

The Role of Social Capital in the Highly-Skilled Migration from Lithuania

Aušra Kazlauskienė, Leonardas Rinkevičius

Kauno technologijos universitetas
Laisvės al. 55, LT-44309, Kaunas

This article deals with the analysis of highly-skilled migration from Lithuania with particular focus on the social context. We test, what role social capital maintained by the migrants with the higher skills plays in their migration abroad. Social capital seen as a whole of social ties between migrants and people abroad, and between migrants and non-migrants left in Lithuania may play important role in the migratory process. Social ties can exercise a sponsorship function in the migratory process and, in such a way, ease, accelerate, and multiply migration flows. The sponsorship of migration (in monetary and non-monetary sense) leads to the reduction of migration risk and maximization of future gains. Thus, social ties manifesting themselves in two dimensions: institutional and interpersonal and their role in the migratory process are analyzed. We analyze the main channels of migration, their manifestation between different migrant groups, and their relationship with the migration push and pull factors.

Analysis is based on the empirical research carried out by the authors in 2004 – 2005, which was presented in the previous publication, where push and pull factors of Lithuanian “brain drain” were analyzed (see Kazlauskienė, Rinkevičius, 2006).

The article consist of four parts: in the first part theoretical approach of social capital and its role in migratory process is presented; second part presents operationalization of the social capital concept in the empirical research of highly-skilled migration; third part deals with the analysis of factors of social ties and their manifestation between different migrant groups based on the empirical research; in the fourth part comparative analysis of migration push and pull factors and the factors of social ties is made.

Keywords: *highly-skilled migration, brain drain, social capital, social ties, migration sponsorship.*

Introduction

Recent international migration flows have been intensifying. It has been noticed that proportion of high-skilled migrants has been increasing significantly in the overall migratory flows. Growth of global movements has been mostly influenced by rapid development of the high-tech sector (especially IT), which faced shortages of high-skilled workers. Other factors, as ageing population with continuously decreasing proportion of work force in it has also demanded immigrant laborers being employed in the social and welfare structures. Labor movements are being accelerated especially by such international agree-

ments as NAFTA, MERCOSUR, OECD, and. EU

Continuously growing migratory flows with the increasing part of highly-skilled labor in it attracted increasingly more attention of social researchers. Various studies are made, most of which emphasize objective macro and micro structural determinants of migration. A wider social context with the focus on social capital and social networks has been made in the empirical studies of migration by (Shah, Menon, 1999; Haug, 2000; Wang, Hsiao, 2002, Sanders et al, 2002, Benson-Rea, Rwlinson, 2003; Massey, Asya, 2005). Here significant role of social ties, which form migratory chain and self-sustaining migratory process, is highlighted.

Lithuanian highly-skilled migration has been analyzed by Lithuanian authors since the last decade of the 20th century (see Stankūnienė et al, 1996). First big migratory flows after 1990 were interpreted mainly as ethnic migration or repatriation of Russian, Belorussian, Ukrainian, Jewish, and other people to their home countries and was mainly related to the political changes in Lithuania. Later with the opening boundaries to the West big emigration of Lithuanians directed to the West countries arose though it could be traced only by some facts provided by foreign immigration offices and unofficial papers. Lithuanian emigration with its negative points as “brain drain” attracted increasing attention of Lithuanian researchers: studies with the focus on its determinants were carried out by some authors (Jucevičienė et al, 2002; Ruzgys, Eriksonas, 2004; Antinienė, 2005; Gečienė, 2005, etc.). There is little attention to the social context as to how social ties and networks act in the process of highly-skilled migration because usually socio-economic factors come to the fore. Although social networks were deeply analyzed in the study on Lithuanians emigration to Chicago (Kuzmickaitė, 2000), there was lesser attention to their role in the emigration of people with the higher-skills.

It is worth to notice that rapidly spreading different cooperative networks all over the world may ease highly-skilled migration and act as accelerator of the phenomenon of “brain drain” or “brain circulation”. Therefore the focus on the social ties and networks together with the objective push and pull factors should be made for thorough analysis of the Lithuanian highly-skilled migration.

The problem. Some empirical studies embracing a wide social context in the analysis of migratory causes and processes showed that social ties (social capital) have very strong influence on the decision to migrate (Shah, Menon, 1999; Haug, 2000; Wang, Hsiao, 2002; Sanders et al, 2002; Massey, Asya, 2005). In Lithuania, little at-

tention is paid to the context of social ties in the studies of Lithuanian highly-skilled migration. Seeking to obtain thorough analysis and understanding about the determinants and processes of this phenomenon an integrated point of view should be employed. Social ties manifesting themselves in two dimensions: institutionalized and interpersonal and their role in the high-skilled migratory process should be analyzed together with the macro and micro structural factors.

The aim of the article is to reveal what role social capital plays in the Lithuanian highly-skilled migration.

The object is highly-skilled migration from Lithuania.

