbabwean highly skilled migrants in the UK. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 17(1), 235-252.
- Mahadevan, J., & Kilian-Yasin, K. (2017). Dominant discourse, orientalism and the need for reflexive HRM: Skilled Muslim migrants in the German context. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 28(8), 1140-1162.
- Mahroum, S. (2001). Europe and the immigration of highly skilled labour. *International Migration*, 39, 27–43
- Malmusi, D., Borrell, C. and Benach, J., 2010. Migration-related health inequalities: showing the complex interactions between gender, social class and place of origin. *Social science & medicine*, 71(9), pp.1610-1619.
- Manacorda, M., Manning, A., & Wadsworth, J. (2012). The impact of immigration on the structure of wages: Theory and evidence from Britain. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 10(1), 120-151.
- Mangum, M., & Block, R. (2018). Social identity theory and public opinion towards immigration. *Social Sciences*, 7(3), 41.
- Mani, S., (2009) *High Skilled Migration from India, An Analysis of its Economic Implications*. available at <https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/123456789/3134/wp416.pdf?>
- Marcela Do Carmo Silva, Osvaldo Luiz Gonçalves Quelhas, Carlos Francisco Simões Gomes, & Maria De Lurdes Costa Domingos. (2017). internal migrations theory application in corporate governance. *Revista De Administração Mackenzie*, 18(5), 144-168.
- Marmot, M. G., Adelstein, M. A., & Bulusu, L. (1984). Lessons from the study of immigrant mortality. *Lancet*, 323, 1455e1457.
- Marques, J. C., Candeias, P., Góis, P., & Peixoto, J. (2021). Is the segmented skill divide perspective useful in migration studies? evidence from the portuguese case. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 22(2), 577-598.

- Martin, J. L. (2003). What is field theory? *American Journal of Sociology*, 109(1), 1–49.
- Martin, R. (2000), Institutional Approaches in Economic Geography. In: E. Sheppard & T. J. Barnes, eds., *A Companion to Economic Geography*, p. 77–94. Blackwell Publishers: Oxford.
- Maslak, M. A., and G. Singhal. 2008. “The Identity of Educated Women in India: Confluence or Divergence?” *Gender and Education* 20 (5): 481–493.
- Maslova, S., & Chiodelli, F. (2018). Expatriates and the city: The spatialities of the high-skilled migrants’ transnational living in Moscow. *Geoforum*, 97, 209-218.
- Mason, J., 2002. Sampling and selection in qualitative research. *Qualitative researching*, 2, pp.120-144.
- Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, J. E. (1993). Theories of international migration: A review and appraisal. *Population and development review*, 431-466.
- Massey, D. S., J. Arango, G. Hugo, A. Kouaouci, A. Pellegrino, and J. E. Taylor. 1998. *Worlds in Motion: Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- [Massey, D.S., Espinosa, K.E., 1997. What’s driving Mexico–US migration? A theoretical, empirical, and policy analysis. Am. J. Sociol., 939–999.](#)
- Matthews, B. & Ross, L. 2010, *Research methods: a practical guide for the social sciences*.
- Matthews, K. R. W. and Lane, N., 2009, Science collaboration across borders. Baker Institute Policy Report, 42(August), pp. 1–7.
- Mavroudi, E. and Warren, A., 2013. Highly skilled migration and the negotiation of immigration policy: Non-EEA postgraduate students and academic staff at English universities. *Geoforum*, 44, pp.261-270.
- Mawani, R. (2012). Specters of indigeneity in British Indian migration, 1914. *Law & Society Review*, 46(2), 369-403.
- Mawani, R., 2015. Law and Colonialism. *The Handbook of Law and Society*, p.417.
- Maydell-Stevens, E., Masggoret, A.M. and Ward, T., 2007. Problems of psychological and sociocultural adaptation among Russian speaking immigrants in New Zealand. *Social policy journal of New Zealand: te puna whakaaro*, 30, pp.178-198.
- Mayrhofer, W., Iellatchitch, A., Meyer, M., Steyrer, J., Schiffinger, M. and Strunk, G., 2004. Going beyond the individual: Some potential contributions from a career field and habitus perspective for global career research and practice. *Journal of Management Development*.
- Mazzucato, V. and Schans, D., 2011. Transnational families and the well-being of children: Conceptual and methodological challenges. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 73(4), p.704.

- McCulloh, I., Armstrong, H. and Johnson, A., 2013. *Social network analysis with applications*. John Wiley & Sons.
- McIntosh, Michele J., and Janice M. Morse. "Situating and constructing diversity in semi-structured interviews." *Global qualitative nursing research* 2 (2015)
- Mehra, K., & Pohit, S. (Eds.) (2013). India. Science and technology (Vol. 2), National Institute of Science, Technology and Development Studies. New-Delhi: Cambridge University Press.
- Mendoza, C. (2021). Illuminating the shadows of skilled migration: Highly qualified immigrants from Latin America in Spain. *International Migration*,
- Menz, G., 2013. European employers and the rediscovery of labour migration. *Europe's Immigration Challenge: Reconciling Work, Welfare and Mobility*, pp.105-123.
- Merriam, S.B. and Tisdell, E.J., 2016. Designing your study and selecting a sample. *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*, 67(1), pp.73-104.
- Merz, B. J., Chen, L. C., & Geithner, P. J. (Eds.). (2009). *Diasporas and development*. Hyderabad: Orient Black Swan.
- Metcalf, H., Rolfe, H., Stevens, P., & Weale, M. (2005). *Recruitment and retention of academic staff in higher education*. Nottingham: National Institute of Economic and Social Research.
- Meyer, J. B. (2001). Network approach versus brain drain: Lessons from the diaspora. *International Migration*, 39(5), 91–110.
- Meyer, J. W. & Rowan, B. (1977). "Institutionalised Organisations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony," *American Journal of Sociology*, 83, 340–363.
- Migge, B. and Gilmartin, M., 2016. Unbounding migration studies: the intersections of language, space and time. In *Migrations*. Manchester University Press.
- Mihăilă, A., 2019. Non-Economic Factors Influencing Highly-Skilled Migration. *Review of Economic Studies and Research Virgil Madgearu*, 12(1), pp.27-53.
- Mincer, J. 1978. "Family Migration Decisions." *Journal of Political Economy* 86 (5): 749–773.
- Mines, D. P., and S. Lamb. 2002. "The Family and the Life Course: Introduction." In *Everyday Life in South Asia*, edited by D. P. Mines, and S. Lamb, 7–10. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Mixon, F.G., 1992. Factors affecting college student migration across states. *International Journal of Manpower*.
- Moen, P., and Y. Yu. 2000. "Effective Work/Life Strategies: Working Couples, Work Conditions, Gender, and Life Quality." *Social Problems* 47 (3): 291–326.

- Monshipouri, M., 2019. Reza Afshari and Cultural Relativism. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 41(1), pp.204-208.
- Mooney, N. 2006. "Aspiration, Reunification and Gender Transformation in Jat Sikh Marriages from India to Canada." *Global Networks* 6 (4): 389–403.
- Moore, M. P., & Ranjan, P. (2005). Globalisation vs Skill-Biased Technological Change: Implications for Unemployment and Wage Inequality. *The Economic Journal*, 115(503), 391-422.
- Morales, L. and Giugni, M., (2011), *Social Capital, Political Participation and Migration in Europe: Making Multicultural Democracy Work*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Moroşanu, L., Bulat, A., Mazzilli, C. and King, R., 2019. Growing up abroad: Italian and Romanian migrants' partial transitions to adulthood. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42(9), pp.1554-1573.
- Mountford, A., 1997. Can a brain drain be good for growth in the source economy? *J. Dev. Econ.* 53 (2), 287–303.
- Mulder, C. H., and G. Malmberg. 2014. "Local Ties and Family Migration." *Environment and Planning A* 46 (9): 2195–2211.
- Mulder, C. H., and M. Wagner. 1993. "Migration and Marriage in the Life-Course: A Method for Studying Synchronized Events." *European Journal of Population-Revue Européenne de Démographie* 9 (1): 55–76.
- Mulder, C.H. and Hooimeijer, P., 1999. Residential relocations in the life course. In *Population issues* (pp. 159-186). Springer, Dordrecht.
- Mullatti, L. 1995. "Families in India: Beliefs and Realities." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 26 (1): 11–25. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41602364>.
- Muqadas, F., Rehman, M. and Aslam, U., 2017. Exploring the challenges, trends and issues for knowledge sharing. *VINE Journal of Information and Knowledge Management Systems*.
- Muszynska, M., and H. Kulu. 2007. "Migration and Union Dissolution in a Changing Socioeconomic Context: The Case of Russia." *Demographic Research* 17: 803–820.
- Muysken, J., & Ter Weel, B. (1999). Overeducation, job competition and unemployment.
- Nachammai, R., 2005, Indians ride tech wave by staying close to home. *Christian Science Monitor*, 97(64), pp. 7.
- Naeem, M. and Khan, M.J., 2019. Do social networking applications support the antecedents of knowledge sharing practices?. *VINE Journal of Information and Knowledge Management Systems*.
- Naghsh Nejad, M. and Young, A.T., 2014. Female brain drains and women's rights gaps: a gravity model analysis of bilateral migration flows. *Available at SSRN 2191658*.

Naghsh Nejad, M., 2013. Institutionalized inequality and brain drain: an empirical study of the effects of women's rights on the gender gap in high-skilled migration. *Available at SSRN 2116618*.

Nagy, D., & Frederiks, M. (2016). *Religion, migration and identity* Brill.

Nahapiet, J. and Ghoshal, S., 1998. Social capital, intellectual capital, and the organizational advantage. *Academy of management review*, 23(2), pp.242-266.

NAKAJIMA, K. (2017). Jinzai no kokusai idō to inobēshon (international migration of highly skilled workers and innovation). *Social Science Japan Journal*, 20(2), 323-325.

Nanda, R. and Khanna, T., 2010. Diasporas and domestic entrepreneurs: Evidence from the Indian software industry. *Journal of Economics & Management Strategy*, 19(4), pp.991-1012.

Nannestad, P., Svendsen, G.L. and Svendsen, G.T., (2008), 'Bridge over troubled water? Migration and social capital', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 34 (4): 607–631.

Netting, N. S. 2010. "Marital Ideoscapes in 21st-Century India: Creative Combinations of Love and Responsibility." *Journal of Family Issues* 31 (6): 707–726.

Newbold, K. B. (2005). Self-rated health within the Canadian immigrant population: risk and the healthy immigrant effect. *Social Science & Medicine*, 60(6),

Ngoma, A. L., & Ismail, N. W. (2013). The determinants of brain drain in developing countries. *International Journal of Social Economics*, 40(8), 744–754

Ni Laoire, C., 2008. 'Settling back'? A biographical and life-course perspective on Ireland's recent return migration. *Irish Geogr.* 41 (2), 195–210.

Niimi, Y., Ozden, C., Schiff, M., 2010. Remittances and the brain drain: skilled migrants do remit less. *Ann. Econ. Stat.* (97-98), 123–141.

Niko, A. and Vecchione, G., 2014. Do institutions play a role in skilled migration? The case of Italy. *Regional Studies*, 48(10), pp.1628-1649.

Niles, F. S. (1998). Individualism-collectivism revisited. *Cross Cultural Research*, 32, 315–341.

Nohl, A.-M. et al. (2014) *Work in Transition: Cultural Capital and Highly Skilled Migrants' Passages into the Labour Market*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Nohl, A.M., Schittenhelm, K., Schmidtke, O. and Weiss, A., 2006, May. Cultural capital during migration—a multi-level approach for the empirical analysis of the labor market integration of highly skilled migrants. In *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* (Vol. 7, No. 3).

Nowicka, M. (2014). Migrating skills, skilled migrants and migration skills: The influence of contexts on the validation of migrants' skills. *Migration Letters*, 11(2), 171-186.

Nyberg Sorensen, N., & Gammeltoft-Hansen, T. (2013). *The migration industry and the commercialization of international migration*. London: Routledge Ltd.

OECD (2011), Recruiting Immigrant Workers: Sweden

OECD (2008), International Migration Outlook. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. Paris: OECD.

OECD, 2007. The Medical Brain Drain: Myths and Realities. International Migration Outlook Sopemi 2007. OECD, Paris.

Oiarzabal, P. J., & Reips, U. (2012). Migration and diaspora in the age of information and communication technologies. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(9), 1333-1338.

Oishi, N., 2012. The limits of immigration policies: The challenges of highly skilled migration in Japan. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 56(8), pp.1080-1100.

Oishi, N., 2014. Redefining the “Highly Skilled”: The Points-Based System for Highly Skilled Foreign Professionals in Japan. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 23(4), pp.421-450.

Oliinyk, O., Bilan, Y., Mishchuk, H., Akimov, O., & Vasa, L. (2021). The impact of migration of highly skilled workers on the Country’s competitiveness and economic growth. *Montenegrin Journal of Economics*, 17(3), 7-19

Ong, P. M., Cheng, L. and Evans, L. (1992) ‘Migration of Highly Educated Asians and Global Dynamics’, *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 1/3–4: 543–67.

Onyigbuo, C.C., Alexis-Garsee, C. & van den Akker, O. 2016, "Nigerian Clergy and healthcare professionals' perceptions of health-seeking behaviours among Nigerian immigrants in the UK", *Mental Health, Religion & Culture*, vol. 19, no. 10, pp. 1043.

Oommen, T. K. (1989) ‘India: “Brain Drain” or the Migration of Talent?’, *International Migration (Geneva, Switzerland)*, 27/3: 411–25.

Oonk, G. ed., 2007. *Global Indian diasporas: Exploring trajectories of migration and theory (Vol.1)*. Amsterdam University Press.

Osang, T., & Weber, S. (2017). Immigration policies, labor complementarities, population size and cultural frictions: Theory and evidence: Immigration and cultural frictions. *International Journal of Economic Theory*, 13(1), 95-111.

Oucho, J. O. (1993). Towards migration research networking in eastern- southern African sub regions. *International Migration*, 31(4), 625-645.

Ozbilgin, M., & Tatli, A. (2005). Book review essay: Understanding bourdieu’s contribution to organization and management studies. *Academy of Management Review*, 30, 855–869.

Ozden and M. Schiff (Eds) *International Migration, Remittances and the Brain Drain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 151–198.