The article is based on the empirical research conducted in 2004 – 2005. Using snowballing method an internet survey of highly-skilled Lithuanians living abroad was carried out. Total number of more than 500 questionnaires was obtained, 416 of them were used in the analysis. Authors presented the methodology and method of the survey, as well as socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the respondents and migration causes (push and pull factors) in the previous publication where “brain drain” push and pull factors were analyzed (see Kazlauskienė, Rinkevicius, 2006). There the focus will be made on the next important question of the research – the role of social capital in the highly-skilled migration process.

The concept of social capital and its role in the migratory process

The concept of social capital appears more and more often in the field of social science (Mutti, 1998, Capitale, 1998, Massey, 1999). Many contemporary researchers who analyze development of enterprises, sectors of economy or entire economy try to explain its prosperity or recession in the context of social capital. Particularly the concept of social capital is popular in the fields, where ambiguous questions of economic development and social integration supervene (Pendenza, 2000). Recently the concept of social capital is found more and more often in the investigations of migratory processes as well. The most valuable role is that it connects two traditionally separated spheres: economy and sociology (Coleman, 1990).

The term of social capital is characterized as the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

The key feature of social capital is its convertability to other forms of capital: financial, economic, cultural (Coleman, 1990). People accumulate their social capital through membership in the interpersonal networks and social institutions, and later convert it to the other forms of capital in order to maintain or improve their position in the society.

The social network forms capital, which can be used by migrants to gain financial capital: work in foreign labour markets, high wage level, savings possibilities, remittances to home countries, etc. Social capital or, in other words, ties linking migrants with non-migrants in

the home country reduce migratory risk and increase net future gain from migration, thus also incentives to migrate (Massey, 1998, 1999). Each new migrant expands this social network and reduces the risk of migration to those with whom he or she is in touch. In such a way migration becomes non-risky and uncostly strategy of migration gains or income diversification.

This approach was supported by the authors investigating the impact of social ties on migratory process, where the phenomenon of sponsorship and migration multiplication is highlighted (see Shah, Menon, 1999, Haug, 2000, Wang, Hsiao, 2002, Sanders et al, 2002, Massey, Asya, 2005).

With respect to the highly-skilled migration institutionalized ties come to the fore. Importance of social networks in highly-skilled migratory processes has been increasing with the rapid process of globalization. Bilateral and transnational agreements (EU, NAFTA, MRA, etc.) act as accelerators of highly-skilled labour migration as they induce internationalization of higher education and professions that are in great request in the global labour market (Iredale, 2001; Docquier, Marfouk, 2004). This promotes development of cooperative ties at institutional level both, in the public and private sector.

Ties with universities, research institutions, enterprises, firms, recruitment agencies, professional associations and other institutions accelerate highly-skilled migration processes significantly. Some evidences show that these institutionalized networks increase significantly probability of migrants' stay abroad (Khadria, 2001, Hugo, 2002, Castells, 2005). On the other hand, they spur the so called transnational movement of labour as they induce short-term migration (Vertovec, 2002, Castells, 2005). Transnational movement reflects not only new form of migration but also dualistic lifestyle: migrants maintaining close relationships with people or institutions outside the boundaries of the host country become accustomed to live and move between two or more cultures as they are geographically, linguistically, and culturally mobile, and often have homes in two countries (Portes, 1997).

Evidences show that the concept of social capital and social network should be employed in the empirical investigations of highly-skilled migration with no lesser importance compared to the other macro and micro structural factors.

Operationalization of the social capital concept in the empirical research of Lithuanian highly-skilled migration

The concept of social capital has been employed in the empirical studies in multiple ways. Some authors investigate it at a generalized level (social capital of community or society), others at organizational or individual level. There is neither single method nor indicators defining how to measure the amount of social capital (Haug, 2000). So, operationalization of the concept remains the matter of individual researchers.

Based on the theoretical approaches of the role of social ties in the migratory process (as a reduction of migration costs and risk through a sponsorship function), we tested what role interpersonal and institutionalized ties

had in the migration of highly-skilled people. Indicators of interpersonal ties were friends, family members (parents, siblings and spouses), distant relatives living abroad, while indicators of institutionalized ties were Lithuanian and foreign universities, academic funds, recruitment agencies, foreign firms, and foreign Lithuanian communities. We sought to reveal the influence of social ties on the migration rather than the amount of migrants' social capital.

Respondents were asked to rank the importance of the social channels mentioned above to their migration abroad in the 5 point scale (1-no importance, 5 – the highest importance). This was tested within the 5 approaches: information transfer about working and living conditions as well as cultural life of foreign society, financial aid, assistance to find a job, and help with accommodation.

To test the importance of social ties to the migration

decision the factor of trust was introduced. Respondents were asked to rank (at the same 5 point scale) the influence of their trust in the interpersonal and institutionalized ties, as well as expectations of future gains and knowledge about successful Lithuanian migratory facts on their decision to migrate.

Social ties of the highly-skilled migrants: the main channels and their estimation between different migrant groups

In order to highlight the main factors of social ties maintained by respondents with the people and/or institutions abroad and their importance on migration process all variables were reduced into the main groups of inter-correlative variables. Six factors explaining the 38% of the spread were extracted by the method of factor analysis (see Table). The results are sorted by the total acceptance rate.