P. Braveman, "Health disparities and health equity: Concepts and measurement," *Annual Review of Public Health* 27 (2006), pp. 167-194

Padarath, A., Chamberlain, C., McCoy, D., Ntuli, A., Rowson, M., Loewenson, R., 2003. *Health Personnel in Southern Africa: Confronting Maldistribution and Brain Drain*. Equinet Discussion Paper Number 3. EQUINET Health Systems Trust (South Africa) and MEDACT (UK).

Palloni, A., Massey, D. S., Ceballos, M., Espinosa, K., & Spittel, M. (2001). Social capital and international migration: A test using information on family networks. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 106(5), 1262.

Palmer, R. 2015, "A long way home: Migrant worker worlds 1800-2014, Peter Delius, Laura Phillips and Fiona Rankin-Smith, (Eds.) : book review", *De Arte*, , no. 91, pp. 89-93.

Panagakos, A.N & Horst, H.A. 2006, "Return to Cyberia: technology and the social worlds of transnational migrants", *Global Networks*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 109-124.

Panchal, R.K., Browne, I., Monk, P., Woltmann, G. & Haldar, P. 2014, "The effectiveness of primary care based risk stratification for targeted latent tuberculosis infection screening in recent immigrants to the UK: a retrospective cohort study", *Thorax*, vol. 69, no. 4, pp. 354-362.

Panda, M. 2012, "Culture, Discursive Practices and Literacy Work in Families: Why is Mathematics Important to Indian Immigrants in UK?", *Psychology and Developing Societies*, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 161-180.

Paris, T., Singh, A., Luis, J. and Hossain, M., 2005. Impact of male out-migration on rice household economy and gender roles: a case in eastern Uttar Pradesh, India. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 40(25), pp.2522-2529.

Parrado, E.A. and Flippen, C.A., 2005. Migration and gender among Mexican women. *American sociological review*, 70(4), pp.606-632.

Parthasarathy, B., 2004. India's Silicon Valley or Silicon Valley's India? Socially embedding the computer software industry in Bangalore. *International journal of urban and regional research*, 28(3), pp.664-685.

Patra, S.K. and Krishna, V.V., 2015. Globalization of R&D and open innovation: linkages of foreign R&D centers in India. *Journal of Open Innovation: Technology, Market, and Complexity*, 1(1), p.7.

Patton, M.Q., 2015. *Qualitative research and methods: Integrating theory and practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Paul, A.M., 2011. Stepwise international migration: a multistage migration pattern for the aspiring migrant. *Am. J. Sociology*. 116 (6), 1842–1886.

Paul, S., 2018. An Analysis of the Skill Shortage Problems in Indian IT Companies. *Social Sciences*, 7(9), p.159.

- Pe Leah, M., 2007. The impact of migration on gender roles in Moldova. *Development and Transition*, 8, pp.14-17.
- Penny, R. (2013). Incentives, inequality and self-respect. *Res Publica*, 19(4), 335-351.
- Peppler, L. (2018). Changes in highly skilled migration policies: Turkish-german medical migration since the 1960s. *Migration Letters*, 15(4), 491-502.
- Péridy, N., 2010. A Generalized Model of International Migration Determinants. *Revue économique*, 61(6), pp.981-1010.
- Persaud, A. (2019). Escaping local risk by entering indentureship: Evidence from nineteenth-century Indian migration. *The Journal of Economic History*, 79(2), 447-476.
- Perspective on Society. *International Migration Review* 38, pp. 1002–1039.
- Phelan, J.C., Link, B.G. and Tehranifar, P., 2010. Social conditions as fundamental causes of health inequalities: theory, evidence, and policy implications. *Journal of health and social behaviour*, 51(1_suppl), pp.S28-S40.
- Piché, V. & Dutreuilh, C. 2013, "Contemporary Migration Theories as Reflected in their Founding Texts", *Population (English Edition, 2002-)*, vol. 68, no. 1, pp. 141-164.
- Piore, M.J. 1979 *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Pitkänen, P. (2016). The ecological-evolutionary theory, migration, settler colonialism, sociology of violence and the origins of ancient Israel. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 2(1)
- Pittman, J. F., and D. Blanchard. 1996. "The Effects of Work History and Timing of Marriage on the Division of Household Labour: A Life-course Perspective." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 58 (1): 78–90.
- Pixley, J. E. 2008. "Life Course Patterns of Career-Prioritizing Decisions and Occupational Attainment in Dual-earner Couples." *Work and Occupations* 35 (2): 127–163.
- Plöger, J., & Becker, A. (2015). Social networks and local incorporation-grounding high-skilled migrants in two German cities. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41(10), 1517-1535.
- Poros, M.V., 2001. The role of migrant networks in linking local labour markets: the case of Asian Indian migration to New York and London. *Global networks*, 1(3), pp.243-260.
- Portes, A. (2001). The debates and significance of immigrant transnationalism. *Global Networks*, 1(3), 181–194.
- Portes, A., (2000), 'The two meanings of social capital', *Sociological Forum*, 15 (1): 1–12.
- Portes, A., 1998. Social capital: Its origins and applications in modern sociology. *Annual review of sociology*, 24(1), pp.1-24.

Portes, A., L. E. Guarnizo, and P. Landolt. 1999. "The Study of Transnationalism: Pitfalls and Promise of an Emergent Research Field." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22 (2): 217–237.

Portes, D., 2007. *Rethinking migration: New theoretical and empirical perspectives*. Berghahn Books.

Powell, W. W. & DiMaggio, P. J. (Eds.). (1991). *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Prasad, R. (2004) *Tears in Paradise: Suffering and Struggles of Indians in Fiji 1879–2004*. Auckland: Glade Publishers.

Pries, L. (2001) 'the disruption of social and geographic space: Mexican–US Migration and the emergence of transnational social spaces', *International Sociology*, 16, 55–74.

Pries, L. (2013). *New transnational social spaces: international migration and transnational companies in the early twenty-first century*. Routledge. Its a book put page number

Pudaric, S., Sundquist, J., & Johansson, S. E. (2003). Country of birth, instrumental activities of daily living, self-rated health and mortality: a Swedish population based survey of people aged 55e74. *Social Science & Medicine*, 56, 2493e2503.

Punch, K.F. 2009, *Introduction to research methods in education*, SAGE Publications, London.

Purkayastha, B., 2005. Skilled migration and cumulative disadvantage: the case of highly qualified Asian Indian immigrant women in the US. *Geoforum*, 36(2), pp.181-196.

Purkayastha, D., & Bircan, T. (2021). Present but not counted: Highly skilled migrant women in Belgium. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, , 1-19.

Putman, P. (2000) *Bowling Alone*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Putnam, H., 1995. *Renewing philosophy*. Harvard University Press.

Qin, F. (2015). Global talent, local careers: Circular migration of top Indian engineers and professionals. *Research Policy*, pp44

Qureshi, K., Varghese, V. J. and Osella, F. (2013) 'Indian Punjabi Skilled Migrants in Britain: Of Brain Drain and Under-Employment', *Journal of Management Development*, 32/2: 182–92.

Radhakrishnan, R. and Koshy, S., 2008. *Transnational South Asians: The making of a neo-diaspora*. Oxford University Press.

Raftery, J., Jones, D. R., & Rosato, M. (1990). The mortality of first and second generation Irish immigrants in the U.K. *Social Science & Medicine*, 31(5), 577e584.

Raghuram, P. (2004). The difference that skills make: Gender, family migration strategies and regulated labour markets. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30(2), 303-321.

- Raghuram, P., 2008. Migrant women in male-dominated sectors of the labour market: a research agenda. *Population, space and place*, 14(1), pp.43-57.
- Raghuram, P., Henry, L., & Bornat, J. (2010). Difference and distinction?: Non-migrant and migrant networks. *Sociology*, 44, 623–641.
- Raghuram, P., Sahoo, A.K., Maharaj, B. and Sangha, D. eds., 2008. *Tracing an Indian diaspora: contexts, memories, representations*. SAGE Publishing India.
- Rajan, S. I. (2012). *Migration, identity and conflict: India migration report 2011* Routledge.
- Rajendra, T. M. (2014). Justice not benevolence: Catholic social thought, migration theory, and the rights of migrants. *Political Theology*, 15(4), 290-306.
- Ramboarison-Lalao, L., Al Ariss, A. and Barth, I., 2012. Careers of skilled migrants: Understanding the experiences of Malagasy physicians in France. *Journal of Management Development*.
- Ramos, A.M.G. and Martín-Palomino, E.T., 2015, March. Addressing women's agency on international mobility. In *Women's Studies International Forum* (Vol. 49, pp. 1-11). Pergamon.
- Rasch, V., Gammeltoft, T., Knudsen, L. B., Tobiassen, C., Ginzler, A., & Kempf, L. (2008). Induced abortion in Denmark: effect of socio-economic situation and country of birth. *European Journal of Public Health*, 18(2), 144e149.
- Raveesh, S., 2013. Brain drain: Socio-economic impact on Indian society. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention ISSN (Online)*, pp.2319-7722.
- Ravitch, D., 2002. Diversity, tragedy, and the schools.(A Considered Opinion). *Brookings Review*, 20(1), pp.2-4.
- Redstone Akresh, I., & Frank, R. (2008). Health selection among new immigrants. *American Journal of Public Health*, 98(11),
- Rees, R. and Riezman, R., 2012. Globalization, gender, and growth. *Review of Income and Wealth*, 58(1), pp.107-117.
- Reich, M., Gordon, D. M., & Edwards, R. C. (1973). A theory of labour market segmentation. *The American Economic Review*, 63(2), 359-365.
- Reinholt, M.I.A., Pedersen, T. and Foss, N.J., 2011. Why a central network position isn't enough: The role of motivation and ability for knowledge sharing in employee networks. *Academy of Management Journal*, 54(6), pp.1277-1297.
- Research Paper No. 2006/14. *World Institute for Development Economics Research. United Nations University*.
- Reynolds, T., (2010), 'Transnational family relationships, social networks and return migration among British-Caribbean young people', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33 (5): 797–815.

RHLCID (2001), Report of the High Level Committee on the Indian Diaspora, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi.

Riaño, Y. and Baghdadi, N., 2007. Understanding the labour market participation of skilled immigrant women in Switzerland: The interplay of class, ethnicity, and gender. *Journal of International Migration and Integration/Revue de integration et de la migration Internationale*, 8(2), p.163.

Ricci, A., Crivellaro, F., & Bolzani, D. (2021). Perceived employability of highly skilled migrant women in STEM: Insights from labor market intermediaries' professionals. *Administrative Sciences*, 11(1), 7.

Ritchie, J., 2003. The applications of qualitative methods to social research. *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers*, 24, p.e46.

Robertson, S. (2015). The production of the Indian student: Regimes and imaginaries of migration, education, labour, citizenship and class. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 7(3), 1-22.

Robinson, V. and Carey, M., 2000. Peopling skilled international migration: Indian doctors in the UK. *International migration*, 38(1), pp.89-108.

Rodríguez-Pose, A., and T. D. Ketterer. 2012. "Do Local Amenities Affect the Appeal of Regions in Europe for Migrants?" *Journal of Regional Science* 52 (4): 535–561.

Ronellenfitsch, U., & Razum, O. (2004). Deteriorating health satisfaction among immigrants from Eastern Europe to Germany. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 3, 4.

Roohi, S., 2017. Caste, kinship and the realisation of 'American Dream': high-skilled Telugu migrants in the USA. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43(16), pp.2756-2770.

Roos, H., 2013. In the rhythm of the global market: female expatriates and mobile careers: a case study of Indian ICT professionals on the move. *Gender Work Org.* 20 (2), 147–157.

Ruhs, M. (2013). *The price of rights: Regulating international labor migration*. US: Princeton University Press.

Rutten, M. and Verstappen, S., 2014. Middling migration: Contradictory mobility experiences of Indian youth in London. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 40(8), pp.1217-1235.

Ryan, L., & Mulholland, J. (2014). Trading places: French highly skilled migrants negotiating mobility and emplacement in London. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 40(4), 584-600.

Ryan, L., (2011), 'Migrants' social networks and weak ties: accessing resources and constructing relationships post-migration', *The Sociological Review*, 59 (4): 707–724.

Saar, M. (2019). Using reflexivity to explain variations in migration among the highly-skilled. *Identities (Yverdon, Switzerland)*, 26(6), 688-705.

Saarela, J., and F. Finnäs. 2013. "The International Family Migration of Swedish-speaking Finns: The Role of Spousal Education." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39 (3): 391–408.

Sabharwal, M. and Varma, R., 2016. Return migration to India: Decision-Making among academic engineers and scientists. *International Migration*, 54(4), pp.177-190.

Sadje, A., Sprung, A. and Kukovetz, B., 2015. The use of migration-related competencies in continuing education: individual strategies, social and institutional conditions. *Studies in Continuing Education*, 37(3), pp.286-301.

Sager, A. (2016). Methodological nationalism, migration and political theory. *Political Studies*, 64(1), 42-59.

Salaff, J., Greve, A. and Ping, J. (2002), "Paths into the economy: structural barriers and the job hunt for skilled PRC migrants in Canada", *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, Vol. 13 No. 3, pp. 450-64.

Salamanca Pacheco, E. (2018). Implications of the U.S. visa reform for highly-skilled Mexican migration. *Norteamérica : Norteamérica Hoy : Temas Relevantes*, 14(1)

Saldana J. 2009. *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*. SAGE Publications: London.

Saldana, J., 2011. *Fundamentals of qualitative research*.

Salt, J. and Millar, J. (2006), "Foreign labour in the United Kingdom: current patterns and trends", *Labour Market Trends*, October, pp. 335-55.

Salt, J., 2012. *International Migration and the United Kingdom*. Report of the United Kingdom SOPEMI Correspondent to the OECD report.

Samers, M. (2011). The socio territoriality of cities: a framework for understanding the incorporation of migrants in urban labor markets. *Locating migration: Rescaling cities and migrants*, 42-59.

Samers, M., & Collyer, M. (2009). *migration* (1st ed.). Florence: Taylor and Francis.

Samet, K. (2014). Brain Gain, Technology Transfer and Economic Growth: Case of Tunisia. *International Journal of Economics and Finance*, 6(9)

Samuel, L. 2010. "Mating, Dating and Marriage: Intergenerational Cultural Retention and the Construction of Diasporic Identities among South Asian Immigrants in Canada." *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 31 (1): 95–110.