Table

Main factors of social ties influencing highly-skilled migration

Factors of social ties	Temperate acceptance, %	Substantial acceptance, %	Total acceptance, %	Std.dev
Academic institutions (foreign and Lithuanian universities providing information about the host society, as well as working and living conditions abroad) (4 items, Cronbach $\alpha=0.76$; spread 5.0%; L=0.8-0.5)	14.2	10.3	24.5	1.09
Spouse or intimate friend abroad (accommodation, financial aid, assistance to find a job, information about work and living conditions as well as culture life of the host society) (5 items, Cronbach $\alpha=0.94$; spread 10.8%; L=0.9-0.8)	4.6	18.9	23.5	1.52
Family member abroad (financial aid, accommodation, information about work and living conditions, and culture life of the host society, assistance to find a job) (5 items, Cronbach $\alpha=0.83$; spread 8.2%; L=0.9-0.6)	6.6	14.4	21.0	1.33
Recruitment agencies (information about work and living conditions and culture life of the host society, assistance to find a job and accommodation abroad) (4 items, Cronbach $\alpha=0.85$; spread 6.9%; L=0.9-0.7)	4.5	6.4	10.9	0.95
Academic Funds (information about work and living conditions, and culture of the host society, financial aid, assistance to find a job and accommodation) (5 items, Cronbach $\alpha=0.82$; spread 5.2%; L=0.8-0.6)	4.7	4.8	9.5	0.81
Foreign Lithuanian communities (assistance to find a job and accommodation, financial aid provided by senior and newly established ethnic Lithuanian communities) (4 items, Cronbach $\alpha=0.76$; spread 6.6%; L=0.8-0.7)	2.9	1.5	4.4	0.50

Factor analysis: KMO = 0.673; Barlett's test 14316, $df = 1830$, $p < 0.01$. Principal component method, rotation Varimax with Kaiser's normalization, converged with 9 iterations. Temperate acceptance rate consists of 2+3 points, substantial acceptance is 4+5 points in the 5 points scale where the point 1 indicates "no importance", and point 5 – "the highest importance".

Results of factor analysis show that respondents referred to one rather than multiple channels of the social ties seeking to get universal assistance in their migration abroad. The main channels of social ties were revealed: academic institutions, spouse or intimate friend abroad, family members abroad, recruitment agencies, academic funds, and foreign Lithuanian communities.

The factor of **academic institutions** manifested itself mainly as a spreader of information about foreign countries. It has to be mentioned that almost one quarter of respondents (24.3%) went to study abroad. There foreign universities were much more active (compared to Lithuanian universities) to transfer information about working

and living conditions abroad as well as culture of the host society.

Kruskal-Wallis test has shown that the factor of academic institutions as information diffusers was mostly stressed by those respondents who went abroad to study ($\chi^2=38.6$ (df=5), $p < 0.01$) and those who indicated their migration as a short-stay ($\chi^2=15.5$ (df=1), $p < 0.01$). The factor was also emphasized more by those who left for the higher studies (Master or Doctoral degree) ($\chi^2=9.3$ (df=3), $p < 0.05$).

These findings clearly represents current situation of the global migration of skilled people, where academic and research institutions of advanced economies pull

young talents from all over the world.

The factor of *spouse or intimate friend abroad* shows his universal sponsorship in the migratory process. The factor contains variables, which represents all forms of the sponsorship: financial aid, assistance to find a job and accommodation, transfer of information about work and living conditions and culture life of the host society. In addition, the substantial acceptance of the factor much bigger compared to the temperate one (see table 1). 6.5% of the respondents indicated family unification as the aim of their migration abroad and absolute majority of them (96.3%) were women. This explains, why women much more than men stressed aid of spouse or intimate friend ($\chi^2=34.8$ (df=1), $p<0.01$). There has been also found correlation (0.317, $p<0.01$). Kruskal-Wallis test has also revealed that the aid given by a spouse or an intimate friend was mostly important to the migrants educated in the humanities ($\chi^2=9.5$ (df=4), $p<0.05$) as well as those with the specialties of philology, history, and psychology ($\chi^2=39.5$ (df=23), $p<0.05$). These findings let us think that migrants (majority of which women) with professions that are not at a top demand level in foreign labor markets rather choose reliance on a close person living abroad (usually citizen of a foreign country) than other channels of social ties as a strategy of future gains.

The factor of a *family member abroad* similarly, contains variables that reflect universal aid in the migratory process. The part of the respondents who stressed substantially the importance of ties with family members in their migration was much bigger compared to those stressed as ones of less importance (see table 1). Kruskal-Wallis test revealed two substantially different categories of respondents (by age and household's income) who emphasized mostly the importance of the factor.

By age, there were two extreme groups of the respondents: one under 25 years old and another from 46 and older ($\chi^2=13.2$ (df=3), $p<0.01$). Other age groups gave much lesser importance to the family member's factor (see figure 1).