Sanchez, G., & Romero, M. (2010). Critical race theory in the US sociology of immigration: Critical race theory in the US sociology. *Sociology Compass*, 4(9), 779-788.

Sandefur, G. D., and W. J. Scott. 1981. "A Dynamic Analysis of Migration: An Assessment of the Effects of Age, Family and Career Variables." *Demography* 18 (3): 355–368.

Sang, K., Al-Dajani, H. and Özbilgin, M., 2013. Frayed careers of migrant female professors in British academia: An intersectional perspective. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 20(2), pp.158-171.

Sangwan, S., 1990, Science education in India under colonial constraints, 1792–1857. *Oxford Review of Education*, 16(1), pp. 81–95.

Sardana, D., Zhu, Y. & Veen, R. 2016, "Unlocking the Talents-in-Waiting: Case Study Analysis of Chinese and Indian High-Skilled Migrants in South Australia", *International Migration*, vol. 54, no. 6, pp. 74-93.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P. & Thornhill, A. 2009, *Research methods for business students*, 5th edn, Financial Times Prentice Hall, Harlow.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P. & Thornhill, A. 2012, *Research methods for business students*, 6th edn, Pearson, Harlow.

Saunders, M., Lewis, P. & Thornhill, A. 2016, *Research methods for business students*, Seventh edn, Pearson Education, Harlow. Economy Harvard

Saxenian, A. (2000), "Silicon Valley's new immigrant high-growth entrepreneurs", Working Paper No. 15, Centre for Comparative Immigration Studies, University of California, San Diego, CA

Saxenian, A. (2005). From brain drain to brain circulation: Transnational communities and regional upgrading in India and China. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 40(2), 35–61.

Saxenian, A. (2006) *International Mobility of Engineers and the Rise of Entrepreneurship in the Periphery*. Research Paper, UNU-WIDER, United Nations University (UNU), No. 2006/142.

Sayad, A. (2004), *The Suffering of the Immigrant*, Polity Press, Cambridge

Schapendonk, J. (2015). What if networks move? dynamic social networking in the context of African migration to Europe. *Population Space and Place*, 21(8), 809-819.

Scheffler, R.M., Cometto, G., Tulenko, K., Bruckner, T., Liu, J., Keuffel, E.L., 2016. Health Workforce Requirements for Universal Health Coverage and the Sustainable Development Goals. *Human Resources for Health Observer* 17. World Health Organization, Geneva.

Schemmel, C. (2019). Real self-respect and its social bases. *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, 49(5), 628-651.

Schepers, P., & van den Berg, Peter T. (2006;2007;). Social factors of work-environment creativity. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 21(3), 407-428.

Schiff, M., Özden, Ç., & Weltbank. (2006;2005;). *International migration, remittances, and the brain drain* (illustrat ed.). US: World Bank Publications.

- Scholl, I., LaRussa, A., Hahlweg, P., Kobrin, S., & Elwyn, G. (2018). Organizational- and system-level characteristics that influence implementation of shared decision-making and strategies to address them — a scoping review. *Implementation Science : IS*, 13(1), 40-22.
- Seale, C., 2007. Quality in Qualitative Research. IC Seale, G Gobo, JF Gubrium & D Silverman (red). *Qualitative research practice*, pp.379-389.
- Seminario, R. (2018). Femininities and masculinities in highly skilled migration: Peruvian graduates' narratives of employment transitions and binational marriages in Switzerland. *Migration Letters*, 15(1), 85-98.
- Seminario, R., & Le Feuvre, N. (2021). The combined effect of qualifications and marriage on the employment trajectories of peruvian graduates in Switzerland. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 22(1), 205-226
- Sen, A. (1999). Development as freedom. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Seth, N., and R. Patnayakuni. 2012. "Online Matrimonial Sites and the Transformation of Arranged Marriage in India." In *Gender and Social Computing. Interactions, Differences and Relationships*, edited by C. Romm, 272–295. Hershey, PA: IGI Global.
- Seymour, S. 1995. "Family Structure, Marriage, Caste and Class, and Women's Education: Exploring the Linkages in an Indian Town." *Indian Journal of Gender Studies* 2 (1): 67–86.
- Shah, B., (2007), 'Being young female and Laotian: ethnicity as social capital and the intersection of gender, generation and "race" and age', *Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30: 28–50.
- Shah, B., Dwyer, C., & Modood, T. (2010). Explaining educational achievement and career aspirations among young British Pakistanis: Mobilizing 'ethnic capital'?. *Sociology*, 44, 1109–1127
- Shan, H. and Guo, S., 2013. Learning as sociocultural practice: Chinese immigrant professionals negotiating differences and identities in the Canadian labour market. *Comparative Education*, 49(1), pp.28-41.
- Sharma, D., 2011. Style repertoire and social change in British Asian English. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 15(4), pp.464-492.
- Shastry, G. K. (2012). Human capital response to globalization education and information technology in India. *Journal of Human Resources*, 47(2), 287-330.
- Sheffer, G. (1986). *Diasporas in international relations*. New York: St Martin's Press.
- Shen, S. (2017; 2016 ;). The bibimbap migration theory? Challenges of Korea's multicultural mix and social integration development. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 18(3), 771-789.
- Shmihelska, O. (2020). Defining the main push-and-pull factors of Ukrainian highly skilled (IT) migration to berlin: The EU blue card or the Euromaidan. In Alessandro Achilli, Serhy Yekelchuk & Dmytro Yesypenko (Eds.), *Cossacks in Jamaica, Ukraine at the antipodes* (pp. 704). Academic Studies Press.

- Shotter, J., 1993. *Cultural politics of everyday life: Social constructionism, rhetoric and knowing of the third kind*. University of Toronto Press.
- Silverstein, M., D. Gans, and F. M. Yang. 2006. "Intergenerational Support to Aging Parents: The Role of Norms and Needs." *Journal of Family Issues* 27: 1pp068–1084
- Silwa, M., & Johansson, M. (2013). The discourse of meritocracy contested/reproduced: Foreign women academics in UK business schools. *Organization*. Advance online publication.
- Simon-Kumar, R. (2015) 'Neoliberalism and the New Race Politics of Migration Policy: Changing Profiles of the Desirable Migrant in New Zealand', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41/7: 1172–91.
- Simons, R.L. and Burt, C.H., 2011. Learning to be bad: Adverse social conditions, social schemas, and crime. *Criminology*, 49(2), pp.553-598.
- Singh, A. (2010), Inaugural Speech and Some Reflections on Punjab's Development, Punjab Research Group, Cambridge University, Cambridge
- Singh, A. (2014). *Indian Diaspora: Voices of Grandparents and Grandparenting*. 720 Vols. Rotterdam: Sense.
- Singh, A. (2015). Skills transfer in the context of migration: A case for a redefinition through the South African landscape. *The Oriental Anthropologist*, 15(2), 227.
- Sjaastad, L. A. (1962). The costs and returns of human migration. *Journal of Political Economy*, 70(5, Part 2), 80–93.
- Skeldon, R. (2005), *Globalisation, Skill Migration and Poverty Alleviation: Brain Drains in Context*, Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty, Brighton.
- Slack, N. J., & Singh, G. (2018). Diagnosis of organizational culture in public sector undertakings undergoing reforms. *Public Organization Review*, 18(3), 361-380.
- Sloan, L. and Quan-Haase, A. eds., 2017. *The SAGE handbook of social media research methods*. Sage.
- Smith, D. P. (2004). "An 'Untied' Research Agenda for Family Migration: Loosening the 'Shackles' of Past." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30 (2): 263–282 280.
- Smith, D.P. & King, R. 2012, "Editorial Introduction: Re-Making Migration Theory: Editorial Introduction", *Population, Space and Place*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 127-133.
- Smith, G., & Nicolson, M. (2007). Re-expressing the division of British medicine under the NHS: The importance of locality in general practitioners' oral histories. *Social Science & Medicine*, 64, 938–948
- Smits, J., C. H. Mulder, and P. Hooimeijer. 2003. "Changing Gender Roles, Shifting Power Balance and Long-distance Migration of Couples." *Urban Studies* 40 (3): 603–613.