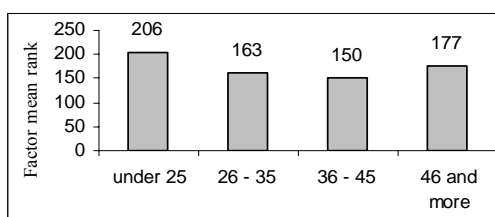


Figure 1. Given importance of the family member's help in the migration process according to respondents' age groups

Similarly, two radically different groups stood out with regard to their household's income before the departure abroad: those who treated it as "very well", and those who treated it as "very bad" ($\chi^2=12.4$ (df=4), $p<0.05$).

These results reveal some important insights. First, migration sponsorship serves mostly for the migrants who are supposed to have higher migration costs and risks: young people usually face with financial problems to move abroad and the older people find more difficulties to enter foreign labor market. Second, it is clear that migrants of the households with a low income level would rather count on family member's sponsorship in their

migration. However, the other extreme categories (showing rather high households' income levels) that stressed the factor even more let us think that a part of people had already benefited from their family members abroad by means of remittances.

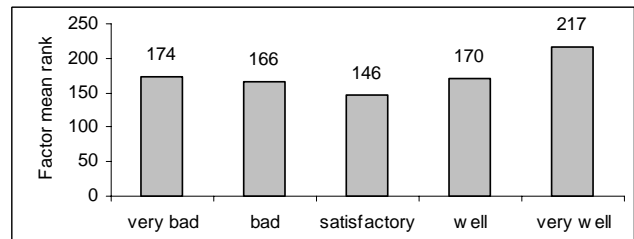


Figure 2. Given importance of the family member's help in the migration process according to respondents' estimations of their household's income before departure

The factor of *recruitment agencies* on average was stressed much less (see table 1). Those who referred to the agencies indicated mostly their assistance with regard to information about working and living conditions as well as search for a job and accommodation. The respondents with the lower education level (Bachelors) stressed the factor much more than those with the higher education level ($\chi^2=8.7$ (df=3), $p<0.05$). There has been also found reverse correlation (-0.128, $p<0.05$). In addition, more importance to the agencies was given by respondents who went abroad to work not according their specialty ($\chi^2=20.2$ (df=5), $p<0.01$) and those, who went abroad for the first time ($\chi^2=12.0$ (df=5), $p<0.05$). These findings let us think that recruitment agencies serve mostly for the migrants with relatively lesser skills and bigger economic intensions.

Academic funds were mentioned as universal helpers in the migration process but only for a small part of respondents (see table 1). Moreover, Kruskal-Wallis test did not resulted any significant differences between different groups of respondents.

The factor of *foreign Lithuanian communities* made up the smallest total acceptance rate (see table 1). There the older people (36-45, 46 and older) emphasized the factor much more than other age groups ($\chi^2=15.6$ (df=3), $p<0.01$). Here correlation has been found (0.182, $p<0.01$). A significant difference has been also found with regard to respondents' education level: those with a Doctoral degree stressed importance of the communities much more than others ($\chi^2=11.0$ (df=3), $p<0.05$). Moreover, the factor was mostly stressed by migrants who went to the USA and Canada ($\chi^2=11.9$ (df=5), $p<0.01$). These results show that ethnic Lithuanian communities are more active in the traditional Lithuanian migratory countries as they have developed their activities very well in the long run period. In addition, they tend to develop connections with the migrants with the highest skills.

Importance of social ties compared to the push and pull factors of migration

To estimate what influence had overall social ties on the highly-skilled migration compared to the migration push and pull factors, the comparative analysis has been made.

In our previous publication we analyzed in-depth the main push and pull factors of this highly-skilled migration and their manifestation between different migrant groups (see Kazlauskienė, Rinkevičius, 2006). It was revealed the most important factors such as professional attraction, socio-economic status push, academic system and collaboration, and country's macroeconomic status and governmental policy.

There average estimations of the factors of social ties as well as push and pull factors mentioned above are compared according to the respondents' educational level (see figure 3).

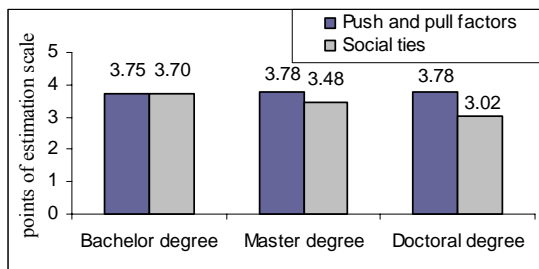


Figure 3. Importance of social ties compared to migration push and pull factors in the highly-skilled migration by respondent's education level¹

The results show that in general social ties had significant importance compared to the push and pull factors, but their importance significantly drops with the augment of migrants' education level, while importance of the push and pull factors slightly rises. Decreasing importance of social ties with the augment of education level was confirmed also by reverse correlation (-0.234, $p < 0.01$). In addition, Friedman test has shown that differences between estimated averages of push and pull factors and the factors of social ties were insignificant for the Bachelors and Masters ($p > 0.01$), while these differences were significant for the respondents with the Doctoral degree ($p < 0.01$). The estimation averages of the importance of push and pull factors of migration show an opposite trend: it slightly rises with the augment of respondents' education level.