- Solomos, J. (1999) Social research and the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, *Sociological Research Online*, 4(1). Available online at: <http://www.socresonline.org.uk.eresources.shef.ac.uk/4/lawrence/solomos.html>
- Somerville, W. (2007), *Immigration Under New Labour*, Policy Press, Bristol.
- Song, H. (1992). From brain drain to reverse brain drain: Three decades of Korean experience. *Science Technology & Society*, 2(2), 317–345.
- Sparkes, A. C. (2007). Embodiment, academics, and the audit culture: A story seeking consideration. *Qualitative Research*, 7, 521–550.
- Speh, J., & Wille, M. (2012). Pretended networking a migration-capable approach for partial networking. *ATZelektronik Worldwide*, 7(4), 14-19
- Spilimbergo, A., 2009. Democracy and foreign education. *American economic review*, 99(1), pp.528-43.
- Spolaore, E., Wacziarg, R., 2016. Ancestry, language and culture. In: Ginsburgh, V., Weber, S. (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Economics and Language*, Vol. 6. Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Stanczyk, L., 2016. Managing skilled migration. *Ethics & Global Politics*, 9(1), p.33502.
- Stark, O., Helmenstein, C., Prskawetz, A., 1997. A brain gain with a brain drain? *Econ. Lett.* 55 (2), 227–234.
- Still, C., 2008. Dalit women in the social justice revolution in India. *Public Policy Research*, 15(2), pp.93 96.
- Storbeck, D. (2011). Indian labour migration to the Arab gulf states: The impact of a growing interdependence. *Internationales Asien Forum. International Quarterly for Asian Studies*, 42(1/2), 21.
- Stouffer, S. A. (1940). Intervening opportunities: a theory relating mobility and distance. *American sociological review*, 5(6), 845-867.
- Stouffer, S. A. (1960). Intervening opportunities and competing migrants. *Journal of regional science*, 2(1), 1-26.
- Suh, E.E., Kagan, S. and Strumpf, N., 2009. Cultural competence in qualitative interview methods with Asian immigrants. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing*, 20(2), pp.194-201.
- Sung, J., & Ashton, D. N. (2014). *Skills in Business: The role of business strategy, sectoral skills development and skills policy*. Sage.
- Syed, J. (2008), “Employment prospects for skilled migrants: a relational perspective”, *HumanResource Management Review*, Vol. 18 No. 1, pp. 28-45
- Syed, J. (2008). Employment prospects for skilled migrants: A relational perspective. *Human Resource Management Review*, 18, 28–45.

- Tan, G., & Hugo, G. (2017). The transnational migration strategies of Chinese and Indian students in Australia. *Population, Space and Place*, 23(6),
- Tang, J.A. and Liu, B.S., 2011. A network based theory of foreign market entry mode and post-entry performance.
- Tanyas, B. 2016, "Experiences of Otherness and Practices of Othering: Young Turkish Migrants in the UK", *Young*, vol. 24, no. 2, pp. 157-173.
- Tastsoglou, E. (2022). Twenty-first century "new" Greek transnational migration to Canada. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 20(1), 65-78
- Tatli, A. (2011), "A multi-layered exploration of the diversity management field", *British Journal of Management*, Vol. 22 No. 1, pp. 238-53
- Taylor, E.J., 1999. The new economics of labour migration and the role of remittances in the migration process. *International migration*, 37(1), pp.63-88.
- Taylor, L. (2015). Inside the black box of internet adoption: The role of migration and networking in internet penetration in west africa. *Policy and Internet*, 7(4), 423-446.
- Teater, B., Forrester, D., Devaney, J., Scourfield, J. & Carpenter, J. 2017, *Quantitative research methods for social work: making social work count*, Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Tejada, G. (2012). Mobility, knowledge and cooperation: Scientific diasporas as agents of development. *Migration and Development*, 10(18), 59–92.
- Tejada, G., & Bolay, J.-C. (Eds.). (2010). *Scientific diasporas as development partners: Skilled migrants from Colombia, India and South Africa in Switzerland: Empirical evidence and policy responses*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Tejada, G., and Bhattacharya, U., (2014) *Indian Skilled Migration and Development, Dynamics of Asian Development*, Springer, India. book
- Temin, M., Montgomery, M.R., Engebretsen, S. and Barker, K.M., 2013. *Girls on the move: Adolescent girls & migration in the developing world*.
- Teney, C. (2021). Immigration of highly skilled European professionals to Germany: Intra-EU brain gain or brain circulation? *Innovation (Abingdon, England)*, 34(1), 69-92.
- Thomas, D. (2013). *Africa and france: Postcolonial cultures, migration, and racism*. US: Indiana University Press.
- Thomas, S. 2017, "The precarious path of student migrants: education, debt, and transnational migration among Indian youth", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 43, no. 11, pp. 1873-17.
- Thompson, C. and Quinlan, P., 2019. How can we develop an evidence-based culture?. *Evidence-Based Practice in Nursing*, p.161.

- Thondhlana, J., Madziva, R. & McGrath, S. 2016, "Negotiating Employability: Migrant Capitals and Networking Strategies for Zimbabwean Highly Skilled Migrants in the UK", *The Sociological Review*, vol. 64, no. 3, pp. 575-592.
- Thrupp, M. (2001) School-level education policy under New Labour and New Zealand Labour: a comparative update, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 49(2), 187-212.
- Thubauville, S. (2013). Indian academics in Ethiopia: South-south migration of highly skilled Indians. *Diaspora Studies*, 6(2), 123-133.
- Tilley, J.J., 2007. Cultural relativism. *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, pp.1-2.
- Tölölyan, K., 1996. Rethinking diaspora (s): Stateless power in the transnational moment. *Diaspora: a journal of transnational studies*. 5(1). Pp. 3-36.
- Toma, S., & Villares-Varela, M. (2019). The role of migration policies in the attraction and retention of international talent: The case of Indian researchers. *Sociology*, 53(1), 52-68.
- Tomlinson, S. (2005) Race, ethnicity and education under New Labour, *Oxford Review of Education*, 31(1), 153–171.
- Townley, B. (1997). The institutional logic of performance appraisal. *Organization Studies*, 18,261–285.
- Tracy, S.J. 2013, *Qualitative research methods: collecting evidence, crafting analysis, communicating impact*, Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester, West Sussex.
- Tracy, S.J., 2019. *Qualitative research methods: Collecting evidence, crafting analysis, communicating impact*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Triandafyllidou, A. (2003). Immigration policy implementation in Italy: Organisational culture, identity processes and labour market control. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 29(2), 257-297.
- Tuccio, M., 2019. Measuring and assessing talent attractiveness in OECD countries.
- Tumbe, C. (2015). Missing men, migration and labour markets: Evidence from India. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, 58(2), 245-267.
- Turchick Hakak, L. and Al Ariss, A., 2013. Vulnerable work and international migrants: A relational human resource management perspective. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 24(22), pp.4116-4131.
- Ulrich Mayer, K., 2004. Whose lives? How history, societies, and institutions define and shape life courses. *Research in human development*, 1(3), pp.161-187.
- UNDP. (2013). *Human development report 2013. The rise of the South: Human progress in a diverse world*. New York:
- United Nations Development Programme. (2009). *Human development report 2009. Overcoming barriers: Human mobility and development*.

- United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. (2009)
- Upadhya, C. and Vasavi, A.R. (Eds) (2008), *In an Outpost of the Global Economy: Work and Workers in India's Information Technology Industry*, Routledge, New Delhi.
- Uretsky, M. C., & Mathiesen, S. G. (2007). The Effects of years lived in the United States on the general health status of California's foreign-born populations. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, 2007(9), 125e136.
- Uzzi, B., (1999), 'Embeddedness in the making of financial capital', *American Sociological Review*, 64: 481–505.
- Valk, R., and V. Srinivasan. 2011. "Work-Family Balance of Indian Women Software Professionals: A Qualitative Study." *IIMB Management Review* 23 (1):
- Van Dalen, H.P., Henkens, K, 2007. Longing for the good life: understanding emigration from a high-income country. *Rev.* 33 (1), 17–45.
- Van den Brink, M., & Benschop, Y. (2012). Gender practices in the construction of academic excellence: Sheep with five legs. *Organization*, 19, 507–524.
- Van der Veer, P. (2005), "Virtual India: Indian IT labour and the nation state", in Hansen, T. and Stepputat, F. (Eds), *Sovereign Bodies: Citizens, Migrants and States in the Postcolonial World*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ, pp. 276-90.
- Van Hear, N. (2010). Theories of migration and social change. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(10), 1531-1536.
- Van Hook, J. and Glick, J.E., 2007. Immigration and living arrangements: Moving beyond economic need versus acculturation. *Demography*, 44(2), pp.225-249.
- Van laer, K., & Janssens, M. (2011). Ethnic minority professionals' experiences with subtle discrimination in the workplace. *Human Relations*, 64, 1203–1227
- Van Riemsdijk M. 2012. (Re)scaling governance of skilled migration in Europe: divergence, harmonization, and contestation. *Population, Space and Place* 18(3): 344–358.
- Van Riemsdijk, M. (2021). scalar politics and network relations in the governance of highly skilled migration. *Geographical Review*, ahead-of-print(ahead-of-print), 1-19.
- Van Wey, L.K., 2005. Land ownership as a determinant of international and internal migration in Mexico and internal migration in Thailand. *International Migration Review*, 39(1), pp.141-172.
- Vargas-Silva, C. ed., 2012. *Handbook of research methods in migration*. Edward Elgar Publishing
- Varma, R. and Kapur, D., 2010, Access, satisfaction, and future: Undergraduate education at the Indian Institutes of Technology. *Higher Education*, 59, pp. 703–717.

- Varma, R. and Kapur, D., 2013. Comparative analysis of brain drains, brain circulation and brain retain: A case study of Indian institutes of technology. *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice*, 15(4), pp.315-330.
- Varma, R., 2006. Harbingers of Change: India's Techno-Immigrants in the United States.
- Varma, R., 2007, Changing borders and realities: Emigration of Indian scientists and engineers to the United States. *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology*, 6(4), pp. 1–18.
- Varrel, A., 2011. Gender and intergenerational issues in the circulation of highly skilled migrants: the case of Indian IT professionals. In: *Gender, Generations and the Family in International Migration*. Amsterdam University Press, pp. 335–353.
- Vertovec, S. (2003), Migration and Other Modes of Transnationalism: Towards Conceptual Cross-fertilization. *International Migration Review* 37, pp. 641–665.
- Vertovec, S. (2004). Migrant transnationalism and modes of transformation. *International Migration Review*, 38(3), 970–1001.
- Vertovec, S., 2002. Transnational networks and skilled labour migration. In: Paper Presented at the 'Ladenburger Diskurs "Migration"' Gottlieb Daimler-und Karl Benz-Stiftung Conference, Ladenburg, Germany.
- Viruell-Fuentes, E. A. (2007). Beyond acculturation: immigration, discrimination and health research among Mexicans in the United States. *Social Science & Medicine*, 65, 1524e1535.
- Vissandjee, B., Desmeules, M., Cao, Z., Abdool, S., & Kazanjian, A. (2004). Integrating ethnicity and migration as determinants of Canadian women's health. *BMC Women's Health*, 4(S32).
- Vojtovich, S., 2013. The impact of Emigration on Unemployment in Slovakia. *Engineering Economics*, 24(3), pp.207-216.
- Vujicic, M., Zurn, P., Diallo, K., Adams, O., Dal Poz, M.R., 2004. The role of wages in the migration of health care professionals from developing countries. *Human Resource*.
- Wacquant, L. (2004), "Following Pierre Bourdieu into the field", *Ethnography*, Vol. 5 No. 4, pp. 387-14
- Wadhwa, V., 2012. *The immigrant exodus: Why America is losing the global race to capture entrepreneurial talent*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Wadhwa, V., Saxenian, A., Rissing, B. and Gereffi, G., 2007. America's new immigrant entrepreneurs. *Kauffman Foundation report*.
- Wahba, J. and Zenou, Y., 2012. Out of sight, out of mind: Migration, entrepreneurship and social capital. *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, 42(5), pp.890-903.
- Wakisaka, D., & Cardwell, P. J. (2021). Exploring the trajectories of highly skilled migration law and policy in japan and the UK. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 9(1), 43-43.