These findings together with those analyzed in the above paragraph let us assume that social ties, which manifest themselves as a reducer of migration cost and risk serve mostly for the migrants with the lesser human capital or/and bigger obstacles to enter foreign labor markets. On the contrary, migrants with the highest level of skills (or human capital) find it much easier to compete and thus enter the global labor market. Their entry is facilitated by selective immigration policies of the advanced economies as well. Thus, it could be said that the highest skills or human capital which creates the highest added value in the global labor market together with immigration policy emphasizing "immigrants' quality" sub-

stitute the role of social ties as a reducer of migration costs and risks.

Another finding, showing that migration multiplication process has been rather proliferating between the respondents with a lower educational level, could support this outcome. There reverse correlation was found between respondents' educational level and their sponsorship (monetary and non-monetary) in the further Lithuanian migration abroad (-0.166, $p < 0.01$). In addition, Kruskal-Wallis test revealed significant differences between the numbers of new migrants attracted abroad by respondents according to their occupational status in the host society: those who were on a visit and worked not according to their specialty (most of them were persons with the lower educational level) indicated significantly bigger numbers of sponsored new migrants, while those who were on studies and worked according to their specialty indicated much less new migrants sponsored by them ($\chi^2 = 16.0$ (df=5), $p < 0.01$). These findings let us state that the sponsorship and multiplication of migration tend to spread among the migrants with lower skills and strong economic motivations.

Conclusions

The concept of social capital and social networks has gained increasing interest in the studies of social science including labor migration. Social capital seen as a reducer of migration costs and risks can explain big migration processes and flows often directed to one pull zone. This has been found in some empirical studies of international labor migration.

In our empirical study of the highly-skilled migration ("brain drain") from Lithuania we tried to reveal what impact has been made by social ties (social capital) maintained by the respondents with the persons or/and institutions in the foreign country on their migration abroad. Five aspects representing a sponsorship function of social capital were tested: transfer of information about living and working conditions abroad; transfer of information about the culture of the host society; financial aid; assistance to find a job; and assistance to find accommodation.

Six main channels of social ties are revealed by factor analysis (sorted by their importance or acceptance level):

Academic institutions, which acted essentially as channels of information about the host society, were mostly stressed by the respondents who went abroad for studies or/and work according to their specialty.

Spouses or intimate friends acted as universal sponsors (all five types of help mentioned above) in the migratory process. It was mostly emphasized by women and those who went abroad mostly with the aim of family unification.

Family members abroad were also universal sponsors (in all five senses) and it was particularly stressed by two radically different respondents groups: the youngest and the oldest age groups. Similarly, respondents from the households with the highest and the lowest income level mostly emphasized the family member's importance in their migration abroad;

¹ Average estimations of the scale from 2 – "low importance" to 5 – "the highest importance"; 1 – "no importance" is excluded from the analysis. The factor of spouse/intimate friend is excluded from the analysis as well; we assert that marriage has an insignificant impact on Lithuanian contemporary highly-skilled migration.

Recruitment agencies served as channels of information and assistance to find a job and accommodation and were particularly stressed by the migrants with lower skills (Bachelors), those who went to work not according to their specialty and who went abroad for the first time.

Academic funds served in the highly-skilled migration as channels of information and assistants to find a job and accommodations as well as givers of financial support.

Foreign Lithuanian communities were givers of universal aid and particularly were emphasized by the respondents of older age groups and with the higher educational level; the communities in the USA and Canada were mostly stressed.

The channels of social ties and importance given by respondents to them reflect two main dimensions and migrants types: economic migrants with lower skills and/or bigger obstacles to enter foreign labor market, mostly benefiting from the sponsorship given by interpersonal ties; and students and professionals with the highest skills who go abroad mainly through institutionalized ties (foreign universities were the most active in the migration process).

It has been also revealed that overall social ties have significant importance for the highly-skilled migration, but its importance drops significantly with the augment of migrants' educational level. This made it possible to assume that the higher the skills or human capital the lesser is the importance of social ties in sponsoring migration. High quality of migrants' characteristics (human capital) may substitute the role of social capital as a reducer of migration costs and risks and, thus, intensify migration processes particularly of people with the highest skills. It has been found that the sponsorship and multiplication of migration tend to spread much more among the migrants with lower skills and strong economic motivations.

These findings let us envisage the growing importance of immigration policy in the highly-skilled migration. Selective immigration policy permits persons with the highest skills migrate directly to the primary (capital intensive, well paid) labor sector of the host society, instead of moving to the secondary (labor intensive, low-paid) or tertiary (ethnic enclaves, low-paid) sector with expectations of future social mobility upwards. Today migration of the persons with the highest skills becomes much lesser dependent on kinship ties and comes as a response to the growing demand for highly-skilled labor. This also creates possibilities for migrants to spread geographically all over the host country instead of counting on ethnic enclaves.