- Wallerstein, I. (1974). The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 16(4), 387-415
- Walliman, N. 2006, *Social research methods*, SAGE, Thousand Oaks, Calif;London;.
- Walliman, N. 2010, *Research methods*, Taylor and Francis, Hoboken.
- Walliman, N. 2018, *Research methods: the basics*, Routledge, New York, New York; London, [England];.
- Walton-Roberts, M., Runnels, V., Rajan, S. I., Sood, A., Nair, S., Thomas, P., . . . Bourgeault, I. L. (2017). Causes, consequences, and policy responses to the migration of health workers: Key findings from India. *Human Resources for Health*, 15(1), 28.
- Wang, Q., Tang, L. and Li, H., 2015. Return migration of the highly skilled in higher education institutions: A Chinese university case. *Population, Space and Place*, 21(8), pp.771-787.
- Waters, J.L., 2011. Time and transnationalism: a longitudinal study of immigration, endurance and settlement in Canada. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37(7), pp.1119-1135.
- Watzlawick, P. ed., 1984. *The Invented reality: how do we know what we believe we know? contributions to constructivism*.
- Webb, S., & Lahiri-Roy, R. (2019). Skilled migrants and negotiations: New identities, belonging, home and settlement. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 40(2), 190-205.
- Weinar, A., 2010. Instrumentalising diasporas for development: International and European policy discourses. *Diaspora and transnationalism: Concepts, theories and methods*, pp.73-89.
- Wengraf, T. (2001). *Qualitative Research Interviewing: Biographic Narrative and Semi-Structured Methods*. London: Sage.
- Westman, J., Martelin, T., Härkänen, T., Koskinen, S., & Sundquist, K. (2008). Migration and self-rated health: a comparison between Finns living in Sweden and Finns living in Finland. *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health*, 36, 698.
- Whisler, R. L., B. S. Waldorf, G. F. Mulligan, and D. A. Plane. 2008. "Quality of Life and the Migration of the College-educated: A Life-course Approach." *Growth and Change* 39 (1) 58–94.
- WHO, 2017. *Framing the Health Workforce Agenda for the Sustainable Development Goals. Biennium Report 2016–2017* 17. World Health Organization, Geneva.
- Wickramasekara, P. (2003). *Policy responses to skilled migration: Retention, return and circulation. Perspectives on labour migration*. Geneva: International Labour Office.
- Wickramasekara, P. (2010). *Transnational communities: Reflections on definitions, measurement and contributions*. In G. Tejada & J.-C. Bolay (Eds.), *Scientific diasporas as*

development partners: Skilled migrants from Colombia, India and South Africa in Switzerland: Empirical evidence and policy responses (pp. 137–178). Bern: Peter Lang.

Wierzbicki, S., (2004), *Beyond the Immigrant Enclave: Network Change and Assimilation*, New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing.

Wiesbrock, A. and Hercog, M., 2012. *Making Europe More Attractive to Indian Highly-skilled Migrants? The blue card directive and national law in Germany and the Netherlands*.

Wild, S., & McKeigue, P. (1997). Cross sectional analysis of mortality by country of birth in England and Wales, 1970e1992. *British Medical Journal*, 314, 705.

Wiles, J. (2008). Sense of home in a transnational social space: New Zealanders in London. *Global networks*, 8(1), 116-137.

Willekens, F. 1999. “The Life Course: Models and Analysis.” In *Population Issues: An Interdisciplinary Focus*, edited by L. J. G. van Wissen and P. A. Dykstra, 23–51. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum.

Willekens, F.J., 1991. Understanding the interdependence between parallel careers. In *Female labour market behaviour and fertility* (pp. 11-31). Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg.

Willis, K.D. and Yeoh, B.S., 2000. Gender and transnational household strategies: Singaporean migration to China. *Regional Studies*, 34(3), pp.253-264.

Wong, J. K. (2004). Are the learning styles of Asian internationals culturally or contextually based? *International Education Journal*, 4, 154–166.

Wong, M., 2014. Navigating return: the gendered geographies of skilled return migration to Ghana. *Global Networks*, 14(4), pp.438-457.

Wray, H. (2011). *Regulating marriage migration into the UK: A stranger in the home*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Wright, R. and Ellis, M., 2019. Where science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) graduates move: Human capital, employment patterns, and interstate migration in the United States. *Population, space and place*, 25(4), p.e2224.

Wu, P., Yao, L., Lin, C., Wu, G., & Obaidat, M. S. (2018). FMD: A DoS mitigation scheme based on flow migration in software-defined networking. *International Journal of Communication Systems*, 31(9), e3543-n/a.

Xu, Y. (., Yang, Y., Cheng, Z., & Lim, J. (2014). Retaining and attracting users in social networking services: An empirical investigation of cyber migration. *The Journal of Strategic Information Systems*, 23(3), 239-253.

Yahya, F. b., & Kaur, A. (2010). *The migration of indian human capital: The ebb and flow of indian professionals in southeast asia* Taylor and Francis.

Yamada, J., Squires, J. E., Estabrooks, C. A., Victor, C., Stevens, B., & CIHR Team in Children’s Pain. (2017). The role of organizational context in moderating the effect of

research use on pain outcomes in hospitalized children: A cross sectional study. *BMC Health Services Research*, 17(1), 68.

Yang, D. and Martinez, C., 2006. Remittances and poverty in migrants' home areas: Evidence from the Philippines. *International migration, remittances and the brain drain*, (3).

Ybarra, V.D., Sanchez, L.M. and Sanchez, G.R., 2016. Anti-immigrant anxieties in state policy: The great recession and punitive immigration policy in the American states, 2005–2012. *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, 16(3), pp.313-339.

Yeates, N. 2012. “Global Care Chains: A State-of-the-art Review and Future Directions in Care Transnationalization Research.” *Global Networks* 12 (2): 135–154.

Yeoh, B. S. A., & Lam, T. (2016). Immigration and its (dis)contents: The challenges of highly skilled migration in globalizing Singapore. *American Behavioural Scientist*, 60(5-6), 637-658.

Yeoh, B., and S. Huang 2011 “Introduction: fluidity and friction in talent migration”, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37(5): 681–90.

Yeoh, B.S. and Huang, S., 2010. Transnational domestic workers and the negotiation of mobility and work practices in Singapore's home-spaces. *Mobilities*, 5(2), pp.219-236.

Yilmaz, C., Alpkan, L., & Ergun, E. (2005). Cultural determinants of customer- and learning-oriented value systems and their joint effects on firm performance. *Journal of Business Research*, 58(10),

Yoon, B.-S. (1992). Reverse brain drain in South Korea: State-led model. *Studies in comparative international development*, 17(1), 4–26.

Yu, K. (2019). Negotiating ‘otherness’ as skilled migrants. *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 61(2), 198-224.

Yuval-Davis, N. (1999) Institutional racism, cultural diversity and citizenship: some reflections on reading the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report, *Sociological Research Online*, 4(1). Available online at:

<http://www.socresonline.org.uk.eresources.shef.ac.uk/4/lawrence/yuval-davis.html>

Yuval-Davis, N., Anthias, F. & Kofman, E. (2005) Secure borders and safe haven and the gendered politics of belonging: beyond social cohesion, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28(3), 5513–5535.

Zapata-Villa, C., Agudelo-Suárez, A.A., Cardona-Arango, D. and Ronda-Pérez, E., 2018. Health Status and Experience of the Migrant Workers Returned from Spain to Colombia: A Qualitative Approach. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, 20(6), pp.1404-1414.

Zhang, Y. (2019). Making the transnational move: Deliberation, negotiation, and disjuncture's among overseas Chinese returnees in china. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45(3), 455-471.

Zhou, Y., Jindal-Snape, D., Topping, K. and Todman, J., 2008. Theoretical models of culture shock and adaptation in international students in higher education. *Studies in higher education*, 33(1), pp.63-75.

Zikic, J. (2015). Skilled migrants' career capital as a source of competitive advantage: Implications for strategic HRM. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 26, 1360–1381.

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.

Zimmermann, K.F., 1996. European migration: Push and pull. *International Regional Science Review*, 19(1-2), pp.95-128.

Zlotnik, H., 2003. The global dimensions of female migration. *Migration information source*, 1.

Zuckerman, M., Li, C. and Diener, E.F., 2017. Societal conditions and the gender difference in well-being: Testing a three-stage model. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 43(3), pp.329-336.