For the migration policy makers in Lithuania it is worth to notice that these tendencies can make more difficulties to strengthen ties with widely dispersed migrants and inspire their participation in the activities of foreign Lithuanian communities, rather that later investigation showed that migrants tend to develop relationship outside the boundaries of Lithuanian communities. Particular attention should be paid to the formation, maintenance, and development of ties with foreign institutions (especially academic ones), which absorb our talented labor force.

References

1. Antinienė, D. Lietuvos studentijos tautinio tapatumo nuostatos ir jų raiška: Daktaro disertacija. KTU, 2005.
2. Benson-Rea, M. Highly skilled and business migrants: Information processes and settlement outcomes. M. Benson-Rea, S. Rawlinson // *International Migration*. 2003, 41 (2), P. 59 – 79.
3. Bourdieu, P. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* / P. Bourdieu, L.J.D. Wacquant. Chicago, 1992. 348 p.
4. Castells, M. Informacijos amžius: ekonomika, visuomenė ir kultūra. Tinklaveikos visuomenės raida. Vilnius. Poligrafija ir informatika, 2005. 461 p.
5. Coleman, J.S. *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge, 1990.
6. Docquier, F. Measuring the International Mobility of Skilled Workers 1990 – 2000 / F. Docquier, A. Marfouk // *The World Bank*, 2004.
7. Field, J. *Social capital*. – London, 2003. 145 p.
8. Gečienė, I. „Protų nutekėjimas“: ekonominė emigracija ar nepasitenkinimo valstybe išraiška? Prieiga per internetą: www.socforumas.lt 2005.
9. Giorgas, D. Community formation and social capital in Australia. *Sociology Program, RSSH// Family Futures: Issues in Research and Policy*, 7th Australian Institute of Family Studies Conference, Sydney, 24-26, July, 2000.
10. Haug, S. *Klassische und neuere Theorien der Migration* // *Arbeitspapiere – Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung* / No 30. Mannheim 2000. Prieiga per internetą: http://www.mzes.uni-mannheim.de/projekte/pro_zeit_e.php?Recno=58
11. Hugo, G. Migration policies to facilitate the recruitment of skilled workers in Australia. In.: *International Mobility of Highly Skilled*. Paris, OECD, 2002, p. 291 – 320.
12. Iredale, R. The migration of professionals: Theories and typologies // *International migration*, 2001, Vol. 39 (5), p. 7 – 26.
13. Jucevičienė, P. Protų nutekėjimo reiškinys ir jo atspindžio Lietuvos intelektualiniame kapitale bruožai: žvalgomas tyrimas / P. Jucevičienė, G. Jucevičius, R. Viržintaitė/ Prieiga per internetą: www.smf.ktu.lt/Edukin/lt/projektai.htm 2002 87 p.
14. Kazlauskienė, A. Lithuanian „Brain Drain“ Causes: Push and Pull Factors / A. Kazlauskienė, L. Rinkevičius, // *Engineering Economics*, 2006, Vol. 1 (46), p. 27 – 38.
15. Khadria, B. Shifting paradigms of globalization: The twenty-first century transition towards generics in skilled migration from India // *International migration*, 2001, Vol. 39 (5), p. 45 – 71.
16. Kuzmickaitė, D.K. *Between two worlds: recent Lithuanian immigrants in Chicago (1988 – 2000)*. Vilnius, 2003. 169 p.
17. Massey, D.S. Why does Immigration Occur? A Theoretical Synthesis, in Hirschman, Ch., Kasinitz, P., DeWind, J. (ed.). *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*. New York, 1999. p. 34 – 52.
18. Massey, D.S. *Worlds in Motion. Understanding International Migration at the End of Millennium* / D.S. Massey, J. Arango, G. Hugo, A. Kouaouci et al. Oxford, 1998. 362 p.
19. Meyer, J.B., Scientific nomadism and the new geopolitics of knowledge / J.B. Meyer, D. Kaplan, J. Charum // *International Social Science Journal*, 2001, Nr. 53 (168), p. 309 – 321.
20. Mutti, A. *Capitale sociale e sviluppo*. Bologna, 1998. 152 p.
21. Pendenza, M. *Cooperazione, fiducia e capitale sociale*. Napoli, 2000. 153 p.
22. Ruzgys, J. Kodėl išvažiuoju iš Lietuvos – ar sugrįšime? / J. Ruzgys, L. Eriksonas. Prieiga per internetą: www.civitas.lt/files/Emigracija_pranesimai.pdf 2004, p. 4.
23. Sanders, J. Asian Immigrants' Reliance on Social Ties in a Multiethnic Labor Market / J. Sanders, V. Nee, S. Sernau // *Social Forces*, 2002, Nr. 1, p. 281 – 314.
24. Shah, N. M., Menon, I. Chain migration through the social network: Experience of labour migrants in Kuwait / N.M. Shah, I. Menon // *International migration*, 1999, 37 (2), p. 361-382.
25. Stankūnienė, V. *Mobility of Scientists in Lithuania: Internal and External Brain Drain* / V. Stankūnienė, P. Adlys, R. Sližys, A. Sipavičienė ir kt. Vilnius: Lithuanian Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, 1996, p. 111.

26. Vertovec, S. Transnational Networks and Skilled Labour Migration. WPTC, Ladenburg, 2002. 13 p.
27. Wang, H. Social Capital or Human Capital? Professionals in Overseas Taiwanese Firms / H. Wang, H.H.M. Hsiao // Journal of Contemporary Asia, 2002, Nr.3, p. 346 – 62.

Aušra Kazlauskienė, Leonardas Rinkevičius

Socialinio kapitalo vaidmuo Lietuvos aukštos kvalifikacijos darbo jėgos migracijoje

Santrauka

Socialinio kapitalo sąvoka vis dažniau pasirodo socialinių mokslų panoramoje, ypač tyrinėjant sritis, kuriose iškyla dviprasmiški ekonominio vystymosi ir socialinės integracijos klausimai. Vis dažniau socialinio kapitalo koncepcija remiamasi ir migracijos tyrimuose, kur dažnai randama atsakymų į migrantų srautų vyksmą tam tikromis kryptimis.

Socialinis kapitalas apibūdinamas kaip visuma individo palaikomų tarpasmeninių ir institucionalizuotų ryšių, pagrįstų abipusio pasitikėjimo pagrindu (Bourdieu ir Wacquant, 1992). Pagrindinė socialinio kapitalo funkcija – jo konvertabilumas į kitas kapitalo formas (paprastai finansinį, ekonominį kapitalą). Tai reiškia, kad socialinių ryšių pagrindu individas turi galimybę realizuoti ekonominius tikslus. Šia logika kai kurie autoriai grindžia ir migracijos procesus (Massey, 1998, 1999; Haug, 2000 ir kt.).

Socialiniai ryšiai formuoja kapitalą, kurį migrantai gali panaudoti, siekdami didinti finansinio kapitalo: darbo užsienio darbo rinkose, aukštų darbo užmokesčių, taupymo galimybių, piniginių pervedimų į gimtąsias šalis ir t.t. Socialinis kapitalas, t.y. ryšiai, siejantys migrantus ir likusiuosius gimtojoje šalyje, sumažina šių migracijos riziką ir padidina jų būsimąją migracijos naudą, taigi ir paskatas migruoti.

Šiame straipsnyje analizuojamas vienas iš empirinio „protų nutekėjimo“ tyrimo, atlikto 2004 – 2005m. (žr. Kazlauskienė, Rinkevičius, 2006), klausimų – kokią vaidmenį Lietuvos išsismokslusių žmonių migracijoje vaidina jų turimas socialinis kapitalas. Tyrime buvo bandoma išsiaiškinti, kiek įtakos šių žmonių migracijai iš Lietuvos turėtų jų palaikomi ryšiai su priimančiojoje šalyje gyvenančiais asmenimis ir institucijomis užsienyje bei Lietuvoje. Šių tarpasmeninių ir institucionalizuotų ryšių įtaka buvo vertinama penkiais aspektais: informacijos apie darbo ir gyvenimo sąlygas užsienyje perdavimo; informacijos apie užsienio šalies kultūrą ir visuomenės gyvenimo būdą perdavimo; finansinės paramos, darbo paieškos ir gyvenamosios vietos pagalbos požiūriu. Šie veiksniai traktuojami kaip migracijos rėmimas, kuriam padedant migracija vyksta su mažesniais kaštais bei rizika ir tampa patrauklia naudos maksimizavimo forma.

Faktorinės analizės būdu sutankinus socialinių ryšių kintamuosius, gautos 6 pagrindinės tarpasmeninių ir institucionalizuotų ryšių grupės (faktorai):

- *mokslo institucijos* (pritarimas 24,5%), stipriausiai pasireiškusių kaip informacijos apie užsienio šalį skleidėjos (užsienio mokslo institucijos buvo kur kas aktyvesnės nei Lietuvos), labiausiai buvo akcentuojamos migrantų, kurie išvyko studijuoti ir (ar) dirbti savo specialybės srityje;
- *sutuoktiniai (artimi draugai)* (pritarimas 23,5%), pasireiškę universalia migracijos parama (visais penkiais minėtais aspektais), daugiausia buvo akcentuojami moterų ir išvykusiųjų šeimos susijungimo tikslais;
- *šeimos (prigimtinės) nariai* (pritarimas 21,0%), taip pat suteikę universalią paramą migracijoje, stipriausiai buvo akcentuojami dviejų radikalių respondentų grupių amžiaus ir turėtų pajamų Lietuvoje požiūriu: jauniausios ir seniausios amžiaus

grupės bei mažiausias ir didžiausias pajamas Lietuvoje turėjusių migrantų grupių;

- *įdarbinimo agentūros* (pritarimas 10,9%), daugiausia pasireiškę kaip informacijos teikimo ir darbo ir gyvenamosios vietos užsienyje paieškos pagalbininkės, stipriausiai buvo akcentuojamos žemesnio išsismokslinimo lygio migrantų (bakalaurų) ir tų, kurie išvyko į užsienį dirbti ne pagal savo specialybę, dažniausiai pirmą kartą;
- *mokslo fondai* (pritarimas 9,5%), daugiausiai pasireiškę informacijos teikimu ir darbo, gyvenamosios vietos bei finansine parama; respondentų nuomonių skirtumai vertinant šį faktorių nebuvo statistiškai reikšmingi;
- *užsienio lietuvių bendruomenės* (pritarimas 4,4%), pasireiškusių kaip universalios migracijos paramos teikėjos, daugiausia buvo akcentuojamos vyresnio amžiaus ir aukštesnio išsismokslinimo lygio respondentų; didžiausias vaidmuo teko JAV veikiančioms lietuvių bendruomenėms.

Socialinių ryšių kanalai ir jų įtakos migracijai į užsienį vertinimai leidžia manyti egzistuojant dvi dimensijas ir migrantų tipus: ekonominius migrantus, daugiausia žemesnio išsismokslinimo lygio (bakalaurai) ir (ar) turinčius didesnių kliūčių įstraukti į užsienio šalies darbo rinką, daugiausia naudojusius tarpasmeninius ryšius su užsienyje gyvenančiais žmonėmis bei įdarbinimo agentūrų paslaugas ir studentus bei profesionalus, turinčius aukštesnį išsismokslinimo lygį (magistrus, mokslų daktarus), kurie išvyko į užsienį per institucionalizuotus ryšius (dažniausiai per užsienio mokslo institucijas).

Nustatyta, kad bendrai socialiniais ryšiais gauta migracijos parama turėjo įtakos aukštos kvalifikacijos žmonėms išvykti į užsienį, tačiau rezultatai taip pat atskleidė, kad ši įtaka mažėja didėjant migrantų išsismokslinimo lygiui. Tai rodo, kad kuo aukštesnė migranto kvalifikacija, tuo mažesnės reikšmės jam turi socialiniais ryšiais gaunama migracijos parama. Aukšta migrantų charakteristikų kokybė (žmogiškasis, intelektualinis kapitalas) gali pakeisti socialinio kapitalo, mažinančio migracijos kaštus ir riziką, įtaką migracijos procese ir skatinti šį procesą. Nustatyta, kad migracijos rėmimas ir multiplikacija daugiausia plinta tarp žemesnio išsismokslinimo lygio (bakalaurų) ir didesnės ekonominės motyvacijos migrantų.

Šios išvados leidžia išvėgti didėjančią priimančiųjų šalių imigracijos politikos svarbą aukštos kvalifikacijos darbo jėgos migracijoje. Selektivi imigracijos politika (sudarant išskirtines sąlygas aukščiausios kvalifikacijos imigrantams) leidžia aukštos kvalifikacijos specialistams migruoti tiesiai į pirminį (intensyvaus kapitalo, gerai apmokamą) priimančiosios šalies darbo rinkos sektorių, užuot migravus į tradicinį imigrantų antrinį (intensyvaus darbo, mažai apmokamą) darbo rinkos sektorių arba tretinį (etnines teritorijas, mažai apmokamą) sektorių, tikintis ateityje pagerinti savo socialinę padėtį. Šiandien aukščiausios kvalifikacijos žmonių migracija tampa mažiau priklausoma nuo giminytės ryšių, palaikomų su žmonėmis užsienio šalyje, ir vyksta iš esmės kaip atsakas į sparčiai augančią aukštos kvalifikacijos darbo jėgos paklausą. Tai taip pat sudaro palankias sąlygas migrantams išsisklaidyti geografiškai plačiai po priimančiąją šalį, o ne teltis etninėse teritorijose.

Formuojant migracijos politiką, Lietuvoje svarbu atkreipti dėmesį, kad šios naujos tendencijos gali apsunkinti ryšių su plačiai po užsienio šalį išsisklaidžiusia naująja išeivija palaikymą ir plėtrą, juolab kad tolesni empirinio tyrimo rezultatų tyrinėjimai taip pat atskleidė didesnių migrantų polinkį vystyti ryšius už etninių lietuvių bendruomenių užsienyje ribų bei menką ryšių palaikymą su Lietuvos institucijomis. Daug dėmesio turi būti skiriama ryšių su užsienio institucijomis (ypač akademinėmis), kurios pritraukia aukščiausios kvalifikacijos Lietuvos specialistus, mezgimui, palaikymui ir plėtrai.

Raktažodžiai: *aukštos kvalifikacijos darbo jėgos migracija, „protų nutekėjimas“, socialinis kapitalas, socialiniai ryšiai, migracijos rėmimas (parama).*

The article has been reviewed.

Received in June, 2006; accepted in October, 2006.